

SIR JOHN PASTON'S GRETE BOKE: A DESCRIPTIVE INDEX, WITH
AN INTRODUCTION, OF BRITISH LIBRARY MS LANSDOWNE 285

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PREFACE

The main portion of British Library MS Lansdowne 285 is a paper book, begun probably in 1468, which can be identified as the Grete Boke mentioned in the Paston Letters and Papers as belonging to Sir John Paston (d.1479). Bibliographical analysis of the book reveals correspondences with the Paston Letters which put the identification beyond doubt.

It contains material in English, French, and a little in Latin, on a variety of subjects, including descriptions of ceremonial occasions, pageantry, challenges, jousts and tourneys, ordinances governing war and judicial combat, an English translation of Vegetius' Epitoma Rei Militaris, and Lydgate and Burgh's Book of Governance of Kings and Princes.

Something of the circumstances under which the manuscript was made is known from the survival among the Paston correspondence of a letter and bill from the main scribe, one William Ebesham, who compiled the greater part, under Sir John's direction, from a variety of sources. As well as Ebesham's work, there are sections by other contemporary scribes, including some additions made in blank spaces during the Paston ownership. The book's sixteenth-century owners have added marginal and other notes, two tables of contents, and a section of twenty-one leaves which is now bound at the end.

The Grete Boke has links with a large number of other manuscripts. Over seventy have texts in common (excluding the short extracts in Latin from Geoffrey of Monmouth and Higden's Polychronicon, which would put the number very much higher), but four are especially closely related. One of these, Pierpont Morgan Library MS Morgan 775, is probably the very book from which the first parts of Lansdowne were copied, though Ebesham's work went beyond mere transcription, for he selected and reordered material -- one might say he 'edited' it -- probably under the supervision of his employer. Lansdowne and Morgan were not, as has been claimed, 'mass-produced' books.

Because of the existence of Ebesham's letter and bill we are able to deduce something of the relationship between the scribe and his patron, and because of what we know from the Paston Letters about the life and character of Sir John, we can begin to appreciate how the book first came into being, how it reflects Sir John's connections with people like Sir John Fastolf and Anthony Woodville, and how it mirrors his personal interest in the fields of spectacle, romance, and courtly noriture. This naturally leads one to consider the wider intellectual, literary, and social context of fifteenth-century England. Lansdowne clearly has affinities with many genres, including the military manual, the practical treatise of chivalry, and the mirror

for princes, but its main connection is with the heraldic miscellany. Heralds' duties as arbiters of etiquette, organisers of spectacle and combat, champions of precedent, and makers of official descriptive records led them to produce a body of written material which remains almost unexplored by literary historians. It is a testimony to Lansdowne's importance in this sphere that ownership passed to a succession of heralds (including at least three Garter Kings of Arms) who valued the book highly and allowed a number of copies to be made.

My original intention was to produce a complete edition, and to this end I transcribed the whole contents of the 202 leaves of the fifteenth-century part of the book. Only at this point did it become clear that a respectable edition of the 31 separate texts (itemised as 54 in the printed Lansdowne catalogue) -- including an unpublished English prose translation of Vegetius comprising 108 closely written pages -- would be impossibly large. This coincided with my awareness that though Lansdowne has many excellent texts others are corrupt or exist in better manuscripts. My discovery that Morgan 775 was probably a direct source of Lansdowne finally convinced me that it would be foolish to continue with a full edition, and that more scope for investigating the texts and their background would be available in a Descriptive Index. I had in mind A.G. Rigg's excellent A Glastonbury Miscellany

of the Fifteenth Century, which I have used to a certain extent as a model. It is because of the precedent set by Rigg that I have used the term 'Descriptive Index' (with its implications of alphabetical arrangement) rather than the strictly more accurate term 'Descriptive Catalogue'. Entries in the Descriptive Index give such information as the incipit, explicit, and major section headings of the text in question, a list of other manuscripts, printed editions and commentaries, a summary of the contents, and a discussion of the points of interest. More general considerations, such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, are treated in the Introduction.

In a work of this sort there is a special need for a concise form of reference. With this in mind I have departed slightly from the normal convention in the humanities of giving the full title at first citation with an abbreviated form thereafter, and have adopted instead a system closer to that of scientific publications. Citations refer to author(s), date(s), volume number (if any), and page(s) [e.g. Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, I, 29]; from this the author, title, and publication details can be ascertained by reference to the List of Works Cited, which can therefore be used both as a Bibliography and as a key to the abbreviated citations. In addition, works which are frequently referred to, or for which there is a well established concise form of reference, are given special abbreviations and listed separately. In the

interest of clarity and accuracy folio references are given in as full a form as possible [e.g. ff.104v-106r].

In the course of time I have built up a debt of gratitude to many people who have helped me in a variety of ways. In particular I acknowledge the great help I have received from Dr A.I. Doyle, both from correspondence and conversation with him and from his published work on William Ebesham; my work in that area can at best be regarded as an augmentation of his. Professors Norman Davis, Angus McIntosh, M.L. Samuels, and numerous librarians have been generous with advice in their areas of specialisation, as have my immediate colleagues in Sheffield, particularly Professor Norman Blake, who read a draft of the thesis, and Miss Madeleine Blaess, who helped particularly with the medieval French. Mrs Sandra Burton and Mrs Janice Campbell have laboured long and uncomplainingly at the typewriter on my behalf. With all this help (and much more which it is impossible to mention here) I can only regret the many deficiencies which remain.

I also acknowledge with thanks the receipt of several grants from the University of Sheffield Research Fund towards the preparation of this work.

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

THE BOOK AND THE SCRIBES: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND PALAEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

Dimensions

British Library MS Lansdowne 285 [hereafter L] is a folio volume measuring 22.5 x 31 cm., with a present page size of 21.5 x 30 cm.¹ The pages have been slightly trimmed, and some of the early quire signatures have been cut through or are missing entirely.² The trimming cannot, however, have been severe, as deckle edges are still in evidence in places.

Binding

The present binding is a standard British Museum leather binding of the early nineteenth century.: A watermark on the third fly-leaf at the end bears the date 1807, the year in which the Lansdowne collection was acquired by the Museum. Although there is now no obvious trace of the original binding, a suggestion of the original make-up of the book survives in the parchment leaves which are now bound as ff.1, 224, and 225, with evidence of a fourth leaf in the form of two parchment rectangles which have been pasted on ff.1r and 224v. It is not unusual to come across medieval paper manuscripts which have been strengthened by such outer leaves of parchment or vellum,³ and it would seem here that we have the remains of such an arrangement which has been tidied up by the modern binder.

The original arrangement of these binding leaves may be conjecturally reconstructed. It seems likely that the original f.1 had become damaged to such an extent that it could no longer be used as a complete leaf when the book was rebound in the nineteenth century. It was therefore separated from its conjugate (assuming the binding leaves were not single leaves to start with, for this would reduce their strengthening function). At the same time the other bifolium was separated, so that all the parchment leaves were made singletons. Two of the three were bound as the present ff.224 and 225, not in their original order, for in both cases the fleshside forms the recto, which was not the medieval practice; the third became the present f.1. The original f.1 was not discarded entirely because it contained names and other material put there by early owners and users of the manuscript; instead, it was cut up into two labels. One of them was fixed to f.1r because it contains the names of former owners;⁴ the other was relegated to f.224v because it contains nothing more than desultory handwriting exercises. The label on f.1r is very stained and darkened, which is in keeping with its having been the original first leaf. All the parchment is of poor quality, and there are many holes.

General Condition

The modern binding is considerably rubbed along the spine, and the joint at the end of the book between the pages and the board of the back cover has come apart. The condition of the medieval paper leaves is quite good, although the first (f.2) is stained and darkened from handling, and has been mended

along most of the head margin and upper fore-edge margin. At the foot of the first page the crest of Sir Thomas Wriothsesley (d.1534), a former owner, has begun to flake off. The text is marked by stains and fingermarks, but not by damp. F.135, however, has been damaged by a sharp instrument, and some of the text is illegible.⁵ The original scribes have left some blots and offsets, as have later annotators.

Collation of Leaves

The collation of leaves can be expressed in the formula:

a¹², [b]¹², [c]¹⁰, d-e¹², [f]¹², g-m¹², [n]¹² (-n1), o-r¹², [s]¹⁰, [t]¹² (-t8). Quires a to r, as will be shown, are the Grete Boke belonging to Sir John Paston, while quires s and t are additions made after his death in 1479. Of each of the two missing leaves (n1 and t8) a stub of about 1 cm. is visible, joined to a conjugate. Folio n1 was certainly in the original book, for it was lost after the earliest sequence of folio numeration.⁶ It must have contained a short item or items, because the adjacent leaves show no signs of missing material. Similarly, it seems more likely that quire t has lost a leaf than that it was intended to be a gathering of 11 leaves. The material at this point consists of short items in a variety of hands, so it is unlikely that a scribe prepared an 11-leaf quire with a specific quantity of subject matter in mind. The early system of foliation does not extend to this part of the book.

In most cases the quires which are signed have the first six leaves numbered. These signatures appear to be in an early hand, but they cannot be earlier than the

early sixteenth-century table of contents inserted on ff.56v-57v, which mentions material not now in the manuscript;⁷ since the signatures are continuous, they must date from after the time the material was removed or lost, and perhaps represent an early rebinding.

Some gatherings have been provided with catchwords or catchphrases:

| | Catchword | Text |
|------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| end of a, f.13v | litill val. j | f.14 litill value |
| end of c, f.35v | And fro bens | f.36 And from thens |
| end of f, f.71v | apres | f.72 Apres |
| end of j, f.107v | pat pey be | f.108 that they benot |
| end of k, f.119v | of orden <u>a</u> unce | f.120 of ordenaunce |
| end of l, f.131v | tothid | f.132 tothid |
| end of o, f.166v | touchid j | f.167 Touchid |
| end of p, f.178v | In root <u>e</u> s ij | f.179 In rootis |
| end of q, f.190v | than .iij | f.191 than |

Foliation

There are three different sequences of foliation.

a. Dark brown ink, Roman numerals, beginning on the first paper leaf, i to lxxxvi, omitting numeral lxiii, but with the sequence corrected by an unnumbered leaf between lxxxi and lxxxii. After lxxxvi the numbering stops for no apparent reason, but begins again in the same hand at numeral c through to cxliiii, and is then continued by another hand in black ink from cxlv through to clv, then abandoned. Leaf cxliii was numbered but has been cut out, for that number is missing and

one of the stubs already described is visible at this point. The hand in the brown ink appears to be that of Sir Thomas Wriothsesley;⁸ the continuation in black is of the sixteenth century.

b. Black ink, post medieval Arabic numerals, including the first parchment leaf. This coincides with sequence a from ff.64 to 81. It disregards the lost leaf cxliii, and therefore again coincides from ff.144 to 155. This numeration continues through the sixteenth-century section (disregarding another lost leaf after f.219) and two final parchment leaves to f.225.

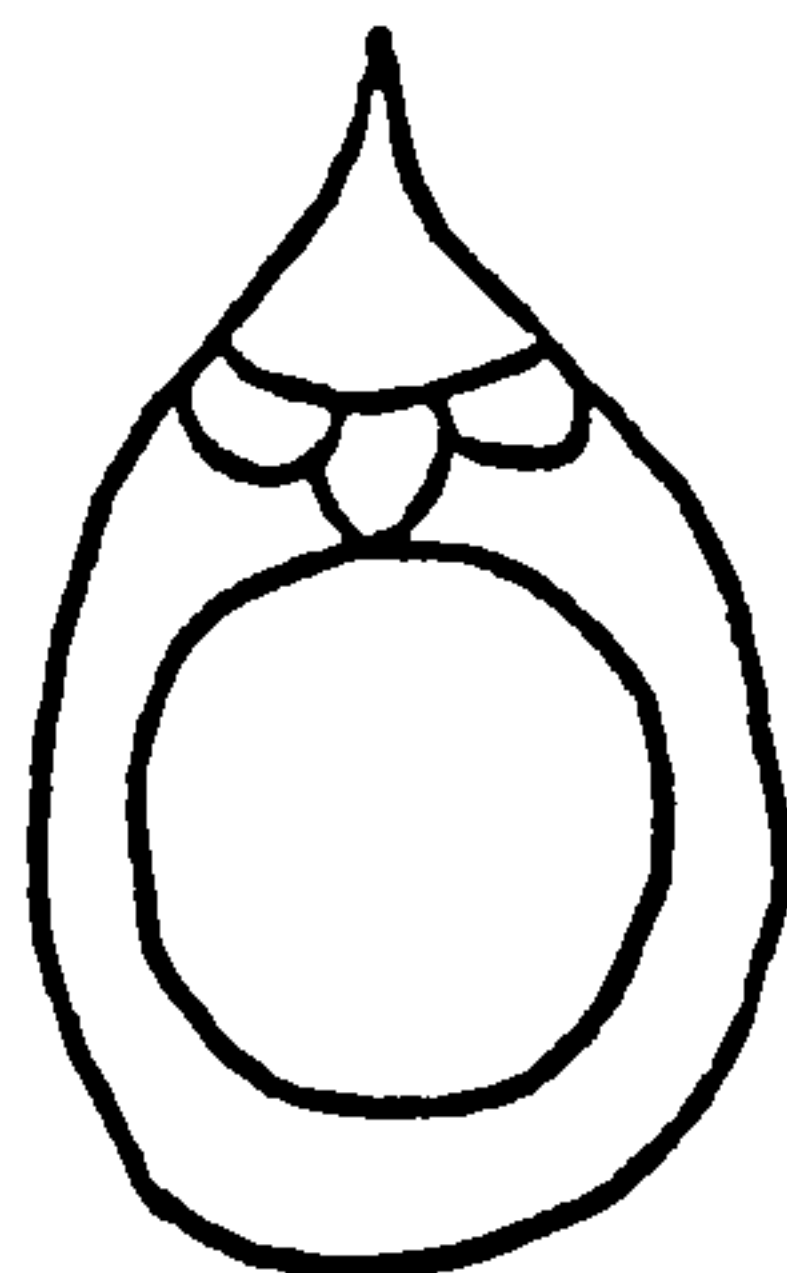
c. Pencil, post-medieval Arabic numerals, omitting some blank pages, and cancelling sequence b, where it differs, by striking through. It begins at f.60 of sequence b with number 58, and continues through to 219, the final parchment leaf. One blank leaf (83 of sequence b) is included.

Sequence a, though clearly preferable on the grounds of priority, has inconsistencies and omissions which would make it inconvenient for the present Descriptive Index. Sequence b does not take account of the two lost leaves, but it covers the whole of the book, includes blank pages, is continuous and consistent, and is therefore preferred for present purposes. This sequence of foliation is also the one followed by the British Museum Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts.⁹

Watermarks

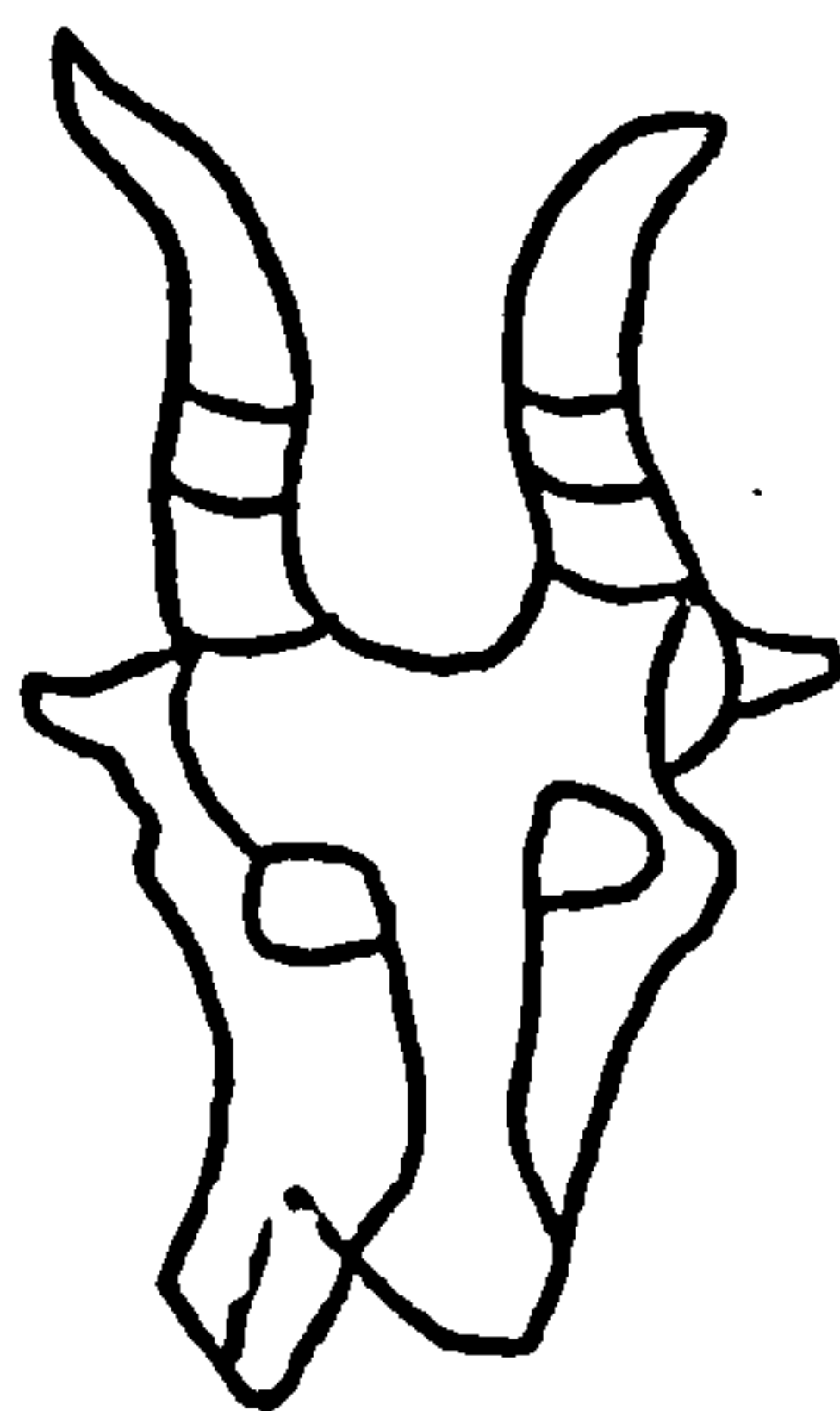
In the Grete Boke (excluding the continuation) there are five distinct watermarks:

1. A jewelled ring



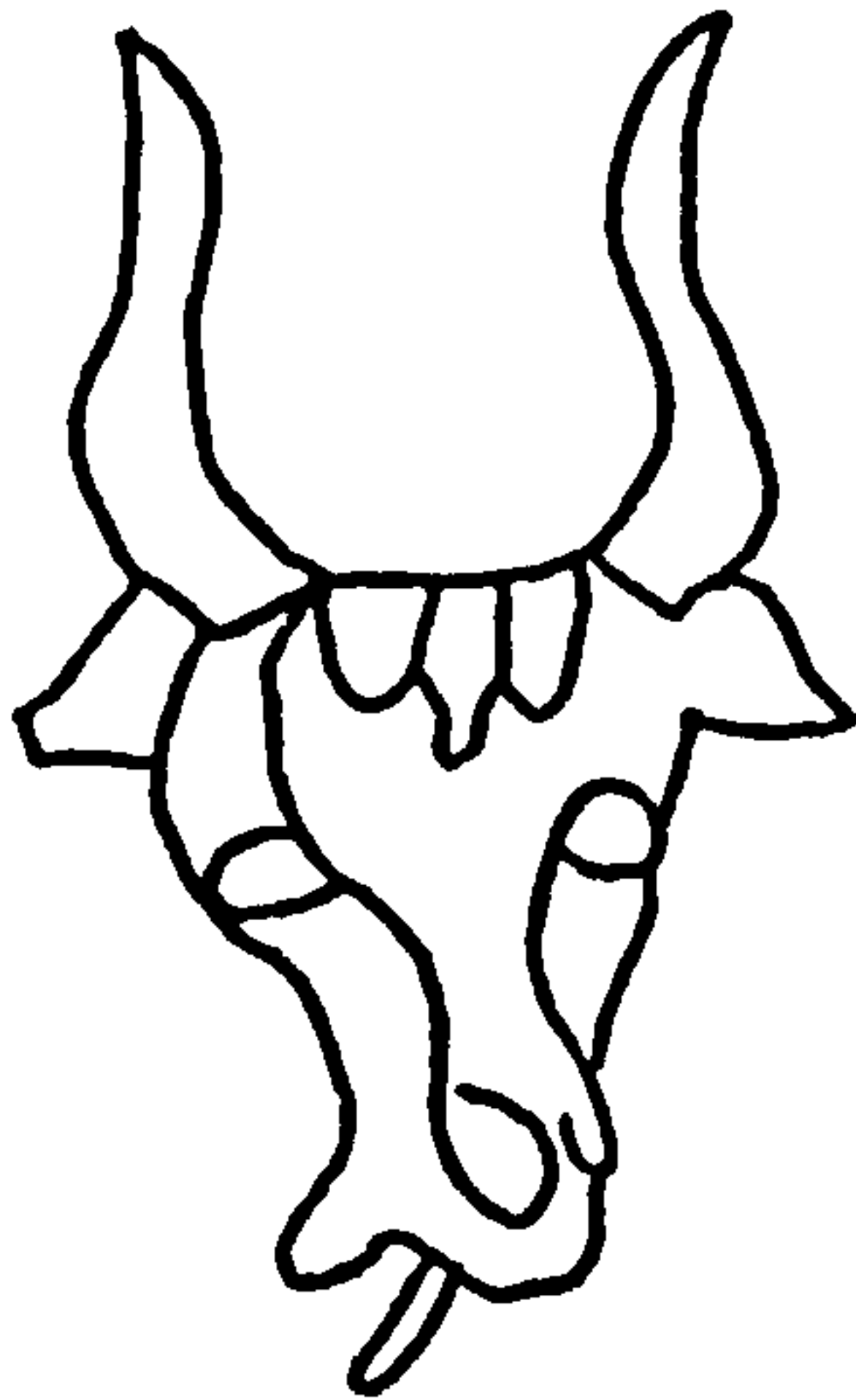
This is by far the most numerous, and appears on ff.3-6, 8, 19, 21-25, 36-39, 42, 43, 48, 50-53, 58, 61, 64, 65, 68, 69, 71-76, 90-95, 98, 100, 101, 104, 106-108, 110, 111, 114, 115, 118, 120, 124, 126, 128-130, 133, 137, 139-141, 143, 157, 160, 162, 163, 165, 166, 169-71, 173, 177, 178, 180-184, 190-192, 195, 196, 199 and 200. The mark is close to Briquet's No. 689 (1457).¹⁰

2. A bull's head, type I



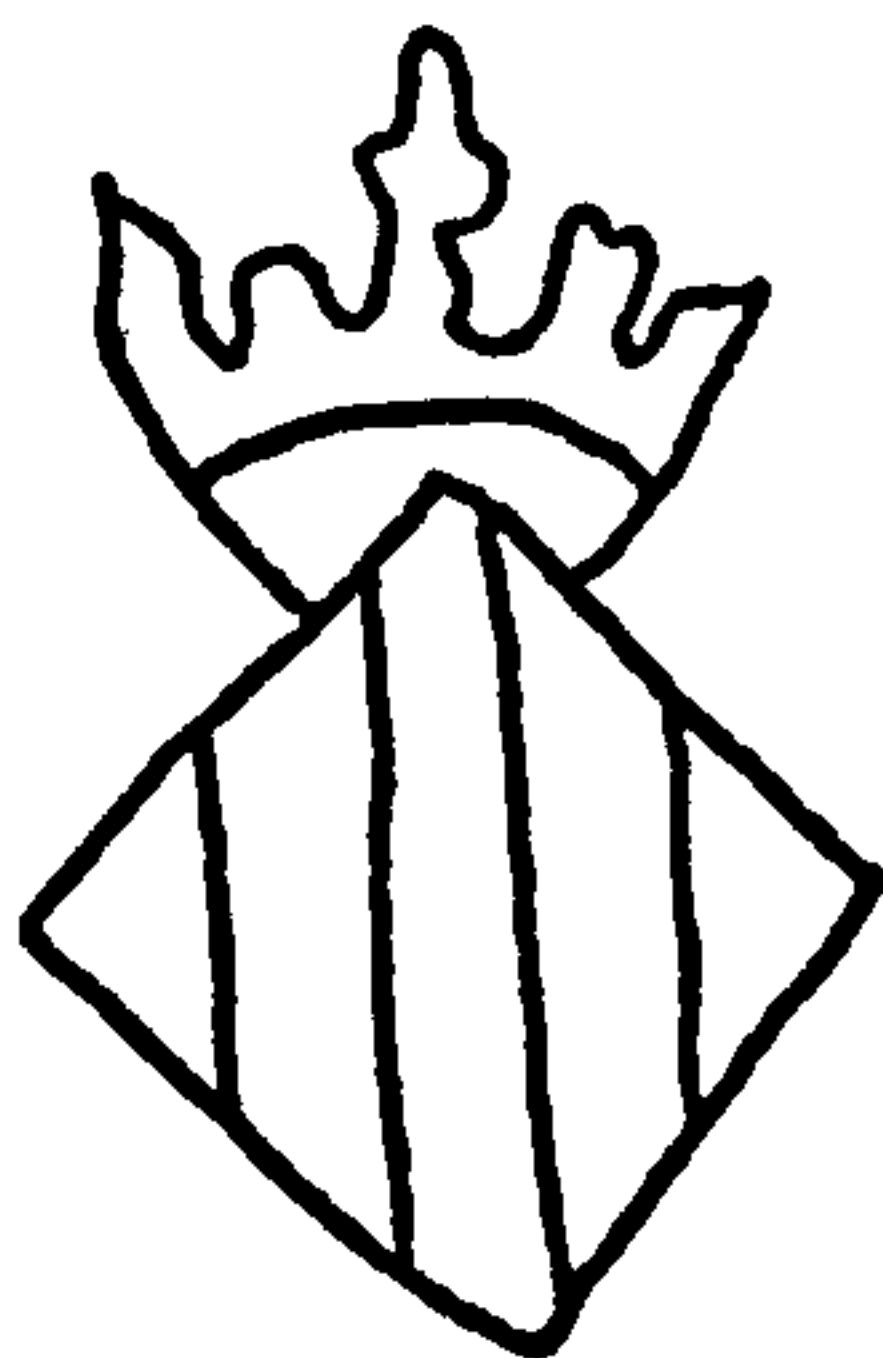
This is found on ff.26 and 27. It is comparable, though not closely, to Briquet's Nos.14323-5 (1460-5).

3. A bull's head, type II



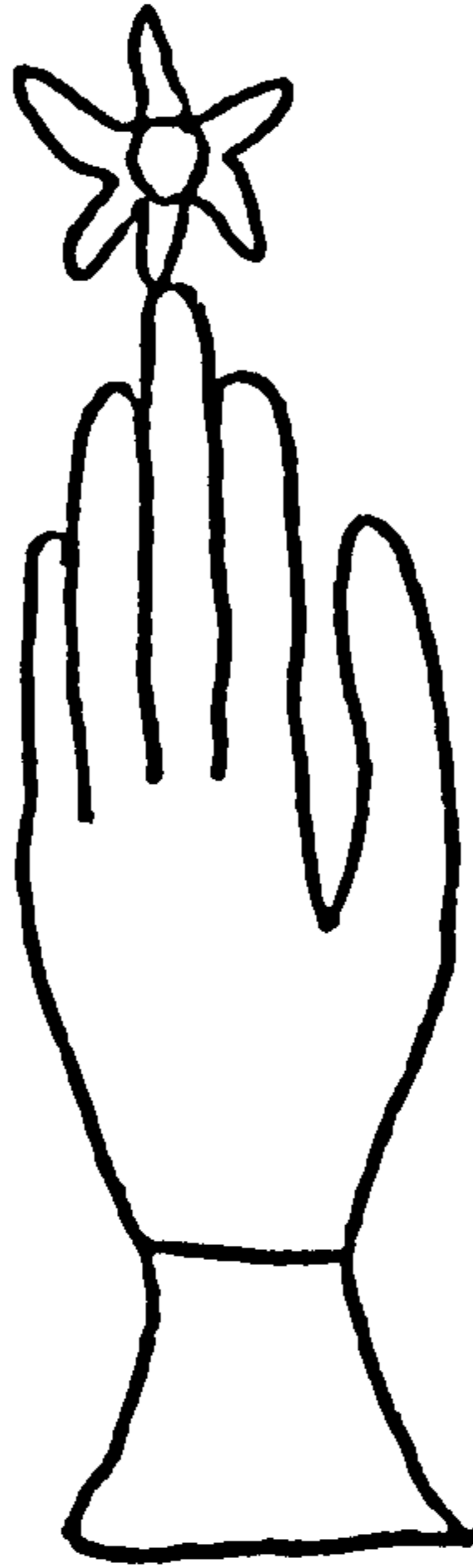
This is found on ff.30-33, and is comparable, though not closely, to Briquet's Nos.14331 (1468) and 14334 (1469).

4. A lozenge, paly, beneath a diadem



This appears only on f.78. It is comparable to Briquet's No.2066 (1473), and more closely to Heawood's No.8 (in use in England before 1459).¹¹

5. A hand with a six-pointed star or flower



This occurs on ff.144, 145, 149-151, and 154. It is of Briquet's type II and resembles his Nos.11088 (1437) and 11089 (1456).

In the continuation of the Grete Boke one other mark, also a hand and star, is visible on ff.205-207, 209, 213, 214, 216-218, and 223:



This is also of Briquet's type II, and is similar to his No.11155 (1477).

Differentiation of the Hands

Six hands, the work of scribes A-F, can be distinguished:

- A ff.2r-43r, 48r-56v, 84r-142r, 155r-199v
 B ff.60r-82v
 C ff.43v-47v, 144r-153v
 D f.43r
 E ff.153v-154r
 F f.154r-154v

A is a professional scribe, William Ebesham, whose bill for the work is preserved among the Paston letters and papers.¹² He, and also B, and C (in respect of ff.144r-153v only), worked more or less independently, each contributing separate quires; the other contribution of C, along with those of D, E, and F, are early additions on blank spaces left by the others. The evidence for this is that they occur only at the ends of gatherings, they are different in handwriting, they fail to observe the ruling, and they are distinct in language and subject matter from the rest of the book.¹³

The collation and the watermarks help distinguish the work of scribes A-C. A's work occupies all of gatherings a-c, h-m, o-q, and most of d, e, and r. This represents 153.25 folios. Blank spaces at the end of d (ff.43r-47v) have been subsequently filled by D and C; blanks at the end of e and r have been partially filled by additions of a later date, probably the early sixteenth century. B's work occupies gatherings f and g, a total of 22.75 folios, ff.82v-83v being left blank. C's work occupies most of gathering n, with also the abovementioned additions to d, a total of 14.25 folios; this is in addition to the missing first leaf of n which was cut out after the

Roman folio numbers had been added. The blank spaces at the end of n, ff.153v-154v, were later partly filled by the single short contributions of E and F.

Scribe A used catchwords and catchphrases wherever there was a run-on (except at the end of quire h), but not between consecutive gatherings where a new item was begun. Scribe B adopted the standard practice of using a catchword to link the gatherings in which his single long item (L23) was written. Scribe C, writing only within two separate gatherings, did not need any form of catchword, and neither did D, E, and F, who wrote only one item each.

The watermarks show that Scribe A used the same paper for gatherings a-b, d-e, h-m, and o-r, but a quite different paper for gathering c, which was therefore perhaps written at a different time. Scribe B's paper is identical to the ring-marked paper most used by A, with the addition of a single sheet from another source. This relative uniformity supports the suggestion that A deputed some of his work,¹⁴ with the odd bifolium suggesting that he supplied insufficient paper, or that a sheet was lost, damaged or used elsewhere.¹⁵ A different paper again was used by Scribe C for gathering n written by him. The lack of uniformity of paper within the book, together with the lack of a close match with any of the paper of the Paston letters, suggests that it was normal practice for paper to be supplied by the scribe rather than by the commissioner of the work.¹⁶

The Handwriting

The hand of A is a version of the informal cursive bookhand

common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which has been given the name 'Anglicana'.¹⁷ This is a script which developed with the desire to produce books more quickly and cheaply than was possible using existing text hands. It maintained a distinctive integrity until about the third quarter of the fourteenth century when the influence of 'Secretary' script began to show, an influence which is strongly marked in the hand of Scribe A.¹⁸ The characteristics of Anglicana are a tall, two-compartment a; looped d; f and long s in which the stem descends below the line of writing; 8-shaped g; long-tailed r; and a cursive version of short s based on the capital. The angle of the pen is almost vertical. The features of Secretary script in Anglicana include broken strokes where curved ones might be expected (especially in a, c, d, e, g, o, r); horns on the tops of letters (especially e, g, t, and short final s) and at the points of breaking; tapering sloping descenders of f, long s, and p, sometimes with a distinct splayed appearance; and finally graphs of a, g, r, and short s which have no counterparts in any other contemporary cursive script. The fusion of Anglicana and Secretary resulted in a script in which the size and proportions of each individual letter seem to vary, even within a single word, and the splayed ascenders and descenders are frequently out of vertical.

The most noteworthy features of A's minuscule forms are (refer to plate 1): a both of Anglicana form (line 1, 'Thomas') and Secretary (1, 'daliaunce'); a third type of a, like a u with a bar across the top, and a fourth, like a large Secretary a with a crossbar, both rare, are not illustrated; d both with the looped ascender characteristic of Anglicana and, more commonly, the unlooped variety (5, 'endid'); three varieties

C.

and woostyng full lorde of Byschops of Bekeley to gyve dysport & daliaunce
 of lorde and all woostyng weppons that he passid all laboure and tynale
 And to gyve instyruccion & loyng of yonge lorde & knyght that he wyl luse
 And lous to gyve & see and to be dedid of dymos & chynalyse / the tynge of
 the booke in to englysshe was wyrtou and ended in the vygill of alle halowe
 the yere of oure lorde & thousand .cccc. / the .x. yere of the reigne
 of kynge herry the fourth. So hym & to be all god; ydunnto ydoo of oure
 offenng. Oydoo to oure andyng / And hys flos to see at oure
 andyng amoy. *Quod. no. thessam.*

5

A Devolt licty south and north of Golden stonis. the floude & bedwyl haben
 licen west north west and est south est. And fro hamborn to the point of ye
 floude the conne licty. north & south. And bedwyl of the wold stonis it foldouth
 north north west and quarter tide bedwyl fro tilmouth to ffenyn floude. the
 conne is north north west and south south est. and tilmouth is tide north
 est & south west bothene the hedelonde & hundredth fote the conne is north west
 and at whithenes & south est / And it flowith west south west & est north est
 And at whithenes half and fro hundredth fote to humbro the conne is south
 est & south. north west & by north / fro leyres to the hedelonde / the conne is
 north north west and south south est / at the hedelonde the steme settith north
 west & south est / and it flowith on the londe of holdernes north est. and after
 tide in the same way and at hedelonde quare tide & half / And yif ye go from
 downe to the oshelde ye shall goo est south est for to go cleene of fessinde & by
 south / And yif ye have an ebbe go south est & by est. And yif ye go fro the
 ffione to the oshelde / and p^t the wynde be at north west. ye shal be south est / at
 ffreme vnder kotow / And in well. it flowith est & west / And thero gacty half
 west / and half steme vnder kotow by the londe till ye come to wimbornes
 And from wimbornes till ye come to fulle rode it flowith on the londe north
 west and quare tide & half quare vnder kotow / And yif ye go fro the oshelde to
 the helmes / and it be in the night ye shall go bute downe fadome fro ye coste
 till the yess that ye do past lumber and very / and to the ester maze conne
 till ye come to xij. fadome / And to the conne south south est till ye do passid

10

15

20

25

30

of e (cf. 10, 'Berwik', 13, 'northwest', 1, 'Berkeley'), as well as an 'unfinished' final e, possibly a meaningless flourish but one which occurs with great regularity (9, 'endynge'); three forms of g, namely the 8-shaped g (30, 'go'), that like modern cursive g (1, 'grete'), and the Secretary type, like y with a crossbar (7, 'graunte'); three or four sorts of r, namely the long Anglicana type (1, 'Berkely'), the cursive r resembling inverted '2' (1, 'woorshupfull'), the short Roman r, sometimes with a wavy shoulder-stroke and upturned foot (10, 'Berwik', 31, 'estermare'), and the more cursive variety of the latter, opened out like cursive v (12, 'cours'); s is long (1, 'woorshupfull'), two-compartment (3, 'lordes'), or cursive like Greek sigma (2, 'werriours'), double s, like double f, being markedly out of parallel (2, 'passid'). There are some four varieties of the ampersand, of which only two are illustrated (lines 1, 10) the others are (firstly) like x (cf. 6, 'x. yere'), and (secondly) the Tironian sign, based on the simple upright cross.

There is greater variety in the majuscules. Points of note are: A and Anglicana a are virtually indistinguishable (9, 'Amen' cf. 1 'Thomas'), but the former generally has a sharper peak; there are cursive and non-cursive varieties of B, D, E, G, R, W (pairs not illustrated); H, K, L, M, N, S, V, W, Y are usually enlarged versions of the minuscule. Initial capitals are often given feet, flowing introductory and final strokes, and embellishments inside the loops.

A distinct display script is used by A in the headings and lemmata of L15 (ff.29v-43r). While not essentially different in its letter forms from the script of the text, a Bastard influence is evident. The letters are much larger than the rest of the text, more angular, and frequently formed with broken

trois estus pendans au peroy pour les reporter a la dame du
 peroy qui les demandoit le nam les despendy et les bailla a
 chun selonc les couleurs dont ils estoient abillies Et tantost
 qu'ils les orent ils s'en alerent a tout deners la dame lun apres
 l'autre et en ordre les estus pendus a leurs cols. Apres vint
 la dame du peroy phae sur les reins a compaignie de messr
 de boussut et messr Arnoul de crequi du Roye du fland et
 du Roy d'arbois Et trois pautes et si faisoit mener vuy che
 val en main et estoit vestue de satin bleu bien juste vuy
 chapevon de vellours noir a cornette quelle avoit mys au
 tour de son visage au col avoit une grosse chaine dorz montée
 sur une blanche harque nee comente d'une riche drap dorz
 cramoisi son premier paute vestu d'une robe de satin noir
 le dessi et dessous la chauture de drap gris de lame decoupe le
 chapevon de vellours violet a la facon de engleterre Et avy
 estoient les deux autres la premier comente du premier
 paute de satin violet semé de bouillons dorz bien durs. le se
 conde de drap dorz cramoisi et le tierche de vellours cramoisi
 le cheval que la dame faisoit mener en main avoit vuy harnou
 de satin violet a vuy large pendant bride dorz et de soy blanche
 en facon de neuy de engleterre par lendes frangees a l'entour
 par coppons de soy blanche et violet Quant la dame fu ve
 nue devant le peroy le nam a grant venerance vint a l'en
 contre d'elle et lui apporta une grande clef dorz quelle prinst en
 sa main et le vint bouter dedens ce peroy comme se ceust este
 en une serrure faite pour la clef et dicelle ouvriz par la milieu
 par cy grant loysine que elle les dits Roys d'arbois et de
 nantz dessi y entrerent tout a l'end aise. D'uns ale despendu
 ne le bon d'hu qui attendoit la grace et mercy de sa dame et
 tantost le fist vestue d'une robe ytalienne de drap dorz vert et
 sur sa teste lui fist mettre vuy barjette de vellours noir Et
 lui fist mettre son harnou de grantee Et monter sur le die

strokes. The tails and flourishes are convoluted and sometimes conjoined. Ll5 alone of all the items by Scribe A has these elaborate headings.

Various common forms of abbreviation are found in A's work, viz.: suspensions, such as for -s, -es, -er, and in French writings -its in words like 'desdits'; contractions, signified by a bar through an ascender (e.g. 'people', 'seconde'), by a horizontal line above (e.g. 'continual'), by a wavy line above (e.g. ordenances'), by a double loop above (e.g. 'daliaunce', plate 1, line 1), by a macron above (e.g. cominalte, comone), and by a flourished letter (e.g. chacun); superior letters, such as raised e in grettist,¹⁹ raised r in your (plate 1, line 24), and raised t in comaudement; special signs such as p with a bar through the descender to indicate following er or ar, p with a loop through the descender to indicate following ro or re, and the special sign for 'Sir' (plate 1, line 1).²⁰

Scribe B's handwriting (refer to plate 2) is different from A's in that it has fewer Anglicana and more Secretary forms. The tall minuscule a does not occur, and the Secretary a which occurs regularly in its place is either rounded (2, 'nain') or angled (3, 'abillies'); an unlooped ascender is normal in b, d, h, l, all but the d being straight and upright, the l having sometimes a small introductory stroke (6, 'lez'); c-like e is common (3, 'les'), and e is not found in the cursive 'left-facing' variety common in A's writing; 8-shaped g is rare (not illustrated), the barred g being the preferred form (13, 'paige'); long r is rare (25, 'perron'), and short Roman r is written very much like cursive v (2, 'perron');

For prisoners

And if that any man take a prisoner And any of man come bypon
him asking paye mandering offe that he shall see the saide prisoner
he shall have no paye though he be to paye hath ben granted
And if he be the prisoner he shall be kept by the wylshere and
tuned in the same maner as he shall be made & fynded by
the wylshere of the constable.

5

For the paying of the ransome

And that every man paye his ransome to his cap^{ty} lord & master of
all maner ransomes by the wylshere And that aske the that be not in
sule but lounyng under the same or penon of the cap^{ty} upon
paye to lose his paye of his ransome & lounyng to his cap^{ty} and his
body to be in the wylshere unto the tyme he have agreed
with his ransomed maner.

10

For penn^{ty} make yed self captaynes to wylshere men sic^{ke} paye

And that no man be yed to wylshere nor knowe of Sente George
no of none other to shalbe to yede the people and to wylshere theyn
out of the wylshere to go to any of paye upon paye of the wylshere that in such
wylshere make them self cap^{ty} to be shalbe & hangyd and that the wylshere
one or folowes to have theyn wylshere of and alle theyn good
wylshere forfated to the wylshere

16

20

A Statute for yed^{ty} beere not a band of Sente George

And that every man of what estate condicion or nacion that he be of
any paye be a band of Sente George sufficient lavye upon the wylshere
if he be comded or dede in the wylshere of he that he comded or
clerk^{ty} shall be no paye for the wylshere And that none enemy be the said wylshere
of Sente George but if he be payed in the wylshere of his maner upon paye
of wylshere the wylshere.

25

forms of s are similar to A's, but the sigma type is rarer (27, 'Roys'); the emphatic introductory stroke of v resembles the heavy, sloping ascender of d, both of which emphasise the distinctive duct of this hand. There are two forms of the ampersand, one the Tironian sign, and the other quite unparalleled in A's work and resembling the usual abbreviation for Latin -us (not illustrated). The two-compartment a, absent from the minuscule range, appears as a majuscule, with the upper loop sometimes not fully closed (5, 'Apres'). Capital F is represented by ff, as usual, but the downstrokes are exceptionally splayed (7, 'fflanders'). Majuscule R is found where the minuscule might be expected (12, 'Riche', 13 'Robe'). Other majuscule forms are varied but not exceptional, and abbreviations are of a completely conventional character.

The hand of C is more of a document hand, but large and showy, especially in the headings (see plate 3). The nib of the pen is fairly thin. Tall, two-compartment a (2, 'take') is found alongside Secretary a (2, 'that') and a barred variety (16, 'noman); the ascender of b is hooked (4, 'be'); the ascender of d is looped, and there is sometimes a sharp peak to the bow (17, 'withdrawe'); e faces either left (2, 'eny') or right (3, 'prisoner'); g is always the barred y (3, 'manacyng'); h may have the ascender either hooked (19, 'hanged') or looped (16, 'that'), as also l (7, 'Conestable' cf. 5, 'shalbe'); long r is usually open and without a high shoulder (16, 'hardy'); the introductory stroke of v may turn either out (2, 'vppon') or in (6, 'delyveraunce'); w is tall (17, 'withdrawe') and sometimes multi-looped (10, 'aswell'); the ampersand (line 27) is one of a variety of forms used by Scribe A. Extensive use is made of majuscules, both in the text and headings, the graphs

the smalle ende. And smote many grete combes and they. Strake
till at the laste that they fell downe a cloffe. at which tyme the
lorde Scalas frolde hym in the side of the vison of the basinet. And
the kyng poynting the orme dyaule. cast the staff. And with his
voce. crode. wroce. Notwithstanding in the departinge there was
vow. y. or m. grete fyres. And con of the astote for brade to
thene throu. And they so departinge were broughte. After the kyng
gode shoo. the lorde Scalas fongre was his vison opene wher
was broughte ferdone. the lorde d'Alford fongre cloffe and there
opened it. And so they were broughte up before the kyng. he com
manded them yea to take oth by the hand. And to lene too
gedre as they were in dymes wher they so did. And theye then
immediatly. yafe yche to oth. as contere godly and spende the
gife as conde be thought. And went to gedre into the aydder of
the folow. And there departinge went to his lodginge. Anno. 20.

5
10
15

Durien est et confirmez estatut en la roye de touz lez barons
d'Engleterre. Desormes a touz lez rois de France. Et de touz lez
m. esquierz p' luy seruy. porte chapelet. Desormes son seign' q' il ont ala
borne p' ensigne. Et que nul. chevalier ne nul. esquierz ne nul. seruy
espee a point ne contelt a point ne baston ne lance seruy espee large p' tierce. Et y
tous lez barons q' la roye portout soient armes de. constables des esquierz des esquierz
et de banneret sans plus. Et sil auerigne nul. comte ou baron ou autre chevalier. vaise en
comtre est estatut q' ch' chevalier p' assent de tout la baronage p' de chival & harner
demage en prison ali volente mouz. Edward frere le roy & le comte de Gloucestre & le comte
de North. Et si nul. esquierz face enotre ceste estatut en aucun point. q' p' de chival & harner
p' soit. m. ans en prison le roy. Et si nul. s'ke chevalier a touz seruy seruy soient armes p' to
seruy seruy q' le chevalier p' assent son chival & ch' soit ali seruy de esquierz
dit. Et que nul. seruy de gnt seign' est. esquierz de comte ou de baron ne soit armes seruy de
constables de esquierz & des esquierz & de banneret sans plus. Et q' il ne portent espee
ne contelt a point. ne lance seruy espee large. Et si nul. veigne encontre cest estatut. q' il
p' de son chival soit il en prison un an & de cent. s' veignent. p' tierce
le tonement ne soient armes de nul. maner de arme ne p' portent cotels a point
ne espee a point ne baston ne lance seruy seruy de esquierz. avant diez. Et q' nul. esquierz
ne home il p'ce ne porte espee ne contelt. ne baston ne lance & si nul. soit t'ne esquierz
soit un en prison. Et si gnt seign' ou autre teigne manere manere q' meen esquierz
ne seruy seruy q' tenent devant le seign'. Et q' nul. baron des harner ne meen
strans ne portent p'nyz armes ne autre seruy seruy espee sans point. Et q' le roy des
harner le banneret de armes sans plus. Et q' si l' seruy seruy.

le statut de ayne
de turney per la
parlament d'englet

20
25
30
35

being characterised by large loops (1, 'For'), broken strokes (2, 'Also'), flourishes and feet (not illustrated). There is sometimes extreme variation in size (14, 'with' (with lower-case w?) cf. 13, 'Mareshall). Plate 3 illustrates a variety of conventional abbreviations as well as otiose strokes like the flourish on n (16, 'noman').

Scribe D has attempted a laterally-compressed, more formal hand, with extensive use of hairstrokes (plate 4).²¹ Except in the marginal heading, a is the headless type, with the bow rounded (16, 'estatut') or pointed (18, 'desarmes'); the ascender of b is straight (20, 'baston') or has a faintly-formed loop (23, 'baronage'); d has a looped ascender and a sharply pointed bow (22, 'de'); e faces either to the left (23, 'baronage') or to the right (16, 'conferme'); the only form of g is the 8-shaped sort (23, 'baronage'); h and l sometimes have a suggestion of a foot (25, 'hernais', 24, 'volente'); r is 2-shaped (16, 'conferme') or long, either with a properly formed shoulder (22, 'baron') or opened out like v (33, 'garson'); s is long (25, 'estatut') or sigma-like (20, 'fors'). The ampersand is illustrated in line 24. In the marginal heading only the a, which is different from the a of the text, is worthy of note. Majuscules and abbreviations are of a conventional character.

E has produced a more successful Bastard style of handwriting in which the strokes of the pen are much thicker (see plate 5). a is either the two-compartment type formed with a crossbar, but not tall (20, 'magna'), or the single-compartment type, with the bow round (11, 'procurator') or more angular and formed with broken strokes (12, 'Admirans'); the typical form

bons jugementz & ayesté d'advisé pour ce regard que en vus
 default non s'ordonne & l'encontre de vous & l'opinion de la
 chaise d'unus cōmō en cōfessio & le toy n'ont s'it f'et ycoluz mond f'
 lo p'point tellement que la p'ncipal que est p'ls bon aide de
 n'ostre Sauleveyn' q'st d'ist d'uy vous. Car par l'ordonne de
 exemple & memoie p'pouelle & toutz d'ultre que en ont
 p'br' Et se n'ist lo coment n'ostre app'lois dion & g'ant &
 tesmoigne q'ce ne est d'st'mme & n'ostre conspe mais seulement
 p' v'us default. Escrips sous n'ostre seals. &c.

5

Epla Lucias ad Arturiu

10



LUCIUS

rei publice parator. Arturo regi Britanie &
 Aveint. Admirans vehementer admiror onp tue turannidis ptina
 admiror magn' et iniquam quam Roma intulisti Recolligere q'ndiq' uoz
 q' ex te egressis eam cognoscere diffugas. nec animadvertere festinas
 q'nd sic iniustus actib' Senatū offēdisse cu totū orbem famulatum
 debere non timoras Et enim tributū Britanie quod Senatus tibi p'cepit
 p' v'us Julius ceteri q' Romane dignitatis vni illud multis temporib'
 h'uerunt. neglecto tanti ordinis imperio detinere p'pmissisti. Eripisti
 q' Galliam. Eripisti Allobrognū p'ncipiā. Eripisti omnes occian
 sup'ialas q'rum Reges ad eo magna potestas in illis p'tibus p'ualint

15

20

of e faces right (16, 'debere'), and may be horned (16, 'Britannie') or c-like (17, 'Romane'), but the left-facing variety also occurs (16, 'preceperat'); when final, e is sometimes not fully formed (12, 'vehemente'); g is the barred y (11, 'Regi'); i usually has a light tick (12, 'admiror'); l is looped and has a small foot (11, 'publice'); r is either the short Roman variety with small foot (14, 'cognoscere'), or 2-shaped (12 'admiror'), or long with a hair-like or non-existent upward stroke (18, 'habuerunt'); s is sigma-like (12, 'Admirans' or long, with double long s not parallel (14, 'egressus'); the introductory stroke of v may be turned inwards (12, 'vehemente') or turned outwards (plate 6, line 4, 'venire'). The methods of abbreviation are unexceptional, and the main interest of the majuscules is that they are very showy and resemble those of Scribe C.²²

Scribe F was evidently less confident and less expert (see plate 6). His hand has distinctive splayed and sloping downstrokes, and shows strong Secretary influence, but lacks the usual Secretary graphs of e and g. The Secretary a is the only form used (13, 'apud'); b has a looped ascender (11, 'Robertus'); the ascender of d is either looped (11, 'matild') or straight and inclined (12, 'apud'); e faces right, with forms ranging from a c-like version (11, 'glouernie') through the fully formed (11, 'Robertus'), to the horned (11, 'mense'); g is 8-like (21, 'generis'); the ascender of l is usually looped (24, 'aliud'); r is z-like (21, 'roboris') or, more rarely, long (13, 'irrogant'); s is either long (11, 'mense') or formed with two compartments (11, 'Robertus');

Dectum est uterque meo reddidimus Quia ego de tante
 sumptibus tunc tunc Senatus reditum meo petere sequant
 mediantem Augustum primum Anno tunc tunc tunc tunc
 tibi reme nibe. Et dms satisfactus tunc fm qm eoru
 sequent iusticia adqnestas Simantem ego ipe ptes tnas
 adibo. et quicquid vestra tua rei publice eripuit idem
 mediantibz gladijs restituere conabor

5

Explicit Epistola huius ad Hyacinthum

Desiderium de vestris exhortationibus belli. Venerabili fratri
 polonoensi ca. 18.

10

Venerabilis igitur in mense Iulij Robertus comes gloune punitus
 impatoris Anno Regis Stephi primo apud portesmudam deinde
 apud Bristoliam milia dampna pluerunt. et rogant p rex audient
 dimissa obsidione qui circa castrum de Mallingford fuerat illuc
 tendit sed eius post Lincoln obsedit et ita rex Robertus comes
 gloune cu pluribus milibus ad solvendum Regis obsidione venient
 qui cu palude arduam suam ptransissent acerbis disportis sic
 comes rex suos alloquitur. quid abis p solus ingit exorans ut qui
 nobis ante sum pidi primum omn pidi subeam cu dixit comes
 Robertus non est indignum quod primum iuris dignitatem deposcat tam
 ex nobilitate genis qui ex virtute roboris qua pcellit. Et mouet
 me ad bellandum regis milites et primum p p rex quo vult id
 est tentendum tunc et vincendum aut occidendum nece est em ut
 ad pcuratorem ofugit em no est aliud refugium auerentes cui quos
 et quales bellu gerit. fact em con nos comes de westen fraudis
 utisqz em multa est in corde nequicia. in ore falsitatem in ore
 pugna pcedit. et comes de abemarle datus denotat manu ignoti
 homo redotens bello infirma. Hic ubi Simon tunc punitus em
 actus sola locutione dicitur sola pmissio qui cu dixit facit. et

15

20

25

the introductory strokes of v and w turn outwards (21, 'virtute', 16, 'walensibus'); x is usually joined at the ends of the lower limbs (19, 'dixit'). The ampersand can be seen in line 11. Capitals are modestly fourished, and the common forms of abbreviation are used. A more formal Bastard style is used for the first word of the text.

Layout

Scribe A ruled in ink between prickholes. For prose passages he ruled a rectangle on the recto side only; for verse he ruled a head margin on the recto and a left-hand margin on both sides of the leaf. It is possible to distinguish rulings of different proportions, perhaps representing four distinct stages of A's work:

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| Gatherings a-b, h-m | 14.25 x 19.25 cm. |
| Gatherings c-d | 13.5 x 18.5 cm. |
| Gathering e | 13 x 18 cm. |
| Gatherings o-r | verse ruling |

B used drypoint and did not make prickholes; the dimensions vary from 13 x 18 to 13.5 x 19.5 cm. in only 24 leaves.

C used prickholes and drypoint to mark out a writing area of 13.25 x 18.25 cm. D-F did not rule lines.

Scribe A obtained a straight right-hand margin by a variety of means. He abbreviated words by using special symbols such as thorn [þ] and the ampersand, as well as contractions, suspensions, and superior letters. He divided words, usually marking the division by one or two oblique lines. He even expanded words, such as the definite article spelt thee at line endings, but rare elsewhere. B was less fond of

contractions and expansions. He sometimes used a small horizontal stroke as a line-filler, and divided words at the ends of lines without any linking mark. Ruled lines were sometimes overwritten by C, who often completely disregarded the foot ruling and was seldom concerned to produce a straight margin at the right-hand side. D's single item is cramped and irregular, and overruns the ruled lines. E's is more regular, but F's is again cramped and ragged.

Rubrication and Decoration

Apart from the flourishes of some of his letter forms, A's decoration consists of simple embellishment in blue and red, with rather more of the latter, both colours varying from pale to dark. The main use to which they are put is to accentuate headings, capitals, and important features of the text (such as names), though sometimes words and phrases of no apparent importance are picked out. Small capitals are embellished by a vertical stroke of either colour, or by filling the loops. The first word of the first heading (f.2v) is written T (red) h (blue on brown) e (brown); the heading on f.7v is all blue, except for the initial, which is red. There are several large coloured initials (ff.2r, 5v, 9r, 11r, 29v, 84r, 155r), some with simple scrolls and foliage trailing into the margin. The rubrication also provides additional punctuation in the form of oblique strokes, points, and dots above the letter y. A looped x (like an alpha) and an s-chain (both colours) are used as line-fillers. Cancellations are sometimes made in red, but the more common practice is for them to be in brown, with overruling or other embellishment in red. Paragraph marks are in red and blue, and sometimes alternate in colour, as do the brackets, whose function is to link rhyming lines

of verse, to embrace titles which run on to more than one line, and to distinguish subgroups within lists. On f.179r the motif, in brown ink, of a hand pointing, has been embellished in red. Decoration is spasmodic rather than consistent, but covers all sections of A's work. In the early stages his method was to put guidelines for the incidental decoration faintly in brown, then to add blue, then red (the order can be determined from instances of overwriting); this procedure was abandoned soon after the beginning, which implies that the present beginning was always intended to be the start of the book. At other points red ink is applied over brown alone, or independently of the other colours, or the brown is left to stand by itself. Guide letters and paragraph marks in brown ink are sometimes visible beneath the colour. A's rubrication and decoration are not found in sections of the book not written by him, so it is unlikely that he had oversight of the complete book.

B intended his single item to have a decorative initial and left a space the depth of four lines and a guide letter, but it was not filled in. Rubrication is very rudimentary, consisting of underlining, dashes of red on initials, paragraph marks, and oblique lines as supplementary punctuation. Some cancellations and erasures are outlined in red, and at one point irregular red lines have been drawn over half a page of text which has been washed out, with a hand pointing to the opposite page where the passage is rewritten. In B's two quires it seems that much less care was taken over the rubrication than over the transcription itself.

The items written by C-F have no rubrication or other decoration.

Punctuation and Capitalisation

Punctuation by scribe A is by means of points level with the bottom of the line of writing (the 'full stop') and by single or double oblique strokes. Neither is used consistently, and their function is not always clear. The point sometimes separates sentences or smaller units of sense, and may be followed by a capital letter; but at other times it is clearly accidental, the result of the scribe momentarily resting his pen. The oblique stroke is used (either immediately after a point or independently) to mark the division of sentences and other sense units, and to indicate the splitting of a word at the end of a line. Single and double strokes are used indiscriminately for this purpose. In places a single oblique stroke is used to separate two words which have been accidentally run together. Punctuation by B consists only of points and oblique strokes of the same type as A's. The point is written more firmly and more sparingly than in A's work; the oblique stroke is very faint and marks the splitting of words at line endings (except for the rubricator's oblique strokes which are mostly used to emphasise the termination of paragraphs). The point in C's work is more in line with the centre of the lower case letters, and the oblique strokes (which are very infrequent) denote sense units only (not word division, of which, as with D, E, and F, there is none). Flourishes and signs of varying shape are used at the end of some paragraphs. D's writing is devoid of punctuation beyond small points before and after numerals and after -1. In E's there is only the point, slightly diamond-shaped, of the same alignment as in C. In F's there is only the single oblique stroke.

In all cases the use of capitals is extremely random, but particularly so in A, in whose handwriting capital and lower-case letters are often indistinguishable.

Erasure, Cancellation, and Correction

Alterations are not numerous in the work of A. Erasures and cancellations, in the few instances that occur, are in the form of striking through, blocking out, and, less often, by dots beneath the word. Some erasures are in red, having been made at the rubric stage. Insertions and corrections are either marginal, interlinear, or in-line, with caret marks where necessary. There is at least one example of overwriting. In L31 two misplaced lines of verse are corrected by the use of the marginal letters a and b. B's errors are struck through, blocked out, washed out, or cancelled by dots (in which case there is interlinear correction). In one instance a dot is used as a caret (though the normal inverted v is more common), and in another there is interlinear correction with no omission mark of any sort. Alterations in C's work are few, and consist of a few instances of words lightly crossed out with in-line corrections, and a few omissions marked by carets. One word in D's single item is cancelled by dots beneath and corrected in line. E and F have no alterations. In no instance is there anything in the form of the alteration, the handwriting, or the ink to suggest supervision, annotation, or intervention by anyone other than the scribes themselves or the sixteenth-century and subsequent users of the manuscript.

Scribal Consistency and Professionalism

Scribe A was fairly consistent in his use of normal Anglicana/

Secretary script, which he handled with confidence. For passages in French the handwriting is less controlled than for passages in English. On the whole, the handwriting of the French items is more widely spaced, and has a more pronounced slant, showier initials, longer ascenders and descenders, and fewer loops. The letter forms, too, although they are not without parallel in the English passages, are more influenced by Secretary forms. The characteristic Anglicana forms are avoided -- for instance, two-compartment a in favour of headless a, 8-shaped g in favour of double-horned g, and Anglicana long-tailed r and cursive s in favour of the various other forms available. It appears from all this that A had at his disposal, besides the display script used in headings, two moderately distinct scripts the use of which was determined by the language of the subject in hand.²³

There is some variation in the ink, from light to dark brown, but the cut of the pen nib is fairly regular, being a medium thickness throughout. The care taken by the scribe varies during the course of his work (evidence of haste or tiredness is especially noticeable at the end of L14 (f.29r), where the writing sprawls across the page).²⁴ The display script used in L15 gradually degenerates, and the scheme of rubrication and decoration of the early pages, as has been mentioned, is not adhered to.

Scribe B, writing a single long item, is fairly consistent, showing signs of fatigue or distraction only at times. Both he and scribe A are more consistent than C in the size and spacing of their writing (D-F providing insufficient evidence). The average number of lines per 10 cm fluctuates from 16 to 18 in A's work, 15 to 17 in B's, and 13 to 17 in C's. On the

other hand, C's handwriting is far from amateurish, and the care taken by the scribe is apparent in the relatively small number of errors. D's contribution is cramped and ill-planned. The last three lines are larger and more widely-spaced than the rest, and the marginal heading projects awkwardly into the text. Evidently D was determined not to exceed the blank half page on f.43r, which may mean that the additions by C on f.43v had been already written. E's work compares favourably with the more cramped and hesitant writing of F, to which it is adjacent (see plate 6).

Notes to Chapter 1

1. The pages are very close to the size of a full sheet of the paper used for the Paston Letters, folded once. The size of the paper used by the Pastons is detailed in PL I, xxxiii-xxxiv. The significance of this, and the whole question of the relationship between L and the Paston Letters is discussed in Chapter 3.
2. Sigs. a, e, g, h, m partially cut; sigs. b, c, f, n wanting, possibly trimmed off.
3. Some examples are Nos. 1, 9, and 50 in the list of manuscripts in Chapter 2. See also Ivy 1958, 52-3.
4. See below, pp.223-4.
5. Several openings, especially ff.158v-159r, are uniformly darkened, as if the book has been left open for a long period in a dusty place, but there are no such discolourations at the beginnings of any of the gatherings, such as would suggest that the book had once existed in smaller parts.
6. See below, pp.4-5.
7. The table is transcribed and discussed below, pp.231-6.
8. See below, pp.227-8.
9. Sequence a is used by A.I. Doyle in his important article on Ebesham (Doyle 1957).
10. All references are to Briquet 1968.
11. Heawood 1929, 287.
12. See below, pp.112-21.
13. On the handwriting and ruling see below, this chapter; on the language and subject matter of the contributions by D, E, and F see L16, L29, and L30 in the Descriptive Index.
14. Doyle 1957, 305.
15. Ff.77 and 78, made from the sheet with the different watermark, are the centre leaves of the last quire of B's work, and would therefore have been made from the last sheet laid down before ruling and folding.
16. See below, pp. 127-8.
17. See Parkes 1969, xiv-xvi, xxii-xxiii, and pl.3.ii.

18. A's handwriting in L and elsewhere is described by Doyle (Doyle 1957, 322) as 'in Sir Hilary Jenkinson's terminology ... a small splayed set hand developed from an earlier court-hand bastard and showing several features of the latter, especially in vernacular contexts'. Dr Doyle, in a handwritten note in an updated version of his article, which he kindly supplied, particularly stresses the Secretary characteristics, describing it as 'in M. Parkes' terminology a secretary, and bastard secretary, in strict and also adapted varieties including anglicana forms'. See further ibid., 322-5.

19. Superscript e has no special significance in 'p^e'.

20. A's writing is sometimes embellished with flourishes the meaning of which, if any, is often difficult to determine. These are especially common in final d, g, n, and r. The horizontal bar through final ll and through the ascender of h falls into this same problematic category, as does the macron often found over p and elsewhere. In transcribing from the manuscript I have taken the flourish to signify -e only where there is a complete loop to suggest the head of the letter, which is the case only with g and r. The bar through -ll may also signify final e. In one instance, in L2, final e so spelled is required for the purposes of rhyme (allee: table). Only in a very small number of cases is final e written after final ll (without bar), and equally infrequently there is neither bar nor final e. Notwithstanding the evidence of the rhyme (for -e in that instance could easily have been omitted by mistake), I have followed current practice and have treated the bar through ll as an otiose stroke. Equally, I have disregarded the macron over the p of words like bisshop, though double p is regular in the plural.

21. Doyle 1957, 305 notes the 'amateurish bastard style' of the hand. For further comments on D's handwriting see below, pp.126-7.

22. For further comment on this see below, p.127.

23. On the ability of scribes to write in a variety of styles see Parkes 1969, xxiv-xxv and pl. 22. Scribe A's use of different style for different languages is also seen elsewhere (see Doyle 1957, 313).

24. In the head margin of f.48v is the word Jhe, and in the head margin of f.84v is the symbol xp (faint), both in the hand of Scribe A. These may mark the beginning or end of sessions of work.

CHAPTER TWO

RELATED MANUSCRIPTS AND THE GENESIS
OF THE GRETE BOKE

A bibliographical description of L has now been given, and a full description of the contents follows in the Descriptive Index.¹ But in discussing the genesis of the book and the relationship to other manuscripts it may be convenient at this point to give a concise list of contents.² The items are in English unless otherwise stated.

- L1. ff.2r-5v. A description of the order of service for the coronation of kings and queens of England, with a list of the principal officers. Hand A.
- L2. ff.5v-6v. A 59-line poem describing the coronation procession and banquet of Henry VI, 1429. Hand A.
- L3. ff.6v-7r. The courses at the coronation banquet of Henry VI, with three stanzas by Lydgate which were part of the 'sootiltees' on that occasion. Hand A.
- L4. ff.7v-9r. A description of the form of ceremony for creating Knights of the Bath. Hand A.
- L5. f.9r-9v. A description of the armour and equipment needed for foot combat. Hand A.
- L6. ff.9v-10v. Instructions for organising 'jousts of peace'. Hand A.
- L7. ff.11r-15r. Regulations for trial by battle in the Court of Chivalry, issued in the name of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, Constable of England in the reign of Richard II. Hand A.

- L8. f.15r-15v. The challenge of Philippe de Boyle, a knight of Aragon, containing five articles for combat on horse and on foot, with a note that the challenge was successfully undertaken in Smithfield before Henry VI on 30 January 1442 by John Astley, Esquire. Hand A.
- L9. ff.15v-16r. The challenge of Piers de Masse, or Massy, a French squire, to the English squire John Astley, containing four articles for a joust, with a note that the combat took place before Charles VII in Paris, 29 August 1438, when Astley struck his opponent through the head. Hand A.
- L10. ff.16r-17v. An account of the feat of arms performed by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, against three French knights in Guines, near Calais, January 1415. Hand A.
- L11. ff.18r-22v. Documents relating to a proposed feat of arms between Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, challenger, and Antoine, Grand Bastard of Burgundy, answerer, dated April and May 1465. Hand A.
- L12. ff.22v-24v. The challenge of Louis de Brutallis, or Bretailles, a Gascon squire of Lord Scales, and the letter of acceptance by Jean de Chassa, chamberlain of the Duke of Burgundy, relating to a feat of arms to be performed in Smithfield 13 and 14 June 1467. French. Hand A.
- L13. f.25r-25v. The challenge of Phillipe de Bouton, dated 1 May 1467, relating to a combat which took place in Smithfield 15 June 1467. French. Hand A.
- L14. ff.26r-29r. The challenge of Antoine, Bastard of Burgundy, calling himself Le Chevalier à L'Arbre d'Or, to the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or, which took place in Bruges in July 1468 following the marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. French. Hand A.

- L15. ff.29v-43r. A compilation of documents relating to the combat in Smithfield on 11 and 12 June 1467 between Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, and Antoine, Bastard of Burgundy. Hand A.
- L16. f.43r. The Statute of Arms, passed sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century to regulate the use of arms at tournaments. French. Hand D.
- L17. ff.43v-44r. Chapters for a feat of arms on horseback and on foot, issued by Guillaume de Boursset, Esquire. French. Hand C.
- L18. ff.44r-46r. The proclamation of a tourney in Bruges in which de Jonvelle led the French party and de Commines the Flemish, together with a list of prizewinners, the main participants, the ladies and officers of arms present, and a note of the fees of kings of arms and heralds. French. Hand C.
- L19. ff.46v-47r. The proclamation of jousts over a period of three days in Smithfield, probably in October 1390. French. Hand C.
- L20. f.47v. An ordinance of Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, Constable of England, regulating the fees of the officers of arms, issued at Caen and dated 3 September 1408 [should be 1417]. French. Hand C.
- L21. ff.48r-52r. An account of a joust held in Tours before Charles VII on 5 February 1446 between John Chalons, an Englishman, and Louis de Beul, a Frenchman, in the course of which de Buel was killed. French. Hand A.
- L22. ff.52r-56v. The fictional background of a pas d'armes in the form of a request by a lady seeking a champion against a powerful neighbour, the pas to be held by three Burgundians on 1 October 1463 before the Duke of Burgundy or his

representative. French. Hand A.

[ff.56v-57v. A later table of contents. ff.58r-59v.

Blank.]

- L23. ff.60r-82v. A detailed account of the Pas du Perron Fée, held by Philippe de Lalaing in Bruges from 28 April to 17 May 1463 before Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. French. Hand B.
[f.83r-83v. Blank.]
- L24. ff.84r-138r. A translation into English prose of the Epitoma Rei Militaris of Flavius Vegetius Renatus. Hand A.
- L25. ff.138r-142r. A rutter, or pilot book, containing navigational instructions for sailing in the coastal waters of the British Isles, France, and Spain. Hand A.
- L26. ff.144r-150r. Ordinances of war made by Henry V at Mantes, near Paris, in June or July 1419. Hand C.
- L27. ff.150r-152r. Ordinances of war made by Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury, during his campaigns in France, c.1425. Hand C.
- L28. ff.152v-153v. A copy of a summons of surrender issued by Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury, at the siege of Le Mans in 1425. French. Hand C.
- L29. ff.153v-154r. A copy of the letter from Lucius Hiberus to King Arthur summoning him to appear in Rome to account for his failure to pay tribute, from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae, Book IX, Chapter 15. Latin. Hand E.
- L30. f.154r-154v. A passage from Book VII, Chapter 18, of Ranulf Higden's Polychronicon, containing two speeches of exhortation in war. Latin. Hand F.

L31. ff.155r-199v. The Book of Governance of Kings and Princes, by John Lydgate and Benedict Burgh, also called Secrets of Old Philosophers and The Book of All Good Thewes, being a verse adaptation of the pseudo-Aristotelian Secretum Secretorum. Hand A.

[ff.200r-202v. Originally blank, f.200v now containing an unfinished item in a sixteenth-century hand.]

The 31 distinct items in L are found singly, or, more interestingly, in groups, in a number of other manuscripts, a list of which is now given.³ The list is full, but I cannot claim that it is completely exhaustive. Further copies of the Statute of Arms (L16) could, I feel sure, have been tracked down, but the value of doing so would have been minimal. The manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia (L29) and Higden's Polychronicon (L30) are not listed here because they are disproportionately numerous and because adequate lists may be consulted in publications mentioned in the Index. A table is used as the most concise and clear form in which to present the information. In it the items in L are numbered L1 to L31, and are listed on the left of the page. The other manuscripts are numbered, and are identified and described in the pages which follow the table. In general I have included manuscripts up to the end of the sixteenth century, but there seems little point in having a fixed cut-off date, and some interesting manuscripts of the seventeenth century are also included.

L1

L2

L3

L4

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L6

L7 25r

L8

L9

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L11

L12

L13 11r

L14 12r

L15

L16 17r 112v 37r 53v 225v 113v

L17 17r

L18

L19

L20 8v

L21 9r

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L23

L24

1r

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L31

188v 52r 53r

19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

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| L1 | | | 153r | 60r | | | | |
| L2 | | | | | | | | |
| L3 | | | | | | | | 176v |
| L4 | | | | | | | | |
| L5 | | | | | | | | |
| L6 | | | | | | | | |
| L7 | | | | | | | 17v | |
| L8 | | | | | | | | |
| L9 | | | | | | | | |
| L10 | | | | | | | | |
| L11 | | | | | | | | |
| L12 | | | | | | | | |
| L13 | | | | | | | | |
| L14 | | | | | | | | |
| L15 | | | | | | | | |
| L16 | | 59v | | | | | | |
| L17 | | | | | | | | |
| L18 | | | | | | | | |
| L19 | | | | | | | | |
| L20 | | | | | | 210v | | |
| L21 | | | | | | | | |
| L22 | | | | | | | | |
| L23 | | | | | | | | |
| L24 | | | 1r | | | | | |
| L25 | | | | | | | | |
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| L28 | | | | | | | | |
| L29 | | | | | | | | |
| L30 | | | | | | | | |
| L31 | 1r | | | | | | 90r | |

| | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 |
|-----|----|----|------|-----|----|-----|----|----|-----|
| L1 | | | 10r | 21r | | | | | |
| L2 | | | | | | | | | |
| L3 | | | 46r | | | | | | |
| L4 | | | | | | | | | |
| L5 | | | | | | | | | |
| L6 | | | | | | | | | |
| L7 | | | | | | 78v | 9v | | |
| L8 | | | | | | | | | |
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| L17 | | | | | | | | | |
| L18 | | | | | | | | | 28v |
| L19 | | | | | | | | | |
| L20 | | | | | | | | | 60v |
| L21 | | | | | | | | | |
| L22 | | | | | | | | | |
| L23 | | | | | | | | | |
| L24 | 4r | | | | | 49r | | | |
| L25 | | | | | | | | | |
| L26 | | | | | | | | | |
| L27 | | | 201r | | | | | | |
| L28 | | | | | | | | | |
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| L31 | | | | | | 1r | | | |



37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45

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| L1 | | | 69r | | | | | |
| L2 | | | | | | | | |
| L3 | | | | | | | | 129v |
| L4 | | | | | | | | |
| L5 | | 39r | | | | | | |
| L6 | | 41r | | | | | | |
| L7 | | | 81r | | | 63v | | |
| L8 | | | 84v | | | | | |
| L9 | | | 85r | | | | | |
| L10 | | | 85v | | | | | |
| L11 | | | 87r | | | | | |
| L12 | | | | | | | | |
| L13 | | | | | | | | |
| L14 | | | | | | | | |
| L15 | | | 91r | | | | | |
| L16 | | | | | | | 158v | 101v |
| L17 | | | | | | | | |
| L18 | | | | | | | | |
| L19 | | | | | | | | |
| L20 | | | | 130r | | | | |
| L21 | | | | | | | | |
| L22 | | | | | | | | |
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| L24 | | | | | | | | |
| L25 | | | | | | | | |
| L26 | | 66r | 102v | | 33v | | | |
| L27 | | | 107r | | | | | |
| L28 | | | | | | | | |
| L29 | | | | | | | | |
| L30 | | | | | | | | |
| L31 | 16r | | | | | | | |

| | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 |
|-----|------|-----|----|-----|----|-----|-----|------|------|
| L1 | | | | | | | | 245r | |
| L2 | | | | | | | | | |
| L3 | | | | | | | | 135r | |
| L4 | | | | | | | | | |
| L5 | | | | | | | | | |
| L6 | | | | | | | | | |
| L7 | | | | | | | 83r | | 258r |
| L8 | | | | | | | | | |
| L9 | | | | | | | | | |
| L10 | | | | | | | | | |
| L11 | | | | | | | | | |
| L12 | | 69r | | | | | | | |
| L13 | | 1r | | | | | | | |
| L14 | | 2r | | | | | | | |
| L15 | | | | | | | | | |
| L16 | | 5r | | | | | | | |
| L17 | | 5v | | | | | | | |
| L18 | | 6r | | | | | | | |
| L19 | | 8r | | | | | | | |
| L20 | | 8v | | | | 87v | | | |
| L21 | | 9r | | | | | | | |
| L22 | | 12r | | | | | | | |
| L23 | | 16r | | | | | | | |
| L24 | | | | | | | | | |
| L25 | | | | | | | | | |
| L26 | 509r | | | | | | | | |
| L27 | 516v | | | | | | | | |
| L28 | | | | | | | | | |
| L29 | | | | | | | | | |
| L30 | | | | | | | | | |
| L31 | | | 8v | 97r | 1r | | | | |

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221v

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27 r

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L10

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93r

L17

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183r

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182r

2r

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238v

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255r 1r

80r

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| L1 | | | | | | | | 16r | |
| L2 | | | | | | | | 14r | |
| L3 | | | | | | | | 15r | |
| L4 | | | | | | | | & 24r | |
| | | | | | | | | 195v | |
| L5 | | | | | | | | 122v | |
| L6 | | | | | | | | 3r | |
| L7 | | | | | | | | 124r | |
| L8 | | | | | | | | 278r | |
| L9 | | | | | | | | 276r | |
| L10 | | | | | | | | | |
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| L18 | | | | | | 57r | | | |
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| L22 | | | | | | | | | |
| L23 | | | | | | | 3r | | |
| L24 | | | | | | | | 25r | |
| L25 | | | | | | | | 131r | |
| L26 | | | | | | | | | |
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| L30 | | | | | | | | | |
| L31 | 104r | 12r | 1r | 49r | 1r | | | 139r | 1r |

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L22

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55r

222r

L24

1r

L25

L26

317r

300r

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322v

L28

324v

L29

L30

L31

1. BL MS Cotton Julius B i

Ff. ii + 100 + ii; paper and vellum; 28.75 x 21 cm.
 Several fifteenth-century hands; slight rubrication.
 Contains a London chronicle which ends with the death of
 Edward IV. Includes a version of L3, ff.79r-80r.
 Ref. British Museum 1802; Kingsford 1905, xiii.

2. BL MS Cotton Tiberius E viii

Ff. vii + 281 + iv; paper; 39 x 25.5 cm. Damaged in the
 fire of 1731. Several hands of the early sixteenth century.
 Contains an heraldic miscellany, mainly relating to
 coronation procedure; coloured drawings of pennons and
 escutcheons. Ff.32r-34v (pencil), a version of L1, imperfect
 at the end. Other contents include memoranda on the principal
 officers on the day of the coronation, ff.23r and 152r;
 creating Knights of the Bath, French (cf. L4), f.68r;
 ordinances governing heralds, made by Thomas of Lancaster,
 f.136r; and an abbreviated version of L7, ff.149r-150v.
 Ref: British Museum 1802.

3. BL MS Cotton Nero C ix

Ff. ii + 232 + iii; vellum; 32.5 x 22.5 cm. Modern binding.
 Some sections with illuminated borders and initials. Some
 rubrics. Fifteenth/sixteenth century. An heraldic miscellany
 containing documents and copies of documents, in a variety
 of hands. Ff.172r-173v, a version of L3, copied from a
 chronicle, written out as prose. Also includes the Forma et
Modus (cf. L1), f.165r; 'The maner of makynge of knyghtes ...
 of the bathe', in English, (cf. L4), f.168v; an account of
 the marriage of Margaret of York and the Duke of Burgundy,
 f.173r. Ref: British Museum 1802.

4. BL MS Cotton Nero D ii

Ff. ii + 315 + iii; vellum; 35 x 27 cm. A variety of late fifteenth-century hands. Some rubrication and border decoration. An heraldic miscellany, including on f.258r (pencil) a version of L18, adapted, as in MSS 36 and 69, to relate to the provinces of Clarence and Norroy. Other material includes statutes of the Order of the Garter, f.252r; a treatise on the foundation of the office of heralds, f.254v; 'les droiz and largescs' of kings of arms, f.256v; a version of L7 in French, with a drawing of a duel similar to that of MS 56, f.257r; various other notes concerning fees, f.258v; 'lordonnance & maniere de creer cheualiers du baing' (cf. L4), f.259r; the tournament for Princess Blanche, f.261r. Refs: British Museum 1802; Anglo 1962, 189.

5. BL MS Cotton Vitellius A xvi

Ff. iii + 213 + iii; paper; 21.5 x 14.5 cm. Modern binding. No decoration. Contents: several chronicles of London, in several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hands, including a version of L3, ff.91r-92v, with some gaps in the text. Refs: British Museum 1802; Kingsford 1905, xv-xviii.

6. BL MS Cotton Vitellius F ix

Ff. iii + 251 + iv; paper. Page sizes affected by the fire of 1731. Modern binding. Simple rubrics. Several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hands. Contains a chronicle of London, including a version of L3, ff.65v-68v, dated by the contents as later than 1439. Refs: British Museum 1802; Kingsford 1905, xiii-xiv.

7. BL MS Cotton Vespasian B vii

Ff. i + 110 + i; vellum; 25 x 17 cm. Fifteenth century. Early binding. No decoration. Contents: Statutes and other legal items, including Officium Mariscalli Angliae. A version of L16 is on ff.89v-90r. Ref: British Museum 1802.

8. BL MS Cotton Faustina E i

Ff. v + 292 + v; vellum and paper; 36.5 x 23.5 cm. (maximum). Some illustrations and drawings of coats of arms; otherwise little decoration. A miscellaneous heraldic collection of documents and copies of documents, in hands of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. F.197r-197v, a version of L20, dated 13 September 1417, in a sixteenth-century hand. Ref: British Museum 1802.

9. BL MS Harley 48

Ff. ii + 85 + iii; paper (with vellum first leaf); 28.5 x 20.5 cm. Modern binding. Simple rubrication in the first section only. An heraldic and ceremonial miscellany in French, imperfect at the beginning, in a number of fifteenth/sixteenth-century hands. The section containing material most relevant to L is undecorated, in a hand of the late fifteenth century, and is signed several times 'Chestre le herault'. Bentley 1831, 175 describes this as the hand of Thomas Whiting, Chester, living 1494. This section contains on ff.53v-77v (pencil), a version of L23, beginning 'Cy commence les chapistres de mesire

Philippe de la Laing'. In the same hand is an account of the burial of Richard, Duke of York, with a note on the fees of the officers of arms, f.78r, and the Duke of York's Epitaph, f.81v. This is followed by a section in an early sixteenth-century hand containing a version of L11 in French, ff.82v-84v. Ref: British Museum 1808-12, I.

10. BL MS Harley 69

Ff. ii + 65 + ii, paper, 28.5 x 21.5 cm. Modern binding. Includes ten ink sketches, mostly of feats of arms; pencil and ink sketches of escutcheons. Contains copies of heraldic material in several hands of the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth. Seems to have been collected by or for Ralph Starkey (d.1626), whose name, dated 1617, appears on f.1r (cf. MS 51). The MS is entitled 'The Booke of Certaine Triumphes'. The contents include versions of L7, L13, L14, L16, L17, L20, and L21. In view of the obvious links with L, this manuscript is discussed separately and at length at the end of the present list. Refs: British Museum 1808-12, I; Cripps-Day 1918, xliii-lxiii; Anglo 1962, 192.

11. BL MS Harley 748

Ff. ii + 202 + iii; vellum; 25.5 x 17 cm. Modern binding. Decorated borders and initials. Text decorated in red and blue. Two hands, the main one being a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century legal hand. A collection of statutes,

with a version of L16 on ff.112v-113r. Ref: British Museum 1808-12, I.

12. BL MS Harley 858

Ff. iii + 191 + iv; vellum; 13 x 19 cm. Modern binding. Decorated borders and initials; illuminated first initials of major sections. The single main hand is a legal hand of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. A collection of statutes, with a version of L16 on f.37r. Ref: British Museum 1808-12, I.

13. BL MS Harley 869

Ff. iv + 292 + iv; vellum; 28 x 18.5 cm. Modern binding. Illuminated main initials and decorated borders. One fourteenth- or fifteenth-century hand, with additions and drawings by others. A collection of statutes, including a version of L16 on ff.53v-54r. Ref: British Museum 1808-12, I.

14. BL MS Harley 936

Ff. iv + 273 + iv; vellum; 9 x 6.3 cm. Modern binding. Decorated capitals and borders in red and blue. A small volume of statutes, probably for personal use, in a single, current, fifteenth-century hand. Ff.225v-229r, a version of L16. Ref: British Museum 1808-12, I.

15. BL MS Harley 1208

Ff. ii + 277 + ii; vellum; 18.5 x 12 cm. Modern binding.

Decorated initials and borders in red and blue. A single legal hand of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. A collection of statutes, with a version of L16 on ff.113v-114v. Ref: British Museum 1808-12, I.

16. BL MS Harley 2251

Ff. iii + 293 + iv; paper; 29.5 x 21.5 cm. Modern binding. Simple embellishment in red and blue of initials and paragraph marks. Several late fifteenth-century hands. A volume of poems, mainly by Lydgate, with notes attributed to John Stow. The MS appears from notes on ff.102v and 227v to have been copied in part from a collection made by John Shirley (d.1456). Now imperfect. Ff.188v-224r, a version of L31, without title, and ending with the words 'ffor werre shuld be laste of thy werkis' (line 2,464), as in MSS 25, 35. Ref: British Museum 1808-12, II; Steele 1894, xv.

17. BL MS Harley 4826

Ff. iii + 148 + v; vellum and paper; 30 x 21.5 cm. Modern binding. Finely illuminated initials and borders. Pictures in text and within initials; presentation picture. Decoration uniform throughout the volume. Main text in a single, late fifteenth-century hand. The paper leaves are insertions and carry notes in a seventeenth-century hand. Contains poems by Lydgate and Hoccleve, with a version of L31, ff.52r-81r. Ref: British Museum 1808-12, III; Steele 1894, xiv.

18. BL MS Sloane 2027

Ff. iii + 188 + iv; paper; 29.5 x 20 cm. Watermark cf. Briquet 1968, No.9481 (1461). Poor condition, especially at the beginning. Some rudimentary border decoration in yellow, green, and red. Simple rubrication as far as f.92. Single hand of the fifteenth century. Ff.1r-36v, a version of L24, imperfect at the beginning, and ending in the middle of Book IV, Chapter 24; ff.37r-52v, John Russell's Boke of Kervyng and Nortur; ff.53r-92v, a version of L31; ff.96v-188r, Robert of Gloucester and fragments of other chronicles. Refs: British Museum n.d.; Steele 1894, xv; Fallwell 1973, 43.

