

*Je cuidois avoir bien fait:*  
Saintré and the Rules of the Game<sup>1</sup>

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ANTOINE DE LA SALE'S *Jehan de Saintré* (1456) tells the story of a young widow who decides to transform a young page, Jehan de Saintré, into a "gentleman of great renown."<sup>2</sup> It recounts his chivalric success over the years at length, their relationship (which becomes amorous), and its demise. After following Madame's instructions to participate in many *emprises* as well as a crusade, Saintré takes the initiative to plan an *emprise* in Cologne without notifying Madame or the king.<sup>3</sup> Saintré's project angers both the king and Madame, and the relationship between Madame and Saintré never recovers. I wish to show in this paper that failing to obtain authorization for an *emprise* was a serious offense in the fifteenth century, and Saintré therefore bears some of the responsibility for the demise of his relationship with Madame.<sup>4</sup>

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1. "I thought I did the right thing." Jean Froissart, *Œuvres de Froissart; publiées avec les variantes des divers manuscrits*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1867), 14:55; my translation.

2. Antoine de La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré: A Late Medieval Education in Love and Chivalry*. trans. Roberta L. Krueger and Jane H. M. Taylor (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2014), 6. When the translations of Jean Misrahi and Charles A. Knudson's edition of *Jehan de Saintré* (Geneva: Droz, 1965), available thanks to Jane Taylor and Roberta Krueger, do not differ significantly from the text in Joël Blanchard and Michel Quereuil's (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995), I will use them and sometimes modify them.

3. An *emprise* is a type of medieval tournament that I will define shortly.

4. The narrator makes it clear that the story takes place in the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, the types of events Saintré participates in (*emprises*, and especially the *pas d'armes*) and the textual patterns used to describe those events reflect the fifteenth century.

Although scholars see in this work a “mosaic of discourses,” the story can be divided roughly into two main parts: the part before Saintré reveals to Madame and the king that he has organized an *emprise* on his own and the remainder of the narrative.<sup>5</sup> I would suggest that Saintré’s failure to request permission for his *emprise* is a more serious error than often acknowledged in the scholarship on *Jehan de Saintré*. It is significant enough to destabilize the narrative and trigger the generic shift between these two parts.

After a prologue dedicated to René d’Anjou’s son, Jean de Calabre, the story begins with an introduction to the two principal characters, “une dame des Belles Cousines” whom the story does not identify by name, Madame, and Jehan de Saintré. The narrator tells us at the outset that at the time of his death, Saintré was among the most valiant of knights, but at the beginning of the story, he is only a page in the court of Jean le Bon.<sup>6</sup> The narrator presents Madame as a young widow who wishes

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5. Most critics seem to agree that the last part of the work belongs to the *nouvelle* or *fabliau* tradition. The first part is more problematic as it exhibits characteristics of romance, chivalric biography, chronicle, and didactic treatise, among others. On genre in *Jehan de Saintré*, see Elisabeth Caron, “*Le Petit Jehan de Saintré* dans la tradition des fabliaux,” *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 15 (1989): 67–80; Pierre Demarolle, “*Le Saintré* d’Antoine de la Sale: un texte disputé au roman,” *Bien dire et bien apprendre: revue de médiévistique* 22 (2004): 209–20; Janet Ferrier, *Forerunners of the French Novel: An Essay on the Development of the Nouvelle in the late Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1954); Madeleine Jeay, “Les éléments didactiques et descriptifs de *Jehan de Saintré*: des lourdeurs à reconsidérer,” *Fifteenth Century Studies* 19 (1992): 85–100; Julia Kristeva, *Le texte du roman; approche sémiologique d’une structure discursive transformationnelle* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970); Guy Mermier, “*Jehan de Saintré*: ‘Nouveau roman’ médiéval,” *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 8 (1983): 141–58; Daniel Poirion, “Écriture et ré-écriture au Moyen Age,” *Littérature* 41 (1981): 109–18; Jane Taylor, “Image as Reception: Antoine de La Sale’s *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*,” in *Literary Aspects of Courtly Culture*, ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 1994), 265–79; Jane H. M. Taylor, “La fonction de la croisade dans *Jehan de Saintré*,” *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* 1 (1996): 193–204; and Karl D. Uitti, “Renewal and Undermining of the Old French Romance: *Jehan de Saintré*,” in *Romance: Generic Transformation from Chrétien de Troyes to Cervantes*, ed. Kevin Brownlee and Marina Scordilis Brownlee (Hanover: University Press of New England for Dartmouth College, 1985), 135–54.

6. Antoine de La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, ed. Joël Blanchard and Michel Quereuil (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995), 36. Unless otherwise noted,

never to remarry, following the example of Roman widows. The narrator also presents the male counterpart of Roman excellence:

Les Rommains, ainsy que ilz honnouroient de couronnes ceulz qui faisoient les grans vaillances d'armes . . . et semblablement couronnoient ilz tressolempnellement les femmes vesves, qui pour l'amour et honneur de leurs premiers maris ne se vouloient plus marier et vouloient honnestement garder leurs chastetez (38-40).<sup>7</sup>

Having decided never to remarry, as the narrator reminds us, Madame begins to undertake her project of making a renowned man of a young knight or squire.<sup>8</sup> She chooses Saintré and begins to give him copious instructions in the part of the narrative resembling a didactic treatise. In her teachings, Madame does not limit herself to one model of virtuous behavior: she mixes the Roman model with others, notably the precepts of courtly love, chivalry, and religion.

As Saintré gets older, an amorous relationship develops between them, and she also begins instructing him to undertake and participate in *emprises*. She gives him money to buy whatever he needs—clothing, horses, horse attire, etc.—and later secures even more funding from others at court, including the king and queen.

An *emprise* is a *fait d'armes* in which a knight or squire (or a group of knights and/or squires) takes the initiative. It can consist of *armes* on horseback or on foot fought with lances, swords, or poleaxes. Although more than one pair of men can joust at a time, an *emprise* is usually characterized by individual combat.<sup>9</sup> An *emprise* is planned carefully in advance, a challenge is sent forth in writing, and the event takes place if one or more opponents accept the challenge and the terms of the

this is the edition of *Jehan de Saintré* to which I will refer; quotations will be cited parenthetically.

7. “Just as the Romans honored with crowns those who had performed the most valiant deeds in arms . . . and similarly rewarded other acts of valor in the customary ways, by the same token they crowned widows who never intended to remarry and wished faithfully to maintain their chastity.” Krueger and Taylor, 5.

8. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 42.

9. Saintré's final *emprise*, in Cologne, is fought with lances and turns into a *bataille*, which Michel Quereuil translates into modern French as “une mêlée ardente.” La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 460-61.

competition. The written challenge and the acceptance by an opponent or opponents are delivered by a king of arms or herald. An object, such as a bracelet or chain, is worn by the *entrepreneur* or *entrepreneurs* for a defined period of time in the hope that someone will accept the challenge. The term *emprise* also designates this object. The expression *toucher l'emprise* indicates the acceptance of a challenge.<sup>10</sup>

Michelle Szkilnik's study of *Jehan de Saintré* correctly makes clear that only one of Saintré's *emprises* is a *pas d'armes*. For the purposes of this study, this distinction is only important because it is possible to identify a distinct textual convention for the *pas d'armes*. It therefore accounts for a previously unidentified piece of the "mosaic" of discourses in *Jehan de Saintré*. As my argument unfolds, I will suggest that understanding the textual conventions La Sale appropriates may offer clues for interpreting Madame's behavior.<sup>11</sup>

After performing very well in early festive jousts for the first of May at the French court, Saintré participates in six *emprises*: (1) the *emprise* in Barcelona; (2) the *emprise* against the Polish Seigneur de Loissellench; (3) his *pas d'armes* against the English; (4) an *emprise* fought along with his friend Boucicaut against two Italians; (5) an *emprise* against an English knight, the Baron de Tresto, governed by the terms of his *pas d'armes*; and, finally, (6) the *emprise* in Cologne, which Saintré first organizes without royal authorization.<sup>12</sup> Prior to Saintré's *emprise* in Cologne,

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10. Michelle Szkilnik, *Jehan de Saintré: Une carrière chevaleresque au XVe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2003), 73.

11. This is not the place to present detailed evidence for a convention unique to the *pas d'armes*. Suffice it to say that some of this evidence is to be found in *Jehan de Saintré* itself and its extant manuscripts.

12. La Sale uses the terms *armes*, *emprise*, and the verb *faire armes* the most often when recounting Saintré's *emprises* with the exception of the *pas d'armes*, which he quite accurately *calls* a *pas d'armes*. A *pas d'armes* is a particular type of *emprise* that turns out to be a bit difficult to define. According to Szkilnik, in a *pas* one stays in a precise place, which is guarded against any knight who comes to provoke the defender. Szkilnik, *Jehan de Saintré*, 73. This definition captures some basic differences between a *pas d'armes* and other *emprises*. An entire publication could be devoted to defining a *pas d'armes* (which I offer elsewhere), but I will provide the following comments highlighting basic differences for readers unfamiliar with this type of event. Unlike an *emprise*, where all participants of the competition are determined

he participates successfully in a crusade in Prussia and becomes a knight.

All proceeds apparently well in Saintré's ascendance toward renown and in his relationship with Madame, which remains a secret at court. Yet Saintré's decision to hold an *emprise* without seeking permission and without first telling Madame or the king angers Madame to such an extent that, although she tries to show him mercy, their relationship does not recover. She retreats to her country home, falls in love with an abbot, and has a lascivious affair with him. Saintré goes after her and tries to fight for her—literally—first by competing on the abbot's terms (wrestling) and then in the manner to which he is more accustomed, in full armor. This last battle ends with Saintré piercing the abbot's tongue. Later, back at court with Madame, Saintré tells the story of her betrayal to the ladies, who agree that she is in the wrong.<sup>13</sup>

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in advance (through a written challenge and letter of acceptance), the challenging knight(s) or squire(s) of a *pas* issues his challenge to all comers, and they need not accept in advance to participate. They can just show up, prepared to demonstrate their noble status, and touch a shield to indicate the type of competition they accept. The location is presumably a passage, and this recalls medieval romance. Szkilnik, *Jean de Saintré*, 73. Sébastien Nadot asserts that a simple squire cannot be authorized to hold a *pas d'armes*, but La Sale, an expert in tournaments, seemed to think this was conceivable, because Saintré is still a squire when he holds his *pas*. Sébastien Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes: Sport et courtoisie à la fin du Moyen Age* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 217. Sylvie Lefèvre explains in her definition of a *pas d'armes* that the protagonist must defend a passage against all comers according to a pre-established script of literary origin or inspiration and detailed in the *chapitres* of the *lettre d'armes*. Sylvie Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale: La fabrique de l'œuvre et d l'écrivain suivi de l'édition critique du "Traité des anciens et des nouveaux tournois,"* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 337. Although many *pas d'armes* included elaborate theatrical production and spectacle, examination of the extant accounts of *pas d'armes* reveals that this was not the case for all of them. There is no mention of theatrical production in Saintré's fictional *pas*, yet La Sale calls it a *pas*, and there is no question of it being his only *pas d'armes*.

13. Two of our most recent editions differ in the final words regarding Madame at the end of the text. The Misrahi-Knudson edition, which reproduces Vatican manuscript Reg. Lat. 896, includes a description of Madame's mental state following Saintré's short *nouvelle*, which exposes their story at court: "Et quant la royne et sadicte compaignie virent et oïrent ceste merveilleuse chose, par merveilles et grant esbaÿsment l'un l'autre regarda et de Madame furent tous et toutes, chascun le puet penser, tres esbaÿs, et ne fait mie a demander s'elle devoit estre bien honteuse, car illec

I will offer textual evidence from *Jehan de Saintré* to show that Madame carefully teaches Saintré to secure royal authorization before an *emprise*. I will also offer evidence from Froissart's *Chronicles* and *Le Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing* (whose author is anonymous) as well as from fifteenth-century chroniclers, such as Olivier de La Marche, Mathieu d'Escouchy, and Enguerran de Monstrelet, to demonstrate that a late fourteenth- or especially a fifteenth-century courtly audience familiar with *emprises* would have understood the importance of obtaining royal authorization before undertaking one. Even though La Marche and Mathieu d'Escouchy wrote substantially later than 1456, they turned to heraldic documents when composing their texts.<sup>14</sup> *Lettres d'armes* and *chapitres*, which documented the rules and conditions of *emprises*, often referred specifically to the authorization that the *entrepreneur* had

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elle perdist toute joye et honneur." Antoine de La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, ed. Misrahi and Knudson, 307. "And when the Queen and her retinue witnessed and heard this marvelous event, they looked at each other in amazement. As you can imagine, they were astonished that the story was about Madame. And you need not ask if Madame must have been ashamed, for at that moment she lost all joy and honor." Krueger and Taylor, 206 with my modification. However, no such remarks concerning Madame's loss of joy and honor appear in the Blanchard-Quereuil edition, which uses the Barrois manuscript: "Et quant la royne et tous veirent et oÿrent ceste merveilleuse chose, l'un l'autre regarda, et de Madame furent tous et toutes, comme chacun le doit penser, tresesbahis." La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 526-28. "And when the Queen and her retinue witnessed and heard this marvelous event, they looked at each other in amazement. As you can imagine, they were astonished that the story was about Madame." Krueger and Taylor, 206 with my modification. No further mention of Madame appears in either edition.

