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Mario Damen

Source 14

The *Pas* of Brussels, 1503

This source consists of a translation of selected extracts from the narrative account concerning the circumstances preceding this *pas* and from the financial account of the town of Brussels.

Author:

(1) Antoine de Lalaing, lord of Montigny
(2) unknown; known treasurers in that year were Peter van der Noot, Amelrik Was, Jacob de Ruwe and Jan Anderlecht.[1]

Language:

(1) Middle French
(2) Middle Dutch

Archival source used:

(1) The manuscripts used for Louis Prosper Gachard's edition (see below) are Brussels, KBR, 7382, and The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 131 B 9.
(2) The original account was kept in the city archive of Brussels but is no longer extant. These urban accounts, however, were made in two copies, one for the town and the other sent to the Audit Office. The edition given here is based on the latter copy: Brussels, AR 30949.

Edition used:

(1) Louis Prosper Gachard, ed., *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4 vols (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1876), vol. 1, pp. 335–40 (= CdV)
(2) none available

Select bibliography:

Born, Robert, *Les Lalaing: une grande 'mesnie' hennuyère, de l'aventure d'Outrée au siècle des gueux (1096–1600)* (Brussels: Éditeurs d'art associés, 1986), p. 210

Damen, Mario, 'The Town as a Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels', *Urban History*, 43.1 (2016), 47–71

[1] See Brussels, AR 30949 fol. 10r. The inventory wrongly names Wencelijn t'Serclaes, Philip van den Heetvelde and Bertelmeeus van Cattenbroeck as receivers.

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Introduction

This event, organised by Antoine de Lalaing, took place on the main market square in Brussels, now known as the Grote Markt/Grand Place, over several days in the week before Christmas 1503: that is, from 17 to 23 December. It formed part of a series of chivalric entertainments (variously termed *emprise**, joust and *pas*) put on in the town to celebrate the return of the Habsburg prince, Archduke Philip the Fair (1478–1506), to the Netherlands after a two-year journey to Spain, Savoy and Austria, on which Lalaing had accompanied him in his capacity as chamberlain.

The original stimulus for the *Pas* seems to have occurred in September 1503 during Philip the Fair's visit to his father, Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519), in Innsbruck. Then Apolone of Innsbruck, a member of the household of Maximilian's second wife, Bianca Sforza (1472–1510), who was about to marry the count of Lodron, offered a 'crancelin', probably a garland of trefoil leaves, as the heraldic charge of the same name suggests, to four noblemen: the archduke; Ruprecht of the Palatinate, the count palatine; Floris van Egmond, lord of IJsselstein; and Antoine de Lalaing.[2] The recipients all put their garlands around their necks. On doing so, they were told by a courtier that if they wore their garlands uncovered, they would have to accept the challenge to fight against all those who touched them. Philip and the others accepted this condition and immediately had to proclaim how they would engage with their challengers if their *emprise* was touched. Philip, however, decided that this would take place when they returned to the Netherlands later that year.[3]

Desirous of providing entertainment during this festive period, particularly for the ladies, Philip held a one-day event on Sunday 15 December to perform his joust/*emprise*/*pas*, as did Ruprecht of the Palatinate, probably on Monday 16 December.[4] By contrast, and in spite of his much lower ranking at court, Antoine de Lalaing made the fulfilment of his *emprise* into a much bigger event that lasted over several days. On his behalf, on the feast of St Martin (11 November 1503), it was proclaimed at the court in Mechelen, where Philip's retinue had arrived after passing through Aachen, Maastricht, Sint-Truiden and Leuven, that a *pas d'armes* would take place in Brussels.[5] The day after, when Antoine wore his *emprise* around his neck it was touched by some thirty-five noblemen.[6] The town account of Brussels explains that his 'pas ende tfait van wapenen' (*pas* and feat of arms) finally took place from 17 to 23 December on the Grote Markt.[7]

All of these events attracted an illustrious audience of nobles, both male and female, as can be seen in the fact that two ladies of particularly high standing were present at it: Louise-Françoise of Savoy and her mother, Marie de Luxembourg, a powerful noblewoman who had survived her two princely husbands (Jacques of Savoy, lord of Romont, and François

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[2] CdV, p. 309.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 321–3.

[4] For Philip's event see below, p. 291. The town administration of Brussels offered Ruprecht 4.5 *gelten* (11.7 litres) of Rhenish wine 'als hij hem wapende in den Hoeren opte Merc' (when he armed himself in the Hoorn on the Markt). AR 30949 fol. 179r.

[5] CdV, p. 337.

[6] Robert Born, *Les Lalaing: une grande 'mesnie' hennuyère, de l'aventure d'Outrée au siècle des gueux (1096–1600)* (Brussels: Éditeurs d'art associés, 1986), p. 210, mistakenly mentions this date, 12 November, as the day of Antoine's tournament in Brussels.

[7] AR 30949 fols 184v–185r.

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of Bourbon, count of Vendôme). The presence of these ladies at the *Pas* is specifically mentioned in both sources, as translated here.[8] This had to do with the recent marriage of Louise-Françoise with the nobleman and courtier Hendrik III van Nassau.[9] Hendrik was the heir apparent of his uncle, the childless Count Engelbrecht II van Nassau, one of Philip the Fair's most important fiefholders in the Netherlands and his stadholder general.[10]

The motivation for Antoine de Lalaing, a younger brother of Charles, lord of Lalaing, to turn his *emprise* into a bigger event may have been that, although he was only a squire at the time,[11] he was the scion of a lineage whose earlier members had included famous jousters such as Jacques de Lalaing (*c.*1421–53) and Philippe de Lalaing (*c.*1430–65). Each of them had organised an important *pas d'armes* in the Burgundian lands under the Valois dukes: the *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs* (Chalon-sur-Saône, 1449–50) in the case of the former and the *Pas du Perron Fée* (Bruges, 1463) in the case of the latter, both of which were memorialised in numerous manuscript copies.[12] Antoine may therefore have been seeking to emulate the exploits of his first cousins once removed,[13] of nearly fifty years earlier, which he might have read about in his youth in the various manuscripts owned by his family that contained both the chivalric biography known as the *Livre des faits de messire Jacques de Lalaing*, which recorded Jacques's *pas*, and an account of the *Perron Fée*.[14] Unlike theirs, however, Antoine's *pas* was not widely commemorated in its day and, as a consequence, has largely escaped the notice of modern scholars. That his *pas* was at the time already considered as part of a family tradition is illustrated by the fact that on the day he wore his *emprise* in Mechelen, he was accompanied by five men belonging to the wider Lalaing lineage, including three illegitimate sons of two of Jacques and Philippe de Lalaing's brothers (Jean and Antoine).[15]

Two sources make explicit mention of Antoine's feat of arms, albeit in tantalisingly fragmentary form as part of a much larger festive programme. The first of these is a

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[8] See below, pp. 291, 297–8.