19. BL MS Sloane 2464

Ff. ii + 65 + ii; vellum; 26 x 18.5 (maximum). Illuminated initials and borders; many rubrics. Fifteenth century. Sole contents: a version of L31, printed from this MS in Steele 1894. Refs: British Museum n.d.; Steele 1894, xiv.

20. BL MS Royal 10 A v

Ff. ii + 179 + iii; vellum; 23.5 x 17.5 cm. Initials flourished in red and blue at the beginning only. Several fourteenth- or fifteenth-century hands. Contains statutes to 27 Edward I, charters of liberties, legal tracts, etc., including a version of L16, f.59v. Ref: Warner and Gilson 1921.

21. BL MS Royal 18 A xii

Ff. vi + 123 + vi; vellum; 24.25 x 15.5 cm. A sumptuous manuscript of which the sole contents are a version of L24. Heavily decorated borders and initials, including illuminated paragraph marks; Latin chapter headings in red. The first initial incorporates the royal arms of Richard III, 1483-5. Ref: Warner and Gilson 1921; Fallwell 1973, 45.

22. BL MS Lansdowne 254

Ff. ii + 551 + ii; paper; 31 x 20.5 cm. (this item). Standard Lansdowne binding. No decoration. Many hands of the sixteenth to the late seventeenth century. A large volume of miscellaneous collected material, including some original documents relating to English history, law, politics, and heraldry. Ff.153r-158r (pencil), a version of L1, written in a hasty, sixteenth-century secretary hand. This follows 'The forme and maner of keping of the parleament of Englande'. Ref: British Museum 1819.

23. BL MS Lansdowne 260

Ff. iv + 382 + iv; paper; 30.75 x 20 cm. Standard Lansdowne binding. Ink sketches of shields of arms blazoned. A volume of miscellaneous heraldic material collected in the latter part of the sixteenth century (the British Museum Catalogue suggests the compiler was William Shower, Norroy). English, French, and Latin. Ff.60r-66r, a version of L1 in a late sixteenth-century

hand. Ref: British Museum 1819.

24. BL MS Lansdowne 285

The continuation of the Grete Boke, ff.202-223, contains items in several hands of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, including on f.210v a version of L20.

Ref: British Museum 1819; see also Chapter 5 below.

25. BL MS Arundel 59

Ff. ii + 130 + iii; paper; 28.5 x 20 cm. At least two late fifteenth-century hands, but simple decoration consistent throughout (mainly loop-filling etc. in red). Decorative initials at major section openings, some not filled in. Formerly belonged to T. Wall, Windsor Herald, whose arms are on f.1r, and afterwards to Sir Robert Cotton. Contains Hoccleve's De Regimine Principum, ff.1r-89v; a version of L31, ending 'ffor werre shuld be last of thy werkis. Explicit Regimine Principum' (i.e. at line 2,464, as in MSS 16, 35), ff.90r-130v. Ref: British Museum 1834; Steele 1894, xiv-xv.

26. BL MS Stowe 583

Ff. 41; paper. Late sixteenth century. Illustrated with several drawings in ink. An heraldic collection containing: a description of the christening of Prince Edward, 1537, f.4r; the christening of Prince Arthur, 1486, f.8r; a version of L7, with accompanying pen-and-ink drawing, f.17v; description of the funeral of Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII, 1503, f.27r. Ref: British Museum 1895-6, I.

27. BL MS Egerton 1995

Ff. iv + 223 + iv; paper; 28 x 20.5 cm. Modern binding. Simple rubrics; some initials in red. Several hands. A fifteenth-century commonplace book, the contents of which include: 'The Seven Sages of Rome', ff.3r-54v; various short pieces in prose and verse, ff.55r-86v; John Page's 'Siege of Rouen', ff.87r-109v; verses by Lydgate, ff.110r-112v; Gregory's Chronicle ff.113r-222v, ending abruptly at 1470. The last item includes a version of L3, ff.176v-177v. Refs: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1854-75; Gairdner 1876, i-iii; Kingsford 1905, xi-xiii; Kingsford 1913, 96-8.

28. BL MS Additional 4713

Ff. iii + 96 + ii; paper and vellum; 21 x 14.5 cm. Modern binding. Illuminated capitals and border at the beginning; thereafter simple decoration in red and blue. Chapter headings, some names, and colophon in red. The style of handwriting and decoration is almost identical with that of William Ebesham (Hand A in L).⁴ Contains the work of a single scribe: ff.4r-93r, a version of L24. Since this MS is not noted in Fallwell's edition of Vegetius, I here give the beginning and end of the text: Inc. 'Here begynneth a short tretis the which Vegicius that was the worshupfulle Erle Benate sonne wrote vnto themperour of Rome the which tretis telleth holeche of knyghthode and of chyualri'

Expl. 'The turnyng of this boke into english was written & ended in the vigill of all hallowes the yere of our lord god A. M. CCCC and viij. and the tenthe yere of kyng henry the fourth.' Ref: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1756-82.

29. BL MS Additional 5758

Ff. 322; paper; 33 x 21 cm. Many hands, from the early sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. A volume of copies of miscellaneous constitutional documents relating to precedence of the nobility in parliament, processions, heraldic and military affairs. Contains on ff.201r-219r (pencil) a version of L27, in a seventeenth-century hand, incorrectly entitled 'Other ordinances made by the E. of Shrewsburie & of Pearche Lord of Mounthermer at his seiges in mayne & other places'. The supposed earl is identified in the catalogue as John Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury. The same mistake is in MS 39. Despite the title, there is no sign of L26. At the beginning of the volume is an imperfect list of contents in the hand of John Anstis, Garter, to whom it once belonged. Ref: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1783-1835 (index only).

30. BL MS Additional 6113

Ff. iv + 210 + ii; paper; 31 x 20.25 cm. Modern binding. A large compilation of some 170 separate items, being the collections of certain heralds (probably Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, and William Colborne, York, etc.) in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and

Elizabeth I. The material relates to christenings, coronations, creations of royal and noble personages, and other ceremonial and heraldic items, dating from the early fifteenth century to the late sixteenth. Includes: ff.10r-17r (pencil), a version of L1. (Anstis, to whom this volume once belonged, has written in the margin: 'Translation of a Latin tract in W.Y. in Off. Arm. p.1.');

ff.46r-47r, a version of L3 entitled 'Thordre of the service of the courses served at the crownacion of the King Henry the vjte', with the continuation 'and that yere there was a parlament ...' which shows it to have been copied from a chronicle; ff.93r-101r, a description of the marriage of Margaret of York and the Duke of Burgundy. The version of L1 is collated with L in Dillon 1900, 47-55. Ref: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1785-1835 (index only).

31. BL MS Additional 10106

Ff. ii + 81 + i; vellum and paper; 14.75 x 10 cm. Original blind-stamped binding with 'carrot' or 'lily' tool of a binder employed by Caxton, found on books dated c.1477-1504. J.B. Oldham, in a note in the manuscript, suggests that in view of the Westminster connections of this MS the binding may be attributed to the same shop. The scribe was William Ebesham, and the simple decoration is closely akin to his portions of L. Ff.21r-30v, a version of L1, which I have compared with that item in L in the discussion which follows this list. Other texts include: Cronica de regibus Anglie

ff.3r-20v; De dedicatione ecclesie beati Petri Westmonasterii, in Latin, ff.31r-33r; Privilegia Westmonasterii, in English, ff.33r-39v; various moral works, in English, ff.39v-49r; Devote meditaciones de beneficiis dei, in Latin, ff.50r-78r; various short pieces in the remaining section and on the endleaves.
 Refs: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1836-40; Doyle 1957, 313-5.

32. BL MS Additional 14408

Ff. iv + 73 + iv; paper with 8 vellum fragments inserted before end flyleaves; 27 x 19 cm. Modern binding.
 Watermarks cf. Briquet 1968, Nos. 12996 (1446) and 3037 (1441-2). Simple rubrication. Written in a single hand of the late fifteenth century. Miscellaneous contents: ff.1r-48v, a version of L31, beginning imperfectly at line 6; ff.49r-66r, Book I of a version of L24, imperfect at both ends; ff.66v-73r, 'The Boke of Saynt Isodre, to enforme man howe he schulde flee vices and folowe vertues'. Refs: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1841-5; Fallwell 1973, 45-6.

33. BL MS Additional 25247

Ff. iv + 318 + iv; paper; 31 x 21 cm. Modern binding.
 No decoration. Several seventeenth-century hands.
 Collections relating to the court and office of the Earl Marshal, in English, Latin, and French. Contents include: extracts from records; lists of the Marshals; the manner of exercising the office at coronations; treatises

on duels; papers concerning heralds. Ff. 78v-83v, a version of L7. Ref: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1854-75.

34. BL MS Additional 33735

Ff. ii + 13 + xvii; paper; 30.5 x 20 cm. Modern binding. Early seventeenth century. Contains: Tiptoft's rules for jousting, 1466, f.2v; proclamation and chapters for the assault and defence of a 'Castle called Loyall', f.4v; challenge of six Gentlemen to 'justes Royall and turney' on 12 November (year not given), f.5v; challenge for a fight on foot, 4 Dec. 1554, f.6v; forms of proclamation at the giving of prizes after a tourney, f.8r; fees of the officers of arms, f.8r; a version of L7, with two drawings, f.9v. Anglo 1962, 192-3 asserts the dependence of this MS on MS 42, and cites a note on f.2r of this MS which states that it once belonged to one William Fairfax to whom it was given 'by one that made bould to take it forth of the office of Armes in London'. Anglo adds: 'with the exception of one item ...it would seem that the transcriber, whose interests were entirely devoted to the Tournament, made bold to take it forth from Manuscript M.6 [MS 42 in the present list] - a task which he accomplished rather ungracefully'. However, as far as the drawings are concerned, this MS is superior to MS 10, which also derives from MS 42, either directly or via this MS. Refs: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1888-93; Anglo 1962, 192-3.

35. BL MS Additional 34360

Ff. ii + 116 + iii; paper; 26.75 x 19.75 cm. Late fifteenth century. Modern binding. Embellishment in red of the initial letter of each line. Several hands, or one hand with extreme variations. A collection of English poems, chiefly by Lydgate, with a few by, or attributed to, Chaucer, and three roundels in French. Notes and titles in the hand of John Stow. Ff.78r-116r, a version of L31, untitled and ending (as in MSS 16, 25): 'ffor werre shuld be last of thy werkis. Explicit Regimine Principum' (i.e. at line 2,464). Ref: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1888-93.

36. BL MS Additional 34801

Ff. ii + 61 + ii; vellum; 21.6 x 15.3 cm. Illuminated initials and borders. The first initial contains the arms of Brotherton (not Mowbray, as stated in the printed catalogue). Fifteenth century, in a variety of hands. Catalogue states: 'On the fly-leaf at the end (f.61) is the name of Anthony Widville, Earl of Rivers (1469-83), perhaps as owner'. Unfortunately this has now been obliterated by injudicious application of some reagent. By ultra-violet light I was just able to pick out 'Anton ... lle'. Bound in wooden boards covered with leather, blind stamped with panel and bands, the latter having a dragon and gryphon and the binders' cyphers 'G.W.' and 'I.G.' (c.1520); rebacked. The MS is a collection concerning the office of Earl Marshal and the Admiralty, in French (except ff.58v-60r, English).

The most relevant items are: ff.14v-18v (pencil), a corrupt version of L7, in French; ff.28v-29v, a version of L18, adapted to relate to the provinces of Clarence and Norroy (cf. MSS 4, 69); ff.30r-35v, lordonnanse for creating Knights of the Bath, in French (cf. L4); f.60v, in a later hand, a version of L20, dated 3 September, with the year 1417 added in a still later hand. Other items include: treatise on the foundation of the office of arms by Julius Caesar, f.6r; statutes of the Order of the Garter, f.19r; fantastic forms of challenge for jousts, f.36r; the maritime Laws of Olleron, f.43r; rules for the Lord Admiral, ff.51r and 55v; table of the Admiralty Clerk's fees, f.55r; the manner of burying great personages, f.58v. Refs: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1894-9; Anglo 1962, 189.

37. BL MS Additional 39922

A single leaf, bound as f.16 of this compilation of miscellaneous letters, papers, and fragments of manuscripts. Vellum; 22.5 x 15.5 cm. Fifteenth century. Richly illuminated initials and borders. This and f.17 were apparently used as covers of manorial accounts in East Suffolk. Contains a fragment of a version of L31, lines 1,268-1,309. Ref: British Museum 1843-, MSS acquired 1916-20.

38. BL MS Additional 46354

Ff. i + 208 + ii; paper; average page size 27 x 20 cm. Modern binding. The fourth volume of Wriothesley's

Heraldic Collection (the others are MSS Add. 45131-45133). This volume is called also 'Writhe's Book of Knights'. The collection was apparently made by John Writhe, Garter 1478-1504, and his son Sir Thomas Wriothsesley, Garter 1505-34, both early owners of L. Some of the texts in this MS may therefore derive directly from L. Contents include: ff.2v-29r, various items, apparently in the hand of John Writhe; ff.37r-38r, charges belonging to the creation of Knights of the Bath (cf. L4); ff.39r-40v, a version of L5; ff.41r, the first part of a version of L6, beginning 'Abillementes for Justis of pes ...' and ending '... all in one sute'; ff.41v-50v, an account of the ceremonial at the marriage of Margaret of York and the Duke of Burgundy; ff.57r-58v, Tiptoft's rules for jousts; f.58v, a note on 'justus of pes' held in Smithfield 6 July 1466, with copies of some of the score cheques, including one for 'Lewis de bretail', who scored only 1 (cf. L12); ff.66r-67r, 'Proclamation for the host & ordynances', being a shortened version of L26, beginning: 'The King our souvereigne lorde strongly cryith(?) and comandeth that no maner of mane ...' This version was perhaps adapted to be 'cried in the host' (cf. L26). Ref: British Library n.d.

39. College of Arms MS L 5

Ff. v + 142 + ii; paper; 29.5 x 20.5 cm. Now bound

with MSS L 6 and L 8. No decoration. Several mostly careful hands of the late sixteenth century. A miscellaneous compilation concerning knighthood, heraldry, ceremonial, the officers of arms, and the foundation of the office. Mainly in French, but also some Latin and English. The section most relevant to L contains watermarks similar to Briquet 1968, Nos. 1846 (1582) and (less closely) 12573 (1547). Includes versions of L1, L7-11, L15, L26-27, in that order. In view of the obvious links with L this MS is discussed more fully at the end of the present list. Ref: Steer n.d.

40. College of Arms MS L 6

Ff. 152 + ii; paper; 29.5 x 20.5 cm. Now bound with MSS L 5 and L 8. Main text in one hand of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. An heraldic collection which includes a version of L20 under the title 'Coppie des lettres qui furent garanties aux officiers darmes par thomas de lancastre duc de clarans' and dated 13 September 1417, f.130r-130v. Also contains 'Armes faictes a oultrance', in French (cf. L7), f.138r. Ref: Steer n.d.

41. College of Arms MS L 8

Ff. ii + 99 + xiv; paper; 29 x 19.5 cm. Now bound with MSS L 5 and L 6. Sixteenth century. Genealogies and other notes and articles of heraldic interest, mainly in French. Ff.33v-38r, a version of L26,

beginning 'Statutez and ordinaunces to be keped in tyme of werre. ffyrst all maner off men off what condition or estate they be off shalbe obeçant to our lord the king' (i.e. the version closely related to L26 which is printed in Twiss 1871-6, I, 282-.95). Ref: Steer n.d.

42. College of Arms MS M 6a

Ff. 120; paper; 38 x 26.5 cm. Lavishly illustrated with drawings in ink. A book of ceremonies, begun by Thomas Hawley, Clarenceux King of Arms (1536-.57), and continued under Queen Elizabeth. It belonged to the College of Arms in 1618 when Sampson Lennard described it in his catalogue as 'a great Book in fol: covered in past of the funerall of Queene Jane wife to H.8 & also of the proceedings of Queene Elizab. to her coronacion, & also of the christening of Edw: 6, with other excellent presidents of funeralls & Christnings.' Ff.63v-72r, a version of L7, preceded by a pen-and-ink drawing of Richard II being presented with the ordinances by the author, the Duke of Gloucester. The same picture is in MSS 10 and 34, which seem to derive from this MS (see comments on MS 34 above). Other items include: rules for jousts, by John Tiptoft, f.59r, illustrated; 'Fees apperteyning to the officers of armes at all those triumphes aforesaide', f.61r. Refs: College of Arms 1936, No.86 and pls.XIII-XIV; Anglo 1962, 192.

43. Corporation of London, Records Office:
'Liber Custumarum'

Ff. 116; vellum; 25.5 x 17.3 cm. Part of a volume of over 370 ff., the rest of which is bound in BL MS Cotton Claudius D ii and Oriel College, Oxford, MS 46. c.1321. Illuminated initials and margins. Double columns. Written in Anglicana by more than one hand. F.158v, a version of L16. Refs: Riley 1859-62, II, 499; Ker 1969-, I, 20-1.

44. Corporation of London, Records Office:
'Liber Horn'

Ff. ii + 376; vellum; 22 x 14.2 cm. Written in several business hands, mostly current. Decorated and historiated initials, extending into the margins. Some grotesques. No coloured initials after f.227. Medieval binding of wooden boards covered with white skin, repaired. Written for Andrew Horn in 1311 and added to during Horn's lifetime. Ff.101v-102r, a version of L16. Ref: Ker 1969-, I, 27-34.

45. London, Guildhall Library, MS 3133

Ff. iii + 369 + ii; paper; 28.8 x 20 cm. Twentieth-century binding. Pages cropped, with some loss of marginalia. Two portions, with two main hands, the first mid-fifteenth-century and the second somewhat later, possibly early sixteenth. Thought to be partly

by Robert Fabyan, who may have been the second main scribe. Ff.129v-130v, a version of L3. Refs: Thomas and Thornley 1938, xviii-xx; Ker 1969-, I, 86-7, omitting mention of the verses in question.

46. Inner Temple, Petyt MS 538, Vol.33

Ff. 518; paper; 30 x 19.5 cm. One of 56 volumes of miscellaneous material relating to history, law, etc., collected by William Petyt (1637-1707). This volume consists of transcripts from the Public Records etc., and is headed 'Soldiers, Ships, Imbargoes, Fortresses, Provisions for war, Misdemeanours etc.' Includes: f.509r, a version of L26; f.516v, a version of L27. Ref: Davies 1972, II.

47. Tower of London, Armouries MS I-35

Ff. v + 121; vellum and paper; 26.5 x 19 cm. Mid-seventeenth-century binding, blind-stamped with the arms of Sir Edward Walker. Consists of three MSS bound up together: ff.1-32, vellum, followed by an inserted paper leaf, written in a fifteenth-century hand; ff.34-38, vellum, in another fifteenth-century hand, followed by the stubbs of 4 vellum leaves; ff.39-121, paper, in a late sixteenth-century hand. The contents include versions of L13, L14, L16-23 (in that order). In view of the close relationship with L this MS is discussed more fully at the end of the present list. Refs: Anglo 1962, 190-1;

duplicated notes kindly supplied by Mrs Sarah Barter-Bailey, Armouries Librarian.

48. Wellcome Historical Medical Library MS 71

Ff. 40; paper; 27 x 21 cm. Contains the author's holograph text of Tyrocaesar by Jenkin Gwynne (1569), in two hands, secretary and italic, the latter being used for emphasis. Ff.8v-16r contain a version, with many gaps, of lines 1,240-2,016 of L31. Gwynne identifies this as 'a pece of the said epistill Englissed by some auncient learnede man, whose name I colde not fynde' (f.8v). Refs: Moorat 1962-73, I; Manzalaoui 1977, xliii-xliv.

49. Bodleian MS Ashmole 46

Ff. 163; vellum; quarto. 'Covered with leather curiously stamped and gilt'. Presentation picture. Fifteenth century. Contains poems by Lydgate and others, including, on f.97r, a version of L31, without title and ending at line 2,723 (i.e. lack's Envoy). Ref: Black 1845-6, I.

50. Bodleian MS Ashmole 59

Ff. ii + 134; paper, with vellum endleaves; folio. Consists of two MSS bound together, being of the fifteenth century. Contains poems by Chaucer,

Lydgate, and Gower. On the verso of the first vellum leaf is the name of the collector and writer of the book (according to the catalogue): 'ma. ione. M Shirley', and below this eight verses. On the verso of the first leaf is written a list of contents, in the same hand as the text, but not relating to the contents which actually follow. This presumably belongs to another of Shirley's collections, and was bound with this MS through error. F.1r, a version of L31, fragment only. Ref: Black 1845-6.

51. Bodleian MS Ashmole 764

Ff. iv + 137; vellum; quarto. Decorated with pictures, illuminated capitals, and rubrics. Late fifteenth century. Mainly in French. On one of the flyleaves, over a fine picture of a King of Arms wearing his tabard and crown, are the names 'Jo: Starkey 1610' and 'Ra: Starkey 1611'. (The latter (d.1626) seems to have been the compiler of MS 10.) Contains numerous and varied tracts of heraldic and military interest, including: f.1r, the foundation of the office of arms; f.9r, a treatise on the origin of heraldry; ff.17r, 21v, 55r, 62r, extracts from Le Songe du Vergier and Larbre des Batailles; f.31r, 'Cy sensuyt la facon des criz de Tournois et des Joustes'; ff.44r, 'De la droite ordonnance du Gaige de Bataille par tout le royaume de France'; f.82r, the settlement of disputes between heralds and sergeants of arms, 1417; f.84v, the 'droiz et largescs' of Kings of Arms; f.87v, a version of

L20; f.90r, 'lordonnance et manier de creer et faire nouveulx chevaliers du Baing' (cf.L4); other collections relating to creations, ceremonial, and the conduct of war. Ref: Black 1845-6, I.

52. Bodleian MS Ashmole 856

This is volume II of Elias Ashmole's own collection of 12 folio volumes of transcripts of various MSS and documents made by Ashmole and his amanuenses. All are uniformly bound, except this volume. Ashmole was Windsor Herald 1660-75. Contains a collection of tracts and documents chiefly relating to the office of Earl Marshal of England, and to the Court of Chivalry. Amongst the material (detailed in the catalogue) is a version of L7, ff.83r-93r, transcribed 'Ex MS. in Bibl' Hatton'. Also of interest is a copy of Johan Hill's Traytese 'Ex vet: MS: penes ... Keck de Medio Templo, ar:', ff.376r-383r; and 'the maner and fourme of makyng of the thre Oothes that every appellant and defendant owe to make openly in the feelde ...', 'Ex eodem MS' ff.383r-391v. For both of these cf. L7. Ref: Black 1845-6, I.

53. Bodleian MS Ashmole 863

Volume IX of Ashmole's own transcripts of documents on heraldry etc. (see MS 52). A collection of records, narratives of ceremonies, and other documents relating to personal services to the crown, especially at the coronation. Includes: a version of L3, ff.135r-140v; 'The charges belonging to them that be made Knights of the Bath, with the charges of ye officers of the Kings household' (cf. L4), ff.182r-184v; the Forma et Modus Coronacionis (cf. L1), ff.208r-210r; a version of L1, ff.245r-260v. Ref: Black 1845-6, I.

54. Bodleian MS Ashmole 865

Volume XI of Ashmole's own transcripts of documents (see MS 52). Contains various historical items, including a version of L7, with the title, 'The wageing of Bataill betweene two partyes', ff.258r-276v. Ref: Black 1845-6, I.

55. Bodleian MS Digby 233

Ff. 227 + ii; vellum; 45.5 x 31.8 cm. Leather binding, embossed with Digby seal. Sumptuously illuminated, with decorated borders, initials, and with presentation picture. Double columns. Fifteenth century. The scribe is described by Fallwell (Fallwell 1973, 40) as 'hurried but faithful'. Contains two items: ff.1r-182v, a


translation into English prose of De Regimine Principum of Aegidius Romanus; ff.183r-227r, a version of L24, without the Latin chapter headings. Ends: 'This is his name þat turned þis book fro latyn in to Englisshe/worschepful toun'. Refs: Macray 1883; Fallwell 1973, 39-40.

56. Bodleian MS Douce 271

Ff. ii + 78; vellum; 18 x 15 cm. Binding embossed with the arms of Sir Edward Walker as Garter King of Arms 1645-6, 1660-77. Pen-and-ink drawings at ff.4r, 27v. Contains treatises in French and English connected with the office of heralds etc., 'written chiefly in the 15th cent. in England', including: f.4r, the foundation of the Order of the Garter, in French; f.14r, the creation of heralds, with their oaths, French; f.27r, a version of L7, with accompanying ink drawing. Many sixteenth-century additions. Ref: Madan et al 1895-, IV, No.21845.

57. Bodleian MS Douce 291

Ff. iii + 138 + iii; vellum; 25.7 x 17 cm. Leather binding embossed with the Douce arms. A very fine MS, elaborately decorated. Ff.4r-120v contain a version of L24 with illuminated borders and capitals, and with heraldic shields and pennons in the margins. The first and last pages, all the Latin chapter headings, and the names throughout are in red. Two fifteenth-century

hands. Ends: 'This is his name þat turned þis book fro latyn to Englisshe toun'. Other texts (added later): f.lv, pedigree of Chalons (cf. MS 47, f.33v and L21); f.121r, a treatise on precious stones; f.136r, a treatise on horses. The date is probably before 1444, on the evidence of a partially-defaced shield, f.lv. Probably belonged to John Smert, Garter from 1450, and possibly his father, William Bruges, the first Garter King of Arms (d.1449). Refs: Madan et al 1895-, IV, No.21865; Fallwell 1973, 32-6.

58. Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 416

Ff. ii + 289 + ii; paper; 30.5 x 21.5 cm. Fifteenth-century boards, resewn and recovered. Watermark cf. Briquet 1968, No.2405 (1463). Decoration only in the form of rubrics and some flourishes. A composite and miscellaneous manuscript, of which the contents include: ff.182r-226v, a version of L24 (lacking one leaf), ending with the note 'Scriptus Rhodo per Johannem Newton die 25 Octobris 1459'; f.255r, a version of L31. The other texts include a treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins, Cursor Mundi, Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, and Chaucer's Parliament of Fowls. Refs: Madan et al 1895-, IV, No.1479; Coxe 1973; Fallwell 1973, 40-1.

59. Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 673

Ff. 73; paper; quarto. Mid-fifteenth-century binding.

Sole contents: a version of L31, of fifteenth-century date. Ref: Madan et al 1895-, I, No.505; Coxe 1973.

60. Bodleian MS Rawlinson C 820

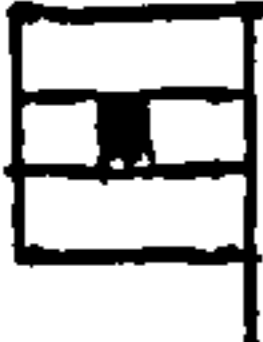
Ff. 180; vellum; quarto. Fourteenth century. A collection of statutes, with prefatory table and followed by various other legal tracts. Contains a version of L16 on f.93r. Ref: Macray 1862-1900, II.

61. Balliol College MS 329

Ff. 173; paper and vellum; 20.25 x 14 cm. Eighteenth-century binding. Several current but legible hands of the fifteenth century, with capitals and headings in red; no other decoration. Contains poems of Lydgate and others, including a version of L31, ff.80r-126r. The following stanzas are omitted: 117-19, 154, 160, 192, 195, 214-27, 370-9 (lines 2,588-650), 382-4, 390. Stanza 381 is followed by 372, 375, 374 (lines 2,612-6 and 2,610-11). Ref: Mynors 1963.

62. Magdalen College, Oxford, MS Magdalen 30

Ff. iii + 114 + iii; vellum; 25.2 x 16.2 cm. Red Morocco binding. Some catchwords and decoration trimmed off. Decorated capitals and illuminated borders throughout. Introduction, colophon, Latin chapter headings, running heads, and marginal notes all in red. A version

of L24, ff.2r-114v, is the sole contents, written in a single hand of the mid-fifteenth century. Annotations and alterations in a later hand. Ends: 'This is his name þat turned þis book fro Latyn in to Englysshe  ton'. Ref: Fallwell 1973, 36-8, under the name 'MS Bodl. Magdalen 30'.

63. St John's College, Oxford, MS 57

Ff. 242; paper, with parchment endleaves; 30 x 21.25 cm. Modern binding. Some rubricated headings and initials. Fifteenth century (soon after 1430). Contains: ff.1r-137v, The Prick of Conscience; ff.138r-222v, a chronicle of London from 1 Richard I to 10 Henry IV, including a version of L3 on ff.221v-222v; ff.226r-238v, Chaucer's Parliament of Fowls; ff.238v-242v, a version of L26. Ref: Flenley 1911, 60-2.

64. Gonville and Caius MS 336

Ff. 171; vellum; 24.25 x 18 cm. 'Cent. xv, very well written, with a good deal of fairly good English ornament.' Modern binding. A collection of works in English and Latin, mainly dealing with medicine, physiognomy, etc., including a version of part of L31, ff.104r-124r, headed 'Of the crafte of phisonomye ...'. Contains stanzas 328-31, 353-90, 170-91, 193-4, 195-213, 234-7, 228-33, 238-71, 273-89, 64, 43, 65, 68. Ref: James 1907-8, I; stanza references from IMEV, Supplement, No.935.

65. Fitzwilliam, McClean MS 182

Ff. 139; vellum; 22.5 x 17 cm. 'Cent.xv, very clearly written, the penmanship rather thick and black.' Green velvet binding. Contains poems by Lydgate and Hoccleve, including a version of L31, ff.12r-49r (and including a misbound leaf, now f.10), beginning imperfectly at line 65. Ref: James 1912.

66. Fitzwilliam, McClean MS 183

Ff. 47; vellum; 23 x 16 cm. Decorated initials and borders. 'Cent. xv ... in good upright hand.' Red velvet binding. Contains solely a version of L31, lacking two leaves at the beginning (with loss of lines 1-82), and ending abruptly at line 2,448. Ref: James 1912.

67. Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 599

Ff. 255; paper; 27.25 x 20.5 cm. 'Cent. xv late or xvi early, neatly written' in several hands. Contains poems by Chaucer, Lydgate, etc. Notes in the hand of John Stow, and additions by others. Includes an extract of 26 stanzas of L31, lines 1,296-491, ff.49r-52r. Ref: James 1900-4, II.

68. Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 1212

Ff. i + 44; vellum; 24 x 16.75 cm. 'Cent xv, finely written.' Sole contents: a version of L31, lacking

stanzas 1-30 and breaking off at line 2,332 (with catchword). Ref: James 1900-4, III.

69. National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 32.6.9

Ff. iii + 165; vellum and paper; 19 x 15 cm. Green velvet binding. A composite MS, containing miscellaneous pieces concerning ceremonial and heraldry, from the twelfth century to the seventeenth. F.57r, a version of L18, shortened and adapted to apply to the parties of Clarenceux and Norroy (as in MSS 4 and 36). This section of the MS is written on vellum in a fifteenth/sixteenth-century hand, with initials in red and blue, some with decorative penwork. The other items in the collection include statutes of the Order of the Garter; Johan Hill's 'Traytese' and his 'manere and forme of making of thre othes that every appellaunt and defendaunt owe to make openly in the felde', in French (cf. L7); the ceremony for creating Knights of the Bath, in French (cf. L4); letters of challenge to a tournament at the court of Princess Blanche; Julius Caesar on the office of heralds; the oath of a herald; Forma et Modus, in Latin (cf. L1); Francis Thynne, 'The names and armes of the Earles Marshalls of Englande', 1601. There is a list of contents, probably by John Anstis the Elder, f.ii. Ref: Yeo and Cunningham 1971, No.625. Further detailed notes kindly supplied by the Keeper of Manuscripts.

70. Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 1114 (formerly MS 1000)

Ff. 129; paper; 19.8 x 14.6 cm. Described in le Glay

1831, 217 as 'Mélanges historique, en 4^o ... Ce Ms., provenant de l'abbé Mutte, doyen de Cambrai, a été donné à la Bibliothèque par M. l'abbé Laloux, Chanoine de Cambrai.' Ff.3r-15v contain part of a version of L23, beginning 'Cy commence la déclaration des noms des chevaliers et gentilz hommes les quelz ont besoigné au pas de messire Phelippe de Lalaing, chevalier de la dame au Perron'. The present conservateur, M. Michel Bouvy, kindly informs me that 'il s'agit d'une copie du début du 16^e siècle, avec description des armoiries et recits de prouesses de chaque chevalier'. Ref. (besides the above): France 1849-85, IV; France 1885-1971, Départements, XVII.

71. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Morgan 775

Contains versions of L1- 9, L24, L25, L31. This MS, the major part of which dates from slightly before 1461, is most intimately related to L. In view of this fact, full description is held over until the discussion which follows the present list.

72. The Free Library of Philadelphia, J.F. Lewis Collection, MS 304

A single leaf; vellum; fifteenth century. A fragment of a version of L31, containing lines 1,476 ff. Ref: De Ricci and Wilson 1935-62, II, 2,072. See also note 53 of this chapter.

73. MS privately owned by the Gollancz Family

Ff. 104; vellum; 28 x 18 cm. Original contents consist solely of a version of L24, in a fifteenth-century hand. Prologue and chapter headings in red; paragraph marks in red and blue. This was formerly a Phillipps MS, from the library of Lord Hastings, and is called 'Petworth 6 (Duke of Northumberland)' by MacCracken (MacCracken 1913, 391n). Ref: Fallwell 1973, 38-9, quoting the unpublished notes of Miss K. Garvin.

Addenda74. BL MS Cotton Julius C iv

Paper; 30 x 19 cm. Contains various pieces copied in the sixteenth/seventeenth century put together by Cotton in one volume entitled 'Papers relating to Military Affairs'. Includes, in a late sixteenth-century hand, f.317r, a version of L26; f.322v, a version of L27; f.324v, a version of L28 (all in consecutive sequence as in L). Ref: British Museum 1802.

75. BL MS Stowe 531

Ff 315; paper; mid-seventeenth century. One of five volumes of miscellaneous copies and extracts. Contains several items of military interest, including a copy of L26 (but not its companion-piece L27), f.300r. Ref: British Museum 1895-6.

76. Arras, Bibliothèque publique MS 264

Ff. 158; paper; 29 x 19 cm. Copied in a single hand of the seventeenth century. No rubrics or decoration. At the beginning is the notice: 'Cronicques de Flandres,

conformes au manuscrit de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast d'Arras'. Contents include descriptions of jousts in Tournay, a chapter of the Toison d'Or in Bruges in 1478, 'Emprise d'armes de la Gruthuse en 1461', and a version of L23, f.55r. Refs: France 1849-85, IV; Brassart 1874, 15-17. Additional notes kindly supplied by the Librarian.

77. Lille University Library MS 104

Ff. 370; paper; 28 x 19 cm. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Eleven pages of coloured shields. Contains genealogical and heraldic material, including a version of L23, f.222r (pencil), in a sixteenth-century hand. Ref: France 1885-1971, Départements, XLVIII. Additional notes and photocopies kindly supplied by the conservateur, Mm. Dupont.

78. Utrecht University Library MS 1177

Ff. 323; paper; 28 x 21 cm. Fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Binding with arms of Lambertus van der Burch, c.1600. In three main sections: 1. Two Dutch chronicles, the first illustrated, ff.1r-78r; 2. Nine French texts, mostly with Burgundian links, ff.78v-261v, all copied in the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth; 3. Saints' lives in Latin, ff.262r-323v. Section 2, ff.186r-215v, contains an eyewitness account of the combat between Anthony Woodville and the Bastard of Burgundy in Smithfield in 1467, cf. L15, followed by 'Les armes de monseigneur de Monnet', ff.216r-225r, including on ff.216r-220v a version of L12. Refs: Utrecht University 1887; Stuij et al 1977, 1.

Fourteen of these manuscripts contain more than one item in common with L:

| | |
|------|----------------------------------|
| MS 2 | L2, L7 |
| 10 | L7, L13, L14, L16, L17, L20, L21 |
| 18 | L24, L31 |
| 30 | L1, L3 |
| 32 | L24, L31 |
| 36 | L18, L20 |
| 38 | L5, L6, L26 |
| 39 | L1, L7-11, L15, L26, L27 |
| 46 | L26, L27 |
| 47 | L12-14, L16-23 |
| 53 | L1, L3 |
| 58 | L24, L31 |
| 71 | L1-9, L24, L25, L31 |
| 74 | L26-8 |

In most of these the presence of more than one item can be easily explained. MSS 2, 10, 30, 36, 38, 39, 47, 53, 74 are heraldic miscellanies, representing a complex body of documents compiled and transcribed by the officers of arms mainly for reasons of precedent (see Chapter 5). Of these, MSS 10, 39, and 47 merit closer investigation, for the number and order of items suggest an especially close relationship with L; in particular, MS 47, which is approximately contemporary, has been claimed to be one of L's sources.⁵ The two items in MS 46, a late seventeenth-century or early eighteenth-century legal compilation, were apparently regarded as one, and their joint presence therefore causes no surprise. MSS 18, 32, and 58 are interesting in that they contain versions of L24 (Vegetius) and L31 (The Book of Governance of Kings and Princes); with regard to L24, a close textual relationship has been noticed within a group

which includes L and MSS 18, 58, and 71 (which also includes both items), a slightly more distant relationship encompassing also MS 32, which is only a fragment.⁶ The co-existence of L24 and L31 may also be explained by the common appeal the treatises would have had as manuals of instruction for gentlemen.⁷ MS 71 has long been known to have close connections with L,⁸ and clearly warrants a much closer investigation than it has so far received. MSS 10, 39, 47, and 71 will therefore now be more fully considered in order of date (i.e. 71, 47, 39, 10), with particular reference to their relationship with L. It will become apparent that MS 71 merits more detailed treatment than the others.

71. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Morgan MS 775 [hereafter M].⁹ Vellum, 25 x 17 cm. A composite book of the middle of the fifteenth century, containing ii + 320 + i leaves (the endleaves being of paper). Collation: I⁴, II⁸, III¹, IV², V⁸, VI¹, VII-XVIII⁸, XIX², XX-XXI⁸, XXII⁸(-XXIII), XXIII-XXVIII⁸, XXIX², XXX⁴, XXXI⁸(-XXXII,4,5), XXXII-XXXIX⁸, XL⁴, XLI², XLII-XLIII⁸, XLIV², XLV-XLVII⁸, XLVIII⁴. There are no signatures, but some catchwords.

The contents are:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| f.1 (I1) | Blank. |
| f.2r (I2) | Originally blank, now with the names in fifteenth/sixteenth-century hands Thomas Fitzhugh, Bryan Tunstall, Thomas Tunstall. |
| ff.2v-4v (I2-4) | A version of L6, preceded by a full-page picture of knights breaking lances at the tilt. ¹⁰ Written in a rather florid mid-fifteenth-century Bastard Anglicana (Hand <u>a</u>), different from the main hand (a more rounded Bastard Anglicana) and unique to this item. |
| ff.5r-11v (III1-7) | A table of the ratio of daily expenses to an annual expenditure. Main hand. |
| ff.12r-13v (II8-III1) | The assize of bread and ale, and a table of various weights and measures. ¹¹ Main hand. |
| ff.14r-15r (IV1-2) | A version of L2. Main hand. |
| f.15 | A version of L3, lacking the last leaf, which is now bound as f.24. Main hand. |
| ff.16r-23r (VI1-8) | A version of L1. Main hand. |
| f.23v. | Blank. |
| f.24r (VI1) | The last part of L3, begun on f.15. |
| f.24v | Blank. |

- ff.25r-121v
(VIII1-XIX1) A version of L24, written in a rather inconsistent fifteenth-century Anglicana Formata (Hand b) up to line 10 of f.73r, then continued by the main scribe. Catchwords throughout. The arms of Astley have been added at the foot of f.25r.
- f.121v Notes added in a fifteenth-century hand.
- f.122r (XIX2) Blank.
- ff.122v-123v
(XIX2-XX1) A version of L5, preceded by a half-page picture of a man being armed.¹² Main hand.
- ff.124r-130r
(XX2-8) A version of L7. Main hand.
- ff.130v-138v
(XX8-XXI8) A version of L25, preceded by a full-page and followed by a $\frac{3}{4}$ -page picture of ships.¹³ Main hand.
- Arms of Astley added at the foot of f.131r.
- ff.139r-195r
(XXII2-XXIX2) A version of L31, lacking the first leaf, which is visible as a stub. Main hand, with catchwords throughout.
- ff.195v-198v
(XXIX2-XXX3) A version of L4. Main hand.
- f.199r
(XXX4) A medical recipe beginning 'To make aqua com^uposyta', added in a sixteenth-century hand.
- f.199v Blank.
- ff.200r-274v
(XXXI2-XLI2) Christine de Pisan's Epître d'Othéa translated into English by Stephen Scrope,¹⁴ lacking the first, fourth, and fifth leaves. Half-page pictures on ff.200r, 202r, and 204r, with one torn out from f.205r with some loss of text. Main hand, with catchwords throughout. Arms and crest of Astley added in the margin of f.274r.¹⁵

- f.275r (XLIII1) A medical recipe beginning 'drink this powdir', added in a fifteenth/sixteenth-century hand.
- ff.275v-276v (XLIII1-XLIII2) A version of L9, preceded by a full-page picture of the joust between John Astley and Piers de Masse.¹⁶ The hand (Hand c), which is a more open and upright mid-fifteenth-century hand than main hand, is confined to this and the following item (another Bastard Anglicana).
- f.277r (XLIII3) Blank.
- ff.277v-279r (XLIII3-XLIII5) A version of L8, preceded by a full-page picture of the foot combat between John Astley and Philippe de Boyle.¹⁷ Same hand as the last.
- ff.279v-280r (XLIII5-6) The oath of a herald on appointment, added in a fifteenth/sixteenth-century hand.¹⁸
- ff.280v-282v (XLIII6-8) Weather prognostications.¹⁹ Same hand as the last.
- ff.283r-289r (XLIII1-7) A calendar in Latin, in a different hand (Hand d), possibly earlier than the main hand.
- ff.289v-290v (XLIII7-8) Astrological diagrams, added in a late fifteenth-century (?) hand.
- ff.291r-292v (XLIII-2) Blank.
- ff.293r-320r (XLVI1-XLVIII4) Parvus and Magnus Cato, in Latin with a translation in English verse by Benedict Burgh.²⁰ The hand (Hand e) is a Fere-Textura, probably contemporary with the main hand; it is confined to this and the two following items. Catchwords throughout.
- f.320r Four things that make a man fall from Reason, a 7-line stanza by Lyūgate.²¹ Same hand as the last.

- f.320r. A stanza on deceit by Lydgate.²² Same hand as the last.
- f.320v. Medical recipes in a fifteenth-century hand.

The manuscript has finely illuminated initials and borders in those sections written in the main hand and Hand b. Of the other parts written in bookhand, the section in Hand a has no decoration (other than the picture); that in Hand c has decorated initials and line-fillers of a simple and rather amateurish kind; that in Hand d has the coloured initials typical of ecclesiastical texts, and also decorated top margins; and the section in Hand e has just four embellished initials in a style close to the decorative work associated with the main hand.

I am not competent to judge whether the pictures are all of the same period and by the same artist, but from the evidence at my disposal this seems uncertain. The implications of this are discussed below. Margaret Rickert, referring specifically to the picture on f.2v, writes that 'the quality of the illustration is as mediocre as most other English work of the time.'²³ In the items which are illustrated, the artist(s) tried to arrange that a picture was facing the first page of text, normally a recto. This was achieved by leaving the preceding recto blank (ff.2r, 275r, 277r) or, wherever possible, by using the last verso of the preceding quire (ff.122v, 130v). Othea, with its in-text pictures, conforms to a different scheme.²⁴

The present binding is English stamped calf, dating from slightly before 1547, with the motto 'Ich Dien' of Edward VI as Prince of Wales. His arms, which were originally inside the central sun motif, have been removed and are now glued inside the front cover. An early label from the spine, tooled with the words 'MISCELLANIES MANUSCRIPT', is now inside the back cover. The

binding was perhaps done at the Greenwich Bindery.²⁵ The paper endleaves were probably inserted at the same time. One of them bears a watermark similar to Briquet 1968, No.3005 (1541).

The arms which have been added in the margins of ff.25r, 131r, and 274r indicate that the volume was once owned by Sir John Astley (d.1486),²⁶ whose exploits are recorded in the two items on ff.275v-279r. The names on f.2r are possibly those of early owners. The book passed to the future Edward VI, for whom it was rebound, then back into the Astley family, one of whom, presumably, had the arms of the Prince of Wales removed from the front cover.²⁷ The last of the Astley owners were Sir Jacob Astley, of Melton Constable, and Sir A.E.D. Astley, twenty-first Lord Hastings. It was bought for the Pierpont Morgan Library at Sotheby's, 20 July 1931.

Putting all the facts together, an attempt may be made to reconstruct the original form of the book.²⁸ The present form dates from the time when it was rebound in the sixteenth century. At least one mistake, the misplacement of f.24, was made then, and the texts may have been reordered.²⁹

Taking the work of the main scribe and the scribe of Hand b, of whom the main scribe is continuator in L24, the gatherings are divisible into four groups. Within each group the order of texts is established by material which runs over from one gathering to the next. The four groups are: II-VI, VII-XXI, XXII-XXX and XXXI-XLI. In the first of these VI (a single leaf) belongs at the end of IV, and may originally have been conjugate with III (another singleton).³⁰ The second group was probably at one time the first in the book. The translation of Vegetius, with which

it begins, has exceptionally elaborate decorated borders to the first two leaves; it was begun by the scribe of Hand b who put flourishes to the top line of each page. The first page is also darkened at the foot, as if by heavy use, and the arms of Astley have been added here as a sign of ownership, overlying the decorated border.³¹ The third group of gatherings contains only two items, and the fourth only one, the Othea, which probably was always at the end of this scribe's work and perhaps at the end of the book as Astley acquired it or had it made, as a particularly lavish version of his arms and crest has been added to the last leaf.

Since no amount of reordering would enhance the logic of the arrangement of texts or create closer conformity with L, there seems little point in engaging in speculative refashioning of this part of the book other than the simple transposition of groups one and two, which would place the Vegetius translation at the beginning, for which the evidence is significant enough. The order would then be:³²

Vegetius translation (L24)

Equipment for Foot Combat (L5)

Trial by Battle (L7)

Rutter (L25)

Table of Expenses

Assize of Bread and Ale

Poem on Henry VI (L2)

Coronation Banquet of Henry VI (L3)

Coronation Service (L1)

Book of Governance (L31)

Creation of Knights of the Bath (L4)

Othea

The foregoing remarks are based on the assumption that the work by the main scribe and the scribe of Hand b formed the original 'core' of M. This seems reasonable, for the care of the handwriting³³ and the richness and consistency of the decoration suggest that the scribes and limner did not work piecemeal, but to a pre-arranged plan. The competence of the main scribe,³⁴ and the fact that he took over from the earlier scribe at a random point, may suggest that he was a professional. He either worked from a variety of source materials, presumably under the direction of somebody for whom a combination of miscellaneous texts had some meaning, or (more likely) he worked from a single exemplar, which was either a genuine commonplace book or a copy of one.³⁵ Whether the scribe worked for Sir John Astley or whether Astley acquired this part of M already written is impossible to say. But it seems that the next stage involved Astley's conscious expansion of the volume, which at this point had no great connection with knighthood and chivalry,³⁶ to reflect his own interest in the military arts.

The next two gatherings to be accounted for are I, containing instructions for organising jousts (L6), in Hand a, and XLII, containing Astley's own exploits (L9 and L8), written in the approximately contemporary Hand c. Here the artistic evidence is crucial, for each of these items is preceded by a full-page picture of deeds of arms. Gathering XLII was presumably commissioned by Astley himself to commemorate his famous victories, and the picture in gathering I was probably also commissioned by him if it is by the same artist. The wider range of field in the two pictures in XLII, and the fact that one of them is unfinished and the other damaged by damp, make it impossible to

be certain that one artist is involved. Conversely, the treatment of such details as feet and faces (the profile being almost always preferred) suggests that the same person was the artist of all three. Furthermore, one of the jousting knights in the first picture appears to have on his helm the crest of Astley, a crowned harpy,³⁷ although there is no inherent reason why Astley should appear in an illustration to a general treatise like L6. On balance it would seem that we have here the work of a single artist. This artist seems already to have worked on the part of M written in the main hand, for the picture on f.122v of a man being armed is markedly similar to the two pictures of Astley's deeds.³⁸ The other pictures in the manuscript are so different in subject matter that it is impossible to be certain whether they are by the same artist, but in the absence of evidence to the contrary it is reasonable to assume (tentatively) that they may well be so.

It appears, then, that Astley commissioned, or more probably acquired, a book beginning with Vegetius and ending with Othea, to which he added his own escutcheons as evidence of ownership. Probably about the same time he had his own deeds of arms commemorated by having a new scribe set down the challenges and an artist, who had already been employed in the main part of the book, paint the pictures. At or about the same time he had the same artist illustrate a short treatise on jousting which he had either acquired as a small booklet or had commissioned from another scribe.³⁹ He had the two new booklets bound at the beginning and end of his book, emphasising its military content, which had previously been reflected only in the Vegetius and the

short treatises following it. He personalised the expanded book by having the artist include his own crest on one of the jousting knights in the first picture.

There is little in the remaining gatherings to indicate that they were ever originally part of M. In fact, the calendar in quire XLIII is oddly out of place in this book and could easily have been inserted at the time of the sixteenth-century rebinding. The Cato in the final gatherings is consistent enough from the point-of-view of subject matter with the original 'core' of M,⁴⁰ but not with Astley's military expansions; but the different handwriting and the simpler decoration cast doubt on its being part of the original.

As for the date, we have little evidence from the texts themselves. The Vegetius translation was made, according to the colophon, in 1408;⁴¹ the letter prefacing the regulations for trial by combat is addressed to Richard II; the poems on the coronation of Henry VI relate to 1429;⁴² Lydgate's Book of Governance was completed by Burgh sometime after the former's death c.1449; Othea was translated by Scrope 'between 1440 and 1459';⁴³ Astley's combats were in 1438 and 1441/2. Two pieces of evidence suggest that Astley acquired the first part of the book before 1461, viz. the appearance of his armorial bearings lacking the Garter, which he received in 1461,⁴⁴ and the former existence of two complimentary references (now erased) to Henry VI, who was deposed in that year.⁴⁵ The balance of evidence suggests a date c.1450-60.

The piecemeal compilation of M and the special intimacy of the Astley connection show that M was the source of certain sections of L. The question then arises as to how close was the relation-

ship. The date of the two manuscripts allows the possibility that M was the direct source, but a more detailed judgement necessitates detailed collation. The relevant facts are set out in the List of Variant Readings and Shared Errors with its accompanying commentary (Appendix 2), which it will here suffice briefly to summarise thus: With regard to the items investigated, textually M is overwhelmingly superior to L. There are no points of superiority in L other than such as might have resulted from a scribe's regard of the context of the work being copied or from some other easy application of common sense resulting in the correction of obvious errors in the exemplar. L and M are very closely related, both on the evidence of shared errors and peculiarities, and on the strength of the sheer bulk of the more ordinary similarities. Although conclusive proof is not forthcoming, there are some signs that L may have been copied directly from M, namely

1. Much identical layout, such as paragraphing
2. The duplication of a gap of half a line in L25, as opposed to the disregard of smaller gaps elsewhere (where they were presumably considered insignificant).
3. Incorrectly expanded abbreviations (e.g. 'ouer' read as 'on'). Some of these might be expected to have been restored at some intermediate stage.
4. The use of letter forms in M which could easily be misinterpreted (e.g. in L25 belille leading to the nonsensical belike).

None of these necessarily precludes an intermediate stage or stages of transmission, but I feel that, taken together, they strongly suggest that M was one of the immediate sources of L.

47. Tower of London, Armouries MS I-35 [hereafter T]⁴⁶
 For a physical description see the List of Manuscripts above.
 It consists of three sections, originally separate manuscripts,
 with one additional leaf, f.33.

Section 1.

Four gatherings of eight vellum leaves each, written in a
 careful mid-fifteenth-century hand, with a few decorated
 capital letters. Contains, in order, eleven of the French
 items of the Grete Boke:

| | |
|------------|---|
| ff.1r-2r | A version of L13. |
| ff.2r-5r | A version of L14. |
| f.5r-5v | A version of L16. |
| ff.5v-6r | A version of L17. |
| ff.6r-7v | A version of L18. |
| f.8r-8v | A version of L19. |
| ff.8v-9r | A version of L20. |
| ff.9r-12r | A version of L21. |
| ff.12r-15v | A version of L22. |
| ff.16r-32v | A version of L23, breaking off in the middle of the text at the end of the fourth gathering, with the catchword <u>aucuns</u> . |
| f.33 | An added paper leaf, with a note in a sixteenth-century hand, in English, of the number of shires, towns, and knights' fees, etc. in England, with a possible ownership signature 'Th. Wr. als. gartier' i.e. Thomas Wriothsesley, Garter King 1505-34, a former owner of <u>L</u> . On the verso are two pedigrees, one of De Buoil |

and the other showing the descent of John Anstis from Robert Chalons, in a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century hand, identified in the Librarian's typescript notes on the manuscript as that of John Anstis, Garter King 1718-44. For the pedigree of Chalons cf. MS 57.

Section 2.

On vellum, in a different mid-fifteenth-century hand.

ff.34r-38r Another (different) account in French of the feat of arms between Chalons and de Beul (cf. ff.9r-12r above), decorated with eight miniatures showing incidents in the encounter. For details see L21 in the Descriptive Index.

f.38v The fifteenth-century presentation signature:
Ricardus Champeney a norroy roy darmes.

This is followed by the stubs of four vellum leaves, one apparently conjugate with f.34.

Section 3.

On paper, with a watermark made up of the arms of Navarre and France, crowned and surrounded by the collar of the Order of St Michael (i.e. late sixteenth-century), in a late sixteenth-century formal hand. Contains:

ff.39r-67v "Jouistes de Monseigneur Antoine Bastard de Bourgogne faictas en Engleterre", in French, with prefatory notes in a later hand (?John Anstis), giving references to Rymer's Foedera and the Mémoires of Olivier de la Marche. This item is closely connected with L15, and is

discussed in the Descriptive Index.

- f.68r Blank.
- f.68v Later notes, including references to la Marche, as above.
- ff.69r-79v 'Les armes de monsieur de Monnet' (i.e. Jean de Chassa), an account in French of his combat with Louis de Brutallis, incorporating on ff.69r-74v a version of Ll2, the letters of challenge and answer.
- f.80 Blank.
- ff.81r-116r 'Nopces de monseigneur Charles Duc de Bourgogne avec dame Marguerite d'Angleterre', in French, with some later references inserted.
- ff.117-121 Numbered, but blank.

The following notes on the ownership and history of the manuscript I quote from the Librarian's typescript:

Bought from W.H. Robinson Ltd for £750 by Mr.Philip Frere who presented it to the Armouries in 1951.

Ms. 2 must have been in the possession of Richard Champney, created Gloucester King of Arms, 18 September 1483 by Richard III. It is not clear to which Norroy King of Arms he presented the manuscript or when the presentation was made; perhaps some time prior to his own creation as King of Arms as he would then presumably have used his own title. Mss. 1 and 2 seem to have belonged to Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms, 1505-34, and all three were bound up together by Sir Edward Walker, 1612-77, Garter King 1645-77.

It is tempting to see in the Norroy king of the earliest note John Writhe Norroy 1477-8 and Garter 1478-1504, whose French manuscripts passed first to his son, Thomas Writhe or Wriothesley and then to Thomas' son Charles, Windsor Herald, 1535-62 who died in 1562. Most of his books and manuscripts were bought by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter 1550-86 and passed to his son, William, Garter 1586-1606. Many of Dethick's books were later owned by Sir William le Neve, 1600-1661, Norroy King 1633 and Clarencieux King 1635-61, and were bought from Le Neve's heirs by Sir Edward Walker in 1663. Sir Edward Walker's books were acquired by John Anstis, 1669-1744, Garter King 1718-44 whose manuscript notes are interpolated throughout this collection. Anstis' manuscripts were sold by auction 12 December 1768 but no buyers' names are known. This manuscript was bought in 1835 from Payne the bookseller by Sir Thomas Phillips and was Ms. 8528 in the Phillips catalogue. The Bibliotheca Phillippica was bought as a whole by the booksellers W.H. Robinson Ltd., in (?) 1935. [A.R. Wagner Heralds of England 1967: W.H. Robinson catalogue of c.1850.]

Section 2 of T is of great interest for the possible light it may shed on the compilation of L. The texts correspond to the most substantial French section of L, items L13- 23, omitting only the French text which begins this portion in L (an oddity which is put right by the transcription of this item in Section 3 of

T, ff. 69r-74v), and the only item in English in this part of L (i.e. L15, a deficiency also remedied in Section 3 by a similar item in French, ff. 39r-67v). The subject matter of this French material relates to England as much as to France and Burgundy, so it appears that French has been used for reasons other than that the material originated outside England. However, there is much evidence that the scribe of T had a greater familiarity with French than is shown in L, and that he may have been a native speaker (see the parallel passages below). At first sight, then, it might seem that T, or some manuscript closely related to it, was the source of most of the items in L which did not derive from M. This would account for all but three of the items in Hand A and for five added articles in hands C, E, and F. Such is the view taken by Anglo, who writes

of the items in the Lansdowne manuscript with which we are concerned, only five ... are not to be found either in the Tower MS. I-35 or in the Hastings Manuscript[M]; while of the remaining eighteen items in the Lansdowne volume fifteen are, in fact, peculiar to the Tower manuscript or the Hastings Manuscript. This strongly suggests that the earlier two volumes, or some very similar collection, were the major sources for Sir John Paston's copyist.⁴⁷

But the bibliographical evidence has shown that L was compiled specially for Sir John by a number of scribes (three in the section in question), whereas Section 2 of T is the work of a single scribe; furthermore, the name 'Jhon Paston' at the end of L16 appears, with identical spelling, at the end of that item in T. It seems beyond reasonable doubt, therefore, that T is a direct or indirect copy of L, not vice versa.

The following examples, extracted from L16 in L, T, and also MS 10 [hereafter H],⁴⁸ demonstrate both the less Anglicised

French used in T and the probably direct dependence of T on L:

L: Le statut de armez de turney per la parlament dengleterre

T: Le estatut darmes de tournoys par le parlement dangleterre

H: Le statute d'Armes de Turnoys par le parlement D'Angleterre

L: Purueu Baners desormes

T: Pourueu Banneurs desormais ...

H: pour Vieu bannieres deormais ...

L: seruir porte chapell desarmes ...

T: seruir a porter chapel [des canc.] darmes ...

H: servir a porter chapell des d'armes ...

L: espeie apoint ne coutell apoint ne baston ...

T: espeie apoint ne coutell ne baston ...

H: espee a point ne coutel ne baston

L: lez baneours qui baners porteront

T: les banneurs [qu b canc.] qui lan's porteront ...

H: le Banneurs qui lans porteront ...

L: aueigne ... la baronage ... Edward frere le Roy ...

T: aduient ... le baronage ... Edward frere du Roy ...

H: advient ... le baronage ... Edward frere du Roy ...

L: si nul sake chiualer a terre ... recourir

T: si aucun tire chiualer a terre ... recouurer

H: si aucun tire chiualer a terre ... recourier

L: Et si nul veigne encountre cest estatut qil perde
son chiual

T: Et se aucun vient encontre cest estatut qil perde
[s canc.] le cheual

H: et si aucun vient encontre cest estatut qil perde
le cheval

L: Apee que meen ...

T: a pied ... quil ne mayne ...

H: a pied ... quil ne maine ...

L: leur haunctes de Armes sanz plus &c quod Sir Jhon Paston

T: leur haintes des armes sans plus &c Jhon Paston

H: leur haintez des armes sans plus &c John Paston

The cancellations, in particular, show that the scribe of T began writing several words as in L but consciously changed them to forms which were less typically Anglo-French. I conclude that section 2 of T was probably copied directly from L.

For a physical description see the List of Manuscripts above. This is an heraldic miscellany, of which ff. 69-108 are the section most relevant to L.

- ff.65r-68v 'This is the Coronacion of the Kinge Richard the seconde.'
- ff.69r-72v A version of L1.
- ff.73r-80v 'Kinge hery the vijth. Here folowethe vnder correccion a litel devise for the Coronation ... 49
- ff.81r-84r A version of L7.
- ff.84v-85r A version of L8.
- f.85r-85v A version of L9.
- ff.85v-87r A version of L10.
- ff.87r-91r A version of L11.
- ff.91r-102r A version of L15.
- ff.102v-107r A version of L26.
- ff.107r-108v A version of L27.
- ff.109r-108v Blank.

This appears to be a distinct section of this composite manuscript. It is in a single hand of the late sixteenth century, different from the hands elsewhere in the book. The 48 leaves appear to be in gatherings of 12, but the present binding makes close investigation impossible. Clearly, the source is L, with some additional coronation material from elsewhere. There is no clear principle behind the selection of texts, other than that items in French are omitted and that the ones retained are most closely connected with heraldic duties and with precedent, with the omission of L4, the subject of which is covered by 'lordonnance et maniere de creer et faire nouveaulx cheualers du baing' on ff.28r-30r. The transcriber has been selective but has copied the texts in order.

Samuel Bentley expressed the opinion that 'in the time of ... Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter [1550-84], a great portion of the volume [L] was transcribed into the volume now marked "L.5," in the library of the Herald's College', and added that 'in this copy even the verbal errors of the Lansdowne MS. are retained'.⁵⁰ But collation of the common texts indicates only the likelihood, not the certainty, that the copy was made directly from L, as the following notes indicate:

L7 L confendynge [an error], C consenting; L in a sege,
 C in a stage

L11c: There are some differences in the order of the names in the list of people who witnessed the acceptance by the Bastard of Burgundy of Lord Scales' challenge; L Tienges, C Cienges, where the first letter in L could easily have been misread.

L15a: A portion of the text is misplaced in both manuscripts, but the scribe of C (or of his source) has added three words to lessen the disjuncture, viz: L I have [...]
of hevyn & of erthe, C I haue by the gouerner of
heauen and of Earthe

L26 L fay (also fey, feith, 'pledge'), C say (sey, seith)
 [which makes no sense]; L of what estate condicion
or nacion that he be, C of what estate condicion he be;
L in the sawte therof [i.e. 'in the assault thereof'],
C in the fawte therof

L27 L Other ordinancez made by the Erle of Salesbury,
 C Other ordenance made by therle of Shreusbery [an
 error]; L forraiours, C forainours; L stale [an error
 for scale, 'ladder'], C stale

10. BL MS Harley 69 [hereafter H]

For a physical description see the List of Manuscripts above.

This is another heraldic miscellany, and includes a section which originates from L, preceded, followed by, and interspersed with texts relating to feats of arms in the sixteenth century.

f.8v A version of L20.

ff.9r-10v A version of L21.

f.11r-11v A version of L13.

ff.12r-13v A version of L14.

f.17r A version of L16.

f.17r-17v A version of L17.

ff.25r-29r A version of L7.

The sequence L13, L14, L16, L17 immediately suggests a connection with T, where the order is the same. Upon investigation this proves to be the case. Comparison of all these texts, and of L20 and L21, with their counterparts in L, reveals a uniform dependence of H upon T. This can be given no clearer demonstration than the parallel passages of L16 which have already been set out in the discussion of T (pp.98-9 above). Further collation merely underlines the point.

However, the origin of L7 in H seems to be quite independent of both L and T, for the text is quite different. L7 occurs in H in a section of the manuscript which is illustrated with pen-and-ink drawings, and these are the clue as to its origin, for the same pictures and texts occur in two other manuscripts, Additional 33753 and College of Arms M 6a(MSS 34 and 42). Anglo believes that the Additional manuscript is a poor copy of M 6a,⁵¹ and this part of H, in turn, appears to be a rather hasty copy of the Additional manuscript.⁵² The pictures are in the same order and occupy approximately the same positions on the page as in the

Additional manuscript, but one of them is omitted, as is much of the detail. On f.24v of H the artist has added a crowd of spectators to fill his page, and on f.25r (a picture of the Duke of Gloucester presenting his Ordinances [L7] to Richard II) the clothing has been made to reflect changes in fashion. As for the text of this item, the following passage demonstrates the similarities between H and the Additional manuscript and their relative independence of L:

- L: A. de K. thou swerest that thou ne hauest ne shalt
 Add: A. de K. thou shalt sweare þat þou ne hast nor shalt
H: A. de K. thou shal sweare that thou ne hast nor shall
- L: haue more poyntes ne poyntes on the ne on thy body
 Add: haue more weapons about the ne on thy body nor
H: haue more weapons about thee ne on thy body nor
- L: within thise listes but they that ben assigned by the
 Add: within these listes other than are assigned the by the
H: within these listes other then are assigned thee by
 the
- L: court þat is to say. long swerde shorte swerde and
 Add: Court yt is to say glaive long sword short sword &
H: court That is to saie Glayve Long sword short sword
 and
- L: dagger nor noon oothir knyff litill nor mykell nor
 noon othir instrument ne engyne of poynte or oothir
 Add: dagger nor any other knife small nor great ne stone o:
H: Dagger nor any other knife small or great ne stone of

L: wise ne stone of vertue ne herbe of vertue ne
 Add: vertue ne herbe ne charme othir wise ne stone of
 vertue

H: vertue ne hearb ne charme

L: charme ne experiment ne carocte ne othir inchauntment
 Add: ne charme ne experience characte ne inchantment

H: experience characte or enchauntment

L: by the ne for thee by the which thou trusteth the pe
 Add: by the nor for the by the which thou trustest the

H: by thee ne for thee by the which thou trusteth the

L: bettir to ovircome the foreseide C. de B. thyne
 adversarie

Add: better to vanquish the said E. de B. thine adversarye

H: better to vanquish the said E. de B. thine adversary

Summary

Of the surviving manuscripts which have texts in common with L, only M appears to be a source, and was, in fact, probably the very book from which Ebesham began working. This provided him with the first nine items of the Grete Boke and with three others (L24, L25, L31) which came to be bound at the end. Section 2 of T, which is approximately contemporary and contains most of the texts in the Grete Boke which did not originate from M, proves upon investigation to be probably an immediate copy of L. C also partially derives from L, and H partially from T.

Unfortunately, we are still left without much evidence for the origin of the substantial part of the Grete Boke which did not derive from M, and since the extant manuscripts seem to offer no information on this, it is necessary now to consider the life of Sir John Paston and the evidence of the Paston Letters, to see what light they shed. This will be the subject of the next chapter.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. The fullest description thus far available in print is in British Museum 1819, II, 99-102. The manuscript has often been described, summarised, and alluded to. See, for example, Gairdner 1889, 3-10; Gairdner 1904, V, 1n; Cripps-Day 1918, xxxi-xlii; Doyle 1957, 298-307; Anglo 1962, 191. The descriptions in Twiss 1871-6, I, lxxiv, lxxxiii, 301, and 459 are heavily dependent upon the British Museum Lansdowne Catalogue (British Museum 1819), as are most other descriptions

2. The numbering here does not conform to the numbering of items in the Lansdowne Catalogue (British Museum 1819).

The new numbering is:

| New | Cat. | New | Cat. | New | Cat. |
|-----|------|-----|-------|-----|------|
| L1 | 1 | L11 | 12-15 | L21 | 43 |
| L2 | 2 | L12 | 16-17 | L22 | 44 |
| L3 | 2 | L13 | 18 | L23 | 46 |
| L4 | 3 | L14 | 19 | L24 | 47 |
| L5 | 4-5 | L15 | 20-37 | L25 | 48 |
| L6 | 6-7 | L16 | 38 | L26 | 49 |
| L7 | 8 | L17 | 39 | L27 | 50 |
| L8 | 9 | L18 | 40 | L28 | 51 |
| L9 | 10 | L19 | 41 | L29 | 52 |
| L10 | 11 | L20 | 42 | L30 | 53 |
| | | | | L31 | 54 |

3. In compiling the list I have searched a large number of manuscripts, particularly in the British Library, the main catalogues of the manuscript collections of England and elsewhere, and I have followed up references in the editions and in the descriptive and critical works which are mentioned in the Descriptive Index.

4. Dr A.I. Doyle kindly looked at this for me and informs me: 'I am sure it is not Ebesham but a rather more regular set secretary of the same period, i.e. 3rd-4th quarter of the century.'

5. Anglo 1962, 191.

6. Fallwell 1973, 31.

7. See below, pp.157-66.

8. See Bühler 1941b, esp. p.347.

9. For descriptions of this manuscript see Way 1847; Dillon 1900; De Ricci and Wilson 1935-62, II, 1,501-2 and Supplement, 356-7; Bühler 1941b; Bühler 1970, xv-xvi. The volume is more briefly described in Astley 1931, No.7, pls.6-9; Pierpont Morgan Library 1933, 47-8, No.100; Pierpont Morgan Library 1937, 25-6 and 91-2; Pierpont Morgan Library 1939, 17, No.62; Tuve 1963, 282 and passim. Dillon incorrectly states (Dillon 1900, 31) that 'Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 13, will be seen in Lansdowne MS. 285'. This should read 'Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15', referring to his own list on pp.29-31. See also note 53 of this chapter.
10. Reproduced in Dillon 1900, pl.IV, and in Rickert 1965, pl.187. There is a full description in Dillon 1900, 33-4.
11. Printed in Dillon 1900, 59-60.
12. Reproduced in Dillon 1900, pl.VII, and discussed p.46.
13. Reproduced in Dillon 1900, pl.III.
14. Ed Bühler (Bühler 1970), collating this manuscript.
15. Reproduced in Dillon 1900, pl.VII, and described p.31n.
16. Reproduced in Dillon 1900, pl.V, and discussed p.35.
17. Reproduced in Dillon 1900, pl.VI, and discussed pp.36-7.
18. Printed in Dillon 1900, 70.
19. Printed in Bühler 1941a.
20. Printed from Cambridge University Library MS Hh.IV.12 in Förster 1905-6. Bühler 1941c, 349n, records the information that M, which Förster did not use in his edition, belongs to Förster's group B, and that, though this is an inferior class of manuscript, the Morgan text is one of the better ones within the group. See also IMEV, Nos.854, 3955.
21. Printed from a different manuscript in MacCracken 1934, 709. Cf. IMEV, No.4230.
22. A single stanza from his Fall of Princes, Book II, lines 4,432-8 (see Bergen 1924-7, I, 324). Cf. IMEV, No.674.
23. Rickert 1965, 185.
24. On this see Tuve 1963, 282, and Bühler 1970, xviii and xxivn. The missing leaves appear to have been removed for their pictures.
25. See Nixon 1978, 32-3. The binding of M appears to have at least two tools in common with the volume of c.1540 illustrated there.

26. For biographical information on Astley see L8 in the Descriptive Index.

27. Alternatively, the arms may have been removed on behalf of the former owner when the volume was transferred from royal possession.

28. Although M has often been described and referred to, little consideration has been given to the evolution of the book. As early as 1900 Dillon (Dillon 1900, 31) noticed that the feasts of arms of Astley are 'written in a different hand from the former part of the book'. But this, and the fact that there are six fifteenth-century bookhands, has never been heeded. Thus De Ricci and Wilson 1935-62, II, 1,502 describes the whole volume as 'written for Sir John Astley', which is an unwarranted assumption. Likewise Rickert 1965, 185. Doyle 1957, 306 describes it accurately as 'apparently made or augmented for Sir John Astley'.

29. The foliation is modern and postdates 1900, when Dillon described the book as 'not...paged' (Dillon 1900, 29). Bühler 1941b, 350n observes that 'it is not unlikely that certain...tracts...are now not in the position originally intended, but conclusive proof for this is not forthcoming. Nevertheless it is not impossible that some of the tracts were intended to be bound in the same order as they now stand in the Lansdowne MS. but the unusual quiring of the Morgan MS. (some quires contain only a single sheet) makes it impossible to ascertain in what order the various tracts were meant to stand.' The differences are greater than Bühler suggests; he makes light of them in order to expound the hypothesis that L and M 'represent an early instance of "mass-production"' (p.351).

30. With the leaves thus reordered gathering V becomes potentially detachable as it is not linked by a run-on of text. However, in view of its subject matter (the coronation) it probably belongs with gatherings IV and VI, although logic seems, on the whole, not to have been a governing principle in the original arrangement of texts.

31. For this method of indicating ownership cf. the arms of Thomas Wriothesely in the lower margin of f.2r of L (the opening page).

32. Further slight rearrangement is possible of the texts between L25 and Othea; e.g. L2, L3, and L1 could be moved to follow L4. This would create a cluster of texts of a ceremonial nature, as in L (but not in the same order). In any case, the order of run-on items such as L24 to L25 shows that the scribe of M was not governed by the same guiding principle as William Ebesham.
33. This is true of all except some of Hand b's work, in which the scribe at times shows signs of distraction or tiredness in the form of a number of aberrations.
34. The hand is described by Doyle as 'a good mid-century book-hand' (Doyle 1957, 307n).
35. This possibility is supported by the fairly random nature of the collection as a whole, and by the existence of sub-groups (e.g. L24-L7, L2-L1) which have a more logical internal relationship.
36. The version of Othea in M is dedicated to an unspecified 'high princess'. Bühler 1970, xxiv speculates upon how such a work came to be included in a volume 'quite inappropriate for a lady.'
37. Identified as such in Dillon 1900, 34, though on the following page Dillon implies that the matter is open to doubt. It is possible that the crest was added to an existing picture.
38. The picture is in the upper half of the last verso of quire XIX, a bifolium in which Vegetius is concluded. The scribe has begun the accompanying text on the lower part of the page, from which it runs on to the whole of the next leaf.
39. The presence of three blank pages before the picture suggests that it was designed from the start as the first quire of a book and, therefore, that Astley had it written up with this in mind.
40. The small amount of decorative work also connects it with this.
41. For details of this and the other items which are in L see the Descriptive Index.
42. Doyle suggests that they were 'presumably selected before his first deposition, 1461' (Doyle 1957, 306n), but notes that their inclusion in L shows that they were still being copied in the late 1460s.
43. '...with the very strong probability that the work was undertaken in the earliest years of the first decade.' (Bühler 1970, xxi).

44. Doyle 1957, 306n. Doyle also notes the label of difference which indicates that Astley's father was still alive.
45. See below, p.492.
46. I have personally inspected this manuscript, but for the description of it I am indebted to notes kindly supplied by Mrs Sarah Barter-Bailey, Armouries Librarian.
47. Anglo 1962, 191.
48. H is included to facilitate discussion of that manuscript below.
49. See Anglo 1969, 11-17.
50. Bentley 1831, 175 and note.
51. Anglo 1962, 192-3.
52. I have not been able to inspect MS 6a, so the possibility must remain that H is a poor copy taken directly from that source.
53. Dr Doyle, who kindly looked at this chapter for me, suggested several changes to the descriptions of hands, which I have acted upon. One point of factual disagreement is that he noted ff.122-123 as a pair, whereas I have f.122 as the second leaf of a bifolium and f.123 as the first of the next quire of eight leaves. Resolution of this would necessitate another look at the manuscript itself, though even then it might not be possible to decide the issue because the binding is very tight. Dr Doyle makes the following additional points (letter dated 27 April 1981):
- Regarding the leaf lost before f.139, do you know of the leaf of the Secrees at Philadelphia [MS 72 above]? in the same hand but not apparently one from PML 775, unless it is a reject, since it contains the passage on f.169v... I thought the pictures in Othea definitely not by the same artist as the feats of arms or the birds'-eye views (sea-pictures) elsewhere in the volume, being more like the Master of Fastolf's or William Abel's style (as their exemplar may have been), though only tinted drawings, not fully painted. I note that the picture on 275v is over lines ruled for text, as earlier ones outside the Othea may have been. Dillon's photos show ff.275v and 277v so ruled (275r also ruled) cf. your n.39... I read an erased inscription

on 291v under ultra-violet light as something dated 1523... I think it is pretty clear that Astley did acquire the original pieces already made or being finished, since his arms were added so awkwardly (do those at the end of Othea mean it was already defective at the beginning or were they in both places when it was separate?). Astley's erased inscription on 195r suggests a habit of indicating his ownership near the end of sections kept separately... Your demonstration of textual dependence seems pretty convincing. Astley's book was no doubt available at Westminster for Ebesham, or thereabouts, as he and Paston were knights of the body at the time.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PASTON CONNECTION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOOK

William Ebesham's Letter and Bill

BL MS Additional 43491, f.12 is an undated letter from William Ebesham to Sir John Paston the Elder [John II], requesting payment for work on the Grete Boke and rehearsing sums paid and outstanding for other work [cf. PL II, 386-7]:

My moost woorshupfull and moost speciall maister, with all my seruyce moost lowly I recomaunde [me] vnto your gode maistirship, besechyng you moost tendirly to see me sumwhat rewardid for my labour in the grete booke which I wright vnto your seide gode maistirship. I haue often tymes writyn to Pampynge, accordyng to your desire, to enfourme you hou I haue labourd in wrytynge for you. And I see wele he spekes not to your maistership of hit, and god knowith I ly in seintwarye at grete coste & amonges right vnresonable askers. I movid this mater to Sir Thomas late, & he tolde me he wolde move your maistirship therein; which Sir Thomas desirid me to remembir wele what I haue had in money at soondry tymes of hym, which parcelles here ensuen:

ffirst I had for half the wrytynge of the priue seal with
Pampynge viijd

Also for the wrytynge of the pryue seal a nober tyme in
papur xxd

Also for the wrytynge of the litill boke of phisyke xxd

Also for the grete witnesses at the first tyme, viij
in parchemyn xs

Also Calle set me a wrytynge at tyme of your beyng beyonde the see, ij tymes the priue seal in papir & than clerely in parchemyn, and iij of the seide grettist witnesses writyn than a geyne, for which he promysid me xs for my labour, for I wacchid gretly for hit he desirid it so hastily, & gaue me but iiijs viijd

| | | |
|--|-------|--------|
| Item, I wrote viij of the witnessis in <u>parchement</u> , | | |
| but aftir xiiij d a peece, for which I was paide | | |
| of <u>Sir Thomas</u> | xs | |
| Item, while my seide maister was ovir the see in | | |
| <u>Midsomer</u> terme, Calle sett me a warke to wryte two | | |
| tymes the prevy seale in papir and than after | | |
| cleerely in <u>parchement</u> | iiijs | viijd |
| And also wrote the same tyme oon mo of the lengist | | |
| witnessis and othir dyuers & necessary wrytynges, | | |
| for which he <u>promisid</u> me xs whereof I had of Calle | | |
| but iiijs iiijd [<u>sic</u>], caret vs iiijd | vs | iijd |
| Item, I resceyvid of <u>Sir Thomas</u> at <u>Westminster</u> | | |
| penultimo die Oct. A ^o viij ^o | iijs | iiiijd |
| Item, I did write to quairs of papir of witnessis, | | |
| euery quaire conteynyng xiiij leves after ijd a | | |
| leff | iiijs | viijd |
| Item, as to the Grete Booke, first for wrytyng of | | |
| the Coronacion & othir tretys of knyghthode in that | | |
| quaire which conteyneth a xiiij levis & more, ijd | | |
| a leff ^r | ijs | ijd |
| Item, for the tretys of werre in iiiij bookes, which | | |
| conteyneth lx levis, aftir ijd a leeff | xs | |
| Item, for Othea Pistill, which conteyneth xliij ^{ti} | | |
| leves | vijs | ijd |
| Item, for the Chalenges and the Actes of Armes, | | |
| which is xxviiij ^{ti} lefes | iiijs | viijd |
| Item, for de Regimine Principum, which conteyneth | | |
| xlvi ^{ti} leves, aftir a peny a leef, which is | | |
| right wele worth | iijs | ixd |
| Item, for the rubrissheyng of all the booke | | |
| | iijs | iiiijd |
| <u>Summa rescepta</u> xxijs iiijd | | |
| <u>Summa non soluta</u> xljs jd | | |
| vnde <u>pro magno libro scripto</u> xxvijs, cum <u>dimidio</u> | | |
| <u>chalengiorum</u> <u>Summa totalis</u> iiijli iijs vd | | |

The best way to compare and discuss these two documents is to arrange their contents in tabular form, with the items in the bill set alongside the equivalent items in the letter. This

demonstrates Ebesham's method of accounting and highlights certain discrepancies. Some of the difficulties which relate to the Grete Boke can be cleared up by reference to L.

| | | Paid | | Owing | |
|----|--|------|----|-------|---|
| | | s | d | s | d |
| 1. | [Bill] a litill booke of pheesyk [Letter] the litill boke of phisyke -- 20d | | 20 | | |
| 2. | [Bill] half the prevy seal [Letter] half the writyng of the priue seal -- 8d | | 8 | | |
| 3. | [Bill] hole prevy seale [Letter] the pryue seal a noþer tyme in papir -- 20d | 2 | 0 | | |
| 4. | [Bill] viij of the witnessis in parchement, but aftir xiiij a peece [The more precise computation is 9s 4d.] [Letter] the grete witnesses at the first tyme in parchemyn -- 10s | 10 | 0 | | |
| 5. | [Bill] two tymes the prevy seale in papir and than after cleerely in parchement. And also ... oon mo of the lengist witnessis and othir dyuers & necessary wrytynges [The sum of 4s 4d mentioned in the text of the bill is incorrect, but the amount is shown correctly as 4s 8d in the column of figures.] [Letter] ij tymes the priue seal in papir & than clerely in parchemyn, and iij of the seide grettist | 4 | 8 | 5 | 4 |

| | Paid | 116 |
|---|------|-------|
| | s d | Owing |
| | s d | s d |
| witnesses -- <u>promised</u> 10s: <u>paid</u> | | |
| 4s 8d | | |
| 6. [Bill] resceyvid of Sir Thomas <u>30</u> | | |
| <u>October 1468</u> | 3 4 | |
| 7. [Bill] to quairs of papir of | | |
| witnessis, euery quaire conteynyng | | |
| xiiij leves after ijd a leff | | 4 8 |
| [Letter] there is owynge me for ij | | |
| quairs wrytyng of the seide witnesse | | |
| in papir, which quairs conteign xxviiij | | |
| levis, after xiiij in a quaire, ijd a | | |
| lef -- 3s [so computed, should be | | |
| 4s 8d] | | |
| 8.i. [Bill] the Grete Booke... the Coronacion | | |
| & othir tretys of knyghthode in that | | |
| quaire which conteyneth a xiiij levis & | | |
| more, ijd a lef | | 2 2 |
| 8.ii [Bill] tretys of werre in iiij bookes, | | |
| which conteyneth lx levis, aftir ijd | | |
| a leeff | | 10 0 |
| 8.iii [Bill] Othea pistill, which conteyneth | | |
| xliij ^{ti} leves | | 7 2 |
| 8.iv [Bill] Chalenges and the Actes of Armes, | | |
| which is xxviiij ^{ti} lefes | | 4 8 |
| 8.v [Bill] de Regimine Principum, which | | |
| conteyneth xlv ^{ti} leves aftir a peny a | | |
| leef | | 3 9 |
| 8.vi [Bill] rubrissheyng of all the booke | | 3 4 |
| 8. [Letter] for vij quairs of the grete | | |
| boke -- 14s | | |
| [Bill] Summa rescepta | 22 4 | |

| Paid | | Owing | |
|------|---|-------|---|
| s | d | s | d |

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--|----|---|
| [Bill] Summa non soluta | | 41 | 1 |
|-------------------------|--|----|---|

[Bill] vnde pro magno libro scripto

27s, cum dimidio challengiorum

[Bill] Summa Totalis -- £3. 3s. 5d.

Editors before Davis assumed the two documents, letter and bill, to be contemporary, whereas in fact the letter antedates the bill.¹ There is, for instance, the evidence of the receipts of 3s 4d on 30 October 1468, mentioned in the bill (item 6) but not the letter; this payment was probably made in response to Ebesham's appeal from 'seintwarye'. There is also the marked variation in the spelling of such words as pheesyk/phisyke and wreetyn/writyn, which suggests a lapse of time between letter and bill.² Moreover, it appears that the writing of the Grete Boke had been in progress in the interval, for the letter requests only the payment of 14s for seven quires, whereas the bill requests 27s 'pro magno libro scripto', actually specifying 27s 9d for some sixteen quires (allowing four for Othea which contained forty-three leaves), and adds 3s 4d 'for the rubrissheyng of all the booke'. The seven quires mentioned in the letter are judged by Ebesham to represent 'the iij^d parte' of the planned book, although he adds puzzlingly that 'the remenaunt wilt be in fyve', by which he is perhaps referring to his own projected contribution to the whole, an estimate which in the event was surpassed. The sixteen quires detailed in the bill, on the other hand, represent the work nearing completion.³

There is some internal evidence for the dating of these two documents. The 'priue seal' mentioned in items 2, 3, and 5 is presumably the licence of September 1464 for the foundation of

Caister College under the terms of Sir John Fastolf's will, or else that of July 1466 for the admission of John Paston II to his family estates.⁴ The 'witnesses' of items 4, 5, and 6 are statements taken down for use in the litigation concerning Fastolf's will between 1463 and 1467.⁵ The work specified in item 5 was done, according to the letter, when Sir John was 'beyonde the see', to which the bill adds 'in Midsomer terme', that is to say, in June and July 1468 when the Paston brothers were in Bruges in the train of Margaret of York for her marriage with Charles, Duke of Burgundy, some of the celebrations of which are described in a letter of John Paston III to Margaret Paston⁶ and some of which appear in L14. The wording of the bill suggests that the occasion was not long past. Item 6 of the bill refers to a receipt dated 'peniultimo die Oct. A^o viij^o' (i.e. 30 October 8 Ed. IV, 1468), probably implying, as Doyle suggests, that the bill was drawn up in a subsequent regnal year, i.e. after March 1469.⁷ The absence of this item from the letter suggests a date for that document somewhere between July and October 1468.

With regard to the Grete Boke, reference to L makes good sense of the details of the bill when it is realised that Ebesham sometimes computed according to the actual number of leaves and sometimes rounded up his sub-totals to the number of leaves in the quires he had prepared. Item 8.i of the bill is for 2s 2d for thirteen leaves '& more' of 'the Coronacion and othir tretys of knyghthode', corresponding exactly to the thirteen leaves of ff.2-14, containing L1-7, with just four lines spilling over on to f.15r. Ebesham speaks of it as one quire, but in fact there is a run-on of just over a leaf. Item 8.ii refers to 'the tretys of werre in iiij bookes', that is,

the English translation of Vegetius (L24), ff.84r-138r.⁸ The sixty leaves, for which the proper amount of 10s is asked, are in the five gatherings signed h-1. No mention is made of L25, the pilot book, which follows straight on as far as f.142r and, being out of keeping with the subject matter of the manuscript generally, gives the appearance of having been copied as a mere space-filler; nor is mention made of the three blank pages at the end. It seems that Ebesham was being less than honest, for he specifies work in excess of his charges, even to the extent of the four lines of L7 which run to f.15r of L, but conceals more substantial gaps in the work charged for.