14. For example, Catherine Emerson demonstrates that Olivier de La Marche states that he turned to heraldic documents in his account of *Le Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne*. Catherine Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography*, (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press: 2004), 208-14; Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche, maître d'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, ed. Henri Beaune, and Jules d'Arbaumont, 4 vols. (Paris, 1883), 1:291. La Marche asks for reports from heralds despite the fact that he saw the *armes* himself (1:331). La Marche also refers to turning to reports by kings of arms and heralds in his accounts of *Le Pas de l'Arbre d'or* and *Le Pas de la Dame Sauvage* (3:191). Olivier de La Marche, "Traicté d'un tournoy tenu à Gand par Claude de Vauldray, Seigneur de l'Aigle, l'an 1469 (vieux style)," in *Traicte de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournois*, ed. Bernard Prost (Paris, 1878), 66.

obtained, and these documents were sometimes inserted into chronicles: La Marche and Mathieu d'Escouchy did not compose these letters themselves. Regarding the *chapitres* for *Le Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*, Catherine Emerson finds that

in one—the Valenciennes manuscript—does the account proceed to present this letter and the *chapitres*. This is significant because, as will be remembered, this manuscript is not of the *Mémoires* at all but is a miscellany including another account of a *pas d'armes*, the *pas de la dame sauvage*. This further suggests that it and similar accounts incorporated into the *Mémoires* may have circulated in at least one independent form before being adapted to its new setting.<sup>15</sup>

Not only would many of these heraldic documents have been contemporary to Saintré, many may have been read aloud at court. La Sale, who had been involved in tournaments from early in the fifteenth century, may have seen them or even have heard these types of documents as they were read aloud.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, they reflected actual practice: they included comments about obtaining authorization from a sovereign because it was essential.

In addition to evidence from these texts, I will offer codicological evidence to also show that obtaining permission from a sovereign for an *emprise* was important. I will show that Saintré committed a serious *faux pas*, and Madame's reaction to this particular action, which proves to be pivotal to the story, is not without justification in the context of a fifteenth-century court. This is important, because many scholars read this scene as an unjustified overreaction on Madame's part. Some critics see La Sale's text as a criticism of unbridled female involvement in chivalric pursuits. They understand Saintré's initiative and pursuit of independence to be perfectly natural and therefore see Madame's anger at Saintré's error as excessive.<sup>17</sup> Yet some critics are more sympathetic to

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15. Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche*, 194.

16. La Sale attended a tournament in Brussels in 1409. Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 295. On La Sale's experience with tournaments, see La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 14.

17. Examples include Guy Mermier, who suggests she is "a woman older than her lover, who cannot accept the fact that the latter is about to leave her." Guy Mermier,

Madame, noting ambiguity on the part of the narrator regarding her or briefly observing that Saintré is not without fault concerning the destabilization of their relationship.<sup>18</sup> I do not wish to exonerate Madame's

"Antoine de La Sale's *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré: A Study in Motivations*," *Michigan Academician: Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 9 (1977): 469-82, 476-77. Giovanna Angeli calls her reaction an "éclatante manifestation de colère immotivée." Giovanna Angeli, "La transformation narrative du débat: *les Quinze joyes de mariage et Jehan de Saintré*," in *Rhétorique et mise en prose au XVe siècle. Actes du VIe Colloque International sur le Moyen Français. Milan, 4-6 mai 1988*, ed. Sergio Cigada and Anna Slerca (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1991), 2:47. Pierre Servet writes, "Tout est chez elle excessif: sa manière de dicter précisément au chevalier ce qu'il doit faire, sa froideur calculatrice, son emportement lorsqu'elle découvre que Saintré a pris une initiative." (Everything about her is excessive: her way of dictating to the knight exactly what he must do, her calculating coldness, her fit of anger when she discovers that Saintré has taken initiative; my translation.) Pierre Servet, "Réflexions sur la modernité romanesque de *Saintré*," in *Mélanges Nicole Cazauran* (Paris, Champion, 2002): 81. Helen Cooper notes that "any indication of independence from him (Saintré) is a violation of her own (Madame's) possessiveness." Helen Cooper, "Good Advice on Leaving Home in the Romances," in *Youth in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeremy P. Goldberg and Felicity Riddy (York: York Medieval Press, 2004), 118-19. Some locate Madame's manipulation within the Pygmalion/Prometheus myth and argue that the creature must escape and punish the creator. Most cite Clifton Cherpach, "*Le Petit Jehan de Saintré: The Archetypal Background*," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1975): 243-52, although they usually are not quite as sympathetic to Madame as he.

18. Madame's strongest supporters include Cherpach, "*Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*," 246, who argues that Saintré disobeys Madame's instructions, lies, and commits a breach of procedure in failing to obtain the king's permission for his *emprise*. Allison Kelly notes Saintré fails to honor the secrecy of *fin'amor* and asks his audience to judge Madame without all the facts at the end of the book. Allison Kelly, "Christine de Pizan and Antoine de la Sale: The Dangers of Love in Theory and Fiction," in *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan*, ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 180-84. Douglas Kelly recognizes the error of Saintré's failure to procure authorization for his *emprise* and sees it as a matter of decorum. Douglas Kelly, "The Martial Arts and the Loss of Decorum in Some Medieval French Narratives: Chrétien's *Perceval*, the *Prose Lancelot* and *Jehan de Saintré*," in *Knight and Samurai: Actions and Images of Elite Warriors in Europe and East Asia*, ed. Rosemarie Deist and Harald Kleinschmidt (Göppingen: Kummerle, 2003), 53. See also Uitti, "Renewal and Undermining," 147; Pierre Demarolle, "Individus et société dans *Saintré*," *Revue des langues romanes* 105 no. 2 (2001): 167-68; and Daisy Delogu, "Desire, Deception, and Display: Linguistic Performance in *Jehan de Saintré*," in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman

negative comportment in other parts of the book, but her anger at this pivotal point in the text at Saintré's failure to obtain permission from the king for his *emprise* in Cologne is not completely unjustified in the context of the fifteenth-century court.

Before examining the parts of the text explicitly dealing with the act of seeking royal authorization for *emprises*, I would like to point out that Saintré's total obedience to Madame is part of the bargain of their relationship from the beginning. Madame repeats throughout approximately the first thirty pages of the Blanchard-Quereuil edition that the thirteen-year-old Saintré will become an *homme de bien* by serving his lady loyally.<sup>19</sup> In return, she will grant him mercy. Saintré takes time to reflect before accepting her offer.<sup>20</sup> Madame does not invent these rules, but rather presents the model of courtly love (among other models, as I have noted). She informs Saintré that it was by loyally serving their ladies that Lancelot, Gauvain, Tristan, Guiron le Courtois, Ponthus, and many others valiantly completed great deeds of arms.<sup>21</sup> When Madame finally reveals that she herself could be his lady, she frames her declaration as a request for obedience:

Or ça, Saintré, se je estoie celle que vous ay dit, et vous vaulsisse,  
pour moy loyamment servir, vous faire des biens et a grant honneur  
parvenir, me voudriez vous obeir? (90)<sup>22</sup>

Saintré replies by getting on his knees and saying he will do everything to obey her. Then, upon her request, he repeats the promise while placing his hand in hers: "Oïl, par ma foy et par ma loyauté, Madame, ainssy je le vous promés et feray tout ce que vous me voudrez commander (90)."<sup>23</sup> An illumination of this scene appears in one of the two extant

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(Aldershot : Ashgate, 2008), 199.

19. "man of worth." Krueger and Taylor, 13; La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 60.

20. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 56.

21. *Ibid.*, 48.

22. "Well then, Saintré, suppose that I were the lady I've been describing to you? Suppose I would promise to do you every favor in return for your service and that I would lead you to great honor—would you be willing to obey me?" Krueger and Taylor, 26.

23. "Yes, by my faith and upon my loyalty, my lady, I promise you and will do everything that you would wish to command." Krueger and Taylor, 26, with my modification.

illuminated manuscripts of *Saintré*, Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium MS 9547 (KBR 9547), on folio 23v. It shows Madame and Saintré touching hands. Madame's lessons to Saintré are framed by this miniature and another, similar one, on folio 31v, in which Madame gives a purse to Saintré. This latter miniature appears a few lines after Madame explains that she gives him her lessons so that he will become "un tresami de Dieu et ung des hommes renommez de ce royaume, voire du monde (108)."<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, if he does his best to follow her instructions, she will love him and he will be her *ami*. Saintré thanks her and says he will do so.<sup>25</sup> After his first *emprise*, the narrator tells us that Saintré still remembers what he learned from Madame as a child.<sup>26</sup> At the end of the story, it is of disloyalty that each character accuses the other. Saintré will also claim that he never disobeyed Madame, a claim which, as we will see, is erroneous.

Seven years pass between Saintré's acceptance of Madame's proposition and his debut in *armes*. During this time Madame explains how to obtain the necessities for his *emprise*, gives him the money to purchase them, and ensures that Saintré becomes very close to the king and queen. With her help, he is promoted to *varlet tranchant* at age sixteen.<sup>27</sup> By age twenty or twenty-one, Madame decides that Saintré's heart and body are sufficiently mature and he is sufficiently in the king's and queen's good graces to begin to incite people to talk about him by completing deeds of arms.<sup>28</sup> Madame begins Saintré's chivalric training by describing the bracelet he is to have made, which she will place on his left arm. Szkilnik correctly indicates that the rules governing the *emprise* which Madame then dictates to Saintré in effect constitute the *lettre d'armes* that she tells Saintré to send to the four Christian kings

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24. "a true friend of God and a man of renown in this kingdom—indeed, in the whole world." Krueger and Taylor, 33.

25. Krueger and Taylor translate "serez mon ami" as "I'll . . . make you truly my friend." Krueger and Taylor, 34; La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 108.

26. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 260.

27. Krueger and Taylor define a *varlet-tranchant* as the "most prestigious of squire positions: attends personally to the king at table, and carves his meat." Krueger and Taylor, 227.

28. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 160.

of Spain, Aragon, Navarre, Castile, and Portugal.<sup>29</sup> He must only do this, however, once he has obtained the king's permission to proceed. Madame repeats this twice during her instructions: he will have "retenu sur toutes choses le vouloir et plaisir du roy" and he will do so "ayant le bon voulloir et congiet de Monseigneur" (168, 170).<sup>30</sup> Any knight or squire who accepts Saintré's challenge will return this letter with his seal. Furthermore, Madame explains that in addition to continuing to provide him money, she will secure financing from the king, the queen, and her uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Bourgogne, as she will also do for his subsequent *emprises*.<sup>31</sup>

Once the bracelet is made, Madame ceremoniously places this *emprise* on his arm. On the next day, the first of May, Saintré, well-dressed and surrounded by his friends, kneels before the king to request permission for his *emprise*, which he will undertake with the king's permission or not at all: "esperant le congie et licence de vostre bonne grace, et non aultrement" (172).<sup>32</sup> He shows the king his bracelet and presents the *lettre d'armes* that the king has read aloud. The king takes his time to reply, thinking of Saintré's young age and his love for him, and this prompts Saintré to repeat his request, "Hee: sires, pour la premiere requeste de armes que oncques je vous feis, pour Dieu vueilliez la moy accorder!" (172).<sup>33</sup> The king's brothers convince the king to grant permission. Saintré then repeats his request to the queen. She replies that since the king has agreed, she must do so as well, yet waits until after mass to have the *lettre d'armes* read to her, upon which she expresses her bewilderment that he is ready to complete *armes* at his age.

#### Examination of the motif of granting authorization for a tournament

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29. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré* 164, 170; Szkilnik, *Jehan de Saintré*, 76.

30. "assuming, of course, that the oath meets with the agreement of the King" and "having the goodwill and consent of our lord the King." Krueger and Taylor, 58-59, with my modification.

31. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 162.

32. Krueger and Taylor translate *congié* as "consent" and *licence* as "indispensable permission." I agree these terms capture the imperative quality of the French terms: "Hoping for your gracious consent and indispensable permission of your good grace, and not without it." Krueger and Taylor, with my modification.

33. "Ah, Sire, this is the very first petition of arms that I have addressed to you; I beg you to give your consent." Krueger and Taylor, 60.

in *Jehan de Saintré* reveals that Saintré is not only careful to seek royal authorization for his first *emprise* but for all of his *emprises* except his last one. Of Saintré's seven events, only six require authorization. Saintré does not organize the *joustes* in which he participates on May Day. He is not the *entrepreneur* for this event, so he does not need to request permission from the king. There is no indication that these jousts are part of an *emprise*, but rather this event corresponds to Philippe Contamine's definition of a joust: "Normalement une joute était 'une fête' annoncée plusieurs jours à l'avance."<sup>34</sup> The king nevertheless controls Saintré's participation in the jousts. On the second day, he pulls Saintré out of the competition to ensure he remains unharmed for his *emprise*. But with the exception of the *joustes*, all of Saintré's events (his *emprises*) require royal authorization.

