ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: SINGING OF ARMS: THE LANGUAGE OF CHIVALRY IN SELECTED SONGS OF THE MELLON CHANSONNIER WITH AN INDEX OF WORDS IN SONGS OF THE FRANCO-BURGUNDIAN CHANSONNIERS

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This study re-evaluates fifteenth-century polyphonic Middle-French chansons in light of the role that chivalry and a culture of arms played at the Burgundian courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. Eight Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers were selected for examination: the Mellon Chansonnier, US-NHub 91, the Cordiforme Chansonnier, F-Pnm Rothschild 2973, and the six so-called Loire Valley Chansonniers: the Copenhagen Chansonnier, DK-Kk MS Thott 291, 8°, the Dijon Chansonnier, F-Dm MS 517, the Laborde Chansonnier, US-Wc M2.1.L25 Case, the Leuven Chansonnier, B-AF MS 1, the Nivelle Chansonnier, F-Pn Rés. Vmc ms. 57, and the Wolfenbüttel Chansonnier, D-W Cod. Guelf. 287 Extrav.

A brief history of armed contests and chivalry is provided as necessary background to interpreting the song texts. This includes the evolution of the forms of feats of arms from the *mêlée* to the *pas d'armes*, the formation of chivalric orders, including the Order of the Golden

Fleece, the basics of heraldry, and how these all play a role in the fifteenth-century tournament, as illustrated by René d'Anjou's *Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tourney* of *ca.* 1460.

My analysis of selected chanson texts leads me to group them as they are related to knighthood: songs including a knight in defeat, a knight's complaint, a knight's identity as expressed through heraldry, a bawdy knight, and a knight in conversation. I provide and justify new translations of the texts of *Paracheve ton entreprise* from the Mellon Chansonnier, *Je serviray selon qu'on me payera* from the Laborde Chansonnier, *Escu dennuy seme de plours* from the Leuven Chansonnier, and *Il est de bonne heure né* from the Dijon Chansonnier. Additionally, the texts of *L'autre d'antan, l'autrier passa, A une damme j'ay fait vue*, and *Donnés l'assault a la fortresse* from the Mellon Chansonnier, and *Il est de bonne heure né* from the Dijon Chansonnier are analyzed for their military associations that are reflected in their musical setting.

Of particular interest is the combinative chanson *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter* from the Mellon Chansonnier. Here, both texts of the chanson are analyzed. A new, coherent interpretation of the text of the upper voice presented here eliminates the need for Alejandro Planchart's suggested change of *pour* to *par* in line 1, as he explained in 2003.[1] Also, the case is made here that the phrase *crocq de ache,* found in line 4, refers to a coronel-tipped tournament lance rather than the head of a stalk of celery. Further, I demonstrate that both texts of the chanson refer to a tournament and make the case that the song is associated with events at the Feast of the Pheasant held in Lille 17 February 1454, with its likely performance either as part of the entertainment associated with the *Pas du Chevalier au Cygne,* or during the post-banquet mummery.

[1] Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "The Origins and Early History of L'homme armé," *The Journal of Musicology* 20, No. 3 (Summer 2003): 310-323.

A quantitative investigation of the music associated with these chansons makes the case that motifs associated with the military calls of the *trompette de guerre*, such as "À cheval" and "À l'assault," are used intentionally there to evoke battlefield sounds.

Lastly, an Index of words from the Middle-French songs from these eight chansonniers is provided in the Appendix. This Index includes the variant spellings found in the texts of these chansons and associates them with their common spelling. Words excluded from the Index include closed classes of words (prepositions, conjunctions, articles, pronouns) and forms of the verbs *aller*, *avoir*, *devoir*, *être*, *faire*, *pouvoir*, *savoir*, and *voir*. The Index provides an aid to future research in locating songs that are textually related.

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Dedication

To my family, George, Constantine, and David, who have been ever patient, supportive, and encouraging. Without them, I am nothing.

And, to my parents, who are always in my heart.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank first and foremost my advisor, Barbara Haggh-Huglo, for her guidance, unflagging encouragement, and the countless patient hours she has given to me. Also, her assistance with French translations has been invaluable.

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To Deborah McGrady, a thank you for advising on my translations of Middle-French song texts.

Finally, a huge thanks to the unsung heroes of the library who have been unfailingly helpful in acquiring resources vital to this project.

Table of Contents

Dedication ii

Acknowledgements iii

Table of Contents iv

List of Tables vii

List of Figures viii

List of Musical Examples ix

Notes on Terminology, Translations, Sigla, and Song Identifiers xi

Abbreviations xiii

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter 1 : *LA CHEVALERIE* 20

A Brief History of Armed Contests 21

Burgundian Tournaments 29

Neo-Arthurian Orders 32

Chivalry and the Tournament 43

Chapter 2 : THE FRANCO-BURGUNDIAN CHANSONNIERS 47

Chapter 3 : THE INDEX 64

Chapter 4 : THE WORDS 76

Paracheve ton entreprise – A knight in defeat 78

L'autre d'antan, l'autrier passa – A knight's complaint 82

A une damme j'ay fait vue – The language of heraldry and a knight's identity 86

Donnés l'assault a la fortresse – The bawdy knight 93

Il est de bonne heure né – A knight in conversation 97

Chapter 5 : SINGING OF ARMS 101

Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doubt on doubter 101

Chapter 6 : THE MUSIC 132

À cheval, tout homme à cheval à cheval, tout homme à cheval 145

Il est de bonne heure né 150

Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter 154

Ma dame de nom / Sur la rive de la mer 158

Mercy, mon dueil je te supplie 162

Mon trestout et mon assotee / Il estoit ung bonhomme 166

Donnés l'assault a la fortresse 174

Chapter 7 : CONCLUSION 182

Appendix: INDEX OF SELECTED WORDS FROM EIGHT FRANCO-BURGUNDIAN CHANSONNIERS 186

Format and Contents 186

Key 187

Index A-F 196

Index G-L 239

Index M-R 249

Index S-Z 277

Manuscripts 291

Bibliography 293

Primary Sources, Editions, Reference Works, Translations 293

Secondary Sources 295

Websites 302

List of Tables

Table 1.1. Wedding tournaments in Flanders during the reign of Philip the Good 30

Table 1.2. Neo-Arthurian orders explored by Boulton 37

Table 2.1. Concordances of chansons in French in the eight selected Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers 55

Table 3.1. Index entries for the word *homme* 69

Table 3.2. Index Key correlating song number to common title and associated chansonniers 69

Table 3.3. Index entries for terms of military equipment 70

Table 3.4. Index entries for terms of heraldry 71

Table 3.5. Index entries for terms of military matters and combat 72

Table 3.6. Index Key of songs explored in Chapter 4 74

Table 5.1. *Pas d'armes* sponsored by Philip the Good 124

Table 6.1. Percentage of repeated notes and rank of repeated note usage in selected chansons voices 143

Table 6.2. Percentage of repeated notes and fourths and rank of repeated note and fourth usage in selected chanson voices 144

Table 6.3. Use of repeated notes and repeated notes and fourths in *Donnés l'assault a la fortresse* 174

Table 6.4. Rankings of repeated notes and repeated notes and fourths for songs in Chapters 4 and 5 179

List of Figures

Figure 1.1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, *Romance of Alexander*, fol. 100r..... 27

Figure 1.2. Map: Burgundian sphere of influence with locations of *pas d'armes*, 1428-1463..... 42

Figure 2.1. Map: duchies associated with the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers..... 58

Figure 4.1. *Emprise* in the Mellon Chansonnier, fol. 54v..... 77

Figure 4.2. *Tant mest adverse* in the Mellon Chansonnier, fol. 54v..... 78

Figure 4.3. Hacqueville arms..... 87

Figure 4.4. Segment of line 12 of *A une damme j'ai fait veu*..... 88

Figure 4.5. Blazon of the Duke of Burgundy after 1430..... 91

Figure 4.6. Blazon of Louis I, Duke of Anjou..... 91

Figure 4.7. Escu charged with eight horseshoes..... 92

Figure 5.1. Abbreviations for *par* and *pour*..... 111

Figure 5.2. Victor Gay's illustration of *haches à dague*, *Glossaire archeologique*, 2:2..... 113

Figure 5.3. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 114, *Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing*, fol. 23r..... 119

Figure 5.4. Left: German coronel lance tip in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Right: a stalk of celery..... 121

Figure 5.5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley. 264, fol. 121r (above) and fol. 139r (below)..... 122

Figure 5.6. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Hss. Cod.icon. 393 (2), *De arte athletica*, vol. 2, fols. 96v-97r..... 123

List of Musical Examples

Example 6.1. Bendinelli's *mota a cavallo alla francese* 140

Example 6.2. Mersenne's *À cheval* 141

Example 6.3. Repeated note *À cheval* pattern above, *À cheval tout homme à cheval*, mm. 1-3 middle, and mm. 18-20 below 146

Example 6.4. *Boute-Selle* and *À cheval* 147

Example 6.5. *À cheval tout homme à cheval*, mm. 9-11 above and mm. 15-16 below 147

Example 6.6. Score of *À cheval tout homme à cheval* 148

Example 6.7. *Il est de bonne heure né*, mm. 1-4 above and mm. 20-26 below 150

Example 6.8. Score of *Il est de bonne heure né* 151

Example 6.9. *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter,* mm. 5-9 154

Example 6.10. *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter*, mm. 3-4 left and m. 15 right 155

Example 6.11. Mersenne's *Boute-Selle* call 155

Example 6.12. Score of *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter* 156

Example 6.13. *Ma dame de nom / Sur la rive de la mer,* mm. 1-2 top, m. 4 middle, and mm. 8-9 bottom 160

Example 6.14. Score of *Ma dame de nom / Sur la rive de la mer* 161

Example 6.15. *Mercy, mon dueil je te supplie*, mm. 1-6 162

Example 6.16. *Mercy, mon dueil je te supplie,* mm. 19-22 162

Example 6.17. Score of *Mercy, mon dueil* 164

Example 6.18. *Mon trestout et mon assotee / Il estoit ung bonhomme*, mm. 26-29 166

Example 6.19. Score of *Mon trestout et mon assotee / Il est ung bonhome* 168

Example 6.20. *Donnés l'assault à la fortresse,* mm. 1-4 175

Example 6.21. *Donnés l'assault à la fortresse*, mm. 15-17 top and mm. 35-36 bottom 175

Example 6.22. Ending of Mersenne's *Le double caualquet* 175

Example 6.23. Score of *Donnés l'assault a la fortresse* 176

Notes on Terminology, Translations, Sigla, and Song Identifiers

Terminology

Some language of the fifteenth century has no modern counterpart. Here, I use the word "cry" in English not to mean "making tears" but instead to mean "proclaiming or advertising a tournament," in order to represent the Middle French word "cry" (noun); verb: "crier."

Transcriptions and Translations

My transcriptions of song texts from the Mellon Chansonnier, so indicated in my text, follow the spelling of that manuscript. Accents are not added to those texts but are provided for titles and phrases discussed in the context of modern scholarship, *L'homme armé* and *Donnés l'assault,* for example. The spellings of words in my Index are explained at length in Chapter 3. All translations of chanson texts are mine unless stated otherwise. For discussions of poetic form, see Howard Garey's "The Verse" in volume 2 of Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier* (Yale University Press, 1979), and Ryan O'Sullivan's dissertation, "The Leuven Chansonnier: Provenance, Transmission, and Authorships" (PhD diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2024). Analysis of poetic form is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Sigla

RISM sigla, given at https://rism.info/community/sigla.html, are used occasionally throughout this dissertation, as well as these main abbreviations in the text: Copenhagen Chansonnier (Cop), Cordiforme Chansonnier (Cord), Dijon Chansonnier (Dij), Laborde Chansonnier (Lab), Leuven Chansonnier (Leu), Mellon Chansonnier (Mel), Nivelle Chansonnier

(Niv), and Wolfenbüttel Chansonnier (Wolf). Full citations of these manuscripts precede the final Bibliography at the end of this dissertation.

Song Identifiers

David Fallows's song identifiers given in his *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Song 1415-1480* (Oxford University Press, 1999) are used as song titles in my Index, except where otherwise noted.

Abbreviations

For Bibliography cited in the Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (DMF 2023), http://www.atilf.fr/dmf, ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine, in this dissertation abbreviated as DMF.

Citations from DMF in the text of this dissertation give only the abbreviation (below to the left; full citation below to the right), the date of the original work (as to the left), and a page, line, or folio number (as given in DMF).

DMF Abbreviation	Bibliographic Reference
7FMR	Corpus de Textes de Français Médiéval et de la Renaissance http://stella.atilf.fr/gsouvay/7fmr/
Base des Partiels	http://atilf.atilf.fr/partiels.htm
BUEIL, I, 1461-1466	Jean de Bueil. *Le Jouvencel,* vol. 1*,* ed. Léon Lecestre. Renouard, 1887.
BUEIL, II, 1461-1466	Jean de Bueil. *Le Jouvencel*, vol. 2, ed. Léon Lecestre, 1-261. Renouard, 1889.
C.N.N., c.1456-1467	Anonymous. *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, ed. Franklin P. Sweetser. Droz, 1966.
CHART., D. Rev., a.142	Alain Chartier. "Le Debat de Reveille Matin*,"* in *The Poetical Works*, ed. J. C. Laidlaw. Cambridge University Press, 1974.
CHASTELL., Chron. IV, D., c.1461-1472	Georges Chastellain. *Chronique: Les Fragments du livre IV,* ed. Jean-Claude Declos. Droz*,* 1991.
CHR. PIZ., M.F., III, 1400-1403	Christine de Pizan. *Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune*, vol. 3, ed. Suzanne Solente. A. et J. Picard, 1964.

COLART MANS., Dial. créat. R., 1482	Colart Mansion, *Le Dialogue des creatures*, ed. Pierre Ruelle. Palais des Académies, 1985.
Faits Lalaing K., c.1470	Georges Chastellain, "Le Livre des faits du bon chevalier messire Jacques de Lalaing," in *Oeuvres*, vol. 8, ed. M. le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove. Heussner, 1866.
FROISS., Chron. D., c.1400	Jean Froissart. *Chroniques: début du premier livre*, ed. G. T. Diller. Droz, 1972.
LA MARCHE, Tournoi Gand P., p.1470	Olivier de la Marche. "Traicté d'un tourney tenu à Gand par Claude de Vauldray, seigneur de l'Aigle, l'an 1469 (vieux style)," in *Traités du duel judiciaire. Relations de pas d'armes et tournois par Olivier de La Marche, Jean de Villiers, seigneur de l'Isle-Adam, Hardouin de la Jaille, Antoine de la Sale*, etc., ed. Bernard Prost. L. Willem, 1872.
LA SALE, J.S., 1456	Antoine de La Sale. *Jehan de Saintré,* ed. Jean Misrahi and Charles A. Knudson. Droz, 1965.
MACH., P. Alex., p.1369	Guillaume de Machaut. *Prise d'Alexandrie ou Chronique du roi Pierre Ier de Lusignan*, ed. M. L. de Mas Latrie. Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1877.
MOLINET, Chron. D.J., t.2, 1474-1506	Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, vol. 2, ed. Jean Alexandre C. Buchon. Verdière, 1928.
MOLINET, Faictz Dictz D., 1467-1506	Jean Molinet. *Les Faictz et dictz*, ed. Noël Dupire. Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1937.
MONSTRELET, Chron. D-A, t. 1	Enguerrand de Monstrelet. *La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet en deux livres avec pièces justificatives : 1400-1444, Livre premier*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq. Renouard, 1857.
Myst. siège Orléans H., c.1480-1500, 160	Vicki Lou Hamblin. "The Fifteenth-Century French "Mistere du siege d'Orleans": An Annotated Edition." PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1984.
Percef. I, R., c.1450 [c.1340]	Anonymous, *Perceforest,* vol. 1, ed. Gilles Roussineau. Droz, 2007.
Percef. IV, R., c.1450 [c.1340]	Anonymous, *Perceforest,* vol. 4, ed. Gilles Roussineau. Droz, 1987.

WAUQUELIN, Belle Hélène Const. C., c.1448-1452,	Jean Wauquelin. *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, ed. Marie-Claude de Crécy. Droz, 2002.

Other Abbreviations

BRASS	Anonymous. *Le Pas du Perron fée tenu à Bruges en 1463 par le chevalier Philippe de Lalaing*, ed. Félix Brassart. L. Crépin, 1874.
CHAST3	Georges Chastellain. *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 3, ed. M. le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove. F. Heussner, 1864.
CHAST8	Georges Chastellain. *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 8, ed. M. le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove. F. Heussner, 1866.
ESCOU	Mathieu d'Escouchy. *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, ed. Gaston du Fresne de Beaucourt. Mme Veuve Jules Renouard, 1863.
FABRI	Pierre Fabri. *Le grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique de Pierre Fabri*, vol. 2. Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by A. Héron.A. Lestringant, 1890.
JARD	Anonymous, *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique. Reproduction en facsimile*. Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1910.
LAMAR	Olivier de la Marche. *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, maître d'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, vol. 2, ed. Henri Beaune and Jules d'Arbaumont. Librairie Renouard, 1884.
MONST	Enguerrand de Monstrelet. *La chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet, en deux livres, avec pièces justificatives 1400–1444*, vol. 6, ed. Louis Douët-d'Arcq. Renouard, 1857.

INTRODUCTION

Arma virumque canō.[2]

This dissertation is an outgrowth of my investigation of the chanson *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter*. This texted chanson appears, unattributed and scored for three voices, in the Mellon Chansonnier, a song book originating in Naples in the early 1470s and believed to have been prepared in honor of the marriage of Princess Beatrice of Aragon to Matthias Corvinus of Hungary.[3] A four-voice version of the song, with incipits only, appears in the Casanatense Chansonnier with an ascription to "Borton."[4] It was commonly accepted that "Borton" was a mis-writing of the name "Morton," presumably Robert Morton who was a composer employed in the ducal chapel from 1457 until 1476, and that the ascription on the four-voice version also applied to the three-voice version of the chanson.[5] In 2022, I made the case that Morton was not the composer of the three-voice version, and that "Borton" may have been a mis-hearing and mis-transcription of "Breton."[6]

The song tells of a combat between Symon le Breton and the Turk. Symon was a Burgundian chaplain from 1431 to 1464, who wrote two other surviving chansons, and who was a close friend and contemporary of Du Fay.[7] While Symon's tenure at the chapel overlapped

[2]Virgil, *Aeneid* 1, line 1: "I sing of arms and the man."
[3] Mellon Chansonnier, US-NHub, MS 91, fols. 44v-45r. On this chansonnier and song, see further on and Chapters 2 and 6.
[4] Casanatense Chansonnier, I-Rc, MS 2856, fols. 156v–157r. See Chapter 2.
[5] David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 187.
[6] Debra Nakos, "The Chanson Il sera pour vous / L'homme armé: Another Look at Attribution and Context," *Revue belge de musicologie* 76 (2022): 68-70.
[7] Symon le Breton is credited with composing *Nul ne s'i frocte a ma maistresse,* which appears in the Copenhagen Chansonnier, DK-Kk, MS Thott 291, 8°, fols. 36v-37r, the Dijon Chansonnier, F-Dm MS 517, fols. 138v–139r, and in I-PEc, MS 431 (G 20), fols. 68v–69r, ascribed to Magister Symon, and *Vie sach oit bider dach* in I-Fn, MS Magl. XIX.176, fols. 30v-31r, ascribed to Simonet.

with Morton's, 1457-1476, Morton was younger and less senior than Symon, and there has been a nagging question as to whether he would have written such a tongue-in-cheek song about one of his senior colleagues.[8] The style of writing, further, places the composition of the song earlier than Morton's time, with its embellished fauxbourdon more common in the early or middle fifteenth century.[9]

This double-texted chanson sets *Il sera pour vous conbatu* in the upper voice against *l'homme armé,* a song that Barbara Haggh-Huglo has argued was composed for and first performed at the feast of 9 February 1454, where Philip the Good (duke from 1419-1467) was crowned with a *chapelet*, a garland of flowers, indicating that he would host the Feast of the Pheasant, 17 February 1454.[10] The mid-fifteenth century date of 1454 is, as noted above, reasonable for the composition of *Il sera pour vous conbatu*. If, as I argue here, this chanson was written in conjunction with events associated with the Feast of the Pheasant in February 1454, it would have been created before Robert Morton's arrival at the court.

Il sera pour vous conbatu has been mentioned in several studies because of its setting of *l'homme armé,* a tune used in more than 40 masses, most of them composed in the later fifteenth- and early sixteenth-centuries. Further, Alejandro Planchart referred to the chanson as "most likely the first polyphonic work based on the [*l'homme armé*] tune."[11] Despite scholarly attention, the meaning of the song has presented a puzzle to musicologists for several years. The

[8] Planchart, "The Origins and Early History," reviews the various proposals for authorship and then makes the case that Du Fay, a close friend of Symon le Breton, was the composer.
[9] Nakos, "The Chanson," 67.
[10] Barbara Haggh-Huglo, "Arming the Duke of Burgundy: L'homme armé Revealed," *Revue belge de musicologie* 76 (2022): 39-44.
[11] Planchart, "The Origins and Early History," 314.

first stanza, especially, has been troublesome. The French in the Mellon Chansonnier and Howard Garey's English translation of it reads:[12]

Il sera pour vous conbatu	He will be fought for you,
Le doubte Turcq, Maistre Symon	The dreaded Turk, Master Symon
Certainement ce sera mon	-There's no doubt about it-
Et de crocq de ache abatu.	And struck down with an axe-spur (or stalk of wild celery).

This stanza offers two issues of contention concerning the interpretation of the text, and here I propose solutions to both, which render the text cohesive and comprehensible. The first issue is the meaning of the term *crocq de ache.* As Garey's translation illustrates, he left open whether the song referred to *ache* (celery) or *hache* (axe). David Fallows accepted the translation as axe-spur.[13] Planchart suggested, given the familiar tone exhibited in the text, that the song was jokingly teasing Symon that he would be going to battle armed only with what would be the head of a celery stalk.[14] In Chapter 1, I provide an introduction to fifteenth-century arms and tournaments and then argue that *crocq de ache* is an idiom for the coronel-tipped tournament lance, an interpretation that makes perfect sense in the context of the song.

The second issue with the first stanza is that the entire song tells of Symon in battle with and defeating the Turk, yet the first line speaks of the Turk being fought for (*pour)* Symon, rather than by Symon. The preposition *pour* has multiple definitions, both in middle and in modern French. Planchart suggested that the word *pour,* using the definition of "for" as an introduction of an object of an action, was a misreading of an abbreviation of the word *par,* meaning "by," resulting in an interpretation indicating that someone else will be fighting the

[12] Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*, Vol. 2: *Commentary* (Yale University Press, 1979), 332. Hereafter, MCC.
[13] David Fallows, *Secular Polyphony, 1380-1480* (Stainer and Bell, 2014), 282.
[14] Planchart, "The Origins and Early History," 324.

Turk on Symon's behalf.[15] In Chapter 5, I demonstrate that the meaning of the word *pour* to apply in this case, is "because of," not "on behalf of." I contend that the first stanza -- with the poetic license removed -- boils down to this: "Because of you, Master Symon, the Turk will, most certainly, be beaten." This interpretation aligns with the focus of the rest of the song, which celebrates Symon's eventual victory over the Turk.

Because an understanding of arms was required to decipher these lyrics, I wondered if, perhaps, more songs from the period were conveying something more profound to a court audience of the fifteenth century than previous scholarship has suggested. Therefore, I explored the general history of the tournament and arms, as well as the role that chivalric orders and values played at the Burgundian court. It was immediately clear to me that knighthood and chivalry held places of prominence at the court of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and in Burgundian society. We see evidence of this in historical records of Philip the Good's armed engagements, chronicles of multiple tournaments in Burgundian regions, Duke Philip's establishment of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and in Philip's call to crusade in 1454. This led me to explore whether such prominence was reflected in the texts and their musical settings in the Burgundian chansons in the Mellon Chansonnier. To situate those songs in the context of similar song books, I also examined the songs from eight Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. This re-evaluation of the language of Franco-Burgundian chansons, particularly those in the Mellon Chansonnier, through the lens of fifteenth-century arms and chivalry, revealed that many of the song texts do, indeed, reflect facets of a fifteenth-century knight's life.[16] Further, my dissertation takes a new direction by investigating the possible association of

[15] Planchart, "The Origins and Early History," 315.
[16] It should be noted that color iiif images of the chansonnier are available online through the Yale University Beinecke Library website (https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2008083). Further online information about

the music of chansons to military sounds, which, in the case of knights in battle, would be associated with the cavalry, particularly the trumpet.

In short, the language and music of the Burgundian chansons discussed here, taken together with the importance of arms and chivalric ideals, provides a more realistic and vivid interpretation of the song repertory in the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. It is impossible to put oneself fully in the shoes of fifteenth-century Burgundians, but this dissertation provides previously ignored background information to assist a modern reader or listener in gaining a better understanding of the meanings of the songs. As will be shown in Chapter 4, songs calling for death or mercy, or in the case of *Paracheve ton entreprise*,[17] death in defeat, for example, do not merely employ simple, oft-repeated phrases, but convey a serious and existential meaning to an audience well aware of what a fight-to-the-death meant. This dissertation should encourage us to give more attention to the armed men of the society of this time and to the songs that reflected their deeds, as well as to the composition of music of similar intent at other courts and in later decades.

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The Mellon Chansonnier, which is central in this dissertation, came to public attention in 1939 when it was offered for sale in London, purchased by Paul Mellon (BA, Yale 1929), and donated to the Yale library. The primary works exploring this song book were written first by Manfred F. Bukofzer (1910-1955)[18] and then by Perkins[19] (1932-2022) and Garey[20] (1917-2014). Bukofzer's first article on the subject appeared in *The Yale University Library Gazette* in

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the chansonnier can be found at the DIAMM (Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music) website (https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/1085/#/).

[17] Mellon Chansonnier, fols. 54v-55r.

[18] Manfred Bukofzer, musicologist, was born in Oldenburg, Germany, immigrated to the United States in 1939, became a US citizen, and taught at the University of California, Berkeley from 1941 until his death.

[19] Leeman Perkins received his PhD from Yale in 1965 and taught at Yale until 1971.

[20] Howard Garey was Professor of French and Romance Linguistics at Yale from 1947-1987.

October 1940. In this article, Bukofzer introduced the reader to the then-recently acquired chansonnier, noting its "almost perfect preservation," and identifying it as originating from "one of the Franco-Flemish centers about 1470 or 1480." [21] Of particular interest to me was Bukofzer's assessment that the musical notation is very accurate and the texts are relatively complete. Also pertinent, he highlighted the theretofore unknown chanson based on the *l'homme armé* tune,[22] which he described as "the earliest known setting of this melody."[23] In Bukofzer's 1942 article, "An Unknown Chansonnier of the 15th Century (The Mellon Chansonnier)," he noted a strong Burgundian connection: "… the majority of composers were actually connected in one way or another with the court of Burgundy."[24]

Perkins presented evidence that, while the manuscript was prepared in Naples, "the repertory of the chansonnier emerges as Burgundian in the sense that it represents primarily the work of musicians attached to the ducal court or of others who lived or worked at some time within the territories of the dukedom."[25] Until 2017, when John Milsom took a fresh look at the musical paleography, it was accepted that the Mellon Chansonnier was copied in Naples. Milsom conducted a survey of manuscripts from *ca.* 1460 – *ca.* 1590 which showed that the placement of dots in Mellon, that is, below the line of the note being dotted, matched the customary practice of British music copyists, not continental, with the exception of dotting practices found in two layers of Brussels 5557 (B-Br MS 5557) and the Naples *L'homme armé* Masses (I-Nn VI E 40). Milsom offers the possibility that the words and the music of the Mellon

[21] Manfred Bukofzer, "The Mellon Chansonnier," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 15, no. 2 (1940): 25.
[22] *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter.*
[23] Bukofzer, "The Mellon Chansonnier," 27.
[24] Manfred Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier of the 15th Century (The 'Mellon Chansonnier')," *The Musical Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1942): 17.
[25] Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*, Vol. 1: *The Edition* (Yale University Press, 1979), 9. Hereafter, MCE.

Chansonnier were "copied at the Burgundian court by local scribes, including perhaps a British-born musician, and the book was then finished by an Italian (or Italian-trained) illuminator."[26]

For 37 years, Bukofzer's articles stood as the definitive exploration of the Mellon Chansonnier. However, shortly after Yale's acquisition of the manuscript, Leo Schrade (1903-1964) began production of a facsimile and transcription of the manuscript into modern notation. After his transfer from Yale to the University of Basel in 1958 and his death in 1964, the work was taken up by Sylvia Kenney (1923-1968), who recruited Garey to edit the poetic texts. Upon Kenney's passing, the work passed to Perkins, who, along with Garey, published the two-volume *The Mellon Chansonnier* in 1979 with a combined page count of well over 600 pages. Volume 2, *Commentary,* includes a chapter on the texts with both the French text and an English translation for each song. Also included is a catalogue of concordant sources, which I used to identify other Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers.[27]

Fallows notes that Perkins makes a convincing case for a Neapolitan origin of the manuscript, however, he points to a contradiction that speaks against the chansonnier's preparation by Johannes Tinctoris: "if Tinctoris was fluent enough in Italian to make an apparently official translation into Italian of the articles of the Order of the Golden Fleece *ca.* 1475, how can the Italian poetic texts of the chansonnier supposedly compiled under his

[26] John Milsom, "Dots before the Eyes: Regional Preferences for the Placement of the Dots of Addition," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 67, no. 1/2 [A Festschrift for Jaap van Benthem on his 80th Birthday] (2017), 206.

[27] Note that neither Garey and Perkins's *The Mellon Chansonnier*'s concordant sources nor Fallows's *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* include information from the Leuven Chansonnier, B-AF MS 1, which only surfaced at auction in 2014 and was purchased in Belgium in 2016 and loaned to the Alamire Foundation. It published the first facsimile with commentary in 2017: David Burn and Bart Demuyt, eds., *Leuven Chansonnier: Facsimile and Study* (Davidsfonds, 2017). For the most recent assessment of this manuscript, its origin, and its content, see Ryan O'Sullivan, "The Leuven Chansonnier: Provenance, Transmission, and Authorships" (PhD diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2024).

direction contain so many linguistic corruptions?"[28] Given the Italian textual errors, Fallows offers the opinion that the copyist was French but not from Burgundian areas, that he copied the music from materials brought to Naples, and that he included the two works by Tinctoris because of Tinctoris's prominent position in the Neapolitan court. Fallows took the position that Tinctoris was unlikely to have had anything to do with the compilation of the manuscript.[29]

The debate concerning the extent of Tinctoris's involvement in the preparation of the Mellon Chansonnier produced scholarship of particular interest to this study. In 1981, Ronald Woodley undertook a review of the documentary evidence associated with the biography of Tinctoris. In this article he takes the position "that Tinctoris was in fact the musical scribe of the manuscript [the Mellon Chansonnier] (though not of the literary text), but that his function as, in some sense, 'compiler' of the collection is more obscure." [30] Then, in 1982, Jaap van Benthem weighed in on the question, discovering possible structural and numerical clues that would point to Tinctoris's involvement. Part of his argument involves the phrase *Bel Acueil* found within the text of *Enfermé suis [je] en la tour,* highlighting the importance of assessing the entire text of a chanson.

An understanding of medieval chivalry and arms is key to my argument that the songs of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers spoke of and reflected the lives of knights. The history of arms and tournaments is well-documented. Richard Barber and Juliet Barker explain the evolution of tournaments from the eleventh-century *mêlée,* conducted across miles of terrain, to the small-scale joust of the late fourteenth-century, a shift from martial exercises to

[28] David Fallows, "Neapolitan Repertories 1460-90: Three Recent Editions," *Early Music* 8, no. 4 (1980): 498-499, referring to Perkins, MCE, 21.
[29] Fallows, "Neapolitan Repertories," 498-499.
[30] Ronald Woodley, "Iohannes Tinctoris: A Review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34, no. 2 (1981): 232, note 35.

entertainment.[31] Stephen Hardy, in his 1974 article "The Medieval Tournament: A Functional Sport of the Upper Class," discusses how tournaments gradually became an entertainment for the élite rather than military training for knights in general.[32] Will McLean, in his article "Outrance and Plaisance," sheds light on another aspect of armed contests important to the textual analysis in this dissertation. McLean describes two distinct categories of non-war combat in practice by the fifteenth century with the introduction of the terms *à outrance* and *à plaisance*. *À outrance* meant a fight to the end, that is, until death or capture. A 'gage of battle' was fought *à outrance* or until a judge halted the combat. The gage, or gauge, was a glove or hood thrown down in challenge and picked up in acceptance of that challenge. Most tournaments and jousts were fought *à plaisance* instead, that is, until a specific event occurred, such as a certain number of blows having been struck or a combatant having fallen from his horse.[33] Understanding the implications of fighting *à outrance* gives deeper meaning to songs pleading for death or mercy.

A recent publication, Rosalind Brown-Grant's and Mario Damen's exploration of *pas d'armes,* explores several of these events in depth.[34] The subject of *pas d'armes* is also explored by Sébastien Nadot. His 2012 publication describes the range of jousts held throughout Spain, France, and regions associated with Burgundy, noting the sounds and audience associated with the events, as well as their theatrical aspects.[35] One compelling source aiding in the understanding of the formalities associated with tournaments is a treatise by René, Duke of

[31] Richard W. Barber and Juliet R. V. Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989).
[32] Stephen H. Hardy, "The Medieval Tournament: A Functional Sport of the Upper Class," *Journal of Sport History* 1, no. 2 (1974): 91–105.
[33] Will McLean, "Outrance and Plaisance," in *Journal of Medieval Military History*, ed. Clifford J. Rogers and Kelly DeVries (Boydell & Brewer, 2010).
[34] Rosalind Brown-Grant and Mario Damen, *Pas d'armes and Late Medieval Chivalry: A Casebook* (Liverpool University Press, 2025).
[35] Sébastien Nadot, *Le spectacle des joutes: Sport et courtoisie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012).

Anjou, his *Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tourney*, which survives in the illuminated manuscript that he owned, Paris, F-Pnm, MS Fr. 2695. There, he provides detailed instructions on the proper way to run a tournament.[36]

Knowledge of jousting equipment is key to interpreting *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on douter.* As jousting became an activity distinct from combat, specialized equipment evolved. Explanations of the arms involved in jousts may be found within *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle,* in chapters by Ralph Moffat and by Marina Viallon.[37] Finally, significant factors in the lives of fifteenth-century Burgundian knights were chivalric values and knightly orders, especially the Order of the Golden Fleece. D'Arcy Boulton explores the establishment of several neo-Arthurian orders and their influence on events, especially on how warfare was conducted.[38] One battle where chivalric sensibilities had a devastating impact was the defeat at Nicopolis. We find survivors of the battle at Nicopolis named in the first group of knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece. In 1999, Kelly DeVries offered insights into the ramifications of the defeat of Western forces at Nicopolis in 1396, noting that it was the "last unified engagement of western European troops … against the Turks for more than 140 years."[39]

My concentration on military and chivalric language allows an exploration of male-voiced songs in relation to various facets of a knight's life. Where known, the composers of the

[36] René, Duke of Anjou and Count of Provence from 1434-1480, 2nd cousin of Philip the Good and a captive at his court in 1431-1432, King of Naples (1435-1442 when he was deposed by Alfonso V of Aragon), and known in France as Good King René. A transcription of his treatise may be found in René d'Anjou, "Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tourney," in *Oeuvres choisies du Roi René*, vol. I, ed. M. Hawke (Librairie d'Edme Picard, 1849).
[37] See Ralph Moffat, "'Alle myn harneys for the justes': Documents as a Source for Medieval Jousting Armour," in *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tourneys, Jousts and Pas d'armes, 1100-1600*, ed. Alan V. Murray and Karen Watts (Boydell Press, 2020) and Marina Viallon, "The Tournament Saddle," in *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tourneys, Jousts and Pas d'armes, 1100-1600*, ed. Alan V. Murray and Karen Watts (Boydell Press, 2023).
[38] D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Boydell Press, 1987).
[39] Kelly DeVries, "The Lack of a Western European Military Response to the Ottoman Invasions of Eastern Europe from Nicopolis (1396) to Mohacs (1526)," *The Journal of Military History* 63, no. 3 (1999): 544.

chansons are associated with various courts throughout Europe, and, as such, would be familiar with the customs of the nobility and the social hierarchy. The choice and intended purpose of individual songs included in the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers is beyond the scope of this work, as is the performance or reception of the songs. While my dissertation brings together several disciplines, including scholarship on arms and armaments, tournaments and *pas d'armes,* Burgundian society, and neo-Arthurian chivalric orders, the central object of my research is the language of fifteenth-century Franco-Burgundian polyphonic chansons in selected chansonniers.

Although a large body of research has been and continues to be conducted on the fifteenth-century chanson, very few investigations include a thorough exploration of the chanson texts. The most comprehensive source of information about these chansons is Fallows's *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Song 1415-1480*. Published in 1999, it is a monumental work, which includes the songs' musical and poetic forms, composers, concordant sources, and text origins. The songs are identified by the first lines of their text, but any reference to the Leuven Chansonnier, brought to public attention in 2014, is necessarily absent.[40] Ryan O'Sullivan, in his dissertation of 2024, discussed and provided transcriptions of the texts and music of the songs in the Leuven chansonnier, but his main interest was their transmission.[41]

While song texts for this dissertation were formulated in conjunction with print or digital images of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers, the critical editions and PhD dissertations were invaluable sources. These are:

[40] David Fallows's book, *Art Songs of the Burgundian Era, 1415-1480* (Oxford University Press, 2026), provides additions to his *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Song 1415-1480* in the Appendix, 717-780.
[41] See O'Sullivan, "The Leuven Chansonnier."

- For the Copenhagen Chansonnier, Knud Jeppesen and Viggo Brøndal's *The Copenhagen Chansonnier; the Thott 2918 Manuscript in the Royal Library of Copenhagen*.[42]
- For the Cordiforme Chansonnier, Edward Kottick's dissertation, "The Music of the Chansonnier Cordiforme: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2973."[43]
- For the Dijon Chansonnier, Charles Edward Barret's dissertation, "A Critical Edition of the Dijon Chansonnier: Dijon, Bibliothèque de La Ville, Ms. 512 (Ancien 295)."[44]
- For the Laborde Chansonnier, Clemens Goldberg's *Das Chansonnier Laborde: Studien zur Intertextualität einer Liederhandschrift des 15*.[45]
- For the Leuven Chansonnier, David Burn's and Bart Demuyt's *Leuven Chansonnier. Facsimile and Study/Studie*.[46] Also, Ryan O'Sullivan's "The Leuven Chansonnier: Provenance, Transmission, and Authorships."[47]
- For the Mellon Chansonnier, Leeman Perkins's and Howard Garey's *The Mellon Chansonnier*.[48]
- For the Nivelle Chansonnier, Paula Higgins's *Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée: (Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Rés. Vmc. ms. 57, ca. 1460)*.[49]

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[42] Knud Jeppesen and Viggo Brøndal, *The Copenhagen Chansonnier; the Thott 2918 Manuscript in the Royal Library of Copenhagen* (Broude Brothers, 1965).
[43] Edward L. Kottick, "The Music of the Chansonnier Cordiforme: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2973" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1986).
[44] Charles Edward Barret, "A Critical Edition of the Dijon Chansonnier: Dijon, Bibliothèque de La Ville, Ms. 512 (Ancien 295)" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1981).
[45] Clemens Goldberg, *Das Chansonnier Laborde: Studien zur Intertextualität einer Liederhandschrift des 15* (Lang, 1999).
[46] David J. Burn and Bart Demuyt, *Leuven Chansonnier. Facsimile + Study/Studie* (Davidsfonds, 2017).
[47] Ryan O'Sullivan, "The Leuven Chansonnier: Provenance, Transmission, and Authorships" (PhD diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2024).
[48] Leeman L. Perkins and Howard B. Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier* (Yale University Press, 1979).
[49] Paula Marie Higgins and *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, *Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée: (Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Rés. Vmc. ms. 57, ca. 1460)* (Minkoff, 1984).

- And for the Wolfenbüttel Chansonnier, Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff's *Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Codex Guelf. 287 Extrav*.[50]

While there has been no study of the texts of fifteenth-century chansons as a group associated with chivalric values, certain categories of songs have enjoyed some academic interest, notably combinative chansons in Maria Rika Maniates's 1970 article on "Combinative Chansons in the Dijon Chansonnier," and the Jacqueline d'Hacqueville chansons by Busnoys identified by Paula Higgins in her 1991 article, "Parisian Nobles, a Scottish Princess, and the Woman's Voice in Late Medieval Song."[51] Research continues on the use of the *l'homme armé* tune in the second half of the fifteenth century, often with mention of the chanson *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter*, because of the presence of the tune in some 40 Renaissance masses and in other compositions of the early modern and modern periods.

The few mentions of military allusions in songs have concerned particular songs and not a group of songs as a whole. For example, Clemens Goldberg speaks of Ockeghem's *L'aultre d'antan l'autrier passa* in his 1993 article, "Text and Music as 'Spiel,'" when he states that the text expresses "the love a man for his adored mistress and the presentation of this love in a series of events described in metaphors of war and the battlefield."[52] The most notable article to apply specific aspects of armed contests to a chanson's meaning occurs in Claudine Lemaire's and Robert Wangermée's 2002 article that explores the possibility that *le Turcq* of the chanson *Il*

[50] Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff, *Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Codex Guelf. 287 Extrav* (Schott, 1988).
[51] See Maria Rika Maniates, "Combinative Chansons in the Dijon Chansonnier," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23, no. 2 (1970): 228–281, and Paula Higgins, "Parisian Nobles, a Scottish Princess, and the Woman's Voice in Late Medieval Song," *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 145–200.
[52] Clemens Goldberg, "Text and Music as 'Spiel' – Humour in Ockeghem's Chanson 'L'aultre d'antan,'" *International Journal of Musicology* 2 (1993): 66.

sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter is a quintain mannequin.[53] Of particular note for this project, Perkins found in the Mellon Chansonnier the "earliest indication in the fifteenth-century secular music of an awareness of the possibilities for textual illustration and expression by musical means that were so extensively exploited in the course of the following century" in reference to military imagery, found in *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubte* and *Donnés l'assault a la fortresse*, "where fanfare figures evoking the trumpet calls that sent fifteenth-century soldiers into battle are unmistakable."[54] In 2025, Pedro Memelsdorff analyzes the text of *Par malle bouche la cruelle,* Leuven Chansonnier fols. 50v-51r, and concludes that the subject, the *puicelle de France,* is Joan of Arc. While the text does not contain military references, Memelsdorff's analysis provides an example of why the texts of the chansons should be considered as they related to real life of the time rather than as idealized love songs.[55]

I was particularly inspired by Honey Meconi's definition of a chansonnier in her 2009 chapter "A Cultural Theory of the Chansonnier:"

> a chansonnier is a collection that transmits both the text and the music of French secular compositions. … Yet, though limited, this definition arguably represents the chansonnier in its purest form, if we accept the premise that a "true" chanson unites text and music, and that one is incomplete without the other.[56]

Since there is no single modern publication that provides the entire texts of all of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers, as a foundation for my investigation and an aid to assist future researchers, I developed a database of the words used in their French texts. That database

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[53] Claudine Lemaire and Robert Wangermée, "Le rondeau Il sera par vous combattu / L'homme armé, poème de l'équivoque?" *Revue belge de musicologie* 56 (2002): 145–58, 151.
[54] Perkins, MCC*,* 61.
[55] Pedro Memelsdorff, "Je Vous Celle: Joan of Arc's Senhal in the Leuven Chansonnier?," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 17, no. 1 (March 2025): 11–15. One of the definitions in DMF of *pucelle* is *pour designer Jeanne d'Arc* (http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/pucelle).
[56] Honey Meconi, "A Cultural Theory of the Chansonnier," in *Uno Gentile et Subtile Ingenio*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Mary Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Brepols, 2009), 649.

allowed me to perform word searches and find other songs with military associations. Once such songs were identified, varieties of songs related to knights' lives emerged.

Unlike trouvère songs, which are discussed in terms of genres such *pastourelle, chanson de toile, chanson de mal mariée,* or *jeux-partis,* fifteenth-century French chansons are usually categorized by their literary forms rather than the subject of their texts.[57] The topic of many of the songs is love, and Garey, in his critical edition of the Mellon Chansonnier, described various aspects of courtly love presented by the chansons – such as vows of servitude or unrequited loved.[58] My investigation revealed, however, that many of the male-voiced songs reflect aspects of a knight's life. In Chapter 4, I explore songs that give voice to a knight in defeat, a knight's complaint, a knight's identity through heraldry, and a bawdy knight. I also discuss the anonymous song, *Il est de bonne heure né,* which represents a conversation between a knight and his lover. Finally, I analyze the texts of the chanson *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter,* which describes armed action, and discuss evidence that situates its singing at the Feast of the Pheasant.

In Chapter 6, I consider songs that convey armed engagement in their music and explore the history of the *trompette de guerre* and trumpet calls. The major point of debate concerning fifteenth-century trumpets involves the question of the existence of the slide trumpet. Adam Gilbert summarizes this debate, which has been the subject of several articles since Curt Sach's 1950 article, "Chromatic Trumpets in the Renaissance."[59] Although there is no known example of a slide trumpet, Gilbert supports the position that the instrument did, indeed, exist. For

[57] The structure of the texts follows the *formes fixes*: *ballade, bergerette* (modified *virelai*), and *rondeau.*
[58] Garey, MCC, 74-79.
[59] See Adam Gilbert, "The Shawm and the Alta Ensemble during the 'Slide Trumpet Years'" (Forschungsportal Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, 2021) and Curt Sachs, "Chromatic Trumpets in the Renaissance," *The Musical Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1950): 62–66.

evidence of military calls in music, I looked to literature concerning the *trompette de guerre*, rather than the slide trumpet. One of the earliest sources of military trumpet calls is the early seventeenth-century Italian *Tutta l'arte della trombetta 1614* by Cesare Bendinelli.[60] The first known documentation of French calls may be found in Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle*.[61] I used Mersenne's calls to discern general characteristics of war trumpet calls. I then produced a set of criteria with which to interrogate the music of the chansons to locate passages that overtly allude to sounds from the battlefield.

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This dissertation consists of seven chapters and an appendix. Chapter 1, "La Chevalerie," provides the background necessary to understand the words of the songs in the context of a knight's life. It explores medieval tournaments and feats of arms in which knights regularly participated that are demonstrated to be key to understanding the chanson texts. The history of these events in late-medieval Europe and in Burgundy, in particular, is summarized. Included is pertinent history of European neo-Arthurian chivalry and chivalric orders, notably the Order of the Golden Fleece, as well as the role the chivalric ideals played in the conducting of tournaments and the consequences of application of those ideals in wartime battles. Chivalric ideals feature strongly in these songs, with virtues such as honor and loyalty emphasized often. These topics provide essential background information called upon in the discussion of the texts in Chapters 4 and 5 and music in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2, "The Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers," begins with a discussion of the physical characteristics of the Mellon Chansonnier and the composers and regions represented by the included chansons. Sources with concordances to its songs are explored to identify other

[60] Cesare Bendinelli, *Tutta l'arte della trombetta 1614* (Editions Bim, 2009).
[61] Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle: The Books on Instruments*, ed. Roger E. Chapman (M. Nijhoff, 1957).

chansonniers that are here classified as Franco-Burgundian. These include, along with the Mellon Chansonnier, the six "Loire Valley Chansonniers" and the Cordiforme Chansonnier (F-Pnm, MS Rothschild 2973).[62] Here it is demonstrated that these chansonniers originated in areas of strong Burgundian influence, either through Philip the Good's territorial acquisitions, marriages and family, or his knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, many of whom were noblemen who prized books. The texts of selected songs from these chansonniers are analyzed in Chapters 4 and 5, and these Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers supply the words for the Index.

Chapter 3, "The Index," describes the Index of selected words from the eight Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers that appears in the Appendix. This index was created in conjunction with my exploration of the chanson texts for military references. It is provided mainly as a tool for future research designed to facilitate the location of songs that use particular words and may share topics. Here I explain my methodology used to create the index. With more than 4700 unique words among the chansons, I chose to exclude some of the most frequently occurring words and closed classes of words (prepositions, conjunctions, articles, pronouns), because they would be of little use in identifying select groups of songs. I end the chapter by introducing some military words found in songs that I identified using the index and explore in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4, "The Words," provides case studies of songs from the Mellon Chansonnier that employ the language of arms or chivalry, with supporting examples from other Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. Representative songs were chosen that illustrate facets of knights' lives. These include *Paracheve ton entreprise,* illustrating a knight in defeat, *L'autre d'antan,*

[62] Burn, "Introduction," in *Leuven Chansonnier Study,* 10, note 2, identifies four core Loire Valley, or "central," chansonniers: Copenhagen (DK-Kk MS Thott 291[8]), Dijon (F-Dm MS 517), Laborde (US-Wc M2.1.L25 Case), and Wolfenbüttel (D-W Cod. Guelf. 287 Extrav.), and places the Leuven Chansonnier (B-AF MS 1) in that group. He notes that the Nivelle Chansonnier (F-Pn Rés. Vmc ms. 57) is usually included in this group although "it does not share the scribal concordance that links the others."

l'autrier passa, a knight's complaint, *À une damme j'ay fait vue,* demonstrating the role of heraldry in a knight's identity, and *Donnés l'assault,* a representation of a bawdy knight. *Il est de bonne heure né* is explored as a knight's conversation. I provide new translations for the texts of *Paracheve ton entreprise*, *Je serviray selon qu'on me payera* from the Laborde Chansonnier, *Escu dennuy seme de plours* from the Leuven Chansonnier, and *Il est de bonne heure né* from the Dijon Chansonnier.

Chapter 5, "Singing of Arms," focuses on the chanson *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter*, which narrates armed action. While the *L'homme armé* song has been the subject of much study, its military terms are here re-examined. My discussion of *Il sera pour vous conbatu*, a text that describes an armed contest between Symon le Breton and the Turk, provides my solution to two long-standing musicological questions concerning the meaning of the phrase *crocq de ache* and the use of the word *pour*. These solutions fundamentally change the meaning of this chanson and permit me to situate it in time and place.

Chapter 6, "The Music," explores the history of the fifteenth-century trumpet and battlefield trumpet calls. As early as 1942, scholars noted the "fanfare style" passages in *Donnés l'assault,* and Perkins identified "fanfare figures" in *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter.*[63] I interrogate the music of the Mellon Chansonnier and of the other chansons whose texts were analyzed, for the characteristic repeated notes and melodic leaps of fourths and fifths of trumpet calls. For this exercise, I used MIDI files of the chansons and generated statistics about their use of repeated notes and leaps of fourths and fifths. I provide transcriptions of several chansons in illustration.

[63] Burkofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier," 37, and Perkins, MCC*,* 331.

Chapter 7, "Conclusion," presents the results of this dissertation and my argument supporting a new interpretation of courtly song as more closely aligned with the known ideals of knighthood and chivalry that were so key to the Burgundian courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. By situating the chansons discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 within broader interdisciplinary research in other fields, namely the military history and heraldry discussed in Chapter 1, this dissertation invites new research into the meaning of the chansons of other Renaissance courts, such as those of Naples, northern Italy, Savoy, the Holy Roman Empire, France, England, Spain, and Central Europe. Further, the Index offers a new resource to musicologists for investigation of relationships between other chansons and chansonniers through their texts.

The Appendix provides a guide and a key to the Index, along with the Index itself. The Index, as part of this searchable, PDF-formatted dissertation, will be available from DRUM[64] for researchers interested in looking for associations between chansons through their texts. In the Index, a common form, or Lemma, appears in bold font, with the spelling variants in the texts appearing below and the song numbers where the variants are found appearing in the adjacent field.

[64] DRUM - Digital Repository at the University of Maryland, https://drum.lib.umd.edu/home.

Chapter 1 : *LA CHEVALERIE*

> The *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, DMF, defines *chevalerie,* or knighthood, as
>
> *Institution militaire, d'un caractère religieux et héroïque, établie dans la noblesse féodale, exigeant de ceux qui y sont admis des qualités de loyauté et de vaillance, le mépris du danger, la protection des faibles, la défense de la foi, la courtoisie envers les femmes.*[65]
>
> A military institution of a religious and heroic character, established within the feudal nobility, demanding of those admitted qualities of loyalty and valor, contempt for danger, protection of the weak, defense of the faith, and courtesy towards women.[66]

We can get a sense of the reverence for knighthood, and of what a gift its bestowal was considered to be from this stanza from the anonymous *Le Livre et mistere du glorieux seigneur et martir saint Adrien, ca.* 1450-1485:[67]

Mais, souverain sire emperere,	But, sovereign lord emperor,
Je vous requier d'umble priere,	I ask you with humble prayer,
Pour confermer ma gentilesse	To confirm my gentility
Et auttoriser ma noblesse,	And authorize my nobility,
Qu'i vous plaise par vostre grace	That it please you by your grace
De moy donner en ceste place	To grant me in this place
Le hault don de chevalerie,	The high gift of chivalry,

David Crouch contends that, although the "tournament has always been recognized as an important historical phenomenon, … its importance is still underestimated in social terms."[68] One reason he offers for this importance is that the tournament, in its heyday, "touched on the lives of by far and away the majority of the members of the aristocracies of Latin

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[65] See DMF: *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (DMF 2023), http://www.atilf.fr/dmf, ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine. See http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/chevalerie, definition I.A.1.

[66] All translations of DMF given here are mine based on my use of https://anythingtranslate.com/translators/the-old-french-translator/ and https://openl.io/translate/old-french, unless otherwise indicated.

[67] *Le Livre et mistere du glorieux seigneur et martir saint Adrien*, *publié d'après un manuscrit de Chantilly, aux frais de S.A.R. Mgr. le duc d'Aumale, avec introduction, table et glossaire, par Émile Picot* (Protat frères, 1895), 57, lines 2929-2935.

[68] David Crouch, *Tournament* (Hambledon, 2005), 1.

Christendom."[69] It is my contention that this concept of chivalry, along with a cultural emphasis on arms and chivalric ideals, played a significant role in courtly society in Burgundy under Duke Philip the Good, and that it greatly influenced the chansons by composers known at the court of Burgundy in the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. Many of these chansons are essentially songs about chivalry, as it pertains to heroism, loyalty, valor, and relations with women. Military and chivalric language play a significant role in the texts of these songs. To better understand how the Burgundian audience would have understood these songs, it is necessary to have some familiarity with both the customs and tools of mounted combat in the fifteenth century, particularly that customary during tournaments, along with an understanding of the role chivalric orders played in Burgundy during the fifteenth century.

A Brief History of Armed Contests

While there are different theories as to the reason for the development of the tournament, Crouch contends that tournaments originated in the early eleventh century in Brabant, Hainaut, Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy. Further, he notes that the rise of tournaments coincided with the origins of heraldry. This stands to reason as one would need to be able to distinguish a fully armored friend from a foe in a skirmish. These tournaments took the form of a mock battle or *mêlée* fought over several miles of open countryside. Crouch notes that, by 1150, tournaments were "drawing hundreds and thousands of males to travel hundreds and thousands of miles to compete with each other."[70] The word tournament "comes from the ancient French verb *torner,* meaning 'to revolve' or 'whirl about.' Knights whirling around in a *mêlée* is exactly what

[69] Crouch, *Tournament,* 1.
[70] Crouch, *Tournament,* 2.

happened in tournaments."[71] A *mêlée* was a mock battle, generally a free-for-all, distinguished from warfare by its goals of capturing rather than killing the opposing knights, who could then be held for ransom, and of acquiring horses and arms. *Mêlées* offered an opportunity for a knight-errant to gain fame and fortune, opening doors otherwise closed to him by birth.[72]

A *mêlée's* location would be specified as being between two towns. A vivid description of a tournament may be found in Chrétien de Troyes's romance *Erec and Enide.* Written in the second half of the twelfth century, it recounts a tournament held over two days between the towns of York and Tenebroc, between two opposing camps, one led by Sir Gawain and the other by Melis and Meliadoc.[73]

As with actual combat, *mêlées* proved to be dangerous. In the first half of the twelfth century, the Church condemned participation in tournaments, withholding a Christian burial from those who died from such combat. Canon 14 of the Second Lateran Council convened by Pope Innocent II in 1139 reiterated an ordinance first put forward as Canon 9 of the Synod of Clermont in 1130. It stated:

> We condemn absolutely those detestable jousts or tournaments in which the knights usually come together by agreement and, to make a show of their strength and boldness, rashly engage in contests which are frequently the cause of death to men and of danger to souls. If anyone taking part in them should meet his death, though penance and the *Viaticum* shall not be denied him if he asks for them, he shall, however, be deprived of Christian burial.[74]

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[71] Crouch, *Tournament,* 3.
[72] Stephen H. Hardy, "The Medieval Tournament: A Functional Sport of the Upper Class," *Journal of Sport History* 1, no. 2 (1974): 99-101, describes a knight-errant as a "young novice knight" who traveled from tournament to tournament. These knights were most often younger sons who needed to make their own living.
[73] Chrétien de Troyes, *The Complete Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. and trans. David Staines (Indiana University Press, 1990), 27-28.
[74] Henry Joseph Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils, Text, Translation, and Commentary* (B. Herder, 1937), 204, provides this translation.

While tournaments may have served to keep knights fit for war, the Church claimed that tournaments were detrimental to military readiness. The Fourth Lateran Council, convened in 1215 by Pope Innocent III, issued a series of decrees relating to the crusade to liberate the Holy Land. In these, the Church imposed excommunication on participants in tournaments:

> Though tournaments have been, under certain penalties, generally forbidden by different councils, since however at this time they are a serious obstacle to the success of the crusade, we strictly prohibit them under penalty of excommunication for a period of three years.[75]

Despite the Church's prohibitions, tournaments increased in popularity and were often held in association with celebrations, as in 1284 when Edward I of England held a tournament in celebration of the birth of his son Edward.[76]

By the late fourteenth century, the form of tournaments was changing, the small-scale joust and its accompanying shift of focus toward entertainment and pageantry gradually replacing the huge *mêlée.* This change coincided with the loss of knightly supremacy on the battlefield, when "the heavily armed knight … became ineffective in the face of trained and coordinated units of pikemen and archers, or worse yet, in the face of guns."[77] Paid troops supplanted knightly service, and tournaments took on a "circus-like atmosphere … [becoming] the occasion for the noble class to show off their latest fashions and lavish accoutrements."[78] In 1316, Pope John XXII lifted the Church's ban on tournaments, and by 1389, when two major royal tournaments were held in France, the court-centered joust *à plaisance* had evolved to

[75] Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees,* 295 provides this translation of the decree.
[76] Richard W. Barber and Juliet R. V. Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), 30.
[77] Hardy, "The Medieval Tournament," 103.
[78] Hardy, "The Medieval Tournament," 98.

include displays of great wealth, with viewing stands and other large structures constructed for the occasion and complex pageantry far removed from the rough-and-tumble *mêlée.*[79]

While tournaments *à plaisance* gained in popularity and operated under specific rules of engagement, as the Church's ban attests, the sport was far from safe, with serious injury or death touching even the highest aristocracy. For example, in 1294, John, Duke of Brabant, was killed in a tournament celebrating the marriage of the duke of Bar to a daughter of Edward I of England. In 1536, at a jousting tournament at Greenwich, Henry VIII of England famously took a blow to the head, fell under his armored horse, remained unconscious for two hours, and sustained a leg injury that would not heal throughout the rest of his life. And, in 1559, Henry II of France died of an injury received in a tournament celebrating the marriages of his sister and of his daughter.[80]

In addition to mounted contests between knights, a mounted lance game was also played. The running at the quintain,[81] which was a mannequin, was part of a squire's training and was also a sport accessible to all. This pastime dates back to the First Crusade of 1096-1099. Barber and Barker note that during the First Crusade, the chronicler Robert the Monk wrote that "the crusaders spent their leisure moments running at the quintain…"[82] That practice usually involved attacking the quintain, which was placed on a pivot and armed with a club or a saber

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[79] Barber and Barker, *Tournaments,* 44.

[80] On the death of John 1, Duke of Brabant, see Mario Damen, "The Town as a Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels," *Urban History* 43, no. 1 (2016): 48. For a description of Henry VIII's injuries, see C. R. Chalmers and E. J. Chaloner, "500 years later: Henry VIII, leg ulcers and the course of history," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 102, no.12 (2009): 514. For Henry II's death, see Steven Muhlberger, "A Short History of Tournaments: And the Crowd Went Wild…," *Medieval Warfare* 7, no. 3 (2017): 12. See Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (Thomas Tegg, 1845), 129-131, for further discussion of notable jousting injuries.

[81] In French, *quintaine.*

[82] Barber and Barker, *Tournaments,* 16, refers to Robert the Monk's *Histoire de Jerusalem,* "Tentoria variis ornamentorum generibus venusantur, terrae infixis sudibus scuta apponuntur, quibus in crastinum Quintanae ludus scilicet equestris exerceatur …"

and a shield. The horseman would make a run at the figure, attempting to hit it with his lance either on the forehead between the eyes or on the nose. If he struck the mannequin wide of the mark, it would quickly pivot and could strike the horseman. Lemaire and Wangermée cite Frédéric Godefroy's definition of *quintaine* which specifically notes the reactions of spectators to the event:

> *S'ils reussissaient, le trophee tourait sur lui-meme aux applaudis- sements des spectateurs. Dans le cas contraire, la quintaine se derangeait, les cinq pieces tombaient ou venaient frapper le pauvre joiteur qui recueillait force huees pour prix de sa maladresse*. [83]
>
> If they succeeded, the trophy spun around to the applause of the spectators. Otherwise, the quintain was disrupted, the five pieces fell, or struck the unfortunate jouster, who received much jeering for his clumsiness.

Writing in 1669, Claude-François Menestrier reported that the Italians called the running at a quintain "la course à l'homme armé et le Sarrasin" because they would transform the mannequin into a Turk, a Moor, or a Saracen, in order to make the contest more mysterious.[84] Lemaire and Wangermée cite this text as part of their exploration of the possibility that *Le Turcq* in the chanson *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter* could be a quintain mannequin.[85]

Joseph Strutt notes that it was possible to use a living human quintain, a completely armored man who would only act defensively to parry the oncoming blows with his shield.[86] Reference to this practice may be found in Charles Du Fresne Du Cange's *Glossarium,* where

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[83] See Lemaire and Wangermée, "Le rondeau," 149, where they cite Frédèric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française,* 10 vols. (Paris, 1937-38), 6:517-518.
[84] See Claude-François Menestrier, *Traité des tournois, joustes, carrousels, et autres spectacles publics* (Iacques Muguet, 1669), 264-265: "…parce qu'ils transfigurent ce Faquin en Turc, en More, ou en Sarrasin pour rendre ces Courses plus mysterieuses." The French term *course* means race or contest.
[85] Lemaire with Wangermée, "Le rondeau," 148.
[86] Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes,* 111.

definition 3 of 'QUINTANA' includes a quote from the *Roman* by Guiron le Courtois of *ca.* 1370-1380:

> *Je ne vous tiens mie à si bons Chevalier, que je daigne prendre lance pour jouster à vous; ains vous dy, que vous esloignez de moy, et me venez ferir de toute vostre force, et je vous feray Quintaine.*[87]
>
> I don't consider you such a good knight that I would deign to take a lance to joust with you; rather, I tell you to move away from me and come strike me with all your force, and I will make you a quintain.

An illustration of such a human quintain, Figure 1.1, appears in the *Romance of Alexander*, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, fol. 100r, where a jouster on foot attacks a seated knight in armor, the latter defending himself only with a shield. Running at a quintain became a sport enjoyed by people from different levels of society. Lemaire offers that, in the fifteenth century, the quintain was popular beyond the ranks of the nobility.[88]

Quintains were not merely stand-alone amusements, however. Crouch notes that, in England in the mid-twelfth century, "tournaments and military games were part of … extended festivities. The horseback exercise called the 'quintain' is well attested as happening at courtly festivals."[89] Tournaments drew crowds of noisy onlookers, and the organizers expected "all sorts of conditions of people to flock to the event."[90] Those familiar with tournaments would have also been familiar with quintain runs.

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[87] Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1845), 5:565. Translation provided by Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes,* 121.
[88] Lemaire and Wangermée, "Le rondeau," 151.
[89] Crouch, *Tournament,* 59.
[90] Crouch, *Tournament,* 56.

