

# “The Challenge of an Ancestor of the Earl of Warwick”: The Guînes *pas d'armes* of 1413

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On January 6-8, 1413, in a field outside Guînes, near Calais, an English knight fought in an elaborately staged tournament against three French knights on three successive days, revealing his identity only on the last day.<sup>1</sup> This exploit is enthusiastically described in two sources: the Beauchamp Pageant, British Library MS Cotton Julius E.iv, art. 6, fols. 13v-16r;<sup>2</sup> and the text presented here, from British Library MS Lansdowne 285, the “Grete Boke” of Sir John Paston.<sup>3</sup> Although the narrative does not name its protagonist, referring to him throughout as “the seide lorde,” “my lorde,” or “my seide lorde,” he was clearly Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (1401-39), as the independent account of this event in the Beauchamp Pageant attests. According to Enguerrand de Monstrelet, the Earl of Warwick was campaigning in the Calais area at the end of 1412;<sup>4</sup> he must therefore have spent Christmas in Calais before staging this event.

<sup>1</sup> The date of this event has not been generally agreed upon; I present my argument for this date, as well as a fuller discussion of its implications, in “Richard Beauchamp and the Uses of Romance,” *Medium Ævum* 74 (2005): 271-87.

<sup>2</sup> The best edition, a good facsimile with transcription and commentary, is Alexandra Sinclair, ed., *The Beauchamp Pageant* (Donington: Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> In identifying Paston’s “Grete Boke” with BL MS Lansdowne 285, I follow G. A. Lester, *Sir John Paston’s “Grete Boke”: A Descriptive Catalogue, with an Introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984), especially 34-43. See also Lester’s subsequent articles, “Sir John Paston’s *Grete Boke*: A Bespoke Book or Mass-Produced?” *English Studies* 66 (1985): 93-104; and “The Books of a Fifteenth-Century English Gentleman, Sir John Paston,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 88 (1987): 200-217.

<sup>4</sup> Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *La Chronique d’Enguerran de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d’Arcq (Paris: Société de l’histoire de France, 1858), 3:302.

The *pas d'armes* was a form of hastilude that depended heavily upon literary antecedents in chivalric romance; it was common for the contestants in such a spectacle to fight in disguise, under assumed names. The mysterious challenge letters, the “tables” or shields painted with images of ladies that combatants were to touch to accept the challenges, the elaborate terms of combat, were all elements of the genre. Richard Beauchamp’s ingenious contribution to this form of chivalric combat was to use, as disguises, the arms of three different families in his own pedigree, a scheme apparently inspired by a set of heraldically-embroidered bed linens left him by his father. It was a device he was to employ again at the Council of Constance in 1415, when he fought a German nobleman on three successive days in the arms of Beaumont (Newburgh), Beauchamp, and Mauduit.<sup>5</sup>

This account of the Guînes *pas d'armes*, copied for Sir John Paston’s miscellany of chivalric materials, appears to have been written by an eyewitness very soon after the event: the French knights (two of whom died at Agincourt a couple of years later) are assumed to be still alive, and, indeed, the final sentence of the text suggests that when this account was written the Earl of Warwick had recently returned to Calais. The anonymous author was, from the repeated references to “my lorde,” probably a member of the Earl of Warwick’s retinue, and clearly enthusiastic about an exploit that must have enhanced his lord’s chivalric reputation.

The detailed account in the Beauchamp Pageant (dated 1483x92),<sup>6</sup> whose differences from this text are significant enough to suggest that they are entirely independent descriptions of the same event, shows that the Guînes *pas d'armes* continued to be remembered by the family to Earl Richard’s credit, and the inclusion of this text in Paston’s “Grete Boke” demonstrates that it was of more general interest as an example of a celebrated feat of arms. For the modern scholar, this account of chivalric accomplishment provides a fascinating glimpse of life deliberately imitating art.