[9] The marriage was celebrated during Philip's trip on 5 June 1503 to the Benedictine abbey of Ainay near Lyon, in the presence of the archduke and his entourage, the king of France and his wife. CdV, p. 292.

[10] On this figure, see COTO no. 77; MmM, no. 189; and below, n. 45.

[11] It is not clear when Antoine was knighted, but it is possible that the organisation of this *pas* in Brussels contributed to his obtaining the accolade. In the court ordinance of 1501 that was made for Philip the Fair's travels, he is listed among the category of *autres chambellans* (other chamberlains), which was below the category of 'normal' *chambellans* such as Floris van Egmond, who received a higher wage than Antoine. OHDB, p. 324. Antoine was definitely a knight when he entered the household of the future Charles V in 1510, being named as his second chamberlain in 1513. MmM, no. 135.

[12] See Sources 7 (*Fontaine des Pleurs*), 11a and 11b (*Perron Fée*); see also Essays 3 and 6.

[13] Their common ancestor was Othon de Lalaing, Jacques and Philippe's grandfather and Antoine's great-grandfather. CL, p. 10.

[14] See Essay 3; and Anne-Marie Legaré, '*Les Faits de Jacques de Lalaing* enluminés par le Maître d'Antoine Rolin', in *'Als ich can'. Liber amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. by Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, 2 vols (Leuven/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 773–93. Antoine may have been the patron of the illustrated copy of the *Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing*, dated *c.*1530, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles: Wim Blockmans, 'Jacques de Lalaing: The Vitality of the Chivalric Ideal in the Burgundian Netherlands', in *A Knight for the Ages: Jacques de Lalaing and the Art of Chivalry*, ed. by Elizabeth Morrison (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2018), pp. 53–64 (p. 62).

[15] See below, p. 289.

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narrative account of Philip the Fair's travels written up by Antoine himself, which is quite unusual for a *pas*, and the second is a financial account of the town of Brussels. In the first, Antoine mentions his *pas* as only one of a series of festivities that he recounts as being held to celebrate Philip's return to Brussels after his two years away. Most of the information given in this narrative is, therefore, about the courtly context in which it took place and the focus is understandably on Philip, rather than on Antoine himself. Lalaing identifies himself in the prologue of the manuscript as 'signeur de Montigny, filz de sire Josse de Lalaing, chevalier' (lord of Montigny, son of Messire Josse de Lalaing, knight). He claims that because of his 'amour de mon naturel signeur Philippe d'Austrice' (love of my natural lord, Philip of Austria) he has commemorated in writing what happened during his journey to Spain.[16] His account has been preserved in six manuscripts, none of them identified as autographs.[17] Unfortunately, Lalaing's account seems to be unfinished or incomplete, as it ends on 16 December with the preparation of his own *pas* and gives only a few details about the *emprise/pas* of Philip the Fair.

Similarly, in the second source, the administrative account for the town of Brussels, the heading of the section concerning the costs involved in setting up these events seems to indicate that it is about Philip's combat.[18] However, Lalaing is explicitly mentioned in this section as proclaiming his own *pas*, spread over five days from Tuesday 17 December onwards, which then utilised the infrastructure that Philip had had set up for his *emprise/pas* as it was quite common at late medieval chivalric tournaments for the same venue to be used for multiple events.[19] The total costs for the town were 111lb. Brabantine, of which the *entrepreneur** Antoine de Lalaing received a gift of 50lb. — that is, 45 per cent of the total amount allocated. The other costs mainly concerned the dinners given for the participants and guests in the town hall and the material expenses for setting up the *pas*. The total expenses of the town administration for that year were *c.*16,430lb.,[20] meaning that the costs for the *pas* were not even 0.7 per cent of the total budget.[21]

The financial account was drawn up by the three treasurers of Brussels whose responsibility it was to oversee and implement the town's financial policies. In this account, a clerk has recorded the treasurers' receipts and expenses for the town administration of Brussels in the year running from 24 June 1503. The account consists of 210 folios written on both sides, and the particular expenses related to the *pas* are grouped in the same section of

[16] CdV, p. 123. Despite this explicit mention of the author in the prologue, Daniel Coenen, 'De Lalaing, Antoine', in *Nouvelle biographie nationale*, 15 vols (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 2003), vol. 7, pp. 104–11 (p. 105), does not believe that Lalaing was the actual author because the structure and style of the account are more in line with those of the official chroniclers of the court; in his view, these unknown chroniclers put Lalaing's recollections down on paper, after which the nobleman inserted his name in the prologue. However, the fact that the narrative is recounted in the third-person voice does not necessarily mean that it was not written by Lalaing; rather, this may be a kind of humility device whereby the author avoids drawing attention to himself by using the first-person voice.

[17] CdV, pp. xiv–xv.

[18] See below, p. 293.

[19] This was the case, for example, in Bruges in April and May 1463, where the infrastructure on the main square, the Markt, was used for both the jousts of the White Bear and the *Pas du Perron Fée*. See Source 11b and Essay 3.

[20] AR 30949 fol. 203v.

[21] Compare this with the percentage of 6.6 per cent of the annual budget spent by the town administration of Bruges on the *Pas du Perron Fée* in 1463. See Source 11b, p. 241 n. 33.

