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Pas d'armes and Late Medieval Chivalry: A Casebook

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The Social and Literary Environment of a Chivalric Event: the Case of the *Pas du Perron Fée*, Bruges, 1463

From 28 April to 17 May, on the Markt, the main market square in the Flemish town of Bruges, a grandiose jousting event took place that drew a crowd of knights, noble men and ladies, and, presumably, town citizens, eager to admire impressive deeds of arms and sumptuous garments. The organiser of this *pas d'armes*, known as the *Pas du Perron Fée*, was Philippe de Lalaing (*c.*1430–65), one of the knights in the service of the Burgundian duke Philip the Good (1396–1467), who demonstrated his prowess on both the battle and tournament fields and belonged, moreover, to the select circle of knights who not only took a vow at the famous Feast of the Pheasant in 1454 to join their lord on a crusade, but also fulfilled that promise. He was to die on 16 July 1465 in the battle of Montlhéry, which pitted the troops of King Louis XI of France (1423–81) against those of the so-called League of the Public Weal, led by Charles of Charolais (the future Charles the Bold, 1433–77), and was buried there. Of him the chronicler Philippe de Commynes rightfully wrote that 'il étoit d'une rasse dont peu s'en est trouvé qui n'ayent estéz vaillans et courageux et presque tous morts en servant leurs seigneurs en guerre' (He was of a stock of which very few turned out to be less valiant and courageous [than him] and almost all of whom died in war serving their lords).[1]

As an attentive reader of romances and *chansons de geste*, Philippe devised for his *pas d'armes* a scenario of Arthurian inspiration. In one of the accounts of the *Pas*,[2] the narrator recounts what reads like a short romance: an anonymous knight, looking for lodging at sunset, rides on a moor, along a narrow path, between ponds, when he encounters a great stone (a *perron**) blocking his way. A metal horn hangs from the stone and letters inscribed on it invite the passerby to sound the horn three times and face the consequences. The knight having complied, a frowning dwarf suddenly appears and presents the knight with a choice between two alternatives (a *jeu-parti*[3]): he can either relinquish his horse and arms, and leave, or turn himself in, waiting for a 'sauvage aventure' (fearsome adventure). The knight chooses to be hosted for the night. The next morning, the dwarf explains that the knight is the prisoner of the 'Dame du Perron Fée' (Lady of the Enchanted Column), who imprisons all the knights riding by. In order to obtain his freedom, he must agree

[1] Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. by Joël Blanchard (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2001), p. 104. Also cited in Andries Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas van de Betoverde Burcht, voorbode van de machtsgreep door Karel de Stoute', *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge*, 146 (2009), 93–139 (p. 101).

[2] See Source 11a.

[3] A *jeu-parti* was originally a lyrical debate based on a dilemma question such as 'which is better, the love of a cleric or the love of a knight?' Each poet defended his position in turn in alternating stanzas. The term *jeu-parti* later comes to mean a game with two alternatives.

to challenge other knights to various kinds of fight duly outlined by the dwarf. The knight then dictates a letter stating the conditions set out by the dwarf and hands it to an anonymous narrator, who, fortuitously, happens to be in the area. The narrator, whose name is never disclosed, delivers the letter, presumably to the court of Burgundy. This brief summary testifies to the attraction of literature: real-life knights aspired to rival their literary counterparts, such as the heroes of *Perceforest*, a romance twice mentioned in the prologue of the *Perron Fée*.[4] Whether Philippe alone came up with the scenario of his *pas* or had the help of heralds, he certainly endorsed its Arthurian spirit.

The principal aim of this essay is to show that this particular *pas d'armes* was firmly built on both socio-political and literary traditions. Therefore, we analyse Philippe's personal motivations and the social and literary context in which he devised his undertaking, using both administrative and narrative sources. We will address the problems and opportunities these sources provide when scholars attempt to reconstruct a late medieval *pas d'armes*. Although both types of source offer complementary information concerning organisers, participants and sponsors, they also present many contradictions and problems that cannot easily be resolved. Thus, for example, the town accounts of Bruges supply many details concerning the material realisation of the *Perron Fée*, but they neither always tally with the descriptions in the narrative sources, nor reveal the motives of the parties involved. The different narrative accounts of this *pas* likewise raise questions of authorship, audiences and the reception of the text. Examining the various manuscript contexts, patrons and owners thus allows us to offer some answers as to why this event enjoyed such lasting fame, in comparison to other similar spectacles.

We know of eleven manuscripts that describe this chivalric event in detail.[5] If we apply the recently calculated survival rate of medieval literary works and documents in Middle French of 53.5 per cent, this means that some ten manuscripts must have been lost.[6] Although they all deal with the same historical occasion, they do not give the exact same account because they derive from at least two witnesses, or possibly even three. One account (A), preserved in a single manuscript, is very short. The other two, accounts B and C, give a much more detailed description of the setup of the *Pas* and of the celebrations marking the end of the event. Yet they offer a different presentation of the scenario: as we shall see, C insists on the magical dimension of the *Pas*, whereas B underlines its courtly aspect.

To understand Philippe de Lalaing's motives in organising his *pas* in Bruges, we sketch in a first section his biography, highlighting in particular both the relationship with his famous brother Jacques (*c.*1421–53), and his career within the household of Philip the Good. In historiography, Philippe's elder brother has always dominated. This is, of course, due to Jacques's chivalric life and untimely death at the siege of Poeke in July 1453, and his subsequent commemoration in the *Livre des faits de messire Jacques de Lalaing*, compiled in the early 1470s, of which many copies circulated amongst members of the Lalaing dynasty. Hence, Philippe was somewhat eclipsed by his more illustrious brother and has, as a result, received far less attention from scholars. In the second section, the

[4] In the B account: see below.

[5] For a description of the manuscripts and their links, see PPF, pp. 44–68.

[6] Mike Kestemont, Folgert Karsdorp *et al.*, 'Forgotten Books: The Application of Unseen Species Models to the Survival of Culture', *Science*, 375.6582 (2022), 765–69 (p. 769).

focus is on the social and political framework of the *Perron Fée*. The narrative sources easily lend themselves to the conclusion that this *pas* was a strictly courtly event. Moreover, they tend to marginalise the urban context in which it took place. We will therefore unravel the urban embedding of this event that was held on the main market square of Bruges, one of the most important economic hubs of the late medieval Low Countries. We will situate this event within the context of the jousting tradition in the Flemish town as well as noting the very busy calendar of events that took place in April and May 1463. Furthermore, we will examine the relationship between the town administration, the duke and his son Charles of Charolais; the initiative taken by nobles themselves in staging these events; and the eagerness of the towns to collaborate and co-organise them (just as modern-day cities compete to host the Olympic Games). For the literary framework, treated in the third section, we pay particular attention to the prologues describing the scenario, as well as to the concluding festivities, including the awarding of *brevets* (short commemorative verses)[7] in order to assess the importance of literary models on the *pas d'armes*. This event was popular enough to motivate three independent reports, informed, as we shall see, by different agendas.[8] At a time when towns were staging *mystères* and *miracles*, there is no doubt that these aristocratic spectacles, hosted and performed in towns, held special significance for the organisers and competitors as well as for the people of the town, albeit not of exactly the same kind.

The Lalaing family and the pursuit of chivalric glory

Philippe de Lalaing, probably born around 1430, was the third son of Guillaume de Lalaing and Jeanne de Créquy.[9] Lalaing and Créquy were high-ranking noble families from the county of Hainaut. Philippe is specifically mentioned in the chivalric biography of his brother at the moment when Jacques leaves his family home, the castle of Lalaing, to join the duke of Cleves, who takes him to the court of his uncle, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. As the only brother present, he hears his father instruct Jacques on how to avoid the Seven Deadly Sins 'pour acquerir gloire et bonne renommee … il vous convient suyvir ceulx lesquelz vous verrez y estre de bonnes meurs' (to follow the example of those whose habits you deem virtuous in order to win glory and fine renown). This was around 1441, when Jacques was about twenty years old and Philippe is said to be 'moult … jenne' (very young).[10]

On Jacques de Lalaing's death, his biographer makes this intriguing remark on Philippe's position within the family:

> A sa mort perdirent moult ses amis, en especial un sien frere qu'il amoit moult chierement pour ce qu'il vëoit estre en lui grant apparence et beau commencement.

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[7] See below, p. 425.

[8] On the possible link between A and B, see the introduction to the edition in PPF, pp. 25–6.

[9] Félix Brassart, *Le blason de Lalaing: Notes généalogiques et héraldiques sur une ancienne et illustre maison* (Douai: L. Crépin, 1879), p. 41, estimates that Philippe was born around 1430 but does not give any evidence for this. Since Philip the Good was probably his godfather, this could have happened any time after 1427, when he took control of Hainaut with the help of the brothers Guillaume and Simon de Lalaing in diverse administrative and military matters.

[10] LF, pp. 32, 34; CL, pp. 85–6.

> Car tous ses fais, dis et meurs tournoient tous a vaillance et bonnes vertus. Et doncques pour la belle apparense que vëoit messire Jacque de Lalain en son frere Phelippe, il avoit du tout conclut en soy que, les guerres de Flandres achievees, pour la grant amour qu'il avoit a icelui Phelippe, son frere, lui donner tout tel droit et action qu'il lui povoit escheoir aprez le trespas du seigneur de Lalain, son pere, c'est assavoir la seignourye de Lalain.
>
> (His death was a huge loss to his friends, especially his brother Philippe whom Messire Jacques loved dearly, seeing the great potential he had in making a fine start to his career and how his deeds, words and habits were all dedicated to the pursuit of valour and virtue. Because of the excellent qualities that Messire Jacques saw in his brother Philippe, he had decided that, once the wars in Flanders were over, out of the great love he bore him he would grant him all the rights and dues that would accrue to him on the death of the lord of Lalaing, his father, that is the lordship of Lalaing itself).[11]

Jacques himself planned to go on crusade, according to his biographer, and, as he probably did not expect to return from this military expedition, he would have arranged the inheritance of the eponymous lordship of Lalaing. Philippe became second in the line of succession because his elder brother, Jean, had an ecclesiastical career with prestigious offices as provost of Saint-Amé in Douai (from 1437) and of Saint-Lambert in Liège (from 1443).

Already on 17 July 1453, exactly two weeks after Jacques's demise, Philippe was appointed as chamberlain in the household of Philip the Good as substitute for his deceased brother.[12] He was able to take on this role, which was reserved for knights, as he had received the accolade after the battle of Oudenaarde on 26 April 1452 during the Ghent war. Philippe's knighthood was conferred on him by Jean of Burgundy, count of Étampes and a close relative of Philip the Good,[13] together with other noblemen such as Antoine of Burgundy, also known as the Great Bastard, Antoine Rolin, Philippe de Horn, Georges de Rosimbos, Guillaume and Antoine de Vaudrey and many others.[14] Interestingly, Philippe

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[11] LF, pp. 551–2; CL, p. 328.

[12] Holger Kruse and Werner Paravicini, eds., *Die Hofordnungen der Herzöge von Burgund. Band 1: Herzog Philipp der Gute 1407–1467*, Instrumenta, 15 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2005), p. 268 (no. 44b). In the court ordinance of 1458, he is still mentioned as belonging to this category of officers. See *ibid*., p. 374 (no. 64). Concerning his presence in Bruges at the time of the *Pas*, Philippe is mentioned in the daily paylists of the Burgundian household from 3 May 1463 until 1 July 1463 as being in Bruges and, later that month, he was also paid for being with the duke in Lille. PCB no. 1732.

[13] He was a son of Philippe of Burgundy (third son of Philip the Bold) and Bonne d'Artois who would later marry Philip the Good after the death of her first husband, Philippe de Nevers, who died at the battle of Agincourt in 1415. Before Jean could confer knighthood on others, he had to be knighted himself, which he asked either Louis de Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol (according to Jacques du Clercq), or Jean de Luxembourg, bastard of Saint-Pol, lord of Haubourdin (according to Olivier de La Marche) to do. JdC, vol. 2, p. 23; OdLM, vol. 2, p. 237.