## Manuscript and Previous Editions

The manuscript is British Library MS Lansdowne 285, the “Grete Boke” of Sir John Paston (John Paston II, 1442-79), a paper MS of the late fifteenth century. It has been very fully described by Lester, *Sir John Paston’s “Grete Boke”: A Descriptive Catalogue*, and those seeking more information about the manuscript should consult that work. Briefly, Lansdowne 285 is a collection of miscellaneous materials, mostly relating to matters of chivalry, compiled and copied for Paston by the scribe responsible for most of the items, William Ebesham, with some additions made after Paston’s death. The text presented here is listed in Lester’s catalogue as item L10, fols. 16r-17v (item 11 in the British Library catalogue); it is in Ebesham’s handwriting, an often irregular professional secretary hand with anglicana features.<sup>7</sup>

London, College of Arms MS L 5, is a sixteenth-century miscellany of heraldic material. In it are a number of texts (fols. 69-108) copied from Lansdowne 285, including (on fol. 85v) the one being considered here.

<sup>5</sup> William Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. and trans. John H. Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 220-21.

<sup>6</sup> See Sinclair, *Beauchamp Pageant*, 1.

<sup>7</sup> For Ebesham’s work and a detailed description of his hand, see A. I. Doyle, “The Work of a Late Fifteenth-Century English Scribe, William Ebesham,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39 (1957): 298-325. See also Lester, *Sir John Paston’s “Grete Boke”: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 36-38, which discusses a letter and bill from William Ebesham to John Paston II: for the documents see *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Norman Davis, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 386-87 and 391-92 respectively.

The text has been edited twice previously, quite inaccurately in both cases: in an article by McCracken, and as an appendix to a book on tournaments by Cripps-Day.<sup>8</sup> The interesting nature of this text, and the imperfections of the two previous editions, justify a new edition that, I hope, is more informative and accessible.

### Editorial Principles

I have preserved the lineation of the manuscript. Punctuation and capitalisation are editorial.

Distribution of *i/j* and *u/v* is retained.

Standard abbreviations are silently expanded, as follows:

*l' res* as “lettres”

word-final curl as “-is,” the possessive ending of nouns

p-underbar as “per”

curl after *u* as “-ir” or “-er”

abbreviation mark for *ur* above *o* as “ur”

Word-final flourishes (tails on final *d*, horizontal strokes through final *h*, etc) are probably otiose, and thus ignored except where they are clearly abbreviations.

I have used a pilcrow (¶) where the scribe inserts a capitulum mark.

Emendations and additions are marked by square brackets and noted in the textual apparatus.

### Abbreviations in the Notes:

AND: Anglo-Norman Dictionary.

MED: Middle English Dictionary.

OED: Oxford English Dictionary.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Noble McCracken, “The Earl of Warwick’s Virelai,” *PMLA* 22.4 (1907): 597-607; and Francis Henry Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1918), xxxvi-xxxviii.

## Text

16r The Challenge of an Auncestre of th'Erle of Warrewik.<sup>9</sup>  
¶ First the seide lorde departid oute of Caleis to Guynes by watir<sup>10</sup> thee  
Twisday aftir Cristmas Day<sup>11</sup> for to take the eire and disporte of the countrey,  
as he saide. And all his armure and his harneis for his armes was pry-  
vily caried thidir. And<sup>12</sup> nerehande a foortnyght before Cristmasse my lorde lete set  
vp a pavilon within the parclos<sup>13</sup> of Guynesse and lete hange therein thre 5  
tables<sup>14</sup> of the devisez depeyntid. The first a lady standyng and harpyng  
at a beddis feete with a gratoure<sup>15</sup> of golde for a spere tacchid on hir sleve,  
and sent an haraude into Fraunce that what k[ny]ght<sup>16</sup> that was borne gen-  
tilman of name and armes withoute reproche with[in]<sup>17</sup> the ream of Fraunce 10  
that wolde touche that devise, there shulde a knyght that clepith hym “le  
Chiualer vert oue<sup>18</sup> le quarter noir,” that was borne in Englonde gentil-  
man of name and armes withoute reproche, shulde delyuir that Frenshe  
knyght of xij cours hit on horsbak with speres of oon length and sheeldis  
of oon makyng, of the which sheeldis the Frenshe knyght shulde choose the  
bettir. And herevpon my lorde sent his lettres ensealde with his armes that he 15  
berith of silvir with the maunchet of goules<sup>19</sup> as they bee enbrowdid in þe  
seide lordis white bedde of berys.<sup>20</sup> ¶ Secondly he let hong vp in the same pa-