Over the years, as jousting became more stylized and further removed from actual combat, armaments were developed to reduce chances of injury or death. Changes were made to saddles, armor, and weapons, making it necessary for a knight to keep separate equipment for



Figure 1.1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, *Romance of Alexander*, fol. 100r

jousts of peace and jousts of war. While running at a quintain continued to be a less formal amusement, the added expense of requiring knights to maintain two sets of equipment for jousting limited participation in tournaments to only the wealthiest knights.[91]

A new type of tournament, the *pas d'armes,* developed in the early fifteenth century. Believed to have originated on the Iberian Peninsula, over the course of the century it became popular in the Burgundian regions, Anjou, France, and eventually reaching Savoy and Scotland in the early sixteenth century. Locations of the *pas d'armes* held during the time of Philip the Good are indicated by red circles on the Map in Figure 1.2. One early *pas d'armes,* or *paso de*

[91] Hardy, "The Medieval Tournament," 104, discusses the evolution of the tournament to a more exclusive activity and the disappearance of the knight-errant. See also Francis Douce, "XXXV. On the Peaceable Justs, or Tiltings of the Middle Ages," *Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 17 (1814): 291, which reports a 'cry,' or announcement, of a joust of peace during the reign of Edward IV which is open only to all gentlemen of name and arms.

armas in Castilian, was the *Paso de la Fuerte Ventura,* or *Paso* of the Daunting Adventure, which took place in Castille in 1428, under the sponsorship of Juan II, king of Castile.[92]

The type of tournament called the *pas d'armes* had five distinguishing characteristics, according to Thalia Brero, Mario Damen, and Klaus Oschema:

> (1) a knight, the organiser (*entrepreneur*), who alone or together with other knights (2) defends either a passage (such as a bridge or a gate) or a symbolic object (such as a fountain or a column) against all challengers, thereby including a serial element, (3) this defence sometimes involving theatrical production and a fictional scenario and/or being organised according to a fixed set of rules known as chapters of arms, (4) and being witnessed by an audience (noble and non-noble, including women) (5) in a publicly accessible setting (often urban, but also near castles) and making use of ephemeral architecture.[93]

However, the categorization of a tournament as a *pas d'armes* is not always clear, because, as Brero, Damen, and Oschema explain, not all *pas d'armes* exhibited all five of these characteristics, and Catherine Blunk notes that chroniclers of the time did not always agree on the labelling of the same event.[94]

The *pas* referenced in the term *pas d'armes* "refers to a 'passage', such as a crossroads or a river crossing, or a symbolic object … which was to be defended against all comers. Such 'passages' could be located in the countryside, outside a castle or in an urban market square."[95] The *articles* or *chapîtres* of the rule books of the *pas* were announced ahead of time. Brown-Grant, Damen, and Blunk note Éric Bousmar's view that *pas* "helped to foster diplomatic relations between an international brotherhood of knights and their princes and to promote

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[92] Rosalind Brown-Grant, Mario Damen, and Catherine Blunk, "Introduction: Pas d'armes and Late Medieval Chivalry," in *Pas d'armes and Late Medieval Chivalry,* ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant and Mario Damen (Liverpool University Press, 2025), 3-6. See 25-32 for a chart of known *pas d'armes* in Europe *ca.* 1420-1520.
[93] Thalia Brero, Mario Damen, and Klaus Oschema, "The Pas d'armes in Europe (Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries): The Transfer and Trasformation of a Chivalric Event," in *Pas d'armes and Late Medieval Chivalry,* ed. Grant and Damen, 326.
[94] See Catherine Blunk, "Faux Pas in the Chronicles: What is a Pas d'Armes?," in *The Medieval Chronicle* 11, ed. Erik Kooper and Sjoerd Levelt (Brepols, 2018), 88, 91–92.
[95] Brown-Grant, Damen, and Blunk, "Introduction," 2.

cohesion between knights belonging to the same polity, particularly in the Burgundian lands."[96] In chronicles of *pas d'armes*, we see the importance of heraldry to chivalric events in the detailed descriptions of the coats of arms, colors, and materials worn by the participants. Such displays served to identify the participants and emphasize their social position.

Burgundian Tournaments

What evidence do we have that feats of arms were important in Burgundian regions in Duke Philip the Good's Burgundy? One need only look at the data assembled by Évelyne van den Neste, who examined financial records from 1300-1486 from Flanders. These records contained evidence that, during the reign of Philip the Good, there were 124 feats of arms in the cities of the region. These events ranged from *combat singulier* (a duel arranged between two combatants) (3), and judicial duels (2), to *pas d'armes* (6), tournaments (competitions that might include jousting along with contests involving other weapons) (21), and jousts (mounted combat using a lance) (74). She reports that 12 jousts were held in celebration of marriages (see Table 1.1). Some tournaments were held in celebration of arrivals of a noble to a particular city, such as the arrival of the Jean II, Duke of Alençon, in Lille in March 1454. Other occasions that prompted a tournament or joust included the conclusion of the Treaty of Arras, held in Arras on 11 August 1435, and jousts when the Chancellor and Constable of France came to Lille to

[96] Brown-Grant, Damen, and Blunk, "Introduction," note 14 cites Éric Bousmar, "Pasos de armas, justas y torneos en la corte de Borgoña (siglo XV y principios del XVI). Imaginario caballeresco, rituales e implicaciones socio-políticas," in *El legado de Borgoña: Fiesta y ceremonia cortesana en la Europa de los Austrias* (1454–1648), ed. Krista De Jonge, Bernardo J. García, and Alicia Esteban Estríngana (Fundación Carlos de Amberes/Marcial Pons Ediciones de Historia, 2010), 561–605.

discuss the ransom of 400,000 gold *écus* for René of Anjou, then King of Sicily (1435-1442) and prisoner of the Duke of Burgundy in Lille (1434-1437).[97]

Table 1.1. Wedding tournaments in Flanders during the reign of Philip the Good

Year	**Date**	**City**	**Wedding**
1424		Paris	Jean de la Trémoille and Jacqueline d'Amboise (Jean would become a knight of the Golden Fleece in 1430)
1430	9-12 Jan	Bruges	Philip the Good and Isabelle of Portugal
1431		Bruges	Antoine I de Croÿ and Marguerite de Lorraine-Vaudémont
1432	Nov	The Hague	Philippe de Courcelles and Guymar Rodriges de Portugal
1439	May-Jun	Saint-Omer	Charles Comte de Charolais and Catherine de France
1440	30-Nov	Saint-Omer	Charles d'Orléans and Marie de Clèves, daughter of Adolphe de Clèves and Mary of Burgundy
1443		Brussels	Pierre de Bauffremont and Mary of Burgundy, an illegitimate daughter of Philip the Good
1447	Sep	Bruges	Jean de la Trémoille
1453	May-Jun	Lille	Adolphe de Clèves and Béatrice de Coïmbre
1454	11-Nov	Lille	Charles Comte de Charolais and Isabelle de Bourbon
1455	22-Apr	Bruges	John I, Duke of Clèves, and Elizabeth of Nevers
1463	17-Dec	Bruges	Adolphe II, Duke of Guelders, and Catherine de Bourbon

[97] See Évelyne van den Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge (1300-1486)* (École des Chartes, 1996), 214-332, for a chronology of tournaments held 1300-1500, and https://www.britannica.com/biography/Rene-I (consulted 17 March 2026).

In the case of the annual *Fêtes de l'Épinette* celebrating the gift of a relic, a thorn from Christ's Crown of Thorns, *l'epinette,* given by Countess Jeanne of Flanders to the Dominican convent in Lille, van den Neste's list only includes the eight tournaments that were reported in sources from outside of Lille. Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt describes the *Fêtes de l'Épinette,* held annually in Lille, as the most famous festival of the Netherlands. He notes that

> *Dans les xiij. & xjv. siecles, chaque ville de ces pays-là avoit sa fêtes, des combats, des tournois; Bruges avoit sa fête du Forestier, Valenciennes celle du prince de Plaisance, Cambray celle du roi des Ribauds, Bouchain celle du prévôt des Étourdis: dans beaucoup de lieux on célébroit celle de Behourt*.[98]
>
> In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, each town in those lands had its feasts, combats, and tourneys; Bruges had its Forester's Feast, Valenciennes that of the Prince of Merriment, Cambrai that of the King of Ribalds, Bouchain that of the Provost of Fools: in many places they celebrated the Behourd.

This was not the first *Fête de l'Épinette* to be established in the region. Countess Jeanne introduced the *Fête de l'Épinette* in Cambrai in 1227 to honor her husband.[99]

There are records of the *Fête* being held in Lille from *ca.* 1283 to 1483 or 1487. [100] The celebrations began on *Quinquagesima* Sunday, before Ash Wednesday, with tests of arms and balls throughout the week. On Shrove Tuesday, the King of the *Épinette* was elected along with two jousters to accompany him. On the first Sunday of Lent, *Quadragesima*, the King processed to the tournament where jousts were held, with the victor receiving a golden hawk as a prize. During the next four days, the King of the *Épinette*, his two jousters, and the victor from the

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[98] Chevalier de Jaucourt, "Epinette (Fête de l')," in Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers,* vol. 5: DO-ESY (David Briasson; Durand Le Breton, 1755), 803. A *behourt*, or *behort* is a joust or tournament.

[99] Haggh-Huglo, *Recollecting the Virgin Mary with Music: Guillaume Du Fay's Chant Across Five Centuries* (American Institute of Musicology, forthcoming), 1: ch. 2.

[100] Jaucourt, *Epinette (Fête de l'),* 803, reports the dates of the festival from 1283 to 1483. *The Catholic Encylopedia* (https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09251a.htm) notes that the festival of the *Epinette* "ceased in 1487, when the burghers began to find the expense too heavy."

Sunday tournament would joust against all comers. Excluding the annual *Fêtes de l'Épinette* held in Lille, the city of Bruges hosted the most armed contests in Flanders.[101]

Neo-Arthurian Orders

Another great influence at the Burgundian court of Duke Philip the Good and within Burgundian society was the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece, with its customs and values.[102] Chivalric romances of Chrétien de Troyes and others in the late twelfth century had described a set of ideals for knights, combining both military valor (prowess, loyalty) and social (aristocratic) virtues of courtesy, generosity, and frankness. The Church was a vital element in the shaping of the first chivalric orders. Bernard of Clairvaux in *De laude novae militae,* written for the Knights Templar, posited that "the only true knights were those […] making themselves *milites Christi* or 'soldiers of Christ' ..."[103] Boulton also notes that John of Salisbury, after 1150, wrote a treatise, *Policraticus*, which argued that knights should be carefully selected. John wrote that they should be physically capable and courageous, that they should take an oath of service, and be thoroughly trained upon entering knightly service, in order to "defend the Church, to assail infidelity, to venerate the priesthood, to protect the poor from injuries, to pacify the province, to pour out their blood for their brothers ... and if need be to lay down their lives."[104] Thus, "Orders" of chivalry began to resemble orders of priests, with ceremonial rites of

[101] Additional sources concerning tournaments in Burgundian regions include Anthony Brown, "Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages: The White Bear of Bruges," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 78 (2000): 315-330, Mario Damen, "The Town as a Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels," *Urban History* 43 (2016): 47-71, Claude Gaier, "Technique des combats singuliers d'après les auteurs 'bourguignons' du XVe siècle," *Le Moyen Âge* 91 (1985): 415-457 and 92 (1986): 5-40, and Alice Planche, "Du tournoi au théâtre en Bourgogne. Le Pas de la fontaine des pleurs à Chalon-sur-Saône," *Le Moyen Âge* 81 (1975): 97-128.
[102] In Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, he refers to these chivalric orders as "neo-Arthurian" since they are based on values expressed in Arthurian legend.
[103] Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, 8. He discusses the history of the concept of chivalry.
[104] Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown,* 8.

ordination. A widely circulated treatise in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the French poem *L'Ordene de chevalerie,* described an elaborate ritual of ordination and included four commandments for a knight. These were to refuse to commit treason, to defend and honor all ladies and damsels, to hear mass every day when possible, and to fast every Friday in memory of Christ's Passion. The two edges of the sword that a knight was presented represented justice and chivalry.[105] Many of these virtues are expressed in Burgundian chansons of the fifteenth century. Along with "love" songs revering ladies, the chansons often refer to loyalty, honor, and, especially often, service unto death.

Another treatise of great influence, written around 1270 and widely diffused in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was the *Llibre de l'orde de Cavalleria.* Written by the Catalan knight Ramon Llull, it was translated into several languages, including French. In his treatise, Llull stated that a knight ought to be of noble lineage, wealthy enough to support his rank, and should be known to have a character beyond reproach.[106] The requirements of noble lineage and irreproachable character would be repeated in René d'Anjou's treatise of *ca.* 1460.[107]

Part of the "accolate" or dubbing ritual included the receipt of spurs and a sword from someone who was already a knight. This was, presumably, set practice, since it is described in the fiction of Chrétien de Troyes in the twelfth century:

> The worthy man [Gornemant of Gohort] stooped and fastened his [Perceval the Welshman's] right spur for him. It was the custom at that time that whoever dubbed a man knight should fasten for him his spur. … The worthy man took the sword and girded it on him, then kissed him and said that with the sword he had conferred on him the

[105] Ramon Llull, "Llibre de l'orde de Cavalleria / Libro de La Orden de Caballería / The Book of the Order of Chivalry / The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry or Knyghthoode," in *The Book of the Order of Chivalry / Llibre de l'Ordre de Cavalleria / Libro de La Orden de Caballería*, vol. 8, trans. Antonio Cortijo Ocaña (John Benjamins, 2015), 131.
[106] Ramon Llull, "Llibre de l'orde de Cavalleria," 39–190.
[107] René d'Anjou, "Traictié."

> highest honor God had created and ordained. This is the order of chivalry, which must be free of all baseness."[108]

In this story, Gornemant further offers four rules that a knight should follow: do not deliberately kill a man begging for mercy, do not talk too much, always aid a lady in need, and pray.[109] Burgundian knights would keep "fit by hunting and taking part in jousts and tournaments" as Llull required of them.[110]

The evolution of weaponry and the role of the knight followed a similar path in both France and England. Developments in military technology usurped a knight's place of dominance on the battlefield, citing the effectiveness of crossbowmen, halberdiers, longbowmen, and pikemen against both infantry and heavy cavalry. As armor grew heavier in response, knights fought more on foot. Further, the role of the knight changed as princes gradually turned to standing, salaried armies. Over the decades, the number of knights declined, in England falling from about 6000 knights in 1100 to only about 300 in 1420, knighthood becoming the province of the highest in society. Second sons, those of less noble birth, and those with limited funds remained squires instead of becoming knights.

Both knights and squires, the men-at-arms, were better trained and militarily superior to the common soldier. The knight "remained first and foremost a warrior, and the ethos of chivalry remained that of a warrior aristocracy whose principal occupation was fighting, and for whom honour was to be won primarily by displaying courage and prowess in combat."[111] With such emphasis on chivalric ideals and the romanticism of mythical knights, the tournament more than the battlefield became the vehicle to display knightly prowess, becoming a sort of festival of

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[108] Chrétien de Troyes, *The Complete Romances of Chrétien de Troyes,* trans. David Staines (Indiana University Press, 1990), 360.
[109] Chrétien de Troyes, "The Story of the Grail," 360.
[110] Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown,* 10.
[111] Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown,* 11.

chivalry and the key element of celebrations. During this period, the role of heralds grew in significance. In addition to proclaiming, presiding over tournaments, and compiling rolls of armorial bearings, heralds became attached to royal households, serving as experts in the law of arms.[112]

A key word related to feats of arms that appears in Burgundian chansons is *emprinse,* or *emprise.* The word has several meanings associated with feats of arms. The *emprise* or 'enterprise of arms' was an act of heroic chivalry undertaken to emulate the heroes of romances and could be executed in a variety of manners. One type of *emprise* was the quest or journey, during which a knight would travel and challenge the knights he encountered. In some cases, a company of knights would travel for a period of a year or more, challenging knights they encountered along the way. This sort of an *emprise* was popular in Germany. In France and Spain, the *pas d'armes* (passage of arms) was the favored *emprise,* where a knight could undertake 'all comers' without having to travel.[113] An *emprise* can also refer to a token that a knight receives from his lady. A knight would wear or carry the object, signifying his willingness to undertake all challengers in his lady's name. Those wishing to challenge him would signify their desire by touching the article. Participation in a *pas d'armes* is a form of *emprise* or taking up combat. In *pas d'armes* where there is a choice of weapons, a challenger touches one of several shields that have been set in place to indicate the type of arms he would

[112] See Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown,* 11-13, for a discussion of the evolution of the role of knights and heralds.
[113] This was the case for the tournament associated with the Feast of the Pheasant, when Adolphe de Clèves jousted all comers. See Chapter 5 here for further discussion of this tournament.

like to use.[114] Two *pas d'armes,* both called "Emprise of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady," took place in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1507 and 1508.[115]

Boulton observes that the chivalric value of personal honor was not compatible with actions necessary to win battles. He blames chivalric notions carried onto battlefields for several resounding defeats in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. "The utter rout of the knights of France at Crécy in 1346, at Poitiers in 1356, at Nicopolis in 1396, and at Agincourt in 1415, was largely due in each case to their refusal to see any essential difference between a battle and a tournament, even when the enemy was playing by very different rules."[116]

Much as with religious orders, various orders of knighthood were created. Table 1.2 lists those that Boulton explores in depth.[117] It is noteworthy that their formation seemed to be fashionable in the mid-fourteenth century. No significant new orders were created in the nearly 50 years prior to the establishment by Duke Philip the Good of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1430.

The Order of the Jar, established in 1403 by Ferdinand of Antaquera, who became King of Aragon in 1412, survived until 1516. Ferdinand's son Alfonso V, grandfather of Beatrice, for whom the Mellon chansonnier was created, brought this Order to Naples in 1443 and conferred membership in the Order on Philip the Good, who would also confer membership in his Order of the Golden Fleece on Alfonso V. This exchange of membership in Orders strengthened the ties between Naples and Burgundy.

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[114] Rosalind Brown-Grant, Mario Damen, Catherine Blunk, "Introduction," in *Pas d'armes and Late Medieval Chivalry: A Casebook*, ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant and Mario Damen (Liverpool University Press, 2025), 2.
[115] See Brown-Grant, Damen, and Blunk, "Introduction," 25-32, for a list of *pas d'armes* organized in Europe *ca.* 1420-*ca.* 1520.
[116] Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown,* 15.
[117] Dates provided are as they appear in the chapters of Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown.*

When Philip the Good established the Order of the Golden Fleece, it had been decades since the establishment of any monarchial order. Boulton surmises "that by 1390 the idea of

Table 1.2. Neo-Arthurian orders explored by Boulton

Some Chivalric Orders of Note
The Fraternal Society of Knighthood of St. George: Hungary, 1325/6-c.1395
The Order of the Band: Castile-Leon, 1330-1474?
The Society of St. George, or the Order of the Garter: England, 1344/9-present
The Company of our Lady of the Noble House, Commonly called the Company of the Star: France, 1344/52-1364/80?
The Company of the Holy Spirit of Right Desire, Commonly called the Company of the Knot: Mainland Sicily (Naples), 1352/3-1362?
The Order of the Sword: Cyprus, 1347/59-1489?
The Order of the Collar, from 1518 called the Order of the Annunciation of Our Lady: Savoy, 1364?-present
The Enterprise of the Knights of St. George: Aragon, 1371/9-1410?
The Order of the Ship: Mainland Sicily (Naples), 1381-1386?
The Order of the Golden Fleece: Burgundy and the Netherlands 1430/1-present
The Order of the Ermine: Mainland Sicily (Naples), 1465-1494/1501
The Order of St. Michael the Archangel: France, 1469-1790

maintaining an elaborate neo-Arthurian order, composed largely or exclusively of knights and genuinely dedicated to the promotion of chivalry, had fallen completely out of favour in most of the royal and princely courts of Europe."[118] Between the reduction of the numbers of knights, the changes in military equipment, battlefield defeats, and the restrictions imposed by hosting regular meetings and abiding by the formal statutes, interest in continuing knightly orders or creating new ones had waned. A chivalric revival took place in the first half of the fifteenth century, however, championed by Philip the Good with his new Order. As is discussed here in Chapters 4 and 5, this rebirth of chivalric ideals is reflected in the texts of the fifteenth-century chansons, which frequently evoke themes of knighthood.

[118] Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown,* 356.

Chivalrous ideals played a significant role in Burgundian life prior to Philip the Good. Philip's father, John the Fearless, staged *pas d'armes* and had old epics and romances translated into the French of the time to make them more accessible. Philip the Good embraced the ideals, taking part in jousts and training for a "judicial duel *à l'outrance.*" He had a close relationship with Henry VI of England and Amadeus VIII of Savoy, through marriage and as neighbor, respectively, each who maintained their own chivalric orders (the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Collar, respectively).

The celebration of the marriage of Philip the Good to Isabella of Portugal in 1430, which included a banquet and a series of tournaments, culminated in the announcement of the creation of the Order of the Golden Fleece:

> *... que, pour la révérence de Dieu et soustennement de nostre foy chrétienne, et pour honnourer et exauchier la noble ordre de chevalerie, et aussi pour trois causes cy après déclarées :1a premièr[e], pour faire honneur aux anchiens chevaliers, qui par leurs haulx et nobles faiz sont dignes d'estre recommandez ; la seconde, affin que ceulx qui de présent sont puissans et en force de corps, et exercent chascun jour les faiz appertenans à chevalerie, ayent cause de les continuer de bien en mieulx ; et la tierce, affin que les chevaliers et gentilz hommes qui verront porter l'ordre dont cy après sera touchié, honneurent ceulx qui le porteront, soient meuz de eulx employer en nobles faiz, et eulx nourir en telles meurs que par leurs vaillances ilz puissent acquérir bonne renommée et déservir en leurs temps d'estre esleuz à porter ladicte ordre ; mondit seigneur le duc a aujourd'huy emprins et mis sus une ordre qui est appelle « la Thoison d'or » ; ouquel, avec et en oultre la personne d'icelluy monsieur le duc, a xxiiij che« valiers, gentilz hommes de noms et d'armes et sans reproche, nées et procréés en léal mariage, desquelz la déclaration des noms et surnoms s'ensievent ...*[119]
>
> ... that, for the reverence of God and support of our Christian faith, and to honor and exalt the noble order of chivalry, and also for three reasons hereafter declared: the first, to do honor to the ancient knights, who by their high and noble deeds are worthy of being commended; the second, so that those who are presently powerful and in strength of body, and practice each day the deeds pertaining to chivalry, have reason to continue them from good to better; and the third, so that the knights and gentlemen who will see the order which will be touched upon hereafter worn, may honor those who will wear it, be moved to employ themselves in noble deeds, and nourish themselves in such customs that by their valiance they may acquire good renown and deserve in their times to be

[119] Jean Le Fèvre, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. François Morand (Librairie Renouard, 1881), 2:172-173.

> chosen to wear the said order; my said lord the duke has today undertaken and established an order which is called "the Golden Fleece"; in which, with and in addition to the person of the said lord duke, there are 24 knights, gentlemen of names and arms and without reproach, born and procreated in loyal marriage, of whom the declaration of the names and surnames follows …

The establishment of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which enhanced Burgundian prestige and honored Philip's senior nobles, demonstrates the importance of the chivalric ideal in the Burgundian court.[120] Marie Tanner described its purpose as "to unite the flower of knighthood under his [Duke Philip the Good's] leadership for a crusade to Jerusalem to defeat the Turks and recapture the Holy Sepulchre."[121]

The statutes for the Order would not be presented until the Order's first formal meeting in Lille on 30 November 1431. In his prologue of the Letters of the Institution of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Philip the Good declares that the purpose of this order of knighthood is to defend the Catholic Faith and the Church:

> *… pour la très grande et parfaicte amour que nous avons au noble estât et ordre de chevalerie, dont, de très ardant et singulier affection, désirons l'onneur et accroissemens; par quoy la vray foy catholicque, la foy de nostre mère, saincte Église, et la transquilité et prospérité de la chose publique soient, comme pevrent estre, deffendues, gardées et maintenue*;[122]
>
> "… for the very great and perfect love that we have for the noble estate and order of knighthood, of which from very ardent and singular affection, we desire the honour and increase, by which the true Catholic Faith, the faith of our mother, the Holy Church, and the tranquility and prosperity of the public may be, as far as possible, defended, guarded, and maintained …"[123]

[120] See Boulton, "The Order of the Golden Fleece," in *The Knights of the Crown*, 356-396, for a more detailed discussion of the founding of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Inclusion of this information here is unrelated to any theories concerning *l'homme armé* and the Order.
[121] Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (Yale University Press, 1993), 150, 287 (note 18).
[122] Jean Le Févre, *Chronique,* 2:210-211.
[123] Translation of the prologue provided by Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown,* 365.

The defense of the Catholic Church, so significant to the foundation of the Order of the Golden Fleece, likewise motivated the Feast of the Pheasant in Lille on 17 February 1454, and its reflection in song.

A provision of the statutes required that each knight be given his own copy of the statutes. The collar of the Order was to be worn by the companions every day, with a penalty of a fine for failure to comply. Provisions were made for lost collars or battle situations. The collars were to be returned upon death or expulsion from the Order.[124] And, although the statutes specified that members could join no other order, this restriction was amended in 1440 so that a prince who was "himself head of an order could retain that order on election to the Golden Fleece, while the Sovereign of the latter order could likewise accept membership in other orders."[125] This enabled Philip to exchange membership in orders with Charles of Orléans, who was head of the Order of the Camail, or Porcupine (which had neither limited membership nor corporate statutes) and welcome Alfonso V, King of Aragon and Naples, the first king to join that Order, in 1445.

The statutes also specified the obligations that members had to each other. The nature of these obligations illustrates the emphasis on loyalty and reputation, which are reflected in the Burgundian chansons. Each knight had to be true to his fellow knights, tell them of any evil said about them, assist them against anyone who had done them harm, save their lives if captured in battle, and release any companions he himself had captured, if possible. This concern for reputation is also expressed, as we shall see, in René d'Anjou's treatise on how to conduct a tournament.

[124] Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown,* 370.
[125] Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown,* 378.

The brotherhood of the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece constituted a network of closely aligned leaders of dukedoms and kingdoms outside of Burgundy, who, through this common bond, represented a wider region, by this means under Burgundian influence. Figure 1.2 is a map showing the Burgundian territories in blue and those led by knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece in green. In 1440, three dukes joined the Order of the Golden Fleece: Charles, Duke of Orléans; John V, Duke of Brittany; and Jean II, Duke of Alençon. Alfonso V, King of Aragon and Naples, joined in 1445. In 1451, the Order included John I, Duke of Clèves, and 1456 welcomed John II, Count of Nevers and Prince John of Portugal, Duke of Coimbra. A second king, John II of Aragon, joined in 1461 along with Adolf, Duke of Guelders. Later, Charles the Bold would tap Edward IV, King of England, brother of his wife Margaret of York, in 1468, along with Philippe de Savoie. In 1473, he would invite Ferdinand V, King of Castile, and Ferdinand I, King of Naples.

Also shown on the map, marked with red circles, are the locations of *pas d'armes* held between 1428 and 1463, during the time of Philip the Good. Several were held in Burgundian territories, as well as in the Loire Valley. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, the Loire Valley, Paris, Naples, and Savoy were where the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers that are the subject of this dissertation were copied.[126]

[126] Useful sources on chivalry include Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2000), Richard Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), and Richard Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

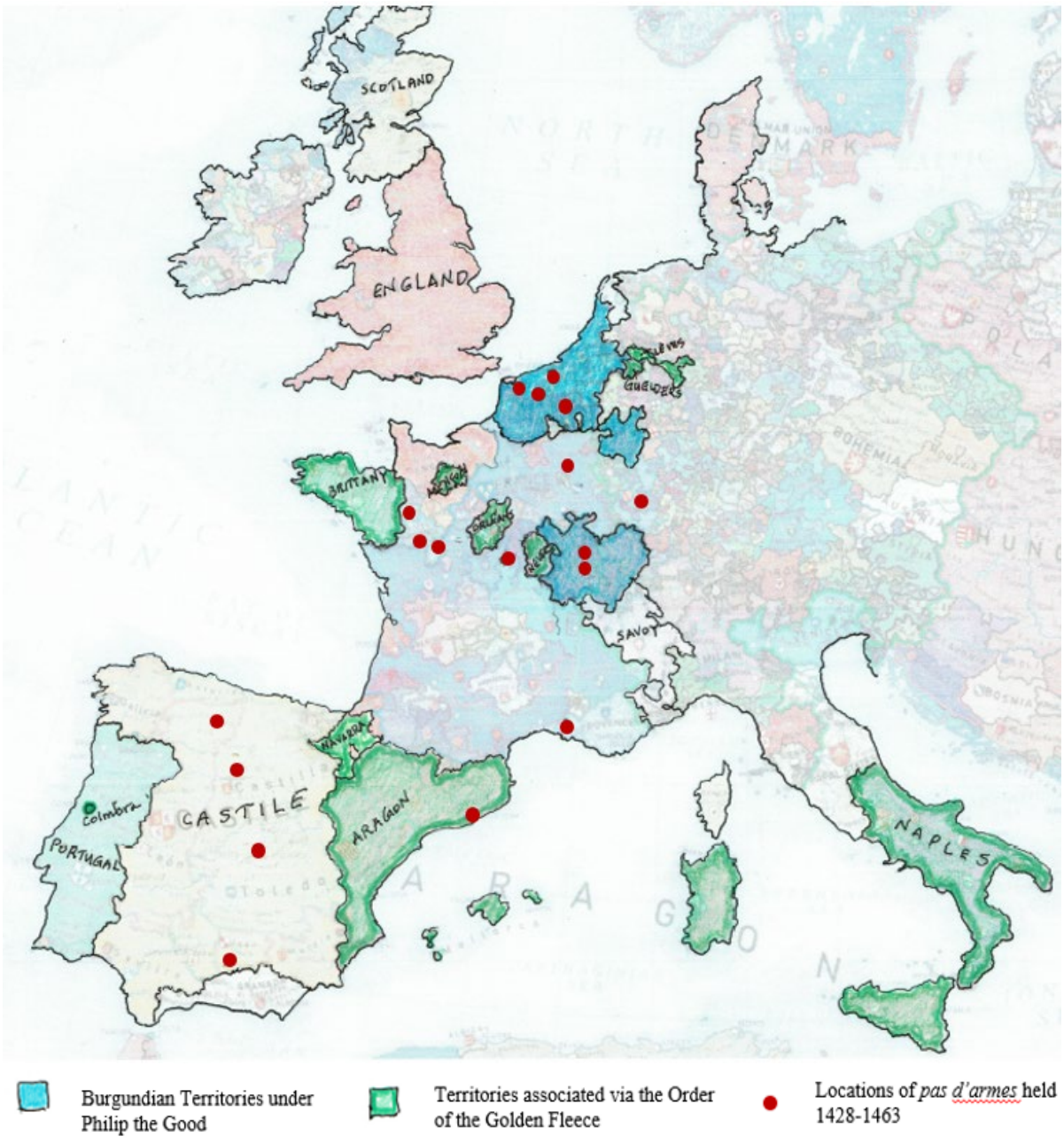


Figure 1.2. Map: Burgundian sphere of influence with locations of *pas d'armes*, 1428-1463

Chivalry and the Tournament

It has been noted that many tournaments were held in the Burgundian region during the fifteenth century. Written around 1460 by René of Anjou, the *Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tournoy* describes how to conduct a tournament.[127] Major sections within the treatise concern how to arrange the tournament, the arms and armor involved, the customs, rules, and ceremonies, including a display of helms to the ladies, the first day of the tournament (the *mêlée*), the second day of the tournament (the jousts), the responsibilities of the judges, and miscellaneous other rules that include rules about payments, distribution of banners and crests, and an item indicating that prize winners should tip the trumpeters, minstrels, and captains of the tourney. Perhaps inspired by Antoine de la Sale's 1458 treatise on the subject, René's work adapts customs from France and other countries. Through this treatise, we can observe that the ideals of chivalry were key components of tournaments.

While René's *Traictié* may have presented an idealized recipe for holding a tournament, René had experience with actual tournaments and had organized several, including these:

- Nancy, 1445
- *Emprise de la Gueule de Dragon*, Razilly, 1446
- *Emprise de la Joyous Garde*, Saumur, 1446, and
- *Pas de la Bergère*, Tarascon, 1449.

Through the details René provides about the arranging of the tournament, we learn terminology that we find in the chansons, such as *blazons,* a crest and a shield (*timbre et escu*), which are used to identify knights. René uses two terms, *bouhourdis d'armes* and *tournoy*, to refer to a tournament.

[127] René d'Anjou, "Traictié."

René stipulates that the participants must arrive four days in advance of the tournament. They are to display their coats of arms in the windows of the inns where they stay. Dances are held, and the day before the tournament, the participants must bring their helm, crests and banners to the inn of the judges, so that they may be displayed, and the ladies can come and view them.

> *Item, et quant tous les heaulmes seront ainsi mis et ordonnez pour les despartir, viendront toutes dames et damoiselles, et tous seigneurs, chevaliers et escuiers, en les visitant d'ung bout à autre, là présens les juges qui maineront troys ou quatre tours les dames, pour bien veoir et visiter les timbres: et y aura ung hérault ou poursuivant, qui dira aux dames, selon l'endroit où elles seront, le nom de ceulx à qui sont les timbres, ad ce que s'il y en a nul qui ait des dames mesdit, et elles touchent son timbre, qu'il soit le lendemain pour recommandé.*[128]
>
> When the helms have been set up and displayed, then ladies and damsels may come, with lords, knights and esquires, to see all of them. The judges should lead them three or four times around the cloister to see the crests. And there should be a herald or pursuivant, who will tell the ladies the name of the person whose crest is before them. And if one of them has spoken ill of the ladies, they may touch his crest, and the matter will be considered the next day.[129]

At the tournament, if a knight is deemed guilty of having spoken ill of a lady, he will be beaten by his fellow knights and squires until he cries for mercy from the ladies and promises never to speak ill of them again.

Other crimes are also to be punished if a gentleman is found to be:

- A liar and have broken a promise, especially in a manner of honor

- A usurer and a lender at interest

- Married to a commoner.

[128] René d'Anjou, "Traictié," 21.
[129] English translations of René d'Anjou's "Traictié*"* are provided by Elizabeth Bennett, Ph.D. in Medieval Studies Yale 1989, currently Librarian for History and History of Science at Princeton, which are available at https://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renehome.html.

The punishment for the first two offenses is to have one's helm cast to the ground, and the offenses are considered to be so serious that the offender is beaten, his horse given to the trumpeters or the minstrels, and he will have to sit on his saddle on the list barrier throughout the tournament. As for the man married to a commoner, he, too, will be beaten and his mace and sword thrown down, but rather than have the girth of his saddle cut and have to sit on the list barrier, he will sit on his horse in a corner of the lists until the end of the tournament. If a man comes to the tournament who is no gentleman in lineage but is virtuous, he will be beaten only by the great lords and princes, without hurting him, because, by his virtue, he deserves to be at the tournament. He may bear a new crest and thereafter be considered honorable.

The participants swear to fair play – no striking someone with the point of one's sword, or below the belt, or when his helm is off. A knight or squire of honor is chosen to carry a veil on the end of his lance which he can touch to indicate someone is being too severely beaten and the ladies will take that person under their protection.

From René's *Traictié,* we can see that the formalities place an emphasis on virtue, respect for women, and fair play. We see the importance of the heralds and of the coats of arms. We also see that, although nobles guard their society carefully, there is room for promotion through virtue of those not of the correct lineage to otherwise gain entry. We find further evidence of the important role that chivalric values played in contests of arms in Olivier de la Marche's chronicle of the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne,* which took place near Dijon in 1443, when he explains his purpose in chronicling the event:

> *... et que je recite l'exécution de cestuy noble pas crié et publié par tous les royaulmes et seigneuries chrestiens, affin de ramentevoir la chevallerie monstrée de tous les partiz, et aussi par manière d'escolle et de doctrine aux nobles hommes qui viendront cy après ...*[130]

[130] Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche* (Librairie Renouard, 1833), 1:290.

> ...and that I recount the execution of this noble *pas,* proclaimed and published throughout all the Christian kingdoms and lordships, so as to remember the chivalry displayed on all sides, and also by the manner of school teaching and indoctrinating the noble men who will come hereafter...

As we can see, chivalry played a major role in the society, which saw the creation of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. From the weaponry and staging of armed contests to the Orders of knights, with their tenets and bond with the Church, we will see these facets of their lives reflected in the chansons explored in Chapter 4.

Chapter 2 : THE FRANCO-BURGUNDIAN CHANSONNIERS

Chivalry played an important role at the Burgundian court of Philip the Good, and as is demonstrated here, that is evident in the subject matter and language of the French songs of the Mellon Chansonnier. This parchment manuscript, dating from about 1475, measures 192 x 135 mm. (about 7.6 x 5.3 in.).[131] The elaborate large initials are illustrated in red, blue, and gold, and the pages are adorned with gold leaves and vines with red, blue, green, and gold flowers. Although not quite complete, the decorations can be found throughout the book.[132] The music is written in choirbook format and contains secular polyphonic works that appear to have been arranged to a particular plan.[133] My inspection of the manuscript finds that 33 of the 57 pieces have ascriptions. Perkins notes 16 further known attributions.[134] An additional song, *Or me vault bien Esperance mentir,* has since been attributed to Du Fay.[135] Only four of the songs in the Mellon Chansonnier have conflicting attributions, for which Fallows proposed composers: *Quant ce viendra* (Ockeghem), *L'omme banny* (Fédé), *Tout a par moy* (Binchois), and *So ys emprentid* (Bedyngham).[136]

Apart from two English composers, John Bedyngham and Walter Frye, all served at courts or churches in the Burgundian territories or Loire Valley region, or both. So, although the

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[131] Perkins, "Introduction," MCE, 1.
[132] Perkins, MCE, 26-28, section "Calligraphy and Illumination."
[133] Jaap van Benthem, "Concerning Johannes Tinctoris and the Preparation of the Princess's Chansonnier," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 32, No. 1/2 (1982), 26, discusses how the placement of *Bel Accueil, O virgo, miserere mei, Enfermé suis,* and *Virgo Dei throno digna* divide the compositions into three numerically significant groups of 19 compositions. Karen Benner, "The Mellon Chansonnier, Reflections of the *Roman de la Rose*: the Reception by Molinet and Tinctoris, a Manuscript for the House of Aragon" (Masters thesis, University of Ottawa, 2003) explores the choice of songs in the Mellon Chansonnier and the relationship of their texts to the *Roman de la Rose.*
[134] Perkins, MCC, vii-ix.
[135] Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs,* 301.
[136] Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs,* 335, 260, 386, and 62.

Mellon Chansonnier was created in Naples, the manuscript should be categorized as "Franco-Burgundian."[137]

Busnoys currently has 14 ascribed or securely attributed songs in the Mellon Chansonnier, so nearly three times as many as are ascribed and attributed to any other composer in that manuscript. Most of his career was spent in the Loire Valley or at the Burgundian court. Born in Artois, he worked in the Loire Valley, with appointments at Tours Cathedral and then at the church of St. Martin.[138] After some time in Poitiers, he entered the service of Charles, count of Charolais and future duke of Burgundy, around 1466 or 1467, where he joined the Burgundian chapel in 1470.[139]

The next most represented composer in the Mellon Chansonnier is Du Fay with 4 ascribed and securely attributed chansons. Born perhaps in 1397, he served as a choirboy at Cambrai Cathedral. Du Fay was well-travelled and working at courts and holding benefices mainly in Bologna, Rome, Savoy, and Cambrai, but he was also a familiar of the Duke of Burgundy, though not a documented member of his chapel. He spent his final years in Cambrai, where he died in 1474.[140]

Other composers with ascribed songs in the Mellon Chansonnier and associations with the Loire Valley region or the Burgundian court include Vincenet, Caron, Joye, Morton, and Ockeghem. Vincenet has four ascribed songs in the Mellon Chansonnier, two French-, one Italian-, and one Spanish-texted. Born in Hainaut, he served at the court of Savoy and then at the

[137] As discussed in the Introduction, there is evidence that the Mellon Chansonnier may have been copied at the Burgundian court and then illuminated and presented in Naples.
[138] David Fallows, "'Trained and Immersed in all Musical Delights:' Towards a New Picture of Busnoys," in *Composers and their Songs, 1400-1521* (Routledge, 2010) reports that Busnoys was in Tours in the early 1460s.
[139] Grove Music Online, "Busnoys," by Paula Higgins, January 20, 2001, and O'Sullivan, "The Leuven Chansonnier."
[140] Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works*, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Aragonese court in Naples. In 1470, Vincenet's petition to resign his benefices in order to marry referred to him as a cleric of Cambrai.[141] Caron, Joye, Morton, and Ockeghem each have three ascribed chansons in the Mellon Chansonnier. Caron may have been from Amiens and was recognized as an outstanding composer by Tinctoris. Joye, a priest in Bruges and a singer at St. Donatian, was a *clerc* and then a *chappellain* at the Burgundian court chapel. Morton, an Englishman, served both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold in the Burgundian court chapel. Ockeghem, born in Hainaut, served Charles I, Duke of Bourbon, whose wife, Agnes of Burgundy, was the sister of Philip the Good. He served the French court of King Charles VII and was named treasurer of St. Martin in Tours in the Loire Valley, where Busnoys was employed.[142]

Other composers represented in the Mellon Chansonnier include Johannes Tinctoris with two ascribed Latin motets and John Bedyngham with two attributed songs, one in Italian and one in English. Tinctoris's association with Burgundy and the Loire Valley includes service at the Cambrai Cathedral and the Cathedral of Ste-Croix in Orléans. In the early 1470s, Tinctoris entered service to King Ferdinand I of Naples and was employed there when the Mellon Chansonnier was written, *ca.* 1474 – *ca.* 1476.[143] John Bedyngham and Walter Frye were English composers not known to have left England, but whose works were widely distributed on the Continent. Bedyngham had "26 different texts in four languages underlaid or applicable to songs ascribed" to him.[144]

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[141] Grove Music Online, "Vincenet," by Allan W. Atlas, January 20, 2001.
[142] See Grove Music Online, "Caron, Firminus," by David Fallows, January 20, 2001, "Joye, Gilles," by David Fallows, January 20, 2001, "Morton, Robert," by David Fallows, November 16, 2022, and "Ockeghem, Jean de," by Leeman L. Perkins, January 20, 2001, updated November 9, 2009.
[143] Grove Music Online, "Tinctoris, Johannes," by Ronald Woodley, September 16, 2010. See Perkins, MCE, 20, for a discussion of Tinctoris's possible involvement with the preparation of the Mellon Chansonnier.
[144] Grove Music Online, "Bedyngham, Johannes," by David Fallows, November 16, 2022.

Composers with single pieces in the Mellon Chansonnier include Barbingant, Basin, Binchois, Charvet, Frye, Hayne van Ghizeghem, Regis, and Le Rouge. Little is known of Barbingant, but it is believed that he was active in central France and may have influenced Ockeghem.[145] Basin served in the household chapel of Isabelle de Bourbon, wife of Charles the Bold and daughter of Charles I, by whom Ockeghem was employed. Basin also served as *chantre* and *valet de chambre* to Charles the Bold.[146] Binchois's connection to the Burgundian court chapel dates back to at least the late 1420s. He retired in Soignies.[147] Charvet may be Jacobus Carlerii who was an ordained priest and served at the church of Our Lady in Bruges.[148] Frye was an English composer who served Anne of Exeter, sister of Edward IV and Margaret of York, wife of Charles the Bold.[149] Hayne served Charles, both when he was Count of Charolais and when he became duke of Burgundy. He served in a secular capacity, accompanied Charles the Bold on military campaigns, and was not part of the ducal chapel.[150] Regis served in Soignies in the diocese of Cambrai: records appearing to place him elsewhere have been shown to involve other men.[151] Le Rouge was never employed in Burgundian territory, but was a singer in the chapel of Charles d'Orléans in 1451-1465 and had contact with Tinctoris, who was in Orléans in the early 1460s.[152]

Using the defining characteristics of the Mellon Chansonnier (Mel) as a model, other similar Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers can be identified, as I explain below. These others are

[145] Grove Music Online, "Barbingant," by David Fallows, January 20, 2001.
[146] Grove Music Online, "Basin, Adrien," by David Fallows, January 20, 2001.
[147] Grove Music Online, "Binchois, Gilles de Bins dit," by David Fallows, January 20, 2001.
[148] Grove Music Online, "Charvet, Jehan," January 20, 2001. Here, he is described as a "singer who may be identifiable with Jacobus Carlerii." See also Grove Music Online, "Carlerii, Jacobus," by Daniel Lievois, January 20, 2001.
[149] Grove Music Online, "Frye, Walter," by Brian Trowell, January 20, 2001.
[150] Grove Music Online, "Hayne van Ghizeghem," by Louise Litterick, revised by David Fallows, October 24, 2022.
[151] Grove Music Online, "Regis, Johannes," by Sean Gallagher, November 9, 2009.
[152] Grove Music Online, "Le Rouge, G," by Jeffrey Dean, January 20, 2001

the Copenhagen Chansonnier[153] (Cop), the Cordiforme Chansonnier[154] (Cord), the Dijon Chansonnier[155] (Dij), the Laborde Chansonnier[156] (Lab), the Leuven Chansonnier[157] (Leu), the Nivelle Chansonnier[158] (Niv), and the Wolfenbüttel Chansonnier[159] (Wolf). All have in common that they are:

- A parchment manuscript
- A small manuscript with music written in choirbook format
- Copied between the 1460s and the mid-1480s
- Containing predominantly secular French polyphonic works by musicians associated with the Burgundian court, or active in Burgundian territories or in the Loire Valley region
- With accurately copied texts that include at least a first complete verse for most songs
- With decorations and illuminations, rendering them literary, musical, and visual works of art

These characteristics combined define a manuscript of the highest quality and suitable as a gift for a nobleman or -woman. The songs contained therein would therefore be more likely to be those composed for or known to individuals in court circles.[160]

[153] DK-Kk MS Thott 291, 8°
[154] F-Pnm Rothschild 2973 (Chansonnier Cordiforme; Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu)
[155] F-Dm MS 517
[156] US-Wc M2.1.L25 Case
[157] B-AF MS 1
[158] F-Pn Rés. Vmc ms. 57
[159] D-W Cod. Guelf. 287 Extrav.
[160] Kelly DeVries pointed out in an email to me of 16 April 2026, that the 1460s when the beautiful chansonniers began to be copied was a time of prosperity. He writes, "With the exception of the Northern Italian towns, the Burgundian realm was the richest in Europe. This prosperity was certainly the result of the peace that Philip the Good had prompted in 1435 with the Peace of Arras – he fought the siege of Calais for a week in 1436 and then pulled out of the Hundred Years War completely. Only the 1449-1453 Ghent Rebellion interrupted this peace, and it did not move from the County of Flanders."

Fallows catalogued some 1370 French chansons in his exploration of more than 190 sources of polyphonic song from 1415-1480.[161] To limit the sources of song to Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers, one can turn to Perkins's list of 54 manuscripts with concordances to the songs in the Mellon Chansonnier.[162] An additional concordant source, the Leuven Chansonnier, came to light when it was sold at auction in 2014 and was therefore not part of Perkins's 1979 study.[163] By adding the Leuven Chansonnier to Perkins's sources, this results in 55 possible candidates for the group of Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. Eliminating those that are on paper, were created too early or too late, that include music theory treatises, or are in partbook format, reduced the number of manuscripts that were possible candidates for this study to 14.

Five of the manuscripts in Perkins's list of concordant sources, along with the Leuven Chansonnier, are the so-called "Loire Valley" chansonniers.[164] These are Cop, Dij, Lab, Leu, Niv, and Wolf. While their sizes vary, all are of a relatively small size suitable for personal use, ranging from the smallest, Leu, measuring *ca.* 120 x 85 mm. (4.7 x 3.3 in.), to the largest, Niv, measuring 180 x 125 mm. (7.1 x 4.9 in.). Mel, measuring 192 x 135 mm. (about 7.6 x 5.3 in.), exceeds Niv by 12 mm. in length and 10 mm. in width. Each has decorations that may include illuminated or fancifully decorated initials and floral or painted borders.

While the composers of the majority of the compositions in each of these six chansonniers are unknown, the most frequently represented composers worked in the Franco-Burgundian sphere, as noted above. Cop has five by Busnoys, followed by Convert's three.[165]

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[161] See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs.*
[162] Perkins, "The Sources," in MCC, 150-185.
[163] Burn, *Leuven Chansonnier Study*, 10.
[164] Ryan O'Sullivan, "The Leuven Chansonnier's Early Provenance," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 16, no. 2 (September 2024), 282-284, makes the case that Cop, Dij, Lab, and Wolf are Parisian.
[165] Grove Music Online, "Convert, P.," by Jane Alden, January 20, 2001, notes that Convert is known only from his songs and likely was active in the Loire Valley.

Dij's most frequently represented composer is also Busnoys, with 28 chansons, far exceeding the next most frequent, the Franco-Flemish composer Ockeghem, active in Burgundian and French territories, with eight. Lab contains eight songs each by Busnoys and Ockeghem. Leu has five Ockeghem songs and three by Busnoys. Busnoys is also the most frequently represented composer in Niv with nine songs, followed by seven by Delahaye, possibly a canon at St Martin in Tours in the mid-fifteenth century.[166] Finally, in Wolf, both Du Fay and Ockeghem are represented with four songs each.

In 2010, Jane Alden reported the consensus of scholars with regard to the dates for five of these chansonniers, noting that Dij, Lab, Niv, and Wolf have layers that were added at different times.[167] Cop, which still exists in its original binding with gilded edges, was created in the early to mid-1470s. Dij's main layer was created in the early to mid-1470s, with additions in the mid-1480s. Lab's first layer was created *ca.* 1465 with a second layer added in the early to mid-1470s, and a third layer in the mid-1480s. Niv's main layer was created around 1460, with additions around 1465.[168] Wolf's main layer was, likewise, created *ca.* 1465, with additions in the mid-1480s.[169] Burn places the creation of Leu to between 1470 and 1475, and Cord was compiled around 1470.[170]

Along with Mel, Perkins lists another concordant source written in Naples, Berk.[171] Berk, with heraldic arms uniting the Castellani and Niccolini families, possibly dates from the

[166] Grove Music Online, "Delahaye, Jean," by Jane Alden, January 20, 2001.
[167] Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 129.
[168] David Fallows, "The Chronology of the Central Chansonniers," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 13, no. 1 (January 2021): 53-63, also dates Niv to between 1460 and 1465.
[169] Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*, 114.
[170] Edward L. Kottick, "The Music of the Chansonnier Cordiforme: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2973" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1986), 5.
[171] D-Bkk MS 78.C.28 (Margherita Castellani's songbook, Niccolini chansonnier).

wedding of Margherita Castellani and Bernardino Niccolini in 1472.[172] It exists with its original blue velvet covers and has Florentine illuminations and initials. It measures 246 x 160 mm. (9.69 x 6.3 in.) but contains no texts, and is, therefore, not included in this study.

From Savoy, Cord meets the criteria for inclusion in this study because it contains songs by Franco-Burgundian composers. This manuscript, in the shape of a heart, dates from the mid-1470s. It measures 185 x 160 mm. (7.28 x 6.3 in). It is a work of art, with velvet binding, illuminated miniatures, initials, and floral borders. Both words and music are supplied for its 30 French polyphonic chansons. A variety of composers are represented, with two securely attributed songs each for Busnoys, Du Fay, Morton, and Ockeghem.[173]

I eliminate several potential candidates, because they lack the characteristics of the Mellon Chansonnier listed above. Perkins's list of manuscripts with concordant songs includes three written in Florence, FR2356[174], FR2794[175], and Pix[176]. FR2356 dates from the mid-1480s. Fallows describes it as "elegantly if inaccurately written, without initials and with very little text."[177] The absence of significant and accurate texts eliminates it from consideration here. FR2794 was copied in Florence in the 1480s. It measures 240 x 166 mm. Fallows notes that it is "plainly related to the slightly earlier 'central' chansonniers (Dij, etc.),"[178] however, it is devoid of illustrations and initials, one of the defining characteristics listed above, and so is not included in the core Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers of this study. Pix, dating from the early 1480s, measures 180 x 120 mm., is excluded on the basis of its texts. With its fanciful illustrations it

[172] Sean Gallagher, "The Berlin Chansonnier and French Song in Florence, 1450–1490: A New Dating and Its Implications," *The Journal of Musicology* 24, no. 3 (2007): 348-349.
[173] David Fallows, ed., *Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu* (facsimile ed., Vicent García Editores, 2007).
[174] I-Fr MS 2356.
[175] I-Fr MS 2794.
[176] F-Pnm Français 15123 (Pixérécourt Chansonnier).
[177] Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs,* 18.
[178] Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs,* 19.

would appear, at first glance, to qualify for inclusion. Fallows describes it as including decorations which "continue through to the very end, with no reduction in quality. The musical readings are in general very good indeed, whereas the texts are with very few exceptions,

Table 2.1. Concordances of chansons in French in the eight selected Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers

MS	Cop	Cord	Dij	Lab	Leu	Mel	Niv	Wolf
Cop	33	3	24	17	7	3	11	13
Cord		30	12	13	11	10	7	11
Dij			157	36	26	19	37	26
Lab				100	22	17	17	31
Leu					49	9	15	20
Mel						47	7	12
Niv							62	17
Wolf								53

extremely poor." So, while it is clearly a work of art and Fallows categorizes it as "one of the most important manuscripts of its generation," with its corrupt text, it would not be of value to this study, which is based on analysis of chanson texts. [179]

Hailing from Ferrara, RCas[180] dates from *ca.* 1480 and measures 270 x 202 mm., so is a bit larger than the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. It is devoid of illustrations and text and is, therefore, not included in the core Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers for this study.

Table 2.1 indicates the number of concordant songs in the chansonniers selected for this study. Thus, 3 of the songs in Cop are also in Cord, the latter with a total of 30 songs. 24 chansons in Dijon are also in Cop and 12 also in Cord; Dijon has a total of 157 songs. Mel has the fewest concordances with Cop (3) and the most concordances with Dij (19). Three songs appear in seven of the eight Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers: Hayne's *De tous biens plaine est*

[179] Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs,* 38.
[180] I-Rc MS 2856 (Casanatense chansonnier)

ma maistresse, Busnoys's *Est il mercy de quoy l'on peust finer*, and Ockeghem's *Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure*. One song appears in all eight manuscripts: Morton's *N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay*.

To summarize, the composers represented in Mel were employed at the Burgundian court or in Cambrai, Tours, and Orléans. The Loire River runs from the southern border of Brittany, through Orléans, and south along the western border of Nevers, a Burgundian domain, the region associated with the six so-called "Loire Valley" Chansonniers. The Mellon Chansonnier hails from Naples and the Cordiforme Chansonnier from Savoy. Naples had close ties with the Burgundian court as was discussed in Chapter 1 with Alfonso V, King of Aragon and Naples, who, in 1445, joined the Order of the Golden Fleece, a Burgundian chivalric order discussed in Chapter 1. No knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece hailed from Savoy during Philip's lifetime, yet this region neighbored Burgundy and had ties to it through marriages. Amadeus VIII, the first Duke of Savoy, married Philip the Good's aunt, Mary of Burgundy. Louis I, the second Duke of Savoy and duke during most of Philip the Good's tenure as Duke of Burgundy, was Philip's first cousin. Du Fay, with securely attributed chansons in six of the eight chansonniers studied here, was employed at the court of Savoy from 1434-1458, with several interruptions.

It is not only noteworthy that the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers hail from areas of Franco-Burgundian influence, as illustrated in the map of Figure 1.2, wealthy regions that supported a culture valuing art, books, and music, but also that, as will be demonstrated in this dissertation, relied on chivalric values. These locations were ruled by dukes and kings who were bibliophiles and art collectors, even composers, in the case of Charles the Bold,[181] as well as

[181] David Fallows, "Charles the Bold as Patron, Singer, and Composer," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 69 (2019): 3–18.

patrons of illuminators, artists, and musicians, producing an environment that encouraged the creation of such fine chansonniers.

Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Naples, loved books, music, and collected the paintings of Jan van Eyck, who had been employed by Duke Philip the Good. Giancomo Curlo's dedication of *Epitome Donati in Terentium* refers to King Alfonso as a "patron and friend of letters without peer."[182] His son, Ferdinand I of Naples, father of Beatrice of Aragon, in honor of whose wedding Mel was created, continued the tradition and greatly expanded the library.

The library of Savoy contained many noteworthy volumes, including the *Très Riches Heures,* the *Heures de Savoie,* and the *Heures de Turin,* books once owned by Duke Jean of Berry, Amadeus's grandfather. Duke Amadeus VIII was "the prime mover in the history of the Savoyard library; he virtually established it by his purchases and commissions."[183]

In the Loire Valley, Orléans was a center of music and literature. Charles, Duke of Orléans, inherited a large library from his father, Louis I. Charles was captured by the English at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 and held prisoner in England for 24 years. During this period, Duchess Yolande of Aragon, René's of Anjou's mother, took care of Charles's library in Orléans. After Philip the Good and his wife, Isabella of Portugal, secured Charles's release in November 1440, he returned to Orléans. As a poet, book collector, and bibliophile, he hosted a salon of poets where he kept company with other men who collected books including the noblemen Duke Jean of Bourbon, Duke Jean of Alençon, and Duke René d'Anjou, the latter, who, as Bailiff of Touraine, had authority over the lands of Touraine, including Tours. After 1451, Charles "settled down at Blois to give his full attention to his domestic life, his library, his

[182] Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous,* 306.
[183] Edmunds, "The Medieval Library of Savoy," *Scriptorium* 24, no. 2 (1970): 324.

friends, and poetry."[184] The map in Figure 2.1 illustrates the geographic proximity of the dukedoms associated with the Franco-Burgundian manuscripts, led by the just-named bibliophiles, and including the Loire River valley.

The dukes of Burgundy also maintained a fine library. Originally established by Philip the Bold and expanded by Margaret of Bavaria, John the Fearless's wife, the Burgundian library continued to expand under Philip the Good. Bernard Bousmanne described Philip as a



Figure 2.1. Map: duchies associated with the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers

[184]John Fox and Mary-Jo Arn, "Introduction" *Poetry of Charles d'Orléans and His Circle: A Critical Edition of BnF MS. Fr. 25458, Charles d'Orléans's Personal Manuscript*, ed. John Fox and Mary-Jo Arn (Brepols, 2010), xxxv.

"committed patron of the arts and a knowledgeable book lover."[185] The inventory of the library after Philip's death in 1467 lists nearly 900 manuscripts. The library passed to his son, Charles the Bold, who increased the collection to close to a thousand volumes. Charles is described as "a man of uncommon intelligence and superior cultural knowledge to that of most of the other great men of Europe."[186] Charles enjoyed having his courtiers read *romans* and *nouvelletez* to him, and he also composed music, as was noted above.

Burgundian noblemen followed Philip the Good's example: Louis de Gruuthuse, Jean de Créquy, Jean de Wavrin, Jan De Baenst, and Philippe de Hornes were significant bibliophiles.[187] This love of manuscripts and art even spread to a new wealthier middle class in this region. "Buoyed up by their ever-growing financial power, bankers, officials, lawyers and all members of the middle class began to develop an interest in manuscripts as a source of ideas and as objects conveying social status."[188] Jane Alden notes the growing importance of books in the fifteenth century among recently ennobled professionals who sought to acquire manuscripts and artwork: "between 1425 and 1475 upper-middle-class clients outnumbered established nobility as known patrons of panel paintings by a ratio of two to one."[189] Nicolò Ferrari discusses the position of new courtiers and their interest in manuscript ownership, noting that they had a university education, which the high nobility did not, and that "their status was enhanced through arts patronage, such as the commissioning or … purchasing of lavishly illuminated manuscripts and books."[190]

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[185] Bernard Bousmanne, "The Library of the Dukes of Burgundy and the World Around It," in *The Library of the Dukes of Burgundy,* ed. Bernard Bousmanne and Elena Savini (Harvey Miller, 2020), 13.
[186] Bousmanne, "The Library of the Dukes of Burgundy," 15.
[187] Bousmanne, "The Library of the Dukes of Burgundy," 19.
[188] Bousmanne, "The Library of the Dukes of Burgundy," 20.
[189] Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society,* 169 cites Craig Harbison, *The Mirror of the Artist: Northern Renaissance Art in its Historical Context* (New York: Abrams, 1995), 48.
[190] Ferrari, "New Findings," 155.

This spread of love of books as art objects created the environment in which the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers were created. Bousmanne notes that the books may have been copied in one place and then illustrated in another.[191] As we see in the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers, the "decorated margins, which had once been mere extensions of the initials and subject to the rules and anathemas of the Church, now teemed with animals, monsters, anthropomorphic figures and drolleries …"[192]

We can place the original owners or dedicatees of some of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. The contents of Mel point to its creation in association with the marriage of Beatrice of Aragon to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, in 1476. Cord was compiled for Jean de Montchenu, who served as Vicar-General and Councilor to Jean-Louis de Savoie, Bishop of Geneva. Wolf is dedicated to Étienne Petit, a royal notary and secretary. Lab may have likewise been associated with a royal notary and secretary. Dij, Lab, and Wolf each have a missing first leaf – perhaps indicating removal of evidence of ownership or dedication when the manuscripts changed hands.

Alden argues that, given that the dedicatee of Wolf is Étienne Petit, a royal secretary, it may be that the chansonniers first circulated among notaries and secretaries, rather than the hereditary aristocracy.[193] Notaries and secretaries recorded the deeds of monarchs, drafted acts (laws, etc.), expedited letters written on behalf of the King, served diplomatic functions, had a working knowledge of Latin and classical rhetoric, and translated texts.[194] Notaries and

[191] See Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, "Flemish Illuminators in the Burgundian Library," in *The Library of the Dukes of Burgundy,* ed. Bernard Bousmanne and Elena Savini (Harvey Miller, 2020), 26-48, for a discussion of key illustrators of books in the Burgundian library of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold.
[192] Bousmanne, "The Library of the Dukes of Burgundy," 21.
[193] Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society,* 179. DMF defines a *secretaire* as, in addition to "personne de confiance dont la fonction est principalement d'écrire sous la dictée" (confidant who principally takes dictation), "Confident, dépositaire d'un secret" (a keeper of a secret).
[194] Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society,* 180-183.

secretaries participated in the *Cour amoureuse* (Court of Love), a literary society whose members were required to write rondeaux, ballades, and other chansons and may have included Johannes Ockeghem. In addition to literary prowess, Alden notes that musical competence "was considered a mark of the aristocracy and therefore much desired by the upwardly mobile group of royal administrators."[195]

What purpose did these diminutive chansonniers serve? Were they valued simply as beautiful miniature works of art, or did they have a more active role in the lives of their owners? Bearing in mind that they contain poetic texts, it may be instructive to look at how other forms of literature were used in the Burgundian court. This study explores the texts and music of the chansons from the perspective of their relationship to the lives of chevaliers: likewise, Edgar De Blieck's PhD dissertation on the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles,* the hundred racy tales that were told at the Burgundian court between the autumn of 1458 and the spring of 1459, notes that "to a greater or lesser extent *all* the *Nouvelles* drew on the life experience of the men who recounted them."[196] In his dedicatory letter of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles,* the *rédacteur* (editor) compares these stories with the *Cent nouvelles* (Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*), hence the title *Cent nouvelles nouvelles.* Carlo Bosi remarks that the stories of *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* have characteristics more in common with Poggio Bracciolini's (1380-1459) stories than with Boccaccio's *Decameron,* with their "abundance of bawdy and licentious topics, frequently centring [*sic*] on the inability of characters in general and husbands in particular to recognize and take control of the fact that they are being cuckolded and tricked by their wives, who, of course, never miss out an opportunity to fling with lecherous priests or libidinous knights." Bosi notes

[195] Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society,* 187.
[196] Edgar De Blieck, "The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles,* Text and Context: Literature and History at the Court of Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Glasgow, 2004), 5.

that these bawdy stories are a product of a society that also saw the creation of the combinative chanson with its juxtaposition of rustic lyrics with courtly topics.[197]

The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* could have been fuel for court debate, according to De Blieck, who remarks on the absence of moral judgement in them, and that this suggests that the characters' "individual conduct was *intended* to be opened to scrutiny. Each tale narrated a situation in which characters did or said things with a moral dimension."[198] The poetry of the chansons similarly presents aspects of courtly life without judgement, yet deliberative discourse was part of Burgundian court life. De Blieck states that "even at the highest level of courtly society, the duke of Burgundy participated in literary dialogues, which had a political as well as a social aspect. His correspondence with the duke of Orléans, the prisoner whom he ransomed, took the form of an exchange of poetic addresses, apparently composed by the dukes themselves."[199]

De Blieck states that "the court of Burgundy was a listening court, accustomed to having works read aloud to it."[200] Elizabeth Moodey notes that Philip the Good "is said to have retained a *lisieur,* who read aloud to him on a daily basis," and that some of the manuscripts in his library have prologues that urge the audience to listen.[201]

Prose was not the only literary form subject to discussion in the court. "Just as the stories of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were probably discussed after they were told, so the poetry of the

[197] Carlo Bosi, "'Mal Mariées', Adulterers and Lovers in Late Fifteenth-Century Song: A Cultural and Social Perspective," *Revue belge de musicologie* 68 (2014): 57, 60.
[198] De Blieck, "The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles,*" 119.
[199] De Blieck, "The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles,*" 180-181.
[200] De Blieck, "The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles,*" 180-181.
[201] Moodey, "Illuminated Crusader Histories," 82-83.

Cour amoureuse was subject to judgement."[202] The poetic texts of chansonniers, likewise, could have been debated or fueled moral contemplation.[203]

Sigrid Harris, in her exploration of Fortune and Injustice as they are represented in the songs of Leu, suggests that the chansonnier may have offered "moral, even spiritual, value, its focus on Fortune serving as both a subject for contemplation and a warning."[204] Karen Benner explored a similar possibility in the songs of Mel, comparing their themes with those found in the *Roman de la Rose.* Benner, in summarizing a passage from Jean Molinet's *Roman de la Rose moralisé*, states that "popular cantiques, or chansons, are not always what they may seem to be. These works are composed by honourable clerics and can be interpreted as moral and righteous testaments."[205] With that in mind, Benner notes that Mel may be more than a compilation of songs chosen for their popularity or for their preference by the collector, but that they offer some lessons or fuel for moral contemplation.