Item 8.iii gives the charges for copying 'Othea Pistill'.⁹ Though intended for the Grete Boke, this was probably never bound as part of it, the evidence being the consecutive quire signatures of L and the fact that Othea appears as a separate item in the inventory of Sir John Paston's books (see below). By analogy with L24, which was copied from ninety-seven leaves of M,¹⁰ Othea, if copied from M, as it probably was, should have occupied about 42 leaves; Ebesham specifies 43. Item 8.iv, 'the Challenges and the Actes of Armes, which is xxviiij^{ti} lefes' refers to L8-15, ff.15-43, exactly the right number. These follow the work alluded to in item 8.i of the bill, and are followed by almost five blank leaves (not this time charged for) upon which additions in hands D and C have subsequently been written. Item 8.v of the bill, for 45 leaves of de Regimine Principum, tallies exactly with L31, ff.155-199. The 'rubrissheyng of all the booke' mentioned in 8.vi probably refers to the embellishments in both blue and red. Though this was normally a specialist's job, there is nothing in the decoration

of L which would be beyond the powers of a competent calligrapher.¹ The relatively small amount of decorative work in blue is so intimately connected with the rubric work proper (alternation of paragraph marks and of loop-filling in capitals, for instance) that it is unlikely that more than one person was involved.

However, L contains further material which is not mentioned in either the letter or the bill. There is the whole of gathering e, containing L21 and L22 in Ebesham's hand, followed by originally blank leaves now occupied by a sixteenth-century table of contents; there is also the whole of gatherings f and g, containing the single item L23 in Hand B; and there is the whole of gathering n, containing L26-28 in Hand C, with L29 and L30 added in Hands E and F respectively. The appearance of other original hands in the book is not altogether surprising, for Ebesham's letter suggests that at least a third of the work was originally intended for scribes other than himself. His continuing involvement in the work beyond what is specified in the letter and the bill perhaps helps explain the note at the end of the bill that 27s of the total is 'pro magno libro scripto'.¹² At first sight this is strange, for 27s is only an approximation of the correct amount of 27s 9d (leaving aside the rubrication) in a bill which is elsewhere very attentive to detail. A possible explanation is that there was more work to be done and charged for by Ebesham, and that the 27s of the note, which in any case is not part of the account proper, was a round figure for the work already completed. This same note adds to the information that 27s is for the writing of the Grete Boke the abbreviated words 'cu. dm. (?) chal.' This was expanded by Gairdner first into 'cum diurnali challengiorum'

and later into 'cum diversis chalengiis'.¹³ But both these expansions raise the question as to why, of all the material in the Grete Boke, the challenges should be singled out for special mention. Doyle suggests 'cum dimidio chalengiorum' (i.e. 'with half the challenges'),¹⁴ which may be nearer the truth, for this conveys the specific information that there were more to come, and explains gatherings e to g, which contain material, written partly by Ebesham, which could be so described.

Other Paston documents connected with Ebesham and the Grete Boke

BL MS Additional 34889, f.215 is a letter from William Paston II to Margaret Paston, in the hand of William Ebesham, written at Norwich, 7 April probably 1469 [PL I, 170].

BL MS Additional 43491, f.10 is a letter from John Paston II in London to Margaret Paston in Norfolk, dated on internal evidence October 1469. This mentions Ebesham as being in the company (and probably the employ) of William Paston II in London, the possibility that Ebesham might accompany William to Norfolk within two days, and the fact that Ebesham had been commissioned to write 'two French books' for John Paston II [cf. PL I, 408-9]: The relevant parts of the letter are:

Item, myn oncle William scholde haue comen home euery daye thys vij nyght, & thys daye or to-morow he comyth homwardes. He and I be as goode as fallyn owt, for he hathe laten me pleyonly wete pat he schalle haue alle my graunt-dames lyfflod off 'here' enherytance & of hyr joyntore also, wherin I trust to God that he schall helpe. I woll not yit speke of it, ner I praye yow doo not...

Item, iff Ebysham come nat hom wyth myn oncle W. pat than ye sende me þe ij ffrenshe bookys pat he scholde haue wretyn, pat he may wryght them here.

JOHN PASTON, K.

BL MS Additional 43491, f.26, is an inventory of the books of John Paston II, made between 1475 and 1479, in which mention is made of 'my boke off knyghthod' and of 'a boke de Othea', perhaps the 'Othea Pistill' mentioned in Ebesham's bill as originally intended for inclusion in the Grete Bøke [cf. PL I, 516-8]:

- The Inventory off Englysshe bokis off Joh [...]
 made þe v. daye off Novembre A^o r.r. E. iiij^{ti} [...]
1. A boke had off myn ostesse at þe George [...]
 off þe Dethe off Arthur begynyng at Cassab [...]
 Warwyk, Kyng Richard Cure delyon, a croni [...]
 to Edwarde þe iiij, pric -
 2. Item, a boke off Troylus whyche William Bra [...]
 hathe hadde neer x yer & lent it to da [...]
 Wyngfelde, & jbi ego vidi; valet
 3. Item, a blak boke with The Legende off Lad [...]
 saunce Mercye, þe Parlement off Byr [...]
 Glasse, Palatyse & Scitacus, The Med [...]
 the Greene Knyght, valet -
 4. Item, a boke jn preente off þe Pleye of þe [...]
 5. Item, a boke lent Midelton, & therin is Bele Da [...]
 Mercy, þe Parlement off Byrdes, Balade [...]
 off Guy & Colbronde, Off the Goos, þe [...]
 þe Dysput[i]son bytwyen Hope & Dyspeyr [...]
 Marchauntes, þe Lyffe off Seynt Cry [...]

6. A reede boke þat Percyvall Robsart gaff m [...] off the Medis off þe Masse, þe Lamentacion [...] off Chylde Ypotis, A Preyer to þe Vernycle [...] callyd The Abbeye off þe Holy Gooste [...]
 7. Item, in quayeres Tully de Senectute in d [...] wheroff ther is no more cleere wretyn [...]
 8. Item, in quayeres Tully or Cypio de Ami [...] leffte with William Worcester, valet -
 9. Item, in quayeres a boke off þe Polecye off In [...]
 10. Item, in quayeres a boke de Sapiencia [...] wherin þe ij parson is liknyd to Sapi [...]
 11. Item, a boke de Othea, text & glose, valet [...] in quayeres -
- Memorandum, myn olde boke off blasonynges off a [...]
- Item, the nywe boke portrayed & blasonyd [...]
- Item, a copy off blasonynges off armys & t [...] names to be fownde by letter _____
- Item, a boke with armys portrayed in paper v [...]
- Memorandum, my boke off knyghthod & ther in m [...] off makyng off knyghtes, off justes, off torn [...] fyghtyng in lystys, paces holden by sou [...] & chalenges, statutes off weer, & de Regimi [...] valet _____
- Item, a boke off nyw statutes ffrom Edward [...] the iiij _____

The letter of 7 April written by Ebesham suggests that he was employed by William Paston in the provinces in the spring of 1469.

Sir John's letter of October 1469 implies that Ebesham also had dealings in London with William, with whom Sir John's relationship was becoming at that time rather strained. In his letter Sir John further implies that Ebesham had become rather slow in completing work commissioned by him (which would have been hardly surprising in view of his reluctance to pay), for he should have copied 'ij ffrensh bookys' in Norfolk, but by October 1469 had failed to do so. It may be merely coincidence, but the remaining quire of L written by Ebesham contains only two items, and both are in French. L21 describes a combat in France and L22 relates a challenge issued in Burgundy. The 'ij ffrenshe bookys' might, therefore, be the two separate source books from which these unrelated items in L were copied.¹⁵ Alternatively, the two French books might have contained the source material for the three items L21-23, for, although the last of these is in a different hand, the uniformity of the paper suggests that the work was deputed by Ebesham.¹⁶ In that case, one of the books would presumably have supplied L21-22, and the other L23.

The inventory of books is a roll, in the hand of Sir John Paston,¹⁷ and is dated after 31 March 1474 because of its reference to The Game and Playe of the Chesse printed by Caxton, but before 15 November 1479, the date of Sir John's death. The paper has been damaged along the whole of the right side so that some of the text is lost. The extent of the loss can be estimated from the heading and some of the titles. The first line appears to lack ... n Paston K or n Paston Knyght; item 3 lacks ... yes, Bele Dame and ... des pe Temple off; item 4 ... Chesse, and the value; item 5 ... me saunce. This means that there would have been sufficient space in the second memorandum for

an entry similar to the following suggested reconstruction:

Memorandum, my boke off knyghthod & ther in
m[aner] off makyng off knyghtes, off justes,
of torn[amentis, off] fyghtyng in lystys,
paces holden by sou[eraignes,]¹⁸

& chalenges, statutes off weer, & de Regimi[ne Principum]

From the correspondence of this to L and to the Grete Boke of the Ebesham's letter and bill, there can be little doubt that it is the Grete Boke (i.e. L) which is being referred to here.¹⁹

It is interesting to note that 'a boke de Othea' is mentioned in item 11 of the inventory, where it is described as being 'in quayeres' (i.e. unbound), which is further evidence against this item having been included with the rest when the Grete Boke came to be assembled.²⁰

It is regrettable that the value Sir John set upon his books is not now known because of the damage to the inventory; but the formal valuation may not, in any case, have borne much relation to the actual market value.²¹ The total cost of the Grete Boke may be estimated as the 31s 1d detailed in the bill, plus about 7s for the 42 or so leaves not accounted for in that document, plus the cost of additional rubrication and binding, but less the 7s 2d for Othea, giving a total somewhere in the region of 40s.

Scribes and Prices

If the close correspondence between L and the bill is not evidence enough for the identification of the Grete Boke, there is the further evidence of Ebesham's signature at the end of the long item L24.²² He used virtually the same formula to sign his name in Rylands Latin MS 395.²³ Moreover, the words 'quod Sir Jhon Paston' which are appended to L16 are a sign of some connection with the Pastons, even if they do not necessarily imply that either Sir John (the patron of the Grete Boke or his younger brother, who was knighted in 1487) was the actual transcriber of this item, which was added in a blank space which Ebesham had left. The compiler of the printed Lansdowne catalogue described this as 'the hand-writing of Sir John Paston himself',²⁴ but the possibility is denied by Gairdner,²⁵ and by Doyle, who writes:

This is not the autograph of either the first or second Sir John, for it does not agree in any respect with the plentiful extant examples of their hands, even allowing for the amateurish bastard style here adopted.²⁶

This opinion has received the support of Professor Davis, who concedes, however, that it is difficult to compare bookhands and the informal cursive hands of the Paston Letters.²⁷ Whether Sir John wrote L16 must remain an open question, with the strong likelihood that he did not. But in this case the meaning of the words 'quod Sir Jhon Paston' is unclear. The 'quod ...' formula normally refers to the scribe,²⁸ but it is possible in this case that it refers to the person whose instructions the scribe was following.²⁹ Alternatively, L16 may have been copied from a genuine autograph, from which the words were automatically carried over.³⁰

It might seem likely that the vast quantity of Paston letters and papers would provide evidence for the identity of the other scribes of L besides Ebesham, especially since Sir John sometimes used amanuenses.³¹ But this line of enquiry has unfortunately proved fruitless, not because the scribes of the letters both to and from Sir John are definitely not the scribes of L, but because the handwriting of the letters is so informal as to make any comparison virtually pointless. The books written by Ebesham, including L itself, are enough to show that a single scribe might have a repertory of styles which could be matched to the formality of the work in hand, and in particular to the language of the text.³² For this reason the hands which I have named C and E may possibly be those of the same person, as they are sufficiently similar for the differences to be merely the result of the different languages used - English and French on the one hand, and Latin on the other. The matter is incapable of proof, and would probably remain so even if there were more work in Hand E to judge from.³³

Comparison of the watermarks also yields disappointing results. The watermark of Ebesham's letter of request for payment (a two-wheeled cart) occurs in a small number of other documents in the Paston collection, dated 1469-75;³⁴ that of the bill is more common in the Paston Letters, and Fenn gives eight examples, dated 1461-73.³⁵ There is no particular significance in the identity of the senders and recipients, except that this latter mark is on the letter (mentioned above) written by Ebesham for William Paston on 7 April, probably 1469. Neither of the marks in Ebesham's

letter and bill is present in L. Two marks similar to those found in L, the ring and the crowned, lozengy shield, are found (though they are not common) in the letters,³⁶ but it is difficult to attach any significance to this. Finally, on the evidence given by Doyle,³⁷ none of the marks in L is like any of the more common marks in Ebesham's other extant transcriptions.

Probably, in line with what seems to have been normal scribal practice, Ebesham provided the paper for the Grete Boke himself.³⁸ A price for this is not quoted separately, but is likely to be included in the other prices given. This supposition accords nicely with items 2 and 3 of Ebesham's letter, the former of which acknowledges 8d for writing half the privy seal with Pamping, while the latter specifies 20d for the whole privy seal another time on paper, the extra probably being for the materials, which in the first case would have been provided by the collaborator. And when the bill records the writing of eight witnesses on parchment at 14d each, but computes a total of 10s, it seems reasonable to attribute the discrepancy of 8d to the cost of the parchment. Other apparent anomalies are not so easy to explain in this way,³⁹ but the idea that the scribe provided the paper fits in with the theory that Ebesham deputed the copying of the two quires of L23;⁴⁰ the hand is different (Hand B), but the paper is the same as that used by Ebesham, and it may be that he and his collaborator used the same workshop.

The fairness of Ebesham's prices is difficult to judge, except that his employment by more than one member of the parsimonious

Paston family suggests that he was not unreasonable. Several fifteenth-century bills and receipts may be cited by way of comparison. One, dated 1427, is for work done for the Duke of Bedford:

Il est deu a moy, Jehan Thomas, clerc, demourant a Paris, pour ma peine et salaire davoit escript en parchemin, par lordonnance et commandement de monseigneur le regent le royaume de France, duc de Bedford, ung livre en Latin intitule, 'Le Pelerinaige de Lame' en prose; le quel contient xij. cayers de parchemin, qui valent, au pris de xvj.s.P. pour chacun cayer, xij.l.T.

Item, mest semblablement deu pour mon salaire davoit escript en parchemin, par lordonnance et commandement de mon dit seigneur le Regent, ung autre livre en Francois intitule, 'Le vif tablet de Confession,' en rime: le quel contient x. caiers, qui valent, au dit pris de xvj.s.P. le cayer, x.l.T.

Item. pour quatre douzaines de parchemin, pour faire les dits deux livres, qui valent, au pris de xxiiij.s.P. le douzaine, vj.l.T.⁴¹

The same document contains the signed and dated receipt for the full payment to the scribe -- evidence of a much more businesslike arrangement than with Ebesham. The charges are difficult to compare, except that it is noticeable that the transcription of verse is here charged at the same rate as that of prose, perhaps justifying Ebesham's claim that De Regimine Principum 'aftir a peny a leef' was, in fact, 'right wele worth'.

Other comparable records include accounts of payments to one Henry Mere by the priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, between 1446 and 1449. These mention an amount of 9s for the copying of part of the Summa Theologie of Alexander of Hales, 'precium

quaterni xijd.⁴² Another example is the note of payment, dated 1467, by Sir John Howard to a limner of Bury called Thomas, which includes some scribal work at 20d per quire, with an additional 5d 'for floryshynge of capytalls'.⁴³

Other examples of the cost and value of books in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are given by Bell,⁴⁴ who summarises the problems of wage-measurement and valuation. It is seldom possible to be sure of the conditions of payment (whether time-work or piece-work, whether board and lodgings were included, etc.), of the nature of the book in question (whether ornate, plain, whole, or in parts), and, least of all, of the value of money in the troubled times in question. There seems to have been great variation in wages, scribes of university texts being paid approximately half the amount earned by scribes of ecclesiastical books. For academic texts, as with much of Ebesham's work, the unit of measurement was the quire. The average word-rate of 6,200 to the shilling, computed by Bell, compares with approximately 5,300 per shilling in the Grete Boke. According to Bell it was a custom for the patron to provide his scribe with a gown, which may have motivated Ebesham's plea for one in his letter; and during his residence in Norfolk he may also have received free board and lodging.

Sir John's mention of the two French books which Ebesham was to have copied shows that the originals were in the keeping of the Pastons in Norfolk, and that the conditions under which they were held (ownership or, more probably, loan) were such that they might be sent to London so that transcription might be carried out there. Sir John's inventory of books mentions several which were on loan, and probably the lending of books

to friends was quite common.⁴⁵ Since books were circulated like this, the scribe might at another time find himself copying the same item from a different exemplar, and this seems to have happened with Ebesham in the case of Ll, which he also copied into BL MS Additional 10106; collation proves beyond any doubt that this was transcribed from an entirely different manuscript, and that Ebesham did not therefore borrow his original from a central source every time he needed it.⁴⁶

The Life and Character of Sir John Paston

The Paston letters and papers are an excellent source of information for the life of Sir John, as is shown by the brief biography given by Davis in his introduction:⁴⁷

Born 1442. His father evidently sent him to court in 1461, in the hope of gaining royal favour in his litigation about property; and he travelled with the King in that year and the next. He was home again at the beginning of 1463, and a writ of attachment was issued against him alleging felonies in Suffolk. He was knighted on coming of age in 1463. In November of the same year he left home at Caister, without his father's leave, to join the King in the north; and this began a period of extreme disfavour with his father, who banished him from home in 1464-5. By May 1465 he had returned, and was in charge of Caister during Margaret's absence at Hellesdon. From 1466 onwards he was in London a great deal, seeking probate of his father's will and settlement of the still outstanding disputes over Falstolf's estate. By 27 July 1466 he succeeded in obtaining from the King a warrant restoring to him Caister and other Fastolf lands which had been in the possession of John I. In April 1467 he took part, with the King and Lord Scales, in a tournament at Eltham. He was M.P. for Norfolk in 1467-8. On 26 August 1467 probate of Fastolf's will was granted to John Paston and Thomas Howes; and in January 1468 Fastolf's surviving trustees released

to John II a number of manors and lands in Caister and elsewhere in Norfolk and Suffolk. In late June 1468 John II and John III went to Bruges in the retinue of Princess Margaret, youngest sister of Edward IV, for her marriage to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, which took place on 3 July. About this time John II employed William Ebesham as scribe, partly of legal documents but also of his 'Great Book' of chivalric treatises and other verse and prose texts. Despite his own constant complaints of lack of money he lent a large sum to George Nevill, Archbishop of York. Early in 1469 he became engaged to marry Anne Haute, a cousin of the Queen and Lord Scales, but after long negotiations the engagement was broken off in 1477. In August 1479 the Duke of Norfolk who had long claimed Caister, besieged it for five weeks and subdued the defenders under John III. John II was J.P. for Norfolk in 1469-70. During 1470 he reached a compromise with Wainfleet about the Fastolf estate: Paston to retain Caister and some other manors, the rest to go to Magdalen College, Oxford. The agreement was signed on 14 July, but Norfolk held Caister. When Warwick and his associates restored Henry VI in October the Paston brothers took the Lancastrian side. Both served on a commission of oyer and terminer under Clarence. Norfolk released Caister in December. In April 1471 the Pastons fought at Barnet on the losing side. On 23 June Norfolk's men again seized Caister. John II received his pardon on 21 December. In 1472 there is word of his interest in Calais, and in February 1473 he was there, serving under the command of Lord Hastings. He was often there during the next four years, and took the opportunity to visit Bruges and perhaps Neuss. In January 1476 the Duke of Norfolk died suddenly, and John II at once sent a messenger to claim Caister. Though this was not well received, his title was recognized to be valid by the King's council and he regained possession in June. He made his will in October 1477. In 1478 he was M.P. for Yarmouth. In October 1479 he wrote from London 'in fear of the sickness', and died there in November; he was buried in Whitefriars Priory. He left a natural daughter by Constance Reynforth. At

some time after 1475 he drew up a remarkable inventory of his books.

This bare outline conceals the personality of a man who was politic (yet at times headstrong), cultured, witty, gallant (yet sometimes selfish), and who was intelligently interested in all aspects of the life of a gentleman. Such a mode of life seems to have been thrust upon him, and at first he almost failed at it because of his retiring disposition; his uncle Clement wrote to John Paston I in 1461 (when his son was nineteen):

I fele by W. Pekok þat my nevew is not zet verily aqweyntyd in þe Kyngys howse, nore wyth þe officerys of the Kyngys howse. He is not takyn as non of þat howse, fore þe cokys be not charged to serue hym nore þe sewere to gyue hym no dyche, fore þe sewere wyll not tak no men no dischys till þey be comawndyd by þe cownterrollere. Also, he is not aqueyntyd wyth no body but wyth Wekys, and Wekys ad told hym þat he wold bryng hym to þe Kyng; but he hath not zet do soo. Were-fore it were best fore hym to tak hijs leve and cum hom, till ze hadd spok wyth swm body to helpe hym forthe, fore he is not bold y-now to put forthe hym-selfe.⁴⁸

Yet apparently he did 'put forthe hym-selfe' and in 1463 accepted the knighthood which his father himself had paid a fine to avoid.⁴⁹

Sir John seems to have been assiduous on several fronts in support of the family interests, and the letters tell as much of his labours among men of influence as of his concern for the mundane affairs of life on the manor. But his father seems never to have been prepared to pay the price of maintaining a family representative in London, and in 1465, when Sir John had particularly displeased him by leaving home without permission he wrote to his wife: 'I neuir coud fele ner vndirstand hym

poletyk ner diligent in helpyng hym-self, but as a drane amonges bees whch labour for gaderyng hony in the felde and the drane doth nought but takyth his part of it.'⁵⁰

It was not only^{on} the grounds of his value for money in London that Sir John was criticised. Even his supportive brother, John III, grumbled about his slowness to act and his long absences in the capital:

and wher as it plesyth yow for to wyshe me at Eltam at the tornay for the good syth þat was ther, by trowththe I had leuer se yow onys in Caster Halle then to se as many kyngys tornay as myght be betwyx Eltam and London.⁵¹

But it is difficult to get a balanced assessment of Sir John from the letters, for when he did move quickly in claiming Caister in 1476 on the death of the Duke of Norfolk, this also was criticised, on the grounds that the haste was unseemly.⁵² None-the-less, the claim was allowed, and after two generations of Paston effort Sir John could write: 'blissed be God, I have Castre at my will.'⁵³

Sir John was a man of contrasts. He could bargain over the price of barley, determined that he should 'nott lose jd',⁵⁴ yet enter into a bold wager to pay six marks for a horse if Charles of Burgundy married Margaret of York within two years of 1 May 1467, but forty shillings if not.⁵⁵ Assessments of him tend to stress his 'lack of serious application to business'⁵⁶ and his liking for the 'carefree and extravagant life at Court'.⁵⁷ But this is to attach too much weight to the frustrations expressed by the family at home. A wiser character emerges from a more sympathetic reading of the letters, one

given to proverbs and practical advice, whose opinion was sought on matters ranging from the treatment of tenants to the value of silver; and it was he who, through his connections at court, eventually succeeded in securing something of the Fastolf legacy for the family. Above all, though, he is redeemed by his vitality and wit, and, as Gairdner has remarked, the letters suddenly cease to be as interesting after his death:

We cannot close the record of Sir John Paston's life without a certain feeling of regret. The very defects of his character give an interest to it which we do not feel in that of his father or of his brother John. He is a careless soldier, who loves adventure, has some influence at court, mortgages his lands, wastes his property, and is always in difficulties. Unsuccessful in love himself, he yet does a good deal of wooing and courting disinterestedly in behalf of a younger brother. He receives sprightly letters from his friends, with touches of broad humour occasionally, which are not worse than might be expected of the unrestrained freedom of the age. He patronises literature too, and a transcriber copies books for him. With his death the domestic interest of the Paston Letters almost comes to an end, and the quantity of the correspondence very greatly diminishes. The love-making, the tittle-tattle, and a good deal of the humour disappear, and the few desultory letters that remain relate, for the most part, either to politics or to business.⁵⁸

Sir John's Interests and Connections reflected in the Development of the 'Grete Boke'

The sphere of activity most relevant to the Grete Boke is that of the court and of the military camp, and Sir John often sent news of these to his brother, who was also a soldier and shared

his interest in them. The letters are full of information and requests concerning horse, harness, and weaponry -- a friend writes to him in Calais asking him to seek out a good horse 'feynyng as ye wold by hym yowr-self',⁵⁹ another promises him 'a fayre harneys' in exchange for a favour,⁶⁰ Sir John himself requests that his sword be kept 'weell oylyd' in his absence,⁶¹ and so on. He was also kept busy supplying those in Norfolk with adequate provision for the constant threat, and actuality, of siege, and was present in person at an incident of which his bailiff, Richard Calle, reported to John Paston I:

Plesith it youre maysterschip to witte of the rwle and disposicion of the Mastre Philip and the balyf of Cossey, wyth othere of my lorde of Suffolk men, on Monday last past at aftre-noon were at Heylesdon wyth the nombre of ccc men forto haue entred, notwythstandyng they sayde they come not for to entre, but wythoute dought and they had ben strong j-nough for vs they wolde haue entred, and that we vndrestonde nough; but we knowyng of ther comyng and purveyd so for hem þat we were stronge j-nough. We had lx men wythinne the place, and gones and suche ordynauns, so that if they had sette vpp-on vs they had be destroyed. And ther my mastres was wythinne, and my mastre Ser John, and hathe gotten hym as grete worchip for that day as any gentelman myght doo.⁶²

Although he saw no action on this occasion, he tasted real battle at Barnet in 1471, and served for four years (not continuously) in France under Lord Hastings.⁶³

As for tournaments, the best evidence for Sir John's interest unfortunately survives only in the form of a transcript of 1674, which seems from the spelling to be not a minutely accurate copy of the original; but the content is almost certainly authentic, for it evoked a sharp reply from John III,

to whom the original was addressed. The transcript of the original reads as follows. (punctuation sic):

My hand was hurte at the Tourney at Eltham upon Wednesday last, I would that you had been there and seen it, for it was the goodliest sight that was sene in Inglande this Forty yeares of so fewe men. There was upon the one side within, the Kinge, My Lord Scalles, My selfe, and Sellenger, and without, my Lord Chamberlyn, S^r Iohn Woodvyle, S^r Thomas Mountgomery and Iohn Aparre &c
By your brother Iohn Paston Mil:⁶⁴

The date was spring 1467. Later the same year he would have witnessed the famous feat of arms between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy (cf. L11 and L15) and the next year in Bruges the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or held by the Bastard (cf. L14). These events may have influenced him to travel to Burgundy to be measured for a new suit of armour by the Bastard's armourer, from whom an interesting letter dated 1473 survives, asking Sir John to make arrangements to pay for and collect it.⁶⁵

Sir John was very much involved in the Burgundian marriage of Margaret of York, and in 1468 he and his brother travelled to Bruges for the nuptials, after which John III wrote of the duke's court: 'I herd neuer of non lyek to it saue Kyng Artourys cort.'⁶⁶ John II visited Burgundy on other occasions, and remained interested in news of the duchy,⁶⁷ but we need not assume that the immediate source for the 'Burgundian' material in his book (L11-15, L18) was anything other than an English one. L11 and L15 were probably compiled by Chester Herald,⁶⁸ while L12-14 (copies of challenges) are the sort of document which would probably have proliferated once the original had been made public, for the Paston letters themselves show how common it was at that time for copies to be

made even of fairly mundane letters sent and received. The other item connected with Burgundy (L18) occurs in a block of material in French, all in Hand C(L17-20), added in blank pages at the end of a quire. As the account in the Descriptive Index shows, L18 was appropriated by the English heralds in the fifteenth century, and adapted (or more likely 'forged') so that it appeared to support their claim to traditional tournament droits; the occurrence of the unadapted version in L alongside other items of clearly heraldic interest suggests that the document was already in circulation amongst the heralds in England and that it was from them that Sir John acquired the whole of this block of material.

Ladies were always treated with the greatest deference at jousts and tourneys (cf. L6, L40, L41, etc.), and there are occasional reports by Sir John of dalliance and flirtation which suggest that he was adept at this aspect of courtly life.⁶⁹ But outside the court his treatment of women seems to have fallen short of the highest ideals of chivalry, and his advice to his brother was anything but romantic: 'bere yore-selfe as lowly to þe modere as ye lyst, but to þe mayde not to lowly, nere that ye be to gladde to spede nere to sory to fayle.'⁷⁰ He had a number of amorous relationships with women, one of whom bore him an illegitimate daughter,⁷¹ and he seems to have won something of a reputation, judging from a jovial letter from his friend, Daverse:

And as to Ouyde De Arte Amandi, I shall send hym you þis next weke, for I haue hym not now redy. But me thenketh Ouide De Remedio were more mete for yow, but yef ye purposed to falle hastely in my Lady Anne P.

lappe, as white as whales bon, &c. Ye be the best cheser of a gentell-woman þat I know.⁷²

His only known serious relationship with a woman, however, suggests otherwise, for from 1469 he was betrothed to a Mistress Anne Haute of Calais, a relative of Lord Scales. The engagement survived the Battle of Barnet, when the Paston brothers and Lord Scales fought on opposing sides, but it seems to have become more and more unsatisfactory to both parties. In 1473 Sir John wrote, 'I wolde haue hopyd to haue ben delyueryd off Mestresse Anne Hault';⁷³ but it was not until 1477 that he could write, 'the mater bytween Anne Hault and me, shall wyth Goddys grace thys terme be at a perffygth ende'.⁷⁴

Anne Haute's kinsman, Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, features prominently in L,⁷⁵ and his relationship with the Pastons is therefore of some significance. When he first became involved in their affairs it was as an enemy, one who in 1466 had designs not only on the late Sir John Fastolf's fine castle at Caister but also on the Paston manor of Cotton.⁷⁶ His attention seems, however, to have been diverted by the acquisition of the lordship of the Isle of Wight, and thereafter he became a special champion of the Paston family interests, tourneying alongside Sir John in 1467,⁷⁷ and issuing statements in 1469 (the year in which the Grete Boke was taking shape) that 'for asmoch as a maryage ys fully concluded bytwyx Ser John Paston and my ryght nere kynneswoman Anne Hawte, I will that ye and all othere my seruauntys and tenauntys vnderstaund that my lord my fader and I must of nature and reason shewe vnto hym oure gode assystens and favour in such maters as he shall haue a doo'.⁷⁸ To John III he also showed favour; he dined with him in 1469, together with Louis de Bretaille (whose challenge is

part of L12),⁷⁹ and invited him to travel with him to Portugal in 1471.⁸⁰ It would not have been difficult for John II to have acquired from some herald the series of documents which make up the accounts of Lord Scales' feats of arms in L11 and L15, and the good relationship with Lord Scales would have provided the motivation to do so. Moreover, if the added table of contents is to be believed,⁸¹ by the sixteenth century L had been augmented by even more accounts of Lord Scales than now survive, and was beginning to look like a catalogue of his famous deeds.⁸²

Another of Sir John's connections which may have furnished material for the Grete Boke was with Sir John Fastolf and his secretary William Worcester, alias Botoner. Fastolf (1378-1459) was a remarkable man by any standards.⁸³ A soldier who had served in nearly every glorious battle of the early fifteenth century -- under Henry V at Agincourt and at the Siege of Rouen, and elsewhere in France under the Regent Bedford -- he had made his fortune from the profits of war, and with it had built a stately castle at Caister, whither he retired in 1454. John Paston I, his friend and business agent, somehow gained his confidence in his later years, to such an extent that it was reported to John I by a third party that 'ge are the hartyst kynysman and frynd þat he knowyt'.⁸⁴ In 1459, under dubious circumstances, by a deathbed alteration of his will, Fastolf apparently left his famous castle to John Paston, and the disputes which arose as a result blighted the Paston fortunes until the matter was finally settled in 1476. Sir John probably met Fastolf, for he was seventeen years old when Fastolf died; but whether he knew him personally or not,

he undoubtedly was acquainted with his reputation, and probably also with the details of his career. The three items L26-28 have a close connection with Fastolf, the first two being ordinances for war in France dating from the time when he was on active service there, and the third being a summons for the surrender of Le Mans, of which he was eventually made Lieutenant Governor. Fastolf also shared Sir John Paston's interest in books;⁸⁵ his stepson, Stephen Scrope, dedicated his translation of Othea to him,⁸⁶ and also translated for him in 1450 The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers;⁸⁷ and the prologue of Caxton's edition of Tully of Old Age records that Fastolf also caused the translation of that to be made.⁸⁸ A catalogue of his books at Caister in 1450 includes several chronicles and Veges de l'arte Chevalerie,⁸⁹ and an inventory of 1462 mentions his 'bokes Frenshe, Latyn, and Englyssh', which John I claimed he had no knowledge of.⁹⁰ If any of Fastolf's books survived the upheavals at Caister they may well have passed to John II, but unfortunately there is no evidence.

Documents relating to Fastolf's career may not have come to Sir John directly, but via his faithful secretary, William Worcester. Worcester (1415-c1482) had devoted his life to Fastolf's service, but had received nothing but shabby treatment in return.⁹¹ He apparently felt that he had been the cause of John Paston's favour at Caister, and was much put out to find that he had not been provided for in his late master's will, and that Paston, as one of the chief executors, was not prepared to help him. So he became a dogged opponent

of the Paston interests, and was certainly antagonistic at the time the Grete Boke was in the making;⁹² but by 1478, relations seem to have improved, and we find him writing to Sir John in a much friendlier manner.⁹³ He was a prolific writer, annotator, and collector, and, although some of the works attributed to him are now known to be spurious,⁹⁴ he nevertheless wrote or compiled several which would have been of interest to Sir John. Chief amongst these is The Boke of Noblesse, probably originally designed to encourage Henry VI to adopt an aggressive policy towards the French, but remodelled for presentation to Edward IV.⁹⁵ Some of the subject matter is close to L26-28, and there are even some slight verbal parallels.⁹⁶ The source of The Boke of Noblesse was Fastolf himself, for the writer several times claims 'I hafe herd myne autor [patron] Fastolfe sey ...' and 'yff I do wryte of myne autor I fynde by hys bokes ...'⁹⁷ Collections of documents by Worcester, the pièces justificatives for such a work as The Boke of Noblesse, survive in Lambeth Palace Library MS 506 and College of Arms MS Arundel 48,⁹⁸ but none is identical with any item in L. In addition, Worcester is said to have compiled Acta Domini Johannis Fastolf (now lost).⁹⁹ His research for this may lie behind a reference in one of the Paston letters: about 1460 John Paston sent an investigator to a certain John Bussard, one of Fastolf's old servants, to see if he had any evidence relevant to the litigation over Fastolf's will; the investigator reported a negative answer, and that he had further enquired whether Bussard had ever given any documents to William Worcester:

I askyd hym if he knew ony evydens þat he had delyuerryd on-to William Wossetyr, billys or dedys or ony oper evydens þat xuld longgyn on-to ony purchas or off ony lyfflod on-to my maystrys; and he seyth nay trewly, for he seyth þe last tyme

þat he wrot on-to William Wusserer it was
 be-for Myssomyr, and þanne he wrot a cronekyl
 off Jereusalem, and þe jornés þat my mayster
 dede whyl he was in Fraunce, þat God on is
 sowle haue mercy; and he seyth þat þis drow
 more þan xx^{ti} whazerys off paper, and þis
 wrytyng delyuerryd on-to William Wursseter and
 non oper, ne knowyth not off non oper, he is
 feyth.¹⁰⁰

So, while there is no direct evidence that L26-28 came from Fastolf or Worcester, there is much to suggest that documents might have been available which Sir John could have copied into his book.

William Worcester also translated Cicero's De Senectute,¹⁰¹ and collaborated with Stephen Scrope (c.1396-1472) in translating The Dicts and Sayings.¹⁰² Scrope¹⁰³ was the ward and stepson of Fastolf, by whom he also was ill treated -- he blamed Fastolf for an illness of thirteen or fourteen years' duration which left him 'disfigured in...person'.¹⁰⁴ None-the-less, when aged about fifty he made an offer for the hand of John I's sister, Elizabeth, a girl of about twenty, and for a while the idea of this 'onlykkely mariage' was seriously entertained.¹⁰⁵ Sir John Paston would have known Scrope, and he owned at least one copy of his Othea; but the connection probably has no bearing on the Grete Boke, for the Othea which was originally intended for inclusion in the Grete Boke was probably copied, not from any manuscript directly associated with Scrope, but from M, the book belonging to Sir John Astley.¹⁰⁶

Assuming that L16 (the Statute of Arms), L29 (the passage from

Geoffrey of Monmouth), and L30 (the passage from the Polychronicon), which are additions in L and the only items in Hands D, E, and F, respectively, were copied from sources not now traceable, there is only one other item about which nothing has been said. This is L10, the description of the jousts held by Richard Beauchamp in 1415, which is inserted between the first block of items from M and the material associated with Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy, all in Evesham's hand. L10 is headed 'The challenge of an Auncestre of therle of Warrewik', and the earl in question must surely be Richard Neville (earl 1449-71), who featured prominently in the Paston affairs.¹⁰⁷ Widely popular since a great naval victory over the French in 1458, he was a particular friend to the Pastons over a long period of time, making representations concerning Caister even to the king himself.¹⁰⁸ John III's first experience of warfare was under his leadership,¹⁰⁹ and the two brothers fought for him in the Battle of Barnet, at which he was killed.¹¹⁰ There is no evidence for the source from which Sir John acquired L10, but the combination of its chivalric interest and its connection with Richard Neville is justification enough for its inclusion.

Perhaps at this point a summary of what has been said about the compilation of the Grete Boke would be useful:

L1-9, L24-25, L31

Copied, probably directly, from M

L10

Copied from an unknown source, possibly connected with the Earl of Warwick

L11-15

Documents concerning Lord Scales and Burgundy, from an heraldic source, probably English

L16

Old statute relevant to the chivalric content of the Grete Boke, possibly copied from Sir John's own book of statutes (cf. the one in his inventory of books).

L17-20

From an heraldic source, probably English

L21-23

Perhaps copied from the 'ij ffrenshe bookys' mentioned in the Paston letters

L26-28

Documents possibly connected with Fastolf, perhaps acquired from William Worcester

L29-30

Favourite passages from popular Latin works, copied from sources unknown.

The sequence of events was perhaps this: a miscellaneous collection of texts mainly to do with knighthood had grown up around certain longer works -- Vegetius, The Book of Governance, Othea -- in the 1450s. The fairly random order was retained when a professional fair copy was made in M before 1461.

Sir John Paston caused William Ebesham to copy from M the texts most relevant to chivalry, and to place the shorter items in a more logical order near the beginning of the new transcription. Having decided to develop the volume into a great manual of knightly practice -- a grand design, judging from the title 'Grete Boke' -- he decided to exclude Othea, which was not practical enough for what he had in mind.¹¹¹ He had Ebesham copy other suitable texts, in English and French, which came

to hand, probably from some of the sources mentioned above. Further texts were added later by other scribes, one of whom also wrote L26-28 in a separate quire, which continued to be added to (L29-30). At some date after 1478 further material was inserted between quires e and f, which was noticed in the sixteenth-century table of contents but which has since disappeared.¹¹² For reasons discussed below (pp.148-9), it seems most likely that the volume would have been bound while Sir John was owner, but the consecutive quire signatures seem to post-date the loss of this inserted material.

Postscript: A Bespoke Book, or Mass-Produced?

The identification of L as the Grete Boke of the Paston Letters was made as long ago as 1814, when Francis Douce referred to 'a volume once belonging to Sir John Paston Knight, in the reign of Edward the fourth, and now in the Lansdowne collection of MSS. in the British Museum'.¹¹³ Five years afterwards, the Lansdowne catalogue described it similarly as 'a volume, the greatest part of which formerly belonged to Sir John Paston, Knight, in the reign of Edw. IV. and was copied for him by one William Ebesham, a Scribe by profession'.¹¹⁴ Since then, a succession of writers has accepted this,¹¹⁵ though it was not until 1957 that the evidence was fully presented.¹¹⁶

There have been a few dissenting voices, such as that of Dillon, who believed that 'both MSS. [L and M] were doubtless copied from some original, now not known, but called in Sir John Paston's accounts, where the copying is noted and paid

for, "The Grete boke."¹¹⁷ The first reasoned alternative to the usually accepted view was that proposed by Gairdner in 1889, who, after noting both the similarities and the differences between L and the description in Ebesham's bill, concluded:

A professional transcriber, no doubt, copied and recopied the same treatises often for various customers, and though the contents are very much the same there is nothing positively to show that the Lansdowne volume was Sir John Paston's copy of the 'Grete Booke' at all.¹¹⁸

Gairdner's argument was elaborated by Bühler, who claimed that the existence of a similar collection in M proved 'that the Paston Grete Booke was no special work but merely a copy of a common fifteenth-century "Sammelband"'.¹¹⁹ He concluded

It thus seems likely that Gairdner's assumption that numerous copies of the Paston Grete Booke were made is correct, and consequently it does not necessarily follow that the Lansdowne volume is the same as that owned by Sir John Paston. The "standard" volume, from which all three manuscripts were probably derived, apparently contained the three longer articles noted above [L24, L31, and Othea] as well as a number of shorter tracts suitable for the quiet enjoyment of a knight; to this, special items were added to suit the tastes of the individual purchaser. Perhaps it may not be too rash, therefore, to suggest that these manuscripts represent an early instance of "mass-production." The books were obviously written for the landed gentry and the success which this "edition" appears to have enjoyed seems to entitle it to the distinction of being "a fifteenth-century best-seller."¹²⁰

In the light of the bibliographical analysis of L in relation to the Paston documents, treated above, and of the dependence of L upon M, demonstrated in the preceding chapter, I hope that these arguments may now be regarded as disproved.

Finally, this might be the place to mention the question of 'booklet' production.¹²¹ A booklet may be described as a quire or group of quires which forms a self-contained unit of one or more texts. Booklets were sometimes given some relatively light binding (such as of parchment covers), and several might be bound together to form a more substantial codex. The difference between a booklet and a codex is therefore essentially one of size.

P.R. Robinson lists ten features which may serve to identify a booklet in a composite volume. Of these five do not apply to L; the others are: 1. handwriting differs in different parts of the manuscript 2. the style of decoration differs in different parts of the manuscript 3. catchwords sometimes occur only within sections of the complete volume 4. the final pages of certain quires are left blank 5. additions have been written in some of these blank spaces.¹²² However, while these features obviously show that L was constructed from work done by several scribes working more-or-less independently, there is nothing at all to show that any part ever had an independent existence, which is the feature I take to be most characteristic of a booklet. There is the negative evidence of the lack of discolouration of any of the initial leaves of quires,¹²³ and also the fact

that L is not referred to as 'in quayeres' (i.e. 'in booklet form?')¹²⁴ in Sir John's inventory of books. More positively, we have the evidence of Ebesham's letter and bill, which request a single payment for a substantial proportion of the extant volume; and most potent of all is the name Grete Boke itself, which hardly fits the concept of booklet construction.

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that L was conceived of from the start as a large codex, and that neither Ebesham's work nor the three gatherings written by Scribes B and C existed as booklets. It is likely, therefore, that the work of these three scribes would have been bound up together not long after Ebesham finished his share of the work (c.1469). The lost material mentioned in the sixteenth-century table of contents, dateable on internal evidence to after 1478,¹²⁵ was therefore probably not part of the original Grete Boke.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. PL II, 386-7.
2. Doyle 1957, 299 and note.
3. A lapse of time would also explain the apparent uncertainty as to what money had been received in the past.
4. Doyle 1957, 299-300; cf. PL II, 300-2, 549-50.
5. Doyle 1957, 300; cf. PL II, 542-4 (two declarations in Pampyng's hand), and also Gairdner 1904, IV, 101-4 (from a manuscript now Bodleian Top. Norf. c.4) and pp.236-45 (neither apparently Ebesham's).
6. PL I, 538-40, quoted in L14 of the Descriptive Index.
7. Doyle 1957, 300-1.
8. G.W. Coopland speculates, without evidence, that this may refer to The Tree of Battles (see Coopland 1949, 23n).
9. See above p.84. Commenting on the 'hye princesse' of the dedication of the version in M, Bühler remarks: 'It is possible, of course, that the "High Princess" permitted Astley to borrow her manuscript in order to have a copy of it made for his volume. Alternatively, the version with this dedication may have been the one released by Scrope "for publication" and would then have been found in the Paston manuscript(s).' (Bühler 1970, xixn)
10. See above, p.84.
11. See Bell 1936, 320.
12. This line appears to have been added, for it is in smaller writing than the rest of the bill and slightly out of line. The hand, however, is the same.
13. Gairdner 1889, 6n.
14. Doyle 1957, 303.
15. The suggestion is made by Doyle (Doyle 1957, 304-5).
16. See above, p.10.
17. On the hand see Collins 1933-4. Gairdner 1904, VI, 65n, expresses uncertainty as to whether the books are those of John Paston II or John III, but seems to imply the latter on p.66n. The memorandum which contains the reference to 'my boke off knyghthod' is an appendix to the main list, but the whole document is in the same hand, that of John II.

18. I.e. pas d'armes held by sovereigns (?), more likely than 'by soldiers' as Gairdner suggests, though neither accurately describes what is in L. On the damaged part of the document generally see PL I, 516.
19. For a different opinion, apparently mere speculation, see Nichols 1860, lix.
20. The reference here may not, of course, be to Ebesham's transcription of Othea; in that case Sir John must have owned two copies (see Bühler 1970, xvii-xviii).
21. Bell 1936, 324 and 326 shows that valuations were invariably high in the case of books which were to be lent out, but low for those which were being left as pledges for loans of money. In Cambridge in 1486 paper books were judged to be unacceptable as pledges (Bell 1936, 321).
22. Even this did not convince Gairdner, who writes: 'This "great book" has been identified, on evidence which at first sight seems conclusive, with MS.285 in the Lansdowne library in the British Museum. But probably this latter is only another transcript by Ebesham of a very similar volume.' (Gairdner 1904, V, 1n)
23. Doyle 1957, 310.
24. British Museum 1819, 101.
25. Gairdner 1889, 4-5.
26. Doyle 1957, 305, citing the support of G.R.C. Davis of the British Museum.
27. In a letter dated 21 May 1980. For Professor Davis's opinion on the identity of the scribe see below, this chapter, note 33.
28. For examples see Ker 1969-, I, 64, 118, 139, 295; II, 12, 13, 184, 310, 681: see also I, 138 for exceptions.
29. Gairdner 1889, 9 suggests that the expression may imply that 'the article to which it is appended was an extract from one of Sir John Paston's MSS., taken by his permission, and that these words were added to verify the authority'. In this case it might have been from a volume similar to the book of statutes which is mentioned in the inventory of Sir John's books. Doyle 1957, 306 suggests that the item may have been 'dictated or communicated to the copyist by one of the Sir Johns'.

30. This is what happened when L16 was transcribed into H, f.17r and T, f.5r. Ebesham did the same in transcribing Rylands Latin MS 395, f.119v when he copied the words 'quod Stevens E' (see Doyle 1957, 310).
31. Identified by Davis as John Daubeney, John Pampyng, and John Wykes (cf. PL I, lxxvi-lxxviii).
32. Cf. the examples given in Doyle 1957, pls.I-VI.
33. Professor Davis, to whom I sent samples from L, was kind enough to draw attention to some resemblances between Hand D and the hand of his No.237 (PL I, 397-8), written for John Paston II in 1467, which he identifies with some hesitation as Pampyng's. However, he concludes: 'The general style is close, and many letter-forms virtually the same, but proportions and spacing differ and D has none of the otiose tails on -m and -n which are usual in the other. Again, of course, the difference between English and French means that currency of particular letters is quite different so that comparison is not easy.' My own investigations of the Paston documents have revealed no resemblances worth noting.
34. The mark, which is fragmentary, is transcribed in Fenn 1787-1823, II, pl.x.7. The complete mark is Heawood's No.22 (Heawood 1929, 289), in use in England c.1450-75.
35. Fenn 1787-1823, II, pl.x.1, cf. Heawood 1929, 288-9, No.18.
36. Fenn 1787-1823, III, pl.xxii, 17 (ring); II, pl.ix,13 (shield). The latter is Heawood's No.8 (Heawood 1929, 287), which is also found in books published by Caxton.
37. Doyle 1957, 308, 313n, 317, 318.
38. Bell 1936, passim, mentions several accounts in which parchment or vellum is charged for, but none in which paper is referred to.
39. Items 3, 5, and 7 show that Ebesham was capable of making simple errors of arithmetic; charges under item 5 may include writing materials, but these are impossible to compute because of the unspecified 'dyuers & necessary wrytynges' it includes.
40. See above, pp.10, 124.
41. Stevenson 1861-4, II, 415-16.
42. Parkes 1961, 655-6.

43. Printed in Fenn 1787-1823, II, 16-17 and in Gairdner 1904, V, 4. For the work of a scribe engaged in copying finer manuscripts than Ebesham see Pickford 1965. Of more general interest is Holzknrecht 1923.
44. Bell 1936. On pp. 319-20 Bell observes that the 3s 4d in Ebesham's bill for rubrication is higher than what would have been paid at Oxford or Cambridge, but he appears to believe that this charge relates only to De Regimine Principum, not to the Grete Boke as a whole. See also other examples of charges in Madan 1920, 50-3.
45. On the conditions of 'publication' in the Middle Ages, and particularly the author's lack of control over the copying of his work, see Root 1913; Bennett 1946; Bühler 1960, 20-4.
46. E.g. two daies or thre (two dayes othir in L and M); The kyng shall be clothid with a long tunicle... (incorrectly copied as part of the text in L and M instead of as a paragraph heading); And then shall the Ryng be blessid... (paragraph omitted in L and M); The offryng of the swerde... (paragraph misplaced in L and M). The version in MS Additional 10106 is much closer to that of Additional 6113 which is collated in Dillon 1900, 47-55.
47. PL I, lviii-lix (omitting the footnote references). See also DNB XLIV (1895).
48. PL I, 199-200.
49. PL I, liv, lviii.
50. PL I, 128; cf. I, 132.
51. PL I, 535.
52. PL I, 597.
53. PL I, 496.
54. PL I, 485.
55. PL I, 397-8.
56. PL I, xlvi.
57. Marshall 1956, 22.
58. Gairdner 1904, I, 308.
59. PL II, 415.
60. PL I, 412.
61. PL I, 466.
62. PL II, 310.

63. PL I, lix, 437-8; II, 410.
64. Francis Sandford, The Genealogie of the Right Honorable S^r Robert Paston of Paston... (now MS Additional 6968 in Cambridge University Library). The relevant portion is quoted in PL I, 396. For John III's reply see PL I, 535.
65. PL I, 481-2; II, 409-10. He bought 'an harneys' shortly before 1470 which he claims to have cost him £20 (PL I, 412).
66. PL I, 539, quoted extensively in L14; II, 386.
67. PL I, 455; II, 414.
68. See under these items in the Descriptive Index.
69. E.g. PL I, 499-50, 455.
70. PL I, 397.
71. PL I, 388; II, 425.
72. PL II, 379.
73. PL I, 458.
74. PL I, 505.
75. Cf. L11, L15, and indirectly L12-14. He was Lord Scales 1461-9 and Earl Rivers 1469-83.
76. PL II, 374.
77. PL I, 396.
78. PL II, 572. Cf. also I, 339; II, 571-2.
79. PL I, 545.
80. PL I, 566, 570.
81. See below, pp.231-6.
82. Lord Scales may also have owned a chivalric collection himself (see the description of MS 36 in chapter 2).
83. See DNB XVIII (1889); Gairdner 1904, I, 116-20 and passim; Bennett 1955, 30-68; McFarlane 1957.
84. PL I, 154.
85. See Moore 1912, 194-6.
86. Bühler 1970, xviii.
87. Bühler 1941c, xxxvii-xxxix.
88. Cicero 1977, sigs.1-2.
89. Bennett 1932, 111.
90. PL I, 109.
91. See Nichols 1860, 1-liv; DNB LXII (1900); Gairdner 1904, I, 151-3, 197-9; McFarlane 1957.
92. PL I, 157; II, 295, 572-7, etc.

93. PL II, 423-5.
94. McFarlane 1957b, 206-16.
95. Edited in Nichols 1860. On the question of authorship see Warner 1904, lxiii-xlvi; McFarlane 1957b, 210-15; Nichols 1860, l-liv. See also Ferguson 1960, 143-53.
96. E.g. Nichols 1860, 74: 'suffre ye not the prelates of the Chirche of that lande, as archebisshoppis, bisshoppis, abbatis, priours, denes,archedenes, and theire ministrours, to be oppressid...'; cf. L26: 'ffor holy Church / Also that nomaner of man be so hardy to robbe ne to pille holy church of no goode ne Ornament that longeth to the Church, ne to sle no man of holy church religious ne none other...'; Nichols 1860, 16: 'and as for wache and ward yn the wynter nyghtys I herd the seyde ser Johan Fastolfe sey...'; cf. L26: 'ffor keypyng of wacche & warde...'; etc.
97. Nichols 1860, 64, 68.
98. Stevenson 1861-4, II, 519-742; Williams 1850, 213-62.
99. See McFarlane 1957b, 208-9. For the view that this work was not by Worcester see Nichols 1860, lii-liii.
100. PL II, 201.
101. McFarlane 1957b, 215-16, refuting Bühler 1941c, xlv-xlvi, where it is suggested that it was translated by Scrope and only revised by Worcester.
102. McFarlane 1957b, 215. Bühler's suggestion that Scrope's translation of the Othea was corrected by Worcester was subsequently withdrawn (Bühler 1970, xxiii).
103. See Gairdner 1904, I, 153-6.
104. See Gairdner 1904, I, 154.
105. PL I, 155; II, 31-2.
106. See above, pp. 84, 91, 119.
107. See DNB XL (1894).
108. PL II, 210, 232, 388.
109. PL I, 522-4.
110. PL I, 437-8.
111. The content of Othea is usefully summarised in Gordon 1942, ix-xii.
112. See below, pp. 232-6.
113. Douce 1814, 291.
114. British Museum 1819, 99.

115. E.g. Warner 1904, xn; Bennett 1932, 113; Thompson 1939, 409; PL I, lxxvi.
116. In Doyle 1957, 299-307.
117. Dillon 1900, 31-2. See also Bennett 1938-45.
118. Gairdner 1889, 8-9, reprinted without further comment in Waters 1967, 183. Not all the Paston Letters, including the one from Ebesham mentioning the Grete Boke, were available to Gairdner in 1880 when he made his transcription of L25 (see Gairdner 1889, 4, 23).
119. Bühler 1941b, 347.
120. Bühler 1941b, 350-1. This conclusion has several times been reiterated, e.g. in Rigg 1968, 25; Parkes 1973, 570.
121. On this subject see Robinson 1980.
122. Robinson 1980, 47-52. For details of these features in L see Chapter 1.
123. See above, Chapter 1, note 5.
124. See the discussion in Robinson 1980, 52-3.
125. See below, pp. 235-6.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY CONTEXT

The Grete Boke has affinities with several important categories of fifteenth-century book, notably the military manual, the practical treatise on chivalric combat, the heraldic ceremonial record, the collection of statutes and ordinances for war, and the mirror for princes. These categories cover all the items except the pilot book (L25), and the two Latin passages (L29-30); the former of these was probably introduced for the convenience of the scribe¹ and the latter items probably as favourite passages from famous authors. The combination of texts is unique, the volume as a whole being a type of commonplace book and therefore reflecting the interests and aspirations of its first owner. From both internal evidence and from what we know about Sir John Paston we can deduce some of the principles which may have influenced his choice of texts. Quite apart from the Paston connection, the Grete Boke is a valuable source in its own right for contemporary military and chivalric practice and as a document reflecting the wider political and social preoccupations of the late fifteenth-century English court, and in particular the strong Burgundian influence in the time of Edward IV.

Related literature

It is well known that as knights grew less important politically and economically their displays of arms became more and more extravagant; in like manner, as the fifteenth century wore on, there became available an ever increasing number of books

devoted to the theory and practice of princely and chivalric conduct.² Treating a variety of subjects from the philosophical to the utilitarian, they drew upon a mixture of traditional lore, classical authority, and practical experience, and, for reasons of practical and social necessity, they were part of the education of every actual and aspiring knight.

Foremost among these were the military manuals, most of which were founded upon the classic fifth-century work by Vegetius, Epitoma Rei Militaris.³ L24 is a copy of the first English translation of this work, which was completed in 1408 'to grete informacion and lernynge of yonge lordes and knyghtes that ben lusty!. The translator has altered some of the details to make his work more relevant to contemporary warfare, but he adheres to Vegetius's strategy, even when (as in ambushes and sieges) it flatly contradicts the chivalric code of fair play. The blend of pragmatism and militarism would no doubt have recommended itself to a society which looked back with nostalgia to the glories of Henry V, who, according to Lydgate, had been wont to 'hawnte his body in pleies marcyal ... After the doctrine of Vygecius'.⁴ A more romanticised adaptation was the verse paraphrase Knyghthode and Bataile, written between 1457 and 1460,⁵ while a third (partial) English translation was made in prose about 1500, perhaps by a Scottish herald wishing to exhibit the duties and qualities of knighthood.⁶ A fourth book heavily dependent on Vegetius, is William Worcester's Boke of Noblesse;⁷ a fifth, the Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye, a translation of Christine de Pisan's Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie which was printed by Caxton in 1489/90.⁸ A related work is the Book of the Ordre of Chyualry, which Caxton translated and printed from a French version of Ramon Lull's

Le Libre del Orde de Cauayleria;⁹ and yet another is L'arbre des batailles by Honore Bonet,¹⁰ though these last two are more philosophical and less practical than the others.

In his epilogue to the Ordre of Chyualry Caxton urges the knights of England to take example of the romances of old,¹¹ and in a similar vein Hoccleve before him had encouraged Sir John Oldcastle to

Rede the storie of Lancelot de lake,
Or Vegece of the aart of Chiualrie,
The seege of Troie/ or Thebes/ thee applie
To thyng pat may to thordre of knyght longe.¹²

In other words, while the romances and chronicles provided the examples, the military manuals provided the theory of the life-style to which Hoccleve and Caxton were urging men to aspire. Consequently, there were few fifteenth-century aristocratic libraries which did not contain at least one copy of Vegetius or its relatives.¹³

The second genre with which the Grete Boke has connections is the most characteristic of it; this is the practical manual of chivalric combat, a category to which no fewer than nineteen items may be ascribed. In writing of the sources for the English tournament, Sydney Anglo draws attention to the great increase in documentary evidence in the fifteenth century.¹⁴ In addition to the continuing (generally sparse) evidence of the chronicles and royal Wardrobe accounts (which, along with ecclesiastical prohibitions, are virtually the sole sources for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), for the fifteenth century, particularly as it draws to a close, the historian can call upon increasingly detailed financial and heraldic records, and, at the beginning of the sixteenth, upon the actual score cheques of the jousts

and foot combats themselves. Anglo rightly stresses the greater value of heraldic records over the purely technical, documentary evidence, and divides the former into three thematic groups:

letters of challenge in which the knight challengers set forth the purpose of combat together with the articles under which the contests were to be fought; narrative descriptions of tournaments written by heralds or other eye-witnesses; and, finally, more general statements or ordinances of the ceremonial and procedure to be observed on such chivalric occasions.¹⁵

These categories are sufficient for most of the nineteen relevant items in L. L8-9, L12-14, and L17 are copies of letters of challenge; L10-11, L15, L18, L21, L23 are narrative descriptions (of which L11, L15, and L23 include letters of challenge); and L5-7, L16, L20 are more general statements or ordinances. In addition, L18-19, the heraldic proclamations of jousts open to all comers, have close affinities with the letters of challenge, while L22, the fictional background to a Burgundian pas d'armes, also incorporates the 'chapters', or articles, which usually feature in the letters.

These heraldic records usually survive in the form of collections of documents made by the heralds or on their behalf, though Sir John's interest in this type of book shows that the material had a wider relevance than to the office of heralds alone.¹⁶ As in L, the items are usually copies, not original documents. Only one original challenge (i.e. the actual document circulated amongst the knights, signed by the challengers

and answerers, and proclaimed by the heralds) is known. This relates to a tournament of February 1511 held by Henry VIII, and comprises a preamble and 'chapters' written on a vellum sheet 53.5 x 35 cm., coarsely decorated with the fanciful shields of the four challengers, and signed by them and by the answerers for the two days devoted to tilting.¹⁷ Apart from this and from a few other isolated items, the material is contained in collections, ranging from fair copies, finely decorated with pictures, illuminated capitals, and coloured escutcheons, to mere bundles of notes, relating to every kind of ceremony with which the heralds would have been involved. The heralds grew to be avid copiers of each other's collections, and, since they tended to select for copying only items which their own collections lacked, the resultant corpus is a complex and interrelated body of documents upon which a great amount of work remains to be done.¹⁸ L, though not a heraldic collection in the strictest sense, is largely heraldic in origin and is a key document in this field.¹⁹

The first four items in L are also part of this heraldic corpus, though they are not related to combat but to the ceremonies surrounding the coronation. L1 describes the order of service, without the liturgical details and with emphasis on the duties of the officers involved. L4 gives details of the ceremony for creating Knights of the Bath which regularly preceded the coronation. The raison d'être seems to be one of practical record and precedent. L2 and L3 are items in verse detailing aspects of the English coronation of Henry VI. L2, with its emphasis on the order of persons in the procession and banquet, may also have been considered useful as historical record.

L3, which gives details of the courses of the banquet, is of a different order, being of little value for establishing precedent. It may be significant, therefore, that this item, unlike the others, is found in chronicles rather than in heraldic miscellanies, L and the Morgan manuscript being the only exceptions.²⁰ The two verse items are also part of the propaganda which accompanied the coronation of the boy king, in which the heralds, as experts in matters of ceremony, would have played an important role.²¹

The three items relating to warfare, L26-28, are also connected with the heralds, not simply because tournaments and the like were considered to be training for war, but because in the sphere of military law, as elsewhere, heralds were esteemed 'the professors of chivalry'.²² They were concerned with the conduct of war from the justification of its legal basis down to the proclamation in the field of specific ordinances such as those issued by Henry V at Mantes (L26) and by the Earl of Salisbury as standing orders for his campaigns in France (L27). Comparable orders to the two codes in L are those issued by Richard II at Durham and by Henry V for his Agincourt campaign.²³ The third document in this group in the Grete Boke, L28, is the summons of surrender issued by Salisbury at Le Mans in 1425; documents of this sort are not common, but this may be compared to records of the summoning of Soissons in 1414 by Mountjoy King of Arms, the summoning of Coursant by heralds in 1433, and with other examples in Froissart.²⁴

I have already suggested that L26-28 may have come to Sir John Paston from Sir John Fastolf or someone connected with him.

A further key to their presence in the Grete Boke is found in

the epilogue to the Ordre of Chyualry in which Caxton encourages knights to follow the example of famous men of the past:

O ye knyghtes of Englonde where is the
 custome and vsage of noble chyualry that
 was vsed in tho dayes / what do ye now /
 but go to the baynes & playe att dyse
 And some not wel aduysed vse not honest
 and good rule ageyn alle ordre of knyghthode /
 leue this / leue it and rede the noble
 volumes of saynt graal of lancelot / of galaad /
 of Trystram / of perse forest / of Percyual /
 of gawayn / & many mo / Ther shalle ye see
 manhode / curtosye & gentylnesse / And loke
 in latter dayes of the noble actes syth the
 conquest / as in kyng Rychard dayes cuer du
 lyon / Edward the fyrste / and the thyrd /
 and his noble sones / Syre Robert knolles /
 syr Iohan Hawkode / Syr Iohan chaundos /
 & Syre gaultier Manny rede froissart / And
 also behold that vycoryous and noble kynge
 Harry the fyfthe / and the capytayns vnder
 hym his noble bretheren / Therle of Salysbury
 Montagu / and many other whoos names shyne
 gloriously by their vertuouse noblesse & actes
 that they did in thonour of thordre of chyualry²⁵

In having copied into his Grete Boke documents illustrative of the warlike and prudent practices of both Henry V and the Earl of Salisbury, as well as the Vegetius (of whose precepts Henry V was considered the supreme exponent in medieval times),²⁶ it seems that Sir John Paston had put Caxton's ideas into practice some time before they appeared in print.

The final major category represented in L is the type of handbook for rulers usually known as the 'mirror for princes', the most

characteristic versions of which were the pseudo-Aristotelian Secretum Secretorum and the De Regimine Principum of Aegidius Romanus. There were numerous versions of the former,²⁷ of which L31 is a free verse rendering. It is given three titles in L -- The Booke of Gouvernaunce of Kynges and Prynces in the heading and Secrees of Old Philesophirs and The Booke of All Gode Thewis in the text -- and Ebesham in his bill refers to it as De Regimine Principum, which is an accurate title but one which is usually reserved for the other work (best known in England from the version by Hoccleve).²⁸ Superficially mirrors for princes may appear to have little connection with the military manuals and other heraldic material in L; but they are not really so far apart, for the mirrors take an understanding of chivalry for granted and concentrate on a whole range of practical advice from 'how a kyng shulde be arrayed' to 'a medycyn ageyn drounkenesse'. Like the military manuals, the handbooks for princes were founded on the belief that outwardly proper conduct, whether on the battlefield or at court, is a sign of the moral health within, and the mark of a man who can be expected to govern well. As A.B. Ferguson has expressed it:

the function of the governor, at whatever level of society he is situated, remains the comparatively simple one of protection, or to put it in a way more familiar to the medieval mind, the maintenance of justice and peace. There is little need in it for constructive intelligence or for the pooled ingenuity upon which the modern state depends for its characteristic dynamism. All of which leaves the knight exactly where the manuals of knighthood placed him. He is the sword-arm of the body politic, the maintainer of justice which is the means toward the higher good of peace.²⁹

Taken as a whole, the Grete Boke is a type of commonplace book. Volumes of this sort are described by Robbins as 'collections of pieces which interested the compiler or collector sufficiently for him to write in a book ... The commonplace books proper are of two kinds: those belonging to a citizen and those belonging to a religious community or one of its members. All are simply notebooks of facts or references for the owner.'³⁰

The list of examples given by Robbins shows that both kinds only became common at the end of the fifteenth century. Of the former (and here the more relevant) category, he writes: 'These books have this much in common: in addition to practical items they generally contain a few romances (for light reading), moral precepts in verse (to help bring up the children), and a few proverbial sayings. This is just what might be expected from a volume that provided directions for day to day emergencies and leisure reading.'³¹ The Grete Boke, therefore, obviously differs from the classic commonplace book, though it is interesting to note that Robbins admits several examples which have a narrower scope than that which he describes as typical. He also includes the Brome manuscript which, like much of Lansdowne 285, was written by a professional scribe.

Rigg similarly defines commonplace books as 'collections of miscellaneous material assembled simply for the interest and amusement of the compiler'.³² He proceeds to describe their characteristics negatively, excluding song-books compiled by minstrels for professional purposes, sermon source-books, personal devotional collections of exclusively religious material ('because of their singleness of purpose'), books produced in scriptoria ('no matter how catholic the miscellany'),

and manuscripts whose contents were planned in advance. Following Bühler's hypothesis that the Grete Boke was mass-produced, Rigg specifically excludes it from the commonplace books on the grounds of its having supposedly been a 'published' miscellany.³³ But it has been shown above that Bühler's hypothesis is incorrect and that Sir John's interest was the guiding principle from the very beginning.³⁴ True, he had Ebesham, a professional scribe, copy a substantial part from another manuscript; but he himself almost certainly instigated the work, procured the exemplar from Sir John Astley (whom he is likely to have known personally), selected and reordered the items to be copied, and supervised its continuation. In short, it was his book, or as he called it 'my boke'.³⁵ Admittedly, it has a narrower scope than most commonplace books, but the guiding principle is nevertheless the same -- to serve the interests and activities of the compiler (which in this case can only mean Sir John). The book also shares the characteristics of most commonplace books, being a fairly miscellaneous compilation, combining texts of an essentially practical nature with works of pleasure and moral edification, all of which reflect the aspirations of a member of the rising classes towards the end of the fifteenth century in England.³⁶

Books and Education in the Fifteenth Century

Sir John Paston's concern for books is shown in a number of allusions in the Paston Letters. For example, following the seizure of Caister by the Duke of Norfolk he twice wrote to his mother in 1472 asking her to arrange the speedy restitution of his property, and expressed special concern for his books.³⁷ He sometimes wrote asking for a specific work,

such as The Temple of Glass and De Arte Amandi.³⁸ He also showed great keenness in acquiring the books of Sir James Gloys, his mother's chaplain who died in 1473, and wrote:

Item, as for the bookys bat weer Syr James, iff it lyke yow þat I maye haue them I ame not able to by them; but som-what wolde I gyffe, and the remenaunt, wyth a goode devowte herte by my trowthe I wyll prey for hys sowle.³⁹

He wrote several impatient letters asking that they be sent, and expressed 'mervayll' at their failure to arrive. But some two months later his mother sent to tell him that the best of the books had already been claimed, and that the price of the remainder (of which she sent a list) would be 20/6. His disappointment, coupled perhaps with the effects of a fever he had been suffering, caused him to reply that the matter could wait, for 'my mynde is now nott most vppon bokys'.⁴⁰ Certain books belonging to Gloys are mentioned in an undated inventory among the Paston papers.⁴¹ They include a psalter (valued at 6/8), a primer (2/-), a book of statutes (40d), a book of Vitas Patrum (2/-), a book 'of xij chapetyrs of Lynccoln', and a book of sophistry (together 10/-).

But the document which tells us most about Sir John and his books is undoubtedly the well-known inventory written in his own hand between 1474 and 1479.⁴² The heading ('The Inventory off Englysshe bokis off Joh[n Paston, knyght]') seems to imply that the list is definitive, though it extends to the very bottom of the paper on which it is written and could possibly have been continued on another sheet which has since been lost. The statement in the heading that these are 'Englysshe bokis' is not to be taken absolutely literally, for the Grete Boke (called here 'my boke off knyghthod') contains substantial

amounts of French, while the book of statutes mentioned at the end would have been almost wholly in French, with a little Latin.

Because of the damaged state of the manuscript and the allusive nature of the titles, not all of the works can be identified. The following list gives the basic bibliographical information, with identifications where possible:

Item 1. 'þe Dethe off Arthur begynnyng at Cassab ...', probably an extract from a chronicle beginning with the British king Cassivellaunus (or Cassibellaunus, i.e. Bellinus, alias Cymbeline) and ending at the death of Arthur. Possible candidates are the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester (which uses the form Cassibel) and that of Robert Manning of Brunne (which uses Cassibolon).⁴³

Item 2. '... Warwyk', either the popular verse romance Guy of Warwick, possibly an extract, or the poem of the same name by Lydgate. (See also item 5 of this inventory.)⁴⁴

Item 1. 'Kyng Richard Cure delyon', the historical verse romance.⁴⁵

Item 1. 'a croni ... to Edwarde þe iij', either an extract from a chronicle, of which there are numerous possibilities, or a complete chronicle ending, like Thomas Castelford's with Edward's accession in 1327.⁴⁶

Item 2. 'a boke off Troylus', probably Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde.⁴⁷

Item 3. 'The Legende off Lad ...', Chaucer's Legend of Good Women.⁴⁸

Item 3. '... saunce Mercye', the Chaucerian apocryphal poem La Belle Dame Sans Mercy.⁴⁹ (See also item 5.)

Item 3. 'pe Parlement off Byr ...', Chaucer's Parliament of Fowls.⁵⁰ (See also item 5).

Item 3. '...Glasse', Lydgate's Temple of Glass.⁵¹

Item 3. 'Palatyse & . Scitacus', unidentified.⁵²

Item 3. 'The Med ...', probably a secular work (in keeping with the other contents of this volume), therefore probably not The Meeds of the Mass (as item 5) or The Meditations of ... (as suggested by Fenn and followed by Gairdner).⁵³

Item 3. '... the Greene Knyght'. This would seem to be Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,⁵⁴ which is remarkable in that the poem is now extant only in a unique manuscript and in a dialect very different from that of the Pastons.

Item 4. 'a boke jn preente off pe Pleye of pe ...', Caxton's The Game and Play of the Chess, first edition 1474.⁵⁵

Item 5. 'Bele Da ... Mercy', as item 3 above.

Item 5. 'pe Parlement off Byrdes', as item 3 above.

Item 5. '... off Guy & . Colbronde', Guy of Warwick, as item 1 above. The word 'Balade...' may belong here.

Item 5. 'Off the Goos', probably Lydgate's Debate of the Horse, Goose, and Sheep.⁵⁶

Item 5. 'pe ...'. Unidentifiable. Perhaps belongs with the preceding item.

Item 5. 'þe Dysputison bytwyen Hope & Dyspeyr', possibly The Complaint Against Hope, a short poem extant in three manuscripts of which the earliest dates from about 1450.⁵⁷

Item 5. '... Marchauntes', probably Fabula Duorum Mercatorum, an exemplary narrative by Lydgate.⁵⁸

Item 5. 'þe Lyffe off Seynt Cry ...', relating the life of St Christopher, St Christina, or even possibly Chrysogonus or Christian of Maine.⁵⁹

Item 6. '... off the Medis off þe Masse', a title which would fit a number of Middle English poems on the virtues of the sacrament.⁶⁰

Item 6. 'þe Lamentacion... ', probably of a religious subject such as Mary Magdalene or Mary the mother of Christ, the latter being the subject of a poem by Lydgate.⁶¹

Item 6. 'off Chylde Ypotis', Ipotis (i.e. Epictetus), otherwise called L'Enfant Sage, a popular work, extant in 15 manuscripts, in which a child answers the questions of the Emperor Hadrian.⁶²

Item 6. 'A Preyer to þe Vernycle', possibly How þe vernycle was broght to Rome, but more likely The Arms of Christ, which begins 'O vernacule I honoure him and the / þat þe made'.⁶³

Item 6. 'The Abbeye off þe Holy Gooste', the short prose work.⁶⁴

Item 7. 'in quayeres Tully de Senectute in d... wheroff ther is no more cleere wretyn', the English translation of Cicero's famous oration, which was printed by Caxton in 1481 and attributed by him to John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, though Caxton's translation may actually have been made by William Worcester.⁶⁵

Item 8. 'in quayeres Tully or Cypio de Ami ... leffte wyth William Worcester', Cicero's De Amicitia, the English translation of which was printed by Caxton with De Senectute in 1481.⁶⁶

Item 9. 'in qwayeres a boke off þe Polecye off In ...', possibly the Libel of English Policy.⁶⁷

Item 10. 'in qwayeres a boke de Sapiencia ... wherin þe ij parson is liknyd to Sapi ...' The 'ij parson' is evidently Christ, the second person of the Trinity,⁶⁸ but the work cannot positively be identified.

Item 11. 'a boke de Othea, text & . glose', The Epistle of Othea to Hector.⁶⁹

Item 12. 'myn olde boke off blasonynges off a ...', unidentified.

Item 13. 'the nywe boke portrayed & . blasonyd', unidentified.

Item 14. 'a copy off blasonynges off armys & . t... names to be fownde by letter' (i.e. alphabetically), unidentified.

Item 15. 'a boke with armys portrayed in paper', unidentified.

Item 16. 'my boke off knyghthod' etc., the Grete Boke.⁷⁰

Item 17. 'a boke off nyw statutes ffrom Edward.. the iiij'. The 'Statuta Nova', as opposed to the 'Statuta Antiqua', ran from 1 Edward III. Therefore the Edward whose name appears here is presumably Edward III, the numeral 'iiij' referring either to Henry IV or, more probably, to Edward IV.

Several general observations may be made about the books on this list. Items 7 to 11 are said to be in quires, i.e.

unbound, so by implication all the others are bound volumes. Of the literary works among these bound volumes only two (items 2, 4) are single works occupying a complete volume each; the others (items 1, 3, 5, 6) form mini 'libraries', covering history, romance, dream vision, debate, moral tale, saint's life, prayer, and spiritual guidance. In other words there is evidence of the same systematic eclecticism as is apparent in the Gret Boke. Item 4, the Caxton, implies that Sir John was interested in the new printing press and was quick to acquire one of the new-style books. Of the five heraldic books, listed in a block near the end, item 16 was (as we know) specially commissioned, and this may also be the implication of the words 'nywe boke' and 'copy' in items 13 and 14. Items 11, 16, and The Temple of Glass in item 3 are mentioned elsewhere in the Paston Letters, but there is at least one English book apparently owned by Sir John which is mentioned in the letters but not in the inventory.⁷¹

It would be easy to assume that Sir John's love of books is evidence for the existence of a literate laity in England towards the end of the fifteenth century. But before this conclusion can be drawn, it is necessary to consider whether it was common for people of his rank and station to own and read books, whether there was anything unusual about the type of book and the range of subject matter, and whether his literary interest and the level of literacy it implies were general or particular.

If we turn once again to the Paston Letters we find plenty of evidence that the Pastons as a whole enjoyed reading and that

several of them possessed a book or books not all of which were of a utilitarian kind. In 1449 William requested, for use at Cambridge, a nominale and a book of sophistry;⁷² in 1461 John I wrote to his wife asking her to send him a package of books the titles of which are unspecified; John III wrote in 1472 asking his elder brother to send the copy of The Siege of Thebes which belonged to his sister Anne; in 1474 he visited his brother in London and left behind, among other things, 'my book of the metyng of the Dwke and of the Emperour', which he asked to be sent on to him; and their younger brother Walter was also a reader, for in 1472 he asked for 'pe book of vij Sagys' to be sent from home. Even the servants seem to have used books -- from the chaplain, Sir James Gloys, who owned a fair number, to Richard Calle, the family bailiff, from whose quarters a French book worth 3/4 is reported to have been stolen in 1465.⁷³

The only comprehensive and objective analysis of the ownership of books at this time in the country as a whole has been the study by Margaret Deanesly of bequests of books in wills, on the basis of which she has argued that individuals did not commonly own books.⁷⁴ In other words her results seem to suggest that the Pastons were an exceptionally bookish family. Having examined 7,568 wills, she found that only 338 mention books, on the basis of which she claims that 'even wealthy nobles often possessed no books, apart from the service books which formed part of the furniture of their chapels ... The better endowed clergy, the bishops, cathedral clergy and members of collegiate churches, and university teachers, formed almost the only class of the population who, occasionally before 1400, and frequently after, possessed small libraries

of their own. The only other possessors of libraries are seen to have been certain members of the regular orders, great nobles, and lawyers.⁷⁵ However, these arguments are not convincing for two main reasons. Firstly, the value of wills as evidence is open to question, for a testator did not always record his books as separate items in his will and might even (as in Sir John's case) fail to mention them at all.⁷⁶ And secondly Miss Deanesly's conclusions are flatly contradicted by a range of other evidence which suggests that by the late fifteenth century ownership of books by people of all ranks had expanded so remarkably that it may fairly be described as common and widespread.

The English Kings had long set a good example.⁷⁷ Edward III spent the huge sum of £66 13s 4d on a book of romances which he kept in his bedchamber. Richard II had a private collection, of which nineteen volumes were rebound between 1386 and 1388. Henry IV added to his palace at Eltham a study in which to keep his books. Henry V bought and borrowed books, and an extant copy of Chaucer's Troilus, written on vellum for him, bears his arms as Prince of Wales. Henry VI was also a book-lover, though little is known of his collection. But probably the most magnificent royal library was that set up by Edward IV in emulation of the great collections he had seen in Bruges during his exile there in 1470-1.⁷⁸ At the same time individual noblemen had been building themselves reputations as bibliophiles and men of letters. John Duke of Bedford (d.1435) was fortunate enough to purchase the huge library of Charles V of France, perhaps almost intact.⁷⁹ His brother, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (d.1447), was even more famous for his love of books; his collection is estimated at about five

hundred volumes, and his generous gifts to the University of Oxford are remembered in that part of the Bodleian library which now bears his name.⁸⁰ John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester (d.1470), was another who brought back books from his extensive travels abroad.⁸¹ Those who travelled also took books with them, like John Howard, first Duke of Norfolk (d.1485), a neighbour and sometime antagonist of the Pastons, of whose library a list of thirteen titles entered in his Household Books probably refers to the volumes he took with him on a naval expedition to the coast of Scotland.⁸² Another traveller by sea, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers (d.1483), also was accustomed to pass the time reading, for we learn that on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St James of Compostella in 1473 he was so impressed by a French book he had borrowed that he later made an English translation of it which he caused Caxton to print.⁸³ At a lower social level the self-made Sir John Fastolf, though a man of no great learning, had a collection of nineteen French books at his home in Caister 'in the Stewe house', besides the various service books with which his private chapel was furnished.⁸⁴ It appears that the merchant class was not slow to become involved in owning books, for the stocks of two grocers who became bankrupt in the 1390s contained four libros de romaunc, valued at 11/4 the lot, two libros de Englysshe valued at 8d, a calendar worth 8d, and a primer worth 16d.⁸⁵ Apparently, even the landladies of inns owned or purveyed books, for Sir John's inventory mentions that his collection of romances and historical works (item 1) was 'had off myn ostesse at pe George', where he lodged at Paul's Wharf.⁸⁶

Another indication of the changing situation is furnished by the surviving manuscripts themselves. The late fifteenth century,

as we have seen, saw a great increase in the production of manuscript commonplace books. One of the attractions of these volumes must have been that, being self-written, or 'home-made', they were within the price-range of people of even modest means. A good example is the so-called 'Findern Manuscript', a collection of poems mostly about love written in a variety of amateur hands, which was probably formed by assembling booklets or quires over a period of time until enough material had accumulated to be made into a volume.⁸⁷ The existence of such compilations is a sign of the aspirations of ordinary people to own books as their social betters had been doing for some time. Further signs of the times are the changes which took place in the organisation of the book trade. In response to increasing demands for vernacular texts, scribes collaborated, sharing the labour of producing one volume between several;⁸⁸ there was increased specialisation amongst the craftsmen who made books;⁸⁹ from the great degree of uniformity in text and layout of multiple copies of works such as the poems of Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate it seems that there was speculation in something akin to mass-production of manuscripts in anticipation of purchase;⁹⁰ and cursive scripts were developed, which were faster, cheaper, and more familiar to readers used to the handwriting of documents rather than books.⁹¹ All these are indications of a wider market. Likewise, the introduction of printing into England could only have been successful if there was a sufficient market available. Caxton was primarily a businessman, and it is likely that there is some truth in his claim that it was the demand from 'many noble and dyvers gentylnen of thys royaume of Englond' which encouraged him to print Malory's Morte Darthur.⁹²

There are several modern surveys of medieval books which make it possible to estimate, very approximately, how typical was the range of English works which Sir John had in his collection. From her analysis of wills Margaret Deanesly has demonstrated the comparative rarity of vernacular books as opposed to Latin, and of secular books as opposed to religious.⁹³ She specifically states that 'few except bibliophiles actually possessed romances or vernacular chronicles',⁹⁴ which (if true) would certainly make Sir John a bibliophile. English works which she lists as especially numerous in fifteenth-century wills are the works of Richard Rolle, Nicholas Love's Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Iesu Crist, the works of Walter Hilton, and (somewhat less common) Pore Caitiff, English primers, and saints' legends. Only the last appears on Sir John's list, then only as one text in a predominantly secular miscellany. Adopting a rather different approach, Pearl Kibre has estimated intellectual interests in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe by analysing contemporary library catalogues.⁹⁵ The evidence is complex, and its value is again not beyond question. But clear corroboration is given of the predominance of theological Latin writings over works of all other types. Robert Steele has analysed the subject matter of the earliest printed books in an attempt to classify their content.⁹⁶ Using the 9,841 titles in Robert Proctor's Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum: From the Invention of Printing to the Year 1500, he estimates that some 838 deal with science and art as understood at the time, 4,379 (slightly less than 45 per cent) with theology, 930 with law, and 3,534 (about 35 per cent) with language and literature.⁹⁷ It is in the last of these rough categories that some two-thirds of Sir John's English books belong, with science (heraldry) representing most of the other

third, and religious subjects and law each accounting for only one complete volume. Furthermore, on the evidence of the lists of manuscripts in The Index of Middle English Verse and its Supplement (the data for Middle English prose are not yet available)⁹⁸ it would appear that Sir John had quite an individual taste in books. Of the individual poetic texts in his volumes the one best represented in surviving manuscripts is Lydgate and Burgh's Book of Governance of Kings and Princes (L31 of the Grete Boke) which is extant in twenty manuscripts, then Troilus and Criseyde, which is extant in seventeen; these are to be compared to the 117 manuscripts of the apparently most popular work, The Prick of Conscience, and the 64 of the next, The Canterbury Tales. Obviously it is not wise to generalise on the basis of so small a number of titles as are on Sir John's list, but the relative lack of religious books is certainly striking, as is his interest in heraldry, poetry, and romance.

A striking feature of the Pastons' use of books is the widespread lending and borrowing in which they engaged. As early as 1434 Agnes had a copy of the Stimulus Conscientiae in her possession. It was not her own, but had been lent to her by Robert Cupper, a burghess of Great Yarmouth;⁹⁹ Anne's Siege of Thebes had been lent to the Earl of Arran; and it was from his friend Thomas Daverse that Sir John requested De Arte Amandi.¹⁰⁰ In addition, three of the volumes in Sir John's inventory are spoken of as having been out on loan (in circumstances which are not entirely clear from the brief, allusive mention of them), namely the Troilus (item 2) 'whyche William Bra ... hathe hadde neer x yer & lent it to da... . Wyngfield, & jbi ego vidi', the miscellany (item 5) which had been 'lent Midelton', and the copy of De Amicitia (item 8) which had been 'leffte with William Worcester'. This interesting

traffic in books implies a fairly extensive circle of book-using friends. Looking beyond the Paston circle for evidence of lending, one cannot fail to take note of the activities of John Shirley (d.1456), a scrivener and bookseller who had premises in St Bartholomew's Close in London.¹⁰¹ Seven of his manuscripts survive, mostly containing poems by Chaucer and Lydgate. He seems to have run a sort of circulating library, for the manuscripts contain requests that they be returned to him. University libraries became increasingly important in the fifteenth century, challenging the long domination of the monasteries and cathedral schools, and by the very end of the century, chantry and parish libraries were beginning to be established.¹⁰² Looking abroad, we find that notes in French and Burgundian manuscripts, and particularly in the inventories of the royal library of France, show that even from the finest libraries precious books might be lent to readers outside the immediate royal circle.¹⁰³ However, the overall situation is unclear. On the one hand there is evidence of a freehanded circulation of books on loan within specific social groups (surprising among people as jealously possessive as the Pastons), and on the other there is a general paucity of evidence of such activity on a wider scale, as a result of which one scholar has been led to conclude that before the advent of printing 'books were all too often jealously guarded possessions, available only to a mere handful of readers'.¹⁰⁴ Until further evidence is made available it must remain uncertain whether this feature of the Paston's use of books was at all common.