<sup>9</sup> This heading must have been added by Ebesham. The Earl of Warwick at the time the MS was compiled would have been Richard Neville (earl 1449-71); the “ancestor” was Richard Beauchamp.

<sup>10</sup> Presumably up the river, which is today the Canal de Guînes and feeds into the Canal de Calais.

<sup>11</sup> 27 December 1412.

<sup>12</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>13</sup> The use of this word to mean something like “open-air enclosure” is unusual; the Beauchamp Pageant says that the site of the event was “a lawnde called the parke hedge of Gynes” (fol. 14v).

<sup>14</sup> The “tables” would have been painted boards (see OED s.v. *table* [n] sense 3); the Beauchamp Pageant says that they were “pavises” (fol. 13v), that is, large, usually rectangular, shields. Those in the Beauchamp Pageant illustration (fol. 14r) have ornate curly edges.

<sup>15</sup> The Beauchamp Pageant has “grate” (fol. 13v) and does indeed show the lady with a little square grate attached to her left sleeve (fol. 14r). This is the *agrappe*, an attachment for a jousting lance that locked onto the rest for the lance on the breastplate; see Juliet R. V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), 178, or, for more detail, François Buttin, “La lance et l’arrêt de cuirasse,” *Archaeologia* 99 (1965): 77-178 (especially 129).

<sup>16</sup> MS *kynght*.

<sup>17</sup> MS *with*.

<sup>18</sup> See AND s.v. *ové*. The name means “the green knight with the black quarter.” Strangely, these aliases do not seem to correspond in any way to the actual arms in which the Earl was to fight.

<sup>19</sup> I.e., *argent, a manche gules*, a red sleeve on a silver field, the arms of Tosny of Flamstead. Alice Tosny married Earl Guy Beauchamp in 1309; see Emma Mason, *The Beauchamp Cartulary: Charters 1100-1268* (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1980), xliii-xlvi. The family took their name originally from Tosny in Normandy, and alternatively from their *caput* at Conches; Ralph de Tosny came to England with William the Conqueror in 1066.

<sup>20</sup> This was apparently a white silk bed sheet embroidered with bears and with the arms described in this narrative. The piece of bed linen, which seems to have provided the inspiration for this event, is listed in an inventory of goods confiscated from Richard’s father, Earl Thomas II, when he was exiled for treason in 1397 (*Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, vol. 6, 1392-99, item 307, pp. 169 and 171), and also in Earl Thomas’s will of 1400 (*Testamenta vetusta*, 1:153-55). The association of bears with Warwick may derive