Having situated the selected Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers and the composers whose songs they transmit in an environment of highly cultured noblemen, we turn in Chapter 3 to the texts of the chansons they contain. As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, close analysis of the texts reveals that they do not reflect a passive courtly culture of after-dinner music, but rather the active and potentially deadly pursuits of Franco-Burgundian knights and the culture of chivalry in which they were central.

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[202] De Blieck, "The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles,*" 162.
[203] For a discussion of possible ways in which the chansonniers were read, see Jane Alden, "Reading the Loire Valley Chansonniers," *Acta Musicologica* (Basel) 79, no. 1 (2007): 1–31.
[204] Harris, "Fortune and Injustice in the Leuven Chansonnier," 37.
[205] Benner, "The Mellon Chansonnier," 16.

Chapter 3 : THE INDEX

In order to explore the relationship between the texts of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers and chivalric and military aspects of Burgundian society systematically, I needed to interrogate the full texts of all of the songs. As part of this investigation, I produced the Index, found in the Appendix, which contains a list of words with their variant spellings from the Middle French songs of my selected eight Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers, organized under their "common spelling," to be explained, along with the associated "song numbers" where the words were found. This chapter explains my process of creating the Index and then illustrates how I used the Index to locate songs with words associated with chivalry that will be analyzed in Chapter 4. The Excel spreadsheet I describe below was a tool for constructing the Index and is not included in this dissertation.

The first step was to create a database in the form of an Excel spreadsheet containing the words from the songs in Middle French found in these manuscripts, consisting of some 4300 unique forms of words. This Index is not only a reference tool for readers of this dissertation but is also intended to assist future researchers. The methodology for creating the Index to follow is presented here, so that readers will understand how I arrived at my results by using it, which are presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

The next task was to identify the songs whose words would fill the database. To that end, a master list of all of the French songs found in each of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers was assembled. For this purpose, the first line of the texts served as the title of the song. Because there are often spelling variants between titles of the same song in different manuscripts, each song title was mapped to a standard title, which I took from Fallows's

Catalogue, except where indicated otherwise, or those of the Leu unica, which are necessarily absent. This allows multiple instances of the same song to be correctly associated with the words it includes that were chosen for the Index. Each title is given a unique "song number" in the Index. The song numbers begin with the letters "Fr," indicating a French text, in anticipation of possible expansion of the database by others, followed by a three-digit number. The song numbers range from Fr001 to Fr312. These song numbers are listed in a table at the beginning of the Appendix, which serves as the Key to the Index. The Key includes each song number, its associated standard song title, and a list of the manuscripts including that song. See Table 3.2 for an example of entries in the Key.

Once the set of songs to be analyzed was established, a single cell in the spreadsheet was dedicated to each instance of a song. Each cell contained all the words from the text of that song as it appears in its chansonnier, meaning that only stanzas that were present were included for that chansonnier. The distinctive spelling of the word in the chansonnier, as determined by examination of the manuscript in conjunction with the edition of the chansonnier, was preserved. Consulted for this were:

- Copenhagen Chansonnier: Knud Jeppesen and Viggo Brøndal, *The Copenhagen Chansonnier; the Thott 2918 Manuscript in the Royal Library of Copenhagen* (Broude Brothers, 1965).
- Cordiforme Chansonnier: Edward L. Kottick, "The Music of the Chansonnier Cordiforme: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2973" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1986).

- Dijon Chansonnier: Charles Edward Barret, “A Critical Edition of the Dijon Chansonnier: Dijon, Bibliothèque de La Ville, Ms. 512 (Ancien 295)” (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1981).
- Laborde Chansonnier: Clemens Goldberg, *Das Chansonnier Laborde: Studien zur Intertextualität einer Liederhandschrift des 15* (Lang, 1999).
- Leuven Chansonnier: David J. Burn and Bart Demuyt, *Leuven Chansonnier. Facsimile + Study/Studie* (Davidsfonds, 2017).
- Mellon Chansonnier: Leeman L. Perkins and Howard B. Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier,* 2 vols. (Yale University Press, 1979).
- Nivelle Chansonnier: Paula Marie Higgins and *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, *Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée: (Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Rés. Vmc. ms. 57, ca. 1460)* (Minkoff, 1984).
- Wolfenbüttel Chansonnier: Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff, *Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Codex Guelf. 287 Extrav* (Schott, 1988).

The song texts were then modified to eliminate any punctuation, capitalization, and contractions. All words were tokenized by separation with a space, making them each a distinct unit. A list of all of the words from all of the song cells was created and duplicates removed, forming a list of all the word variants found within the Middle French texts of the subject chansonniers.

To enable the identification of the songs associated with each word variant, all of the song texts for a given song were merged into a single song cell. Each song cell was searched for the presence of each word from the variant list, creating a set of song numbers associated with

each variant. This was done using the Excel VLOOKUP function. The association of a song number to a variant indicates that at least one version of the song contains that variant. As a result of this process, each word variant was associated with the set of song numbers indicating in which songs it is found.

Each word was then identified in the free online DMF. This dictionary combines entries from the main earlier published dictionaries (identified with abbreviations) with words and alternate spellings found in cited French works from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and provides readers with modern evaluations of their distinctive shadings of meanings. That DMF includes information from early dictionaries like Godefroy that was the hard-copy go-to standard and rested on painstaking analyses of the language used in early texts has made DMF the central research tool for this dissertation.

Using DMF, the "lemma," or common spelling, of a word was determined. In computational linguistics, the word "lemma" refers to the base or canonical form of a word. In my database, I am using the infinitive form of a verb as its lemma, and for nouns that have both a masculine and feminine form, I chose the masculine singular form as the lemma. Establishing a common form of a word is vital when studying texts from a period where spelling was not standardized.[206] For example, DMF reports 50 different forms of the word *homme* that were found within its source texts, ranging from *hoem* to *oume.* In my database, all variants of the word found in the chansons are mapped to or associated with *homme*.

In addition to establishing a lemma for each word, I also noted its part(s) of speech in my spreadsheet. In cases where a word variant from a song was a form of more than one lemma, rather than translate each song to identify the meaning of that particular usage, I duplicated the

[206] This procedure is used for the databases of the DACT Project: Digital Analysis of Chant Transmission. https://dact-chant.ca/

variant in my list so that each instance of a variant corresponds to a single lemma. That provides a starting point, but to determine which lemma applies to a particular song, the text of that song would need to be translated, and the usage of the given word determined from its context in the song. Additionally, some lemmas are phrases that are treated as single words, such as *bon droit, lac de dueil,* and *crocq de ache.*

Certainly not all of the words in a chanson offer any meaningful insight into the texts, so I indicated in my spreadsheet which words would be excluded from the Index. First, I excluded closed classes of words, such as articles, conjunctions, possessives, prepositions, and pronouns. "Closed class" is a term applied to categories of words that only have a small number of members and to which, normally, new words are not added. I also excluded verbs used so frequently that they offered no distinctive insights: *aller, avoir, devoir, être, faire, pouvoir, savoir,* and *voir.* The final version of my spreadsheet that was used to build the Index correlated each song word variant to a lemma and to the song numbers in which the variant appears.

In order to transform the spreadsheet data into the format found in the Index, I used an Excel pivot table. This analysis tool allows a large set of data to be organized and grouped into a more comprehensible format. The pivot table organized the data so that all word variants and their associated song numbers appeared in alphabetical order under their associated lemma. The lemmas were also placed in alphabetical order. This reformatted data appears in the Index. The lemma is given in bold font and its variants with their associated song numbers appear indented beneath their corresponding lemma. Examples of Index entries are given below.

Taking the Index entry for the word *homme*, for example (see Table 3.1), we see that six variants of the word appear in the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers: *home, homme, hommes,*

Table 3.1. Index entries for the word *homme*

homme	
home	Fr081 Fr297 Fr312
homme	Fr032 Fr083 Fr139 Fr166 Fr250 Fr267
hommes	Fr173
homs	Fr106 Fr267 Fr285
ome	Fr084
omme	Fr139 Fr145 Fr146 Fr272

homs, ome, and *omme.* The entry of the plural form *homs* in the Index indicates that the form *homs* is found in the songs Fr106, *Je ne suis plus si esbatant,* found in *Dij*; Fr267, *Servant leal qui as si bien servy*, appearing in Dij; and Fr285, *S'ung bien peu d'esperance avoye*, in Niv. Table 3.2 shows a subset of the Index Key for the song numbers associated with *homs.* The Key correlates the song number to its common title and the Franco-Burgundian chansonniers in which it appears. Inspection of the text of *Je ne suis plus si esbatant* confirms the appearance of the word *homs* in the line *Oncques homs n'ama esbat tant.*

Table 3.2. Index Key correlating song number to common title and associated chansonniers

French-Texted Songs in the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers		
Song Number	Common Title	Franco-Burgundian Concordances
Fr106	Je ne suis plus si esbatant	Dij
Fr267	Servant leal qui as si bien servy	Dij
Fr285	S'ung bien peu d'esperance avoye	Niv

147 songs from the 312 Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers contain at least one of the words that I considered as possibly having a meaning pertaining to military matters, chivalry, or heraldry, roughly 47%. The number of songs may be greater, since this list does not include the colors that could refer to coats of arms, variants of the word "servant," or variants of the verb *devoir,* which can mean "duty." This statistic supports my contention that many of the chansons of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers may be interpreted as representing aspects of a knight's life. The Index provided me with a starting point for locating songs on a given topic. Songs identified through the use of the Index were then investigated further to determine the meaning and usage of the words of interest in each case. My close analysis using this procedure has led

Table 3.3. Index entries for terms of military equipment

Lemma (meaning) Variant	Song Number
arc (bow)	
arc	Fr082
arcz	Fr007
arme (weapon)	
armes	Fr059 Fr103 Fr253
cheval (horse)	
cheval	Fr082
epee (sword)	
espee	Fr082
flesche (arrow)	
flesche	Fr069
forteresse (fortress)	
fortresse	Fr044
haubergeon (coat of mail)	
haubregon	Fr084
visiere (visor)	
visiere	Fr069

me to revise and sometimes correct, or at least improve, some published translations of the songs.

Index entries for words in the songs that reference military equipment are listed in Table 3.3, which shows the lemma with its meaning, the variants, and the song numbers associated with each variant. I have added the meaning of the lemma in parentheses. For example, the word *arc* (bow) appears in the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers in the variants *arc* and *arcz* and

Table 3.4. Index entries for terms of heraldry

Lemma (meaning) Variant	Song Number
couleur (color, a heraldry color)	
couleur	Fr013 Fr262
devise (motto, an emblem)	
device	Fr080
devise	Fr080 Fr088 Fr092 Fr093 Fr253 Fr303
dit (motto, a saying)	
dit	Fr021 Fr055 Fr058 Fr061 Fr079 Fr082 Fr156 Fr170 Fr192 Fr262 Fr298
ecu (shield, in heraldry the body of a blazon)	
escu	Fr013 Fr059
escus	Fr022
escuz	Fr022

is found in two songs, Fr082 (*Il est de bonne heure né*) and Fr007 (*Amours amours trop me fiers de tes dars*). Table 3.4 contains the Index entries for terms of heraldry.

The Index entry provides a starting point for locating songs which use a particular meaning for a given word. For example, 11 songs contain the word *dit,* but its usage in each case could have a different meaning, which may not be referring to a motto. Variants of the word *ecu,* which could be forms of the verb *escourre* or the noun *ecu* with its varied meanings, appear in three songs: Fr013 (*A une dame j'ay fait vue*), Fr022 (*Cent mille escus quant je vouldroye*), and Fr059 (*Escu d'ennuy semé de plours*).

The largest category is words that convey military action, listed in Table 3.5. Variants of words such as *assaut* (an attack), *blesser* (to injure, to harm), and *tuer* (to kill) appear in six

songs, while the phrase *arriere ban* (the rear guard, rear ranks) and words such as *chevauchee*, (a military expedition on horseback), *jouter* (to joust), and *trespercer* (to pierce) appear in only one song.

Table 3.5. Index entries for terms of military matters and combat

Lemma (meaning) Variant	Song Numbers
abattre (to bring down, to strike down, to kill)	
abatu	Fr084 Fr309
abatue	Fr259
abatus	Fr105
arriere ban (the rear guard, rear ranks)	
arriere ban	Fr123
assaillir (to attack)	
assaillent	Fr106
assault	Fr044 Fr084 Fr094 Fr239 Fr285 Fr288
assaut (an attack)	
assault	Fr044 Fr084 Fr094 Fr239 Fr285 Fr288
battre (to beat, to defeat)	
batant	Fr106 Fr131
batu	Fr084
batue	Fr020
blesser (to injure, to harm)	
blesse	Fr004 Fr044 Fr052 Fr161 Fr240 Fr255
chevauchee (a military expedition on horseback)	
chevauchie	Fr310
combattre (to fight someone)	
combas	Fr054 Fr222
conbatu	Fr084
debattre (to beat, to quarrel, to combat)	
debatue	Fr273
debatz	Fr054
defendre (to defend, to answer the challenger in a tournament)	
defendu	Fr129

Lemma (meaning) Variant	Song Numbers
defense (the act of protecting, from verb to defend)	
defance	Fr174
defense	Fr002 Fr174
deffanse	Fr174
deffence	Fr174
deffense	Fr174
defenser (to defend, to forbid)	
defance	Fr174
ebattre (to fight, to engage in war games)	
esbas	Fr054 Fr220 Fr233
embattre (to fight, to beat)	
enbatu	Fr084
emprendre (to undertake a war, expedition, feat of arms, crusade, or to organize a tournament)	
emprise	Fr092
enprendroie	Fr054
enprise	Fr199
emprise (a military expedition, attack, assault)	
emprise	Fr092
entreprendre (a military campaign, armed attack, a knight of great prowess, attack, assault as in a tournament, feat of arms)	
entreprise	Fr080 Fr147 Fr199 Fr207
entreprendre (to undertake a military entrprise, to attack)	
entrepris	Fr282
entrepris (a military enterprise, attack, assault)	
entrepris	Fr282
entreprise (feat of arms)	
entreprise	Fr080 Fr147 Fr199 Fr207
gage (a pledge or token for battle, to pay someone for military service)	
gaiges	Fr123 Fr302
gager (to pledge, to bet)	
gaiges	Fr123 Fr302
guerre (armed combat)	
guerre	Fr099 Fr191

Lemma (meaning) Variant	Song Numbers
jouter (to joust)	
jouxter	Fr001
rompre (to tear, to break)	
rompre	Fr012 Fr037 Fr299
romprisse	Fr108
romproit	Fr146
trespercer (to pierce)	
tresperca	Fr123
trespercha	Fr123
tuer (to kill)	
tue	Fr010 Fr110 Fr141 Fr215 Fr259 Fr273
venger (to avenge)	
venger	Fr148
vengier	Fr034 Fr148 Fr222

In summary, I first prepared a spreadsheet of all the words from all the Middle French songs from the eight chansonniers. From this spreadsheet, I created a list of words and associated them with their common spellings and the songs in which they appear. This data formed the Index found in the Appendix. Using the Index, I selected songs that contained military or heraldic terminology for further exploration.

Table 3.6. Index Key of songs explored in Chapter 4

Song Number	Common Title	Franco-Burgundian Concordances
Fr013	A une dame j'ay fait vue	Dij Lab Mel
Fr044	Donnés l'assault a la fortresse	Mel
Fr059	Escu d’ennuy semé de plours	Leu
Fr082	Il est de bonne heure né	Dij
Fr108	Je serviray selon qu'on me payera	Lab
Fr123	L'aultre d'antan l'autrier passa	Cord Dij Mel
Fr199	Paracheve ton entreprise	Mel

The songs I chose to explore in depth in Chapter 4, their common titles listed in Table 3.6, include variants of words such as *couleur* and *ecu* (Fr013), *forteresse, assaillir, assaut,* and *blesser* (Fr044), *ecu* and *armes* (Fr059), *arc, cheval,* and *epee* (Fr082), *rompre* (Fr108), *arriere ban* and *trespercer* (Fr123), and variants of *emprendre, entreprendre,* and *entreprise* (Fr199). The reader can refer to the Index in the Appendix as necessary while reading the next chapters or use it for future research.

Chapter 4 : THE WORDS

While the *trouvère* songs of a previous era have been categorized into genres, such as *jeu-parti* (sung debate), *chanson d'amour* (song of love), *pastourelle* (pastoral song), *chanson de toile* (weaving song), *chanson de femme* (woman's song), *chanson de mal marié* (song of a woman unhappy in marriage), *rondet de carole*[207] (round of a carol) and the like, the surviving fifteenth-century chansons, which are more numerous, have thus far been classified mainly by language (Fallows) or poetic form (Garey, songs in the Mellon Chansonnier, *e.g.* rondeau, ballade, virelai or bergerette). Garey also divides the Mellon chansons by their "courtly" and "popular" lyrics and then separates the courtly love songs into those that express grief and pain, that are a supplication for mercy, that offer service, and that express fidelity, hope, praise, and joy and fulfillment. He also places the varied subjects of the songs into one of three general categories: as about love, possibly about love although not explicitly expressed, and having nothing to do with love at all. Garey casts a wide net when grouping songs into his first category, those about love, including, for example, *A qui vens tu tes coquilles*, which describes young women jeering at an old man selling scallop shells. Garey places in a second category several "songs whose words are applicable to a more general situation but one that certainly includes love."[208] For example, the text of *Au povre par necessité* is a supplication for assistance, but no misfortune is specified. As examples of songs in his third category, he finds

[207] Grove Music Online, "Troubadours, trouvères," by John Stevens, Ardis Butterfield, and Theodore Karp, January 20, 2001.
[208] Garey, "Themes," in MCC, 77.

no discernable reference to love in *Fortune, par ta cruaulté* and *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'ome armé doibt on doubter*.[209]

One of the ways that Fallows classifies songs is by theme, or topic, such "May Day" or "Farewells."[210] What I offer here is a new perspective on some of the songs within these topics. I limit my discussion to songs that employ military, chivalric, or heraldic terminology, and group them according to the facet of a knight's life that they reflect: a knight in defeat, a knight's complaint, a knight's use of the language of heraldry as an expression of identity, the bawdy knight, and a knight in conversation. Of the 47 French songs in the Mellon Chansonnier (here "Mel"), 37 contain knightly language. This prevalence of songs associated with the military, heraldry, or chivalry underscores the importance of arms and chivalric ideals in Burgundian culture.

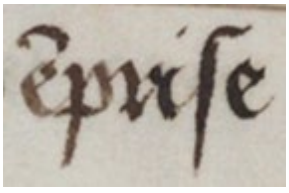


Figure 4.1. *Emprise* in the Mellon Chansonnier, fol. 54v

The English translations of the songs provided here are my own, formulated using definitions in DMF with assistance from the websites https://openl.io and https://anythingtranslate.com/translators/the-old-french-translator/, except where otherwise noted. The square brackets ([ ]) in the French text enclose words that do not appear in Mel but that Garey supplied from a different chansonnier or manuscript.

[209] MCC, 63-79.
[210] Fallows, *Art Songs*, 231-259.

Paracheve ton entreprise – A knight in defeat

A short text with strong meaning to an audience of knights is *Paracheve ton entreprise*, Mel, fols. 54v-55r, with French text and English translation here given deliberately as presented by Garey.

French Text (Garey, MCC, 359)	**English Translation (Garey, MCC, 359)**
Paracheve ton [entreprise]	Have done with thine enterprise
Que tu as contre moy enprise,	Which thou hast taken up against me,
Fortune adverse,	Contrary Fortune,
Et tout a ung coup me reverse,	And in one go turn me around,
Que mieulx morir que vivre prise,	For I prize dying more than living
Tant [m'es diverse].	So inconstant art thou to me.

This is the only appearance of this composition, which is attributed to Robert Morton, in a Franco-Burgundian Chansonnier. Only one verse is provided in Mel. Two different versions of the poem are found in poetic texts in JARD and FABRI, and Garey discusses those texts in his edition of the song.[211]

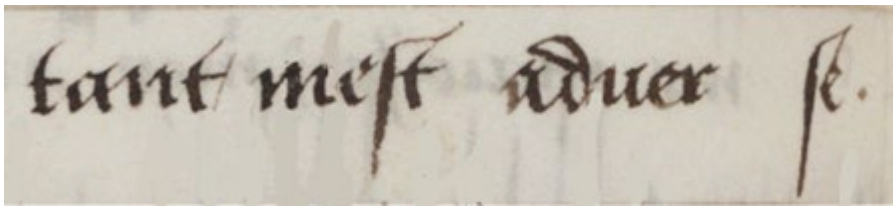


Figure 4.2. *Tant mest adverse* in the Mellon Chansonnier, fol. 54v

In this song, the word [*entreprise*] in the first line appears in Mel as *emprise* (Figure 4.1). In JARD, the word appears as *entreprinse* and in FABRI, the word is *entreprise*. The other modification that Garey made appears in the last line of the verse, *Tant [m'es diverse]*. Mel's text is *tant mest adverse* (Figure 4.2). In JARD, the line is *Tant mes diverse,* and in FABRI, it

[211] See Garey, MCC, 359-360, Anonymous, *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique. Reproduction en facsimile* (Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1910), fols. 67v-68r, and Pierre Fabri, *Le grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique de Pierre Fabri*, vol. 2, Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by *A. Héron*, (A. Lestringant, 1890), 65-66.

appears as *Tant me es diverse.* In Mel, *adverse* appears in lines three and six, producing an identical rhyme, or antistrophe, emphasizing the word.[212]

My reading, based on definitions in DMF of some words in this song, is arguably preferable to Garey's, because DMF cites their use in texts pertaining to combat. The language of combat was certainly known to the Burgundian courtly audience, as was demonstrated in Chapter 1. Moreover, the words *emprise* or *entreprise* are found frequently in texts about combat in the fifteenth century. Here, the poet plays with the words *entreprise* / *emprise, enprise* (taken up), and *prise* (captured). DMF reports that these words are interrelated: the word *emprise* may be a form of the verb *emprendre* or the noun *emprise,* and *enprise* is also a form of the verb *emprendre. Entreprise* and *entreprinse,* are forms of the verb *entreprendre* (a synonym of *emprendre,* per DMF) or the noun *entreprise* (which is related to the verb *entreprendre*). It is important that René d'Anjou, in his *Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tourney, ca.* 1460, provides this entry in his glossary, confirming the relationship between the words:

> *Empris, Emprendre – entrepris, entreprendre*[213]

Additionally, DMF reports that the verb *emprendre,* when meaning "to undertake," may be followed by nouns related to combat, including: to undertake a war, an expedition, a feat of arms, or a crusade, to undertake (organize) a tournament, or to undertake (a fight) against someone. Some examples of its use in fifteenth-century literature include:

> *"Entreprendre (une guerre, une expédition, un fait d'armes)": Comme cault et malicïeux, Envoya dons moult precïeux Au consule, en moult grant priere Que* "*la guerre en nulle maniere Ne voulsist contre luy emprendre...*" (CHR. PIZ., M.F., III, 1400-1403, 268)
>
> "To undertake (a war, an expedition, a feat of arms)": As cunning and malicious, he sent very precious gifts to the consul, in a very great prayer that "he would not wish to undertake war against him in any way..."

[212] Note that Mel is the oldest source among JARD, FABRI, and Mel.
[213] René d'Anjou, "Traictié," cxiii. The *GLOSSAIRE pour le livre des tournois* precedes the text of the treatise.

"*Organiser (un tournoi)*": *Ainsi comme ouy avés emprindrent le tournoy Galaphur et Passelion*. (Percef. IV, R., c.1450 [c.1340], 965)

"To organize (a tournament)": Thus, as you have seen, Galaphur and Passelion undertook the tournament.

"*Décider de combattre contre qqn*"*: Le roy (...) le regarda en sousriant, comme esmerveillié en pensant que un si josne homme et de assez menue façon avoit cuer a si fortes armes emprendre a un si grant et puissant homme comme ce chevalier poulain estoit.* (LA SALE, J.S., 1456, 147)

"To decide to fight against someone": The king (...) looked at him, smiling, as if amazed to think that such a young man, of rather slight build, had the courage to take up such strong arms against such a great and powerful man as this young knight was.[214]

A person undertaking such an *emprise* is referred to as an *entrepreneur.* In this song's text, the word *emprise* more suitably conveys a meaning of taking up feats of arms, a meaning that the English word "enterprise," whose modern definition of "a project or an undertaking," lacks. Also, the word *entreprise* adds an unnecessary syllable.

Garey translates *paracheve* as "leave off." The definition of the verb *parachever* in DMF is to bring something to an end, to completely finish something. In other words, in this song, the speaker is beseeching adverse Fortune to finish the assault it is making against him.

While Garey translates *me reverse* as "turn me around," DMF offers a definition of "to overturn or knock down," with this example, among others: *Tantos la bastide fu delivree et maint honme mort et blechiet et reversé par terre* (FROISS., Chron. D., p.1400, 604) (Thus, the stronghold was delivered and many a man dead and wounded and thrown to the ground). With DMF's translation, the meaning of the phrase becomes stronger, along the lines of "in one stroke, throw me down."

[214] See p. 35 above for a further explanation of the variety of meanings of the word *emprise*.

As for the appeal to adverse Fortune, Garey provides the translation of the adjective *adverse* as "contrary," but in addition to that meaning, DMF also offers the meaning *hostile* and *opposé* (hostile and opposing) as it pertains to a person or a personification, citing this example: *Ainsi fu Daire roy de Perse, A qui debonnaire et adverse Fu Fortune* (CHR. PIZ., M.F., II, 1400-1403, 235) (Thus was Darius, king of Persia, to whom Fortune was both gentle and adverse).

Line 5 of the chanson, *Que mieulx morir que vivre prise* (For better to die than live taken), also references combat conditions. The word *prise* is a form of the verb *prendre,* one meaning of which is to take someone prisoner (*faire quelqu'un prisonnier*). DMF provides several examples of the use of *prise* from fifteenth-century literature, the most fitting being the examples referencing death as an alternative to being taken prisoner: *...se en la bataille demeures prins ou mort* (COLART MANS., Dial. créat. R., 1482, 189) (whether taken in battle or dead). The speaker in this song is absolutely defeated, as if in combat, and, as such, the only options are death or captivity, and he is pleading for death.

Gary altered the final line of the stanza to *Tant [m'es diverse]* and translated it to "So inconstant art thou to me." The text in Mel is stronger and emphasizes the word *adverse* by repeating it from line three: *Tant m'est adverse.* Given that this song evidently describes combat that could result in death, hostile or adverse Fortune is more fitting than "contrary" and "inconstant," and evokes a battle between the speaker and Fortune. Using the original text from Mel, my revised English translation follows:

Original French Text	**Revised English Translation**
Paracheve ton emprise	Finish your combat
Que tu as contre moy enprise,	That you have undertaken against me,
Fortune adverse,	Hostile Fortune
Et tout a ung coup me reverse,	And all in one blow throw me down,
Que mieulx morir que vivre prise,	For better to die than to be taken [prisoner]
Tant m'est adverse.	So hostile is [Fortune] against me.

By keeping the antistrophe in Mel, the meaning of the song as concerning an armed encounter becomes clear. With *reverse* meaning to throw down, the adjective *adverse* casting Fortune as a hostile and not merely inconstant enemy, this single stanza makes a strong statement of surrender and would thus have been more powerful to an audience of men of arms and their companions. The knight implores Fortune to put an end to his misery with a single blow to him, what we would term a *coup de grace*, preferring death to being captured. This new translation expresses the knight's utter weariness, hopelessness, and disillusionment with life in terms relevant to an audience steeped in a culture of chivalry and dangerous armed combat.

L'autre d'antan, l'autrier passa – A knight's complaint

Not all songs in the knight's voice speak in glowing terms of a lady. One example of a knight's complaint about a woman may be found in *L'autre d'antan, l'autrier passa*, Mel, fols. 25v-26r. This rondeau by Ockeghem also appears in Dij, fols. 17v-18r, and Cord, fols. 24v-25r.[215] Garey notes the connection between the notes of the song and the *l'homme armé* tune. In addition to the military imagery employed in the text, he references Dragan Plamenac, who wrote that "the points of resemblance between the [music of the] two works are extensive enough to be intentional."[216] The musical reference in *L'autre d'antan* to *L'homme armé* complements the text, since, in the former, the speaker is a knight, so an armed man.[217]

[215] Jean de Ockeghem, *ca.* 1410-1497, born Mons and served in the French court.
[216] Garey, MCC, 267, references Dragan Plamenac, "Miszellen," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1929), 381-83.
[217] The text of the third stanza is missing from the Mellon Chansonnier and is, therefore, not included here. Garey, in his commentary, Garey, MCC, 267-268, provides the complete text.

French Text (Garey, MCC, 267-268)	**English Translation (Garey, MCC, 268)**
L'autre d'antan, lautrier passa,	The other year, the other day, she passed by
Et en passant me trespercha	And, in passing, pierced me through
D'ung regard forgié a Melan	With a glance forged in Milan
Qui me mist en l'arriere ban,	That knocked me into the rear ranks
Tant malvais brassin me brassa.	So rude a blow she dealt me.
Par tel fachon me fricassa	She destroyed me so thoroughly
Que de ses gaiges me cassa;	That she dismissed me from her troops;
Mais, par Dieu, elle fist son dan.	But, by God, she did her damage.
L'autre d'antan, lautrier passa,	*The other year, the other day, she passed by*
Et en passant me trespercha	*And, in passing, pierced me through*
D'ung regard forgié a Melan	*With a glance forged in Milan*

The translation is clear. Through extended use of the metaphor of a sword, the song registers a complaint by a knight cast aside by a lady, the subject, whom he had presumably admired. The play on words begins by equating a piercing look (*trespercha d'ung regard*) with a sword, describing the look as *forgié a Melan* (forged in Milan). Garey points out that Milan was "famous for the manufacture of swords."[218] With just this look, our knight found himself *en l'arriere ban*, or in the rear guard. And not merely 'placed' in the rear guard but knocked there. Our speaker is no longer a primary suitor.

The rude blow that our knight was dealt, *brassin*, literally means "a brew," referring to a scheme or a dirty trick. The verb *brasser* includes a meaning of brewing, as in playing tricks. The knight of the song goes on to say that in this way he was broken, dismissed from her service. In this context, the noun *gaiges* means wages, so implying here that the knight is in the pay and service of someone. Gary interprets this as being employed in the lady's troops.[219] *Gage* (the common spelling of the singular of *gaiges* in DMF) can also mean a guarantee or pledge,

[218] Garey, MCC, 270.
[219] Garey, MCC, 268.

especially, in military terms, where a pledge, such as a glove, is thrown down to engage an opponent in single combat. The use of the verb *casser*, while meaning to break, also means "*congédier, licencier (un homme d'armes)*" and "*congédier (un amoureux)*", to dismiss a soldier or a lover.[220] The use of the word with these two meanings at once in this case is perfect. So, in this knight's terms, a lady gave him such a look that he found himself completely out of favor and dismissed. She did her damage just with a glance.

Another song of complaint is in Lab. *Je serviray selon qu'on me payera,* fols. 77v-79r, is a bergerette unique to that manuscript. Most of the French text below is provided by Clemens Goldberg, with some alterations I made based on my inspection of images of the manuscript.[221] The English translation is mine.

French Text	**English Translation**
Je serviray selon quon me payera	I will serve in accordance with what will be paid me
Et men mectray du tout en mon devoir	And I will give all of myself in doing my duty
Mais fa ma dame ne veult de moi challon	But, alas, my lady does not want me as her companion
Incontinent la premiere ma sera	[I,] being unchaste, the first to come along will be mine
Car par Dieu je seroye bien beste	For by God, I would be very foolish
Damer ce quon ne mamast point	To love someone who does not love me
Que je my romprisse la teste	That I would break my head over it
Certes ce ne je feroye point	Certainly, that I would never do
Que sortes suivres tiegne que se sera	That whatever fate holds, it shall be
Ne qui jamais en aura ce vouloir	Not one who will never have this wish
Quant est a moy chacun peut bien savoir	As for me, everyone can well know
Que tout ainsi soint ten me fera	That just as it should be, so it will be for me.

[220] Definitions given in DMF, http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/casser.
[221] Clemens Goldberg, *Das Chansonnier Laborde: Studien zur Intertextualität einer Liederhandschrift des 15. Jahrunderts* (P. Lang, 1997), 240.

Je serviray selon quon me payera	*I will serve in accordance with what will be paid me*
Et men mectray du tout en mon devoir	*And I will give all of myself in doing my duty*
Mais fa ma dame ne veult de moi challon	*But, alas, my lady does not want me as her companion*
Incontinent la premiere ma sera	*[I,] being unchaste, the first to come along will be mine*

In this song, again a knight is in love with the lady he serves, and again she has no interest in him. The song opens with the knight declaring that he will do his duty as his pay demands, but that he will take the next opportunity to leave for a new lady. The middle stanza finds the knight declaring just how foolish it would be for him to continue to love someone who does not love him back. We find, in the closing stanza, the knight declaring that no one will ever love the lady as much as he does, and, likewise, he will never love another woman as much as he does her. This song provides a twist on the typical situation of a knight pining for a lady, for he is ready to abandon his love for her as hopeless, an oddity in the chansons of the period. Clemens notes that this is counter to the official service ethic, which prizes perseverance in the face of futility.[222]

Both songs speak in the voice of the knight. In both, knights lament that the ladies they serve do not reciprocate their love. In the case of the first song, what the knight once had has been withdrawn, and he has been cast out. In the case of the second song, the lady has no interest in the knight, and, with uncharacteristic fatalism, he recognizes that she never will.

[222] Goldberg, *Das Chansonnier Laborde*, 240.

A une damme j'ay fait vue – The language of heraldry and a knight's identity

Heraldry was a key component of the life of a knight. His coat of arms was his identity in combat, when men in full armor were otherwise indistinguishable. All who saw him or had dealings with him would be able to identify him instantly by his coat of arms. As we have seen in Chapter 1, René d'Anjou's treatise on tournaments explains how a knight's blazon would also be important off the field in identifying knights who had maligned a lady. *A une damme j'ay fait veu*, Mel, fols. 5v-8r, a bergerette by Busnoys that is also in the Dij and Lab, employs words associated with heraldry.[223]

French Text (Garey, MCC, 205)	**English Translation (Garey, MCC, 205-206)**
A une damme j'ay fait veu	To a lady I've made a vow,
Pour le grant bruit de sa valeur	Because of the great fame of her worth,
Que je ne porteray couleur	That I'll wear no color
Se ce n'est le jaune et le bleu	Unless it be the yellow and the blue.
Les deulz en ung sans que les mue	These two together, without change,
Je maintendray pour sa beaulté.	I shall keep for her beauty.
L'une en signe de retenue,	The one as sign of discretion,
L'aultre en moustrant ma léaulté.	The other to show my loyalty.
Car au fort quant il sera sceu	For, in fact, when it shall be known
Que d'elle soye serviteur,	That I am her servant,
Oncques ne m'avint tel honneur	Never [before] has come to me so great an honor
Sans saillir l'escu tant soit [peu].	Without the scutcheon's being sullied, however little.
A une damme j'ay fait veu	*To a lady I've made a vow,*
Pour le grant bruit de sa valeur	*Because of the great fame of her worth,*
Que je ne porteray couleur	*That I'll wear no color*
Se ce n'est le jaune et le bleu	*Unless it be the yellow and the blue.*

[223] Carlo Bosi, "'Mal Mariées', Adulterers and Lovers in Late Fifteenth-Century Song: A Cultural and Social Perspective," *Revue belge de musicologie* 68 (2014): 44, cites this chanson as an example of a song presenting a spirit of *amour courtois* that could be re-interpreted as homage to the Virgin Mary.

One of the components of a blazon or a description of a coat of arms is its colors. When one encounters the word *couleur* in texts of songs in this period, heraldry immediately comes to mind. *A une damme j'ay fait veu* specifies the colors *jaune* (yellow) and *bleu* (blue). Along with the colors, the reference to *escu* in the last stanza makes it clear that the song refers to heraldry. An *escu,* or escutcheon (Garey uses the more archaic spelling "scutcheon" in his translation), is a shield displaying armorial symbols. Iain Montcreiffe explains that five colors are used in heraldry: red (*gules*), blue (*azure*), black (*sable*), green (*vert*), and purple (*purpure*). Additionally, there are two metals: gold (*or,* often depicted as yellow) and silver (*argent,* often depicted as white). Along with patterning representing various furs (such as ermine), these patterns and colors are referred to as "tinctures."[224]

A une damme j'ai fait veu, as Garey notes, may be considered part of the group of Busnoys's songs addressed to Jacqueline d'Hacqueville. While the text does not contain an acrostic of her name, yellow and blue were the main colors in the escutcheon of the d'Hacqueville family.[225] J. B. Rietstap defines the Hacqueville arms as *D'arg. au chev. de sa., ch. de cinq aiglettes d'or et acc. de trois têtes de paon d'azur* (*D'argent au chevron de sable, chargé de cinq aiglettes d'or et accompagné de trois têtes de paon d'azur*).[226] This describes a shield with a background of white (*d'arg*) with a black chevron (*au chev. de sa*) in which there are five yellow

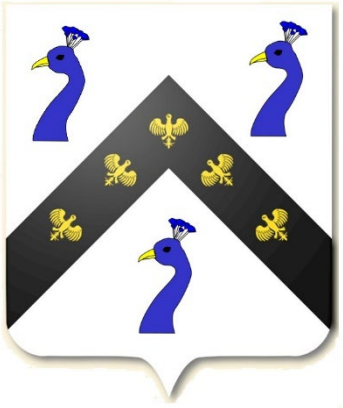


Figure 4.3. Hacqueville arms

[224] Iain Moncreiffe and Don Pottinger, *Simple Heraldry* (Mayflower Books, 1979), 50.
[225] Garey, MCC, 205.
[226] Johannes Baptist Rietstap, *Armorial général, contenant la description des armoiries des familles nobles et patriciennes de l'Europe: précédé d'un dictionnaire des termes du blazon* (G. G. van Goor, 1861), 469-470.

eaglets (*ch. de cinq aiglettes d'or*), with three blue heads of a pheasant (*acc. de trois tètes de paon d'azur*). Figure 4.3 is a rendering of this description. Here, blue and yellow are the predominant colors.

The text of the song uses the convention of a heraldic shield as a framework for the expression of *retenue* (discretion) and *léaulté* (loyalty). Yet Thomas Woodcock cites authors who discount the possibility that specific tinctures denote specific virtues. He also notes that those writers who do attribute specific virtues to the tinctures do not agree with each other.[227] Nadot discusses the significance of knights displaying colors, devices, and coded messages in tournaments. He reports that while the colors conveyed meaning, the meanings were not consistent. A color that represented a feeling at one time could express a different feeling at a later time.[228] Sir John Ferne, writing in 1586, does associate tinctures with virtues: yellow with faith and constancy and blue with justice and loyalty.[229]

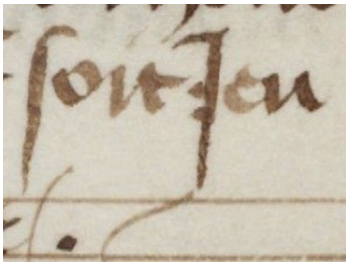


Figure 4.4. Segment of line 12 of *A une damme j'ai fait veu*

As was demonstrated in Réné d'Anjou's treatise, maintaining one's good name was very important in the courts of the period. The glossary associated with René d'Anjou's tournament treatise, includes the word *Fame:*[230]

Fame – renommée, reputation

We see words representing reputation in songs of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. The words *honneur* and *déshonneur* are found in 21 songs, along with other related words, including

[227] Thomas Woodcock, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford University Press, 1988), 53-54. He quotes Alexander Nisbet, *A System of Heraldry Speculative and Practical* (J. MackEuen, 1722), and Joseph Edmondson, *A Complete Body of Heraldry* (T. Spilsbury, 1780), who dismiss the idea of specific virtues associated with a given tincture.
[228] See Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes*, 202-206 for a discussion of colors, devices, armorials, and coded messages worn in the lists at tournaments.
[229] Sir John Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentrie*, Part 1: *The Glorie of Generositie* (John V. Vindet, 1586), 169-171.
[230] René d'Anjou, "Traictié," *cxiv.*

renom (reputation) and *bruit* (fame). *A une damme j'ai fait veu* praises the lady first and foremost for her reputation throughout the land (*le grant bruit de sa valeur*) in the first stanza. Her beauty is not mentioned until the second stanza, on line six.

The hallmarks of knighthood, honor and service are invoked in the last stanza. Reputation figures prominently again in the last line where *escu* describes not only the heraldic symbol, which provides the source of the colors the speaker will wear, but also represents her family's honor materialized in his coat of arms. As Garey notes, the meaning of this stanza is unclear. Line 12 begins with the phrase *Sans saillir l'escu*. The verb *saillir* means to jump or leap, but "without jumping the shield" does not make sense. Garey notes that the word may be a combination of *salir* (to be covered with dirt) and *souiller* (to defile, to sully) (Garey, MCC, 207). "Without sullying the shield" is a sensible translation.

In line 12, Garey has provided the word *[peu]* based on the meaning of the line in other sources. Figure 4.4 shows a confusing word with the first letter overwritten and the third added. If the word is intended to be *jeu,* the ending phrase would be *tant soit jeu,* making the line possibly *Sans saillir l'escu, tant soit jeu* (Without sullying the escutcheon, whatever the game should be). Regardless of the interpretation of the last phrase, Garey notes that it is unclear in lines 11-12, *Oncques ne m'avint tel honneur sans saillir l'escu …* (Never has such an honor befallen me without sullying the escutcheon …), "whether the poet is claiming that this time it will be different, that her shield will not be sullied, or whether the poem constitutes fair warning."[231]

Mel is not the only Franco-Burgundian Chansonnier containing songs using then familiar heraldic and tournament language. For example, in Leu, we find the rondeau *Escu dennuy seme*

[231] Garey, MCC, 207.

de plours (fols. 51v-52r). The following is the French text from Burn's transcription and my English translation. [232]

French Text	**English Translation**
Escu dennuy seme de plours	A shield of misery strewn with tears
Borde de saible et de feblesse	Bordered by darkness and frailty
Ung cueur pale de grant tristesse	A heart paled with great sadness
Telz armes porte je amours	Such a [coat of] arms do I, Love, bear
Timbre de piteuses clamours	Crest of piteous wails
Couronne damere aspresse,	Crown of bitter asperity
Escu dennuy seme de plours	*A shield of misery decorated with tears*
Borde de saible et de feblesse	*Bordered by darkness and frailty*
Ordonnez las mavez tousjours	You, alas, always ordered me around
Ma tresbelle dame et maistresse,	My beautiful lady and mistress
Criez harou ou quel destresse	Cry 'harou' or such distress!
Au langoreux plain de dolours	To the languishing one, full of sorrow.
Escu dennuy seme de plours	*A shield of misery decorated with tears*
Borde de saible et de feblesse	*Bordered by darkness and frailty*
Ung cueur pale de grant tristesse	*A heart bemoaning great sadness*
Telz armes porte je amours	*Such a [coat of] arms do I, Love, bear*

This song extends a metaphor of heraldry by providing a blazon[233] representing the anguish of unrequited love. To be able to translate *Escu dennuy seme de plours* correctly, one needs to understand some of the terms found in a blazon. See Figure 4.5, Figure 4.6, and Figure 4.7. Figure 4.5 illustrates three terms key to this song, the *escu* (shield), the *timbre* (crest) and the *couronne* (crown). The background of a shield (or of an area of the shield) here contains a repeated pattern, or *semé, as* seen in this shield of Louis I, Duke of Anjou (Figure 4.6). The blazon for this *escu* is d*'azur semé de lys d'or, à la bordure de gueules* (blue strewn with gold

[232] Burn, *Leuven Chansonnier Study,* 93-94. Cf. O'Sullivan, "The Leuven Chansonnier."
[233] Here I use the term blazon to mean both the description of armorial bearings, as defined in Thomas Woodcock, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford University Press, 1988), 198, and the image of armorial bearings, as used throughout René d'Anjou, "Traictié."

fleurs-de-lys, with a border of red). Borders can also contain symbols, as in this example in Figure 4.7 of an *escu* charged with eight horseshoes.[234]

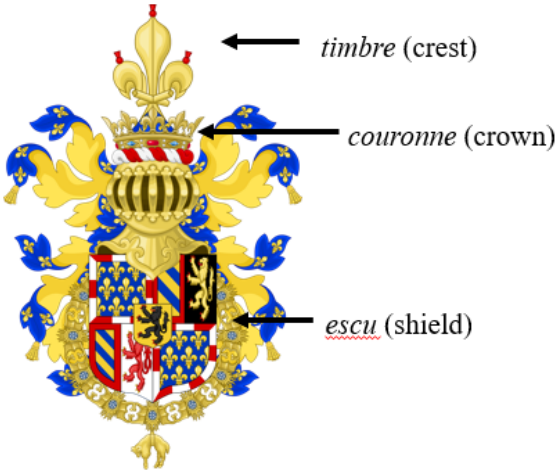


Figure 4.5. Blazon of the Duke of Burgundy after 1430

Heraldry originated in the twelfth century, with heraldic devices being adopted across England, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, between 1135 and 1155. While blazons, images of armorial bearings, illustrate coats of arms on drawings of painted shields, Woodcock notes that a painted shield, in particular, would not have been a practical means of identification on the battlefield. He proposes that the practice of painting one's shields may have been "popularized probably by the tournament rather than in real warfare."[235] In *A une damme j'ay fait veu,* the knight speaks only of the colors he vows to wear. *Escu dennuy seme de plours*, however, constructs an entire blazon using emotional imagery rather than colors, e.g., *ennuy, feblesse, grant tristesse,* and objectifying *piteuses clamours* and *amere aspresse*.



Figure 4.6. Blazon of Louis I, Duke of Anjou

[234] Modified from Arthur Charles Fox-Davies and Graham Johnston, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1909), 81, fig. 41.
[235] Woodcock, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry,* 3. See 1-13 for a discussion of the origins of heraldry.

The song begins with the description of the imaginary shield by specifying the emotion that the colors of the field, or background, of the *escu* represents. While *ennui* means 'boredom' today, DMF states that medieval *ennui* conveys the *idée de souffrance,* "*affliction, douleur, chagrin, tourment, tristesse profonde*" (idea of suffering, "affliction, pain, sorrow, torment, profound sadness"). The term *semé* is from the verb *semer*, to sow. The term has a specific use in heraldry in relation to the background of a shield: "*décoré, orné, parsemé (de quelque chose)*" (decorated, adorned, strewn with something). In this case, the field is represented by *Ennuy* (misery) and the shield is *semé* (strewn) with *plours* (tears).

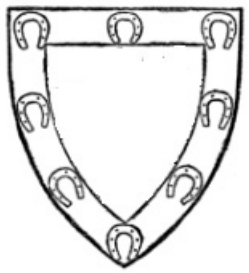


Figure 4.7. Escu charged with eight horseshoes

Next, the song describes a border. This border is *saible* (black) and is charged with, or contains, *feblesse* (weakness). Line four uses the term *pale.* While this adjective could mean "of faint color," in this context, it refers to a term in heraldry. A *pale* is a wide vertical strip of a distinct color. In this song, the shield contains a heart that is "paled" with (has a wide stripe through it of) great sorrow (*ung cueur palé de grant tristesse*). This *escu* is then a shield of misery, strewn with tears. Its black border is charged with weakness, and it contains a heart paled with great sorrow.

The second stanza moves from the description of the *escu* to the *timbre* (crest) and *couronne* (crown). The song describes a crest made of *piteuses clamours* (piteous wails) and the helmet having a crown constructed of *amere aspresse* (bitter anguish).

In the last stanza, the knight claims that his lady has condemned him to bear such a coat of arms forever. Line nine contains the phrase *criez harou.* To cry *harou,* or *haro* in DMF, is to

cry out for help or to cry out in anguish. This expression of anguish, using the form of the word *hareu,* also appears in Machaut's motet 10, *Hareu! Hareu! Le feu, le feu, le feu.*[236]

While the songs discussed here rely on the common language of heraldry, each one transmits a very different mood. The first song is optimistic. The knight employs the lady's heraldic colors to associate himself firmly with her and declare his intention to serve her well. The second song takes the imagery much further, painting an imaginary, highly emotional blazon. Presumably because of his unrequited love, this knight declares that he is doomed to misery and anguish forever.

Donnés l'assault a la fortresse – The bawdy knight

Donnés l'assault a la fortresse, Mel, fols. 71v-73r, is a rondeau for four voices, ascribed to Du Fay.

French Text (Garey MCC, 397-398)	**English Translation (Garey, MCC, 398)**
Donnés l'assault a la fortresse	Launch the attack on the fortress
De ma gratïeuse maistresse,	Of my gracious mistress,
Hault dieu d'amours, je vous supplie;	High god of love, I beg of you;
Boutés hors m'adverse partie	Expel my adversary
Qui languir me fait en destresse.	Who makes me languish in distress
C'est […] Anuy qui, par sa rudesse,	It is Ennui who by his crudeness
De moy grever point ne se cesse	Injures me unceasingly
Envers ma dame gente et lye.	In sight of my lady kind and gay.
Donnés l'assault a la fortresse	*Launch the attack on the fortress*
De ma gratïeuse maistresse,	*Of my gracious mistress,*
Hault dieu d'amours, je vous supplie;	*High god of love, I beg of you;*

[236] From private correspondence with Barbara Haggh-Huglo: The cry in Machaut's motet is that of Christ upon his betrayal remembered during Holy Week. Philip the Good had a Machaut manuscript in his library. See Margaret Bent's discussion of this motet in Margaret Bent, *The Motet in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford University Press, 2023), 231-244.

Faictes venir tost en l'adresse	Summon at once, with all dispatch,
Au secours, par vostre noblesse,	To my assistance, by your noble authority,
Pitié, Mercy et Courtoysie;	Pity, Mercy, and Courtesy;
La belle soit par vous saisye,	May the beauty be captured by you,
Car le tarder trop si me blesse.	For waiting causes me grievous pain.
Donnés l'assault a la fortresse	*Launch the attack on the fortress*
De ma gratïeuse maistresse,	*Of my gracious mistress,*
Hault dieu d'amours, je vous supplie;	*High god of love, I beg of you;*
Boutés hors m'adverse partie	*Expel my adversary*
Qui languir me fait en destresse.	*Who makes me languish in distress*

One of the definitions in DMF of the noun *assaut*, the preferred spelling of *assault*, is *Appel à attaquer* (call to attack), as in "*À l'assaut! Assaut!*" DMF offers this example of the use of the phrase:

> *Alors grant nombre des Angloys feront ung cry a l'arme, a l'assault, saint George, et entreront pres du bouloart dedan les fossez a lances traict et haches* (Myst. Siege Orléans H., c.1480-1500, 160).
>
> Then a great number of the English will raise a cry "to arms, to the assault, Saint George," and will enter near the bulwark inside the ditches with thrown lances and axes.

Storming a fortress or castle was sometimes part of the entertainments of the period and especially suited the story lines of a *pas d'armes*. For example, for the *Paso de la Fuerte Ventura* (*Paso* of the Daunting Adventure) held in Valladolid in 1428, a wood and cloth fortress was constructed in the town square. A tilt yard was constructed between a gate and the fortress in whose tower a lady stood. This tilt yard formed the "pass," which was guarded in the scenario of the *pas d'armes.* The challenging knights would have to enter this pass, or tilt yard, and joust

in order to reach the castle.[237] This form of entertainment continued into the sixteenth century, when, for example, a mock battle was held in Milan in 1507.[238] A fortress also figures prominently in the poem *Le Champion des dames* by Martin Le Franc and dedicated to Philip the Good. In the first book of the poem, the castle of *Amour* is attacked by *Malebouche.* It opens with the line *A l'assault, dames, a l'assault!*[239]

While Garey's English translation is accurate and includes allegorical figures reminiscent of Le Franc's poem, it does not convey the sexual implications such terminology would have conveyed to an audience of the period. One needs only to look at the first line, *donnés l'assault a la fortress,* to find a metaphor in use in the Burgundian court. The common spelling of *fortresse*, which is in Mel, in DMF is *forteresse,* a word which holds the key to this more explicit meaning. In addition to meaning a fortified place, DMF notes a possible smutty connotation, referencing the 29th tale in *Cent nouvelles nouvelles,* "La XXIXe Nouvelle par Monseigneur" (the Twenty-ninth Tale, told by His Lordship). In this story, a not-so-subtle reference is made to a husband's unchaste assault on his bride's 'fortress' on their wedding night: "*... et sans delay bailla l'assault incontinent à sa forteresse...*" (C.N.N., c.1456-1467, 197). This military metaphor is extended over several paragraphs, ending when *il rompit seulement une lance* (he broke only one lance).[240] Such explicit and prolonged use of the metaphor, along with its appearance here, suggests that this double-entendre of the word "forteresse" was common at the Burgundian court. This alternative meaning for the word "fortress" colors the interpretation of

[237] See Mario Damen, "Source 2," *Pas d'armes and Late Medieval Chivalry A Casebook*, ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant and Mario Damen (Liverpool University Press, 2025), 57-63, for a translation of the narrative account of the *Paso de la Fuerte Ventura* by Pedro Carrillo de Huerte, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9945.
[238] See Chapter 5 here for further details of the event.
[239] Martin Le Franc, *Le Champion des dames,* ed. Honoré Champion (Robert Deschaux, 1999), 1:9.
[240] "La XXIXe nouvelle par Monseigneur," *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles, avec introduction et notes par M. Thomas Wright* (P. Jannet, 1858), 1:173. On the 'broken lance' see my explanation in Chapter 1 regarding breaking lances in tournaments.

the rest of the text, including phrases such as *languir me fait en destresse* (makes me languish in distress) and *le tarder trop si me blesse* (waiting causes me grevious pain). Bukofzer makes passing mention of a bawdy interpretation of *Donnés l'assault a la fortresse* when he comments that it is "an example of the conventional love-poetry that used the nomenclature of military science. Here the beloved is compared to a fortress to be taken by force, with all the amusing implications."[241]

In the text of this song, we find other words with military connotations, such as *grever* (to injure), *saisye* (seized), and *blesse* (hurt). Garey notes the use of military language and imagery: "the God of Love is entreated by the lover to route the occupier (*Anuy*) from the fortress of his mistress." He translates *Anuy* as "something between 'boredom' and 'annoyance.'" Both are modern meanings of 'ennui.'[242] As noted in the discussion of *Escu dennuy seme de plours,* in the fifteenth century, *Anuy* (*ennui*) had a connotation of pain, grief, or disillusionment with life. DMF provides a definition in connection with a rhetoric of love of "profond chagrin, tristesse," and offers an example:

> *Las, qui pourroit jamais Amer dame plus loyaument Que j'ay fait elle et que je fais, Dont j'ay souffert tant longuement Dure peine, ennuy et tourment Qu'il pert que je suis né atout Et qu'onques ne fu autrement*. (CHART., D. Rev., a.1424, 311)
>
> Alas, who could ever love a lady more loyally than I have loved her and do love her, for whom I have suffered for so long harsh pain, annoyance, and torment, so it seems that I was born with it and was never otherwise.

Donnés l'assault a la fortresse is also replete with allegorical characters. The speaker asks the high god of love to expel his adversary, *Anuy*, and enlist the aid of *Pitié*, Mercy, and *Courtoysie*. *Pitié* is the personification of *pitié,* which DMF defines as "compassion,

[241] Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier of the 15th Century (The 'Mellon Chansonnier')," *The Musical Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1942): 37-38.
[242] Garey, MCC, 399.

miséricorde, pitié." For *Mercy*, DMF offers one especially apt definition of *bienveillance, marque de faveur accordée à un amoureux par la femme aimée* (benevolence, a mark of favor granted to a lover by the woman he loves). And, as for *Courtoysie*, along with the definitions of politeness, nobility, generosity, and a gift, DMF notes more risqué meanings related to the sexual act, giving this example, among others, again from *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, where the wife of another has given a Scottish archer the *grand courtoisie* of taking him to her bed: *... après cest haulte adventure, prend de sa dame congé jusques une aultre fois, et la mercye comme il scet de sa grand courtoisie ...*[243] (After this high adventure, he takes leave of his lady until another time, and thanks her, since he knows of her great courtesy). It takes no great stretch of the imagination to entertain the possibility that, to an audience of military men, military terms were well-known euphemisms for sexual acts. By evoking a combat experience, this language speaks most directly to a male audience.

Il est de bonne heure né – A knight in conversation

Unlike the chansons explored above, the text of *Il est de bonne heure né*, found in Dij on fols. 177v-178r, is a narrative about a knight rather than a song from a knight's perspective. The French text from Charles Barret and my English translation of this four-voice, single-texted chanson is as follows:[244]

French Text	**English Translation**
Il est de bonne heure né	He was born "under a lucky star" (at a favorable hour)
Qui tient sa dame en un pré	Who holds his lady in a meadow
Sur l'erbe jolie	On the pretty grass

[243] "La Quarte Nouvelle, par Monseigneur," *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, 1:29.
[244] Charles Edward Barret, "A Critical Edition of the Dijon Chansonnier: Dijon, Bibliothèque de La Ville, Ms. 512 (Ancien 295)" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1981), 1108–1113.

Ma tres doulce amie	My sweetheart
Dieu vous doint bon jour	God give you good day
Qu'avez en pensee	What do you have in mind
Dictes m'amez vous	Tell me, do you love me?
Par ma foi mon bel amy	-- By my faith my dear friend
Le conseil en est tout pri	All the advice about it is taken
Je ne vous ameray mie	I will not love you one bit --
Il est de bonne heure né	*He was born "under a lucky star"*
Qui tient sa dame en un pré	*Who holds his lady in a meadow*
Sur l'erbe jolie	*On the pretty grass*
Ma tres doulce amie	My sweetheart
Je vous aime tant	I love you so much
Je vous ay servy	I have served you
Bien et loiaument	Well and faithfully
Vous dictes vray mon amy	-- You speak the truth my friend
Vous en serez plus joly	You will be happier
Et moi plus jolie	And I, happier --
Il est de bonne heure né	*He was born "under a lucky star"*
Qui tient sa dame en un pré	*Who holds his lady in a meadow*
Sur l'erbe jolie	*On the pretty grass*
Quant ce vint a leure	When the time came
Que a cheval fut monte	That he had mounted on his horse
Son arc en son poing	His bow in his fist
Son espee au coste	His sword at his side
En soupirant lui a dit	-- Sighing she said to him
Revenez mon bel amy	Come back my handsome friend
Je seray vostre amye	I will be your lover --
Il est de bonne heure né	*He was born "under a lucky star"*
Qui tient sa dame en un pré	*Who holds his lady in a meadow*
Sur l'erbe jolie	*On the pretty grass*

The form of the song that is a dialogue is almost a full virelai, with a three-line refrain and stanzas of two lines (bb') instead of three. The knight's voice supplies the b sections, and the lady's voice is heard in the b' sections. This produces a form of A bb' A bb' A bb' A, rather than the standard A bb' a A bb' a A bb' a A.

This narrative concerns a knight who is about to leave his beloved but is trying to persuade her to be his lover. It is not until the final bb' stanza that we learn that the man is a knight, when he mounts his horse and takes his bow in his fist, with his sword at his side. While the song concerns a relationship between a knight and his lady, there are no flowery words or professions of service until death. The knight asks his lady if she loves him, she declares that she does not, he makes his case that he has loved her faithfully, and she responds that they will both be happier this way. It is not until he is prepared to leave that she acquiesces and asks him to come back to her.

Il est de bonne heure né falls into Garey's category of a "popular" rather than a "courtly" song, given its versification. Its verse is composed of 5- and 7-syllable lines, with the male voice speaking in stanzas of four 5-syllable lines and the female voice speaking in stanzas of three 7-syllable lines.[245] Of course, there is a pastoral setting -- the knight has been lying in the grass of a meadow with his lady. And, while the knight complains that he has been a loyal servant, there are no hyperbolic wishes for death or strong emotions. He is trying to cajole his love, not profess martyrdom. It is a dialogue well suited to this modified virelai form – that of a fifteenth-century *pastourelle.*

[245] There may be some underlying symbolism here, with five being the number of wounds of Christ and seven representing the Virgin Mary.

Garey explains that popular songs are not about true peasants, but rather involve a world imagined in courtly circles.[246] He tries to distinguish between courtly and popular song, but certainly there is a spectrum. Garey offers some possible, although not definitive, characteristics of the popular song, which include:

- different texts being sung simultaneously
- a light-hearted gaity
- 5- or 7- syllable lines
- sexual explicitness or coarse language

Garey notes that courtly themes may include hyperbole, allegory, antithesis, military images, religion, and service.[247] As we have seen, military imagery appears throughout Mel, as well as in other Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. The songs discussed here as reflections of aspects of a knight's life show how important chivalry and arms were in the Burgundian society of the fifteenth century.

[246] Garey, MCC, 63.
[247] Garey, MCC, 68.

Chapter 5 : SINGING OF ARMS

Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doubt on doubter

When one thinks of the vocabulary of arms in chansons of the fifteenth century, *l'homme armé* immediately comes to mind. In Mel, we find the song *L'homme armé doibt on doubter,* along with the phrase *À l'assault* (Attack), in the tenor and contratenor voices of the rondeau *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter,* fols. 44v-45r, one of the most overtly martial and most cryptic chansons in the manuscript.[248] The chanson tells of an upcoming encounter by Symon le Breton with *le Turcq.* The meaning of the text of this song has been a long-standing puzzle. I propose an interpretation of the words, which tie the two texts together and supports my contention that the song was written in association with the Feast of the Pheasant held in Lille on 17 February 1454.

Much scholarship exists about possible origins of the song *L'homme armé* and its use in more than 40 masses from the second half of the fifteenth century through the seventeenth. Its close ties to the Burgundian sphere are supported by the dedicatory verse found on the last page of Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40, with six anonymous masses built on the *L'homme armé* tune. This verse notes that prince Charles, believed to be Charles the Bold, used to enjoy this music ("Charolus hoc princeps quondam gaudere solebat.")[249] A further tie to Burgundy is found in the accompanying coat of arms, identified independently by Nicolò Ferrari and John Ahern as the coat of arms of the Janly family.[250] Haggh-Huglo notes that generations of this

[248] New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS 91, Mellon Chansonnier, US-NHub 91, fols. 44v-45r.
[249] See Judith Cohen, *The Six Anonymous L'homme armé Masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40., Musicological Studies and Documents 21* (American Institute of Musicology, 1968), 66-67.
[250] See John Ahern, "The Naples L'homme armé Masses: A New Connection," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 14, no. 1 (2022), 32, note 3, where he notes that his "identification of the coat of arms was coincident with Nicoló

prominent Burgundian family were employed in Chalon-sur-Saône, where Jean Germain, Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, was bishop from 1436-1461.[251] The crest found in the Naples Masses is most likely that of Philibert de Janly, who was dean of the cathedral of St. Vincent in Chalon and whose coat of arms is also found in an Italian translation of Pliny the Elder's *Historia naturalis* in the British Library, GB C.3.d.2.[252] The blazon is described as three white five-petalled flowers against an azure background with a white fess across the middle, in which is set a red crescent.

In her 2022 article, Haggh-Huglo argues that "the Turks *were* the reason for the commission and composition of the chanson *L'homme armé*, that the text is factual, and that the armed man of the chanson was Philip the Good."[253] A series of three banquets were held in early 1454, the third being the Feast of the Pheasant. The first feast was hosted by Duke Adolphe II de Clèves (1425–1492), nephew of Philip the Good. The tournament to be held in conjunction with the third feast was announced at this first banquet. At the tournament of the Feast of the Pheasant, Adolphe de Clèves, presenting himself as the Knight of the Swan,[254] would act as *entrepreneur* and joust all comers.

John II (1415-1491), Count of Nevers and Étampes, hosted the second banquet. John was both Philip the Good's first cousin and son of Philip's second wife, Bonne of Artois (1396-1425). Haggh-Huglo makes the case that the song was sung as part of the presentation of the *chappelet de fleurs* to Philip the Good at this second feast, tasking him with hosting the third

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Ferrari's, "New Findings on the Origin and Making of Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms VI E 40," *Muzyka* 66 (2021), 148-184.

[251] Haggh-Huglo, "Arming the Duke of Burgundy," 51.

[252] Ferrari, "New Findings," 152.

[253] Haggh-Huglo, "Arming the Duke of Burgundy," 33.

