POETIC ANTHOLOGIES OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO COLLECTIONS OF THE FRENCH SECULAR POLYPHONIC CHANSON

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ABSTRACT

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Poetic Anthologies of the Fifteenth Century and their Relationship to the French Secular Polyphonic Chanson
(under the direction of John L. Nádas)

This dissertation is a study of four poetry sources—three manuscripts and one early print—and their relationship to the fifteenth-century French secular polyphonic chanson. Three of the poetic sources are true anthologies, and all were compiled from smaller, internally consistent collections of poems, many of which poems survive with musical settings in notated sources of the period. This suggests that at least some of the exemplars from which this poetry was copied were themselves notated.

The first chapter examines Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.B.17 (the "Rohan Chansonnier"), and identifies collections from Paris and central France, as well as collections featuring poetry by Alain Chartier and members of the French royal court.

Chapter 2 investigates Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 1719, and determines that at least two, and possibly three of its constituent collections were copied from musical exemplars, including one from the French royal court of the 1470s and 80s.

Chapter 3 studies Antoine Vérard's ground-breaking print *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoricque*, an extremely important repository of many fifteenth-century chanson texts. These texts, in nineteen collections, were organized according to a carefully conceived strategy, probably by a former employee of Charles d'Orléans, the poet

Regnauld Le Queux. It is possible to identify musical collections within the volume emanating from the courts of the Burgundian duke Philippe le Bon, and Jean de Bourbon at Moulins.

Chapter 4 discusses British Library MS Lansdowne 380. This volume was written for a young, unmarried girl to serve as an instrument of her education. This was likely Elizabeth Kingston, who married William Kingston, counsellor and body man to King Henry VIII of England. The chanson texts preserved within the volume appear to reflect repertory cultivated at the court of either Antoine or Jean Croy, vassals to Philippe le Bon, and offer concrete evidence of English interest in the French polyphonic chanson of the fifteenth century.

These four poetry sources also provide information about specific compositions, allowing us to re-date specific chansons by Hayne van Ghizeghem, Loyset Compère and Alexander Agricola.

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ABBREVIATIONS

This *RISM*-based listing includes both *RISM sigla* and letter *sigla*, (in boldface) as well as commonly used names. References are to the following:

RISM = RISM Bibliothekssigel. Gesamtverzeichnis/RISM Sigla (updated 4/2007).

CCMS = *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Renaissance Manuscript Studies, I (American Institute of Musicology): Vol. 1, *A-J* (1979); Vol. 2, *K-O* (1982), Vol. 3, *P-U* (1984), Vol. 4, *V-Z and Supplement* (1988).

David Fallows. *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. (for most of the *sigla* for sources from the fifteenth century).

Manuscripts Cited

Austria

A-Ks, Stud. B. Pap. 14. Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek, Pap. 14

Salzburg, Stud. B. 1. B.36b

A-Wn, 2619. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2619 [**W2619**]

A-Wn, 3009. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 3009

A-Wn, 4119. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 4119

Belgium

B-BRs, 320. Brussels, Stadsbibliotheek, MS 320

B-Br, 2893. Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert 1.er, MS 2893

B-Br, 3827-28. Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert 1.er, MS 3827-28

B-Br, 9106. Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert 1.er, MS 9106

B-Br, 10389 (813). Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert 1.er, MS 10389

B-Br, 10541. Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert 1.er, MS 10541

B-Br, 10816. Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert 1.er, MS 10816

B-Br, 21530 (4632). Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert 1.er, MS 21530

B-Br, II 4314. Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert 1.er, MS II 4314

B-Br, IV 541. Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert 1.er, MS IV 541

B-Bc, IV 90, IV 12 74 and Tournai, Bibl. de la Ville, 94. Brussels, Koninklijk Conservatorium, Bibliotheek, MS IV 90, IV 12 74 and Tournai, Bibl. de la Ville, 94 [**Tournai/Br**]

B-Bc, 228. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 228 [**Br228**] (*CCMS*, I:1, 91-92)

Mons, Archives de l'État, MS divers #114

Namur, Archives du Royaume, Haute cour, Reg. 14 [**Namur**]

Czech Republic

Prague, Metrop. 1464

Denmark

DK-Kk, Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2º [**Cop1848**] (*CCMS*, I:1, 163-64)

DK-Kk, Perg. Haun 182°. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Perg. Haun 182°

DK-Kk, Thott 291, 8°. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 291, 8°, "Copenhagen Chansonnier" [**Cop**] (*CCMS*, I:1, 162-63)

DK-Kk, Thott 825. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 825

France

F-A, 344. Avignon, Bibl. Mun., Livrée Ceccano (*olim* Musée Calvet), MS 344

F-AM, 919. Amiens, Bibl. Mun., MS 919

F-AS, 692. Arras, Bibl. Mun., MS 692

F-B, 93. Besançon, Bibl. Mun., MS 93

F-C, 375. Carpentras, Bibl. Mun., Bibl. Inguimbertine et Musée de Carpentras, MS 375

F-CF, 47. Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. Mun., MS 47

F-CF, 249. Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. Mun., MS 249

F-CH, 101 (XIV G 22). Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 101 (XIV G 22)

F-CH, 564. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 564 (*olim* 1047) [**Chantilly**] (*RISM*, B IV:2, 128-60; *CCMS*, I:1, 147-48)

F-CH, 655. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 655

F-CV, 58. Charleville, Bibl. Mun., MS 58

F-Dm, 212. Dijon, Bibl. Mun., MS 212

F-Dm, 214. Dijon, Bibl. Mun., MS 214

F-Dm, 517. Dijon, Bibl. Mun., MS 517 (*olim* 295), "Dijon Chansonnier" [**Dij**] (*CCMS*, I:1, 168-69)

F-E, 59 (217), anc. 189. Epinal, Bibl. Mun., MS 59 (217)