16v vylone anoother table of his devise portreied with a lady wirchyng perles,  
 with a glove of plate of golde<sup>21</sup> tacchid on hir sleve, and sent by the same<sup>22</sup> 20  
 heraude into the reame of Fraunce, that what knyght that was borne gentilman of  
 name and armes withoute reproche of the reame of Fraunce that wolde touche that  
 devise, he shulde fynde a knyght of Englonde borne gentilman of name [and]<sup>23</sup> armes  
 withoute reproch, the which clepith hym “le Chiualer gryse,”<sup>24</sup> that shulde delyuer  
 the Frenshe knyght of xv strokys with a swerde hitte, for the which armes<sup>25</sup> the  
 Englishe knyght shulde ordeygne<sup>26</sup> twey sadles and send the Frenshe knyght þe 25  
 choise of both. And herevpon sent my lorde his lettres sealde with his armes of  
 siluyr with twey barris of goules<sup>27</sup> as they ben also wele embrowdid in the  
 same white bedde of berys. ¶ The thridde my seide lorde lete hong vp in the  
 same pavylone anoother table of his devise with a lady depeyntid in a gardyne  
 makyng a chaplet of roses, with a poleyne<sup>28</sup> of golde in the same pavylone 30  
 tacchid on the seide lady sleve, and sent by the same heraude that what knyght  
 of the reame of Fraunce that was borne gentilman of name and armes withoute  
 reproche that wolde touche the thrid devise, he shulde fynde a knyght of Englonde,  
 gentilman borne of name and of armes withoute reproche, that clepith hym  
 “le Chiualer attendaunt,”<sup>29</sup> that shulde delyuir that Frenshe knyght of x cours 35  
 hit with speres of oon length<sup>30</sup> in hosteyng harneis<sup>31</sup> withoute shieldis. And  
 herevpon my lorde sent his lettres sealde with his armes quarterly golde and goules  
 borduredd with siluyr and azure verrid,<sup>32</sup> as they ben wele enbrowdid in the

from a pun on the name of Urse d’Abetot (*d.* 1108), sheriff of Worcestershire, whose daughter married  
 Walter Beauchamp I (*d.* 1130/31) (Mason, *Beauchamp Cartulary*, xviii-xxii). This is suggested by John  
 Rous, in his fifteenth-century English Roll (British Library MS Additional 48976), which shows, between  
 the images of Isabel Mauduit and William Beauchamp, a Beauchamp genealogy headed by Urse d’Abetot,  
 with a picture of a bear behind the roundel bearing his name. Elsewhere in the roll, Rous derives the device  
 of the bear from Arthegal, knight of the Round Table and supposedly an earl of Warwick under King  
 Arthur – *arth* being Welsh for “bear,” says Rous – but this is clearly fanciful.

<sup>21</sup> I.e., a golden gauntlet. The Beauchamp Pageant shows the glove on a table next to the lady’s pearls (fol.  
 14r).

<sup>22</sup> The scribe has written *he* at the end of line 19, anticipating the next word, but when he begins the new page  
 he has forgotten that he has done so and starts the word anew.

<sup>23</sup> MS *of*.

<sup>24</sup> “The grey knight”; but *gris* was also grey squirrel fur (AND s.v. *gris*) and Middle English *grise* can mean  
 “terrible, fearful” (OED s.v. *grise* [adj]).

<sup>25</sup> I.e., feat of arms.

<sup>26</sup> I.e., prepare, cause to be made, arrange.

<sup>27</sup> I.e., *argent, two bars gules*, the arms of Mauduit of Hanslope. William Mauduit (*d.* 1268) was earl of  
 Warwick by right of his mother, Alice Beaumont; he was succeeded by his sister’s son, Earl William  
 Beauchamp (*d.* 1298).

<sup>28</sup> This was the piece of armour that protected the knee. The Beauchamp Pageant has “a poleyn with a rivet”  
 (fol. 14r).

<sup>29</sup> I.e., “the waiting knight”; *attendaunt* could also mean “attentive, diligent.” See the AND, s.v. *attendre*, and  
 the MED, s.v. *attenda(u)nt*.

<sup>30</sup> MS *length*.

<sup>31</sup> I.e., battle-armour, as opposed to specialised tournament armour; see MED s.v. *hōsteiing(e)*. The Beauchamp  
 Pageant also observes that the spears were to be “sharpe” (fol. 14r), i.e. without coronals, the special blunter  
 tips used in tournaments.