[254] The Knight of the Swan arrives in a swan-drawn boat to defend a damsel under the condition that he never be asked his name. In the *chanson de geste* of 1172, *Le Chevalier au Cigne*, this knight is the ancestor of Godfrey of Bouillon, in 1099 the new King of Jerusalem. See Geoffrey M. Myers, *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, vol. 1 of Emanuel J. Mickel and Jan A. Nelson, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle* (University of Alabama Press, 1977).

banquet, the Feast of the Pheasant. She observed that chronicles note that the song was "faicte à propoz," that is, made or composed for the occasion, so one might conclude that its meaning was tied to this particular event.[255] Although the composer of the chanson *L'homme armé* is unknown, Haggh-Huglo notes that John, Count of Étampes, as councilor of Cambrai Cathedral, would have been in position to commission "Du Fay to compose the chanson *L'homme armé* for the second banquet."[256]

Her close reading of the text of *L'homme armé* supports the contention that the armed man of the song is Duke Philip and that it was written in conjunction with the two banquets leading up to the Feast of the Pheasant. The French text of *L'homme armé*, without the word repetition in Mel, is:

> *L'ome armé doibt on doubter,*
> *On a fait partout crier*
> *Que chescun se doibt armer*
> *D'un haubregon de fer*

Garey provided the following translation:[257]

> The man at arms is to be feared,
> The cry has been raised all around
> That every one must arm himself
> With an iron hauberk.

Garey's translation invites further comment here. He translated the word *doubter* in line 1 as "to be feared." While DMF offers one meaning of the word *douter* (*douter*) as "to doubt or suspect," it also offers this meaning:

> *Éprouver pour quelqu'un (une personne investie d'une autorité, une personne aimée) un sentiment mêlé de crainte et de respect*
>
> To feel for someone (a person in a position of authority, a loved one) a mixed feeling of fear and respect

[255] Haggh-Huglo, "Arming the Duke of Burgundy," 39-42.
[256] Haggh-Huglo, "Arming the Duke of Burgundy," 38.
[257] Garey, MCC, 334.

We find the words *douté* (*doubté)* and the related word *redouté* used in texts involving arms, as a form of the verb *douter, douté* meaning "feared" or "dreaded." It also may be used as a compliment to a person in authority, in which case, it conveys both fear and respect. DMF notes that it may be used as a form of address, *douté*, with the definition "*Redouté*, *vénéré*," and provides this example:

> *...mes très-honorés et doutés seigneurs, je vous supplie et requiers humblement, que pour ceste fois il vous plaise vous vouloir déporter de vostre emprise, et me vouloir commettre et souffrir en vostre lieu* (Faits Lalaing K., c.1470, 46).
>
> ...my very honored and *douté* lords, I humbly beseech and request you, that for this time it may please you to desist from your *emprise* and want to place and suffer me in your stead.

René d'Anjou, throughout his "*Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tourney,*" uses the term *très redoubté* as an honorific when addressing dukes. As an example of how to announce a tournament being held between the Duke of Bretaigne as the *appellant* (challenger) and the Duke of Bourbon as the *deffendant* (defender), René writes:

> *Duquel Tournoy sont chiefs très haulx et très puissans princes et mes très redoubtez seigneurs le duc de Bretaigne pour appellant et le duc de Bourbon pour deffendant*;[258]
>
> In this Tournament, the chiefs are very high and very powerful princes and my very redoubtable lords the Duke of Brittany for the appellant and the Duke of Bourbon for the defendant

With Philip the Good cast as the *l'homme armé,* a translation of *doubter* as both fear and respect would be most fitting – the armed man must be feared and respected.

Line 2 of the *L'homme armé* song contains the verb *crier,* a word which has a very particular meaning in the world of tournaments and *pas d'armes*. Garey's translation casts the verb *crier* (to cry) as a sort of alarm. This is just one possible definition of the word, however.

[258] René d'Anjou, "*Traictié,"* 10.

DMF also provides the definition "*Annoncer, proclamer,*" and we see it used frequently in reference to "crying out" or announcing a tournament:

> *Qu'encor le voloit honnourer Et, pour li faire demourer, Fist crier joustes et tournois, Et pluseurs autres esbanois* (MACH., P. Alex., p.1369, 45).
>
> He still wished to honor him, and to make him stay, he had jousts and tournaments proclaimed, and several other amusements.

René of Anjou, in his treatise writes of "crying a tournament," using the verb *crier* in the section titled "*Ainsi cy après s'ensuit la forme et manière commant on doibt crier ledit Tournoy*" (Hereafter follows the form and manner in which you should *cry* the tournament). [259] René's example of how a tournament is cried includes the information concerning who may participate in the tournament, where it will be held, the armaments and weapons that will be used, and also includes the names of the patron(s) of the tournament:

> *On fait assavoir à tous princes, seigneurs, barons, chevaliers et escuiers de la marche de l'isle de France, de la marche de Champaigne, de la marche de Flandres, et de la marche de Ponthieu chief des poyers, de la marche de Vermandois et d'Artoys, de la marche de Normandie, de la marche d'Acquitaine et d'Anjou, de la marche de Bretaigne et Berry, et aussi de Corbye, et à tous autres de quelsconques marches qui soient de ce royaume et de tous autres royaumes chrestiens, s'ils ne sont bannis ou ennemys du Roy nostre sire à qui Dieu donne bonne vie, que tel jour de tel moys, en tel lieu de telle place, sera ung grantdesime pardon d'armes, et très noble Tournoy frappé de masses de mesure, et espées rabatues, en harnoys propres pour ce faire, en timbres, cotes d'armes et housseures de chevaulx armoyées des armes des nobles tournoyeurs, ainsi que de toute ancienneté est de coustume*;
>
> *Duquel Tournoy sont chiefs très haulx et très puissans princes et mes très redoubtez seigneurs le duc de Bretaigne pour appellant et le duc de Bourbon pour deffendant*;[260]
>
> Let all princes, lords, barons, knights and squires of the marches of the Isle de France, Champagne, Flanders, Ponthieu first of seignories, Vermandois and Artois, Normandy, Aquitaine and Anjou, Brittany and Berry, and also Corbie, and all others of whatever marches that are in this kingdom and all other Christian kingdoms, who are not banished

[259] René d'Anjou, "*Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tourney*," 8.
[260] René d'Anjou, "*Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tourney*," 9-10.

> or enemies of the king our lord, may God save him, know that on such a day and such a month, in such a place in such a town, there will be a very great festival of arms and a very noble tourney with maces of one measure and rebated swords, in appropriate armor, with crests, coats of arms and horses covered with the arms of the noble tourneyers, as is the ancient custom;
>
> Of which tourney, the captains are the very noble and powerful princes and my very redoubted lords the Duke of Brittany appellant and the Duke of Bourbon, defendent;[261]

These details of how a tournament will be held are documented in *chapitres*. DMF defines *chapitres* as the "*Ensemble des articles contenant les conditions de déroulement d'un combat fixées par celui qui en est l'instigateur, l'appelant*" (set of articles containing the conditions for the conduct of a combat, fixed by the one who instigates it, the challenger), offering this as one example:

> *Et puis le lendemain matin, messire Jehan envoya ses chappitres a messire Henry, qui (...) estoient que chescun devroit faire ung get de lance et puis venir a haches* (CHASTELL., Chron. IV, D., c.1461-1472, 139).
>
> And then the next morning, Sir John sent his terms to Sir Henry, which (...) were that each should make a throw of lance and then come to axes.

As noted above, it was during the first of a series of three feasts held in early 1454 that a tournament was announced. This tournament would be held before the banquet of the third feast, the Feast of the Pheasant, on 17 February 1454. The defender in this tournament, casting himself as *le Chevalier au Cygne,* was Adolphe de Clèves and the tournament is sometimes referred to in modern scholarship as the *Pas de Chevalier au Cygne.* Haggh-Huglo discusses the *cry* of this tournament as chronicled by Olivier de la Marche and Mathieu d'Escouchy. The *cry* includes

[261] Translation by Elizabeth Bennett. See "King René's Tournament Book: A Modern English Translation by Elizabeth Bennett," Princeton University, updated September 4, 1998, https://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/compare.html. The *appellant* is the challenger.

information about who may participate, when the joust will be held, and specifies the armaments to be used. Haggh-Huglo provides this English summary:

> And the call [to joust] was made to all princes, knights, and noblemen, that on the day when the duke would hold his banquet, one would find the Knight of the Swan (Adolf of Clèves) in Lille armed with arms for jousting, in a saddle of war, to joust with contestants separated by a rope hung with cloth who would joust with lances of the appropriate measure and with tips of protection [in this way] meeting all those who wished to come [for the joust] […]. This call was made by the order and wish of the lord Adolf of Clèves.[262]

The *chapitres* of a *cry* were widely circulated and "… heralds were expressly sent by *entrepreneurs* to courts" in Europe to announce an upcoming tournament, such as when Burgundian heralds travelled to the courts of Castile and Aragon to announce the 1443 *pas d'armes* near Dijon.[263]

The job of the herald included more than announcing tournaments. He carried important messages and served as a repository of information concerning knights and their blazons. The definition of *heraut* (herald) provided by DMF is:

> *Officier chargé de transmettre les messages importants, de faire les proclamations solennelles, de régler les jeux et les cérémonies de chevalerie et de tenir registre des noms et des blasons des chevaliers (grade intermédiaire entre le poursuivant d'armes et le roi d'armes)*
>
> An officer responsible for transmitting important messages, making solemn proclamations, regulating games and ceremonies of chivalry, and keeping a register of the names and the blazons of knights (intermediate rank between the *poursuivant* of arms and the king of arms).[264]

[262] Haggh-Huglo, "Arming the Duke of Burgundy," 38.
[263] Brown-Grant and Damen, *Pas d'armes and Late Medieval Chivalry,* 335.
[264] A *poursuivant* of arms is a junior officer of arms, ranking below a herald, responsible for assisting with heraldic, genealogical, and ceremonial duties.

Given this understanding of *crier,* rather than Garey's translation of line 2 as "The cry has been raised all around," I suggest that the grammar be maintained to indicate agency and refer to what is cried, "One had it cried everywhere," with "it" referring to the next two lines of the song.

Line 4 of the chanson orders that everyone should come armed with an *haubregon de fer.* Garey translated *haubregon* as *hauberk,* but *haubregon* must be retained because it is what is used in Mel. DMF gives the common spelling as *haubergeon* and offers the definition "Tunique ou cotte de maille plus courte que le haubert, avec petites manches ou sans manches" (Tunic or coat of mail shorter than the hauberk, with short sleeves or without sleeves). Both words refer to a shirt of mail, but the *haubregon* is shorter than the *hauberk,* and is sometimes sleeveless. The *haubregon* offers less protection and more mobility than a *hauberk,* and a knight chose which to wear for the kind of combat that was anticipated. Lemaire and Wangermée note that a *quintain* mannequin could be dressed in an *haubregon*.[265] René d'Anjou notes that the heralds would dress in an *haubergon* (*haubregon*) at tournaments:

> *NOTA Que en Flandres, Brabant et ses autres basses marches, où ils font voulentiers Tournoys, ils ont de coustume que les Roys d'armes, héraulx et poursuivans portent les bannières; et sont tenus les tournoyeurs dont les héraulx et poursuivans ont les bannières, leur bailler une cotte de leurs armes avec ung cheval grant et fort en couverte, pour porter la bannière, et pour le corps desdits hérault ou poursuivant, baillent ung haubergon à qui le veuilt, avec sallade, garde-bras, avant-bras, gantelez et harnois de jambes*.[266]
>
> NOTE That in Flanders, Brabant and their other lower marches, where they gladly hold tournaments, it is customary for the kings of arms, heralds, and *poursuivants* to carry the banners; and the tourneyers whose banners the heralds and *poursuivants* carry are obliged to give them a coat of their arms with a large and strong horse with a cover, to carry the banner, and for the body of the said herald or *poursuivant*, they give a mail *haubergon* to whoever wants it, with a sallet, arm guards, forearm pieces, gauntlets, and leg armor.[267]

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[265] Lemaire and Wangermée, *"*Le Rondeau," 154.
[266] René d'Anjou, "Traictié,*"* 30-31.
[267] English translation by Elizabeth Bennett. See "King René's Tournament Book A Modern English Translation by Elizabeth Bennett," Princeton University, updated September 4, 1998, https://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/compare.html.

Haubregons were also worn in combat. This example reports in an unsigned letter to King Edward III the death of an English knight while wearing an *hauberioun* (*haubregon*):

> *Johan Ker est mort par iouster de guerre de vne coupe qe vn de mes valetz lui ferst permy le corps et permy son haketon' et hauberioun*[268]
>
> John Ker has been killed in a joust of war by one of my valets who struck him through the body and through his aketon[269] and haubregon

The poem *Mistere du Siege d'Orleans* from the late fifteenth century mentions *auberjons* (*haubregons*) as part of the preparations for a siege:

Faictes et soyez diligens	Act and be diligent
De charger bombardes, canons	To load bombards,[270] cannons
Serpentines a grant puissance	Serpentines with great power
...	…
Jaques et auberjons a maille,	Jacks and chain-mail coats,
Lances, voulges a grant foison,	Lances, glaives[271] in great abundance,
Broches de fer, crochet, tenaille.	Iron spikes, hooks, tongs.

(Myst. siège Orléans H., c.1480-1500, 208)

We have seen that the rules of a tournament or of a *pas d'armes* were recorded in *chapitres*, and that they included specifications of arms and armaments to be used. The call to arm oneself in an *haubregon de fer* would easily be a part of the information 'cried' about a tournament.

[268] Ralph Moffat, *Medieval Arms and Armour*: *A Sourcebook, Vol. 1, The Fourteenth Century* (Boydell & Brewer, 2022), Document 55, Kew, National Archives, SC 1/54/30 Unsigned Letter to King Edward III from the Scottish Pale, *ca.* 1340, 89.
[269] Aketon is the Middle English word for a stuffed jacket that is worn under mail.
[270] A bombard is a sort of early canon, or catapult, used for throwing heavy stone balls in a siege.
[271] A weapon consisting of a broad, single-edged blade mounted at the end of a long staff.

The *L'homme armé* song, then, may be interpreted as a mention of the sponsor, the armed man, who is the Duke of Burgundy, then the recalling of the *cry*, an earlier announcement of the upcoming *pas d'armes* that he would sponsor, with reference to a *chapitre* specifying what kind of armor must be worn. In light of my exploration of the meaning of the words *doubter, crier,* and *haubregon,* I propose the following revised translation:

French	**English - Revised**
L'ome armé doibt on doubter,	The armed man must be feared and respected,
On a fait partout crier	One had it 'cried' everywhere
Que chescun se doibt armer	That everyone must arm himself
D'un haubregon de fer	With an iron *haubregon*.

The text found in the upper voice of the polyphonic chanson in Mel, *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter* is as follows:

Il sera pour vous conbatu
Le doubté Turcq, Maistre Symon
-Certainement ce sera mon-
Et de crocq de ache abatu.

Son orgueil tenons a batu,
S'il chiét en voz mains, le felon,

En peu d'heure l'arés batu
Au plaisir Dieu. Puis dira-on,
"Vive Symonet le Breton
Que sur le Turcq s'est enbatu!"

Garey provided the following English translation:[272]

He will be fought for you,
The dreaded Turk, Master Symon
--There's no doubt about it—
And struck down with an axe-spur
(or stalk of wild celery)

We hold his pride to have been beaten
If he falls into your hands, the felon.

[272] Garey, MCC, 332.

In a short time you will have beaten him
To God's pleasure. Then they will say
"Long live ol' Symon the Breton,
Because he has fallen on the Turk!"

Apart from the debate-causing "pour" in the first line, to be discussed, the text speaks of a combatant, Master Symon, easily and previously assumed to be Symon le Breton, the composer and singer of that name in the court chapel of Philip the Good of Burgundy from *ca.* 1431-1464.[273] The translation of *pour vous* in the first line as "for you, or on your behalf," thus leaving Symon passive, does not make sense when taken with the rest of the text, which tells of Symon as active in battle with and defeating the Turk. In 2003, Planchart proposed substituting the word *par* (by) for the word *pour* (for) as a way to resolve the issue. He contended that the abbreviations for *pour* and *par* are similar, that the word should have been *par,* and that the use of *pour* was the result of a scribal error.[274] Although Planchart's suggested modification resolves the inconsistency in the song, the abbreviations for *par* and *pour* are distinctive (see Figure 5.1).[275] I propose another interpretation in which *pour* is not in error.

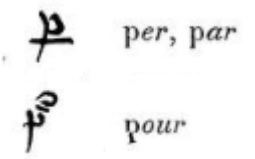


Figure 5.1.
Abbreviations for *par* and *pour*

Turning again to DMF, one of the definitions of *pour* is "À cause de, en raison de," that is, "because of, due to." Several examples from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts are supplied in support of this definition, including:

> *J'ay une playe en l'espaule qui me fait mal pour le sang qui est foitié entour* (Percef. I, R., c.1450 [c.1340], 183).

[273] Perkins, MCC, 333, explains that Maistre Symon refers to Simon le Breton, a musician of the Burgundian court. Nakos, "The Chanson," 68-70 and 80, argues that Symon le Breton was the composer of this chanson.
[274] Planchart, "The Origins and Early History," 317.
[275] Abbreviations are from Marcel Prou, *Manuel de paléographie latine et française de VI au XVII siècle* (Alphonse Picard, 1892), 371.

> I have a wound in my shoulder that hurts me because of the blood that is congealed around it.
>
> *...car il lui sembloit que, s'il la trouvoit, qu'il la feroit, por la rage dont il estoit enflamé, ardoir et destruire* (WAUQUELIN, Belle Hélène Const. C., c.1448-1452, 81).
>
> ...for it seemed to him that, if he found her, he would, because of the rage with which he was inflamed, burn and destroy her.
>
> *...car ilz ne nous pourront veoir pour la grosseur de la tour et ne pourront rien ouyr pour le bruit et impetuosité de l'eaue d'un mollin qui est de l'autre costé* (BUEIL, I, 1461-1466, 79).
>
> ...because they will not be able to see us because of the thickness of the tower, and they will not be able to hear anything because of the noise and impetuousness of the water of a mill that is on the other side.

Employing this definition of the word *pour* renders the entire text consistent and sensible. The meaning of the first stanza becomes "because of you, Master Symon, the dreaded Turk will be fought, most assuredly, and struck down with the head of a celery stalk," the essence being "because of you, the dreaded Turk will be defeated."

The other expression in the first stanza that has caused debate is *crocq de ache.* Garey claims that *ache* only lacks the aspirate 'h' of *hache*, which means "ax." He indicated that "h" was not pronounced by this time and explained that metric considerations prevented the preceding "de" from being elided to "d'."[276]

Certainly, *croc*(*q*) and (*h*)ache are terms associated with fifteenth-century weaponry. As a weapon, interpreting *ache* in the phrase as *hache* makes sense. Gay defines a *hache* as a single blade mounted on a shaft ranging from 80 cm. to 1.80 m., depending upon whether it was intended for use by a mounted soldier or an infantryman. He describes two types of *hache*, the second of which was in use in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. This type of

[276] Barbara Haggh-Huglo, in private correspondence, notes the regional use of "h," that it was used in Ghent in the fifteenth century but not in Brussels.

hache, known as a *hache de Créqui* or *hache à dague*, had an extended shaft topped by a spearhead (his illustration shown in Figure 5.2).[277] If this second type of *hache* is how the word in the song is to be interpreted, then, as Garey notes, *crocq de ache,* or *croc de hache,* would mean the hook, or spur, of this second kind of *hache*, and *le Turcq* would be felled in the song with the protrusion opposite of the blade. Yet, while *hache* is mentioned throughout La Marche's *Mémoires,* the phrase *croc* (or *crocq*) *de hache* (or *ache*) does not appear and does not appear to be a common phrase of the period. There are weapons described as *à croc*(*q*), rather than *crocq de*, such as *arbalestes à croq*.[278]

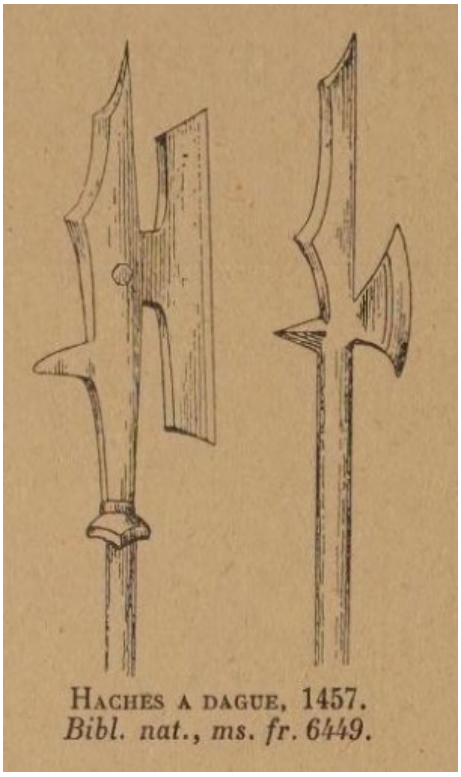


Figure 5.2. Victor Gay's illustration of *haches à dague*, *Glossaire archeologique*, 2:2

[277] Gay, *Glossaire,* 2:1-2.
[278] Gay, *Glossaire,* 1:44, reference 1420 under *ARBALÈTE.*

DMF also does not include the phrase “crocq de ache” in its definition. In DMF, the word *croc* has a first “A” meaning of "Pièce de fer recourbée (plus rarement de bois) servant à prendre ou à accrocher q[uelque chose]" (A curved piece of iron (more rarely of wood) serving to take or attach something). Another meaning is "Fer recourbé, probablement tranchant, au bout d'un long manche, pour tirer à soi les branches inférieures des arbres sur pied" (Curved iron, probably able to cut through something, at the end of a long handle, for pulling towards oneself the lower branches of trees when one is standing). Another meaning of *croc* with respect to cleaning animals is “Instrument présentant une extrémité recourbée" (Instrument presenting a curved extremity). Victor Gay defines *croc* as a crossbow hook, *crochet d'arbalète*, a suspension hook at the side of a belt, *un crochet de suspension posé sur le côté de la ceinture*, or a small caliber piece of artillery, *les arquebuses à croc, pièces d'artillerie du plus petit calibre*. The word *crocq* or *croc* is therefore an extension of a hook to a larger item. Other phrases include “de croc et de hanche,” *hanche* meaning hip or something crooked, and “de croc ou de lance,” both meaning “par tout moyen,” or in English, “by hook or by crook.”[279] None of these definitions appear to apply to *Il sera pour vous conbatu*.[280]

While *croc* is the lemma in DMF, it lists alternative spellings. Two are more revealing. The spelling *crocq* as in Mellon appears in 7FMR at the phrase here in italics: “Et, avec ce,

[279] DMF offers these quotes in example: *...il l'aura de croq et de hanche*, from Martin Le Franc, *Le Champion des dames* (H. Champion, 1999), 4:41, dating from 1440-1442, the full sentence of which reads “Et scet si soubtivement joinder La matière en quoy il se lance, Polir et de doulx parler oindre Qu’il l’aura de croq et de hance” (And he knows so subtly to join The matter in which he throws himself, to polish and anoint with sweet talk That he will have it by hook or by crook), and from *ca.* 1500, *Ie men vueil aller en Lorraine Ou Martin est deuenu moyne Venir luy faire malle essoyne Ou ie tourmenteray labbaye Les autres moynes grand enuie Auront sur luy voire si ie puis Depuis que me suis entremis Ie lauray de croc ou de lance* (I want to go to Lorraine, where Martin has become a monk, to cause him trouble, or I will torment the abbey. The other monks will be very jealous of him, indeed, if I can. Since I have undertaken this, I will have him, by hook or by crook), from Katharine Anne Knutsen, “Le Mystère de la vie et hystoire de monseigneur sainct Martin” (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, 1976), 263.
[280] Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance* (Librarie de la Société bibliographique, 1887), 1:499.

convient avoir du traict à main en grant et bon nombre selon la quantité des gens que vous avez audit siège, *comme arbalestres tant à crocq que à tour* (like arrow launchers for arrows with *crocqs*, i.e. curved extensions, or little wheels, the *tours*), bien garnies de tilloles, baudriers, cordes, fil pour en faire, viretons, dondaines et groz traict, et tours tous neufz à tendre arbalestres, aussi des arcs pour les archiers, et que chascun arc ait plusieurs cordes et des flesches en grand et bon nombre à la discretion du maistre de l'artillerie et des archiers. (BUEIL, II, 1461-1466, 47).

The plural *crocqs* appears in the Base des Partiels:

> *Et si ne porterons sur nous quelque chose qui tourne à sort ou invocacion quelconques qui de l'Église soit défendue. Et n'y aura traict en ladicte bataille, fors que chascun se aidera du corps que Dieu lui a presté, armé comme bon lui semblera, tant à l'un costé comme à l'autre, pour sa seureté, aians bastons acoustumez. C'est assavoir lance, hache, espée et dague, et chascun de tel avantage comme besoing et mestier sera pour sa seureté et pour soy aider, sans avoir alènes, broches, crocqs, poinçons, fers barbelez, aguilles, pointes envenimées, ne rasoirs* (MONSTRELET, Chron. D.-A., t.1, c.1425-1440, 44).
>
> And indeed we will not carry on us something that turns, of the kind or such as is invoked, which is forbidden by the Church. And there will not be a launch (as with arrows or spears) in the said battle, except that each one will help himself using the body that God has given [him], armed as will seem best to him, on one side as on the other, for his security, having the customary baton [stick]. That is, a lance, ax, sword and dagger, and each one for such advantage as needed and as will be required for his security, and to help himself, without having triangular blades [*alènes*], points, *crocqs* [curved extensions], little points, barbed wire, needles, poisoned points, or razors.

These definitions of *croc* and texts using *crocq* and *crocqs* from DMF confirm that a *crocq* is an extension that cuts, which according to Monstrelet was forbidden by the Church. The phrase *crocq de hache* then can be understood as a curved extension on an ax. Gay's *hache à dague* suggests what a *crocq de hache* would have looked like (one must replace the *dague* seen here in Figure 5.2 with a curved *crocq*).[281]

[281] La Marche, *Mémoires,* 2:128, and Gay, *Glossaire*, 2:2. Weapons *à croc* include *arbaleste à crocq* and *couleuvrine à crocq,*

Kelly DeVries, a specialist in medieval and especially Burgundian armament, provided the following evaluation of *crocq* and *ache*.[282] He also found no source for a *crocq de hache* but observed the following: "Specifically, the word *crocq/croq* is shown in several examples always to be a mount. Unfortunately, Gay does not have a separate listing for *crocq/croq* but he does cite it numerous times to define it as "mount." See, for example, his numerous original sources with *arbaleste à crocq* (1420 on 1:44; 1465 on 2:309; 1488 on 1:71; 1:72), as well as several references to *couleuvrine à crocq/croq* and *(h)acquebus à crocq/croq*.[283] This contrasts with the *arbaleste à main*, *couleuvrine à main*, and *hacquebus à main*. *Crocq* as a mount in the above examples is an accessory to an infantry weapon. As staff weapons also became the infantry weapon of choice, their heads became axes – in fact, this was the most frequent shape of staff weapons. *Crocquepois* is also a name used for a staff weapon (Gay, 1:505)."

DeVries comments further that "the Ottoman Turks preferred infantry to cavalry warfare. Duels were fought on foot. By the time of this song [*Il sera pour vous*] all of Europe would know this. The Burgundians knew this very well as Ottoman infantry had stopped their cavalry charge at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396." I note that at the Feast of the Pheasant, those jousting with Adolphe de Clèves were to bring saddles of war, so clearly those jousts were on horseback; no actual Turks were present at that event so far as we know.

The Mellon text uses *de ache* without an "h," which refers to celery, and emphasizes it by placing the line *Et de crocq de ache abatu* at the end of the stanza, separating it from lines one and two with the interjection *Certainement ce cera mon.* That leads us to argue that the phrase *crocq de ache*, was chosen deliberately and was not part of some necessary poetic manipulation

[282] Email sent to me on 16 April 2026.
[283] Cf. Joseph Garnier, *L'artillerie des ducs de Bourgogne d'après les documents conservés aux archives de la Cote-d'Or* (Honoré Champion, 1895) and the analysis of this book by Robert Douglas and Kelly DeVries in *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy, 1363-1477* (The Boydell Press, 2005).

as Garey has claimed. The phrase *crocq de ache* occupies three syllables in the middle of the line, the vowel sound of *ache* not being part of the rhyme scheme. Therefore, any three-syllable phrase for a weapon could have been used in this text: phrases such as *hache au poing*, used by La Marche, or *hache à dague*, the weapon shown in Figure 5.2 that is in Gay's *Glossaire*, or simply *hache à crocq*.[284] So, although (*h*)*ache* and *croc*(*q*) are separately used as terms associated with weaponry of the fifteenth century, I have not found them used together as they are in Mellon anywhere else, so I contend that another interpretation of *crocq de ache* must be considered.

As I argue next, the clever double-meaning of the *crocq de ache* as a vegetable and lance for jousting, alongside a third meaning of a *crocq de hache* as a dangerous wartime weapon even banned by the Church, would not have been lost on a court audience familiar with arms and armament. Garey translated *ache* to mean celery, noting that the word "may constitute the introduction of a comic ambiguity."[285] DMF defines *ache* as *apium graveolens,* or celery, rendering the translation of *crocq de ache*, or *croc de celeri*, as "stalk of celery," as Garey had proposed.[286] In 2003, Alejandro Planchart took up the subject. He interpreted the phrase as a "stalk of celery" and concluded that the song is telling Symon that he is going to go into battle himself, "armed only with a stalk of celery at that."[287] Bearing in mind the acknowledged humor of the song, the interpretation of the phrase *crocq de ache* as "stalk of celery" merits consideration.

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[284] La Marche, *Mémoires,* 2:128, and Gay, *Glossaire*, 2:2. Weapons *à croc* include *arbaleste à crocq* and *couleuvrine à crocq,*
[285] Garey, MCC, 333.
[286] https://anythingtranslate.com/translators/the-old-french-translator/ translates "croc de celeri" as "celery stick."
[287] Planchart, "The Origins and Early History," 326.

In the end, Garey proposed a choice of translations for the expression as either "axe-spur," which is an acceptable translation of *crocq de hache* as explained above, or "stalk of wild celery."[288] Fallows also recognized the humorous nature of the text and settled on "axe-spur" in his translation, noting Garey's mention of a "stalk of wild celery."[289] Was it meant humorously as, literally, a stalk of celery, or was it an idiom that conveyed a different meaning to the audience at the time? One wonders what a reader 500 years from now will make of the phrase "driving a lemon," for example. Idioms are difficult to translate from a distance of several hundred years, so we must take clues from the rest of the text to have any hope of interpreting them.

Here the case is made that jousting equipment was meant as part of the double meaning of the phrase *crocq de ache*, rather than a vegetable. Whereas the meaning of the song was cryptic to Perkins and Garey and Planchart, and no alternative meaning has since been proposed, I contend that to a fifteenth-century audience steeped in the culture of the armed men of their time, the meaning of *crocq de ache* was immediately clear.

Most significant to the argument that I make here are the features which distinguish the tournament lance from a war lance. Lances used in tournaments were made of softer wood than war lances, which allowed them to break more easily.[290] This breakability factored into the rules of jousting. Ralph Moffet explains that to score a victory in a joust, "the jouster had to shatter a solid wooden lance on his opponent. The body was a suitable target, but the prize was the head."[291] In Figure 5.3, one can see the broken lances from previous charges littering the ground

[288] Perkins, MCC, 333.
[289] Fallows, *Secular Polyphony,* 282.
[290] Robert Coltman Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases* (Methuen, 1919), 18 and 98.
[291] Ralph Moffat, "Alle myn harneys," 78.

in an illustration from the *Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing,* which shows the duke of Clèves and Jacques de Lalaing jousting before the duke of Burgundy.[292]

To give an idea of just how many lances might be broken at tournaments, Ralph Moffat quotes Philippe de Mézières offering the advice that, should a great foreign king or prince visit,



Figure 5.3. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 114, *Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing*, fol. 23r

[292] *Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing,* fol. 23, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 114, written in Flanders *ca.* 1530. See Brown-Grant and Damen, *A Chivalric Life*, 96-97, for the description that the Duke of Clèves (1419-1481) and Jacques de Lalaing (1421-1453) frequently jousted at the Burgundian Court, with the duke of Burgundy and the ladies of the court observing from the stands.

or at a great celebration, one should joust only "four or five lances to honour the company. But do not joust [to break] fifty or sixty or one hundred lances as you are accustomed to do."[293]

Key to the argument presented here, in addition to the lances for jousting being more breakable, was the development of the *rochet*, having the standard translation of "coronel." Marina Viallon describes the coronel as "a type of lance head shaped as a three- or four-pointed crown. Used exclusively in tournaments, it prevented the lance from piercing the armour while its points helped it to break by catching the asperities of the target," which was the aim of what she calls "a joust of peace."[294] Robert Clephan notes that while blunted lances were used by 1252, it wasn't until the fourteenth century that that we find orders specifying the use of coronels in tournaments.[295] The term *rochetz* is used in chronicles of the period, such as in the *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, as is noted in Table 5.1, where a "lance de mesure et de courtois rochetz .." was specified for use in the tournament held before the banquet of the Feast of the Pheasant. Gay defines a *rochet* as "fer de lance pour les joûtes, arme de tournoi" (lance for jousting, tournament weapon).[296] DMF, explains a *Fer de rochet* (rochet lancehead) as

> *Fer de lance muni d'une petite couronne qui rend la pénétration impossible (p[ar] oppos[ition] au fer de glaive pointu et pouvant pénétrer dans les jointures de l'armure).*
>
> A lancehead fitted with a small crown which renders penetration impossible (as opposed to a war lancehead which is pointed and can penetrate the joints in a suit of armor).

[293] Moffat, "Alle myn harneys," 80, quotes Philippe de Mézières (*ca.* 1327-1405). See Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin* (Cambridge University Press, 1969), 2:212.
[294] Marina Viallon, "The Tournament Saddle," 110.
[295] Clephan, *The Tournament,* 15 and 36.
[296] Gay, *Glossaire*, 2:305.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has this German, late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century coronel lance-head in its collection (see Figure 5.4). It is made of steel, weighs 1 lb. 10.6 oz, and measures 8 ½ inches high, with a diameter of 2 5/8 inches and a socket of 5 7/8 inches. One can see the similarities between this coronel lance tip and the head of the stalk of celery in Figure 5.4.



Figure 5.4. Left: German coronel lance tip in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Right: a stalk of celery

Manuscript illuminations confirm the use of coronels, as illustrated in Figure 5.5. The upper illumination of the *Romance of Alexander* shows two knights jousting with coronel-tipped lances aimed at one another's heads (the coronel tips are black). The lower illumination from the same manuscript shows two knights charging instead with blade-tipped lances. Drawings in Paulus Hector Mair's sixteenth-century *De arte athletica* clearly show jousting knights using



Figure 5.5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley. 264, fol. 121r (above) and fol. 139r (below)

coronels.[297] Figure 5.6 is an illustration from Mair's book showing two knights charging each other, coronels on their lances, one lance breaking as it strikes the other knight's helmet.



Figure 5.6. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Hss. Cod.icon. 393 (2), *De arte athletica*, vol. 2, fols. 96v-97r

Returning to the text of *Il sera pour vous conbatu,* it seems reasonable to believe that a courtly audience of the second half of the fifteenth century would be familiar with varieties of jousts and their associated armaments and would immediately understand that the *crocq de ache* used to fell "the Turk" in the chanson was not only a humorous reference to a vegetable, but especially to the coronel-tipped lance used for jousting. Adding to the aptness of this term, recall that tournament lances snapped easily, much as a stalk of celery would.

Table 5.1 lists the seven *pas d'armes* identified by Nadot for which Duke Philip the Good was patron.[298] The rules of each tournament specified the lance tip to be used. The first three of these specified the use of sharp war lance tips. Significantly, the *Pas du Chevalier au Cygne* of 1454 held in conjunction with the Feast of the Pheasant was the first of at least three of the last

[297] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Hss, Cod. icon. 393 (2).
[298] Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes*, 335-337. Note that information about the lance tips used in the 1461 *Pas de Lille* is not available.

four of Philip the Good's *pas d'armes* listed in Table 5.1 to call instead for coronel-tipped lances. As noted above, the coronel lance tip had been in use in tournaments for over 100 years before the Feast of the Pheasant. As such, it is most significant that the song "Il sera pour vous conbatu," which includes the text and tune of the song "L'homme armé doibt on doubter," the latter referencing the upcoming *Pas du Chevalier au Cygne,* calls particular attention to the use

Table 5.1. *Pas d'armes* sponsored by Philip the Good

Year	***Pas d'armes* (Location)**	**Lance Tip**
1443	*Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne* (Marsannay-la-Côte)	sharp ("…*douze courses de lances, à fer esmoulu.*") (MONST, 69)
1449	*Pas de la Belle Pèlerine* (Saint-Omer)	sharp ("…*courses de lanche à la toille à fers esmolus…"*) (ESCOU, 255)
1449/50	*Pas de la Fontaine aux Pleurs* (Chalon-sur-Saône)	sharp ("… *lances pareilles et de chacune tant qu'elles seront rompues, ou le fer dégrainé d'un doigt du moins,,,"*) (CHAST8, 193)
1454	*Pas du Chevalier au Cygne* (Lille)	coronel ("…*de lances de mesure et de courtois rochetz*…") (LAMAR, 342)
1458	*Pas de Compagnon à la Larme Blanche* (Le Quesnoy)	coronel ("*l'emprise ne portoit que joustes à roches*.") (CHAST3, 463)
1461	*Pas de Lille* (Lille)	
1463	*Pas du Perron Fée* (Bruges)	coronel ("…*de lances de mesure, garnies d'agrapes et de courtoiz rochés*.") (BRASS, 46)

of the coronel, the *crocq de ache*, which was first required precisely at that *pas d'armes*. A further clue to the dating of this song must take into consideration that the lower voices sing *L'homme armé*, a song which Haggh-Huglo has associated with the three feasts of 1454 and Philip's Crusading project, dating this song to no earlier than 1454.[299]

[299] Haggh-Huglo, "Arming the Duke of Burgundy," 38-42.

This, taken together with the evidence of the music of "Il sera pour vous conbatu" that I discussed in 2022,[300] is the strongest evidence that this chanson was composed in 1454 for the Feast of the Pheasant.

The text refers to a fight with *le Turcq*. While it is unclear whether Symon's opponent was an actual person, a mannequin, or whether the song refers to Turks in general, a call for a new crusade to Constantinople to engage the Turks was the theme of the Feast of the Pheasant, which ended with the knights at this banquet each formally speaking their vow to crusade, beginning with Duke Philip the Good and his son, Charles. Not only did the text of Philip's vow clearly state the purpose of his Crusade to defend the Catholic Church, but just prior to the vows that purpose was dramatized.

After the meal of the Feast, a giant dressed in long green silk robe and wearing a headdress in the style of the Saracens of Granada entered the hall leading an elephant carrying a castle in which sat a person dressed as a nun, portraying the Holy Church. A note in La Marche's *Mémoires* indicates that it was "comme il le dit lui-même ailleurs, Olivier de la Marche qui jouait le rôle d'Église" (as he himself states elsewhere, Olivier de la Marche who played the role of the Church).[301]

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[300] Nakos, "The Chanson," 59-80.

[301] Historical information on the relationship between the Burgundians and the Turks provided by Barbara Haggh-Huglo via personal correspondence: "On La Marche as the Church and the choice of the Elephant, see Marcel de Grève, "Le voeu du Faisan et les ecrivains, problèmes de reception," in *Le Banquet du Faisan 1454: l'Occident face au défi de l'Empire ottoman*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Caron and Denis Clauzel (Artois Presses Université, 1997), 153. This book has articles on the manuscript evidence surviving from the Feast, the history of Burgundian relations and occupation with what they viewed as a threat from the Muslims whether Ottoman Turks or Moors, their contact with Jerusalem, their crusading history, the pertinent books in the Burgundian Library, and on the Order of the Golden Fleece. The Western engagement with Muslims and the Muslim faith has a long history. Peter the Venerable of Cluny owned a Qu'ran, and Juan de Segovia, a theologian at the Council of Basel, prepared it as a trilingual book in Arabic, Castilian, and Latin in 1455-1456, but this volume has not survived. See most recently, Davide Scotto, *Juan de Segovia and the Qu'ran* (De Gruyter, 2024)."

Next, the Church's lament on the fall of Constantinople, sung by a young woman, made a plea for assistance, portrayed the Church as "mise à ruyne" (brought to ruin) and "ès mains des mescreans" (in the hands of unbelievers). The Church's challenge was "pour essayer lesquelz premier se vouldront employer a secourir Saincte Eglise" (to test who among them would be the first to work to help the Holy Church).[302]

In response to this plea, Duke Philip presented his vow, in which he pledged to take up the defense of the Christian faith in the company of or at the direction of the King, stating:

> …que se le plaisir du très chrestien et très victorieux prince monseigneur le Roy est de prendre croisée et exposer son corps pour la deftense de la foy chrestienne, et résister à la dampnable emprise du Grand Turc et des infîdelles …[303]
>
> … that should it please the most Christian and most victorious Prince, my Lord the King, to take up the Cross and risk his life in defense of the Christian faith, and to resist the damnable enterprise of arms of the Grand Turk and the infidels…

The purpose of the Feast of the Pheasant, as shown here, was evidently to raise support and pledges to recapture Constantinople, which had fallen to the Turks the year before, and even the entertainments were focused on this mission. Given that *Il sera pour vous conbatu* is the only song in the corpus of songs from the eight Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers that mentions a "Turk," it is quite possible that this song about the defeat of *le Turcq*, whether he was a quintain mannequin or human, or a purely fictional character, was created in association with a specific event involving a Turk, an armed man, and Symon le Breton, named in the song and a singer of

[302] La Marche, *Mémoires*, 2:362-366. A description of episode of the Holy Church at the Feast of the Pheasant may be found in Danielle Régnier-Bohler, ed., *Splendeurs de la Cour de Bourgogne* (Robert Laffont, 1995), 1055-1061. Further sources on the Feast of the Pheasant and Philip's crusade vow include Kelly DeVries, "The Failure of Philip the Good to Fulfill His Crusade Promise of 1454," in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. Susan Ridyard, 157-170 (Boydell Press, 2004), Agathe Lafortune-Martel, *Fête noble en Bourgogne au XVe siècle. Le banquet du Faisan (1454): Aspects politiques, sociaux et culturels* (Vrin, 1985), and Marie-Thérèse Caron, *Le Voeux du Faisan, noblesse en fête, esprit de croisade: Le manuscrit Français 11594 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Brepols, 2003).
[303] La Marche, *Mémoires*, 2:381.

Duke Philip the Good, conditions which the Feast of the Pheasant and its call to crusade against the Turk met.

With the reinterpretation of the words *pour* and the understanding of the phrase *crocq de ache*, my new translation of the entire song text is as follows:

French	**Revised English Translation**
Il sera pour vous conbatu *Le doubté Turcq, Maistre Symon* *-Certainement ce sera mon-* *Et de crocq de ache abatu.*	Because of you, he will be fought, The feared Turk, Master Symon, Most assuredly, And struck down with the head of a "celery stalk."
Son orgueil tenons a batu, *S'il chiét en voz mains, le felon,*	We hold his pride to have been beaten down, If he falls into your hands, the felon,
En peu d'heure l'arés batu *Au plaisir Dieu. Puis dira-on,* *"Vive Symonet le Breton* *Que sur le Turcq s'est enbatu!"*	In a little while you will have beaten him To God's pleasure. Then they will say, "Long live Symon the Breton, Because he has attacked the Turk!"
L'ome armé doibt on doubter, *On a fait partout crier* *Que chescun se doibt armer* *D'un haubregon de fer*	The armed man must be feared and respected It has been 'cried' everywhere That everyone must arm himself With an iron *haubregon*.
À l'assault. À l'assault.	Attack. Attack.

Both texts of *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter* speak of a future contest of arms. Taken together, one could interpret this song as containing possibly a quote from and certainly a requirement stated in the *chapitres* for the *Pas du Chevalier du Cygne*, a tournament fought for the first time with coronel-tipped lances, and a description of the anticipated successful contest at that tournament by Symon le Breton against a foe cast as the dreaded Turk. As noted above, further evidence that this song refers to a specific event and is not part of a group of songs commenting in general on relations with the Turks is the fact that it

is the only song found among the eight Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers that references *le Turcq*.

Planchart dates the song's creation to between 1458 and 1461, placing it between Pope Paul II's call for a crusade and the completion of Du Fay's and Ockeghem's Masses on *L'homme armé*.[304] I make the case here that the song was, indeed, composed in association with a call to crusade, but rather than Pope Paul II's call in 1458, it was composed for the Feast of the Pheasant and Philip the Good's call to crusade in 1454.

In 2022, I proposed that Simon's contest was a run at a quintain dressed as a Turk.[305] Along with the case made by Haggh-Huglo that the armed man of the *L'homme armé* tune was the Duke of Burgundy, a man vowing to lead a crusade to liberate Constantinople, and that the *L'homme armé* tune was sung at the feast where Philip the Good was presented the *chappelet* naming him as host of the Feast of the Pheasant, the tournament of the texts of the two songs matches perfectly with the *Pas du Chevalier au Cygne* held before the banquet at the Feast of the Pheasant, where vows were taken to crusade against the Turks who had conquered Constantinople.[306] If we accept this event as the occasion for which *Il sera pour vous conbatu* / *L'homme armé doibt on doubter* was created, knowing that knights demonstrated their fitness as warriors for the Church through tournaments, it becomes understandable that *L'homme armé* was often used in masses.

The documented after-banquet festivities associated with other *pas d'armes*, which included mock battles, suggest another possibility for performance of this chanson at the Feast of the Pheasant. In 1991, A. V. B. Norman reported that King James IV of Scotland enjoyed

[304] Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay,* 2:661.
[305] Nakos, "The Chanson," 62-63
[306] See Nakos, "The Chanson," 63-64, 69, 72, 79-80, which makes the case that this song describes events associated with the Feast of the Pheasant.

tournaments, as illustrated by the tournament held to celebrate his marriage to Margaret Tudor in 1503, "in the fully developed fashion pioneered by the Burgundian Court."[307] How closely his after-banquet festivities mirrored those of the Burgundian Court is impossible to say, but Norman attempted to reconstruct events associated with the two *pas d'armes* which took place in Edinburgh in 1507 and 1508, through brief accounts and payment records pertaining to them.[308] Payment records for swords for men at arms at the Scottish banquet of 1507 suggest that some sort of mock combat may have been performed there. Norman reported that mock battles at banquets were not unheard of -- in Milan in 1507 a mock assault on a castle left several injured and one dead. Then, Norman quoted Sidney Anglo's description of a typical post-banquet entertainment at the English Court:

> A group of disguised ladies and gentlemen would enter the hall riding on a large pageant car representing some allegorical scene. This entry took place to music, both vocal and instrumental, provided by minstrels and choristers also on board the vehicle. The allegory would then be explained either by a straightforward expository speech or by semi-dramatic action, frequently in the form of a *débat* leading to a mock combat. Then the distinguished lords and ladies would descend to perform rehearsed dances probably of some complexity, before the general ball would begin.[309]

We know that a post-banquet entertainment was part of the celebrations at the Feast of the Pheasant. After *Grace Dieu* presented the twelve virtues, Olivier de la Marche reports:

> *Atant s'en retourna Grâce Dieu, et laissa les dames qu'elle avoit amenées. Et pour ce que leur mistere fut achevé, leur furent ostez les briefz qu'elles portoient sur leurs* espaules; et *commencèrent à danser en guise de mommerie et à faire bonne chiere*, *pour la feste plus joyeusement parfournir*.[310]
>
> Then *Grâce Dieu* returned and left the ladies she had brought. And because their mystery [a short play] was finished, the letters they carried on their shoulders were taken from

[307] A. V. B. Norman, "A Scottish Tournament of the Early 16th Century," *Livrustkammaren* (1991): 89.
[308] Norman cites Marc de Vulson, Sieur de la Colombière, *La Science Heroique* (Paris, 1669), Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* (W. Blackwood and Sons, 1899), and *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland,* Vols III & IV (Sir James Balfour Paul, 1901 & 1902).
[309] Norman, "A Scottish Tournament," 101, citing Sydney Anglo, *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster,* I (Oxford, 1968), 45 note 1.
[310] La Marche, *Mémoires,* 2: 378.

them; and they began to dance in the manner of a masquerade and make good cheer, to complete the feast more joyfully.

La Marche then proceeds to name the knights and ladies who participated in this *mommerie.* During the dancing, the prizes for the *Pas du Chevalier au Cygne,* held earlier that day, were presented, a joust was arranged for the following day, and the party continued until 2 or 3 a.m. Neither La Marche nor Mathieu d'Escouchy, who also chronicled the events, give details of the mummery or other post-banquet entertainment, including whether songs were sung.[311] La Marche makes a similar report of festivities after the banquet of the *Pas de la Dame Sauvage,* held in Ghent in 1470:

> *Et, après le soupper, furent faictes pluiseurs danses et mommeries* .. (LA MARCHE, Tournoi Gand P., p.1470, 94).
>
> And, after supper, many dances and mummeries were performed …

Antoine de la Sale mentions both dancing and singing after supper in his treatise about how to conduct tournaments, written in 1459 at Châtellet-sur-Oize:

> *Et quant vient le soir, après soupper, tous les seigneurs et nobles hommes se doivent retraire vers ledit hostel ou place ordonnée à dansser et chanter …*[312]
>
> And when evening comes, after supper, all the lords and noblemen must withdraw to the said house or place appointed for dancing and singing …

The humor in this chanson has long been recognized. Planchart viewed it as "teasing Du Fay's close friend, Symon le Breton, about fighting 'the feared Turk,' and making short work of

[311] Haggh-Huglo notes that the Feast of the Pheasant took place on the Sunday of Septuagesima, which begins the 17-day period before Lent. In many countries, Septuagesima Sunday still marks the traditional start of the carnival season, culminating on Shrove Tuesday, sometimes known as Mardi Gras. As such, mummeries after the banquet would be quite fitting.

[312] Antoine de la Sale, "Des anciens tournois et faictz d'armes," in *Traités du duel judiciaire. Relations de pas d'armes et tournois par Olivier de la Marche, Jean de Villiers, seigneur de l'Isle-Adam, Hardouin de la Jaille, Antoine de la Sale, etc*. (L. Willem, 1872), 213.

the enemy while armed only with a celery stalk."[313] Fallows referred to it as a private joke.[314] Given that the post-banquet dancing and mummery were light-hearted parts of the celebrations at the Feast of the Pheasant, and given the accounts above of post-banquet mock arms contests, mummeries, dancing, and, in la Sale's treatise, singing, there are, then, two points in the festivities associated with the Feast of the Pheasant where light-hearted activities could have included the singing of *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter*: during a possible pre-*pas d'armes* entertainment, such as those mentioned by Nadot, perhaps involving a run at a quintain by Symon, or as part of the post-banquet revelry.[315]

[313] Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay,* 2:273.
[314] Fallows*, Secular Polyphony*, 282. In the context of nearing the beginning of carnival, that humorous element could also make sense.
[315] See Nadot, *Le spectacle des joutes,* 208: "Avant le temps de combats, de petites séquences sont fréquemment jouées, comme des "mises en bouche" destinées à preparer le public aux combats" (Before the combats begin [sic: began], little sequences are frequently performed, like "appetizers" designed to prepare the audience for the battles), and Crouch, *Tournament*, 59, "The horseback exercise called the 'quintain' is well attested as happening at courtly festivals."

Chapter 6 : THE MUSIC

During the reign of Philip the Good, the Burgundian army consisted of three categories of professional men-at-arms: *Chevaliers bannerets, Chevaliers bacheliers,* and the *Écuyers.*[316] The richest and most powerful were the *Chevaliers bannerets*, who had the right to raise a "banner." The less aristocratic *Chevaliers bacheliers* could raise a forked *pennon* (pennant).[317] The lowest rank, the *Écuyers*, or squires, were usually bourgeois who were rich enough to afford the requisite military "accoutrements."[318] In addition to the professional men-at-arms, other Burgundian forces were recruited from nobles and their followers, household troops, town militias, and foreign mercenaries. The nobles, the *chevaliers bannerets* and *chevaliers bacheliers,* formed the nucleus of the army.[319] They were equipped as heavy cavalry and their retinue included light cavalry, mounted crossbowmen, and swordsmen. The militia was comprised of the infantry, with pikemen, archers, and crossbowmen.[320] Since the songs of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers served a noble audience, any military association would be to the cavalry, and any sounds evocative of the military would be the trumpet calls of the cavalry.

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[316] Gabriele Esposito, *"*Forming the Burgundian Lance: Tactical Organization and Structure*,"* *Medieval Warfare* 4, no. 4 (2014), 16. DMF describes *écuyers* (squires) as young men-at-arms who could aspire to knighthood, and notes that originally the duties of an *écuyer* included carrying the knight's shield (écu). *Ecuyers* filled a broad spectrum of positions, among which were *éscuyer armé* (armed squire), *éscuyer bachelier* (bachelor squire or simple squire), *éscuyer non monté* (foot soldier)*,* and even *éscuyer de cuisine* (kitchen squire)*.*

[317] See Michael John Harbinson, "The Lancegay and Associated Weapons," in *Journal of Medieval Military History,* ed. Kelly DeVries, John France, and Clifford J. Rogers (Boydell & Brewer, 2022), 20:142, note 30, referring to John Hewitt, *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe,* vol. 2 (J. Henry and J. Parker, 1860): "pennons were the long narrow flags or streamers, either triangular or swallow-tailed that were attached below the lance point. The pennon was the ensign of those knights who had not yet become bannerets." See also Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche* (Renouard, 1884), 2:266-268 for a description of the Duke of Burgundy cutting a *pennon* to create a *banneret* as part of a battlefield promotion.

[318] Esposito, "Forming the Burgundian Lance*,"* 16.

[319] John Hewitt, *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe* (J. Henry and J. Parker, 1860), 1:95: "The dignity of the Knight Banneret required a retinue of at least fifty men-at-arms with their followers, so that it could only be enjoyed by the rich. The chronicles of the middle-ages are full of examples in which the knight who has distinguished himself on the field of battle declines this dignity on the plea of inadequate funds."

[320] Esposito, "Forming the Burgundian Lance," 16.

This military structure would change with Charles the Bold, who wanted to be able to assemble an army more quickly. His solution was to establish a permanent army. Gabriele Esposito notes that it took Charles more than two months to assemble a force for the Liège campaign. Hiring an occupying force after the campaign appears to have been Charles's first foray into hiring "compaignies d'ordonnance," or a standing army. The tactical unit of the *compaignies d'ordonnance* was the *lance fournie*.[321] The Burgundian *lance fournie* of 1471 consisted of nine soldiers, six mounted and three on foot: "one man-at-arms, a mounted page, a swordsman, three mounted archers, one crossbowman, one handgunner, and one pikeman."[322] Charles's *compaignies d'ordonnance* at Abbeville on 31 July 1471 consisted of 1250 lances divided into 12 companies. Esposito notes that the organization of *compaignies d'ordonnance*, with its *lances fournie*, replaced the "previous rank distinctions among men-at-arms: *Chevalier bannerets*, *Chevalier bacheliers*, and *Écuyers* were no longer in existence. This was a great step towards the creation of a professional army which was not based on social status or feudal models."[323] Thus, by the early 1470s, the Burgundian military structure had undergone a significant change. The chansons of the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers, then, capture the final decades of noble mounted knights as the ranking men-at-arms in service to the duke.

We have demonstrated that some of the songs of Mel and other Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers reflect the importance and perspective of a knight at the Burgundian court of Philip the Good. Is such emphasis on military matters also reflected in the music of these chansons? There is a hint at this possibility in *Jayme bien celui qui senva,* a 3-voice chanson found in Escorial A (E-E MS IV.a.24), fols. 49v-50r, which contains the original 2-voice version of the

[321] DMF defines the *lance fournie* as *homme d'armes avec tout son accompagnement en soldats, valets et chevaux armés et garnis* (man-at arms with his entire retinue of soldiers, servants, and armed and equipped horses).
[322] Esposito, "Forming the Burgundian Lance," 17.
[323] Esposito, "Forming the Burgundian Lance," 18.

song written by Pierre Fontaine (*ca.* 1380-*ca.* 1450) with an added contratenor part labeled as "Contratenor Trompette."[324] Fallows notes Besseler's suggestion that *trompette des menestrels* "could perform such a line," but that the title of the part did not necessarily mean that it was performed on an instrument.[325] This *contratenor trompette* part frequently uses triadic rather than step-wise motion, and includes two leaps of an octave and a leap of a twelfth. Margaret Bent, in her 2007 chapter, characterizes *trompetta* parts as frequently featuring "fanfare like triadic movement or leaps, suggesting (and occasionally confined to) note patterns available through the harmonic series on the natural trumpet," a pattern we see in this chanson when it concludes with a falling arpeggio through the contratenor's entire two-octave ambitus, from D4-A3-F3-D3-A2-D2.[326]

The *trompette des menestrels* is a different instrument from the *trompette de guerre,* or war trumpet, although the same musician might play both instruments. Jeanne Marix gives the example of the trumpeter Hennequin Copetrippe, who played both:

> *Ainsi le trompette de la ville de St.-Omer demande une indemnité pour ce qu'il avait perdu à la Bataille d'Azincourt (1415)*; *il a dû acheter deux trompettes Nouvelles, l'une pour la guerre et l'autre pour la paix*.[327]
>
> Thus, the town trumpeter of St. Omer seeks recompense for that which he lost at the Battle of Agincourt (1415); he had to purchase two new trumpets, one for war and the other for peace.

[324] Craig Wright's article, "Pierre Fontaine," in Grove notes that listed as a member of the Burgundian court chapel, serving Philip the Bold in 1403, 1405-1407, John the Fearless from 1415-1419, and Philip the Good from *ca.* 1430-*ca.* 1447.
[325] David Fallows, *The Songs of Guillaume Dufay: Critical Commentary to the Revision of Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, Ser. 1, Vol. VI. S.l,* (American Institute of Musicology, 1995), 237-238.
[326] Margaret Bent, "Trompetta and Concordans Parts in the Early Fifteenth Century," in *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm*, edited by Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus, 44 (Boydell, 2007).
[327] Jeanne Marix, *Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420-1467)* (Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1974), 104.

The *trompette des menestrels* appears to have developed in the early fifteenth century. In addition to the report of Hennequin Copetrippe's loss of a trumpet of war and a trumpet of peace in 1415, Marix's lists of *ménestrels* confirm the introduction of this instrument to the Burgundian court. In 1420, five *ménestrels* are listed as "trompette de guerre." Six are listed in 1421. Then, in 1422, a new category of musician is introduced in the form of a single "trompette des menestrels," in addition to a *trompette de guerre.*[328]

There has been a long-standing debate about the nature of the *trompette des menestrels,* specifically whether it was a slide trumpet. We see from art that the *trompette de guerre* was held by one hand, bell pointing skyward, presumably to help the sound carry.[329] This would be a reasonable way to hold the instrument for mounted trumpeters needing to employ one hand on the reins when sounding military calls for the cavalry.

Curt Sachs, in 1950, looked to artwork to confirm the existence of the trombone-like slide trumpet. These trumpets have an S-shape, and both hands of the trumpeter are employed in playing it: one holding the mouthpiece to the mouth, the other balancing the horn under the "S" section, with the bell pointing downwards. But, to prove that these trumpets did indeed have a slide, Sachs looked for trumpets in different slide positions in a single work of art. He found such evidence in a wood carving by Michael Pacher (*ca.* 1435-1498).[330] The center panel of the triptych illustrates the Coronation of the Virgin, with two angels above that scene facing one another, and each playing a trumpet. Both trumpets are of identical size and shape, with an S-shape in the body of the instruments. Each angel has one hand holding the mouthpiece to his

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[328] Marix, *Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens,* 264.
[329] See Patrick Tröster, "More about Renaissance Slide Trumpets: Fact or Fiction?," *Early Music* 32, no. 2 (2004): 253, for an illustration of the handling of a signal trumpet in a detail of a grisaille by Jean Le Tavernier in David Aubert, *Conquestes et croniques de Charlemaine,* vol. 3 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9068, fol. 212r).
[330] See Curt Sachs, "Chromatic Trumpets in the Renaissance," *The Musical Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1950): 64, for a photograph of the artwork. This woodcarving is at St. Wolfgang on Lake Aber in Austria. It was commissioned on 13 December 1471 and completed in 1481.

lips, supporting it with two fingers, while the other hand supports the bottom of the S, presumably to make it slide along the throat of the mouthpiece. The key piece of evidence in this work of art is the fact that the distance from the mouthpiece to the U-turn differs between the two angels. Sachs concludes, "[…] the right trumpet is being played 'in first position' without using the slide, while the left trumpet is being pulled out."[331] Further analysis of the ratios allowed Sachs to determine that the two instruments were playing notes in ratio 9:8, or "what trombonists would call third and first position."[332]

This method of holding the trumpet appears in other paintings of the period. Sachs concludes "that in the times of the Burgundians and the Netherlanders musicians availed themselves of trumpets in the rendition of polyphonic music,"[333] a conclusion that has been the topic of subsequent debate.[334] Peter Downey relates the *trompette des menestrels* to the Franco-Burgundian region and leans toward the conclusion that it was a slide instrument:

> Term employed in areas under Franco-Burgundian influence during the 15th century for the brass instrument (probably a Slide trumpet) and player associated with the Alta by contrast with the *trompette de guerre*, or natural trumpet.[335]

Adam Gilbert notes that the lack of surviving contemporary instruments makes a definitive conclusion difficult, but that "imagining scenarios in which the instrument did or did not exist suggests that the presence of a slide trumpet during these years remains the most elegant and

[331] Sachs, "Chromatic Trumpets in the Renaissance," 65.
[332] Sachs, "Chromatic Trumpets in the Renaissance," 65.
[333] Sachs, "Chromatic Trumpets in the Renaissance," 66.
[334] For further details of the debate, see Peter Downey, "The Renaissance Slide Trumpet: Fact or Fiction?," *Early Music* 12, no. 1 (1984): 26–33, Herbert W. Myers, "Slide Trumpet Madness: Fact or Fiction?," *Early Music* 17, no. 3 (1989): 383–89, Keith Polk, "The Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition of the Early Renaissance," *Early Music* 17, no. 3 (1989): 389–97, Ross W. Duffin, "The Trompette Des Menestrels in the 15th-Century Alta Capella," *Early Music* 17, no. 3 (1989): 397–402, Patrick Tröster, "More about Renaissance Slide Trumpets: Fact or Fiction?," *Early Music* 32, no. 2 (2004): 252–68, and Patrick Tröster, "Which Kind of Trumpet Did the 'Ménestrel de Trompette' Play in Late Gothic Alta Bands?," *Music in Art* 32, no. 1/2 (2007): 84–92.
[335] Grove Music Online, "Trompette des ménèstrels," by Peter Downey, January 20, 2001.

simple solution for performing the Contra voice and function."[336] However, the *trompette des menestrels* was not a military instrument, so we may want to look beyond triadic melodic lines and large leaps for examples of other musical military influence in chansons.

The instrument of particular interest for this exercise is the *trompette de guerre*. In his 2014 article, Jean-Louis Couturier notes a long-standing tradition of the trumpet's association with the cavalry: "par une tradition fort ancienne, le tambour et le fifre ont été l'apanage de l'infanterie, tandis que la trompette, associée généralement aux timbales, était réservée à la cavalerie."[337] This distinction of association of instruments with calvary or infantry was noted by Niccolò Machiavelli in his 1521 treatise on the art of war, *Dell'arte della guerra*.[338] Bruce Gleason confirms Couturier's statement, noting that both "kettledrummers and trumpeters, when performing outdoors, were typically mounted on horses."[339] War trumpeters enjoyed special status: Gleason lists points of privilege of German field trumpeters in a 1528 decree, which included the item that prisoner trumpeters were only to be exchanged for officers.[340] He explores the history of European war signals, quoting William Fortescue, suggesting "that the earliest European signals were not standardized but were apparently agreed upon for each battle":

> Trumpets were used for the purposes of signaling, though, so far as can be gathered, they sounded no distinct calls and were dependent for their significance on orders previously issued.[341]

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[336] Adam Gilbert, "The Shawm and the Alta Ensemble during the 'Slide Trumpet Years,'" *Forschungsportal Schola Cantorum Basiliensis*, 2021, 1.
[337] Jean-Louis Couturier, "Céleustique. L'origine des sonneries de trompette de la Cavalerie," *Revue historique de l'armée* n° 274, no. 1 (2014): 3: by a very ancient tradition, the drum and fife were the prerogative of the infantry, while the trumpet, generally associated with timpani, was reserved for the cavalry.
[338] Couturier, "Céleustique, L'origine des sonnieries de trompette de la Cavalerie," 3.
[339] Bruce Gleason, "Cavalry and Court Trumpeters and Kettledrummers from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century," *The Galpin Society Journal* 62 (2009): 31.
[340] Gleason, "Cavalry and Court Trumpeters and Kettledrummers," 36.
[341] Gleason, "Cavalry and Court Trumpeters and Kettledrummers," 31. Gleason references William Fortescue, *A History of the British Army,* Vol. I (MacMillan, 1910), 30.

We have no record of the pitches or rhythms of early trumpet war signals. One of the earliest written records of military signals may be found within the chanson by Clément Janequin (*ca.* 1485-1558+), "*La guerre - La bataille de Marignan*."[342] From a later period than the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers, this four-voice chanson sets what appear to be military signals to texts containing names of trumpet calls, e.g. *Boutez-Selle* (Saddle up)*, À cheval* (Mount up)*,* and *Tost à l'estandart* (To the standard). James Dwight South documents the similarity between the patterns in *La guerre* to the trumpet calls *Butasella* (Boots and Saddles) as documented by Bendinelli and *À l'estendart* (To the Standard) as documented by Mersenne, illustrating the possibility that Janequin musically quoted actual war calls.[343] Musical figures that echo trumpet calls include repeated notes, simple rhythms, and leaps of a fifth.