F-G, 159 (1005). Grenoble, Bibl. Mun., MS 159 (1005)

F-G, 873. Grenoble, Bibl. Mun., MS 873

F-G, 1005. Grenoble, Bibl. Mun., MS 1005

F-LIsm, 18. Ligugé, Bibl. de l'Abbaye Saint-Martin MS 18

F-Lm, 402. Lille, Bibl. Mun., MS 402, (now MS 308) [**Lille402**]

F-Lm, 452. Lille, Bibl. Mun., MS 452

F-LYm, 5142. Lyon, Bibl. Mun., MS 5142

F-MOf, #236. Montpellier, Bibl. de l'Université, Faculté de Médecine, MS 236

F-NS, 7. Nîmes, Bibl. Mun., MS 7

F-Pa, 135. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 135 (*RISM*, B IV:1, 369-71)

F-Pa, 644. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 644

F-Pa, 2070. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 2070

F-Pa, 3059. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 3059

F-Pm, 58. Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 58

F-Pm, 382. Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 382

F-Pm, 515. Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 515

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Anc. #2566

F-Prothschild, 471. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Collection Germaine de Rothschild (Baronne Edouard de), MS 471

F-Prothschild, 2819. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Collection Germaine de Rothschild (Baronne Edouard de), MS 2819

F-Prothschild, 2973. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Collection Germaine de Rothschild, (Baronne Edouard de), MS 2973, (I.5.13), "Chansonnier Cordiforme" [**Cord**] (*CCMS*, I:1, 35-36)

F-Pn, Rés. Vmc. 57. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Dépt. de Musique, Rés Vmc. MS 57, "Nivelle Chansonnier" [**Niv**] (*CCMS*, I:3, 12 and I:4, 461-62)

F-Pn, fr. 190. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 190

F-Pn, fr. 450. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 450

F-Pn, fr. 477. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 477

F-Pn, fr. 843. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 843 [Machaut **M**]

F-Pn, fr. 845. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 843 [Trouv. **N**]

F-Pn, fr. 846. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 843 [Trouv. **O**] (*RISM*, B IV:1, 379-80)

F-Pn, fr. 952. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 952

F-Pn, fr. 1020. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1020

F-Pn, fr. 1104. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1104

F-Pn, fr. 1109. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1109

F-Pn, fr. 1181. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1181

F-Pn, fr. 1468. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1468

F-Pn, fr. 1546. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1546

F-Pn, fr. 1584. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1584 [Machaut **A**] (*RISM*, B IV:2, 174-78)

F-Pn, fr. 1585. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1585 [Machaut **B**] (*RISM*, B IV:2, 178-79)

F-Pn, fr. 1586. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1586 [Machaut **C**] (*RISM*, B IV:2, 179-82)

F-Pn, fr. 1587. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1586 [Machaut **D**]

F-Pn, fr. 1596. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1596 [**P1596**] (*CCMS*, I:3, 20-21 and I:4, 463)

F-Pn, fr. 1597. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1597, "Lorraine Chansonnier" [**P1597**] (*CCMS*, I:3, 21-22 and I:4, 463)

F-Pn, fr. 1679. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1679

F-Pn, fr. 1701. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1701

F-Pn, fr. 1719. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1719 [**P1719**]

F-Pn, fr. 1721. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1721 [**P1721**]

F-Pn, fr. 1722. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1722 [**P1722**]

F-Pn, fr. 1843. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1843

F-Pn, fr. 2201. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2201

F-Pn, fr. 2206. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2206

F-Pn, fr. 2230. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2230

F-Pn, fr. 2231. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2231

F-Pn, fr. 2245. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2245 [**P2245**] (*CCMS*, I:3, 22-23 and I:4, 463)

F-Pn, fr. 2307. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2307

F-Pn, fr. 2335. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2335

F-Pn, fr. 5065. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 5065

F-Pn, fr. 5391. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 5391

F-Pn, fr. 5727. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 5727

F-Pn, fr. 5872. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 5872

F-Pn, fr. 9221. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 9221 [Machaut **E**] (*RISM*, B IV:2, 182-92)

F-Pn, fr. 9223. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 9223 [**P9223**]

F-Pn, fr. 9346. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 9346, "Chansonnier de Bayeux" [**P9346**]

F-Pn, fr. 12445. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 12445

F-Pn, fr. 12490. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 12490

F-Pn, fr. 12581. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 12581 [Trouv. **a**]

F-Pn, fr. 13092. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 13092

F-Pn, fr. 15123. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 15123, "Chansonnier Pixéricourt" [**Pix**] (*CCMS*, I:3, 23-24 and I:4, 463)

F-Pn, fr. 17088. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 17088

F-Pn, fr. 19139. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 19139

F-Pn, fr. 19182. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 19182 [**P19182**]

F-Pn, fr. 19246. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 19246

F-Pn, fr. 19531. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 19531

F-Pn, fr. 20026. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 20026

F-Pn, fr. 20050. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 20050 [Trouv. **U**]

F-Pn, fr. 22545-22546. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 9221 [Machaut **F-G**]

F-Pn, fr. 24839. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 24839

F-Pn, fr. 24864. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 24864

F-Pn, fr. 25434. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 25434

F-Pn, fr. 25458. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 25458 [**P25458**]

F-Pn, fr. 25566. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 25566, MS "La Valliere" (*RISM*, B IV:1, 395-40)

F-Pn, ital. 568. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. italien 568 [**Pit**] (*RISM*, B IV:3, 436-85; *CCMS*, I:3, 25-26 and I:4, 463)