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the account. The money of account (i.e. the denomination of money used in reckoning accounts but not issued as actual coins or paper money) is the Brabantine pound of 160 groats. The account used for this translation is a copy of the treasurers' original account, which was kept in the Audit Office (Chambre des Comptes) in Brussels (now kept in the Rijksarchief in Brussels), as indicated on the first folio by the words 'om thof' (for the court).[22] On that folio, in a marginal note, it is also stated that the treasurers delivered the account to the Audit Office on 5 January 1505.

In the translation of the narrative account of Lalaing's *pas* that follows, page numbers in parentheses have been inserted for ease of reference to Gachard's edition.

TRANSLATION (1): NARRATIVE ACCOUNT BY ANTOINE DE LALAING

(335) **This thirty-eighth chapter speaks about *[…]* how my lord[23] was received in Maastricht, Sint-Truiden, Leuven and Mechelen; about the proclamation of a *pas d'armes* by my lord of Montigny[24] and how my lord went to Brussels; and about the death of my lady the Great[25] and her memorial service**

[…] (337) On the feast of St Martin,[26] a *pas d'armes* was proclaimed by Antoine de Lalaing, lord of Montigny, which was accomplished in Brussels in the manner described hereafter.

On Sunday 12 November, the said Antoine de Lalaing carried his *emprise* around his neck. This was the small garland which was given to him in Innsbruck by the bride of the count of Lodron, as recounted above.[27] On leaving his lodgings, the said Antoine was accompanied by the lord of Lalaing,[28] his brother, the lord of Brederode,[29] the lord

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[22] AR 30949 fol. 10r.

[23] Philip the Fair (1478–1506), son of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy, was married to Juana of Castile, daughter of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, which eventually led to a personal union of the Low Countries, Franche-Comté and the Spanish kingdoms.

[24] [monseur de Montigny/Anthoine de Lalaing]. Antoine de Lalaing (1480–1540), lord of Montigny, Hoogstraten (count from 1518 onwards), and Culemborg, the second son of Josse de Lalaing and Bonne de Viefville, was married to Elisabeth van Culemborg (1509). He formed part of Philip the Fair's entourage as a chamberlain on this prince's journey to Spain (1501–03) and was second chamberlain of Charles V (from 1513), holding many administrative and military offices in the Habsburg state apparatus from that period on: he was head of the Financial Council (from 1515), a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece and of the Privy Council (from 1516), stadholder of Holland and Zeeland (1522–40), and stadholder of Utrecht (1529–40). MmM, no. 137; CdV, pp. vi–xiv.

[25] This refers to Margaret of York (1446–1503), the widow of Duke Charles the Bold (r. 1433–77), grandfather of Philip the Fair.

[26] That is, 11 November 1503.

[27] [conte de Lodron]. See CdV, pp. 321–3.

[28] Charles I de Lalaing (1466–1525), lord of Lalaing, the eldest son of Josse de Lalaing and Bonne de Viefvielle, was married to Jacqueline de Luxembourg (daughter of Jacques I); he was a councillor-chamberlain of Philip the Fair (from 1497) and a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1505). MmM, no. 139.

[29] Walraven II van Brederode (1462–1531), lord of Brederode, Vianen and Ameide, son of Reinoud II van Brederode and Yolande de Lalaing, was married to Margareta van Borssele; he was knighted by Maximilian I after his coronation (1486) and was a chamberlain of Philip the Fair (from 1495). MmM, no. 38; OHDB, pp. 170.

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of Bugnicourt,[30] the lord of Wandonne,[31] his brother, captain Rodrigue de Lalaing[32] and by other lords and noblemen who were either related, allied or loyal to him. He went in this manner to attend my lord's Mass. The number of grandmasters[33] and nobles who touched his *emprise* was about thirty-five or thirty-six, as will be explained further below.[34]

A few days later, to pass the time with the ladies, Charles de Lannoy, lord of Senzeille,[35] undertook a combat *à la coutte*[36] against all comers which comprised one exchange with sharp-headed lances and one with sharpened swords; after he had accepted all their challenges, [he fought them] one after the other. He took on eight or ten gentlemen in this combat.

The next day, my lord left Mechelen and went to Brussels (338) where he made an honourable entry and his return was joyfully celebrated; my lord was cheerful that he had returned to the place from whence he had departed.

[….]

This thirty-ninth chapter deals with the manner in which my lord Hendrik van Nassau[37] went to Bohain[38] to find his wife and the ladies

[30] [seigneur de Buignicourt]. Ponthus de Lalaing, lord of Bugnicourt and Villers-au-Tertre, was an illegitimate son of Jean de Lalaing (brother of Jacques and Philippe) and married to Bonne van Wassenaar; he was a pantler* of Philip the Fair (1497). Félix Brassart, *Le blason de Lalaing. Notes généalogiques et héraldiques sur une ancienne et illustre maison* (Douai: L. Crépin, 1879), pp. 47–50; OHDB, p. 173.

[31] [seigneur de Vendomme]. Hercule de Lalaing (d. 1539), lord of Wandonne and Coupelles in Artois, was an illegitimate son of Jean de Lalaing and married to Jeanne du Mont, lady of Bernenchon. Félix Brassart, *Histoire et généalogie des comtes de Lalaing*, 2nd revised edition (Douai: Adam d'Aubers, 1854), pp. 30–1.

[32] [Rodicq de Lalaing]. Rodrigue de Lalaing, an illegitimate son of Antoine de Lalaing (i.e. the brother of Jacques and Philippe), was a member of the household of Philip the Fair, serving as a squire (1495), as captain of the archers (1497) and as *maître d'hotel* (1506). He accompanied Philip the Fair to Spain as a captain but was temporarily removed from office for having had a dispute with daggers and swords with another member of the household named Jean de Martigny in Ocaña, near Toledo (September 1502). OHDB, pp. 175, 230, 351, 371. He participated in the *Pas* of Mechelen (1491). Born, *Les Lalaing*, p. 194. Shortly before the *pas*, on 2 December 1503, Philip the Fair awarded him a gift of 80lb. to help him with his necessities since he had been ill just prior to it. ADN B fols 112v–113r.