Although Saintré seeks initial authorization on May first from both the king and queen for his *armes* in Barcelona, he *repeats* this request eight or ten days before his July 15 departure:

Nostre souverain seigneur, il a pleu a vostre grace estre content donner congíe que je portasse l'emprise de ce bracet pour acomplir les armes a cheval et a piet, que vous veistes par escript, sy vous viens treshumblement supplier que vostre bon plaisir soit moy donner congíe tel que, le .xv.<sup>e</sup> jour de ce mois de juillet, messeigneurs mes freres et mes amis, qui sont cy presens et que de leurs courtoisies me vuellent acompaignier, puissons a l'ayde de Dieu, de Nostre Dame et de Monseigneur saint Michel l'angele, partir (184-86).<sup>35</sup>

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34. According to Contamine, from the first half of the fourteenth century, tournaments were considered more dangerous than jousts, which were accepted as a rather harmless pastime, hardly more dangerous than hunting. He explains the difference between jousts and *emprises*: practically risk-free jousts existed alongside jousts of war and jousts of peace. These latter *emprises* still had a place on the margins of war (even during a truce) and were somewhat tolerated by political and military leaders. He offers the Jousts at Saint-Inglevert as an example of such an event. Philippe Contamine, "Les tournois en France à la fin du moyen âge," in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte; 80 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 431-41.

35. Krueger and Taylor translate this passage as follows: "My lord King, Your

The narrator reminds us that the king has already given his permission: “Le roy, qui *ja comme dit est*, avoit donné la [licence]” (186, my emphasis).<sup>36</sup>

Following his success in Barcelona, Saintré accepts a challenge at the French court from a Polish knight. Similarly, he requests royal authorization to participate not once, but twice. Madame encourages him to go quickly to the king so he will be the first to ask. Saintré kneels before the king, who smiles at him, marveling at the fact that such a young man would want to compete against such a powerful knight.<sup>37</sup>

Majesty gave your consent to my wearing this bracelet as a spur to deeds of arms on horse and on foot; you have seen the letter of challenge. Now I come before you to beg you most humbly, on my own behalf and that of my lords my brothers and my friends who have been courteous agree to attend me, to give leave for my party to set out under the protection of God, Our Lady, and the Archangel Michael, on July 15, so that I can begin my journey.” Krueger and Taylor, 65. In other words, here they do not translate *congié* as consent but rather as “leave.” Indeed, *congié* means both consent (or permission) and leave. I agree that what Saintré is technically actually asking this time is permission to leave on a particular date (not right at that moment but in eight or ten days), whereas previously he requested permission to wear the bracelet and therefore hold his *emprise*. Krueger and Taylor have translated “tel que . . . mes freres et mes amis . . . puissions . . . partir” as “so that I can begin my journey.” Were we to translate more literally, which I believe the French actually permits (although it would result in an inferior text in English due to its repetitive quality), we would say “give leave so that we can leave.” By translating the French in this way, it becomes clear that the first “leave” actually signifies “consent.” La Sale, 184-86. “Prendre *congié du*” translates smoothly into English as “to take leave of [the]” and simply means to say goodbye, albeit in a rather formal way in this context. A few pages later, Saintré takes leave of the king and queen and other people at court to begin his journey to Barcelona. He and his retinue “vindrent prendre *congié du roi*” (they “take leave of the king”). That is, they do not take leave to *do* something (in other words, to leave, *partir*). Although I also believe it would be correct to translate this sentence as they “came to take leave of the king,” I do not believe Saintré is actually requesting permission to leave here; he has already obtained it. Rather, I agree that Krueger and Taylor’s translation that they “came to bid farewell to the King” captures the correct meaning of the term *congié* in this context. Krueger and Taylor, 67; La Sale, 190. Either way, Saintré has clearly understood that he cannot undertake his *emprise* without involving the king as he completes his preparations.

36. “The King—who had already given leave, as we have shown.” Krueger and Taylor, 65.

37. La Sale, 268.

Other knights soon arrive to request permission, but the king gives his authorization to Saintré. The next day during a dinner organized for the Polish knight at which the *lettre d'armes* is read, Saintré renews his request for authorization: “Alors Saintré a genoulx devant le roy se mist et fist *renouveler son congié*” (270, my emphasis).<sup>38</sup>

Following Saintré's success against the Polish knight, Madame encourages him to hold a *pas d'armes*. This time it is difficult to convince the king to grant authorization, so he once again makes repeated requests: “jour et nuit il ne cessa que secretement il eust son bon congié du roy, que a grant difficulté fust” (310).<sup>39</sup> Later in the text, Saintré competes in *armes* against an English knight, but these are governed by the rules of the *pas d'armes*, therefore no additional authorization is necessary and none is sought. Furthermore, the narrative treatment of Saintré's *emprises* becomes more and more abbreviated as the story progresses. Yet despite this fact, the narrator is careful to note that Saintré once again requests royal authorization for his *armes* against the Italians *twice* rather than only once. Saintré competes in this event with his friend, Boucicaut, who proposes that they hurry to the king to be the first to receive permission. The king once again only consents with difficulty: “Que le roy a grans difficultez et prieres leur vault consentir, mais que premiers ilz sceussent qui ils estoient et quelle emprise ilz portoient” (322).<sup>40</sup> The king thus requests further information regarding the identities of the Italian knights, which Saintré and Boucicaut hurry to provide. They then run back to the king to report what they have learned:

Au long lui dirent celle nouvelle *reconfirmand* leur tresdesiré congié. Laquelle nouvelle et venue des Lombars, et le consentement du roy, fust incontinent par toute la court respandue, dont chascun de voulloir plus requerir cessa (324, my emphasis).<sup>41</sup>

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38. “Then Saintré knelt before the king and asked him to renew his consent” (my translation).

39. “he did not rest until, in secret and with considerable difficulty, he had obtained the King's permission.” Krueger and Taylor, 117.

40. “This the King gave only very reluctantly, and in answer to their fervent appeals—specifying that first they should ascertain who the Lombards were and what precisely was their *emprise*.” Krueger and Taylor, 122.

41. “They explained to him all the details, reiterating their ardent wish that he

Among other things, confirmation of royal authorization ensures that no other knights or squires will be permitted to participate in the event. The fact that Saintr  seeks repeated confirmation of authorization for these events does not simply reflect the exaggerated ceremonial nature of the process. Certainly these interactions underscore Saintr 's youth and willingness to challenge himself. They also demonstrate that he fully understands the importance of obtaining royal permission to participate in *emprises*. Madame clearly teaches him to do this, and he obeys her instructions.

Let us now turn to the scenes which depict Saintr 's decision to undertake an *emprise* without telling Madame or the king and later reveals his plans to them. Saintr 's thoughts, reported in direct discourse suggest he really does not understand the error he is about to commit and that he sincerely wishes to please Madame:

Hellas! povre de sens, povre d'avis et povre de tous biens que tu es!  
Oncques par toy aucum bien d'armes ne fut emprins que ta tresnoble et douce deesse ne te y ait mis! Ores vraiment je me concluz et deslibere que pour l'amour d'elle je vueil faire aucum bien (396).<sup>42</sup>

Saintr  does not explicitly express frustration at his lack of freedom or a strong need for liberation. Rather, if we are to believe the words La Sale gives him, he believes he is at fault for *not* initiating an *emprise* (in Cologne) on his own and does so to please Madame. He therefore seems sincerely surprised when she responds to his news with anger:

Avez vous lev  emprinse et deppartie  a et la sans mon sceu et sans congi ? Jamais, tant que je vive, de bon c ur ne vous ameray!  
(406)<sup>43</sup>

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would give them permission. And the news of the arrival of the Lombards and of the King's consent soon spread throughout the court, with the result that no other requests for permission were made." Krueger and Taylor, 123.

42. "Alas! Look at how lacking in sense, in ideas, and in every good quality you are! You've never taken up any feat of arms that your very noble, sweet goddess hasn't set you up for. Now really, I've come to the conclusion that for the love of her I would like to accomplish some worthy deed on my own account." Krueger and Taylor, 152.

43. Have you begun an *emprise* and gone about here and there without my knowledge and without permission? Never, as long as I live, will I truly love you (my translation).

Saintré begs for forgiveness, and although she is angry, she does, in fact, reluctantly grant him mercy. Let us be clear: the ultimate break in their relationship does not occur here. Madame is not infuriated when she soon leaves the court to go to her country estate. She leaves because she is ill. Her illness is not physical, but a “maladie de cuer.” Other words to describe her state include “dueil” and “dollours.” She loses her appetite because she misses Saintré and cannot bear to watch other “amants.”<sup>44</sup> She knows she will suffer until Saintré returns, and this indicates that the clear break has not yet happened.<sup>45</sup> She has granted him mercy, according to the ethical codes she adheres to, and she still has hope for reconciliation. She does not become indignant until she has spent some time with the abbot, who exposes her to an alternate discourse about knights. Nevertheless, this is a turning point in their relationship, and Madame’s will seems to be broken. She leaves court to escape her pain and falls for the abbot.

Saintré and his nine companions, whom he has convinced to participate in the *emprise*, approach the king to ask for his authorization for their event. Saintré speaks for all of them, but it is significant that the king scolds the entire group:

Mes amis, vous faites comme celui qui espouse sa cousine, puis demande dispensacion! C’est a tous chose mal faite de entreprendre, et piz, de executer sans licence de son seigneur ou de celui qui a sa charge. Et qui vouldroit regarder a la rigueur, quelque bien qu’il en veinsist, il en devroit bien estre pugny! (412)<sup>46</sup>

The king’s brothers, the dukes, reply to the group that the king was right to reprimand them in this way:

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44. Illness of the heart; mourning; pain or sorrow; lovers (my translations).

45. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 416, 422.

46. “My friends, you’re acting like someone who has married his cousin, and only asks for dispensation after the wedding. It’s wrong for anyone to plan an *emprise*, and even worse to execute it, without permission from one’s lord or from someone empowered to authorize it on his behalf. Strictly speaking, whoever does so, whatever good may come of it, should be severely punished.” Krueger and Taylor, 158, with my modification.

Au fait de voz emprinses, monseigneur a tresbon droit, et ja soit que vous retenez son bon congïé et ordonnance, se aultrement estoit, seroit tressimplement parlé! (412)<sup>47</sup>

It is imperative that any *single* knight or squire obtain authorization from the proper authorities, in this case the king, before undertaking an *emprise d'armes*. Therefore, the king could not possibly allow a group of *ten* knights and squires to challenge his authority in this way. The precedent it would establish would be far too dangerous, and this is what the dukes acknowledge. Furthermore, the king, queen, and dukes usually pay for a considerable part of Saintré's *emprises*. Indeed, Saintré had told his companions that he would seek financial support from the king for the Cologne *emprise* as well.<sup>48</sup> Saintré is guilty of presumption that the king will simply pay for him to do whatever he wants. After scolding the group, the king deals with Saintré alone: "Saintré, qui vous a esmu de ceste entreprinse fere sans mon congïé (414)?"<sup>49</sup> The king offers additional reasons Saintré should not do so: he should not tempt fortune or anger God who forbids vain things.<sup>50</sup> Still, like Madame, the king is merciful and ultimately accepts Saintré's request to be forgiven and allows him to pursue his *emprise*.

In addition to this textual evidence from *Jehan de Saintré*, I would now like to turn to evidence from other contemporary sources to demonstrate the importance of obtaining authorization for an *emprise* in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The intertextuality between *Jehan de Saintré* and the chivalric biography, *Le Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing*, is commonly treated in the scholarship on *Saintré*, often in discussions of genre and authorial attribution.<sup>51</sup> The book dates from

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47. His Majesty is perfectly right about your *emprise*; even if you've now sought his willing consent, it would be imprudent for him to say it any other way (my translation).

48. La Sale, 400.

49. Saintré, what possessed you to carry out this *emprise* without my permission? (my translation).

50. La Sale, 414.

51. Alison Black, "Jehan de Saintré and *Le Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing*: A Common Source?" *Notes and Queries* ns 34, no. 3 (1987): 353-54, doi:[10.1093/nq/ns-34.3.353](https://doi.org/10.1093/nq/ns-34.3.353); and Colette Beaune, "*Le Livre des faits du bon chevalier Messire Jacques*

1468-1470 and seems to have been requested by Jacques's father, Guillaume de Lalaing, after Jacques's death by cannon fire in 1453.<sup>52</sup> It is possible, however, that the documents used to make up this compilation are contemporary to *Jehan de Saintré* (1456). Colette Beaune demonstrates that much of the work, including the account of the *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs*, the accounts of the deeds of arms against Jehan de Boniface, the Sicilian knight, the *emprise* against Diego de Gusman in Castille, and the arms against Douglas in Scotland, is attributable to Jean Le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy, or Toison-d'Or, the Burgundian chronicler, herald, and king of arms. According to Beaune, the author of *Le Livre des faits* relied heavily on heraldic texts and chronicles, and she explains that the section covering the "période publique de la vie de Jacques de Lalaing" between 1446-1451 was completed thanks to the now lost memoirs of the herald Charolais, about whom we do not have much information.<sup>53</sup> The period from 1451 to 1453 describing the war in Ghent is attributable to the chronicler Georges Chastellain, and the author or authors of the first fifteen chapters of the book remain anonymous. Beaune notes that the prologue is the same as that of the prose version of *Gilles de Chin*, and she is among those who believe that chapter 5, comprised of Guillaume de Lalaing's lessons to his son, is borrowed from *Jehan de Saintré*.<sup>54</sup> La Sale may have seen some of these texts. The mastery of the heraldic writing used to describe tournaments, which La Sale demonstrates in *Jehan de Saintré*, especially to describe his *pas d'armes*, suggests not only that he read and/or composed heraldic documents himself but that his exposure to such texts would have been considerable. But even if he had not seen the accounts of Lalaing's exploits written by Toison-d'Or or another herald, there is evidence that he witnessed Lalaing's feats of arms firsthand, as we shall see below.