F-Pn, lat. 1193. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 1193

F-Pn, lat. 1315. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 1315

F-Pn, lat. 1357. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 1357

F-Pn, lat. 1373. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 1373

F-Pn, lat. 2607. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 2607

F-Pn, lat. 3463. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 3463

F-Pn, lat. 7179. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 7179

F-Pn, lat. 7331. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 7331

F-Pn, lat. 9363. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 9363

F-Pn, lat. 10561. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 10561

F-Pn, lat. 18020. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 18020

F-Pn, lat. 18031. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. latin 18031

F-Pn, nouv. acq. fr. 1050. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS nouv. acq. fr. 1050 [Trouv. **X**]

F-Pn, nouv. acq. fr. 4379. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS nouv. acq. fr. 4379 [**PC**] (*CCMS*, I:3, 29-31 and I:4, 463)

F-Pn, nouv. acq. fr. 6771. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS nouv. acq. fr. 6771, "Reina Codex" [**Rei**] (*RISM*, B IV:3, 485-549; *CCMS*, I:3, 33-34)

F-Pn, nouv. acq. fr. 7559. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS nouv. acq. fr. 7559 [**P7559**]

F-Pn, nouv. acq. fr. 15771. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS nouv. acq. fr. 15771 [**P15771**]

F-Pn, nouv. acq. lat. 1670. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS nouv. acq. lat. 1670

F-Psg, 2694. Paris, Bibl. Sainte Geneviève, MS 2694

F-Psg, 2700. Paris, Bibl. Sainte Geneviève, MS 2700

F-Psg, 2704. Paris, Bibl. Sainte Geneviève, MS 2704

F-Psg, 2879. Paris, Bibl. Sainte Geneviève, MS 2879

F-PO, 215. Poitiers, Bibl. Mun., MS 215

F-R, 681. Rouen, Bibl. Mun., MS 681

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F-TLm, 824. Toulouse, Bibl. Mun., Bibliothèque et du Patrimoine, MS 824

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Germany

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D-B, Kupferstichkabinett, 78.C.28. Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.C.28 (*olim* Hamilton 451) [**BerK**] (*CCMS*, I:1, 59-60 and I:4, 272)

D-B, Mus. 40021. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, MS Mus. 40021 (*olim* Z21) [**Ber40021**] (*CCMS*, I:1, 51-52 and I:4, 264) Eichstätt, 735.

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D-W, Guelf. 287 Extrav. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelferbytanus 287 Extravagantium, "Wolfenbüttel Chansonnier" [**Wolf**] (*CCMS*, I:4, 140-41)

Great Britain

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GB-Ob, Rawl. Liturg. d. 4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Liturg. d. 4 (*CCMS*, I:2, 296-97)

GB-SB, 148. Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 148

Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection, MS 2

Italy

I-Bu, 2565. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2565

I-Bc, Q16. Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q16 (*olim* 109) [**BQ 16**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 33-40; *CCMS*, I:1, 70-71 and I:4, 275-76)

I-Bc, Q17. Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q17 (*olim* 148) [**BQ 17**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 40-45; *CCMS*, I:1, 71-72 and I:4, 276)

I-Bc, Q18. Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q18 (*olim* 143) [**BQ 18**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 45-50; *CCMS*, I:1, 72-73 and I:4, 276-77)

I-Fc, Basevi 2439. Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2439, "Basevi Codex" [**FC2439**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 120-25; *CCMS*, I:1, 233-34)

I-Fl, 87. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Mediceo Palatino 87, "Squarcialupi Codex" [**Sq**]

I-Fn, 26. Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Panciatichiano 26 [**F26**] (*RISM*, B IV:4, 835-96; *CCMS*, I:1, 231-32 and I:4, 375)

I-Fn, Banco Rari 229. Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Banco Rari 229, (olim Magl. xix. 59) [**F229**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 181-95; *CCMS*, I:1, 219-20 and I:4, 370)

I-Fn, Magl. xix. 121. Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magliabechi xix. 121 [**F121**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 162-64; *CCMS*, I:1, 226-27 and I:4, 372)

I-Fn, Magl. xix. 176. Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magliabechi xix. 176 [**F176**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 171-76; *CCMS*, I:1, 229-30 and I:4, 373-74)

I-Fn, Magl. xix. 178. Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magliabechi xix. 178 [**F178**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 176-81; *CCMS*, I:1, 230 and I:4, 374)

I-Fr, 2356. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2356 [**FR2356**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 218-22; *CCMS* I:1, 244-45 and I:4, 384-85)

I-Fr, 2794. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2794 [**FR2794**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 222-27; *CCMS*, I:1, 245-46 and I:4, 385)

I-La, 184. Lucca, Archivio di stato, MS 184, "Mancini Codex," "Lucca Codex" [**Mancini**] (*RISM*, B IV:4, 929-47; *CCMS*, I:2, 125-26 and I:4, 435)

I-Nn, VIII.A.19. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuelle III, MS VIII.A.19

I-PAVu, Aldini 362. Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS Aldini 362 (*olim* 131.A.17) [**PAV**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 326-28; *CCMS*, I:3, 42 and I:4, 465)

I-PEc, 1013. Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 1013, (olim M.36) [**Per1013**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 335-37; *CCMS*, I:3, 44-45)

I-Rc, 2856. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2856 (*olim* O.V. 208), "Casanatense Chansonnier" [**RCas**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 337-45; *CCMS*, I:3, 112 and I:4, 471)

I-Rvat, Cappella Giulia, XIII. 27. Rome, Vatican City, B. A. V. MS Cappella Giulia, XIII. 27, "Cappella Giulia Chansonnier," "Medici Codex" [**RCG**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 444-51; *CCMS*, I:4, 18-19)

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I-TRmd, 1375. Trento, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (*olim* Museo provinciale d'arte), MS 1375, (*olim* MS 88) [**Tr88**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 473-86; *CCMS*, I:3, 224-25 and I:4, 478)

I-TRmd, 1376. Trento, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (*olim* Museo provinciale d'arte), MS 1376, (*olim* MS 89) [**Tr89**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 486-98; *CCMS*, I:3, 225-26 and I:4, 478)