A word needs to be said about the education of the Pastons, and about contemporary education in general. Unfortunately, we know little about Sir John's early formal education, other

than the fact that it took place at least partly in London.¹⁰⁵ But some idea about what might have been provided for him can be envisaged from what we know about others of the family.¹⁰⁶ The provision of good education was a cornerstone in the building of the family fortunes. The originator of the Pastons' advancement was Clement, who, though merely a hardworking husbandman, cared enough about education to go to the lengths of borrowing money to send his son William to school. His foresight paid off, and William became a Justice of the Shire, equally attentive to the education of his own children. John I, Sir John's father, may have attended a grammar school, but at least part of his early instruction would probably have come from the family chaplain -- such was the method in later years. John I was at Cambridge University from the age of about fifteen or sixteen until twenty or twenty-one, as were his brothers William and Clement at various times, while the other brother, Edmund, was a student of Clifford's Inn. John I was at Trinity Hall, later at Peterhouse and then the Inner Temple, and probably studied law at all three. The next generation of Pastons was also well educated, and we happen to have particularly detailed information concerning Sir John's brothers William and Walter. William was at Eton in 1478, where he ran up considerable debts, but emerged lacking (in his opinion) 'nothyng but wersyfyngne'.¹⁰⁷ Walter went to Oxford in 1473, whither he was conveyed by Sir James Gloys, the chaplain. The letters have much to tell about the advice with which he was sent off, his conduct while at university, his career plans, and even his graduation feast. Altogether his career at Oxford lasted six years. Despite the lack of information about Sir John, then, it is very likely that, since he was eldest son, an equally thorough education would have been provided for

him.

The form of the letters themselves also shows that the clerks and authors possessed a fair ability to read, write, and express sometimes complex ideas in effective prose. Amanuenses were used, particularly by the women it seems, but this practice signifies a disinclination, rather than an inability, to write, and even the well educated members of the family sometimes engaged in it.¹⁰⁸ Many of the documents in the collection are not actual letters but only rough drafts, the alterations and interlineations of which show both the care which was taken and the labour which was expended. Davis draws attention to the fact that the authors depend to a certain extent on epistolary stylistic conventions.¹⁰⁹ But from time to time exceptionally rhetorical passages occur which, if they do not actually reflect a conscious literary analogy, certainly show the author's deftness in utilising proverbs, scriptural phrases, and a style which is elevated from the mundane but not alien to it. An example occurs in a letter of Agnes Paston:

Be my counseyle, dyspose youre-selfe as myche as ye may to haue lesse to do in þe worlde. Your fadyr sayde, 'In lityl bysynes lyeth myche reste.' þis worlde is but a þorough-fare and ful of woo, and whan we departe þer-fro, rizth nouzght bere wyth vs but oure good dedys and ylle. And þer knoweth no man how soon God woll clepe hym, and þer-for it is good for euery creature to be redy. Qhom God vysyteth, him he louyth.¹¹⁰

Davis rightly describes this as 'a notable piece of writing' and draws attention to its closeness to scriptural texts and sermon

literature. Moreover, some of the traditional gnomic wisdom occurs also in the poetry of Chaucer and Lydgate. Could it be that Agnes, consciously or unconsciously, was drawing upon her reading rather than upon a purely oral tradition? There is no means of knowing, though this, and other passages like it, display an ordered and probably educated view of the world which is at times startling.

Bennett has expressed the opinion that 'the whole family must probably be regarded as possessing rather more than the average of education for their times'.¹¹¹ This may be true, but throughout the country the fifteenth century was a period of great advancement in education. The ability to read and write was extended, especially towards the end of the century, to social groups which had been formerly excluded. Parkes distinguishes three types of reader -- the professional reader (the scholar or man of letters), the cultivated reader (the individual who reads for recreation), and the pragmatic reader (the individual who must read and write in the course of transacting business).¹¹² Developments in the fifteenth century affected particularly the last two categories, with the pragmatic readers of earlier generations being found increasingly among those who read for amusement. The earliest assessment of the extent of literacy amongst the people of England occurs in a statement by Sir Thomas More in 1533 in which he implies that more than half the population could then read English.¹¹³ But general assessments are inevitably impressionistic, and serve only to support what is clearly apparent to anyone who reads any body of literature like the Paston Letters -- that by that time people of almost all ranks were capable of reading, writing, and enjoying books.

It has long been recognised that the later fifteenth century was a time of growth for English educational institutions, from the lowly reading (or song) schools through the grammar schools to the university colleges,¹¹⁴ but it has only more recently been appreciated how important a place in the system was occupied by the courts of the nobility, and in particular by the royal court.¹¹⁵ As the number of young gentlemen in the retinue of the king increased, so did the obligation to provide proper occupation and instruction for them all -- the king's own children, the 'henchmen' (the six or seven young companions of honour who walked or rode beside the king in processions etc), the various squires and pages of the household, and all the other youthful gentlemen whose service was given 'above stairs'. According to Edward IV's Black Book (c.1470), there were three principal officials, apart from the royal tutors, employed to instruct these youths: the Master of Henchmen, the Master of Grammar, and the Master of Song. Working within a curriculum which was probably similar in lesser courts throughout the country, they provided tuition in the two main areas of 'lettrure', basic literacy and scholarly study and 'nouriture' the art of genteel behaviour

'Lettrure' may easily be appreciated by anyone familiar with twentieth-century education, but 'nouriture' requires a little exemplification. The principal control of this was given to the Master of Henchmen, who was enjoined to show to his charges

the scoolez of vrbanitie and nourture of Inglond, to lern them to ride clenly and surely, to drawe them also to justes, to lerne hem were theyre harneys;

to haue all curtesy in wordez, dedes, and degrees, dilygently to kepe them in rules of goynges and sittinges, after they be of honour. Moreouer, to teche them sondry langages and othyr lernynges vertuous, to herping, to pype, sing, daunce, and with other honest and temperate behauing and pacience; and to kepe dayly and wykely with thees children dew conuenitz, with correccions in theyre chambres according to suche gentylnen; and eche of them to be vused to that thinges of vertue that he shalbe most apt to lerne, with remembraunce dayly of Goddes seruyce accustumed. This maistryr sittith in the hall next vnto benethe theez henxmen, at the same bourde, to haue his respectes vnto theyre demenynges, how manerly they ete and drinke, and to theyre comunicacion and other fourmez curiall, after the booke of vrbanitie.¹¹⁶

Such full specification is given only for the henchmen, but the training was evidently similar in principle for those of lower rank. The squires of the household, for instance, who in 1461 or in 1462 apparently counted John (later Sir John) Paston amongst their number,¹¹⁷ were expected

wynter and somer, in after nonys and in euenynges, to drawe to lordez chambrez within courte, there to kepe honest company aftyr theyre cunyng, in talkyng of cronycles of kinges and of other polycyez, or in pypyng, or harpyng, synging, other actez marciablez, to help occupy the court and accompany straungers, tyll the tym require of departing.¹¹⁸

Considered in this context, then, the value of the Grete Boke to Sir John is fairly clear. Containing, as it does, a wealth of practical information about jousts and other 'actez marciablez', the correct wearing of harness, observing due decorum in 'goynges and sittinges', exemplifying polite speech and 'othyr lernynges vertuous', and even recording (for good measure) a couple of short passages from 'cronycles of kinges', it is obviously -- in part at least -- a book of 'noriture'. As such, it has a place alongside the well-known courtesy books and presumably alongside the 'booke of vrbanitie' mentioned in connection with the henchmen, if such a volume ever existed.¹¹⁹ The Grete Boke is, in a sense, Sir John's own, personal 'booke of vrbanitie'.¹²⁰

Feats of Arms and the Chivalric Background

Pride of place in the Grete Boke is given to chivalric matters. Most of the items in this category would have been considered both practically educative treatises and at the same time stirring, inspirational reading, and on both accounts they belong to the area of knightly 'noriture'.¹²¹ As well as having been central to the interests of Sir John, they are also important to the present-day historian, one of whom has described L as 'perhaps the most valuable single source for the Tournament in fifteenth century England'.¹²² In order to demonstrate this importance, and to explain the sometimes technical descriptions, it is desirable that a little be said about the history of the tournament,¹²³ and about the type of contribution to our knowledge of it that the Grete Boke makes.

Caxton concluded his edition of the Ordre of Chyualry by appealing to Richard III to take measures to encourage the science of arms:

j wold it pleasyd oure souerayne lord that
 twyes or thryes in a yere/or at the lest
 ones he wold do crye Iustes of pees/to thende
 that euery knyght shold haue hors and harneys/
 and also the vse and craft of a knyght/and
 also to torneoye one ageynste one/or ii ageynst
 ii / And the best to haue a prys/a dyamond or
 Iewel/suche as shold please the prynce / This
 shold cause gentylnen to resorte to thauncyent
 custommes of chyualry to grete fame and renom^{me}/
 And also to be alwey redy to serue/theyr prynce
 whan he shalle calle them/or haue nede.¹²⁴

Evidently Caxton considered that, though outward appearances had changed, it was still an important function of jousts and tourneys to provide what tournaments had always provided -- military training, especially in times of peace.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the regulation and practice of tournaments first began to assume a standardised form, the element of military training was much more pronounced than it eventually became.¹²⁵ The standard form of combat then was the mêlée, a miniature pitched battle, sometimes fought within an area not clearly specified and with a minimum of rules, the object being to force surrender of as many members as possible of the opposing side and to put them hors de combat. These encounters often got out of control, and the frequent prohibitions and restrictions which were issued by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities are one of the principal sources of information about the conduct of the tournament in these early times. But even as far back as this there was a social and spectacular element which was eventually to outgrow the aspect of serious training for war. Knights began to take

part dressed as members of the Round Table, monks, priests, and even nuns, exotic prizes were offered to enhance the romantic appeal of the occasion, and by the early fourteenth century, especially in the Low Countries, elaborate scenic effects were introduced which were eventually to have their most extravagant expression in the pas d'armes of fifteenth-century Burgundy.¹²⁶

The basic form of the combat also changed. Though the mêlée was in use at least until the late fifteenth century, by the fourteenth it had become common for a tournament to focus on individual acts of prowess and for the challenger to specify detailed rules in advance. Most typical was the joust, which until the fifteenth century was performed 'at large', i.e. without a barrier between the horsemen;¹²⁷ another was the foot-combat, which was similarly unrestricted until the introduction of 'barriers' in the late fifteenth century;¹²⁸ still another was the tourney (a name also applied to the mêlée), in which a knight, perhaps accompanied by a small number of companions, rode at large on horseback and fought his opponent armed with a broadsword. Rules became increasingly restrictive and protective: the railings, or 'lists', which marked the limits of the combat area were carefully guarded to prevent outside interference, participants in the tourneys and foot-combats were usually limited to a prescribed number of blows, and the object of the joust came to be not so much to strike the opponent to the ground as to break the lance upon him.¹²⁹ Weapons might be either à plaisance (blunted) or à outrance (sharp), but the object was not to cause death, and a fatality always occasioned great chagrin and sometimes loss of honour

to the inflicting party. However, this is in contrast to another type of foot-combat, the duel, which was fought under totally different circumstances and in which death was the expected outcome.¹³⁰ The duel was a form of law, not of sport. Under certain circumstances knights and squires were able to take their grievances against others of the same rank to the Court of Chivalry, and if no other means could be found a duel might be decided upon as the only way of settling the argument. The seriousness of the event was enhanced by religious rituals and the swearing of oaths, after which the fight was to the death, unless it was stopped by the judge (usually the king or his deputy) or unless one party confessed guilt or cried 'creaunt', in which case he was dragged out of the lists with dishonour and executed.

All of this is well exemplified in L.¹³¹ The duel is dealt with in a copy of the classic set of rules said to have been devised by Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, who was Constable of England under Richard II (L7). These rules are of value for the exceptional detail with which they treat this type of combat, which is commonly, but usually only briefly, alluded to in chronicles of the time. The construction of the lists, the provision for the officials,^{the} proclamations, the weapons, the swearing of oaths, the conduct of the fight, the provision of punishment, and the fees of the heralds and marshal are among the subjects covered. Another key document, this time relating to the mêlée, is the Statute of Arms (L16), which prescribes restrictions as to the number and conduct of the participants. Dating probably from the time of Edward I, this statute came to be regarded as a fundamental statement of the rules, and continued to be copied in manuscripts well into

the post-medieval period. Two other items (L18 and part of L14) deal with the organisation of the mêlée (under the name tournoy) in fifteenth-century Burgundy. L18 is a detailed description of such an event (not firmly dateable) fought between representatives of France and of Flanders. L14 contains the chapters for the mêlée at the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or, which formed part of the celebrations on the occasion of the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in 1468.

Another document dealing with general organisation is L5, which describes the armour and other equipment needed for combat on foot, while examples of the chapters and narratives of actual foot-combats are in L8, L11, L12, L15, L17, and L22, these sources between them offering a great amount of detail. Jousts are also fully dealt with. L6 is a list of instructions for organising a 'joust of peace', i.e. joust à plaisance. It deals with the equipment, the 'cry' of the joust (giving a specimen proclamation), the form of entry into the lists, and the distribution of the prizes. L19 gives the text of an actual proclamation, probably for an elaborate joust of Richard II which is described by Froissart. Additionally, chapters and narratives of actual jousts à plaisance are in L8, L10-15, L17, L22, L23. Jousts à outrance are recounted in L9 and L21; through misfortune each resulted in a fatality.

Three of the descriptions (L14, L22, L23) concern Burgundian pas d'armes. A pas was an elaborately-contrived spectacle in which a knight or squire, or perhaps several, sometimes with their identities concealed under elaborate pseudonyms and contrived coats of arms, undertook to hold the field for a period of time against all comers of gentle birth according

to conditions laid down in prearranged chapters. Large sums of money were spent on the costumes, the preparation of the lists, accommodation for the spectators, the prizes, and the inevitable banquet and dance with which the proceedings were rounded off. The whole affair was based on some romantic theme which necessitated the challengers having to accomplish certain deeds of arms in order to release themselves from some pretended obligation or constraint. The fictional background to such a pas (though no description of the event itself) is given in L22, which tells how a lady came to the court of the Duke of Burgundy seeking help against a powerful neighbour. Three gentlemen of the court agreed to hold a pas so that the most accomplished of them might be selected as the lady's champion. L14 is a copy of the letter of challenge and chapters of the most elaborate of all the Burgundian pas d'armes, the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or (mentioned above). L14 forms an interesting supplement to the long account of this pas in the Mémoires of Olivier de la Marche. But L23 is perhaps the most interesting of the three texts because of the minute detail and because the event is so little known. This was the Pas du Perron Fée, held in Bruges in 1463 by Philippe de Lalaing, who played the part of a knight claiming to have been imprisoned in a magic rock from which the only means of escape was to accomplish a feat of arms. The practical background, with its many worries and delays, is almost as interesting as the event itself, with its elaborate scenery (including a multicoloured rock from which the knight rode to meet his opponents) and its great display of magnificence.

However, there can be no doubt that the most important items are L11 and L15, which detail one of the most famous chivalric

encounters in England in the fifteenth century. Dr Anglo has written:

Of the items unique to Lansdowne MS.285, by far the most significant is the series of letters, documents and narrative relating to the feats of arms performed by Anthony Wydeville, Lord Scales, against the Bastard of Burgundy, Antoine Count of La Roche ... The original challenge for this Tournament was issued by Lord Scales in April 1465, but the combats did not materialise till June 1467 when they took place amidst a wondrous display of courtly magnificence, and ended in a most dismal anti-climax -- another big fight fiasco. But as a record of the ceremonial of the English Tournament at this period, and as evidence for the international character of such contests, these materials concerning the Smithfield combats of 1467 are of the utmost value and merit a much more detailed study than has yet been accorded them.¹³²

Besides the many technicalities, several more general features concerning tournaments are particularly well exemplified in L. Huizinga has written that 'the desire of bestowing a form, a style, on sentiment, is not expressed exclusively in art and literature; it also unfolds in life itself: in courtly conversation, in games, in sports. There, too, love incessantly seeks a sublime and romantic expression'.¹³³ A number of texts in L offer strong support for this observation. Not merely is great deference shown to the ladies in the events described; their whims and affections are represented as the motivation and even justification of much that went on. The arrival of the lady seeking a champion at the ducal court of Burgundy is related as if it were an historical incident, and here as elsewhere fact and fiction appear almost to become one. Courtly Love themes in the literature of the fifteenth

century are shown to be no anacronism; in this sphere of courtly life they were being acted out with a seriousness still relatively uncontaminated by the political posturing of some of the Tudor 'triumphs'.¹³⁴ The importance of gentle birth, the etiquette, the seriousness with which the touching of an emprise [a token of challenge] was undertaken and witnessed (almost with a religious devotion) are all shown here. The highly specialised language -- the technical terms, the formulaic style, the use of French as an 'international' language, the tendency at this time promptly to make translations into English -- all this awaits study.¹³⁵

L, then, contains a broad spread of texts representing most areas of interest in this field. On the other hand a small number of frequently-copied items is noticeably absent.¹³⁶ We do not find, for instance, any of the histories of heraldry -- neither the treatise on the foundation of the office of Heralds by Julius Caesar, nor the English translation of the spurious epistle of Pope Pius II concerning the 'first foundation of the office of arms and whereof it began'.¹³⁷ Despite the obvious interest shown in the Grete Boke in the fees of heralds, there is no copy of the 'Rights of Officers of Arms at Tournaments', the 'Rights of the Officers of Arms at Tournaments in their Absence', nor of the 'Debattez entre les roys darmes et sergeans darmes', though its closely-related companion-piece is L20.¹³⁸ Also absent are the statutes of the Order of the Garter and the allegorical letters of challenge for the feat of arms held at Eltham in 1401 to honour Blanche, the daughter of Henry IV (an event which was perhaps the nearest English equivalent to the Burgundian pas).¹³⁹

Perhaps the most striking omission in so practical a work as the Grete Boke is of the 'Ordinances, Statutes and Rules, made by John Lord Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Constable of England ... Commanded to be Observed and Kept in all manner of Jousts of Peace Royal within this Realm of England', which established the regulations and method of scoring for royal and other jousting events for many years to come.¹⁴⁰ However, even allowing for the absence of these texts, the inclusiveness of the collection in L is very striking. Not only that, the texts are seminally important, nine of the nineteen being the source of all other extant copies (L10, L11, L13-15, L17, L19, L21, L22) and two others being the earliest (L18, L23).

The Burgundian Connection

The gaudy pomp of the tournament was but one expression of the fifteenth-century nobleman's immoderate love of ostentation. This served a very practical purpose, for magnificence and munificence were understood as the outward signs of real power, and, in an age in which the aristocracy had grown increasingly competitive, it became increasingly important for the nobleman to guard and increase the 'affinity' on which his strength was founded.

If a lord did not ceaselessly strive to maintain and to enlarge his affinity, he might find himself in the position of a modern bank if the rumour should begin to spread that its finances were no longer sound. No more than a bank could a magnate afford to look shabby and poverty-stricken; on the contrary, in this lethally competitive society he must impress men by his ostentation and attract them by his hospitality.¹⁴¹

This was as true of kings as it was of great lords and of all who sought to maintain and extend their power and influence.

One of the reasons why Henry VI forfeited support at his re-adeption in 1470 was that he failed to keep up the state expected of a sovereign, so that his progress was said to be 'more lyker a play then the shewyng of a prynce to wynne mennys hertys, ffor by this mean he lost many & wan noon or Rygth ffewe, and evyr he was shewid In a long blew goune of velvet as thowth he hadd noo moo to chaunge with'.¹⁴²

Princely ostentation was most dazzlingly exemplified in Burgundy, where the dukes maintained their splendid courts to convince their rivals of the exalted place they merited among the princes of Europe. - 'After the deeds and exploits of war', writes Chastellain, 'the household is the first thing that strikes the eye, and that which is, therefore, most necessary to conduct and arrange well.'¹⁴³ Courted for their economic strength and their political importance, the Burgundian dukes established a cultural supremacy and influence over every noble household in Europe. As patrons of the arts, collectors of fine books, and sovereigns of the Order of the Golden Fleece, they set standards in art, literature, chivalry, and courtly ostentation which other European rulers strove to imitate, and nowhere was this influence more apparent than in England at the court of Edward IV.

The new closeness between England and Burgundy at this time is connected with the rise to power of the Woodville family and with the ousting of the Earl of Warwick, who favoured an alliance with France.¹⁴⁴ In the reign of Henry V the Woodvilles were not outstandingⁱⁿ fame or importance, their greatest prominence being that Sir Richard Woodville was appointed Senechal of Normandy. His son, also Richard, was the agent

of their meteoric rise through his marriage to Jacquetta of Luxembourg, widow of the Duke of Bedford, regent of France, and daughter of Pierre of Luxembourg, Count of Saint-Pol, Brienne etc. This clandestine marriage incurred the displeasure of Henry VI, whose pardon had to be paid for; but, undeterred, the Woodvilles were later to secure their fortunes through another secret marriage, this time between Elizabeth, the offspring of this union, and Edward IV himself. This marriage took place at dawn on 1 May 1464, and bred resentment and suspicion among others of the English aristocracy; but for the time being the Woodvilles' influence was paramount, and their Burgundian connections ensured the direction of English foreign policy for some years to come. As daughter of Jacquetta of Luxembourg, the queen commanded the attendance of one hundred Burgundian knights at her coronation, while Elizabeth's brother, Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, served prominently in the negotiations for the marriage between Charles the Bold and Edward IV's sister, and took part in the famous feat of arms in Smithfield in 1467 as England's champion against the champion of Burgundy.¹⁴⁵

The unfortunate outcome of the combat does not seem to have had any lasting ill effect on the good relationship between England and Burgundy, and the king's displeasure with Lord Scales over the accusations of unfair conduct which were levelled against him seems to have been short-lived. The continuing close ties between the two princes were shortly afterwards strengthened by the fact that they both became members of the same chivalric orders. In 1468, just before his marriage to Margaret of York, Charles invested Edward as a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The next year Edward returned the compliment by making Charles a Knight of

the Order of the Garter.¹⁴⁶ The Order of the Golden Fleece had been founded by Philip the Good in 1430 in emulation of that of the Garter, but now the current of influence was running mostly in the opposite direction.

Edward's friendly relations with Burgundy were of the first importance to him in the period 1470 to 1471 when Warwick restored Henry VI to the throne and Edward fled the country and sought refuge with the duke. However, in the course of the sea crossing he was attacked by pirates, and was rescued from them by Louis of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse, in whose mansion in Bruges he lived during the period of exile.¹⁴⁷

Louis was a great bibliophile, whose library rivalled that of the ducal court, and Edward became convinced of the necessity of a fine library in a prince's household. On his return to the throne he began to gather together a library of books like those he had encountered during his stay abroad. He began with a small number of large, lavishly illuminated manuscripts, of the type favoured by the duke, and added to it by acquiring books which duplicated those in the collection of his former host. Some may also have been presented by Louis, for in one extant volume the royal arms of England have been painted over the arms of Gruuthuse.¹⁴⁸ Edward responded by making him Earl of Winchester, and further expressed his admiration by remodelling the chapel at Windsor on the lines of the one he had known in the house of Louis in Bruges.¹⁴⁹

In many respects Edward was clearly deeply impressed with the ducal court, and it was probably a wish to emulate its opulence which led to the compilation of the Black Book of his household

some time between June 1471 and September 1472, not long after the king had returned from Burgundy.¹⁵⁰ Edward persisted in his interest, and later sought advice from the great authority on etiquette and rules, Olivier de la Marche, who responded by writing in about 1473 L'estat de la maison du duc Charles de Bourgoingne, dit le hardy, the best treatise on the theory of Burgundian household management just as the descriptions in the Mémoires are the best exemplification of courtly practice.¹⁵¹

But it was not only at court that the effects of Burgundian dominance were felt. The underlying English interest in the Low Countries was economic. Just as the richness of Burgundian court life depended on the profits of commerce, so the maintenance of the more modest opulence of the households of the English king and nobility depended on the health of their trade with the Netherlands in wool and cloth.¹⁵² Relations with Burgundy therefore provided both the means and the model. Not every Englishman was uniformly impressed with the rich neighbours, for we find the author of Gregory's Chronicle complaining about the miserly treatment of those in the retinues of the English gentlemen at the nuptial celebrations in Bruges in 1468.¹⁵³ But the merchant and business classes in general were probably content with the rapport with Burgundy, profited from it, and were deeply influenced by it. Caxton is a case in point: the Bruges he knew while he was Governor of the Merchant Adventurers was a magnet for authors, scribes, translators, and illuminators, and provided both the contacts and the milieu which were to be reflected in his books. Caxton's tastes, and especially his love of knightly deeds

and chivalric themes, can probably be attributed in large measure to his long association with the gentlemen and nobility of Burgundy, even to the extent that the general categories of his printed works correspond to those of the ducal library, while some of the specific works he printed, as well as the rhetorical formulae and ideas in some of his prologues and epilogues, also reflect a strong Burgundian influence.¹⁵⁴

There is one sphere, however, in which the influence was both more slight and slower to affect England than one would expect. Despite the frequent encounters between English and Burgundian knights in the lists, feats of arms in England remained curiously resistant to the influence of the rich scenic and allegorical pas d'armes fashionable in the low countries. The Smithfield combat between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy, for instance, was essentially a big fight between individuals, and, for all the careful planning and great cost (by English standards) it was essentially unlike events such as the pas of Philippe de Lalaing (described in L23), which was a defence by a single, romantically disguised knight against answerers who were obliged to observe certain symbolic rituals in order to obtain the chance to break lances with him. The proceedings in Smithfield were not so elaborately contrived as this, and once the big fight was over it was left to the followers of the champions to arrange their own combats on the basis of individual agreement by letter (as shown in L12 and L13). In the following year many Englishmen were present in Bruges to witness the elaborate and opulent Pas à l'Arbre d'Or, and few could have remained unimpressed. Certainly, John Paston III was captivated.¹⁵⁵ But even so, it is not until 1478 at the tournament in honour

of Richard Duke of York and Anne Mowbray¹⁵⁶ that we encounter the first known instance of a Burgundian pageant car in use in England, and not until the reign of Henry VII that the full potential of courtly disguising at tournaments began to be realised.¹⁵⁷

To sum up, it is easy to explain why there is so much 'Burgundian' material in the Grete Boke. Sir John had his own personal interest in the duchy,¹⁵⁸ and the English court in general and the country as a whole were fascinated at that time with this friendly centre of fashion and excellence. In particular, one could point to the interest in etiquette, ceremony, banqueting, and the orders of chivalry (L1-4), and to the interest in all sort of feats of arms (L5-23) as particular evidence of this preoccupation. The attention focused in the Grete Boke upon Anthony Woodville (in L11, L15) is another sign of it, as are the items directly concerning Burgundian knights (L11-15, L18). In 1468 Sir John's brother wrote of the duke's court in Bruges: 'By my trowthe, I haue no wyt nor remembrans to wryte to yow halfe the worchep that is her';¹⁵⁹ the Grete Boke, which was in the process of compilation in that very year, is partially an attempt to set some of that 'worchep' down in writing.

The Heralds and their Work

John Paston III's report of the celebrations in Bruges -- vivid as it is -- runs to less than five hundred words, though no doubt he would have had much to add on his return to Norfolk. The two accounts of the same event by Olivier de la Marche, on the other hand, extend to nearly fifty thousand

words.¹⁶⁰ Evidently la Marche did not lack the 'wyt' to do justice to this very special event, for he manages to convey a remarkable sense of occasion despite the mass of sometimes repetitive descriptive detail. As the duke's historiographer, he was an official recorder of court spectacle, and as maître d'hôtel he had access to much information that John Paston did not have.¹⁶¹ But his was not the only 'professional' account. Another description survives under the title 'The Mariage of the Ryght high and myghty Prince the Duc of Burgoigne with the Right high and excellent Princesse Margaret'.¹⁶² It describes events from 18 June, when Margaret left London, to 18 July, when the festivities ended, but, unlike the version by la Marche, it offers many intimate observations concerning the lady, and was certainly written by someone in the English party who enjoyed her close confidence. The description of the meeting of the duke and his espoused bride may be cited by way of example:

On the Monday next after come the Duke of Burgoine to Sclyce with twenty persones secretely to my Lady: and ther was in the presence, my Lorde Bisshop of Salesbury, my Lord Scalez, my Lorde Dacrez chamberleyn unto my sayd Lady, the Duchez of Northfolke, the Lady Skalez, and all the aboundaunce of knyghtes, esquiers, and gentilwemen environ the chambre. And than the Duc and my Lady beyng in myddys of the chambre, reverent obeissance made ether to other. The Duke toke hur in his armys and kyssidd hur and than kyssidde all the ladyez and gentilwemen: and when he had soo don, loked and regarded to the beaute of hur, he rejoyced; and in his rejoyse in soche case me thought as Troilus was inne, for he tarryd and avysed hur a tracte of tyme ar he went to hur a gayne, and than reverenttely went to hur and toke hur by the ryght hand, and seet bothe hem downe, and axe her a question secretely ...¹⁶³

The writer was almost certainly one of the heralds, but not Garter King of Arms, who is the only English officer of arms known definitely to have been present, for the account later states:

To wryte of the Justes that dayly was, duryng
the forsaid nine dayez, in the markett place
of Brigges, ys over longe a thyng to be writtyn
in this Abbreviate: Garter the Kyng of Armys
hathe it in Frenche, and for that cause I leve
to wryitt.¹⁶⁴

At least two heralds on the English side, then, had either been assigned or had taken it upon themselves to keep a record of events. This aspect of the heralds' activities, along with their copying and translating work, has never received much attention, and their important role in the production and dissemination of late medieval writings is therefore very little known. No account of the history of the Grete Boke, however, can afford to overlook them, for they contributed signally to the courtly milieu which is the background of the book, and were probably also directly responsible for first setting down in writing many of the pieces it contains.

According to the earliest records, most of which are French, the main function of heralds was to officiate at tournaments -- to proclaim the event in advance, to accompany knights to the field, to cry the name and sometimes the famous deeds of each combatant, to keep the scores, to adjudicate in cases of dispute, to answer the questions of the watching ladies, and to announce the winner.¹⁶⁵ In early times they combined this with other duties, such as awakening their lords and making announcements at ceremonies, tasks which were not centrally

regulated by any national or international body, and which probably varied greatly from one individual to another. Tournament duties, however, were their main concern. As tournaments became more elaborate heralds became more important, and by 1276 we begin to read of a superior class of heralds called 'kings of heralds' (though 'kings of arms' are not encountered until the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and the office of Garter King of Arms, chief of all heralds, was not established until 1415). In the thirteenth century heralds were retained by mere lords and knights, but they were also employed by the kings of England. By the time of Edward I they were considered to be experts in armorial bearings, of which they began to keep records. Despite their rising status, they still relied on casual bounty for their livelihood, and the cry 'Largess!' was not the mere formality it later became. From the first half of the fourteenth century heralds came to be referred to by the names of their offices. The earliest known are Carlisle Herald (1327), Douglas Herald ('uns hiraus d'Escoce lequel on nommoit Glas', 1327), Dundee Herald (1333), and perhaps Norreys (later Norroy) King of Herald (1338). Andrew Claroncel (1334) is perhaps Clarenceux King of Arms. The junior class of heralds called pursuivants is met with shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century. Herald's duties at this time included diplomatic missions and the control of public ceremonies, and some of them had begun to take advantage of their privileged position to set down great events in writing, like Chandos, the herald of Sir John Chandos, who wrote a life of the Black Prince in verse about 1385. Concern with coat armour was also part of their duties, though it was some time before this became the most important duty of all.

It may be useful to take stock of what the roles of heralds were at the time the Grete Boke was in the making. The planning and oversight of tournaments was still an important duty, though it had lost its place as the preeminent concern of earlier times. It is decreed in a list of ordinances relating to the fifteenth century (the authority of which is admittedly not beyond question) that the officers of arms were to be notified in advance of all solemnities and acts of noblemen in performing deeds of arms. If this was so, they must have exercised a far greater degree of control than in earlier times. They continued to advise their masters on the meaning of arms displayed in battle, and afterwards to take down in writing a list of the dead. Sir John Paston's report of those killed at the Battle of Barnet is probably taken from just such a list.¹⁶⁶ The fifteenth century saw the heralds grow from being the acknowledged experts in armorial bearings to the body with official responsibility for their use. They made grants of arms, sometimes in their own names, and began a series of visitations designed to exclude those who could not furnish proof of their entitlement to bear arms. In this connection they continued the established practice of making rolls of arms. They played a legal role in disputes over the use of arms and in other controversies between gentleman, participating in the Court of Chivalry under the jurisdiction of the Marshal (later Earl Marshal) and his senior colleague the Constable. By this time they enjoyed a special neutral status and immunity which arose from their diplomatic missions between kingdoms and provinces carrying messages both of peace and of war. As a result, heralds

regarded themselves as being bound by a professional code, and as being, in a sense, part of an international body or fraternity. This attitude was so deeply felt that at the Battle of Agincourt, as Jean Lefèvre, who was present there, relates in his chronicle, the French and English heralds remained side by side at their observation posts, keeping count of the noblemen, knights, and squires who were killed.¹⁶⁷ They also organised public and private events, at which they acted as masters of ceremonies, and were in general the most respected advisers on those minute details of etiquette and precedence with which the fifteenth-century courts of Europe were obsessed.¹⁶⁸

It was partly for this purpose that heralds began keeping records of ceremonial and other important events. By the very nature of their office they were ideally suited to this task. As the organisers of courtly spectacles and celebrations they had direct access not only to the detailed facts of the actual events but also to the intentions of the persons by whom they had been commissioned. Representing the 'establishment' in this way, the heralds were thus able to put out the 'authorised version'. The diplomatic status they enjoyed, and the relative freedom to traffic between the great men of Europe and to be admitted to their close presence, put them in a position which was ideal for observing famous men at significant, and sometimes historic, moments. Their knowledge of arms, and especially of the technical vocabulary which had by this time evolved in connection with the science of heraldry, furnished them with a language in which to set down important and often spectacular events. Moreover, a

properly qualified herald would have the appropriate writing skills, for even the lowliest pursuivant, it was urged, should be 'a clever young man, who is a clerk, and under twenty five or thereabouts'.¹⁶⁹ Froissart certainly regarded the officers of arms as first-class informants, and at the very start of his chronicle acknowledges his debt to 'rois d'armes et leurs mareschaus, qui par droit sont et doivent estre juste inquisiteur et rapporteur de tels besongnes'.¹⁷⁰

Heralds' descriptive narratives form a significant body of literature, and as yet they have not been systematically analysed. We can be sure, however, that they were written under a wide variety of differing conditions. William Ballard, though as March King of Arms a herald of some status, was obviously labouring under difficulties akin to those of the present-day journalist when he wrote of the jousts at the marriage celebrations of the Duke of York in 1478: 'The presse was soe great that I might not see to write the names of them that served; the abundance of the noble people were so innumerable.'¹⁷¹ Heralds were usually given good vantage points, however,¹⁷² and it would be hard to imagine the official chroniclers of Burgundy -- men like Jean Lefèvre, Georges Chastellain, and Olivier de la Marche -- ever having to suffer such inconveniences.

It appears, then, that from shadowy beginnings concerned with the recording of precedent and of the use of armorial bearings, noteworthy events came to be written down at least partly for the simple reason that they were considered worth remembering. La Marche says precisely this at the beginning of his Traictié des nopces de monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne

et de Brabant:

Les fais et advenues louables ne se doibvent
des bons souffir extaindre, mais collegier et
mettre par escript, affin de perpetuelle memoire.¹⁷³

This was just one reason. Elsewhere in the writings of la Marche, and in the statements with which many other accounts of arms are prefaced, the motivation is said to be somewhat different. The pas d'armes described in L22 is designed ostensibly to select a champion for the mysterious lady whose aggressive neighbour has been troubling her; but additional reasons are 'Jusques a donner exemple & couragement a toutz autrez Chivaliers en porter querelle de dame' and (of the knights who participate) 'pur glorifier aussi leurs haulx nobles noms en oeure meritoirs'. The encouragement and publication of chivalrous deeds was also an ideal of which knights were formally reminded at their creation. In an account of the form of ceremony for creating Knights of the Bath it is said of the new made knight:

And he shall have uppon the lyft shuldere, a white lace of Sylk hangynge, And that lace he shall kepe in that wyse above his clothyng withoutenforth from that day forth contynuelly unto that tyme he gete hym som manere... of worshippe by deservynge, by wytnesse of worthy Knyghtes, and Squyers, Kynges, outhere Herawdes of Armes, And trewe Herawdes clerely theraftr reported.¹⁷⁴

The account goes on to say that the report must come to the attention of the prince who has made him knight, or else some lady, who will then take away the lace from his shoulder.

It is only a short step from the glorification of chivalry

in general to the glorification of the individual, and it is likely that the propaganda value of these effusive descriptions was quickly realised. Ostentatious display was of political importance in impressing eyewitness (like John Paston III in Bruges), and princes relied on the enthusiastic reports of foreign visitors to spread their fame abroad.¹⁷⁵ In this context the official report of the proceedings was potentially very influential, and heralds gradually found themselves called upon to act as court publicists. With the decline of their former rivals the minstrels, therefore, the heralds took over part of their role, for the minstrels had once been able to make or break a man's reputation through their songs. Already by Chaucer's time it is the 'pursevantes and heraudes, / That crien ryche folkes laudes'.¹⁷⁶ As literacy increased, kings and noblemen began to realise the value of these reports in spreading their fame both at home and abroad. The citizens' chronicles of the time treat public spectacle so uniformly, and with such attention to factual detail, that they must surely have relied on the circulation of official reports.¹⁷⁷ In time heralds in England began to show themselves capable of modest literary achievements, like the epitaph for Richard Duke of York, written in French verse by Thomas Whiting (or Utine), Chester Herald, who appended it to his account of the funeral and signed it 'Chester le H^t'.¹⁷⁸ But the heralds never realised their potential in the direction of literary composition, though the type of work they did undoubtedly contributed to the rise of the court chronicler and 'orator regis'.¹⁷⁹

Another motivation, not necessarily independent of the last,

lies behind most of the heraldic tracts in L. As the heralds' services grew, and as noblemen came to depend on them more and more, they were able to command higher fees for their work, to rely less on casual largess than on monetary payments and customary perquisites.

No historical writer today can afford to neglect the economic side of his subject, but no historian of the heralds was ever likely to do so, of such importance in their own eyes at all times were their claims to fees, largess and perquisites. This was because these claims were largely of a customary nature and occasions for some of the most important came but seldom. If care were not taken to keep the record and bring it forward at the right time, the precise payment or perquisite due to the heralds at the King's coronation, on the creation of a duke, or in time of rebellion might well be forgotten or overlooked.¹⁸⁰

A good instance of the importance of the written record in this respect comes from the sixteenth century. At a joust held in 1565 Henry Mackwilliam and his horse were overthrown by Henry Knollys, and the heralds accordingly seized Mackwilliam's horse and armour as their due droit. When their right to it was called in question Thomas Duke of Norfolk, as Earl Marshal, demanded that the heralds show the precedents for their claim. This they did to his satisfaction, and he awarded them £20 for redemption of the horse and armour, which the Earl of Leicester paid on Mackwilliam's behalf.¹⁸¹ Occasional general pronouncements on their fees were particularly important to them, and one of these, an ordinance of Thomas of Lancaster issued before Caen in 1417, is L20 in the Grete Boke. At least six other items are fairly explicit in their concern for gifts and fees,¹⁸² and the desire to record customary duties

which would lead to fees seems to lie behind several more. It is clear that this issue was vitally important to the heralds, and that it was in no small measure responsible for their commendable habit of writing, compiling, and copying.

With this background in mind we can now look briefly over the heraldic content of L. L1, the description of the coronation service, would have been highly relevant, especially as the appended list of principal officers would have established the precedent for the right of certain great lords to serve at the event. L2-3, which describe the English coronation of Henry VI, would have held similar interest. But of these three probably only the list of officers in L1 was actually written by a herald. L4, on the making of Knights of the Bath, is probably heraldic in origin; the heralds naturally feature prominently in the proceedings, and there is a very marked interest in fees. L6, the treatise on jousts of peace, contains several specimen proclamations to be made by heralds. L7 is the document setting down rules for the duel, in which heralds were called upon to apply the law of arms with due regard to proper form, and in expectation of a specified fee. L8-9, the letters of challenge to John Astley, would have been of general interest to them, and it is worth noting that in the illustrations in the Morgan manuscript (from which these two items were copied into L) heralds have a conspicuous place. The Earl of Warwick's romantic feat of arms is described by an eyewitness who was probably a herald (L10), who finds time to observe that there were 'large yiftes gevyn to the frenshe heraudis and mynsterelles'.

L11, consisting of documents relating to the Smithfield combat of 1467, was probably compiled either by John Water, Chester, who carried the challenge to Burgundy, or (less likely) by Thomas Whiting, then Nuelles Pursuivant (retained by Lord Scales), who accompanied him, for only they would have had access to the details. Others may have contributed to the more fully written up account of this event (L15), such as John Smert, Garter King of Arms, who was prominent in the reception of the Bastard of Burgundy, the answerer. The lavish gifts of the Duke of Burgundy to Chester are among the details mentioned. L12-13, L17, letters of challenge, would have been of general interest. L14, concerning arrangements for the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or, would have been rather more so on account of the interest shown in the activities of l'Arbre d'Or Herald. L16, the Statute of Arms, specifies inter alia what a king of heralds may carry at a mêlée. L18, which describes a fifteenth-century Burgundian mêlée, is particularly interesting in this connection as it was altered and used by the heralds in their claims to tournament droits, a type of forgery not uncommon among them. L19 is a copy of a specific proclamation of jousts. L20 is the above-mentioned ordinance relating to fees. L21 is an eyewitness account of a feat of arms in France, almost certainly by one of the English officers of arms, probably Garter. L22, concerning the lady seeking a champion, would have been only of general interest, but L23, the Pas du Perron Fée, gives more prominence to heralds, and was very probably written by one of their number. L24 is the prose Vegetius, which contains chapters on subjects of general interest to heralds (e.g. on the use of banners). L26-27 are ordinances of war to be 'cried in the Oste' by the heralds, and a herald or king of arms would also have carried

the summons of surrender, a copy of which constitutes L28.

All this indicates a high degree of involvement by the heralds in the evolution of the Grete Boke, and indicates that Sir John's interests lay, in large measure, in those areas which were regulated by these 'witnesses of ... sublime deeds' and 'experts in matters of honour and of glory'.¹⁸³ The fact that the book, after his death, passed to a succession of heralds and was extensively copied, shows that others, too, saw it in this light.

Notes to chapter four

1. See above, p. 119.
2. See Ferguson 1960, 3-11.
3. See Bornstein 1975, 469-77.
4. Troy Book, Prologue, lines 87-9, ed Bergen 1906, 3.
5. Ed Dyboski and Arend 1936.
6. MacCracken 1913, 402-3.
7. Ed Nichols 1860.
8. Ed Byles 1937. Christine's popular work followed three earlier French translations, including one by Jean de Meun.
9. Ed Byles 1926.
10. See Coopland 1949, especially the discussion of its circulation and influence, pp.21-5.
11. Byles 1926, 122-3, quoted below, p.163.
12. 'Address to Sir John Oldcastle, A.D.1415', lines 195-98, in Furnivall and Gollancz 1970, 14.
13. Green 1980, 144-5.
14. Anglo 1961; Anglo 1962.
15. Anglo 1962, 187.
16. On Sir John's probable motives in having the collection made see below, p. 185.
17. Anglo 1962, 187.
18. As far as I am aware, no English heraldic collection has been edited complete or described in detail other than the Morgan manuscript, which is described and partially transcribed in Dillon 1900. Individual items, on the other hand, have quite often been printed. For details see under the individual items in the Descriptive Index. Examples of heraldic collections are well represented in the list of manuscripts in Chapter 2.
19. On the importance of L see below, pp. 209-11.
20. See L3 in the Descriptive Index. Examples of heraldic collections showing an interest in coronation procedure are MSS 2, 30, 39, 42 etc. of the list in Chapter 2 above.
21. See L2 in the Descriptive Index.
22. Keen 1965, 21.
23. Keen 1965, 148n.
24. Keen 1965, 103n, and on sieges in general pp.119-33.

25. Byles 1926, 122-3.
26. Keen 1965, 57.
27. Eg. Steele 1894; Steele 1898; Manzalaoui 1977.
28. Ed Furnivall 1897.
29. Ferguson 1960, 194; see also 189-95. On the influence of mirrors in general see Kleineke 1937; Gilbert 1928; Gilbert 1938, 3-18; Bornstein 1976b.
30. Robbins 1952, xxviii.
31. Robbins 1952, xxix-xxx.
32. Rigg 1968, 24; see also 24-6.
33. He adds puzzlingly (p.25) that 'the contents are purely individual and represent the taste of the compiler only'. By 'compiler' he presumably means the scribe or stationer who supposedly speculatively produced the volume for sale. However, Rigg does not automatically exclude books written (like the Grete Boke) in a variety of different hands, 'as long as it is sufficiently evidenced that the book was regarded as a depository for miscellaneous items'.
34. See above, pp.146-8.
35. See above, p.123. The Pastons several times used the first person possessive pronoun in referring to specific books of theirs, e.g. 'my Temple off Glasse' (John II, see PL I, 447); 'my book of the metyng of the Dwke and of the Emperour' (John III, PL I, 592). This seems to support the contention that 'the link between the manuscript book and its owner ... was a very personal one indeed'. (Pickford 1963, 429. The term 'grete boke' (also 'grete booke' and 'magno libro') used by Ebesham probably reflects Sir John's own description of his book and also the grand design he had in mind.
36. For further discussion and a good example of a commonplace book see Louis 1980, esp. pp.99-103. Louis draws attention to the lack of inhibition with which the term 'commonplace book' is used in catalogues of medieval manuscripts and in scholarly articles.

37. PL I, 446, 453-4.
38. PL I, 447; II, 379.
39. PL I, 476.
40. PL I, 484; see also I, 373, 477, 479, 481.
41. PL II, 360.
42. See above, pp.122-5.
43. Wright 1887, I, 76-324, lines 1,029-4,596;
Furnivall 1887, I, 145 - II, 496, lines 4,123-14,322.
In the former note the frequent rubric 'Cassibel Rex'
after line 1,028.
44. Ed Zupitza 1875-6 and Zupitza 1883-91 (two versions);
MacCracken 1934, 516-38.
45. Ed Brunner 1913. The full version has over 7,000
lines.
46. Ed Behre 1960.
47. Ed Robinson 1957, 385-479.
48. Ed Robinson 1957, 480-518.
49. Ed Skeat 1897, 299-326.
50. Ed Robinson 1957, 309-18.
51. Ed Schick 1891. A copy of this work is also mentioned
as belonging to Sir John Paston in PL I, 447, where it
is referred to as if a separate book. Books often
were, in effect, whole 'libraries' (see Parkes 1973,
568-9.
52. This is listed in Bennett 1932, 261, as a romance,
but neither the title nor the names occur in any of
the obvious romance sources. There is no mention of it
in Wilson 1970.
53. Gairdner 1904, VI, 66, citing Fenn.
54. Ed Tolkien and Gordon 1967.
55. Facsimile in Figgins 1855.
56. Ed MacCracken 1934, 539-66.
57. Ed Wilson 1957. Francis Lee Utley (Utley 1972, 724)
writes: 'one wonders whether it might be the poem in a
lost volume owned by Sir John Fastolf, along with
La belle dame sans merci, the Parliament of Fowls,
and the Life of St. Christopher.' He cites Bennett
1947, 123 as his source, but he has evidently misread

- 'Sir John Fastolf' for 'Sir John Paston'.
58. Ed MacCracken 1934, 486-516.
59. See D'Evelyn 1970, 575-6.
60. See IMEV, 766, under 'Mass, virtues of'.
61. See IMEV, Nos.2759, 4099, and MacCracken 1911, 324-9.
62. Smith 1886, 25-46.
63. For the former see IMEV, No.123. The latter is in Morris 1871, 170-93.
64. Ed Perry 1913, 51-62.
65. For a facsimile see Cicero 1977; see also above, pp.141-3.
66. Facsimile in Cicero 1977.
67. Ed Warner 1926.
68. J. J. Anderson in his edition of Patience (Anderson 1969, 51) writes "'Wisdom" was a usual name for Christ in medieval religious writing (including English writing), supported by biblical identifications such as 1 Cor. i. 24: "Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam"'. See further Smith 1935. Cf. the Morality Play Wisdom, that is Christ.
69. See above, pp.84, 119.
70. The wording of the inventory at this point is discussed above, pp.124-5.
71. 'þe book of vij Sagys.' See PL I, 576.
72. I.e. the Sophistici Elenchi of Aristotle (Bennett 1932, 105n).
73. PL I, 234, 273, 326, 328, 574-5, 592; II, 360, 362.
74. Deanesly 1920.
75. Deanesley 1920, 349-50.
76. For Sir John's will see PL I, 506-8, nominally dated 31 October 1477. The fact that his inventory of books was made about this time perhaps suggests that he planned to dispose of his books separately. For arguments against Deanesly see Parkes 1973, 568-9.
77. Parkes 1973, 567; Thompson 1939, 401-18; Green 1980, 91-9.
78. See below, p.196.
79. Barber 1963.

80. Vickers 1907, 426-38; Craster 1915, 131-5; Ullman 1937.
81. Weiss 1935-7; Mitchell 1938, 150-71.
82. Lander 1980, 162.
83. Blades 1877, [1-3].
84. Bennett 1932, 111.
85. Thrupp 1948, 162; see also 161-3, 247-9.
86. See PL I, 516. The hostess of the George was entrusted to receive books which Sir John sent for in 1474 (see PL I, 477).
87. For a facsimile see Beadle and Owen 1978,
88. Doyle and Parkes 1978, 200.
89. Harrington 1956, 95.
90. Doyle and Parkes 1978, 201.
91. Parkes 1973, 563.
92. See Blake 1973, 106; Blake 1976; also more generally Bühler 1960a, 40-65. Kelliher 1981 suggests that it was specifically Anthony Woodville who encouraged Caxton to print Malory. For a contrary view see Blake 1976.
93. The question of language is not relevant to the present discussion for, according to the heading, the inventory lists only Sir John's English books. By implication, Sir John would have owned others in French and Latin. Bennett seems to have overlooked the heading in listing De Senectute, De Amicitia, and De Sapientia as 'Latin manuscripts' (Bennett 1932, 113).
94. Deanesly 1920, 350.
95. Kibre 1946.
96. Steele 1903-7. For a more general treatment of the production and distribution of manuscripts see Bennett 1944; Bennett 1946.
97. He leaves 157 unclassified.
98. On the preparation of an Index of Middle English Prose see Edwards and Pearsall 1981.
99. Bennett 1932, 110-11.
100. PL I, 574-5; II, 379.
101. See Hammond 1927, 191-7; Doyle 1961; Bennett 1937, 19-21; Parkes 1973, 570.
102. Thompson 1939, 373-413; Lander 1980, 162.

103. Pickford 1963, 426-9.
104. Pickford 1963, 430.
105. PL I, 156-7.
106. See Bennett 1932, 102-10.
107. PL I, 651.
108. See the table of authors and clerks in PL I, lxxv-lxxix. On letter writing generally see Bennett 1932, 114-27.
109. Davis 1967.
110. PL I, 43-4.
111. Bennett 1932, 110.
112. Parkes 1973, 555.
113. Parkes 1973, 571. See also Lander 1980, 152-3.
114. See Rashdall 1936; Thompson 1960; Curtis 1963; Cobban 1975; Lander 1980, 153-60; Coleman 1981.
115. See especially Green 1980, 71-100, who draws upon Edward IV's Black Book, which is edited in Myers 1959, 76-197.
116. Myers 1959, 126-7.
117. Myers 1959, 246n, 205; and cf. PL I, 199-200, 392.
118. Myers 1959, 129.
119. Green 1980, 82, argues that this was an actual courtesy book 'used as a standard text and forming the basis of some sort of methodical system of instruction in noriture', and points out that one of the edited courtesy books has the title Vrbanitatis.
120. Green 1980, 75, speculates that Anthony Woodville (friend and ally of Sir John, and one of the most prominent figures in the Grete Boke) may have been responsible for the noriture of the future Edward V.
121. See especially Ferguson 1960, 33-74, 182-204.
122. Anglo 1962, 191.
123. On this subject in general see Clephan 1919; Cripps-Day 1918, Anglo 1968, 19-34; Barber 1970; Vale 1981.
124. Byles 1926, 124.
125. See Denholm-Young 1948.
126. See Loomis 1939; Sandoz 1944; Cline 1945.

127. See Dillon 1898.
128. See Dillon 1904.
129. See Cripps-Day 1918, xxvii-xxx.
130. See Baldick 1965, 11-48.
131. Detailed references and descriptions relating to the items mentioned may be consulted in the Descriptive Index.
132. Anglo 1962, 191. Since making this statement Dr Anglo has written Anglo 1965.
133. Huizinga 1965, 76.
134. See Anglo 1969. The blurring of the distinction between history and romance is interestingly dealt with in Doutrepoint 1939 and Morse 1980.
135. See Appendix 3.
136. See Anglo 1962, especially the table on p.195.
137. Anglo 1962, p.195, items 6, 7.
138. Anglo 1962, p.195, items 10, 11, 16.
139. Anglo 1962, p.195, items 1, 14.
140. Anglo 1962, p.195, item 30. A version is printed in Cripps-Day 1918, xxvii-xxx. But see Anglo 1965, 273n for doubts as to whether the rules are really by Tiptoft.
141. Myers 1959, 2.
142. Thomas and Thornley 1938, 215.
143. See Cartellieri 1929; Calmette 1962; Vaughan 1962; Huizinga 1965; Vaughan 1966; Vaughan 1970; Vaughan 1973; Vaughan 1975; Kipling 1977.
144. See Ross 1974, 84-125; Armstrong 1977, 35-9. On the relations between England and Burgundy in general see Thielemans 1966.
145. For a description of this event see L11 and L15.
146. Bornstein 1976b, 2-3.
147. Kipling 1977, 31.
148. Kipling 1977, 31.
149. Armstrong 1977, 42.
150. Myers 1959, 31.
151. The treatise is printed as an appendix to the Mémoires in Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, IV, 1-94; see also III, 101-201 for the best account of Burgundian courtly festivities. See also the discussion in Huizinga 1966, 40-1.

152. Ferguson 1960, 19.
153. Gairdner 1876, 238.
154. Blades 1861-3, I, 27; Aurner 1926, 186; Byles 1934, 9; Bühler 1960, 14; Blake 1965, 298-9; Blake 1969, 66; Kekewich 1971; Bornstein 1976b, 1-3.
155. See PL I, 538-9, quoted in L14.
156. See below, pp.235-6.
157. See Anglo 1969, esp. pp.98-123; Kipling 1977, 116-25.
158. See above, p.137.
159. PL I, 539.
160. Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, III, 101-201; IV 95-144.
161. For a detailed biography see Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, i-xci.
162. For details see L14 of the Descriptive Index.
163. Printed in Bentley 1831, 230 (abbreviations here expanded).
164. Bentley 1831, 238 (abbreviations here expanded).
165. The best accounts of the history of the heralds are Wagner 1939; Wagner 1967. The account here is summarised from these.
166. PL I, 438.
167. In addition to the remarks in Wagner 1967, 40-3, see Keen 1965, 194-7.
168. This is discussed in Huizinga 1966, 42-8.
169. Wagner 1967, 48.
170. Luce et al 1869-1975, I, 1.
171. Quoted from Black 1840, 131. See also Wagner 1952, 8.
172. The very best provision was made for Garter at the combat between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy in 1467 (see L15 and also Wagner 1967, 70). Heralds are also well placed in the illustration in Wagner 1967, pl. IX.
173. Appendix to the Mémoires, ed Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, IV, 95.
174. Anstis 1725, Appendix No.88, pp.105-6.
175. Green 1980, 168-74.

176. House of Fame 1,321-2.
177. See, for example, the chronicle accounts listed in L15 of the combat in Smithfield in 1467. The same type of propaganda also underlies the effusive and detailed descriptions of the English coronation of Henry VI, and especially his sumptuous banquet (see L2-3).
178. See Bentley 1831, 171-212 and Wright 1859-61, II, 256-7.
179. See Green 1980, 172-6.
180. Wagner 1967, 72.
181. Wagner 1967, 105.
182. L4, L7, L10-11, L15, L18.
183. Huizinga 1966, 66, paraphrasing Froissart.

CHAPTER FIVE

OWNERSHIP AND LATER HISTORY

Owners

On the death of Sir John in 1479 the Grete Boke probably passed to his younger brother John III. We have no proof of this, for the extant copy of Sir John's will, though it specifies bequests of property to John III, makes no mention of books. However, John III moved quickly to secure his brother's estates,¹ and it seems altogether most likely that the books would have gone to him. John III is known to have read for enjoyment, and his letter from Bruges in 1468 shows that court spectacle and jousting were of some interest to him,² so the Grete Boke would have been a welcome addition to his collection. It is even possible that any of the items L16, L29-30 could have been added on John III's instructions after 1479, and not on his brother's as has been implicit in the discussion hitherto.

The first owner after Sir John of whom we can be sure is Sir Thomas Wrythe, alias Wriothesley (d.1534), who added his crest (a bull passant sable, armed and crowned or, in the nose an annulet) between the initials 'Th.' and '.WR.' at the foot of the first page (now f.2r), just as he did in MS College of Arms Arundel 26, except that there the full arms are given without initials.³ Under the name of Wrythe he was created Wallingford Pursuivant in 1489, and Garter King of Arms in 1505, after which he and his brother adopted the name Wriothesley.⁴ The Grete Boke could have come into his possession by way of his father, John Wrythe, Garter 1478-1504, who,

like the son, was an avid collector of heraldic material.⁵ A tantalising possibility that Wriothesley acquired other of Sir John's books is suggested by the fact that his arms and name occur in BL C. 10. b. 23, Caxton's The Game and Play of the Chess, with a contemporary list at the end of 'the names of the banerettis made at the batell of stooke', of which there exists a copy made by John III, who was knighted at the battle, which took place in 1487.⁶ As Dr Doyle has remarked: 'The coincidence has occasioned the conjecture that this is the actual copy of the Game in the elder Sir John's inventory, pursuing the same descent as Lansdowne.'⁷

The possession of a book by a Garter King of Arms did not at this time mean that it would automatically remain with the holders of that office. Before the establishment of the College of Arms library many official and semi-official heraldic records passed from one of the officers of arms to another by gift, bequest, or purchase, and sometimes they went out of official keeping altogether and into private hands.⁸ The uncertain future of the books was partly owing to the lack of a permanent home for the heralds. In 1484 Richard III granted them a formal charter of incorporation and a house called Coldharbour beside the Thames in which 'every king of arms had his place several for his own library' and in which a collection was begun of books which were regarded as belonging to the heralds generally. But within a year the charter was cancelled and the house taken from them when Henry VII annulled his predecessor's acts, and a new charter was not granted until 1555.⁹ What happened to the books when Coldharbour was lost is uncertain, for two differing explanations were given. According to Clarenceux Benolt (d.1534), John Wrythe took them all to his own house and

eventually left them to Wriothsesley, who treated them as his private property. Wriothsesley denied this, declaring that Benolt himself had been the one to benefit. Whatever the truth of the matter, the size and importance of the Wriothsesley collection cannot be doubted.

At Wriothsesley's death his books probably passed to his son Charles, who was Windsor Herald 1534-62. According to Noble's History of the College of Arms,¹⁰ Charles Wriothsesley sold many books which had been his father's to Sir William Dethick (c.1542-1612), whose name appears with that of his father, Sir Gilbert Dethick (c.1500-84), on the vellum label cut from an original endleaf and now pasted on f.1r.¹¹ Sir Gilbert was appointed Hampnes Pursuivant 1536, Rouge Croix 1540, Richmond Herald 1540, Norroy King of Arms 1547, and Garter 1550. A member of the original Society of Antiquaries, he is reported to have been a good scholar, and remains of his collections are in the British Library and Caius College, Cambridge.¹² Sir William, his second son and eventually his heir, was appointed Rouge Croix Pursuivant 1567, York Herald 1570, and Garter King of Arms 1586, to succeed his father after an interregnum of eighteen months. His autocratic ways made him unpopular, and he was deposed in 1604, though he did not finally relinquish his office until 1606. He owned many Wriothsesley manuscripts, some of which with some of his own and his father's collections were acquired by the British Library, the College of Arms, Caius College, Cambridge, and elsewhere.¹³ Although the label in L mentions both father and son, it must have been written after 1586, when Sir William became Garter, for the names are arranged thus:

Sr Gilbert Dethick Garter
 Willm

Precisely what happened to Sir William's books after his death is not known. About 1616 Sir Robert Cotton made a list of ten heraldic manuscripts which he 'had of one Jacob Chaloner', at the end of which he noted that 'All other Sir William Dethick's books remain as Sir Robert Cotton supposes in the hands of the said Jacob Chaloner.'¹⁴ At least two of those listed are recognizable as extant manuscripts known to have belonged to Thomas Wriothesley. It seems that some of the items on the list were returned to Chaloner by Cotton in 1616, apparently because he suspected they were Garter's 'office books', and belonged therefore to the College. Jacob Chaloner (1585-1631) was a herald painter and deputy of the College of Arms in Chester. He petitioned unsuccessfully to be appointed Portcullis Pursuivant in 1625. It is not known whether the Grete Boke ever passed through his hands, but it is certainly possible.

Another known owner of L, and one who could have obtained it directly from Dethick, Chaloner, or from some other person, is Sir Richard St George (c.1555-1635). His inscription, also on f.1r (but not on the label), reads:

liber RI S^t George Clarenceux
 Regis armorum Citra trentam
 equitis aurati 1630

He was appointed Berwick Herald 1602, Windsor 1602, Norroy King of Arms 1604, and Clarenceux 1623. He was on close terms with Camden, Cotton, Spelman, and other leading antiquaries, and was a member of the revived but short-lived Society of Antiquaries. Some of his manuscripts are now in the British

Library, the Bodleian Library, the College of Arms, Caius College, Cambridge, Trinity College, Dublin, and private collections.¹⁵

The subsequent history of L until it turns up in the Lansdowne collection is almost completely blank. Probably it passed to Sir Richard's third but eldest surviving son, Sir Henry St George (1581-1644, and Garter from 1643);¹⁶ thence to Sir Thomas St George (1615-1703, and Garter from 1686), Sir Henry's eldest son.¹⁷ His books are said to have been bought at his death by the distinguished antiquary Peter le Neve, who also owned the Paston letters. After le Neve's death in 1729 his collection was dispersed. It is possible, however, that the Grete Boke (if this line of conjecture holds good) passed to Sir Thomas's younger brother Sir Henry St George (1625-1715, and Garter from 1703), whose considerable collection was also later sold, some volumes going to the Lansdowne collection, some to the Phillipps collection, some to Caius College, Cambridge, and some eventually to the College of Arms.¹⁸ Unfortunately no catalogue is available.¹⁹ A third possibility is that the book was neither in the collection of le Neve nor that of the last mentioned Sir Henry St George but found its way into other hands by an entirely different route; support for this comes from the fact that it appears to be L to which John Anstis refers in his Order of the Garter published in 1724, as belonging to Sir Joseph Jekyll (1663-1738).²⁰

Another person who saw the book about this time and may possibly have owned it is William Oldys (1696-1761, Norroy King of arms from 1755).²¹ Writing the life of William Caxton in Biographia Britannica, Oldys gave a long footnote on Anthony Woodville, in the course of which he wrote about Woodville's part in the 1467 feat of arms in Smithfield:

Whereof, having some years since been possessed of a very ancient and curious history, in manuscript, containing the whole ceremony, which is, probably, the most copious and exact account of any such martial solemnity now in being, a transient view of it's [sic] contents, by the heads thereof, in some parts enlarged a little out of the chapters themselves, may not be here unacceptable.²²

The account which he goes on to summarise corresponds exactly to L15, and in all probability the manuscript in question is the Grete Boke itself. However, the fact that Oldys was once 'possessed of' the book does not necessarily mean that he owned it, as some have assumed.²³

The last certain link in the chain before the book reached the British Museum, now the British Library, is William Petty, first Marquis of Lansdowne (1737-1805). After his death the sale of his huge library of printed books lasted 31 days and realised over £6,700. His collections of maps, charts, prints, political and historical tracts and pamphlets, and coins were sold separately. His collection of manuscripts was purchased for the nation in 1807, a parliamentary grant of £4,925 being voted for that purpose.²⁴

Marginal and Other Notes and Marks in the Text

The herald owners of L made many notes and marks in the margins, on the flyleaves, and in the text. It would be possible to list them all, but this would not be useful for present purposes since many of them only make sense in relation to the text. A more general survey adequately reveals the sort of interest which lies behind them.

The handwriting of these notes is varied and often very informal. For this reason the attribution of hands to specific persons should be considered extremely tentative.

1. Sir Thomas Wriothesley

Several types of script, ranging from semi-formal bookhand to secretary; ink dark brown to black; cf. part-autograph BL Additional MSS 5530, 45131-45133, 46354 etc.

f.2r, beside the painted crest of the Wriothesley family: Table of the boke fol -- lvj^{ti}. This refers to the added table of contents, discussed below.

In L1-2, L4 various brief marginal notes, mainly single words from the text (e.g. f.5r constable, f.6r Stafford) relating principally to the duties of individual persons in ceremonial events.

f.6r (top): coronac Reg h. vj, referring to L2.

f.9r (L4), text altered from all these gownys & hoodis the principall herauld of armez shal haue for his fee to all these gownys & hoodis the officers armes shal haue for her fee.²⁵

In L12-15, L21-22 various brief marginal notes (e.g. f.48v lentre de chalons).

In L31 a relatively large number of such notes in the part of

that text dealing with physiognomy (e.g. f.196v erys playne & Soffte), with underlining in the text.

2. Sir Gilbert Dethick

Cf. the part-autograph BL MSS Harley 5826 and Additional 10110. Scribbles in a very casual hand in a variety of styles on the vellum leaf f.224, viz: f.224r:

S^r Gilbert Garter / Roy d'Arms / Norrey Roy
darmes / N N / Monsieur Lieutenant / A
Monsieur Le Lieutenaunt pour / Le Roy
ffrauncois oultre eane / A monsieur Le Lieutenaunt
Pour / Le Roy ffrauncois au forte / oultre eau
soite donnez en / Cito [seven times]

224v (label): Vne s[.....] plus & s[....] achum plus /
[.....] / la fyn fait les oeuvres loer / Vne
saunce plus & [.....] plus [.....] / pur
ces qui si t ser[....] & t vir &c / vent H [.....]
agarr[.] all [..]ffaud de villeyes / L L L Le Hibn /
Vne saunce plus & saunce auchum plus

The transcription of much of this is very tentative. The motto (?) at the end is not Sir Gilbert's, which was Mors Aut Victoria Laeta.²⁶

3. Sir William Dethick

Cf. the part-autograph BL MSS Harley 5826 and Additional 10110. In L the ink is of three distinct types, viz. pinkish brown, dark brown, and greenish grey.

In the margins of L2, L10, L15, L20-22, L24, L26, L31, and the later table of contents there are brief notes, mainly drawing attention to the roles of the officers of arms (e.g. f.36v The constable calling the kinge of Arms, f.38v Toyson d'or, f.50r Gartier).

f.11r, in the margin of L7: anna filia vnira huius Ducis glouiestere [....]tam Init Ed[ward]o Comiti Stafford de qua susrepit JN. (?)

f.47v (L20), at the bottom, after the date given in the text: the 9 of Henry the 4th followed by the note at the tyme of this Date there was no Gartier King of armes & therefore this is forged & not Justifiable

f.99r, in the margin, after a drawing of a hand pointing: note the antiquitie of of [sic] Creastes & the true vse of them

4. Sir Richard St George

A rather tremulous, delicate hand; dark brown/black ink; a little underlining in the text; several marginal drawings of hands pointing.

f.6r, in the margin of L2: Kinge. Hen. the 6 Crowned and below The Cardinall on the Kings right hand. The Chancellor on the left hand. The Bishoppes of [left blank] E: of Huntingdon the Sceptor. Stafford the Swerd Norff. Marshall. Salisbury supplyinge the place of Constab: for the D: of Bedf.

f.39r, in the margin of L15: the place appointed where the Kinges of armes shold stand

f.45v, in the margin of L18: feese due to the officere[s] of armes at Tournis & there office

f.47v, in the margin of L20: the Counstable had power to setle feese to the officers of armes

f.117r, in the margin of L24: nota. The victorie of Haniball. at the Batell at Cannes. against Marcellus and Varro. Consuls:

5. A sixteenth-century (?) hand, sometimes in ink and sometimes merely impressed in the paper.

Mainly pen trials or doodles. The impressions are either

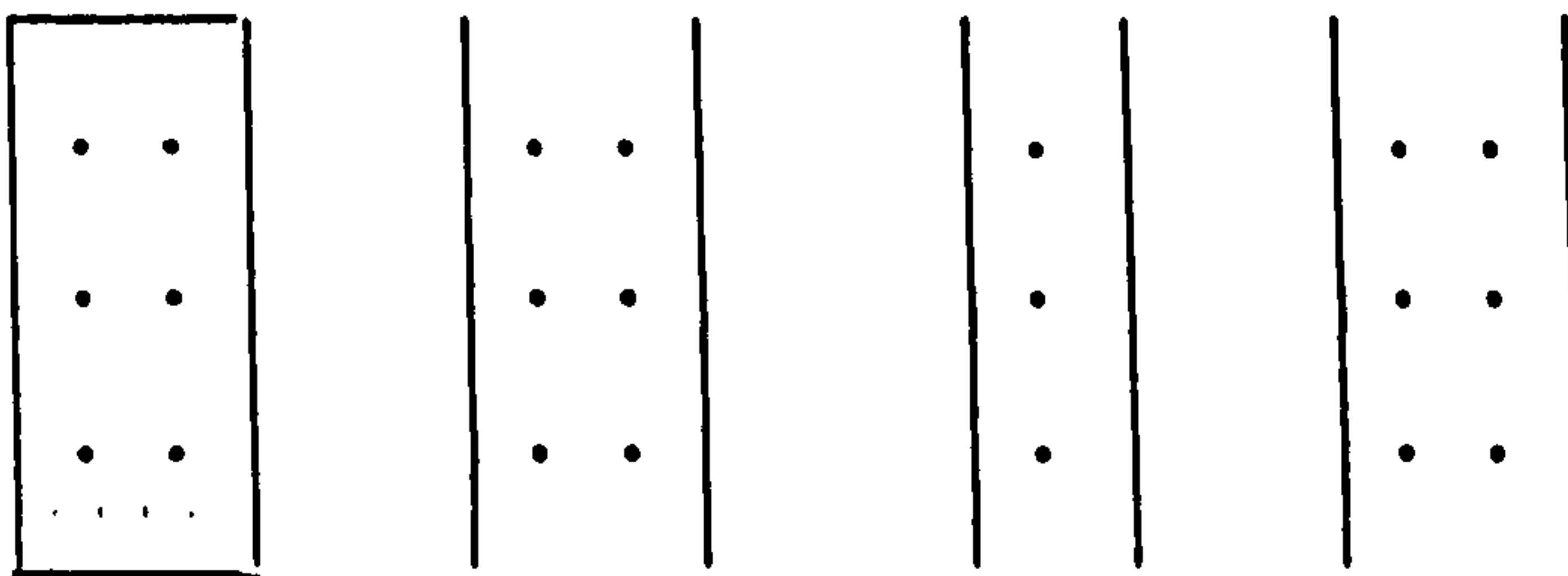
from writing with a dry pen or from writing on another piece of paper resting on the open book. The most clearly seen are:

f.42r: ffrest (?) impressed

f.62v, impressed at the top: Jste liber constat Thome Lafest (?)

f.69v, in ink at the bottom: ffroste

f.91r, impressed at the top and pricked through several leaves:²⁷



f.148r, in the margin in ink: Libri

f.198v, impressed at the bottom: Ffreste

6. A fairly modern hand in ink.

Small and neat, in dark brown ink.

f.22v, in the margin of L12, opposite a small cross in the text next to the word Brutalis: + vid. British Librarian, p.64.

At the bottom of f.47v, appended to the note by Sir William Dethick: or, thro mistake, Misdated. See fol 211 where this Instrument, repeated, is dated in the Margent, seemingly by the hand of Sr. Richd. St. George, 1418.

7. A modern hand in pencil.

f.6r, in the margin of L2 opposite the word Beames: Rheims

Material Added in Blank Spaces of the Original 'Grete Boke'

Only two substantial items have been added in blank spaces in L. Both are tables of contents for the volume, table I on ff.56v-57v being in the hand of Sir Thomas Wriothsesley, and table II on f.225, a vellum leaf, being probably in the hand of Sir Gilbert Dethick.

Table I 28

- f.56v Coronacions of Kynges & qwenes of England -- fol. j. &c
 Coronacion of Kyng Henry the vj^{the} -- fo. vj^{to}
 The makynge of Knyghtes of the bathe -- fo. vij^o
 How a man shalbe armed to arme a man and abillementes
 of Justis of peas -- fol viij^o
 The Cry of Justis -- fol ix^o
 The ordinance of fyghtyng w^{it}hⁱⁿ listes -- fol xj^o
- f.57r Chalenge of armes of phylipp boyle knyght -- fol xiiij^o
 Chalenge of armes of perys de masse -- fol xiiij^o
 Chalenge of thauncestor of therll of Warwyk -- fol xv^o
 Chalenge of armes be twene the lorde Scalys & the
 bastard. of bourgoigne w^{it}hⁱⁿ certain lettres &
 articles -- fol xvij^o
 Chalenge of lowys de brutaillys -- fol xxj^o
 Chalenge of philipp de bouton
 Chalenge of a knyght named larbre dor -- fol xxv^o
 The articles & lettres of Sir anthoni wodeville lord
 scales fol xxix^o

The entre & apparell of the lord scales & of the
 bastarde of bourgoigne when they entred þe feld
 fol xxxix^o

Olde statute for armes of turnay. after thordinance
 of Englund. -- fo xlij^o

Challenge of guillaume bouesset of almanic as towchyng
 a certain Empruise -- fol xlij^o

A Crye of turnay betwene the sire Jonuelle & the sire
 of commines -- fol xliij^o

The Crye of Joustes of King Richard the ij^{de} -- fol xlv^o

The ryght belongynge to thofficiers of armes In time
 of Warre confermed by Thomas of lancastere duc of
 Clarence constable &c -- fol xlvj^o

The chalenge of chalons -- fol xlviij^o

The Chalange of iij. knyghtes of bourgoigne & ther
 estre [?] wz. monseigneur le bastard de bourgoigne
 Monseigneur Philipp Creueucueur monseigneur Pierre
 Vasqz de Sayuiedray -- fol lj^o

The Challenge of vj gentlemen at the Creacion of
 Richard duc of York son of Kynge Edward the iiij^{the}

The Chalange of therll of Ryueres at wyche joustes
 there were certain gentilmen whych shewyd the kynge
 that the fees to hys seruantz was soo great that yf
 they shuld. Entre the feeld to hys honour & to
 thonour of hys Realme the charges wold bee to moche
 for theym to bere & besoughte the kynge that they

myghte be at sume Resonable fyn whereapon for that
 tyme yt was ordered by the juges [f.57v] and
 composycion made in maner ffolowyng that is to saye
 and Erll shuld paye for that tyme of hys Entre to
 thoffyce of armes. x markes a baron iiij li. a.
 knyght xls & a. Esquier. xxvjs viijd. of whych
 composicion thofficers of armes were but soo Contented.
 & where. as the noble lord Therlle of Ryuers was
 taxed by the Juges at. x. markes ye he sent of hys
 beneuolens to thofficers of armes. xx. markes lyke
 a noble man & desyred theym soo to be contented
 for hym and hys hermytage to whom god send good lyff
 and longe amen and the trumpettes had for their dewte
 halff of the sume appointed for herauldes accordyng
 to Euery estate and degree as before hys Reherced.
 The passe & armes of monseigneur philipp de la laing
 Vigecius in Englishe de re militare
 The treatis of saylinge be the see -- cxxxviij
 The ordennances of warre of King Henry be v^{the} -- cxliij
 Ordonances of warre of Therll of Salesbury & of perche
 Copie of a lettre sent by Therll of Salisbery to the
 Inhabitantz of maunce
 The boke of gouernance of kynges and princes
 The armes of the lorde anthony Erll of Riueres
 In libro frett fol -- viij xj xiiij

Reference is to the earliest series of foliation (Roman numerals), with regard to which the table is fairly accurate if allowance is made for the fact that it sometimes refers to the opening rather than the exact leaf (i.e. to a verso by reference to a following recto). The folio of the second item (L2) is mistakenly given as vj instead of iv; the sixth (L7) should be x not xj. Henry V's ordinances (L26) are said to be on fol cxliij, whereas in fact they are on cxliiiij, cxliij being a missing leaf. (Possibly the lost matter was some sort of preface or other Henrician material.) The meaning of the final note 'In libro frett fol -- viij xj xiiij.' is not clear, but it appears to make reference to items L5, L7, L9, which are on the folios specified.

Two (or possibly three) of the items mentioned are not now part of the manuscript. As mentioned in Chapter 1, their absence does not disrupt the sequence of early quire signatures, so they must have been removed or lost at an early date. The missing material would have been on independent gatherings after gatherings e and r of the book in its present form. There seem to be two possible explanations. The first is that the missing gatherings were part of the early Grete Boke, perhaps included on the instructions of either Sir John Paston or John III,²⁹ and that they were bound with the rest at the time of the first binding but had been removed or lost by the time the extant quire signatures were added when the book was rebound. The second possible explanation is that the Grete Boke, without the now missing material, was more-or-less securely bound at an earlier date,

and that either it was disbound to receive the material in question or else this additional material was attached to the book in an insecure way, only to be lost or discarded by the time of the quire signatures. The main objection to the former explanation is that one of the missing items can be dated on internal evidence as after January 1478, ten years later than any other item in L as now extant. For the reasons discussed on pp.148-9 above, it is unlikely that Sir John would have kept his Grete Boke unbound for so long. The second suggestion is therefore the more plausible.

Though the table appears to refer to three missing items, in reality they probably comprised only two. 'The Challenge of vj gentlemen at the Creacion of Richard duc of York ...' refers to the jousts accompanying the marriage of the Duke of York to Anne Mowbray 15 January 1478 (not to the Duke of York's creation in 1474, as the table wrongly states).³⁰ The next, 'The Chalange of therll of Ryueres ...', is probably part of the same item, for the note which follows refers to the earl's generosity on that occasion. 'The armes of the lord anthony Erll of Riueres' forms a separate item at the end and cannot be definitely identified.

The wedding in 1478 was an occasion of great celebration and display. The jousts are principally remembered for the spectacular entry of Earl Rivers, who came into the lists dressed as a hermit riding alongside a structure representing his hermitage -- the first known use of a pageant car in an English tournament, though this was common enough in Burgundy.³¹

There survives a probable eyewitness account in which it is described how 'the victorious Earle Rivers' appeared with

the house of an Hermite, walled and covered with black velvett, windowed viiiiple in forme of glasse, a cross of Saint Anthony with a bell ringinge, and a paire of beades, upon the former end of the said hermitage; and without the said hermitage, the said Earle was horsed and armed in the habitt of a White Hermite; the which habit was pleasance; ... and at his coming out of his hermitage, his servants pulled from him his habitt of the before rehearsed pleasance, and soe hee proceeded to the Tourney.³²

This explains the reference to the 'hermytage' in the table in L. The reference also reflects a typically heraldic interest in fees and shows the high esteem in which Earl Rivers was held.

Table II

225r Garetier

Coronacio Regis

Ordo militum de balneo

to arme a man to fight a fote

& the ordre of the appellant & defendant

Justes of peace

The ordonance of fightyng within lystes

chalange of phillipp Boyll Resp John asteley

Challenge of Piers Masse franc Re John asteley

Challenge of chevalier vert amg. [?]

Challenge lord scales & bastard bourgoigne

Chalange loys de brutailles & Jehan de chassa

Chalange phillipp boton

larbre dor

The actes betwen the lord scalis & the bastard

Statut of turnay

Armes of ij gentilmen of almayne

turnay entre deux Seigneurs

le crye des Joustes

Nous thomas de lancaster priuelegos

Chalons

Joustys

Phelipp de la laing

Vigecius de Re militari

Statutz & ordonances of King Henry the V & oþer capetain

Letter on to the cyte of mant

epistola lucij

Verba exhortacion belli

The buke of gouernance

This rudimentary table of contents, written in faded ink on one of the outer leaves, is useful for the confirmation it gives that by the time of Sir Gilbert Dethick (if the hand is indeed his) the contents were as they are now, and that the extraneous material mentioned in table I had already vanished without trace.

The only other item added in a blank space is a heading in Wriothsley's hand on f.200v: Creacyons of astatys In the tyme of King Henry the Eight our souuerain & naturell lord.

Nothing more was written in.

The Sixteenth-Century Continuation

Two quires have been added to form the final paper leaves ff.203-223.³³ These may fairly be described as a 'continuation because they contain items on the duties, rights, and fees of

heralds which supplement (and in one case repeat) material in the Grete Boke itself. A brief list of contents is sufficient to show this. The numbers in brackets are those of the Lansdowne Catalogue (British Museum 1819). The assumed identity of the scribe is also given wherever possible.

ff.203r-204r. Blank.

ff.204v-205v (55). Copy of letters patent of Henry VIII for Creating Charles Brandon, Viscount Lisle, Duke of Suffolk, 1514. Latin. Wriothsesley (?), in a hand somewhat different (because of the language?)

ff.206r-207r (56). Ordinance of John Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, concerning privileges belonging to the heralds, 24 May 1487. French. Wriothsesley.

f.207r-207v (57). Notes on the office of the Constable of France. French. Wriothsesley.

ff.208r-210v (58). 'Cy ensuyent les droitz et largesses libertez et franchise appartenans et danciennete dues et accoustumez aux roys darmes et heraulx selon lusaige du tresnoble royaume dangleterre ...' French. Wriothsesley.³⁴

ff.210v-211r (59). Ordinance of Thomas of Lancaster regulating the fees of the officers of arms. French. Wriothsesley. This is the same as L20, but not identical (e.g. no year is given in the date).

f.211r (60). Memorandum of the allowance made by Henry V to William Bruges, Garter, when he sent him abroad as ambassador.

French. Wriothsesley.³⁵

f.211v (61). Memorandum of the allowances to Richard Hereford, a herald, on his being sent to Flanders, 50 Edward III. Latin. Wriothsesley.³⁶

f.211v (62). Notes on the creation of the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV, and of the Earl of Winchester, 1472, including the fees of the heralds. French and Latin. Wriothsesley.³⁷

ff.211v-212r (63). Notes of the robes etc. to be worn by dukes, marquises, and earls at their creation. French. Wriothsesley.

f.212r-212v (64). Ordinance of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and other knights of the Garter concerning the fees to be paid to Garter King of Arms, 1422. French. Wriothsesley.

ff.213r-215r (65). Ordinance of Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, Constable of England, for the reformation and government of the office of arms. French. Wriothsesley.³⁸

f.215v. Blank.

ff.216r-219r (66). Extracts from Sir William Dethick's book of blazonry. Latin. Sir W. Dethick (a small secretary hand).

f.219v (67). Warrant dated 2 Henry VIII for the payment of fees to heralds at a tournament. English.

f.220r-220v (68). 'Here beginneth a noble tretis made by the ordonance of a great Clark, Mr John Cordewe, at the prayer of King Richard and other the lords, for pestelence.'

ff.221r-222r (69). Extract from 'The craft of Venery'. English. Sir W. Dethick.³⁹

f.222v. Blank.

f.223r (70). 'A note taken out of some of the remembrances of the Sargant's ffeast termino Sancti Johannis Baptistae, anno xxxi Henry Sexti.' English. Sir W. Dethick.

There are marginal notes by Sir William Dethick (ff.207r, 211r, 213r), by Sir Richard St George (ff.210v, 211r), and by the modern hand in pencil (f.206r).

All these notes and additions show that most of the owners have principally been interested in the heraldic material, and have considered the book a rich source concerning rights, fees, and the proper conduct of events. All of this, however, should not be allowed to obscure the book's more general appeal -- which it held for its original owner as it may for us. This is the very book which Sir John may have pored over in his lodging at the George at Paul's Wharf, or which he may have carried with him to Norfolk to share with the younger John. Its anonymous British Library binding and only slightly

tattered look belie the enthusiasm with which it was conceived, the labour with which it was made, and the pleasure and profit with which it has been read, probably by almost every generation between Sir John's time and ours. It is a book with a history, and if my work has in any way enlightened that history, or, perhaps, in its own way, added to it, then the labour has not been wasted.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. PL I, 617-18.
2. Quoted in L14.
3. See College of Arms 1970, 47 and pl.XXI.
4. For biographical details see Godfrey et al 1963, 43-5. For pictures of him see Wagner 1967, pls. XIII, XIV.
5. See Godfrey et al 1963, 41-3. Rolls of arms owned or copied by them are listed in Wagner 1950, 156.
6. PL I, lx.
7. Doyle 1957, 307n.
8. On the early heraldic collections in general see Wagner 1952, esp. pp.8-12.
9. See Godfrey et al 1963, 1-10.
10. Noble 1805, 175.
11. See above, pp.1-2.
12. See Godfrey et al 1963, 46-7; for a portrait see Wagner 1967, pl. XV; for rolls of arms owned by him see Wagner 1950, 141.
13. See Godfrey et al 1963, 47-8; for a portrait see Wagner 1967, pl. XVII; for rolls of arms possibly copied by him see Wagner 1950, 141; for alleged misappropriation of manuscripts by him see Wagner 1952, 12.
14. Wagner 1952, 10-11.
15. See Godfrey et al 1963, 86-7. Rolls of arms owned by him are listed in Wagner 1950, 151.
16. See Godfrey et al 1963, 50-1. Rolls of arms owned by him are listed in Wagner 1950, 151.
17. See Godfrey et al 1963, 55. His collections are discussed in Wagner 1952, 38.
18. See Godfrey et al 1963, 55-6, who writes (p.51) that his father's collections passed to him. His collections and their fate are discussed in Wagner 1952, 38-9.
19. This information was kindly communicated by Sir A.R. Wagner, Clarenceux, who himself owns some of the St George manuscripts.
20. Anstis 1724, I, 460n. For a biography of Jekyll see DNB XXIX (1892).

21. See Godfrey et al 1963, 115-16.
22. Oldys 1747-66, II, 1,230n.
23. Eg. Gairdner 1889, 10.
24. DNB XLV (1896).
25. See also the discussion in L4.
26. Godfrey et al 1963, 47.
27. Cf. the examples of computation by abacus in Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, 74-5.
28. The table is transcribed in Cripps-Day 1918, xxxi-xxxii.
29. For John III's interest in this event see note 32 of this chapter.
30. Black 1840, xiin.
31. Kipling 1977, 123-5.
32. Printed in Black 1840, 33. On 21 January 1478 John III wrote to his elder brother: 'And as for tydyngys here, we haue non, but we wold fayne here of all your royalté at London, as of the maryage of my lord of York and other parlement mater.' (PL I, 612) John Wrythe, Wriothesley's father, probably devised the challenges for the wedding jousts (see Kipling 1977, 124n).
33. Gatherings of 10 and 12 of different paper from the rest of the book, with a leaf missing from the final gathering, as described in Chapter 1.
34. See Wagner 1967, 72-3.
35. See Godfrey et al 1963, 40.
36. See Godfrey et al 1963, 266-7.
37. See Wagner 1967, 75.
38. Printed from this manuscript in Wagner 1939, 136-8.
39. See Tilander 1956; Danielsson 1977.