<sup>32</sup> I.e., *quarterly or and gules, overall a bordure vair*, the arms of the FitzJohn FitzGeoffrey (Mandeville) earls of  
 Essex. Earl William Beauchamp married Matilda (or Maud), daughter of John FitzGeoffrey, earl of Essex.

same bedde of berys. ¶ So whan this heraude was thus delyuerd these three  
 lettrez of my lordis, ensealde with dyuers sealx of his armys, and wreton of dyuers 40  
 handys, he rode into Fraunce and declarid his messages amongis all the lordis,  
 knyghtis, and squyers of honoure that were that tyme come downe into the mar-  
 chis of Pycardye for the werre; and vpon the shewyng of these lettres wrote three  
 knyghtes ageyne by lettres ensealid with sealx of their armes for to touche the three 45  
 devisez for the fulfillyng of the poyntes comprehendid in the lettres which the  
 heraude brought, weenyng the Frenshemen that it were three knyghtes of  
 Englonde that had hongid vp thoo three devisez. The first Frenshe knyght cle-  
 pid hym in his lettre “le Chiualer rouge,” to whom the right name is Sir Gerarde  
 Herbaumes,<sup>33</sup> a seemely man and oon of the best justers of Fraunce accountid,  
 and is oon of the xv Frenshemen that have nowe late chalengid xv English- 50  
 men to the outraunce,<sup>34</sup> they beryng a plate of goolde for their devise till their ar-  
 mes be doon. And this day of armys with my seide lorde set upon the xij<sup>th</sup> day of  
 Cristmasse last, vpon the which day my lorde came into the felde at xij at thee  
 17r klok, the fairest armyd man and the surest that evir was seen before that  
 tyme, with basyned<sup>35</sup> on his hede and visoure downe for he wolde nat be knowe, 55  
 with an vncouthly freshe chaplet wrought of dyvers colours of fethirs<sup>36</sup> and per-  
 les vpon his basynet, a fyne girdill of golde large aboute the nethir<sup>37</sup> bordure of his  
 plates,<sup>38</sup> and his spere xv inches large aboute, which was right grete woondir  
 to all the Frenshemen that evir man myght welde so grete tymbre. And than  
 my lorde sent the twoo sheldis to his felowe to choose as the purport of his 60  
 lettre wolde, which sheeldes were of lethir nat als thyk as the thyknes of vj  
 papir leues. And so my seide lorde and the Frenshe knyght ran togider with  
 hir speeris woondir knyghtly, and brake their speris, and eithir parcid othir  
 harneys, but thonkid be God, at the thrid cours my lorde smote downe þe  
 Frenshe knyght at the spere poynt, hors and man. And so whan the armes 65  
 of that day was doon, my lorde sent to the Frenshe knyght a feire coureser to  
 his tent. Vpon the morowe my lorde came into the felde to accomplishe the  
 seconde armes with swerde aftir the entent of his lettre, armyd in the gode-  
 lyest wise, as seiden all the straungers, that evir was seen, with a Frenshe  
 creste of ostrigge fethirs of golde coompacid with a white chaplet aboute 70  
 his basynet, and ronnen togidirs an horsbak so that my lorde smote the knyte  
 that clepid hym in his lettre “le Chiualer blank,” to whom the right name is  
 Monsieur Hugh de Lawney,<sup>39</sup> that he recoilid hym to his hors behynde, and an

<sup>33</sup> “The red knight.” Gerard de Herbaumes (or Herbannes) had just been appointed governor of Coucy. He died at Agincourt (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, 2:304, 3:117).

<sup>34</sup> Tourneying *à outrance*, with sharp weapons, as opposed to *à plaisance*, with blunted weapons. See Barker, *Tournament in England*, 14; she also notes that the Calais area was a popular location for such combats (36-38).

<sup>35</sup> “Bascinet,” a closed helm.

<sup>36</sup> The Beauchamp Pageant has “a bussh of estreich [i.e. ostrich] fethres” (fol. 15r).

<sup>37</sup> The word *nethir* inserted above the line.

<sup>38</sup> I.e., his breastplate and backplate.