I-TRmd, 1377. Trento, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (*olim* Museo provinciale d'arte), MS 1377, (*olim* MS 90) [**Tr90**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 498-514; *CCMS*, I:3, 226-28 and I:4, 479)

I-TRmd, 1378. Trento, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (*olim* Museo provinciale d'arte), MS 1378, (*olim* MS 91) [**Tr91**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 514-22; *CCMS*, I:3, 228-29 and I:4, 479)

I-TRmd, MS 'BL'. Trento, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (*olim* Museo provinciale d'arte), MS 'BL' [**Tr93**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 535-47; *CCMS*, I:3, 233-34 and I:4, 479)

VEcap, DCCLVII. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLVII [**Verona757**] (*RISM*, B IV:5, 562-65; *CCMS*, I:4, 77-78)

Portugal

P-Pm, 714. Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, MS 714 [**Porto**] (*CCMS*, I:2, 267-68 and I:4, 453)

Spain

E-E, V. III. 24. *El Escorial*, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, MS V. III. 24 [**EscA**] (*CCMS*, I:1, 212-13 and I:4, 368)

E-E, IV. A. 24. *El Escorial*, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, MS IV. A. 24 [**EscB**] (*CCMS*, I:1, 211-12 and I:4, 368)

E-Sco, 5-1-43. Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, MS 5-1-43 [**Col**]

E-SE, s.s. Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, MS s.s. [**Segovia**] (*CCMS*, I:3, 137-38 and I:4, 475)

Sweden

S-Sk, V.u.22. Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket, MS V.u.22

S-Uu, Vokalmusik I Handskrift 76a. Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS Vokalmusik I Handskrift 76a [**Uppsala76a**] (*CCMS*, I:3, 260 and I:4, 481)

Switzerland

CH-BEsu, 389. Bern, Bibl. Mun., MS 389 [Trouv. **C**]

CH-Gmu, lat. 34. Geneva, Bibl. musicale de la ville de Génève, MS lat. 34

CH-SGs, 461. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 461, "Fridolin Sicher's Liederbuch;" *Liber Fridolini Sichery* [**SG461**] (*CCMS*, I:3, 144-45 and I:4, 248)

CH-SGs, 841. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 841

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United States

US-BAw, 243. Baltimore, MD, Walters Art Gallery, MS 243

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US-NH, 91. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library for Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS 91, "Mellon Chansonnier" [**Mel**] (*CCMS*, I:2, 250 and I:4, 450)

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Poetic Anthologies of Fifteenth-Century France and their Relationship to Collections of French Secular Polyphonic Chansons

Background

Our knowledge of the extant secular polyphonic chanson repertory of the fifteenth century is relatively good. Currently, there are available detailed studies and dissertations as well as critical editions or facsimiles of nearly all the major chansonniers, allowing a certain measure of control over most dimensions of the genre.[1] Interest in such manuscript studies peaked in the 1970s and 80s, thus much of the available scholarship is relatively recent and benefits from advancements in such non-musical avenues of inquiry as paleography, iconography and paper studies. It has been possible, in nearly every case, to place each music collection examined in the present study within a somewhat localized geographic area of origin and to assign an approximate date for its compilation. Still, establishing where and by what date a codex was compiled is not the same as determining where and when its contents were actually composed and used; many details regarding the repertory remain elusive.

Chansonnier studies by musicologists have naturally concentrated on the musical aspects of the repertory, especially since many fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century

[1]The corpus of manuscripts and fragments containing secular polyphonic chansons from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is indexed in Herbert Kellman and Charles Hamm, eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*, 5 vols., University of Illinois Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies (American Institute of Musicology, 1979-88). An absolutely essential tool for any study of the fifteenth-century French chanson is David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), along with his database of corrections.

musical sources do not include poetic texts. In addition, many questions remain regarding authorship of the surviving verse, because poet attributions are quite rare in the musical sources. Composers such as Busnoys may have created some of the texts for their songs,[2] and, more rarely, a poet may have occasionally set his own words to music.[3] There is considerable evidence that composers frequently, if not usually, set verse written by contemporaneous poets.[4]

In general, studies of the textual aspects of late medieval music manuscripts have been restricted to the listing of known poetic concordances.[5] A handful of strictly poetic sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have particular relevance for the musical repertory. These collections of mostly lyric poetry may accurately be designated as "anthologies," as they contain a wide assortment of poems, often spanning several decades or even a century. Surprisingly, there has been no comprehensive examination of this body of verse, either by musical or literary scholars, in particular as it is physically preserved within

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[2]The rondeau cinquain *Lequel vous plairoit mieulx trouver* (which does not survive with a musical setting) is attributed to Busnoys on folio 98 of the poetry manuscript P9223, where it is surrounded by poems that appear never to have been set to music. It has been edited by Gaston Raynaud in *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1889), 153. The composer also apparently wrote the text to the lost chanson *Reposons nous entre nos amoureaux*, part of a literary exchange with his friend and fellow poet-musician Jehan Molinet. *Reposons nous* is mentioned by Noël Dupire in *Jean Molinet: La vie, les oeuvres* (Paris: E. Droz, 1932), 138, and published in volume 2, page 797, of Dupire's edition of *Les Faictz et Dictz de Jean Molinet*, 2 vols. (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1936-7). Clearly, Busnoys was capable of writing the texts to any of his nearly sixty extant French chansons.

[3]Jehan Molinet appears to have written both the text and the music to *Tart ara mon coeur sa plaisance*, a widely distributed polyphonic rondeau cinquain, which is attributed to him in two music manuscripts.