CHAPTER SIX

A NOTE ON THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE ENGLISH TEXTS

This is not an edition, and, since there is no text, a conventional description of the language would be out of place. The purpose of this note is to offer instead brief general comment on the language of the two scribes who contributed items in English (i.e. scribe A (Ebesham) and scribe C), and to note the strong influence of the French language upon English courtly style.

Language

It would be possible with only a little labour to produce a 'scribal profile' of Scribes A and C using the method devised by Professors McIntosh and Samuels for the Atlas of the Dialects of Later Middle English.¹ However, the main value of the 'scribal profile' is that it assists identification of the scribe's own dialect, which, in the case of Ebesham at least, can be more accurately estimated from other criteria. His family probably originated in Surrey, for the name is a medieval form of 'Epsom', and a namesake who was a monk of Westminster from 1510 to 1535 clearly came from that locality.² Moreover, we know that Ebesham lived and worked for over thirty years of his adult life in Westminster, where he was professionally connected for much of the time with the abbey.³ A fairly standardised form of late London Middle English with perhaps some south-eastern forms is therefore what one might expect of him, with perhaps rather more of the latter in the Grete Boke than in his other writings since the Boke was

written in the earlier part of the known period of his residence in Westminster between c.1464 and 1497. The views of Professors McIntosh and Samuels, who kindly looked at a transcript of L1 which I sent them, agree pretty well with this. Professor Samuels writes:

I have seen what I think is another specimen of Ebesham's work in S. Bentley, Excerpta Historica ... pp.176-212 [L11, L15], and from that I deduced that his language is a very common 15th-century North Surrey type of language. Since Ebesham is the medieval form of Epsom, this fits well enough. The type is not so obvious from your specimen, but I think the language is sufficiently similar for the opinion to stand.⁴

Professor McIntosh adds:

He is not of central interest to us, being, for our purposes, late and not very interesting dialectically.⁵

I take this to mean that Professor McIntosh considers Ebesham's English (which is technically outside the scope of the Atlas project, which runs to 1450) conforms fairly closely to a late London standard of no exceptional local distinction.

In the case of scribe C an additional problem is that the two English items by him are too short for proper judgment.

Professor McIntosh comments:

I don't know what can be made of this amount, the language being so standard-looking and so late.

And Professor Samuels:

The other scribe ... seems also to be a South Easterner (Kentish?), but he too writes a very standardised kind of language.

Style

The question of English courtly style in the texts of heraldic and chivalric type is rather more interesting, though again this is not the place to enter deeply into the subject.

It might seem strange that English should have been used at all in the letters of challenge and heraldic narratives. French was the principal language of chivalry until well into the sixteenth century, and its use by heralds from all over Europe both contributed to and underlined the 'internationality' of their brotherhood. In the fifteenth century the pre-eminence of French in the world of the knight is everywhere apparent -- in the technical terms for weapons, in the terminology of combat, in heraldic blason, and in the original language of letters of challenge and reply (regardless of where they were issued and to whom they were addressed). This is an aspect of the continuing inclination towards French among the English aristocracy as a whole.⁶

Yet in courtly and heraldic language changes were beginning to occur. The change from French to English blason in the late fifteenth century exemplifies this, though the development is somewhat concealed by the partial archaising reversion to French terminology which took place in the sixteenth.⁷

Another sign of change is the great flood of translations from French into English in the latter part of the fifteenth century.⁸ Translation of heraldic documents is part of the same trend. The correspondence between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy, for instance, was turned into English from French within three years of the issue of the challenge to do arms, and when a herald came to write up a narrative of the

event he did so in English (see L15). The originals of less important challenges and narratives (e.g. L8-10) would also probably have been in French. In all cases the motive for translating into English was probably a desire to reach a wide audience, for the propaganda value of successful feats of arms was high.⁹ Whatever the case, the very existence of English versions of such documents implies the existence of an English courtly style, naturally very close to French, capable of doing justice to these pompous events.

Letters and narratives written and copied by the heralds contain a wealth of information as to this high courtly style, which scholars have sometimes sought to identify and define from far less rich sources.¹⁰ For present purposes it can best be demonstrated by the French and English texts in Appendix 3; in the longer term I hope to give the subject more detailed attention.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. See McIntosh 1975. See also Benskin and Laing 1981 for a refinement of the idea.
2. Doyle 1957, 312.
3. Doyle 1957, 320-1 and passim.
4. Letter dated 23 August 1981.
5. Letter dated 9 August 1981.
6. See e.g. Green 1980, 152-3.
7. Wagner 1967, 70.
8. Green 1980, 152-9.
9. See above, pp.206-7.
10. See e.g. Blake 1968.

DESCRIPTIVE INDEX

NOTE ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE DESCRIPTIVE INDEX

The items are numbered L1-31. For the relationship between numbers here and in the published Lansdowne Catalogue see Chapter 2, note 2.

Items are further divided into sections numbered [1] to [8]. In cases where there is no relevant information (e.g. if no title is given in the manuscript) the section number is omitted. The sections are:

- [1] Item number in this Index, in bold type, followed by folio numbers. Major subsections are given alphabetical suffixes (e.g. L11a etc.), also in bold type, followed also by folio numbers.
- [2] Modern descriptive title, followed by the language (if other than English) in square brackets.
- [3] Title in L, if any.
- [4] The incipit and explicit (or, in the case of very short texts, the whole item), transcribed as in the manuscript, without emendation. Abbreviations are expanded and underlined. Interlineations are indicated by carets. Transcriber's comments (e.g. notice of cancellations) are in square brackets. Capitalisation is approximately as in L (but see above, pp.10-23, on the lack of distinction between upper and lower case letters). Punctuation in the form of the stop is transcribed as in the manuscript,

and no attempt is made to differentiate meaningful marks from rests of the pen. Single and double virgules are transcribed as single and double quotation marks, ['] and["]; virgules merely indicating the division of words at the ends of lines are not given.

- [5] Other manuscripts, as described in greater detail in Chapter 2, pp.47-80. The abbreviations H, T etc. are not used in this section.
- [6] Editions and printed discussion. 'Edition' is not distinguished from 'transcription' (see Hudson 1977, 34-5).
- [7] Descriptive summary.
- [8] Brief discussion, with reference to features of special interest. (In the case of the long item L15 this section is combined with section 7).

In the case of items with separately numbered parts the order is: [1]-[3], referring to the item as a whole (e.g. L11); [1]-[4], referring to the separately numbered part, and repeated for each subsection (e.g. L11a etc); [5]-[8], referring to the item as a whole.

[1] L1, ff.2r-5v.

[2] A description of the order of service for the coronation of kings and queens of England, with a list of the principal officers.

[3] MS Title: The maner and fourme of the kyngis and Quenes Coronacion in Englonde

[4] Inc.

ffirst the prynce that is newe to bee crowned the day before his Coronacyon shall bee appareld and clothid with most noble and fairest clothyng. And so he shall ride from the Toure of london to his paleys at Westmynstir thorough the Citee of london barehede. Ridynge with hym temporall lordes and the Comynaltee of the same Citee with oothir muche and noble people

Expl.

Also he shall doo of the kynges Regalies. which shall be taken to the seide Abbot of Westmynstir Also he shall be nygh alwey and by the kynge till the seruyce of the Coronacion bee endid and fulfilled. et ibi finis.

[5] Other MSS: Morgan 775, f.16r (before 1461); Additional 10106, f.21r (fifteenth century), in the hand of William Ebesham (see page 58 above); Cotton Tiberius E viii, f.32r (early sixteenth century); Additional 6113, f.10r (sixteenth century); Lansdowne 254, f.153r (sixteenth century); Lansdowne 260, f.60r

(late sixteenth century); College of Arms L 5, f.69r (late sixteenth century); Ashmole 863, f.245r (seventeenth century). The article entitled 'The manner and form of the coronations of the kings and queens of England' in Inner Temple Petyt MS 531, Vol.A, f.1r is specifically on the form of the coronation oath.

- [6] Edition and Printed Discussion: Edited in Dillon 1900, 46-55, from M, collated with L and with Additional MS 6113. The date and literary relationships are briefly dealt with by Legg in a note printed in the same work, pp. 46-7. The general history of the records of the English coronation is fully dealt with in Legg 1901. See also Schramm 1937; Richardson 1960. For interesting parallels between the ceremonies here described and seventeenth-century custom see Anonymous 1727.

- [7] This item is provided with section headings which here may serve as a summary of the contents:

f.2r The Kynges See; The Pulpite; The Kynges Trone; The Abbot of Westmynster shall enfourme the kyng; The shirte and the Cote; The Solempne procession; the Crosse; f.2v The Barouns of the v. portis; The Abbot of Westmynstir; The Archebisshop shall aske the will of the people; The offrynge of the King; The lyyng of the Kyng before the auter; A nothir that the Kyng shall make; The lyyng downe ayen of the Kyng before the Auter; The Annoyntynge of the Kyng in v. places; f.3r The Abbot of Westmynstir; The Abbot of

Westmynstir shall doo of the kynges pelyon; the Kynge shall be clothid with a long tunicle by the Abbot of Westmynstir; The blissyng of the swerde; The puttyng of the Crowne on the kynges hede; The takynge of the Rodde and of the Septre; Prelatis and othir men shall doo theire homage; The offryng of bred & wyne; f.3v The resceyvyng of the Sacrament by the Kynge; The takynge of the crowne fro the Kynges hede; The Kynge shall doo of his Regalies; The Crownynge of the kyng with a nothir Crowne; The delyueraunce of the Septure; The offryng of the Swerde; The Crownynge of the Queene; f.4r The kynges ooth the day of the Coronacion; The first poynt of the ooth; The seconde poynte; The thrid poynte; The amonicion of the Bisshoppes to the Kyng that shall be radde of oon; The Kynges oth. in. frenshe; f.4v The ooth and the fourme of homage; The same ooth shall be seid in ffrenshe; The pryncipall Officers in the day of the Coronacyoon; Awmwner; The bisshoppis of Duresme and of Bath; The beryng of Seynt Edwardis Chalis; The beryng of the Patene; f.5r The Septure and the golden Rodde; The beryng of the Swerdis; The beryng of the Spoores; The berynge of the bought Swerde; The Stewarde; The beryng of the Crownes; The Mareschall; Botiller; The Conestable; Chambirleyne; The Eweree; The Pantere; A lady beyng aboute the Queene; The Office of the Erle of Oxenforde.

- [8] The Manner and Form is a version in English of the Forma et Modus Coronacionis, which is an anonymous recension of the rubrics of the Liber Regalis, the version of the English coronation service which was in use from the fourteenth century until 1685, and which even now is the basis of the modern service.

(The Liber Regalis and the Forma et Modus are edited in Legg 1901, 81-130, 172-90 respectively.) In the Forma et Modus often the same words are used as in the Liber Regalis, though the order of words and the arrangement of sections do not always correspond. The English version seems to translate the Forma et Modus without recourse to the Liber Regalis, and consequently reproduces its errors and omissions. The Forma et Modus describes in paragraphs the whole of the coronation service and gives a list of the principal officers. The language is Latin, with the final memorandum on the Earl of Oxford in French. All the known manuscripts¹ appear to derive from a common source, for all copies of the English and Latin versions begin the list of ornaments to be carried in procession with crux/crosse. From the list of ornaments in the Liber Regalis and in the list of principal officers, and from the proximity of the word patena/patene, it is clear that crux/crosse is a mistake for calix/chalys, with reference to the stone chalice of St Edward. Furthermore, in all manuscripts of both versions the prayer which is said when the king prostrates himself before the altar is Deus Fidelium instead of Deus Humilium of the Liber Regalis.

The date of the Forma et Modus and the English translation of it cannot be fixed precisely. Legg points out² that the bearing of the crown is assigned to the Duke of York and his heirs, and that, since that dukedom was only created in 1385 and merged with the crown in 1460, the Forma et Modus must have originated between those dates. Additional evidence is provided by the memorandum on the duties of the Earl of Oxford as Lord Great Chamberlain. This hereditary office was granted to the Earls

of Oxford by Henry I, and it remained in the same family in the reign of Richard II; but at Henry IV's coronation in 1399 it was claimed by Sir Thomas Erpingham, and was granted to him despite the hereditary claim of the Earl of Oxford.³ The Forma et Modus clearly specifies that Oxford should be Lord Great Chamberlain, which fixes the date as prior to 1399, though the memorandum may not be the same date as the main text. It is not possible to be more precise because the formulary is in very general terms (e.g. 'Thesaurarius Anglie si Episcopus ...'). The few names which are specified are misleading because the compiler has obviously expanded the letter N of his source (standing for Nomen), thus producing Dominus Nicholaus Hastyng, Dominus Nicholaus de Bello Campo, Dominus Nicholaus Furneual etc., and their corresponding forms in the English translation. Whatever the date of the Manner and Form, the next two items in L suggest that it was associated in the mind of the compiler of the Grete Boke with the coronation of Henry VI.

Notes to L1

1. These include MSS Ashmole 770, f.69r; Ashmole 863, f.208r; Cotton Nero C ix, f.165r (imperfect); Cotton Tiberius E viii, f.23r (imperfect); National Library of Scotland, Advocates' 32.6.9, f.81r. Note that the English translation is not to be confused with 'A litle devise of the Coronacion of ... Prince Henrie the vijth', which follows closely the style of the Liber Regalis and the Forma et Modus, and was in its original form compiled for Richard III. On this see Anglo 1969, 11-17.
2. Dillon 1900, 47.
3. See Legg 1901, lxxi; White 1945, 54-61.

[1] **L2**, ff.5v-6v.

[2] A 59-line poem describing the coronation procession and banquet of Henry VI, 1429.

[3] MS Title: A balade made of the same Kynge

[4] Inc.

Holde vp oure yong Kyng. Aue benigna.
 And sende vs peas in oure londe. . Aue Regina
 Mater nunc. bright bee thy beamys
 Moodir of mercy save bothe Reamys
 See to oure innocent oure crowne may be gladder
 Holde vp oure lorde. that nevir sigh his ffadir.

Expl.

Praye we all both more and lesse
 Crist save Englonde in Reste and peece
 And god coomforth that mykill hath loost
 That was woon with woorship late nevir be loost

[5] Other MS: Morgan 775, f.14r (before 1461).

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Wright 1859-61, II, 146-8, from L; Dillon 1900, 55-7, from M, collated with L. This is No.1224 in INEV. For further bibliographical information see Robbins 1975, 1,475-6, 1,689-90.

[7] The poem begins by invoking the blessing of the Virgin on the young king, and swiftly proceeds to enumerate the lords spiritual and temporal, in their various offices, foreign dignitaries, judges, knights, citizens of London, etc. in the procession through Westminster Hall. The banquet is mentioned only briefly, and those sitting near the king or performing services are named. This is followed by the arrival on horseback of Philip Dymoke, the King's Champion, to issue the traditional challenge to anyone who dares gainsay that the king is truly crowned. Finally, there is a prayer for peace.

[8] A prose account of the coronation, procession, and banquet, which took place 6 November 1429 when the king was nine years old, is given in Gairdner 1876, 164-70. In detail and order the subject matter of this bears some resemblance to the poem, which may have been adapted from such a prose source. The initial appeal to the Blessed Virgin, the emphasis on Henry's youth and promise, the concern for 'bothe Reamys' of England and France, and the emphasis given to the King's Champion, who was

There Redy his body and his gloove to wage

Yif there were any man that will say the contrary

That kyng harry the Sixt is crownyd truly

are features which place this poem amongst the propagandist literature which accompanied the coronation (see Scattergood 1971, 71-5; McKenna 1965). On the coronations of Henry VI in general see Wolfe 1981, 48-64.

[1] **L3**, ff.6v-7r.

[2] The courses of the English coronation banquet of Henry VI, with three stanzas by Lydgate which were part of the 'sootiltees' on that occasion.

[4] Inc.

Le premier Cours pur la ioure del Coronacion
 ffurment with venyson / Viaunde Riall / The hede of [.....]¹ in
 armys / Grosse Chare / Swannes / Capon stued / Heroon / leche
 brusy endoorid / White Custarde / ffrutir treuteux / A Sootilte
 The baladis of the same

Lo here two kynges right parfite and right goode

Hooly Seynte Edwarde and Seynt Lowes

And the braunche borne of their blissid bloode

Leue amonge cristen of moost Soueraine prynce

Expl.

Shedith on hym of grace your hevenly light

His tendir youth with vertue dooth avaunce

Borne by discent and title of Right

Justely to Reigne in Englonde and ffraunce

[5] Other MSS: St John's, Oxford, 57, f.221v (second quarter of the fifteenth century); Morgan 775, ff.15r and 24r (before 1461); Cotton Julius B i, f.79r (fifteenth century); Egerton 1995, f.176v (fifteenth century); Guildhall 3133, f.129v (fifteenth century); Cotton Kero C ix, f.172r (fifteenth/sixteenth century); Cotton Vitellius A xvi, f.91r (fifteenth/sixteenth century); Cotton Vitellius F ix, f.65v (fifteenth/sixteenth century);

Additional 6113, f.46r (sixteenth century); Ashmole 863, f.135r (seventeenth century). There is a printed version in Robert Fabyan's New Chronicles of England and France (STC No.10659), printed in Ellis 1811, 599-601.

- [6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Hammond 1910, 23n, from St John's, printing the third course and third stanza only; Dillon 1900, 57-8, from M, collated with L; Nicolas and Tyrrell 1827, 168-9, reprinted in Myers 1969, 1,160-1, from Julius B i; MacCracken 1934, 623-4, from Julius B i; Harvey 1947, 169-70, from Egerton 1995; Thomas and Thornley 1938, 152-4, from Guildhall 3133; Robbins 1952, 98-9, from Guildhall 3133. Fabyan's version is printed in Mead 1931, 166-8. L3 is No.1929 in IMEV; IMEV lists only six manuscripts and follows MacCracken in wrongly giving the date 1432, the date of Henry's other coronation in Paris. Additional general references are in Renoir and Benson 1980, 1,851, 2,116-7.

- [7] Each course is followed by an eight-line 'balade', rhyming ababbcbc, which, as we learn from the other versions, formed part of a novelty, or 'sootiltee'. The first announces St Edward and St Louis, and acclaims Henry VI as 'Enheritoure of the floure delice'; the second praises the Emperour 'Vigemounde' (i.e. Sigismund) and a king called simply 'N' (evidently Henry V), as champions of Christianity; and the third invokes the blessing of the Virgin Mary, St George, and St Denis.

[8] The manuscripts fall into three groups: 1. L and M, which have a brief list of the dishes of the banquet and give no details of the appearance of the 'sootiltees'. These two alone are not chronicles. 2. Vitellius A xvi, Egerton 1995, and Additional 6113, which supply the details lacking in L and M. Collations of Vitellius A xvi and the printed edition of Gregory's Chronicle (i.e. Egerton 1995, printed in Gairdner 1876) are given in Kingsford 1905, 265-75. Additional 6113 is said in Thomas and Thornley 1938, 418 to be copied from a manuscript similar to Vitellius A xvi. 3. Vitellius F ix, Julius B i, Guildhall 3133, and St John's 57 are similarly detailed but share some distinctive readings and give some of the dishes in a different order. The version in Fabyan's New Chronicles, though similar to group 3, has some additional details and different wording, suggestive of an independent source.

On royal feasts generally see Mead 1931. A similar banquet of Henry IV is described in Austin 1888, 57-8. The banquet in 1421 at the coronation of Henry V's queen Catherine is described in Brie 1906-8, II, 445-7. For spectacular feasts at the court of Burgundy see Cartellieri 1962, 135-63.

A 'sootiltee' was 'a tableau, in pastry or sugar, at the close of each course in a medieval banquet' (Hammond 1910, 23). Fabyan, whose account is the most detailed, describes them on this occasion as

1. seynt Edwarde and seynt Lowys armyd, and vpon eyther his cote armoure, holdynge atwene them a fygure lyke vnto kynge Henry, standynge also in

his cote armour, and a scripture passynge from them both, sayinge...

2. an emperoure and a kynge, arayed in mantellys of garters, whiche fygured Sygysmunde the emperoure, and Henry the .v.; and a fygure lyke vnto kynge Henry the vi. knelynge to fore theym, with this ballad takkyd by hym...

3. our Lady, syttyng with her childe in her lappe, and she holdyng a crowne in her hande. Seynt George and seynt Denys knelynge on eyther syde, presentyd to her kynge Henryes fygure, berynge in hande this balade, as foloweth... (Ellis 1811, 600-1)

Comparable spectacles were also provided at the banquet following Henry VI's second coronation, in Paris, though they were perhaps dumb-shows rather than confectionary tableaux as they are called entremets by Jehan de Waurin (in Hardy and Hardy 1864-91, IV, 11) and by Monstrelet (in Douët-d'Arcq 1857-62, V, 6).

Lydgate's authorship of the verses is plausibly argued in MacCracken 1911, xxviii. On the poet's activities as a 'devisor' of spectacles see Wickham 1959-81, I, 191-206. Robbins (Robbins 1952, 262) remarks that the use of verse on special occasions is also found in connection with tapestries, wall decorations, and stained glass windows. The propagandist import of the verses on this occasion is discussed in McKenna 1965, 156-8 and in Scattergood 1971, 74-5.

Note to L3

1. Blank in L and M. Other versions: bores.

[1] L4, ff.7v-9r.

[2] A description of the form of ceremony for creating Knights of the Bath

[3] MS Title: Hou knyghtis of the bath shulde be made

[4] Inc.

ffirst the kyng our Souéraigne lord Writeth oute letters Vnto certeyne Esquyers of his Reame and desiryng them forto make them Redy for to Resceyue the high worshupfull ordre of knyghthode at high festes of the yere or at such tyme as it liketh the kynge forto desire them forto come'.

Expl.

and they shall goo into their Chambirs & chaunge them, and all these gownys & hoodis the principall herauld of armez shal haue for his fee. and this doon all the seide newe made knyghtes may doo. what them lykis for all is doon & endid. '& ibi finis.

[5] Other MS: Morgan 775, f.195v (before 1461).

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Way 1848, 258-66, from M; Dillon 1900, 67-9, from M. For a history of the order (but without reference to the formulary in L) see Anstis 1725. See also Selden 1622, 678-9; Camden 1637, I, 172-3; Bysshe 1654, Appendix, 20-4; Dugdale 1656, 530-4; Nicolas 1841. For the symbolism of the ceremony see House 1918.

There are illustrations of the ceremony of creating Knights of the Bath in Wrythe's Garter Book, a manuscript probably

dating from 1487, now in the possession^{ess} of the Duke of Buccleuch (see Wagner 1950, 122-4). Some of these are reproduced in Wagner 1967, pls. X-XII, and are delineated in Dugdale 1656, following p.532, and in Bysshe 1654, facing p.24. Of a late fifteenth-century date is the illustration of the creation of Richard Beauchamp Knight of the Bath in 1399, reproduced in Dillon and Hope 1914, pl.III.

[7] The formulary in L runs as follows: The king sends out letters to those who are to be created knights of the order. On the eve of the ceremony they shall serve the king the first course of his meal, then all go together to a separate chamber to eat. Each squire shall be assigned a special room and bath, and shall be visited by the king's Barber, and pay twenty shillings for having his beard shaved. Every squire shall have 24 ells of linen cloth at his bath, and this shall be the fee of the Sergeant of the Chaundre.¹ When each man is ready in the bath, there shall come lords, knights, minstrels, and heralds to proclaim the conditions which belong to this order of knighthood -- principally, love of God, support of the church, loyalty to sovereign, truth to promise, discretion, and championship of widows and maidens. Then the sign of the cross shall be made with the bathwater on the squire's left shoulder. This procedure is to be followed for every squire as he sits in his bath. After the bathing, they shall rest in their beds for a while, then arise and dress themselves in hermits' gowns, and the Sergeant of the Chaundre shall have all the beds and their coverings. Then they shall keep vigil together in the chapel till eight the next morning, attend mass and each offer a taper with a penny

sticking in it. Then they shall retire to their chambers to change, and the king's Wait shall have all their vigil garments. Next, they shall dress in special garments of red, black, and white, and, with their swords carried before them, each with a pair of gilt spurs hanging from the hilt, they shall come to their horses, which are to be arrayed in black and white. These the marshal of England shall have as his fee. Upon alighting from their horses they shall come into the king's presence, and, when the spurs have been fastened on their feet, the king shall invest each of them by girding him with a sword and kissing him. Then they shall go to the chapel and swear on the high altar to sustain the church and to keep the order of knighthood they have now taken. The king's Master Cook shall meet them at the door to claim their spurs, and announce that it is his office to smite off their heels if they are found untrue. They shall all go into the hall again and sit at table with the king, after which the heralds shall cry 'Largess!' in six places, and, when the new knights disrobe, the heralds shall have their garments as fee. They next shall put on gowns of blue and white and go again before the king, where one of them shall thank the king and assert the allegiance of them all. When they have changed from these gowns, which the principal herald shall have for his fee, the ceremony is at an end.

[8] This item is important to the history of the Order of the Bath, the early records of which are complicated. The order is religious in origin, rather than military, and this is reflected in the creation ceremonies in such rituals as fasting, keeping vigil, and, above all, in the bathing itself,

which denotes inward purgation. Certain of these were features of creation ceremonies even in pre-Norman times, but bathing is not specifically mentioned in extant records until c.1127, and no express mention of Knights of the Bath as a distinct order occurs before the reign of Henry IV, at whose coronation, according to Froissart, 46 knights were created, who, having bathed and kept vigil at the Tower, were each given a special robe on the left shoulder of which was 'un double cordeau de soye blanche, a blanches houppettes pendans'.² From this time it became customary for splendid and joyful state occasions to be chosen to do honour to the order, especially coronations, royal marriages, royal births, and great anniversary festivals. The ceremony continued virtually unchanged until the coronation of Charles II, after which time the order lapsed until it was reestablished in 1725, and again reorganised in 1815.

The account in L is closely connected with a better-known, similar but totally independent formulary usually entitled L'ordonnance et manier de creer et faire nouveaulx Chevaliers du Baing au temps de paix selon la custume d'Angleterre.

This occurs in both French and English versions, of which the French is probably the earlier. Manuscripts of the French version include Additional 29901, f.55v; Additional 34801, f.30r (printed in Anstis 1725, Appendix No.89, 106-12); Cotton Tiberius E viii, f.47r (printed in Way 1848, 267-71; and in Bysshe 1654, Appendix, 21-4); Cotton Nero D ii, f.259r; College of Arms Arundel 26, f.28v; College of Arms L 5, f.28r (translated into English in Dugdale 1656, 531-4); College of Arms M 6(b), f.100r; National Library of Scotland

Advocates' 32.6.9, f.59r. Manuscripts of the English version include Cotton Nero C ix, f.168v (printed in Anstis 1725, Appendix No.88, 99-106; in Gairdner 1880, 106-13, after a transcript by Stow; and in Nicolas 1841, 19-26); Harley 41, f.19r; Harley 304, f.97r; Additional 6113, f.195r; Inner Temple 538, ff.217r and 234r. Another English version, similar but briefer and imperfect, is written at the end of the British Library copy (No.1.A.55071) of Caxton's Ordre of Chyualry (printed in Byles 1926, 127-38).

The form of ceremony described in L'ordonnance is very similar to that of L, and it seems likely that the two are of approximately the same date. The correspondences extend to details of dress, etiquette, form of speech, etc. But the emphasis is different, the version in L paying more attention to the instruction of the squire in his bath, the other giving more detail of the vigil service and of household matters. So prominent is the role played by the personal assistants, or 'squyers governours', in the latter account, that it is possible it was prepared by or for one of these. The L version is without this bias and could have been written by one of the officers of arms.

The specification of fees is a prominent feature of all versions and the establishment of these habitual droits was probably an incentive in first setting down the ceremony in writing. The differences between the versions reflect the extreme sensitivity of the matter and the willingness of the parties involved to alter the texts. At the very end of L, for instance. the statement all these gownys & hoodis the principall

herauld of armez shal haue for his fee has been changed to all these gownys & hoodis the officers armez shal haue for her fee, seemingly by the hand of Thomas Wriothesley. This is understandable enough, until one considers the text in the Morgan manuscript, upon which (I have argued) L depends and from which this part of L was probably copied. The gowns and hoods in M are said to be the fee of the sergeaunt of the kyngis Chaundre. The answer seems to be that what appears to constitute the original text of L is, in fact, an alteration, for close inspection reveals the erased but still discernible initial s of sergeant of the kyngis Chaundre. The text in L appears, then, to have been altered twice -- surely a sign of vested interest.

The fees are one of several clues as to the date, for in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VI the Sergeant of the Ewery, who then performed the office of Barber, petitioned the crown for the confirmation of the appointment with all its appendent advantages, including the fees payable by those who were to be created Knights of the Bath, namely:

De quolibet milite viginti quatuor ulnas Panni lanei, qui erunt circa Balneum, una cum una Tapet Longitudinis trium virgarum de Rubo Worsted, ac etiam viginti solidos pro Rasura cujuslibet Militis sic creati. Quadraginta Solidos de quolibet Barone, seu ejus Pare pro ejus Rasura, Centum Solidos de quolibet Comite, seu ejus Pare pro ejus Rasura. Et decem libras de quolibet Duce, seu ejus Pare pro ejus Rasura.³

The French version of L'ordonnance (but not the English) probably antedates this petition because, unlike the petition,

it does not specify any fee due to the Barber from those of the rank of Duke, from whom such fees became customary when the petition was granted in 25 Henry VI (1447). The version in L and M, though unspecific in this matter of fees, cannot be later than 1461, the date by which M was compiled. Furthermore, the occurrence of the formulary in several of the manuscripts (L, M, and Cotton Nero C ix) alongside articles concerning the coronation of Henry VI, which was the only occasion in the reign when it is certain that Knights of the Bath were created,⁴ suggests that the versions in L, M, and the French Ordonnance were devised about then.

Notes to I4

1. There seems little doubt that the Chandler, not the Chamberlain, is referred to, even though his duties here are in no way connected with his regular office, which was to provide the household with lights. The Office of Chaundelery is described in Myers 1959, 190-2; cf. also 227.
2. Les Chroniques IV, 114, quoted in Anstis 1725, Appendix No.34, 21-2.
3. Quoted in Anstis 1725, Appendix No.44, 28-9.
4. Anstis 1725, Appendix No.43, 28. See also Nicolas 1841, Appendix, vii.

[1] L5, f.9r-9v.

[2] A description of the armour and equipment needed for foot combat.

[3] MS Title: Hou a man shalbe armede at his ease whan he shall fight on foote

[4] Inc.

Hhe shall haue noon sherte vpon hym but a doublet of ffustian lynid with. Satin kut full of holis. the doublet must be streightly bounde there þe poyntes must be sett aboute the grete of the arme and the best before and behynde. & the gussetes of mail must be sowid vnto the doublet into the bought of the arme and vnder the arme.

Expl.

Also a dosen of smale nailes / Also a longe swerd & a short and a dagger / Also a kerchief to hele þe visour of his basnet / Also a pensel to bere in his hande of his avowrye

[5] Other MSS: Morgan 775, f.122v (before 1461); Additional 46354, f.39r (fifteenth/sixteenth century).

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Douce 1814, 295-6, from L; Cripps-Day 1918, xxxiii, from L, first two sections only; Meyrick 1824a, II, 191-3, from L; Way 1847, 234-5, from M, partially collated with L; Dillon 1900, 43-4, reprinted in Myers 1969, 1,125, from M. The illustration on f.122v of M is reproduced in Dillon 1900, pl.VII. Meyrick

1824b, 496-509 expands on the notes in Douce 1814. The technical terms are also discussed in Black 1840, 1-11n and 126-7n. On the subject of fighting on foot in general see Dillon 1904.

[7] The description in L is in three sections: 1. 'Hou a man shalbe armede at his ease...' He shall have a doublet with gussets of mail and strong arming-points, hose with adequate provision against chafing, and shoes with knotted cords attached. 2. 'To Arme a man.' Begin with the defences of the feet, then those of the legs, body, arms, and hands. Next hang the dagger on the right and the short sword on the left side, put on the coat armour and helmet, and give into his hand the long sword and the banner. 3. 'The day that the appellaunt and the defendaunt shall fight what the shall haue with them in to the feelde.' [There follows a list of items for comfort, refreshment, and the repair of armour.]

[8] L5 may have been adapted from a treatise on foot combat by Johan Hill, Armourer to Henry IV and Henry V. Hill's treatise is printed in Black 1840, 1-11, from Ashmole MS 856, article 22, and begins:

Loo, my leve Lordes! Here nowe next folowing is a Traytese compyled by Johan Hill, Armorier and Sergeant in th'Office of Armorye, with Kynges Henry the 4te and Henry the 5te of the Poyntes of Worship in Armes that longeth to a Gentilman in Arnes, and how he shal be diversly armed and gouverned; under supportacion and faveur of alle the reders,

to correcte adde and amenuse where nede is, by
the high Commaundement of the Princes that have
powair soo for to ordeyne and establisshe.

Hill's treatise is specifically concerned with fighting on
foot in a judicial duel of the type described in L7, and deals
not only with the correct use of armour but also with the
form of the oath, etc. The L5 version is perhaps thought of
more as dealing with foot combat in general, though vestigial
reference to the duel may survive in the terms 'appellaunt'
and 'defendaunt'.

Foot combats to which this item is relevant are mentioned in
L7-8, L11-12, L15, L17, L22.

[1] L6, ff.9v-10v.

[2] Instructions for organising 'jousts of peace'.

[4] Inc.

Abilmentis for the Justus of pees.

ffirst an Helme Wele Stuffid. With a Creste of his devise /
 A peire of plates and thritty gyders / An haustement for the
 body with Sleevis / A botton With a tresse in the plates. /
 A Shelde Coovirde with his devise / A Rerebrake with a roule
 of lethir Wele Stuffid

Expl.

Than shall hee that the diamount is geve vnto take a lady by
 the hande and begynne the daunce. And whan the ladyes haue
 dauncid as longe as them liketh, than spice Wine and drynk, and
 than avoide.

[5] Other MSS: Morgan 775, f.3r (before 1461); Additional 46354,
 f.41r (fifteenth/sixteenth century).

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Douce 1814,
 290-4, from L; Cripps-Day 1918, xxxiii-xxxv, from L;
 Meyrick 1824a, II, 188-91, from L; Way 1847, 226-33,
 from M, partially collated with L; Dillon 1900, 38-43,
 from M. Meyrick 1824b, 509-14 contains a discussion of
 a description in Harley MS 6149, f.46, a manuscript roughly
 contemporary with L, of how a knight and squire should be a
 armed for jousting. Much factual information about jousting,
 mainly drawing upon material of a slightly later date, can
 be found in Dillon 1898.

[7] The instructions are in four sections: 1. 'Abilmentis for the Justus of pees.' The list includes arms, armour, horse, harness, servants, and equipment for repair. 2. 'To cry a Justes of peas.' This is a specimen proclamation by the heralds of a challenge of six gentlemen to all comers, for a combat which is to take place in the presence of ladies, who will act as judges and present three jewels as prizes. The officers of arms shall inspect the armour and weapons. 3. 'The Commynge into the felde.' The account describes the parade of the gentlemen in front of the ladies and the signal for the end of the day's jousting -- when the heralds cry 'A lostell!' 4. 'Nowe be coomyn the Gentilwoomen [sic] withoute into the presence of the ladies.' The distribution of the prizes by one of the ladies takes place. Then a herald announces: 'John hath wele justid, Richard hath justid bettir, and Thomas hath justid best of all.' There follow a dance and refreshments.

[8] Note that the order is different from that of M, where the sequence is 2,3,4,1.

A 'joust of peace' as described here was a friendly trial of skill and strength in which a gentleman or gentlemen challenged all comers to a number of courses with the tips of their lances fitted with coronels [MS Coronallys], small, crown-shaped objects which would not penetrate armour. The judging and prize-giving were usually left to the ladies, and the proceedings ended with a dance. Jousts which might be described as 'of peace' are detailed in L8-15, L17, L22-3 below. John

Paston III used the term 'jostys of pese' with reference to the feats of arms at the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or in Bruges in 1468 (see the quotation in L14).

[1] L7, ff.11r-15r.

[2] Regulations for trial by battle in the Court of Chivalry, issued in the name of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, Constable of England in the reign of Richard II.

[3] MS Title: The ordenaunce and fourme of fightynge within listes

[4] Inc.

To his right excellent and Right myghty liege lorde Richard by the grace of god Kyng of Englond and of ffrance lorde of Irlande.and Duke of Guyen.shewith your liege man Thomas the duke of Gloucestre your Conestable of Engelonde vnto his seide lorde yif it please you that hou many batels with you listes armed

Expl.

And all the poyntes and Armour of hym that is discomfite. be it the appellaunt or the defendaunt'. The fee of the marshall is the listes. the Barrers. and the postes of them. & ibi finis.

[5] Other MSS: Morgan 775, f.124r (before 1461); Douce 271, f.27r (fifteenth century, with illustrations); Cotton Tiberius E viii, f.149r (early sixteenth century, abridged); College of Arms M 6a, f.63v (sixteenth century, with illustrations); College of Arms L 5, f.81r (late sixteenth century); Stowe 583, f.17v (late sixteenth century); Harley 69, f.25r (sixteenth/seventeenth century, with illustrations); Additional 33735, f.9v (early seventeenth century, with illustrations); Additional 25247, f.78v (seventeenth century, with illustrations); Ashmole 856, f.83r (seventeenth century); Ashmole 865, f.258r (seventeenth century).

Manuscripts of a French version, on which the English may be based, include: Additional 34801, f.14v (fifteenth century, abridged); Cotton Nero D ii, f.257r (fifteenth century with illustrations, imperfect); Additional 28549, f.28v (late fifteenth century); Egerton 795, f.44r (late sixteenth century).

- [6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Twiss 1871-6, I, 301-29, where the version in L is printed alongside the French version in the Black Book of the Admiralty from an eighteenth-century manuscript in the Admiralty archives; Dugdale 1671, 79-86, 'ex vetusto codice MS. in bibl. Seldeniana', where the text is considerably abridged and is divided into sections; Grose 1775-84, I, 29-37, printing a copy from a manuscript in the College of Arms, presumably L 5 or M 6(a); in the same work, IV, 273-81, printing a version from a manuscript then owned by Richard Bull; Black 1840, 121-38, from Ashmole 856; Meyrick 1824a, II, 72-81, 'from a MS. book, in the library of the College of Arms, written about the commencement of the reign of James I', which Meyrick suggests is a translation of a Latin version, which he prints on pp.65-72; Dillon 1900, 61-6, from M.

The fullest discussion is in Black 1840, xvi-xxii and 121-38. See also Selden 1610; Harcourt 1907, 367-8; Squibb 1959, esp. p.23; Anglo 1962, 189; Baldick 1965, 11-48; Keen 1965, 27-8, 41-4; Lea 1866. The drawing in MS Douce 271 is reproduced in Black 1840, 120 and in Dillon 1904, pl.VI.

For a French regulation which may have served as a model see Crapelet 1830. For the parallel early fifteenth-century Scottish Order of Combat see Neilson 1890, 259-72.

[7] The preamble, addressed to Richard II, describes the judicial duel as 'the grettist dede that may be in armes' and speaks of the need to regulate it, for which the following procedure is recommended:

Only when a case has been pursued without conclusion in the court before the Constable and Marshal may it be decided by armed combat. The Constable shall assign a place and a time, and receive those who are to stand surety for the combatants. The lists shall be sixty paces by forty, on firm, level ground, with strong barriers at least seven feet high with gates in the east and west. There must be separate enclosures ('faux listers') for the officials, who are to be armed, and the king shall have a high seat with the Constable and Marshal below him.¹

On the day of the battle, those who have stood surety shall be led in as prisoners and discharged as the combatants arrive, the appellant from the east and the defendant from the west, both fully armed. Their names and identities having been verified, they shall go to their tents. The Constable shall inspect the equipment brought into the lists, and his clerk shall keep a record.

If the defendant fails to arrive on time up to three sets of four proclamations are to be made at the four corners of the

lists. If he does not come by noon, the judgment shall not necessarily be decided against him. However, the appellant must arrive at the appointed time and no later.

The weapons shall be inspected to ensure that they conform to the specified standard,² after which three oaths shall be made on the massbook, appellant first. Firstly, each shall swear to the truth of his written statements. Secondly, each shall swear that he has no false devices or charms about him. Thirdly, each shall swear to fight fairly and hard. Then the Marshal shall call for silence, and all persons must leave the lists, except the combatants and the officials. From this time on the administration of food, drink, and any other lawful thing shall be done by the heralds. The Constable shall cry 'Lessiez lez aler!' and, as the fight proceeds, he must carefully watch to see if the king wishes to stop it or whether either party wishes to yield.

If the case is one of treason, a corner of the lists shall be broken down and the disarmed loser shall be dragged by a horse to the place where he is to be beheaded or hanged.³

If, however, the king wishes to stop the combat and settle the dispute himself, they shall be led out of the lists side by side, so that neither shall have the honour of leaving the lists first.⁴

The fee of the heralds is all the broken armour of the appellant and defendant and all the remaining armour of the defeated man. The Marshal's fee is the lists, barriers, and posts.

[8] A early abridgement of these ordinances is found in the work entitled The Maner and Fourme of makyng of the thre Oothes that every Appellant and Defendant owe to make openly in the Feelde, before the Kyng and the Conestable and Mareschal, the same day that they shal do thair Armes. There is a version in MS Ashmole 856 (edited in Black 1840, 15-23), and another in National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS 32.6.9. In both manuscripts this follows the Traytese...of the Poyntes of Worship in Armes that longeth to a Gentilman by Johan Hill, armourer to Henry IV and Henry V, which, as we have seen, is related to L5 (q.v.). The Maner and Fourme of makyng of the thre Oothes was probably abstracted by Hill as well. An interesting feature of it in this connection is that it gives the names of the appellant and defendant, which are given only as initials in all extant versions of the ordinances, as 'Ayllard de Kaysnes' and 'Carados de Bomboys'. Black conjectures that these names 'were probably borrowed from some foreign formulary, or from the relation of some combat, not now extant'.

Collation of all the manuscripts of Woodstock's ordinances would probably establish clear lines of dependence within the group. Black notes that the text of Harley 69 agrees closely with that of Ashmole 856. The text in L he describes as 'very well translated, but... less diffuse, especially toward the end' (Black 1840, xvii). However, L and M have many superior readings. For example, they both give the initials of the combatants as 'A. de K.' and 'C. de B.', agreeing with the names in Hill's abridgement, whereas others have 'E. de B.' for the second name (Ashmole 856 and Harley 69) and 'A. de B.' for the first (the French version in Additional 34801). The inferior English texts seem to have been expanded, perhaps by recourse to the French.

Examples of trial by combat are numerous. See for example Brie 1906-8, II, 343-4, 368, 370, 437; Gairdner 1876, 199-202; Neilson 1890, 171-6; Harcourt 1907, 362-415; Myers 1969, 487-8. Sir John Paston himself may once have been threatened with a duel if we are to take seriously a report which was made to him in 1478 that the Duke of Suffolk, with whom Sir John was in dispute over the ownership of the manors of Helleston and Drayton, 'wold met you with a spere and haue non other mendes for þat troble at ye have put hym to but your hart blod' [PL II, 426].

Notes to L7

1. Bentley 1831, 391 gives a warrant of Henry VI to the Sheriffs of London to erect barriers for a battle upon an appeal of high treason in 1453. The king paid the cost of the lists, the barriers, of sanding and gravelling the ground, and of 'a convenient skaffolde for us to have the sight of the saide bataille'.
2. The French text gives more detail than the English on this point, as it does on several points from here onwards. The most significant of these are noted below.
3. The French text adds that for crimes other than treason the loser shall be disarmed and led out of the lists to be beheaded or hanged. If the combat is a deed of arms the loser shall be disarmed and put out of the listes without any further punishment.
4. At this point the French version restates at length the duties of the officials without adding any substantial new information.
5. The French text also includes the horses and assigns the fee not to the heralds but to the Constable (see Wagner 1967, 106). Wagner there suggests that either the English versions date from after 1521 when the office of Constable lapsed, or that the Constable had made his fee over to the heralds in the fifteenth century. The former suggestion is impossible in view of the dates of the manuscripts.

[1] **L8**, f.15r-15v.

[2] The challenge of Philippe de Boyle, a Knight of Aragon, containing five articles for combat on horse and on foot, with a note that the challenge was successfully undertaken in Smithfield before Henry VI on 30 January 1442 by John Astley, Esquire.

[3] MS Title: Challanges of deedis of Armys of Philipp. Boyle. Knyght.

[4] Inc.

Be it knowen. that I Phillip. de Boyle Knyght of the Reame of Aragon was. inchargid for to fight with a knyght or with a Squyer and for a speciall for to serue my Souerayne lorde. le tresexcellent & trespuissaunt prynce le Roy daragon & de Cecile scelon. with more for the which I myght not be delyuerd of my seide emprice for defaute de Armus of them of the Reame of ffraunce.

Expl.

And whan the seide John had doon his Armys pan it liked the kyng of his highnesse for to make hym knyght the same day and yaf hym. an C. marcs for terme of lyf. in the yere of Grace A. M^l. CCCCxliij

[5] Other MSS: Morgan 775, f.278r, with illustration on f.277v (before 1461); College of Arms L 5, f.84v (late sixteenth century).

- [6] Edition and Printed Discussion: Edited in Dillon 1900, 36-8 and pl.VI, from M. The encounter itself is discussed in Dugdale 1656, 73. The illustrations on the preceding pages in Dugdale, including one of this fight, are from a series of panel pictures once in Pateshull Hall, Staffordshire.
- [7] The challenge, written in the first person, begins by recounting that Philipp de Boyle has been charged, in the service of the King of Aragon, to fight against a knight or squire. The deed of arms might not be accomplished in France 'for defaute de Armus of them of the Reame of ffrance', so he has come to England and has gained leave from Henry VI to issue his challenge at the English court. The articles of combat are: 1. To fight on horseback with spears, swords, and daggers 'withoute any fals engyne'. 2. The victor shall have the other's sword, helmet, 'or othir armure. which he beres on his hede'. 3. If the battle is undecided on the first day, it shall be continued next morning on foot, using the surviving weapons and no more. 4. Wrestling with legs and arms is allowed. 5. Boyle's horse and harness being in Flanders, the battle is to take place eight days after their arrival. Should he not be able to recover them 'within tyme resonable', the combat is to be on foot, each armed with axe, spear, sword, or dagger, as desired. These arms were completed by John Astley, Esquire, 30 January 1442, 20 Henry VI, in Smithfield, before the king, who knighted Astley after the combat and granted him a hundred marks for life.
- [8] The fight is recounted in some of the fifteenth-century London chronicles, in which the outcome is described in greater detail than here:

Asshley had the vectory; for he reysed blood of the lord a forn sayd in brekyng of the gantlett and reyseng of his vmbray. And had him at myschef redy to have strekyn him in the face with his dagger, till the kyng cryed hoo.

(From Cotton Cleopatra C iv, f.60r, ed Kingsford 1905, 150, where it is collated with MS Harley 565.) Documents relating to the finances of the combat survive in the form of the accounts of the Sheriffs of London for expenses incurred in preparing the lists (Exchequer: E. 101/571/40 and E. 364/74, m.50a and b). For a general summary of these financial records see Anglo 1962, 186-7, 193-4. The interesting illustration in M of the foot combat between Boyle and Astley shows Henry VI in his high seat, strong lists containing four men-at-arms, a herald of the king, and the combatants themselves armed with axes. The open ground in Smithfield market was a favourite place for jousts and tourneys (cf. L11-13, L15, L19), and was used for other public events such as burning heretics and producing plays (see Kingsford 1905, 150, 157, 179, 312; Kingsford 1908, II, 29-33).

Nothing is known about Philippe de Boyle. Astley, however, was quite famous in his day, partly on the basis of this and the earlier encounter in which he dispatched the challenger Piers de Masse in Paris in 1438 (see L9). The special honour of knighthood with which he was rewarded on this occasion was rare but not unprecedented for special performance in the lists. For another example see Ellis 1811, 572, referring to a combat in Smithfield in the time of Henry IV. John Astley was son

of Sir Thomas Astley of Nailston, Leicestershire, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Harcourt, and lady of Pateshull. He was an able soldier, knowledgeable in the rules of single combat, and in 1446 was one of the intendants appointed to supervise the duel between John David and William Catur. In May 1453 he was appointed counsel to John Lyalton in his fight in Smithfield against Robert Norreys. He received in 1461 a grant of £40 a year, probably upon his appointment by Edward IV as Knight of the Body, and the following year was one of the first to receive from Edward the Order of the Garter, along with a further grant of £40 yearly 'to the king's knight, Sir John Astley, in recompense of his great losses sustained in the king's service, and for the sustenation of the Order of the Garter'. In 1463 he was authorised to make arrangements for the victualling of Alnwick castle on behalf of the king. In 1464 he was 'detained in the hands of his adversaries' and a grant of 500 marks was made towards his release, which apparently was not secured, for a further grant of the same amount was made for the same purpose in December 1466. By the next June he was free and able to act as counsel to Anthony Woodville in his combat with the Bastard of Burgundy (see L15). He and three other knights carried a rich canopy in the funeral procession of Edward IV in 1483. In the succeeding years he continued to receive grants of money, but by November 1486 he had died, a provision of £10 a year being granted to his widow the following year. For details of his life see Dillon 1900, 32-3. See also Dugdale 1656, 73 and facing illustrations; Gibbs 1912, 543; Wedgwood 1936, 26-7; and pp.87, 89-90 above, where Astley is discussed as the owner of M and probably the commissioner of the versions of L8 and L9 in that manuscript.

Note that the order of L8 and L9 has been reversed so that the later of Astley's two combats comes first in L, as opposed to the more logical sequence in M.

[1] **L9**, ff.15v-16r.

[2] The challenge of Piers de Masse, or Massy, a French squire, to the English squire John Astley, containing four articles for a joust, with a note that the combat took place before Charles VII in Paris, 29 August 1438, when Astley struck his opponent through the head.

[3] MS Title: The Challange of piers de Masse

[4] Inc.

In the Woorship and in the name of god oure blissid lady
Virgyn mary and my lorde seint Deniys myne avouer and conditer.
I Piers de Masse Squyer of the Reame of ffraunce borne de
quater Cotes of my Armes withoute any reproch hath required
in the towne of Pounteis John Asteley Squyer Squyer. borne
within the Reame of Englonde de quater cotes of his armes.
withoute any reproche for to doo Armes on horsbak

Expl.

And smote the seide Piers de Masse thorough the hede. with a
spere. in the yere of oure lorde m^l. CCCCxxxviiij^e. before
kynge Charles of ffraunce was doon the xxix^{ti} day of August.
the xvj. yere of the reigne of kynge henry the vj.th

[5] Other MSS: Morgan 775, f.276r, with illustration on f.275v
(before 1461); College of Arms L 5, f.85r (late sixteenth
century)

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Cripps-Day 1918,
xxxv-xxxvi, from L; Dillon 1900, 35-6 and pl.V, from M.

This and other events in Astley's career are described and discussed in Dugdale 1656, 73, with several illustrations on the facing page, including one of this joust, from a series of panel pictures formerly in Pateshull Hall, Staffordshire.

[7] This item begins with a statement that Piers de Masse has required John Astley to do arms on horseback, the challenge being half at his own request and half at Astley's, before the king of France, who has consented to be judge. The articles of combat are: 1. Both parties shall be armed on horseback in double harness, without shield or rest, with the intention of breaking six spears each. 2. de Masse is to have the spears made, and Astley is to have the choice. 3. de Masse is to make the field and the 'telle'. 4. The victor is to have the other's helmet or other armour to present to his lady. A note at the end tells that this feat was accomplished by John Astley in St Anton's Street, Paris, when he struck Piers de Masse through the head with a spear in the presence of King Charles of France, 29 August 1438, 16 Henry VI of England.

[8] Several details in this item are of interest for the history of jousting, for a general account of which see above, pp. 185-93. The reference to the use of the 'telle', a strong wall of planks to prevent the horses from colliding, is one of the earliest known (on this subject see Dillon 1898, 296-8). This feature is very clearly shown in the illustration in M. The use of the street for jousting is unusual. Although not clearly specified, this seems to be a joust à outrance, i.e. with sharp lances. This is the implication more of the articles of combat, which would otherwise have specified blunted weapons, than of the accident to de Masse, for fatal accidents

sometimes occurred in jousts à plaisance (see, for example, Clephan 1919, 37, 104, 125-6).

Nothing is known of Piers de Masse other than what we are told here. For information on Astley see L8.

[1] **L10**, ff.16r-17v.

[2] An account of the feat of arms performed by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (1381-1439), against three French knights in Guines, near Calais, January 1415.

[3] MS Title: The Challenge of an Auncestre of therle of Warrewik

[4] Inc.

ffirst the seide lorde departid oute of Caleis to Guynes by watir thee. twisday aftir Cristmas day for to take the eire and disporte of the Countrey as he saide. And all his Armure and his harneis for his Armes. was pryvily caried thidir [And] nerehande a foortnyght before Cristmasse my lorde lete set vp a pavilon. within the parclos of Guynesse and lete hange therin. thre tables of the devisez depeyntid.

Expl.

And this on the monday aftir he is coomen to Caleys with much woorship where hath met hym the lieutenaunt of the Towne with all the Garnyson.

[5] Other MS: College of Arms L 5, f.85v (late sixteenth century).

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in MacCracken 1907, 600-3, from L; Cripps-Day 1918, xxxvi-xxxviii, from L.

For the Warwick Pageant, a fifteenth-century description of the life of the Earl of Warwick with illustrations, see Dillon and Hope 1914, especially the illustrations of this feat of arms, pls.XXVI-XXI. There is some discussion, based mainly on the Warwick Pageant, in Dugdale 1656, 325-9.

[7] The account begins with Warwick's journey from Calais to Guines the Tuesday after Christmas 1414/5. Some time before he had had a pavilion set up in Guines and had displayed on it three different shields. Then he sent a herald to proclaim three challenges -- the first in the name of 'Le Chiualer Vert ouec le quarter noir' to twelve courses of the lance, the second in the name of 'le Chiualer gryse' to a sword combat on horseback of fifteen strokes, and the third in the name of 'Le Chiualer attendaunt' to a joust of ten courses in war harness without shields. The letters of challenge were written in 'dyuers handys' and sealed with different seals.

The three French knights who responded, by touching the shields believed the challengers were three English knights. Warwick continued this pretence till the third day of the combat by varying his arms and by keeping his visor closed. Sir Gerarde de Herbaumes, 'Le Chiualer Rouge', who fought on January 6, was struck down at the third course; Sir Hugh de Lawney, 'le Chiualer blank', who fought on the following day, was quickly overpowered and his visor struck open; Sir Colarde de Fiennes, the earl's cousin, accomplished the third arms the following Sunday under the name of 'le Chiualer noir'. After each combat the challenger sent his opponent a fine horse.

At the ensuing banquet two hundred guests were entertained indoors, while a thousand others ate in the field round about. The answerers were each presented with an additional gift in the form of a brooch worth over £60, another worth 40 marks, and a gold cup worth 60 marks. Generous gifts were given to the French heralds and minstrels, and the earl returned to Calais having achieved considerable fame.

Richard Beauchamp belonged to a family which traced its ancestry back to the legendary Guy of Warwick. Created Knight of the Bath in 1399 and Knight of the Garter early in the fifteenth century, he succeeded his father as Earl of Warwick in 1401. The first of his many notable feats of arms was performed in 1403 at the coronation of Henry IV's queen, Joan of Navarre, and he increased his reputation in 1408 when, on a journey to the Holy Land, he was answerer in Verona to Sir Pandolf Malatesta, whom he seriously wounded in a foot combat with axes. His journeys through 'Russy, Lettowe, Poleyne and Spruse Westvale' (as described in the Warwick Pageant) and his further successes in tournaments are reminiscent of Chaucer's knight, and at the Council of Constance in 1414 he was answerer to a 'myghty Duke' whom he killed in a joust. About 1414 he is first mentioned as Deputy of Calais, and soon afterwards he performed the feat of arms here described. Henry V's confidence in Warwick was such that he employed him in important commands in Normandy and in frequent negotiations. When Henry died he bequeathed to Warwick the care of the education of the infant Henry VI. In 1437 he was appointed Lieutenant of France and Normandy. He died in Rouen in 1439 and was buried in Warwick, where his magnificent tomb and effigy can still be seen. (For additional details see DNB IV (1885)).

The Warwick Pageant, which is the fullest early source of information about Richard Beauchamp, is a series of 55 pencil drawings with brief accompanying text, illustrating the main events of his life.¹ The illustrator has been identified as 'The Caxton Master', who did the line drawings for Caxton's manuscript of Ovid Moralised and other works (see Scott 1976).

Apart from half a dozen pictures depicting the birth, death, and genealogy of Warwick, and another five illustrating state events like the two coronation of Henry VI, the scenes in the Pageant are about equally divided between diplomatic events and matters of arms, both warfare and tournaments, including a series of six (XXVI-XXXI) showing the exploits at Guines presently under discussion. These are helpful in elucidating some of the details of L, but their value is limited by their late fifteenth-century date. L, on the other hand, has many features of an eyewitness account. There is the evidence, for instance, of the use of the present tense ('which is my lordis Cousyn'), the form of personal reference ('my lorde'), time reference ('the xijth day of Cristmasse last'), circumstantial detail ('as he saide'), and the remark that 'all maner men in this marche thonkid be god gevyn to my seide lorde the pryce of all men that evire came there and seyne playnely that god had shewyd passyng grete myracles in hym'. Most significantly, de Herbaumes is described as 'oon of the xv frenshemen that have nowe late Chalengid .xv. Englishmen to the outraunce'.

The place of the event, described in L as 'the parclos of Guynesse', is identified in the Pageant as 'a lawnde called the parke hedge of Gynes'. The painted 'tables', or shields, of challenge are illustrated, though on a scale insufficient to show all the details mentioned in L, and the blazons of seals and horse trappers are carefully shown. The one major discrepancy is that the second day's arms (Pageant, pl. XXX) are depicted as a joust, whereas in L they are clearly said to be a tourney with swords. This factor makes MacCracken's suggestion

(MacCracken 1907, 600) that L was condensed to make up the account in the pageant extremely unlikely.

There are certain details which are not shared by both accounts, for instance the picturesque scene in the Pageant in which the earl alights from his horse to dispel claims that he must be bound to the saddle.

It is not possible to tell who was the author of L. He was a person of strong heraldic interests and had a sympathetic knowledge of the history of the house of Warwick. But Warwick's own herald, who proclaimed the challenges, is referred to impersonally as 'an haraude', 'this heraude', etc., and is unlikely to have been responsible. It is not clearly stated which other officers of arms were present, though there is reference to the rewarding of the French heralds. These, however, are unlikely to have been privy to the earl's disguises, as the author clearly was. He is particularly cryptic in remarking three times that the designs on the shields of challenge 'bee en browdid in þe seide lordes white bedde of berys'. This refers to a 'Bed of Silk embroidered with Bears and his Arms' which was bequeathed to him by his father (see Dugdale 1675-6, I, 238 and Dugdale 1656, 323). This bed was displayed in the banquet hall after the combat, 'that the frenshemen myght wele see that the were verely his armys of olde auncestrie'. The author clearly had prior knowledge of the bed, which suggests that he had a fairly intimate understanding of the enterprise and its background.

Note to L10

1. Dillon and Hope 1914 has some mistranscriptions. See also Strutt 1775-6, II, XXII-XXXVII; Proby 1908; Thompson 1903.

[1] **L11**, ff.18r-22v.

[2] Documents relating to a proposed feat of arms between Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, challenger, and Antoine, Grand Bastard of Burgundy, answerer, dated April and May 1465, consisting of four parts:

[1] **L11a**, ff.18r-20v.

[2] A copy of a letter from Lord Scales requesting the Bastard to perform a feat of arms with him in London, together with articles for combat on horseback and on foot.

[3] MS Title: This is the wrytyng and articles sent by the lorde Scales vnto the bastarde of Burgoyne

[4] Inc.

Ryght noble Woorthy and famous knyght and right woorshupfull lorde I recommaunde me vnto youre noble and gode Remembraunce as effectuelly as hertly and by the grettest devoir that oon knyght may to a noothir as to hym to whom I holde my selfe obliged and bounde

Expl.

signed with myne owne hande in thee place and manoir Roiall of Shene the xviiijth day of Aprill. the yere of oure lorde .m^l.CCCClxve.

[1] **L11b**, f.21r-21v.

[2] A copy of a letter from the Earl of Worcester, Constable of England, witnessing the challenge of Lord Scales.

[3] MS Title: The Copy of the Certificacon made by the Erle of Woorcestre. high Conestable of Englonde.

[4] Inc.

To all prynces. dukes Erles Barouns knyghtes and othir noble men lerned and experte in noble dedis of armes John Erle of worcestre lorde Tiptoft and of Powis high Conestable of Englonde gretynge. and encrece of all worthynesse where by vertue of the seide Office to vs hit apperteyneth

Expl.

yoven at london vndir the seall of oure office of Conestable. the xxij day of the moneth of Aprill' the yere of oure lorde m^l.CCCCLxv^e. and the v.th yere of the Reigne of the kynge my seide Soueraigne lorde Edward the iiij.th of this name Sithon the Conquest of Englonde.

[1] **L11c**, f.21v.

[2] The names of those present when the Bastard touched the flower of souenance, so accepting the challenge of Lord Scales.

[3] MS Title: Thise ben the names of the lordes Knyghtes and Squyers Gentilmen & herauldes that were present whan the the seide Floure of Souenaunce was touched by the bastard of Burgoyne.

[4] Inc.

ffirst / The duke of Burgoyne / The Erle Chareloys / The lorde
Jacques of Burboon / The lorde Adolf of Cleves / The prynce
dorenge / The lorde Jacques of Lucenburgh / The lorde Roussy

Expl.

Burgoyne be heraude / Charloys marshall of armes of braban /
ffuzilles poursuivant of armes / nul ne sy fret poursuivant of
armez.

[1] **L11d**, f.22r-22v.

[2] A copy of the letter from the Bastard in which he accepts the
challenge of Lord Scales.

[3] MS Title: Here folowith the Copy of the lettre sent by the
Bastard of Burgoyne answerynge the seide articles and wrytynges.

[4] Inc.

Noble and woorshupfull lorde I Recomaunde me 'vn' to youre
Remembraunce as hartely and as certeynly as is to me possible.
And thank you as affectually and by the moost expresse devoir
that I can or may doo of youre Right Joyfull and desired tydynges

Expl.

Wreten at Bruxelles and Signed with myne owne hande the iiij.th
day of May. Your behold Bourgoyne.

[5] Other MS: College of Arms L 5, f.87r (late sixteenth century). Copies of the French documents from which those in L were translated are found in College of Arms Arundel 48, f.343 (fifteenth century, containing the chapters of L11a only); Harley 48, f.143r (fifteenth/sixteenth century, containing L11a only, without preamble); Harley 4632, f.88r (first half of the sixteenth century, with two unique additional letters).

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Bentley 1831, 176-96, where the documents in L are printed alongside the equivalent French versions and alongside the most closely related portions of L15 (i.e. L15a-15b). The challenge and its outcome are discussed in Anglo 1965, which usefully summarises an unpublished account in the University of Utrecht MS 1177, ff.186r-225r. See also Mitchell 1958. The documents as they appear in an unspecified manuscript, probably L, are summarised by William Oldys in Biographia Britannica (Oldys 1747-66, ^{II} 1, 230-1n). An independent contemporary account of the receipt of the challenge by the Bastard is given in the Mémoires of Olivier de la Marche (Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, III, 41). The tournament to which these documents relate is more fully dealt with in L15.

[7] Summary and main section headings:

[L11a] You have previously suggested that we meet to do arms. I have been prevented from acting upon this by wars and divisions in England, but now I write of a 'godely aaventure' which recently happened.

The Wednesday before the day of the Resurrection [i.e. 13 April 1465], as I knelt before the queen, the ladies of the court

surrounded me and tied a gold band about my thigh, to which was attached a letter and a 'floure of souuenaunce'. I requested permission of the king to accomplish the contents of the letter.: The king consented and had the letter read, the contents being as follows:

[f.18v] 'Here folowen the articles [for the combat on horseback.]

1. I shall be bound to appear in London, next October, before the king or his deputy, as judge, to fight against a nobleman 'of foure kynredes' and without reproof. 2. We shall meet on horseback in war saddles, without rests, advantages, or 'male engyne', and run one course without tilt with sharp-headed spears, then fight with sharp swords until we shall have made 37 strokes. 3. I shall provide spears and swords, and my opponent shall have the choice. 4. If neither is struck out of his saddle (other than by the fall of his horse) the arms shall be considered accomplished. 5. If either party is hurt the arms shall be considered accomplished.

[f.19v] 'Here folowen the seconde armes on foote.' 1. I shall be bound to appear on the appointed day next October to accomplish the feat of arms that follows. 2. We shall fight on foot, carrying targe or pavis and armed with spears, axes, and daggers. We shall make only one throw of the spear and then fight with other weapons till one is borne down or disarmed. 3. I shall provide the weapons, and my opponent shall have the choice.

If any dispute arises from misunderstanding we shall settle it reasonably. I will obtain safe-conducts from the king for as many men and horses as shall be necessary.

You see from the above articles that I am honour bound to do these arms in London. I therefore now send Chester Herald with the letter, article, and flower of souvenance. I beseech you to touch the flower, so binding yourself to accomplish the arms set out in the articles. If you are delayed by war, sickness, the wishes of your sovereign, or the pleasure of your lady, I shall be ready for the whole year from the end of October, subject to two months' warning.

Signed and sealed in the palace and manor royal of Sheen, 18 April 1465. Addressed 'to the Right Woorthy and famous knyght & right Worshipfull lord the bastard of Burgoyne Erle of the Roche & lorde of Bevery & Beveryce'.

[L11b] Greetings from John, Earl of Worcester, Lord Tiptoft and Powys, High Constable of England. By virtue of our office we must make written accounts of notable deeds of arms and see that they are published abroad as examples to all men. We let it be known that on 29 April 1465 in the royal manor of Sheen, Sir Anthony Woodville presented himself to the king bearing a flower of souvenance, and besought the king to command Chester Herald to take the flower to the Bastard of Burgundy. This the king granted, and Chester Herald received the flower 'clothed and Revested' with the arms of the Lord Scales. The king commanded us to witness these acts, which we do by this present testimonial. Given at London, under the seal of the office of Constable, 22 [sic] April 1465, 5 Edward IV.

[L11c is a list of the names of 34 people who witnessed the touching of the souvenance in Burgundy.]

[L11d] I thank you for your tidings and your articles. I have this first day of May touched the souvenance and accepted the

contents of the articles. If I am prevented by the war with which I am now occupied, or by any other proper hindrance, from being present October next, I will endeavour to come within the specified additional time, giving at least two months' notice. Written in Brussels 4 May [1465]. Addressed 'To the noble and worshupfull lorde and my desirid Brothir the lord Scales and of Nucelles'.

[8] Anthony Woodville (c.1442-83), the challenger, was the eldest son of Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, and Jacquetta of Luxembourg Duchesse of Bedford. He acquired his title as a result of his marriage in 1460 or 1461 to Elizabeth, Baroness Scales and Nucelles, and added to this the title Earl Rivers in 1469 at the death of his father. Two years after this marriage, Edward IV visited his father's manor of Grafton ostensibly while hunting, and privately married his sister, Elizabeth. The Woodville_s thereafter were greatly advanced in honours, and won themselves many powerful enemies as a result.

Extant records allow his military and public career to be traced back to 1459 when, whilst assisting his father in guarding the haven of Sandwich, he was captured by the faction of the Earl of Warwick and carried off to Calais. He took part in wars in Northumberland in 1463, but it was not until he became Edward's brother-in-law that he really came to public notice. He obtained the castle and lordship of Carisbrook, Isle of Wight, in 1466, and in the same year was elected Knight of the Garter. He commanded the English fleet in 1468 and, on his father's death in the next year, became Constable of England, a position he resigned in favour of the Duke of Gloucester. He was active on the king's part in Norfolk in 1469, and entered Caister Castle, one of the many facts about him mentioned in the Paston Letters.

When Edward IV was driven from England in 1470 Anthony Woodville was his constant companion in Flanders, and on their return the following year he was rewarded by being made Governor of Calais and the Marches, and commander of all the king's forces.

His father had been a jouster, one of his exploits being to run against Pietre Vasques de Saavedra, the Portuguese chamberlain of Philip the Good (see L22). Lord Scales is not known to have displayed his skills in any other joust before the one in Smithfield in 1467, with the exception of one in 1458 in which he was co-challenger with the Duke of Somerset and four others (see Anglo 1965, 274). In the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or the next year (see L14) he jousted for half an hour against Adolf of Cleves, and broke only eleven lances to his opponent's seventeen (see Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, III, 172-3). In 1478 at the wedding of the Duke of York jousts were held to celebrate the event, at which Anthony Woodville appeared spectacularly in the dress of a hermit, complete with a pageant car representing his hermitage, and endeared himself to the heralds by paying them twice their agreed fee (see above, pp. 233, 235-6).

In 1473, whilst they were on a pilgrimage to St James in Galicia, Louis de Bretailles (the 'de Brutallis' of L12) lent him a copy of Les dictz moraulx des philosophes, which Woodville translated and caused Caxton to print in 1477. He also made a translation of Christine de Pisan's Moral Proverbs, which Caxton printed in 1478, and the Cordyale, which Caxton printed in 1479. In the epilogue to the Cordyale Caxton mentions that Woodville had also made 'diverse balades ayenst

the seven dedely synnes' (see Blake 1973, 71). Only one ballad survives (IMEV No.3193.5). Caxton particularly stresses the high moral and religious principles of his patron. Woodville's death followed quickly upon that of Edward IV; he was arrested for treason and beheaded in 1483. His will shows a marked concern for his spiritual welfare.

On the Woodvilles generally see Lander 1976, 104-20; Ross 1974, 84-103. For the career of Anthony Woodville see Bentley 1831, 171, 240-8, which includes a copy of his will and of the epilogue of Caxton's Cordyale; DNB LXII (1900); and see above pp.139-40.

The nobleman to whom the challenge was addressed was Antoine de Bourgogne (1421-1504), natural son of Philip the Good and Jeanne de Puelle. His numerous dignities included the seigneuries of Beveren and Vassy, and the comtés of Sainte-Menehould, Guines, la Roche en Ardennes, and Steenberghe. Yet above all these he preferred to be styled 'le Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne', a title he assumed in 1452. He was a distinguished soldier from 1452 to 1477, but in 1478 transferred his allegiance to Louis XI of France and thereafter confined his activities to diplomacy. He was legitimised by Louis in 1486.

His career and accomplishments in many ways resemble those of Lord Scales, who was twenty years his junior. He was a great patron of art and literature, and established in the château of la Roche a magnificent library; all of the thirty or so of its dispersed volumes which have been traced are of fine workmanship, and most contain miniatures. As with Lord Scales, his military prowess was reflected in the lists as well as on the battlefield. Amongst other things he was principal answerer in the Pas de la Dame Inconnue (see L22), and held the splendid

Pas à l'Arbre d'Or at the marriage of Margaret of York and Charles of Burgundy in 1468 (see L14). The preamble of L11a shows that he had challenged Lord Scales some time before the adventure of the flower of souvenance but that Lord Scales had been prevented from accepting by 'werres and dyvisions of this Reame of Englonde'. The Utrecht manuscript, f.186r (quoted extensively in Anglo 1965, 274), attributes their failure to meet earlier to 'grans guerres...tant en engleterre comme en france...et aultres grans affaires'. The feat of arms in Smithfield was therefore delayed until June 1467, over two years after the issue of the challenge. Of the two unique French documents in MS Harley 4632 (see Bentley 1831, 196), one is a letter of 13 November 1465 in which Lord Scales describes his disappointment at the passing of the appointed month of October and the comfort he has received from news of the Bastard's chivalrous deeds.

For further details of the Bastard's life see BNB II (1868). His portrait is reproduced in Cartellieri 1929, pl.15. For his books see Boinet 1906.

The Smithfield tournament, however, was not simply a deed of chivalry by two brothers in arms, but a public event intended to foster and display the new friendly relations between England and Burgundy. It is perhaps not surprising that the arrival of the Bastard in England, after so much delay, has mistakenly been associated by historians with the Burgundian marriage of Margaret of York (for a summary of such errors see Bentley 1831, 173-4). But the challenge of Lord Scales, signed 18 April

1465, was made almost a year before the issue of a commission to the Earl of Warwick, 22 March 1466, to treat on that subject with count Charles, and the marriage treaty was not concluded until several months after the tournament. The tournament was, none the less, a carefully stage-managed event designed to boost the Burgundian alliance, of which the Woodvilles were enthusiastic supporters. The political implications explain the lavish preparations (by English standards), Edward IV's displeasure at the suggestion of foul play on the first day of the fight, and the widespread reference to the tournament in contemporary English chronicles (see L15; Ross 1974, 104-25; Lander 1976, 117). The romantic mise-en-scène of the flower of souvenance owes much to the influence of the Burgundian pas d'armes. This view is argued by Armstrong. (Armstrong 1977, 37-9). Conversely Kipling (Kipling 1977, 117) sees a sharp contrast between the relatively straightforward deed of arms in Smithfield and the elaborate scenic pageantry and spectacle of contemporary Burgundy.

The man entrusted with eliciting the desired response to the challenge was John Water (or Walter), Chester Herald from c.1455 until his dismissal in 1471, who was lent by the king for this purpose to Lord Scales, in whose coat-armour he came before the Duke of Burgundy. In Godfrey et al 1963, 121-2 it is stated, without supporting evidence, that Thomas Whiting (or Utine), Nuelles Pursuivant and retainer of Lord Scales, who accompanied Chester to Burgundy, wrote the subsequent account of the tournament. This is nowhere stated in L11 or L15, which would seem more likely to be compilations originating from an account by Chester himself, who alone would have had sufficient knowledge to supply all the details. The only other heralds mentioned in connection with the challenge and reply

are the four Burgundian officers of arms present at the touching of the flower of souvenance. La Marche, the duke's Maître d'Hôtel is not listed as present, and must have had at second hand the brief description in his Mémoires, loc. cit.

L11's importance to the history of the tournament is discussed above, pp. 190-1. This and L15 offer a uniquely detailed account in English of one of the most important tournaments of fifteenth-century England. The sequence of French letters of challenge and response (in the Harley and Arundel manuscripts), English translations of the same (L11), and the fully written-up narrative adapting and incorporating these English translations (L15) demonstrates the very process of the heralds' work through documents which are nearly contemporary with the events they describe (see Appendix 3).

[1] **L12**, ff.22v-24v.

[2] The challenge of Louis de Brutallis, or Bretailles, a Gascon squire of Lord Scales, and the letter of acceptance by Jehan de Chassa, chamberlain of the Duke of Burgundy, for a feat of arms performed in Smithfield, 13 and 14 June 1467. [French]

[1] **L12a**, ff.22v-23v.

[2] A copy of the letter of challenge of Louis de Brutallis, dated 16 June 1466.

[3] MS Title: Le challenge Loys de Brutallis

[4] Inc.

A treshonnoure Cheuallier messire Jehan de Chassa. Treshonnoure Cheuallier ie me Recommande a vous tant et si affectueusement que faire le puis. pour ce que long tempz a mon coeur a este oblige et prisonnier a vne noble dame de hault pris constraint comme seruiteure suis forcie vous escripre

Expl.

Esript et signe de ma main soubz le seel de mez armez a londrez. le xvj^{me} jour du moys de Juing. lan xlvj. Autant vostre comme sien Loys de brutalljs

[1] **L12b** f.24r-24v.

[2] A copy of the letter of the letter of reply by Jehan de Chassa, dated 27 June 1466.

[3] MS Title: Le Repons. Sir Jehan de chassa.

[4] Inc.

A treshonnoure escuier Louys de Brutallis. Treshonneur Escuier
 Je me Recomaunde a vous tant et de si bonn cueur comme Je puis.
 Voz tresgracieuses et treshonnourablez letters par vous a moy
 envoiees Jay Receu le xxiiij. iour de Juing par Nusselle le
 poursuivant

Expl.

mon saigne manuel'et Icelles seelle de mon seel armoie de mez
 armez. escriptez en la ville de Bruxelles. le xxviij. iour du
 dite moys de Juing'lan mil CCCClxvj. plus que vostre J de chass:

[5] Other MSS: Tower of London Armouries I-35, f.69r (late sixteenth century); Utrecht University Library 1177, f.216r (fifteenth/sixteenth century).

[6] Edition: Bentley 1831, 213-20.

[7] The circumstance under which the plan for this combat originated are set out in the challenge, of which the following is a summary: The arrival of Bourgogne Herald at the English court in connection with the forthcoming visit of the Bastard of Burgundy led to talk that no doubt there would be many in the Burgundian party who would welcome the opportunity to perform deeds of arms. In particular Messire Jehan de Chassa was mentioned. The lady who has long held my heart prisoner, on hearing this, recalled that she had been impressed on seeing that knight when he had previously visited England and that she would be very gratified if any gentleman would accomplish arms against him on the occasion of the Bastard's visit. When I heard this my heart leapt for joy, for I saw means of acquiring my lady's favour, which I

have sought for so long. Acting secretly and quickly, lest others should accomplish the deed before me, I begged leave of the king to do arms at that time on horse and on foot, which request my sovereign graciously granted. This is the form of combat I suggest: first, that we run eleven courses at the tilt with blunted lances of equal length; second, that we fight three times on foot with axe and dagger, twice to the accomplishment of three blows each at three paces of retreat, and the third time until one man touches the ground with his right hand. The man who touches the ground shall give the other his right gauntlet, and shall wear no other and perform no arms till he has the permission of his lady. I have not devised detailed articles of combat because you may wish to modify my suggestions. The official chapters can be drawn up when you arrive. At the moment my lady is ignorant of my undertaking. I beg you to accept so that I may win her grace. Written in London, 16 June [14]66. Loys de Brutallis.

The reply: I received your letter 23 June by Nuelles pursuivant and am gratified by the honour you do me. Wishing to comply with your request I asked permission of the Duke of Burgundy and he was pleased to grant it. For some time, by licence of a lady and by permission of my lord, I have worn an emblem showing my willingness to do arms, but wars and the crusade have prevented me from achieving my wish. I have shown your letters to that lady and have received her permission to accompany my lord the Bastard to perform arms with you. In the interests of safety I suggest we follow French custom and perform the joust last, for often the arms on horseback cause such injury that those on foot are abandoned. Written in Brussels, 27 June 1466. J. de Chassa.

[8] There is little to learn from the English chronicles about the event. MS Cotton Vitellius A xvi, after referring to the combat of Lord Scales, simply says:

And that doon, were other poyntes of warre doon bitwene certayn gentilmen of England and dyvers seruauntes of the said Bastard. Wherof the Englisshemen had the worship.

(Kingsford 1905, 179). For a similar statement see Ellis 1811, 656. In the Annales once attributed to William Worcester (in Stevenson 1861-4, II, 787) is a brief account which leaves blank spaces for the names of the combatants and for the date. Gregory's Chronicle (in Gairdner 1876, 236) names the parties as 'Lewys de Brytellys' and 'Syr John de Cassy', and adds that Brutallis had the better of the fight, which it is incorrectly claimed was 'for lyffe and dethe'. The Burgundian records are rather fuller. La Marche in his Mémoires (Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, III, 54-5) tells that

le lendemain firent armes à pied messire Jehan de Chassa et ung escuyer gascon nommé Loys de Bretelles, serviteur de monseigneur d'Escalles, et accomplirent icelles armes sans grant foulle l'ung sur l'aultre; et le lendemain firent armes à cheval, esquelles messire Jehan de Chassa eust grant honneur et fut tenu pour ung bon coureur de lance.

A detailed narrative of the whole event, written by someone in the Burgundian party, is found in the University of Utrecht MS 1177, ff.216r-225r, and in T, ff.69r-116r, under the title 'Les armes...de Messire Jehan de Chassa, seigneur de Monnet'. The account begins with the letters of challenge and reply, as in L12, followed by a description of the combat itself. The combat passed with more or less equal honours, but de Chassa broke the more lances in the joust. The account is unpublished, but there is a useful summary in Anglo 1965, 281-2.

A few facts are known about the challenger, Louis de Brutallis (or Bretailles, Bretelles). He was a servant of Lord Scales, which explains why he used Thomas Whiting, Nuelles Pursuivant, to deliver his challenge. He was in Lord Scales's company when he was entertained to dinner by John Paston III in 1469 (PL I, 545). Bentley (Bentley 1831, 214-5) prints a petition, granted 8 April 1455, in which several Gascon patriots sought justice in the matter of a prisoner Brutallis had taken in entering Bordeaux; Brutallis, it appears, was likely to lose his prisoner because 'the said Loys was sith' taken & yet lyse in p'son'. In the Mémoires of Philippe de Commines (in Dupont 1840-7, I, 379-80) he is described as 'ung gentilhomme de Gascongne, serviteur du roy d'Angleterre, appellé Loys de Breteilles', who had long been known to Commines, and confided in him in Amiens in 1475 that he was very ill-pleased with a truce which had just been concluded between the English and the French. He poured scorn on the belief, current at the time, that a white dove which had alighted on the king of England's pavillion was a sign that the Holy Ghost had made the peace. The Gascon appears to have had some influence, for Louis, fearful for the precarious agreement just reached, tried to bribe him with large sums of money to remain in France. Brutallis declined, but nevertheless took away a thousand crowns with which Louis encouraged him to promote a friendly relationship between England and France. Brutallis is also known from the fact that in 1473, whilst on a pilgrimage to Compostella, he lent Anthony Woodville, then Earl Rivers, a copy of Guillaume de Tignonville's Les dictes moraulx des philosophes, which the earl later translated. The circumstances are recorded in the preface of the translation, which was printed by Caxton in 1477:

Thenne for a recreacion & a passyng of tyme I had
 delyte & axed to rede somme good historye And
 amonges other ther was that season in my companye a
 worshipful gentyllmann callid lowys de Bretaylles./ whiche
 gretly delited hym in alle vertuouse and honest thynges./
 that sayd to me/he hath there a book that he trusted I
 shuld lyke it right wele./ and brought it to me./
 whyche book I had neuer seen before. and is called
 the saynges or dictis of the Philosophers.

(Blades 1877, [1-2])

The only information about his tournament activities, apart from those at present under consideration, comes from the score cheques for jousts of peace held in Smithfield 6 July 1466, less than a month after the issue of the challenge to de Chassa, at which a 'Lewis de Bretail' scored only one (BL MS Additional 46354, f.58v, cf. Stowe 1047, f.209v).

The military and political career of Sir Jehan de Chassa, called Beneton or Benetru, Seigneur de Monnet, is mentioned several times in the Mémoires of Olivier de la Marche, between 1450, when he fought against the Gantois rebels, and 1475, when he was specifically excluded from the treaty of Souleuvre, made between the Burgundians and the French (see Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, II, 255-6; III, 221). The explanation of this exclusion is supplied by Chastellain (Chronique in Kervyn de Lettenhove 1863-6, V, 470-1, 481-3), who describes how de Chassa fell into debt in Burgundy and, in order to escape his creditors, defected in about 1470 to the court of Louis XI of France, where he became involved in a plot to murder Charles the Bold. He seems to have escaped punishment, for he was still alive in 1481. In addition to the combats in Smithfield, he is known to have taken part in

several notable jousts, such as those in Lille in 1453 (Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, II, 348, 379) in which he accompanied the Bastard of Burgundy, and in the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or in Bruges in 1468 (see L14), in which his love of extravagant romance was very much in evidence, for he appeared gorgeously dressed as 'le chevalier esclave' accompanied by four gentlemen dressed in Turkish costume embroidered with his name. In a letter to the ladies there he explained that he had spent his life in the service of the proud 'dame d'Esclavonie', and that to win her love he was wandering in search of adventure. He begged to be the first to accept the challenge of the Knight of the Golden Tree, the name assumed by the Bastard of Burgundy, holder of the pas. On the day of the joust he was served by the four Turks and by four Moors leading a packhorse with two large panniers in which two other Moors and a fool made music. A maiden led the knight and his horse by a golden chain (Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, III, 154-9; IV, 125). No record remains of the joust itself on that occasion.

[1] **L13**, f.25r-25v.

[2] The challenge of Philippe de Bouton, dated 1 May 1467, for a combat which took place in Smithfield 15 June 1467. [French]

[3] MS Title: Le challange Phillip de bouton

[4] Inc.

En lonneur et en la Reuerence de mon Creature Jhesu Crist et de la tresglorieuse Vierge marie sa miere et madame Sainte Anne et de mon Sire seint George pur le temps huisens eschieuer et le tresnoble mesne darmez maintenir et ensuyure et pour toutes bonnes & honourables oeures a mon pouoir mettre et tenir en excersice. Je philipe bouton

Expl.

Jay signe ces presens chapitres de ma main et seale au seau de mez armez'. Le premier iour du mois de May' Lan mil CCCC Soixante sept Philipe bouton

[5] Other MSS: Tower of London, Armouries I-35, f.1r (fifteenth century); Harley 69, f.11r (sixteenth/seventeenth century).

[6] Edition: Bentley 1831, 215-16, 220-2.

[7] The challenge may be summarised as follows: I, Philippe Bouton, Burgundian, first squire of the Count of Charolois [later Charles the Bold], by leave of my sovereign and my lord, have this day, 1 May, attached to my right arm an emprise in the form of a fleur de pensee, which I intend to wear concealed until my

arrival in England in the company of monseigneur the Bastard of Bourgogne, when, by licence of the king of England, I shall display it in the hope of accomplishing certain arms, according to the following chapters: 1. Whoever of the English party shall first touch the emprise shall be bound by the ensuing chapters. 2. He shall take part in a combat within six days of the Bastard's combat. 3. We shall run five courses with blunted lances, using normal war saddles and other armour of our own choice. 4. I shall provide the lances, of which my opponent shall have the choice. Each person may use rondels and coronels of his choice. 5. There shall be no unreasonable advantages or devices used. 6. Should either man be struck from his horse by a lance the arms shall be considered accomplished. 7. Should either man be wounded the arms shall be considered accomplished. 8. The one who breaks the most lances shall have from the other a fair dagger to present to his lady. I beg all the noblemen of the King of England not to disdain my challenge, which I issue in the hope of winning my lady's grace and for brotherhood in arms. Signed and sealed 1 May 1467.