Like the fictional Saintré, Jacques de Lalaing travels around Europe participating in *emprises* and also holds one *pas d'armes*. Only briefly discussed in the scholarship on these two works is the similar amplification

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*de Lalaing*," in *Splendeurs de la cour de Bourgogne: récits et chroniques*, ed. Danièle Régnier-Bohler (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1995), 1193-203.

52. Black, "Jehan de Saintré," 353.

53. the public period of the life of Jacques de Lalaing (my translation).

54. Beaune, "Le Livre des faits," 1195-97.

of the authorization scenes.<sup>55</sup> Like Saintré, Lalaing is carefully instructed to seek authorization for his *armes*. Indeed the authorization scene in the account of Lalaing's *armes* in Ghent against a Sicilian knight is amplified for *three* entire chapters. Toison-d'Or tells Lalaing in no uncertain terms that he must have the Duke of Burgundy's authorization before undertaking the *emprise*:

je vous avertis qu'en nulle manière vous ne devez toucher à  
l'emprise du chevalier, sans la licence et congé du duc vostre mais-  
tre et seigneur.<sup>56</sup>

Because the duke is away, Jacques instructs Toison-d'Or to ask the Sicilian knight to wait patiently until the duke's return.<sup>57</sup> The knight repeats this instruction in his reply to Toison-d'Or: "je suis content d'avoir à besogner avec luy et d'attendre la venue et le bon plaisir du duc."<sup>58</sup> The chancellor gets involved, consults a group of noblemen, and everyone decides Toison-d'Or should be sent to the Sicilian knight to ask him to be patient until the duke arrives. The idea that the duke must be present to provide authorization for the *emprise* is thus repeated three times in the course of a few pages. The importance of Lalaing's request to the duke is further underscored by the fact that when the duke finally returns, Lalaing assembles a group of friends and relatives to accompany him as he asks for permission to compete against the Sicilian knight.<sup>59</sup>

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55. The Blanchard-Quereuil edition of *Jehan de Saintré* notes that Lalaing "parcourt l'Europe à la recherche d'un chevalier qui acceptera de le 'délivrer' et à plusieurs reprises il se verra refuser par l'autorité régnante le droit de jouter" (goes all over Europe searching for a knight who will accept it, and upon many occasions he finds himself denied the right to joust by the ruling authority; my translation); La Sale, 411.

56. I warn you that under no circumstances must you accept the knight's *emprise* without the permission and consent of the duke your master and lord (my translation). Joseph Marie Bruno Constantin Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Ceuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 8, *Le Livre des faits du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalaing* ed., (Brussels: Victor Devaux, 1866), 72.

57. *Ibid.*, 73.

58. I am happy to oblige him and to wait for the arrival and the pleasure of the duke (my translation). *Ibid.*, 74.

59. *Ibid.*, 77.

Like Saintr , Lalaing repeats his request for permission (renouvela son cong ) after it has already been authorized.<sup>60</sup>

Prior to the event in Ghent, Lalaing seeks permission to participate in jousts in the city of Nancy, an event at which, according to the text, a great number of important dignitaries are present, including the King of France, Charles VII. As such a grand assembly of nobility must not occur without some kind of deeds of arms, according to the text, the Counts of Maine and Saint-Pol decide to hold jousts.<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, according to this account, Lalaing seeks permission from Charles of Anjou, the Count of Maine, and the Count of Saint-Pol to compete in their place. The narrator recounts how Lalaing seeks approval for his request before telling them what the request is. Upon acceptance, Lalaing kneels before the counts to thank them. Once Lalaing tells them precisely what he would like to do, they are surprised, given his age (as with Saintr ), yet gladly approve his request to fight in their place. It is interesting to note that the Count of Saint-Pol is none other than Louis de Luxembourg, whose household La Sale enters in 1448 after having spent more than fifty years in the service of the court of Anjou. La Sale was the tutor of Ren  d'Anjou's son, Jean de Calabre, to whom he dedicated *Jehan de Saintr *. Jean became duke of Lorraine (of which Nancy was the capital) upon the death of his mother, Isabelle. Charles of Anjou, the Count of Maine, was the brother of Ren  and therefore Jean's uncle. The author of *Jehan de Saintr *, therefore, traveled in the same circles as Lalaing and was probably not only familiar with his chivalric exploits, but most likely witnessed many of them himself. Indeed, in his treatise on tournaments, La Sale states that he attended the jousts of Nancy.<sup>62</sup> La Sale may not have been aware of Lalaing's request for authorization to replace Louis de Luxembourg and Charles d'Anjou at the jousts recounted in the *Livre*

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60. *Ibid.*, 78.

61. Scholars and indeed chroniclers disagree about whether the events at Nancy and Ch lons were jousts or *pas*.

62. Lef vre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 319. Additionally, he states that he had participated in two tournaments when he was young, one in Brussels and one in Ghent. These tournaments were organized by the Burgundian court. Lef vre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 311.

*des faits*, if this is even historically accurate.<sup>63</sup> But had Lalaing received authorization for all of the jousts he requested throughout his chivalric career—as we shall see he did not—La Sale probably would have been aware of the results of many of his competitions. Since a primary reason for competing in deeds of arms was to earn renown and become the topic of discussion, it makes total sense that La Sale would have heard, if not read, quite a bit about Jacques de Lalaing’s chivalric exploits.

Following his success with the Sicilian knight, Lalaing decides to complete deeds of arms in France. However, the French king does not want members of his court to reply to the challenge, and consequently nobody does. Lalaing then comes across le seigneur de Créquy and Simon de Lalaing at the duke’s court. They remind him, as Toison-d’Or does earlier, that for no reason should Lalaing undertake his *emprise* without “le sçu et congé” (the knowledge and consent) of the duke of Burgundy.<sup>64</sup> Lalaing returns to France shortly thereafter, and the French king’s reluctance to allow an *emprise* is repeated:

Mais le roy de France pour celle heure ne voulut consentir a nul noble homme de sa cour de ce faire, pour certaines raisons.<sup>65</sup>

Lalaing actually persuades the king to change his mind, yet nobody advances to accept his challenge, so he moves south.

Lalaing only achieves limited authorization to compete in *armes* on the Iberian Peninsula. He requests to compete in Navarre, Aragon,

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63. Some historians doubt the facts of this account, saying these jousts occurred in Châlons-sur-Marne. For example, Christian de Mérindol, *Les fêtes de chevalerie à la cour du roi René: Emblématique, art et bistoire (les joutes de Nancy, le Pas de Saumur et le Pas de Tarascon)* (Paris: Editions du C.T.H.S., 1993), 5-6. Indeed, other accounts of these events by La Marche, Mathieu d’Escouchy, and Guillaume Leseur do not recount Lalaing requesting permission from the Counts of Saint-Pol and Maine to compete in their place. Mathieu d’Escouchy, *Chronique de M. d’Escouchy Nouvelle Édition Revue et Publiée Avec Notes*, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, 3 vols. (Paris: Société de L’histoire de France, 1863), 1:40-51; Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires* 1:403-8; and Guillaume Leseur, *Histoire de Gaston IV, comte de Foix*, ed. Henri Courteault, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1893), 1:129-93.

64. My translation. “Le Livre des faits,” 90.

65. “But the King of France at this time did not want to consent to any nobleman of his court to do it, for certain reasons” (my translation); “Le Livre des faits,” 94.

Castile, and Portugal, yet he is granted authorization only in Castile (still, the King of Castile makes him wait for six months).<sup>66</sup> Lalaing's requests to the kings of Navarre and Portugal are all recounted fully and at length in direct discourse (twice in the case of Navarre, because the king of Navarre is also the regent of Aragon).<sup>67</sup> These kingdoms' strong alliances with Burgundy are given each time as the reason Lalaing's requests are refused.<sup>68</sup> What is more, *an entire chapter* is dedicated to the Queen of Aragon's explanation for the refusal to authorize Lalaing's *emprise*.<sup>69</sup> Upon his return north, Lalaing's *armes* against James Douglas are approved in Scotland but denied in London. Similarly, *armes* against the Englishman, Thomas, are approved on Burgundian soil only. Finally, authorization for the *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs* is granted immediately. So, as we can see, a large part of this fifteenth-century narrative, and perhaps more importantly, a considerable part of Lalaing's chivalric career, is concerned with the issue of obtaining authorization to compete in *emprises*. This kind of narrative treatment is more than what is needed to report simple formalities, especially given that it occurs in chivalric biography rather than chronicle. The text demonstrates that Lalaing, who, like Saintré, travels around Europe participating in *joutes*, *emprises*, and a *pas d'armes*, has clearly been taught and fully understands the importance of obtaining the necessary authorization to hold or participate in *emprises*.

Although Saintré's story purports to take place during the fourteenth century at the court of Jean le Bon and Bonne de France, its *joutes* and *emprises* represent the types of events favored by the courts of Burgundy and Anjou in the fifteenth century, like Lalaing's. However,

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66. *Ibid.*, 116.

67. *Ibid.*, 150.

68. *Ibid.*, 101-2, 106-7, 125, 151-52.

69. *Ibid.*, 154-56. On the implications of participation in *emprises* for international diplomacy, see Nadot: "Par cette requête, elle montre clairement que Lalaing n'est pas le bienvenu et, à travers lui, c'est probablement la politique du duc de Bourgogne qu'elle vise." (With this request, [the Queen of Aragon] clearly shows that Lalaing is not welcome, and, through him, it is probably the Duke of Burgundy's policy that she is aiming at. My translation.) Lalaing does not compete, therefore, simply as an individual, but represents and has a responsibility to society. Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes*, 299.

when composing *Jehan de Saintré*, La Sale also perhaps had in mind the beginning of the period that Contamine calls the golden age of jousts. Contamine pinpoints the beginning of this period precisely in 1389. He explains that between 1356 and 1380, jousting had become very rare in France. Although some jousts were held in France (and Jean le Bon attended jousts while imprisoned in England), Charles V did not favor them.<sup>70</sup> In his article on the tournament in France at the end of the Middle Ages, he situates the golden age of tournaments between 1380 and 1530.<sup>71</sup> He further explains that after 1380, the French nobility was no longer hesitant to display pomp and splendor at this time of relative peace, thanks to the “bottomless royal treasury.” This resembles the generous open purses of the nobility to which Saintré has access.<sup>72</sup>

Book 4 of Froissart’s *Chronicles* recounts events that took place precisely at the beginning of this golden age. As with Lalaing, scholars have discussed the relationship between *Jehan de Saintré* and Froissart’s *Chronicles*, and have, at times, suggested that La Sale offers a rewriting of the *Chronicles*. Some striking resemblances concerning obtaining authorization for feats of arms occur in one particular chapter of book 4, in Froissart’s account of the jousts between Pierre de Courtenay and the Sire de Clary in 1389.<sup>73</sup> Clary challenges Courtenay to a joust without the authorization of the French king. The textual depiction of the admonishment of Clary for doing so bears striking resemblances to the admonishment of Saintré. Madame and the king reproach Saintré and his companions for undertaking a deed of arms without the king’s permission, “sans mon sceu et sans congié” (without my knowledge and without consent) and “sans licence de son seigneur ou de cellui qui a sa charge” (without permission from his lord or from he who is acting

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70. Contamine, “Les tournois en France,” 437-39.

71. *Ibid.*, 427.

72. *Ibid.*, 438-39.

73. This incident was significant enough to have been illustrated in five of the nine illuminated manuscripts of book 4 during the second half of the fifteenth century. Laetitia Le Guay, *Les Princes de Bourgogne lecteurs de Froissart: Les rapports entre le texte et l’image dans les manuscrits enluminés du livre IV des “Chroniques,”* Documents, études et répertoires—Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes (Paris: CNRS Editions; Brepols, 1998), 71.

in his place), in the same way the French king reproaches Clary, for competing “sans signifier à son souverain seigneur” (without telling his sovereign lord).<sup>74</sup> Jehan d’Ewrués’s reaction to Clary’s uncourtly behavior during the joust is that “he has done enough” and the king says the same thing to Saintré: “vous en avés *asses fait*” (you have done enough) for Clary, and “Il me semble que c’est *assez!*” (it seems to me that is enough) for Saintré.<sup>75</sup> What is more, in the same way that the king’s brothers, the dukes, intervene on behalf of Saintré to calm the king down (“nous serons avec lui, et lui en *prierons*” [412]) (we will be with him and we will beg it of him; my translation), the duc de Bourbon and the sire de Coucy intervene successfully for Clary: “le duc de Bourbon et le sire de Coucy qui l’aimoient *prièrent* pour lui.” (the Duke of Bourbon and the Lord of Coucy who loved him begged on his behalf.)<sup>76</sup> Finally, Saintré insists to Madame he thought he was doing the right thing: “je cuidoye en vostre service faire mon devoir, acroistre vostre grace et mon honneur” (406). (I believed I was doing my duty in your service, to increase your favor and my honor; my translation.) Likewise, Clary states to the king, “je cuidoye avoir bien fait” (I believed I had done well).<sup>77</sup> These resemblances are striking enough to make one wonder if La Sale had Froissart’s text in mind when composing *Saintré*. I am not convinced that this coincidence can be explained by formulaic, conventional language. But even if La Sale does not intentionally allude to Froissart’s text, the fact that Froissart chose to recount a scene whose central theme is failure to secure authorization from a sovereign lord indicates that doing so was extremely important at the beginning of the golden age of tournaments and jousts.