<sup>39</sup> “The white knight.” Hughes de Lannoy had just been appointed governor of Compiègne (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, 2:439). He was taken prisoner at Agincourt, but escaped in the night; see Jehan de Waurin, *Croniques*, ed. William Hardy (London: Longman, 1868), 2:229. He met Richard Beauchamp again a number of times: at the negotiations for the Treaty of Troyes in 1420 (Waurin, *Croniques*, 2:304), at the deathbed of Henry V in 1422 — where he represented the Duke of Burgundy (Monstrelet, *Chronique*,

oothir stroke smote vp his visoure, and evir thankid be God, had much the  
 bettir by all mennes iuggement, and so to his high woorship fulfillid the 75  
 poyntes of his armes, and evir his vmbre<sup>40</sup> downe for he wolde nat be knowen  
 in the felde. And at his departyng oute of the felde, my lorde sent his felowe  
 a feire coureser. And vpon Soonday aftir my lorde came into the felde aboute  
 ix of the klok, armyd bright with a rounde brode tofte of ostrich fethirs  
 spreyn<sup>41</sup>te with golde, and a long tartaryn<sup>42</sup> fethir in the myddis,<sup>43</sup> with a brode 80  
 girdill of goldsmythis werke rounde aboute his plates beneth, to perfourme his  
 armes in hosteyng harneis as his lettre contenyth, a courser trappid<sup>44</sup> with  
 his armes of Warrwik<sup>45</sup> embrowdid tofore hym on the which rode oon Botiller,<sup>46</sup>  
 and behynde hym came three coursers trappid in thre armys of his armys,  
 accordaunt to the sealx of his thre armes toforesaide.<sup>47</sup> And the same trappers 85  
 folowid hym eche day of the three dayes oonly to the touchyng of the devise.<sup>48</sup> So  
 that these armes were wele and woorshupfully accomplisshid<sup>49</sup> to the grettist  
 17v woorshup of my lorde both of the Frenshemen and also of all the souldeours of these

4:106-11) — and as a Burgundian envoy to Henry VI in 1433, during which trip he visited the Earl of Warwick in his London lodgings. See *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, vol. 2, part 1 (London: Longman, 1864), 223; also Pierre Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), 225-30.

<sup>40</sup> The visor of his helmet.

<sup>41</sup> Sprinkled, spotted.

<sup>42</sup> Made of fine fabric (perhaps silk) reputed to be imported from Tartary.

<sup>43</sup> The Beauchamp Pageant claims that on this day he wore a chaplet “rich of perle & precious stones” (fol. 16r).

<sup>44</sup> I.e., bearing on its trappings.

<sup>45</sup> MS *warr*, a common fifteenth-century abbreviation for “Warwick.” (It is not the word *war*, which is spelled “werre” earlier in the text.) The Beauchamp Pageant makes it clear that these were Earl Richard’s own arms: *quarterly; 1st and 4th, gules, a fesse between six cross crosslets or; 2nd and 3rd, chequy or and azure, a chevron ermine*, the arms of Beauchamp of Elmley and Beaumont (Newburgh) of Warwick.

<sup>46</sup> Although it is possible that a butler, as a senior household official, might be chosen to ride his lord’s tournament horse into the lists, it is more likely, given the determiner *oon* (rather than *a*), that this is a surname. There were several Boteller families in the Warwickshire gentry, although I can find no record of a “Boteller” serving in Richard Beauchamp’s war retinue at this time. Further up the social scale, the Botellers of Sudeley (Gloucestershire), in particular, were closely associated with Warwick throughout the fifteenth century; see Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). It is tempting to suppose that, if “Boteller” is a personal name, it might refer to Ralph Boteller, later Lord Sudeley, who saw service in France at the same time as did Richard Beauchamp; see A. C. Reeves, “Boteler, Ralph, first Baron Sudeley (c.1394-1473),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept. 2004).

<sup>47</sup> This seems to mean that Earl Richard now wore openly his own arms, which were also on the trappers of the horse he was to ride that day, but he was followed by three horses bearing on their trappings the three coats of arms he had used to seal his three challenge letters, i.e., those of Tosny, Mauduit, and FitzGeoffrey. This account differs from that of the Beauchamp Pageant, which says that Earl Richard wore his own arms on the third day and displayed the Tosny and Mauduit arms (no mention is made of the FitzGeoffrey arms) on the trappers of his horse.