[14] Werner Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung und soziale Mobilität am Hof der Herzöge von Burgund', in *Menschen am Hof der Herzöge von Burgund: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. by Holger Kruse, Werner Paravicini and Andreas Ranft (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), pp. 371–426 (pp. 409–10). Lalaing is only mentioned by the chronicler Jacques du Clercq: JdC, vol. 2, p. 24.

was not knighted by his brother, Jacques, even though we know that he did knight at least two men in his own entourage.[15]

For the Lalaings, the Ghent war became, in a sense, a family affair, as Jacques and Philippe were both active participants in it. They succeeded in liberating not only the town of Oudenaarde from the siege of the Ghenters, but also their beloved uncle, Simon, who had been installed there as captain by Philip the Good in order to cut off the supplies coming from the south over the River Scheldt to Ghent.[16] Both Philippe and his other uncle, Sanche de Lalaing, acted as knights in the company and under the command of Jacques as *chevalier banneret*, knight banneret, a high-ranking noble commander in the Burgundian army, thus showing the internal hierarchy within the family.[17] Philippe proved himself to be a brave knight, even though his brother had to rescue him more than once.[18] Was this bravery or simply recklessness on his part? In any case, this suggests some kind of rashness that is also perceptible in the accounts of the *Perron Fée*. Philippe and his uncle, Simon, were compensated by the duke for losing a horse, each to the value of 60lb., a clear sign that the members of the Lalaing family frequently fought side by side and were not afraid to commit themselves on the battlefield, their actions being positively viewed by the duke.[19]

Was Philippe's aspiration therefore to become a member of the Burgundian chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece and was the organisation of a *pas* a means to this end? The title of knight was, in any case, needed to become a member of this prestigious Order which, since its foundation by Philip the Good in 1430, was a select circle of high-ranking nobles drawn mainly from the different Burgundian lands and of foreign princes who had taken an oath of loyalty to the duke. Whereas Philippe's uncle, Simon, was admitted to the Order during its second chapter in December 1431, which was celebrated in Lille, his

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[15] LF, p. 443; CL, p. 274. Jean of Burgundy was the leader of the Burgundian army sent to relieve Oudenaarde, so this may be the reason why it was he and not Jacques who conferred knighthood upon Philippe.

[16] Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundian Power* (London/New York: Longman, 1970), p. 317.

[17] Bert Verwerft, 'De goede ridder onder de loep genomen. Een detailanalyse van de militaire compagnie van Jacques de Lalaing ten tijde van de Gentse opstand (1453)', *Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, 75 (2022), 3–76. Two other Hainaut knights from this company, Waleran de Landas and Othon de Marquette, and three squires had already accompanied Jacques de Lalaing on his trip to the Iberian Peninsula in 1446–47 when he was performing an *emprise*, a sign that these knights and their families maintained long-standing relationships with each other.

[18] On 18 May 1452, Philippe and two other members of Jacques's company had become stuck in the mud near the town of Lokeren and Jacques rescued them before the Ghenters could attack them. LF, pp. 455–8; and CL, pp. 279–80; see also Jean Antoine De Jonghe, ed., *Cronijcke van den lande ende graefscepe van Vlaenderen … van de jaeren 405 tot 1492*, 4 vols (Bruges: Uytgever in de Noordzandstraet, 1837–40), vol. 3, pp. 488–9. On 6 December 1452, after setting fire to the village of Merelbeke, Philippe came too close to Ghent and had to flee to Ename, where he was eventually saved by his brother and his garrison from Oudenaarde. This is not mentioned in the *Livre des faits* but in the Flemish chronicle: *ibid*., pp. 506–7.

[19] ADN B 2012 fol. 283v. This compensation possibly had to do with the fact that Simon de Lalaing escorted the Burgundian duchess, Isabel of Portugal, from Lille to Bruges in March 1453, in which operation he lost not only a horse but also several men-at-arms and archers in an ambush by the Ghenters. JdC, vol. 2, p. 95. On this incident, see also OdLM, vol. 2, pp. 296–7.

father was never invited to enter this circle of ducal confidants. Moreover, Guillaume was also overlooked in favour of his eldest son, Jacques, who was elected during the chapter in Mons in May 1451 together with his patron, Johann of Cleves, Philip the Good's nephew, as members of this exclusive knightly order.[20]

Up to 1463, there were two possible occasions when Philippe could have become a Fleece knight: the chapter of May 1456 celebrated in The Hague and that of Saint-Omer in May 1461. When we consider the names of the ten knights elected at these chapters, it becomes understandable why Philippe had not (yet) reached the required rank: one king, two princes, three close relatives of the duke (Jean of Burgundy, Antoine of Burgundy and Adolf of Cleves, lord of Ravenstein) and four nobles who were either more active on the diplomatic and military fronts or higher placed in the hierarchy of the Burgundian court (Thibaud IX de Neuchâtel, Philippe Pot, Guy de Roye, Louis de Bruges).[21]

Since promotion within the household or other Burgundian institutions was seemingly blocked, the only way for Philippe to distinguish himself was on the battle and tournament fields. It thus comes as no surprise that he made his vow of the Pheasant in February 1454 in Lille to go with the duke to Turkey to fight the infidels together with his brother-in-law, Pierre de Hénin-Liétard, lord of Boussu.[22] The phrasing of their vow recalls the tourneying spirit with which they wanted to engage in battle; not only did they wear an *emprise** but they also stated that they wanted to fight together against two adversaries or even three, if it was the will of God.[23] This boasting, and the fact that Philippe chose to wear an *emprise* (of unspecified form), is consistent with the image projected by the *Perron Fée*: that of a dashing young knight eager to take part in any adventure in a flamboyant manner, perhaps inspired by his reading of romances.

The Feast of the Pheasant was heavily imbued with a chivalric spirit. Philippe is specifically mentioned as one of the twelve nobles (including Charles of Charolais and the duke of Cleves) who participated in the first *momerie* and dance after which Charles was elected as the best jouster during the *Pas du Chevalier au Cygne*.[24] In this *pas*, organised by Adolf of Cleves, brother to the duke of Cleves, Philippe was one of the challengers.[25] During his

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[20] COTO nos 47, 51.

[21] *Ibid*., nos 53–62.

[22] He was the son of Jean de Hénin-Liétard and Catherine de Béthune. PCB no. 1908; COTO no. 89; VdF, no. 96.

[23] OdLM, vol. 2, p. 392; and VdF, pp. 140–1. They were not the only nobles who vowed to sport an *emprise*: Claude de Toulongeon also swore to wear one to engage in arms on foot or on horseback against the Turks, whereas Chrétien de Digoine stated that he would wear an *emprise* in case he returned from the crusade, passing through three Christian realms in order to engage in combat on foot or on horseback. OdLM, vol. 2, pp. 392–4; VdF, pp. 142, 145.

[24] OdLM, vol. 2, p. 378. In another manuscript of La Marche's text, Philippe de Lannoy is mentioned instead of Philippe de Lalaing. VdF, p. 131.

[25] OdLM, vol. 2, pp. 345–8; and VdF, pp. 112–13, mention as challengers by name Gérard de Roussillon, Jean de Montfort, Louis de Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol, Thibaud de Luxembourg, lord of Fiennes, Charles, count of Charolais, Antoine of Burgundy, Louis de Bruges, Louis Le Jeune de Contay, lord of Mourcourt, Chrétien de Digoine, Évrard de Digoine, Jean de Ghistelles, Philippe de Lalaing and Louis de Chevallart, but there were 'plusieurs aultres jousteurs' (several other jousters). Mathieu d'Escouchy mentions some of these others: Claude de Rochebaron, Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra, Jean de Brevette, Jean de Chassau (also known as Beneton) and Jean de Masilles. MdE, vol. 2, pp. 129–30. On the issue of theatricality, see JdC, vol. 2, p. 196.

joust he was dressed in a black velvet gown adorned with golden tears and on the back of the caparison was a cross of St Andrew, this being not only one of the duke's favourite patron saints, whose emblem was frequently worn during military expeditions, but also the patron saint of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[26] This might refer to Philippe's outright ambitions to become a member of this prestigious knightly order. The tears may likewise have made subtle reference to the heraldic decoration of his brother Jacques, who wore a white tunic strewn with blue tears at the *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs* organised in the town of Chalon-sur-Saône in 1449–50.[27] Whatever his reasons, this choice of garment shows that Philippe was good at exploiting emblematic signs that might ingratiate him with the duke and win him some favour.

Even so, Philippe took his vow seriously: he did indeed participate in an expedition to the Eastern Mediterranean with Antoine of Burgundy. On 29 June 1463, a Burgundian embassy, consisting of Simon de Lalaing and Jean de Wavrin, amongst others, left Bruges for Rome to discuss with the pope the Burgundian participation in the crusade against the Turks. They returned around mid-December. In the end, Philip the Good decided not to go in person but rather sent his bastard son Antoine in his place. The plan was to sail to Marseille with some fifteen ships, where the expedition would be joined by another twelve ships, mainly Italian galleys. Simon de Lalaing was Antoine's lieutenant-general and captain of one of the galleys, as was Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra, a knight from Castile in the service of Philip the Good and one of Jacques de Lalaing's helpers at the *Fontaine des Pleurs*. The chronicler Georges Chastelain mentions 'messire Philippe de Lalaing' as one of the other noble participants, along with Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra, the 'bastards de Brabant', Philippe and Antoine, sons of the last duke of Brabant, Philippe of Saint-Pol (1404–30), two challengers at the *Perron Fée*; the combination of jousting and crusading was thus not an exclusive feature of the Lalaing family. Finally, the expedition left the harbour of Sluis on 21 May 1464, a year after the conclusion of the *Pas*. Travelling via Galicia, where they visited the shrine of St James in Santiago de Compostela, and Ceuta, they arrived in Marseille in September.[28] There the plague broke out on board one of the ships and, according to Chastelain, some 500 'nobles … et belles gens d'armes' (nobles and good men-at-arms), amongst them 'deux beaux escuyers' (two fine squires), Philippe and François de Lalaing, sons of Simon, died of the disease.[29] Our Philippe de Lalaing survived and probably travelled overland with his uncle, Simon, and Antoine of Burgundy back to the Burgundian lands in January 1465. Therefore, after ten years, both Simon and Philippe had fulfilled their vow of the Pheasant and had made an attempt to go on crusade, something which could not be said of the majority of the noblemen present at the Feast of the Pheasant in 1454.

The prologue of the B account of the *Perron Fée* suggests that Philippe's extensive reading of pseudo-historical texts and *chansons de geste*, amongst them the stories of Godfrey of Bouillon, king of Jerusalem, had inspired him to fight against the 'infidels'. Yet he also drew his inspiration from Arthurian romances, such as *Perceforest* and the

[26] MdE, vol. 2, p. 129; VdF, pp. 111–12. On St Andrew, see Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 39, 329, 389.
[27] LF, p. 339; CL, p. 223.
[28] Jacques Paviot, *La politique navale des ducs de Bourgogne, 1384–1482* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1995), pp. 127–33.
[29] GC, vol. 5, pp. 46–7; Brassart, *Le blason*, pp. 59–60.

Lancelot cycle.[30] The wide array of readings that are said to have influenced him nuances the image that we have of Philippe: was his participation in the crusade motivated by piety or did he see it as the culmination of the ideal career according to Antoine de La Sale's romance, *Jean de Saintré*?[31] Both motivations were probably present. The deeds of arms on the battlefield of the crusade were the continuation of those accomplished within the lists. Philippe wanted to follow in the footsteps of those knights from the past, which also included his brother: although he did not claim to be as good as the least of these knights, he still wanted some memory of himself to survive — a good example of the humility topos. Indeed, the prologue says that he was inspired by the twenty-six feats of arms performed by his elder brother, which brought him great honour.[32] Jacques de Lalaing had certainly set a standard that was difficult to meet, not only for his brother but also for other ambitious knights. Chastelain reports, for example, that Antoine of Burgundy wanted to organise a *pas* in 1463, in clear competition with Lalaing, with which he wished to 'surpasser tous autres chevaliers de devant luy, par plus hautement et plus amplement que nul oncques, là où messire Jacques de Lalaing jusq'à ce jour avoit et tenoit la gloire sur tous les devant passés' (outshine all the knights before him, more highly and grandly than anyone else, where Jacques de Lalaing to this day obtained glory compared to all prior knights).[33]

In short, the organisation of the *Perron Fée* in Bruges fitted neatly into Philippe's career, which was geared towards high-level chivalric performances with the aim of eventually leading to promotion within the household and/or membership of the Order of the Golden Fleece. But, of course, nobles like Philippe de Lalaing also had concerns other than just pleasing their master. Both Jacques and, after his death, Philippe, as eldest sons, had the task of ensuring the continuity of the house and the lineage of Lalaing. However, neither of them managed to find a suitable marriage partner during their lives. Was each man too preoccupied with his chivalric endeavours on the battle and tournament fields to find a noblewoman from a prestigious noble family? It was not entirely unusual for noblemen to marry at a later age; for example, Jean de Ligne married Jacqueline de Croÿ aged thirty-eight, their uncle Simon de Lalaing married at the age of thirty-six, as did Jacques's patron Johann of Cleves, but Antoine of Burgundy married at

[30] On Lalaing's reading habits, see Michelle Szkilnik, 'Que lisaient les chevaliers du XVe siècle? Le témoignage du *Pas du Perron Fée*', *Le Moyen Français*, 68 (2011), 103–14. On the Arthurian framing of the Angevin *Pas de la Joyeuse Garde/Pas de Saumur* (1446), see Essays 2 and 7.