[33] This term might refer to the *maîtres d'hotel* of Philip the Fair's household. In 1501, the *grand maître d'hotel* was Philippe of Burgundy, the youngest illegitimate son of Duke Philip the Good, (b. *c.*1465). OHDB, p. 325; MmM, no. 28.

[34] Unfortunately, these names are not in fact given below. However, it is a reasonable assumption that many of the noblemen mentioned in Lalaing's narrative did take part in the *Pas*.

[35] [seigneur de Saintzelles]. Charles de Lannoy (d. 1527), lord of Senzeille, son of Jean de Lannoy, lord of Mingoval, and Philipotte de Lalaing, was a councillor of Charles V (from 1515) and a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1516). MmM, no. 146.

[36] The meaning of this expression is obscure and so has been left untranslated here; it is not even clear whether the combat was on foot or on horseback.

[37] [Henry de Nassou]. Hendrik III van Nassau, son of Jan V van Nassau and Elisabeth van Hessen-Katzenelnbogen, was married to 1. Louise-Françoise of Savoy, 2. Claudia de Chalon, 3. Mencía de Mendoza. He inherited the possessions of his uncle, Engelbrecht II van Nassau, in the Netherlands upon his death (1504); he was a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1505), stadholder of Holland and Zeeland (1515–21) and a member of the Secret Council (1515–30) of Charles V. MmM, no. 190.

[38] [Bouhain]. Bohain, a castle and lordship in Picardy owned by the bride's mother, Marie de Luxembourg, was situated some 125 km away from Brussels.

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who accompanied her, the great reception and triumph organised for them on their entry into Brussels, the *pas d'armes* that my lord performed, and other things

[The text then recounts how Hendrik and his wife, Louise-Françoise of Savoy, travelling via Le Quesnoy, Mons and Soignies, eventually arrived in Brussels. His wife's entourage consisted of her mother, Marie de Luxembourg,[39] *and many other high-ranking noble ladies of whom seven are mentioned by name.*[40]*]*

(339) The next day,[41] they[42] came to Brussels where my very redoubtable lord,[43] accompanied by the count palatine,[44] the count of Nassau,[45] the prince of Chimay[46] and many other grandmasters had arrived before them. My lord of Nassau[47] then took them to …[48] where the ladies of Fiennes[49] and Lalaing[50] and many others had come at the request of

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[39] Marie de Luxembourg (*c.*1470–1547), eldest daughter of Pierre II de Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol, and Marguerite of Savoy, married first her uncle Jacques of Savoy, lord of Romont (1483) and then, after his death (1487), François of Bourbon, count of Vendôme (d. 1495). Because their son Charles was still a minor, she governed the Vendôme as his regent, enjoying its usufruct until her death. She owned twenty-five medieval manuscripts, among them copies of René of Anjou's *Livre des tournois* and Antoine de La Sale's *Jean de Saintré*. Anne S. Korteweg, 'La collection de livres d'une femme indépendante: Marie de Luxembourg (v. 1470–1547)', in *Livres et lectures de femmes en Europe entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, ed. by Anne-Marie Legaré and Bertrand Schnerb (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 221–32; David Potter, 'The Luxembourg Inheritance. The House of Bourbon and its Lands in Northern France during the Sixteenth Century', *French History*, 6 (1992), 24–62 (pp. 28–9).

[40] Whilst the names of four of these seven ladies (Madame de Ravenstein, Madame de Porcien, Madame de Roeulx and Mademoiselle d'Antoing) are clear enough, those of 'Madame de Viege' (Viège/Vergy?), 'Mademoiselle de Vaelle' (Laval?) and 'Mademoiselle de Jeux' (Joux/Jauche?) are much less easy to identify.

[41] No exact date is indicated here but this must have been around the end of November; Philip the Fair, with Nassau in his entourage, was welcomed in Brussels on 18 November 1503.

[42] This refers to Hendrik III van Nassau, his wife and mother-in-law.

[43] That is, Philip the Fair.

[44] In his account, where Lalaing sometimes refers to the 'comte palatin' (count palatine) and on other occasions to the 'josne comte palatin' (the young count palatine), the same person is probably being identified, i.e. Ruprecht of the Palatinate (1481–1504).

[45] Engelbrecht II van Nassau (1451–1504), count of Nassau, lord of Breda, son of Jan IV van Nassau and Maria van Loon-Heinsberg, was a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1473), a councillor-chamberlain of Mary of Burgundy (1477) and first councillor-chamberlain of Maximilian of Austria (1482), as well as a councillor and keeper of the seal of Philip the Fair (1495) and a stadholder-general of the Netherlands (1496–98, 1501–03). COTO no. 77; MmM, no. 189; OHDB, p. 178.

[46] Charles I de Croÿ (*c.*1450–1527), prince of Chimay, son of Philippe de Croÿ and Walburge de Meurs, was married to Louise d'Albret and was first chamberlain of Maximilian (1482), who promoted his county of Chimay in Hainaut to a principality (1486). He was a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1491), a *chevalier d'honneur* of Juana of Castile (1498), a chamberlain of Philip the Fair (1494) and first chamberlain of Charles V, who was also his godson (1506). COTO no. 245; MmM, no. 65.

[47] Hendrik III van Nassau is meant here, as opposed to the count of Nassau, Engelbrecht II.

[48] Some words are missing here, but this probably refers to the palace of the Nassaus near the ducal Coudenberg Palace.

[49] Margareta van Brugge-Gruuthuse, daughter of Jan V van Brugge. COTO no. 107.

[50] This must refer to the wife of the lord of Lalaing, Charles I — that is, Jacqueline de Luxembourg, daughter of Jacques I. MmM, no. 139.