Other contemporary historiographical texts likewise underscore the importance of obtaining permission to undertake an *entreprise*. Froissart’s account of the jousts at Saint-Inglevert begins in the chapter following the jousts between Clary and Courtenay in which the three participants

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74. La Sale, 406, 412; Jean Froissart, *Œuvres de Froissart*, ed. Joseph Marie Bruno Constantin Kervyn De Lettenhove, 25 vols. (Brussels, 1867-77, 14:51 (my translations).

75. Froissart, *Œuvres*, 14:50; Sale, 412 (my translations, my emphasis).

76. Froissart, *Œuvres*, 14:54 (my emphasis).

77. *Ibid.*, 14:55 (my translation).

request royal authorization for the event.<sup>78</sup> I will return to this chapter when I present codicological evidence, but for now I will simply mention that Boucicaut, who makes an appearance as Saintré's close friend in La Sale's story, is one of the knights who requests authorization. Saintré's association with Boucicaut and the setting of Saintré's *pas d'armes* between Calais and Gravelines recall the Jousts of Saint-Inglevert, which took place between Calais and Boulogne.<sup>79</sup>

The Jousts at Saint-Inglevert are a precursor to the fifteenth-century *pas d'armes*: they constitute an *emprise*.<sup>80</sup> In *Le Livre des faits du bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut*, the narrator notes that Boucicaut did not announce his *emprise* until he had received permission: "après ce que il en ot eu congé du roy" (after he had obtained permission from

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78. Indeed, Froissart establishes a connection between these two events. He begins his account of the Jousts between Clary and Courtenay by saying that the three knights who wish to plan the Jousts of Saint-Inglevert do so as a result of the story they heard about Courtenay and Clary. Froissart, *Œuvres*, 14:43.

79. La Sale evokes both the elder Boucicaut, Jean Ier le Meingre, and his son, Jean II le Meingre, who participated in the Jousts at Saint-Inglevert. See Denis Lalande, "Le Couple Saintré-Boucicaut dans le roman de Jehan de Saintré," *Romania: Revue Consacrée à l'Etude des Langues et des Littératures Romanes* 111, no. 3-4 (1990): 481-94.

80. See for example, Richard W. Barber and Juliet R. V. Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry, and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (New York, NY: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989), 109; Jean-Pierre Jourdan, "Le thème du *pas d'armes* dans le royaume de France (Bourgogne, Anjou) à la fin du moyen âge: Aspects d'un théâtre de chevalerie," in *Théâtre et spectacle hier et aujourd'hui. Moyen âge et Renaissance: Actes du 115e congrès national des sociétés savantes (Avignon, 1990), Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie* (Paris: Editions du CTHS, 1991), 123; and Nadot, 28, 284. Elisabeth Gaucher points out that the author of Boucicaut's biography uses the term *table ronde* to describe them. Elisabeth Gaucher, "Les Joutes de Saint-Inglevert: Perception et écriture d'un événement historique pendant la guerre de Cent Ans," *Le Moyen Age* 102, no. 2 (1996): 233. Round Tables were also considered precursors to *pas d'armes*. See, for example, Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes*, 18. Evelyne van den Neste has argued that it is inaccurate to call this event a Round Table. Evelyne van den Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du moyen âge (1300-1486)* (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 1996), 53. Szkilnik refers to this event as the *pas de Saint-Tin-le-Vert* and wonders if it was this episode in the story of Boucicaut that gave La Sale the idea to hold Saintré's *pas* near Calais. Szkilnik, *Jehan de Saintré*, 73. Froissart does not call it a *pas d'armes*. He uses the terms *faire armes*, *emprise*, and *jouste*, the very same terms La Sale uses to describe most of Saintré's events.

the king).<sup>81</sup> A later example is found in La Marche's *Mémoires*, which he began writing in 1472 or 1473. He states in his account of the *armes* between le seigneur de Ternant and Galiot de Baltasin that the latter's master, the Duke of Milan, refused to let him participate without the Duke of Burgundy's permission.<sup>82</sup>

A review of the accounts of fifteenth-century *pas d'armes* provides further evidence of the importance of obtaining authorization to compete in this type of *emprise*. It is important to note that, as Nadot states, "Le gardien d'un pas doit avoir obtenu l'autorisation de son prince pour se lancer dans son entreprise."<sup>83</sup> A prince, on the other hand, does not need such authorization.<sup>84</sup> For example, in Monstrelet's account of the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne* held in 1443, Charny recounts in the *chapitres* that he has asked the Duke of Burgundy for permission to hold the *pas*.<sup>85</sup> We have already seen that in *Le Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing*, our protagonist obtains authorization without delay from the Duke of Burgundy for the *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs*. Mathieu d'Escouchy also depicts this scene in his account.<sup>86</sup> Likewise, Escouchy includes the *chapitres* of the *Pas de la Belle Pèlerine* (1449), which explain in the voice of the

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81. *Le Livre des faits du bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicquaut: Mareschal de France et Gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. Denis Lalande (Genève : Droz, 1985), 67; my translation.

82. La Marche, *Mémoires*, 2:65.

83. The guardian of the *pas* must have obtained the authorization from his prince to begin carrying out his *emprise* (my translation); Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes*, 216.

84. This would explain why René d'Anjou, in his *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois* does not discuss the need to obtain authorization. The two hypothetical challengers in this treatise are dukes and as such do not need permission to hold the event. René d'Anjou, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*, <http://www.myschwerk.webzdarma.cz/anjou.html>, accessed November 11, 2014. In his own nostalgic treatise on tournaments, La Sale does not mention the need for authorization either. He does, however, include an interesting passage about the need for obedience and punishment. He states that the lack of these two things brought Charles VII much trouble. Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 304.

85. Enguerran de Monstrelet, *La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arceq, 6 vols. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1857-62), 6:72.

86. Mathieu d'Escouchy also reports Lalaing's signature which indicates that the duke has backed his permission up with a seal and his signature. Escouchy, *Chronique*, 1:273.

beautiful pilgrim how she requested written and sealed authorization for the *pas* from her powerful prince, le comte d'Estampes.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or*, the Lady of the Secret Island brings a letter to the Duke of Burgundy for authorization, as recounted by La Marche.<sup>88</sup> It is all part of the show here. This is a relatively late fifteenth-century *pas d'armes*, taking place in 1468 on the occasion of the wedding of the duke's son, Charles the Bold to Margaret of York. Accompanied by incredible theatrics and spectacle, this *pas* perhaps represents an evolved form of this type of *emprise*. Naturally, this part of the wedding festivities was planned by a duke; the authorization is pure formality. Again, in the *chapitres* written as allegory for the *Pas de la Dame Sauvage* held in 1470, the servant of the Wild Lady announces that he has obtained "congié et licence" (consent and permission) from his prince.<sup>89</sup>

A bit earlier, in 1455, the *Pas du Perron Fée* features Jacques de Lalaing's brother, Philippe. The account likewise includes an authorization scene.<sup>90</sup> Finally, the account of a very early *pas*, which took place on the Iberian peninsula, the *Passo Honroso*, devotes six chapters to the Suero de Quiñones's request for authorization!<sup>91</sup>

Let us now turn our attention to the manuscript evidence of *Jehan de Saintré*, *Le Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing*, and Froissart's *Chroniques*. If one accepts as privileged the status of motifs chosen to be illuminated by authorities commissioning or producing manuscripts, examination of the manuscripts of these works demonstrates that one must acknowledge the significance of obtaining authorization to hold an *emprise* in the late Middle Ages.<sup>92</sup> Only two of the extant manuscripts of *Jehan de Sain-*

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87. *Ibid.*, 1:250.

88. Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires* 3:123.

89. La Marche, "Traicté d'un tournoy," 60; (my translation).

90. Félix Brassart, ed., *Le Pas du Perron Fée tenu à Bruges, en 1463, par le chevalier Philippe de Lalaing* (Douai: L. Crépin, 1874), 39.

91. Pedro Rodríguez de Lena, *El Passo Honroso de Suero de Quiñones*, ed. Amancio Labandeira Fernández (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1977), 69-89.

92. On the illustrations of book 4 of Froissart's *Chroniques*, see Le Guay. Her project is to uncover how "les miniatures offrent par leur sujet, leur taille et leur emplacement, un témoignage précieux sur les passages du texte que les illustrateurs jugeaient essentiels et, par là même, sur la réception du texte à l'époque de nos manuscrits." (The miniatures offer, through their subject, their size, and their

*tré* are illuminated: Brussels, KBR 9547 and London, British Library, Cotton Nero MS D IX. Lefèvre suggests the Brussels manuscript dates from between 1463 and 1472.<sup>93</sup> She believes that the date written in the colophon of the British Library manuscript, 1455, is erroneous and that the manuscript was written later.<sup>94</sup> KBR 9547 contains seventy-seven illuminations while Cotton Nero MS D IX only contains ten. Jane Taylor has demonstrated that both manuscripts privilege the jousting scenes over the erotic and has demonstrated that their illumination programs point to contemporary readings of *Saintré*. The manuscripts focus on “the public role of the chivalric hero.”<sup>95</sup> Authorization scenes should be considered part of this chivalric program. Although the British Library manuscript does not privilege the authorization motif in particular in its iconographic program, the Brussels manuscript includes several miniatures depicting these scenes. First, fol. 55<sup>v</sup> contains an illumination of Saintré requesting authorization for his first *emprise*, in Barcelona. The miniature appears above the text indicating that Saintré and his men, well dressed in new clothes, manage to catch the king coming out of his room to ask him permission for the *emprise*. The miniature depicts the king in the doorway along with five men in dressed in various colors kneeling and standing before him.<sup>96</sup> The faithfulness of the illumination to the text points to the care taken to recreate the authenticity of this authorization scene and further underscores its importance. The illumination is not simply a stock image.<sup>97</sup>

A second illumination of this scene appears soon after, on fol. 57<sup>r</sup>. Here, the image of the king seated on his throne with two men to his

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placement precious evidence regarding the passages of the text that the illustrators judged essential, and, in the same way, regarding the reception of the text at the time of our manuscripts.) My translation. Le Guay, *Les Princes de Bourgogne*, 7.

93. Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 108.

94. *Ibid.*, 425-26.

95. Jane Taylor, “Image as Reception,” 267-73. She states, “My contention is therefore that the ‘parallel narrative’ provided by the iconographic programs of the two manuscripts may be trusted as providing reliable evidence of how a particular consciousness received a text (270).”

96. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 172.

97. It appears Saintré might be wearing an *emprise* in this image, although it is on his right arm rather than his left.

right and five men kneeling in front of a door open to the left appears at the end of the scene in which Saintré requests permission from the queen. Thus, the authorization scene is framed by the images on folios 55<sup>r</sup> and 57<sup>r</sup>. The text under the illumination indicates that following Saintré's conversation with the queen, everyone proceeds to the stands to watch the jousts. The next image, on fol. 59<sup>r</sup>, does not depict the jousts but instead shows Saintré presenting his new attire to the queen. Curiously, however, the illumination on fol. 61<sup>r</sup> does depict jousts in a part of the narrative where no jousts occur. Instead, the text describes another authorization scene. I wonder if the illuminator mistakenly completed the miniature of the jousts on the folio where the miniature of Saintré renewing his request for permission to compete in Barcelona should have been!<sup>98</sup>

In addition, Saintré's failure to request royal authorization as well as permission from Madame to hold his tournament in Cologne is deemed significant enough to merit manuscript illuminations in KBR 9547. The first illumination, on fol. 145<sup>r</sup>, appears right above the text indicating that the date is the first of May, when Saintré invites Madame to meet with him using their secret signal. The scene depicts Madame's anger at Saintré for his organizing an *emprise* without her permission, yet the illumination underscores her eventual, reluctant approval. Following Saintré's pleas for mercy and forgiveness, the text depicts Madame placing his *emprise* on his shoulder without smiling:

Et, a ces parolles, Madame tout mornement la prist et sur l'espaule senestre la assist, et puis, moittie sy et moittie non, souffrist que il la baisast (406).<sup>99</sup>

The illumination depicts her late and reticent authorization. Saintré is depicted kneeling down, with one hand outstretched toward Madame's knee. Madame is standing above him to the right, with her left hand on the *emprise* on his left arm.

Similarly, the illumination depicting Saintré's interactions with the

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98. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 184.

99. "At these words, Madame reluctantly took the *emprise* and placed it on his left shoulder and then half-heartedly allowed him to kiss her." Krueger and Taylor, 157, with my modification.

king does not depict the scene during which the king scolds him for organizing an *emprise* without his permission. As with the scene with Madame, the miniature appears after his admonishment, four folios later (on 149<sup>r</sup>). The scene shows the king with Saintré as he is getting dressed with his companions. The illumination depicts the king seated with several other figures, one of whom is holding a dish. Indeed the text indicates that silver dishes are among the presents the king offers Saintré and his companions. Instead of magnifying Madame's and the king's ire through two miniatures in which they express their anger, the authority behind the iconographic program of this manuscript seems to underscore the forgiveness, *grâce*, and *mercy* the king and Madame grant to Saintré by finally authorizing his *emprise*. Yet this by no means diminishes the gravity of Saintré's error: on the contrary, the greater Saintré's error is, the greater is their mercy.