[31] Michelle Szkilnik, *Jean de Saintré: une carrière chevaleresque au XVe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2003). *Jean de Saintré* was composed in 1456 by Antoine de La Sale, who was also a herald. See Antoine de la Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, ed. and trans. by Joël Blanchard and Michel Quereuil (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1995); and *idem*, *Jean de Saintré: A Late Medieval Education in Love and Chivalry*, trans. by Roberta L. Krueger and Jane H. M. Taylor (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014). Parts of the romance were included in the biography of Jacques de Lalaing, specifically the long lecture on the Seven Deadly Sins that Jacques's father gives his son prior to his departure and which, as we have seen, Philippe is also said to have witnessed. Geoffroy de Charny's *Livre de chevalerie* (*c.*1352), another very influential book (albeit absent from the list of Philippe's supposed reading matter) was also insistent that a knight's ideal progression was from jousting to warfare and, finally, to crusade.

[32] PPF, p. 156.

[33] GC, vol. 4, p. 371. For an edition of the letters of challenge and chapters of arms for this event, see JDI, pp. 474–82.

the age of eighteen, Jean de Croÿ at twenty-five and Louis de Bruges at twenty-eight.[34] Jacques died a bachelor at the age of thirty-two, as did Philippe at thirty-five! It is possible that they were waiting to mature and earn a little more social prestige that would enable them to marry higher-ranking noblewomen, from the Cleves dynasty, for example, in the case of Jacques,[35] or the Luxembourg dynasty (five challengers in the *Pas*), in the case of Philippe, or even from the ducal family itself.[36] The social environment of the *Perron Fée*, with its banquets and festivities, would not seem, however, to have created the right opportunities for Philippe to find a suitable partner, even though tournaments had, since time immemorial, provided an excellent opportunity for marriage arrangements between noble families to be concluded.[37]

In Jacques's case, his devotion to the Virgin Mary and the crusading ideal may have inspired him to remain unmarried, witness the last passage in the *Livre des faits* stating that:

> tout son vouloir sy estoit de s'en aller user sa vye et exposer son corps au service de Nostre Seigneur et de soy tenir en frontiere sur les marces des Infideles sans jamais plus retourner par deça, en retenant certaine pension d'argent, pour son estat entretenir
>
> (his only wish was to go and spend the rest of his life dedicating himself to the service of Our Lord by defending the frontier of the lands occupied by the Infidel, never more to return to these parts. He would keep a simple money pension in order to maintain his estate).[38]

This does not sound as if he was planning to marry and have a family, although of course it represents the point of view of the biographer, who may have wanted to add a saintly air to the deceased hero. Did a similar degree of piety also play a role in Philippe's life? This hypothesis is more difficult to support in view of the fact that he begat several illegitimate children despite his remaining unmarried: these were two daughters and a son who sported the knightly name of Méliador.[39] Nevertheless, just like the *Fontaine des*

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[34] See their respective biographies in COTO nos 22, 26, 47, 54, 61, 87.

[35] Colette Beaune suggests that Jacques aspired to marry Marie of Cleves: Colette Beaune, '*Le Livre des faits du bon chevalier messire Jacques de Lalaing*', in *Splendeurs de la cour de Bourgogne: récits et chroniques*, ed. by Danielle Régnier-Bohler (Paris: Laffont, 1995), pp. 1193–410 (p. 1198). On Marie's role in Jacques's life, see CL, pp. 17, 106.

[36] For example, at the age of fifty Pierre de Bauffremont, the organiser of the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne*, made a final marriage to Marie of Burgundy, an illegitimate daughter of Philip the Good, after the death of his two previous wives. COTO no. 20.

[37] Antheun Janse, 'Tourneyers and Spectators: The Shrovetide Tournament at The Hague, 1391', in *The Court as a Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Antheun Janse and Steven Gunn (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 39–52 (p. 41); Andrew Brown and Graeme Small, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries c.1420–1530* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 23–5.

[38] LF, p. 552; CL, p. 328.

[39] Brassart, *Le blason*, pp. 89–92. Méliador is the name of the main character in Jean Froissart's *Roman de Meliador* (*c.*1380), the last Arthurian verse romance written in French.

Pleurs, Philippe's chivalric event in Bruges definitely had a religious side to it (albeit less pronounced), as we will see in the next section.

The *Perron Fée*: courtly or urban event?

All the accounts of the *Perron Fée* describe at length the sumptuous attire and clothing of the defender and his challengers, suggesting the authors' fascination with courtly life, whereas they mention the urban setting of the *Pas* only in passing. From this fragmentary information as well as from different administrative documents, it is nonetheless possible to assess the crucial role of the city in the staging of this event. In this section, our aim is to situate the *Pas* in a cycle of events that took place in Bruges in the spring of 1463, and to reveal its urban embedding. In the B account of the *Perron Fée*, it is stated that Limbourg Herald informed the duke in Brussels about Philippe's plans for his *pas*. The event was supposed to take place on 1 January 1463, but was then postponed by the duke to 7 February of the same year, much to Lalaing's displeasure.[40] Indeed, the itinerary of the duke shows that he spent almost the entire year of 1462 and the month of January 1463 in Brussels. However, on 11 February he left the town and, after a trip of twelve days through Brabant, Flanders and Zeeland, made his entry into Bruges on 22 February, which was Shrove Tuesday, accompanied by his sister Agnès of Burgundy, the widow of Charles of Bourbon (1401–56).[41] The Bourbon dynasty was closely connected to that of Burgundy since, in 1454, Philip's son Charles had married Isabelle (1437–65), she being in fact a full niece of Charles. The marriage of Catherine of Bourbon, also present at the *Perron Fée*, with the future duke of Guelders, Adolf of Egmond, later in 1463 is further evidence that the Bourbons had become, just like the Cleves before them, a client dynasty of the Burgundian dukes.[42] The chronicler Jacques du Clercq recounts how the duchess Agnès had already been staying at the Burgundian court in Brussels since November 1462 with 'deux de ses filles a marier avecq elle' (with two of her daughters who were ready for marriage), probably Catherine and Jeanne, as well as four of her sons. On their arrival, 'plusieurs joustes et esbattements' (several jousts and amusements) were organised in honour of the three ladies and in the presence of Charles of Charolais, Johann and Adolf of Cleves, Adolf of Egmond, son of the duke of Guelders, Jean of Burgundy, count of Étampes, Louis de Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol, and Antoine of Burgundy.[43] It was probably this event — described as a *pas* in the ducal financial account — for which Philip the Good offered Jacques of Bourbon, Agnès's youngest son, a jousting harness.[44] Indeed, a Brabantine chronicle records as a

[40] PPF, pp. 165–6, 169–70.

[41] Herman Vander Linden, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419–1467) et de Charles, comte de Charolais (1433–1467)* (Brussels: Commission royale d'Histoire, 1940), pp. 450–1.

[42] C. A. J. Armstrong, 'La politique matrimoniale des ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois', *Annales de Bourgogne*, 40 (1968), 5–58, 89–139 (pp. 7, 15, 95); Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 163, 289–92. On Egmond, see COTO no. 58.

[43] Jacques du Clercq (JdC, vol. 3, p. 233) mentions their arrival 'environ' (around) St Catherine's day (25 November) whereas, according to Philip's itinerary (Vander Linden, *Itinéraires*, p. 447), they arrived on 14 November. On the presence of 'mesdamoiselles de Bourbon' as guests at the Burgundian court in 1462–3, see PCB no. 2234.

[44] 'pour ung harnois de joustes … pour jouster au pas que ont nagueres fait et tenu audit lieu de Bruxelles, messires Adolf de Cleves et Bastard de Bourgogne, à l'encontre de tous venans' (for a jousting

'groot steecspel' (grand joust) an extraordinary event in 1462 that shows characteristics of a *pas*, including defenders magnificently attired and accompanied by floats, one with a large boat, another with lions, monkeys and other animals on top of a mountain, and a third with an elephant carrying a castle with armed men.[45]

Apart from the Bourbon family and their entourage, there were other guests at the Burgundian court who followed the duke on this particular occasion: Master Pieter Knorre and the squire Rudolf Schenk, lord of Tautenburg, acting in the capacity of ambassadors to Wilhelm III, duke of Saxony, and his wife, Anna of Bohemia. They had already been at the court since September 1462, where they were involved in negotiating with the duke the sums to be paid to their master since he had revived his claims on the duchy of Luxembourg on the grounds of his wife's hereditary rights. They spent another three months in Bruges, until 22 May, and must therefore have witnessed the *Pas*.[46] This also becomes clear from a report they sent to their masters in January 1463. Herein they state how they were impressed by all sorts of banquets, dances and jousting that occurred at the court, and 'nemlich ein furnemen ritterspils, vormals ungehoret' (above all by a noble knightly game, never heard of before) which could not even be described in words, possibly referring to the *pas* of November 1462 staged in Brussels.[47] Hence, the *Perron Fée* was clearly embedded in a range of spectacles intended in the first instance for a princely and noble audience, in the context of making international diplomatic alliances.

Philip the Good, his sister Agnès and their entourages arrived by boat from Ghent. The town administration prepared a Joyous Entry for them with seven 'personaigen' (*tableaux vivants*), staged by the guilds, amongst them one on the riverside with the Seven Virtues (unspecified), another with the goddess Venus and 'vele schoone maechden' (many beautiful maidens) on a castle built on boats in the River Reie, and another also staged on boats with the figures of Paris, Venus, Juno and Pallas.[48] Interestingly, the *entremets** performed at the closing banquet of the *Pas* seems to mirror these urban *tableaux vivants*:

> une riche galee de tout bien appointee, dont estoit le patron une dame vestue de drap bleu. Et pour parer et enrichier ladite galee, les armes des païs du duc estoient mises et assises ou il appartenoit, tant en banieres que en estandart

harness … to joust in the *pas* that was recently held and organised in the said place of Brussels by Messires Adolf of Cleves, and [Antoine, the Great] Bastard of Burgundy against all comers). ADN B 2048 fols 237r–237v, registered on 20 April 1463: see Source 11b. On Jacques, see COTO no. 66; PCB no. 1946. In May 1468, Jacques would die in Bruges shortly after being made a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece by Charles the Bold, where he was buried in the church of St Donatian.

[45] Charles Piot, ed., 'Brabandsche Kronijk, 1288 tot 1469', in *Chroniques de Brabant et de Flandre* (Brussels: Hayez, 1879), pp. 48–62 (p. 60).

[46] ADN B 2048 fol. 225r. The duke gave them 300 pounds (of forty groats) for the expenses they incurred for themselves and their fourteen servants.

[47] Adolf Bachmann, ed., *Urkundliche Nachträge zur Österreichisch-Deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter Kaiser Friedrich III* (Vienna: Tempsky, 1892), p. 15.

[48] AR 32515 fol. 52v (published in Louis Gilliodts-van Severen, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges. Section première: Inventaire des chartes. Première série: treizième au seizième siècle*, 9 vols (Bruges: Gailliard, 1871–85), vol. 5, pp. 532–3. The guild of the fishmongers won two silver plates in the competition for the prize of the most beautifully executed performance.