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my lord[51] and of my lord of Nassau, in order to receive and welcome them. All the ladies were lodged there where they were treated in the best possible way, for my lord of Nassau held open court and one could see full tables which lacked for nothing from morning until night. The said lord[52] did everything in his power to make everybody feel welcome. Even my lord himself[53] thought only of things with which to entertain them, what with dancing, holding combats in the halls[54] in their presence and taking them out to hunt; indeed, they were treated so well and in such fine style that they said in all their lives they had never known such enjoyable festivities. Furthermore, in order to entertain them, my lord wanted to have the four *emprises* that had been planned in Innsbruck[55] performed in their presence,[56] but this was not possible because time was short and they[57] could not be held until the *entrepreneurs* were ready. Nonetheless, my lord insisted that they[58] stay on and, in the end, they agreed to remain there for another ten or twelve days, during which time my lord could accomplish his *pas*.

Sunday 15 December began in the following way: at two o'clock in the afternoon, my lord[59] was in the lists ready to accomplish what he was obliged to as regards competing against all the noblemen who had touched his *emprise*. All the said ladies were in the town hall,[60] with the stands where the lord judges were accommodated in front of them. All one could see were ladies at the windows around the whole of the Markt which was crowded with people. My lord wore a *sayon* made of cloth of gold and cloth of silver with stripes of crimson velvet, as was [his horse's] trapper*, both of which looked very fine; he also wore an ornament with white feathers laden with *orfèvrerie**.[61] (340) He was served by my lord the count palatin, the count of Nassau, my lord the prince of Chimay, my lord of Fiennes,[62] my lord of Ville,[63]

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[51] That is, Philip the Fair.

[52] That is, Hendrik III van Nassau.

[53] That is, Philip the Fair.

[54] See also below, p. 295. Some of the hundreds of cartloads of sand for the *Pas* at the Grote Markt were delivered to the Coudenberg Palace for a jousting event in December.

[55] This refers to Philip the Fair's visit to his father Maximilian in September 1503. See above, p. 285; and CdV, pp. 321–3.

[56] That is, the ladies.

[57] This refers to the different *emprises*.

[58] That is, the ladies.

[59] That is, Philip the Fair.

[60] This suggests that they were watching the spectacle from the galleries of the town hall. On these galleries, see Mario Damen, 'The Town as a Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels', *Urban History*, 43.1 (2016), 47–71 (p. 64).

[61] A *sayon* is a man's outer garment with a fitted waist and a skirt with many gores (panels) that were cut so as to flare out towards the hem. In this example, the gores of the skirt probably alternated between the cloth of gold and the cloth of silver; the crimson velvet stripes may have been used to edge the skirt rather than serving as a third kind of gore. The reference to the feathered ornament probably refers to a crest to be worn on the top of the lord's helm. Thanks are due to Margaret Scott for her help in deciphering and translating these details.

[62] Jacques II de Luxembourg (1443–1517), lord of Fiennes, son of Jacques I de Luxembourg, was married to Margareta van Brugge-Gruuthuse. He was a councillor-chamberlain of Maximilian of Austria and, from 1494 onwards, of Philip the Fair; he was a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1491) and stadholder of Flanders (1504–17). COTO no. 107; MmM, no. 163.

[63] Jean de Luxembourg (*c.*1477–1508), lord of Ville, third son of Jacques I de Luxembourg, lord of Fiennes, and Marie de Berlaymont, lady of Ville, was married to Elisabeth van Culemborg, who, after

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my lord of Chièvres,[64] the grand squire[65] and various others, and six noblemen on foot. All these grandmasters and noblemen were dressed in satin or in yellow, red and white damask, all made in the same fabric as the trappers. The trumpeters[66] and valets were similarly dressed, as they all had yellow caps with a yellow ribbon and a white feather. My lord entered the lists in this manner and, for the first course run against him … .[67]

TEXT (2): FINANCIAL ACCOUNT OF THE TOWN OF BRUSSELS, 1503–04

(fol. 184r)

Andere uutgeven gedaen ten steecspele dat onse genadigee heere gehouden heeft opte Merct des sondaechs 17 decembri

Ierst, meesteren Janne Vrancx, meester tymmerman deser stadt, die den rentmeesteren op zijnen eedt overbracht heeft dat diverse tymmerlieden die baillen, lijsten, huysen ende andere wercken gemaect hebben daer onse genedige heere over gesteken heeft; daer die jugen ende hieraulten opsaten, doen joncker Anthon van Lalang tpas ende tfait van wapenen beroepen hadde ende de verweerders inne gewapent ende gelogieert zijn geweest; de tafelen ende scragen ten banckette opter stadhuys gestelt hebben ende wederom afgebroken, daerover zij tsamen zijn geweest 121 dagen, te 4 stuvers sdaegs, valent: 6lb. 1s. groten.

Den selven meester Janne Vrancx van 17,5 dagen lanck tvoirs. werck te begaene, sdaegs 4 stuvers, valent: 17s. 6d. groten.

Den selven van vier vloerhouten, elc 10 voeten lanck, totter tonnen daer de helmen van den heeren die tvoirs. pas deden opgesteken waeren, ende ten heerden daer tvier in de huyskens van den selven op gemaect was, gelevert coste den voet een plac, 6 miten, valent: 4s. 2d. groten.

Diericke van Beerssel van 6412 voeten abeelen berts, coste elc hondert 12 stuvers, totten baillen, lijsten, huysen opte Merct ten voirs. steecspele gelevert, valent: 9lb. 12s. 4,5d. groten.

Jan Huyssegem met 4 gesellen, elc 27 dagen, compt tsamen op 135 dachueren elck te 2 stuvers, ende hebben gemaect de putten opte Merct om de stijlen, baillen, huysen in

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his death, married Antoine de Lalaing. He was a chamberlain of Philip the Fair (from 1497), his second chamberlain (1501) and, after the death of Engelbrecht II van Nassau, became his first chamberlain; he was a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1501). MmM, no. 166.

[64] Guillaume de Croÿ (1458–1521), lord of Chièvres, second son of Philippe de Croÿ and Jacqueline de Luxembourg, was married to Marie de Hamal. He was knighted by Maximilian of Austria on the day of his coronation (1486) and was a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1491); he was also a councillor-chamberlain of Philip the Fair (1494), grand-bailiff of Hainaut (1497–1503), and was appointed on 14 December 1503 (at the time of the *Pas*) as governor and grand-bailiff of Namur. COTO, no. 105; MmM, no. 68.