It was not until a century after the Franco-Burgundian chansons were written that evidence of trumpet calls survives. César Bendinelli (1542-1617) documented several calls in his 1614 method for trumpet, *Tutta l'arte della Trombetta*.[344] These calls had a limited range, often consisting of two notes, C and G. Born in Verona, Bendinelli (*ca.* 1542-1617) held the position of court trumpeter at the Imperial court of Vienna from *ca.* 1567-*ca.* 1580. He served at the court of Munich from 1580 until his death.[345] His manuscript includes the calls *Buta sella* (Saddle your horse), *Monta a cavallo, alla francese, sonata alla bassa* (Mount your horse, in the French manner, played in the bass register), *Mont'a cavallo* (Mount your horse), *Mont a cavallo all'Italiana* (Mount your horse in the Italian matter), *Cavalche* (Cavalcade), *Allo stendardo*

[342] Howard Mayer Brown, revised by Richard Freedman, "Clément Jannequin," in Grove Music Online, notes that Jannequin composed "programmatic chansons" that were "filled with onomatopoeic effects, such as fanfares," such as *La guerre.*
[343] See James Dwight South, "References to Trumpet Music in the Battle Chansons of Clément Jannequin" (DMA diss., University of North Texas, 1990), 57-58.
[344] See Cesare Bendinelli, *Tutta l'arte della Trombetta 1614* (Editions Bim, 2009)*,* 3r-5r for military signals (*tocade di Guerra).*
[345] For further details of Bendinelli's life, see Cesare Bendinelli and Edward Tarr, *Tutta l'arte della Trombetta 1614* (The Brass Press, 2011).

(Retire to the colors, rally to the flag), *Chiamada per mettersi al ordine condro l'inimico* (Fall into rank against the enemy), *Chiamada alla scarmuzza* (Call to skirmish), *All rittirata* (Retreat), and *L'augetto* (Set the watch), many with accompanying toccatas.[346]

In France, the first known publication of "war tones" or "tons de guerre*"* appears in the *Harmonie Universelle* of 1636 by Marin Mersenne (1588-1648). In the *Fifth Book of Wind Instruments,* Mersenne explores the use of the trumpet "in war and on other occasions."[347] He explains, "I assume then first of all that only six tones of the trumpet are used in the military art."[348] He proceeds to describe the notes, specifically a low first tone, the second tone a fifth above the first, the third tone lying a fourth above the second, the fourth tone forming a major third above the third, the fifth being a minor third above the fourth tone, and the sixth tone being a fourth above the fifth tone. Mersenne specifies these notes as C sol-ut-fa, G re-sol-ut, C sol-ut-fa, E mi-la, G re-sol-ut, and C sol-ut-fa.

Regarding military trumpet calls, Mersenne explains that "only about seven or eight kinds of tunes are used in war."[349] His military trumpet calls have similar names to those of Bendinelli: *L'entrée* (Entry), *Boute-Selle* (Boots and Saddles, saddle up), *Autre boute-selle* (Another *boute-selle*), *À cheval* (Mount up), *À l'estendare* (To the standard), *Le caualquet* (Cavalcade), *Le double caualquet* (Double cavalcade), *La charge* (Charge), *Autre charge ou chamade* (Another charge), *La retraite* (Retreat), and *Le guet* (Watch). The "Cavalcade" was

[346] Anthony Baines, "The Evolution of Trumpet Music up to Fantini," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 101 (1974), 2, describes *Buta sella* as "the first command of the day, the Saddle Call 'Boute-Selle,' eventually to become in England Boot and Saddle,'" Here he also explains Bendinelli's use of the term *Toccata*: "The repeated distinctive figure [of the trumpet call] may be all that was required in action, though in formal circumstances a call would be preluded [sic] and terminated by a flourish pitched rather higher and described by Bendinelli as a 'Toccata.'"

[347] Marin Mersenne and Roger E. Chapman, *Harmonie Universelle: The Books on Instruments* (M. Nijhoff, 1957), Proposition XVIII and Proposition XIX, 330-337.

[348] Mersenne and Chapman, *Harmonie Universelle,* 332.

[349] Mersenne and Chapman, *Harmonie Universelle,* 332.

used when a regiment approached or passed through a town, “Saddle up” or “Mount up” to signal the breaking up of camp, presumably by getting on the horse and preparing to leave, and “on horseback,” “to the standard,” and “charge” to initiate direct movements during military engagements. Gleason provides information as to the purpose of several of the calls, among which:

- *Boute-Selle* -- Sounded two or three hours before riding out of camp
- *À l’estendare* -- In the battle, it is a signal for the scattered troops to reassemble
- *La charge* -- The signal to attack
- *Le guet* -- For changing the guard.”[350]

The notated pitches of the calls differ between Bendinelli’s and Mersenne’s treatises, illustrating the lack of standardization of calls during this period. For comparison, Example 6.1 shows Bendinelli’s *monta a cavallo alla francese* (mount your horse in the French style) as compared with Example 6.2 showing Mersenne’s *À cheval* (Mount up). [351]

Example 6.1. Bendinelli's *mota a cavallo alla francese*



[350] Gleason, “Cavalry and Court Trumpeters and Kettledrummers,” 33-34.
[351] See Bendinelli, *Tutta l’arte della Trombetta 1614,* fol. 3r, and Mersenne and Chapman, *Harmonie Universelle,* 334.

Example 6.2. Mersenne's *À cheval*



Characteristics of the military trumpet calls include many repeated notes, limited rhythmic variability, melodic movement frequently involving leaps of fourths and fifths, and, of course, given the range of notes available, an absence of stepwise melodic motion. To quantify this observation, all of Mersenne's trumpet calls were entered into MuseScore, exported to a MIDI file, and processed using jSymbolic.[352] Developed by Cory McKay, the jSymbolic application is free and open-source and part of the SIMSSA (Single Interface for Music Score Searching and Analysis) project. The website https://jmir.sourceforge.net/jSymbolic.html provides this description of the software:

> jSymbolic is a software application intended for conducting research in the fields of music information retrieval (MIR), musicology and music theory. Its primary purpose is to extract statistical information from musical data stored symbolically in file formats such as MIDI or MEI. This statistical information is formulated as feature values, which may be fed directly into automatic classification systems, may be used to query large musical datasets, or may be used by musicologists and music theorists for conducting empirical musical research.

[352] *MuseScore* Version 4.5.2.251141402 was used. Further information about the software and download availability may be found at www.musescore.org. The jSymbolic application may be downloaded from https://jmir.sourceforge.net.

The resulting data provided percentages of the melodic lines which contained a variety of features, in this case repeated notes, leaps of a perfect fourth, and leaps of a perfect fifth. The results confirmed the observations about Mersenne's military trumpet calls. On average, the calls' melodic lines consist of 59% repeated notes, 19% leaps of a perfect fourth, and 4% leaps of a perfect fifth, which, combined, make up 81% of the melodic structure of the trumpet calls. It is for these characteristics, repeated notes and the combination of repeated notes, perfect fourths, and perfect fifths, that select chansons were interrogated in a search for possible evocation of military trumpet calls.

For this investigation, MIDI versions of each voice of the songs in Mel were created. Added to this dataset were MIDI files of the voices of the songs from other Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers that were explored in Chapter 4: *Je serviray selon qu'on me payera* from Lab, *Escu d'ennuy seme de plours* from Leu, and *Il est de bonne heure né* from Dij. An additional song was added as a benchmark because its opening line contains the name of a military call and because it is known for its trumpet-like motifs, *À cheval, tout homme à cheval* from Escorial B.[353] This produced a set of 50 songs. Each song's complete melody was entered into MuseScore, then individual voices were exported in MIDI format, resulting in 161 individual vocal lines. The MIDI files of these songs were analyzed using jSymbolic. The following melodic characteristics were interrogated, as described in the "Feature Explanations" of the jSymbolic Help files:

- M-9 Repeated Notes: Fraction of melodic intervals that correspond to repeated notes.
- M-13 Melodic Perfect Fourths: Fraction of melodic intervals that are perfect fourths.
- M-15 Melodic Fifths: Fraction of melodic intervals that are perfect fifths.

[353] *À cheval, tout homme à cheval* in E-E MS IV.a.24, fols. 63v-64r.

The identifiers M-9, M-13, and M-15 are jSymbolic-supplied references. The output from jSymbolic was saved in an Excel spreadsheet. The values supplied represented percentages of the appearance of a given feature within each of the specified MIDI files. The resulting percentages of the aforementioned characteristics were reported for each individual voice of each song. While these features alone do not automatically mean a given part recalls trumpet sounds, the statistics indicating a greater prevalence of these melodic features provided a set of songs for further investigation.

Since Mersenne's trumpet calls consisted predominantly of repeated notes, I started my investigation with the percentage of repeated notes found in the melodic lines of each voice. Table 6.1 lists the song and the vocal part, the percentage of its melody consisting of repeated notes, and its rank in percentages of repeated notes when compared to the rest of the songs in the dataset.

Table 6.1. Percentage of repeated notes and rank of repeated note usage in selected chansons voices

Song - Part	**% of Repeated Notes**	**Rank of Repeated Notes**
Il est de bonne heure né – Contra1	40%	1
Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter - Tenor	39%	2
À cheval, tout homme à cheval - Cantus	36%	3
Il est de bonne heure né - Tenor	36%	4
À cheval, tout homme à cheval - Tenor	34%	5
À cheval, tout homme à cheval - Contra	32%	6
Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter - Contra	30%	7
Il est de bonne heure né - Contra2	30%	8
Ma dame de nom - Tenor	29%	9
Il est de bonne heure né - Cantus	29%	10
Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter - Cantus	26%	11

The highest percentage of repeated notes, making up 25% or more of the melodic line, was found in all four voices of *Il est de bonne heure né,* all three voices of *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter* and *À cheval, tout homme à cheval*, and single voices from *Ma dame de nom* (Tenor) and *Mercy mon dueil je te supplie* (Cantus).

Because the most significant characteristic of a trumpet call after the use of repeated notes is the leap of a melodic fourth, that statistic was also considered, with the top results in Table 6.2. Restricting investigation to a combined percentage of 30% and above of repeated notes and leaps of a fourth isolated 14 vocal parts, of which only the chanson *Mon trestout et mon assotee* was added, due to its leaps of a fourth. This list of 14 vocal parts includes all four voices of *Il est de bonne heure né* and all three voices of *À cheval, tout homme à cheval.* Only

Table 6.2. Percentage of repeated notes and fourths and rank of repeated note and fourth usage in selected chanson voices

Song - Part	**% of Repeated Notes + 4ths**	**Rank of Repeated Notes + 4ths**
Il est de bonne heure né – Contra1	57%	1
À cheval, tout homme à cheval - Contra	44%	2
Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter - Tenor	42%	3
À cheval, tout homme à cheval - Tenor	41%	4
Il est de bonne heure né - Contra2	40%	5
Il est de bonne heure né - Tenor	40%	6
À cheval, tout homme à cheval - Cantus	36%	7
Ma dame de nom - Tenor	34%	8
Mercy mon dueil je te supplie - Cantus	34%	9
Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter - Contra	34%	10
Mercy mon dueil je te supplie - Contra	32%	11
Il est de bonne heure né - Cantus	31%	12
Mon trestout et mon assotee – Contra2	30%	13
Ma dame de nom - Contra	30%	14

the voices singing *L'homme armé* from *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter* (Tenor and Contratenor) are on the list, which also includes the added contratenor voices of *Mercy mon dueil je te supplie* and *Ma dame de nom.* These calculations do not in themselves indicate a military influence on the melody but do provide candidates to explore further.

À cheval, tout homme à cheval à cheval, tout homme à cheval

First, we explore the song chosen, as stated above, as a benchmark example of the deliberate use of military calls in a chanson, *À cheval, tout homme à cheval*, the score in Example 6.6.[354] Not unsurprisingly, all three voice-parts were among the top ten in percentages of repeated notes and repeated notes combined with melodic fourths. The text of the song, which actually includes the military call *À cheval*, urges men to mount up, leave the ladies, and serve the king:

French Text	**English Translation**
À cheval tout homme à cheval, à cheval	Mount up, every man mount up, mount up!
Gentils compagnons mettes selles	Noble companions, saddle up!
Laissies dames et damoyselles	Leave ladies and damsels,
Serves le roy de cuer loial.	Serve the king with loyal heart

All three voices open with a staggered entry of a repeated-note figure (mm. 1-3). This could well be a form of the *À cheval* military signal in use at the time of the chanson's creation (Example 6.3). The staggered trumpet-call-like pattern occurs again at the opening of the fourth line, this time with a shorter figure of 3 eighths followed by a quarter note on the phrase *Serves*

[354] The following scores were created using MuseScore 4.5.2. Musescore is free software available at musescore.org.

le roy in mm. 18-20 (Example 6.3). Mersenne's military calls often have a leap of a fourth matched by a leap back in the opposite direction, for example, *Boute-Selle* and *À cheval*

Example 6.3. Repeated note *À cheval* pattern above, *À cheval tout homme à cheval*, mm. 1-3 middle, and mm. 18-20 below



(Example 6.4). The contratenor supports lines 2 and 3 with such alternating leaps of a fourth in measures 9-11 and measures 15-16 (Example 6.5). These, then, were the characteristics we looked for in the other songs of statistical interest.

Example 6.4. *Boute-Selle* and *À cheval*



Example 6.5. *À cheval tout homme à cheval*, mm. 9-11 above and mm. 15-16 below



Example 6.6. Score of *À cheval tout homme à cheval*

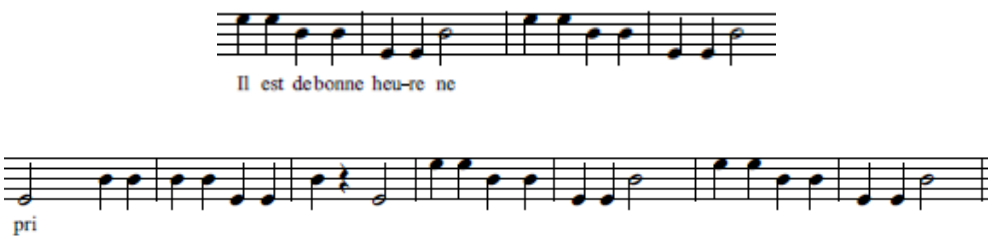



21
cuer loi - al

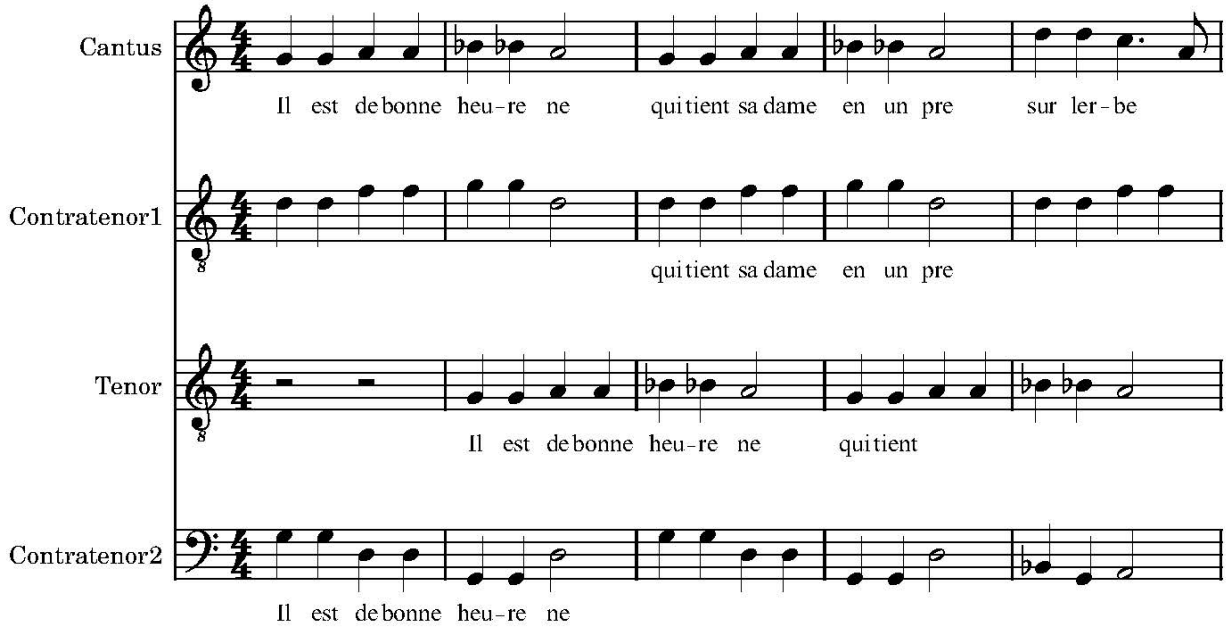
Il est de bonne heure né

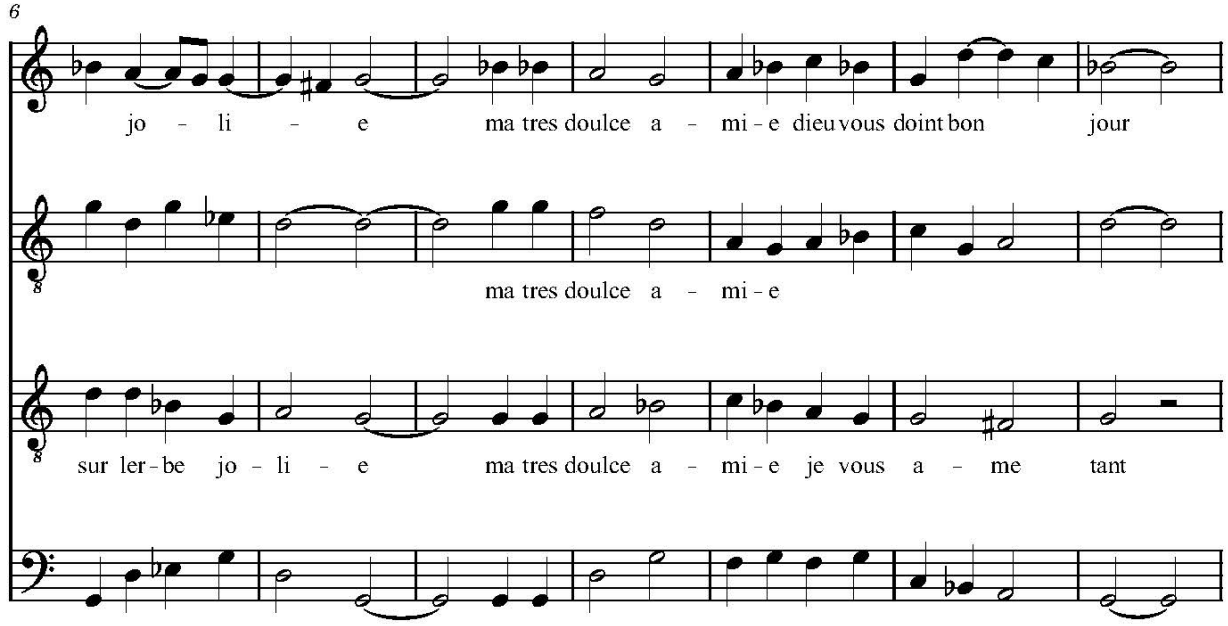
All four voices of the chanson *Il est de bonne heure né,* the score in Example 6.8, are ranked high in both repeated notes and repeated notes and leaps of a fourth. This is because nearly every note in the song is doubled, giving a jaunty bounce and a flavor more reminiscent of a children's or folk song than of combat. The most militaristic passages are found in the second contratenor part, which uses a pattern of an octave leap with an inscribed fifth in measures 1-4 and 20-26 (Example 6.7). The result may perhaps have been a nod to the character of the knight in the song, but also conveys a more lighthearted encounter, matching the text, than military action.

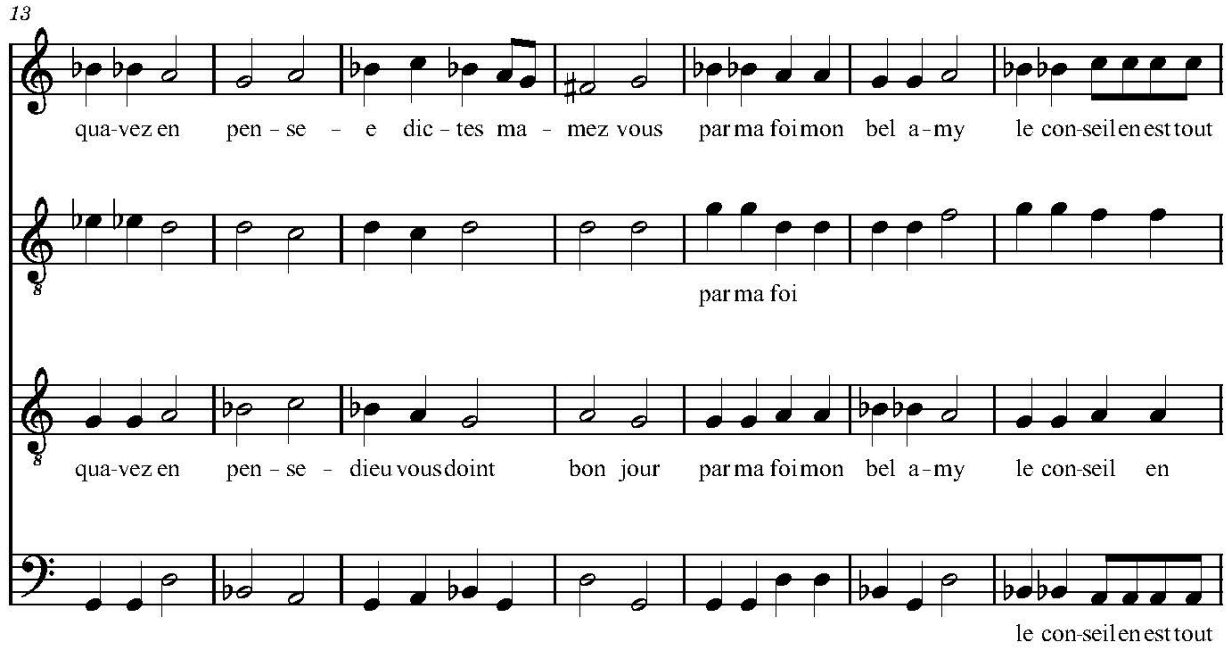
Example 6.7. *Il est de bonne heure né*, mm. 1-4 above and mm. 20-26 below

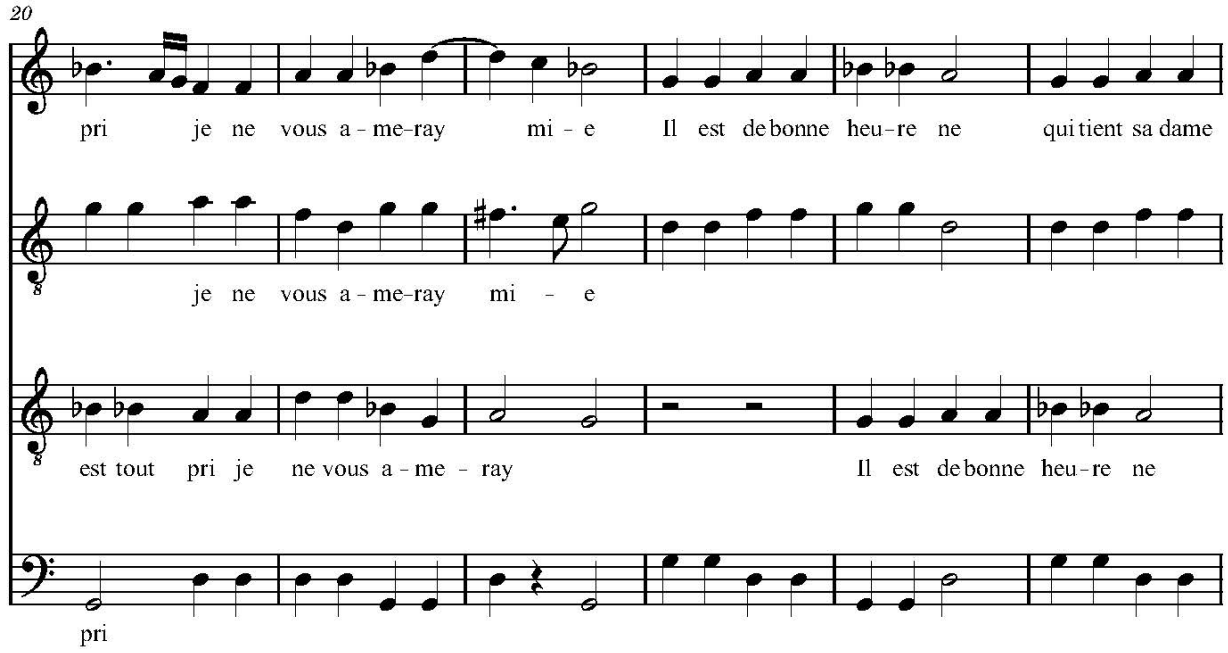


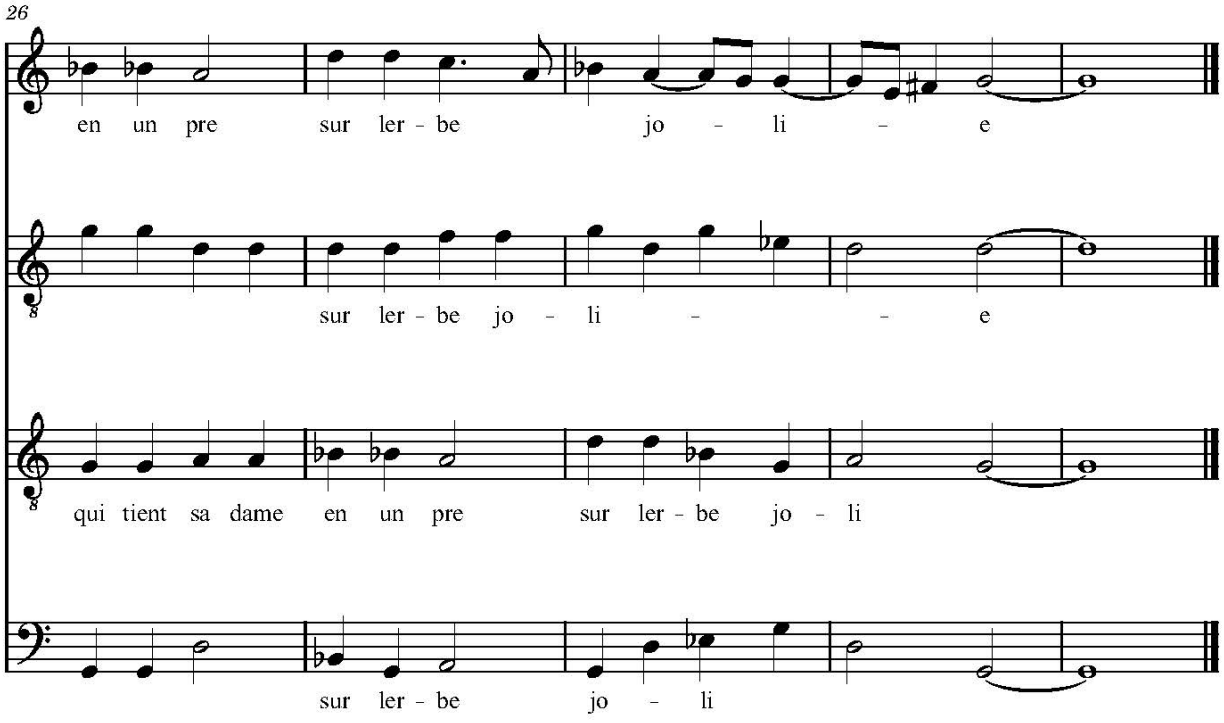
Example 6.8. Score of *Il est de bonne heure né*






13
qua-vez en pen - se - e dic - tes ma - mez vous par ma foi mon bel a - my le con-seil en est tout
par ma foi
qua-vez en pen - se - dieu vous doint bon jour par ma foi mon bel a - my le con-seil en
le con-seil en est tout


20
pri je ne vous a - me-ray mi - e Il est de bonne heu-re ne qui tient sa dame
je ne vous a - me-ray mi - e
est tout pri je ne vous a - me - ray Il est de bonne heu-re ne
pri


26
en un pre sur ler - be jo - li - e
sur ler - be jo - li - - e
qui tient sa dame en un pre sur ler - be jo - li
sur ler - be jo - li

Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter

The voices of the chanson *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter,* the score seen in Example 6.12, fall within the top 11 songs for their percentage of repeated notes. The tenor and contratenor, singing about the *L'homme armé*, also fall within the top 10

Example 6.9. *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter,* mm. 5-9



for their percentage of repeated notes and leaps of a fourth. We find that a pattern of three repeated notes reminiscent of trumpet calls appears in all three voices. This pattern is especially present in the middle section of the song, measures 5-9 (Example 6.9), where it is passed between voices. The text "À l'assault" with the accompanying repeated notes may be a reference to another trumpet call.

Example 6.10. *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter*, mm. 3-4 left and m. 15 right



The tenor and contratenor lines of *Il sera* also include melodic leaps of fifths, for example, in measures 3-4 and 15, (Example 6.10). Drops of a fifth are characteristic of Mersenne's *Boute-Selle* (Saddle up) call (Example 6.11). So, we find references to battlefield calls throughout this chanson.[355]

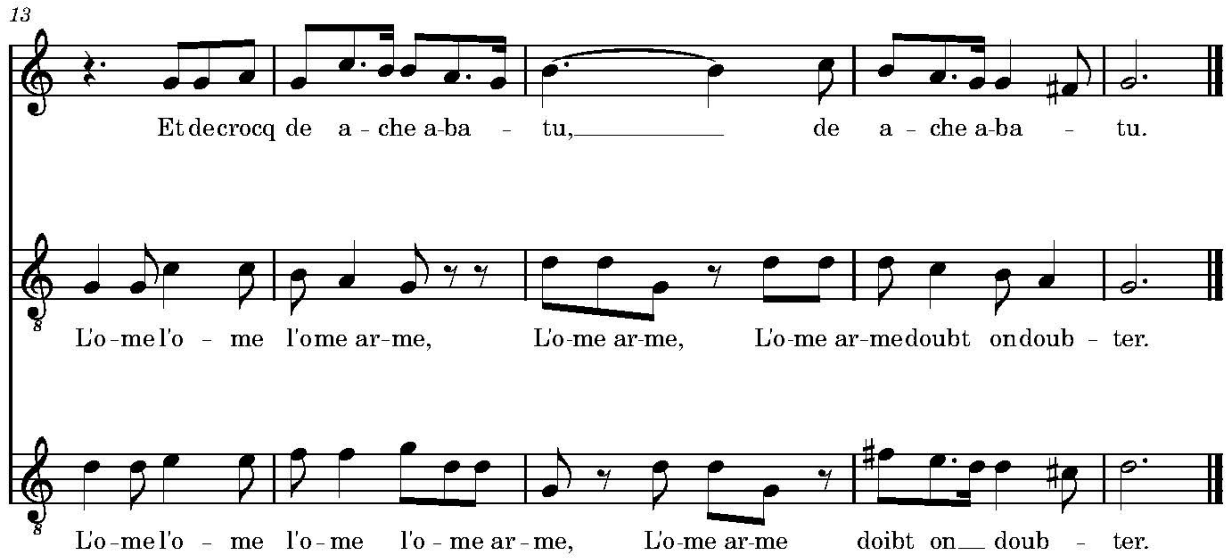
Example 6.11. Mersenne's *Boute-Selle* call



[355] For further discussion of the interplay between the voices of *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter*, see Nakos, "The Chanson," 66-68.

Example 6.12. Score of *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter*




13
Et de crocq de a - che a-ba - tu, de a - che a-ba - tu.
L'o-me l'o - me l'ome ar-me, L'o-me ar-me, L'o-me ar-me doubt on doub - ter.
L'o-me l'o - me l'o - me l'o - me ar - me, L'o-me ar-me doibt on doub - ter.

Ma dame de nom / Sur la rive de la mer

The tenor and contratenor voices of the double-texted chanson *Ma dame de nom / Sur la rive de la mer*, the score seen in Example 6.14 , met the statistical criteria for further exploration. The tenor voice ranks ninth in its use of repeated notes and eighth in its use of repeated notes combined with leaps of a fourth. The contratenor ranks thirteenth in use of repeated notes and fourteenth in its use of repeated notes combined with leaps of a fourth. The text provided in Mel consists of incipits for the cantus and contratenor. The tenor has more text but is incomplete:

Voice	**Mellon Text**
Cantus	*Ma dame de nom*
	Car en verité
Tenor	*Sur la rive de la mer*
	L'aultre jour jouer m'aloye
	Marcy la duriau
	Ho la dure
	Il n'est point venu pour messe chanter
	Marcie la duriau
Contratenor	*Il y a ung clerc en ceste cite*

Garey provided the full text and translation:[356]

French Text	**English Translation**
I.	
Ma dame de nom	My lady in name,
Se ne me donnés	If you don't give me
De mercy le don.	The gift of mercy,
Je seray tennés.	I'll be "tanned."
Car en verité	For in truth
Je vous ayme tant	I love you so much
Qu'en suis rasoté	That I am besotted
Deriere et devant.	Before and behind.
Dame, de pité,	Lady, for pity,

[356] Garey, MCC, 414-415. Garey translates the first line, *Ma dame de nom,* as "My lady in name." In this case, the definition of *nom* to apply here should be "Réputé; noble" (from DMF), making the English translation "My lady of good reputation," or "My noble lady."

Robin va plorant;	Robin goes weeping
Il a trop dansé	He has danced too long
Le pas de Brabant.	The Brabant brawl.
II.	
Sur la rive de la mer	On the shore of the sea
L'aultre jour jouer m'aloye,	The other day I went to play;
La femme d'un marounier	The wife of a sailor
J'encontray en mi ma voye.	I did meet upon the way.
III.	
Il y a ung clerc en ceste cite,	There is a cleric in this city --
Il n'est pas venu pour messe chanter.	He didn't come to sing a mass.
IV	
Hola! Durié,	Hey there, hardy,
Marchiés la, duriau!	Step out there, toughy,
Ho, la dure!	Ho, the hard one!

The cantus text does not have evident allusions to battle, although one could give it quite a bawdy interpretation. The fourth part, *Marchiés la, duriau! Ho, la, duriau! Ho, la dure!,* found in the tenor and contratenor lines, does, however make military allusions. Garey notes that "elements of the songs cited in the second section of this piece were included in two fifteenth-century farces (*Badin qui se loue* and *Le Bateleur*). They were also quoted by Molinet and in popular poems…"[357] DMF cites three Molinet references for the use of the word *dureau* in the phrase "*Marchons la dureau la durée*."

> *J'ay veu Arras reprendre Hors du franchois goreau Par le chant sçavoir prendre De : Marchons, ladureau!* (MOLINET, Faictz Dictz D., 1467-1506, 328).
>
> I have seen Arras retaken, beyond the French mire, by knowing how to seize through the song: "Marchons, ladureau!"
>
> *Et le signe qui fut donné entre les gendarmes et les conducteurs de ceste besoigne, fut par une chanson commune : Marchons la dureau, hault la durée* (MOLINET, Chron. D.J., t.2, 1474-1506, 340).

[357] Garey, MCC, 413-414.

And the sign which was given between the men-at-arms and the conductors of this business was by a common song: “Marchons la dureau, hault la durée.”

...et lors il adverty ses adherens, non guaires longz d'illec, pour besongnier et marchier au chant de Marchons la dureau la durée, une chanson vulgaire, qui lors estoit en bruit. (MOLINET, Chron. D.J., t.2, 1474-1506, 342).

...and then he warned his adherents, not far from there, to work and march to the song of “Marchons la dureau la durée,” a common song which was then in vogue.

The tenor voice opens with a series of repeated notes reminiscent of trumpet calls (Example 6.13). Repeated notes are often part of patterns that, while not so indicative of true trumpet calls, do exhibit a martial repetitive rhythmic pattern, such as can be found in the tenor in measure 4 and in the contratenor at measures 8-9 (Example 6.13). Although there is no direct reference to combat in the lyrics or music, the texts of the tenor and contratenor refer to marching, and both voices exhibit very regular rhythmic patterns comprised mostly of eighths and quarter notes.

Example 6.13. *Ma dame de nom / Sur la rive de la mer,* mm. 1-2 top, m. 4 middle, and mm. 8-9 bottom



Example 6.14. Score of *Ma dame de nom / Sur la rive de la mer*



Mercy, mon dueil je te supplie

The cantus of *Mercy, mon dueil je te supplie,* fols. 28v-29r in Mel, the score seen in Example 6.17, ranked twelfth in use of repeated notes, 25%, and ninth in use of repeated notes

Example 6.15. *Mercy, mon dueil je te supplie*, mm. 1-6



and leaps of a fourth, 34%. The contratenor voice ranked eleventh in its combined use of repeated notes and leaps of a fourth, 32%. Upon inspection, these percentages are the result of melodic conventions that do not resemble trumpet-calls. The opening phrase of the cantus, measures 1-6, illustrates this (Example 6.15). Measures 19-22 of the contratenor line illustrate the prevalence of leaps of a fourth in its line which do not evoke trumpet calls (Example 6.16). Likewise, there are no military references in the text of the song, which begs for relief from grief without including words associated with combat. [358]

Example 6.16. *Mercy, mon dueil je te supplie,* mm. 19-22



French	**English Translation**
Mercy, mon dueil, je te supplie,	Have mercy, my grief, I beg of thee,
Mon dueil plain de melancolie,	O grief, full of melancholy,
Mercy cent mille foys tec lame,	Have mercy, a hundred thousand times I entreat thee,
Et vieng mettre fin a mona me,	And come put an end to my soul,
Qui mort requiert, et si m'oublie.	That longs for death, and then forget me.
Mon dueil, quant sera acomplie	O my grief, when will be accomplished
Ma dure fortune enfeblie,	My harsh, enfeebled destiny,
La plus cuysant de ce royame?	The most tormenting of this realm?

[358] English translation from Garey, MCC, 278-279.

Plus va avant, plus multiplie	The longer it endures, the greater is
Mon mal, que point je ne publie	My woe, which I make not known
De peur de moy chëoir en blasme	Lest I fall into blame,
Don't, se ce n'est en Nostre Damme,	Wherefore, unless it be in Our Lady,
Toute Esperance m'est faillie.	All hope has failed me.

Example 6.17. Score of *Mercy, mon dueil*



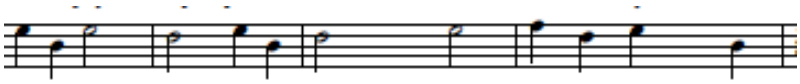

18
met - tre fin a mon a - me, Quimortre-quiert,et sim'ou-


24
- bli - - - - e.

Mon trestout et mon assotee / Il estoit ung bonhomme

Mon trestout et mon assotee / Il estoit ung bonhomme, score seen in Example 6.19, appears on fols. 33v-36r of Mel. The second contratenor line ranks thirteenth in the use of repeated notes combined with leaps of a fourth at 30%. The text of the second contratenor contains only the incipits *Mon trestout / Sanglement,* which match the Cantus text. This text is a love declaration without a hint of chivalric aesthetics. The second contratenor line frequently

Example 6.18. *Mon trestout et mon assotee / Il estoit ung bonhomme*, mm. 26-29



sounds the notes G and D, resulting in a fall or rise of a fourth. For example, measures 26-29 contain four leaps of a fourth, but, although repetitive and rhythmically simple, given the intermediary notes, the line does not evoke trumpet calls (Example 6.18). There is no military reference in the text: [359]

French	**English Translation**
I	
Mon trestout et mon assotee,	My very all, my fool,
La plus gratïeuse qu'on sace,	The most gracious known to man,
Sanglantement belle et crotee,	Bloody beautiful and becrudded,
Habille a faire une grimace.	Clever at making funny
Autant saige end it qu'en pensée,	So wise in word—as in thought--
Que rechevés mainte souffrage;	That you receive many an approving smile;
Quant je vous array espouse,	When I marry you,
Je craindray fort la cyceface.	I shall greatly fear the bogey-man, devourer of good women.
Riant et brunette en la face	Smiling and brown in the face
--Dieu me gard de dire musel!--	--God keep me from saying mug!--

[359] English translation from Garey, MCC, 300, 303-304.

Mon cuer double maintenant, tel	My heart doubles its beat, so
Que fort vous ayme et amasse.	Much do I love you and hath loved you.

II

Il estoit ung bonhomme	There was a simple man
Qui charïoit fagot.	Who carted fagots,
Il avoit une fille	And he did have a daughter
Qu'on appelloit Margot.	Whose name was Maggie.

III

T: *Dieu gard celle de deshoneur*	God keep her from dishonor
Que j'ay longtamps amee;	Whom I long have loved,
CT: *Ou j'ay lontemps par bon amour*	And in whom, through true love, I have long since
Ma lÿesse fine.	Ended my happiness.
T: *Or voy je bien que c'est falour*	Now I see that it is folly
D'y plus avoir pensée	To fix my thought there.
Pour tant prens congié sans retour;	Therefore, I take leave, without return--
Adieu, ma desiree!	Adieu, my desired one!

IVA

Mais celler le veuil, plaisant socque,	But I want to hide it, old sock.
Et mauldit soit qui le dira	--Besides, to heck with anyone who'll say--
Que vous ayés nom Nicque Nocque.	--That your name is Nickie Nack.--

IVB

N'atouchiés a moy, je suy trop mygnotte;	Don't touch me, I'm too little and cute.
Retires vostre main tost, Nicque Nocque.	Get your hands off me, Nickie Nack!
Vous my forissiés tous les os, tricque trocque.	You're breaking all my bones, trickie track.

Example 6.19. Score of *Mon trestout et mon assotee / Il est ung bonhome*



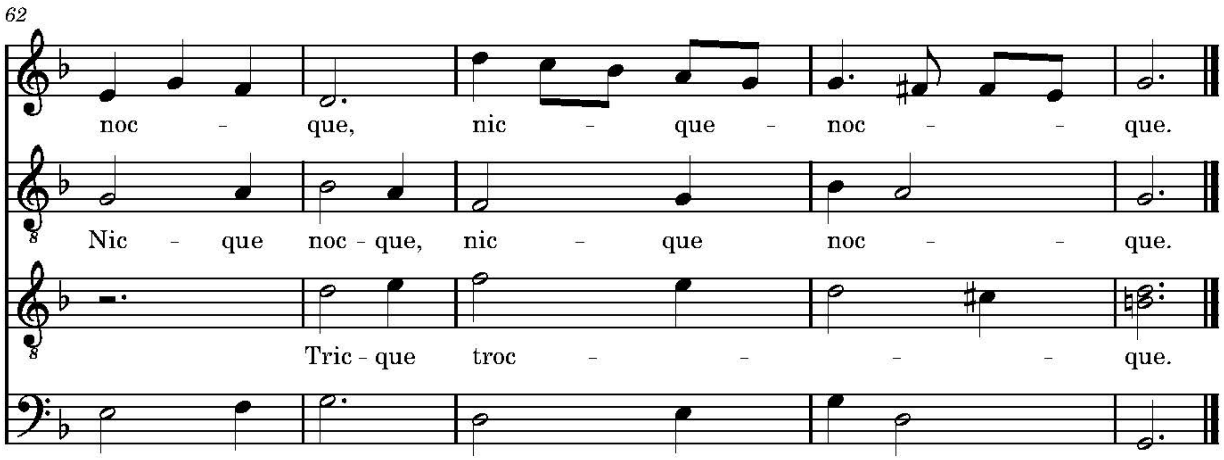


Riant et brunette


23
la fa - ce Dieu me gard de di - re mu -
Que j'ay long-tamps a - me - e,
-net - te en la fa - ce Ou j'ay lon-temps par
28
- sel Mon cueur dou - ble main - te - nant,
long - tamps a - me - e.
bon a - mour Ma ly - es - se fi - - ne - e,


32
tel Que fort vous ay-me et a - mas - se.
Or voy je bien que c'est fa - lour D'y plus a - voir pen-se - e.
Par bon a - mour ma ly - es-se fi - ne - e.
38
Mais cel - ler le veuil, plai - sant soc - - -
Pour-tant prens con-gie sans re-tour; A-dieu ma de-si - re -
Mais cel - ler le veul;


44
-que, Et maul-dit soit qui le di - ra
-e. N'a-tou-chies a moy, je suy trop my - gnot - te; Re-ti-
N'a-tou-chies a moy. Re - ti - res vos-tre
53
Que vous ay - es nom Nic - que noc-que, nic - que - noc-que, nic - que
-res vos - tre main tost, Nic-que noc - que, Vous m'y frois-sies tous les os,
main tost, Nic - que noc-que, Vous m'y frois-sies tous les os,


62
noc - que, nic - que noc - - que.
Nic - que noc - que, nic - que noc - - que.
Tric - que troc - - - - que.

Donnés l'assault a la fortresse

One final song I explored for military musical references was *Donnés l'assault a la fortresse*, score seen in Example 6.23. While it fell outside of the statistical parameters I set for my investigation, note that the first contratenor part ranked fifteenth in usage of repeated notes and fourteenth in use of repeated notes combined with leaps of a fourth. The tenor was not far behind, ranking twentieth in use of repeated notes and seventeenth in use of repeated notes combined with leaps of a fourth. The cantus voice ranked the lowest of the four voices in the chanson (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3. Use of repeated notes and repeated notes and fourths in *Donnés l'assault a la fortresse*

Song - Part	**% of Repeated notes**	**Rank of Repeated Notes**	**% of Repeated Notes + 4ths**	**Rank of Repeated Notes + 4ths**
Donnés l'assault a la fortresse – Cantus	10%	45	16%	67
Donnés l'assault a la fortresse – Tenor	15%	20	26%	17
Donnés l'assault a la fortress - Contra1	16%	15	28%	14
Donnés l'assault a la fortresse - Contra2	13%	25	25%	20

Further, the use of the word *l'assault* brings it into the military realm, as we have seen in the case of *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubté.* All four voices open with a staggered pattern of repeated notes in measures 1-4, Example 6.20, which is similar to the opening of *À cheval,* with the accompanying phrase "*Donnés l'assault*." The first contratenor part also exhibits repeated patterns at the fifth that evoke *trompettes de guerre,* for example, at measures 15-17 (Example 6.21). In measures 35-36, the first contratenor outlines a triad (Example 6.21). This pattern recalls the end of Mersenne's *Le double caualquet* (Example 6.22).

Example 6.20. *Donnés l'assault à la fortresse,* mm. 1-4



Example 6.21. *Donnés l'assault à la fortresse*, mm. 15-17 top and mm. 35-36 bottom



Example 6.22. Ending of Mersenne's *Le double caualquet*

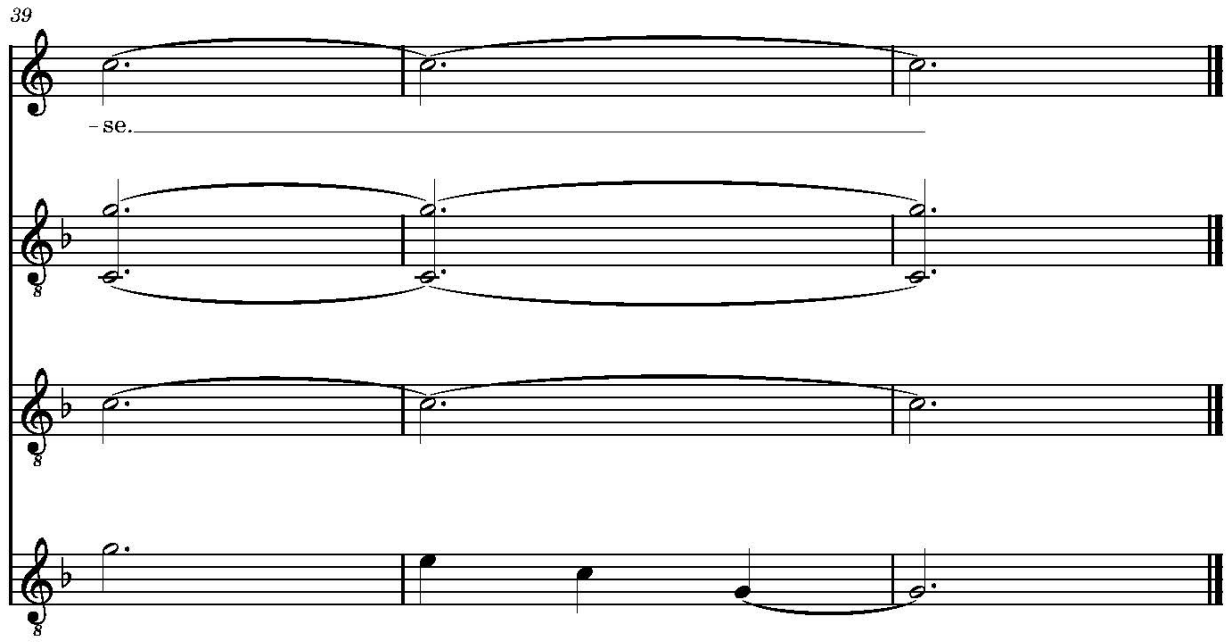


Example 6.23. Score of *Donnés l'assault a la fortresse*




14
se, Hault dieu d'a-amours, je vous sup - pli -
20
e; Bou - tes hors m'ad-ver-se par-ti -
27
e Qui lan - guir me fait en


33
des - tres


39
- se.

As can be seen from these songs, statistics only provide a starting point for investigation and do not necessarily indicate references to military trumpet calls. So, where did the songs explored in Chapters 4 and 5 fall? They all had chivalric references, but most did not convey the sounds of direct combat action. Table 6.4 lists the songs discussed in those chapters and their topic. For each song, the statistics for the highest-ranking voice in the categories of repeated notes and repeated notes combined with leaps of a fourth are provided. This includes rank, percentage of usage, and the vocal part.

Table 6.4. Rankings of repeated notes and repeated notes and fourths for songs in Chapters 4 and 5

Chanson	**Topic**	**Highest Rank Repeated Notes (%) Voice**	**Highest Rank Repeated Notes + 4ths (%) Voice**
Paracheve ton entreprise	Defeated knight in battle with Fortune	82nd (7%) Cantus	51st (18%) Contra
L'autre d'antan, l'autrier passa	Knight's complaint	32nd (12%) Cantus	28th (20%) Tenor
Je serviray selon qu'on me payera	Knight's complaint	31st (12%) Cantus	61st (17%) Cantus
A une damme j'ay fait vue	Heraldic terms of devotion	82nd (7%) Cantus	139th (9%) Contra
Escu d'ennuy seme de plours	Heraldic terms of despair	28th (13%) Cantus	53rd (17%) Contra
Donnés l'assault à la fortresse	Bawdy application of military terms	15th (16%) Contra1	14th (28%) Contra1
Il est de bonne heure né	Conversation between a knight and his lady (*pastourelle*)	1st (40%) Contra1	1st (57%) Contra1
Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubté	Action narrative	2nd (39%) Tenor	3rd (42%) Tenor

Based on the preceding analyses, it is clear that Franco-Burgundian chansons are not mostly love songs, but that a substantial number, roughly 47%, are chivalric songs that reflect different facets of knighthood, as I demonstrated in Chapter 4. In this context, love can play a role but is not the only aspect of the song to consider. From the exploration of possible patterns like trumpet calls in chansons, I found that the more directly the text referenced combat, the more likely it was that such patterns were present. By contrast, songs in a knight's voice, which are not battle-related, such as *L'autre d'antan, l'autrier passa* and *Je serviray selon qu'on me payera*, and songs which use heraldic terms, such as *A une damme j'ay fait vue* and *Escu d'ennuy seme de plours,* do not include trumpet calls.

The method I devised for locating music with a trumpet flavor aided in eliminating some songs from further consideration but has limitations and does not replace inspection of the scores. What I found was that, while many of the chansons' lyrics were written in the knight's voice, and their accompanying music sometimes contained passages or presented characteristics that were trumpet-like or signaled knightly endeavors, those chanson texts about actual combat, real or imagined, were few, such as *À cheval, tout homme à cheval, Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter,* and *Donnés l'assault a la fortresse.*

These songs presented trumpet-call passages in a specific manner. In these songs, the "call" is passed between the voices as if being relayed on a battlefield. These intentional belliphonic passages are a clear, deliberate, and unmistakable matching of music to text, since the accompanying words, in the cases explored here -- *à cheval, à l'assault, donnés l'assault* --

likewise were associated with known military calls. The music of these chansons was undeniably intended to suit the text and evoke the battlefield for an audience of knights.[360]

[360] Useful sources on music and war include Philippe Contamine, "La musique militaire dans le fonctionnement des armées: l'exemple français (vers 1300-vers 1550)," *Revue des sociétés des amis du musée de l'armée* 124 (December 2002): 17-32, David Owen Norris, "Agincourt Music," in *The Battle of Agincourt*, ed. Anne Curry and Malcolm Mercer (Yale University Press, 2015), 263-273, 292, and John Bergsagel, "War in Music in the Middle Ages," in *War and Peace in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (C.A. Reitzels Forlag, 1987), 282-298.

Chapter 7 : CONCLUSION

This dissertation offers a new perspective on the chansons of the fifteenth century. Although scholars since Gaston Paris and François-Auguste Gevaert have edited and studied them, I have shown here for the first time the extent to which the pervasive culture of chivalry in Burgundy is reflected in the language and music of the chansons.[361] In Chapter 1, I demonstrated that Burgundian knights frequently participated in contests of arms, such as tournaments and *pas d'armes,* events that had a long history which I detailed there. Further, I emphasized the fact that knighthood was a prized honor, which carried with it certain obligations of behavior and cemented relationships among brothers-in-arms through orders such as the Order of the Golden Fleece. Finally, I demonstrated that the tenets of knighthood had an impact on how tournaments were conducted, thus illustrating how knighthood and armed contests were interconnected, a synthesis that I showed is reflected in the chansons.

My analysis in Chapters 4-6 and in my Index of selected words from eight "Franco-Burgundian" Chansonniers, which I defined as such in Chapter 2, brought to light the need for a new and better way of classifying many of the fifteenth-century chansons. Rather than grouping them by form or by how they represent love, I grouped chansons that I studied according to the facet of a knight's life that they express. This situates them in fifteenth-century courtly society and enhances our understanding of that culture.

[361] Gaston Paris and François-Auguste Gevaert, *Chansons du XVe siecle* (Paris, 1875, repr. 1935), an edition of many chanson texts with an introduction.

My grouping of chansons based on my deeper interpretation of the context of songs arguably required new and more accurate translations, four of which I provided in Chapter 4: *Paracheve ton entreprise, Je serviray selon quon me payera, Escu dennuy seme de plours,* and *Il est de bonne heure né.* These translations reflect the importance of chivalry and heraldry in fifteenth-century Burgundy since they employ language that would convey specific meaning to a fifteenth-century knight and his associates.

Of particular importance is my critical analysis of the chanson *Il sera pour vous conbatu / L'homme armé doibt on doubter* in Chapter 5. I provided a complete and coherent translation of the debated text of the upper voice. A key phrase, *crocq de ache,* was shown to be an idiom for the coronel-tipped tournament lance, which was used in the tournament before the banquet at the Feast of the Pheasant, the first *pas d'armes* sponsored by Philip the Good to use this type of lance meant for jousting. Additionally, I noted that the text of the upper voice, describing an armed encounter between Symon le Breton and *le Turcq,* corresponds with the purpose of the Feast of the Pheasant, which was to gather vows to crusade to liberate Constantinople from the Turks. Situating the upper voice in association with the Feast of the Pheasant supports Haggh-Huglo's argument that the *L'homme armé* tune, which appears in the lower two voices of the chanson, includes the *cry* of the tournament held at the Feast of the Pheasant and that Philip the Good was the armed man.

In Chapter 6, I explained the method that I developed to quantify the presence of characteristic trumpet motifs. I showed that passages of trumpet-like music are more likely to be found accompanying texts with stronger military references. Most strikingly, words that name military trumpet calls are set to military trumpet motifs similar to those that were used in

seventeenth-century France, where they were notated and printed by Mersenne, indicating that illustration of the text through music was intended.

As a result of my treatment of chanson texts as equal partners with their music, I offered a new tool for analysis of the corpus of Burgundian chanson texts. To prepare the Index of this dissertation, I devised a method for obtaining a common form from the variety of spellings of words with different grammatical functions that are found in the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers. This common form, or lemma, provides a new way to locate textually related chansons.

This study opens new areas of possible research. As more song texts are analyzed from the perspective of fifteenth-century concepts of knighthood and chivalry, new topics of songs may offer fresh perspectives on a knight's life, new associations between songs may be identified, and a deeper understanding of Burgundian society will result. With the understanding of the language of *L'homme armé doibt on doubter*, which associates it with what was surely the most consequential tournament of the reign of Duke Philip the Good, the Feast of the Pheasant—a tournament with a dramatic call to arms within the song to reply to the Fall of Constantinople, a fresh look is needed into the reasons for the creation of *L'homme armé* masses. For example, Birgit Lodes, in 2025, made the case that Ludwig Senfl's *Missa dominicalis: L'homme armé* was created for the visit of Emperor Charles V to Duke Wilhelm IV in Munich in 1530, a visit that included large displays of military strength, such as the storming of a wooden and canvas castle by 1500 infantry men and 500 armored horses.[362] It also may be noteworthy that King James IV of Scotland held two *pas d'armes,* in 1507 and 1508, the only two known *pas d'armes* held outside of continental Europe, and that the Carvor Choirbook contains two *L'homme armé*

[362] Birgit Lodes, "Composing for Military Splendour: Duke Wilhelm IV, Emperor Charles V, and Ludwig Senfl's *Missa Dominicalis: L'homme Armé* (1530)," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 17, no. 2 (January 2025): 269–302.

masses, the only known appearances of *L'homme armé* masses in manuscripts prepared outside of continental Europe.[363] Those masses were composed by Du Fay and Robert Carvor, the latter the only composer from outside continental Europe to compose a *L'homme armé* mass. A further investigation of chronicles and accounts may reveal additional associations between the use of the chanson *L'homme armé* in masses and major events involving *pas d'armes,* tournaments, or other feats of arms.

My identification of compositional references to sounds of combat that are reflected directly or indirectly in the texts of chansons, taken together with advances in computational analysis, suggest that further examinations of the corpus of chanson melodies may permit the identification of other motivic associations with texts. Such motives could then be searched across a broader corpus of chansons and even across the *L'homme armé* mass corpus.

Finally, having proven the value of an Index of words in locating related chansons, this Index could be expanded and become a more prominently featured online research tool with a greater variety of search possibilities for musicologists. Evidence of the value of such an effort can be found in the work of Kévin Roger of the University of Lorraine in France, who is currently exploring the full texts of Latin motets to determine their relationship to one another and to other literary sources. The goal of his work is to better understand how the motets fit into the society in which they were created. This inspiration has been that of my own work, to use the texts of French polyphonic chansons to better understand fifteenth-century courtly society through its influence on them.

In short, my conclusions argue for a totally new interpretation of Burgundian song as a more realistic portrayal of its time.

[363] GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, also referred to as the Scone Antiphonary.

Appendix: INDEX OF SELECTED WORDS FROM EIGHT FRANCO-BURGUNDIAN CHANSONNIERS

Format and Contents

The Key (pp. 2-10) identifies the common song title and chansonniers associated with a given Song Number found in an Index entry. The Index entries, beginning on p. 11, consist of three fields: the Lemma, which appears to the left left-justified and in bold font; Variants, which appear indented on the lines below their corresponding Lemma; and Song Numbers, which

Lemma	
Variant	Song Number

appear to the right of the variant to which they pertain. The Key associates each Song Number with its Common Song Title and the Chansonnier(s) including it (Franco-Burgundian Concordances).

In the Index, Lemmas and Variants are stripped of accent marks and appear in lower-case format, except for proper names, which are capitalized. As was explained in Chapter 3, closed classes of words, and lemmas and variants associated with the verbs *aller, avoir, devoir, être, faire, pouvoir, savoir,* and *voir***,** are excluded from the Index. The Index is divided into alphabetical sections: A-F (p. 196), G-L (p. 239), M-R (p. 249), and S-Z (p. 277).