> (a rich boat was fully equipped; its captain was a lady dressed in blue. To adorn and enhance this boat, the coats of arms of all the duke's lands were arranged and set out where required; these were [depicted] on both banners and pennons).[49]

The galley reflects both the importance of Bruges as an international harbour and the composite character of the Burgundian lands through this display of coats of arms. All members of the household and challengers in the *Pas*, who originated from Holland to Picardy, and from Luxembourg to Burgundy, could feel themselves properly represented in it.

After the duke had installed himself in the princely residence of the Prinsenhof, he immediately ordered the town administration to set up a jousting field on the Markt covered with a thousand bundles of straw and dung where the jousts were held on the following Sunday (27 February).[50] The town would then seem to have wanted to make use of the momentum provided by the duke's presence: on 29 March, the *forestier* (Forester) of that year, Jan Moens, went to the ducal castle in Le Quesnoy where Charles and his wife, Isabelle of Bourbon, were residing, to invite him 'te commene ten steicspele ende ooc ten ommeghange van deser stede' (to come and attend the joust and the procession of this town), referring to the annual joust of the White Bear and the procession of the relic of the Holy Blood.[51] Eventually, Charles left Le Quesnoy on 20 April and, travelling via Ath and Ghent, arrived in Bruges on 22 April, exactly two months after his father. Remarkably enough, his wife stayed in Le Quesnoy and so did not join her mother and sisters in Bruges.[52]

This highlights several aspects concerning the interplay of the ducal court, the nobility and the towns in the Burgundian lands. First, it shows that the collaboration of the town was crucial for staging these kinds of event.[53] The urban economy could provide the court and the participants at a *pas* with all necessities; indeed, it is explicitly stated in account B of the *Perron Fée* that Bruges could provide the 'feste' (festivity) with all kinds of merchandise, and that the citizens were thankful for having the *Pas* in their town and ready to deliver whatever was needed.[54] Moreover, the town administration was willing to offer its most emblematic commercial and political space, the Markt, for the event. This square was dominated by the belfry, a powerful symbol of urban autonomy,[55] with the Old Hall and

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[49] PPF, p. 201.

[50] AR 32515 fol. 52v.

[51] AR 32515 fol. 30v. Note that the account does not mention the *Pas* here; Charles was invited to attend the urban events.

[52] Vander Linden, *Itinéraires*, pp. 453–4. On 24 April, on the eve of the White Bear, the town administration organised a banquet for the duke, his sister and his son and 'vele andre diversche heeren ende vrauwen' (many other lords and ladies) at a cost of 276lb. (of forty groats). AR 32515 fol. 53r.

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

[54] 'ceulx de Bruges vindrent devers Monseigneur le duc et le merchierent tres humblement, et luy promirrent qu'il se efforceroient de faire tout le mieulx qu'ilz porroient' (the people of Bruges came to my lord the duke and thanked him very humbly. They promised him that they would do their best). PPF, p. 171.

[55] Only the town administration was entitled to order the bell to be rung, e.g., in the event of danger such as a fire or military troops approaching, as a call to arms for urban militias, a call to attend civic meetings, etc. The belfry was, moreover, essential for the day-to-day organisation of the social and economic life of the town. Raymond Van Uytven, 'Flämische Belfriede und sudniederländische

the impressive New or Water Hall covering the canal of the Kraanreie and offering space for loading and selling goods.[56] Both the narrative and financial sources show how the square was partly closed off, and how the lists, stands and ephemeral architecture were constructed by a master carpenter at the town's expense.[57]

Secondly, town administrations, which expected to derive economic and political benefits from the presence of the duke and his household in the town, were very eager to stage these events.[58] Contemporary writers versed in tournaments, such as Antoine de La Sale, were well aware of this aspect: 'Et sont maintes bonnes villes qui leur offrent les deffrais à nombre de chevaulx et le bancquet, pour avoir le prouffit des survenans' (there are many good cities that provide horses and cover the price of the banquet to benefit from those flooding in).[59] For example, in May 1448, the town of Saint-Omer was in competition with Lille and Arras, who had offered 'grans sommes de deniers' (large sums of money) to Jean de Luxembourg, lord of Haubourdin, to organise a *pas* there. Apparently, the bid of 1600 *écus* (of forty-eight groats) by the councillors of Saint-Omer was enough to convince this high-ranking nobleman and councillor-chamberlain of Duke Philip the Good to organise this event, now known as the *Pas de la Belle Pèlerine*, which was held near the capital of Artois in July–August 1449 — that is, more than a year later. In spite of these and other costs, the town expected that 'par l'assemblée des seigneurs et autres qui à ceste cause se feroit en ceste dite ville, le peuple dicelle et corps dicelec y peust avoir prouffit' (the people and the administration of the town would benefit from the assembly of the lords and others that would take place in this town).[60] In 1461, the town administration of Lille was equally confident that the sum of 400 pounds (of twenty groats) granted to Antoine of Burgundy for his costs in organising a *pas* on the Place du Marché was well spent, as he could advance and protect the interests not just of the town but also those of the castellany and the administrative and juridical districts surrounding the town.[61] In Bruges in 1463, something similar may have been at stake. The duke had not been in the town since April 1461 and the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels had become his favourite residence.[62] The shifting of the *Perron Fée* from Brussels to Bruges in 1463 was

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Bauwerke im Mittelalter: Symbol und Mythos', in *Information, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung in Mittelalterlichen Gemeinden*, ed. by Alfred Haverkamp and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1998), pp. 125–60.

[56] Andrew Brown and Jan Dumolyn, *Medieval Bruges, c. 850–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 161–4.

[57] See Source 11b.

[58] Mario Damen, 'The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers and their Tournament. A Spectacle in Brussels, 4–7 May 1439', in *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Splendour of Burgundy'*, ed. by Wim Blockmans *et al.* (Turnhout/London: Brepols/Harvey Miller, 2013), pp. 85–95. See also Sébastien Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes: Sport et courtoisie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), p. 130.

[59] Sylvie Lefèvre, *Antoine de la Sale: la fabrique de l'œuvre et de l'écrivain. Suivi de l'édition critique du Traité des anciens et des nouveaux tournois* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), p. 307.

[60] Pagart d'Hermansart, *Les frais du pas d'armes de la Croix pèlerine, 1449* (Saint-Omer: H. D'Homont, 1892), pp. 4–5, 7. See also Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments. Jousts, Chivalry, and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), p. 118; and VdN, pp. 176–7, which gives an incorrect figure for the value of the *écus*.

[61] VdN, pp. 138–9, 320–1.

[62] Vander Linden, *Itinéraires*, p. 426.

probably facilitated by a payment of 2400lb. (of forty groats) made by the town administration to the duke for allowing the *Pas* to be held in the town in his presence, whereas the organiser, Philippe de Lalaing, had to content himself with 528lb. as compensation for his costs from the same source. Although this is far less than the sum given to the duke, for Lalaing it was a substantial amount, worth almost five times his annual wages in the ducal household; as far as we know, the duke did not provide any gifts or allowances to Lalaing or others as compensation for their costs of participating in the event.[63]

The financial involvement of the urban administration thus serves as a good indicator of the interaction between the *entrepreneur** and the host town. That Bruges was definitely at that time very keen to help nobles stage feats of arms becomes even clearer from the following entry in the town accounts of Bruges of 1463–64:

> Item, ghegheven mijn heren Antheunis den bastaert van Bourgongen, de welke annam hier binnen der stede van Brugghe zijn fait van wapene te doene, daer hij zekeren tijt gheduerende verbeyt heift omme tvoirs. fayt te vulcommene jeghens alle maniere van hedelen mannen ende daeromme ghedaen grooten cost thulpe van zijnen voirs costen 445lb. 11s. 6d.
>
> (Item, given to my lord Antoine, bastard of Burgundy who had taken the initiative to organise his feat of arms here in the town for which he spent some time to fulfil the said feat against all kinds of noblemen and for this he had incurred great costs, therefore to help him for the said costs, 445lb. 11s. 6d.)[64]

This *pas*, better known as the *Pas de la Dame Inconnue*, would seem to be the one mentioned by Chastelain, who reveals that the Great Bastard sent Charolais Herald to all Christian realms challenging nobles to take up arms against him and his two fellow *entrepreneurs*, the knights and chamberlains Philippe de Crèvecoeur and Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra. It was planned for the beginning of February 1463, when Philip the Good was still in Brussels, the chapters of arms being sealed and issued by the three knights on 26 February, when the court had already moved to Bruges. It was stipulated in the chapters that, in order to give foreign knights the opportunity to come to the Low Countries, the *pas* would start on 1 October 1463 and would, if necessary, start up again in April 1464 if some could not arrive in time. The Great Bastard was staying at the Benedictine abbey of Sint-Andries,

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[63] AR 32515 fols 53r–53v; Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas', pp. 110–11. The sum mentioned in the account of Bruges is 88lb. Flemish (of 240 groats), which is the equivalent of 528lb. (of forty groats). As a chamberlain, Philippe was entitled to serve three months a year in the ducal household with four horses, meaning that he had three servants. He could therefore expect a daily wage of 24s., meaning a maximum wage of *c.*36lb. (of forty groats) a month, for three months a year, adding up to *c.*110lb. a year.

[64] The amount mentioned in the account is 74lb. 5s. 3d., but is recalculated here to pounds of forty groats. AR 32516 fol. 50v. See also Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 259–60, for a reference to the minutes of the town administration of 1464 that confirm that nobody showed up at Antoine's feat of arms. The relationship between Antoine and the town seems to have been a close one: in the same year of 1463, he was elected king of the shooting guild of St George, whose annual archery contests he attended regularly. *Ibid.*, p. 254. In these years, Antoine received an annual pension of 4840lb. (of forty groats) from Duke Philip the Good, which puts the money he received from the town of Bruges into perspective. ADN B 2048 fol. 121v.

some 3 km to the west of Bruges, whereas the other two nobles were in nearby houses, waiting for challengers, but 'nul ne comparut' (nobody showed up).[65] This particular case demonstrates that the success of a *pas* depended not only on the willingness of a town to collaborate with the *entrepreneur* on its organisation but also on the availability of eligible opponents. It is perhaps for this reason that *entrepreneurs* such as Philippe de Lalaing sought to tie their *pas* into other festivities when the court and possible foreign visitors would be present. Audiences for these festivities were thus already in place and so organisers could maximise their chances of running a successful event.

In the specific case of Bruges, we should also take into account that the idea of setting up a *pas d'armes* fell onto fertile ground because the town had a long-standing jousting tradition. The presence of a prosperous and organised elite possessing horses and armour was a great stimulus for the staging of chivalric activities here. There is evidence that the count of Flanders and his entourage also participated in jousts organised in the town, at least from the 1330s onwards. However, the founding of a jousting society, known as the White Bear, cannot be confirmed until more than half a century later.[66] Around 1400, the society even obtained its own building, the so-called Poortersloge (burghers' lodge), built in the commercial district of the town and mostly financed by the town administration, which was dominated by international merchants and hostellers. This lodge, which was similar to the English guildhall or the Italian *loggia*, became a vibrant social, political and cultural centre of the town in the fifteenth century where the urban elite, the Flemish nobility and members of the Burgundian household (and even the duke himself)[67] could meet on an informal basis and where banquets, balls and table games were organised.[68] The jousts of the White Bear were normally held on the third Monday after Easter, and were set up by the *forestier*, who was so-called after the legendary first count of Flanders in the ninth century, who is supposed to have killed a white bear in a fight to the death.[69]

The date that the White Bear fell on in 1463 was 25 April. A herald in the service of the town would cry the 'aventure' (adventure) in advance in other towns, such as Lille, Valenciennes and Douai, as well as in noble and princely residences.[70] Normally, at least the organiser ('roi' or king) accompanied by one or two fellow-jousters of a similar annual jousting event in Lille would come, as well as high-ranking guests from the ducal household. In 1457, Philip the Good, together with the Dauphin Louis (the

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[65] GC, vol. 4, p. 311; JDI, pp. 471, 481–2. Interestingly, three years later, Antoine would claim that he could not undertake this *pas* because of the crusade expedition (see above, p. 407). MT, pp. 81, 335. On this issue, see also GC, vol. 4, p. 372.