Philippe Bouton.

[8] The brevity of the English chronicles in describing the events following the encounter of Lord Scales and the Bastard has already been remarked upon in connection with L12. Gregory's Chronicle (Gairdner 1876, 236) simply remarks that the challenger was called 'Botton, Squyer' and that the answerer was 'Thomas Dalalaund'. Gregory says that the answerer had the better of the fight, and that 'thes dedys of armys was for lyffe and dethe' (i.e. à outrance, which is not correct). The Annales once attributed to William Worcester make the same error:

Et alio die sequenti congressi sunt in campo ibidem equites cum acutis lanceis, Thomas de la Launde, Gasconiae,

contra [..... left blank] Botone Burgundiae. Idemque Thomas de la Launde magis audacter et honorabiliter se habuit.

(Stevenson 1861-4, II, 787, cf. Hearne 1728, II, 509, which reads horribiliter in place of honorabiliter). The behaviour of Thomas de la Launde is remarked upon in the eyewitness account of the events by la Marche (Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, III, 55):

et entre eulx sourdit une question, car ceulx qui servoient messire Philippe Bouton disoient que l'arrest de Thomas de la Lande estoit trop advantaigeux. Si fut visité par les gens du Roy et trouvarent qu'il estoit vray, dont le Roy ne fut pas content. Tuteffois ilz conclurent de parfaire leurs armes et fit chascun le mieulx qu'il peust, comme il est coustume en tel cas; et ainsi furent les armes achevées d'une part et d'aultre.

The independent (unpublished) account of the combats in L12 and L15 in MSS Utrecht University Library 1177, f.213r-213v and T, f.64v, makes passing reference to that between la Launde and Bouton, adding that, despite the king's displeasure with la Launde, the combat was allowed to continue at the personal request of the Bastard. On this see Anglo 1965, 281.

Philippe de Bouton, Seigneur de Corberon, describes himself in his letter as first squire of the Count of Charolois. He became Bailiff of Dijon in 1469, and Chamberlain and first carving squire of Charles the Bold in 1474 (see Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, IV, 232; Kervyn de Lettenhove 1863-6, V, 46n).

[1] **L14**, ff.26r-29r.

[2] The challenge of Antoine, Bastard of Burgundy ,
calling himself Le Chevalier à l'Arbre d'Or, to the
Pas à l'Arbre d'Or, which took place in Bruges in July
1468 following the marriage of Margaret of York and
Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. [French]

[3] MS Title: Commencement de la declaration du pas a
Larbre dor

[4] Inc.

En lonneur de dieu tout puissant et comme soubz sa
grace et bonte Je pouere Cheualer nomme a l'arbre dor.
en voiaigeant par diuerses Loingtaines Regions. Apres
maintes dangereuses et estroites aduentures passees
vne singulierment' et en ses derniers Jours non
longuement passez mait este cause de singuler Regarde

Expl.

Et aussi quilz vüeillent Induire et enhorter leurs
amis et seruiteurs d'accomplir la Requeste dudit suppliant
qui supplira au dieu d'amour quil vous donit paruenir a ce
que plus desirez. Amen. jci ffinit la pase a la Arbre dor

[5] Other MSS: Tower of London Armouries I-35, f.2r

(fifteenth century); Harley 69, f.12r (sixteenth/seventeenth century).

[6] Edition and Printed Discussion: Edited in Cripps-Day 1918, lv-lix, from H. A very full account of the pas itself is in la Marche, Mémoires and in the same author's Traictié des nopces de monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne et de Brabant (Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, III, 122-201; IV, 108-44). The pas and its background are discussed in Cartellieri 1921.

[7] The challenge may be summarised thus: I, Chevalier à l'Arbre d'Or, servant of la Dame de l'Isle Celée, having travelled many distant lands, have come to the famous court of Burgundy to carry out certain difficult tasks for my mistress, concerning a precious tree of gold. This tree, by gracious permission of the Duke of Burgundy, will be planted in the middle of the market place of Bruges and guarded according to the chapters.

[f.26v] 'Sensuit la forme du pas.' The pas will be part joust, part tourney. It is hoped that a total of 101 lances will be broken by me or on me. In the joust I will run against four opponents each day, for half an hour each, for 'vne Jours sieuans'

[should be 'nine'] beginning Sunday 3 July 1468.

[f.27r] 'Sensieuent les Chapitres.' 1. In the lists will be a rich golden tree, to which a giant will be chained, and on a nearby rock will be a dwarf with a hunting horn and a sand-glass to measure each half hour. Arbre d'Or Herald will guard the entrance of the lists. 2. The knight or squire intending to enter shall be ready with his attendants at the appointed time and shall enter preceded by an officer of arms carrying an escutcheon of his arms to set upon the golden tree. 3. Only princes shall be allowed more than six attendants on horseback and three on foot, in addition to pages. 4. At the entrance the venant must strike three blows with a wooden mallet. Arbre d'Or Herald will admit him and the giant will lead him to be presented to the ladies. 5. The venant will have the choice of lances, and the joust will begin when the dwarf blows the horn. 6. If a man is disarmed it shall count as a course run. 7. If a man is injured another may be set in his place and the wounded man shall be considered to have accomplished his arms. 8. The one breaking the most lances in each half hour shall win a staff of gold, which the other shall present to him in the lists. 9. A man who strikes his opponent to the ground shall be presented in the same way

with a ruby set in a staff of gold. 10. Lances must be broken at a point somewhere between the grappe [part of the grip] and a point one hand-breadth below the roche [the pad over the tip].

11. The chevalier will provide the lances, garnished with roches. 12. When the half hour is up, Arbred'Or Herald will bring two planchons [pikes] and one more course will be run with these for the love of the Dame de l'Isle Celée. The judges and officers of arms will be stationed on a scaffold within the lists. 14. The one who breaks the most lances on the chevalier in any one day shall win the hind trapper and harness used by him on that day. 15. The chevalier, being a stranger and having no companions, begs those who joust to join him later in the tourney. Note that horses may not be changed, upon pain of forfeiture of the prize.

[f.28v] 'Sensieuent les chappitres du tournoy.'

1. All noblemen who will have jousted against the chevalier are requested to join his side in the tourney, wearing badges of the golden tree. 2. Those taking part are to present themselves on the day to the Duke of Burgundy. 3. They shall send their shields to be emblazoned with the golden tree. 4. Swords are to be pointless and rebated. 5. At the sound of the horn both sides shall run one course

of the lance, all at once, followed by a mêlée with swords for as long as the ladies wish. 6. The best swordsman, by the judgement of the ladies, shall receive as prize the chevalier's horse trappings and harness. 7. The Duke of Burgundy is to appoint supervisors for the event. 8. Afterwards Arbre d'Or Herald will take to the Dame de l'Isle Celée the golden tree enriched with the escutcheons of the participants.

[8] The early part of the challenge refers to letters from the Dame de l'Isle Celée 'souffisamment declaratiues de toutz les causes et circonstances qui mont peu mouuoir', which are said to be included 'au front de mes presenz chappitres'. This is not the case, so it appears that the version here may be an abridgement of another in which the romantic background was set out in greater detail, in the manner of L23. In the Mémoires of la Marche there is a section heading which also refers to the letter and the chapters: 'S'ensuit la teneur de la lettre présentée par Arbre d'or, serviteur de la dame de l'Isle celée, et aussi les chappitres faictz pour la conduite de cestuy noble pas.' (Beaune and ¹⁸⁸³⁻⁸ d'Arbaumont, III, 123). However, there is no trace of these in any of the surviving manuscripts of the Mémoires, so the contents of the letter can only be

guessed at. As Kipling points out (Kipling 1977, 117), the pas is an enactment of part of the Roman de Florimont, a prose romance of the Alexander cycle then popular in the Lowlands, so by reference to this the pretended background to the knight's infatuation for the supernatural lady can be reconstructed (see Willard 1971).

Although allegory and romance were part of many feats of arms in Burgundy in the second half of the fifteenth century, those aspects of this pas are exceptionally extravagant. For other examples see above, pp.189-90. There is little trace of such events in England before the Tudor period, but a series of thirteen allegorical letters of challenge for feats of arms in Eltham in 1401 to honour Blanche, daughter of Henry IV, who presided as Lady of the Tournament, suggests a fourteenth-century allegorical tradition of which almost all trace has been lost (see Anglo 1962, 188-9; Anglo 1968, 32).

There are four principal contemporary accounts of the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or. The first was written from Bruges by John Paston III, who attended with his elder brother, on 8 July in a letter to his mother, of which the relevant section is this:

My Lady Margaret was maryd on Sondag last
past at a towne pat is callyd The Dame,
iiij myle owt of Brugys, at v of the klok
in the mornyng. And sche was browt the
same day to Bruggys to hyr dener, and ther
sche was receyuyd as worchepfully as all the
world coud deuyse, as wyth presessyon wyth
ladys and lordys best beseyn of eny pepyll
that euer I sye or herd of, and many pagentys
wer pleyd in hyr wey in Bryggys to hyr
welcomyng, the best pat euer I sye. And the
same Sondag my lord the Bastard took vpon hym
to answeere xxiiij knyts and gentylnen wyth-in
viiij dayis at jostys of pese; and when pat
they wer answeyrd they xxiiij and hym-selue
schold torney wyth othyr xxv the next day aftyr,
whyche is on Monday next comyng. And they that
haue jostyd wyth hym in-to thys day haue ben as
rychely beseyn, and hym-selue also, as clothe of
gold and sylk and syluyr and goldsmythys werk
myght mak hem; for of syche ger, and gold and
perle and stonys, they of the Dwkys coort,
neythyr gentylnen nor gentylnwomen, they want
non, for wyth-owt pat they haue it by wysshys,
by my trowthe I herd neuyr of so gret plenté
as her is.

Thys day my Lord Scalys justyd wyth a lord
of thys contré, but nat wyth the Bastard, for
they mad promyse at London that non of them
bothe shold neuer dele wyth othyr in armys.
But the Bastard was on of the lordys pat browt
the Lord Scalys in-to the feld, and of
mysfortwne an horse strake my lord Bastard on
the lege, and hathe hurt hym so sore that I
can thynk he shalbe of no power to acomplyshe
vp hys armys, and that is gret peté, for by
my trowthe I trow God mad neuer a mor
worchepfull knyht.

And asfor the Dwkys coort, as of lordys, ladys,
and gentyllwomen, knyhtys, sqwyirs, and gentyllmen,
I herd neuer of non lyek to it saue Kyng Artourys
cort. By my trowthe, I haue no wyt nor remembrans
to wryte to yow halfe the worchep that is her ...

(PL I, 538-9)

The second is part of an account of the marriage festivities
which seems to have been written by one of the heralds
who accompanied the princess Margaret from England (see
above, pp.200-1). It has been printed in Bentley 1831,
223-39; Kervyn de Lettenhove 1869; Phillipps 1846.
The nine days of jousting are said to be 'over longe
a thyng to be wryttyn in this Abbreviate' but that
'Garter the Kyng of Armys hathe it in Frenche, and for

that cause I leve to wryitt'. But the writer goes on to describe the jousts on the last day, and the concluding tourney, in which 26 of the knights who had jousted met 26 others in a general mêlée, which grew very heated, to the consternation of 'the Prynmesse of the feste' who sat 'with dolorous countenauns wavyng hir kerchef'.

The remaining two, much the most lengthy, are the accounts of la Marche cited in [6] above. In most respects these agree closely with the chapters in L14, although in the event it did not prove practicable for the Bastard to meet four answerers each day. Also, on the Friday, the sixth day, the Bastard was kicked by a horse and was unable to take further part, so that for the last four days the pas was defended by a succession of deputies. However, he continued to provide finery at his own expense, 'qui fut grande et coustable'. All this was observed by la Marche in person, who specifically states that he sat with the judges at their vantage point within the lists. One of the judges was Garter King of Arms, and other English heralds sat on a scaffold nearby. The records kept by the heralds had to be consulted before the prize for the jousting could be awarded:

Si fut regardé, par les livres et
 escriptures des roys d'armes et heraulx,
 qui plus avoit rompu de lances en la
 demye heure; et fut trouvé que ce avoit
 esté monseigneur d'Arguel, lequel avoit

rompu treze lances. (Beaune and d'Arbaumont
1883-8, III, 191)

The heralds also went amongst the ladies at the banquet after the tourney to assess who should win the prize. This was first awarded to the Duke of Burgundy, but when he refused to accept it the prize was given to John Woodville. Probably it was one of the heralds who acquired a copy of the Bastard's challenge and brought it to England, where, within a short time, it found its way into the Grete Boke as Ll4.

Note that the various accounts all differ somewhat as to the dates and the number of participants, and in other matters of detail.

[1] **L15**, ff.29v-43r

[2] A compilation of documents relating to the combat in Smithfield on 11 and 12 June 1467 between Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, and Antoine, Bastard of Burgundy.

[3] MS Title: The actes of the full Honorable & Knyghtly armes doon betwene the right noble lordes Sir Antony Wodevile. lorde Scales & of Newselles. brothir to the moost high & excellent Princesse the qweene of Englonde & of ffraunce and lady of Irlonde Chalenger And Sir Anton.the Basterde of Bourgoine Erle of Roche and lorde of Beuer & Beueresse. Afore the moost christen & victoriouse Prince Edwarde the iij.^{the} the kyng of Englonde & of ffraunce and lorde of Irlond the .xj. & xij. daies of Juyne in the .vij. yeere of his Reigne. defender. The Erle of Worcestre. then Grete Conestable of Englonde. in Smythfelde

[1] **L15a**, ff.29v-31v, with a misplaced section now on f.33r-33v.

[2] A description by Lord Scales of the obligation placed upon him by the ladies of the English court to do arms on horseback and on foot in London the following October against a nobleman of his own choice, with details of the chapters; a copy of Lord Scales's letter to the Bastard of Burgundy dated 18 April 1465 requesting him to perform these arms.

[3] MS Title: The fortune of the pryse of the saide full noble & valeriouse knyght Sir Antony Wodevile.

[4] Inc.

The Wennesday. nexte aftir the Solempne & devoute ffeste of the Resurrexion of oure blessid Sauyoure & Redemptour Jhesu Christe. for soome of my besynesse at the departyng from the highmasse I drewe me to the queene of Ingland and of fraunce and lady of Irlond my soueraigne lady 'to'

which I am Right humble subiet.

Expl.

I haue sealde thes presentes chapitres with the seal of myne armes and signed with myne hande In the place and manoir Roiall of. Sheene the xvij.^{ten} day of the moneth of Aprill the yere a M^lCCCClxv

[1] **L15b**, ff.31v-32r.

[2] The request by Lord Scales to the king to command a herald to carry the challenge to Burgundy, and the king's commandment to Chester Herald and the Constable of England.

[3] MS Title: The Supplication of the seide Right noble lorde to the Kyng aftir the presentacion of the saide emprise. the Kyng to commaunde an harauld to Receyve themprise & chappitres aforesaide and to delyver the same to the Right noble lorde the Bastarde of Burgon. the kynges commaundement to Chestre harauld thereupon The maner of Resceyvyng therof by the harauld. And the kinges commaundement to his Constable of Englonde.

[4] Inc.

The saide emprise with the seide chappitres as is abouesaide

presentith to the kynges highnesse beeyng in his high chambre of astate in his maner of Sheene accompanied with many noble lordes. The saide right noble & worshupfull lorde. Sir Antony lorde Scales and of Nucelles &c. full wele avisidly

Expl.

Accordyng to the which commaundement' the Constable seide his high commaundement shuld be perfourmed to the dewte of his office

[1] **L15c** ff.32v-34v.

[2] A description of the delivery of the challenge in Brussels, its acceptance by the Bastard, and of the generous treatment of Chester Herald at the court of Burgundy.

[3] MS Title: The presentacion of the lorde Scales lettre aforesaide and the saide emprise by Chestre harauld to the lorde bastarde at Brucelles the last day of Aprill. the yere abouesaide. Reuerently doon in full high presence And the touchyng of the same by the seide lorde Bastarde licencid so to doo by the duke of Burgoigne with Reuerent obeisaunce to the saide emprise.

[4] Inc.

The which last day of Aprill the seide Chestre entrid the towne of Brucells and sent a pursevant from his loggyng vnto the lorde Bastarde of Bourgoine. shewyng hym that he was coome oute of Englund with a lettre fro my seide lorde Scales

Expl.

and came vnto the Courte and Reuerently thonkid and toke
his leve and departid And than the seide harauldes of the
courte accompanied the seide Chestre a liege oute of the
towne of. Brucelx

[1] **L15d**, f.34v.

[2] The names of the witnesses to the acceptance of the challenge.

[3] MS Title: Here folowith the names beyng present at the
touchyng of the Emprise

[4] Inc.

The Right high and myghty prynce the duke of Bourgon. le
Counte le Charles Monseigneur Jaques de Burbon monseigneur
Alof de Cleves monseigneur le prynce doringe

Expl.

John de Chassa Ernault Bovton philippe Bovton duns de
hunyeres John de massy Chareles de haplayn Courte monferont
Bourgon le harauld Chareles le marchall darmes de Brabant
ffustlles pursevaunte darmes Nulnesy frote pursevaunt darmes.

[1] **L15e**, ff.34v-35r

[2] A statement by Chester Herald on his return describing the
accomplishment of his task.

[3] MS Title: The Returne of Chestre harauld with themprise touchid by the lorde Bastarde and his Relacion to the Kyng at Grenewiche then present the Duke of Gloucestre the duke of Bukyngham, the Erle of Worcestre Constable of Englund. And therle of Shrewisbury the xxij.^{ti} day of May. the yeere abouesaide

[4] Inc.

Right high and excellent Prynce moost Imperiall Kyng. I haue been accordyng vnto the high charges the which I resceyvid in your excellent presence in your manoir Roiall of Sheene. the Wenesday aftir the feest of Estur by my lorde Scales and by the licence of the right high and myghty prynce the duke of Bourgon there presentid my lordes Emprise

Expl.

And also I beseche you to owe thanke vnto my lorde Basterd the which yafe me this same Riche gowne and this doublet garnysshid in this fourme the which he ware at the touchyng of the emprise and xl flouryns and my Costes the tyme of my beeynge there.

[1] **LI5f**, f.35r-35v

[2] The arrival of the Bastard at Gravesend, 29 May 1467.

[3] MS Title: The coomyng of the Bastarde to Gravesende the xix. day of May worshupfully accompanide where Garter mett hym to the Kynges commaundement

[4] Inc.

The ffriday xxix. day of May the yere of oure lorde a M^l.
CCCClxvij.^e at the vij.th yeere of the Victoriouse Renommyd
Prince kyng Edwarde the iiij.th the bastard of Bourgon
accompanyde with many noble lordes. knyghtes Squyers and
oothir aboute the noombre of CCCC With foure Kervelles
of forstage

Expl.

he answeyng that he was not disposid to londe in any wise
to tyme hee came there where he shulde doo perfourme his
acte. but there he wold abide that nyght and caste ankre
before the towne

[1] **LI5g**, ff.35v-36r.

[2] The reception of the Bastard at Blackwall by the Earl of
Worcester, Constable of England, 30 May 1467.

[3] MS Title: The metyng of the Bastarde at the Blak Wall by
the Constable Worshupfully accompanied &c The xxx.^{ti} day
of May

[4] Inc.

On the morn aftir Satirday xxx.^{ti} day of May he sett vp
sail to londonwarde. and the space of a myle or he came to
Grenewiche at the blak wall came to Resceyve and to mete with
hym Therle of Worcestre Constable of Englund accompanied
with many othir lordis knyghtes Squyers and many aldermen
and Riche Comeners of the Citee of london

Expl.

and to Say his harnais Secretely was ordeyned the seide
bisshopes place at Chelchieth. twoo myle the toon from
the toothir. he to take his barge or his Bote at suche
tyme as it likid hym to doo for his pleasure.

[1] **L15h**, f.36r-36v

[2] The entry of the king into London, 2 June 1467.

[3] MS Title: The comyng of the Kyng to london aftir the
comyng of the Bastarde. and the Solempne meetyng of hym

[4] Inc.

The tuysday next aftir that. is the Seconde day of Juny
came rydyng fro kyngeston vpon tempse. thorough london
the kyng which was mett or he came to towne two mile
with many princes dukes Erles Barons Knyghtes Esquyers.
the meire Aldirmen Shereffes and comyners of the Citee to
the noombre of [..... blank] kynges of armes also herauldes
and pursevauntes

Expl.

And the lorde Scales perceyvyng that turnyd his hors
sodeynely and beheelde hym the which was the furst sight
and knowlege personelly betwene them. And so from thens
to Westminster where the kyng helde and began his parlement
on the morowe aftir

[1] **L15i**, f.36v.

The presentation of the Bastard to the king the same day and the king's commandment for the preparation of the barriers in Smithfield.

[3] MS Title: The presentacion of the Bastarde too the kyng aftir his commyng

[4] Inc.

The same day the Bastarde there presentid hym before the king with dewe reverence desired his day of Bataile to be prefixed. The which in like wise was desirid on the behalf of the lorde Scales by Therle Ryvers his ffadre

Expl.

on thursday Seint Barnabee day the xj.th day of the moneth of Juny. And prorogyd his seide parlament therefor from the Wennesday before vnto Moonday next after

[1] **L15j**, ff.36v-37r.

[2] The official entry into London of Lord Scales, 5 June 1467.

[3] MS Title: The comyng of the lorde Scales to london nobly accompanied to doo his armes.with the Bastarde

[4] Inc.

And on the ffryday came the seide lorde Scales in a barge Richely beseen from Grenewiche foure myle oute of london where he had taried [hard cancelled] long and many aday abidyng the comyng of the seide Bastarde with many nobles in his companye aryvid at seint Kateryns beside the toure of

london

Expl.

Where he kepte a solempne and a woorshupfull housolde
Richely beseen with Riche arasse of Silke, and clothes of
goolde.

[1] **L15k**, ff.37r-38v.

[2] A meeting called by the Constable of England for representa-
tives of both parties to discuss the interpretation of the
chapters governing the combat.

[3] MS Title: The Chappitre holden at Powlys by the Saide
Constable for declaracion of douptes moved by hym vpon
the Chappitres

[4]. Inc.

The saide Constable aswele the Counsell of the lorde Scales
as of the lorde Bastard beyng present movid and enquerid.
ffirst the Councell of the seide lorde Scales. yif thir
were any doute that they coude fynde in the Chappiters
of the lorde Scales to hym sent.

Expl.

The lorde Bastardes Counsell' Sir Symon. de la layn.
Monseigneur Elaunde de tholongeon. Monseigneur Petre de
Wassue. Monseigneur Philip de Cohane. Monseigneur Philipp
Bastard de Braban. Monseigneur Moferont Monseigneur
fforestres Thomyson dore

[1] **L151** , ff.38v-39r

[2] Arrangements for the construction of the lists.

[3] MS Title: The Kynges commaundement to the Constable to purvey a conveyent place for the ffelde

[4] Inc.

Therevpon the kyng oure Soueraigne lorde comaundid his Constable of his Reame of Englonde to goo to his Citee of london and to take with hym the kyng of armes and harauldes to purvey a convenyent place for the armes. And than the constable comaundid the Maire' and the Maire commaundid thee Sherefes of london to make the listes'

Expl.

The feeld sufficiantly Sandid as apperteyneth' The Kynges place Judyciall .vj. spaces neerer the west ende than the este ende

[1] **L15m** , f.39r

[2] The arrival of Lord Scales at his lodging near Smithfield, 10 June 1467.

[3] MS Title: The comyng of. the lorde Scales to Seint Barthilmewe Joynyng to the Est partye of the ffeelde to doo his Armes

[4] Whole Item:

The x.th day of Juyne at aftir noone he toke his hors. And

with grete tryumphe and Roialtee was conveide with many noble dukes Erles Barons Knyghtes Squyers &c with mynstrelx vnto seint Barthilmews Joynyng to the Estparty of Smythfeld where the Barrers were made and loggid there that nyght to put hym in his deuoir of his emprise.

[1] **L15n**, f.39r.

[2] A summary of an ordinance specifying the duties of the officers of arms during the combat.

[3] MS Title: The Ordenance of Kepyng of the ffeelde.

[4] Inc.

The Thursday the .xj.th day of Juyn the Kyng commaundid his Constable and marchall to ordeigne and provide for the kepyng of the seide felde. to be kepte with serieantes of armes armed. the barrers with theire men' The voidyne of the ffeelde with the Conestable & marchall'

Expl.

Also ordeyned .iiij. men of armes to be [.....left blank] on horsbak for the departyng of them. when the cas shulde Require. two Knyghtes & ij. Squyers.

[1] **L15o**, f.39r-39v.

[2] The official entry of Lord Scales into the field of battle.

[3] MS Title: Thentryng into the felde the day of Bataill

[4] Inc.

The saide xj.th day prefixid the feelde so ordeyned & araide The Kyng sitting in his estate in his place Judiciall in the felde with many noble lordes aboute hym grete noombre of noblesse. and Comyners assemblid aboute the feelde. The seide Right noble and worshupfull knyght and lorde Sir Antony Wodevile the lorde Scales and of Nucelles &c

Expl.

And came before the kynges highnes. and did hym Reuerence as apperteyned and retrayed to his paulyon in the Southeast Corner of the felde before Richely sett

[1] **L15p**, ff.39v-40r.

[2] A description of the harness of Lord Scales's nine horses.

[3] MS Title: Here folowith the Ornaments of the Trapperes of the lorde Scales in perfourmyng his acte in Smythfeeld

[4] Inc.

The first hors. ffirst his owne hors Trappid in a demi Trappere of white Cloth of goolde with a Crosse of Seint George of Crymsyn velewet bordird with a frence of golde half foote longe The Secunde hors In a Juste cloos trappere of velewet Tawny accomplisshid with many grete belles

Expl.

Also on every hors a page of his abilyde in mantelles of

Grene velewet embrowdird with Gooldsmythis werke. Richely
made And this for the first day

[1] **LI5q**, f.40r-40v.

[2] A description of Lord Scales's Pavilion.

[3] MS Title: The descripcion of his paulyon.

[4] Inc.

Also the paulyon of double blewe saton Richely embrowdird
with his letters. The valence therof embrowdird with his
woorde fixid on tymbir werke Removable on euery quarter a
banner of dyuers his armes in the toppe. A banner fixid of
his hole armes. The noombir of the banners on the paulyon.viiij.

Expl.

with xv. banners rowes sett on euery othir poste of the
seide felde concernyng the armes of dyuers lordshippes
accordyng to the lyneall petigree of his discent with a bannere

[1] **LI5r**, ff.40v-41r.

[2] The official entry of the Bastard into the field of battle,
with a description of the harness of his eight horses.

[3] MS Title: The comyng in of the bastarde

[4] Inc.

In like wise came to the Barrers the basterde on horsbak.
with vij. folowers Richely beseene The first his owne hors
harneysid was with a riche goodly fassion of Crymesyn
Garnysshid with long swagid Belles of siluer euerych othir
swagid gilte The secunde hors. was ledd in hande afore hym
with .iiij. knyghtes

Expl.

both Counsell sent for the seide Speris and Swerdis delyuerd
to the bastarde to haue the Chois of euerych. And so had
the proclamacion made at iiij. Corners of the felde in
fourme that folowith

[1] **L15s**, f.41r.

[2] The proclamacion for the start of the combat.

[3] MS Title: The proclamacion.

[4] Inc.

Sith it is so that the moost cristen and victorious prynce
oure liege lorde Edwarde the iiij.th by the grace of god
kyng of Englond and of ffraunce and lorde of Irlond hath
licencid and admittid the right noble and worshupfull lordes
and knyghtes. The lorde Scales and of Nucelles brothir
to the moost high and excellent pryncesse the Queene

Expl.

armes within theise listes or eithir of them shall move be troublid or comfortid vppon payne of enprisonement and fyne and Raunson at the Kynges will

[1] **LI5t**, f.41v.

[2] A brief description of the first day's arms, 11 June 1467.

[3] MS Title: The saide proclamacion made as is aforesaide

[4] Inc.

The Constable comaundid an harauld to crye. Lessez aler. and than they ranne a Cours coragiously. Seekyng the toon the toodir' which cope shuld haue ben as ferfoorth as the kynges iudiciall sete was. and failid bothe vnhit'. And than the lorde Scales voidid his spere Bavioure and Gardebrase and the garde of his Wambrase.

Expl.

he was demaundid whethir he so wolde his answeere was that it was no seasyn' then the kyng commaundid hym. to go to theire loggyng

[1] **LI5u**, ff.41v-43r.

[2] The entry on the second day and a description of the arms on foot.

[3] MS Title: The armes doon of foote the Seconde day

[4] Inc.

In the morough next aftir the xj.th day of Juyn before the kyng in the same feelde. the seide lorde Scales armed all saue his basenet^hhis Cote on his bak as he did fight vpon horsbak. Richely beseen. came vnto the porte of the seide feelde. his hors trappid to the foote in Crymsyn veluet with vij. targes embrowdird with dyuers his armes of his discent

Expl.

yafe yche to othir as courteis godely and frendely langage as coude be thought^hAnd went to gidre into the Middis of the felde. And there departid iche man to his loggyng. ffinis &c.

[5] Other MS: College of Arms L5, f.91r (late sixteenth century).

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Bentley 1831, 171-22, reprinted (abridged and modernised) in Myers 1969, 1,170-4. For a full discussion see Anglo 1965. Mitchell 1958 gives a simplified description of the event. William Oldys, in a footnote to his life of Caxton in Biographia Britannica (Oldys 1747-66, II, 1,230-1), describes this item by means of a summary of the section headings in an unspecified manuscript (probably L). For biographies of Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy see L11.

[7,8] The titles in the manuscript are fairly full and explicit, but something needs to be said by way of additional summary. L15a is a recension of L11a, without the preamble, and L15d is a corrupt copy of the list of names in L11c. For the relationship between L11 and L15 cf. below, Appendix 3. In brief, L15 is a coherent account of the event from the first request of the ladies to Lord Scales to perform a deed of arms up to and including a brief description of the arms on horseback and on foot. It is a combination of documents, statements, and narratives, and makes no mention, presumably in the interests of unity, of the delay of almost two years before the combat took place.

In L15b we are told that 'the kynges highnesse commaundid Therle of Worcestre grete Constable of Englonde there beeyng presente to enacte & Remember that memorable acte and entre of the worshupfull armes'. This command led to the certification which occurs in L11b, and perhaps implies that the Constable was to organise the keeping of a proper record of the whole proceedings. L15c describes in detail the experiences of Chester Herald in Burgundy and presumably is his own description of events. This is of interest for its details of court etiquette, and particularly for the description of the ritualistic presentation of the emprise, which was

borne on high betwene his hondes in a kerchief of [pleasaunce] honourably. the emprise beyng fastid vnto the vppermostborder of the seide kerchief and Coverd with the lowist border of the kerchief and thus bringyng it honourably makyng iij. obesaunce

in the approchyng of the presence. And aftir
 the thrid obesaunce lattyng fall the lower
 bourder of the kerchief which coverd themprise.

[f.33r-33v]

After the Bastard had asked permission and reverently touched
 the emprise

that Bourgon [Herald] toke the nethirmust egge
 of the Kerchief of pleasaunce in the which themprise
 was borne' and Charols [Herald] the oothir partie.

And so covird the seide emprise. worthly as it
 came vnto the presence afore rehersid. [f.34r]

Chester received, for his pains, the rich gown furred with
 sable which the Bastard had worn at the ceremony, together
 with his black velvet doublet, and also 40 guilders.

In Ll5f. the entourage of the Bastard on his arrival in
 England is said to have numbered four hundred. This large
 train reflects the political importance of the visit, and
 may also have been necessary because of the danger of
 harassment at sea by French privateers, two of whose
 vessels were captured and sunk by the Bastard (see Jacques
 du Clerc, Mémoires, in Buchon 1826-7, XV, 136). The
 safe-conduct, which was issued 29 October 1466, provides
 for a retinue of a thousand persons, with shipping and
 baggage (Rymer 1739-45, V.i, 142; see also Scofield 1923,
 I, 407).

Garter King of Arms, who had been waiting for three weeks in

Gravesend to welcome the distinguished visitor, greeted him from a barge in the Thames estuary [L15f]. Off Blackwall a lavish reception had been prepared [L15g], and this was repeated at Billingsgate, where the Bastard landed to take up his lodging in the palace of the Bishop of Salisbury in Fleet Street. The date was 30 May 1467. On June 2 the king passed along Fleet Street in solemn procession to open parliament [L15h]. He was preceded by Lord Scales, bearing the Sword of State, who, on passing the Bastard's lodging 'turnyd his hors sodeynely and beheelde hym the which was the furst sight and knowlege personelly betwene them'. The Bastard met the king that day [L15i], and agreed upon a date for the combat. Only at this point, according to the narrative, did the king command the sheriffs to begin to prepare the field. The barriers were to be ninety yards by eighty. This information is repeated in L15l, with the additional information that the barriers were to be 7 feet 6 inches high, with post sunk 3 feet into the ground, three bars to a post, of 3½ x 5 inches timber. The area was to be sanded, and the king's seat was to be six spaces nearer the west end than the east.

Another interesting formality was the meeting at St Paul's at which counsel for both sides discussed the interpretation of the articles of combat [L15k]. There was to be no loophole in the rules governing an event which had such important political implications. The Bastard's counsel cited a case in Burgundy in which the horse of a German squire has been armed with three long daggers; this harness was declared illegal. This detail explains

Lord Scales's promptness in demonstrating that he had no such devices about him when the Bastard's horse was hurt on the first day [L15s]. At one point during the meeting March King of Arms was dispatched to consult Lord Scales. In all, the carefully enumerated points of discussion read like the minutes of an important committee meeting, and the knowledge of arms shown by the keeper of the account strongly suggests he was a herald.

Item 15n details the officials and their duties in the field:

The Constable & marchall ordeynede the seide feeld to be sett at euery othir poste. a man of armes. And at euery corner a kyng of armys crownd. and an harauld or pursevaunte within the seide feelde' for Reporte makynge of actez doon within the same. Garter and othir kynges of armes and harauldes u to be sett in the Scaffolde before the Kyng on þe right hande.' The staire of the kynges u place Judiciall to make Reporte generall. And to marke all that shuld be doon in the seide feelde" Also [they] ordeyned .iiij. men of armes to be [..... left blank] on horsbak for the departyng of them. when the cas shuld Require. two Knyghtes u & ij. Squyers. [f.39r]

The entry into the field [L15o-15s] lacks any such unusual detail, and is typical of the many entry descriptions of other tournaments. Lord Scales came first, with nine followers and nine horses, very richly arrayed. The Bastard entered with seven followers and eight splendid horses. The last

of the formalities was the proclamation, which described the purpose of the event as being 'for the augmentacion of marciall disciplyne and knyghtly honoure' Necessarye for the tuicion of the feith Catholique ayenst heretikes_ and miscreantes_ and to the defence of the right of kynges and princes and theire estates publiques'. Spectators were charged not to approach the lists 'nor make any noise murmur_ or shoute or any othir maner tokyn or signe whereby the seide right noble and worshupfull lordes_ & knyghtes_ which this day shall doo theire armes within theise listes_ or eithir of them shall move be troublid or comfortid'.

In the combat on horseback [L15t] they ran one course without tilt, neither managng to strike. Then each man threw off his beaver, gardebrace, and the guard of his vambrace in preparation for the tourney with swords. Several blows were exchanged until 'the bastarde hors hede havynge vpon hym a Chamfron smote ayen the lorde Scales Sadill' and so with thise strokes_ the Bastarde with his hors went to the grounde'. Lord Scales, seeing that his opponent could not rise, rode straight before the king and had his trapper removed to show that his horse had no chamfron or spike of steel. Then the Bastard was helped up and asked if he wished to have another horse, according to the agreement, but he answered that 'it was no seasyn', and declined to continue that day.

The next day they fought on foot [L15u]. The king, considering the casting of spears too dangerous for what was 'but an acte of plesaunce', commanded the spears to be set aside,

so the combatants proceeded with axes and daggers. Lord Scales was first out of his pavilion, 'and gafe contenance that he was redy with hande & fote & axe in asmuche as he leide his axe vpon his shuldre. And eftsones chaungid his axe, from honde to hande.' When they met they closed fiercely, Lord Scales fighting with the head of his axe and with his visor open, the Bastard with the small end and with visor closed. Lord Scales at one time pierced the ribs of the Bastard's armour and finally struck him on the side of his visor, whereupon the king, 'perceyvyng the cruell assaile' cast down his staff and cried 'Whoo!' The king commanded them to take each other by the hand, and this they did, going together to the middle of the field. The account ends abruptly.

Detailed original documents for the construction of the lists can be found in the Public Record Office, numbered Exchequer accounts E.101/474/1 and E.364/101, m.71b. For a summary of these see Anglo 1965, 276-7; cf. Anglo 1962, 183-7, 193-4. A strange discrepancy exists between the description of the lists in L and the description written inside the cover of the fifteenth-century MS Lambeth 306 (in Gairdner 1880, 92):

the tymbre and workmanshippe ther of cost
ijC. marke, and was of six of the thryftiest
carpenters of London bought and made. The
length vj^{xx} taylours yardes and x' foote,
and iiij^{xx} of brede and x foote, dowbyll
barred; the inner barres were mytche gretter
then the utter, and be twixt bothe v foote.

This seems to have been the source, or is related to the source, of Stow's description (cf. Stow 1592, 698).

Discrepancies are even more apparent in the surviving descriptions of the combat in various fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English and Burgundian chronicles and mémoires. Even the three or four eyewitnesses (the author of L15, the anonymous Burgundian author of the narrative in the Utrecht manuscript and in T, la Marche, and probably the author of The Great Chronicle of London) differ so substantially over matters of fact -- the cause of the accident to the Bastard's horse, whether it dropped dead on the spot or died the next day, whether the fight on foot was long or short, and so on -- that it is now impossible to be certain of the actual course of events.

An extremely valuable counterbalance to the 'official' English version in L is provided by a detailed description which was written, judging from the internal evidence, by someone in the entourage of the Bastard. The account is unpublished, but Anglo gives a fairly full summary and discussion of the main events (Anglo 1965) from Utrecht University Library MS 1177, ff.186-215. Anglo seems to regard this as unique, but the same item also occurs in a late sixteenth-century version in T, ff.39-67. It begins by briefly recounting the receipt of the challenge, the text of which it gives (in French), and moves swiftly to a description of the voyage, giving a long list of the more notable personages in the Burgundian party. The details of events in England are not all the same as in L.

We learn, for instance, that Edward's royal entry into London on 2 June was not the first occasion on which the Bastard had seen the king, for

Le xxix^e jour de may vint secretement le Roy dengleterre au lieu de selse [Chelsea] viseter monditseigneur le bastard et nauoit en sa compaignie que monsieur de hastinghes grand chambellan, le conte dxces[?] grant maistre dostel, monsieur Jehan de boquinghem, monsieur de Riuieres, messire Jacques du glas, messire thomas a bouron, et messire thomas de mongomerj.

This clandestine meeting may have been concerned with the delicate negotiations for the marriage of Princess Margaret and the Count of Charolois, and the absence of reference to it in L15 emphasises the very different nature of the two accounts. The Burgundian observer notes that Edward and the Bastard spent about half an hour strolling and talking in the garden of the Bishop of Salisbury's house before they were joined by Earl Rivers for further consultation, after which the king left for Windsor.

Whereas L15 gives a very detailed description of the preparations for the feat of arms but is rather brief in its treatment of the event itself, the Burgundian narrative deals at much greater length with events in Smithfield, describing the splendid lists and pavilions, the spectacular entries of the knights, giving a blow-by-blow account of the arms on both days, and continuing to give a description of the

succeeding banqueting, dancing, and general merrymaking. On the vexed question of the conduct of the tourney, the Burgundian reports that the Bastard's horse, just as its rider was delivering a huge blow, collided with the other's saddle 'sy Rudement quil se Rompit non point seulement la teste mais tout le corps et le mors en la bouche'. The stricken animal collapsed and rolled on top of its rider. The king ordered him to be helped to his feet, and the horse staggered about the lists only to collapse again,

Jectant sang a si grand habundance ... Et
 lendemain mourut en la garde des haraulx
 Sy luy trouua on en la gorge vng grand trau
 comme se de lespee de monsier de scalles
 il eust eu dun estocq dedens la bouche ce
 quon ne scet pas au vray. Neantmoins il
 morut comme dit est.

The Bastard strode before the king, sword in hand, and requested permission to complete the agreed number of sword blows, but Edward pronounced the feat of arms on horseback accomplished.

Similarly, in the next day's arms on foot the Bastard is given much more credit than in the English versions. As Lord Scales advanced, brandishing his axe to the cry 'Ha, sa, sa, sa, sa!', his opponent is reported to have replied: 'ces parolles ne mesballit Rien se vous ne venez plus prez.' A long and fierce fight ensued, and both sets of armour were badly battered and broken. No one could say who had won the honours by the time the king threw down his baton to stop the contest, except that the Bastard had gained the most ground from their starting point.

La Marche, in his Mémoires (Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, III, 48-54) specifically states that he was an eyewitness of the event. He writes as a foreigner, giving interesting details of the king and the spectators. In describing the entry into the lists there are some factual differences from L, but the account of the fight itself agrees pretty closely, and less so with that of the other Burgundian. After a single joust with no strikes they proceeded to the tourney, in which 'le cheval de monseigneur le bastard donna de la teste contre le have de la selle du seigneur d'Escalles, et de ce cop ledit cheval se tua tout roide'. The king was angry because he thought Lord Scales had been unfair in equipping his horse, but la Marche categorically denies this was so. He goes on to say that the Bastard remarked to him later as he returned to his lodging, 'Ne vous souciez. Il a aujourd'huy combatu une beste, et demain il combatra ung homme'.

Lord Scales began the foot combat with the cry 'St George!' three times. The battle was exceptionally fierce, and la Marche remarks that the Bastard fought particularly well and made huge gashes in the armour of Lord Scales. Neither of them used their daggers in this fight, which ended with equal honours, the combatants both leaving the lists with their axes over their shoulders to show they had not been disarmed.

In The Great Chronicle of London (Thomas and Thornley 1938, 203-4) it is said (in complete contradiction of L and the two Burgundian narratives) that during the tourney on the

first day a sharp spike on the chamfron of Lord Scales's grey courser struck the nostrils of the Bastard's bay courser, which was 'blynd' (i.e. blinkered? or unsighted?) causing it to rear in pain, throwing its rider to the ground. Lord Scales rode about brandishing his sword until the Bastard was remounted. But the king would allow no more 'soo that daye was ffynysshid to the lord Scalys honour'. Next day they fought on foot with axes, but after three or four strokes the fight was stopped by the king 'soo that day was endid Indyfferently of honour'. The editors note (p.429): 'This is the first public spectacle described in detail in [the Great Chronicle] and the vividness of the narrative suggests that the author, then a boy of 16 or 17..., might have been an eye-witness.' This anonymous author they believe was Robert Fabyan.

Fabyan's New Chronicles (Ellis 1811, 655-6), however, give a different version. Here the honour is said to have gone to Lord Scales on both days. On the first the Bastard was overthrown by the 'rage' of his own horse, which, 'beynge blynde', was struck in the nostrils by an iron spike on Lord Scales's saddle. On the second day they exchanged a few strokes of the axe, but the king stopped them as soon as he saw 'that the lorde Scalys hadde auantage of the bastarde, as the poynt of his axe in the vysoure of his enemyes helmet, & by force therof was lykely to haue borne hym ouer.'

The controversy which raged at the time over the conduct of Lord Scales and the events which followed the accident to the horse continued to reverberate amongst later chroniclers, some of whom confused the issue even further by adding distortions and embellishments of their own. Stow (Stow 1592, 698), for instance, begins in error by supposing that the combat lasted three days and that it was part of the celebrations following the marriage treaty. After the overthrow of the Bastard and his horse during the tourney, said to have been caused by a spike on the chamfron of his opponent's horse, Stow claims that he said: 'I cannot holde me by the clouds, for though my horse fail me, I wil not faile my incounter.' Next day, Stow says, a dispute arose over the decision of the king to stop the fight when the point of Lord Scales's axe became lodged in the other's visor. The Bastard requested that he might be allowed to complete his arms. It was decided that if the combat were to continue it would have to be started with the men in the same positions as when it had been stopped, whereupon the Bastard, doubting the outcome, relinquished his challenge. In the addition of this new speech and the new ruling by the officers of arms, Stow is apparently following Edward Hall (cf. Ellis 1809, 268). Only Gregory's Chronicle (Gairdner 1876, 236) seems to express the perplexity which even the spectators of the first day's events are perhaps likely to have felt:

... but I wot not what I shalle say of
hit, whethyr hit was fortune, crafte, or
cunnyngge, but thys ys a trought, that the
Bastarde of Burgayn lay in the fylde bothe
hors and man, and hys hors was so brusyd

that he dyde with a whyle aftyr.

Thenne the nexte tyme they fought on

fote fulle welle. I reporte me unto

hem that saye thys: I doo aftyr hyryng.

Or ax of em that felde the strokys, they

can telle you best.

Further brief reference is made in Hardy and Hardy 1864-91, V, 542-3; Johnes 1809, 213-4; Kingsford 1905, 179; Bentley 1831, 173-4n, citing MS Cotton Julius B i.

[1] **LI6**, f.43r.

[2] The Statute of Arms, passed sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century to regulate the use of arms and armour at tournaments. [French]

[3] MS Title: Le statut de armez de turney per la parlament dengleterre

[4] Inc.

Purueu est et conferme par estatut en la requeste de touz lez Baners denglitterre que null desormes que a torneyer voet soit si hardi de auoir plus de iij. esquiers pur luy seruir porte chapell desarmes son seigneur qil seruira A la jorne pur ensigne

Expl.

Et que nul Roy dez haruais ne menestraus ne porteient prieuz Armez ne autre fors lour espie sanz point Et que le Roy dez haruaz lour haunctes de Armes sanz plus &c quod Sir Jhon Paston

[5] Other MSS include: Corporation of London Record Office, Liber Horn, f.101v (early fourteenth century); Rawlinson C 820, f.93v (fourteenth century); Harley 748, f.112v (fourteenth/fifteenth century); Harley 858, f.37r (fourteenth/fifteenth century); Harley 869, f.53v (fourteenth/fifteenth century); Harley 1208, f.113v (fourteenth/fifteenth century); Royal 10 A v, f.59v (fourteenth/fifteenth century); Cotton Vespasian B vii, f.89v (fifteenth century); Harley 936, f.225v (fifteenth century); Corporation of London Record Office, Liber Custumarum f.158v (fifteenth century); Tower of London Armouries I-35, f.5r (fifteenth century); Harley 69, f.17r (sixteenth/seventeenth century).

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Cay 1758, I, 200-1, from an unspecified source; England 1810-28, I, 230-1, from MS Rawlinson C 820, collated with Liber Custumarum, Liber Horn, and with Cay's edition. The translation of the statute into modern English in England 1810-28 is reprinted in Cripps-Day 1918, xxiii-xxv. The statute and its background are briefly discussed in Barrington 1796, 220-1. There is a fuller discussion in Denholm-Young 1948.

[7] The statute ordains that no man going to a tournament shall take more than three squires of arms. Tourneying weapons of knights and squires shall be restricted to the broadsword alone, and only those taking part shall be permitted to cast a knight to the ground. Banner bearers shall wear defensive armour only. The sons of noblemen shall bear no other weapon than the broadsword, and spectators shall not be armed in any manner. Penalties of forfeiture of arms and of up to seven years' imprisonment are prescribed for the various classes of offender. Guests at the feasts of great lords are to be restricted to those who normally eat in their lord's presence. No kings of arms or minstrels are to bear arms other than their pointless swords. Kings of arms shall wear no other mantles than their armorial mantles.

[8] Denholm-Young sees this as a petition rather than a fully formulated statute. Most texts begin with the request:

A nostre Seignour le Roi prient et requirgent
les Countz & les barons et la chivalrie de
Anglitere, qe come ils sont accordes, que
il voile commander et confirmer un estatute
des armes...

All texts are corrupt and undated. The statute was in
existence at the beginning of 1292, and is probably based
on a Provision of 1267. It is evident from the date and
from the contents that the type of combat envisaged is the
mêlée, a form still in use in the fifteenth century (cf. L14).

For the significance of the words 'quod Sir Jhon Paston'
see above, p.126.

[1] **L17**, ff.43v-44r.

[2] Chapters for a feat of arms on horseback and on foot issued by Guillaume de Boursset, Esquire [French]

[3] MS Title: Coppie dez Chappitrez de certain fait darmez tant a pie comme a chiuall qui par deux gentils hommez dalmaigne touchant certain emprinse comme il sensuit

[4] Inc.

En nom de dieu le tout puissant' Et de sa glorious Mere et de monseigneur seint George. Je Guillaun de Boursset Escuier ay emprinse de porter vn emprinse pour faire armez a chiuall & a pie comme cy sensuit. Item au premier chappitre seroy tenu. cellui qui touchera a mon emprinse

Expl.

De puis lescript de ces Chappitrez que le dit fait darmez a este fait et accompli selon le contenu desuis ditz Chappitres et au lieu et place contenu en jceulx Chapprtres et en la presence du Juge denomme en jceulx

[5] Other MSS: Tower of London Armouries I-35, f.5v (fifteenth century); Harley 69, f.17r (sixteenth/seventeenth century).

[6] No editions or notices. This item is transcribed in Appendix 1.

[7] The chapters are: 1. That the gentleman who touches the challenger's emprise [a device, the exact type of which is

unspecified] shall be obliged to perform arms on horse and foot. 2. The joust shall be at the tilt, lasting until one party has broken four lances. 3. War saddles and blunted lances of equal length are to be used. If a horse is hurt, the matter is to be referred to the judge and to the other knights present. 4. This is to be followed the next day by foot combat, in such armour as the combatants wish, until the accomplishment of six blows of the sword. 5. Next shall follow a fight with axes, until the accomplishment of twelve strokes. 6. If the answerer fares the worse, he shall give his opponent a jewel of equal value to the emprise, and if the challenger loses, his opponent shall receive the emprise itself.

[8] The title in L describes the combatants as 'deux gentils hommes dalmaigne', but nothing more is known than the name of the challenger. The rest is too general to allow exact localisation or dating, but the reference to the tilt (barrier) places it after c.1430, when that device was introduced (see p.187).

[1] **L18**, ff.44r-46r.

[2] The proclamation of a tourney in Bruges in which de Jonvelle led the French party and de Commynes the Flemish, together with a list of the prizewinners, the main participants, the ladies and officers of arms present, and a note of the fees of the kings of arms and heralds. [French]

[3] MS Title: Le Tournoy entre le sire de Jonuelle et le sire de Commynes

[4] Inc.

Or oiez or Oez Seigneurs Cheualiers et escuiers dames et Damoisellez or vous fait assauoir vng tresgrant et noble pardon darmes dun tresgrant et tresnoble tournoy qui sera en la tresnoble Ville de Bruges le viij iour de May. de par vng tresnoble baron le sire de Jonuelle de la partie de ffrancoiz Et de par le tresnoble Baron le sire de Commynes de la partie de fflamans

Expl.

Et doiuent aussi auoir lez ditz Roys Darmes et heraulx les drois de toutz lez heaumes des nouveaulx Tournoyans &c Cest la fyn dudit Tournoy

[5] Other MSS: Tower of London Armouries I-35, f.6r (fifteenth century); Cotton Nero D ii, f.258r (fifteenth century); Additional 34801, f.28v (fifteenth century); National Library of Scotland, Advocates' 32.6.9, f.57r (fifteenth/sixteenth century). The last three contain abridged and adapted texts.

[6] Edition: Kervyn de Lettenhove 1870b, from L.

[7] The proclamation announces a tourney to be held in Bruges on 8 May between de Jonvelle, representing the French, and de Commynes, representing the Flemings. Two days before the tourney each of the two barons will display the arms and banners of his party. Those wishing to take part are to display their helms in their windows on the eve of the tourney, by command of le Sire de Roboys and the Governor of Flanders, the organisers of the event. The prize shall be a rich sword for the best man of the French party and a rich helmet for the best of the Flemish. Each participant is to have a servant on hand to supply weapons and mend broken armour.

On the day, participants must display their arms, banners, and helms in front of their lodgings. At ten o'clock the principals will organise their sides, and each man must nail his escutcheon where he is told. The kings of arms and heralds will go through the town of Bruges calling knights to the lists, and the combatants will assemble behind their banners. Two ropes will be stretched across the lists to separate the sides until the cry 'Laissez les aller!' Each man shall fight with a blunted sword and carry a baton suspended from his saddle. It is agreed that a man wishing to rest may remove his helmet to signal that he is hors de combat. At the end the kings of arms and heralds will cry 'Ploiez vous banieres!', and the participants will go to their lodgings, until the evening, when they will join the ladies in singing, dancing, and merrymaking. After supper each party will choose, with the advice of the ladies, the best combatant on the opposing side.

The sword was presented to the Duke of Burgundy, and the helmet to the Sire de Mamynes. Sixty-nine combatants took part on each side, of whom the thirteen most noteworthy are named. Thirteen noble ladies were present, of whom two are named. The four principal officers of arms are specified.

The king of arms or herald who proclaims the tourney must receive from the principals six ells of scarlet, and all the officers of arms must have from everyone a clouage [a fee for nailing up escutcheons] of 6 solz parisis. They must also have the banners and armorial plumes of their masters and the helmets of all the first-time participants in the tourney.

[8]The combat here described is a mêlée. It has not proved possible to date it at all exactly because no year is specified and the named participants are only referred to in general terms ('le Duc de Bourgogne', 'Monseigneur le Conte de Saint Pol', etc.). 'Le Sire de Commines' is not likely to be Philippe de Commines the chronicler (c.1446-c.1511). The date of the event must be between about 1440, when the Bastard of Burgundy became of sufficient age to take part in such events, and 1478 when he transferred his allegiance to France. This item does not appear to be in any manuscript earlier than L. It is in the hand of scribe C, who contributed a substantial portion of his work to the Grete Boke, including the major part of one gathering (n); so, although L18 is one of those items written in a blank space left by Ebesham, it was probably added not much later than Ebesham's period of work on the book, 1468-9. The three dated items in hand C in this part of L are from 1390 to 1446, so a date of composition of around 1450 for this is

likely. Such a date would explain certain similarities between the tourney described in L18 and the imaginary tourney described and lavishly illustrated by René d'Anjou about the middle of the century in his Traicté de la forme et devis comme on faict les tournois (available in Prost 1878, and conveniently printed without the illustrations in Cripps-Day 1918, lxvii-lxxxviii). Specific points of similarity are the form of the proclamation of the tourney and the details of the fees.

Because of its reference to fees L18 became attached to a document called the Droits et largesses, which set down the heralds' claims to tournament privileges and fees by reference to precedents. Wagner (Wagner 1967, 104), in the course of discussing the copy of this document in MS Cotton Nero D ii says

The final passage of this tract refers to a particular occasion which I have been unable to identify -- regrettably since it might date the whole. The King of Arms of the march of Clarence, it says, shall carry the banner of the first banneret -- over this is written 'Le sire de C.B'; Namur herald will bear the banner of the Sire de Voimes (so I read it); Flanders the King of Arms will bear that of the high and mighty prince the Duke of Burgundy. Saint Pol the herald will bear the banner of the Count of St Pol; the other barons and lords of the tourney will be served likewise; and the Kings of Arms and heralds have a right to all the helms of those taking part in a tourney for the first time.

Wagner does not note that this part of the Droits et largesses is an adaptation of L18, the two parties being made adherents of the marches of Clarence and Norroy instead of France and Flanders. L and T seem to be the only extant manuscripts

containing the original version, the latter being probably a copy of L, as discussed above, pp. 93-9. Wagner's 'Sire de Voimes', therefore, is revealed as Sire de Commines, whose banner is said to have been borne by Namur Herald in the version in L and T. It seems that we have here a case either of the English heralds adapting the Burgundian document for its model proclamation (cf. L19), but in ^ddition retaining some garbled details of the original event, or of the English heralds appropriating the rights of their Burgundian counterparts, seemingly by a process of deliberate forgery.

[1] **L19**, ff.46v-47r.

[2] The Proclamation of jousts over a period of three days in Smithfield, probably in October 1390. [French]

[3] MS Title: Le Crie dez Joustes

[4] Inc.

Oez Seigneurz Cheualiers et escuiers nous vous faisons sauoir vng tresgrand fait darmez et vnes tresnoblez Joustez lez quelles seront faictes par vng Cheualer qui portera vng escu de gueulez et sus vng blanc serf eiant vng couronne entour le col ouec vng chene pendant dor sus vng trasse verte Et iceluy Cheualier accompaigne de vingt Cheualiers toutz abillez dune couleur

Expl.

par la vertue dez treues donnees et accordees par lez deulx Rois saunz aucun empechement leur donner Et sur cela auoir sauconduit a toute home qui auoir le voudra du Roy notre souuerain seigneur
Explicit

[5] Other MS: Tower of London Armouries I-35, f.8r (fifteenth century).

[6] Edition and Printed Discussion: Edited in Cripps-Day 1918, xli-xlii, from L. There is a very brief discussion in Anglo 1962, 191.

[7] The proclamation announces a feat of arms and jousts to be held by a principal challenger and twenty attendant knights. All are to be led on 9 October next by twenty ladies dressed

all in garments to match the knights' through 'la noble cite dite la neuve troy autrement appellee londres' to Smithfield, there to dance and enjoy themselves.

Next day, 'le lundy', the challengers will meet all comers at six courses of the lance, using blunted lances, high saddles, and shields 'couuers en nul manere de fer ne de aciere'. The best of the venans will receive a horn decorated with gold from the ladies and the best of the tenans a white greyhound with a golden collar. Next day, 'le mercredi' [sic], the challenging knights will joust against all comers with lances of any desired type, the best venant receiving a golden circlet, the best tenant a girdle of gold. The lady who has danced the best 'ou' qui menera plus Joieux vie les trois jours dauant ditz qui est a entendre le dimenchele lundy et le mardi' [sic] shall receive a golden clasp, the second prize being a golden chain with a diamond. Those who use non-standard lances shall receive no prize, and those whose lances are dangerous shall lose horse and harness.

On the Wednesday sixteen squires with uniformly painted shields will hold the field in jousts with any desired type of lance, the best answerer to have a horse, saddle, and bridle, the best challenger a chaplet decorated with silk. Safe-conducts will be granted to all strangers taking part, from twenty days before till twenty days afterwards, 'par la vertue dez treues donnees et accordes par lez deulx Rois'.

[8] The identification of the jousts in question is not certain.

Anglo (Anglo 1962, 191) expresses the belief that this proclamation relates to the famous Smithfield tournament of October

1390, the fullest account of which is in Froissart, Chroniques (Buchon 1835, III, 94-7). The narrative in Froissart agrees in general with the proclamation, but there are important differences. In Froissart sixty knights fettered in silver chains are led by sixty ladies (twenty of each in L); the first jousts (reserved for the knights) were on the Monday after Michaelmas, i.e. October 3, not October 10 as in L. The jousts on the Tuesday were for the squires only, and those on the Wednesday were for the knights and squires indiscriminately. In L the knights are to joust on Monday and Tuesday and the squires on Wednesday. Of the prizes which are specified in Froissart, those for the first day are a crown of gold and a golden clasp, as opposed to a horn and a greyhound in L. The best squire challenger received a falcon, rather than the chaplet mentioned in L.

The account of the same event in the prose Brut, misdated 1388, tells of twenty-four Knights of the Order of the Garter led on chains of gold by twenty-four ladies. Richard II was principal challenger,

and þay of the kinges syde were alle of on sute: her cotis, her armyour, scheldez, & her hors & trapure, alle was white hertis, with crownez about her nekkis, & cheynez of golde hangyng þer vp-on, and þe croune hangyng lowe before þe hertis body; þe which hert was þe kingez lyveray þat he yaf to lordez & ladiez, knyztis and skquiers, for to know his housholde from oþer peple.

Compare the incipit of L19; also the version in Ellis 1811, 534.

Despite the discrepancies, there are several significant points of correspondence. In 1390 October 9 was indeed a Sunday, as in L. The abbey near the tower would be the New Abbey, founded

by Edward III (see Kingsford 1908, I, 124-5), and the reference to the 'treues donnes et accordes par les deulx Rois' would be to the truce preparatory to the peace negotiations in Amiens in 1391 (see Buchon 1835, III, 105). On balance, the identification of the proclamation in L19 as that of the 1390 tournament is probably correct. Note also that the table of contents on f.57r of L, probably in the hand of Thomas Wriothesley, refers to L19 as 'The Crye of Joustes of King Richard the ij^{de}' (see above, p.232).

The title in L suggests that this may have been included as a specimen proclamation, similar to those in L6, L18, etc. Cf. the collection of five tournament cries entitled 'La facon des criz de Tournois et des Joustes' in MS Ashmole 764, f.31r. For illustrations of heralds proclaiming tournaments see the same manuscript, f.30r, and also Wagner 1967, pl.I.

[1] L20, f.47v.

[3] An ordinance of Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, Constable of England, regulating the fees of the officers of arms, issued before Caen and dated 3 September 1408 [should be 1417] [French]

[4] Inc.

Nous Thomas de Lancastre fitz & freere au tresnobles Roys
Dengleterre et de ffrance Duc de Clarence Conte de Daumarle
grant Seneschall Dengleterre et Constable en lost du Roy
monseigneur Considerans come danciente par lez tresnoble &
victorieux Empeureurs Roys et Princes de la foundation de loffice
darmes

Expl.

et pource dessus plus veritablement aprouer auons fait mettre
a cestez nous presentez notre Seale Donne eus ou Siege Royall
de monseigneur le Roy deuant sa Ville de Cane en sa Duchie de
Normandie le iiij^e iour de Septembre en lan M^{ll} CCCC e viij.

[5] Other MSS: Additional 34801, f.60v (fifteenth century); Tower of London Armouries I-35, f.8v (fifteenth century); Ashmole 764, f.87v (late fifteenth century); Lansdowne 285, f.210v (fifteenth, sixteenth century continuation of L); College of Arms L 6, f.130r (fifteenth/sixteenth century); Cotton Faustina E i, f.197r (sixteenth century); Harley 69, f.8v (sixteenth/seventeenth century).

[6] Edition and Printed Discussion: Edited in Anstis 1724, I, 322n, from an unspecified manuscript. For a discussion of

the fees see Wagner 1967, 66, 74-122. On the importance of Thomas of Lancaster to the growth of the Office of Arms see Wagner 1939, 59-60.

[7] Summary: We, Thomas of Lancaster, etc., considering the various ancient privileges and rights of the officers of arms, confirm the fees for the display of banners which ought to be paid by princes, counts, barons, and knights bannerets, namely: a duke who raises his banner owes £20, a baron 10s, a knight banneret 5 marks. The officers must demand no 'droit which does not belong to them. Issued before Caen, 3 September 1408.

[8] For a biography of Thomas of Lancaster see DNB LVI (1898), and for the siege and fall of Caen see Vickers 1907, 46-8. The town of Caen fell to the English on 4 September 1417, but the castle held out for a few days longer. On the misdating of L20 (common throughout the manuscripts) see Anglo 1962, 189. Sir William Dethick, a former owner of L, has noted at the end that in 1408 there was no Garter King of Arms 'and therefore this is forged and not justifiable'; a more recent hand has added: 'or, thro mistake, misdated. See fol 211 where this Instrument, repeated, is dated in the Margent, seemingly by the hand of Sr. Richd. St. George, 1418.'

Note that this item is easily confused with another ordinance issued by Thomas of Lancaster before Caen in 1417 in which he determined the relative precedence of the heralds and the sergeants at arms. Wagner (Wagner 1939, 59-60), says that this was issued on 3 September and that L20 was issued ten days later, 13 September. But both copies of the latter in L are dated 3 September. It seems likely that the two sets of

ordinances, the one relating to precedence and the other to fees, have become contaminated in the process of copying. Note also that the two sets of manuscripts listed by Wagner (Wagner 1939, 60n; Wagner 1967, 66n) contain some inaccuracies (e.g. MS Cotton Tiberius E viii, f.177 does not contain a copy of L20).

[1] **L21**, ff.48r-52r.

[2] An account of a joust held in Tours before Charles VII on 5 February 1446 between John Chalons, an Englishman, and Louis de Beul, a Frenchman, in the course of which de Beul was killed.
[French]

[3] MS Title: Chalons

[4] Inc.

Lan du grace m^l CCCC quarante six en la noble Ville de Tours en turaine vint honnore Escuier Jehan Chalons natif du Royamme dangleterre pour acomplir certain fait darmes. Entre luy. et Loys de Beul. tenant le parti du Roy Charles. Comme et par la fourme contenue en articles cy apres enssuivant entre lez deux Escuiers

Expl.

Et apres la seruice fait fut le corps mis en vng chariot acompaigne de Cinquante torches toutes avec vne escuchon de sez armes. et quatre es .iiij. corners du corps Explicit

[5] Other MSS: Tower of London Armouries I-35, f.9r (fifteenth century); Harley 69, f.9r (sixteenth/seventeenth century).

[6] Edition and Printed Discussion: Edited in Salmon 1898.

Briefly discussed in Anglo 1962, 191, 195.

[7] The combat took place before King Charles and his queen, 22 specified noble spectators, three bishops, 'Et plusieurs autres notables persones dont ne sauon pas les noms Et de peuple de x. a xij. mile apie & a cheuall pour veir acomplir lez faitz des dites armes'. The entry of Chalons into the lists is described, his appearance, his attendants, and specifically the four pursuivants who carried the banners of his arms. Then came de Beul, whose more exotic train included three men 'abille en guise de fol' and seven named noblemen carrying his helmet and the lances for the six courses. The introductory formalities included a display by de Beul of his 'quatre banieres de quatre lignage' and his request to the king 'de faire enquerire se Jehan Chalons englois estoit gentil homme & noble comme il se disoit et se les armes quel auoit leuees pour le Jour luy appartenoient ou non'. Certification was given by the Duke of Orleans and Garter King of Arms. Chalons requested that his horse and armour be inspected to ensure that they conformed to the articles of combat. The joust was à outrance, for in the first five courses, which were fairly even, armour was broken and wounds were inflicted, so much so that the officials requested a stop. But the combatants wished to continue, and in the final course Chalons's lance ruptured his opponent's armour, pierced his body, and snapped. Bleeding profusely, de Beul was carried off, and died six or seven hours later. The splendid funeral on February 7 was attended by many French and English lords and officials.

[8] The mass of incidental detail shows this to be an account of an eyewitness, probably a herald. Specific dates and times are given, the notable persons enumerated, the pageantry fully recounted, and each blow of the lance minutely

described; even the thoughts of Chalons who, after five courses was 'mal content de laisser passer ainsi la journee sans parfaire les armes pour quoy il estoit venu', are recorded. Any of the attendant English officers of arms might have taken down the account, that is Garter King of Arms (at that date William Bruges, see Godfrey et al 1963, 40), Collar, Nucells, Leon d'Or, and Beul Pursuivants (see Godfrey et al 1963, 234, 247, 271, 291; also London and Wagner 1949, 54, 63, 75, 81). Collar is described as 'poursuiuant du Roy nostre Seigneur', which suggests that the author was an Englishman. In addition, one of Chalon's pages 'portoit lordre du Roy nostre dit Seigneur'.

Another description of this feat of arms, independent of L21, occurs in T, ff.34r-38r. This section of T was originally quite separate from ff.1-33 (which contain the copy of L21 mentioned above), being on vellum as opposed to paper, in a different hand of the mid-fifteenth century, and decorated with eight miniatures showing incidents in the tournament, viz:

1. The arrival of the English contingent outside the walls of Tours, some wearing a red cross on a white ground and carrying a pennon with the same device.
2. The arrival of Chalons, accompanied by several noblemen and by Garter King of Arms and four pursuivants, before the King and Queen of France. As the text indicates, Chalons is in armour on a horse with a trapper of black satin with a red cross before and behind, and his arrival is announced by four trumpeters with banners of his arms hanging from their trumpets.
3. The arrival of Louis de Beul before the king and queen. De Beul is in armour on a horse covered with white scales, and is accompanied by attendants who include three men dressed as fools in parti-coloured suits of blue and white with ears and bells, and by trumpeters,

minstrels, pages, etc., as mentioned in the text. 4. The first encounter, in which both broke their lances. 5. The third encounter. 6. The fourth encounter. 7. The fifth encounter. 8. The sixth encounter, in which de Beul received his fatal wound. This item, written in a careful hand and with its fine illustrations, was perhaps an official record of the event or a presentation copy.

Interestingly, it is prefaced on f.33v in T (an inserted paper singleton) by two pedigrees, one of De Buoil and the other showing the descent of John Anstis from Robert Chalons, in a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century hand identified as that of John Anstis. A pedigree of Chalons is also found in MS Douce 291, ff.1v-3v, prefixed to a version of L24, the English translation of Vegetius. Fallwell (Fallwell 1973, 34-6) notes the possibility that the Douce manuscript may have been owned by William Bruges, Garter, before it passed to his son, John Smert, Garter. Bruges, as has been remarked, was present in Tours in 1446, and was called upon by the king to verify the noble ancestry claimed by Chalons. One wonders whether just such a book as Douce 291 might have been produced as evidence.

Apart from his formal pedigree and the arms he bore -- 'de gueules, à deux fasces d'argent, accompagnées de neuf merlettes de même, posées quatre en chef, deux en coeur, et trois en point' (Salmon 1898, 284) -- little is known about Chalons beyond the few facts which are recounted of him here in L21. Louis de Beul, Seigneur de Marmande, was the second son of Jean de Beul (or Bueil), killed at Agincourt in 1415, and Marguerite Comtesse de Sancerre, Dame de Marmande. Louis de Beul was captured by the English at Bourg-Neuf-Saint-Quentin

about August 1443 and held in England until the following March. Following the Treaty of Tours with the English in 1444 he fought in Germany against the Swiss. (For details see Salmon 1898, 284-7).

There is brief reference to the combat in MS Cotton Vitellius A xvi, f.105v, under the year 27 Henry VI (1448/9, in Kingsford 1905, 158):

In this yere an Englisshe Squyer named Chalons did armys w^t a knyght of ffraunce named Sir Leowis de Buriell before the ffrenshe kyng, and Ranne the seid Sir Leowis throughoute the Body with a spere, wherof he dyed in the ffeld; and after the said Chalons did the Obsequy of the said Sir Leowis, and mourned for hym as he had ben his carnall brother; ffor the which & for his manhode he was gretly alowed.

[1] L22, ff.52r-55v.

[2] The fictional background of a pas d'armes in the form of a request by a lady seeking a champion against a powerful neighbour, the pas to be held by three Burgundians on 1 October 1463 before the Duke of Burgundy or his representative. [French]

[4] Inc.

Le Jeudy .iii.^e Jour de ffeurier. Lan Mil Quatre Cens Soixante & deux. Monseigneur le duk de Bourgoigne estant en la ville de Bruxelles en lostell de Madame de Berghes accompaignie de madame la duchesse de Bourbon sa seur de monseigneur. de Conte de Charrolois son fitz et de plusieurs autres princes et princesses Conts Barons et grauntz seigneurs

Expl.

auons signe de nostre signes manuelz et seelle dez seaulx de nostre armes. ces presents Chapitres le vingtsixiesme Jour de ffeurier 'Lan de grace mil quatre Cens Soixante deux

'Ainsi signe A. de Bourgoigne Phillippe de Creuecuer & Pietre Vasps

[5] Other MS: Tower of London Armouries I-35, f.12r (fifteenth century).

[6] Edition: Kervyn de Lettenhove 1870a, from L.

[7] On Thursday 3 February 1462 the Duke of Burgundy was in Brussels when Artois King of Arms and Fusil Herald brought

to him a gentleman bearing documents which the duke ordered to be read out. The first was a lettre de creance from a lady who claimed she was being oppressed by a powerful neighbour, who lived not far from the duke's lands. The lady appealed to the duke as 'le prince de pitie et de compassion enuers toutz nobles femmes'.

The emissary claimed not to know the language of those parts, and therefore presented his more detailed request in writing. This explained that the oppressed lady was a rich noblewoman and that the neighbour was a powerful and renowned knight who had many times tried to deprive her of her just inheritance. He had given the lady the choice either of consenting to his 'longues poursuites' or of finding by 1 May of the next year a champion who would meet him in the lists. Should the neighbour overcome the lady's champion, she and her property would be at his mercy: should the champion win, the man would become his vassal. The duke being sympathetic, the messenger proceeded to the details of the lady's request, namely that three knights of the duke's household should hold a pas to which three noblemen from every country in Christendom should be invited to test the valour of the three defending knights, one of whom would be selected as the champion of her cause. The lady hoped that the duke or a member of his family would consent to be judge, that he would send four officers of arms to proclaim the pas, and that he would grant safe-conducts to all comers.

The articles of combat specified that the challengers would meet the answerers in closed lists, in whatever armour seemed fit, so long as no unfair advantages were used.

The first part was to consist of nine courses with sharp lances for each of the three knights. Should any knight lose weapon or armour he would be allowed to rearm, and a knight who was wounded would be deemed to have accomplished his arms. The second part was to be a foot combat with lance, sword, and shield. After one throw of the lance they would fight with swords till the knee or hand of one of them touched the ground. Swords and lances of standard type would be provided. The pas was to begin 1 October 1463, with knights appearing in the order in which they accepted the challenge. A maximum of three answerers from each country would be allowed.

If any answerer should be delayed, the challengers would meet him on 1 April 1464. The lady would select the combatant for each answerer. The Duke of Burgundy would arrange the place of combat, act as judge, and issue safe-conducts to those taking part.

Three knights presented themselves in answer to the request -- Antoine, Bastard of Burgundy, Philippe de Crevecoeur, and Pietre Vasques de Saavedra, their seals and signatures of acceptance being dated 26 February 1462.

Subheadings: Letter de Creance, f.52r; La premiere partie de la Creance, f.53r; La derreniere partie de la Creance, f.54r; Les Chappitres, f.55r.

[8] The writer of this account was probably one of the officers of arms of the Duke of the Duke of Burgundy. Twice he mentions

the importance of keeping a record of events, and at one point speaks of the duke as 'mondit seigneur'.

In Kervyn de Lettenhove 1870a, 473 it is suggested that the fiction may have cloaked a political reality, with Margaret of Anjou or the Duchess of Bourbon cast in the role of the mysterious lady. But such an allegory is unlikely. The pretended background is typical of the Burgundian pas d'armes of this period (cf. especially L23), and the main object seems to have been that of all such combats, namely to promote a display of arms in a romantic setting. The reasons specifically stated are 'donner exemple & couragement a toutz autrez Chivaliers en porter querelle de dame' and 'pur glorifer aussi leurs haulx nobles noms en oeuvre meritoirs'.

The three challengers were noted for their skills in the lists. The Bastard of Burgundy is well known for his encounter with Lord Scales in Smithfield in 1467 (see L15, and for a biography L11). Philippe de Crevecoeur was Seigneur d'Esquerdes, Chamberlain of the Count of Charolois, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Governor of Artois, Boulonnois, and Picardie, and later Marshal and Grand Chamberlain of France. A distinguished soldier, he won many honours from Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, but was degraded of these after 1477 when, like the Bastard of Burgundy and Philippe de Commines, he transferred his allegiance to Louis XI. His activities on the field of battle are reported in a letter of 1477 addressed to Sir John Paston (PL II, 419-20). He was present at the acceptance by the Bastard of Burgundy of the challenge

of Lord Scales (L11c) and took part in the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or (see L14), at which he won the prize of the golden rod in jousting against Philippe de Poitiers. For details of his life see BNB IV (1873) and the Mémoires of la Marche passim. Pietre Vasques de Saavedra (d.1477) was a Castillian knight in the service of the Duke of Burgundy. La Marche in his Mémoires (Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, I, 301, 305) says that he was 'moyen homme, de forte et grosse taille' and that he 'fut fort aimé et prisé en la maison [of Philip the Good] pour ses vertuz, et fit de grans services au prince tant sur les infidelles, en grandes embassades, en guerre, par mer et par terre.' He took part in several famous feats of arms, notably the encounter with Sir Richard Woodville, father of Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, in 1440 (Anglo 1965, 273), the Pas à l'Arbre de Charlemagne in 1443, the Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs in 1447, jousts in Lille in 1453/4, and the Pas à L'Arbre d'Or in 1468 (see L14). He accompanied the Bastard of Burgundy to England in 1467 and was one of his counsel in the encounter with Lord Scales (L15k). For details see Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, I, 295, 297, 300-5; II, 144, 348n; III, 49n, 192.

[1] L23, ff.60r-82v.

[2] A detailed account of the Pas du Perron Fée held by Philippe de Lalaing in Bruges from 28 April to 17 May 1463 before Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. [French]

[4] Inc.

[M]onseigneur philipe de la laing filz et heritier de seigneur de la laing en la Counte de henan quy de son eage estoit grant ystorien considerans lez haulx fais darmes que ont fait et enquoy se sont occupes pleuseurs vaillans noz predecesseurs cheualiers. Apres quil ot leu en pleuseurs notables liures ou tresuollentiers se occupoit quant il auoit le loiser pour euitez wiseuze

Expl.

Et quy changera cheual ce Jour ne porra gaignier le pris. Et fut publict au premier dimence aprez le Natiuite Saint Jehan baptiste. lan mil iiij.^C. lxiij. Et au faisoit gaignier. Cy ffynit la Pase de Missire phylip dalayn

[5] Other MSS: Tower of London Armouries. I-35, f.16r (fifteenth century), imperfect; Harley 48, f.53v (late fifteenth century); Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 1114, f.3r (early sixteenth century); Lille University Library 104, f.222r (sixteenth/seventeenth century); Arras, Bibliothèque publique 264, f.55r (seventeenth century).

[6] Printed Discussion: This item is unedited, but brief extracts from the Cambrai and Arras manuscripts are printed in Brassart

1874, 15-18. Brassart also prints in full another, completely independent, description of the same pas from Bibliothèque Nationale MS Français 5739, along with a detailed discussion of the background. Lecoy de la Marche (La Marche 1873, 262) refers to an inventory of 1471 of the books of the Roi René in his château in Angers which mentions 'ung cayer papier rollé, du pas fait a Brucelles [sic] par messire Phelipe de Lalain'. Notice of a version close to that of L, which was once in the library of the château of Vendin-le-Viel but now cannot be traced is given, with extracts, in Brassart 1874, 18.

[7] Summary description: [f.60r.] Philippe de Lalaing, inspired by the chivalrous acts he had read about, and also by the example of his illustrious brother Jacques de Lalaing, with the permission of the Duke of Burgundy, determined to devise a pas d'armes 'sur vng fiscion de phaerie'. The fiction was this: a great and powerful lady owned several castles and strong places, including a marvellous rock of changing colour, from which she took the name 'La Dame du Perron Fée (or Phae)'. Within the rock she had imprisoned several knights, including, by chance, Philippe de Lalaing. The lady agreed to release the knight on condition that he performed with honour 'vng pas darmes courtoisez sanz nulle querelle aultre que damours' according to chapters which she herself would provide. She, too, would provide an attendant knight, Hernoul de Crequy, and a dwarf who, with his horn, was to summon Philippe de Lalaing to return within the rock every night till the pas was accomplished. She would provide three main prizes, with lesser ones for all those taking part.

[f.62r.] The chapters being satisfactory to Lalaing, the date for the start of the pas was set at 1 January 1462, before the Duke of Burgundy as judge, in Brussels, whither the lady would transport the Perron Fée by magic.

[f.62v.] Limbourg Herald and the dwarf were assigned to wait upon the knight. Limbourg was dispatched to Brussels to announce the pas at the court of the duke, who remarked 'qu'il pensoit que lancien temps reuenoit comme il faisoit du temps du Roy Artus'.

[f.64v.] Next day the Perron Fée appeared miraculously in Brussels. To it were fixed three shields and a golden hunting horn which was to be blown by those accepting the challenge. The dwarf was on hand to exclude those not of noble birth and to witness the touching of the shields by which the knights and squires were to signify the type of combat they wished to engage in. The black shield signified a joust with war lances followed by a combat on horseback with blunted swords till one party had achieved 27 hits. The violet shield indicated a joust of thirteen courses in full war harness. The grey shield signified seventeen courses in jousting harness and with war saddles.

[f.65v.] First to touch was a Burgundian nobleman named Herry de Stice, Esquire, and then others to the number of 86. But, because of a diplomatic mission which later occupied some of those who had touched the shields, the number was reduced in the end to 61.

[f.66r.] Because of affairs of state involving the duke the date was postponed until 6 February, and later until 28 April 1463, and the place changed from Brussels to Bruges. Part of

the market place was enclosed with high barriers and scaffolds, and the Perron Fée was installed. It was of four colours -- gold, silver, red, and green -- with four griffons fastened with golden chains at the corners. The lady's dwarf sat in a high seat holding a baton. The three shields and the horn were suspended from the rock along with all the shields of arms of those who were to take part, arranged in the order in which they had touched the shields. The duke being unwell, Monseigneur de Moreul, Messire Philippe Pot, and the herald Toison d'Or acted as judges.

[f.67r.] A great procession of noblemen and ladies entered, and the pas began. The first contestant, Herry de Stice, found the lists guarded by Messire Morlet de Renti, Captain of the Duke's Archers. Messire Hernoul de Crequy, the knight commissioned by the lady, accompanied by Flanders and Artois Kings of Arms, formally admitted him. The four griffons at the corners of the Perron then pulled an opening from which Philippe de Lalaing, 'Le Chevalier Prisonnier', and his attendants rode out.

[f.68r.] There follows a long and repetitive description of the entry of each contestant, of the embellishments of helmet and shield, of the harness of the horses, and of the appearance of the attendant knights and servants. The combat itself is only briefly mentioned -- seldom more than the score. The joust and mounted sword combat took place on four days between 28 April and 6 May; the joust in full war harness on four days from 8 May to 12 May; the joust in jousting harness and war saddles on four days from 13 May to 17 May.

[f.77v.] On 17 May the judges pronounced the pas accomplished. Three moors in Turkish dress came forward and carried away the three challenge shields to the lady of the rock. Next, the lady herself appeared, leading a rich horse, and opened the rock with a golden key. Having vested her Chevalier Prisonnier in fine robes, she released him from the prison. Later a Moor appeared at his lodging, leading a horse carrying three coffers made of cuir bouilli containing the promised gifts for the participants. These were presented at a banquet given by the Duke of Burgundy that evening. They consisted of targettes covered with embroidered black, violet, or grey velvet (according to the type of contest). Hanging from these were rolls of gilded parchment, each one bearing a quatrain in praise of the recipient. They wore these on their arms or on their hats that night and all the next day in honour of the lady of the Perron Fée.

[f.81r.] During the dancing which followed, three young ladies entered carrying the prizes for the best contestants. These were war shields covered with either black, violet, or grey velvet, each with a different emblem, all three having in the centre a golden rod with the device of the lady. The winners were Monseigneur de St Pol, Monseigneur de Ravestain, and Jacques de Luxembourg.

[f.82r.] After spices and wine, the duke gave permission to announce another pas, that of La Dame Blanche, at Quesnoy in Hainault, six noblemen against all comers, over a period of two days. This was announced the first Sunday after the feast of John the Baptist, 1463.

[8] This is a particularly long and detailed description of a pas d'armes, but it is less widely known than, and was probably never as famous as, others such as the Pas à l'Arbre de Charlemagne, the Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs (described in Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, I, 290-334; II, 141-204), and the Pas à l'Arbre d'Or (see L14). On the meaning of pas d'armes, which were a particularly prominent feature of Burgundian court spectacle at this time, see above, pp.189-90.

No formal articles of combat are given in L23, but there is sufficient incidental detail to show how the combats were conducted and what were the arms and armour used. However, the actual combat was of less interest to the author of L23 than the spectacle of the occasion. In entering the lists the contestants were at pains to be magnificently dressed, the attendant relatives, friends, and servants being scarcely less splendid all to the honour of the person they were waiting upon. Some of the entrants contrived an element of masquerade: with Antoine, Bastard of Brabant, was 'vng homme a cheual vestue de Jaune et sy auoit vng grant geant quy le menoyt et deux hommes sauuaiges quy destroyent ledit geant'; with Adolf de Clèves were many musicians, including 'deux babourins abillies en turcqs lun jouant de deux fleutes et lautre de deux tambours'; with Josse de Wassenaire were two men with 'faux visages [et] barbes Jouans lun dune muzette et lautre dune challeme'. Interesting details are also given of the banquet with which the pas terminated. It included intremets, gifts, prizes, and dancing, and gave the men opportunity to show their customary deference to the ladies.

The knight at the centre of all this activity was son of Guillaume de Lalaing and Jeanne de Créquy, and was born c.1430. He is first heard of in the company of his famous brother Jacques, 'Le Bon Chevalier', in the war of the Gantois rebels, in the course of which he was knighted in 1452. In 1454 he jousted against Adolf de Clèves and took part in the mystères and momeries of the Fête du Faisan in Lille. He jousted against all comers in Lille in 1458 and soon afterwards was answerer at the emprise of Charles de Moullon in Quesnoy. Following the Pas du Perron Fée in 1463 he jousted in England, where Chester was assigned to him as historiographer. After a distinguished military career he was killed at the Battle of Montlhéry on 16 July 1465. (For details of his life see BNB XI (1890-1); Brassart 1874, 21-5.)

L23 and the version in the Paris manuscript printed by Brassart are similar in outline and sometimes in verbal detail, which suggests that they may have been written up from the same 'field notes'. But there are also some significant differences. L23 has a long preamble describing how Lalaing conceived of the idea and how the pas was subject to many delays -- something lacking in the other, which makes up for it by describing the pretended adventure by which Lalaing became prisoner of the lady (Brassart 1874, 40-1). The Paris manuscript version also gives the text of a letter from the 'prisoner' knight to the gentlemen of the ducal court urging them to take part and so secure his release, itemised chapters of combat, and copies of 57 of the four-line complimentary verses presented at the banquet (Brassart 1874, 44-9, 82-94). L23 gives fuller descriptions of the combatants, and makes greater use of direct speech. It is remarkable that there

are very many factual discrepancies, even in matters as fundamental as the scores, the number of courses run, and the names of the participants. Similar discrepancies have already been noticed in the various eyewitness accounts of the 1467 Smithfield combat (see L15).

The heralds are shown in several of their well-established roles -- carrying messages, proclaiming the pas, recording coats of arms, keeping the ladies informed, and acting as judges -- and it seems reasonable to suppose that the compilers of both accounts were heralds or people with strong heraldic interests. The author of the version in the Paris manuscript actually says that he himself carried Lalaing's letter and chapters to the court -- a task performed by Limbourg Herald in L23. The author of L23 gives less indication of his identity, but a note at the end of the Lille manuscript suggests he may have been the English herald who was assigned to Lalaing during his visit to England: 'Ce filz Chestre le Herault'. This would have been John Water, whose literary activities have already been remarked upon (see L11).