Key

French-Texted Songs in the Franco-Burgundian Chansonniers		
Song Number	**Common Song Title**	**Franco-Burgundian Concordances**
Fr001	*Accueilly m'a la belle au gent atour*	Dij Mel
Fr002	*A ceste derraine venue*	Dij
Fr003	*A ceste fois je me vois a la soucte*	Dij
Fr004	*Adieu vous dy l'espoir de ma jonesse*	Cord
Fr005	*Aime qui vouldra*	Dij Leu
Fr006	*Allez regretz vuydez de ma presence*	Lab
Fr007	*Amours amours trop me fiers de tes dars*	Lab
Fr008	*A qui vens tu tes coquilles*	Dij Mel
Fr009	*A quoy passeray je mon deul*	Dij
Fr010	*A quoy tient il le cuer me vole*	Niv
Fr011	*Au gré de mes ieulx*	Dij
Fr012	*Au lit de pleurs paré de plains*	Mel
Fr013	*A une dame j'ay fait vue*	Dij Lab Mel
Fr014	*Au povre par necessité*	Mel
Fr015	*Au travail suis que peu de gens croiroient*	Dij Leu Niv Wolf
Fr016	*A vous sans autre me viens rendre*	Dij Mel
Fr017	*Bel Acueil le sergent d'Amours*	Dij Mel
Fr018	*Belle de parler bien aprise*	Wolf
Fr019	*Belle qui me voulez amer*	Dij
Fr020	*Brunecte se vous ay amee*	Dij
Fr021	*Ce n'est pas jeu d'esloigner ce qu'on ayme*	Lab
Fr022	*Cent mille escus quant je vouldroye*	Cord Dij Leu
Fr023	*Ce que ma bouche n'ouse dire*	Leu
Fr024	*Ce qu'on fait a catimini*	Mel Wolf
Fr025	*C'est bien malheur qui me queurt seure*	Dij Niv
Fr026	*C'est par vous que tant je souspire*	Dij
Fr027	*C'est pour aymer que je porte cest M*	Lab
Fr028	*C'est vous en qui j'ay esperance*	Dij Niv
Fr029	*Chargé de dueil plus que mon fais*	Dij Lab Niv Wolf
Fr030	*Comme femme desconfortee*	Cord Dij Lab Leu Mel Wolf
Fr031	*Comment suis je de vostre cueur*	Cop Dij Niv
Fr032	*Comme ung homme desconforté*	Cord
Fr033	*Dangier tu m'as tollu ma dame*	Lab

Fr034	*De la montaigne ou je souloie*	Dij
Fr035	*De ma griefve maladie*	Dij
Fr036	*De m'esjouir plus n'ay puissance*	Lab Wolf
Fr037	*De mon povoir vous veul complaire*	Cord
Fr038	*Depuis deux ou trois jours en ca*	Dij
Fr039	*De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse*	Cop Cord Dij Lab Leu Mel Wolf
Fr040	*De vous servir m'est prins envie*	Lab
Fr041	*Dictes moi ce qu'il vous en semble*	Dij
Fr042	*Dictes moy toutes vos pensees*	Dij Lab
Fr043	*Die chascun ce qu'il voudra*	Dij
Fr044	*Donnés l'assault a la fortresse*	Mel
Fr045	*Donnez l'aumosne, chiere dame*	Leu
Fr046	*Du bon du cueur sans aultre amer*	Dij
Fr047	*D'une belle jeune fille*	Dij Niv
Fr048	*D'ung aultre amer mon cueur s'abesseroit*	Cop Dij Lab Leu Niv Wolf
Fr049	*En atendant vostre venue*	Leu
Fr050	*En attendant la grace de ma dame*	Lab
Fr051	*Enfermé suis [je] en la tour*	Mel
Fr052	*En m'esbatant aupres d'une riviere*	Wolf
Fr053	*En quelque lieu qu'on sache aller*	Dij
Fr054	*En soustenant vostre querelle*	Dij Mel
Fr055	*En tous les lieux ou j'ay esté*	Dij Niv
Fr056	*En tout honneur et en tout bien*	Niv
Fr057	*Entre Peronne et Saint Quentin*	Dij Wolf
Fr058	*En voyant sa dame au matin*	Dij Lab
Fr059	*Escu d'ennuy semé de plours*	Leu
Fr060	*Esperant que mon bien vendra*	Dij Leu Niv
Fr061	*Esse bien fait dictez ma belle amye*	Lab Wolf
Fr062	*Est il mercy de quoy l'on peust finer*	Cord Dij Lab Leu Mel Niv Wolf
Fr063	*Et fusse je duc de Bourbon*	Wolf
Fr064	*Faites moy scavoir de la belle*	Cord
Fr065	*Flora Flora tes noble et digne*	Niv
Fr066	*Fors seulement l'attente que je meure*	Dij Lab Leu Wolf
Fr067	*Fortune laisse moy la vie*	Wolf
Fr068	*Fortune par ta cruaulté*	Cord Mel
Fr069	*Gardés le trait de la fenestre*	Dij
Fr070	*Garison scay contre le mal d'amer /* *Je juis mire maistre mire*	Cop Lab
Fr071	*Greveuse m'est vostre acointance*	Lab

Fr072	*Ha cueur perdu et desole*	Leu
Fr073	*Ha que ville et abhominable*	Dij
Fr074	*Ha qu'il m'ennuye | et que je me treuve esbaye*	Niv
Fr075	*Helas je n'ay pas osé dire*	Cord
Fr076	*Helas l'avoy je desservy*	Leu
Fr077	*Helas m'amour ma tresparfete amye*	Lab
Fr078	*Helas mon cueur tu m'occiras*	Leu
Fr079	*Helas n'aray je jamais mieulx*	Cord
Fr080	*Helas que pourra devenir*	Dij Leu Wolf
Fr081	*Henri Phlippet le vert me fais porter*	Leu
Fr082	*Il est de bonne heure né*	Dij
Fr083	*Il ne m'en chault plus de nul ame*	Lab
Fr084	*Il sera pour vous conbatu /* *L'homme armé doibt on doubter*	Mel
Fr085	*Jamais ne seray amoureulx*	Dij Lab Wolf
Fr086	*Jamais nul jour de ma vie*	Dij
Fr087	*Jamais si bien ne me peut advenir*	Dij Lab Niv Wolf
Fr088	*Ja que lui ne s'I attende*	Cop Dij Lab Mel Wolf
Fr089	*J'ars de desir si enflamé d'amer*	Dij Niv
Fr090	*J'ay des semblans tant que je vueil*	Leu
Fr091	*J'ay mains de biens que s'il n'en estoit point*	Cord Dij Lab
Fr092	*J'ay pris amours a ma devise*	Cord Dij Lab Leu Niv Wolf
Fr093	*J'ay pris deux poux a ma chemise*	Dij
Fr094	*Je demeure seule esbahye*	Dij
Fr095	*Je le prens sur ma conscience*	Cop Dij Lab
Fr096	*Je le scay bien ce qui m'avint*	Lab Wolf
Fr097	*Je m'esbais de vous mon cueur*	Dij
Fr098	*Je n'ay dueil que je ne suis morte*	Lab
Fr099	*J'en ay le deul et vous la joie*	Dij
Fr100	*Je n'ay povoir de vivre en joye*	Lab
Fr101	*Je ne fays plus je ne dys ne escrips*	Leu
Fr102	*Je ne me puis voir a mon aise*	Lab
Fr103	*Je ne puis vivre ainsi tousjours*	Dij Mel
Fr104	*Je ne requiers que vostre bienvueillance*	Cop Lab Wolf
Fr105	*Je ne seray plus vert vestu*	Wolf
Fr106	*Je ne suis plus si esbatant*	Dij
Fr107	*Je ne vis oncques la pareille*	Cord Lab Leu Niv Wolf
Fr108	*Je serviray selon qu'on me payera*	Lab
Fr109	*Je suis ennuyé de ma vie*	Lab

Fr110	*Joye me fuit et Douleur me queurt seure*	Dij Lab Mel
Fr111	*Joyeulx espoir | et bon vouloir*	Dij
Fr112	*La despourveue et la bannye*	Lab Leu
Fr113	*La fiance que j'ay en vous*	Niv
Fr114	*Laissez Dangier faire tous ses effors*	Dij Niv
Fr115	*Laissez les moy toutes porter*	Dij
Fr116	*La plus bruiant celle qui toutes passe*	Cop Dij
Fr117	*La plus dolente qui soit nee*	Dij Leu
Fr118	*La plus grant chiere de jamais*	Dij
Fr119	*La plus mignonne de mon cueur*	Cop Dij Niv Wolf
Fr120	*La pourveance de mon cueur*	Lab
Fr121	*La saison en est ou jamais*	Lab
Fr122	*Las ay je tort se je me plains*	Wolf
Fr123	*L'aultre d'antan l'autrier passa*	Cord Dij Mel
Fr124	*L'aultre jour par ung matin*	Cord
Fr125	*L'aumosne au povre desireulx*	Dij
Fr126	*L'autrier en ung vert bocquaige*	Dij
Fr127	*Le corps s'en va et le cueur vous demeure*	Dij Lab Leu Mel Niv Wolf
Fr128	*Le despourveu infortuné*	Lab Leu
Fr129	*Le dormir m'est il defendu*	Dij
Fr130	*Le joli tetin de ma dame*	Cop Wolf
Fr131	*Le mois de may fort me contraint*	Dij
Fr132	*L'enquerant plus n'eut joye ne bien*	Lab
Fr133	*Le plus heureulx de tous ceulx qui sont vis*	Lab
Fr134	*Le resjouy d'une seule esperance*	Dij
Fr135	*Les desleaulx ont la saison*	Dij Leu Lab
Fr136	*Les desleaux sont en leur saison mis*	Lab
Fr137	*Les desloyalles ont le temps*	Lab
Fr138	*Les douleurs dont me sens tel somme*	Dij Niv
Fr139	*Le serviteur hault guerdonné*	Cord Dij Wolf
Fr140	*Les grans regretz que sans cesser je porte*	Lab
Fr141	*Le souvenir de vous me tue*	Cop Cord Dij Lab Leu Wolf
Fr142	*Les treves d'amours et de moi*	Dij Lab Leu
Fr143	*Le tres des plus heureulx du monde*	Dij Niv
Fr144	*Loing de vo tresdoulce presence*	Mel
Fr145	*L'omme banny de sa plaisance*	Cord Dij Lab Leu Mel Niv
Fr146	*L'omme enragé hors du sens forcené*	Dij Niv
Fr147	*Ma bouche plaint les pleurs de ma pensee*	Cord
Fr148	*Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure*	Cord Dij Lab Leu Mel Niv Wolf

Fr149	*Ma dame de nom*	Mel
Fr150	*Ma dame trop vous m'esprenés*	Wolf
Fr151	*Ma damoiselle ma maistresse*	Dij Niv
Fr152	*Mais que ce fust secretement*	Lab
Fr153	*Malheureulx cueur que vieulx tu faire*	Lab Wolf
Fr154	*Ma maistresse et ma plus que autre amye*	Lab Leu Wolf
Fr155	*Ma plus ma mignonne m'amie*	Cop Dij Lab
Fr156	*Ma plus qu'assez et tant bruiante*	Cop Dij
Fr157	*M'a vostre cueur mis en oubli*	Cop Dij Lab
Fr158	*Mercy mon dueil je te supplie*	Lab Mel
Fr159	*Mes pensees ne me laissent une heure*	Lab
Fr160	*Mon corps s'en va mon cueur demeure*	Dij
Fr161	*Mon cuer a demy se depart*	Dij Lab Niv
Fr162	*Mon cuer et moy avons cencé*	Niv
Fr163	*Mon cuer et moy d'une alliance*	Cop Lab Wolf
Fr164	*Mon desir et toute ma joye*	Lab
Fr165	*Mon mignault musequin*	Dij
Fr166	*Mon mignon et mon quam que j'ayme*	Dij
Fr167	*Mon seul plaisir ma doulce joye*	Cord Lab Wolf
Fr168	*Mon souvenir me fait mourir*	Lab
Fr169	*Mon tout mon souvenir m'amye*	Cop Dij
Fr170	*Mon trestout et mon assotee /* *Il estoit ung bonhomme*	Mel
Fr171	*Mort j'appelle de ta rigueur*	Dij Lab Niv
Fr172	*Mort ou mercy vous requiers si*	Mel
Fr173	*Mort tu as navré de ton dart /* *Miserere pie*	Dij
Fr174	*N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay*	Cop Cord Dij Lab Leu Niv Mel Wolf
Fr175	*Ne doibt on prendre quant on donne*	Dij
Fr176	*Ne me veillés ma chere dame*	Lab
Fr177	*Ne pour cela que esloigner me fauldra*	Lab
Fr178	*N'esse pas bien pour departir*	Dij
Fr179	*N'est il secours que puisse avoir*	Lab
Fr180	*Non pas que je veuille penser*	Lab Mel
Fr181	*Nos amys vous vous abusés*	Lab Mel
Fr182	*Nouvellement ay emtepris*	Dij
Fr183	*Nulle plus dolente de moi*	Dij
Fr184	*Nul ne l'a telle sa maistresse*	Cop Lab Wolf
Fr185	*Nul ne me doit de ce blasmer*	Dij Leu

Fr186	*Nul ne s'i frotte a ma maistresse*	Cop Dij
Fr187	*Nuyt et jour sans repose avoir*	Lab
Fr188	*O belle Dyane la tresbelle et luysant*	Lab
Fr189	*O dieu d'amours et qu'as tu fait*	Niv
Fr190	*O Fortune trop tu es dure*	Mel
Fr191	*O infame desleauté*	Dij Wolf
Fr192	*On a grant mal par trop amer /* *On est bien malade pour amer trop*	Dij
Fr193	*Or ay je perdu mes amours*	Cord
Fr194	*Or me veult bien esperance mentir*	Mel
Fr195	*Ostez la moi de mon oreille*	Cop Dij
Fr196	*Ou beau chastel est prisonnier mon cueur*	Leu
Fr197	*Oublie oublie oublie oublie oublie*	Leu
Fr198	*Ou doy je secours querir*	Mel
Fr199	*Paracheve ton entreprise*	Mel
Fr200	*Par Dieu ma dame c'est a tort*	Dij Niv
Fr201	*Par le regart de vos beaulx yeulx*	Lab Mel Wolf
Fr202	*Par Mallebouche la cruelle*	Leu
Fr203	*Penser en vous ne m'est point ennuyeulx*	Lab
Fr204	*Pensez de faire garnison*	Dij
Fr205	*Permanent vierge plus digne que nesune /* *Pulcra es et decora /* *Sancta Dei genitrix*	Dij
Fr206	*Plus qu'autre ay en ma joye dolloreuse*	Lab
Fr207	*Plus voy mon mignon plus le prise*	Niv
Fr208	*Pour accomplir le vouloir de mon cueur*	Dij
Fr209	*Pour avenir a mon atainte*	Niv
Fr210	*Pour changier l'air ne pour fuir les lieux*	Cop Dij Lab
Fr211	*Pour entretenir l'alliance*	Niv
Fr212	*Pour entretenir mes amours*	Mel
Fr213	*Pour le mal qu'on vous fait porter*	Niv Wolf
Fr214	*Pour les biens qu'en vous je parcoy*	Niv
Fr215	*Pour les regretz que j'ay que ne vous voy*	Niv
Fr216	*Pour prison ne pour maladie*	Lab
Fr217	*Pour refraindre mon appetit*	Wolf
Fr218	*Pour vostre amour*	Dij
Fr219	*Pour voz pechez je porte penitance*	Dij
Fr220	*Pour voz plaisirs et soulas*	Lab
Fr221	*Prenez sur moi vostre exemple amoureux*	Cop

Fr222	*Presque transi un peu moins qu'estre mort*	Dij Lab
Fr223	*Puis qu'a chacun ris et quaquectes /* *L'autrier m'aloie esbanoyant /* *Pardonnez moi se j'ay mespris*	Dij
Fr224	*Puis qu'a Dieu plaist et a Fortune*	Dij
Fr225	*Puis qu'ainsi est que tous saiges gens m'aiment*	Dij
Fr226	*Puis qu'aultrement ne me peut estre /* *Marchez la dureau la durie*	Dij
Fr227	*Puis qu'aultrement ne puis avoir*	Niv
Fr228	*Puis qu'a vous servir me suis mis*	Dij Leu Niv
Fr229	*Puis que d'elle j'ay eu le bien*	Dij
Fr230	*Puis que honneste vie la pare*	Cop
Fr231	*Puis que je suis heritiere*	Dij
Fr232	*Puis que je vis le regart gracieux*	Mel
Fr233	*Puis que ma damme ne puis voir /* *Je m'en voy et mon cueur demeure*	Mel
Fr234	*Puis que si bien m'est advenu*	Lab
Fr235	*Puis que vous estes campieur*	Dij Niv
Fr236	*Puis qu'il convient que le depart se face*	Cop Niv
Fr237	*Quant ce viendra qu droit destraindre*	Dij Lab Leu Mel Wolf
Fr238	*Quant de mon cuer vous feray part*	Niv
Fr239	*Quant de vous seul je pers la veue*	Dij
Fr240	*Quant du dire adieu me souvient*	Cord
Fr241	*Quant j'ay au cueur aucun contraire*	Leu
Fr242	*Quant je fus prins au pavillon*	Leu
Fr243	*Quant je suis seullecte | tousjours /* *Quant je suis seulecte | je ne puis dormir*	Dij
Fr244	*Quant l'amoureuse et l'amoureux*	Dij
Fr245	*Quant mes ieulx de vous departirent*	Dij
Fr246	*Quant seray je clamé pour vostre amy*	Dij
Fr247	*Quant vous me ferez plus de bien*	Cop Dij Niv
Fr248	*Qu'ara d'amours belle qui le gant a*	Wolf
Fr249	*Qu'elle n'y a je le maintien*	Dij
Fr250	*Quelque povre homme que je soie*	Dij
Fr251	*Quel remede de monstrer par semblant*	Lab
Fr252	*Querez ailleurs paille en estrain*	Niv
Fr253	*Que voulez vous que je devise*	Dij
Fr254	*Ravy d'amours despourveu de bon sens*	Dij Leu Wolf
Fr255	*Recours d'onneur et de liesse*	Lab

Fr256	*Riant regard acompli en doulceur*	Cop
Fr257	*Sans jamais de riens m'esjouir /* *Allez a la fougere*	Dij
Fr258	*Sans racoincter tout d'un accord*	Dij
Fr259	*Se je demeure despourveue*	Niv
Fr260	*Se je fayz dueil je n'en puis mais*	Mel
Fr261	*Se je garde bien vostre honneur*	Dij Lab
Fr262	*Se je mue la couleur /* *Adieu pour mesouen adieu*	Dij
Fr263	*Se la face ay pale*	Lab Wolf
Fr264	*S'elle m'amera je ne scay /* *Petite camusette*	Dij Mel Niv Wolf
Fr265	*Se mieulx ne vient d'amours peu me contente*	Cop Dij Lab Leu Niv Wolf
Fr266	*Se mon service vous plaisoit*	Mel
Fr267	*Servant leal qui as si bien servy*	Dij
Fr268	*Se trouver je y savoie voie*	Dij
Fr269	*Seulement une fois le jour*	Cop Dij
Fr270	*Se vous me voulés estre bonne*	Niv
Fr271	*Si a tort on m'a blasmee*	Lab
Fr272	*Si Dieu me faisoit si heureulx*	Lab
Fr273	*S'il advient que mon dueil me tue*	Cop Dij Lab Leu Niv Wolf
Fr274	*S'il est ainsi que plus je ne vous voye*	Mel
Fr275	*S'il me demeure mon amy*	Dij
Fr276	*S'il ne vous plaist me faire allegement*	Dij
Fr277	*S'il vous plaist bien que vous tiegne*	Dij Niv
Fr278	*S'il vous plaist que vostre je soye*	Cord
Fr279	*Si par souait ce povoit faire*	Lab
Fr280	*Si vous voulez que je vous ame*	Leu
Fr281	*Soubz les branches d'un beau may /* *Jolis mois de may /* *En la rousee de may*	Dij
Fr282	*Soudainement mon cueur a pris*	Cop Dij Niv
Fr283	*Souviegne vous de la douleur /* *A bien amer sont mes ieulx gracieulx*	Dij
Fr284	*S'une fois me dictes ouy*	Dij
Fr285	*S'ung bien peu d'esperance avoye*	Niv
Fr286	*Sur mon ame m'amie*	Cop Dij
Fr287	*Tant est mignonne ma pensee*	Cop Dij Lab Leu Niv Wolf
Fr288	*Tant fort me tarde ta venue*	Lab
Fr289	*Tant fuz gentement resjouy*	Niv

Fr290	*Tant moins en ay plus me contente*	Lab
Fr291	*Tant plus en ay mains me contente*	Wolf
Fr292	*Tant plus m'efforce de loyaulment servir*	Lab
Fr293	*Tart ara mon cueur sa plaisance*	Cop Dij Lab Niv
Fr294	*Tart ara quaresme prenant*	Dij
Fr295	*Terriblement suis fortunee*	Cord
Fr296	*Tousdis vous voit mon souvenir*	Leu
Fr297	*Tout a par moy affin qu'on ne me voye*	Cord Lab Leu Mel Niv Wolf
Fr298	*Tout a sa dame*	Niv
Fr299	*Tout au long de la grant couchette /* *Il n'est jacobin ne prestre /* *Jennette des coqueles*	Niv
Fr300	*Tout au premier que vous choisi*	Dij
Fr301	*Tres noble et plaisant damoiselle*	Wolf
Fr302	*Trop m'est amer vostre service Amours*	Dij
Fr303	*Ung plus que tous est en mon souvenir*	Mel
Fr304	*Ung seul baisier m'a secouru*	Dij
Fr305	*Videz dehors car vous estes trop chaut*	Dij
Fr306	*Vive ma dame par amours | Qui m'a donné*	Dij
Fr307	*Vostre bruit et vostre grant fame*	Cord Lab Mel
Fr308	*Vostre gracieuse accoinctance*	Dij
Fr309	*Vostre regart si tresfort m'a feru*	Dij Lab
Fr310	*Vous marches du bout du pié | Marionnette /* *L'autrier quant je chevauchoie /* *Vostre beauté tres mignonnecte*	Dij Niv
Fr311	*Vraiz amans pour dieu suppliez*	Leu
Fr312	*Vray dieu d'amours qui vrais amans resjoye*	Cord

Lemma	
Variant	Song Number
abaisser	
abaissie	Fr069
abesseroit	Fr048
abandonner	
abandonne	Fr128
abandonnoie	Fr100
abendonne	Fr175
habandoner	Fr083
habandonne	Fr028 Fr128 Fr139 Fr270 Fr295 Fr312
habandonnee	Fr117 Fr257
habandonner	Fr180
habendonne	Fr175
abattre	
abatu	Fr084 Fr309
abatue	Fr259
abatus	Fr105
abbesse	
abesse	Fr126
abime	
abisme	Fr191
abimer	
abisme	Fr191
abject	
abiecte	Fr126
abominable	
abhominable	Fr073
abondance	
habundance	Fr104
abonde	
habonde	Fr143
abreger	
abbregier	Fr148
abreger	Fr148
abregier	Fr020 Fr034 Fr148

absent	
absens	Fr254
abusement	
abusement	Fr194
abuser	
abuses	Fr181
abusion	
abusion	Fr175
accoint	
acoint	Fr136
accointance	
accoinctance	Fr095 Fr163
accointance	Fr163
acointance	Fr006 Fr071 Fr202
accointer	
accointace	Fr048
acoinctasse	Fr048
acoint	Fr136
acointace	Fr048
acointasse	Fr048
acomtasse	Fr048
accolement	
acollement	Fr244
accoler	
acolle	Fr072
accompagner	
acompaigne	Fr021
accomparer	
acomparee	Fr188
accomplir	
accomplie	Fr039
acompli	Fr256
acomplie	Fr086 Fr095 Fr158
acomplir	Fr208 Fr294
acompliray	Fr228
acomplis	Fr244
accord	

accord	Fr258 Fr273
acord	Fr112 Fr273
accorder	
accorday	Fr281
accordee	Fr246
acorder	Fr021
accourir	
accourir	Fr198
accours	Fr017
acqueure	Fr012 Fr127
accours	
acours	Fr017
accroitre	
accroissant	Fr188
acroissant	Fr153 Fr307
acroistre	Fr097
accueil	
accueil	Fr051 Fr100
acueil	Fr001 Fr009 Fr017 Fr037 Fr071 Fr114 Fr129 Fr191 Fr236
accueillir	
accueilly	Fr001
ache	
ache	Fr084
acompter	
acoinctasse	Fr048
acointace	Fr048
acomtasse	Fr048
acotaplie	
acotaplie	Fr011
acoup	
acop	Fr204 Fr305
acquerir	
acquerer	Fr264
acquerir	Fr198 Fr264 Fr268
acquis	Fr228
aquere	Fr127
aquerir	Fr264
aqueure	Fr025 Fr127 Fr207

acquitter	
acquicte	Fr055
acquicter	Fr053
addresse	
adresse	Fr004 Fr032 Fr044 Fr079 Fr151 Fr161
admettre	
amis	Fr038 Fr136
admonester	
amonneste	Fr126
adonc	
adonc	Fr052 Fr126
adonner	
adonne	Fr175
adoucir	
adoulcist	Fr309
adouler	
adole	Fr072
adresser	
adresse	Fr004 Fr032 Fr044 Fr079 Fr151 Fr161
adresser	Fr027
adroit	
adroicte	Fr265
adroite	Fr265
advenir	
advendra	Fr060
advenir	Fr080 Fr087 Fr257 Fr280 Fr293
advenu	Fr143 Fr234
advertir	Fr186
adviegne	Fr060
advient	Fr119 Fr226 Fr273
avendra	Fr043 Fr060
avengne	Fr060
avenir	Fr080 Fr087 Fr209 Fr293
avenoit	Fr015
avenu	Fr208
avient	Fr169 Fr273

avint	Fr013 Fr043 Fr096
adverse	
adverse	Fr044 Fr199
adversite	
adversite	Fr014 Fr068
affaire	
affaire	Fr037 Fr241 Fr279 Fr280 Fr282
affie	
affie	Fr070 Fr279
affier	
affie	Fr070 Fr279
affoler	
affolle	Fr010
afolle	Fr072
agarder	
agarder	Fr263
aggraver	
agravee	Fr030
aggrever	
agrevee	Fr030
tresagreve	Fr012
agree	
agree	Fr163 Fr271
agreer	
agree	Fr163 Fr271
aheurter	
aheurte	Fr142
aide	
aide	Fr104 Fr148
aider	
aider	Fr022 Fr026 Fr125
aidier	Fr022
ayde	Fr148
aiguillette	
agullectes	Fr223
esguillette	Fr299
aiguillon	
esguillon	Fr242
aime	

aime	Fr005 Fr048 Fr056 Fr082 Fr088 Fr102 Fr157 Fr265 Fr276 Fr294
ame	Fr021 Fr026 Fr029 Fr050 Fr053 Fr083 Fr088 Fr096 Fr107 Fr130 Fr141 Fr154 Fr158 Fr166 Fr172 Fr173 Fr176 Fr178 Fr182 Fr195 Fr214 Fr227 Fr238 Fr251 Fr260 Fr280 Fr284 Fr286 Fr287 Fr288 Fr297 Fr298 Fr307
aymee	Fr006
aimer	
aime	Fr005 Fr048 Fr056 Fr082 Fr088 Fr102 Fr157 Fr265 Fr276 Fr294
aiment	Fr225
amans	Fr311 Fr312
amants	Fr244
amasse	Fr170 Fr208 Fr264 Fr309 Fr310
ame	Fr021 Fr026 Fr029 Fr050 Fr053 Fr083 Fr088 Fr096 Fr107 Fr130 Fr141 Fr154 Fr158 Fr166 Fr172 Fr173 Fr176 Fr178 Fr182 Fr195 Fr214 Fr227 Fr238 Fr251 Fr260 Fr280 Fr284 Fr286 Fr287 Fr288 Fr297 Fr298 Fr307
amee	Fr020 Fr154 Fr163 Fr170
ament	Fr136
amer	Fr018 Fr019 Fr023 Fr043 Fr046 Fr048 Fr051 Fr054 Fr062 Fr070 Fr083 Fr086 Fr089 Fr096 Fr097

	Fr104 Fr108 Fr124 Fr127 Fr136 Fr151 Fr154 Fr155 Fr163 Fr175 Fr180 Fr182 Fr185 Fr192 Fr195 Fr196 Fr208 Fr216 Fr219 Fr225 Fr230 Fr233 Fr251 Fr263 Fr278 Fr283 Fr286 Fr289 Fr302 Fr305 Fr307 Fr312
amera	Fr005 Fr264
ameray	Fr046 Fr082 Fr211 Fr261 Fr278
amerez	Fr261
ameroye	Fr063
ames	Fr121
amez	Fr074 Fr082
amoit	Fr061
amoye	Fr124 Fr312
aymasse	Fr264
ayme	Fr033 Fr048 Fr056 Fr061 Fr088 Fr130 Fr166 Fr170 Fr265
aymee	Fr006
aymer	Fr027 Fr067 Fr104 Fr127 Fr154
aymera	Fr264
aymere	Fr261
aymez	Fr238
aincois	
aincoys	Fr050
air	
air	Fr210
airage	
araige	Fr174
aisance	
aisance	Fr293
aise	
aise	Fr010 Fr102
allegance	
alegance	Fr110 Fr145
allegance	Fr145
allegeance	
alegance	Fr110 Fr145
alegeance	Fr110 Fr202
alegence	Fr145
allegance	Fr145
allegeance	Fr028
allegence	Fr028 Fr110 Fr256 Fr293
allegement	
alegement	Fr196
allegement	Fr009 Fr276
alleger	
aleger	Fr179
alleger	Fr064
alliance	
aliance	Fr139 Fr163 Fr190
alliance	Fr002 Fr095 Fr134 Fr139 Fr163 Fr177 Fr211 Fr219 Fr308
alloyer	
aloie	Fr223
allumer	
alumer	Fr185
amande	
amande	Fr088
amant	
amans	Fr311 Fr312
amant	Fr081 Fr197
amante	Fr047
amants	Fr244
amasser	
amassa	Fr123
amasser	Fr302
ambler	
ambler	Fr217
ame	
ame	Fr021 Fr026 Fr029 Fr050 Fr053 Fr083 Fr088 Fr096 Fr107 Fr130 Fr141 Fr154

	Fr158 Fr166 Fr172 Fr173 Fr176 Fr178 Fr182 Fr195 Fr214 Fr227 Fr238 Fr251 Fr260 Fr280 Fr284 Fr286 Fr287 Fr288 Fr297 Fr298 Fr307
amez	Fr074 Fr082
amende	
amende	Fr088
amender	
amande	Fr088
amende	Fr088
ament	Fr136
amer	
amer	Fr018 Fr019 Fr023 Fr043 Fr046 Fr048 Fr051 Fr054 Fr062 Fr070 Fr083 Fr086 Fr089 Fr096 Fr097 Fr104 Fr108 Fr124 Fr127 Fr136 Fr151 Fr154 Fr155 Fr163 Fr175 Fr180 Fr182 Fr185 Fr192 Fr195 Fr196 Fr208 Fr216 Fr219 Fr225 Fr230 Fr233 Fr251 Fr263 Fr278 Fr283 Fr286 Fr289 Fr302 Fr305 Fr307 Fr312
amere	Fr054 Fr059
amerez	Fr261
ami	
ami	Fr124
amie	Fr067 Fr082 Fr286
amis	Fr038 Fr136
amy	Fr002 Fr031 Fr035 Fr038 Fr046 Fr082 Fr090 Fr113 Fr124 Fr126 Fr201 Fr214 Fr246 Fr262 Fr271 Fr275 Fr281 Fr283

amye	Fr040 Fr052 Fr061 Fr077 Fr082 Fr154 Fr155 Fr169 Fr180 Fr197 Fr216 Fr283 Fr286
amys	Fr181
amict	
amye	Fr040 Fr052 Fr061 Fr077 Fr082 Fr154 Fr155 Fr169 Fr180 Fr197 Fr216 Fr283 Fr286
amiot	
amyot	Fr192
amour	
amour	Fr010 Fr019 Fr020 Fr021 Fr032 Fr045 Fr051 Fr052 Fr062 Fr063 Fr077 Fr081 Fr092 Fr116 Fr123 Fr136 Fr147 Fr154 Fr163 Fr165 Fr170 Fr174 Fr182 Fr191 Fr200 Fr201 Fr206 Fr215 Fr218 Fr225 Fr243 Fr246 Fr251 Fr255 Fr262 Fr263 Fr268 Fr269 Fr271 Fr273 Fr281 Fr283 Fr292
amours	Fr005 Fr007 Fr017 Fr025 Fr032 Fr034 Fr044 Fr059 Fr073 Fr085 Fr092 Fr103 Fr114 Fr126 Fr128 Fr142 Fr143 Fr172 Fr175 Fr178 Fr185 Fr189 Fr193 Fr197 Fr210 Fr212 Fr216 Fr221 Fr236 Fr248 Fr254 Fr258 Fr263 Fr265 Fr268 Fr273 Fr289 Fr300 Fr302 Fr304 Fr305 Fr306 Fr308 Fr312

amourette	
amourectes	Fr035 Fr126
amoureux	
amoureulx	Fr001 Fr009 Fr085 Fr195
amoureuse	Fr069 Fr172 Fr181 Fr244 Fr281
amoureux	Fr052 Fr085 Fr165 Fr201 Fr221 Fr244 Fr274 Fr300
an	
an	Fr123 Fr129
ans	Fr096 Fr137 Fr223 Fr243
angoisse	
angoisse	Fr256
angoisses	Fr012
angoisser	
angoisse	Fr256
angoisseux	
angoisseiux	Fr179
angoisseulx	Fr237
angoisseuse	Fr198
angoisseux	Fr072 Fr237 Fr296
engoisseux	Fr237
animer	
anim	Fr165
annee	
annees	Fr020
annoncer	
anonce	Fr085 Fr157
antan	
antan	Fr123 Fr281
Antechrist	
antechrist	Fr101
entecris	Fr101
apaiser	
apaise	Fr102
appaiser	Fr176
apart	
apart	Fr072 Fr161 Fr164 Fr238 Fr256
apartir	
apart	Fr072 Fr161 Fr164 Fr238 Fr256
apercevoir	
aparcevoir	Fr015
apercevoir	Fr015
apercoy	Fr283
apparcevoir	Fr179
apert	
appert	Fr249 Fr256
apertiser	
apertisseroit	Fr048
apetisser	
apetisseroit	Fr048
appetisseroit	Fr048
appareille	
appareille	Fr107 Fr195
appareiller	
apareille	Fr107
appareille	Fr107 Fr195
appel	
apel	Fr085
appel	Fr085
appeler	
apel	Fr085
apelle	Fr064 Fr090 Fr145
apellon	Fr047
appel	Fr085
appelle	Fr003 Fr085 Fr145 Fr171
appelloit	Fr170
appellon	Fr145
appeter	
appetoit	Fr047
appetit	
apetit	Fr200
appetit	Fr217 Fr250
appliquer	

aplicque	Fr073
apporter	
aporte	Fr098
aporter	Fr213 Fr263
apprendre	
apris	Fr182 Fr282
aprise	Fr018
apprise	
apris	Fr182 Fr282
aprise	Fr018
approche	
approche	Fr188
approcher	
approche	Fr188
aprochent	Fr055
aprochier	Fr249
appuie	
apuie	Fr003
appuyer	
apuie	Fr003
apresse	
aspresse	Fr059
apriser	
aprise	Fr018
arage	
araige	Fr174
arbalete	
arbalestes	Fr007
arc	
arc	Fr082
arcz	Fr007
archere	
archiere	Fr069
ardent	
ardent	Fr176 Fr279
ardeur	
ardeur	Fr109
ardre	
ardent	Fr176 Fr279

arer	
arai	Fr174
ariez	Fr063
argent	
argent	Fr070
arguer	
argue	Fr094
arme	
armes	Fr059 Fr103 Fr253
armer	
arme	Fr084
armer	Fr084
armoye	Fr285
armoyer	
armoye	Fr285
aronce	
aronce	Fr085
arriere	
arriere	Fr123
ars	
ars	Fr089
art	
art	Fr086 Fr191
artifice	
artifice	Fr205
aspre	
aspre	Fr071 Fr145
assai	
aissay	Fr174 Fr264
assay	Fr174
assaillir	
assaillent	Fr106
assault	Fr044 Fr084 Fr094 Fr239 Fr285 Fr288
assaut	
assault	Fr044 Fr084 Fr094 Fr239 Fr285 Fr288
assavoir	
assavoir	Fr186 Fr227 Fr301
assavourer	

assaveure	Fr012 Fr127
assemble	
assemble	Fr244
assemblee	
assemblee	Fr030
assembler	
assemble	Fr244
assemblee	Fr030
asseoir	
assis	Fr262
assise	Fr185
asservir	
asservy	Fr267
assise	
assise	Fr185
assomme	
assomme	Fr138
assommer	
assomme	Fr138
assommer	Fr138
assoter	
assotee	Fr170
assouvir	
assouvie	Fr039 Fr171 Fr307
assouvis	Fr109
assouvy	Fr139
assouvye	Fr039 Fr155 Fr171 Fr216
assovie	Fr074
assurer	
asseur	Fr031
asseurant	Fr049
asseure	Fr066 Fr127 Fr134 Fr160 Fr247
assurant	Fr191
Assverus	
assverus	Fr065
atise	
atise	Fr185
Atlante	

atlante	Fr188
atour	
atour	Fr001 Fr283
atournee	
atournee	Fr117 Fr295
atourner	
atourne	Fr128 Fr179
atournee	Fr117 Fr295
atteindre	
actaindre	Fr237
actaindroit	Fr210
actaint	Fr131 Fr210 Fr309
atainte	Fr209
atende	Fr127
atens	Fr060 Fr297
attaindre	Fr237
attains	Fr122
atteinte	
atainte	Fr209
attende	
atende	Fr127
attendre	
actendant	Fr089 Fr236 Fr294
actende	Fr088
actendoie	Fr208
actendoye	Fr289
actendre	Fr181
actendu	Fr129 Fr309
actens	Fr060 Fr297
atendant	Fr049
atende	Fr127
atendre	Fr127
atens	Fr060 Fr297
attendant	Fr050 Fr089
attende	Fr088 Fr127
attendre	Fr181
attendue	
atendre	Fr127
attent	

actens	Fr060 Fr297
atens	Fr060 Fr297
attente	Fr265
attente	
actente	Fr066 Fr265 Fr275 Fr290
atente	Fr066 Fr187 Fr265 Fr291
attente	Fr265
attenter	
actente	Fr066 Fr265 Fr275 Fr290
atente	Fr066 Fr187 Fr265 Fr291
atenter	Fr265
attenta	Fr248
attente	Fr265
attiser	
atise	Fr185
attoucher	
atouchies	Fr170
attraper	
attrapper	Fr081
aucunefois	
aulcuneffoyz	Fr022
aucunement	
aucunement	Fr067 Fr131
aulcunement	Fr241
audace	
audace	Fr016
aujourd'hui	
aujourdhuy	Fr288
aujourduy	Fr070
aumone	
aumosne	Fr045 Fr125
aussi	
asi	Fr297
autant	
autant	Fr039 Fr041 Fr061 Fr065 Fr130 Fr170 Fr270

authentique	
autentique	Fr146
autrement	
autrement	Fr151 Fr213 Fr222 Fr254
autrier	
autrier	Fr123 Fr126 Fr223 Fr310
avance	
avence	Fr134 Fr145 Fr293 Fr308
avancer	
advencay	Fr264
advensay	Fr264
avance	Fr068 Fr145 Fr162
avancee	Fr287
avancees	Fr042
avancher	Fr180
avanches	Fr068
avencay	Fr264
avencee	Fr287
avencer	Fr180
avantage	
avantage	Fr254
aventage	Fr254
avantager	
avantage	Fr254
aveindre	
avaindre	Fr237
avenir	
avenir	Fr080 Fr087 Fr209 Fr293
aventure	
advanture	Fr079
avenu	
advenu	Fr143 Fr234
advertir	Fr186
avenu	Fr208
avis	
advis	Fr026 Fr133 Fr208 Fr222 Fr276

avise	
avise	Fr036 Fr254
avyse	Fr036
aviser	
advise	Fr092 Fr254
avise	Fr036 Fr254
avyse	Fr036
avocat	
advocat	Fr037
avocate	
advocate	Fr205
avoie	
avoie	Fr022 Fr131 Fr250 Fr312
avoyer	
avoie	Fr022 Fr131 Fr250 Fr312
baigner	
baignez	Fr099
bailler	
bailla	Fr242
baille	Fr308
baiser	
baisay	Fr047
baise	Fr102
baisier	Fr231 Fr244 Fr304
baissay	Fr047
balance	
balencees	Fr042
ban	
ban	Fr123
bande	
bande	Fr088
bende	Fr088
bandon	
bandon	Fr063
bannie	
bannye	Fr112
bannir	
banir	Fr305
bannir	Fr160
bannira	Fr017
banny	Fr001 Fr034 Fr128 Fr145 Fr219 Fr302
bannye	Fr112
bany	Fr145
baril	
barril	Fr299
bas	
bas	Fr054 Fr114 Fr118 Fr285
basse	
basse	Fr116
baton	
baston	Fr068
battant	
batant	Fr106 Fr131
battre	
batant	Fr106 Fr131
batu	Fr084
batue	Fr020
baucquage	
bocquaige	Fr126
baudeur	
baudour	Fr262
Baudichon	
baudichon	Fr283
beau	
beau	Fr035 Fr037 Fr058 Fr083 Fr139 Fr143 Fr191 Fr196 Fr275 Fr281
beaulx	Fr201
beaux	Fr118 Fr191 Fr300
bel	Fr001 Fr009 Fr017 Fr051 Fr082 Fr114 Fr124 Fr129 Fr191 Fr201 Fr246
bele	Fr095
belle	Fr001 Fr016 Fr018 Fr019 Fr033 Fr034

	Fr041 Fr044 Fr047 Fr052 Fr054 Fr059 Fr061 Fr064 Fr069 Fr090 Fr093 Fr095 Fr170 Fr182 Fr184 Fr188 Fr196 Fr201 Fr204 Fr205 Fr216 Fr223 Fr225 Fr241 Fr242 Fr248 Fr252 Fr262 Fr263 Fr265 Fr300 Fr301
beaucoup	
beaucop	Fr055 Fr200
beaucoup	Fr200
beaute	
beaulte	Fr013 Fr054 Fr077 Fr104 Fr107 Fr119 Fr142 Fr153 Fr196 Fr207 Fr232
beaute	Fr013 Fr026 Fr043 Fr054 Fr055 Fr119 Fr142 Fr310
becarre	
becarre	Fr116
Bel Accueil	
bel accueil	Fr051
bel acueil	Fr001 Fr009 Fr017 Fr114 Fr129 Fr191
benevolence	
begnivolance	Fr139
benin	
benigne	Fr065 Fr143 Fr156 Fr188 Fr284
berger	
berger	Fr047
bergier	Fr047
besant	
besant	Fr126
besoin	
besoing	Fr103 Fr197 Fr251 Fr265 Fr277 Fr285
bete	
beste	Fr108 Fr132 Fr181 Fr239
Bien Amer	
bien amer	Fr051 Fr196 Fr283
bientot	
bientoust	Fr109
bienveillance	
bienveullance	Fr139
bienvueillance	Fr104
bille	
bille	Fr047
Binchois	
binchois	Fr173
bise	
bise	Fr003
blame	
blame	Fr053 Fr083 Fr182 Fr287
blamez	Fr099
blasme	Fr107 Fr158 Fr260 Fr280 Fr287 Fr307
blamer	
blame	Fr053 Fr083 Fr182 Fr287
blament	Fr225
blamer	Fr089 Fr128 Fr130 Fr155 Fr185 Fr192
blamez	Fr099
blasmee	Fr271
blasmer	Fr051 Fr089 Fr128 Fr130 Fr155 Fr185
blanc	
blanc	Fr013 Fr020
blance	Fr051 Fr088
blanche	Fr088
ble	
ble	Fr165
blesser	
blesse	Fr004 Fr044 Fr052 Fr161 Fr240 Fr255
bleu	

bleu	Fr013
bobille	
bobille	Fr047
bocage	
bocage	Fr126
bocquaige	Fr126
bois	
bois	Fr264
boys	Fr264
bon	
bon	Fr037 Fr046 Fr049 Fr051 Fr057 Fr058 Fr082 Fr096 Fr103 Fr111 Fr114 Fr123 Fr132 Fr134 Fr135 Fr153 Fr165 Fr170 Fr223 Fr234 Fr235 Fr242 Fr246 Fr252 Fr254 Fr269 Fr270 Fr283 Fr304
bonne	Fr040 Fr067 Fr082 Fr090 Fr104 Fr137 Fr142 Fr178 Fr182 Fr184 Fr216 Fr249 Fr270 Fr281
bonnes	Fr033 Fr119
bons	Fr035 Fr135 Fr136 Fr225 Fr258
bon droit	
bon droit	Fr132 Fr135
Bon Espoir	
bon espoir	Fr049 Fr304
bonhomme	
bonhomme	Fr170
bonnement	
bonnement	Fr237
bonte	
bonte	Fr040 Fr089 Fr097 Fr173 Fr188 Fr196 Fr225
border	
borde	Fr059

borgne	
borgne	Fr069
bouche	
bouce	Fr148
bouche	Fr023 Fr114 Fr131 Fr147 Fr148 Fr177 Fr192 Fr251 Fr284
bouge	
bouges	Fr008
Bourbon	
bourbon	Fr063
bourdon	
bourdon	Fr047
bourgeois	
bourgoyse	Fr299
bourse	
bourse	Fr212
bout	
bout	Fr136 Fr219 Fr310
bouter	
boute	Fr067 Fr164
bouter	Fr070 Fr238 Fr299
boutes	Fr044
branche	
branches	Fr281
branler	
branleras	Fr223
bras	
bras	Fr165 Fr169 Fr250 Fr264
brasser	
brassa	Fr123
brassin	
brassin	Fr123
bref	
bref	Fr017 Fr022 Fr038 Fr186 Fr223 Fr247 Fr282 Fr286 Fr287 Fr302
brefve	Fr160

brief	Fr017 Fr022 Fr033 Fr078 Fr109 Fr148 Fr151 Fr153 Fr154 Fr177 Fr202 Fr286 Fr287 Fr296 Fr297
brievement	
brefment	Fr236
brefuement	Fr154
briefment	Fr049 Fr110 Fr154 Fr164 Fr297
briefvement	Fr297
bruit	
bruit	Fr004 Fr013 Fr133 Fr134 Fr137 Fr153 Fr154 Fr180 Fr184 Fr204 Fr273 Fr293 Fr307
bruyt	Fr293
brun	
brune	Fr205
brunet	
brunecte	Fr020 Fr257
brunette	
brunecte	Fr020 Fr257
brunette	Fr170
brut	
brule	Fr242
bruyant	
bruiant	Fr116
bruiante	Fr156
butin	
butin	Fr165
Cambray	
cambray	Fr118
camusette	
camusecte	Fr264
careme	
quaresme	Fr294
cas	
cas	Fr042 Fr127 Fr196 Fr213 Fr224 Fr247

	Fr249 Fr254 Fr269 Fr270
casser	
cassa	Fr123
casses	Fr088
cassez	Fr088
catimini	
catimini	Fr024
quatimini	Fr024
cause	
cause	Fr030 Fr067 Fr080 Fr112 Fr183 Fr262 Fr263 Fr273
causer	
cause	Fr030 Fr067 Fr080 Fr112 Fr183 Fr262 Fr263 Fr273
cd	
che	Fr081
celee	
celee	Fr246
celer	
cele	Fr009
celee	Fr246
celer	Fr148
celler	Fr148 Fr170
ceullant	Fr001
cenelle	
senelle	Fr003
censer	
cence	Fr162
cens	Fr250 Fr254
cent	
cent	Fr022 Fr049 Fr070 Fr103 Fr155 Fr158 Fr212 Fr302
Ceres	
ceres	Fr188
certainement	
certainement	Fr067 Fr084
certes	

certes	Fr003 Fr009 Fr015 Fr051 Fr108 Fr131 Fr210 Fr234 Fr240 Fr288 Fr292 Fr295 Fr312
certez	Fr285
certifier	
certefiant	Fr194
certifie	Fr070 Fr169 Fr284
cesse	
cesse	Fr004 Fr021 Fr039 Fr044 Fr072 Fr079 Fr097 Fr110 Fr145 Fr151 Fr184
cesser	
cessa	Fr123
cessay	Fr264
cesse	Fr004 Fr021 Fr039 Fr044 Fr072 Fr079 Fr097 Fr110 Fr145 Fr151 Fr184
cesser	Fr094 Fr119 Fr138 Fr140 Fr159 Fr168 Fr179 Fr180 Fr216 Fr222 Fr224 Fr269
cessera	Fr087
chaleur	
challeur	Fr250
chaloir	
challoir	Fr108 Fr111
chault	Fr083 Fr153 Fr239 Fr285 Fr305
chambrette	
chambrecte	Fr126
champ	
champs	Fr137
champier	
campieur	Fr235
campiroie	Fr235
campiroiea	Fr235
campiroye	Fr235
chandelle	

chandelle	Fr242
change	
change	Fr048 Fr050
changer	
change	Fr048 Fr050
changee	Fr116
changer	Fr210 Fr280
changiee	Fr116
changier	Fr210
chant	
chant	Fr252
chanter	
chant	Fr252
chante	Fr116 Fr118 Fr233
chanter	Fr116 Fr124 Fr149
chanteroye	Fr124
chantoit	Fr124
chantre	
chantres	Fr022
chaperon	
capperon	Fr310
chapperon	Fr310
charger	
charge	Fr017 Fr029 Fr115 Fr273
charite	
charite	Fr045 Fr191
charrier	
carioit	Fr170
charioit	Fr170
chasse	
chasse	Fr110 Fr181
chasser	
chace	Fr181
chasse	Fr110 Fr181
chatel	
chastel	Fr196
chaud	
chaudes	Fr103
chauldes	Fr103

chault	Fr083 Fr153 Fr239 Fr285 Fr305
chaut	Fr305
chef	
chef	Fr143 Fr185 Fr273
chief	Fr143 Fr185 Fr196 Fr205
chemin	
chemin	Fr001 Fr034 Fr052 Fr124 Fr134 Fr310
chemise	
chemise	Fr093
cher	
cher	Fr002 Fr089 Fr143 Fr273 Fr297 Fr310
chere	Fr004 Fr052 Fr166 Fr273
chier	Fr045 Fr143 Fr297
chiere	Fr045 Fr118 Fr176 Fr239 Fr286
chercher	
cerchier	Fr125
chere	
chere	Fr004 Fr052 Fr166 Fr273
chie	Fr286
chiere	Fr045 Fr118 Fr176 Fr239 Fr286
cherement	
chierement	Fr186
cheval	
cheval	Fr082
chevauchee	
chevauchie	Fr310
chevaucher	
chevauchoie	Fr310
cheveu	
cheveux	Fr012
chicheface	
cyceface	Fr170
choir	
cheoir	Fr158

chiet	Fr084
choise	
chois	Fr039
choise	Fr062 Fr080
chouse	Fr098 Fr216 Fr272
choisie	
choisie	Fr011 Fr155 Fr176
choisir	
choisi	Fr156 Fr256 Fr262 Fr300
choisie	Fr011 Fr155 Fr176
choisir	Fr292 Fr296
choix	
choiz	Fr080
choys	Fr017 Fr039 Fr080
cois	Fr017
chose	
chose	Fr005 Fr062 Fr073 Fr102 Fr109 Fr180 Fr187 Fr231 Fr236 Fr281 Fr294
choses	Fr241
chouse	Fr098 Fr216 Fr272
choser	
choses	Fr241
chretien	
christien	Fr276
Chretiente	
Crestiente	Fr173
ciel	
ciel	Fr230
cieulx	Fr011 Fr072 Fr104 Fr176 Fr183 Fr210 Fr285 Fr296
cyeulx	Fr033
cinq	
cing	Fr250 Fr254
cinq	Fr254 Fr295
cinquante	
cinquante	Fr156
cite	

cite	Fr017 Fr118 Fr149 Fr226
citer	
cite	Fr017 Fr118 Fr149 Fr226
cyte	Fr014
clair	
cler	Fr287 Fr309
clere	Fr175 Fr205
claire	
clere	Fr175 Fr205
Clais	
clais	Fr008
clamer	
clame	Fr083 Fr154 Fr158 Fr176 Fr246 Fr287 Fr307
clamee	Fr020 Fr163
clament	Fr225
clamer	Fr018 Fr046 Fr185
clameur	
clamour	Fr262
clamours	Fr059
clarte	
clarte	Fr206
clerc	
clerc	Fr149 Fr226
cloche	
cloche	Fr106
clocher	
cloche	Fr106
clou	
clou	Fr022
coeur	
♡	Fr048 Fr066 Fr072 Fr078 Fr112 Fr127 Fr142 Fr147 Fr148 Fr154 Fr202 Fr233 Fr237 Fr241
cuer	Fr010 Fr019 Fr032 Fr039 Fr051 Fr058
	Fr064 Fr075 Fr079 Fr081 Fr083 Fr107 Fr112 Fr124 Fr127 Fr148 Fr151 Fr170 Fr189 Fr194 Fr207 Fr210 Fr237 Fr238 Fr240 Fr265 Fr266 Fr270 Fr274 Fr285 Fr289 Fr293 Fr295 Fr312
cueur	Fr001 Fr006 Fr020 Fr023 Fr026 Fr031 Fr034 Fr035 Fr038 Fr039 Fr040 Fr043 Fr045 Fr046 Fr048 Fr050 Fr052 Fr058 Fr059 Fr061 Fr063 Fr066 Fr069 Fr073 Fr080 Fr086 Fr087 Fr090 Fr096 Fr097 Fr098 Fr104 Fr107 Fr116 Fr119 Fr120 Fr121 Fr125 Fr127 Fr131 Fr132 Fr140 Fr142 Fr148 Fr151 Fr153 Fr154 Fr157 Fr159 Fr160 Fr161 Fr162 Fr163 Fr166 Fr168 Fr171 Fr175 Fr176 Fr177 Fr182 Fr184 Fr185 Fr191 Fr192 Fr195 Fr201 Fr208 Fr210 Fr211 Fr216 Fr219 Fr230 Fr233 Fr237 Fr239 Fr241 Fr247 Fr248 Fr251 Fr256 Fr261 Fr264 Fr265 Fr267 Fr268 Fr276 Fr282 Fr293 Fr294 Fr296 Fr298 Fr300 Fr302 Fr305 Fr306 Fr308 Fr309
cueurs	Fr002 Fr175 Fr230 Fr244 Fr258 Fr291
coi	

coye	Fr124
cointe	
coint	Fr108 Fr136
combattre	
combas	Fr054 Fr222
conbatu	Fr084
combien	
combien	Fr028 Fr036 Fr040 Fr127 Fr130 Fr132 Fr144 Fr153 Fr211 Fr245 Fr247 Fr248 Fr250 Fr265 Fr308
combler	
comble	Fr066 Fr145 Fr196
comencement	
commencement	Fr221
command	
command	Fr051
commander	
commandee	Fr257
commencer	
comencay	Fr264
commencay	Fr264
commensay	Fr264
commettre	
commise	Fr080
commun	
commune	Fr205
compagne	
compaigne	Fr281
compagnie	
compaignie	Fr112
comparer	
compare	Fr230
comparoir	
comparoir	Fr053 Fr186
competir	
competit	Fr217
complaire	
complaire	Fr027 Fr037 Fr153 Fr241
complaise	Fr102
complir	
complie	Fr126
comporter	
comporte	Fr115
comprendre	
comprins	Fr142
compris	Fr011 Fr142
comprise	Fr207
compris	
compris	Fr011 Fr142
comprise	Fr207
compte	
compte	Fr093 Fr135 Fr136 Fr138
compter	
compte	Fr093 Fr135 Fr136 Fr138
compter	Fr023 Fr122 Fr127 Fr288
conte	Fr135 Fr249
conter	Fr127
concevoir	
concevoir	Fr224
concret	
concris	Fr101
condescendre	
condescendre	Fr016
condition	
condicion	Fr238
confermer	
conferme	Fr258
confermer	Fr139 Fr185
confier	
confiant	Fr134
confondre	
confonde	Fr143
confort	

confort	Fr051 Fr061 Fr103 Fr112 Fr127 Fr141 Fr167 Fr177 Fr200 Fr222 Fr274 Fr309
conforter	
confortant	Fr035 Fr267
conforte	Fr032 Fr098
conforter	Fr115 Fr122
confortera	Fr038
conge	
congie	Fr170 Fr227
conjoindre	
conjoincte	Fr116
connaissance	
cognoissance	Fr071 Fr174 Fr211
congnoissance	Fr110 Fr174 Fr308
connaitre	
cogneu	Fr040
cognois	Fr207 Fr301
cognoisses	Fr174
cognoissez	Fr174
cognoissies	Fr174
cognoys	Fr056
cognoystre	Fr299
cognu	Fr234
cognue	Fr273
congneu	Fr076
congneue	Fr273
congnois	Fr193
congnoissant	Fr294
congnoisse	Fr121
congnoissez	Fr174
congnoist	Fr131
congnoistre	Fr055 Fr247
congnue	Fr002 Fr273
connue	Fr292
conquerir	
conquerir	Fr092 Fr282
conqueter	
conqueste	Fr106
conquestee	Fr105
conscience	
conscience	Fr095
consience	Fr095
conseil	
conseil	Fr082 Fr210
conseulx	Fr017
consentir	
consens	Fr254
consent	Fr201
consenter	Fr048
consentir	Fr048
consenty	Fr189
considerer	
considerer	Fr184
consoler	
consolee	Fr030
consul	
consulz	Fr017
conte	
conte	Fr135 Fr249
contempler	
contemplant	Fr159
contendre	
contendra	Fr043
contenir	
contenir	Fr292
content	
contante	Fr062
content	Fr062 Fr089 Fr116 Fr198 Fr248
contente	Fr062 Fr066 Fr265 Fr275 Fr290 Fr291
contenter	
contenta	Fr248
contenter	Fr094 Fr265
continuel	
continuelle	Fr262
continuer	
continue	Fr288 Fr292

continuee	Fr020
contraindre	
constrainct	Fr080
constraindre	Fr237
contraindre	Fr237
contraint	Fr016 Fr080 Fr131
contrainte	
constraincte	Fr161
contrainte	Fr209
contraire	
contraire	Fr229 Fr241 Fr282
contre	
contre	Fr042 Fr068 Fr070 Fr081 Fr137 Fr199 Fr222 Fr235
contredire	
contredire	Fr021 Fr113
contree	
contree	Fr035
contrefaire	
contrefaicte	Fr043
contrefais	Fr029
contreffaiz	Fr029
contretenir	
contretenir	Fr274
convenier	
convient	Fr110 Fr119 Fr127 Fr236 Fr262
convenir	
convendra	Fr038
convenir	Fr080
couvient	Fr110 Fr119 Fr127 Fr144 Fr160 Fr240
convers	
convers	Fr299
convier	
convie	Fr109 Fr222
convient	Fr110 Fr119 Fr127 Fr236 Fr262
convis	Fr133
convye	Fr040 Fr074 Fr077

convlyer	
convoye	Fr164
coquille	
coquille	Fr047
coquilles	Fr008
coquin	
coquin	Fr146
corps	
corps	Fr021 Fr050 Fr083 Fr114 Fr127 Fr156 Fr160 Fr173 Fr175 Fr176 Fr178 Fr262 Fr265 Fr276 Fr293 Fr298 Fr300 Fr307
corsage	
corsaige	Fr126
cote	
coste	Fr002 Fr082 Fr106
cou	
cou	Fr299
couche	
couche	Fr165 Fr299
coucher	
couche	Fr165 Fr299
couchees	Fr281
couchette	
couchette	Fr299
coude	
coute	Fr003
couleur	
couleur	Fr013 Fr262
coup	
cop	Fr126 Fr138 Fr208 Fr264
coup	Fr138 Fr199 Fr264
coupx	Fr289
cour	
court	Fr022 Fr025 Fr028 Fr066 Fr154 Fr273
courage	
courage	Fr254

couraige	Fr254
coureur	
courreur	Fr097
courir	
ceurt	Fr110
courir	Fr168 Fr268
court	Fr022 Fr025 Fr028 Fr066 Fr154 Fr273
queure	Fr012 Fr207
queurt	Fr025 Fr028 Fr066 Fr110 Fr160
couronne	
couronne	Fr059 Fr205
courroucer	
courrousse	Fr102
courroux	
couroux	Fr110
courroux	Fr099 Fr110 Fr113 Fr129 Fr236 Fr245 Fr289
cours	
cours	Fr010 Fr017 Fr099 Fr103 Fr109 Fr136 Fr273 Fr302
court	Fr022 Fr025 Fr028 Fr066 Fr154 Fr273
court	
court	Fr022 Fr025 Fr028 Fr066 Fr154 Fr273
courtoisie	
courtoisie	Fr196
courtoysie	Fr044
couvent	
couvent	Fr126
couvert	
couvert	Fr012
couvertement	
couvertement	Fr081
couvrir	
couvers	Fr209
couverte	Fr060 Fr205
couvrir	Fr148
craindre	
craignant	Fr023 Fr153
crain	Fr114 Fr307
craindray	Fr170
craindre	Fr223
craing	Fr307
crains	Fr114 Fr170 Fr297 Fr307 Fr311
crainte	
craincte	Fr176
crainte	Fr209
craintif	
craintifz	Fr225
createur	
createur	Fr031 Fr151
creature	
creature	Fr031
cremir	
cremir	Fr175 Fr182
crever	
crever	Fr083
creveroient	Fr015
crier	
criant	Fr103
crie	Fr157
crient	Fr008
crier	Fr070 Fr079 Fr084
criez	Fr059
crioit	Fr070
croc	
crocq	Fr084
crocq de ache	
crocq de ache	Fr084
croire	
croiez	Fr228
croiroient	Fr015
crois	Fr260
croit	Fr055

croy	Fr021 Fr031 Fr053 Fr157 Fr165 Fr183
croys	Fr278
croitre	
creu	Fr309
croist	Fr102 Fr309
croistra	Fr169
croistre	Fr036
crotter	
crotee	Fr170
cruaute	
cruaulte	Fr068
cruel	
cruelle	Fr054 Fr202
cueillir	
ceuillir	Fr047
cueillant	Fr001
cueillir	Fr047 Fr252
cuidance	
cuidance	Fr145
cuider	
cuida	Fr192
cuide	Fr025 Fr048
cuident	Fr037
cuider	Fr251
cuides	Fr018
cuidez	Fr235
cuidier	Fr022
cuidoie	Fr208
cuidoit	Fr134
quid	Fr217
cuire	
cuis	Fr263
cuisant	
cuysant	Fr158
cul	
cul	Fr299
Cupido	
cupido	Fr133
cure	
cure	Fr039
curieux	
curieux	Fr104
dam	
dan	Fr123
dame	
dame	Fr013 Fr018 Fr020 Fr021 Fr023 Fr026 Fr033 Fr044 Fr045 Fr050 Fr051 Fr053 Fr054 Fr055 Fr056 Fr058 Fr059 Fr073 Fr082 Fr083 Fr085 Fr086 Fr091 Fr096 Fr107 Fr108 Fr130 Fr134 Fr141 Fr149 Fr154 Fr155 Fr159 Fr161 Fr163 Fr166 Fr172 Fr176 Fr182 Fr185 Fr188 Fr197 Fr200 Fr210 Fr214 Fr226 Fr227 Fr232 Fr242 Fr246 Fr250 Fr262 Fr277 Fr280 Fr283 Fr284 Fr287 Fr292 Fr293 Fr298 Fr306 Fr307
dames	Fr022 Fr078 Fr085 Fr136 Fr281 Fr290 Fr291
damme	Fr013 Fr158 Fr198 Fr233 Fr260 Fr274 Fr303
damnement	
dampnement	Fr056
damoiselle	
damoiselle	Fr054 Fr095 Fr151 Fr301
demoiselle	Fr095
danger	
danger	Fr005 Fr067 Fr087 Fr105 Fr143 Fr251
dangier	Fr005 Fr020 Fr033 Fr034 Fr058 Fr075