[66] Andries Van den Abeele, *Het ridderlijk gezelschap van de Witte Beer: steekspelen in Brugge tijdens de late Middeleeuwen* (Bruges: Walleyn, 2000), pp. 9–14; Andrew Brown, 'Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages: The White Bear of Bruges', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 78 (2000), 315–30 (pp. 316–18). Although in Lille there was no formal jousting society, there was a similar annual jousting event called 'L'Épinette': VdN, pp. 178–86.

[67] In April 1447, for example, the burgomasters and 'andere notablen van der stede' (other notable people of the town) had a banquet in the lodge with the duke, Johann of Cleves, and 'andere edele van den hove' (other nobles of the household) at a cost of more than 50lb. (of forty groats). AR 32499 fol. 57r.

[68] Frederik Buylaert, Jan Dumolyn and Jelle De Rock, 'La Loge des Bourgeois de Bruges: les stratégies de distinction d'une élite commerçante cosmopolite', *Revue du Nord*, 98 (2016), 37–69.

[69] Van den Abeele, *Het ridderlijk gezelschap*, pp. 10–12.

[70] AR 32515 fol. 32v.

future Louis XI of France) and many illustrious courtiers and their wives, had witnessed his son Charles participating in this event with at least six noblemen from his retinue.[71] It comes as no surprise, then, that Charles participated again in the jousts of the White Bear in 1463 and that Charles de Visen, a member of his household and challenger in the *Perron Fée*, won the so-called prize of the bear — there is debate about whether this was a wooden image of a bear or a real animal — which was normally given to somebody from outside the town.[72] The town accounts show that part of the infrastructure (two lists constructed on the Markt) that were built for the jousts of the White Bear were reused for Lalaing's event, which started on 28 April. Moreover, the town paid nine jousters — probably members of the White Bear — for the silk gowns of the jousters and their horses' trappers* worn during their procession through the town to the Markt.[73] This shows how, in these urban chivalric events, 'court' and 'town' were intermingled in multiple ways.

In addition to this civic event and Philippe's own *pas*, there was even more going on in the town at that time. The third of May was the day on which the procession of the Holy Blood relic took place, this being the most important annual religious feast of the town. This relic, supposedly the true blood of Christ, was said to have been brought to Bruges by Count Thierry of Alsace after the Second Crusade in 1150, but was more probably stolen in Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204.[74] Moreover, the feast day was the start of the annual fair of Bruges, which attracted many merchants and buyers. This multiplicity of near-simultaneous events may therefore explain the long interval between 29 April and 5 May when no jousting at the *Pas* took place, as is explicitly mentioned in all three accounts of the *Perron Fée*.[75] Indeed, the jousts of the White Bear and those of the *Pas* took place in an atmosphere of vibrant economic, social and religious activity in the town. At the same time, we might even read the *Pas* as deliberately encompassing the urban and liturgical procession of the Holy Blood, which was a celebration not only of civic order and peace, with the participation of the

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[71] Brown and Small, *Court*, pp. 225–6. Charles spent most of his money on clothing for himself and his jousters (six noblemen) as well as on jewellery given to several noblewomen, amongst them Margaretha van Borssele, wife of Louis de Bruges.

[72] See ADN B 7662 no. 157113, a sixteenth-century copy of a board with the names of the prize-winners that was placed in the building of the fraternity, the Poortersloge. This contradicts what Nicolas Despars, the contemporary chronicler, says in his account of the event, since he does not mention Charolais but rather names Antoine of Burgundy as a prominent participant and Jean de Quiévrain as the prize winner. De Jonghe, *Cronijcke*, vol. 3, p. 558. On the prize of the bear, see Van den Abeele, *Het ridderlijk gezelschap*, pp. 40–2.

[73] AR 32515 fol. 46v.

[74] Noël Geirnaert, 'De oudste sporen van het Heilig Bloed in Brugge (1255–1310)', *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis*, 147.2 (2010), 247–55; Brown, *Civic Ceremony*, p. 8.

[75] On 30 April, no jousting occurred 'pour ce que les gens de monseigneur de Charolois n'estoient point pretz' (because the retinue of my lord of Charolais was not ready). Jousting resumed on 5 May. B: 'Et le prumier jour de may fu le pas continué jusques au jeudy enssievant, V^{e} jour dudit mois, pour la solemnité de la procession de Bruge et aultre chose' ([on] the first day of May the *Pas* was put on hold until the following Thursday, fifth day of the month, because of the solemn procession of Bruges and other reasons). PPF, p. 180. *Continuer* here means 'postpone'. A gives the same text as B, whereas C reads: 'Le III^{e} jour dudit pas se fist le V^{e} jour de may' ('the third day of the *Pas* fell on the fifth day of May'), *ibid.*, p. 112. See n. VIII.I in *ibid.*, pp. 230–1.

majority of the guilds and religious associations, but also of the crusading endeavours of the counts of Flanders in the past.[76] It is telling in this respect that two weeks after the end of the *Pas*, on 30 May, the relics of St Basil, normally kept in the church of St Donatian — which were brought to Bruges by Robert II of Jerusalem, count of Flanders, after the First Crusade — were moved to a new reliquary made of gold and silver in the presence of the duke, Charles of Charolais, a range of household officers, prelates and a large number of citizens.[77] Furthermore, it is probably no coincidence that on the evening of the closure of the *Pas*, after having shared wine and spices with the Lady of the Enchanted Column, Philippe is said to have withdrawn to the same church of St Donatian, according to account B. That evening, the Lady sends him at the 'logis qui luy estoit apointiet' (lodging that had been reserved for him) a 'Moorish' woman bringing a horse loaded with three chests containing the gifts to be awarded as prizes.[78] Here, again, we see how the religious, courtly and urban aspects of this *pas* are interwoven in a complex manner.

The town went to great efforts to make the *Pas* a success. For the event, 2130 cartloads of sand were spread on the pavement of the Markt. A stage richly decorated with velvet cushions and tapestries was erected to accommodate the three judges and the heralds of the event.[79] The lists were guarded by the duke's archers. Philip delegated his role of judging to Toison d'or King of Arms (Jean Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy) and two nobles so that he could watch the *Pas* together with his sister from the house known as Craenenburg; this was well situated on the Markt with a balcony and was therefore often rented out by the town administration to host high-ranking visitors.[80] This is confirmed by account B of the *Pas*, which stipulates that the house was situated exactly opposite the stage with the three judges 'pour les mieulx veoir, et tous les faisans, a son aise' (in order to see them better as well as all the participants, at his leisure).[81]

In this context, we should also devote some attention to the eponymous object of the *Pas* in Bruges: the *perron*. In medieval romances, a *perron* was a large stone used by knights to get on and off their horses, or a stone on which one could sit or lie. It often sported an inscription intended to give information to passersby. Two famous literary examples of a *perron* are the one supporting an anvil with a sword embedded in it that was destined to be pulled out by the future King Arthur in the *Roman de Merlin* (*c.*1200–10) and the floating *perron* from which Galahad would successfully remove another sword in the *Queste del Saint Graal* (*c.*1220–25). We also find *perrons* as simple columns in late

[76] Andrew Brown, 'Civic Ritual: Bruges and the Counts of Flanders in the Later Middle Ages', *The English Historical Review*, 112.446 (1997), 277–99 (pp. 292, 298).

[77] Brown, *Civic Ceremony*, pp. 121, 251. Since Charles left the town the day after (31 May), it is possible that he stayed in Bruges only in order to attend this specific ceremony.

[78] 'A Saint Donas au soir envoia la dame une More montee a cheval au bon chevalier, qui menoit ung cheval en main richement houchiet d'un velours gris sur quoy avoit trois coffres … ' (In the evening, at the church of St Donatian, the lady sent the good knight a Moorish woman mounted on a horse. She was leading by hand another horse that was richly trappered with grey velvet and was carrying three chests). PPF, p. 201.

[79] AR 32515 fol. 53v; Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas', p. 109. See also Source 11b, p. 243.

[80] The cost of the rent was 48lb. (of forty groats). AR 32515 fol. 53r. Charles of Charolais was lodged in another house at the Markt that was rented for a similar price.

[81] PPF, pp. 172–3.

medieval noble landscapes, as, for instance, in the September miniature of the castle of Saumur in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, where the *perron* is placed next to the tilting yard.[82] Nonetheless, it was not an exclusive symbol of noble or princely justice as some authors have suggested.[83] In cities such as Namur, Dinant, Huy and especially Liège, it was the symbol of local juridical authority. In November 1467, after Charles the Bold had defeated the rebellious Liégeois, the duke decided to remove the town's *perron* and send it to Bruges, where it was placed on the Beursplein, the square of the famous inn known as Van der Buerse.[84]

In the Arthurian-inspired tale of the *Perron Fée*, the *perron* encountered by the knight on the narrow path appears at first to be a simple stone from which a horn is hanging: 'un obstacle fait en maniere d'un perron … au dit perron pendoit un cor d'araing' (an obstacle in the form of a column … attached to this column was simply a brass horn).[85] It also sports an inscription. Later, the text suggests that someone might live in the *perron*.[86] Nonetheless, this first *perron* looks different from the magic one that holds Philippe prisoner, this latter being much more like an edifice. The B account describes it as being placed in the town of Brussels and that it was 'en forme de une roche de pierre dure et grise, et les trois escus noir, violet et gris pendans au perron' (in the shape of a rock made of hard grey stone. The three shields will be black, violet and grey); these were to be touched by Philippe's challengers.[87] It therefore had a practical function, just like trees had in other *pas*, with the difference here that Philippe was hidden inside it.[88] The account does not specify where the *perron* stood, so it could equally have been placed in the gardens of the Coudenberg Palace, the ducal residence, or in one of the more public spaces of the town, such as the Grote Markt. What was finally set up on the Markt in Bruges was indeed larger than the first description tells us. It was built on the north side of the Markt — that is, in front of and mirroring the belfry, which was situated on the south side — and painted in vivid colours. This large edifice, fourteen to fifteen feet

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[82] For a reproduction of this miniature see Essay 2, p. 369, fig. 11.

[83] Jean-Pierre Jourdan, 'Le perron de chevalerie à la fin du Moyen Âge: aspects d'un symbole', in *Seigneurs et seigneuries au Moyen Âge*, Congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, 1992, Clermont-Ferrand, 117 (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1993), pp. 581–98; Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies: Essai sur la communication politique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 208–9.

[84] Pierre François Xavier de Ram, ed., *Documents relatifs aux troubles du pays de Liège, sous les princes-évêques Louis de Bourbon et Jean de Horne, 1455–1505* (Brussels: Hayez, 1844), p. 366. Sydney Anglo, 'L'Arbre de chevalerie et le perron dans les tournois', in *Les fêtes de la Renaissance 3. Quinzième Colloque International d'études humanistes Tours, 10–22 Juillet 1972*, ed. by Jean Jacquot and Elie Konigson (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1975), pp. 283–98 (p. 298), mentions this but situates the removed Liège *perron* wrongly on the Markt. See also Marc Boone, 'Destroying and Reconstructing the City: The Inculcation and Arrogation of Princely Power in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands (14th–16th Centuries)', in *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West: Selected Proceedings of the International Conference. Groningen, 20–23 November 1997*, ed. by Martin Gosman, Arjo Vanderjagt and Jan Veenstra, Mediaevalia Groningana, 23 (Groningen: Forsten, 1996), pp. 1–33 (pp. 22–3).

[85] PPF, p. 98 (account C).

[86] See Source 11a, p. 208.

[87] PPF, p. 165.

[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 165–6 (account B). On the similar function of trees and *perrons*, see Anglo, 'L'Arbre'.

high, had a gate through which the *entrepreneur* could enter and leave the lists.[89] The town accounts reveal more about its ingenious construction:

> Item, betaelt den zelven … om eene aleye te makene daer de scilden van wapene an hijnghen met eene aleye bede te commene ende te rijdene uut ziner herberghe duer zijn perron in de bane; beede de henden van der voorseider bane te slutene met scuvende bailgen, buten ende binnen
>
> (Item, paid to the same [Master Anthonis Goossins, carpenter] … to make a covered alley where the shields with the coats of arms were hung, through which [alley he] could make his way from the inn [where he was staying] to the *perron* in the lists; to close off the ends of the alley with moving barriers, both inside and outside).[90]

Philippe could thereby access the *perron* without being seen by the audience. The narrative source informs us that the *perron* could open and close to the jousting area thanks to four griffins chained to its four corners which were operated by men concealed inside these artificial animals. This fictitious prison was securely closed: at the end of the *Pas*, a damsel (C) or the Lady herself (B) uses a golden key to open the *perron* and free the knight.[91] Next to three shields, coloured black, grey and violet, a horn was appended to the *perron* and the dwarf would blow it in order to bring the combat to an end. Thus, the *perron* could appeal to both noble and urban audiences, as the different meanings of the term made it possible for this Arthurian object to be adapted to an urban setting. For a medieval audience, the *perron* called to mind both romance episodes and urban and noble reality, hence fusing the imaginary and actual worlds.