[4]Binchois, for example, set texts by Alain Chartier, as did Vide, Caron, Busnoys, and Ockeghem. Du Fay supplied settings for poetry by Le Rousselet and Antoine de Cuise, and the composer Delahaye wrote music for Villon's *Mort j'appelle de ta rigueur*. Several more poems by known authors exist with anonymous musical settings. Poems were typically set to music within a short time after their creation. David Fallows, "Binchois and the Poets," in *Binchois Studies*, ed. Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[5]An exception to this is Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), which provides summary information about each of the poetic manuscripts used as concordances for the edition of the songs.

each collection. Older "modern" editions of several poetry manuscripts have been published, but in the main they are somewhat outdated, and a few important manuscripts have been all but ignored. Literary scholars have done an excellent job of ferreting out information pertaining to the biographies of the identifiable poets, and this information could be useful in locating a particular musical setting within the chronological span of a decade or within a particular courtly sphere. What we know of Charles d'Orléans' life, for example, can help to narrow the time period within which a particular poem was created and, therefore, possibly, its musical setting.[6]

During the early years of the fifteenth century, the polyphonic chanson appears to have been cultivated primarily at the various princely and royal courts of northern Europe and from there disseminated to other centers. From about the mid-century on, however, aristocratic patrons in Italy, Spain and other European countries began actively seeking out and hiring composers of the genre as they built up their musical establishments. Still, the greatest activity (at least from the evidence of the surviving documents and sources) was centered in the Low Countries and in France, as the poets and composers associated with the genre worked primarily for the dukes of Burgundy or the French royal court and its satellite institutions. Our knowledge regarding the centers of chanson production has been expanded through the examination and interpretation of archival materials, which have been helpful in placing individual composers at particular courts at specific points in time. This

[6]Several chançon texts by Charles appear in the poetry collection known as the "Rohan Chansonnier" (hereafter Rohan). Only one of them survives with a musical setting, but their positions within the manuscript in close proximity to other texts for which we do have polyphony implies lost musical settings. All of these chançon texts date from Charles' years in England, and therefore must have been written by 1440 (Sarah Spence, *The French Chansons of Charles D'Orléans*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Ser. A, vol. 46 [New York and London: Garland, 1986]). Any musical settings of these poems would presumably have been composed by 1440, or very soon thereafter, since the handful of chançon texts written by Charles during his captivity which end up within the folios of Rohan (and which appear to have had now-lost settings), are included in the section of Rohan which I will date to the 1440s.

kind of information can clarify the contents of a musical chansonnier by indicating a particular aristocratic milieu. As an example, Leeman Perkins has uncovered documentation placing Johannes Ockeghem, Johannes Fresneau and Loyset Compère at the French royal court during the second half of the century,[7] and this information has reinforced Louise Litterick's conclusions in her study of the chansonnier London, British Library, MS Royal 20.A.XVI, whose contents reflect court repertory.[8]

Other composers active within the royal sphere of influence also contributed to the genre, as demonstrated by Paula Higgins,[9] who has shown that several song manuscripts long thought to be artifacts primarily of Burgundian culture[10] actually originated in the Loire Valley and should more properly be considered central French sources. Archival documentation supports this, placing several composers of the secular chanson in central France and/or around the Loire Valley. The court of Burgundy was also a major producer of the genre, with Gilles Binchois as its most illustrious contributor during the first half of the fifteenth century. Archival information concerning the households of the dukes of Burgundy is quite copious relative to that of many French ducal establishments and has given us a

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[7]Leeman Perkins, "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422-83)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984), 507-66.

[8]Louise Litterick Rifkin, "The Manuscript Royal 20.A.XVI of the British Library" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1976).

[9]Paula Higgins, "Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987), 213-308.

[10]Dijon. Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 517 (*olim* 295) ("Dijon Chansonnier," hereafter Dij); Wolfenbűttel. Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelferbytanus 287 Extravagantium ("Wolfenbűttel Chansonnier," hereafter Wolf); Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliotek. MS Thott 291, 8° ("Copenhagen Chansonnier," hereafter Cop); Washington, D.C. Library of Congress, Music Division, MS M2.1.L25 Case ("Laborde Chansonnier," hereafter Lab); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de Musique, Rés. Vmc. MS 57 ("Nivelle Chansonnier," hereafter Niv).

somewhat clearer picture of the personnel engaged to provide music for them.[11] Robert Morton worked for both Philippe le Bon and Charles le Téméraire,[12] and Guillaume Du Fay is known to have had some relationship with the court, although he did not have a salaried position.[13] As for repertoire, although only one surviving major collection appears to have originated at the court or within the geographical areas it controlled—the chansonnier known as *Escorial A* (hereafter EscA) is an artifact of the court of Philippe le Bon[14]—David Fallows has recently argued that Mel and RCas contain repertory that would have come from the court or from establishments within its sphere of influence.[15]

Other aristocratic centers presumably cultivated the chanson as well, but archival and/or musical evidence for them is far less plentiful. The court of Savoy is known to have employed Du Fay and Eloy d'Amerval,[16] but no attributed chansons survive by the latter, and of the twenty-plus "late" chansons by Du Fay, none can be shown conclusively to

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[11]The fundamental archival study of music at the court of Burgundy remains Jeanne Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420-1467)* (Strasburg: Heitz, 1939; Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1972).

[12]David Fallows, "Morton [Mourton, Moriton], Robert," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (accessed 2 October 2007), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

[13]David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982; New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1988), 65; Alejandro Planchart, "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and His Relationship to the Court of Burgundy," *Early Music History* 7 (1988), 117-71; idem., "The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993), 341-68.

[14]Walter H. Kemp, "The Manuscript Escorial V.III.24," *Musica disciplina* 30 (1976), 97-129; idem, *Burgundian Court Song in the Time of Binchois: The Anonymous Chansons of El Escorial, MS V.III.24* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 3.

[15]David Fallows, "Jean Molinet and the Lost Burgundian Court Chansonniers of the 1470s," in *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 83; Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance, 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 35-42.