The need to acquire authorization for an *emprise* was therefore not only considered important at the beginning of Contamine's golden age of tournaments toward the end of the fourteenth century but also decades later at the time of the illustration of the Brussels manuscript and, as we shall see, also at the time of the illustration of Froissart's *Chronicles*.

Two illuminated manuscripts of *Le Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing* survive. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 16830 dates between 1475 and 1480.<sup>100</sup> The other manuscript, formerly housed Anholt, Westfalen, Germany in the Fürstlich Salm Salm'sche Bibliothek (not numbered) and now at the Getty, follows the iconographic program of the BnF manuscript closely in that it contains miniatures of exactly the same scenes as the BnF manuscript.<sup>101</sup> However, the pictorial depiction

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100. On the illustrations of this manuscript, see Elisabeth Gaucher, "Le Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing. Texte et image," *Le Moyen Age* 95, no. 3-4 (1989). Gaucher concludes that with the exception of four miniatures, the illustrations represent deeds of arms. Three of those four miniatures, she explains, show Lalaing greeting a king or a prince. (The first miniature of the manuscript represents the author, and Beaune explains that the clothing identifies this author as a herald.) Elisabeth Gaucher, "Le Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing," 50; Beaune, "Le Livre des faits," 1199. The entire BnF, fr. 16830 manuscript is now available online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10537591f/f25.image.r=16830>, accessed September 1, 2016).

101. *Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing*, Getty MS 114, <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/286914/>

of these scenes sometimes varies, as we shall see. An index card in the Anholt manuscript stated that the manuscript dates to 1480 and the miniatures date to 1525 and are from Flanders, but the Getty website does not present this information.<sup>102</sup>

A miniature depicting Lalaing standing before the Count of Maine and the Count of Saint-Pol to ask permission to joust in their place appears in the center of the left column of BnF, fr. 16830 fol. 24<sup>r</sup>.<sup>103</sup> It appears at the beginning of the chapter in which Lalaing makes his request above the following rubric:

Du grant bruit qui fut a la court du roy de france pour les joustes  
qui y furent publiees Et de la requeste que fist Jaquet de lalaing aux  
contes dumaine et de saint pol.<sup>104</sup>

Authorization for the event in Castile is illuminated on fol. 66<sup>v</sup> of BnF, fr. 16830.<sup>105</sup> In this image, Lalaing kneels before the king who is seated on a throne. The identity of the king is indicated by the floor representing the coat of arms of Castille and Leon upon which Lalaing

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simon-bening-circle-of-master-of-charles-v-livre-des-faits-de-jacques-de-lalaing-flemish-about-1530-1540/, accessed September 1, 2016.

102. If the Anholt information is correct, did the spaces for the illuminations remain blank between 1480 and 1525? It is certainly possible. In that case, the scenes to be illuminated were not chosen as late as 1525. But if they were, it is interesting to note that authorization scenes were still considered significant enough to be illustrated in the sixteenth century.

103. This is one of the three miniatures that Gaucher says show Lalaing greeting a prince. However, we can include this in the group depicting deeds of arms, since he is asking for authorization to compete in an *emprise*.

104. On the big news at the court of the King of France of the jousts that were published, and on the request that Jacques de Lalaing made to the Counts of Maine and Saint-Pol (my translation). BnF, fr. 16830 fol. 24<sup>r</sup>. An extremely similar miniature appears on fol. 36<sup>v</sup> of the Anholt manuscript.

105. This is another of the three images of Lalaing greeting a prince or king to ask to compete in deeds of arms. The final greeting image appears on fol. 99 and represents Lalaing being welcomed back to Bourgogne after his trip to the Iberian Peninsula, Montpellier, and Avignon. Similarly, fol. 61 of British Library, Cotton Nero D IX represents Saintré returning home from Barcelona. Although these images do not directly depict deeds of arms, they are associated with them as they represent Lalaing's and Saintré's chivalric success in *emprises*.

is kneeling. The nine other men (eight of whom form a circle behind Lalaing) point to the ceremonial nature of the event. The miniature is roughly the same size as the Nancy image and appears under a red title which reads, “Comment mess Jacque de lalaing vint a la court du roy de castille Et comment mess dyago de gouseman toucha a lemprise de mess Jacq’ de lalain.”<sup>106</sup>

The Anholt manuscript illumination (fol. 63<sup>v</sup>) appears in exactly the same place in the text as in the BnF manuscript; however the illumination illustrates the authorization scene differently. Rather than being indoors, this scene takes place outside. In the left foreground, four men appear standing and one of them appears to be a king. A fifth man kneels before this man. Other actions appear in the background, including four men on foot throwing lances and surrounded by dogs. The landscape extends to a distance in the background, perhaps underscoring Jacques de Lalaing’s extensive travels.

Manuscripts of book 4 of Froissart’s *Chronicles* likewise contain miniatures highlighting authorization scenes. The nine illustrated manuscripts of book 4 date between 1460 and 1480, and most were produced for the Burgundian court in Bruges.<sup>107</sup> In her study of the illuminated manuscripts of book 4, Le Guay explains that many of the patrons of these manuscripts were tournament enthusiasts. For example, the patron of Paris, BnF, fr. 2646, Louis de Bruges, seigneur de Gruuthuse, jousted against Le Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne in the *Pas de l’Arbre d’or*.<sup>108</sup> Although La Sale worked in René d’Anjou’s court before working for Louis de Luxembourg, he had early contact with the Burgundian court, as we have seen.<sup>109</sup> This contact continued: La Sale dedicated his treatise

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106. How Jacques de Lalaing came to the court of the King of Castile and how Monsieur Diego de Gusman accepted Monsieur Jacques de Lalaing’s *emprise* (my translation). BnF, fr. 16830 fol. 66<sup>v</sup>.

107. Le Guay, *Les Princes de Bourgogne*, 149.

108. *Ibid.*, 137.

109. For more details about La Sale’s association with Burgundy, see Georges Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne: Philippe le Hardi—Jean sans Peur—Philippe le Bon—Charles le Téméraire* (Paris: Champion, 1909), 90–117. David Aubert copied book 4 of the *Chronicles* in 1468 for Antoine, le Grand Bâtard, and Gruuthuse had a copy of La Sale’s treatise. Le Guay, *Les princes de Bourgogne*, 137.

on tournaments to Jacques de Luxembourg, who was in the entourage of Antoine, le Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne.<sup>110</sup> The Burgundian court was keenly interested in the festive *faits d'armes* described in the last book of Froissart's *Chronicles*:

Ces miniatures offrent ainsi un double reflet: des fêtes organisées à la cour de Bourgogne et de la part du rêve qui habite les esprits. L'illustration s'inscrit dans le contexte d'un milieu princier qui s'adonne avec somptuosité à des joutes, tournois et pas d'armes nourris de lectures romanesques.<sup>111</sup>

Similarly, the Burgundian court was interested in *Jehan de Saintré* at around the same time. Lefèvre demonstrates that the Florence manuscript of *Saintré*, BM Med Pal 102, dating between 1456 and 1466, belonged to the library of Philippe le Bon. The Brussels manuscript of *Saintré*, KBR 9547 (which we will recall dates between 1463 and 1472), is believed to have belonged to Philippe le Bon's library as well, although Lefèvre says there is no proof of this.<sup>112</sup>

In book 4 of the *Chronicles*, the authorization for the Jousts of Saint-Inglevert is depicted in a small miniature in Paris, BnF, fr. 2646, fol. 24<sup>v</sup> in the chapter textually depicting this motif. The image depicts Boucicaut (the younger), Regnault de Roie, and Saint-Py along with the king of France, Charles VI, and others. Furthermore, the miniature depicts a written document. In fact, the text indicates that the king asks them to make their request on paper:

Et pour ce que l'emprinse des trois chevalliers sembloit au roy de France et à ceulx et à celles qui là estoient, très-haultaine, il leur fut dit et remonstré pour le meilleur que ils le feissent escrire en une foelle de papier ; car le roy et son conseil le vouloient veoir et

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110. Paris, BnF, fr. 5867 dates between 1459 and 1461. Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 225-9.

111. These miniatures offer a double reflection: on the festivities organized at the court of Burgundy and on the part on the part of the dream that inhabited minds. The illustration inscribes itself into the context of a princely milieu which gives it self impressively over to jousts, tournaments and *pas d'armes* sustained by romance (my translation). Le Guay, *Les princes de Bourgogne*, 137.

112. Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 108.

collationner, et, se riens de oultrageux avoit en la ditte emprise, on le cancelleroit et amenderoit ; car le roy et son conseil ne vouloient mettre sus chose nulle, ne soustenir, qui fuist desraisonable.<sup>113</sup>

The three knights agree that this is reasonable, and Froissart reports the content of the lengthy document in his text. Furthermore, before granting authorization, the king examines the request carefully:

et, avant qu'il vouldist concéder que la chose passast oultre, la besongne fut bien grandement examinée, veue et regardée se nul membre de vice y povoit estre lachié, ne entendu.<sup>114</sup>

Indeed, some of the advisors fear that the English might misinterpret the event as a presumptuous provocation, and that it should be considered carefully given the three-year truce agreement with England.<sup>115</sup> Decisions by knights or squires to organize an *emprise* can have, therefore, important consequences which extend beyond their own individual concerns to questions of society, international politics, and peace. Indeed, the king's advisors spend more than one day thinking about whether authorization should be granted for this event, noting that bad things can easily happen when young knights make such requests. But the king finally grants his permission, being young himself, as Froissart points out.<sup>116</sup> His decision is significant enough that Froissart reports it in the text: "On leur laisse faire leur entreprinse; ils sont joeunes et de grant volenté."<sup>117</sup>

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113. And because the three knights' *emprise* seemed to the King of France and those men and women who were there to be very noble, it was said and repeated to them it would be best that they write it on a piece of paper; because the king and his counselors wanted to see and verify it, and if there was something offensive in the said *emprise*, they would cross it out and amend it; because the king and his council did not want to undertake or support anything that might be unreasonable (my translation). Froissart, *Œuvres de Froissart*, 14:55.

114. And before he was willing to permit that it take place, the affair was examined at great length, looked at and checked to see if any fault could be contained or understood in it (my translation). *Ibid.*, 14 :57

115. *Ibid.*

116. *Ibid.*, 14:58.

117. We will let them carry out their *emprise*; they are young and full of drive (my translation). *Ibid.*

A miniature accompanies this same chapter in London, British Library, Harley MS 4379. The miniature does not actually depict a scene in which authorization is given, but rather a procession of knights at the event itself. Yet the fact that this chapter in the manuscript is signaled by a miniature is nonetheless worthy of note: the account of the jousts of Saint-Inglevert starts here (in both text and image), at the authorization scene, and not at the pre-tournament festivities.

In her analysis of the illustration of the authorization scene in BnF, fr. 2646, Le Guay concludes that the balanced quality of the miniature emphasizes the harmonious relationship between the knights and the monarch:

Chevaleresque par son thème: allégeance, demande d'autorisation pour des joutes, la miniature se plaît en même temps à refléter la vie princière, tout en subordonnant les détails concrets à une idéalisation subtile: images de couples, images de liens harmonieux entre le prince et ses chevaliers.<sup>118</sup>

Failure to request authorization, therefore, would upset the harmonious relationship at court. It is clear that obtaining royal authorization is not only required, but by the beginning of the golden age of tournaments, the terms governing the *emprise* are required in writing. As Szkilnik explains:

*Pas et emprises* sont des exercices sportifs très réglementés: la date du combat, les différentes phases (joutes et combats à pied), le nombre de joutes, le type, la longueur et l'épaisseur des armes, le nombre de coups échangés, la manière dont les lances doivent être brisées, le prix pour chaque combat, la qualité des adversaires et celle des juges, tout est décidé à l'avance et précisé dans une lettre d'armes que l'organisateur de l'épreuve fait lire par un héraut.<sup>119</sup>

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118. Chivalric by theme: allegiance, request of authorization for jousts, the miniature both reflects princely life while subordinating concrete details in favor of subtle idealization: images of couples, images of harmonious bonds between the prince and his knights (my translation). Le Guay, *Les princes de Bourgogne*, 137.

119. *Pas* and *emprises* are very regulated sports: the date of the fight, the different parts (jousts and combat on foot), the number of jousts, the type, the length and width of the weapons, the number of blows exchanged, the manner in which

This formal authorization is so important that the act of obtaining it merits not only illustration in manuscripts, but it must be combined with a written document, underscoring not only the transition from oral to written culture but to the codification and regulation of tournaments by the appropriate authority, such as a king, prince, duke, or even a count. Depicting this written document in the manuscripts—in both textual and pictorial form—only further underscores how important it is to ask the king for permission to organize an *emprise* before actually doing so.