Whilst all this may be true, the question remains as to whether this *pas* was, ultimately, a predominantly courtly event. Indeed, it could be organised only because of the presence of the duke, his high-ranking (international) guests and his household in the town; what is more, the move from Brussels to Bruges was caused by the itinerary of the duke and his court. The town seems to be nothing more than a stage on which Philippe de Lalaing and all the other challengers imposed their noble signature, and which, according to some historians, even served to settle a long-standing power dispute at the Burgundian court, namely that between adherents of Charles of Charolais and the clan of the Croÿ.[92] Significantly, the narrative sources stress the courtly character of the event, saying that 'il y ot plusieurs tables plaines de princes, princesses, chevaliers et escuiers, dames et damoiselles et non autres gens' (there were several tables filled with no one but princes, princesses, knights, squires, ladies and damsels).[93] They therefore give the impression that non-noble people were not present, hence downplaying the urban setting of the event and representing the *Pas* to their audience as an exclusively noble occasion.

Interestingly, the ducal financial accounts do not indicate that serious money was spent on this *pas*, such as in providing the *entrepreneur* with lavish gifts and household

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[89] PPF, p. 106 (account C).
[90] AR 32515 fol. 36r; Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas', p. 109. See also Source 11b, p. 237.
[91] PPF p. 130 (account C), p. 199 (account B).
[92] Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville*, p. 205; see also Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas', pp. 114–15.
[93] PPF, p. 201 (account B).

officers with arms, armour or special gowns, as was the case for other chivalric events.[94] Moreover, when we analyse the social and professional background of the challengers who came to fight him, the *Pas* was far from being a pure courtly event. In May 1463, some 250 courtiers are mentioned on the paylists of the household as being present in Bruges.[95] We find only four jousters of the *Perron Fée* in these paylists: Philippe of Bourbon,[96] Antoine de Croÿ,[97] Philippe de Glimes and Thibaud de Luxembourg, lord of Fiennes, with Antoine of Burgundy, the Great Bastard, being notably absent. When we scrutinise the list of the challengers more broadly, we find another thirty courtiers who do not appear in the wage lists of May 1463, as most household officers were only paid for three months a year. Nonetheless, ten of them would acquire a position in the household after May 1463.[98] This means that only twenty-four of the fifty-two challengers — not even half of them — were attached to any of the princely households (Philip the Good, Charles of Charolais, Isabel of Portugal, Isabelle of Bourbon) at the time of the *Pas*.[99] Of these men, only three belonged to the select circle of thirty members of the Order of the Golden Fleece,[100] meaning that the *Pas* was a platform more for knights of lesser rank than for high-ranking noblemen. This suggests that a wider circle of nobles than just Fleece knights or household officers participated on this occasion. It also means that the *Pas* was set up as a rather open event, as is confirmed by the narrative sources, which state that, after the duke had fixed the new date and location of the *Pas*, 'il le fist publier en son hostel et par tous aultrez lieux' (he had this proclaimed at his court and in many other places).[101]

The participation of three local Flemish noblemen in the *Pas* — Willem van Stavele, viscount of Veurne, Daniël van Moerkerke and Josse Bonin/Joost Boonem — illustrates

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[94] See CL, pp. 28–9, for an analysis of the gifts bestowed on Jacques de Lalaing for the organisation of his feats of arms; and Damen, 'The Town, the Duke', for the duke's expenditure on a tournament in Brussels in May 1439.

[95] PCB écrou no. 14196 (based on ADN B 3428 no. 117868), paylist of 4 May 1463. See also the paylist of 18 May (PCB écrou no. 14201), which is not very different from it.

[96] PCB no. 4342. Not to be confused with Philippe of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu (PCB no. 881). In 1474, he is mentioned as a chamberlain of Charles the Bold, meaning that he had been knighted. In 1463, however, he was still a squire.

[97] He is mentioned as 'Antoine de Croÿ, seigneur de Sainpi' (PPF, p. 112). Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas', p. 120, suggests that this person should be identified as Philippe de Croÿ, the eldest son of Antoine's brother Jean, who would indeed inherit the lordship of Sempy from his father. However, in the paylist of 4 May 1463, Philippe is mentioned separately from the 'sire de Sempy', who is identified as Antoine de Croÿ in PCB no. 228. The presence of 'mijn heere van Croy' (my lord of Croÿ) in Bruges is also attested during the Holy Blood procession for the rent of a room from which he could see the event. AR 32515 fol. 51r. In short, the participation of Antoine, more than sixty years old at the time of the *Pas*, should not be ruled out.

[98] The men in question are: Jean of Burgundy, son of Corneille, bastard of Burgundy (PCB no. 2473), Louis Chevallart (no. 2477), Charles de Courcelles (no. 2051), Dreux de Humières (no. 2615), Jean de Ligne (no. 2815), Jean de Rebreviette (no. 5003), Guillaume de Stavele (no. 2628), Jean de Trazegnies (no. 3247), Jean de Velu (no. 2831) and Joost van Wassenaar (no. 2488).

[99] Compare Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas', p. 129, who counts nineteen courtiers including Henry de Chissey and Guillaume de Reichecourt, who, however, cannot be traced in the PCB database.

[100] Charles of Charolais, Adolf of Cleves and Antoine de Croÿ.

[101] PPF, p. 170 (account B).

both the open character of this event and the broader connections of the jousters. None of them had a household function at the time of the *Pas* and only Van Stavele would later be on the paylists of Charles the Bold in 1468–69.[102] Boonem was the only nobleman with local roots in Bruges, although his exact identity cannot be established: the authors may have been confused about his first name since it concerned not Joost/Josse but Joris (George) Bonin, who later won the prize of the lance at the feast of the White Bear in 1474, which made him the *forestier* for the feast of the following year.[103] In any case, Joost or Joris belonged to one of the wealthiest merchant and hosteller families of Bruges, who occupied important administrative functions in the administration of both the town and the Franc of Bruges and were active members of the jousting society of the White Bear.[104] Interestingly, it is not Joost or Joris, but rather his relatives Jan, Karel and Dirk Boonem, who are all mentioned in the household lists of Charles of Charolais and later Charles the Bold, testifying also to their close contacts with the ducal court.[105]

The importance of the *Pas* to the court is further demonstrated by the fact that seven of the challengers were high-ranking nobles of princely descent who are mentioned only as guests in the different households: these include Adolf of Cleves, lord of Ravenstein, Jacques of Bourbon and no fewer than five members of the Luxembourg dynasty, the three brothers Louis, Thibaud and Jacques, and two sons of Louis's, namely Antoine and Jean. The Luxembourgs had to navigate carefully between the interests of the Burgundian duke and the French king, their lands being spread over both their territories. During the years 1458–63, when Charles of Charolais was slowly advancing towards political and military leadership, the Luxembourgs showed their allegiance towards the future duke in both martial and cultural ways.[106] In the *Pas*, they sported black and violet, the

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[102] Frederik Buylaert, *Repertorium van de Vlaamse adel (ca. 1350–ca. 1500)* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2011), pp. 104–5, 645, 572–3; and PCB no. 2628 (Van Stavele). The absence of the renowned local nobleman Louis de Bruges, lord of Gruuthuse, is striking. Although he was the duke's stadholder, the duke's first representative in all his affairs, of the counties of Holland and Zeeland in The Hague from November 1462 onwards, he travelled to Bruges on 28 April 1463 and stayed in the duke's household for an entire month, handling some 'secret affairs', meaning that he was present during the whole of the *Pas*. ADN B 2058 fol. 161r.

[103] ADN 7662 no. 157113.

[104] Jean Jacques Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc ou leur magistrature et leur noblesse, avec des données historiques et généalogiques sur chaque famille*, 6 vols (Bruges: Gaillard, 1857–64), vol. 6, pp. 298–305. See also Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas', p. 127. The Franc of Bruges (Dutch: Brugse Vrije) was one of the castellanies of the county of Flanders, consisting of the countryside around Bruges.

[105] Jan (Jean) is mentioned as *échanson* (cupbearer) of Charles from 1457 onwards, but for the year 1463 he served only from July onwards. PCB no. 1916. For Karel (Charles) and Dirk (Thierry), see PCB nos 2286 and 3263.

[106] In the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles*, a collection of tales that is presented as being narrated at Philip the Good's court in 1458–59, the Luxembourgs figure prominently alongside some of their servants and clients, such as Antoine de La Sale and Jean V de Créquy, Philippe de Lalaing's uncle. Graeme Small, 'Tales from the Chamber. The *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* between Burgundy and Luxembourg', in *The Cent Nouvelles nouvelles (Burgundy-Luxembourg-France, 1458–c. 1550): Text and Paratext, Codex and Context*, ed. by Graeme Small, Texte, Codex & Contexte, 23 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023), pp. 267–90 (pp. 282–7). Since various members of the Créquy family played an important part in supporting Philippe de Lalaing during his *pas* (PPF, pp. 107, 131, 159, 173, 174, 198, 219), it is likely that there were also links of patronage, kinship and/or service between the Luxembourgs and Lalaings. On this point, see also CL, p. 140 n. 206.

colours of Charles of Charolais, testifying to their loyalty.[107] The embedding of the event within the Burgundian household was additionally strengthened by the involvement of a number of other household officers: three judges, three heraldic officers, one knight who acted as servant of the Lady of the Enchanted Column, and several nobles (including the duke himself) whose only task was to accompany either the *entrepreneur* or the challengers into the lists.

In short, staging the *Pas* in the urban setting of Bruges meant that both non-courtly audiences and participants other than just nobles attached to the court played a significant part in the event. Nonetheless, the presence and participation of the duke, his son, high-ranking guests from other princely families and household officers who played crucial roles, implies that the court put a significant stamp on the actual performance of the *Pas*.

The textual evidence of the *Pas du Perron Fée*

Yet, despite the importance of the urban setting as revealed in the administrative sources discussed above, the literary sources say far less about it, as was typical of most *pas d'armes* narratives. Instead, they stress how Philippe conforms to models inherited from literature and vies to emulate romance characters such as Cleriadus, the hero of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, a romance whose author's name has not come down to us, which was written in the 1440s and which expounds on the ideal career for a young knight (tournaments, *emprises*, crusade, marriage into a royal family). In this romance, Cleriadus organises an *emprise* that is a *pas d'armes* in all but name, in which he adopts the disguise of the 'Green Knight'.[108] An earlier romance, which was probably a model for *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, provides a similar scenario: in the anonymous *Ponthus et Sidoine*, written at the end of the fourteenth century, the main character, Ponthus, also sets up an *emprise* for the love of his lady, Sidoine.[109] In account C of the *Perron Fée*,[110] the setting (time of day, moor, ponds, *perron* and horn), the anonymity of the knight, the characters (the dwarf, the Lady) and the scenario (a *jeu-parti*) remind the readers, and presumably the medieval audience, of numerous Arthurian episodes. Arthurian romances were avidly read, copied and rewritten at the court of Burgundy. For instance, David Aubert, a learned scribe and writer working for Philip the Good, copied the lengthy *Roman de Perceforest* in 1459–60. In this romance, which purports to recount the prehistory of Arthur's kingdom, fifteenth-century knights could find all the requisite Arthurian paraphernalia. Account B opens with a prologue (absent from C) listing texts that might have encouraged Philippe de Lalaing to hold his *Pas*. *Perceforest* is mentioned twice in this list and, moreover, at the end of the prologue, the Lady is named 'la Toute Passe Dame du Perron Fée' (the Supreme Lady of the Enchanted Column), which recalls the name that one of the heroes of *Perceforest* gives to his lady: 'la Toutepasse' (the Supreme One), because her beauty and virtues surpass those of all other women in the kingdom of Great Britain. Since this *senhal* (code name) is not a common one, there is a good chance that it was borrowed from *Perceforest*.

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[107] Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas', p. 124.