	Fr077 Fr086 Fr087 Fr114 Fr131 Fr143 Fr193 Fr197 Fr224 Fr258 Fr280 Fr283 Fr285 Fr304
dangereux	
dangereulx	Fr125
dangereuse	Fr206
dangereux	Fr221 Fr283 Fr289
danse	
danse	Fr035
danser	
dansa	Fr123
danse	Fr035
danseray	Fr035
danssa	Fr123
dart	
dars	Fr007
dart	Fr086 Fr173 Fr210 Fr309
davantage	
daventage	Fr254
debarater	
desbastre	Fr177
debat	
debas	Fr054
debatz	Fr054
debattre	
debatue	Fr273
debatz	Fr054
debonnaire	
debonnaire	Fr241
debouter	
deboute	Fr003 Fr067 Fr092
decevance	
decevance	Fr219
decevoir	
decepvoir	Fr042
deceu	Fr234
deceuz	Fr065

decevoir	Fr073 Fr179
dechasser	
dechasse	Fr148
deschassee	Fr147
declarer	
desclarer	Fr037
deconfort	
desconfort	Fr061 Fr066 Fr094 Fr200 Fr274 Fr288
deconforter	
desconfort	Fr061 Fr066 Fr094 Fr200 Fr274 Fr288
desconforte	Fr032 Fr098 Fr160
desconfortee	Fr030
deconvenue	
desconvenue	Fr288
decours	
decours	Fr109
decouvrir	
descouvrer	Fr062
descouvrir	Fr168
dedain	
desdaing	Fr191
dedit	
desdit	Fr055
deduit	
deduit	Fr004 Fr008 Fr051 Fr244
deduyt	Fr004
deesse	
deesse	Fr039 Fr065
deessee	Fr188
defaillance	
defaillance	Fr134
defaillir	
default	Fr017 Fr239
defaire	
defface	Fr029 Fr236 Fr311
deffaire	Fr279 Fr282
deffais	Fr029 Fr099

deffait	Fr200 Fr295
deffaiz	Fr029
defferoit	Fr048
desfaire	Fr153
desfait	Fr189 Fr200
desferoit	Fr048
defait	
desfait	Fr189 Fr200
default	
default	Fr017 Fr239
defaulx	Fr219
defaut	
deffault	Fr017
defendre	
defendu	Fr129
defense	
defance	Fr174
defense	Fr002 Fr174
deffanse	Fr174
deffence	Fr174
deffense	Fr174
deferer	
deffery	Fr278
deffacer	
deface	Fr236
defface	Fr029 Fr236 Fr311
dehors	
dehors	Fr305
deja	
desia	Fr080
desja	Fr274
deliberer	
deliberay	Fr265
delibere	Fr265
delicieux	
delicieux	Fr210
delie	
deslie	Fr216
delier	

deslie	Fr216
deliter	
deslite	Fr078
delivrer	
delivre	Fr206
deloger	
deslogier	Fr304
deloyal	
desleaulx	Fr135 Fr136
desloyal	Fr033
desloyalles	Fr137
desloyaulx	Fr135
desloyaux	Fr135
deloyaute	
deloyaulte	Fr191
deloyauter	
desleaute	Fr191
demandant	
demandant	Fr110 Fr262
demander	
demandant	Fr110 Fr262
demandasse	Fr264
demande	Fr110 Fr203
demander	Fr038 Fr124 Fr125 Fr167
demanderay	Fr228
demandez	Fr130
demenderay	Fr228
demener	
demenee	Fr117
demesure	
demesure	Fr191
demettre	
desmetz	Fr227
demeurance	
demourance	Fr177 Fr256
demeurant	
demorant	Fr091
demourant	Fr091
demeure	

demourez	Fr019 Fr257
demeuree	
demouree	Fr035 Fr257
demeurer	
demeure	Fr002 Fr009 Fr025 Fr066 Fr091 Fr094 Fr110 Fr116 Fr127 Fr134 Fr141 Fr148 Fr159 Fr160 Fr161 Fr174 Fr207 Fr233 Fr259 Fr275
demorant	Fr091
demoray	Fr174
demourant	Fr091
demouray	Fr174
demouree	Fr035 Fr257
demourer	Fr212
demourez	Fr019 Fr257
demourra	Fr240
demourray	Fr174
demi	
demy	Fr020 Fr161 Fr176 Fr214 Fr275
demye	Fr154
denier	
denier	Fr125
denuer	
desnue	Fr288
depart	
depart	Fr161 Fr236 Fr256
departement	
departement	Fr237
departie	
departie	Fr072 Fr178 Fr261
departir	
depart	Fr161 Fr236 Fr256
departie	Fr072 Fr178 Fr261
departir	Fr004 Fr029 Fr177 Fr178 Fr240 Fr257 Fr292
departiras	Fr078
departirent	Fr245
departy	Fr289
depecher	
despecher	Fr022
despechier	Fr022
dependre	
despendray	Fr227
deplaire	
desplaire	Fr153
desplaise	Fr102
desplaist	Fr009 Fr154
desplait	Fr154
deplaisance	
desplaisance	Fr028 Fr036 Fr095 Fr104 Fr110 Fr144 Fr163 Fr202 Fr219
deplaisant	
desplaisant	Fr260 Fr297
deplaisir	
deplaisir	Fr119
desplaisir	Fr029 Fr079 Fr098 Fr119 Fr167 Fr179 Fr240 Fr255 Fr257 Fr297
deplait	
desplait	Fr154
deployer	
desployant	Fr173
deporter	
deporte	Fr032 Fr140 Fr213
deporter	Fr213 Fr263
deportes	Fr097
depport	Fr258
depporter	Fr115
desporter	Fr213
depourvu	
despourveu	Fr128 Fr254
despourveue	Fr112 Fr141 Fr239 Fr259 Fr266
despourvue	Fr112 Fr128
deprendre	

deprise	Fr092
desprise	Fr092 Fr207
depresser	
depressera	Fr079
depriser	
deprise	Fr092
deprisee	Fr281
desprise	Fr092 Fr207
deraison	
desraison	Fr135
dernier	
dernier	Fr096
derober	
desrobe	Fr160
derrain	
darains	Fr014
derraine	Fr002
derriere	
derriere	Fr052 Fr231
descendre	
descendre	Fr175
descens	Fr254
desert	
desers	Fr101
desespoir	
desespoir	Fr145 Fr157 Fr215 Fr274 Fr304
deshaitier	
deshecte	Fr035
desheriter	
desherite	Fr191
deshonnete	
deshonnestes	Fr223
deshonneur	
deshoneur	Fr170
deshonneur	Fr261
desir	
desir	Fr003 Fr042 Fr074 Fr077 Fr080 Fr087 Fr089 Fr098 Fr110
	Fr144 Fr151 Fr154 Fr160 Fr164 Fr167 Fr185 Fr216 Fr241 Fr246 Fr268 Fr279 Fr285 Fr292 Fr293 Fr296 Fr304 Fr305
desire	Fr023 Fr028 Fr030 Fr049 Fr064 Fr112 Fr308
desiree	Fr019 Fr170 Fr246
desirs	Fr109 Fr197 Fr244
desirer	
desir	Fr003 Fr042 Fr074 Fr077 Fr080 Fr087 Fr089 Fr098 Fr110 Fr144 Fr151 Fr154 Fr160 Fr164 Fr167 Fr185 Fr216 Fr241 Fr246 Fr268 Fr279 Fr285 Fr292 Fr293 Fr296 Fr304 Fr305
desire	Fr023 Fr028 Fr030 Fr049 Fr064 Fr112 Fr308
desiree	Fr019 Fr170 Fr246
desireux	
desireulx	Fr125
desireux	Fr201
desoler	
desole	Fr072
desordonner	
desordonne	Fr139 Fr175 Fr312
desordonnee	Fr117
desormais	
desormais	Fr037 Fr133 Fr236 Fr252 Fr260 Fr312
desperance	
desperance	Fr285
desperer	
despoir	Fr128
despire	
despere	Fr289
despit	Fr271

despite	Fr078
despoir	
despoir	Fr128
desserte	
deserte	Fr060
desserte	Fr060
desservir	
deservie	Fr307
deservir	Fr268
desservie	Fr086
desservuy	Fr271
desservy	Fr076 Fr267
dessommer	
dessommer	Fr138
dessoumer	Fr138
dessous	
desoubz	Fr104
dessoubz	Fr050 Fr104 Fr273 Fr289
dessure	
dessure	Fr025
dessus	
dessus	Fr300
destinee	
destinee	Fr117 Fr259
destiner	
destinee	Fr117 Fr259
deteindre	
destaindre	Fr237
destraindre	Fr237
detenir	
detenir	Fr087
detient	Fr173
determiner	
determinee	Fr035
detester	
detestable	Fr073
detour	
destour	Fr001
destours	Fr025

detourner	
destourne	Fr001
destourner	Fr062
detresse	
destresse	Fr032 Fr044 Fr059 Fr091 Fr094 Fr151 Fr186 Fr189 Fr198 Fr255 Fr302
detresser	
detresse	Fr153
detroit	
destroit	Fr210
deuil	
deuil	Fr006 Fr030 Fr071 Fr127 Fr128 Fr145 Fr172 Fr177 Fr236 Fr255 Fr273 Fr282 Fr289
deul	Fr001 Fr009 Fr015 Fr022 Fr029 Fr030 Fr037 Fr068 Fr079 Fr087 Fr089 Fr099 Fr127 Fr129 Fr131 Fr139 Fr141 Fr145 Fr148 Fr151 Fr164 Fr173 Fr179 Fr183 Fr219 Fr222 Fr245 Fr273 Fr282 Fr283 Fr297
dueil	Fr015 Fr021 Fr029 Fr066 Fr068 Fr087 Fr089 Fr090 Fr096 Fr098 Fr100 Fr101 Fr102 Fr105 Fr122 Fr127 Fr128 Fr139 Fr141 Fr145 Fr148 Fr151 Fr158 Fr197 Fr215 Fr222 Fr233 Fr236 Fr237 Fr255 Fr259 Fr260 Fr263 Fr273 Fr274 Fr294 Fr297
deux	
deulx	Fr013 Fr085 Fr088

deulz	Fr013
deux	Fr002 Fr013 Fr038 Fr072 Fr081 Fr085 Fr088 Fr093 Fr171 Fr175 Fr211 Fr250
devenir	
devenir	Fr026 Fr080 Fr087
devenras	Fr223
devenront	Fr223
devenu	Fr143 Fr234
devenue	Fr239 Fr288
devenuee	Fr020
devient	Fr119
devint	Fr096
devetir	
devestus	Fr105
devier	
desvie	Fr077 Fr109 Fr171 Fr222 Fr261 Fr297 Fr307
desvoye	Fr269
desvye	Fr297
deviner	
deviner	Fr206
devis	
devis	Fr133
devise	
device	Fr080
devise	Fr080 Fr088 Fr092 Fr093 Fr253 Fr303
devoie	
desvie	Fr077 Fr109 Fr171 Fr222 Fr261 Fr297 Fr307
desvoie	Fr075 Fr269
devorer	
deveure	Fr025
devoure	Fr222
devoyer	
desvoie	Fr075 Fr269
desvoye	Fr269

dextre	
destre	Fr069 Fr112
diable	
deable	Fr019
dicter	
dictes	Fr031 Fr041 Fr042 Fr061 Fr082 Fr148 Fr174 Fr186 Fr246 Fr261 Fr284
dictez	Fr031 Fr061 Fr148 Fr174
dieu	
dieu	Fr010 Fr022 Fr025 Fr029 Fr034 Fr036 Fr044 Fr045 Fr046 Fr048 Fr055 Fr063 Fr070 Fr076 Fr082 Fr084 Fr086 Fr096 Fr097 Fr103 Fr108 Fr110 Fr111 Fr113 Fr123 Fr126 Fr143 Fr146 Fr157 Fr160 Fr170 Fr173 Fr176 Fr189 Fr192 Fr193 Fr200 Fr224 Fr236 Fr247 Fr254 Fr259 Fr262 Fr269 Fr270 Fr272 Fr273 Fr299 Fr311 Fr312
dieulx	Fr176 Fr210
dieux	Fr070 Fr072 Fr104 Fr210 Fr231 Fr296
dleu	Fr229
diffame	
diffame	Fr033 Fr050 Fr070 Fr176
diffamer	
difamee	Fr070
diffame	Fr033 Fr050 Fr070 Fr176
diffamee	Fr020
diffament	Fr225
difference	
differance	Fr028 Fr205

difference	Fr028
differer	
differer	Fr176
digne	
digne	Fr065 Fr133 Fr205
dignes	Fr188
Dijon	
dijon	Fr004
dire	
di	Fr095 Fr265
dictes	Fr031 Fr041 Fr042 Fr061 Fr082 Fr148 Fr174 Fr186 Fr246 Fr261 Fr284
dictez	Fr031 Fr061 Fr148 Fr174
die	Fr043 Fr067 Fr122 Fr155 Fr216
dient	Fr251
dir	Fr118
dira	Fr084 Fr170 Fr298
diray	Fr003 Fr130
dire	Fr016 Fr021 Fr023 Fr026 Fr041 Fr064 Fr075 Fr102 Fr107 Fr113 Fr119 Fr130 Fr150 Fr168 Fr170 Fr177 Fr178 Fr179 Fr184 Fr195 Fr224 Fr234 Fr240 Fr247 Fr249 Fr251 Fr272 Fr284 Fr299 Fr301
dirent	Fr137
dis	Fr003 Fr050 Fr081 Fr107 Fr141 Fr157 Fr207 Fr223 Fr254 Fr265
disant	Fr057 Fr107 Fr131 Fr141 Fr162 Fr188 Fr200 Fr274 Fr290
disent	Fr033
disiez	Fr282
disions	Fr281
disoit	Fr083
dist	Fr300
dites	Fr174
dittez	Fr042
dix	Fr137 Fr265
diz	Fr052 Fr105 Fr107 Fr122 Fr141 Fr254
dy	Fr004 Fr107 Fr275
dye	Fr040 Fr134 Fr155
dys	Fr101
discord	
decort	Fr273
discort	Fr258
dispenser	
dispensee	Fr020
dit	
dit	Fr021 Fr055 Fr058 Fr061 Fr079 Fr082 Fr156 Fr170 Fr192 Fr262 Fr298
diter	
dicte	Fr103
dittes	Fr148
dittier	
dittier	Fr103
divers	
divers	Fr209 Fr299
diverse	Fr199
diversite	
diversite	Fr068
divin	
divin	Fr205
divine	Fr065
dix	
dix	Fr137 Fr265
dolent	
dolant	Fr176 Fr215
dolens	Fr197 Fr245
dolent	Fr035 Fr139 Fr154 Fr179 Fr219

dolente	Fr066 Fr094 Fr117 Fr183 Fr259 Fr275 Fr297
doulante	Fr297
doulente	Fr297
tresdolent	Fr297
dommage	
dommage	Fr254
dommaige	Fr254
dondaine	
dondaine	Fr124
donenavant	
dorenavant	Fr249
dorenavent	Fr234
donner	
doint	Fr034 Fr082
donnant	Fr168 Fr246
donne	Fr003 Fr028 Fr031 Fr032 Fr033 Fr112 Fr139 Fr175 Fr195 Fr197 Fr211 Fr268 Fr270 Fr299 Fr306 Fr308 Fr312
donnee	Fr117 Fr295
donnent	Fr306
donner	Fr011 Fr014 Fr039 Fr053 Fr062 Fr081 Fr178 Fr196 Fr229 Fr260 Fr279
donneroye	Fr124
donnes	Fr044 Fr067 Fr150 Fr217
donnez	Fr028 Fr045 Fr052 Fr151
donroye	Fr070
dourrois	Fr070
dorlot	
dorelot	Fr165
dormir	
dormir	Fr023 Fr129 Fr243
dormoit	Fr047
dormy	Fr299

dors	Fr110 Fr281
dort	Fr103
dos	
dos	Fr128
doubler	
double	Fr170
doublet	
doublet	Fr058
doubleur	
doubleur	Fr283
doubter	
doubtant	Fr154 Fr226 Fr248
doucement	
doulcement	Fr024 Fr197 Fr297
douceur	
douceur	Fr114
doulceur	Fr031 Fr051 Fr057 Fr089 Fr107 Fr119 Fr132 Fr180 Fr185 Fr196 Fr210 Fr256 Fr283 Fr309
doulcinet	
doulcinecte	Fr019
douleur	
doleur	Fr030 Fr062 Fr066 Fr110 Fr127 Fr202 Fr245
doleurs	Fr012 Fr138 Fr295
dolours	Fr059 Fr103 Fr197
douleur	Fr015 Fr030 Fr046 Fr062 Fr066 Fr068 Fr070 Fr077 Fr087 Fr097 Fr098 Fr107 Fr109 Fr110 Fr116 Fr117 Fr119 Fr122 Fr127 Fr147 Fr160 Fr168 Fr183 Fr196 Fr210 Fr213 Fr215 Fr219 Fr224 Fr239 Fr256 Fr259 Fr261 Fr262 Fr267 Fr276 Fr288

douleurs	Fr138 Fr302
doulleur	Fr100
doulours	Fr025 Fr103 Fr193
douloir	
doloir	Fr020 Fr030 Fr130 Fr186
douloir	Fr030 Fr130 Fr263
douloureux	
dolloreuse	Fr206
doloreulx	Fr085
doloreuse	Fr079
doloreux	Fr237
doloureux	Fr001 Fr151 Fr195
douloureux	Fr001 Fr085 Fr151 Fr195 Fr237 Fr282
doulureux	Fr289
doutance	
doubtance	Fr036
doute	
doubtes	Fr040 Fr216
douter	
doubte	Fr003 Fr084 Fr120
doubter	Fr084 Fr122
doubtes	Fr040 Fr216
douteux	
doubteux	Fr068
doux	
doulce	Fr016 Fr046 Fr082 Fr095 Fr156 Fr163 Fr167 Fr188 Fr284 Fr301
douls	Fr081
doulx	Fr009 Fr019 Fr047 Fr065 Fr100 Fr101 Fr126 Fr194 Fr241 Fr248 Fr289 Fr300 Fr308
doux	Fr038 Fr070 Fr157 Fr243 Fr244 Fr284
tresdoulce	Fr144
douze	
douze	Fr205
dox	
doz	Fr128
drachme	
dragme	Fr045
drapeau	
drapeaulx	Fr035
dresser	
dressa	Fr047
droit	
droit	Fr052 Fr092 Fr132 Fr135 Fr237 Fr260 Fr310
droite	Fr209
droitte	Fr265
duc	
duc	Fr063 Fr265
duel	
duel	Fr096 Fr273 Fr297
dur	
dur	Fr047 Fr213
dure	Fr010 Fr049 Fr060 Fr069 Fr079 Fr121 Fr137 Fr149 Fr158 Fr178 Fr190 Fr196 Fr213 Fr226 Fr293
duriau	Fr149
durs	Fr244
dureau	
dureau	Fr226
durement	
durement	Fr067 Fr174
durer	
durent	Fr079
duroit	Fr015
durete	
durte	Fr067 Fr116
durie	
durie	Fr149 Fr226
Dyane	

dyane	Fr188
eau	
eaue	Fr089
eave	Fr089
ebahir	
esbahie	Fr297
esbahis	Fr119
esbahye	Fr074 Fr112 Fr297
esbais	Fr097 Fr119
esbay	Fr176 Fr297 Fr300
esbaye	Fr094 Fr297
ebat	
esbat	Fr106
ebattement	
esbatement	Fr024 Fr034 Fr164 Fr194 Fr237
ebattre	
enbas	Fr054
esbat	Fr106
esbatant	Fr052 Fr106 Fr131
esbatent	Fr244
esbatoit	Fr126
esbatre	Fr124 Fr286
ecerveler	
escervelle	Fr146
excervele	Fr146
ecervelle	
escervelle	Fr146
echange	
echange	Fr048
eschange	Fr048
echanger	
echange	Fr048
echapper	
eschaper	Fr091
eschapper	Fr091
echauffer	
eschaufferoie	Fr250
echelette	
eschelette	Fr126

ecolier	
escollier	Fr299
ecorcheux	
escorcheus	Fr125
ecoute	
escoucte	Fr003
ecouter	
escoucte	Fr003
ecrier	
escrie	Fr169
ecrire	
escrip	Fr103
escrips	Fr101
escript	Fr103
escripz	Fr126
escrire	Fr023 Fr064
escris	Fr101
ecrit	
escrip	Fr103
ecu	
escu	Fr013 Fr059
escus	Fr022
escuz	Fr022
efface	
efface	Fr029 Fr058 Fr077 Fr133 Fr236
effacer	
efface	Fr029 Fr058 Fr077 Fr133 Fr236
effet	
effect	Fr093 Fr095
efforce	
efforce	Fr230 Fr292
efforcer	
efforce	Fr230 Fr292
effort	
effors	Fr114
effort	Fr127 Fr200 Fr222
effroi	
effray	Fr141

effroy	Fr141
egard	
esgart	Fr256
egarder	
agarder	Fr263
esgart	Fr256
egarer	
esgare	Fr061
esgaree	Fr030
ejouir	
ejoie	Fr148
esiouir	Fr036
esiour	Fr117
esioye	Fr148
esjoie	Fr148
esjouir	Fr117 Fr131 Fr257
ejouyer	
esjoye	Fr124 Fr148
elire	
esleu	Fr173
esleue	Fr292
eslicte	Fr080 Fr139
eslictes	Fr120
eslire	Fr113 Fr251
eslite	Fr078 Fr080 Fr139
elite	
eslite	Fr078 Fr080 Fr139
eloigne	
eslongne	Fr078
eloigner	
esloigner	Fr021 Fr177
eslongne	Fr078
eslongner	Fr215
eslongneras	Fr078
eslongnier	Fr020 Fr034
elongance	
eslongnance	Fr133
elu	
esleu	Fr173

esleue	Fr292
embattre	
enbatu	Fr084
embellir	
embelly	Fr157
embely	Fr157
emblee	
emblee	Fr209
embler	
ambler	Fr217
enblez	Fr305
embraser	
ambrase	Fr089
embrase	Fr089
embrasse	
embrasse	Fr058 Fr272 Fr309
embrasser	
ambrace	Fr058 Fr309
ambrase	Fr089
embrasse	Fr058 Fr272 Fr309
emerillon	
esmerillon	Fr242
emerveille	
esmerveille	Fr107
emerveiller	
esmerveillant	Fr205
esmerveille	Fr107
emoi	
esmoy	Fr183 Fr215
emoudre	
esmoulu	Fr309
emouvoir	
esmeu	Fr174 Fr234
empecher	
empeschier	Fr022
empire	
empire	Fr023 Fr102 Fr179 Fr251
enpure	Fr196
empirer	

empire	Fr023 Fr102 Fr179 Fr251
empiroie	Fr235
employer	
emploie	Fr254 Fr268
emploiroie	Fr250
employe	Fr254
empreindre	
empraint	Fr131
emprendre	
emprinse	Fr092
emprise	Fr092 Fr199
emtepris	Fr182
emteprise	Fr253
enprendroie	Fr054
enprise	Fr199
entrepris	Fr282
emprier	
emprie	Fr169 Fr261
emprise	
emprinse	Fr092
emprise	Fr092 Fr199
emtepris	Fr182
emteprise	Fr253
entrepris	Fr282
enchaine	
enchesne	Fr146
enclin	
encline	Fr065 Fr210
encliner	
encline	Fr065 Fr210
encontre	
encontre	Fr114
encontrer	
encontre	Fr114
encore	
encor	Fr171
encore	Fr171
encores	Fr118
encourir	

encoureux	Fr085
enkoureulx	Fr085
endormie	
endormie	Fr154 Fr281
endormye	Fr154
endormir	
endormie	Fr154 Fr281
endormis	Fr136 Fr264
endormiz	Fr264
endormy	Fr035
endormye	Fr154
endormyz	Fr264
endroit	
androis	Fr188
endurer	
endura	Fr150
endure	Fr079
endurer	Fr023 Fr062 Fr185
endurez	Fr024
enfaiblier	
enfeblie	Fr158
enfance	
enfance	Fr006
enfant	
enfant	Fr205 Fr243
enfermer	
enferme	Fr051
enfermee	Fr105
enflamber	
enflambant	Fr191
enflammer	
enflame	Fr083 Fr089
enflamme	Fr176
enfuir	
enfuiray	Fr052
engrosser	
engrossemini	Fr024
ingrossamini	Fr024
enhort	

ennort	Fr258
enlummer	
enlumine	Fr065 Fr188
ennemi	
ennemy	Fr029 Fr058 Fr202
ennemye	Fr067 Fr154 Fr297
ennoblir	
ennobli	Fr157
ennobly	Fr157
ennui	
annoy	Fr087 Fr142 Fr233
annuy	Fr110
anoy	Fr087
anuys	Fr091
ennoy	Fr087 Fr142
ennuis	Fr074 Fr133
ennuy	Fr021 Fr035 Fr058 Fr059 Fr102 Fr122 Fr256 Fr267 Fr277
ennuys	Fr091
enuy	Fr076 Fr087 Fr123 Fr295
ennuyer	
ennoye	Fr154 Fr164
ennuye	Fr074 Fr109 Fr134 Fr297
ennuyeux	
ennuyeulx	Fr203
enquerir	
enquerant	Fr132
enquerir	Fr282
enquers	Fr202
enquete	
enqueste	Fr162
enqueter	
enqueste	Fr162
enrager	
enrage	Fr146
enragie	Fr146
enragier	Fr020

enragie	
enragie	Fr146
ensemble	
emsemble	Fr184
ensemble	Fr041 Fr055 Fr184 Fr231 Fr244 Fr258
ensembler	
emsemble	Fr184
ensemble	Fr041 Fr055 Fr184 Fr231 Fr244 Fr258
entame	
entame	Fr107
entamer	
entame	Fr107
entamer	Fr046 Fr185 Fr192 Fr230
entendre	
entende	Fr088
entendez	Fr299
entens	Fr050
entente	
entente	Fr265 Fr290
entention	
entencion	Fr238
enteur	
enteur	Fr001
entier	
entier	Fr294
entiere	Fr069 Fr165
entierement	
entierement	Fr201 Fr234
entrainer	
entraineront	Fr002
entremets	
entremets	Fr121
entremettre	
entremets	Fr121
entremis	Fr136
entreprendre	
emtepris	Fr182

emteprise	Fr253
entreprendre	Fr016
entreprengne	Fr277
entrepris	Fr282
entreprengne	
emtepreigne	Fr277
entrepris	
emtepris	Fr182
emteprise	Fr253
entrepris	Fr282
entreprise	
entepris	Fr282
enteprise	Fr080 Fr185
entreprise	Fr080 Fr147 Fr199 Fr207
entrer	
entra	Fr132
entray	Fr192 Fr262 Fr281
entre	Fr057 Fr156 Fr165 Fr182 Fr245 Fr250 Fr258
entretenant	
entretenant	Fr290
entretenir	
entretenant	Fr290
entretenir	Fr211 Fr212 Fr292
entretenon	Fr031
entretenoye	Fr297
entretenue	Fr049
entretient	Fr058
entretenue	
entretenue	Fr049
entretien	
entretien	Fr040
envers	
anver	Fr157
envers	Fr016 Fr044 Fr181 Fr194 Fr210
envie	
emvie	Fr155 Fr286
envie	Fr155 Fr216 Fr222 Fr258 Fr307
envye	Fr040 Fr061 Fr074 Fr109 Fr307
envieux	
emvieux	Fr225
envieulx	Fr015 Fr104 Fr176
envieux	Fr015 Fr104 Fr204
envoie	
envoie	Fr099 Fr111 Fr226 Fr269 Fr309
envoyer	
envoie	Fr099 Fr111 Fr226 Fr269 Fr309
envoiez	Fr283
envoye	Fr100 Fr167 Fr269 Fr274 Fr297
epee	
espee	Fr082
eperdre	
esperdue	Fr049 Fr074 Fr239
eperdu	
esperdue	Fr049 Fr074 Fr239
epidemie	
impidymie	Fr070
epouse	
espouse	Fr065
epouser	
espouse	Fr065
espousee	Fr170
eprendre	
espris	Fr282
esprit	Fr107
epreuve	
esprouve	Fr179
eprouver	
esprouvay	Fr281
esprouve	Fr179
erecter	
arecte	Fr095
errer	

erez	Fr292
erreur	
erreur	Fr146 Fr196 Fr219
esbanoyer	
esbania	Fr057
esbanoyant	Fr223
esbaoya	Fr057
esbattre	
esbas	Fr054 Fr220 Fr233
eschever	
escheve	Fr254
eschever	Fr093
escondire	
escondit	Fr055
escondit	
escondit	Fr055
escourre	
escoux	Fr289
escus	Fr022
escuz	Fr022
escousse	
escousse	Fr252
escueil	
escueil	Fr001
escueillir	
escueilli	Fr001
esmu	
esmeu	Fr174 Fr234
espace	
espace	Fr077 Fr116 Fr204 Fr311
espasse	Fr272
espacer	
espace	Fr077 Fr116 Fr204 Fr311
espasse	Fr272
especial	
especial	Fr226
esperance	
esperance	Fr028 Fr036 Fr068 Fr071 Fr105 Fr110 Fr120 Fr134 Fr139 Fr158 Fr167 Fr177 Fr190 Fr194 Fr219 Fr248
esperer	
esperant	Fr004 Fr060 Fr175 Fr296
espoire	Fr032
esplain	
esplains	Fr012
espoir	
espoir	Fr004 Fr030 Fr036 Fr049 Fr066 Fr089 Fr107 Fr111 Fr128 Fr145 Fr157 Fr164 Fr167 Fr168 Fr176 Fr187 Fr193 Fr274 Fr304
esprit	
esperit	Fr107 Fr110
espris	Fr282
esprit	Fr107
esquiver	
eschieves	Fr254
essai	
essay	Fr174 Fr264
essayer	
esseray	Fr192
estape	
estapz	Fr126
estour	
estour	Fr001
estrain	
estrain	Fr252
etat	
estat	Fr091 Fr142
estats	Fr136
eteindre	
estaindre	Fr089 Fr237
estaindroie	Fr250

estaint	Fr131
estraindre	Fr077 Fr237
etendard	
estandart	Fr173
etendre	
estendre	Fr016
estendu	Fr309
extenta	Fr248
etincelle	
estincelle	Fr242
etoile	
estoilles	Fr205
etrange	
estrange	Fr048 Fr116
etranger	
estrange	Fr048 Fr116
estranger	Fr280
etrille	
estrille	Fr047
etriller	
estrille	Fr047
etroit	
estroit	Fr299
etudier	
estudier	Fr226
eveiller	
esveille	Fr107
evident	
evident	Fr062
evidente	Fr062
eviter	
evicter	Fr210
exaucer	
exaucee	Fr287
exaucer	Fr169
exsaucer	Fr169
excepter	
excepter	Fr083 Fr156
exepter	Fr156

excuser	
excuse	Fr024
excusees	Fr042
excuser	Fr080
excuses	Fr181
exemple	
exemple	Fr221
exempler	
exemple	Fr221
exercer	
excercer	Fr080
exhausser	
essaucee	Fr287
essaulcee	Fr287
exaucee	Fr287
exaucer	Fr169
exaulcee	Fr287
exaulcees	Fr042
exsaucer	Fr169
exiler	
excil	Fr145
exil	Fr072 Fr136 Fr145
expedient	
expediant	Fr169
expedier	
expediant	Fr169
exploit	
esploys	Fr017
exploitz	Fr017
expres	
expres	Fr088
express	Fr088
exprez	Fr088
extraire	
extraire	Fr094
face	
face	Fr016 Fr029 Fr045 Fr058 Fr077 Fr133 Fr170 Fr180 Fr181 Fr204 Fr236 Fr263

	Fr284 Fr286 Fr300 Fr309
facon	
fachon	Fr123
facon	Fr123
facons	Fr130
fasson	Fr209
faconde	
faconde	Fr143
fagot	
fagot	Fr170
faible	
feible	Fr200
foible	Fr200
faiblesse	
feblesse	Fr059
faillir	
faille	Fr247 Fr274
faillie	Fr158
faillir	Fr013 Fr248 Fr296
failly	Fr300
fauldra	Fr032 Fr109 Fr177 Fr260
fauldray	Fr278 Fr303
fauldroie	Fr250
faulse	Fr202
faut	Fr008 Fr179
faisser	
feissies	Fr042
faissir	
feissies	Fr042
fait	
faiz	Fr029 Fr153 Fr254
fame	
fame	Fr154 Fr173 Fr284 Fr307
fament	Fr225
fantastique	
fantasticque	Fr146
fantastique	Fr146

faucille	
faucille	Fr047
faussaire	
faulsaire	Fr148
faussaire	Fr148
faussement	
faulsement	Fr312
fausser	
faulcer	Fr148
faulser	Fr148
faussete	
faulcete	Fr191
faut	
fault	Fr001 Fr004 Fr008 Fr020 Fr022 Fr023 Fr025 Fr036 Fr048 Fr066 Fr079 Fr087 Fr091 Fr102 Fr103 Fr112 Fr115 Fr116 Fr122 Fr127 Fr133 Fr164 Fr168 Fr171 Fr178 Fr200 Fr202 Fr208 Fr209 Fr212 Fr215 Fr233 Fr239 Fr241 Fr252 Fr276 Fr277 Fr282 Fr285 Fr297 Fr305
faut	Fr008 Fr179
faux	
faulce	Fr191
faulse	Fr202
faulx	Fr058 Fr112 Fr131 Fr176 Fr191 Fr193 Fr219 Fr258 Fr262 Fr304
faux	Fr191
Faux Danger	
fauls dangier	Fr075
faulx dangier	Fr058 Fr131 Fr193 Fr304
faveur	
faveur	Fr097 Fr168 Fr303

feaute	
feaulte	Fr173
feindre	
faincte	Fr116 Fr191
faindre	Fr116 Fr237
fains	Fr122
feint	
faincte	Fr116 Fr191
fainte	Fr209
feintise	
fainctise	Fr060
felicite	
felicite	Fr262
felon	
felon	Fr084
femme	
fame	Fr154 Fr173 Fr284 Fr307
feme	Fr083 Fr299
femme	Fr030 Fr033 Fr041 Fr103 Fr130 Fr154 Fr166 Fr176 Fr182 Fr205 Fr214 Fr223 Fr257 Fr284 Fr287 Fr298 Fr307
femmes	Fr070 Fr156
femmelette	
femmeletes	Fr220
fendre	
fendre	Fr175 Fr229
fenetre	
fenestre	Fr069 Fr217 Fr226 Fr299
fer	
fer	Fr084
fers	Fr223
ferir	
feru	Fr309
fiere	Fr069 Fr231
fiers	Fr007
ferme	
ferme	Fr156 Fr258
fermer	
ferme	Fr156 Fr258
fermee	Fr295
fermer	Fr223
ferrer	
ferray	Fr264
fervent	
fervent	Fr290
fesse	
fesses	Fr223
feste	
feste	Fr132 Fr162
festoyer	
festeroye	Fr022
festieroye	Fr022
festiroie	Fr022
festoit	Fr008
fete	
feste	Fr132 Fr162
feu	
feu	Fr022 Fr058 Fr176 Fr185 Fr230
fiance	
fiance	Fr113 Fr162 Fr219 Fr248
fiancer	
fiance	Fr113 Fr162 Fr219 Fr248
fiction	
ficcion	Fr238
fier	
fie	Fr040
fier	Fr191
fiers	Fr007
fierte	
fierte	Fr068
fievre	
fievre	Fr020
fille	

fille	Fr047 Fr170 Fr205
filles	Fr008 Fr024
fillez	Fr024
fin	
fin	Fr003 Fr019 Fr087 Fr091 Fr135 Fr158 Fr165 Fr191 Fr195 Fr221 Fr222 Fr260 Fr273 Fr306
fine	
fine	Fr188 Fr210
fines	Fr008 Fr126
finer	
finant	Fr236
fine	Fr188 Fr210
finee	Fr105 Fr170
finer	Fr061 Fr062
fines	Fr008 Fr126
finir	
finir	Fr160
flageoi	
flajol	Fr124
flageolet	
flajolet	Fr124
flambant	Fr242
flamboyer	
flamboyant	Fr191
flamme	
flamme	Fr172
flammer	
flammeant	Fr191
flesche	
flesche	Fr069
fleur	
fleur	Fr052 Fr120
flour	Fr051
fleurir	
flourir	Fr198
flourissant	Fr188
fois	

foi	Fr082 Fr183
fois	Fr003 Fr017 Fr022 Fr030 Fr034 Fr069 Fr085 Fr119 Fr155 Fr214 Fr236 Fr250 Fr254 Fr264 Fr269 Fr284
foix	Fr280
foiz	Fr090 Fr113 Fr119 Fr209 Fr264 Fr272 Fr288 Fr290
foy	Fr010 Fr023 Fr026 Fr029 Fr038 Fr047 Fr060 Fr066 Fr090 Fr117 Fr124 Fr127 Fr136 Fr141 Fr142 Fr183 Fr214 Fr215 Fr252 Fr259 Fr277 Fr299
foys	Fr017 Fr030 Fr158 Fr194 Fr254 Fr264
foyz	Fr158 Fr264
mainteffoiz	Fr146
maintesfois	Fr146
foison	
foison	Fr204
fol	
fol	Fr263
foleur	
falour	Fr170
foleur	Fr097
folie	
follie	Fr121 Fr197
follye	Fr121
folle	
folle	Fr010
follement	
follement	Fr066
fond	
fons	Fr236 Fr299
fondre	
fondre	Fr062

for	
fors	Fr023 Fr035 Fr066 Fr067 Fr071 Fr074 Fr077 Fr083 Fr087 Fr090 Fr095 Fr111 Fr132 Fr155 Fr166 Fr203 Fr249 Fr263 Fr267 Fr286
forbannir	
forbanny	Fr200
forbany	Fr200
forcene	
forcenee	Fr295
forcener	
forcene	Fr146
forcenee	Fr295
forcer	
force	Fr016 Fr094 Fr120 Fr146 Fr171 Fr264 Fr289 Fr297
forer	
forme	Fr156
forfaire	
forfaicte	Fr043
forfait	Fr189 Fr200
forfait	
forfait	Fr189 Fr200
forger	
forge	Fr123
forgie	Fr123
forjurer	
fourjure	Fr190
former	
formee	Fr133
forment	Fr243
fort	
fors	Fr023 Fr035 Fr066 Fr067 Fr071 Fr074 Fr077 Fr083 Fr087 Fr090 Fr095 Fr111 Fr132 Fr155 Fr166
	Fr203 Fr249 Fr263 Fr267 Fr286
fort	Fr013 Fr023 Fr032 Fr037 Fr048 Fr054 Fr061 Fr089 Fr095 Fr103 Fr118 Fr122 Fr127 Fr131 Fr132 Fr136 Fr170 Fr177 Fr200 Fr210 Fr214 Fr222 Fr224 Fr234 Fr236 Fr272 Fr273 Fr276 Fr288 Fr297 Fr309
forte	Fr062 Fr098 Fr115 Fr171 Fr262
fortes	Fr108
forteresse	
fortresse	Fr044
fortune	
fortune	Fr025 Fr028 Fr036 Fr067 Fr068 Fr081 Fr112 Fr114 Fr117 Fr128 Fr133 Fr135 Fr139 Fr145 Fr158 Fr160 Fr190 Fr193 Fr196 Fr199 Fr222 Fr224 Fr261 Fr269 Fr297
fortunee	Fr117 Fr259 Fr295
fourtune	Fr128
fortuner	
fourtune	Fr128
forvoyer	
forvoye	Fr120
fou	
folz	Fr225
fougere	
fougere	Fr257
fouir	
fouir	Fr210
foule	
foule	Fr072
fouler	

foule	Fr072
fouler	Fr013
fourni	
fourny	Fr020
fournir	
fourny	Fr020
francais	
franchois	Fr181
francoys	Fr181
France	
franc	Fr192
france	Fr095 Fr134 Fr139 Fr202
franchement	
franchement	Fr248
franchete	
franchete	Fr032
franchise	
franchise	Fr080 Fr120 Fr253 Fr254
frapper	
frapper	Fr047
frein	
frain	Fr252
fremir	
fremye	Fr154
frenetique	
frenaticque	Fr146
frenatique	Fr146
frere	
frere	Fr310
fringant	
fringuante	Fr156
friquet	
fricquecte	Fr310
froid	
froide	Fr003
froit	Fr250
froing	
froing	Fr252

froisser	
froissies	Fr170
front	
front	Fr146
frotte	
frocte	Fr186
frotter	
frocte	Fr186
frocter	Fr047
frotez	Fr047
fuir	
fuiez	Fr305
fuir	Fr210
fuit	Fr110

Lemma	
Variant	Song Number
gage	
gaiges	Fr123 Fr302
gagner	
guagnier	Fr134
gai	
gay	Fr281
gaillarde	
gaillarde	Fr283
galant	
galans	Fr008 Fr124
galant	Fr008 Fr035 Fr251 Fr299
galer	
galler	Fr004
gallerne	
galerne	Fr003
gamme	
game	Fr116
gant	
gant	Fr248
garde	
garde	Fr252 Fr261
garder	
gard	Fr086 Fr170 Fr173
gardant	Fr081
garde	Fr252 Fr261
gardé	Fr242
garder	Fr155 Fr253 Fr254 Fr263
gardera	Fr284
gardez	Fr020 Fr069 Fr161
gart	Fr229 Fr256
garison	
garison	Fr070 Fr137
garnir	
garnie	Fr212
garnison	
garnison	Fr204
gemir	
gemir	Fr012 Fr237 Fr256
gemis	Fr136
genou	
genoulx	Fr003
gens	
gens	Fr015 Fr070 Fr101 Fr136 Fr186 Fr225 Fr244
gent	
gent	Fr001 Fr035 Fr201 Fr262 Fr296
gente	Fr044 Fr052 Fr069 Fr095 Fr126 Fr156 Fr163 Fr236 Fr242 Fr265 Fr269 Fr287
gentement	
gentement	Fr289
gentil	
gentil	Fr035 Fr052 Fr126 Fr132 Fr284 Fr289
gentille	Fr202
gentillesse	
gentillesse	Fr052 Fr097
gerbe	
gerbe	Fr252
gesir	
gist	Fr173 Fr196
Gilles	
gilles	Fr008
glace	
glace	Fr236
godin	
godin	Fr165
godine	Fr156

godine	
godine	Fr156
godinet	
godinecte	Fr243
godinette	
gadinectes	Fr223
godinecte	Fr243
gorgette	
gorgecte	Fr126
gorgias	
gorgias	Fr165
gorgiase	Fr156
gouge	
gouges	Fr008
goute	
goute	Fr122
goutte	
goucte	Fr003 Fr254
gouverne	
gourverne	Fr128
gouverne	Fr128 Fr312
gouvernes	Fr150
gouverner	
gourverne	Fr128
gouverne	Fr128 Fr312
gouvernes	Fr150
grace	
grace	Fr004 Fr015 Fr016 Fr020 Fr045 Fr050 Fr062 Fr077 Fr086 Fr125 Fr133 Fr176 Fr180 Fr181 Fr198 Fr200 Fr204 Fr208 Fr224 Fr228 Fr236 Fr237 Fr250 Fr259 Fr264 Fr272 Fr274 Fr301 Fr307 Fr309 Fr311
gracieusement	
gracieusement	Fr280
gracieux	
gracieuce	Fr107
gracieulx	Fr210 Fr244 Fr249 Fr283
gracieuse	Fr052 Fr107 Fr156 Fr165 Fr308
gracieux	Fr100 Fr201 Fr289
gratieuse	Fr044 Fr170
gratieux	Fr232
grain	
grain	Fr252
grandement	
granment	Fr020
grange	
grance	Fr065
gre	
gre	Fr011 Fr049 Fr115 Fr182 Fr237 Fr294 Fr300 Fr303
grevain	
grevaine	Fr087
grevance	
grevance	Fr293
grever	
grever	Fr044
griefue	Fr079
griefve	Fr035
greveux	
greveuse	Fr071
grief	
gref	Fr102
grief	Fr023 Fr026 Fr032 Fr116 Fr159 Fr179 Fr262 Fr276
griefs	Fr091 Fr127 Fr232
griefue	Fr079
griefve	Fr035
griefz	Fr001 Fr091 Fr244
grievement	
griefvement	Fr077
grimace	
grimace	Fr170

gris	
grise	Fr088 Fr093
grommeler	
grumeller	Fr083
guerdon	
guerdon	Fr270
guerdonner	
guerdonne	Fr128 Fr139
guerir	
garie	Fr035
garir	Fr070 Fr198
gary	Fr070
guariroie	Fr100
guerir	Fr227 Fr293
guermenter	
guermentez	Fr072
guerre	
guerre	Fr099 Fr191
guerroyer	
guerroye	Fr167 Fr297
guetre	
guaistre	Fr226
guiestre	Fr299
guette	
guecte	Fr243
guetter	
guecte	Fr243
guise	
guise	Fr092
habile	
habille	Fr170
haie	
haye	Fr112
haïr	
hair	Fr100
hais	Fr035
hay	Fr102
haiter	
haicte	Fr076
hecte	Fr243
hanter	
hante	Fr136
harouge	
harou	Fr059
harouges	Fr008
hastivement	
hastivement	Fr178
hativement	
hastivement	Fr178
haubergeon	
haubregon	Fr084
haut	
hault	Fr044 Fr054 Fr057 Fr130 Fr135 Fr139 Fr246 Fr285 Fr305
haulte	Fr057 Fr116 Fr162 Fr204
haultz	Fr114 Fr178
hautain	
haultaine	Fr080
hautaine	Fr080
hautaine	
haultaine	Fr080
hautaine	Fr080
hautement	
haultement	Fr289
Hayne	
hayne	Fr118
Hector de Troye	
hector de troye	Fr063
Helaine	
helaine	Fr188
Henri Philippet	
henri philippet	Fr081
herbe	
herbe	Fr082
heritier	
heritiere	Fr231
Hester	

hester	Fr065
heure	
eur	Fr219
eure	Fr082 Fr110 Fr127 Fr148 Fr254 Fr265
heur	Fr120 Fr293
heure	Fr021 Fr025 Fr049 Fr066 Fr077 Fr082 Fr084 Fr103 Fr127 Fr154 Fr159 Fr160 Fr207 Fr245 Fr247 Fr261 Fr265 Fr295
heuree	Fr261
heureux	
eureuse	Fr259
eureux	Fr092 Fr139 Fr143
euruse	Fr214
heureulx	Fr104 Fr130 Fr133 Fr139 Fr143 Fr176 Fr229 Fr244 Fr272
heureuse	Fr297
heureux	Fr092 Fr104 Fr130 Fr139 Fr188 Fr234
heurte	
heurte	Fr068 Fr142
heurter	
heurte	Fr068 Fr142
hier	
hier	Fr020
hiver	
yver	Fr106
homme	
home	Fr081 Fr297 Fr312
homme	Fr032 Fr083 Fr139 Fr166 Fr250 Fr267
hommes	Fr173
homs	Fr106 Fr267 Fr285
ome	Fr084
omme	Fr139 Fr145 Fr146 Fr272
honnete	
honneste	Fr132 Fr230

honneur	
honneur	Fr013 Fr016 Fr039 Fr046 Fr048 Fr053 Fr056 Fr097 Fr120 Fr188 Fr251 Fr256 Fr261 Fr284
onneur	Fr039 Fr078 Fr104 Fr196 Fr208 Fr255 Fr273
honnir	
honny	Fr262
honorable	
honnerable	Fr173
honorer	
hocnore	Fr092
honnore	Fr092
honnoure	Fr092
honnourer	Fr180
honore	Fr092
honte	
honte	Fr135
honteux	
honteus	Fr125
hopital	
opital	Fr226
hotel	
hostel	Fr251 Fr302
ostel	Fr223
houer	
hoe	Fr226 Fr283
houlette	
houlete	Fr057
houllette	Fr057
housse	
housse	Fr252
hui	
huy	Fr118
huys	Fr052
huis	
huis	Fr223

huy	Fr118
huys	Fr052
humble	
humble	Fr139
humblement	
humblement	Fr067 Fr201
humilite	
humilite	Fr173
hutin	
hutin	Fr047
ignorance	
ignorance	Fr243
image	
images	Fr171
jmages	Fr171
ymages	Fr171
imagination	
ymagination	Fr238
imbecilite	
imbellicite	Fr262
ime	
ime	Fr265
immortel	
immortelle	Fr003
imparfait	
imparfait	Fr200
impatient	
impacient	Fr146
importun	
importune	Fr222 Fr224
importuner	
importune	Fr222 Fr224
impossible	
impossible	Fr021 Fr140 Fr277
incessamment	
imcessament	Fr127
incessamant	Fr154
incessament	Fr072 Fr127 Fr128 Fr154 Fr195
incessamment	Fr127
incessaument	Fr078
incessemment	Fr128
incontinent	
incontinant	Fr076
inkontinent	Fr108
infame	
infame	Fr191
infini	
infinie	Fr094
infortun	
infortune	Fr128 Fr139 Fr224
infortune	
infortune	Fr128 Fr139 Fr224
infortuner	
infortune	Fr128 Fr139 Fr224
ingrat	
ingrat	Fr146
inhumainement	
inhumainement	Fr276
inique	
inique	Fr146
injure	
injure	Fr190
instrument	
instrumens	Fr118
ire	
ire	Fr021 Fr075
issir	
yssant	Fr188
yst	Fr089
jadis	
jadis	Fr267 Fr297
jaloux	
jalous	Fr300
jamais	
jamais	Fr002 Fr005 Fr016 Fr024 Fr037 Fr039 Fr048 Fr071 Fr079 Fr083 Fr085 Fr086 Fr087 Fr088 Fr104

	Fr108 Fr114 Fr118 Fr137 Fr145 Fr163 Fr164 Fr166 Fr174 Fr191 Fr200 Fr214 Fr238 Fr240 Fr257 Fr259 Fr260 Fr261 Fr270 Fr272 Fr275 Fr277 Fr278 Fr297 Fr303 Fr307
jamaiz	Fr036 Fr085 Fr163 Fr174 Fr261 Fr297
jamays	Fr174
Jano	
jano	Fr188
jardin	
jardin	Fr019 Fr047 Fr262 Fr281
jardinot	Fr192
jargon	
jargonnot	Fr192
jaune	
jaune	Fr013
Jeannette	
jennette	Fr299
jeter	
gecte	Fr292
jecte	Fr209
jecter	Fr300
jeu	
ieu	Fr264 Fr265
jeu	Fr013 Fr021 Fr096 Fr264 Fr265 Fr281
jeux	Fr308
jeune	
jeune	Fr047
josne	Fr047 Fr070
jeunesse	
jonesse	Fr004 Fr173
jeunette	
jeunecte	Fr243
joie	

ioye	Fr029 Fr030 Fr063 Fr101 Fr132 Fr141 Fr145 Fr153 Fr237 Fr285 Fr287 Fr297
joie	Fr029 Fr031 Fr034 Fr090 Fr099 Fr100 Fr110 Fr111 Fr157 Fr207 Fr222 Fr237 Fr239 Fr244 Fr246 Fr258 Fr267 Fr287 Fr288
joye	Fr004 Fr022 Fr029 Fr030 Fr049 Fr094 Fr096 Fr110 Fr117 Fr120 Fr124 Fr141 Fr145 Fr153 Fr157 Fr164 Fr167 Fr193 Fr194 Fr206 Fr215 Fr222 Fr236 Fr237 Fr268 Fr278 Fr287 Fr289 Fr297 Fr300 Fr305
joindre	
joincte	Fr116
jointe	
gointes	Fr106
joli	
joli	Fr130 Fr257
jolie	Fr082 Fr126
joliot	Fr192
jolis	Fr020 Fr281
joly	Fr082 Fr124 Fr130 Fr264
jonc	
jonc	Fr257
joue	
joue	Fr118 Fr262 Fr299
jouez	Fr238
jouer	
iouer	Fr076 Fr264 Fr291
joer	Fr126
joie	Fr029 Fr031 Fr034 Fr090 Fr099 Fr100

	Fr110 Fr111 Fr157 Fr207 Fr222 Fr237 Fr239 Fr244 Fr246 Fr258 Fr267 Fr287 Fr288
joue	Fr118 Fr262 Fr299
jouer	Fr004 Fr149 Fr264 Fr286 Fr299 Fr302
jouez	Fr238
jouir	
joie	Fr029 Fr031 Fr034 Fr090 Fr099 Fr100 Fr110 Fr111 Fr157 Fr207 Fr222 Fr237 Fr239 Fr244 Fr246 Fr258 Fr267 Fr287 Fr288
joir	Fr268
jouy	Fr284 Fr289
jouyr	Fr027
joyr	Fr305
jouissance	
joissance	Fr293
jouyssance	Fr293
joyssance	Fr293
jour	
iour	Fr030 Fr052 Fr061 Fr153 Fr185 Fr213 Fr214 Fr291
iours	Fr153 Fr197
jour	Fr004 Fr030 Fr051 Fr061 Fr070 Fr081 Fr082 Fr086 Fr095 Fr096 Fr100 Fr106 Fr123 Fr124 Fr138 Fr140 Fr149 Fr153 Fr155 Fr168 Fr185 Fr187 Fr195 Fr212 Fr213 Fr244 Fr262 Fr264 Fr269 Fr279 Fr283 Fr288 Fr312
jours	Fr014 Fr017 Fr035 Fr038 Fr054 Fr074 Fr091 Fr102 Fr103

	Fr151 Fr212 Fr236 Fr302 Fr306
journee	
iournee	Fr030
journee	Fr030 Fr035 Fr246
jouter	
jouxter	Fr001
joyeusement	
joieusement	Fr035
joyeusete	
joieusete	Fr262
joyeusete	Fr092 Fr173
joyeux	
ioyeuse	Fr092
joieulx	Fr093 Fr244 Fr269 Fr304
joieuse	Fr297
joyeulx	Fr086 Fr106 Fr111 Fr236 Fr269
joyeuse	Fr133
joyeux	Fr274
Judith	
judith	Fr065
jugement	
jugement	Fr009
juger	
juger	Fr080
jugiez	Fr244
jurer	
iure	Fr141
jura	Fr194
jure	Fr118 Fr141
jurer	Fr146
justice	
justice	Fr205
labeur	
labeur	Fr168
labours	Fr197 Fr306
labour	
labeur	Fr168

labours	Fr197 Fr306
labourer	
labeure	Fr025 Fr091 Fr110 Fr148 Fr159 Fr247
lac	
lac	Fr274
Lac de Dueil	
lac de dueil	Fr274
lachete	
lascete	Fr068
laschete	Fr068
laisse	
laisse	Fr061 Fr067 Fr072 Fr085 Fr145
laissez	Fr037 Fr046 Fr114 Fr115
lasse	Fr058
lesses	Fr186
laisser	
laisse	Fr061 Fr067 Fr072 Fr085 Fr145
laisser	Fr237 Fr267
laisseroye	Fr022
laissez	Fr037 Fr046 Fr114 Fr115
larrons	Fr125
lassay	Fr264
lasse	Fr058
leissent	Fr159
lerray	Fr231
lessay	Fr264
lesse	Fr004 Fr061 Fr085 Fr094 Fr097 Fr145 Fr161 Fr186 Fr197
lesser	Fr237
lessez	Fr209
lessier	Fr194 Fr237
lame	
lame	Fr045 Fr096
lamenter	
lamente	Fr173
lamenter	Fr023 Fr094
lamentez	Fr072
langager	
langagier	Fr020
langagier	
langagier	Fr020
langoureux	
langoreuse	Fr079
langoreux	Fr059
languer	
languer	Fr109
langueur	
langeur	Fr196
langueur	Fr168 Fr171 Fr219 Fr256
languir	
languir	Fr032 Fr044 Fr046 Fr078 Fr176 Fr246 Fr260 Fr276 Fr297
languiray	Fr087 Fr297
languis	Fr219 Fr222
languissant	Fr294
languissons	Fr153
languist	Fr302
languissant	
languissant	Fr294
large	
larges	Fr223
largement	
largement	Fr237
largesse	
largesse	Fr004 Fr097 Fr151 Fr184
larme	
larmes	Fr062 Fr087 Fr101 Fr103 Fr196 Fr233 Fr237
lermes	Fr062 Fr087 Fr237 Fr245
larmer	
larmoie	Fr099

larmoyer	
larmoie	Fr099
larmoiras	Fr078
larmoyant	Fr236
larmye	Fr094 Fr154
lermoier	Fr177
lermoye	Fr164
lermye	Fr154
lasser	
larrez	Fr283
laver	
laver	Fr070
layer	
larrez	Fr283
larrons	Fr125
legerement	
legerement	Fr024
lequel	
laquelle	Fr182
lasquelz	Fr025
lequel	Fr003 Fr071 Fr127 Fr151
lettre	
lectre	Fr226
lectres	Fr088
lettres	Fr088
lever	
levay	Fr192 Fr262 Fr281
liberte	
liberte	Fr253
lie	
lie	Fr094 Fr286
lye	Fr044
lien	
liens	Fr222
lier	
lie	Fr094 Fr286
liez	Fr311
loye	Fr124 Fr268
liesse	
leesse	Fr039 Fr141 Fr145
liesse	Fr004 Fr141 Fr145 Fr161 Fr185 Fr255 Fr283 Fr304 Fr306
lyesse	Fr039 Fr145 Fr170 Fr198 Fr232
lieu	
eslieulx	Fr272
eslieus	Fr222
leul	Fr069
lignage	
lignage	Fr035
Lion	
lion	Fr310
liqueur	
liqueur	Fr140
lit	
lit	Fr012 Fr250 Fr309
livree	
livree	Fr105
livrer	
livree	Fr105
loger	
logier	Fr034 Fr258 Fr305
loi	
loy	Fr048 Fr175 Fr205 Fr259
loin	
aloing	Fr289
loing	Fr009 Fr087 Fr110 Fr144 Fr296
loins	Fr110
long	Fr032 Fr087 Fr228 Fr299
lointain	
lontemps	Fr170
loisir	
loisir	Fr255 Fr293 Fr294
long	
lonc	Fr020 Fr228 Fr264 Fr283 Fr284

long	Fr032 Fr087 Fr228 Fr299
longtemps	
lonctemps	Fr183 Fr191 Fr264
longtamps	Fr170
longtemps	Fr137 Fr228 Fr264
longue	
longue	Fr060 Fr134
longuement	
longuement	Fr009 Fr056 Fr091 Fr110 Fr129 Fr195 Fr302
longues	
longue	Fr060 Fr134
los	
los	Fr011 Fr134 Fr153 Fr169 Fr192 Fr273
loz	Fr169 Fr273
louange	
louanges	Fr188
louanger	
louanges	Fr188
louer	
loer	Fr273
loue	Fr083 Fr188 Fr207
louer	Fr053 Fr225 Fr249 Fr265
loyal	
leal	Fr031 Fr060 Fr081 Fr136 Fr181 Fr197 Fr229 Fr237 Fr267 Fr281 Fr289
lealle	Fr060 Fr166
leiale	Fr263

loial	Fr050
loiaulx	Fr195
loiaute	Fr229
loyal	Fr031 Fr060 Fr225 Fr230 Fr234 Fr237
loyalle	Fr060
loyaulx	Fr195 Fr254
loyalement	
lealment	Fr280
leaulment	Fr056 Fr180 Fr228
leaument	Fr002 Fr103 Fr169 Fr195 Fr228
loiaument	Fr082
loyaulment	Fr067 Fr180 Fr278 Fr292
loyaument	Fr076 Fr083 Fr169
loyaute	
lealte	Fr060
leaulte	Fr013 Fr048 Fr055 Fr104 Fr136
leaute	Fr002 Fr013 Fr029 Fr048 Fr055 Fr066 Fr104 Fr191 Fr258 Fr284
loiaute	Fr229
loyaulte	Fr029 Fr042 Fr048 Fr066 Fr067 Fr068 Fr133 Fr147 Fr153
loyaute	Fr029 Fr202
luisant	
luysant	Fr188
lumiere	
lumiere	Fr191
lune	
lune	Fr205

Lemma	
Variant	Song Number
madame	
madame	Fr027 Fr047 Fr050 Fr096 Fr150 Fr200 Fr234
mai	
may	Fr131 Fr281
maille	
maille	Fr125
main	
main	Fr030 Fr093 Fr170 Fr249
mains	Fr012 Fr070 Fr084 Fr091 Fr101 Fr103 Fr122 Fr142 Fr209 Fr222 Fr257 Fr285 Fr291
maint	
mainctes	Fr223
maint	Fr058 Fr252
mainte	Fr170 Fr209 Fr212 Fr252
mainteffoiz	Fr146
maintesfois	Fr146
maintenant	
mainctenant	Fr036 Fr136 Fr267 Fr277 Fr308
maintenant	Fr004 Fr036 Fr170 Fr194 Fr277 Fr290 Fr297
maintenir	
mainctenant	Fr036 Fr136 Fr267 Fr277 Fr308
mainctendra	Fr060
mainctendray	Fr013
mainctenir	Fr087
maincteniz	Fr097
mainctien	Fr054 Fr184 Fr229 Fr249 Fr262
maintendra	Fr060
maintendray	Fr013
maintenir	Fr087 Fr194 Fr274 Fr303
maintenue	Fr049
maintiendray	Fr050
maintiens	Fr054
maintenue	
maintenue	Fr049
maintien	
maintien	FR132 FR184 FR201
maintieng	Fr201
mais	
maiz	Fr015 Fr024 Fr030 Fr036 Fr052 Fr061 Fr104 Fr105 Fr148 Fr154 Fr163 Fr264 Fr265 Fr273
mays	Fr015 Fr030 Fr060 Fr135 Fr142 Fr154 Fr265 Fr273 Fr280 Fr296 Fr297
mayz	Fr022
maison	
maison	Fr135 Fr137 Fr204 Fr223 Fr257
maisouan	
mesouen	Fr262
maistre	
maistre	Fr070 Fr084 Fr217
Maistre Symon	
maistre symon	Fr084
maitre	
maistesse	Fr153
maitresse	
maistesse	Fr153

maistresse	Fr004 Fr015 Fr028 Fr032 Fr039 Fr040 Fr044 Fr059 Fr091 Fr097 Fr105 Fr151 Fr153 Fr154 Fr161 Fr167 Fr171 Fr175 Fr184 Fr186 Fr189 Fr198 Fr221 Fr223 Fr232 Fr240 Fr255 Fr276 Fr277 Fr306
mal	
mal	Fr015 Fr023 Fr029 Fr030 Fr056 Fr066 Fr070 Fr085 Fr101 Fr102 Fr110 Fr115 Fr122 Fr123 Fr127 Fr128 Fr136 Fr138 Fr145 Fr146 Fr148 Fr151 Fr153 Fr158 Fr159 Fr192 Fr212 Fr213 Fr224 Fr226 Fr236 Fr239 Fr245 Fr251 Fr267 Fr277 Fr284 Fr289 Fr293 Fr294 Fr295 Fr304 Fr309
male	Fr114 Fr131 Fr192 Fr263
malle	Fr263 Fr295
maulx	Fr028 Fr036 Fr110 Fr127 Fr142 Fr145 Fr166 Fr195 Fr232 Fr238 Fr244 Fr260 Fr297 Fr301
malade	
malade	Fr192
maladie	
maladie	Fr035 Fr070 Fr216
Malebouche	
male bouche	Fr114 Fr131 Fr192
mallebouche	Fr202
malement	
mallement	Fr128
maleur	
maleur	Fr003 Fr025 Fr066 Fr208 Fr222 Fr224 Fr261
malgre	
malgre	Fr300
maugre	Fr113
maulgre	Fr058 Fr068
malheur	
maleur	Fr003 Fr025 Fr066 Fr208 Fr222 Fr224 Fr261
malheur	Fr025 Fr066 Fr196 Fr261
malheure	
maleuree	Fr030
malheuree	Fr030
malheureux	
maleureux	Fr003 Fr085 Fr146
malheureulx	Fr272
malheureux	Fr023 Fr153 Fr154
malheurte	
malheurete	Fr068
malle	
malle	Fr263 Fr295
maman	
mamans	Fr291
man	
man	Fr127
manche	
manche	Fr088
manier	
magnya	Fr057
mania	Fr057
manier	Fr052
maniere	Fr052 Fr209
maniere	
maniere	Fr052 Fr209
manoir	
meist	Fr104
menant	Fr004 Fr161 Fr297

marcher	
marchez	Fr226 Fr310
marchier	
marchies	Fr149
marcie	Fr149
Marcy	
marcy	Fr149
Margot	
margot	Fr170
mari	
mary	Fr035
marier	
mariee	Fr035 Fr070
marrie	Fr094
Marion	
marion	Fr264 Fr310
marionnete	
marionnecte	Fr310
marri	
marry	Fr035
marrir	
marry	Fr035
Mars	
mars	Fr133
martyr	
martir	Fr179
martire	Fr023 Fr026 Fr064 Fr089 Fr113 Fr150 Fr195
martyre	
martire	Fr023 Fr026 Fr064 Fr089 Fr113 Fr150 Fr195
martyrer	
martire	Fr023 Fr026 Fr064 Fr089 Fr113 Fr150 Fr195
massue	
massue	Fr138
matelineux	
matelineux	Fr146

matin	
mastin	Fr058
matin	Fr020 Fr047 Fr052 Fr058 Fr124 Fr162 Fr165 Fr262 Fr281
matinot	Fr192
matine	
mastin	Fr058
matines	Fr126
matiner	
matines	Fr126
matines	
matines	Fr126
maudire	
maudisant	Fr066
maudit	Fr136 Fr148 Fr187
mauldiras	Fr254
mauldire	Fr030 Fr110
mauldisant	Fr066
mauldit	Fr147 Fr148 Fr170
mauldite	Fr078
mauvais	
malvais	Fr123
maulvais	Fr235
mauvais	Fr123 Fr235
mechef	
meschef	Fr060 Fr079
meschefs	Fr079
meschief	Fr012
mecompte	
mesconte	Fr135
mecompter	
mesconte	Fr135
medecine	
medecine	Fr210
medeciner	
medicine	Fr210
medire	
mesdisans	Fr137 Fr223 Fr225 Fr271

medisant	
mesdisans	Fr137 Fr223 Fr225 Fr271
mefaire	
maiffaire	Fr067
maiffaiz	Fr029
meffais	Fr029 Fr219
meffait	Fr200
mefferoit	Fr048
mesfait	Fr200
mesferoit	Fr048
mefait	
meffais	Fr029 Fr219
meffait	Fr200
mesfait	Fr200
meilleur	
meilleur	Fr039 Fr119 Fr200
milleur	Fr039 Fr051 Fr097 Fr119 Fr173 Fr200 Fr208
milleurs	Fr225 Fr303
Melan	
melan	Fr123
melancolie	
melancolie	Fr158
melenkolye	Fr061
merancolie	Fr197
merencolie	Fr061 Fr077 Fr281
merenkolie	Fr158
melancolier	
melenkolye	Fr061
merencolie	Fr061 Fr077 Fr281
merenkolie	Fr158
meler	
meslent	Fr037
meme	
mesme	Fr155
mesmes	Fr138 Fr155 Fr156 Fr297
mener	
mena	Fr052
mene	Fr146 Fr174
menee	Fr259
mener	Fr034 Fr177 Fr286
menoit	Fr124
moine	Fr020
mensonger	
mensonger	Fr148
mensongier	Fr148
messongier	Fr148
mensongier	
mansongier	Fr148
mente	
mente	Fr047
menteur	
menteur	Fr146 Fr151
mentir	
mente	Fr047
mentir	Fr194
menu	
menuz	Fr072
meprendre	
mesprendre	Fr229
mesprenes	Fr150
mesprenez	Fr276
mesprent	Fr089
mespris	Fr223
mepris	
mespris	Fr223
meprise	
mesprise	Fr018 Fr147
mepriser	
mesprise	Fr018 Fr147
mer	
mer	Fr046 Fr051 Fr070 Fr089 Fr149 Fr175 Fr230 Fr283
merci	
merchy	Fr062 Fr103
mercis	Fr229

mercy	Fr003 Fr005 Fr044 Fr062 Fr103 Fr147 Fr158 Fr172 Fr196 Fr224 Fr237 Fr246 Fr277 Fr289 Fr299
mercier	
mercier	Fr304
mercy	Fr003 Fr005 Fr044 Fr062 Fr103 Fr147 Fr158 Fr172 Fr196 Fr224 Fr237 Fr246 Fr277 Fr289 Fr299
Mercure	
mercure	Fr133
mere	
mere	Fr030 Fr193 Fr205 Fr243
merite	
merite	Fr045
meriter	
merite	Fr045
merveille	
merveille	Fr107 Fr184 Fr195
merveiller	
merveillez	Fr134
merveilleusement	
merveilleusement	Fr276
merveilleux	
merveilleuse	Fr134
merveilleux	Fr210
mesonger	
mansongier	Fr148
messe	
messe	Fr149 Fr255
mesure	
mesure	Fr041
mesuree	
mesuree	Fr183
mesurer	
mesure	Fr041
mesuree	Fr183

metier	
mestier	Fr022
mettre	
mectra	Fr017
mectray	Fr108 Fr174 Fr231 Fr264
mectre	Fr061 Fr070 Fr086 Fr091 Fr127 Fr138 Fr158 Fr168
mectz	Fr292
meist	Fr104
metant	Fr188
metray	Fr174
mettes	Fr202
mettez	Fr200
mettra	Fr017
mettray	Fr174 Fr264
mettre	Fr061 Fr127 Fr138 Fr158 Fr260 Fr264 Fr288
metz	Fr254
mirent	Fr245
mis	Fr001 Fr072 Fr080 Fr123 Fr125 Fr134 Fr136 Fr145 Fr148 Fr157 Fr163 Fr182 Fr200 Fr228 Fr243 Fr256 Fr264 Fr289 Fr311
mise	Fr038 Fr093
mist	Fr041 Fr123 Fr132 Fr176
meule	
mulle	Fr252
meuniere	
monnyere	Fr165
mousniere	Fr052
muniere	Fr165
meurtriere	
murdriere	Fr069 Fr186
mieux	

mieulx	Fr005 Fr011 Fr022 Fr038 Fr042 Fr043 Fr072 Fr079 Fr080 Fr105 Fr133 Fr142 Fr156 Fr163 Fr174 Fr175 Fr199 Fr208 Fr210 Fr229 Fr231 Fr248 Fr249 Fr265 Fr272 Fr284 Fr285 Fr296 Fr302 Fr310
mieulz	Fr074
mignon	
mignon	Fr031 Fr166 Fr207 Fr253
mignone	Fr163
mignonne	Fr119 Fr155 Fr156 Fr163 Fr270 Fr287
mignonnet	
mignonnecte	Fr310
mignot	
mignault	Fr165
mygnotte	Fr170
milier	
millier	Fr022
Millan	
millan	Fr123
mille	
mil	Fr022 Fr200
mille	Fr022 Fr054 Fr158 Fr214 Fr288
millier	
millier	Fr022
milsoudier	
milsoudier	Fr022
mine	
mine	Fr156
miner	
mine	Fr156
Minerves	
minerves	Fr188
mire	
mire	Fr023 Fr070

mirer	
mire	Fr023 Fr070
mirent	Fr245
mise	
mise	Fr038 Fr093
miserable	
miserable	Fr073
misere	
misere	Fr014
mode	
mode	Fr226
moelle	
moule	Fr165
moine	
moine	Fr020
moins	
moins	Fr016 Fr068 Fr091 Fr101 Fr133 Fr222 Fr290 Fr292 Fr307
mois	
mois	Fr131 Fr281
moison	
moison	Fr135
moite	
moictie	Fr029
moitie	
moitie	Fr029 Fr102
moitier	Fr022
moment	
moment	Fr003
mondanite	
mondanite	Fr173
monde	
monde	Fr012 Fr018 Fr023 Fr036 Fr040 Fr054 Fr072 Fr143 Fr188 Fr196 Fr198 Fr235 Fr272 Fr275 Fr301
monnaie	
monnoye	Fr022

monstre	
monstre	Fr204 Fr246
mont	
mont	Fr142
montagne	
montaigne	Fr034
monte	
monte	Fr082 Fr135
monter	
mont	Fr142
monte	Fr082 Fr135
montjoie	
monioye	Fr297
monjoie	Fr034 Fr268 Fr297
monjoye	Fr267
montjoie	Fr278
montjoye	Fr124 Fr297
montrant	
monstrant	Fr013 Fr114
montre	
monstre	Fr204 Fr246
montrer	
monstrant	Fr013 Fr114
monstre	Fr204 Fr246
monstrer	Fr081 Fr102 Fr251
moustrant	Fr013
moustrer	Fr190
moustres	Fr198
mort	
mors	Fr114
mort	Fr003 Fr009 Fr030 Fr033 Fr048 Fr054 Fr061 Fr062 Fr072 Fr078 Fr079 Fr087 Fr096 Fr098 Fr103 Fr105 Fr112 Fr117 Fr138 Fr143 Fr145 Fr148 Fr151 Fr157 Fr158 Fr171 Fr172 Fr173 Fr222 Fr236 Fr258 Fr264 Fr273
	Fr282 Fr283 Fr288 Fr289 Fr309 Fr311
morte	Fr098 Fr287
mortaille	
mortelle	Fr154 Fr202 Fr213
mortel	
mortel	Fr029
mortelle	Fr154 Fr202 Fr213
Morton	
morton	Fr118
moste	
moste	Fr277
mot	
mo	Fr052
mot	Fr039 Fr105 Fr139 Fr181 Fr284
motz	Fr101 Fr127 Fr311
moudre	
mouldre	Fr165
moulin	
molin	Fr052 Fr223
moulin	Fr052 Fr165
moult	
moult	Fr073
mourir	
meure	Fr025 Fr066 Fr110 Fr116 Fr127 Fr148 Fr160 Fr247 Fr255
meurent	Fr070
meurs	Fr102 Fr103 Fr148 Fr219 Fr295
meurt	Fr026 Fr075
morir	Fr009 Fr034 Fr036 Fr091 Fr199 Fr200 Fr222 Fr236 Fr262 Fr283 Fr297
morriras	Fr078
morroye	Fr022
morte	Fr098 Fr287
mourir	Fr036 Fr050 Fr054 Fr098 Fr100 Fr164