The French of L23 is in places very garbled. My colleague Miss Madeleine Blaess, who kindly looked at it for me, believes this copy to have been made 'by an English scribe not too conversant with French, and careless at that.' The last statement on f.82v before 'Cy ffynit...', for instance, probably once referred to the awarding of prizes, but as it stands it makes no sense at all. Compare the fuller statement in the Arras manuscript: 'Et au mieux faisant de dehors devoit gagner un blanc destrier.'

[1] L24, ff.84r-138r.

[2] A translation into English prose of the Epitoma Rei Militaris of Flavius Vegetius Renatus.

[4] Inc.

Here begynneth a Shorte tretise the which. Vegicyus. that was the woorshipfull Erle Benate sone. wrote to the Emperoure of Rome. which tretys tretith holy of knyghthode and of Chiualrie. which tretys is departid in iiij. bookes ...

Incipit prologus. In olde tyme it was the maner and the Custume that Subtilnes and studies of high craftes shulde be drawe and redacte to gidre & wreten in bookes. And tho bookis so writen shulde ben proferd to princes and lordys

Expl.

[f.137v] for Custumable vsage of werres on the See and yeke on londe contryvid or founde vp more newe craft of werres on the see & on londe than any olde doctryne & lore in bookes haue shewde Explicit liber quartus et vltimus. Here endith the boke that Clerkes clepith in latyn. Vegesius de re militari The boke of Vegesy of dedis of knyghthode. which boke was translatid and turnyd fro latyn into Englissh at the ordenaunce & biddyng of the worthy [f.138r] and woorshupfull lorde Sir Thomas of Berkeley to grete disporte & daliaunce of lordis and all woorthy werriours that be passid all laboure and trauaile and to grete informacion & lernynge of yonge lordes & knyghtes that ben lusty and loue to hire & see and to vse dedis of armes & chiualrye The turnynge of this booke in to Englissh was wryten and

endid in the vigill of all halows the yere of oure lorde a thousand CCCC & viij. the x. yere of the Reigne of kyng herry the fourthe. To hym & to vs all god graunte grace of oure offendy. Space to oure [endynge cano.] amendynge and his face to see at oure endynge. Amen. Quod W. Ebesham.

[5] Other MSS: Douce 291, f.4r (probably before 1444); Magdalen College, Oxford, 30, f.2r (mid-fifteenth century); Laud Misc. 416, f.182r (1459); Morgan 775, f.25r (before 1461); Digby 233, f.183r (fifteenth century); Additional 4713, f.4r (fifteenth century); vellum MS privately owned by the Gollancz family, f.1r (fifteenth century); Sloane 2027, f.1r (fifteenth century, imperfect); Royal 18 A xii, f.1r (1483-1485); Additional 14408, f.49r (late fifteenth century, imperfect)

[6] Edition and Printed Discussion: Edited in Fallwell 1973, using MS Douce 291 as copy text and collating all manuscripts except Additional 4713, which appears not to have been known to Fallwell. Lang 1885 is the standard edition of the Latin version, important emendations to which are made in Andersson 1938. All the English translations are discussed in MacCracken 1913. Goffart 1977 deals with the date, authorship, and circulation of the Latin text. On Vegetius and military manuals in general see above, pp.158-9.

[7] The four books of De Re Militari cover: I. Military education and discipline. II. The disposition of the

parts of an army. III. Tactics. IV. The assault and defence of walled cities, and naval strategy (of which some versions make a separate fifth book). Before each chapter of the English prose translation the heading is given first in Latin, then (in most cases) in English. The English headings offer a convenient summary of the whole work, and are as follows:

[f.84r] Prologue

Book I. 1. Hou oonly by Custumable vsage of dedis of armys the Romaynes had the victorie of all oothir nacions. 2. Oute of what Countrees newe fighters shulde be chosen 3. Whethir it bee more prophitable that such ben chosen of feldis or of townes 4. Of what age werriours shulde be chose 5. Of what stature or height werriours shulde be 6. Howe tho that shalbe chosen to Werres nowe [sic] ben knowe by shap of body & light chere 7. Of which craftis thou shalt chose knyghtis and of which nat 8. When armys shall be yeven to yonge werriours 9. Hooou they myght be taught ordre in gooynge & Ridinge and hou they myght bee vsid to lepynge and Rennyng 10. Howe they must be vsid to swymmyng 11. Howe olde werreours weren vsid to Juste with vannes and pley with the pile or the pale 12. Hou that yonge fightours must be taught to foyne and to styke and not to smyte 13. Hou that yonge knyghtes must be taught to fyght within listes 14. Hou newe chosen knyghtes of werres must be vsid to castyng of speris dartes and othir maner of wepyns 15. Hou the chosen fyters myght be taught to shete 16. Howe they mote be vsid to slyng and to

cast stones both with hande and yeke with slynges 17. Hou that they must ben vsed to cast the ledede shaftis or spere 18. Hou they must ben vsid to stygh and to light of theire hors on both sidis 19. Hou newe chosen werriours myght bee chosen & vsid to lift and to bere grete & hevy birthens 20. Hou olde men arn vsid to ben armed and in what maner 21. Hou the wardynge and closure shalbe made aboute an oste when he restith in open felde 22. In what place an oste shall perisse [sic] his tentis to make his wardis 23. In what maner shap tentes shulde be pight to make the warde siker. 24. Hou there is three maner of makynge of wardis 25. Hou thou shalt strength the warde When Enemyes come nygh thee 26. Hou fighters must be taught to kepe wele theire spaces in goynge stondynge and Ridyng 27. Hou oft in a moneth shullen knyghtes be ladde oute to disporte and what disporte they shall haue 28. Here is a plesaunt Recommendacion vnto the Emperour and an ende of the first booke.

Book II. [f.94v] Prologus. 1. Hou all maner of werres or it [sic] londe werre [or schip werre: add. Douce MS]

2. What difference is betwene legions and helpers. 3. Hou and by what cause the name of legion be loost 4. Hou many legions olde werriours ledde with them to batell 5. Hou a legion shall be sett in batell 6. Hou many soortes or Companyes be in a legion and hou many knyghtis in a sorte 7. Which be the names of the principall officers of the legions. 8. The names of them that ben leders of the olde ordre 9. What is the Office of prefecte of the legion

10. What is the office of prefecte of the wardis
11. What is the office of hym that is prefecte of the Craftes
12. What is the office of Tribune of knyghtes
13. Of the pryncipall banners which they ben
14. Hou the Sheltrons of the legion shalbe lerned & taught
15. Hou the triarins and the Centurins shulde be armed.
16. Hou the batell encountreth or smyteth to gedir.
17. The names of knyghtes and hir degree owith to be writen ovirthwart the shelde
18. Hou it longeth to knyghtes to kunne Connpte & rekon
19. Halfendel the profitis of the knyghtes sowde [should be fowde] shulde be kept vndir the principall banner
20. By whos Counseil legions were ordayne
21. What defence [sic] is betwene trompers clarions & horneblowers
22. Hou knyghtes shulde euery day be occupied in the felde
23. Here he shewith the vsage of Chiualry by ensamples of othir craftes
24. What dyuers toel and instrumentes ben longynge to the legion.

- Book III. [f.104v] Prologe.
1. What is an oste propurly
 2. Hou the helth of the oste may be kept
 3. Hou thou must make ordenaunce of vitails both for man & hors
 4. Hou it myght be ordeyne that the knyghtes make no slawghter ne debate amonges them self
 5. Hou many maners of tokens of armes there bene
 6. Hou the oste shalbe kepte when the Enemyes be nygh and they iourney by the wey
 7. Hou thou shalt best passe the grete Ryvers
 8. Hou an oste shulbe wardid and hou he shall chese his felde
 9. It nedith by koonnyng to knowe when the oste shall fight opynly & when previly
 10. What thou must doo yif thou haue an oste that is disvsid
 11. What ordenaunce must be ordained & made that day the oste shall fight opyn
 12. Hou thou

must espie hou the willes stondith of the fighters

13. Hou thou shalt chose place to fight in 14. In what ordre thou shalt set thy sheltron when thou shalt fight

15. What space euery man myght kepe in length & brede in his ordre of his sheltron 16. Hou thou shalt ordeyne &

sett thyne horsmen in the sheltrone 17. Of the helpers that levith behynde the sheltron whereof they serue

18. In what place of the sheltrone the first duke shall stonde & where the seconde & where the thrid 19. What

maner Remedies may be ordeyned ayenst myght or desceytes of enmyse 20. Hou he that is febler in strength and all of

noumbre yit may he haue the victorie 21. Hou thou maiste assaile thyne Enmy yif thou mete hym sodaynly by þe way &

not in opyn felde 22. Hou it is more profitable to yeve thyne enmy wey to flee than to close hym in that he may not

flee 23. Hou thou maist with feire colour withdrawe thee yif thou list not fight 24. When it is best tyme to ley

embusshments 25. Of Camellis & trappid hors and whereof they serue 26. What ordenaunce of defence thou maiste

make Irened chaiers & ayenst Olyfauntis 27. Hou thou shalt doo yif half thyne oste flee & half abide 28. Here ben the

generall rewles of werres 29. The fynall excusacyon of the thrid boke.

Book IV [f.126r] Prolog 1. Hou all townes and Castels be wardid or with kynde or with craft or with both 2. Hou a wall of a Citee or a Castell shall be sett 3. Hou the erthen wall shall be made betwene two stony walles. 4. Of the port Colyse for bernynge of the yatis 5. Hou thou shalt

make thy ditches 6. Hou thou must ordeyne that thy men
 at the walles be not hurte with Shot 7. Hou thou must
 ordeyne that thy men be not enfamelde thowe they bee beseghid
 8. What ordenaunce thou must make for defence of the walles
 9. Hou thou must haue plenty of Synewes & horshere for
 strengis 10. Hou thou must kepe wellis & wynches that
 thou faile no water 11. Hou thou shalt do yif thou lak
 salte 12. Hou thou shalt withstonde the first assaute of
 the walles 13. With what gynne walles shulde be assailid
 14. The gynne that is clepid the Snaile what it is or the
 W lk 15. The gynne that is clepid the Vinet 16. Of the
 litill gynnes that ben clepid musculus 17. Of the Somer
 Castels hou thei shall be made 18. Hou that the somer
 castell may be fired 19. Hou thou shalt encrece thy walles
 sodeinly 20. Hou thou shalt destroy or lett the somyr
 castell 21. Of iij. dyvers gynnes that men scalith wallis
 with 22. Of alblastres & othir gynnes for defence of
 Walles ayenst theis foreseid gynnes 23. Of iij. maner of
 sleightis by which the myght of the Ramme is destroyed
 24. Of theire mynys & mynours that ben clepid their Conyes
 25. Hou the kepers of the strength shall put of the Enemyes
 that be broke in 26. What Warde thou must make that thyne
 Enemyes stele not on thy Wallis 27. What a waitynge thou
 must haue of them that be in the holde 28. That thou be
 not disceyvid with thyne owne sleight 29. With what maner
 gynnes a Cite shall be defendid 30. Hou thou must take the
 mesure of height of walles 31. Which be the lawis or
 hestes of shipwerre 32. The names of the ovirseers of the
 Navy of Rome [The Latin headings are left untranslated
from this point] 33. Vnde appellantur liburne 34. Qua

diligencia fabricentur liburne 35. Quia obseruacione
cedenda sit materies 36. Quo mense cedende sunt trabes
37. De modo liburnarum 38. De nominibus ventorum
39. Quibus mensibus tucius nauigentur 40. Quemadmodum
tempestatum obseruanda sint signa 41. De pronosticis
42. De ostuarijs et hoc est de reumate maris 43. De locorum
noticia siue remigibus 44. De telis tormentis que mirabilibus
45. Quemadmodum nauali bello collocentur insidie 46. Quid
fiat cum aperto Marte bellum nauale committitur. Colophon.

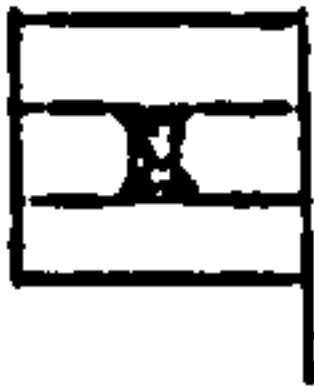
[8]The Epitoma Rei Militaris, which Goffart argues was probably completed 425-55 A.D. (Goffart 1977, 69-88), is an idealised account of the state of the Roman army in the western provinces in the late fourth or early fifth century. Its dogmatic and systematic approach to warfare made it extremely popular as late as the eighteenth century. It has been called 'the bible of warfare throughout the Middle Ages -- the soldier's equivalent of the Rule of St. Benedict' (Goffart 1977, 65), and MacCracken (MacCracken 1913, 390) remarks that 'the authority exercised by [Vegetius]... is among the wonders of literary history'. Lang 1885, xxiii-xlvi contains a list of 136 extant Latin manuscripts, and more have since been discovered (see Goffart 1977, 65n). Various vernacular translations were made, into French, English, Italian, German, and Catalan, of which the best known is probably L'art de chevalerie, attributed to Jean de Meun (edited in Robert 1897). The first English translation is the item presently under consideration, completed, according to the colophons in eight of the manuscripts, on the vigil of All Hallows, 1408. The next in terms of date is the paraphrase in English verse which goes under the name Knyghthode and Bataile (edited in

Dyboski and Arend 1936); made between 1457 and 1460, it bears only a very slight resemblance to the earlier English prose translation. An English version of parts of Vegetius, being a translation of Christine de Pisan's Le livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie, was printed by Caxton in 1489 or 1490 (edited in Byles 1937). Another rendering of Vegetius into English is the (partial) prose translation made perhaps by a Scottish herald about 1500 (see MacCracken 1913, 402-3). In the version of 1408 in L24 there are frequent interpolations and editorial adaptations of the Latin original. Armour and techniques of warfare having changed so significantly by the fifteenth century, some parts had to be substantially altered in order to make the work of practical contemporary relevance. The comparative list of military terminology in Fallwell 1973, 8-18 pinpoints the most significant of these changes.

The patron of the translation who is mentioned in the colophon, Thomas, tenth Earl of Berkeley, may have been interested in the work as a practical manual of warfare, for about the time when he might have commissioned the work he was engaged in active warfare against Glendower (MacCracken 1913, 389). At the same time, chapters on subjects like 'Hou that yonge knyghtes must be taught to fyght within listes' (I.13) would satisfy a more general interest in feats of arms and perhaps explain the presence of this item in the Grete Boke. Much discussion has centred upon the identity of the translator. For consideration of this see MacCracken 1913, 392-3; Perry 1925, xciv-xcviii; Fallwell 1973, 22-30. In three of the manuscripts (Douce, Digby, Magdalen) his name is given at the

end of the colophon in the form of a rebus:

This is his name that turned this book

fro latyn to Englisshe  toun.

(Douce 291, f.120v)

Various guesses have been made, including Clifton, Clefton, Bannerton, Axton, and Walton. Hoccleve has also been suggested on very unconvincing bibliographical evidence (see Perry 1925, xciv). But the person whose name is most persistently associated with the translation is John of Trevisa, partly on the grounds that when he was vicar of Berkeley his translations were patronised by Earl Thomas, and partly on the grounds of similarities of style between this and translations known definitely to have been by him. For a statement of this view see, for example, MacCracken 1913, 393. But Perry gives reasons for believing that Trevisa died in 1402 (Perry 1925, lxxv). If this is correct, and the date in the colophon is correct, the translation cannot be entirely by Trevisa, though it may have been begun by him. A further difficulty is that the name Trevisa seems to be in no way connected with the rebus.

[1] **L25**, ff.138r-142r.

[2] A rutter, or pilot book, containing navigational instructions for sailing in the coastal waters of the British Isles, France, and Spain.

[4] Inc.

Berwik lieth south and north of Golden stonys. the Ilonde & berwik haven lien west north west and Est South est. And fro vamborough to the poynt of þe Ilonde the cours lieth. north & South. And beware of the golde stonys it folowith north northwest'and quarter tide beowte.fro Tilmouth to ffenyn Ilonde

Expl.

And yif it be stremy grounde it is betwene huschaunt & cille in the entre in the chanell of flaundres And so go your cours.till ye haue lx. fadome depe. than go est northeast alonge the see &c

[5] Other MS: Morgan 775, f.131r (before 1461).

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Printed in Proud 1550, printing approximately the first third, from an unspecified source; Gairdner 1889, from L, with a glossary and map by E. Delmar Morgan. Waters 1967, 125-34 contains a facsimile of Proud's early printed edition as incorporated in the 1557 edition of Robert Copland's Rutter of the Sea; also, on pp. 181-95 and 449-67, Waters reprints the whole of Gairdner 1889,

with the text arranged differently and with some alterations to the map and glossary. (Waters knew of the existence of a version in M, but notes on p.4n that 'unfortunately its present whereabouts cannot be traced'.) For a discussion of this rutter in relation to the general maritime background see Burwash 1947, 24-6; Taylor 1956, 131-6; Waters 1958, 11-14. For demonstration of the extreme paucity of accurate knowledge of the waters of the British Isles before 1500 see Andrews 1926. Facsimiles of the illustrations which accompany the text in M are in Dillon 1900, pl.III.

[7] The instructions fall into five parts, although the scribe does not so distinguish them. They are of a highly technical nature and the summary of an expert will best serve to describe them:

First are sailing directions from Berwick-upon-Tweed to Land's End, which follow the coast in considerable detail and give instructions for entering Sandwich harbour or laying a course to Calais from the Downs. A number of bearings between various places on the French and English coasts are included. The second section deals with the coasts of France and Spain from Saint Malo to the Straits of Gibraltar. The route described hugs the shore of the Bay of Biscay as far as Bordeaux, gives brief instructions for entering the Gironde, and thereafter contains little but bearings for a few places along

the Spanish and Portugese coasts. In no part is the information as detailed as that for the waters about England. The third chapter deals with the seas west of the British Isles. Instructions are first given for working up the Bristol Channel from Land's End to Avonmouth; then there is a course about Ireland, beginning at the south-east and following around the west and north shores. Finally, the chapter contains a good deal of general information on navigating in the Irish Sea. This section shows an adequate knowledge of the area covered, though there are very few details of the tidal currents in the extreme west of Ireland. The fourth chapter has a list of soundings and types of bottom in the regions about Ushant and along the English coasts from the Scilly Isles to Beachy Head. In the last chapter two non-coastwise courses in the Bay of Biscay are given; one from Finisterre to the Severn estuary, the other from Finisterre into the English Channel. All the usual routes of English trade, except those to Iceland, the North Sea, and the Baltic, are thus described, and the degree to which English seamen had mastered their difficulties can be ascertained. It may be noted that the sounding-line, the

sand-glass, and the compass of thirty-two points were the only navigating instruments needed to make full use of the instructions in the pilot book. (Burwash 1947, 25-6)

- [8] England was not at the forefront of navigational exploration in the fifteenth century, and sea captains were often dependent on foreign navigators (Burwash 1947, 24). English seamen appear to have concentrated on home waters and to have based their skills on traditional knowledge and training. It was in this area that the rutter was a useful aide mémoire to any man who was basically literate. A rutter (from French routier), was a seaman's handbook which gave such information as compass courses and distances between ports and capes, directions and flow of the tidal streams, the times of high water on days of the new and full moon at important ports, headlands, channels, soundings, and the nature of the sea bed. Only about half a dozen manuscript rutters from before 1500 survive in the whole of Europe. This English rutter is not like any foreign one either in its arrangement or in the information it contains. The compiler must have been an Englishman or someone who had an intimate knowledge of the coast of England, moreso than of France and Spain where the information is more scanty. The author, if indeed he was compiling his pilot-book for anyone other than himself, seems not to have had the stranger in mind, for he gives few landmarks and no details by which the navigator would recognise them. In giving the course into the Thames Estuary, for example, the writer simply says, 'bryng your markes to gidre that the parisshe steeple be owte by est. the abbey of seint hosies'.

The exception is the description of the variety of grounds, or sea-beds, around Brittany and England, ranging from 'smale diale sonde' to 'stynkyngge wose', which is given in remarkable detail.

The reasons for the inclusion of this item, so out of keeping with the other items in L, are discussed on p. 119 above.

In brief, it appears to have been a scribe's 'filler' item.

The attribution to Clement Paston, made in Gairdner 1889, 25 is speculative.

[1] L 26, ff.144r-150r.

[2] Ordinances of war made by Henry V at Mantes, near Paris, in June or July 1419.

[3] MS Title: Thiez ben Statutes and ordinancez made by the right noble Prince Kyng Henry the fifte at the trefy and Counseill of Mawnt

[4] Inc.

ffyrst that alle maner of men of What soeuer Nacion estate or condicion soeuer he be. be obeissaunt to our souerayn lorde the Kyng and to his Conestable and Mareshall vpon peyn of asmoche as he may forfait in body & in goodes

Expl.

Vnto the [y canc.] tyme he have made his fyne With theym And founde suertie that he shall nomore offend And more over his body to stond at the kynges Will.

[5] Other MSS: St John's, Oxford, 57, f.238v (soon after 1430); Additional 46354, f.66r (early sixteenth century, abridged); College of Arms L 5, f.102v (late sixteenth century); Cotton Julius C iv, f.317r (late sixteenth century); Stowe 531, f.300r (seventeenth century); Inner Temple Petyt 538, vol.33, f.509r (seventeenth century).

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Twiss 1871-6, 459-72, from L; Grose 1783-97, I, 34-46, from the Inner

Temple manuscript; Bentley 1831, 28-40, from MS L 5;
 Nicolas 1832, Appendix 8, 31-40, from MS L 5. For notes on
 the ordinances see Wylie 1914-29, II, 20-4.

[7] The ordinances are: Obeissance; ffor holy Church [twice] ;
 ffor herbergage [twice] ; ffor kepyng of Wacche & Warde;
 ffor takyng of Prisoners; ffor robberyng of Marchauntes
 comyng to be market; ffor barreteurs; ffor debate;
 ffor theim pat Crye havok; for vnlawfull scryes; ffor
 mustrez; for Prisoners [twice] ; for the paying of thriddes;
 for beim pat make beim self Captaynes to Withdrawe men fro
 be Oste; A Statute for beim pat bere not a band of Seint
 George; for beim pat assaulte Withoute leve of the kyng;
 for to bring in prisonerz in to be kinges knowlege Constable
 & Mareshall; ffor kepyng of Wacche; for be gyvyng of
 Saufconsuites or congez & for to breke beim; ffor be
Withdrawyng mens seruauntes fro beir maisters; ffor departyng
 from be Oste Withoute Leve; ffor Scries made by the enemyes
 in the Oste; ffor kepyng of the Cuntre; for beim pat
 raunson per prisonerz or sell withoute leve of per lordes
 or captayne; A statut for children within be age of xiiij
 yeres; ffor Women that lye in gesein; ffor the resistyng
 of Justice; for beim that fortifien places Withoute leve
 of be kyng; for them that Robbe & Pile loggynges; A
 statute for beim pat lette labourers & men goyng to plough;
 for them pat gyve menn reproche; for beim pat take
 Traitourz & putte theym to Raunson; for them that breke the
 kynges arreste; for brennyng; for Wacche Within loggynges;
 for them that be Wastours of Vitaill; for a Copie to be

had of the premissez in the Oste; for makyng Roodes; for Roodes; That noman disarraie hym in the bataill for no scribe pat cometh in be Oste.

[8] A slightly different version of these ordinances, in which they are not specifically attributed to Henry V or said to have been issued at Mantes, is found in MSS Bodleian Arch. Selden 27 (fifteenth century), Lansdowne 818 and College of Arms L 8, (both sixteenth century), and in several later manuscripts which purport to be copies of the lost Black Book of the Admiralty. The Black Book version, which is edited in Twiss 1871-6, I, 282-95, is basically the same as L26, but differs in respect of the rubrics and has nine fewer sections. The order is also slightly different. These differences could be the result of scribal error and a different scribal history. Alternatively, the Black Book version could represent a code issued by Henry V on another occasion. Henry is known to have issued other ordinances at Harfleur, Rouen, Pontoise, and 35 other places, mainly in Normandy (Wylie 1914-29, II, 26n), and it seems that a formal publication of a code of conduct for his troops marked the start of each campaign (see Kingsford 1901, 209). It is generally assumed that all trace of these other ordinances has been lost, but it is unlikely that they would have differed materially from those issued at Mantes, and they may be represented in the version just described.

Twiss 1871-6, I, 282n offers the conjecture that the version in the Black Book is a translation from Latin, but this is

unlikely, for the final ordinance (corresponding to number 40 of L26) stipulates that the ordinances are to be 'cried in the oste', which would necessitate their being in English. However, this stipulation does not occur in an earlier code of ordinances in French which was issued by Richard II in Durham in 1385 (ed Twiss 1871-6, I, 453-8; also, from a fifteenth-century English translation in Nicolas 1827, 107-12). These apparently formed the model for Henry V's ordinances, which cover similar ground and employ similar terminology, but differ in that the penalties are milder.

For the Treaty and Council of Mantes see Williams 1850, 193-4. Grose 1786-8, II, 65, describes the ordinances as 'made at Mans' (i.e. Le Mans), which is possible on the basis of the spelling of the name but at variance with the known historical facts. Henry was at this time engaged in peace negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy and the Queen of France. Why they should have been issued at this time is unclear. Historians variously commend the discipline of the English army or condemn its lack of control, contemporary English and French sources naturally being at variance on this matter. The issuing of so many codes during the French campaigns is capable of either interpretation. What is clear is that certain acts of Henry which have been praised as exceptionally lofty (such as the hanging of a thief in 1415 for the theft of a pyx -- see Taylor and Roskell 1975, 26n, 68) were the result simply of his adherence to a code of practice which had been in operation at least since Richard II's time. The two sets of royal ordinances along with those of the Earl of Salisbury (L27) give a good idea of the fundamental rules by which the army in the field was regulated.

[1] **L27**, ff.150r-152r.

[2] Ordinances of war made by Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury, during his campaigns in France, c.1425.

[3] MS Title: Other ordinancez made by the Erle of Salesbury and of Perche and Lord of Monthernier at his Sieges in Mayne & in other Places

[4] Inc.

ffor the Cuntre Appatished ffyrst that nomaner man of armes ne archer ne of What estate condicion or Nacion that ever he be that thay abyde not nor hold theym vnder the Colour of our said lord the Erle but that their Captaynes be in this present assemble & cumpany. and they be mustred and mustre at alle tymes that thay be requyred

Expl.

my seid lord gyveth him leve to take from her or theym alle the money that may be founde vppon her or theym And he to take a Staff & dryve her owte of the Oste & breke her arme.

[5] Other MSS: Cotton Julius C iv, f.322v (late sixteenth century); College of Arms L 5, f.107r (late sixteenth century), reading Shreusbery for Salesbury; Inner Temple Petyt 538, f.516v (seventeenth century); Additional 5758, f.201r (seventeenth century), reading Shrewsburie for Salesbury. The last MS is headed 'Other ordinances ... etc!', but those of Henry V (L26) do not appear.

[6] Editions and Printed Discussion: Edited in Grose 1783-97, I, 46-51, from the Inner Temple manuscript; Nicolas 1832, Appendix 8, 41-4, from MS L 5, collated with Additional 5758; Bentley 1831, 40-3, from MS L 5. Bentley has been misled by the title in the manuscript, and identifies the ordinances as 'made by the renowned Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury' (p.29). On such ordinances in general see L26.

[7] The ordinances are: ffor the Cuntre Appatished; for forreyng the said Cuntre Appatished; for þeim þat bye or sell Pilage in the said Cuntre or take; for theim þat distroie vines & oþer trees beryng frute; for to bery Careyn and oþer Corrupcions in segyng; for the takyng of prisoners of men bulletid; for dryvyng away bestaill oute of the Oste; for to make Stakes ageins a bataill or Journey; for makyng of fagottes at Sieges for bolwerkes & dyches; for holy Church; That noman speke with þeim in the Castell or in the Towe aftyr that thay be charged; Ordinancez for foraiers in places daungerous; ffor ladders; for pavises; for theim þat sault or renners to make þeim boty; ffor Women that vsyn bordell the Whiche logge in the Oste.

[8] These ordinances complement, rather than duplicate, those of Henry V (L26). They mainly concern the conduct of sieges (cf. the title in the manuscript) and 'cuntre appatished' (MED 'appatisen v. To bind (a country) by treaty; to impose terms, exact tribute; appatished unto (sb), subject to'). There are several signs that Salisbury's ordinances were more temporary than those of Henry V. Article 8, for instance, requires every man to fashion a strong stake

'for certeyn tydynges that lordes have herd' (presumably an impending cavalry attack), and article 9 requires each man to gather a 'fagot of xiiij fote of length withoute levys ayenst N. day next commyng'. However, the title suggests that they may also have had a more general application. As concerning siege warfare and the Earl of Salisbury this item is closely connected with L29 next following.

It was not until 1421 that Thomas Montague (1388-1428) was fully restored to the earldom his father had forfeited for treason, though he had been summoned to parliament as Earl of Salisbury as early as 1409. After Agincourt he took part in or directed a great number of sieges, notably Caen, Falaise (1417), Rouen (1418), Fécamp, Monteville, Gournay, Eu, Honfleur, Meulan (1419), Frénay, and Melun (1420). His outstanding services to the crown earned him at this time the Earldom of Perche and the Lieutenant Generalship of Normandy and the Marches south of the Seine. In 1421 he accompanied the Duke of Clarence on campaigns in Maine and Anjou. He directed another siege of Meulan (1422/3), Orsay (1423), Montaguillon, Crevant, Sézanne, Verneuil (1424), Montaimé, Étampes, Rambouillet, Beaumont le Vicomte, Le Mans, Mayenne, St Suzanne (1425), and Mondoubleau (1426). He returned to England in 1427 before resuming his devastating campaigns in 1428. At the time of his death he had reduced to submission, largely as a result of relentless bombardment, well over forty towns. It is impossible to say to which campaign these ordinances belong. Most of his activity in Maine took place in 1425,

and the association with the next item which concerns the siege of Le Mans makes this the most likely date. For details see DNB, XXXVIII (1894) and Cokayne 1910-59, XI, 393-5.

[1] **L28**, ff.152v-153v.

[2] A copy of a summons of surrender issued by Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury, at the siege of Le Mans in 1425. [French]

[3] MS Title: The copie of A lettre made by the Erle of Salesbury & Perche lord of Mounthernier Captayne generall of the Werres of ffrance to the Worshipfull bisshop and Clergie & noble Burgois of the Cite of Maunce

[4] Inc.

Nous Thomas de Montagu Conte de Salisbury & du perche et Seigneur de Mounthernier Capitaign generall ordune par le Roy nostre seigneur sur la fait de guerre de son Roiaume de ffrance par laduyse & deliberacion de mon seigneur le Regent le dit Royaume de ffrance Duc de Bedford Dango Dalencon et Conte du Main faisons sauoir A vous gens Desglise nobles Burgois & habitans de la ville & Cite du Mans

Expl.

nous appellons dieu a garrant & tesmoigne que ceo ne sera ascunment par nostre coulpe mais seulement par vostre default. Escripte subz nostre Seale. &c.

[5] Other MS: Cotton Julius C iv, f.324v (late sixteenth century)

[6] Unedited. This item is transcribed in Appendix 1 below.

[7] The letter stresses the rightness of Henry VI's claim to the town, the disinclination to shed blood, the adequacy of the warnings given, and the intention to maintain peace and

the ancient liberties and customs of the city; it reminds that several other towns have already been misled by false hopes of relief. Should the citizens remain obstinate, the letter promises terrible destruction 'en exemple & memoir perpetuell a toutez aultrez', and calls God to witness that in such case the victors cannot be judged at fault.

A little information is available concerning the siege of Le Mans. Waurin (Hardy and Hardy 1864-91, III, 191-3) says that the people of the city resisted at first but that Salisbury 'telement les baty et traveilla par ses engiens, canons et bombardes' that they were forced to parley. They asked for terms in words reminiscent of the letter ('deschiever leffusion de sang humain' [Waurin] cf. 'escheuer leffusion de sang humaine' [L28]), and it was agreed that if no relief arrived within eight days the garrison and townspeople would surrender. This they did.

A more complete summary of the terms than in either Waurin or L28 is given in the Great Chronicle of London (Thomas and Thornley 1938, 133-5). The account probably paraphrases an original French document for again the terminology is like that of the letter. The terms were that eight days later at noon the city was to be handed over if relief had not arrived from King Charles or the Constable of France. Provision was made for those unwilling to take the oath of allegiance to leave the city with their goods, and for those who remained to continue to enjoy their property. Traitors and deserters could expect no mercy, and gunners

were to be dealt with as their captors thought fit. Noblemen on the French side were to give up the prisoners they held, and a thousand pounds was to be paid to the English in damages. In the eight days ensuing no one was to be hanged, no repairs were to be made to the defences, and 24 hostages were to be left as surety. The account ends:

'Done and made atte Jacobyns by the Cite of Mauns' the secunde day of Auguste the yere of oure lord a M^lCCCCXXV.' The letter, being a general call to surrender, must have been written before this. Brief reference to the siege is in the chronicle in MS Cotton Julius B i, ff.70v-71r (ed Kingsford 1905, 286); in Polydore Vergil's History (ed Ellis 1844, 9-10); and in Edward Hall's Chronicle (ed Ellis 1809, 126), where we learn that the man installed as Lieutenant Governor of Le Mans was Sir John Fastolf, the friend and benefactor of Sir John Paston.

[1] **L29** ff.153v-154r.

[2] A copy of the letter from Lucius Hiberus to King Arthur summoning him to appear in Rome to account for his failure to pay tribute, from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae, Book IX, Chapter 15. [Latin]

[3] MS Title: Epistola Lucii ad Arthurum

[4] Inc.

Lucius Rei publice procurator. Arthuro Regi Britannie que meruit. Admirans vehementer admiror super tue tirannidis proteruia Admiror inquam et iniuriam quam Rome intulisti Recolligens Indignor quod extra te egressus eam cognoscere diffugias

Expl.

et quicquid vesania tua rei publice eripuit idem mediantibus gladijs restituere conabor Explicit Epistola lucij ad Arthurum

[5] Other MSS: 190 MSS of the Historia are listed in Griscom 1929, 550-84, and discussed on pp.19-25. Others are listed in Hammer 1942.

[6] Editions: Griscom 1929, 459-60; Hammer 1951, 165, 236-7 (where the relevant chapter is numbered 12).

[8] Only the text of the letter is given in L. Arthur's defiant reply and the narrative of the defeat of the Romans are not included.

There are extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth in another medieval commonplace book, Trinity College Dublin MS 516.

[1] L30, f.154r-154v.

[2] A passage from Book VII, Chapter 18, of Ranulf Higden's Polychronicon, containing two speeches of exhortation in war [Latin]

[3] MS Title: Presidencia de verbis exhortatorijs belli'Libri septimi polocronici capitulo 18.

[4] Inc.

Venientes igitur mense Iulij Robertus Comes glouernie & matild imperatrix Anno Regis Stephani [..... left blank] primo apud portesmudam deinde apud bristolliam multa dampna prouincialibus irrogant

Expl.

Rex capitur ad imperatricem ducitur & a festo Purificacionis vsque ad Exaltacionem sancte Crucis apud Bristolliam vinculatur &c

[5] Other MSS: Taylor 1966, 152-9 lists 118 manuscripts of the Polychronicon, and 9 fragments, not including L.

[6] Edition and Printed Discussion: Edited in Babington and Lumby 1865-86, VII, 486-92. For a full treatment of the Polychronicon and its influence see Taylor 1966.

[7] The passage describes the rebellion of the Earls of Gloucester

and Chester who, with the Empress Matilda, are preparing to attack King Stephen. The speeches before the battle are notable for their rhetoric. The Earl of Gloucester exhorts 'Necesse est enim vt ad probitatem confugiat cui non est aliud refugium' and proceeds to disparage his adversaries, among whom the Earl of Mellent 'innata est in corde nequicia, in ore fallacia, in opere pigritia'. On the other side in this flyting the Earl Baldwin describes Gloucester as 'ore leoninus, corde leporinus'. The fight is joined and King Stephen is captured.

[8] There are extracts from the Polychronicon in another medieval commonplace book, Trinity College Dublin MS 516.

[1] **L31**, ff.155r-199v.

[2] The Book of Governance of Kings and Princes, by John Lydgate and Benedict Burgh, also called Secrets of Old Philosophers and The Book of All Good Thewes, being a verse adaptation of the pseudo-Aristotelian Secretum Secretorum.

[3] MS Title: This is the book of governaunce of Kynges and Prynuces.

[4] Inc. God almyghty saue and conferme oure Kyng.
 In all vertu to his encrees of glorie.
 His Reame and hym by pollitik . Lyvyng
 With drede and loue to haue memorie
 Of his Enemyes conquest and victorye
 With sepre and swerde twene both to do right
 Aftir his lawes to euery maner wight

Expl. pray hym Refourme where he seeth nede

To that intente I doo the foorth directe
 where pou failist that men shall the correct
 Explicit.

[5] Other MSS: Sloane 2027, f.53r (fifteenth century); Sloane 2464, f.1r (fifteenth century); Additional 39922, f.16r (fifteenth century, fragment only); Ashmole 46, f.97r (fifteenth century, imperfect); Ashmole 59, f.1r (fifteenth century, fragment only); Laud Misc.416, f.255r (fifteenth century); Laud Misc.673, f.1r (fifteenth century); Balliol 329, f.80r (fifteenth century); Gonville and Caius 336, f.104r (fifteenth century, extracts only);

Fitzwilliam, McClean 182, f.12r (fifteenth century, imperfect); Fitzwilliam, McClean 183, f.1r (fifteenth century, imperfect); Trinity, Cambridge, 1212, f.1r (fifteenth century, imperfect); Morgan 775, f.139r (before 1461, imperfect); Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis 304, f.1r (fifteenth century, a single leaf); Harley 2251, f.188v (late fifteenth century, imperfect); Harley 4826, f.52r (late fifteenth century); British Library, Arundel 59, f.90r (late fifteenth century, imperfect); Additional 14408, f.1r (late fifteenth century, imperfect); Additional 34360, f.78r (late fifteenth century, imperfect); Trinity, Cambridge, 599, f.49r (fifteenth/sixteenth century, extracts only); Wellcome Historical Medical Library 71, f.8v (1569, extracts only). An early printed edition is that of Richard Pynson (Pynson 1511, STC 12440, 17017).

- [6] Editions and Printed Notices: Edited in Steele 1894, using MS Sloane 2464 as copy text, and printing eight stanzas from Additional 14408; Robbins 1939, 341, printing MS Ashmole 59; Robbins 1959, 196, from the same manuscript. Kaiser 1958, 508 contains an extract. Starnes 1957 gives a facsimile on the Pynson print, with an introduction. Prosiegel 1903 corrects Steele 1894 and discusses in detail ten of the manuscripts, with collations. For literary evaluations see Schirmer 1952; Pearsall 1970. This is IMEV No.935; for fuller bibliographical treatment see Renoir and Benson 1980, 2, 152-4, with a summary of the poem on pp.1, 896-9.

[7] In the prologue Lydgate refers to the royal command which led him to begin the poem. He then gives the text of a spurious correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle, in which the former requests advice in combating the Persians. Aristotle cannot come, but he will convey his advice in an epistle, with his wisdom suitably veiled to conceal it from the 'rude intelligence' of common people. Lydgate then recounts his understanding of the history of the translations, getting the facts hopelessly wrong. His Latin source he calls Philip of Paris [should be of Tripoli], but at one point he introduces John of Spain, the author of a totally independent translation.

The work proper treats kingship, the Philosopher's Stone, the elements, excess, wisdom, religion, chastity, regal glory, the weather, mercy, truth, learning, bodily health, astronomy, and the seasons. At this point Burgh takes up the work, with effusive praise of Lydgate and appropriate protestations of his own inadequacy. The subjects he goes on to deal with are natural health and hygiene, bodily functions, food and drink, a king's duties, advisers and servants, conduct in battles, and physiognomy. The poem ends abruptly with a 7-line envoy.

The following lines are omitted in L: 145, 295-301, 798, 1,359-1,365, 1,420-1,421, 1,461-1,466, 1,492-1,498, 1,513-1,526, 1,555-1,568, 1,576-1,582, 1,729, 2,630. The notes of this in Steele 1894 are neither complete nor accurate.

[8] Lydgate and Burgh's poem belongs to a genre, popular in the fifteenth century, of the 'Mirror for Princes'. On this and other such works see Gilbert 1928; Kleineke 1937; Gilbert 1938; Bornstein 1976a; and above, pp.163-4. Manzalaoui (Manzalaoui 1977, x-xi), writing of the Arabic versions from which all the European translations derive, describes the Secretum Secretorum as a 'Mirror' which seems to have been turned, by the addition of a layer of scientific and occult material, into an encyclopaedic manual. The Secretum is not alone among works of this type in combining conventional moral and political instruction with subjects such as medicine and physiognomy (see Ferguson 1960, 192-3).

There are two forms of the Arabic text, which was made in the ninth century from Syriac and ultimately from Greek sources. From the Arabic two translations were made in Latin, one by Johannes Hispaniensis, probably in the middle of the twelfth century, and the other by Philippus Tripolitanus in the first half of the thirteenth. A whole range of vernacular translations followed, based mainly on Philippus but adding and subtracting material with great freedom. Nine fairly literal translations into English are printed in Manzalaoui 1977 (with two more in an appendix), and a further three in Steele 1898. For a study of the evolution of the Secretum see Manzalaoui 1974; Manzalaoui 1977.

Lydgate and Burgh's rhyme-royal translation, being less literal, is not considered by Manzalaoui, but is discussed in the introduction to the edition of the poem in Steele 1894. It seems that Lydgate may have been using a French

translation of an abridged version of Philippus Tripolitanus, for he refers to his source as 'philip ... brought vp of parise' (lines 214-5), a mistake shared by three English prose versions which are based on the French (see Manzalaoui 1977, xlvi). Lydgate completed only 1,491 lines before his death in 1449 or 1450. The remaining 1,239 are a continuation by his disciple, Benedict Burgh, written for, and probably at the request of, 'the magnificence Royal'. (The relevant stanza is omitted in L). There are many signs that the poem was a jumble of fragments and false starts when Lydgate left it, and that Burgh, perhaps out of respect, did not edit them adequately. He arranged the fragments so that Lydgate's section ends with the line 'deth all consumeth and may nat be denyed', and has added the note 'Here died this translatur and nobil poet' to create the romantic picture of the master dying at his desk.

Steele (in the notes to the edition in Steele 1894) points out a variety of errors, such as misplaced lines (e.g. 678-700), misunderstandings (164-6, 603-37), repetitions (232-301, cf. 603-37), and awkward changes of person (603-23, 638-65). Of lines 477-83 he writes (Steele 1894, 91): 'These lines are manifestly worthless. They have neither beginning nor end, and do not join to the next. Evidently put here by Burgh because there was no other place but 1.638 perhaps.' More recent critics have been no more complimentary, and Pearsall (Pearsall 1970, 296) describes it as 'a work as nearly worthless as any that Lydgate penned'. Burgh's portion is slightly more coherent.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF UNPUBLISHED TEXTS*

L17

f.43v Coppie dez Chappitrez de certain fait darmez tant a pie /
 comme a chiuall qui par deux gentils hommez dalmaigne /
 touchant certain emprinse comme il sensuit / En nom de dieu
 le tout puissant ' Et de sa glorious Mere et / de
 monseigneur seint George. Je Guillaun de Boursset Escuier
 ay emprinse / de porter vn emprinse pour faire armez a
 chiuall & a pie comme cy sensuit. / Item au premier
 chappitre seroy tenu. celui qui touchera a mon emprinse /
 de me fournir et complir les ditz armez tant a cheual
 comme a pie & ny pourra / nul touchier quil ne soit
 gentil home. & sanz villain Reproche / Item au ij^e chappitre
 celui qui touchera a ma ditte emprinse sera tenu / de me
 furnir et complir lez ditz armez a cheuell a la toille
 jusques a ce que / lun de nous deux auera rompu quatra lanches
 cestassauoir de puis pie & / demi deuant larrest et de
 dux ou trois dois darriere le fer / Item au iij^e chappitre
 quant lun de nous aura rompu quatre lanches / au dessus
 le chainture en harnois et selles de guerre sur cheualx telz
 que / chascun plaira et a lanches de guerre et a fers esmolux
 lez armes de ce iour / seront acompliez Et metteray sur
 lez Rens la mesure dez lanches vng iour deuant / que
 les dittes armez se feront Et se daenture que dieu ne vueille
 lun de / nous blechoit le cheual de lautre dont morte ou
 affolure ensuit Il sera / tenu de la rendre au Regard de
 Juge and de cheualiers et escuiers qui seront presens /

* Texts here are transcribed in the same way as the incipits
 and explicits in the Descriptive Index except that line
 divisions are also included.

Item au iii^e chappitre lez ditz armez a cheual fitez et
 acompliez sera tenu le dit / deffendeur le iour apres me
 combatre a pie arme de telz harnois quil nous plaira / prendra
 pur la suretie de nous corps & me fournir jusques a ce
 que six pontez / despee seront et acomplis. dont je comme
entreprenant seray tenu de deliuerer / lez ditz espees
 parielles et dun grandeur et en bailleray an deffendeur
 le le choisis

Item a v^e chappitre apres ce que le ditz pontz despee
 seront faitz et acomplis nous / nous retrarons & desmarcherons
 cinq pas arrier lui de lautre & prendrons / chacun
 vn hache ' et ce fait nous ressemblerons ensem[p changed to b]le
 tant que douse coupz / seront fournis et acomplis et je
 liurera pareillement lez ditz haches dun grandeur / et en
 donrray le choisis au dit defendeur /

Item au vj^e chappitre lez ditz armes faitz & accomplies
 tant a chiuall comme / appie si je entreprenant fais mieux
 f.44r que le defendant le dit deffendeur sera / teny de me donner
 vng tel joyel ou aussi bone que estoit ma ditte / emprinse
 a quoy il aura touche. Et se le dit deffendure
 fait mevlx / que moy entreprenant mon emprinse ou il aura
 touche sera a lui pour / en faire a son plaisir /

De puis lescript de ces Chappitrez que le dit fait darmez
 a este / fait et acompli selon le contenu desuis ditz
 Chappitres et au lieu et / place contenu en jceulx Chapprtres
 et en la presence du Juge denomme / en jceulx /

60r [M]onseigneur* philipe de la laing filz et heritier de seigneur
de la laing en la Counte / de henan quy de son eage estoit
grant ystorien considerans lez / haulx fais darmes que ont
fait et enquoy se sont occupes / pleuseurs vaillans noz pred-
cesseurs cheualiers. Apres quil ot leu / en pleuseurs notables
liures ou tresuollentiers se occupoit quant il auoit / le
loiser pour euter wiseuze. Et entre lez autrez en la bible
lez liures / dez Roys ou sont contenue les vaillances de David
Judas machabeus & / ses freers. Et pluseurs autres vaillans
Juys ossy du grant et puissant / Roy Alexandre de machedome et
de ses conquestes du tresuailant hector / de Troyes et sez
freers & autres esteans a la destrucion de troyes de thebes /
dathenes et de Cartaige ensamble des Romains qui loys estoient /
sarrazins lesquelz ne cremoient amour pour leurs seignouries
a'/croistre et deffendre pour la bien de la chose publique Et
[qerased] [t.] aunt et si longue/ment qilz le maintiendrent
ils prospererent dez xpiens quy apres vindrent / pour la foy
de Jhesucrist exaulchier et les maluaises coustumes hostez /
que au par auant auoient mys sus lez infideles de la foy xpienne
dont / entre les autres qui premiers y traouayllèrent furent
lez nobles Roys per'/cheforest vterpandragon artus le Roy ban
de benouic et de magus / de goyre et ceulx qui de eulx descend-
irent. Tous lez Cheualiers de la table / reonde et autres sanz
noubre Car a lor temps les diables par la permission / diuine
et non autrement auoient si grant puissance sur lez humains /
par faulte de foy dount ils nestoient comme riens Justius sinon
par her/mites et autres bonnes simples gens dont len ne

* Decorative initial wanting : space reserved over four lines
with small indicator in centre.

tenoit ghewes grant / compte que tant de cluzions de fantosmes
 de phaeries et dabuzemens / Rengnoient sur terre que cestoit grans
 meruoilles Et par leurs grans / vaillances avec le tresbon
 galaat filz deancelot du lac prindrent / la plus part fin
 comme Racontent lez liures de percheforest deancelot de
 tristran de corneuille de gvaron le courtois et dautres plu-
 sours vollumes / quy en sont tous plains. Le grant et puissant
 Roy Charlemaine de / ffrance de sez Roys princes barons et
Cheualiers que tant trauaillerent / es alemeignes espaignes
 ytallies lombardie guienne et ailleurs / en pleuseurs et
 diuers lieux pour les conuertir a la foy de Crist du Roy /
 Gaodefroy de Buillon qui conquist ierusalem dount il fu cour-
 onne Roy & / apres luy. Bauduin son frere. les Roys princes
 & Barons qui luy / tindrent compaignie afaire sez conquestes
 es parties orientalles / sur Sarrazins. Et lez grands armes
 quy y furent faictes dun / cost & dautre les belles et gentes
 armes que fist son frere aise / le bel & bon cheualier
monseigneur iaques de lalaing par xxvj^{ti}. foys a piet / et
 a cheual tant en espaigne escoce Bourgongne et fflandres /
 dont tousiours yssi a son graunt honneur et loenge Je yma'
 gyne que apres cez granz lectures faictes par ce bon cheua-
lier de la / laing il conchout en son entendement quil vouldroit
 selonc / sa puissance ensieuir en auloune facon lez bonz
Cheualiers dessus / dis non pas quil se vaulsist presumer en
 soy destre si bon que / le mendre. Mais pour ce quil fuit
 quelque petite memoire de / luy il entreprist par la liscence
 et congiet de treshault ' et tres"/puissant Prince son souer-
 aigne seignour et parrin Philipe. / duc de Bourgongne et de
 Brabant de faire vng pas sur vng / fiscion de phaerie.

Cestassauoir de vne grant et puissant dame / ayans soubz sa
 Seignouree pleuseurs fortes places et chaste' / aux' Et entre
 les autres estoit dame dun perron meruelleus / ment scitue et
 compose sur vng beau Roc Et diuersement muoit couleur par
 tamps et par iours comme il plaisoit a la / dame par quoy il
 estoit nommie le perron phae pour les grans / merueilles qui
 dehors et dedainz estoient Et entre lez aultres / seignouries
 pour touts titles elle se faisoit nosmer la toute / passe
 dame du perron phae et non plus. Et quant len parlera /
 d'elle dezorez en auant ele sera nommee la dame au perron
 phae / seulement Celle grant dame a eu pleuseurs nobles Cheu-
 aliers et de / grant vaillance ses prisonniers mys en ce
 Perron dont elle / portoit la clef et nulle aultre Et entre
 lez aultres cheualiers ainsi / que fortune le vault par merueil-
 leuze anenture ce bon cheualier de / la laing y fu mys et
 tenu prisonnier de ceste dame par vng / espace de tamps
 Toutefois. ainsy quil fault que tout prende. / fin par

¶.61r quelque moyen aduint vng Jour que celle dame a la visiter /
 ce bon Chiuailier et luy duist. Messire Philipe. Vous estes
 mon prisonnier comme vous scauez. et de ceo lieu ne pouez
 partir sanz mon / congiet Et il respondy. Madame il est ainsi
 mias quant il / vous plaira votre seignourie et courtoisie
 me ferra grace a la quelle / Jen supplie humblement. Car vous
 scauez et vees que ie suyz / en cage sil y auoit quelque bien
 en moy de me trouuer es lieux / ou les aultres cheualiers se
 occupent a present en lostiel de mon Prince / maistre et
 seigneur qui nount apresent point aultre empescement / ou
 ils fount comme il est renommiee par tout le monde de si /
 grans et honnestes escachements que leurs nous en sont exaul' /
 [. . . cancelled]chiez. Et a cause de mon emprisonnement je
 ne puis estre / ne comparoir dount il me desplaist et non

pour aultre cause Car / dieu mercy et vous tant que iay cy
 este je ny aye eu que courtoise /selong le le lieu dont ieo
 vous mercy tres humblement Quant la /dame le ouy si vertue-
usement et gracieusement parler meime de / pitie. et courtoisie
 sans volloir acquerre la Renommee destre cruelle / elle luy
 duist. messire philipe Je congnois asses par renommee vostre
 bone / Cheualeriee et de ceulx dont vous estes issus par quoy
 ie vous feray vng./ Jeu partye Cest se vous volles issir de
 ceste prison il fault que faciez pour / lamour de moy vng
 pas darmes courtoisez sanz nulle querelle. / aultre que damours
 en la fourme et maniere dont Je vous apporteray / demain lez
chapteres arthicules ainsi que ie voudray quilz sacom"/
 plissent Et se vous lacheues a votre honneur ieo vous asseure
 sur ma / foy que ie vous quittray entierment votre prison.
 Et se ainsy ne le / voulliez faire vous y demourez a Jamaiz.
 Quant ce bon cheualier enten"/dy loffre que la dame luy
 faisoit il eult telle joye que plus ne pouoit' / Car elle
 luy parloit de la chose du monde quil amoit myeulx afaire /
 et de mercya bien humblement. Et apres luy dist. Madame
 vous sam'/ble il que ie soie si bon que ieo puisse faire et
 accomplir votre noble / jntencion. Car sans moy excuser sil
 mest possible defaire chose / quy vous soit agreable Je y
 veullz employer telle puissance que dieu / nature mont donne
 f.61v Et quant il vous plaira vous me feres bailler / lesdits
chapteres et assignerez le temps quil vous plaira que ie les
 acom"/plisse et ie lez feray se dieu men donne ladventure.
 La dame luy dist / puis que vous men auez asseure ie Retourneray
 demain au matin / icy Et se vous aduertis quen accomplisse-
 ment votre dit pas vous Re"/tournerez tousiours au soir couchier

en ce perron jusques a la com'/plissement dicelluy Et
 Retournerez auson du cor que mon Nain / sonnera avec vng
 cheuallier que ie commetteray pour vous / seruir et accom-
 paignier. Car de ma parsonne Je ne puis estre' et / me souf-
 fist que la dit cheualier avec aucuns Officiers darmes me fa'/
 cent le Rapport checune soir de vous et de votre estate En
 moy Rap"/portant lez blazons darmes seulement des nobles
 hommes guy / pour le iour auront besongnier alencountre de
 vous Et ainsi dez / aultres iours jusques votre pas sera de
 touts points acomply Et / vous assure que pour leure paine
 et bonne veulente il ny aura / celluy a qui ieo ne face don-
 ner de par moy quelque petite baghe pour / souuenance Et
 se feray donner troys principaulx pris a trois / cheualiers
 ou escuiers. quy mieulx feront se long le contenn desdits /
chapters et descus que presenteront les dames ou demoiselles
 du / trespuissant duc de Bourgongne ou de madame la ducesse
 de / bourbon sa sereur ausquellz me recommandez tres humble-
ment / et Requerrez que ainsi le veullent faire quant vous lez
 verrez / Et au Jour que lez feray donner Je lez en feray
 requeire aussy / par mon cheualier a ce commis Et se vous
 voullés scauoir que sera ce / cheualier. ieo vous dis que ce
 sera Ernoul de crequy le quel est comme / Je suys aduertye
 de votre lignage. Et pour ce le vous ay je / vollu ordonner
 Car avec le bonne voullente quil a de / vous faire seruice
 Je luy ay expressement commande que ainsy / le face. Vous
 penserez ceste nuyt a ce que ieo vous ay dist / Et demain au
 matin me retourneray icy pouruene dez / chapters pour me
 f.62r fair sur tout votre Response' affin que ie / puisse pay temps
 pour ueir atout votre fait' Adont luy dist / le bon Cheualier.

Madame vous me distes tant dhonneur et / de Courtoisye que
 ie ne vous scaroye assez mercier & dieu me / doinst grace de
 la deseruir. Sur ce point se partie la dame du / Perron &
 y laissa le bon cheualier quy toute la nuyt ne fist que /
 penser a ce que la dame luy auoit dit pour liy en faire a
 len"/demain telle respõnce quelly luy peust estre agreable.
 Quant / la nuyt fuit passee et le iour venue la dame noblement
 ac'/compaignie retourna au Perron ainsy que* dit lauoit /
 tenant en sa main les Chapitles dont touchiet luy auoit /
 et les bailla au bon Cheualier quy les leut tout au long cy
 haut / quy ceulx quy estoyent layens les oyrent et entendirent
 tres"/bien Et puis dist Madame puis que cest votre noble
 plaisir / que je face le contenu en ces chapteres. Je vous
 prometz comme / noble Cheualier de lez acomplir a mon pouoir.
 Dont la dame le / mercia et dist. Et ie vous asseure que ie
 vous feray pour'/ueir de toutes choses qui vous seront neces-
 sairs. pour / faire votre pas. En vous sera en ce lieu cy
 tout apreste / tant cheuaulx harnois bastons etc aultrement
 Et / ainsy ordonnes quil me plaira qui sera bien a votre /
 plaisance. de ce ne faictes nulle doulte. Se vous auer'/
 tis que soyes prest de votre corps pour commencer au /
 premier iour de Januier. que sera mil iiiij^c. lxij. en la /
 ville de brouxelles en brabant pardeuant treshault & / tres-
 puissant Prince Philipe duc de Bourgoigne et de Brabant / que
 sera votre Juge. en aultrez telz quy luy plaira y mettre /
 Et en la presence des haultes et nobles princesses / dames et
 damoiselles de son hostel ou Jentens que sont / a present les

* guy corrected by dot and interlineation.

ducesses de Bourbon et de Gheldes et aul'/tres fil[.l.]es
de bourbon haultement et noblement acom'/paignies. dont ie
f.62v suye bien Je yeulx pour lamour de / vous ou en en aultre lieu
au bon plaisir du duk et a tielz / iours quy liy plaira. De
ceste parolle fu le bon Cheualier moult'/es merueilliez.
et dist a la dame en toute humilite Madame / vous me dittes
les plus grans merueillez du monde et ne / veulliez estre
male content de ce que vous demanderay / Et la dame luy dist
messire. Philipe dites tout ce quil vous / plaira et je le
veulz Et lors dist Madame je vous dis que / je ne scay se ie
dore ou se ie veille. ne par quelle aenture / je puis estre
en ce lieu ou se ie y suys en esperit seulement / ou tout vif.
ne en quel lieu ceste prison est assize ne en / quel pays sy
non que tant ya que au parler' ie vous en'/tens et touz ceulx
qui avec vous sont tresbien par quoy ie / presuppose estre en
ffrance. Et vous maues dit quil / me fault estre a brouxelles
en brief temps tout prison'/nier comme ie suys. et en ce
propre lieu. Se ne puis consi'/derer comment il se pourroit
faire et me pardonnez que si ru'/dement le vous demande!
La dame a ces parolles se prinst a"/sourire et luy dist court-
oisement. Messire Philipe ne faittez doubte / de quelque
chose quil vous soit auenu ne quil vous puist / auenir Et ne
penses. que de faire bonne chiere. et a votre pas / accomplir.
Je vous dis et respondz que lez aduentez du / monde sont
moult diuerses et merueilleuzes et eu depart / dieu et fortune
alun en vn facon et lautre en aultre for"/tune a vollen que
vous soyes mon Prisonnier dont je la mer'/cye. Et que soiez
en se Perron qui est de telle nature et moy / de telle puissance
et seignourie que par tout ou il me plaira. / le faire trans-
porter estre Remuer ou demourer en vng jn'/stant il y sera.
Et vous dedens. sans auoir nul dangier de / votre corps Et

si sera de telles coulleurs que ie vouldray quil / soit aux
 iours que vous besongnerez pour vous honnourer / et parer
 Ille sera Richement couuert dor dargent de vert / et de
 ¶.63r Rouge Et demours tel sans aultrement muer tant que / votre pas
 sera parfait et acomplye Et vous souffisse sans en / plus
 auant enquerre. Car en tout ce que ie vous ay dit il ny
 aura point de faulte par moy. Se faitz tellement quil nen /
 y ait. point de par vous se vous voulles estre quitte de ma /
 prison. A.vez parolles ne sceut le bon Cheualier que dire
 plus et / doubtoit de couroucier la dame et de faire chose
 dont elle peust / estre mal comptens fors quil luy dist pour
 toutes Resolucions / quil satendoit de tous poins a ce bonne
 grace Et sur ce se party / la dame du perron en prenant congiet.
 du bon Cheualier. Et luy / dist messire Philipe. Je prie
 dieu vous doinst si bien faire que / vous en puissiez los et
 pris par tout le monde acquerre Et / la bonne grace de toutes
 dames qui de vous orront parler. Et / vous dis que vous ne
 me verrez plus en ce lieu Jusques je / vous verray deliurer
 et quittier votre prison. Mais ie vous / laray lembourg le
 herault et mon Nain pour vous fair / service de ce que mestier
 vous sera. Qui sceuent ou ie me / tiengs le plus du temps
 par lesquelz ie scaray Journelement / de vous nouvelles et
 affaires pour y pourueir selonc que / le cas le Requerra et
 desirera. Et adieu. Quant le bon Cheualier / oy la dame si
 haultement et honnourablement parler il / fut ainsi comme tout
 esu anuy de Joye et ne vey ne oy plus / parler la dame. dont
 fort luy desplaet ' Neantmoins comme / Cheualier vertueux il
 se Resconforta en luy meismes Et se prinst / a deuiser
 lembourg en cest maniere. Lembourg puis / que vous aues la
 grace de madame de aller on il vous plaira / je vous prie que

ales hastiement deuers montresredoubte / et souueraigne
 seignour monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne / Et luy supplies
 tres humblement depar moy que son noble / plaisir soit que
 vous puissiez publier en son hostel et ail/leurs ou il luy
 f.63v plaira ses Chapteres. que madame du Perron / ,Phae. ma bailliet
 en votre presence et assigner telz iours quil / luy plaira Et
 quil me pardonne que ie ne suys ale de/uerz sa seignourie en
 moy excusant comme vous cong/noissies mes aduentures De ce
 faire fu lembourg tout / apreste. et se party du bon Cheualier
 quil laissa au Ferron / avec le Nain seulement et sen alla
 a Brouxelles. ou estoit / a cest heure le duc auquel il fist
 treshumbles Recommandacionz / et luy conta mot aprez toute
 ladventure et lenprisonnement / de ce bon Cheualier en la
 presence de toute la cheualrie de son hostel dont / ils se
 donnerent grant merueilles Et puis demanda le duc / a lembourg
 ou estoit ce Perron phae. et en quel pars Et quil / noy jamais
 parler que en son temps lez dames phaees eussent / puissance
 de rengnes ne seignourir en ces pays et quil pen/soit que
 lancien temps reuenoit comme il fasoit du temps du / Roy
 Artus. Et pareillement disoient lez aultres cheualiers Je ne /
 scay que cest dist. lembourg mais tant vous di je que ladame /
 est plaine de grant honneur et bonte et quelle parle vng tres /
 beau francoys. mais que ie vous seusse plainement duc le pais /
 ou ce perron est assis ne par quelle aenture il y est Je
 ne le / scay Mais se cest vne noble plaisir que ie puplie ces
 chapteres que / veez icy en votre presence et touz ceulx quy
 y sont mon maistre / le bon Cheualier de lalaing. vous en
 suplye treshumblement Lors. / dist le duc lizieez les ditz
 chapteres. et ie y auray mon aduis. / Lembourg leut lesdits

chapteres. tout hault et au long qui estoient si honnourables
 quil ny ot duc prince ne seigneur quil / ne deist cest dame
 est de grant honneur Et veons bien quel / veult resueiller de
 entre nous les cuers endormis et vicieux / et benoite soit
 elle' Car elle a esleu vng cheualier entre lez aultrez / de
 nostre hostel quy est pour lez mener a fin et a complir / et
 dieu ly en doinst lauenture Et ie suys content que vous /
 f.64rlez publiez chienz et ailleurs ou il vous a Requis. Et a
 ceulx qui / toucheront aux trois escus a lun ou aux deux
 vous leur assig/neres iour quilz soient prestes et appareil-
 liez de toutz choses / pour fournir lentreprise du pays selonc
 les chapteres de la dame / au perron phae en cest nostre ville
 de brouxelles au premier iour / de Januier qui sera lan mil
 iiii^c. lxii. Et on cas que nous affairs / seroient telz et
 si grans que ny peussions entendre nos luy fe'/rions par vous
 scauoir de bonne heure et a ceulx qui auroient / touchiet a
 cez escus Et ainsi luy dices de par nous en la sal'/uant quant
 le venres Le herault le mercya treshumblement / et print congiet
 du duc' Apres vindrent pluseurs Cheualiers et es'/cuiers deuers
 lembourg et luy demanderent ou estoit ce perron / et sez escus
 a quoy il falloit touchier affin quilz y peussent / aler toucher
 par temps' lembourg leur respondy. Messieurs. je ne / le vous
 scaroye vrayement dire que ie naye parle a madame./ qui en est
 le seigneur mais bien brief Retourneray ce ens et le / vous scaray
 adire Et sur ce prinst congie et sen Retourna deuers / la dame
 sauoir ou il luy plairot que le perron et lez escus fussent /
 mys pour le dire aux nobles hommes quy y vouldrent venir ' La /
 dame ly dist lembourg il sera demain au matin a brouxelles / et
Messire Philipe dedens en fourme dune Roche de pierre dure et /

grise et les trois Escus noir violet et grise pendans au perron /
 que mon Nain gardera ' et ce y aura vng cor de veneur ossy /
 pendant au perron que seront tenus de sonner tous ceulx / qui
 voudront touchier ausdits escus. et quant quils y touchent /
 pour auertir le Nain de ce quil aura adire et ales dire a mes-
 sire / Philipe tout ce que auez trouue en lostel du duc de
 Bourgongne / et ossy ma vollente et quil face bonne chiere et
 le me saluez. "/ Lembourg se trouua au perron ou il trouua le
 nain dehors qui / tantot le mist dedens et Salua le bon cheualier
 de par / le duc de / Bourgongne et de par messieurs les princes
 de son hostel Recom/mandacions fraternelles. de par les cheua-
 liers escuiers darmes et / damoiselles. que moult le desiroient
 ¶.64v a veir quitte et deliure de son / aenture Ossy de par la dame
 de perron qui luy faisoit sauoir que / le perron et luy dedens
 sans nulle faulte seroit le lendemain bon / matin en la ville
 de Brouxelles. et que au dit Perron seroient / penduz trois
 escus Cest assauoir. lun noir lautre gris. et le tierce / violet
 avec vng cor de veneur que sonneront touts ceulz quy / voudront
 besongnier a lencontre de vous selong lez escus aquoy ils /
 toucheront Et le Nain de madame qui est icy lez mettera par /
 escript ainsy quilz vendront Et aux escus a quoy ils toucheront /
 [Et le Naine de madame ~~erased~~] il dira laenture de lescu et
 quel chose ils deue/ront faire' Et ainsi le vous mande madame
 Sire nain le faitz / tellement quil ny ait que dire en v~~otre~~
 fait sur paigne destre / pugni a sa bonne voullente ' Et le
 Nain respondi fierement / Lembourg. ie ay bien autrefois este
 commis afaire plus grant / chose que ceste ou ie nay point fait
 defaulte ancoires feray bien / ce personnaige*'. Messire Philipe

* i interlineated, but no caret.

a ces parolles fu tant Jeyoillx que / plus ne pouoit et ne
desiroit que soy trouuer avec sez nobles hommez / de sa congnois-
sance et faire ce que la dame luy auoit commande / et que promis
ly auoit' se passerent la plus parte de la nuyt / en jeyeuzes
deuisez Lendemain se trouua. et son perron dedens / brouxelles
toute appointie ainsi que la dame auoit dit au he"/rault Quant
lez princes Cheualiers et Escuiers de lostel du duc / sceurent
que le perron estoit illec chacun le aloit veir a grant mer/
ueilles Et veirent cez trois escus et ce cor pendeu au perron
que / le nain gardoit a grant dilligence Et demandoient chacun
lun / aprez lautre de quoy ces escus ser[ΛuΛ]oient et ce cor.
Et le nain leur / respondoit sur tout le disant se vous estes
tellez ne si vous di tou/chier si le me dites. Endya disoient ilz
nain puis que vous y estes / commis vous nous direz sil vous
plaist de quoy ce cor sert et lez / trois Escus et puis nous arons
aduis que nous deuerons / fair. En non dieu dit le nain il ya
assez de telz en la compaignie quant ils y vouldroient touchier
f. 65r que ie ne les recepueroie / pas Et pour quoy dirent aulcons Et
le nain dist le pas qui se fera / alencontre dun cheualier qui
est icy prisonnier est si haultement et / noblement ordonne de
par madame ma maistresse que nullz luy / porra besongnier sil nest
noble homme cest le premier point ' Oul/tre que sonnera ce cor
il sera tenu de touchier a lun de cez trois / escus. Et vous
dis qui touchera au noir escu qui est le premier / il sera tenu
de courre vn lance de guerre afers esmolus la / pointe coppee
au Rout sans esgreuir[.cancelled]re et apres combatre des/pees
aux trenchanx Rabatues et la pointe coppee en freant de / hault
de long et de trauers & non destoc sur paine dhonneur / et de
pardre le pris tant et si longuement que xxvij. coups / despee

soient fais ferns et a complis de lun diceulx montez / et armes
 en selles et harnois de guerre et sur telz cheuaulx / quil leur
 plerra ' Et Incontinent que ie sonneray ce cor ils seront /
 tenuz acomplis et deuera chascun cessar la bataille et soy /
 retraire a son rencq. Oultre qui touchera a cest escu violet /
 il sera tenuz de courre xiiij. cours de lances armees et gar/
 nies de Roches courtois de Roindelles et dagrappes que ma/dame
 fournya a tous venans a ses despens soyent ou non / rompues et
 non plus et seront montes et armes en harnois / de guerre et non
 aultrement Et apres leurs coursses acomplies ils seront tenus
 de eulx tirer a leur rencq Aussy quy / touchera a lescu gris.
 il sera tenuz de fournir et acomplir / a lencontre du Cheualier
 Prisonnier xvij. coursses de lances / garnies comme dist est es
 deffenieres montes et armez / de harnois de Jouste et selles de guerre
 Et icelles acomplies / soy retraire comme touchie est desuis.
 Et entendes bien ce / que ie vous die affin que ne facies faulte
 et chose dont / vous puissies estre Reprise Et encoires fault que
 entre / vous qui y toucheres prometez la foy que vous deuez a dieu /
 et a votre dames que se vous naues vraye et leale ensongne /
 r.65v que vous comparrez aux iours quy vous seront assignes par /
 Lembourg le herault et au lieu quil vous dira ou fera sauoir /
 Et vous suffisse de ceo que ie vous en ay [. . . cancelled] dit
 Et qui y vult / touchier si y touche mais quil soit telle que
 parauant / dit ay et non aultre ils sount de commencement a leur /
 perilz et aentures Et nulz ne se oublie de nommer / affin que ie
 les puisse dire a madame Et le premier que / y toucha fu vng
 noble nomme bourgingnon nomme / herry de stice escuier Et puis
 lez aultrez jusques au no'/mbre de iiij^{xx}. et vj. mais pour lez
 affaires qui sourundrent / a monsieur le duc Cestassauoir dune

grande ambassade · quil enuoya / deuerz le Roy dont monsieur de
 croy et aultrez emmenerent en / leur compaignie grant foison
 Ossy de monsieur de neuers qui / estoit dehors qui auoit plusieurs
 gentilz hommes avec luy / qui auoient touchie lez quelez ny peurent
 estre A ceste / cause il nen y ot que lxi. tant cheualiers comme
 escuiers dont / lez nons et leurs fais seront cy apres au long
 declariez en'/samble lez blazons de leurs armes et touz leurs
 abillements. / Au quel le nain dist herry de stice Je vous dis
 que aussi / tost que vous aures fait alencontre du cheualier
 prisonnier ce / que maues promis a faire que votre blazon darmes
 sera hoste par / lembourg et de moy porte a madame car ainsi le
 ma elle / commande le vous dire et a touts lez autres Et de ce
 ne veul'/lies estre mal contens Car elle ne le fait que pour auoir /
 entierement vraye congnoissance de vous Et que ia ne / seront mis
 en lieu ou vous ne aultre en puist auoir blasme / Mais a bien
 Intencion de lez faire mettre en tel lieu que ne / sera alexal-
 tacion de voz nomz et de voz armes a james / et de ce ne faitz
 nulle doubte Quant herry ot oy / le nain ainsi parler et Ossy
 66r tous lez aultres de toutz lez / choses dount il auoit le charge
 de la dame ils furent fort contens & / joyeux Et promirent au
 Nain quilz seroient prest de fair tout ce / qil auoient dit &
 promis a leur pouoir aux lieux et iours qui leur / seroit assigne
 et que ainsi le desist a sa dame a la quelle ils se recom/mand-
 oient humblement et aussi au cheualier desist quil le desiroient
 / fort a veoir et la deliuerance de la prison et que dieu len
 vaulsist / iettez a son honneur Sur lez parolles se parti le Nain
 et dist quil / feroit tresoyen son Rapport a sa dame de tout ce
 quil auoit veu / et ouy et emporta tous leurs noms par escript
 Quant le / premier iour de Januier approca monsieur le duc

declaira et fist / scauoir partout quil ne pouoir entendre affaire
 besongnier au / pas que estoit crye estre fait a brouxelles et
 quil remetoit le iour / a vi^e. iour de feurier audit lieu de broux-
 elles. lembourg le fist / scauoir a la dame du perron et puis
 elle le manda ainsi au bon / Cheualier prisonnier qui luy fu
 assez grant[ades]plaisir mais sa grant / vertu et valleur luy
 fist assez legierment passer amcoires de / monseigneur le duc
 que le pas desus dit fuist fait au dit vi^e. iour de feurir se
 le fist ralongier au xxviij^e. iour daprill enssuivant quy fut
 lan / mil iiij^c. lxiii^e. et assigner le lieu pour le faire en la
 ville de bruges / et ainsi le fist publier en son hostel pour touz
 auters lieux Quant / la dame au perron phae sceult que la iour
 estoit ralongie et re/mise a bruges elle le fist scauoir au
 bon Cheualier son prisonnier et dou/cement le fist resconforter
 et quil le vaulsist prendre en gree. Car le retardement ne venoit
 point a sa cause mais que cestoit / la pleasir du duc de ainsi
 le faire Et quil feust seur pie cez be/songnes et affaires
 senporteroient mieulx en touts facons Quant / ce bon Chualier
 ouy lez gracieusez parolles que la dame le man/doit. son cuer se
 Resleua et la joy luy redoubla. ne de sa prison / ne luy chaloit
 sinon de latente seulement Mais puis quil ne se / pouoit faire
 autrement il estoit content et soy recommandant / tousiours tres
 humblement a la bon grace de sa dame luy priant / que en touts
 sez fais elle leust et vaulsist tenir en sa noble memoire / Et
 66v avec que son fait en toutz choses fut sibien prepare quil ne /
 peust issir a son honneur que plus luy touchoit que nulle riens.
 De / ce dist le message de la dame ne faites nulle doubte Car
 ie vous / assure quelle y entent a toute dilligence Et on vous
 deuere / besongnier et ceulx quelle a ordonne a vous tenir

compaignie / et faire seruire sarez avec tout ce qui vous sera
 mestier ainsi / que promis le vous a se soies de votre cors
 tous iours prest a besong/nier aux iours qui vous seront segnef-
 fiez et assignez Durant / ce temps monsieur le duc se party de
 brouxelles et sen ala a bruges / et fist dire aux seigneurs et
 gouuerneurs de la ville quil volloit le / pas de messire Philipe
 de lalaing estre fait illec Et quilz preparas' sent leur marchiet
 pour ce faire et feissent prouision de touts / choses pour fournir
 vne telle feste. Ceux de bruges vindrent / deuers le duc et le
 mercient tres humblement et luy promie/rent quilz se efforcero-
 ient de faire tout le mieulx quilz pour/roient comme il firent.
 Car ils firent clorre vne grant / partye de leur marchiet de
 haultes liches Et sur lez costes fair / de grans heurs de bois
 bien riches entre lez quelles en y auoit / vng pour monsieur le
 duc se estre il volloit ou autrez quil y com/meteroit Et chacun
 en droit soy se enforcer de bien faire et de / faire et de fair
 prouisions pour recepuoir ceulx qui a celle feste vendroient
 se poues entendre que tout fu bien ordonne Car / bruges est vng
 ville entre lez autrez du monde ou len Receuer / le plus aysiement
 tout ce quil fault affaire vne grant feste / pour touts viures
 et marchandises a cause quelle est sibien / seruye de la mer et
 pour lez grands et Riches marchans qui / y sont et qui y viennent
 de touts pars. Quant le xxviij^e / iour dapuril fu venu au plus
 matin eussiez veu au bout / du marchiet deuers le north le perron
 phae grant est et mer/ueilleux le quel estoit de quatre couleurs
 ainsi que la dame / auoit promis. Cestassauoir. dor dargent de
 Rouge et de vert / @ Et le bon chiuallier dedens sain et en bon
 point de touts sez mem/bres. Et ^{aux} quatre coingz y auoit quatre grant
 griffons a./tachies dune grosse chaine dor chacun deuant le perron
 estoit. le / Nain de la dame assis bien hault que tenoit en sa
 main vn gros / baston vestu dun Riche drape dor bleu & fulle dune
 barrette de vel/lours noir' Audit perron pendoient lez trois escus

dessus dit noir / violet & gris et le cor de veneur le quel
 estoit dor' Et pardeuaunt / le dit perron bien hault estoient
 touts lez blasonz darmez des / nobles hommes qui deuoient beson-
 gnier assis & mys par ordre. / ainsi quilz auoient touchie et
 quilz deuoient besongnier sans / auoir regart a haulteszez ne
 grandeur. Car ainsi lauoit or'/donne le duc lez princes et
 grans seigneurs de son hostel pour / oster lez ennyes ou haynes
 que sen eussent peu ensuivir." Les chi/ualiers et escuiers et
 lez officiers darmes qui estoient ordonnees / pour acompaignier
 et seruir ce au bon Cheualier prisonnier furent / trestouts
 prestz attendant leure que le deuk et lez dames venis/sent sur
 lez rencqz." Ce iour alapres disner vind mais pource/que mons-
 eigneur le duc nest pas tresbien dispose de son corps il coumist /
 pour tenir son lieu come Juges en son hourt de monseigneur de /
 Moreul. de messire Philipe Pot seigneur de la Roche en bourgongne
 et toi/son doir lez quellz y furent touts lez iours que len y
 besongna / Jusques en la fin et monsieur se tiengt avec lez
 dames en vng / hostel de bourgeois a lautre coste et droit alencontre
 desdis / Juges commis par luy pour lez myeulx veir et touts lez
 fai/sans a son ayse En venant sur lez rencz eussiez veu le duc
 prin/ces et grant nobles montes sur courssiez qui faisoient lez
 grans / saux Madame de bourbon et sez filles autrez grant foison /
 dames et damoiselles en chariotes sus hagnences et dossiere ces /
 Cheualiers et escuiers Richement adoubees et pensees que sans
 emder nestoit ce pas daultrez gens de toute facion tant a chival /
 comme a piet y. auoit tant sus lez Rues que lon ny scauoit /
 67v comment aller. touts les maisons dessus le marchie plaines et /
 touts les hours si chargietez que cestoit chose Inestimable.
 Quant / chacun fu mys en son lieu et le bruit du peuple apaisiet

vecy ve/nir herry destice ainsi que promis lauoit monte et
 armie bien / gentement Et pour sa parure auoit sur son harnois
 de teste / vng plumas blanc et bleu. Et sur son Cheual vng
 harnas. //de velours noir chargiet de campanes et de feuilles
 dargent / quant il vient a leutree des lices. il les trouua
 fermees et tres. / bien gardees de messire morlet de Renti
 Cappitaine des archiers / de monsieur le duc acompaignie des
 archiers en grant nombre / et la saresta tant que messire
 Ernoul de crequy Cheualier commis / de par la dame du perron
 phae. compaignie de deux Roys dar/mes. Cest assauoir. le
 roy de fflandres et le Roy dartois qui alerent / audeuant
dudit herry alentree des dittes lices. et luy demanda / le
 dit Cheualier commis qui estes vous' et il respondez. Je sus
 henry / destice qui me viengz presenter pour faire et acomplir
 a mon / pouoir ce que iay promis a la dame du perron phae
 ainsi que / luy manday par son nain. Et le cheualier commis
 fist ouurir les / bailles et le fist entreer dedens et sa
 compaignie Et puy ly / dist herry. Vous soiez le tresbien
 venu et faitz vng tour sur / lez Rens en faisant Reuerence au
 duc et aux princes et prin/cesses et aux Juges commis de par
 le duc et puis vous tenes / a votre rencq Incontinent verrez
 le cheualier prisonnier issir du per/ron tout prest de vous
 recepuoir ainsi que madame le vous / fist dire par son nain
 a brouxelles'. Apres ces parolles dittes / lez quatre griffons
 qui estoient aux coings du perron / tirerent lun contre lautre
 de si grant force quil ouurirent / le perron par le milieu si
 largement que le chiu^hualier prison/nier monte et arme en issy
 tout a son ayse et ceulx. quy / avec luy estoient quy apportoint

deux lances et deux espees / lez quatrez lances ils bail-
 F.68r lerent aux deux roys darmes et lez / deux espees au cheualier
 commis quy porterent aux Juges pour scauoir / cellez estoient
 equales fu Jugiet que ouy. Et apres le Juge/ment fait le
cheualier & Roys darmes lez porterent a herr des/tice. pour
 choisir de chacun vne il prinst vng lance et vne / espee et
 les aultrez ils Reporterent au Cheualier prisonnier quy / ses-
 toit tire a part prest de besongnier et luy builla monsieur /
 de boussut so beau frere mari de sa sereur Premièrement / le-
 spes quil mist en sa maine senestre et quil tint avec le Rengne /
 de sa bride de son cheual tant quil eult accompli la cource /
 de sa lance. Apres luy bailla monsieur de boussut sa lance
 Et / pour la compaignier sur lez renes y estoient messire
 Josse / et Symon de lalaing frers le galoy de crequy monsieur
 daue/lin et pleuseurs aultres gentilz hommes de henan Pour /
 sa parure auoit vne barde sur son cheual couuerte de ve/lours
 noir semee de lettres Rommaines brodees de fil dor Et / sur
 lesdits tres pour lez enricher estoient frazetees de brodure /
 dor bordee de franges copponnee. dor et de soy noire' Ce
 fait chacun se tira apart adont le cheualier et herry fereient
 cheuaulx / des esperons vindrent lun contre lautre les lances
 baissie que / nuls deux ne rompe passerent ultiere et les getter-
 ent jus puis / Retournerent les espees espoingz et sapprocer-
 ent et glatirent / bien esgrement tant et si longuement que
 herry accompli ses / xxvij. coups des pec et le Cheualier
 prisonnier en fery xix. et non plus / quant le nain vey que
 herry auoit fait. et acompli ces / xxvij coups despee il sonna
 le cor dor pour faire cesser la bataille la/quelle ils firent
 Incontinent sans plus en faire Et se Retray / le cheualier
 prisonnier en son perron que les griffon luy ouurirent / et
 henry a son Renc Et vint prendre congie au duc aux da/mes et

aux Juges deSheaulme. Et passa deuant le cheualier pri/son-
 nier a quy il fist la reuerance et toucha en sa mayn et /
 .68v puis sen ala a son hostel acompaignie de ceulx qui lauoient /
 amene. Et quant il fuist hors dez Rengz le Cheualier prison-
 nier / Rentra au dit perron tout arme et non deuant que ledit /
 herry ne fust dehors. lembourg monta ou les blazons dar/mes
 estoient et en hosta cely de herry destice puis le porta /
 au duc et luy presenta et le duc luy fist Repporter au nain /
 qui le garda pour le porter a la dame du perron phae ainsi /
 que dit et ordonne estoit aux chapteres que la dame auoit /
 baillie Et porte ledit herry en ses armes."/

@ Tout ainsi quil fuist fait a herry destice et pareilles
suite / memes furent faitz a touts les autres qui auoient
 touchie / a lescu noir tant en leurs venues en Requeillotte
 en bail/lant lez bastons en faisant les batailles et retraittes
come / aultrement sauf que pour ce quilz nooyent pas bien
 tost le cor / dor que le nain sonnoit meschamment et quilz
 estoient en/tentifz combatre le Cheualier commis tautost qil
 ouoit le cor sonner il / les aloit prendre sus et separir et
 Ramener le Cheualier prisonnier en son / Rencq Et si ne rentroit
 pas tous iours en son perron Mais / au surplus tout fuit fait
 ainsi a lune comme a lautre par / quoy je ne le Reprederay
 plus pour la premier Journee lez choses / dessusdits Et
 procederay dilligamment de mettre par escript ceulx / quy
 vindrent au premier iour et comment ils estoient abillies /
 et lez batailles seullement"/

@Monsieur de grinberghe noblement acompaignies vint le ij^e.
 de / ceulx qui auoient touchie a lescu noir bien et Richement /
 monte et arme Et pour sa parure auoit vng plumas / noir sur son
 harnois de teste. Et sur son cheual vng har/nas de velours
 ..

noir borde de larmes de fil dore. le seconde che/ual sur quoy
 f.69re estoit vng paige bien gentement abillie et / portoit vne lance
 de guerre en sa main a quoy penda vne bien / longue varence
 auoit vng harnas de vellours noir a vng / Rosier dargent couuert
 de Roses Et sur la cruppe du ditte / Cheual vng gros bouton
 dargent non espany Et le har/nas borde de poires dargent Sur
 le tiercz cheual auoit / vng aultre paige portant vng vouge
 le quel auoit vne / harnas de velours noir chargie de campanes
 dargent il / entra dedens lez lices a tout sa parure et ceulx
 qui lacom/paignoient et fist la Reuerance par toute en
 tournant / sur les Renes Et luy fu porte par le cheualier com-
 mis et les / Roys darmes les lances et espees comme il fut fait
 a hen'/ry destice. Et pareillement au Cheualier prisonnier
 qui desia / estes issu de son perron ainsy monte et arme quil
 fist la / premiere foiz sans riens changier Et luy fu baillie
 la lance / et lespee par monsieur de boussut dont il fist ainsi
 quil auoit / fait la premiere foiz deuant Et fut ordonne pource
 que / grant foison gens entroient dedens les lices qil ne
 demouroit / que trois hommes avec lestrangier pour la seruir
 et le / surplus isseroit dehors ainsi en fu...fait dillec en
 auant a / touts lez autres quant chacun Se fut tire apart
 lez deux cheualiers / baisserent les lances quilz ne Rompir-
 ent point et les jetterent / Jus Puy vindrent hastiuement
 combatre dez espees tant / et si longuement que le cheualier
 prisonnier en feri xxvj et le / seigneur de grinberghe xxvij^e.
 le cor fu sonne par le naine / et le cheualier [prisonnier a
 son Rencq erased] commis lez prinst sus se / Remena le cheualier
 prisonnier a son rencq et le seigneur de grinberghe / se retrait
 au sien ou il se fist desheaumer Et puis ala prendre / congie

au duc aux dames aux Juges. Et au cheualier quil trou/ua
 tout arme lespee au poing Mais quant il prinst con'/gie de
 luy il toucha en sa main et mist Jus lespee Et puy / se

69v Retrait monsieur de grinberghe en son loges et le Cheualier
 demoura / au dehors du perron sans rentrer ens pour ceste
 fois a'/tendans vng aultre Et porte mondit seigneur de grin-
 berghe en / ses armes."/

@ Messire philipe bastart de brabant auoit sur son harnas de
 teste / vng plumas blanc et violet et sur son cheual vng
 harnas de da/mas blanc atrois pendans brodes de Rozes. enrichy
 de fil dor de venise / Le cheual sur quoy estoit son paige
 auoit vne couuerte de sa'/tin figure violet blochie de fil
 dor par tout borde de drap blanc / decoppe et portoit ce paige
 vne lance ou pendoit vne varence et / pour lacompaignier
 auoit quatre gentil hommes a hocque/tons blancz et violet my
 party et leurs cheuaulx vne cou/uerte de satin violet figure
 bordees de blanc drap decoppe Et ne / Rompirent point leurs
 lances mais le dit Bastard acomply / les xxvij. coups despee
 Et le cheualier xxiiij."/

@ Monsieur Jehan de Luxembourg vint acompaignie de monsieur
 de saint / pol. monsieur Jacques son frere monsieur le conte
 debrienne aisne filz / de saint pol. monsieur de fiennes et
 autrez pleuseurs cheualiers et es'/cuiers la couuerte de son
 cheual nestoit que dun harnas de ve'/lours de fil dor Son
 premier paige portoit vne lance de guerre / Et la couuerte de
 son cheual de velours noir bordee de velours tane / La couuerte
 du seconde paige estoit de drap dor cramoise bordee / de vellours
 noir Et rompi le cheualier sa lance et monsieur Jehan non /

mais il acomply ses xxvij. coups despee. et le Cheualier non fery / que vi. Et fait acroire que pour le josne enge quauoit / mondit seigneur Jehan que le cheualier qui estoit plaine de toute courtoy'/sie en souffry et le vault bien deporter"/

Monsieur Jaques de bourbon vint acompaignie de monsieur de / charollois monsieur de cleues monsieur de Rauestain monsieur de / Saintpol et pluseurs aultres grans seigneurs cheualiers et escui/ers Et auoit sur son harnas de teste nommee barbutte / vne grande valence pendant jusques la terre et vng / plumas vermeil de velours brode tout a lentour de fil dor sur / son

f.70rcheual vne couuerte de velours bleu en Richie de petites feuilles / dargent pendans a petis boutons dor. Et ne Rompirent point leurs lances mais mondit seigneur Jaques acomply lez xxvij. coups / despee, et de cheualier. xxi./

@ Messire Josse de lalaing auoit sur sa barbutte plumas blancq / vermeil et noir chargie dorffauerie doree et vne valence. pendans jusques en bas et sur son cheual vne couuerte de vel/lours cramoisi et sur son chamffrain pareil plumas du he/aulme et ne Rompirent point leurs lances et acomply le dite / messire Josse xxvij. comps despee. et le cheualier.xxi. /

@ Jehan darsson auoit sur son heaulme vne banerolle de vi/olet et dessus larmes de brodure dargent et sur son cheual vne / couuerte de satin blancq sur la quelle auoit vne ruee de / brodure dont partoient larmes noires qui sespardoient partout / la dit couuerte et lesdits larmes chargeez dorffauerie et ne Rompirent point leurs lances Et accomplirent chacun xxvii. coups"/ despee./

@ Jehan de Saint marcel auoit sur son heaulme vne banerolle de / viollet et vne barre de noir par la millieu chargie dargent / et sur son cheual vng harnas de vellours noir a vng pen/dant sur le quel estoient escriptes lettres de brodure dor et ne /

Rompirent point leurs lances. Mays le dit Cheualier luy fist /
 perdre son espee laquelle monsieur Adolf de cleues luy rendi par /
 lordonnance du dit Cheualier de la tout passe dame du perron et
 a/comply ledit. Jehan lez xxvij. coups despee. et le dite
cheualier xxiiij /

@ Ghuiot de Songuy anoit sur son heaulme vne varence pen/dante
 jusques en terre brodee de lettrez Romaines dor et frangez a/len
 tour de soye blanche copponne de bleue et sur son cheual / vne
 couuerte de taffetas gris et violet et dessus grans lettrez /
 .70v de brodure dor et sur son chamffrain plumas gris et violet /
 et fut le dit Guiot desarme du grant Gardebras de course de /
 lance mais ils ne Rompirent point leurs lances et accompli/rent
 chacun xxvij. coups despee"/

@ Charles de courcelles auoit vne couuerte de taffetas noir
 et / larmes de vellours cramoisi dessus atechees de brodure dor
 et bordee de vellours pareil et sur son chamffram plumas noir /
 et Rouge et ne Rompy nulz sa lance et accomplirent chacun /
 xxvij coupz despee. Et est pour la seconde Journee' /

@ La tierce Journee qui fu le desrain d'apuril on ne fist rien
 pour / ce que lez gens de monsieur de charollois nestoient point
 prest et le premier iour de may fu le pas continue Jusques au
 Joeudy / enssuivant. v^e iour dudit mois pour la solempnite de la
 procession de bruges et aultres chosez au quel v^e. iour /
 ledit cheualier auoit / vne barde couuerte de vellours noir
 bordee dor en maniere / de bastons et de brandons de feu semes
 partout la ditte couuerte / et frangee dor copponne de soye
 noire" /

@ Messire Anthone de croy auoit sur son heaulme vne vallence
pen/dant jusques a terre et plumas noir et sur son cheual
vne cou"/uerte de drap dor vert bordee de vellours cramoisi
et dessus lar/mes de satin blanc atechies a brodure et sur
don chanffram / plumas noir et ne Rompirent point leurs
lancez et acomply / le dit croy les xxvii. coups despee. et
le cheualier xxi." /

@ Philipe de bourbon auoit vne couuerte de taffetas bleu en ma/niere de barbe et houppes dessus de fil dor boutees en vng bouton / dor et de soy alentour brode de fil dor et sur son chamffram / plumas noir et vng petit rouge au dessus et luy mist le / dit. cheualier a la seconde coursse sa lance dessoubz la bras mais / ne Rompirent point leurs lances et acomplirent chacun / xxvij. coups."/

@ Messire Anthone bastart de brabant auoit. denant luy vng / **¶.71^r** homme a cheual vestue de Jaune et sy auoit vng grant ge"/ant quy le menoyt et deux hommes sauuaiges quy destroyent / ledit geant et sur son heaulme vne touffe de duuet et dessus / vn creste de cramoisi chargee dorffauerie doree et sur son / cheual harnas de vellours bleu brode de fil dor et de larmes / et sonnettes dargent en maniere de poires et au dessus de la / cruppe du cheual vne grosse sonnette ronde et rompy le dit / cheualier sa lance et messire Anthoine non. et acomply ledit cheualier / les xxvij. coups despee et ledit messire anthoine. xiiij. /

@ La ditte Journee le dit cheualier prist cheiual nouveau et a"/uoit sur son heaulme vne vallence pendans bien bas et son / cheual vne couuerte dor sur or en maniere de gauffrure / [de brodure et des/sus lozengnes in margin] de brodure dargent semees sur laditte couuerte et dedens . lesdits / lozengues petis ys de fourme quy estoyent de soy viollet / et borde de vellours vio/et brodee dor et de soye en maniere de / Jennettes et de Frangee de soye bleue audessoubz de la bordure. /

@ Apres vindrent lez gens de monsieur de Charollois dont les nomiz senssuit acompaigniez de mondit seigneur et de monsieur Ja"/ques de bourbon monsieur de cleues monsieur adol et pluseurs

aultrez / Cheualiers et escuiers vestus de hocquetons de drap dor viollet et des/soubz drap noir de coppe reserue mondit seigneur de Charollois et "/> princes. /

@ Monsieur de Saintpol auoit chincq couertes et vn cheual barde / que lon menoit en main et auoit sur son healme plumas / noir et viollet sur vne licorne dargart et a lentour dicelle / franges dor et sur luy vne escherpe dor pendans Jusques sur lez / costes du cheual quy estoit couert de velleurs noir et viol/let chargie dorffauerie dor et dargent en maniere de grans / feuilles et de houppes de brodure dore de sa deuse et chargie / de campanes dargent moytie doreez en fachon de poires / frangee dor et copponne de soye noir et sus le chanffrain / plumas noir et viollet "/

71v @ La seconde couerte estoit de drap dor noir et viollet et fran/gee dor copponnee de soye noire. La tierche estoit de drap dor / cramoisi et noir et fourree et bordee de marthes. la quarte / estoit de vellours bleu et chergie dorffauerie dor et dargent / et de lettres de brodure dor dunne deuse en bende sur laditte / couerte et fourree et bordee dermines. la quinte estoit de / drap dor gris deuant et desriere de cramoisi chergie derffa'/uerie dor et dargent et bordee de vellours noir brode de lettres / dor la barde du cheual que lon menoit en main estoit de drap / dor cramoisi fourree de lettiches et plumas touz pareulx / de coulleurs des couertis qui portoient et rempirent touz / deux leurs lances et acomply ledit seigneur de Saint pol lez xxvij / coups despee et le dit Cheualier xx. "/

@ Monsieur Jaques de luxembourg auoit sur son healme plumas / noir et viollet et vne couerte sur son cheual de drap dor / noir et viollet chargie dorffauerie doree et blanche en maniere /

de grans feuilles et de chiffres de sa deuse et dessus le col
 et la / cruppe du dit cheual frangee de fil dor et sur toute
 le couuerte / sonnettes dargent en fachen de grosses poires
 et frangee a / lencontre de fil dor copponne de soye viollette
 et rompirent touts / deux leurs lances et sur son chanffram
 plumas noir & viollet / monsieur Jaques fery lez xxvij. coups.
 et ledit cheualier xxj."/

@ Drien de humieres auoit vne couuerte de damas noir et viol'/
 let et ne rompirent point leurs lances et a comply ledit cheualier
 / xxvij coups despee et drien xvj.'/

@ Jehan de damas auoit vne couuerte de vellours noir et viol'/let
 et sur son chamffram plumas noir blanc et bleu et ne rompy /
 point sa lance et le dit cheualier rompy la sienne et de la
 puissance / du chival audit cheualier. ledit Jehan et son
 cheual fust porte par / terre et a comply ledit cheualier xxvij.