[108] On *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, see Michelle Szkilnik, 'Vraies et fausses réminiscences arthuriennes dans *Clériadus et Méliadice*', in *Arthur après Arthur: La matière arthurienne tardive en dehors du roman arthurien*, ed. by Christine Ferlampin-Acher (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017), pp. 27–40.

[109] See Source 1.

[110] See above, p. 402.

Indeed, the whole scenario is reminiscent of an episode from the beginning of *Perceforest*: Flavora, queen of the Royde Montagne, sends, thanks to her magic art, a *perron* to celebrate Perceforest's coronation. The stone is inscribed with letters announcing 'grandes merveilles' (wondrous events) and later on a mysterious knight ties two flying dragons to the *perron*. As suggested by Jean-Pierre Jourdan, who comments on this episode of *Perceforest* in his article on *perrons de chevalerie*, dragons or griffins play the same role and add to the mystery of the scene.[111]

Account B does not retell as precisely as C the circumstances that led to the anonymous knight becoming the prisoner of the Lady. While not drawing on Arthurian material as much as C does, B develops more fully a courtly situation: Philippe undertakes his *pas* for the love of the lady: 'il fault que faictes pour l'amour de moy ung pas d'armes courtoises sans nulle querelle aultre que d'amours' (you must undertake for love of me a courtly *pas d'armes*, with no other motive but love).[112] At the end of the *Pas*, the Lady herself releases Philippe, happy that he did so well and yet sad that they will have to part. Philippe shares her feelings and assures her that he will remain her knight forever. They exchange two kisses while tears come to their eyes. Later, when he is sent back to the court, Philippe refers to the lady as 'la Toute Passe du Perron faé, ma maistresse' (the Supreme Lady of the Enchanted Column, my lady).[113] In account C, the knight will never meet the lady whose prisoner he is, as he deals only with her messenger, the dwarf.[114] At the end, the damsel who frees him from his prison is not the Lady of the Enchanted Column, but rather her envoy. Conversely, in account B, Philippe and the lady meet several times; she comforts him when the *Pas* is moved to a later date, reassures him about his ability to make his way to where the challenge will take place (the *perron* and its prisoner can be magically transported at will), promises him a warm welcome at her court and, indeed, takes him to her chambers after his release, where they share wine and spices before retreating to separate rooms. Thus ends the amorous affair!

Although Philippe presumably devised the scenario himself,[115] its textual representation differs markedly from one account to the other: C is more magical whilst B is more courtly, which suggests that the authors of the different versions also had a distinct take on the event. Could the two accounts have been intended for different audiences? In B, the court of Burgundy plays a much larger role, as can be seen in a number of ways. First, the Lady appears to be acquainted with the duke and his visitors. She is aware of the presence of the duchesses of Bourbon (Agnès of Burgundy) and Guelders (Catherine of Bourbon) 'et aultres filles de Bourbon' (and other daughters of Bourbon)[116] at the time when Philippe will hold his *pas*, which seems to hint at the duke's endeavours to contract marriages for the sisters of his daughter-in-law, Isabelle of Bourbon.[117] Secondly, Limbourg Herald, who

[111] Jourdan, 'Le perron', p. 584.
[112] PPF, p. 158.
[113] *Ibid*., p. 202.
[114] On the role of dwarfs in *pas d'armes*, see Essay 7.
[115] '… il conchupt en son entendement qu'il voulroit selon sa puissance ensievir en aulcunes fachons les bons chevalier dessusditz … il entreprist … de faire ung pas sur une fiction de faerie' ([he] envisioned himself following in these good knights' footsteps as best he could … he undertook … to hold a *pas* based on a fairylike narrative). PPF, pp. 156–7.
[116] *Ibid*., p. 161.
[117] Strictly speaking, Catherine of Bourbon was not yet duchess of Guelders, as she would marry

is dispatched to court to announce Lalaing's challenge, interacts with noblemen and with the duke himself, who shows his surprise on hearing about the lady: 'Il ne ouÿ jamais parler que en son tamps les dames faees eussent puissance de regner ne seignourir en ses païs, et qu'il pensoit que l'ancien tamps revenoit comme il faisoit du temps du roy Artus' ([He] had never heard, in his day, that fairy ladies had the power to rule and govern over his lands; he felt as if the good old days of King Arthur had returned).[118] Although we don't know the identity of Limbourg Herald in 1463, we do know from the daily lists of wages of the household that he was present in Bruges in May together with Artois and Brabant Kings of Arms and Bourgogne Herald.[119] In 1449, Limbourg Herald touched the white shield of the defender Jacques de Lalaing at the *Fontaine des Pleurs* in the name of a nobleman called Jean de Villeneuve. At that time, Tristan Lombin occupied the office of Limbourg Herald. In 1468, it was Jacques Liefkens who held this office.[120] In the Royal Armouries Library manuscript (I.35), which preserves a copy of the B account of the *Perron Fée*, a Limbourg Herald is mentioned alongside Toison d'Or in the account of the joust that pitted Antoine of Burgundy against Anthony Woodville at Smithfield in England in June 1467. Whoever held that office in 1463 was therefore invested with an important function.

Thirdly, at the closure of the *Pas*, the Lady rides by the stands where the duke and his company are seated and greets them, before returning to her abode. Both accounts mention that the final banquet is hosted by the duke in the great hall of his residence in Bruges,[121] yet the image that each report gives of Philippe is quite different. In C, he is a victim of Fortune: 'puis que Fortune ainsi veult que adveuglement venu y soye, non obstant quelque dangier qui en peult ensuir …' (since Fortune is such that I came here recklessly, regardless of the dangers that might arise),[122] which puts him in the power of the Lady of the Enchanted Column, a Morgan-type fairy woman with whom no romantic involvement is possible, or even desirable. Thanks to his valour and virtue, Philippe manages to regain his freedom. As noted above, a damsel is sent by the Lady of the Enchanted Column to set him free after his last combat, yet there is no indication of Philippe's feelings or, for that matter, of hers. Curiously, the only 'amour' mentioned is the one that the duke of Burgundy himself displays towards the Lady when hosting the final banquet ('[le] beau banquet que mondit seigneur de Bourgoingne fist pour l'amour de laditte Dame du Perron Faé' (the sumptuous banquet organised by my lord

Adolf of Egmond, the future duke of Guelders, on 23 December 1463 in Bruges, and would become duchess only in 1465. Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas', pp. 103–4. It is therefore possible that Katharina of Cleves, the actual duchess of Guelders, is being referred to here. See also note II.9 in PPF, p. 226. The administrative sources attest only to the presence of 'madamoiselle Katherine de Bourbon, niepce de mon dit seigneur' (my lady Catherine of Bourbon, niece of the said lord), ADN B 2048 fol. 238r, and 'mijn vrauwen van Bourbon, zijnre zustre' (my lady of Bourbon, his sister), AR 32515 fol. 53r.

[118] PPF, p. 164.

[119] PCB écrou no. 14196 (based on ADN B 3428 no. 117868). Of these officers of arms, only Artois King of Arms, Mahieu Roussel, is paid 6lb. (forty groats) by the town administration 'in de name van den andren cuenynghen van wapenen over trecht ende tlossen van den lijsten' (in the name of other Kings of Arms, for the rights and obligations of the lists). AR 32515 fol. 53v. On Roussel, see PCB no. 709.

[120] PCB no. 5063; CL, p. 232.

[121] PPF, p. 131 (account C); p. 201 (account B).

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

of Burgundy for love of the Lady of the Enchanted Column).[123] Moreover, *amour* here merely means 'regard' or, at the most, 'friendliness'. In B, in contrast, the Lady seems amorous and Philippe, as we have seen, does fight for love of her. Although the fiction of a love affair is curtailed, Philippe comes across as a Lancelot-type character, whose value increases through his love for his lady.[124] In short, the two accounts offer a different image of the Lady and of her relationship to both Philippe and the court of Burgundy: whereas in C she is mysterious and somewhat threatening, in B she appears as a much more benevolent figure, being eager to uphold the interests of the court of Burgundy. This image may have been more agreeable to the duke.

The *brevets* presented to Philippe's challengers at the banquet tend to minimise this difference between the two accounts. While account B mentions the awarding of the brevets but does not specify how they came to be written, account C states that the Lady had them specially composed for each of Philippe's challengers in order to reflect his specific qualities.[125] That she is the one who sponsored the writing of these little poetic pieces modifies her image somewhat. Although distant and seemingly forbidding, she is nonetheless willing to celebrate courtly values. The *brevets* were very probably produced by a herald, the one supposedly in the service of the Lady, perhaps Limbourg,[126] and may have circulated independently. In the end, however, all the accounts had to mention them, praise the event and the participants.

Of the four manuscripts preserving the C account, three are dedicated to celebrating the Lalaing family and this is unlikely to be coincidental. Of the two now in a private collection, that of the present-day Comte de Lalaing, one is dated after 1507, the other from 1518.[127] They contain *Les Faits de Jacques de Lalaing*, Jacques de Lalaing's epitaph, the *Pas du Perron Fée*, *Sepultures d'aulcuns de la maison de Lalaing*,[128] *Epitaphe de Simon de Lalaing*, *Epitaphe de Josse de Lalaing*, *Blason des Armes de Lalaing* and *Epitaphes en prose de Simon, Josse et Charles II de Lalaing*.[129] Anne-Marie Legaré, in her study of these two codices, has convincingly shown that they were intended to preserve the memory of the Lalaing family. At that time, all the children of Guillaume de Lalaing and Jeanne de Créquy, representing the elder branch of the family, had died. The second branch, descended from Simon de Lalaing, had acquired the lordship of Lalaing. The first manuscript was owned by either Charles I de Lalaing, eldest son of Josse de Lalaing, or his younger brother Antoine, who, possibly inspired by these books, organised his own *pas* in Brussels in 1503.[130] The second one, a private commission from Charles I, was compiled to 'perpétuer la mémoire de son ancêtre Jacques' (perpetuate the memory of his ancestor Jacques). Legaré concludes that the book is a 'véritable réceptacle

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[123] *Ibid*., p. 133.

[124] On the agency of women in *pas d'armes*, see especially Essay 6.

[125] See the introduction to Source 11a, p. 207.

[126] On the *brevets*, see PPF, pp. 31–4.

[127] CL, pp. 55–6.

[128] See 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, who omits this text in her list of contents, no doubt because it was copied by a different scribe.

[129] The manuscripts preserve basically the same texts, but in a different order: see *ibid*., pp. 778, 780.

[130] On this *pas*, see Essay 1 and Source 14.

de la mémoire d'une famille' (an authentic repository of the memory of a family).[131] As for manuscript Brussels, KBR, II 1156, dating from about 1560, it is, in its first half, a mirror copy of the 1507 manuscript: it contains the same texts, in the same order and with the same errors.[132] Contrary to what Claude Thiry, who described the codex in a 1973 article, has suggested,[133] the unique copyist of the Brussels manuscript was not compiling items from different codices — at least for the first half of his book — and neither is he responsible for the numerous mistakes that Thiry deplored.[134] Thiry does not give any information on who the sixteenth-century owners of KBR, II 1156 might have been. Yet, whoever compiled this substantial manuscript was likewise intent on consciously preserving the memory of the Lalaing family, since he retained all the texts given by his model.

If the aim of these three collections was to celebrate the Lalaing dynasty as devout and religious, account C was a better choice than account B. Although B does stress family connections, naming two sons of Simon de Lalaing who accompanied Philippe de Lalaing into the lists, and mentioning explicitly the lord of Boussu as Philippe's brother-in-law,[135] these connections are essentially mundane and confirm Philippe's image as a knight well ensconced in a courtly setting. Jacques de Lalaing, Philippe's brother, is consistently presented as a pious knight and a fervent devotee of the Virgin Mary. As we have already noted, Jacques never married and we have no knowledge of any amorous affair that he might have had, whereas Philippe must have had some romance because he fathered children, albeit illegitimate ones, and it is impossible to know if Philippe's children even had the same mother. The love scenario, described in account B as Philippe's very own invention, sounds consistent with his free and easy attitude towards women and sexuality. Yet it conflicted with his brother's upright behaviour. Account C, which makes Philippe the victim of a predatory woman, but one able to extricate himself from a dangerous situation, offered a model that was closer to that of his brother Jacques. Although terming the lady in account C 'predatory' may seem a little strong, she nonetheless remains mysterious and distant, her domain being a dangerous place that is guarded by hostile characters, such as the haughty dwarf and the four griffins. Philippe is not defending a besieged lady who requires help; rather, he is trying to escape her and, like Lancelot when made prisoner by Morgain,[136] he is forced to accept the dire conditions that the lady imposes on him. Of course, in B Philippe is also a prisoner, but, as seen above, the lady is much more amenable, since she sounds almost sorry to have to retain Philippe and love seems to be her motivation. If, as suggested by Hanno Wijsman, Guillaume de Lalaing may

[131] Legaré, '*Les Faits*', pp. 785, 788.