In *Saintré*, the *lettres d'armes* are mentioned in the longer descriptions of *emprises*. I mentioned earlier that the king of France is depicted reading the *lettre d'armes* for the *emprises* in Barcelona and against Loissellench.<sup>120</sup> When Saintré and his companions tell the king he has planned the *emprise* in Cologne, the king takes their *lettre d'emprise* and reads it after reprimanding the group.<sup>121</sup> Once the king finally grants his authorization, Saintré and his companions prepare a signed and sealed letter to deliver to the emperor:

Saintré et ses compaignons ordonnerent une tres belle lettre  
d'armes, seelee de leurs seaulz et souscriptes de leurs mains, adre-  
schans a la court de l'empereur, comme la principale de tous, que  
incontinent, par le duc d'armes de Normendie, leur fust portee.<sup>122</sup>  
(414)

La Sale does not explicitly mention the *lettre d'armes* (or *chapters*) for Saintré's *pas d'armes*. But as Szkilnik notes, Madame actually delivers the content of these *chapters* orally, in the same style in which they would appear in writing, to Saintré when she instructs him to undertake the *pas*.<sup>123</sup> Brussels, KBR 9547 contains an illumination of this scene (fol.

the lances must be broken, the prize for each fight, the quality of the opponents and that of judges, everything is decided in advance and specified in a letter of challenge that the organizer of the *emprise* has a herald read (my translation). Szkilnik, *Jean de Saintré*, 74.

120. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 172, 270.

121. *Ibid.*, 412.

122. "Saintré and his companions ordered that a very eloquent letter of arms be drawn up, addressed to the Emperor's court, the highest court of all: the letter was given immediately to Normandy King of Arms to convey." Krueger and Taylor, 159.

123. Szkilnik, *Jean de Saintré*, 76.

108<sup>r</sup>): Madame and Saintré are seated outside on the ground in a field with regularly spaced trees. The Brussels manuscript also contains an illustration of a clearly identifiable *lettre d'armes*. Located right above the text in which Saintré and Lusignan meet in Avignon, the miniature on folio 65<sup>v</sup> shows the exchange of a letter between two men. In the text, Lusignan presents the letter to Saintré and then recounts at length his trip to Barcelona where he meets Saintré's future opponent, Enguerrant de Cervillon. Enguerrant asks Lusignan to let him read the letter, he then shows it to a group of knights and finally takes Lusignan to the king, who asks for the letter and has it read to him. Enguerrant then, in a long passage of direct discourse, requests authorization from his own king to accept Saintré's *emprise*. After receiving counsel from his advisors, the king grants Enguerrant's request. The agreement was concluded "when the letters were done."<sup>124</sup>

These documents, which finalize a ruler's oral authorization, appear in fifteenth-century narrative not only in pictorial form but often as complete inserted texts. *Le livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing* includes the text of the *chapitres* for Lalaing's *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs* in its entirety.<sup>125</sup> It is not uncommon to find *chapitres* in chronicles. Mathieu d'Escouchy also includes the *chapitres* for Lalaing's *pas d'armes* in his *Chronique*, despite the fact that he does not include an account of the event itself.<sup>126</sup> These examples of the amplified treatment of *lettres d'armes* and *chapitres* in the text and their inclusion either in pictorial form or as textual insertions in the manuscripts further underscore the importance of securing not only verbal authorization for an *emprise* but also its counterpart, a written contract that literally seals the deal.

Jane Taylor demonstrates that if the reader plays close attention to the text, Saintré's violent behavior at the abbey at the end of the book should not come as a surprise. Taylor describes the progression through time in both the text and illuminations of Saintré's actions in combat as they become "more physical, less balletic." She gives the example of the Italian, Messire Nicole, at one of Saintré's later *emprises*, ending up "on his hands and knees like an animal, and in which—significantly—Saintré

124. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 202.

125. *Le livre des faits*, 188-97.

126. Escouchy, *Chronique*, 1:267-73.

himself is only a hairsbreadth away from a most dishonourable act.”<sup>127</sup> Indeed, KBR 9547 features an illumination of the Emperor putting a halt to Saintré’s last *emprise* in Cologne when this *mêlée* becomes too violent.<sup>128</sup>

Taylor shows that Saintré’s chivalric development, which concerns sixty-five percent of the text, is reflected in the illumination programs of both manuscripts. I find her chart extremely useful, and I would like to push the analysis of the illumination program a bit further. I reproduce her chart below with some slight modifications. I retain the essentials of her textual groups, although I hesitate to include the image of Saintré and Boucicaut on folio 89<sup>v</sup> with an *emprise*, although it does fit in the category of his chivalric development. The text in question simply recounts the beginning of their friendship. They do fight together later with the two Italians, and I believe the miniature on folio 114<sup>v</sup> illustrates that *emprise* rather than Saintré’s *pas d’armes*. The illustration clearly depicts four men competing together on foot, which is consistent with the textual description of the *emprise* with the Lombardians. This differs from that of Saintré’s *pas*, which consisted of jousts “en selle de guerre.”<sup>129</sup> Saintré’s *pas d’armes* is illuminated by two miniatures in the Brussels manuscript: the one on folio 109<sup>v</sup> depicting the construction of the venue and the image prior to it, on 108<sup>r</sup>, in which Madame instructs Saintré to hold the *pas* and outlines its terms.<sup>130</sup> A folio (63) is missing in British Library, Cotton Nero D IX in the pages that recount Saintré’s *pas*, and given the amount of text missing and the amount of blank space that would have been available on the folio, I believe the *pas d’armes* was illuminated in this manuscript as well. We have seen above that the KBR images on folios 145<sup>r</sup> and 149<sup>r</sup> belong with Saintré’s *emprise* in Cologne, and this is true of 142<sup>r</sup> and 146<sup>v</sup> as well.<sup>131</sup> As indicated in bold on the

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127. Taylor, *Image as Reception*, 277.

128. KBR 9547 fol. 168<sup>r</sup>; La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 460.

129. In a saddle made for jousts of war. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 324–28 and 310.

130. The text does not depict interaction with Madame and Saintré at the end of the account of the *emprise* against Loissellench, so it would not make sense for the illumination depicting them to be grouped with that event.

131. 142<sup>v</sup> depicts Saintré asking his nine companions to participate in his *emprise* in Cologne. 146<sup>v</sup> depicts him handing out visors to these companions.

chart, forty-two miniatures illustrate Saintré's chivalric progress. Of these, only nine (in bold) illustrate actual combat. (More precisely, the last of those nine illustrates combat being brought to a halt.)

Text	London, British Library, Cotton Nero D IX	Brussels, KBR 9547
Prologue, Madame and Saintré	1 <sup>r</sup>	3 <sup>r</sup> , 5 <sup>v</sup> , 9 <sup>v</sup> , 11 <sup>r</sup> , 23 <sup>v</sup> , 31 <sup>v</sup> , 33 <sup>v</sup> , 36 <sup>r</sup> , 39 <sup>v</sup> , 42 <sup>v</sup> , 44 <sup>v</sup> , 47 <sup>v</sup>
<b><i>Emprise: Against Enguerrant (Barcelona)</i></b>	32 <sup>v</sup> , 40 <sup>r</sup> , 46 <sup>r</sup> , 48 <sup>r</sup> , 50 <sup>r</sup>	53 <sup>r</sup> , 54 <sup>v</sup> , 55 <sup>v</sup> , 57 <sup>r</sup> , 59 <sup>r</sup> , <b>61<sup>r</sup></b> , 63 <sup>v</sup> , 65 <sup>v</sup> , 68 <sup>v</sup> , 71 <sup>r</sup> , 73 <sup>v</sup> , <b>74<sup>v</sup></b> , <b>76<sup>v</sup></b> , 79 <sup>r</sup> , <b>81<sup>r</sup></b> , 85 <sup>v</sup> , 87 <sup>v</sup>
Saintré becomes friends with Boucicaut		89 <sup>v</sup>
<b><i>Emprise: Against Loisselench</i></b>	55 <sup>v</sup> , 59 <sup>v</sup>	91 <sup>r</sup> , 94 <sup>r</sup> , 95 <sup>v</sup> , 97 <sup>v</sup> , 99 <sup>v</sup> , <b>102<sup>r</sup></b> , 104 <sup>v</sup>
<b><i>Emprise: Saintré's Pas d'armes</i></b>	Perhaps on the missing folio, 63	108 <sup>r</sup> , 109 <sup>v</sup>
<b><i>Emprise: With Boucicaut, Against the Italians</i></b>		<b>114<sup>v</sup></b>
The Prussian Crusade	77 <sup>v</sup>	127 <sup>v</sup> , 129 <sup>r</sup> , 134 <sup>r</sup> , <b>136<sup>r</sup></b> , 139 <sup>r</sup> , 139 <sup>v</sup>
<b><i>Emprise: Cologne</i></b>		142 <sup>v</sup> , 145 <sup>r</sup> , 146 <sup>v</sup> , 149 <sup>r</sup> , 166 <sup>r</sup> , <b>167<sup>r</sup></b> , <b>168<sup>r</sup></b> , 169 <sup>v</sup>
Madame and the Abbé		150 <sup>r</sup> , 151 <sup>v</sup> , 152 <sup>v</sup> , 155 <sup>r</sup> , 156 <sup>v</sup> , 158 <sup>r</sup> , 159 <sup>r</sup> , 160 <sup>r</sup> , 163 <sup>r</sup> , 164 <sup>v</sup> , 172 <sup>r</sup> , 174 <sup>r</sup> , 180 <sup>r</sup> , 182 <sup>v</sup>
Saintré and the Abbé	103 <sup>r</sup>	176 <sup>r</sup> , 177 <sup>v</sup> , 183 <sup>v</sup> , 184 <sup>v</sup> , 185 <sup>v</sup> , 186 <sup>v</sup> , 188 <sup>v</sup>
Madame's Punishment		190 <sup>v</sup> , 191 <sup>v</sup>

The next chart lists only the miniatures from KBR 9547 which illustrate Saintré's chivalric progress. I have attempted to classify these illustrations by listing the type of activity involved. In addition to the nine illustrating combat, four depict Madame giving instructions to Saintré on how to carry out his *emprises*. Five depict scenes involving the authorization he obtains for his *emprise*, and four depict preparations for

them. Four depict heraldic duties, although these are not all necessarily carried out by heralds. Saintr  decides not to send a herald to report his success in Barcelona, because he fears people might think he is boasting. He seeks advice, and one of his companions sends his son, Guillaume, instead. Kings of arms also deliver news and award prizes in the story. This attention to heraldic activities accompanies an abundance of illustrations depicting activities with which heralds, kings of arms, and other experts in recording *emprises* (and particularly *pas d'armes*) were concerned: ceremonial departures and arrivals that, in *Saintr *, include entries into the lists, departures from and entries into the cities where the *emprises* are held, and taking leave of kings, queens, and the emperor. Thirteen miniatures depict such ceremonial movements in the Brussels manuscript.<sup>132</sup> A few miniatures do not quite fit neatly into these categories, such as the illustration of the queen and the ladies bringing news of Saintr 's success to her after she faints during the *emprise* with Loissellench. But the illustration of Saintr  being dubbed a knight does complement the ceremonial quality underscored by the numerous illuminations of ceremonial entries and departures. Finally, the miniature of Saintr  becoming friends with Boucicaut appears in a section of the text which states that Saintr  still remembers the lessons Madame taught him during his childhood.

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132. On La Sale's experience with tournaments, see La Sale, *Jehan de Saintr *, 14.

Brussels, KBR 9547	Miniatures Illustrating Saintré's Chivalric Progress <sup>†</sup>	Type of Activity	Page Number of Corresponding Placement of the Illumination in Modern Edition of <i>Saintré</i>
53 <sup>r</sup>	Madame gives Saintré instructions for his first <i>emprise</i> (Barcelona)	Instruction (for <i>emprise</i> )	166
54 <sup>v</sup>	Madame places the <i>emprise</i> on Saintré's arm	Authorization	170
55 <sup>v</sup>	Saintré asks the king for permission for his first <i>emprise</i>	Authorization	172
57 <sup>r</sup>	Saintré renews his request for permission for his first <i>emprise</i>	Authorization	174 <sup>‡</sup>
59 <sup>r</sup>	Saintré shows the attire he has procured for his <i>emprise</i> to the queen	Preparation (for <i>emprise</i> )	180
61 <sup>r</sup>	Combat: Jousts at the French court	Combat	184
63 <sup>v</sup>	Saintré takes leave of the king and queen before leaving for Barcelona	Procession (ceremonial departure or arrival; entry into city or lists)	190
65 <sup>v</sup>	In Avignon, the herald Lusignan gives Saintré the letter in which Enguerrant accepts his challenge to complete in the Barcelona <i>emprise</i>	Heraldic Duty	196
68 <sup>v</sup>	Saintré's entry into Barcelona	Procession	204
71 <sup>r</sup>	Saintré's entry into the lists in Barcelona	Procession	210

†. This table does not list all of the illuminations in KBR 9547.

‡. It is possible that the illustrator completed this illumination on the wrong folio. It would make more sense if it appeared on 61<sup>r</sup> and if the image on 61<sup>r</sup> appeared here, on 57<sup>r</sup>.