72r coups et le dit damas xix^e. / Apres ce ledit Jehan de damas.
 remonta sur son cheual et parfist / sez coups. despee et est
 pour la tierche Journee dudit pas."/

Charle de happlaincourt auoit vne couuerte de damas noir et
 viollet et fu desarme ledit charle du grant gardebras / de
 coursse de lance mais ne rompirent point leurs lances / et quant
 ce vint aux espees ledit cheualier perdi la sienne de son /
 coup meismes sans ce que le dit charle en fust cause et par /
 lordonnance des Juges fu rendue audit Cheualier par les offici'/
 ers darmes et la reprinst mais Incontinent le Jetta au / longz
 et vint a la main contre le dit charle qui tenoit la sienne /
 dont il se deffendoit contre le dit Cheualier les aucuns dient
 que ledit / charles quant il vist que le cheualier estoit sans

espee il Jetta le / sienne Jus et nen firent plus. Mais tout-
effois il le constrains tant quil luy fist perdre et nen
firent plus."

@ Le vendredye. vj^e. Jour du mois ledit cheualier auoit sur
son cheual vne / barde painte dor et dazur et dautres couleurs
et frangee de / soye bleue et le col arme de maille dachier"
Guillaume de ffally auoit vne couuerte de damas noir et bordee
de / damas blancq et dessus le cruppe vne campane dargent et
sur / son chanffram plumas noir et blancq et desoubz sa couuerte
vng / harnas de vellours noir a vng pendant brode de lettres
dor et lesdits / lettres frangees dor et dessus la cruppe vne
aultre grosse campane / syr vne ra[.] dargent et rompy ledit
cheualier sa lance et ledit guillaume / non et acomplirent cha-
cun xxvij coups despee."/

@ Jehan de Vellu auoit vne couuerte de satin noir borde de
satin / blanc et ne rompirent point leurs lance et accomplirent /
chacun xxvij^e. coupz despee"/

Messire Phedricus de Withem auoit pour le acompaignier vng chi-
ualier et vng escuier vestus de satin violet et chacun couuer-
tez / de satin noir et borde de drap violet decoppe et sur les
chanffrains / plumas noir et violet et sa couuerte estoit de
P.72v damas blancq / bordee de damas bleu et sur la cruppe du cheual
vne houppe de / fil dor qui se spardoit par toute la couuerte
et plumas violet / et noir et sur le chanffram blanc et bleu
et ne rompirent / point leurs lances. mais ledit cheualier luy
fist perdre son espee / par deux foitz et par lordonnance dez
Juges luy fut rendu pour / parfaire sez coupz et luy fist ledit
cheualier perdre aincoires vne / foiz auant quilz fussent

paracheuez ledit cheualier fery xxvij. coupz / et le dit Withem xxij."/

@Messire gille de bellemont auoit pour le acompaignier monsieur / de cleues monsieur Adolf et pleuseurs aultres cheualiers et gent[ⁱ]lz hom"/mes et son cheual portant vng harnas de vellours noir et / violet et dessus feuilles dargent et borde de campanes dorees / toutes en maniere de poires et dessus la cruppe du cheual vne / grosse campane comme de chappelle pendans a quatre petis / pillerons dargent couuers de vellours noir et violet. fran'/gies dor et audessus vne houppe dor et de soye noire Apres luy / estoit vng paige vestu de violet et la mance brodee dor portant / vne targette et vne lance ou pendoit vne varence et sur son / cheual vne couuerte de vellours noir brodee tout a lentour / et dessus lettres et larmes dor et dessus la sallade du dit paige a"/uoit vne houppe du fil dor et les plumas noirs et violles et / rompy le cheualier sa lance et messire gille non et accomplirent ches/cun xxvij. coupz"/

@ Monssieur de Walham auoit vne varence sur son healme en / laquelle auoit lettres dor et vne couuerte sur son cheual de velloure / noir et dessus atechees lettres de frange dor et frangee dor et ne / rompirent point leurs lances et accomply le Walham les xxvij / coupz despee et ledit cheualier xxij"/

Symon de lalaing auoit sur son healme vne banerolle de / taffetas noir en la quelle estoient larmes de brodure et vng / a au millieu et sa couuerte estoit de vellours noir et auoit / sur son chanffram plumas noir et fu ledit Symon desarme / des deux
 73r gardebras de coursse de lance et ne rompirent point / leurs lances et cloy ledit Symon le pas pour lescu des espees le / dit Cheualier fery xxvij. coupz et ledit Symon. xxij."/

@ Le dimence viij^e. Jour dudit mois le Cheualier auoit pour le seruir / a la iouste, en harnas et selles de guerre. vj^e. que cheualiers que / gentilz hommes de hocquetons violles et sur son cheual vne couuerte brodee dor et de soye en maniere doubles frangee de soye blanⁿ/chee copponee de violet"/

@ Jehan de bourgongne filz de monseigneur le bastard cornille seigneur / de [..... left blank] auoit sur son cheual vng harnas de vellours noire / brode de lettrez dor et ceulx qui le seruoient vestuz de hocquetons / de taffetas noir et garnies bonnes et rompy ledit cheualier quatre / lances. et le dit Jehan vne."/

@ Monssieur adolf de cleues auoit pour le compaignier monsieur / son frere et pleuseurs aultres cheualiers et escuiers tous vestuz de / vellours lun ploys blancq et lautre dessus la chainture en / maniere de robe sans manches et desoubs de drap bleu decoppe / et desoubs le bleu drap blancq et aux costes depuys les aisselles / Jusques a la chainture drap blancq. et bleu decoppe et deuant eulx trompettes et clarons vestus de robes de coulles pareilles / et aincoires deuant lesdits trompettes deux babourins abil/lies en turcqs lun jouant de deux fleutes et lautre de deux / tambours et tous barrettes rouges de taffetas resirue ledit / tambours et trompettes et sy auoit mondit seigneur adolf vne / couuerte de damas blancq et bleu brodee dor et plumas / blanc et bleu et vermeil chergie dorfauerie' Apres luy es"/toient quatre paiges vestuz de vellours blancq et bleu en robes / et le dessoubz de drap blancq et bleu. et chacun vne barette de / taffetas vermeil et chaines dargent et vne grosse houpe / pendans descriere et de feuilles branllans a lentour dicelle / et sur chacun cheual vng harnas tout dargent en maniere / de feuilles et de campanes et ^{au} dessus desdits cheuaulx

f.73ven / maniere dun coupe entre feuilles de quesne et apres
 lesdits quatre / paiges estoit vne aultre petit fol qui menoit
 vng descrier cou"/uert dune couuerte ouuree de soye en maniere
 de maille sur / la quelle estoient brodees larmes dor et vne
 croix saintandrieu / borde de soye blanche et touts plumas
 sur les chanfframs / blans et bleus et touts les harnas de
 ceulx qui le seruoient / estoient de drap blancq et bleu a
 vng pendant de coppe sur / cuir assez large .et rompy quatre
 lances et le cheualier. vij^e."/

@ Loys beuel auoit vne valence et sur son cheual vne cou"/u-
 erte de camelot tane a vne croix saintandrien de blancq /
 taffetas. et brodee de vellours violet acompaignie des /
 trompettes de mondit seigneur adolf. et rompy le cheualier
 quatre / lances et le dit loys. deux."/

@ Messire Adrien de mailly auoit sur son cheual vng har'/nas
 de vellours violet borde de ffranges dor et apres luy vn
 paige / sur vn cheual couert de vellours noir et le dite
 paige vestu / noire et violet et fu desarmes du grant gardebras
 de coursse / de lance et rompy le cheualier deux lances et le-
 dit adrien rienz"/

@ Messire Jehan de rebrenniettes auoit vng harnas de vellours /
 noir brode de lettres dor de sa deuse et ceulx quy le acom-
 paignoi/ent vestuz de hocquetons de damas noir et rompy le cheu-
 alier deux / lances et ledit de rebrenniettes vne"/

@ Philipe de bourbon auoit vne couuerte de satin figure violet /
 et dessus la ditte couuerte houppes de drap bleu et parmy de
 fil dor / et ceux qui le acompaignoient auoient hocquetons bleus
 de / taffetas apointz de satin figurie violet et rompy le

ditte cheualier vne / lance. et est pour la premier Journe"/

@ Le ix^e iour del dit mois le dit Cheualier auoit vne couuerte dor sur bro/dee en facon de chauffrure et bordee de drap violet decoppe et sur / le chamffram plumas gris"/

@Monssieur Jaques de luxembourg auoit pour la compaignier

F.74r monsieur / de Charolois et monsieur de saintpol monsieur de brienne monsieur de Roussy / monsieur de fiennes et monsieur Jehan de luxembourg chacun deulx quatre / sur leurs cheuaulx vne couuerte de taffetas bleu et sur son che'/ual vne couuerte de vellours noir et violet chargie dorffauerie / dor et dargent a fasson de habergerie et autour du col du cheual gros/ses campanes dargent dor et sur son hearme vne banerolle de taffe/tas bleu escripte de lettres dor et rompirent chacun deux lances"/

@ Monsieur de grinberghe auoit sur son heaulme plumas noir char'/gie dorffauerie et sa couuerte de vellours noir et sur son chamf/ram plumas noir et ceulx qui le compaignoient vestus de / hocquetons de camelot et rompy le cheualier quatre lances et leditte / de grinberghe nulles "/

@ Messire Philipe bastart de brabant auoit plumas rouge et bleu et vne / couuerte de satin noir chargee de campanes dargent et pour / le acompaignier deux gentilz hommes et leurs cheuaulx cou'/uers lun de drap dor vert et lautre de drap dor cramoisi et che'/cuns plumas sur les chamffrains rouge et bleu et rompy le cheualier trois lances et ledit messire philipe deux"/

@Le xi^e jour du dit mois le Cheualier auoit vne couuerte de vellours / noire borde de satin violet bende dor et de soye blanche en fasson / de neux lun dor et lautre blanche et frangee dessus et dessoubz / laditte bordure de soye blanche copponnee de violet et sur le chamf/frain plumas violet"/

@ Jaques dourssan auoit vne couuerte de vellours noir et /
 viollet et rompy le cheualier quatre lances et ledit Jaques
 vne / . . .

Jehan larcheuesque auoit vne couuerte de damas noir et / viol-
 let et rompy vne lance et le cheualier quatre"/

@ Monsieur de conde. heaulme plumas noir et viollet et vne /
 couuerte sur son cheual. de vellours noir et violet bordee de /
 chiffres dor et dessus la bordure orffauerie doree et au dessus /
 74v de la cruppe vn fleur comme deliz enmaille dazur au coupet /
 et rompy vne lance. et le cheualier deux"/

@ Jehan franquelance auoit vne couuerte de damas noir et vi/ollet
 et rompy vne lance et le cheualier trois."/

@ Guillaume bournel auoit vne couuerte pareille et rompy deux /
 lances et la Cheualier vne

Jehan de lingne auoit vne couuerte de vellours noir et viollet /
 et ne rompy nulles lances et le Chiualer deux "/

@ Le xii^e iour du dit mois le cheualier auoit vne couuerte de
 vellours / noir et de satin gris bordee de vellours viollet et
 sur le cha"/nffrain plumas gris"/

@ Messire Anthoine bastart de brabant auoit plumas rouge /
 et noir et vne couuerte de satin viollet semee tout delarmes /
 dargent et au dessus de cheual vne grosse campane et laditte /
 couuerte bordee de vellours noir brode de lettres dor et ceulx
 qui / le acompaynoient auoient chacun bonnes violles et vne /
 larme dargent dessus et rompy deux lancez et le cheualier trois /

@ Henry de cycey auoit vne couuerte de damas gris et viol/let
 et sur son chamffrain plumas blanc et noir et bleu et / ceux
 qui le acompaynient hocquetons de taffetas gris et / viollet

et rompy deux lancez et le cheualier v^e.

@ Messire Phedric de Wethem auoit plumas noir blancq et vi/-ollet et vng harnas de vellours noir brode dor en maniere / de brances entrelachies et au dessus du cheual deux mainz de / moire en vne mande de brodure dor tenant vng vollet de soye noe/an damours dont partoiént larmes et ceulx quy le acompa/ignoient auoient hocquetons de satin noir et violet bro/chies en fil dor et blans bonnes cha^ucun et ne rompy viens / et le cheualier en rompy vne."/

¶.75r Messire daniel de mour^uquercque auoit sur son heaulme vne val/-lence pendans bien bas et sur son cheual vng harnas de vel/lours noir brode dor ' et apprez luy vng paige son cheual cou'/uerte de damas blancq et noir brode de lett^rez dor et borde de drap / blancq et noir decoppe et le dit 'paige vestu de satin blancq et / noir et ceux quy le seruoient cha^ucun hocquetons de taffetas blancq / et au dessous de la chainture drap noir decoppe et ba[^r^]rettes blanches / doubles de vellours noir et vne houppe de fil dore dessus et rompy / trois lances et le cheualier deux Et cloy le pas pour lescu de Jouste / en harnas et selles de guerre "/

Le xiiij^e iour dudit mais le Cheualier auoit pour le compaignier / vn que Cheualiers que gentilz hommes vestus de taffetas noir et / violet et sur son cheual vne couuerte de vellours gris brodee / dor et de lett^res et de petites chiffres et son escu noir violet gris"/

@Messire Eurard Serclays auoit sur son heaulme vne valleng^e / en fasson de banerolle et son cheual couuerte de taffetas vi/ollet bordee de taffetas gris et sur son chanffrain plumas / blancq noir[&] rouge et ceulx quy le acompaignoient hoc"/quetons de taffetas

cramoisi dessus et dessous de gris et rom/py troys lances et
le cheualier trois"/

@Symon dherbaix auoit vne couuerte de taffetas blancq brodee de
deux lettres dor dun coste vngs et delautre coste vng / b. et
son escu blanc brode de dezdits lettres et la couuerte et son escu
frangez dor copponne de soie violet et ceulx quy le acom/paig-
noient auoient hocquetons blancq dessus brodes de dezdits lettres
et dessous drap violet decoppe et rompy quatre lances / et le
cheualier sept"/

@ Philipe de bourbon auoit vne couuerte de camellot bleu / [brodee
cancelled] bordee de vellours violet decoppe et lez decoppures
bro/dees tous de fil dor et ceulx quy le acompaignoient auoient
hocquetons [blancq dessus canc.] de camellot bleu dessus dessous /
E.75v de vellours violet decoppe et lesdits decoppures brodees de
fil dor / et Rompy vn lances et le cheualier deux mais ledit de
bourbon che'/nga cheual./

@Philipe deruille auoit vne varence et vne couuerte de vellours /
cramoisi et sur son chanffrain plumas noir et ceulx quy / le
acompaingnoient hocquetons de taffetas violet et rompy / vne
lance et le cheualier trois /

@Messire Josse de Wassenaire auoit pour le mener sur lez / rens
deux hommes vestus de blancq et de bleu robes a grans manches /
toutes ouertes par desriere et chapperons de / couleur pareillez
la couette autour de la teste et faux / visages [..... blank]
barbes Jouans lun dune muzette et lautre / dune challeme et
auoit sur son heulme plumas noir et / me varence blanche et
sur son cheual vne couuerte de / vellours violet bordee de drap
dor noir et apprez luy vng / paige portant vne targette couuerte
de vellours violet / brochee de fil dor et son cheual couuert
de drap dor bleu et ceulx / qui luy acompaignoient auoient
hocquetons blans dessus / et bleus dessous et barrettes de

vellours bleu et ne rompy / riens et le cheualier en rompy
trois /

@ Monssieur Jaques de luxembourg auoit plumas noir et rouge /
en maniere de creste chergie dorffauarie et vne couuerte de /
vellours cramoisi brodee dor en maniere de brances et de grans /
feuilles chargees toutes dorffauerie doree & lettrez dargent
dore / branllant dessus bien drues de sa deuse de R. et A.
et frangee / tout a lentour de fil dor et au dessous de la
frange vng bort de vellours noir brode et frange dor au dessous
tout a'/lentour et autour du col du cheual vng collier de Cam/
panes dargent moitie doree et son escu couuert de vellours /
cramoisibrode du fil dor et chergie dorffauerie doree et sur /
son chanffrain plumas noir et rouge et ceulx quy leacom/-
paignoient auoient hocquetons de taffetas cramoisi / dessus et
f.76r dessous de drap noir decoppe et rompy viij. lances et le /
chiualier vj. Et est pour le premier iour dez joustes en har/nas
de Jouste"/

@Le xiiij. Jour du dit mois le Chiualier auoit vne couuerte /
de brodure dor sur or en maniere dun couerture de thieulle /
acombe comme vng comble dardoize et dessus larmes comme / gouttes
dyaues semees par tout la ditte couuerte et pour bordure / en
maniere dunne noquiere de brodure dargent et de soye bleue /
et frangee de soye blanche copponne de violet et audessus de
laditte noquiere thieullee dor et de vellours cramoisi lun dor
et lautre / de vellours "/

@ Monssieur de charollois auoit sur son heaulme vne houppe
dor et / de soye noire et sur son cheual vne couuerte de drap
dor noir / et violet chergie de campanes dor et ceulx quy le
seruoient / auoient mantheaux de damas blancq doubles de satin
noir / et rompy un lances et le Cheualier.v."/

@ Monssieur de Saint pol auoit pareillement vne houppe sur son / heaulme dore et de soye et couuerte pareille a mondit seigneur de Cha/roillois et sur son chamffrain plumas noir et violet et ceulx / qui le seruoient hocquetons de taffetas violet et dessous de / drap noir decoppe et rompy vne lance et le cheualier trois "/

@ Monssieur de morcourt auoit vne couuerte de vellours / noir et violet et rompy chincq lances et le cheualier trois /

@ Messire Jaques de Jeumont auoit vne couuerte de vellours noir / et violet chergie de campanes dargent ademy dorees frangee / dor copponne de soye violette & rompy vne lance et le cheualier trois/

@ Monssieur de Brienne auoit vne couuerte de vellours noir & violet semee dorffauerie [et de lettrez sur laditte couuerte cancelled] dargent / et de houppes dor et de violet atechies a orffauerie et de / lettrez sur la ditte couuerte de vne R. et dune [blank space in MS] et dessus le / col et la cruppe

f.76v du cheual Jusques a la bordure et meismes laditte / bordure toute dorffauerie dargent en fasson de grans feuilles et rompy vne lance et le Cheualier vne /

Loys cheuallart auoit vne couuerte de damas noir et viol/let et rompy quatre lances et le cheualier trois /

Ressequin guaniel houchie pareil dudit loys et rompy six / lances et le Cheualier deux et est pour la seconde Journee de la Jouste et iii^e. escu /

Le xvj. Jour dudit moys le cheuallier auoit vne couuerte / de satin violette /

Charles de vissan auoit vne couuerte de taffetas vert et rouge et roye de taffetas gris sur le vert et sur le rouge et son /

escu blancq brode dunne L. dargent acompaignie dez archiers /
de monsieur Charollois et rompy sept lances et le cheualier
quatre /

@Monssieur Jaques de Bourbon auoit vne couuerte de vellours /
sur vellours cramoisi frangee sur le col et sur le desriere du
/cheual du franges en maniere de cringue de porque borde de /
drap dor noir et gris et ceulx quy le seruoient robes de /
taffetas cramoisi en facon ytaliene et barettes de soye /
de pleuseurs coulleurs tirant sur drap dor et rompy vn lance /
et le Chiualier vne. /

@Messire Jehan de trasingines auoit vne valence et vne couuerte
de / vellour noir et violet et sus le col et la cruppe du
cheual blancq / satin brode de lettres dor lune dedens lautre
vne s. et vne l. et plumas / sur son chanffrain noir blancq &
vermeil et ceulx quyle acompaignient hocquetons pareux dez
colleurs et bordure a la / couuerte et luy donna le cheualier
si grant coup quil luy rompy / toutez lez treches de son heaulme
et se desheama sur lez rens / et ne parfist point sez courssez
et rompy quatre lances et le Cheualier chincq /

@ Le viscont de Furnes auoit vne couuerte de vellours cramoisy /
et ceulx qui le acompaignoient vestus de hocquetons de viol/let
1.77rtaffetas dessus et dessous de blancq et rompy deux lances /
et le chiualier. quatre "/

@ Charles de poitiers auoit vne couuerte de vellours sur
la couuerte et / sur son chanffrainplumas blancq rouge et noir
et ceulx qui / le acompaignoient estoient vestus de taffetas noir
dessus et / le dessous de drap blanc et noir decoppe et rompy
vne lan/ce et le Cheualier trois"/

@ Josse de bouam auoit sur son heaulme vng chappeau de / vermaux boutons et sur son cheual vne couuerte de vellours / noir et dessus la cruppe vng petit chappeau de boutons et / du millieu par toit vne houppe de soye blanche quy sespandoit / par dessus toute laditte couuerte et sur son chamffrain plumas / gris rouge et bleu et ceulx quy le acompaignoient auoient / checun hocquetons gris et bleus de taffatas et chappeaux de / pareille coulleur et dessus vne plume noire et vne chappeau / petit de boutons vermaux et six trompettes portans chappeaux / pareux deux autres de plumes et petis chappiaux de boutons et / rompy chincq lances et le cheualier trois "/

@ Le xvii. Jour dudit mois le cheualier auoit sur son heaulme vng / atour de femme et sur son cheual vng couuerte de brodure / dor sur or en gauffrure et lettrez Rommainz de vellours bleu des/sus atechiez abrodure dargent brodee de drap violet decoppe"/

@ Monssieur adolf de cleues auoit sur son heaulme plumas blancq noir / et rouge sur vne toffe de duuet chergie dorffauerie doree et sur / son cheual vne couuerte de vellours noir brodee de larmes dor et de / chiffres de sa deuse et chargie de campanes dargent my dorees comme / et vne croix saintandrien deuant et desriere dorffauerie dor et / dargent. apres luy estoient sez paiges tous vestus de drap blancq / et bleu en mode ytalienne et barrettes de satin noir le premier / paige estoit sur vng cheual cergie du drap dor vert borde de / vellours cramoisi chergie de campanes dargent en facon de / poires my dorees le seconde estoit couuerte de drap dor cramoisi / et vne croix saint andrien de martres sebelines deuant et / desriere. le tierche estoit de velleurs bleu chergie dorffauerie dor et dargent ' la quarte estoit de vellours tane et vne croix / saintandrien devant et desriere dhermimes bordee de vellours

viol/let et chergie de campanes dargent comme poires my dorees /
 le quinte estoit sur vn destrier que vng paige menoit en /
 main et estoit de satin noir chergie de campanes dargent my /
 dorees et daultrez de ancollies et toutz ceulx qui le seruoient
 ves/tuz comme la paiges et chescun cheual auoit sur le chamf/-
 frain vne plume blanche et rompy trois lances et le cheualier /
 chinq et cloy le pas pour lescu desram en harnas de Jouste /
 et seelles de guerre /

@ Quant monsieur de Rauestain eut fait toutez ses coursses /
 a lencontre du cheualier prisonnier que fut la closture du
 pas / le cheualier sen vint deuant les Juges Et leur demanda
 sil auoit / acheue tout le pas ainsy que les chappitles de la
 dame au / perron phae les auoit fait publiez et que sil y auoit
 Riens a / parfaire que a leur ordonnance et Jugement il estoit
 prest / de parfurnir et faire. les Juges luy dirent gentil
cheualier vous / en aues tant fait que votre dame et toutz
 aultres en doibuent estre contens et au Regarde de nous commis
votre Juges par / notre tres redoubte seigneur monsieur le duc
 de Bourgongne vous / disons et declarons que nous le tenons
 pour bien et vaillam/ment acomply et [de erased] dieu vous
 doinst bonne aduventure. A / ces parolles vint le nain a piet
 le querir et le mena parla / frain de son cheual dedens le
 perron comme il auoit acustume. / Tantost aprez vindrent trois
 mores abillies et vestus de abis tur'/quois dez couleurs dont
 estoient les trois escus auandis. cesstassauoir / noir violet
 et gris et les couuertez de leurs iij cheualx aussi / la
 premiere de vellours noir la seconde de satin figure violet /
 et le tierche de vellours gris Et demanderent au nain les /
 f.78r trois escus pendans au perron pour les reporter a la dame du /

perron quy lez demandoit le nain les despendy et les bailla a
 / chacun selong les couleurs dont ils estoient abillies Et
 tantost / quy les orent ils sen alerent a tout deuerz la dame
 lun aprez / lautre et en ordre lez escuz pendus a leurs colz.
 Apres vient / la dame du perron phae sur lez rens acompaignie
 de monseigneur / de boussut et messire Ernoul de crequy du
 Roye du fflandres et / du Roy dartois Et trois paiges et si
 faisoit mener vng che/ual en main et estoit vestue de satin
 bleu bien Juste vng / chapperon de vellours noir acornette
 quelle auoit mys au'/tour de son visage au col auoit vne grosse
 chaine dor montee / sur vne blanche haguenee couuerte dune
 Riche drap dor / cramoisy son premier paige vestu dunne Robe
 de satin noir / le dessus et dessoubz la chainture de drap gris
 de laine de coppe le / chapperon de vellours violet a la facon
 dengleterre Et auxi / estoient lez deux aultrez la premier cou-
 uerte du premier / paige de satin violet semes de boullons
 dor bien drus. le se/conde de drap dor cramoisi et le tierche
 de vellours cramoisi / le cheual que la dame faisoit mener en
 main auoit vng harnoïs / de satin violet a vng large pendant
 brode dor et de soy blanche / en facon de neux dengleterre par
 bendes frangee a lentour / par coppons de soy blanche et
 violet Quant la dame fu ve/nue deuant le perron le nain a
 grant reuerance vint alen/contre d'elle et luy apporta vne grande
 clefz dor quelle prinst en / sa main. et ille vint bouter dedens
 ce perron comme se ceust este / en vne serrure Paite pour la
 clef et dicelle ouury par la millieu / par cy grant loqueure
 que elle les cheualiers Roys darmes et che/uaulx dessusdits y
 entrerent tout a leur ayse'. Puy ale desprison/ner le bon
cheualier qui attendoit la grace et mercy de sa dame & / tantost
 le fist vesture dune Robe ytaliene de drap dor vert et / sur

sa teste luy fist mettre vne barrette de vellours noir Et /
 luy fist mettre son harnas de gambes' Et monter sur le che/ual
 f.78 & quel fist mener en main Et luy dist Messire Philippe. Je vous /
 mercy de la paine et trauail que vous aues prins pous / moy
 et a mon commandement ' Car vous en aues tant fait / que de
 ceste heure ie vous quitte eutierement votre prison et / vendres
 a mon logis quec moy ou ie vous feray la greig/neur chiere qui
 me sera possible' Et puis vous feray deliurer / les pris et
 les dons telz que ie vous ay promis pour les donner / aux nobles
 hommes qui mont fait cest honneur que dauoir / besongniet contre
 vous selonc le coutenu de mes chapteres et les / feray porter a
 ce soir par mes gens a lostel du trespuissaunt duc / de bourgo-
 gne pour leur presenter et donner au quel me veul/lies tres-
 humblement recommander et quil veulle estre contens / que ainsi
 se face et en la fin de sa parolle le baisa par signe / de
 grant amour Quant la dame ot fine sa parolle et quil / ot sentu
 le doulz ba[.i.]sier de ceste noble dame ensamble de lez / grac-
 ieulx motz quelle luy auoit dit avec la deliurance de / sa prison
 sil fu Joyeulx il ne le fault demander. Et bien asseu'/rement
 luy dist. Madame vous mauez fait tant dhonneur / et de biens
 et en tant de manieres que ie ne vous scaroye / assez mercyer
 et dieu me doinst grace de la deseruir par temps / Il ne sera
 jamais heurs que ie ne me repute votre tenu que / votre bonte
 et valleur a esuertue ce pou de bien quy estoit en moy / Et
 quant votre noble plaisir sera de moy commander quelque / chose
 a moy possible vous avez des orez en auant vng cheualier / en
 moy. La dame luy respondy. Messire Philippe il me souffist
 bien / de ceste heure de ce quen aues fait et si doit il faire
 a toutes / dames Et puis que iay votre acomtance de cy en auant

vous / aues plus grant congnoissance de moy que naues eu
 Jusques / si. et vous souffisse pour ceste foiz Et nous en alons
 de cy car / trop et plus y aues este que ie neusse vollu Com-
 bien que / votre departement me fera asses grief mais ie me
 reconforte / dauoir bien souuent bonnes et Joyeuzes nouvelles
 E.79r de vous / Madame ce dist ce bon Chiualier dunne chose suys
 Joyeux cest des/tre en mon franc arbitre lautre me donne des-
 plaisir de eslongier / votre seigneurie Tuteffois ou que ie
 Joye ie me Reppute votre / seruiture Sur ces parolles se partir-
 ent du perron en la baisant / la seconde foiz que mot ne peult
 dire ayant les larmes aux / tendrez yeulx de son chief sanz
faire grant maine Oillec / passerent pardeuant le duc et lez
 dames tout a cheual et / leur fist la dame grant humilite si
 fist le bon Cheualier et touz / ceulx quy avec eulx estoient
 puis aux juges Et lez mer/cya la dame de la paine quilz auoient
 prins pour soume / Cheualier lez Juges luy firent grant Reuer-
 ence et se offrirent / a son seruice Puis partirent ensamble
 et le faisoit la dame / aler de coste aussy auant quelle Jusques
 a son logis Elle ve/nue trouua chiualliers et escuiers darmes
 et damoiselles qui / la rechurent honnourablement' Et estoit
 bien honneure / celuy a quy elle faisoit bon visages Quant la
 dame et le / bon Chiualier feurent descendus de leurs cheuaulx
 elle le mena / par la main en sa chambre et illec le fist desarmer
 de son / harnas de gambes Et aprez pleuseurs deusez fist aporter/
 vin et espisses et chacun prinst congie pour aler ou bon /
 sambla. La dame se retrahy en sa chambre et le bon cheualier /
 a son hostel et logis que luy estoit apointie a fit donas au /
 soir enuoya la dame vne more monte a cheual a bon / cheualier
 qui menoit vng cheual en main Richement houchie / dun vellours
 gris sur quoy auoit trois Coffres de cuir / bouilly bien gentement

trousses Esquelles estoient fermes lez dons telz quelle auoit
promis donner a ceulx qui be/soigneroient contre son cheualier
prisonnier dont la more portoit / lez clefz et lez presenta
de par maistresse au bon cheualier quy / lez rechut a grant
~~ƒ.79v~~ Joye et honneur Et la fist destendre / Jusques au soir quil
seroit heure de les porter au banquet / que le duc donnoit et
quil auoit fait apointier en la grant / salle de son hostel a
bruges ou yl y ot pluseurs tables playne / de princes princesses
Cheualiers et Escuiers dames et damoi/selles et non autrez gens
Et y auoit pour vng entre/metz vne riche galee de toute bien
apointee dont estoit / le patron vne dame vestue de drap dor
bleu Et poru / parer et enrichir le dite galee lez armes des
pays du duc / estoient mises et assizes ou il appartenoit tant
~~ƒ.80r~~ on banieres / comme en estandars.* / Et y faisot lez grans bruis
et grant chiere par toute la salle / trompettes menestres haulx
et bas y fesoient de grans me/lodies Et y faisoit tresbeau voir
ceste noble compaignie Car / chacun en droit soy si estoit mys
sur la beau bout et en Riches / abillements pour lonner de la
dame et du Retour de prison de / ce bon Cheualier quy si honne-
urablement en auoit este deliure et / quite Tandis que le bruit
y estoit le plus fort vecy le cheualier / commis de par la dame
vestu de vellours noir monte sur vne / haguence quy entra en
la salle tout a cheual et menoit / vne more Richement vestue et
montee la quelle menoit vng / sommier en main couuert de vellours
gris le quel portoit / trois coffres de cuir bouilly fermes a
la clef esquelles estoient / lez dons et presens que la dame

* At this point 20 lines of text beginning 'Et y faysoit les grans bruis et grant chiere . . .' are erased by washing out and striking through.

enuoyoit a toutz ceulx quy / auoient besongniet a son Cheualier
 a chacun selong la couleur / des trois escus. puis descendi
 le Cheualier commis de par la dame / et vint faire la Reuerance
 treshumble au duc et aux dames / Et dist en cest maniere.
 Treshault trespuissant et tresexcellent / Prince et mon tres-
 redoubte seigneur Madame la tout passe du / perron phae ma
 maistresse menuoye deuerz votre seigneurie et vous requiert en
 toute humilite quil vous plaise luy / faire ceste honneur de
 moy donner liscence de presenter a / touts ces princes Cheualiers
 et Escuiers aulconns petis pre/sens quy sont en ces coffres de
 cuir bouilly quelle leur enuoye / pour auoir souuenance delle
 seullement' Et avec ce que / leur noble pleisir soit de la porte
 toute cest nuyt et demain / pour tout le Jour a descouuert et
 non plus sil ne leur plest / Le duc courtoisement respondy au
 Cheualier et dist se lez dames / quy sount icy present en sont
 contemptes Je le suis de / ma part Et elles dirent monsieur

f.80v. ouy puy que cest / votre pleisir Ce congie obtenu le cheualier
 commis ala deuerz la / more quy gardoit les coffres et lez
 clefz et lez luy demanda / la quelle prestement les bailla se
 lez ouury Et premierment / ouury celuy ou lez targettes noires
 estoient qui estoient cou/uertes de vellours noir brodees tout
 alentour de fil dor et de / soye noire et estoient percees par
 le millieu ou passoit vne / chainture dun ruban de soye noire
 a vne houppette dor / Et soubz ceste chainture y auoit vng
 raulet de parchemin / dore et lez lettrez dazur ou il y auoit
 en chacun seulement quatre / lingnes en belle Rethorique alhon-
 neur et exaltacion de / cely a quy il estoit presente. et a
 chacun en deuers langaiges / et imitation de rime sans en y
 auoir vng pareil pour / la diuersite des estas et des parsonnes
 E furent toutes / ces noires targettes presentees et donnees
 a ceulx quy a'uoient combatu aux espees et coursee dunne lance

seul'/lement Et leur prioit le Cheualier commis de par sa dame /
 et maistresse quilz le vaulsissent porter a descouert / ceste
 [ny erased] nuyt. et le lendemayn tout le Jour lez quelz /
 promirent de ainsi le faire et mercyerent la dame hum"/blement
 A ceulx qui auoient besongniet en harnois de / guerre leur fu
 presente vne targette couuerte de vellours / violet brodees
 alentour dor et de soye Et estoient percees / par le millieu
 dun Ruban a houppes dor & Raulles pareux / a ceulx dessus escrips
 de quatre lingnes en belle Rethorique / Et Requis de les porter
 la nuyt et le lendemain toute la / jour pour lamoir de la dame .
 quilz promirent faire a / ceulx quy besongenrent en harnois de
 Joustes communes / le fu presente targettes couuertes de vellours
 gris brodees / a lentour et ainsy estoffees de toutez choses
 que celles dessusdittes / lesquelles feurent princes ou iij^e.
 f.81r coffre de cuir bouilly / et ceulx de violet au ii^e. en faisist
 Requeste de lez porter le / nuyt et le Jour ensuiuant comme
 les aultres quilz accorderent / de tresbon cuer en mercyant la
 dame a la quelle ils se Recom/mandoient humblement le lendemain
 eussiez telz et assez / veu quy lez portoient toutz lune chainte
 lautre autour du / bras ou du Chapeau et ailleurs diuersement
 a leur plaisance qui / faisoit tresbeau voir et en estoient
 bien et honnourablement parez / Quant len ot souppe et les tables
 ostees les dansses commuencerent / par monseiur adolf de cleues
 seigneur de Rauestain nepneu du / duc quy mena mademoiselle
 marguerite de bourbon sa cousine / Germaine enffans de deux seurs
 filles du duc Jehan de bour"/gongne qui fasioient sibien que
 mieulx ne leust len sceut / faire que mondit seigneur de Rauestain
 estoit tenu pour lun dez bien / danssans du Roialme de ffrance
 et mademoiselle pour femme / Puy suyuent monsieur de Saint pol

monsieur Jaques de bourbon monsieur / de Richebourg monsieur
 darguel et pleuseurs aultres quy le / faisoient tant bien que
 a plaisance Durant lez danssans / trois demoiselles viendrent
 en la salle que le Cheualier commis / de par la dame conduisoit
 vestues pareilles de cottes simples / bien longues de satin
 blancq bordees dun vellours noir de / hault lacees aux costes
 et auoient chescun vne Riche colyer / dor enrichy de pierie
 chaintez de caintures de bourgoises / estoffees dor et dargent
 lesquelles apportoit chacun vne / grant targe de guerre dont
 la premiere estoit couuerte de / vellours noir a vne ceur brode
 dor au millieu du quel par/toient grosses larmes dor Et a len-
 tour de la ditte targette grands / lettrez Rommaignes de mesmes
 Et ancoires de ce ceur partoit vne / bien gente chainette dor
 assez longue et bout denbas y / auoit vne belle uerge dor emmai-
 llie par dedens a la deuse / de la dame.' La seconde damoiselle
 f.81v portoit vne aultre tar/gette de la grandeur et facon de la
 premiere la quelle estoit couuerte de vellours violet sur quoy
 estoit brode vng coffree dor ademy / ouuert Et en yssoit vne
 chaine dor pareille a celle dessusditte et au / bout vne vierge
 dor de telle facon que la premiere' Et toute a / lentour grans
 lettrez Rommaignes bien Riches. La tierche por/toit une aultre
 targette couuerte de vellours gris sur quoy / estoit brode vng
 soleil dor a grans Raix et y pendoit vne / chaine et une verge
 dor pareillement que aux aultres / Et a lentour grans lettrez
 Rommains qui lembelisoit et en Ri/chissoit fort Quant lez
 demoiselles qui estoient tres belles filles / furent entrees
 dedans la salle a grant foison tambourins et tor/ches alumees
 elle ne tiendrent assez pres de lentree san partir / jusques le
 Cheualier commis de par la dame a la deuerz madame la du/cesse

de bourbon seueur germaine du duc et aprez quil y ot fait / la
 reuerence il luy dist treshaute et trespuiſſante princesse vecy
 trois / damoiselles que madame ma maistresse vous enuoye en
 soye Re/commandant a votre noble grace bieu humblement lez quelles. /
 apportent de par elle trois principaux pris du pas qui a este
 te/nuz en ceste ville en votre noble presence et des aultres
 dames quy / sount ceeux pour les donner a ceulx quy vous samble
 quy ont / le mieulx fait a votre Jugemens tant aux Joustes en
 deux facons / come aux espees. Se vous prie en toute humilite
 qui vous plaise / bailler deux de voz damoiselles pour aler avec
 elles faire len/queste a quelles trois nobles hommes allez lez
 presenteront Ma/dame de bourbon Respondy: Je suys bien contemps
 de votre requeste / et en mercie la dame votre maistresse de
 tresbon cuer et prenez / tellez deux quy vous plaira pour acompa-
 ignier ces trois da/moiselles et quelles donnens lez pris a
 ceulx quellez trouueront / par Jugement lez auoir gaigniez le
Cheualier ala querir mademoi/selle. Ysabeau deconsans et
 mademoiselle marguerite defran/cieres les quelles sen allerent
 avec luy querir lez trois demoi/selles qui portoient lez pris
 ¶.82r qui atendoient sa Reueneue illec / firent grans honneurs les
 vnes aux autres Et pour le acom'/paignier a faire leur enguiest
 priueement monsieur de crequy & / messire Simon de la laing et
 pour officiers da[.r.]mes thoison dor / lez Rois de Flandres et
 dartoys Et sen alerent au duc quy fist / grant honneur et grant
 chiere aux trois damoiselles de la / dame au perron phae et les
 baisa. et puyſ leur dist son aduis / Aprez vindrent a madame de
 bourbon quy pareillemen en fist / et dist comme auoit fait le
 duc Et finablement a toutes les autrez dames tellement qui fuit
 trouue par vray Jugement / sanz nulle faueur que monsieur de
 Saintpol deuoit auoir la / targette noir au cuer dor pour le

auoit fait aux espees Se/condement pour le mieulx faisoit en
 Jouste en selle et harnois / de guerre que monsieur de Rauestain
 deuoit auoir la targette / violette au coffree dor. la tierche
 gris au soleir dor deuoit / estre donnee a monsieur Jaques de
 luxembourg seigneur de Ri/chebourg pour le myeulx faisit en
 selles de guerre et harnois / de Jouste Quant lenqueste fut
 toute faite les. chincq damoisellz / acompaignies des cheualiers
 et officiers darmes dessus nommes por/terent et donnerent les
 pris aux trois seigneurs quantdis quy / les rechurent joyeuse-
 ment et la fu crye cleuez cleuez lembourg / lembourg par deux
 foitz pour lez deux freres de ce cry darmes / a quy lez deux
 pris furent donnees Et baisèrent cez seigneurs / lez demoisellez
 et mercierent ainsi que bien le sceurent faire / car ce nestoit
 pas les premiers pris quy lez eussent este pre'/sentes et donnees
 les demoiselles se Retrairent chacun en son lieu / Et puis feurent
 aportes vin et espisses comme il est de custu'/me faire en lostel
 de cez princes Et atant fin de ce pas / Philipe de poitiers
 gentil escuier filz du seigneur darsis en champain/ne quy auoit
 touchie aux escus dessus dit mais pour certainz / ses affaires
 il fut si longuement dehors quy ne pot estre receu / Neantmainz
 il fu au banquet Et aprez que toutz les miste/res du pas auandit
 furent acomplis il fist par la liscence / du duc cryer vng pas
 f.82v au quesnoy en henault de par la dame / blanche de sic nobles
 hommes contre tous venants deux Jours / duranz le premier Jour
 en harnas et seelles de guerre Et quy changera / cheual ce Jour
 ne porra gaignier le pris. Et fut publiet au / premier dimence
 aprez le Natiuite Saint Jehan Baptiste. lan mil iiij^C / lxiiij.
 Et au faisoit de dehors deuoit gaignier. /

Cy ffynit la Pase de /

Missire phylip dalayn /

ƒ.152v The copie of A lettre made by the Erle of / Salesbury & Perche
 lord of Mounthernier / Captayne generall of the Werres of
 ffrance to the / Worshipfull bisshop and Clergie & noble
 / Burgois of the Cite of Maunce /

Nous Thomas de Montagu Conte de Salisbury / & du perche et
 Seigneur de Mounthernier Capitaign generall / ordune par
 le Roy notre seigneur sur la fait de guerre de son Roiaume de /
 ffrance par laduyse & deliberacion de mon seigneur le
 Regent le dit Royaume / de ffrance Duc de Bedford D[\wedge a \wedge]ngo
 Dalencon et Conte du Main / faisonssauoir A vous gens Desglise
 nobles Burgois & habitans / de la ville & cite du Mans que nous
 sommes venes es partiez et / Marches de par deca par lordinance
 du Roy notre dit seigneur et de celuy mon / seigneur
 le Regent En entencion entre aultres chosez de Reduire &
 mettre / a laide de dieu lobbeissance du Roy notre dit
seigneur coume de droit estre le doit la dit ville & cite dumans
 Pour quoy fair la ryuee / est desoea si prochain de vous que
 vous dicelle auez clier coignoissance / Et pour que de tout
notre cuer desirons escheuer leffusion de / sang humaine &
 aussi reduire & reuner lez soubgez de Roy notre / dit seigneur
 en son obbessance & lez reioyndre a sa seigneurie par toutes /
 voies doulces amables & gracieusez saunz quelque Rudesse ou
 Rigueur / vous prions & requirons que vueilles estre
 remembrance & remeur a memour lez somnacions & requestes que
 vous a autrefois faites / yceluy mon seigneur le Regent

ƒ.153r en non de [dieu cancelled] Roy notre dit seigneur En / vous
 remonstrant plusieurs notables causes & Raisons que vous
 deuuoient / mouuoir & encliner a retournir coume droit est a
 la seigneurie & obbessance / du Roy notre dit seigneur de mon dit

seigneur le Regent Et neantmoins vncore vous / Soumonons cest
foitz pour toutes que ainsi le vueilles fair Et en case / nous vous
ferons toute lamour & curtoisie que purrons. Car lentencion /
du Roy notre dit seigneur de mondit seigneur le Regent & du
consail si est que / soiez gardez maintenuz & gouernes en bon
justice & pollice en tout / paix et tranquillite et en vous aunc-
iens libertez vsages & custumez / Et aussi que soies traites
doulcement & si faouorablement que / faire se pourra Et pour
lonnour et reuerence de dieu notre createur / vueillez ceux ententy
& enclins aux chosez dessus ditz & vous leissez / couler ne
encherir en tiel jnncoouement ou daunger que ont estre / Et auez
view plusieurs aultrez villez de ce Royaume. les quelles soubz
/ promesses de secours ont este deceues & destruites du tout
en tout / Pource que dez dittes premisses on ne Riens tenu
come saunz doubtans / nous croions que estes assez saichans &
certains Et se daenture / vouse estes si obstines que [due erased]
dieu ne vueille que soiez refusans / de obtemperer a ces que dit
este vous demourrez en cause & coulpe de / toutez lez maulx
quy en purroient [enis erased] ensuir car vous mesmez / poues
considerer Et vous veez deuant vous yeulx la desercion & /
distruccion comme totale de vous & de tout le pays prochain sil
conuient / que par main armee & force de siege soiez reduntez
a la dit obbessaunce / mesmement quil est possible par le
voulour de notre seigneur la ditte vill estre / prise par maintes
maniers Dount sensuiroit grant pestilence & / effusion de
sang a toutz. lez quellez jncounement vous mesmez / poues
remedier se en vous ne tient Et pource nous ce considrans /
confians aucunement de vous bonnez volentes & entencions /

f.153v vous signifions ces choses Saichas pour certain que en vostre /
default nous procedrons a lencontre de vous a lexecucion de
la / charge anous commis en ce partie par le Roy nostre dit
seigneur et yceluy mon seigneur/le Regent telement que la
punicion que sera par le bon aide de/nostre Saulueour Jhesu
Crist sur vous exercée redondera en / exemple & memoir
perpetuell a toutez aultrez que en ourront / parler Et se
ainsi le nous appellons dieu a garrant & / tesmoigne que ceo
ne sera ascun ment par nostre coulpe mais seulement / par
vostre default. Escripte subz nostre Seale.&c.

APPENDIX TWO

LIST OF VARIANT READINGS AND SHARED ERRORS IN L AND M

The following list shows some of the major discrepancies between L and M. Minor differences in spelling, word division, punctuation, capitalization, and certain simple and easily observable errors, such as the unnecessary repetition of a word, are not listed. The purpose is to decide the relationship between the two, not to establish a text. Such a method emphasises the differences and neglects the similarities, and to meet this objection I have included examples of the more notable shared errors.

Since the full text is not printed in this thesis, I have used the page and line references of selected published editions and transcriptions as a convenient means of reference. Thus variants in L1-9 are specified by reference to Dillon 1900, and those in L25 by reference to Gairdner, 1889.

For the collation I have used a microfilm of M.¹ The ten shorter items of the twelve in question have been compared throughout their length; for the two longer items, L24 and L31, a brief summary is given of findings which have been published.

L1

LM

47.7 tressid

dressid

8 Quysshyns

cusshyns

16 for the tyme. two
dayes othir beforefor the tyme two dayes othir
before [shared error]

20 doo

and be

21 at the seide tyme

at the tyme

| | | |
|------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 48.8 | Copys from | copis goynge fro |
| 10 | archebisshoppes | archebishopis bishopis |
| 12 | the seid | the forseyde |
| 13 | syngynge | songyn |
| 18 | kynge | <u>prince</u> |
| 24 | of governaunce | of ther gouernaunce |
| 27 | seide | forseyde |
| 35 | the apier | ye appere |
| 49.1 | hath saide Deus Fidelium | hath seyde the orisoun |
| | | ouyr him. Deus fidelium |
| 3 | A nothir that the Kyng | An othe that the kyng shall |
| | shall make | make |
| 9 | thorough | thorow oute. |
| 14 | and shall be | and than shall he be |
| 18 | aftirwarde the foresaide | aftir the forseyde anoyntinge |
| | annoyntyng | |
| 30 | the Kyng shall be | the kyng shall be clothid |
| | clothid with a long | with a long tunicle bi the abbot |
| | tunicle by the Abbot | of westmynster[<u>shared error</u>] |
| | of Westmynstir | |
| 50.4 | aftir this | aftir all this |
| 17 | the Trone | his trone |
| 18 | aftir the Agnus dei | aftir Agnus dei |
| 19 | vnto | to |
| 20 | both flesche and aftir | bothe flesshe and blood. And |
| | the Abbot of Westmynstir | <u>after</u> the abbot |
| 25 | seynt Edward Shryne | seynt Edwardis shryne |
| 51.4 | and to | and fro thens vn to |
| 6 | as ye shall hier | as ye schall here <u>after</u> |
| | hereafter | |
| 9 | delyueraunce | delyverynge |

| | | |
|------|---|--|
| 10 | that for the tyme | that |
| 13 | Also | And it is to wite that |
| 16 | which | the which |
| 18 | Also as for the | Also it is to wite that the |
| 19 | a procession | eke a processiou <u>n</u> |
| 21 | the Coronacion | his coronaciou <u>n</u> |
| 24 | lawis. custmns & libertees | lawes and the customes and the libertees |
| 25 | granted to the clergie and to the people | to the pepill and to the clergie |
| 25 | promise | behote |
| 27 | to the kyng and he shal swere | the whiche the kynge shall swere |
| 52.8 | awe | owith |
| 9 | With glad will and deuoute shall I yeve | With glad wille and deuoute soule I yeve |
| 28 | Ye shall vndirstonde that | And it is to wite that |
| 30 | Moreovir | And it is to wite that |
| 53.1 | crownyng | crowne |
| 5 | ordeyne | commite |
| 10 | a brode | on brood |
| 16 | he shall doo <u>part</u> amonges poure men | he schall doo parte it betwene pore men |
| 17 | the seide two bisshoppis | the bisshop of Dureme and the bisshop of bathe |
| 22 | the seide chalys | seynt Edwardis chaleys |
| 28 | culuer | oluer |
| 54.3 | The berynge of the bought Swerde | The bought swerde |
| 55.5 | scaberd | skawberk |
| 10 | Also he shall | Also <u>after</u> messe the abbot of Westmynster and he shall |

Despite the list's emphasis upon variants, the shared errors (not all of which can be demonstrated by the method here adopted) prove a close relationship. Note in particular 47.16 (cf. MS 31, f.21r), the omission of all reference to the blessing of the royal ring after 50.3 (cf. the Forma et Modus Coronacionis in Legg 1901, 176), and the misplacement of the paragraph beginning 51.13 (cf. ibid., 177). Also, both manuscripts make 49.30 part of the text, instead of the heading of a new paragraph (cf. ibid., p.175). Most of the differences appear to stem from the fact that L is, on the whole, more abbreviated. M has clearly superior readings at 49.3, 49.18 and 50.20, but L is better at 53.28 (culuer for Latin columba, cf. ibid., p.180).²

L2

LM

| | | |
|------|--------------------------|--|
| 55.3 | nunc | <u>marie</u> |
| 13 | The | Thre |
| 14 | oothir | secunde |
| 15 | ert oure | artour |
| 56.1 | in <u>presens</u> | in <u>present</u> |
| 3 | shewid | schewden |
| 9 | This is procession | This is the <u>processioun</u> |
| 12 | and with | and |
| 13 | appoynted | so apoynted |
| 18 | Beames | beuiez |
| 32 | phillip dymmok Ridyng to | Philip dennok knyght ridyng <u>in</u> to |
| 34 | vnto | to |
| 37 | Yif there were | Yf there be |

M has superior readings at 55.3, 55.13, 55.14, 56.9, and 56.18.

In the latter instance the reference is probably to the Bishop of Beauvais, who was present at Henry VI's coronation in Paris (cf. Monstrelet, ed. Douët-d'Arcq. 1857-62, V, 5). L seems better at 56.1 and 56.37, and gives the more usual form of the name of the King's Champion at 56.32.

| L3 | <u>L</u> | <u>M</u> |
|-------|---------------------------------|---|
| 57.19 | A Sootilte | j sotilte |
| | 20 baladis | blades |
| | 22 Lowes (<u>r.w.</u> delice) | lowes (<u>r.w.</u> delice) [<u>shared error</u>] |
| | 24 prynce (<u>r.w.</u> delice) | <u>price</u> |
| | 26 <u>grace</u> <u>Ihesu</u> | grace of criste <u>ihesu</u> |
| | 27 The seide herry | This sixte herry |
| 58.2 | A Sootiltee | j sotelte |
| | 4 vigemounde | vigemound [<u>shared error</u>] |
| | 3 balade | Blade |
| | 6 N | herry |
| | 14 Blaunc | Blaim |
| | 27 A Sootilte | j sotelte |
| | 28 balade | Blade |
| | 30 thou | yow |
| | 32 oure | yowre |

Comparison with the other texts discussed in the Descriptive Index shows L and M to be closely and uniquely related in describing a distinctive menu and in giving no physical details of the 'sootiltees'. Specific shared deficiencies include the leaving of a blank space in the first course of the menu (57.11); the loss of rhyme occasioned by the use of the personal name Lowes (for ?Lewis, r.w. delice, alwise) (57.22); and the name

vigemounde for Sigemund (58.4). M has better readings at 57.24 (proved by rhyme), 57.27, 58.32; and L at 58.14. The use in L of N for the name of the king (cf. M herry) seems to have resulted from the copying of the manuscript after 1461 when Henry VI was deposed, although the updating was not consistent (Cf. 57.27).

L4

| <u>L</u> | <u>M</u> |
|---|--|
| 67.1 Esquyers | squyers |
| 1 his | this |
| 2 high worshupfull | hye and worshipfull |
| 5 knyghtes shall | knyghtis they schall |
| 6 and the Marschall of Englonde shall haue all the hors | and the marschall of yngland schall haue all ther horsse <u>s</u> [<u>added in margin in another fifteenth-century hand</u>] |
| 9 seide Esquyers | squyers <u>wi</u> th him that schall be made knyghtis |
| 11 but | out |
| 16 for to awaite | to awayte |
| 68.3 Sekrete | sikirtee |
| 7 wrongfully yeven | geuyn wrongefully |
| 10 ye shall put <u>your</u> | ye schall putte yowre [<u>shared error</u>] |
| 13 all the lordis doo | doo all the lordis |
| 14 his | the |
| 15 must | schall |
| 19 on his | <u>ouer</u> the |
| 26 Chasembles | chasemles |
| 27 Kirdill | gyrdill |
| 28 of Red Tarteryn | of reed [..... <u>blank</u>] tarteryn |
| 29 aboute | aboue |

| | | |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 31 | <u>seriauntis</u> | seruauntis |
| 33 | swerdes | sworde |
| 33 | <u>seriauntis</u> | seruauntis |
| 69.2 | on | ouyr |
| 4 | plukkith | plukkis |
| 5 | than they shal be ladde | than they schall be ladde vn to |
| | into the Chapell evyn | the chapell with knyghtis. When |
| | before the high auter | they come in to the chapell euyn |
| | | before the hye auter |
| .7 | them | him |
| 8 | their swerdes on | his sworde vp on. |
| 8 | and | and then |
| 8 | their right handes <u>on</u> | his hand vp on |
| 16 | heles | hele |
| 17 | therefore | herefore |
| 17 | whiche | the whiche |
| 18 | and god yeve | and yeue |
| 22 | then shall the halle | then all the halle schall |
| 24 | say | crye |
| 29 | a white lace of silke | a white lase of silke with golde |
| | within the tuftis | in the toftis |
| 29 | pynned <u>with</u> a pyn vpon | pynnid a pyn up on |
| 31 | haue and | han and the hood must be |
| | | caste aboute his nek and the |
| 37 | <u>[original text erased]</u> | sergeaunt of the kyngis Chaundre |
| | | schall haue for his fee |
| 38 | this doon | then |

4

Shared errors are evident at 68.10 (apparently a misreading of pe[i] and peir), and perhaps in the assignation of fees to the Barber and Sergeant of the Chaundre, which appears to be self-contradictory (see the Descriptive Index). Superior readings in M are at 67.2, 68.19, 68.28, 68.31, 68.33, 69.2, 69.5, 69.29, and 69.31; and in L at 67.11, 69.18, and 69.29. Of these, on (L, 68.19 and 69.2) probably arises from a misreading of abbreviated ouer (as in M); L, 69.5 and 69.31 show the error of homoeoteleuton;³ and L, 68.28 shows a disregard or ignorance of the blank space by which the scribe of M indicated an illegible word in his exemplar.

L5

| <u>L</u> | | <u>M</u> |
|----------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 43.3 | streightly | strongeli |
| 4 | best | b[.]ste [<u>space for one letter</u> <u>left blank</u>] |
| 5 | into | in |
| 8 | wax | coode [cf. OED <u>code</u> , sb.2] |
| 9 | a peir short | a peyre of shorte |
| 11 | vnto pe of the shoo | vn to the hele of the shoo |
| 16 | Quysshews | quisses |
| 16 | towlettes | tonletis |
| 44.1 | than. his. Gloovis | then glouys |
| 2 | on his lift | upon the lyfte side |
| 8 | appellaunt | Pelaunt |
| 8 | the shall | they shal |
| 14 | vi | ij |
| 16 | to ete on his mete and his drynk | to sette his mete and drynke on |

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| 20 | in | of |
| 24 | a dosen of smale nailes | smale nayles a dosen |
| 25 | a longe swerd & a short and a dagger | a longe swerde shorte swerde and a dagger |

The better readings are in M 43.9, 43.11, 43.16 (see Dillon 1900, 45), and 44.14 (an instance in L of contamination from the previous line).⁴ The word best (43.4) appears to be a technical term, over which the scribe of M shows some uncertainty.

L6

| <u>L</u> | | <u>M</u> |
|----------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 40.16 | Abilmentis | Abilment |
| 17 | ffirst an Helme | A helme |
| 22 | Rerebrake | Rerebrace |
| 30 | newe Shodd | row schode [cf. OED <u>Row</u> a.1] |
| 37 | beeneth. betwene | be twen |
| 41.5 | oon | a |
| 39.7 | of the Clok | of þe belle |
| 8 | the seide day | on þe sayd day |
| 8 | of the Clok | of þe belle |
| 15 | vnto | on |
| 18 | vnhermyd | vn helmyd |
| 20 | þe seide vj <u>seruauntes</u> | þe sayde seruanter |
| 27 | in to | vn to |
| 27 | doth | do |
| 30 | the | them |
| 40.1 | be coomyn the Gentilwoomen | be com the Gentyll men |
| 2 | comys | comyth |
| 6 | gevyn | gyff |
| 7 | and with the saufre | & þe sauffer |
| 9 | <u>with</u> all an high voice | with a hey voyce |
| 11 | vnto take | vn to he schall take |

11 begynne . be gynnyth
 12 spice Wine and drynk spicys & wyne & drynke

39.18 and 40.1 are certain instances of error in L, and 39.15 and 39.30 are further instances of L's inferiority. At 40.30 Ebesham may have misunderstood row schode, 'rough shod', and substituted the plausible newe Shodd. L is marginally better at 40.11.

L7

| <u>L</u> | <u>M</u> |
|---|---|
| 61.4 with you listes | <u>with</u> yn listes |
| 5 Redoutid | Redoucee |
| 12 Reame | seyde Rewme |
| 19 Ordenaunce | ordenaunces |
| 22 correct | corrige |
| 22 to put | to put to |
| 24 which | the whiche |
| 28 which | the whiche |
| 28 Therfor | Wherfore |
| 62.2 besechyng | besechant |
| 3 correctid | corrige |
| 5 Pleas it you | pleseth yow |
| 13 a day and place | day and place |
| 15 confendyng | consenting |
| 16 a long swerde a Short swerde a dagger | that is to say. longe swerde schorte swerde and dagger |
| 17 fynde | fynde sufficiaunt |
| 18 ich | echon |
| 21 preve | preue and derer [<u>sense not clear</u>] |
| 23 of oothir frendis welwillyng | of ther frendes welwillinge |
| 24 who sum evir | who soo <u>euer</u> |

| | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 26 | that shall bee bee of | schal be |
| 30 | faux listers | faux listes <u>wi</u> thouten the <u>pr</u> incipal listes |
| 34 | shul | schulde |
| 37 | of the gates | of gates |
| 41 | the kynges highnesse | the kynge |
| 63.11 | þe | his |
| 12 | an than and than | and than |
| 13 | same <u>four</u> me and maner | same man <u>er</u> |
| 29 | betwene | betwixe |
| 32 | hou sum evir | how soo <u>eu</u> er |
| 34 | where | whethir |
| 64.13 | this in bille | this thi bille |
| 14 | <u>four</u> me and begynnynge | fro the <u>begin</u> nynge |
| 17 | as the | as to the |
| 20 | hauest ne ne shalt haue more poyntes ne poyntes on the ne | haste ne schalt haue mo poyntes ne poyntes on the ne |
| 23 | Carocte | Kerecte |
| 31 | meane | men |
| 35 | founde | founden |
| 36 | the toothir | to other |
| 65.2 | and the entente | and entente |
| 4 | yeelde | yelden |
| 6 | O. de B. | O. de B. [<u>shared error</u>] |
| 13 | of grete vertue and of litill value of estate | of gret valew & of litill estate |
| 25 | them | him |
| 30 | in the which | the whiche |
| 39 | lessiez | lessiez lez aler and rest a nother while. lessiez |

| | | |
|-------|---------------|--------------|
| 66.27 | woorshup | disworschipe |
| 28 | he hath taken | he taketh |
| 30 | or | other |

Both manuscripts omit part of the full text (see Twiss 1871-6, I, 311, 313, 315, 317, 319, and 325). On p.311 Twiss also notes a reduplicated passage in L, cancelled by underlining). Both manuscripts are significantly at fault in referring to the defendant at 65.6 as O. de B. (elsewhere regularly C. de B.), and share what appears to be a redundant phrase at 64.20. M is correct or better at 61.4, 61.19, 61.22, 62.15, 62.17, 62.23, 62.26, 62.30, 63.12, 63.34, 64.13, 64.14, 64.17, 64.31, 65.2, 65.13, 65.30, 65.39, and 66.28. In 61.4, 62.15, 62.23, and 64.14 the forms in L are the result of demonstrable misreadings. M is also closer to the original French text (for which see the Descriptive Index) at 61.5, 61.22, and 62.3. Examples of homoeoteleuton in L are evident at 62.30 and 65.39, and of dittography⁵ at 63.12. 66.27 is an interesting instance of factual discrepancy, L stating that a man's departure from the lists in advance of his opponent won for him woorshup, M stating that it brought disworschipe. I know of no source of evidence for determining which is the more correct, though the convention is also mentioned in the Mémoires d'Oliver de la Marche (see Beaune and d'Arbaumont 1883-8, III, 54). There are no distinctly superior readings in L.

L8

LM[At head of text: title (see L8)] [No title]

| | | |
|------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 37.1 | Be it knowen that I | Be hit so þat i philyp boyle |
| | Phillip de Boyle knyght | knyth |
| 3 | Cecile scelon | ·cisule scelon |

| | | |
|------|---|--------------------------------------|
| 4 | defaute de Armus | de fauzte de acumis |
| 7 | gete leve | grete leve |
| 8 | mocan | moian [Fr. <u>moyen</u> , 'means'] |
| 10 | pleasith | plese |
| 38.4 | of foote <u>with</u> harnes | a fote <u>with</u> þe harneis |
| 8 | that oothir side the see | þe tothir side of þe see |
| 11 | that than | þan þat |
| 12 | and faculte | et a faculte |
| 15 | Januarie | ianiver |
| 15 | before the Kyng herry | be for þe kinge herri þe vi |
| | the sixte the xx ^{ti} yere of | [..... <u>cancelled</u>] of |
| | his reigne | his regne xx |

The readings of M are preferable at 37.8, 38.4, and 38.8, and those of L at 37.4 and 37.7. At 38.12 and 38.15 M has less Anglicised, and probably earlier, forms. In M (38.15) several words are heavily crossed out immediately after the final reference to Henry VI; this was probably a complimentary reference which was removed as inappropriate after 1461. If so, it would confirm the dating of the manuscript as before 1461.⁶

L9

LM

| | | |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 36.1 | god oure blissid lady | god & of oure blessid ladi |
| 6 | accomplie | acumple |
| 18 | haue | hathe |
| 19 | berith | berys |
| 20 | vpon | to |
| 24 | the xvj. yere of the | þe rayne of the kyng Harry |
| | reigne of kyng herry | [..... <u>cancelled</u>] the |
| | the vj. th | vj xvj |

At 36.20 vpon is the better reading. In M at 36.24 there is an identical erasure to that in the same manuscript's version of L8.

L24

Fallwell 1973, 310-535 gives a list of the variant readings of L, M, and eight other manuscripts containing L24. This list contains numerous instances of shared distinctive readings in L and M. He summarises thus (p.31):

Frequent instances of identical readings point to close relationships among R [MS 21], H [M], N [MS 58], L [L], S [MS 18], and Y [a lost manuscript transcribed by the late Miss K. Garvin], (i.e., the following groups appear often: NS, NLS, RNLS, HNLS, RY, HL). The variant readings of A [MS 32], concerning only Book I, point to a somewhat more distant relation to RHNLSY.

L25

LM

| | | |
|------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 11.1 | Goldenstonys | golde stones |
| 3 | vamborough | vamborow [<u>shared error</u>] |
| 12 | hedelonde | hedesound |
| 13 | hedelonde | hedlonde |
| 18 | Resande | Rosand |
| 20 | þ <u>a</u> t the wynde | at the wynde |
| 12.4 | fadome | fethym |
| 5 | estermare | estirmore |
| 14 | Naisse | nase |
| 14 | nasse | nase |
| 17 | be owte by est | be ought be este |

| | | |
|-------|--|--|
| 13.12 | not nere godwyn than | no nere godwyn <u>pan</u> |
| 19 | Northwest | Cap North west |
| 22 | as by cheffe | at bechiffe |
| 23 | be chif | bechif |
| 14.1 | high | hiest |
| 9 | the seyne hede at port londe & garnesay | the seyne hed and portelonde lyeth west northe west and est southe est. Portelonde and garnesay |
| 15 | <u>euer</u> | euery |
| 19 | hidre | hedre |
| 22 | Raynoldis stone | Raynolde stone |
| 25 | landende | londes end |
| 26 | by londe | by the londe |
| 29 | vschante | vschante |
| 31 | huscha <u>nt</u> | huschant |
| 32 | pople hope lien | pople hop lieth |
| 15.1 | sande | sownd |
| 2 | sande | sownde |
| 22 | bradreth | braderith |
| 31 | vpdraughtes <u>u</u> | vpdrawtis |
| 32 | lien | lieth |
| 35 | be like | belylle |
| 16.4 | cleron | olleron |
| 6 | poullis | pollis |
| 7 | pelis | polles |
| 12 | them | hem |

| | | |
|------|---|--|
| 13 | talamount | talamon |
| 14 | be lile | belille |
| 15 | belike | belille |
| 15 | lye | lyen |
| 16 | pelis | pollis |
| 17 | pelis | pollis |
| 18 | borugh of baion | borow of vaion |
| 18 | pelis of Amians | pollis of amias |
| 22 | belile | belille and macheschaco southe and be est. northe and be west. belille |
| 27 | sayne | saym |
| 29 | seyne | saym |
| 31 | sooth | southe |
| 35 | sooth | southe |
| 17.4 | Caleis | calus |
| 5 | Calus | calus |
| 5 | ciuell | ceuylle |
| 9 | Irlonde | erlonde |
| 11 | baion | vaion |
| 14 | southwest & west northwest clere & cille south est & northwest. cille & the holde hede of hinderfforde | southe est and north west cille and the hold hed of hyndilforde |
| 17 | Irlonde | erlonde |
| 18 | holde | olde |
| 27 | fferstonhorde | freston hord |
| 18.3 | Iron | yren |
| 15 | ketilsworde | ketelswode |
| 21 | lye | lieth |

| | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 27 | olde hede of hindilforde to clere | olde hed of hyndilforde the cours is west south west and est north est fro the olde hed of hyndilforde to clere |
| 31 | lye | lieth |
| 19.2 | Conney and southwest | connoy & [..... <u>left blank</u>] southe west |
| 5 | þe sonde & the forelonde be est | The sownde of torre lyeth west southe west. and est northe est. the sownde and the furlonde be est |
| 7 | donsmares | donsmers |
| 11 | vpdraughtis | vpdrawtes |
| 22 | Weluerferth | woluerfrith |
| 24 | benestore | benestore |
| 25 | beneford | benefrod |
| 27 | donblak | donbalk |
| 34 | Ransires south southest | ransayres <u>northe</u> northe west and south southe est |
| 20.1 | Ransere | ramseyr |
| 4 | bersays | barsseys |
| 8 | Ramseirs | ramseys |
| 12 | sande | sownde |
| 18 | barseis | berseys |
| 24 | saught | slawhte |
| 27 | oo grounde | o gerond |
| 21.1 | liere | leyre |
| 12 | of dudman | o dodman |
| 17 | fer hard | fer [of <u>partly obliterated</u>] harde |
| 32 | bounde | bone |

to the Gironde (cf. ibid., 30). In addition there is homoeoteleuton (only in L) at 14.9, 16.22, 18.27, 19.5 and 21.32. 19.34 is a case of simple omission. Better readings in L are at 11.12, referring to Flamborough Head (cf. ibid., 30), although the correct reading immediately follows in M; 11.20; 16.18, and 17.11, referring to Bayonne (cf. ibid., 27). All of these improvements could have been occasioned by the context or by a basic knowledge of geography.

L31

Some of the manuscripts of L31 are briefly discussed in Steele 1894, but Steele did not know of the version in M. Prosiegel 1903 corrects Steele and discusses in detail ten of the manuscripts (not including M, which it appears was still not known). No published discussion of the manuscripts is therefore relevant to the question of the relationship between L and M.

Notes to Appendix 2

1. The partial collations in Dillon 1900 are insufficiently detailed and accurate to be of use for present purposes.
2. Ebesham, the scribe of L1, if using M as his exemplar, would have been quite capable of emending the corrupt oluer on account of his connections with Westminster and his associations with the abbey. He also copied this text into BL MS Additional 10106 (MS 31 in the list in Chapter 2), perhaps antedating L, in which he wrote culuer.
3. See Vinaver 1939, 355-7.
4. See Vinaver 1939, 358.-60.
5. See Vinaver, 1939, 358.
6. Doyle 1957, 306.

APPENDIX THREE

SAMPLE PARALLEL PASSAGES FROM L11a, L15a, AND THEIR FRENCH SOURCE

Three stages in the compilation of an heraldic narrative are exemplified: 1. Part of a copy of the letter in French sent by Lord Scales in 1465 to the Bastard of Burgundy challenging him to perform a deed of arms (from MS Harley 4632, f.88r, printed in Bentley 1831, 176-7). 2. The same, translated into English not later than 1468 (and probably much earlier), comprising part of L11a, f.18r. 3. The same, also not later than 1468, incorporated in the fuller narrative of the event as L15a, f.29v. Taken together, the passages demonstrate the marked closeness of the English to the French and the strong influence of the latter on English courtly style. They also show that the author of L15a probably had recourse to the French original, though he may also have drawn on L11a.

1. Verite est que le mercredi prouchain aprez le solomnel et devote jour de la Resurrection de nostre benoit Sauveur et Redempteur Jhesucrist. pour aucunes mes affaires au partir de la grant messe, je me tiray devers la Roynne Dangleterre et de France ma souveraine dame, et aqui je suis treshumble subget Et comme je parlasse a sa seigneurie a genoulx le bonnet hors de ma teste comme faire devoye. Je ne scay par quelle aventure ne comment il advint. Mais toutes les dames de sa compaignie se advironnerent alentour de moy. et ne me donnay garde que elles de leur grace me eulrent atachie alentour de ma cuisse dextre ung colier dor garny de pierrie et estoit fait dune lettre qui ala verite quant lappercheuz me fut plus prez du

cueur que du genoulx. et a icellui colier estoit atachie une fleur de souvenance esmaillie, et en maniere demprise. et lors lune d'elles me dist moult doucement que je preinsse en gre pour celle fois, et adoncques se retrayrent toutes chacune en leur place. Et comme je tout esbahy de ceste aventure me levay pour les aler remercier de leur riche & honnourable present. et comme je preinsse mon bonnet que javoye laissie cheoir auprez de moy je trovay dedens unes lettres escriptes en ung delie parchemin seellees et closes dun petit fil dor seulement Si pensay bien que cestoit le contenu de la volente des dames par escript, et ce que je devoye faire et acomplir pour la noble souvenance que par elles mestoit donnee.

2. Trough it is that the wenysday next afore the solempne and devoute day of the Resurreccion of our blessid Saviour and Redemptour Jhesu Crist for certayn my causes at the departynge from the high messe I drewe me towarde the Quene of Englonde and of fraunce my soueraigne lady and to whom I am right humble seruaunt and Subiect' and as I spake vnto hir highnesse kneelynge my cap oute of my hede as my dewte was I wote not by what aduventure ne hou it happyd but all the ladies of hir Court came aboute mee and I toke noon hede than that they of theire grace had tied aboute my thye a Coler of goolde garnysshid with precious stones and was made of a letter the which for to say trougth whan I perceyvid was more nygh my harte than my knee and to the same coler was attachid & tied a noble floure of Souuenaunce enameled and in maner of emprise at which seison that oon of theym saide vnto me full curteisly that I shulde take a woorth for that tyme and than they all drewe eche of them in to their place. And I all abasshed of this

adventure Rose vp for to go thanke them of theire riche and honourable present and as I toke vp my cap that I had lete falle beside me I founde within a lettre writen in a fyne parchemyn seald and enclosed with a small threde of golde oonly whereby I thought wele that it was the conteneue of the will of the ladies by wrytynge. And that' that I shulde doo and accomplisse for the floure of Souuenaunce the which by them was yoven me

3. The Wennesday. nexte aftir the Solempne & devoute ffeste of the Resurrexion of oure blessid Sauyoure & Redemptour Jhesu Criste. for soome of my besynesse at the departyng from the highmasse I drewe me to the queene of Ingland and of fraunce and lady of Irlond my soueraigne lady to which I am Right humble subiet. And as I spake to hir ladiship on knee. the bonet from myne hede as me aught. I wote not by what adventure nor hou it happennyd all the ladies of hir compaigne aryvid aboute me. And they of theire benyvolence. tied aboute my right thigh a Coler of goolde garnysshid with perre. And was made with oon letter And whan I had it. It was nerer my hert then my knee. And to that Coler was tied a noble floure of Souuenaunce enamelid and in maner of an emprise. And than oon of them saide to me full demurely that I shulde take not it a woorth. as at that tyme' And than they withdrewe them all ychone in their places And I abasshid of this aventure rose me vp and went to thank them all of theire Right grete honoure that they did that tyme' And as I tooke vp my bonet that I had lete fall nygh to mee. I founde in hit a bille writyn in smale parchemyn Rollid & closid with a litill thred of goolde & seallid. Than thought I well that therein was the countenaunce that by them was yoven me

ABBREVIATIONS

Works

BNB Biographie nationale de Belgique (Brussels, 1866-), 28 vols, 10 supplements, in progress

DNB Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1885-), 63 vols, index vol, supplements, in progress

IMEV Brown, Carleton, and Rossell Hope Robbins, The Index of Middle English Verse (New York, 1943). Supplement by Rossell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler (Lexington, 1966, for 1965)

MED Kurath, H., and S.M. Kuhn, Middle English Dictionary (Ann Arbor, 1952-), in progress

PL Davis, Norman (ed), Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1971, 1976), 2 parts, in progress

STC Pollard, A.W., and G.R. Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640 (London, 1926); 2nd edn by W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and K.F. Pantzer, vol II, I-Z (London, 1976)

Manuscripts

H British Library MS Harley 69

L British Library MS Lansdowne 285

M New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS Morgan 775

T Tower of London, Armouries MS I-35

Other Abbreviations

EETS Early English Text Society

E.S. Extra Series

N.S. New Series

n.d. no date

O.S. Original Series

PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association [of America]

r.w. rhyming with

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