[132] These are: *Les Faits de Jacques de Lalaing* (fols 1r–226r) his epitaph (fols 226r–227r), *Le Pas du Perron Fée* (fols 227r–259r), *Sepultures d'aulcuns de la maison de Lalaing* (fol. 260r), *Epitaphe de feu messire Simon de Lalaing* (fols 260v–261v), *Epitaphe de monseigneur Josse de Lalaing* (fols 262r–264r), *Le Blason des Armes de Lalaing* (fols 264v–267v), *Epitaphes en prose de Simon, Josse et Charles II de Lalaing* (fols 268r–269r). The texts that follow these are unrelated to the Lalaing family. Legaré, '*Les Faits*', p. 774 n. 11, mentions that the Brussels manuscript is related to Valenciennes, BM, 665, at least for the copy of the *Faits de Jacques de Lalaing*.

[133] Claude Thiry, 'Un inédit de Jean Molinet: l'épitaphe de Josse de Lalaing, sire de Montigny (1483)', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, 139.1 (1973), 29–66.

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[135] PPF, p. 174.

[136] Alexandre Micha, ed., *Lancelot: roman en prose du XIIIe siècle*, Textes littéraires français, 9 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1978), vol. 5.

have commissioned the *Livre des faits* because of his regret at 'his lack of male offspring in general and his famous son's death in particular',[137] might he also have been responsible for account C and the less amorous image of Philippe that this version promotes? In this case, C would be later than B, and would have been written as a mean of correcting Philippe's image in this earlier version.

The six manuscripts preserving account B consist mainly of texts that deal with jousting and chivalrous celebrations. For one of these, London, BL, Lansdowne 285, we have valuable information: this manuscript is a miscellany largely copied around 1469 by William Ebesham for Sir John Paston II, although the account of the *Perron Fée* seems to have been written in another hand and probably at a slightly later date.[138] It comprises texts written in English, in French and even in Latin, showing Paston's fascination with courtly rituals: celebrations, jousts, descriptions of feasts and banquets, privileges granted to heralds and Kings of Arms, and so on. The *Perron Fée* fits perfectly into this textual environment. We know that, in 1468, John Paston II attended Margaret of York's marriage to Charles the Bold in Bruges.[139] The memory of Philippe's *Pas* was surely still vivid at that date and it could be then that John Paston obtained a copy of the *Perron Fée*. In any case, the memory of Philippe's brother Jacques was still very much alive, as it is shortly after this time that his father Guillaume probably commissioned his biography.

As for the other manuscripts, we know that some were owned by heralds or Kings of Arms.[140] The fact that Limbourg Herald plays a prominent role in the first part of account B may explain why it was preferred to account C by these owners, presuming again that both versions circulated widely enough so that copyists and/or their patrons could make an informed choice between them. As we have seen, in C the dwarf is the knight's only interlocutor and mediator with the lady. He takes the knight over to the judges at the end of the jousts and back to the *perron*.[141] There is no mention of a herald, as we do not know either the identity or the status of the narrator bringing the letter of arms to the court. In B, by contrast, Limbourg Herald is as important as the dwarf. He not only takes the letter to the court of Burgundy, reads it publicly and gives details about the knight's whereabouts, but also brings back the duke's answer and confers with the lady before reporting to the knight and the dwarf, even admonishing the latter to act accordingly, a remark that elicits a haughty response from the dwarf. Limbourg is also in charge of taking down the shields that the would-be challengers have appended to the *perron* before the event. Whereas C does mention that the knights have left their shields beforehand, nothing is said about their circumstances afterwards.[142] Limbourg's significant role in account B is consistent with the importance of heralds in organising,

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[137] Hanno Wijsman, 'The Visual Tradition of the *Book of the Deeds of Jacques de Lalaing*', 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. 107–20 (p. 107).

[138] Five hands can be discerned in it. See PPF, p. 53 n. 102. On this manuscript, see Godfrey Allen Lester, *Sir John Paston's Grete Boke: A Descriptive Index with an Introduction of British Library MS. Lansdowne 285* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1984).

[139] *Ibid*., p. 132.

[140] For instance, Lille, Royal Armouries, Harley.

[141] PPF, p. 129.

[142] *Ibid*., p. 103.

staging and reporting on *pas d'armes* and tournaments. It is indeed surprising that C seems to ignore the likely presence of one of them in the event. Félix Brassart, who edited the Paris manuscript, has suggested that the anonymous narrator, who claims to have brought Philippe de Lalaing's letter of arms to the court of Burgundy, might be Limbourg, who did indeed do this, according to account B.[143] If Limbourg was therefore the author of C, he downplayed his own part to the extent of literally erasing his character, an act of modesty fairly common on the part of heralds. For example, Gilles Gobet, the successor of Jean Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy as Toison d'or King of Arms and the possible author of the *Livre des faits*, likewise downplays his role in Jacques de Lalaing's biography.[144] Gobet might have been one of the subordinates mentioned in the *Perron Fée*.[145] This would not only strengthen the connection between the *Livre des faits* and the accounts of the *Perron Fée*, but also highlight the family's role in acquiring manuscripts about their sons' deeds. Conversely, it is much more difficult to suggest who might have written accounts A and B. It could have been Jean Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, who held the office of Toison d'or in 1463, or one of his subordinates, who were in charge of reporting on the deeds of arms performed by knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Strikingly, only three (albeit high-ranking) members of this Order acted as challengers in the *Pas*, whereas four others (Jacques of Bourbon, Jean de Ligne, Jean and Jacques de Luxembourg) would become members of it at a later stage.

According to an inventory taken in 1471 at his castle in Angers, René of Anjou owned a manuscript of the *Pas*. We do not know which account of the event it preserved. The title in the inventory does, however, provide a clue: 'un cayer en papier rollé du pas fait à Brucelles par messir Phelipe de Lalain' (a rolled quire [containing] the *pas* held in Brussels by Messire Philippe de Lalaing).[146] Whilst it is impossible to match this short description with any of the remaining manuscripts with any certainty, the fact that the *pas d'armes* is wrongly located in Brussels suggests that the *cayer* preserved the B version of the text. As we have seen, C quickly establishes that the *Pas* took place in Bruges whereas the B account only specifies the location much later. The person responsible for the inventory may have read only the beginning of the account and believed that the *Pas* had indeed taken place in Brussels. It is impossible to ascertain whether René of Anjou chose account B rather than C on purpose. On the one hand, the C account, with its Arthurian trappings, might have appealed to a writer who was himself fascinated by the Arthurian world; on the other hand, René might have enjoyed the humour and lightheartedness of account B.[147]

The conclusions one can draw from the manuscript tradition thus remain fragmentary and tentative as there is so much that is unknown: who wrote the various accounts of the *Pas*, and for whom? Although it is tempting to hypothesise that Guillaume de Lalaing was responsible for account C, this must remain a supposition. For some codices, the history of their transmission undoubtedly provides information on the way the *Perron Fée* was read at the time when the manuscripts were composed or later on. Yet, as we have cautiously

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[143] Brassart, *Le blason*, p. 18.
[144] CL, pp. 53–4.
[145] See, for instance, PPF, pp. 107, 172–4.
[146] Mentioned by Brassart, *Le Pas*, p. 15. See also ECMR, p. 262.
[147] On René and his taste for *pas d'armes* and jousting, see Essays 2 and 7 on the *Pas de la Joyeuse Garde/ Pas de Saumur* and Source 5.

underlined here, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to assert that retaining one account over another was an informed and conscious choice on any particular patron or reader's part.

Conclusion

According to Richard Vaughan, the modern biographer of the Burgundian dukes, the battle of Montlhéry on 16 July 1465 'was bloody but indecisive'.[148] Philippe de Lalaing was one of the few of the 300–400 men who lost their lives there to be remembered by name by various chroniclers. Philippe de Commynes thinks he died in the battle 'pour estre mal armé' (because he was poorly equipped), whereas Jean de Haynin indicates that Philippe was buried in Montlhéry on 18 July with the assistance of his brother Antoine and his uncle Jean V de Créquy, who also formed part of the army of Charles of Charolais.[149] His being remembered at all in this fashion cannot be due solely to his link to his more famous brother, but rather should be ascribed to Philippe's own deeds of arms on the battle and tournament fields and the fulfilment of his vow of the Pheasant, even though he never reached Constantinople.

As we have argued here, Philippe's motives for organising the *Pas* are not entirely clear. If he did so in a spirit of emulation, as stated in the prologue of the B account, it was not in imitation of his brother's *pas d'armes* in Chalon-sur-Saône (which was different both in setup and context, with the court virtually absent), but could rather be interpreted as his bid to become a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Although he did not ultimately achieve this aim because of his untimely death, the organisation of the *Perron Fée* and his own performance in it certainly contributed to his fame.

The different accounts of the *Perron Fée* do mention the urban setting of the *Pas* but they do not go into detail about this aspect; it is likely that the viewpoint of the authors was that the noble audience of these manuscripts would not be interested in reading too many details of that sort because these would reduce the *Pas* to an urban occasion. Yet, the *Perron Fée* was clearly embedded in a busy cycle of urban events that even resulted in a pause in the jousting in the first week of May. Bruges was eager to receive the duke and his son Charles, the crown prince, and went to great efforts to make the event a success, providing financial, material and logistical support where needed. The town was used to organising annual jousting festivities and the urban population was accustomed to attending and 'interpreting' them. At the same time, the *perron* as an object was not strictly either 'urban' or 'noble', as it appealed to a variety of audiences. The interplay of town, duke and nobles — either attached to the ducal household or aspiring to be so — is fundamental to understanding the success of this particular event. Yet the narratives — and for most *pas d'armes* this is the only document that survives — tend to downplay the role of urban institutions and stress instead the agency of the *entrepreneur*, a decision that makes perfect sense given that *pas d'armes* were chivalric accomplishments geared towards celebrating courtly life and values.

The simple fact that the *Perron Fée* is recorded in three different versions, of which eleven manuscripts have survived, attests clearly to its popularity. Three of these codices preserve texts celebrating the Lalaing dynasty, the first one being invariably the *Livre des*

[148] Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 385–7.
[149] Blanchard, ed., *Mémoires*, p. 112; JDH, vol. 1, pp. 42–3.

faits de messire Jacques de Lalaing. Undoubtedly, whoever commissioned and/or compiled these collections made a conscious effort to promote a glorious image of the best-known members of the elder branch of the family. Although the second branch is represented, with the epitaphs of Simon de Lalaing and his son Josse, it is noteworthy that the first two texts are devoted to the glorious deeds of the two brothers, as if to underline that, although this branch was on the brink of extinction — since, by 1470, three of the four Lalaing brothers, Jacques, Philippe and Antoine, had died without legal issue[150] — the memory of it was still very much alive and needed to be kept as such. Yet, it is also significant that the *Perron Fée* mostly circulated independently of the biography of Jacques, and it is striking that the account that was the most widely disseminated of all retains what we have termed the 'courtly scenario'. Paradoxically, then, if the Lalaing family were intent on preserving an image of the two brothers as austere knights devoted to their prince and to lofty ideals, this did not succeed very well in the case of Philippe.

[150] Guillaume de Lalaing and Jeanne de Créquy's only living son, Jean, was a cleric and could not formally inherit his father's lordships. According to Brassart, *Le blason*, pp. 95–8, he did not lead a particularly exemplary life, having had a relationship with the daughter of the Lalaing miller, with whom he had five children, later legitimised when he married their mother. In order to prevent the Lalaing lordships from falling to his sister Yolande's children and therefore the name of the family from becoming extinct, Jean sold the Lalaing lordships to his cousin, Josse. CL, pp. 37–42.

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