[16]The primary studies of music at the court of Savoy are Robert Bradley, "Musical Life and Culture at Savoy, 1420-1450" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1992) and Marie-Thérèse Bouquet, "La cappella musicale dei duchi di Savoia dal 1450-1500," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 3 (1968), 233-85.

have been composed during his association with the Savoyard court from 1452-8.[17] The one music collection which can be linked to the court, Cord, preserves a repertory of songs which, rather than reflecting the activity of Savoy court composers, appears to be a collection of pieces deliberately preserved as "classic" examples at large of the genre.[18]

There is even less evidence of the musical activities undoubtedly occurring at the Bourbon court, the court of René d'Anjou and that of Charles d'Orléans. This last is particularly frustrating since, as "third person of the realm" and as a serious ambassador for peace, Charles had contact with nearly every major political figure of mid-fifteenth-century France and no doubt heard a great deal of the music of the time. Born at the royal court of France and raised by a mother who cultivated the poetic and musical arts, Charles very early developed an appreciation for music. Although there is almost no published documentation of his chapel personnel, there exists one reference to several singers in the duke's employ after 1441, including at least two known composers.[19] Charles' interest and skill in poetry is well known and was also developed at an early age. This stood him in good stead throughout the twenty-five years he was a prisoner of the English following his capture at the battle of Agincourt. The poems he wrote in captivity and brought back to the Continent in his personal autograph manuscript were copied immediately upon his release in 1440 and

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[17]Fallows, *Dufay*, 68-72.

[18]Geneviève Thibault, editor, and David Fallows, commentary, *Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu (Bibliothèque nationale, Rothschild 2973 [I.5.13])* (Paris: Société française de Musicologie, 1991), xxvi-xxvii.

[19]Guillaume le Groing (Grant) and Guillaume le Rouge are listed in a payment record (no date given) housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Pierre Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1969), 389. Paula Higgins, who has not yet published the documentation that she has found regarding Charles' chapel, lists the names of several composers employed by the duke from 1451-1465, including Jean Fedé, Guillaume Le Rouge, Guillaume le Grant, Eloy d'Amerval, and possibly Johannes Roullin. See Higgins, "Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture," 306. To date, the most detailed information regarding Charles' chapel can be found in Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364—1419: A Documentary History*, Musicological Studies 28 (Henryville/Ottawa/Binningen, 1979), 109, n. 145.

circulated widely throughout France thereafter.[20] Manuscripts preserving Charles' "English book" include Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 2070, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 19139, London, Brit. Lib., MS Lansdowne 380, and London, Brit. Lib., MS Royal 16. F. ii. Charles continued to write and to encourage others to write poetry almost until his death, leaving us an autograph collection of his verse and poems by friends and members of his household.[21] Several copies of his personal album still exist, including Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1104, Carpentras, Bibl. Mun., MS 375, Grenoble, Bibl. Mun., MS 873, and London, Brit. Lib., MS Harley 6916. Charles' poetic interests and influence appear to have reached beyond the immediate circle of his closest friends and familiars, encouraging the cultivation of poetry in the French court tradition in aristocratic centers throughout France and leaving us with a few physical witnesses of his influence. The manuscripts P9223[22] and P15771,[23] both believed

[20]The standard biography of the poet is Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans,* 235-36. Subsequent studies include François Avril and Patricia Danz Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire VIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1987); Mary-Jo Arn, "Charles of Orleans and the Poems of BL MS, Harley 682," *English Studies* 74 (1993), 222-35; eadem, *Fortunes Stabilnes: Charles of Orleans's English Book of Love* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994); eadem, "Two Manuscripts, One Mind: Charles d'Orleans and the Production of Manuscripts in Two Languages…," in *Charles d'Orléans in England 1415-1440*, ed. Mary–Jo Arn (Bury St. Edmunds: D. S. Brewer, 2000). 61-78. Charles' "English book" (although in French) was first identified by Martin Le Franc as "le livre qu'il fit en Inglant," in his *Le Champion des Dames*, lines 11907-11914, edited by Robert Deschaux, Les Classiques français du moyen âge, 5 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 3:42. The poetry in French that Charles wrote in England and subsequently brought back with him during his repatriation is not to be confused with the poetry he wrote in English.

[21]Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 25458. This manuscript has been analyzed by Pierre Champion in *Le manuscrit autographe des poésies de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: H. Champion, 1907).

[22]Edited by Raynaud as *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle*.

[23]This manuscript was first described by Annie Angremy in "Un nouveau recueil de poésies françaises du XVe siècle: Le ms. B.N. nouv. acq. fr. 15771," *Romania* 95 (1974), 3-53. A critical edition with commentary is available by Barbara Inglis, *Une nouvelle collection de poésies lyriques et courtoises du XVe siècle: Le manuscrit B.N. nouv. acq. fr. 15771*, Bibliothèque du XVe siècle, 48 (Geneva and Paris: Slatkine, 1985).

to be connected to the poet Blosseville,[24] contain poems by many of the same people who contributed to Duke Charles' manuscript, and in fact share much of the same material. Smaller, selected groups of poems by Charles and his associates appear in nearly every poetic anthology of the fifteenth century, often in close proximity to texts having extant musical settings. Such is the case for the three largest lyric verse anthologies of the century: P1719,[25] Rohan[26] and the early print by Antoine Vérard, *Le Jardin*.[27] In addition to the interest in the poetic production associated with the court at Blois, these three anthologies contain groupings of song texts that can offer clues about various aspects of the polyphonic chanson repertory.