[65] Claude Bonnard was a squire of the stables of Philip the Fair (1495) and later his grand and first squire of the stables (1501). CdV, p. 351; OHDB, pp. 176, 328.

[66] Nine trumpeters are mentioned by name in Philip's court ordinance for his journey to Spain from November 1501. OHDB, p. 350.

[67] This is where the manuscript ends, omitting all detail about the challengers and the *pas* held by Antoine de Lalaing from 17 December onwards.

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Translation (2): Financial account of the town of Brussels, 1503–04 (fol. 184r)

Other expenses incurred for the joust that our gracious lord[68] held on the Markt[69] on Sunday 17 December

First, paid to Master Jan Franks,[70] master carpenter of this town, who swore on his oath to the receiver that several carpenters had made the lists, the fences, the pavilions[71] and other structures used by our gracious lord to joust; [those structures] where the judges and heralds were seated when the squire[72] Antoine de Lalaing announced his *pas* and feat of arms, and [those structures] where the defenders were armed and lodged; for putting up and pulling down again the tables and trestles for the banquet in the town hall, for which they all worked a total of 121 days at a daily wage of 4 *stuivers*,[73] total: 6lb. 1s. *groten*.

Paid to the same Master Jan Franks for 17.5 days executing the said work, at a rate of 4 *stuivers* a day, total: 17s. 6d. *groten*.

Paid to the same for four boards, each of them 10 feet long,[74] for the barrels on which were placed the helms* of the lords who competed in the said *pas*[75] and for the hearths in which fires were made in the small pavilions, delivered at a cost of one *plak*[76] six *mijten*[77] per feet, total: 4s. 2d. *groten*.

Dirk van Beersel for 6412 feet[78] of poplar boards, at a cost of 12 *stuivers* per hundred, used for the lists, fences and pavilions constructed on the Markt: 9lb. 12s. 4.5d. *groten*.

Jan Huissegem with four workmen for 27 days each, totalling 135 days, at a rate of 2 *stuivers* a day, for making the pits on the Markt for the posts, fences and pavilions; to

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[68] That is, Philip the Fair.

[69] Now the Grote Markt/Grand Place in Brussels.

[70] No further information is available about him or any of the other craftsmen mentioned in this account.

[71] Three small pavilions were set up, one for the judges, one for Lalaing as the defender of the *pas* and another one for the challengers. See below, p. 297.

[72] The term *joncker* (French: *damoiseau*) used here refers to a nobleman of high birth who has not been knighted (yet). Antheun Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland. Portret van een adellijke elite in de late middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), p. 89. On the exact date when he was knighted, see above, n. 11.

[73] One *stuiver* equates here to 3d. *groten* Brabantine. One pound Brabantine (the money of account used here) is therefore the equivalent of eighty *stuivers*.

[74] In Brussels, a foot measured 27.6 cm.

[75] That is, the *pas* of Antoine de Lalaing.

[76] One *plak* equals here 1d. *groten* Brabantine; one *stuiver* thus consists of three *plakken*.

[77] One *plak* consists of twenty-four *mijten*.

[78] That is, *c.*1768 m.

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te settene; den savel gespreyt; de voyen van der stadhuys behangen; de huysen daer de steeckers inne gelogieert zijn geweest mit heren ende tinten te overspannene; den savel wederom op te scuppene, te vergaderene ende opte kerren te ladene; de huysen, baillen ende lijsten wederom af te doene ende ander diversch hantwerck te doene, betaelt: 3lb. 7s. 6d. groten.

Betaelt diverse kerrelieden van 633 kerren savels van aen de wintmoelen aen den Wollendriesch te halene ende opt hof in de groote sale, aldaer onse genedige heere stack, te vuerene ende oick op de Merct te brengene om de selve te savelen in weder zijden van den lijsten. Van elcker kerren betaelt van der vracht een plac, valent tsamen: 2lb. 12s. 9d. groten.

Diericke Wageman van 633 kerren savele uyten putte opten Haerdriesch te laten halene, van elcken kerren 12 mijten: 27s. 9d. groten.

(fol. 184v)

Janne van den Vekene van eender kerren cleemps, van 3 kerren gewerdden calck in de Cancelrie van Brabant opgesedt te halene ende ten huyse opte Merct gemaect te bringene: 1s. 2d. groten.

Baltasar van Somergem van 11 dage lanck de voirs vracht te kervene, sdaegs 2 stuvers: 5s. 6d. groten.

Willeme Lissen, meester metsere deser stadt, heeft op zijnen eede overbracht te wetene dat een metsere gewracht heeft 4,5 dagen, te 4 stuvers sdaegs, ende eenen oppercnape 4,5 dagen, sdaegs 2,5 stuvers, aen de schouwen in de berdderen huysen opten Merct daer de heeren ende steeckeren inne gelogieert waeren, te metsene, betaelt: 7s. 3d. groten.

Den selven van drie dagen tvoirs. werck te begaene, sdaegs 4 stuvers, valent: 3s. groten.

Janne de Ketele van 32 voederen, berdderen, sperren, staken, steen ende andere stoffe int Huys in de munte, in de Bleyckerije ende Rantsvoirtspoyen, int Southuys, aende Lakenspoye,

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spread the sand; to drape the galleries of the town hall; to cover the pavilion where the jousters were lodged with curtains; to shovel up and collect the sand and put it on the carts; to dismantle the pavilions, the lists and fences; and to perform other manual services, paid to them: 3lb. 7s. 6d. *groten*.

Paid to several carters for 633 cartloads of sand taken from the windmill at the Wollendries[79] to bring it to the great hall in the palace[80] where our gracious lord[81] jousted. Also, to bring it to the Markt for depositing sand on both sides of the lists. Paid for every cartload one *plak*, total: 2lb. 12s. 9d. *groten*.

Dirk Wageman for 633 cartloads of sand which he took from the pit at the Haardries,[82] for every cartload 12 *mijten*: 27s. 9d. *groten*.