73 <sup>v</sup>	Saintré's entry into the list in Barcelona, continued, waving his banner and praying as instructed by Madame	Procession	216
74 <sup>v</sup>	Combat on horseback, Barcelona	Combat	218
76 <sup>v</sup>	Combat on horseback, Barcelona	Combat	224
79 <sup>r</sup>	Entry into the lists in Barcelona for foot combat	Procession	230
81 <sup>r</sup>	Combat on foot, Barcelona	Combat	236
85 <sup>v</sup>	Saintré takes leave of the king and queen in Barcelona	Procession	248
87 <sup>v</sup>	Guillaume de Pruilly brings news of Saintré's <i>emprise</i> to the French court	Heraldic Duty	252
89 <sup>v</sup>	Saintré becomes chamberlain to the king and becomes close friends with Boucicaut		260
91 <sup>r</sup>	Madame instructs Saintré to accept Loissellench's <i>emprise</i>	Instruction	262
94 <sup>r</sup>	Madame, frightened about Loissellench's size, instructs Saintré to do his best in the <i>emprise</i>	Instruction	272
95 <sup>v</sup>	Entry into lists for the <i>emprise</i> against Loissellench	Procession	276

97 <sup>v</sup>	Entry into lists for the <i>emprise</i> against Loissellench	Procession	280
99 <sup>v</sup>	After Saintr� disarms Loissellench, the queen and the ladies go to Madame (who, frightened, had fainted) to tell her the good news		286
102 <sup>r</sup>	Combat on foot with Loissellench	Combat	294
104 <sup>v</sup>	The king of arms, Monjoie, awards the prizes for the <i>emprise</i> against Loissellench	Heraldic Duty	300
108 <sup>r</sup>	Madame instructs Saintr� to hold a <i>pas d'armes</i> and outlines the <i>chapitres</i>	Instruction	308
109 <sup>v</sup>	Saintr� has carpenters build houses for his <i>pas</i>	Preparation	312
114 <sup>v</sup>	Combat on foot: <i>emprise</i> between Saintr�, Boucicaut, Nicollo des Malletestes, and Gallias de Mantua	Combat	324
127 <sup>v</sup>	Prussian Crusade: departure from Paris	Procession	358
129 <sup>r</sup>	Prussian Crusade: arrival in Prussia	Procession	362
134 <sup>r</sup>	Prussian Crusade: Saintr� is dubbed a knight	Ceremony	374
136 <sup>r</sup>	Prussian Crusade: combat	Combat	378

139 <sup>r</sup>	Prussian Crusade: the king of arms d'Anjou brings news of the crusade to the king of France	Heraldic Duty	386
139 <sup>v</sup>	Prussian Crusade: Saintr� comes before the king of France upon returning from the crusade	Procession	388
142 <sup>v</sup>	Saintr� asks his nine companions to participate in his <i>emprise</i> in Cologne	Preparation	396
145 <sup>r</sup>	Madame reluctantly places Saintr�'s <i>emprise</i> on his arm (Cologne)	Authorization	402
146 <sup>v</sup>	Saintr� hands out the visors to nine his companions for the <i>emprise</i> in Cologne	Preparation	408
149 <sup>r</sup>	The king lectures Saintr� for planning an <i>emprise</i> without his permission, forgives him, and gives him gifts	Authorization	414
166 <sup>r</sup>	Entry into Cologne for the <i>emprise</i>	Procession	458
167 <sup>r</sup>	Combat: <i>M�l�e</i> at <i>emprise</i> in Cologne	Combat	460
168 <sup>r</sup>	Combat: the Emperor puts a stop to the <i>m�l�e</i> at the <i>emprise</i> in Cologne	Combat	462
169 <sup>v</sup>	Saintr� and his companions return to court, via Saint-Denis, after the <i>emprise</i> in Cologne	Procession	464

La Sale's concern for the ceremonial aspects of tournaments and other activities in which heralds and kings of arms specialize is abundantly displayed in this text, and this is reflected in the Brussels manuscript to an even greater extent than in the London manuscript, certainly due to its vast illumination program. La Sale also demonstrates his knowledge of a variety of conventions to describe these activities. His account of Saintré's *pas d'armes* employs the conventional patterns recognizable in chronicle, chivalric biography, and independent accounts in which *pas d'armes* are described. The descriptions of entries in *pas d'armes* accounts, in turn, reflect the same type of pattern identifiable in descriptions of royal or princely entries in chronicles which, again in turn, bear the imprint of heraldic texts.<sup>133</sup> But in addition to creating a faithful *pas d'armes* account, in *Saintré*, La Sale also includes descriptions that resemble tournament accounts in medieval romance. A useful example of this is his depiction of the interaction between spectators (especially women and royal figures) and opponents in Saintré's other *emprises*, which is typical of medieval romance but rare in chronicles. Attention to these textual genres at work in *Saintré* offers clues to the destabilization to come.

Madame is absent during Saintré's *pas* (as is conventional), but her behavior during his other *emprises* points to a widening disconnect between the two characters and Madame's increasingly troubled behavior. While Saintré is in Barcelona, she suffers due to his absence and plunges into ascetic activities: she engages in prayer and oration day and night, wears no undergarments on Fridays and Saturdays, spends up to ten *escuz* on masses and alms, and takes part in secret pilgrimages. During the *emprise* with Loissellench, she is so fearful that due to this Polish knight's size Saintré will be hurt that she faints and cannot bear to watch the fighting. This continues when he goes on crusade: she almost faints as he leaves Paris. At the same time, as Jane Taylor shows, Saintré's behavior in the lists becomes less refined, increasingly uncontrolled.<sup>134</sup> This behavior demonstrates Madame's inflexibility in her adherence to the moral codes of living in courtly society and the toll it is beginning

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133. This is also true of the manuscripts. All but one of the extant manuscripts of *Jehan de Saintré* exhibit a unique *mise-en-page* of the *pas d'armes* scène.

134. Taylor, *Image as Reception*, 277.

to take on her. As Karl Uitti puts it, up to Saintré's *emprise* in Cologne, everything seems just too perfect.<sup>135</sup> Similarly, according to Per Nykrog,

Comme couple amoureux, Saintré et la dame bougent le moins possible, toujours prudemment, toujours soigneusement protégés par la stricte observance des convenances, qui les couvre comme une carapace, comme une armure sociale. Ils sont civilisés, socialisés à l'extrême.<sup>136</sup>

Nevertheless, let us not forget that as well as learning how to fight in courtly combat, Saintré has been learning to be a warrior, how to kill.

In addition to following moral codes, the characters adhere to the textual codes established for them by the author. This is not the place to repeat an exhaustive analysis of all of the text's identifiable genres. Yet to stick to our analysis of *emprises*, Madame's behavior is not unconventional.<sup>137</sup> Likewise, some critics have noted that Madame behaves according to type in the *nouvelle/fabliau* part of the work.<sup>138</sup> I believe Jane Bliss gets it right when she states that,

La Sale mixes genres in order to explore the world of the chivalric hero. Madame appears in two conflicting ways; La Sale uses her to contest types that are familiar from generic categories.<sup>139</sup>

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135. Uitti, "Renewal and Undermining," 146.

136. "As a couple in love, Saintré and the lady move the least possible, always carefully, always protected by the strict observance of decorum, which covers them like a shell, like social armor. They are civilized, socialized to the extreme" (my translation). Per Nykrog, "Les Ambigüités du *Jehan de Saintré*," (*Prepublications* 48 (1979): 16.

137. If in many romances knights and their ladies exchange the gaze or even messages, which, being a positive force, engender knights' successes, examples also exist of more disconnected, negative female behavior in the stands at tournaments, in, for example, *Le conte du Graal* and *Ysaïe le Triste*. In the latter, Marte, at times, faints, cries, and pulls her hair out. *Ysaïe le Triste*, ed. André Giacchetti (Rouen: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 1989), 118-29. The sisters' fighting in the *Le conte du Graal* mirrors the combat in the tournament below them. Chrétien de Troyes, *Romans suivis des Chansons, avec, en appendice, Philomena*, (Librairie Générale Française, 1994), 1088-90; La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 254.

138. "She is the characteristic type of the nouvelle, sensual, cunning, hypocritical and quite unscrupulous in her methods of attaining the end she desires." Ferrier, *Forerunners*, 58.

139. Jane Bliss, "*Jehan de Saintré* and the Anonymous Lady," *Reading Medieval*

In the *fabliau* part of the story (as Bliss calls it) Madame “has the freedom only to behave lewdly and shamefully, as all women apparently do.”<sup>140</sup>

The evidence I have presented in this essay demonstrates that although Saintré’s initiative to organize an *emprise* on his own without telling Madame or the king may seem to modern reader (and even perhaps to the contemporary reader, as implied by Froissart) to be a perfectly natural act, Saintré does in fact commit an error in the context of the fifteenth-century court by failing to ask the king for authorization before planning the event. Furthermore, Saintré promised Madame he would obey her. He repeated this promise frequently in the same way that she frequently repeated her instructions to secure the king’s authorization for his *emprises*. Madame carefully taught Saintré the rules to follow at court. Until she retreated to the abbey, she, herself, followed the rules of the game, the codes she set as models for Saintré and herself. She made sure Saintré did not organize *emprises* without the king’s authorization for Saintré’s own good, because the king would not allow it: violation of this rule could have serious implications for society. She was not wrong to be upset by his error.

Madame shows Saintré mercy for a time. However, she is unstable. Together, this first blow and Saintré’s subsequent absence while he is in Cologne are simply too much for her to bear. I find the notion that she increasingly suffers from a mental illness up to this point convincing.<sup>141</sup> She leaves court for her country estate and soon finds herself at the abbey. In this part of the book, her behavior is not laudable; and neither is Saintré’s. I do not wish to exonerate Madame for poor behavior elsewhere in the narrative, but Saintré’s error represents a breaking point for her. Why does this cause the text to shift into *nouvelle/fabliau*? Perhaps because Madame could no longer live in society, and *nouvelle/fabliau* fit that requirement. Perhaps La Sale simply wanted to include

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*Studies* 35 (2009): 22-23.

140. *Ibid.*, 23.

141. On Madame’s mental illness and how her trip to the abbey represents her cure, see Claudio Galderisi, “Du langage érotique au langage amoureux: Représentations du créaturel dans le Petit *Jehan de Saintré* et dans la nouvelle XCIX des Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles,” *Moyen Français* 50 (2002): 13-29.

a *nouvelle/fabliau* in his mosaic. And since we have seen that Madame behaves according to convention in the account of Saintré's *emprises*, if we also accept Ferrier's assessment that she behaves according to type in the *nouvelle/fabliau*, perhaps we can simply conclude that she *must* behave as she does in that part of the book. In other words, perhaps La Sale wanted to explore the possible endings of a story driven by characters who behaved according to different generic conventions and different moral codes. In this scenario, the genre would determine Madame's behavior, not La Sale.<sup>142</sup>

The ending does not seem to be good for Madame.<sup>143</sup> She is ultimately condemned by society during the final pages, (which, with members of court gathered to offer an opinion after Saintré's recounts the story of his relationship with Madame, is conventional in the *nouvelle*). Yet Saintré continues his career at court to become the most valiant knight in France. Does this mean that the ending is good for Saintré? The narrator praises his valor ("pour amour de ses vaillances"), but is Saintré's ultimate return to society and success due to his superior moral character or, rather, his prowess in arms?<sup>144</sup> This does not necessarily amount to praise for courtly society.

Froissart's account of Clary's mistake suggests that a late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century knight might, nonetheless, commit the error Saintré committed. This is all the more reason for La Sale to compose a story about it, as part of this "Education in Love and Chivalry."<sup>145</sup> Indeed, this may have been a delicate subject, best elucidated by authors working with fiction rather than chronicle or treatise. Whereas in historical accounts the chroniclers (or authors of inserted *chapitres*) can underscore the need for authorization for an *emprise* by recording that it was

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142. Although it is far beyond the possible reach of this study, it would be fascinating to examine in depth each of the other genres that scholars have identified in this text to determine whether the characters' behavior in those parts of the text is conventional as well.

143. Let us remember from our introduction that one modern edition of the text recounts that she has lost all joy whereas the other remains silent on this point. Could it be possible that she found joy outside of the court?

144. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 578.

145. Krueger and Taylor, 3.

obtained, a fictional story (such those written by La Sale, the author(s) of the chivalric biography, *Le Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing*, who took liberties with the facts about Lalaing's life, or even—arguably—by Froissart) illustrates *why* it is important.

I believe Jehan de Saintré can be read as a cautionary tale, maybe to a former pupil, or indeed to any member of a courtly, Francophone audience of his time. Perhaps it was Jean de Calabre who requested that La Sale write such a story. They both would have been aware of the evolving social context of their age: at the time of *Jehan de Saintré's* composition, a knight or squire could no longer simply participate in, or even organize, tournaments, as did chivalric heroes of old such as Lancelot and Gauvain, without permission from his prince. The stakes were too high for the authority figure in question. For young knights and squires representing their prince in foreign lands, diplomatic relationships could be complex and delicate; treaties had to be respected and political damage needed to be avoided. Furthermore, if a king or duke was going to significantly finance such enterprises, it is not surprising that he would have wanted some say in the event, which was, after all, a reflection of his court. Saintré represented the king and his generosity. Additionally, however attached La Sale may have been to the courtly and chivalric traditions of his time, he could nonetheless also have been suggesting that strict adherence to codes of conduct is foolish. If scrupulously following prescribed codes of conduct could not lead to success at court, what could? Perhaps the answer was to be found in understanding the rules of the game, knowing when to break or bend the rules and when not to.

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