The Poetry Sources in Relation to the Musical Sources

Although no one-to-one correspondence exists between any poetic collection and any extant musical manuscript, text groupings in certain poetic sources can offer evidence to corroborate the musical nature of the manuscripts which in some cases possibly served as their exemplars and can occasionally extend our knowledge of specific pieces. For example, one of the gatherings of the compilation P1719 contains texts of extant polyphonic chanson settings clearly associated with the French royal court of the 1460s, 70s and

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[24]But see the review of Ingles' book by Outi Merisalo in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 87 (1986), 156-60. Merisalo questions the ownership by Blosseville of the two manuscripts, and criticizes Ingles' methodology.

[25]Françoise Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…(Pièces inédites du manuscrit Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 1719): Étude et édition. Le Moyen français* 27-28 (Montreal: CERES, 1991).

[26]Martin Löpelmann, ed., *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan (XV. Jahrh.) nach der Berliner Hs. Hamilton 674*, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 44 (Göttingen: Gedruckt für die Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1923).

[27]E[ugénie] Droz and A[rthur] Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rhétorique*, 2 vols. 1. *Reproduction en fac-similé de l'édition publiée par Antoine Vérard vers 1501* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1910); 2. *Introduction et notes,* Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925).

possibly, early 80s.[28] Some of these texts are unique and speak to a larger repertory than has survived in musical notation. The way they are grouped in the manuscript suggests, further, that they were copied from what Charles Hamm has called "fascicle manuscripts."[29] Research into the organizational strategies that were employed in the compilation of musical chansonniers reveals various approaches as to how they were put together. Pav, for example, appears to have been arranged alphabetically, in part, at least, according to composer name. M902 is a unique example of a chansonnier that was organized according to musical criteria: the range and finals of songs by Binchois.[30] Dij opens with a series of alternating pieces by the composers Ockeghem and Busnoys, and also includes a section towards its final folios of four-voice combinative chansons from the 1460s.[31] Even those chansonniers that appear not to have been organized according to any particular internal criteria will often at least open with a sacred motet or an example of the hybrid genre of the chanson-motet. Such collections include but are not limited to Lab, Pix, LoA and Odh. If one is extremely lucky, a chansonnier's opening pieces might begin with initials that spell out the name of the owner or destinatee in an acrostic, as is the case for Wolf, F176 and P9346. Poetry manuscripts typically display their own rationale for the way their contents are organized, but at least a few of them appear to include groupings of texts that were copied directly from music manuscripts. The sections of these poetry manuscripts apparently copied from notated sources to some degree reflect the organizational principles that lay behind their musical

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[28]Part 2, fascicle 1, folios 26^{r}-40^{v}.

[29]Charles Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," *Acta musicologica* 34 (1962), 166-84.

[30]See Dennis Slavin, "Genre, Final and Range: Unique Sorting Procedures in a Fifteenth-Century Chansonnier," *Musica disciplina* 43 (1989), 115-39.

[31]The four-voice pieces occur on Arabic-numbered folios 172^{v} through 186^{r}.

models. The manuscript known as Rohan is the least revelatory regarding the origins of its contents, but even here, groupings of poems suggest a general organizational strategy based on text/author considerations. Rohan preserves many lyric poems by Alain Chartier in entire blocs,[32] and a handful of poems by Charles d'Orléans appear scattered throughout the volume in a way that suggests they may have had now-lost musical settings.[33] Superficially, the anthology *Le Jardin* seems to be a rather haphazard collection of lyric poetry, but Susan R. Kovacs has recently shown that its longer texts were deliberately organized according to a carefully thought out narrative strategy.[34] The shorter fixed-form poems, although not subjected to as detailed an overall organizational plan, still show groupings that can be explained as more than individual poems simply randomly found and copied. As an example, of the twelve songs within *Le Jardin* that are securely attributed to Binchois, six are scattered widely throughout the print in an apparently random fashion.[35] The grouping of the other six, however, (nos. 320, 324, 328, 329, 335 and 364) occurs within a section of forty-five total poems (nos. 320-364), which all together reflect an exemplar that contained material associated with the court of Burgundy, much of it contemporaneous with Binchois'

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[32]Fallows, "Binchois and the Poets," 199-219.

[33]*Se ma doulleur vous savies*, folio 82^{r}; *Vostre bouche dit baises moy*, folio 111^{v}; *Ce moys de may non pareille deesse*, folio 123^{r}; *Par le pourchas du regard de mes yeux*, folio 123^{v}; *Je ne les prise pas deulx blans*, folios 126^{r}-126^{v}; *Puys que je ne puys eschapper*, folios 127^{v}-128^{r}. See Chapter One.

[34]Susan R. Kovacs, "The French Lyric Collection from Manuscript to Print: Authorship, Arrangement, and Poetic Identity" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994), 41-84.

[35]*Pour prison ne pour maladie*, folio 61^{r} (no. 12); *Esclave puist il devenir*, folio 73^{v} (no. 125); *Mon cueur chante joyeusement*, folio 78^{v} (no. 184); *Adieu mes tresbelles amours*, folio 79^{v} (no. 194); *Nous vous voyons bien Malebouche*, folio 84^{v} (no. 245); *Mon seul et souverain desir*, folio 91^{v} (no. 320); *Vostre tresdoulx regard plaisant*, folio 92^{r} (no. 324); *Adieu jusques je vous revoye*, folio 92^{v} (no. 328); *Jamais tant que je vous revoye*, folio 92^{v} (no. 329); *Comme femme desconforte*, folio 93^{r} (no. 335); *Cest assez pour mourir de dueil*, folio 95^{v} (no. 364); *Triste plaisir et amoureuse joye*, folio 161^{r} (no. 621/V).

tenure there.[36] In addition, an eighth is by Hayne and a ninth is by Philippet de Prez.[37] The remaining anonymous poems include song texts whose manuscript distribution strictly involves either chansonniers associated in some way with the court of Burgundy (EscA, Mel) and/or Italian or German centers, or sources such as Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 9659 that has been shown to have originated in Franco-Flemish border areas and that contains repertory associated with the Burgundian court.[38] With the exception of de Prez's *Plus ne seray de vert vestu*, none of the songs within this section of *Le Jardin* survives in any of the central French chansonniers. If we can accept, then, that this group of poems within the Vérard print reflects repertory cultivated at the court of Burgundy, then the anonymous song texts included in this section can be added to the list of pieces associated with that great cultural center.