(fol. 184v)

Jan van den Vekene for bringing one cartload of clay and three cartloads of slaked lime from the Chancery of Brabant[83] to the pavilions on the Markt: 1s. 2d. *groten*.

Baltasar van Somergem for eleven days of cutting the [contents of the] said cartload[84] at a rate of 2 *stuivers* a day, total: 5s. 6d. *groten*.

Willem Lissen, master mason of this town, has sworn upon his oath that a master bricklayer worked 4.5 days at a daily rate of 4 *stuivers*, as well as one carrier for 4.5 days at a daily rate of 2.5 *stuivers*, [in order] to build the fireplaces in the wooden pavilions on the Markt where the jousters were lodged; paid to him: 7s. 3d. *groten*.

Paid to the same to execute the said work for three days, 4 *stuivers* a day, total: 3s. *groten*.

Jan de Ketel for 32 cartloads of planks, poles, stakes, stones and other materials from the Minthouse[85] in the Blekerij,[86] the Ransvoordspui,[87] in the Zouthuis,[88] in the Lakenspui[89]

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[79] These are various fields just inside the town walls of Brussels, nowadays situated around the Poelaertplein. Bram Vannieuwenhuyze, 'Brussel, de ontwikkeling van een middeleeuwse stedelijke ruimte' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Universiteit Gent, 2008), p. 1209.

[80] This is the Aula Magna or Great Hall of the Coudenberg Palace, constructed by Philip the Good in the 1450s. It measured 150 × 60 feet (41.4 × 16.5 m) and was apparently big enough for jousting. The Aula was situated on the *piano nobile* and could be reached only via a monumental landing with two flights of stairs, which for trained horses would not have been difficult to manage. Vincent Heymans, Laetitia Cnockaert and Frédérique Honoré, eds., *Het Coudenbergpaleis te Brussel van middeleeuws kasteel tot archeologische site* (Ghent: Uitgeverij Snoeck, 2014), pp. 88–9, 96–103.

[81] That is, Philip the Fair.

[82] Is it not clear where this location is. It may refer to the 'dries' (common open space) in the village of Haren, to the north-west of Brussels.

[83] Built in 1496, the Chancery was located in the Kanselarijstraat which, today, is near the main railway station.

[84] That is, the clay and lime.

[85] There was a mint in Brussels from 1073 onwards. The Minthouse was one of the locations used by the town administration to store rye in order to secure a steady supply of this essential foodstuff and a stable price for it. Vannieuwenhuyze, 'Brussel', pp. 234, 1015.

[86] This is the district of the bleachers, situated nowadays around the Huidenvettersstraat. *Ibid.*, pp. 821–2.

[87] Nowadays, this is the Ninoofseplein. *Ibid.*, p. 1080.

[88] This is probably the Zouthuis, a saltery in the Zoutstraat, nowadays the Boterstraat. *Ibid.*, p. 1221.

[89] This is the lock (*spui*) that formed part of the Buitenste Lakenpoort. The attic of this lockhouse was used by the town administration for storing salt. *Ibid.*, pp. 390, 985.

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ende in de Herberge van Haffligem te halene met zijnen wagene ende peerden ten lijsten ende baillen opte Merct ten voirs steecspelen te vuerene, te halen ende te bringene. Ende van 29 voedere stoffen aldaer afgebroken wederom in de munte te vuerene, zijn tsamen 61 voederen betaelt van den voedere 2 stuvers daeraf de rentmeester met hem overcomen zijn, om: 30s. 6d. groten.

Cornelijse Schermer van 15,5 ellen canevets, coste delle 4 plac, valent 5s. 3d. groten, van 14 ellen roede sayen fringen, coste delle 2 placken 6 mijten valent 2s. 7,5d. groten totten pavilloenen aen der jugen huys gelevert; van den selven te nayene 6 placken; van den selven pavilloene ende de tonne daer de helmen opstaken root ende wit te schilderene, daerop eenen houten appel staende met ons genedichs heeren wapene in beyden zijden te schilderen 10s. groten; ende van den huysen daer de heeren, die 't fait van den wapene inne deden, inne vertrocken, al wit te verwene 8s. groten, tsamen: 26s. 1,5d. groten.

Joncheeren Anthoon van Lalaing, raid ende camerlinck ons genedichs heeren, die tpas ende tfait van wapene alhier opte Merct opgesedt ende gedaen heeft 5 dagen lanck duerende, bij ordinancien ende bevele des selfs ons genedichs heeren hem gegeven ende gesconken 200 rijnsgulden, te 5s. groten Brabants: 50lb. groten.

Den hieraulten ons genedichs heeren voere trecht dat zij pretendeerden te hebbene aen de lijsten, huyskens daer de jugen opsaten, daer de voirs. joncker Anthoon als verweerdere hem inne wapene, opte Merct gemaect, ende de lijsten daer men over stack, tpas ende tfait van wapene dede betaelt 2lb. groten; voere de helmen ende scilden verwapent 3lb. groten tsamen: 5lb. groten.

(fol. 185r)

Baltasar van Somergem, Jacoppe van den Broecke, Ghijsbrecht van Lede ende Aerde van Callenberge van der poirten van den stadhuys achter ende voere acht dagen lanck te

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and in the house of the abbey of Affligem,[90] to collect this with his cart and take it to the Markt for the lists and fences for the said joust. And [for another] 29 cartloads of dismantled material there, to take it to the mint again. Paid all together for 61 cartloads, as the receiver had agreed with him, at a rate of 2 *stuivers* per cartload: 30s. 6d. *groten*.

Cornelis Schermer [was] paid for 15.5 *el*[91] [of] tarpaulin at a cost of 4 *plak* per *el*, total 5s. 3d. *groten*; for 14 *el*[92] [of] red woollen fringes, at a cost of 2 *plakken*, 6 *mijten* per *el*, total 2s. 7.5d. *groten*, delivered for the pavilion of the judges, and to sew the said fabrics 6 *plakken*; to paint the same pavilion and the barrels on which the helms were placed in red and white, and to paint the coat of arms of our gracious lord on both sides of a wooden orb placed on it [i.e. on the pavilion] 10s. *groten*; and to paint all in white the pavilion where the lords stayed and from where they left to perform the feat of arms, 8s. *groten*. Total: 26s. 1.5d. *groten*.