<sup>48</sup> Probably this means that he rode the horses trapped with these arms in the ceremony before the fight each day, in which the contestants touched the painted “tables” to accept the challenges, but then rode a different horse for the actual conflict. In any case, this display of heraldic insignia before the combat on the last day made it clear to the spectators that the same man, bearing these diverse arms, had fought all three French knights.

<sup>49</sup> We are to assume that Earl Richard won the fight against the third French knight as well.

marche[s]<sup>50</sup> that evir had man in Pykardye, blessid be God of his grace, and sent  
 his felowe anoother courser, which knyght<sup>51</sup> is callid “le Chiualer noir,”<sup>52</sup> to whom 90  
 the right name is Messire Colarde de Fyennes, the which is my lordis cousyn.<sup>53</sup> And  
 by that, that theis armys were th[u]s<sup>54</sup> doon, my lorde, sitting on horsbak in þe  
 felde armed, praide all the Frenshe men to dyne with hym there right in the felde.  
 Jn the which felde was ordeyned an halle muche and large, in the which was 95  
 hangid the white bedde with all theise armes, that the Frenshemen myght wele  
 see that the[y]<sup>55</sup> were verely his armys of olde auncestrie. And there the Frenshe  
 men hadd a grete feest of thre courses, cc messes large, and a thousande  
 mo persones that yeetyn in the felde had mete jnowgh & drynk also right largely.  
 So whan the spices and wyne was droonke,<sup>56</sup> my lorde yave Sir Gerarde de Her-  
 baumes, the first Frenshe knyght, an owche bettir than lx lv,<sup>57</sup> to Sir Hugh 100  
 de Lawney, an oche woorth xl marcs, and to Sir Colarde de Fyennes, which  
 is cousyn to the Erle Seintpoule<sup>58</sup> and to my lorde also, a cupp of golde  
 woorth lx marcs. And, this doon, they departid, and the Frenshemen helde  
 them passyngly wele apaide, and large yiftes gevyn to the Frenshe he-  
 raudis and mynsterells. And all this feste tyme lastyng, the fairest we- 105  
 thir that evir sigh<sup>59</sup> Cristen man. So that all maner men in this marche,  
 thonkid be God, gevyn to my seide lorde the pryce of all men that evire  
 came there and seyne playnely that God had shewyd passyng grete  
 myracle in hym. And th[u]s<sup>60</sup> on the Monday aftir he is coomen to Caleys with  
 much woorship, where hath met hym the lieutenaunt of the towne with 110  
 all the garnyson.

<sup>50</sup> MS *marche*.

<sup>51</sup> The words from *his* to *knyght* are underlined and a later hand has written *Fiennes* in the left margin.

<sup>52</sup> “The black knight.”

<sup>53</sup> Colart de Fiennes had just been made governor of the castle of Pierrefons (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, 2:304); he was later killed at Agincourt (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, 3:117). I have been unable to trace his kinship with Richard Beauchamp; the relationship must have been distant. For his career see Bertrand Schnerb, *Enguerrand de Bournonville et les siens: Un lignage noble du Boulonnais aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), 112, 129, 151-52.

<sup>54</sup> MS *this*.

<sup>55</sup> MS *the*.

<sup>56</sup> I.e., after the last course, the *voide*; see OED s.v. *voidee*.

<sup>57</sup> I.e., a jewel worth more than 60 livres.

<sup>58</sup> Jean de Châtillon, comte de Saint-Pol, married Jeanne de Fiennes (Schnerb, *Enguerrand de Bournonville*, 74); the comte de Saint-Pol at the time of this event would have been Waleran de Luxembourg.

<sup>59</sup> I.e., “saw.”

<sup>60</sup> MS *this*.



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