	Fr168 Fr183 Fr198 Fr200 Fr255 Fr297
mourra	Fr005
mourroie	Fr022
mourroye	Fr022
mousse	
mousse	Fr252
mouvoir	
mouvoir	Fr179
moyen	
moien	Fr308
moyen	Fr079 Fr129 Fr221
moyens	Fr209
muance	
muance	Fr002
muant	
muant	Fr116
muer	
mue	Fr013 Fr020 Fr239 Fr262
muer	Fr032
mule	
mulle	Fr252
multiplier	
multiplicamini	Fr024
multiplie	Fr158
museau	
musel	Fr170
musequin	
musequin	Fr047 Fr165
muser	
muses	Fr181
musique	
musicque	Fr173
musser	
mussee	Fr191
mussez	Fr305
naguere	
nagueres	Fr047
naissance	
naissance	Fr293
naitre	
naistre	Fr101
nee	Fr117 Fr163 Fr257 Fr259 Fr295
nature	
nature	Fr041 Fr043 Fr116 Fr126 Fr156 Fr205
naturer	
nature	Fr041 Fr043 Fr116 Fr126 Fr156 Fr205
navre	
nasvre	Fr174
navre	Fr173 Fr174 Fr210
navrer	
nasvre	Fr174
navray	Fr174
navre	Fr173 Fr174 Fr210
neanmoins	
neantmoins	Fr129 Fr310
nenmoins	Fr010
neant	
neant	Fr025
nyant	Fr025
necessite	
necessite	Fr014
nee	
nee	Fr117 Fr163 Fr257 Fr259 Fr295
nenni	
nanil	Fr257
nenny	Fr076 Fr200
nesun	
nessun	Fr135
nesun	Fr104
nesune	Fr130 Fr205 Fr297
nesung	Fr167
Nique Nocque	
nique nocque	Fr170
noble	

noble	Fr065 Fr103 Fr253 Fr284 Fr301
noblesse	
noblesse	Fr044 Fr052 Fr198 Fr256 Fr306
noeud	
neuz	Fr074
noir	
noir	Fr020 Fr105 Fr116 Fr160 Fr173
noircir	
nercy	Fr289
nom	
nom	Fr003 Fr031 Fr047 Fr088 Fr103 Fr143 Fr149 Fr170 Fr173 Fr251 Fr253 Fr287
nombrer	
nombrer	Fr053
nomme	
nommee	Fr057 Fr117
nommer	Fr133 Fr135 Fr155 Fr185
nommee	
nommee	Fr057 Fr117
nommer	
nomme	Fr003 Fr255
nommee	Fr057 Fr117
nommer	Fr133 Fr135 Fr155 Fr185
nonnette	
nonnecte	Fr126
nonpareil	
nomparaille	Fr107
nompareille	Fr107 Fr195
nonparaille	Fr107
nonpareille	Fr107 Fr195
noquer	
nocque	Fr170
Notre Dame	
nostre dame	Fr096 Fr107 Fr227
noustre dame	Fr045 Fr107
nouement	
neuement	Fr243
nourrice	
nourrice	Fr205
nouveau	
nouveaux	Fr291
nouvelles	Fr074
nouvelle	
nouvelle	Fr002 Fr003 Fr054 Fr064 Fr090 Fr139 Fr227 Fr233 Fr301
nouvelles	Fr074
nouvellement	
nouvellement	Fr182
noyer	
noie	Fr034 Fr099
noye	Fr103
noyer	Fr274
nu	
nu	Fr130
nulz	Fr053 Fr136 Fr195
nue	
nue	Fr094 Fr166 Fr215 Fr223 Fr239 Fr259 Fr266 Fr273 Fr288
nuire	
nuira	Fr114
nuire	Fr026 Fr028
nuisoit	Fr171
nuist	Fr069
nuit	Fr020 Fr106 Fr195 Fr223 Fr244 Fr283
nuyra	Fr114
nuyre	Fr028 Fr113
nuit	
nuit	Fr020 Fr106 Fr195 Fr223 Fr244 Fr283
nuits	Fr074
nuitz	Fr103

nuyt	Fr004 Fr051 Fr052 Fr081 Fr140 Fr168 Fr187 Fr213
nuytz	Fr103
nul	
nul	Fr001 Fr002 Fr028 Fr030 Fr048 Fr051 Fr062 Fr066 Fr081 Fr083 Fr086 Fr090 Fr094 Fr104 Fr111 Fr120 Fr133 Fr135 Fr136 Fr141 Fr145 Fr161 Fr164 Fr179 Fr182 Fr184 Fr185 Fr186 Fr200 Fr213 Fr215 Fr216 Fr222 Fr230 Fr237 Fr239 Fr245 Fr260 Fr263 Fr275 Fr280 Fr284 Fr287 Fr288 Fr298 Fr301 Fr305 Fr307 Fr312
null	Fr163
nulle	Fr040 Fr050 Fr053 Fr060 Fr062 Fr095 Fr104 Fr132 Fr155 Fr163 Fr175 Fr183 Fr188 Fr237 Fr249 Fr262 Fr286 Fr287 Fr289 Fr301
nulles	Fr156
nulluy	Fr229 Fr237
nully	Fr135 Fr141 Fr241 Fr259 Fr295
nulz	Fr053 Fr136 Fr195
nullement	
nullement	Fr131
nymphe	
nimphe	Fr162
nymphes	Fr188
obedience	
obediance	Fr104
obeir	
obeir	Fr219 Fr241 Fr283 Fr292
obeiray	Fr228
obeisse	Fr263
obeissance	
obeissance	Fr104 Fr308
obstant	
obstant	Fr127 Fr249 Fr297
obster	
obstant	Fr127 Fr249 Fr297
obstine	
obstine	Fr146
obstiner	
obstine	Fr146
obtenir	
obtenir	Fr274
obtenu	Fr143
occire	
occira	Fr151
occiras	Fr078
occire	Fr260
occye	Fr297
ocy	Fr172
ochaison	
achoison	Fr135
octroi	
octrois	Fr042
octroy	Fr142
octroyer	
octroies	Fr042
octroy	Fr142
octroyez	Fr045
oeil	
euil	Fr209 Fr233
ieulx	Fr103 Fr210
jeulx	Fr011 Fr089 Fr094 Fr103 Fr210 Fr237 Fr245 Fr248 Fr283 Fr306

oeil	Fr001 Fr009 Fr026 Fr069 Fr071 Fr098 Fr100 Fr107 Fr148 Fr177 Fr191 Fr236 Fr237
oeul	Fr037 Fr107 Fr148 Fr274
ueil	Fr090
xx	Fr103
yeulx	Fr079 Fr147 Fr176 Fr193 Fr201 Fr203 Fr237 Fr248 Fr296 Fr299
yeux	Fr237
oeillet	
oeillet	Fr296
oeuvre	
euvre	Fr065 Fr143
offense	
offence	Fr177
offenser	
offence	Fr177
offerte	
offerte	Fr060
office	
office	Fr205 Fr296
offrir	
offerte	Fr060
offrir	Fr276
oignement	
oignement	Fr070
oindre	
oindre	Fr283
oiseau	
ouseaux	Fr283
oisivete	
oisivete	Fr093
Oloferne	
oloferne	Fr065
onques	
onc	Fr096 Fr166 Fr310
oncques	Fr013 Fr038 Fr039 Fr041 Fr043 Fr053 Fr076 Fr096 Fr106 Fr107 Fr123 Fr154 Fr156 Fr171 Fr179 Fr184 Fr248 Fr253 Fr275 Fr276 Fr282 Fr284 Fr289 Fr295 Fr304
onques	Fr013 Fr107 Fr123 Fr150 Fr154 Fr156 Fr184 Fr202 Fr250 Fr282
operer	
operamini	Fr024
opinion	
opinion	Fr175
or	
ores	Fr157
ordonnance	
ordonance	Fr104
ordonnance	Fr104 Fr145 Fr202 Fr308
ordonner	
ordonne	Fr128 Fr139 Fr175 Fr270
ordonnez	Fr059
oreille	
oreille	Fr195 Fr217
oreiller	
oreille	Fr195 Fr217
orgueil	
orgueil	Fr084
original	
original	Fr226
originel	
original	Fr226
os	
ose	Fr016 Fr041 Fr075 Fr102 Fr130 Fr148 Fr251
oser	

ose	Fr016 Fr041 Fr075 Fr102 Fr130 Fr148 Fr251
oser	Fr089
oseroit	Fr150
ouse	Fr023 Fr148
oze	Fr148 Fr195
oter	
hostee	Fr030
oste	Fr267
ostee	Fr030
oster	Fr190 Fr210 Fr279
ostez	Fr086 Fr195
ouste	Fr112 Fr277
oustee	Fr030
oubli	
oubli	Fr157 Fr197
oubliance	
obliance	Fr163
oublance	Fr134
oubliance	Fr163 Fr174
oublie	
oublie	Fr112 Fr155 Fr158 Fr197 Fr216 Fr297
oublier	
oblier	Fr216
obliera	Fr177
oubli	Fr157 Fr197
oubliant	Fr296
oublie	Fr112 Fr155 Fr158 Fr197 Fr216 Fr297
oublier	Fr113 Fr180
oubliez	Fr169 Fr311
oubliroit	Fr133
ouïr	
oui	Fr185
ouir	Fr064 Fr185 Fr233
ouis	Fr136
ouy	Fr118 Fr122 Fr284
oy	Fr070 Fr195 Fr237
oye	Fr267
oyt	Fr124
outrance	
oultrance	Fr145 Fr174
outrance	Fr145 Fr174
outre	
oultre	Fr046 Fr145
ouvert	
ouvers	Fr209 Fr299
ouvert	Fr223
ouvrer	
euvre	Fr065 Fr143
ouvrer	Fr022
ouvrez	Fr079
ouvrier	
ouvriere	Fr186
ouvriere	
ouvriere	Fr186
ouvrir	
ouvers	Fr209 Fr299
ouvert	Fr223
ouvre	Fr024
ouvrez	Fr079
ouvrir	Fr037
paille	
paille	Fr252
pain	
pain	Fr125
panem	Fr217
paitre	
paistre	Fr217 Fr226
paix	
pais	Fr099 Fr124 Fr225 Fr277
paix	Fr051 Fr096 Fr277
pale	
pale	Fr059 Fr263
paleur	
paleur	Fr262
palir	

palir	Fr237
pallir	Fr237
Pallas	
pallas	Fr188
pame	
pasme	Fr021 Fr215 Fr309
pamer	
pasme	Fr021 Fr215 Fr309
pasmer	Fr089 Fr192
paner	
panant	Fr169
pansement	
pansement	Fr237
papillon	
papillon	Fr242
parachever	
paracheve	Fr199
parachevons	Fr184
paradis	
paradis	Fr022 Fr039
pardon	
pardon	Fr063 Fr270
pardonner	
pardonne	Fr024 Fr092 Fr312
pardonnez	Fr223 Fr265
pareil	
paraille	Fr107
pareil	Fr002 Fr072 Fr270
parreille	Fr107
pareille	
pareille	Fr053 Fr095 Fr107 Fr184
parer	
pare	Fr012 Fr230
parfaire	
parface	Fr236
parfaicte	Fr043 Fr154 Fr243
parfaire	Fr153 Fr241
parfais	Fr114
parfait	Fr011 Fr060 Fr200

parfait	
parfaicte	Fr043 Fr154 Fr243
parfais	Fr114
parfait	Fr011 Fr060 Fr200
parfecte	Fr077
parfois	
parfoys	Fr292
parfond	
parfont	Fr003 Fr309
parjurement	
parjurement	Fr194
parlant	
parlant	Fr251
parler	
parlant	Fr251
parle	Fr033 Fr038 Fr302
parler	Fr018 Fr053 Fr102 Fr114 Fr126 Fr135 Fr188 Fr226 Fr249 Fr286
parlers	Fr300
parlez	Fr099
parloie	Fr268
parmi	
parmy	Fr020
parole	
parole	Fr010
parquoi	
parquoy	Fr117 Fr200
part	
apar	Fr141 Fr214
pars	Fr014 Fr276
part	Fr086 Fr111 Fr134 Fr142 Fr154 Fr161 Fr165 Fr173 Fr211 Fr230 Fr238 Fr249 Fr256 Fr296 Fr307
partement	
partement	Fr009 Fr194 Fr237 Fr240
parti	

parti	Fr066 Fr250 Fr282
party	Fr175 Fr246 Fr289 Fr300
partie	
parti	Fr066 Fr250 Fr282
partie	Fr044 Fr072 Fr178 Fr261 Fr286
parties	Fr095
partir	
part	Fr086 Fr111 Fr134 Fr142 Fr154 Fr161 Fr165 Fr173 Fr211 Fr230 Fr238 Fr249 Fr256 Fr296 Fr307
parti	Fr066 Fr250 Fr282
parties	Fr095
partir	Fr160 Fr178
partira	Fr240
partons	Fr258
party	Fr175 Fr246 Fr289 Fr300
partout	
partout	Fr054 Fr084 Fr225 Fr290
parvenir	
parvenir	Fr080 Fr159
parvers	
parvers	Fr148
passage	
passage	Fr254
passager	
passage	Fr254
passant	
passant	Fr045 Fr123
passe	
passe	Fr003 Fr049 Fr101 Fr116 Fr148 Fr180 Fr208 Fr264
passee	Fr287
passer	
passa	Fr123
passee	Fr287

passer	Fr020 Fr125 Fr144
passeray	Fr009
passez	Fr244
pastoral	
pastourelle	Fr057
pastoureau	
pastoure	Fr124
pastoureau	Fr057
pastourelle	
pastourelle	Fr057
patience	
pacience	Fr036 Fr068
patient	
paciant	Fr169
patron	
patron	Fr173
paupier	
paupiers	Fr008
paupiere	
paupieres	Fr008
pauvre	
pauvre	Fr151 Fr177 Fr285
pouvre	Fr045 Fr061 Fr112 Fr241
povre	Fr014 Fr061 Fr075 Fr080 Fr081 Fr112 Fr125 Fr131 Fr151 Fr159 Fr177 Fr217 Fr250
povres	Fr029
pauvrete	
povrete	Fr106
pavillon	
pavillon	Fr242
payer	
paie	Fr097
payra	Fr108
pays	
pais	Fr099 Fr124 Fr225 Fr277
peche	

pechez	Fr219 Fr311
pecher	
pechez	Fr219 Fr311
peine	
paine	Fr032 Fr062 Fr079 Fr087 Fr153 Fr213 Fr221 Fr222 Fr276 Fr282
painne	Fr196
payne	Fr206
peine	Fr062 Fr087 Fr213 Fr292
peiner	
peine	Fr062 Fr087 Fr213 Fr292
Pelerin	
pelerin	Fr045
pendant	
pendans	Fr223
pendre	
pendist	Fr250
penitence	
penitance	Fr219
pensant	
pensans	Fr129
pensant	Fr081 Fr119 Fr132 Fr136 Fr138
pense	
pence	Fr162
pense	Fr002 Fr028 Fr036 Fr050 Fr095 Fr153 Fr203 Fr215 Fr259
pensee	
pensee	Fr019 Fr020 Fr040 Fr077 Fr082 Fr086 Fr109 Fr147 Fr148 Fr163 Fr170 Fr183 Fr246 Fr261 Fr275 Fr283 Fr287 Fr296
pensees	Fr042 Fr159
pensez	Fr091 Fr148 Fr163 Fr167 Fr204 Fr269
	Fr273 Fr278 Fr280 Fr282 Fr283 Fr297 Fr302 Fr308
pensement	
pencement	Fr237
pensement	Fr009 Fr056 Fr164 Fr234 Fr237 Fr243
penser	
pancer	Fr071
panser	Fr028
pence	Fr162
pensans	Fr129
pensant	Fr081 Fr119 Fr132 Fr136 Fr138
pensay	Fr264
pense	Fr002 Fr028 Fr036 Fr050 Fr095 Fr153 Fr203 Fr215 Fr259
pensees	Fr042 Fr159
penser	Fr023 Fr028 Fr048 Fr051 Fr129 Fr138 Fr153 Fr155 Fr180 Fr203 Fr216 Fr261 Fr276 Fr286
penseray	Fr068
pensers	Fr072
penses	Fr091 Fr148 Fr153 Fr163 Fr181 Fr254 Fr255 Fr261 Fr273 Fr297
pensez	Fr091 Fr148 Fr163 Fr167 Fr204 Fr269 Fr273 Fr278 Fr280 Fr282 Fr283 Fr297 Fr302 Fr308
pensoit	Fr112
percevoir	
parcoy	Fr214
perdre	
perde	Fr165
perdirent	Fr245
perdra	Fr273
perdray	Fr068

perdre	Fr066 Fr083 Fr219
perdrez	Fr024
perdries	Fr307
perdriez	Fr307
perdu	Fr036 Fr072 Fr074 Fr129 Fr193 Fr202 Fr273 Fr297 Fr304
perdue	Fr094 Fr129 Fr141 Fr215 Fr259
perdu	
perdu	Fr036 Fr072 Fr074 Fr129 Fr193 Fr202 Fr273 Fr297 Fr304
perdue	Fr094 Fr129 Fr141 Fr215 Fr259
periller	
pereilleur	Fr254
perilleux	
pereilleur	Fr254
perilleux	Fr254
perir	
piroye	Fr235
permanent	
permanent	Fr205
permettre	
permectez	Fr302
permis	Fr136
Peronne	
peronne	Fr057
pers	
persse	Fr088
perse	
perse	Fr088
perseverer	
perseverons	Fr258
personne	
personne	Fr050 Fr092 Fr136
perte	
perte	Fr060
pervers	
pervers	Fr148
pesant	
pesante	Fr263
peter	
pete	Fr047
petit	
petit	Fr052 Fr180 Fr200 Fr217 Fr250 Fr257 Fr262
petite	Fr209 Fr264
petitte	Fr264
peu	
peu	Fr003 Fr013 Fr015 Fr061 Fr062 Fr084 Fr180 Fr189 Fr208 Fr215 Fr222 Fr225 Fr239 Fr248 Fr256 Fr264 Fr265 Fr285
poy	Fr142
peur	
paour	Fr135 Fr155 Fr158 Fr207 Fr283 Fr287 Fr297
peur	Fr158 Fr208 Fr287 Fr294
Phebus	
phebus	Fr065 Fr188
pieca	
pieca	Fr114
piece	
piece	Fr262
pieces	Fr229
pied	
pie	Fr310
pietz	Fr077
pis	Fr009 Fr122 Fr146 Fr153 Fr257
pillard	
pillars	Fr125
pille	
pilles	Fr008
pin	
pin	Fr047

pique	
picque	Fr146
piquer	
picque	Fr146
pire	
pieur	Fr235
pire	Fr023 Fr026 Fr102 Fr251
pis	
pis	Fr009 Fr122 Fr146 Fr153 Fr257
piteusement	
piteusement	Fr079 Fr116 Fr128 Fr236
piteux	
piteuses	Fr059
piteux	Fr029 Fr125 Fr173 Fr267
pitie	
pitie	Fr016 Fr029 Fr032 Fr044 Fr062 Fr077 Fr086 Fr103 Fr120 Fr133 Fr148 Fr151 Fr154 Fr173 Fr183 Fr186 Fr191 Fr262 Fr267 Fr277 Fr309
place	
place	Fr045 Fr133 Fr181 Fr204 Fr236 Fr309
plain	
plain	Fr059 Fr061 Fr158 Fr175 Fr179 Fr191 Fr221 Fr267
plaine	Fr039 Fr041 Fr087 Fr153 Fr186 Fr293
plaing	Fr141
plaindre	
plaindre	Fr023 Fr089 Fr154 Fr236 Fr237
plaing	Fr141
plaint	Fr147 Fr173
plein	Fr061
plaint	
plains	Fr012 Fr067 Fr090 Fr094 Fr101 Fr102 Fr122 Fr141 Fr164 Fr219
plaint	Fr147 Fr173
plaintz	Fr012
plaire	
plaira	Fr120
plaire	Fr094
plairoit	Fr266
plaisant	Fr052 Fr057 Fr081 Fr095 Fr126 Fr133 Fr165 Fr170 Fr221 Fr236 Fr269 Fr294 Fr301
plaise	Fr102 Fr173 Fr201 Fr280 Fr301
plaisoit	Fr266
plaist	Fr028 Fr064 Fr077 Fr095 Fr112 Fr154 Fr161 Fr180 Fr224 Fr262 Fr276 Fr277 Fr278
pleu	Fr208
pleust	Fr046 Fr055 Fr304
plaisamment	
plaisamment	Fr289
plaisance	
plaisance	Fr035 Fr036 Fr080 Fr088 Fr094 Fr095 Fr104 Fr105 Fr134 Fr143 Fr145 Fr155 Fr163 Fr174 Fr185 Fr211 Fr219 Fr237 Fr248 Fr293
plaisant	
plaisant	Fr052 Fr057 Fr081 Fr095 Fr126 Fr133 Fr165 Fr170 Fr221 Fr236 Fr269 Fr294 Fr301
plaisante	Fr052
plaisir	

plaisir	Fr004 Fr068 Fr072 Fr074 Fr077 Fr080 Fr084 Fr087 Fr098 Fr109 Fr124 Fr142 Fr148 Fr160 Fr164 Fr167 Fr180 Fr197 Fr236 Fr255 Fr276 Fr280 Fr283 Fr288 Fr292 Fr294 Fr296 Fr302
plaisirs	Fr105 Fr153 Fr183
plesirs	Fr220
planer	
plenis	Fr133
planiier	
plania	Fr057
planies	Fr188
plantat	
planta	Fr210
plante	
plante	Fr118 Fr299
plantee	
plantee	Fr257
planter	
planta	Fr210
plante	Fr118 Fr299
plantee	Fr257
plein	
plein	Fr061
pleur	
pleur	Fr196 Fr256
pleurs	Fr012 Fr089 Fr147 Fr237 Fr274
plour	Fr262
plours	Fr025 Fr034 Fr059 Fr072 Fr103 Fr128 Fr237 Fr302
pleurant	
pleurant	Fr049 Fr103
pleurer	
pleur	Fr196 Fr256
pleurant	Fr049 Fr103

pleure	Fr066 Fr094 Fr110 Fr116 Fr148 Fr160 Fr233
pleurez	Fr173
plorant	Fr094
plorer	Fr062
plour	Fr262
plourant	Fr012 Fr103 Fr260
plourer	Fr062
plier	
ploie	Fr268
plume	
plume	Fr023
plumer	
plume	Fr023
plusieurs	
pluseurs	Fr017
plusieurs	Fr017 Fr055 Fr182
plutot	
plustost	Fr109
poignant	
poignant	Fr309
poindre	
poins	Fr003 Fr134 Fr295
poing	
poing	Fr082
poins	Fr003 Fr134 Fr295
point	
poins	Fr003 Fr134 Fr295
point	Fr010 Fr022 Fr025 Fr031 Fr044 Fr053 Fr055 Fr089 Fr091 Fr092 Fr094 Fr095 Fr108 Fr110 Fr117 Fr124 Fr127 Fr128 Fr136 Fr146 Fr148 Fr158 Fr164 Fr169 Fr177 Fr178 Fr179 Fr181 Fr184 Fr192 Fr194 Fr203 Fr214 Fr216 Fr219 Fr227 Fr231 Fr234 Fr238

	Fr240 Fr245 Fr246 Fr250 Fr253 Fr258 Fr261 Fr282 Fr288 Fr292
poli	
polie	Fr126
pommier	
pommier	Fr019
pont	
pont	Fr257
port	
pors	Fr226
port	Fr033 Fr168
portee	
portee	Fr030 Fr173
porter	
port	Fr033 Fr168
porte	Fr008 Fr027 Fr032 Fr059 Fr067 Fr115 Fr122 Fr140 Fr141 Fr213 Fr219 Fr252
portee	Fr030 Fr173
porter	Fr081 Fr088 Fr093 Fr115 Fr122 Fr183 Fr213 Fr263
porteray	Fr013 Fr039
porteroient	Fr015
portes	Fr081 Fr172
portoie	Fr034
Portingal	
portingal	Fr226
pos	
pos	Fr235
possible	
possible	Fr048
pouer	
pouez	Fr127 Fr174 Fr247
pouls	
pous	Fr093 Fr182
poupin	
poupin	Fr165

poupine	
poupine	Fr156
pourchasse	
pourchace	Fr045
pourchasser	
pourchace	Fr045
pourchaceras	Fr078
pourchase	Fr181
pourchasse	Fr148 Fr180 Fr311
pourchassee	Fr147
pourchassier	Fr208
prochasse	Fr148 Fr181
pourquoi	
pourquoy	Fr010 Fr067 Fr110 Fr117 Fr183 Fr200 Fr251 Fr253 Fr294
poursuite	
poursuit	Fr297
poursuitte	Fr297
pourtant	
pourtant	Fr018 Fr024 Fr046 Fr124 Fr135 Fr145 Fr177 Fr243 Fr297 Fr307
pourtraire	
pourtraicte	Fr043
pourvoir	
pourveu	Fr234
pourvoie	Fr099 Fr305
pourvoir	Fr042 Fr224 Fr225 Fr227 Fr283 Fr301
pourvoye	Fr193
pourvoyance	
pourveance	Fr120 Fr139
pourvoiance	Fr139
pous	
pous	Fr093 Fr182
pousse	
pousse	Fr252
pousser	
pousse	Fr252

pratique	
pratique	Fr073
pratiquer	
pratique	Fr073
pre	
pre	Fr082
predestiner	
predestine	Fr146
preindre	
prent	Fr134 Fr138
premier	
premier	Fr300
premiere	Fr035 Fr108
prendre	
prandre	Fr036 Fr181
prandroit	Fr029
prans	Fr029 Fr056 Fr077 Fr227
preigne	Fr036 Fr061 Fr277
prenant	Fr294
prendra	Fr060 Fr309
prendray	Fr054 Fr303
prendre	Fr134 Fr174 Fr175 Fr181 Fr229 Fr267
prendroit	Fr029
prenez	Fr220 Fr221 Fr255 Fr276 Fr305
prengne	Fr277
prenoie	Fr036
prens	Fr029 Fr051 Fr095 Fr115 Fr170 Fr214 Fr288
prent	Fr134 Fr138
priegne	Fr036 Fr061
prins	Fr040 Fr092 Fr093 Fr124 Fr181 Fr242
pris	Fr011 Fr032 Fr082 Fr092 Fr153 Fr182 Fr228 Fr256 Fr282 Fr295
pry	Fr029 Fr067 Fr311

preordonner	
preordonnee	Fr205
preparer	
prepare	Fr230
pres	
pres	Fr035 Fr052 Fr058 Fr088 Fr090 Fr118 Fr178 Fr262
prez	Fr088
prescrire	
perscris	Fr101
presence	
presence	Fr006 Fr144
present	
present	Fr004 Fr190 Fr201 Fr296
presente	
presente	Fr079 Fr265
presentement	
presentement	Fr131
presenter	
presenta	Fr248
presente	Fr079 Fr265
presenter	Fr201
presque	
presque	Fr222 Fr264 Fr295
presques	Fr129
prezque	Fr264
presse	
presse	Fr079 Fr151
presser	
presse	Fr079 Fr151
pret	
preste	Fr047 Fr299
prestre	Fr217 Fr299
pretendre	
pretendant	Fr016
pretendu	Fr129
pretre	
prestre	Fr217 Fr299

pri	
pri	Fr029 Fr169
pris	Fr011 Fr032 Fr082 Fr092 Fr153 Fr182 Fr228 Fr256 Fr282 Fr295
prier	
pri	Fr029 Fr169
priant	Fr290 Fr307
prie	Fr018 Fr029 Fr035 Fr045 Fr061 Fr064 Fr065 Fr067 Fr160 Fr169 Fr193 Fr236 Fr247
prier	Fr125 Fr173
priez	Fr173
pry	Fr029 Fr067 Fr311
priere	
priere	Fr154 Fr262
prim	
prime	Fr016 Fr139
princesse	
prince	Fr135
princesse	Fr198 Fr306
principal	
principale	Fr263
printemps	
printemps	Fr301
priser	
prise	Fr018 Fr056 Fr093 Fr199 Fr207
prisent	Fr225
prisonnier	
prison	Fr216
prisonnier	Fr194
prive	
prive	Fr279 Fr285
privement	
privement	Fr050
priver	
prive	Fr279 Fr285

prix	
pris	Fr011 Fr032 Fr082 Fr092 Fr153 Fr182 Fr228 Fr256 Fr282 Fr295
prochain	
prochains	Fr196
prouchaine	Fr041 Fr087 Fr222
prochainement	
prochainement	Fr144
profit	
proffit	Fr204
proufit	Fr024
promesse	
promesse	Fr151 Fr194
promettre	
promettez	Fr273
prometz	Fr118
promis	Fr017 Fr136 Fr148 Fr228
promys	Fr148
prononcer	
pronance	Fr085
prononce	Fr085
propice	
propice	Fr205
propos	
propos	Fr040 Fr048 Fr153 Fr292
proposer	
propos	Fr040 Fr048 Fr153 Fr292
propose	Fr048 Fr264 Fr299
propre	
propre	Fr029
prouver	
prou	Fr095
prouvee	Fr020
public	
publique	Fr073
publier	

publie	Fr158
publiez	Fr311
puce	
pusse	Fr195
pucelle	
pucelle	Fr202
puer	
pue	Fr112
puissance	
puissance	Fr036 Fr062 Fr068 Fr071 Fr115 Fr134 Fr154 Fr174 Fr210 Fr211 Fr216 Fr256 Fr293
puissant	
puissante	Fr062
punir	
pugnie	Fr112
pugny	Fr200
pur	
pur	Fr270
quanque	
quamque	Fr028 Fr166
quanque	Fr028
quenouillette	
quenoullecte	Fr243
querelle	
querelle	Fr054 Fr202 Fr249
querir	
querant	Fr294
quere	Fr109 Fr163
querent	Fr225
queres	Fr181
querez	Fr252
querir	Fr006 Fr087 Fr176 Fr198 Fr268
querray	Fr278
querroye	Fr167 Fr297
queure	Fr012 Fr207
quier	Fr111
quiere	Fr163
quiers	Fr154
quiert	Fr240
quire	Fr040
quis	Fr077
queue	
queulx	Fr025
queux	
queulx	Fr025
quille	
quilles	Fr008
quinze	
xv	Fr243
quitter	
quicter	Fr265
quitte	Fr076 Fr078
quitter	Fr265
quoi	
quoy	Fr003 Fr009 Fr010 Fr020 Fr040 Fr062 Fr067 Fr071 Fr072 Fr075 Fr083 Fr090 Fr093 Fr110 Fr130 Fr180 Fr202 Fr208 Fr215 Fr223 Fr225 Fr230 Fr265 Fr267
raccointer	
racoincter	Fr258
raccueil	
racueil	Fr001
racine	
racine	Fr210
rage	
rage	Fr213
rai	
rays	Fr188
raide	
roide	Fr309
rain	
rains	Fr122
raison	

raison	Fr115 Fr128 Fr135 Fr137 Fr204 Fr254
ramasse	
ramasse	Fr272
ramer	
ramasse	Fr272
range	
range	Fr048
ranger	
range	Fr048
ranger	Fr280
renge	Fr048
rappeler	
rapelle	Fr090
rapport	
rapors	Fr114
rappors	Fr114
rapport	Fr033 Fr112
rapporter	
raporte	Fr213
rapport	Fr033 Fr112
rapporte	Fr213
rapporter	Fr115 Fr213
rassembler	
rassemble	Fr055
ravaler	
ravallee	Fr295
ravi	
ravi	Fr254
ravie	Fr077 Fr086 Fr171
ravy	Fr254
ravye	Fr040 Fr109
ravir	
ravi	Fr254
ravie	Fr077 Fr086 Fr171
ravy	Fr254
ravye	Fr040 Fr109
rebelle	
rebelle	Fr085 Fr202
rebeller	

rebelle	Fr085 Fr202
rebours	
rebours	Fr128 Fr193 Fr197
rebouter	
rebouter	Fr290
recevoir	
recay	Fr141
reccay	Fr141
recepvoir	Fr015 Fr030 Fr167
receu	Fr036
recevoir	Fr015 Fr030 Fr062 Fr111 Fr167 Fr224 Fr263
recevons	Fr163
recheves	Fr170
recoi	Fr141
recoit	Fr302
recoy	Fr141
recue	Fr036
reczoy	Fr141
reclamer	
reclame	Fr033 Fr050 Fr053 Fr166 Fr176 Fr288
reclamer	Fr175
recommencer	
recommanceroie	Fr100
recompenser	
recompensez	Fr244
reconfort	
resconfort	Fr127 Fr148 Fr198
reconforter	
reconfort	Fr052 Fr127 Fr136 Fr148 Fr167 Fr200
reconforte	Fr232
recorder	
recorday	Fr281
recourir	
recourir	Fr241 Fr255
recours	Fr109 Fr113 Fr136 Fr255
recours	

recours	Fr109 Fr113 Fr136 Fr255
recousse	
rescousse	Fr252
recouvrance	
recouvrance	Fr036
recouvrer	
recoeuvre	Fr232
recouvrer	Fr062
recueil	
recueil	Fr001 Fr037 Fr071 Fr090 Fr129
recueille	
recueille	Fr025
recueillir	
recueil	Fr001 Fr037 Fr071 Fr090 Fr129
recueille	Fr025
reculer	
reculer	Fr001
redempteur	
redempteur	Fr205
redire	
redire	Fr021
redonde	
redonde	Fr143
redonder	
redonde	Fr143
reduire	
reduit	Fr004
reduit	
reduit	Fr004
refaire	
refaire	Fr279
reffait	Fr295
refondre	
reffaindre	Fr237
refraindre	
refraindre	Fr217 Fr237
refreindre	

refraindre	Fr217 Fr237
refus	
refus	Fr001
refuser	
refusant	Fr169
refusee	Fr281
refuser	Fr081
regard	
regard	Fr065 Fr086 Fr123 Fr142 Fr169 Fr173 Fr256 Fr269
regart	Fr123 Fr142 Fr169 Fr191 Fr201 Fr232 Fr240 Fr248 Fr269 Fr309
regarder	
regardant	Fr107
regarder	Fr058 Fr169 Fr263
regardons	Fr184
regle	
rigle	Fr116
regne	
regne	Fr070
regner	
regne	Fr070
regnent	Fr137
regret	
regres	Fr297
regret	Fr161 Fr187
regrets	Fr297
regretz	Fr006 Fr101 Fr128 Fr140 Fr168 Fr215 Fr297
regrez	Fr021 Fr128 Fr244 Fr297
regretter	
regret	Fr161 Fr187
regretee	Fr030 Fr173
regrette	Fr030
regretter	Fr072
rejouir	

resioir	Fr296
resiouir	Fr241 Fr285
resiouis	Fr234
resiouy	Fr035 Fr289
resiouye	Fr297
resiouyr	Fr027
resioye	Fr117
resjoie	Fr305
resjouie	Fr297
resjouir	Fr268
resjouy	Fr134 Fr232 Fr284
resjoye	Fr117 Fr312
related to casser	
fricassa	Fr123
relever	
relever	Fr114
reveler	Fr114
remaindre	
remains	Fr122
remanoir	Fr030
remays	Fr260
remanoir	
remains	Fr122
remanoir	Fr030
remanoyr	Fr030
remays	Fr260
remede	
remede	Fr062 Fr070 Fr251 Fr265
remembrance	
remenbrance	Fr256
remettre	
remis	Fr136
remplir	
remplie	Fr086
remplis	Fr244
remply	Fr006 Fr278
rencontrer	
rencontray	Fr310
rendre	

rendes	Fr270
rendray	Fr174
rendre	Fr016 Fr229 Fr260 Fr307
rendu	Fr304
rendue	Fr129 Fr310
rens	Fr174 Fr223 Fr246
renom	
renom	Fr034 Fr088 Fr156 Fr253
renon	Fr088
renomme	
renommee	Fr057
renommer	
renommee	Fr057
renonce	
renonce	Fr085 Fr157
renoncer	
enrinonce	Fr120
renonce	Fr085 Fr157
renouveler	
renouvelle	Fr202 Fr301 Fr308
renouvelle	
renouvelle	Fr202 Fr301 Fr308
rente	
rente	Fr290 Fr291
renter	
rente	Fr290 Fr291
renvoyer	
renuy	Fr076
renvoyer	Fr304
repaire	
repaire	Fr241
repaitre	
repeurent	Fr245
reponse	
response	Fr085
repos	
repos	Fr142 Fr153 Fr187 Fr195

repose	
repose	Fr142 Fr195
reposer	
repos	Fr142 Fr153 Fr187 Fr195
reposasse	Fr208
repose	Fr142 Fr195
reprendre	
reprendre	Fr229
repris	Fr182
reprise	FR207 FR253
representer	
representa	Fr248
reprise	
reprise	FR207 FR253
reproche	
reproche	Fr135 Fr307
reprocher	
reproche	Fr135 Fr307
reprouche	FR135 FR182
reproucher	Fr249
reprouchable	
reprouchable	Fr073
reprouche	
reprouche	FR135 FR182
reprouver	
reprouvee	Fr020
reputer	
repute	Fr057
requerir	
requerant	Fr045
requerir	Fr198
requeron	Fr253
requerre	Fr308
requier	Fr086 Fr104 Fr154 Fr311 Fr312
requiere	Fr231
requiers	Fr061 Fr077 Fr104 Fr158 Fr172 Fr224
requiert	Fr158
requis	Fr248
requise	Fr185
requete	
requeste	Fr162
rescourre	
recoux	Fr289
reserver	
reserve	Fr133
resplendissant	
resplendissant	Fr188
ressembler	
resemble	Fr055 Fr244
resservir	
rasservy	Fr267
ressort	
ressort	Fr052 Fr120
ressortir	
ressort	Fr052 Fr120
retenance	
retenance	Fr308
retenir	
retenir	Fr087 Fr201
retenons	Fr163
retenu	Fr143 Fr234
retien	Fr056 Fr249
retenue	
retenue	Fr013 Fr166 Fr266
retien	
retien	Fr056 Fr249
retirer	
retires	Fr170
retour	
retour	Fr001 Fr021 Fr051 Fr170 Fr269
retourner	
retourner	Fr254
retournera	Fr038
retournez	Fr223
retraire	
retraicte	Fr299

retraire	Fr153 Fr241
retrairoit	Fr100
retraite	
retraite	Fr299
reveiller	
resveille	Fr107
resveillier	Fr110
reveille	Fr107 Fr195
reveiller	Fr110
reveillier	Fr110
reveler	
revele	Fr024
revenir	
reveneras	Fr281
revenez	Fr082
revenir	Fr080 Fr296
revenras	Fr281
revint	Fr096
revenue	
revenue	Fr141
reverdir	
reverdir	Fr257
revers	
revers	Fr209 Fr299
reverser	
reverse	Fr199
revoir	
reveoir	Fr167
revoir	Fr245 Fr283
revoiray	Fr049
revoye	Fr154 Fr164
revoyer	
revoye	Fr154 Fr164
rhetorique	
retoricque	Fr173
riant	
riant	Fr165 Fr170 Fr256
riche	
riche	Fr267

richesse	
richesse	Fr039 Fr185 Fr240 Fr306
rien	
rien	Fr022 Fr023 Fr026 Fr028 Fr031 Fr035 Fr036 Fr039 Fr040 Fr048 Fr055 Fr056 Fr062 Fr063 Fr066 Fr070 Fr078 Fr092 Fr098 Fr104 Fr122 Fr132 Fr157 Fr163 Fr176 Fr211 Fr229 Fr231 Fr247 Fr249 Fr276 Fr282 Fr292 Fr295 Fr297 Fr303 Fr307 Fr308
riens	Fr022 Fr027 Fr043 Fr048 Fr053 Fr055 Fr062 Fr066 Fr067 Fr083 Fr092 Fr094 Fr104 Fr110 Fr114 Fr115 Fr117 Fr153 Fr155 Fr179 Fr200 Fr203 Fr222 Fr223 Fr224 Fr226 Fr228 Fr237 Fr239 Fr257 Fr282 Fr283 Fr286 Fr297 Fr305 Fr307
rigoureux	
rigoureulx	Fr195
rigoureux	Fr071 Fr114
rigueur	
regueur	Fr148
rigeur	Fr072 Fr145 Fr148 Fr151
rigueur	Fr066 Fr120 Fr145 Fr147 Fr148 Fr168 Fr171 Fr200 Fr219
rime	
rime	Fr135
rire	
riez	Fr099
rire	Fr064 Fr177

ris	Fr025 Fr068 Fr102 Fr122 Fr223 Fr233 Fr302
rit	Fr148
risser	
risee	Fr281
rive	
rive	Fr149
riviere	
riviere	Fr052 Fr165
robe	
robe	Fr093 Fr183
rober	
robe	Fr093 Fr183
rogo	
rogo	Fr217
roi	
roy	Fr010 Fr065 Fr134 Fr265 Fr283
rompre	
rompre	Fr012 Fr037 Fr299
romprisse	Fr108
romproit	Fr146
rond	
ront	Fr047
ronger	
ronger	Fr252
rosee	
rosee	Fr281
rousee	Fr281

rossignol	
rousignol	Fr192
roue	
roe	Fr114
rouge	
rouges	Fr008
rougir	
rougy	Fr242
route	
roucte	Fr003
rover	
rover	Fr124
royal	
reale	Fr263
royaume	
royame	Fr158 Fr172
royaulme	Fr307
royaume	Fr172
rude	
rudes	Fr223
rudement	
rudement	Fr076
rudesse	
rudesse	Fr020 Fr044 Fr052 Fr145 Fr186 Fr302
rue	
rue	Fr020
ruser	
ruses	Fr181

Lemma	
Variant	Song Number
sable	
saible	Fr059
sac	
sac	Fr008
sage	
sage	Fr035 Fr229 Fr254
saige	Fr126 Fr170 Fr254
saiges	Fr225
saillir	
saillant	Fr296
saillir	Fr013 Fr221
saudront	Fr237
sauldray	Fr303
sain	
saine	Fr087
saint	
saint	Fr045 Fr057 Fr150
sancte	Fr142 Fr148
Saint Quentin	
saint quentin	Fr057
saisir	
saisir	Fr098
saisye	Fr044
saison	
saison	Fr121 Fr127 Fr135 Fr136 Fr137 Fr204
salaire	
salaire	Fr302
salut	
salut	Fr033 Fr227
saner	
saner	Fr070
sanglantement	
sanglantement	Fr170
sangle	
sengle	Fr093
sanglot	
sanglous	Fr300
sanguin	
sanguine	Fr262
sante	
sante	Fr062 Fr111 Fr148 Fr288
satin	
satin	Fr058
satisfaction	
sactifacion	Fr238
saut	
sault	Fr305
sauter	
saulte	Fr010
sauvement	
saulvement	Fr024
savance	
savance	Fr104 Fr248
savence	Fr104
saveur	
saveur	Fr057
savourer	
saveure	Fr110 Fr127
savoureux	
savoureux	Fr195 Fr221
secourir	
secourir	Fr168 Fr198 Fr241 Fr268 Fr283
secouru	Fr304
sequere	Fr148
sequeure	Fr012 Fr025 Fr066 Fr110 Fr134 Fr148 Fr160
sequeurt	Fr309
secours	

secours	Fr014 Fr017 Fr044 Fr103 Fr109 Fr128 Fr136 Fr179 Fr198 Fr302 Fr306
secret	
secre	Fr024
secres	Fr017
secret	Fr251
secretz	Fr017 Fr114
secretaire	
secretaire	Fr037
secretement	
secretement	Fr024 Fr152 Fr164
seigneur	
seigneur	Fr217
signeur	Fr051
seigneurie	
seignourie	Fr212
sejour	
seiours	Fr017
sejour	Fr051 Fr262 Fr269 Fr283
semblablement	
semblablement	Fr056
semblance	
semblance	Fr095
semblant	
samblant	Fr081
semblans	Fr029 Fr090 Fr209 Fr219
semblant	Fr087 Fr191 Fr245 Fr251
semble	
semble	Fr003 Fr021 Fr041 Fr055 Fr092 Fr139 Fr164 Fr184 Fr231 Fr249 Fr292 Fr295
sembler	
samblois	Fr081
semblans	Fr029 Fr090 Fr209 Fr219

semblant	Fr087 Fr191 Fr245 Fr251
semble	Fr003 Fr021 Fr041 Fr055 Fr092 Fr139 Fr164 Fr184 Fr231 Fr249 Fr292 Fr295
semer	
seme	Fr059
senestre	
senestre	Fr069 Fr217
sentence	
sentence	Fr085
sentier	
sentier	Fr004
sentir	
sant	Fr116
sent	Fr116
sente	Fr062 Fr066 Fr142 Fr148
senti	Fr304
sentir	Fr089
sentu	Fr304 Fr309
separer	
separe	Fr230
separee	Fr183
sept	
sept	Fr020
sergent	
sergant	Fr017
sergent	Fr017 Fr034
Sergent d'Amours	
sergent d amours	Fr017
Sergent Dangier	
sergent dangier	Fr034
serment	
sermens	Fr219
serment	Fr194
servage	
servage	Fr254
servant	

servans	Fr302
servant	Fr047 Fr129 Fr169 Fr173 Fr191 Fr234 Fr248 Fr267 Fr303
servante	Fr047
servent	Fr204
service	
service	Fr022 Fr266 Fr302
servir	
serf	Fr267
sers	Fr051 Fr265
sert	Fr105 Fr248
servi	Fr085
servie	Fr011 Fr086
servir	Fr040 Fr061 Fr085 Fr097 Fr104 Fr107 Fr127 Fr132 Fr155 Fr175 Fr180 Fr182 Fr228 Fr230 Fr247 Fr248 Fr268 Fr282 Fr292 Fr294 Fr297 Fr307
servira	Fr177 Fr262
serviray	Fr050 Fr103 Fr108 Fr228 Fr278
servirons	Fr104
serviroye	Fr063
servis	Fr118
servy	Fr025 Fr076 Fr082 Fr085 Fr228 Fr267 Fr302
serviteur	
serviteur	Fr006 Fr013 Fr031 Fr039 Fr046 Fr064 Fr139 Fr151 Fr173 Fr208 Fr256 Fr266 Fr311
serviteurs	Fr204 Fr290
seul	
sceulle	Fr163
soulle	Fr072
signe	
signe	Fr013
signer	
segneroit	Fr299
simple	
simple	Fr124
simplesse	
simplesse	Fr302
socquet	
socque	Fr170
soir	
soir	Fr020 Fr030 Fr052 Fr076 Fr122 Fr245
soirs	Fr012
soleil	
soleil	Fr205
somme	
somme	Fr003 Fr138 Fr211
sommer	
somme	Fr003 Fr138 Fr211
sommer	Fr138
songer	
songer	Fr148
songier	Fr148
songoie	Fr267
sonner	
sonner	Fr126
sort	
sort	Fr297
sortir	
sortir	Fr252
souci	
soucy	Fr021 Fr200 Fr207 Fr289
soussi	Fr005 Fr038 Fr196 Fr200
soucie	
soussie	Fr286
soudain	
soudaine	Fr087
soudainement	

soudainement	Fr282
soudard	
soudart	Fr173
soudre	
soudront	Fr237
souffler	
soufflez	Fr003
souffrete	
soufferte	Fr060
souffrir	
dessoufferte	Fr060
seuffir	Fr087
seuffire	Fr196
seuffre	Fr062 Fr067 Fr087 Fr141 Fr213
seuffrent	Fr136
souffire	Fr179 Fr260
souffre	Fr087
souffrez	Fr302
souffrir	Fr089 Fr135 Fr276
souffrirent	Fr245
suffre	Fr141
souhait	
souhait	Fr114
souhaiter	
seuhecte	Fr243
souait	Fr279
souhaictier	Fr022
souhaidier	Fr022 Fr285
souhaitant	Fr087
souhaite	Fr064 Fr214
souhaitez	Fr072
souhaitier	Fr022
souillir	
saillir	Fr013 Fr221
soulagement	
soulagement	Fr276
soulas	

soulas	Fr004 Fr157 Fr165 Fr188 Fr220 Fr262 Fr274
souloir	
seaut	Fr047
souloie	Fr034 Fr106 Fr157 Fr312
souloit	Fr211
souloye	Fr274
soumettre	
soubmis	Fr208 Fr228
soubmise	Fr080
submis	Fr228
submise	Fr080 Fr185
soupir	
soupirs	Fr300
souspirs	Fr237
souxpirs	Fr101
soupirer	
soupir	Fr237
soupirant	Fr082
soupire	Fr026 Fr116 Fr160
souppire	Fr102
souspire	Fr012
souple	
souple	Fr069
source	
source	Fr072
sourcil	
sourcil	Fr020
sourdre	
sourdront	Fr237
sousprendre	
soupris	Fr182
soutenance	
soustenance	Fr163
soutenir	
soucte	Fr003
soustenant	Fr054
soustendra	Fr043

soustenir	Fr168 Fr302
soustent	Fr146
soustiendray	Fr050
soustient	Fr036 Fr146
soutien	
soustien	Fr036 Fr132 Fr249 Fr276
soutien	Fr036
souvenance	
souvenance	Fr110 Fr144 Fr163 Fr174 Fr211 Fr219 Fr256 Fr308
souvenir	
souvenir	Fr021 Fr071 Fr080 Fr141 Fr159 Fr168 Fr169 Fr268 Fr293 Fr296 Fr303
souvenue	Fr288
souviegne	Fr283
souvient	Fr031 Fr119 Fr126 Fr130 Fr157 Fr240
souvint	Fr096
souvlent	Fr119
souvent	
souvant	Fr116 Fr122 Fr209 Fr234 Fr279 Fr285
souvent	Fr042 Fr049 Fr050 Fr089 Fr116 Fr138 Fr164 Fr207 Fr243 Fr290
souventesfois	
souventeffoiz	Fr167 Fr292
souventefoiz	Fr167
submerger	
semergoie	Fr267
subtil	
soubtille	Fr047
subtille	Fr047
sueur	
sueur	Fr120
suffire	
souffira	Fr228
souffirent	Fr245
souffist	Fr226
suffisance	
soufficance	Fr163
souffisance	Fr028 Fr062 Fr104 Fr154 Fr163
suffisant	
souffisante	Fr062 Fr265
souffissante	Fr062
suffisante	Fr062
suffrage	
souffrage	Fr170
suivre	
sieut	Fr110
suit	Fr110
suivra	Fr134
suivre	Fr108 Fr136
sujet	
subget	Fr005
subgiet	Fr005
supernel	
supernal	Fr205
suppediter	
supeditant	Fr205
supplier	
suppli	Fr052
supplie	Fr033 Fr044 Fr086 Fr155 Fr158 Fr269
supplier	Fr125
suppliez	Fr311
supplions	Fr205
supporter	
suporte	Fr213
suporter	Fr213
supporte	Fr115 Fr213
supporter	Fr115 Fr213
sûr	
seure	Fr002 Fr025 Fr066 Fr110 Fr127 Fr134

	Fr160 Fr207 Fr247 Fr284
surdorer	
surdorez	Fr019
sûrete	
seurte	Fr067 Fr068 Fr142
surmonter	
seurmonte	Fr135
surplus	
seurplus	Fr028 Fr105 Fr236
sourplus	Fr028
surplus	Fr037 Fr063 Fr090
survenir	
seurvient	Fr119
Symonet le Breton	
symonet le breton	Fr084
table ronde	
table ronde	Fr133
taille	
taille	Fr010
taillee	Fr043
taillee	
taillee	Fr043
tailler	
taille	Fr010
taillee	Fr043
taire	
taire	Fr037 Fr279
tais	Fr099 Fr135
taise	Fr102
talent	
talant	Fr251
tanner	
tanit	Fr289
tant	
tant	Fr004 Fr009 Fr013 Fr016 Fr019 Fr026 Fr028 Fr029 Fr030 Fr032 Fr035 Fr037 Fr040 Fr041 Fr048
	Fr049 Fr050 Fr061 Fr062 Fr065 Fr066 Fr067 Fr070 Fr074 Fr078 Fr082 Fr083 Fr087 Fr089 Fr090 Fr095 Fr096 Fr097 Fr100 Fr104 Fr106 Fr107 Fr114 Fr123 Fr127 Fr128 Fr129 Fr130 Fr131 Fr134 Fr140 Fr150 Fr153 Fr154 Fr155 Fr156 Fr157 Fr164 Fr165 Fr170 Fr173 Fr175 Fr176 Fr180 Fr181 Fr184 Fr185 Fr187 Fr188 Fr194 Fr197 Fr199 Fr200 Fr201 Fr203 Fr208 Fr211 Fr214 Fr215 Fr216 Fr222 Fr225 Fr237 Fr238 Fr239 Fr245 Fr247 Fr248 Fr259 Fr260 Fr263 Fr264 Fr266 Fr272 Fr273 Fr275 Fr276 Fr278 Fr281 Fr284 Fr285 Fr286 Fr287 Fr288 Fr289 Fr290 Fr291 Fr292 Fr294 Fr295 Fr296 Fr297 Fr298 Fr304 Fr308 Fr309 Fr312
tantet	
tantet	Fr250
tantot	
tantost	Fr165 Fr226 Fr281
tapir	
tapiroye	Fr235
tarder	
tarde	Fr288
tarder	Fr044
tart	Fr161 Fr222 Fr256 Fr293 Fr294
tater	

taste	Fr047
tatin	
tatin	Fr058
teindre	
taint	Fr160
tellement	
telement	Fr066
tellement	Fr066 Fr151
tempetatif	
tempestatif	Fr146
tempete	
tempeste	Fr106
temps	
temps	Fr020 Fr021 Fr030 Fr032 Fr036 Fr049 Fr077 Fr078 Fr080 Fr101 Fr125 Fr136 Fr137 Fr144 Fr204 Fr228 Fr264 Fr277 Fr286 Fr295 Fr296 Fr297 Fr312
tendre	
taindre	Fr237
tendant	Fr169
tendray	Fr088 Fr249 Fr303 Fr307
tendre	Fr016
tendroye	Fr266
tenre	Fr016
tenebreux	
tenebreuse	Fr206
tenir	
teinnent	Fr223
tenant	Fr297
tendra	Fr043
tendroit	Fr266
tenes	Fr216
tenez	Fr003 Fr220
tenir	Fr194 Fr201 Fr209 Fr231 Fr250 Fr252 Fr289 Fr303
tenoit	Fr299
tenons	Fr084
tenoye	Fr297
tenres	Fr020
tenu	Fr020 Fr024 Fr143 Fr234
tenue	Fr002 Fr143 Fr166 Fr215 Fr239 Fr259 Fr270 Fr273
tiegne	Fr108 Fr277
tien	Fr028 Fr029 Fr040 Fr056 Fr064 Fr130 Fr132 Fr207 Fr229 Fr231 Fr249 Fr273 Fr276 Fr297 Fr307
tiendray	Fr088 Fr307
tiendroit	Fr132
tiengne	Fr277
tienne	Fr079
tiennent	Fr136
tiens	Fr027 Fr028 Fr043 Fr083 Fr153 Fr171 Fr207 Fr215 Fr243 Fr246 Fr273 Fr275 Fr297 Fr306 Fr307 Fr309
tient	Fr010 Fr020 Fr058 Fr082 Fr105 Fr135 Fr136 Fr157 Fr195 Fr213 Fr222 Fr240 Fr246 Fr283
tenue	
tenue	Fr002 Fr143 Fr166 Fr215 Fr239 Fr259 Fr270 Fr273
terme	
terme	Fr258
termes	Fr195 Fr209 Fr213 Fr299 Fr303
termine	
termine	Fr210
terre	
terre	Fr230

terrible	
terrible	Fr191 Fr277
terriblement	
terriblement	Fr295
terrien	
terrien	Fr157 Fr211
tete	
teste	Fr108 Fr132 Fr162
tetin	
tetin	Fr047 Fr052 Fr058 Fr130 Fr165
tette	
tettes	Fr223
timbre	
timbre	Fr059
tin	
tins	Fr047
tirer	
tirant	Fr226
tire	Fr026 Fr251
tirez	Fr069
tolir	
tollu	Fr033
tordre	
tordre	Fr012
tort	
tort	Fr033 Fr052 Fr061 Fr096 Fr103 Fr112 Fr122 Fr127 Fr160 Fr200 Fr222 Fr271 Fr273
tot	
toult	Fr025
toucher	
touchant	Fr024
touche	Fr130
toucher	Fr304
toudis	
toudiz	Fr111
tousdis	Fr296

toujours	
toujours	Fr289
tousiours	Fr005 Fr028 Fr040 Fr059 Fr078 Fr083 Fr088 Fr117 Fr127 Fr133 Fr138 Fr145 Fr155 Fr164 Fr179 Fr257 Fr261 Fr270 Fr297
tousjours	Fr004 Fr026 Fr028 Fr032 Fr037 Fr079 Fr088 Fr091 Fr103 Fr114 Fr117 Fr127 Fr138 Fr145 Fr153 Fr155 Fr219 Fr222 Fr236 Fr241 Fr243 Fr247 Fr277
tour	
tour	Fr001 Fr051 Fr110 Fr262 Fr269 Fr283
tours	Fr025 Fr103 Fr128 Fr193 Fr212 Fr219 Fr302
tourment	
torment	Fr032
tourmens	Fr291
tourment	Fr001 Fr116 Fr140 Fr164 Fr195 Fr260
tourmente	
tourmente	Fr006 Fr066 Fr067 Fr187
tourmenter	
tourmente	Fr006 Fr066 Fr067 Fr187
tourmentee	Fr183
tourmentent	Fr074
tourner	
torne	Fr195
tour	Fr001 Fr051 Fr110 Fr262 Fr269 Fr283
tournant	Fr001
tournay	Fr001
tourne	Fr001 Fr128 Fr133 Fr195

tourner	Fr001
tours	Fr025 Fr103 Fr128 Fr193 Fr212 Fr219 Fr302
tournoi	
tournay	Fr001
trahison	
traison	Fr191
train	
train	Fr252
traire	
traire	Fr094 Fr153 Fr241 Fr282
trayre	Fr282
traiter	
traicte	Fr073 Fr076 Fr142
trait	Fr069 Fr210
traitre	
traitres	Fr101
transir	
transi	Fr172 Fr222 Fr236
transporte	
transporte	Fr032 Fr115
transporter	
transporte	Fr032 Fr115
travail	
travail	Fr015
traveil	Fr015 Fr276
travailler	
traveillez	Fr311
travers	
travers	Fr209 Fr309
trembler	
tremblant	Fr191
trepasser	
trepasse	Fr148
trespassa	Fr123
trespasse	Fr116 Fr148 Fr180 Fr272 Fr311
trespassee	Fr287
trespassent	Fr191
tresdolent	
tresdolant	Fr297
tresdolente	Fr061 Fr297
tresfort	
treffort	Fr066 Fr309
trefort	Fr309
tresfort	Fr066 Fr072 Fr200 Fr239 Fr311 Fr312
tresforte	Fr219
treshaut	
treshault	Fr159
treshumblement	
treshumblement	Fr125
tresor	
tresor	Fr004 Fr211
trespercer	
tresperca	Fr123
trespercha	Fr123
tresplaisante	
tresplaisante	Fr188
tressuer	
tressue	Fr215 Fr292
trestant	
trestant	Fr231
trestous	
trestous	Fr054 Fr186
trestout	
trestout	Fr170 Fr292
treve	
treves	Fr142
trevue	Fr276
tribut	
tribu	Fr039
tribut	Fr039
triompher	
triumpher	Fr188
triste	
triste	Fr172 Fr183
tristesse	

tristesse	Fr032 Fr059 Fr072 Fr079 Fr145 Fr151 Fr196 Fr221 Fr223 Fr302
tristresse	Fr151 Fr274
trois	
trois	Fr038 Fr235 Fr281
troys	Fr188 Fr235
trop	
trop	Fr007 Fr020 Fr023 Fr037 Fr044 Fr048 Fr062 Fr072 Fr085 Fr088 Fr089 Fr094 Fr098 Fr099 Fr104 Fr112 Fr114 Fr121 Fr130 Fr135 Fr150 Fr151 Fr160 Fr161 Fr170 Fr174 Fr186 Fr190 Fr191 Fr192 Fr211 Fr213 Fr219 Fr229 Fr234 Fr240 Fr246 Fr256 Fr262 Fr276 Fr280 Fr284 Fr302 Fr305 Fr310
troubler	
trouble	Fr142 Fr183
troublee	Fr183
trousser	
trousse	Fr008
trouver	
treuve	Fr051 Fr074 Fr128 Fr139 Fr230 Fr272 Fr297
treuvent	Fr195
trouvast	Fr214
trouvay	Fr052 Fr057 Fr262 Fr281
trouve	Fr004 Fr128 Fr139 Fr151 Fr223
trouvee	Fr020
trouver	Fr053 Fr062 Fr175 Fr209 Fr212 Fr231 Fr259 Fr268 Fr297 Fr301
trouvera	Fr005 Fr101
trouveras	Fr254
trouverez	Fr299
trouveront	Fr137
trovay	Fr124
Troye	
troye	Fr063
tuer	
tue	Fr010 Fr110 Fr141 Fr215 Fr259 Fr273
Turcq	
turcq	Fr084
tuteur	
tuteur	Fr057
un	
ungs	Fr070
union	
union	Fr175
universite	
universitie	Fr173
user	
use	Fr091
user	Fr022 Fr209
uses	Fr181
usez	Fr022
vain	
vain	Fr181
valet	
varlet	Fr035
valeur	
valeur	Fr013 Fr039 Fr053 Fr097 Fr119 Fr287
valleur	Fr119
valliant	
vaillant	Fr063 Fr081
valoir	
valez	Fr211
valoir	Fr130
vaul	Fr302
vauldroit	Fr175

vauls	Fr081
vault	Fr001 Fr122 Fr130 Fr153 Fr285 Fr292 Fr308
van	
vans	Fr223
vanter	
vante	Fr265
vente	Fr156 Fr265 Fr275 Fr283 Fr290
venter	Fr122
veillance	
voiance	Fr139
veiller	
veil	Fr071 Fr167 Fr263
veillant	Fr103
veille	Fr180 Fr195
vellant	Fr103
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