Given and donated to the squire Antoine de Lalaing, councillor-chamberlain of our gracious lord, who organised and staged the *pas* and feat of arms here on the Markt over five days[93] by order and command of our gracious lord, the sum of 200 *rijnsgulden*, at a rate of 5s. *groten* Brabantine: 50lb. *groten*.[94]

Paid to the heralds[95] of our gracious lord for the rights they claimed to have to the lists, the small pavilions where the judges were seated and where the said squire Antoine as defender armed himself, and the barrier used for the joust and the *pas* and feat of arms, 2lb. *groten*; for painting the crests and coats of arms, 3lb. *groten*. Total: 5lb. *groten*.

(fol. 185r)

To Baltasar van Somergem, Jacob van den Broeke, Gijsbrecht van Lede and Aart van Callenberg for keeping watch over the gates of the town hall, both at the front and at the back, for eight days when my gracious lord jousted and performed his *pas* on the

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[90] This is a Benedictine abbey some 20 km to the north-west of Brussels. Many abbeys in the Low Countries had houses, known as *refugia*, in nearby towns where they could shelter in case of danger.

[91] One *el* in Brabant measured 69.2 cm; here it therefore equates to *c*.10.73 m.

[92] That is, *c*.9.7 m.

[93] It can thus be concluded that Antoine de Lalaing's *pas* took place on 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23 December (see below, in the final entry, p. 299), whereas the joust and feat of arms of Philip the Fair took place on 17 December only, as suggested in the title of this section of the account.

[94] On 12 January 1504, Antoine received a gift from Philip the Fair of 220lb. (of forty *gros*) for services performed which do not explicitly mention the *pas*. However, the timing of this gift, which was 10 per cent more than the town's payment (the equivalent of 200lb. of forty *gros*), does suggest that the archduke regarded this chivalric event in a positive way. ADN B 2185 fol. 167r.

[95] It is not clear which heralds performed these activities at this *pas d'armes*. It is highly likely that Toison d'or King of Arms, Thomas Isaac at that time, was of their number, as he is mentioned as being one of the recipients of a winegift of three *gelten* of Rhenish wine (7.8 litres) from the town administration after the entry of Philip the Fair into Brussels on 18 November 1503. AR 30949 fol. 179v. In René of Anjou's *Livre des tournois*, it was stipulated that 'all the knights and squires who have never tourneyed before must pay for their helms and their welcome to arms, to the king of arms, heralds or pursuivants, at their pleasure or by the order of the judges'. Justin Sturgeon, *Text and Image in René d'Anjou's* Livre des tournois*: Constructing Authority and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Court Culture*, 3 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2022), vol. 1, p. 221. However, the payment here seems to relate rather to the painting of the coats of arms of all participants on the ephemeral architecture. See also Source 11b.

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bewarene, als onse genedige heere opte Merct gesteken ende tpas gedaen heeft, daeraf Baltasar ende Jacop van den Broecke elcken sdaegs 1s. 8d., ende de 2 dieneren elcken sdaegs 10d. groten, valent: 2lb. groten.

Thomase van der Hameyden van 4 scotelen nagelen, cost elck scotele 4,5 stuver totten voirs. lijsten gelevert, valent: 4s. 6d. groten.

Meester Janne Lemers van 6 paer strecleden coste 12 stuvers; 5 grindels 5 stuvers; ende van vier grindel sloten, tstuc 5 stuvers, totten berdderen huyskens opte Merct gelevert, betaelt: 4s. 6d. groten.

Betaelt aen den cost gedaen opter stadhuys met onsen genedigen heeren, den ertshertoge, mitter vrouwen van Vendome, mitter jonffrouwe van Nassouwen, ende anderen heeren ende vrouwen als men opte Merct gestoken heeft ende tpas van wapene gedaen 17, 19, 20, 21, 22 ende 23 dage in decembri anno 1500 drie, gedragene na uutwijsen van den partijen: 25lb. 15s. 1d. groten.

Somme 111lb. 5s. 6,5d. groten.

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Markt.[96] Paid to both Baltasar and Jacob van den Broeke 1s. 8d. a day and to each of the two servants 10d. *groten* a day. Total: 2lb. *groten*.

Paid to Thomas van der Hameide for four packets of nails used for the lists, costing 4.5 *stuivers* per packet. Total: 4s. 6d. *groten*.

Paid to Master Jan Lemers who, for the small wooden pavilions on the Markt, delivered six pairs of hinges at a cost of 12 *stuivers*; five bolts for 5 *stuivers*; and four bolt locks, at 5 *stuivers* a piece: 4s. 6d. *groten*.

Paid for the dinners held in the town hall with our gracious lord the archduke,[97] my lady of Vendôme,[98] the lady of Nassau[99] and other lords and ladies, after finishing the jousting and the *pas d'armes* on the Markt on 17, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23 December in the year 1503, as is clearly attested in the individual declarations: 25lb. 15s. 1d. *groten*.

Grand total: 111lb. 5s. 6.5d. *groten*.

[96] The number of days mentioned here is ambiguous, as that given below is six. However, we know from the narrative source (see above, p. 291) that Philip the Fair had his *emprise* on Sunday 15 December, which probably extended into Monday 16 December, when apparently no dinner was held in the town hall. This would make up the number of eight days, although they were definitely not all used solely for Philip's joust.

[97] Philip the Fair was also archduke of Austria.

[98] That is, Marie de Luxembourg. See above, n. 39.

[99] As Cimburga of Baden, wife of the then count of Nassau, Engelbrecht II, had already died in 1503, this probably refers to the new wife of Hendrik III van Nassau, Louise-Françoise of Savoy. See above, n. 37.

Thanks are due to Josephine van den Bent, Rosalind Brown-Grant, Ralph Moffat and Bram Vannieuwenhuyze for their helpful comments on these translations.

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