Ordering Within Earlier Musical Sources

A handful of these poetry sources contain large numbers of chanson texts of the time, and musicologists have long been aware of them, using them to help establish the closest readings for their song editions. No one has ever examined the poetic manuscripts, however, for what they, themselves, might tell us about the music of the time. Sylvia Huot has led the way in this regard by examining aspects of vernacular codex organization in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in order to identify certain organizational principles typical of French literary codices of the period as well as certain aspects of manuscript

[36]Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 1:91^{v}-95^{v}.

[37]This may be the 'Desprez' mentioned in Loyset Compère's motet *Omnium bonorum plena*, who is usually identified as the Burgundian court member Pasquier Desprez. Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 714.

[38]Christoph Petzsch, "Fragment mit acht dreistimmigen Chansons, darunter Lochamer Liederbuch Nr. 18," *Die Musikforschung* 27 (1974), 319-22.

format and text presentation.[39] One of the chapters that has some relevance for fifteenth-century musical and text chansonniers involves a discussion of the manuscript tradition of the trouvère *grand chant courtois*. Huot notes that these codices are organized according to principles ranging from rudimentary groups of thematically related texts to an overall design with several hierarchical levels. Many of these codices containing trouvère lyrics can be considered true critical editions, being provided with carefully designed programs of rubrication and illumination that clarify the structure of the book and provide commentary to the text.[40] It is usually the scribe or a team of scribes that takes responsibility for organizing a group of (often seemingly disparate) texts into a book.

In her discussion of the trouvère chansonniers Huot notes that in most Old French chansonniers songs are arranged by author with the pieces by aristocratic trouvères placed first. In fact, most often it is the music of Thibaut, King of Navarre, that is placed first. In such author collections, nearly every author corpus is marked with an author portrait. In other manuscripts, only the opening page is illuminated, but rubrics and ornamented initials mark the author corpora. If there are any anonymous songs, they are placed in their own group at the end of the collection.[41] If the songs of a collection have no attributions, as in the case of MSS C and O, the songs are arranged in alphabetical order, based on the first letter of the incipit. Still other chansonniers include special sections within them based on generic categories, such as *pastourelles*, *chansons de toile*, *jeux-partis*, etc.[42] Many trouvère

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[39]Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987).

[40]Huot, *From Song to Book*, 11.

[41]Ibid., 48.

[42]Huot, *From Song to Book*, 47.

manuscripts demonstrate a detailed hierarchy of rubrication: manuscript X, for example, contains large ornamental initials and rubrics which mark the beginning of almost every corpus; at the next level, that of the song, each song has its own smaller initial, and within songs, stanzas are marked with colored but still smaller initials. At the end of the collection, a series of anonymous *chansons Notre Dame* is given a rubric and its own illumination portraying the Madonna and Child.[43]

MS N, a troubadour collection, indicates authorship throughout by means of a rubric located in the margin next to the beginning of each song. Manuscript a, a deluxe trouvère manuscript, was divided into a section of songs arranged by author, a section of anonymous *pastourelles*, a section of motets followed by rondeaux, mostly by Guillaume d'Amiens, and a section of *jeux-partis*. Each section originally opened with a miniature, many of which have since been cut out; all of the songs are provided with musical notation, and a table of incipits opens the manuscript. Huot believes that MS a is a codification of the Old French lyric, a step towards the establishment of an Old French lyric canon, which can be studied as such. This is in great contrast to MS U, which contains trouvère and troubadour songs as well as a unique section of *chansons de toile*, but no miniatures, gold leaf, decorative borders, or even the large ornamental initials that characterize other chansonniers. All of the pieces are anonymous and arranged in seemingly random order. There is a little musical notation, but most of the staves are empty. There is a table of incipits, but it is incomplete. Huot believes that MS U

> is more a repertory of songs that are thus saved from oblivion; its smaller format and general low-budget aspect suggest that it could possibly have belonged to a minstrel, who was more interested in preserving a large performance repertory than in designing a system of generic classifications or

[43]Ibid., 48-49.

> a literary history. In other words, MS U is not the result of wanting to make an object of study and codification. It is a performance document.[44]

Thibaut de Navarre's songs, appearing as they do in almost exactly the same order in nearly every manuscript, suggest that they stem and circulated from an early, authoritative compilation. Perhaps because of this, they serve as a precedent for Adam de la Halle's songs that survive in the late thirteenth-century Artesian manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 25566, which can be considered the earliest surviving single-author collection, organized and presented as such outside a chansonnier. Thibaut's songs certainly circulated independently of the chansonniers: thirty-nine of them appear in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 12581, a compendium of mainly prose works, where they were entered on empty leaves whenever a text was completed before the end of a gathering. Adam de la Halle's pieces may also have circulated independently of the chansonniers as a separate collection. We think this because collections of his pieces have been written by hands later than that of the original hand of the manuscripts in which they occur. For example, the early fourteenth-century manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 1109, an anthology of diverse pieces, contains a compilation of Adam's songs and *jeux-partis*, copied later in the fourteenth century. Even the manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 25566, the collection of Adam's complete works, contains nine folios of Adam's songs bound into its beginning, their different size and format clearly showing that they did not originate with the codex. This codex arranges Adam's works in a hierarchy of ascending order of difficulty, with an interpolated eulogy of Adam (not by Adam) precisely at the midpoint of the collection, which gives personal information

[44]Huot, *From Song to Book*, 53.

about Adam's life, from the beginning of Adam's public appearance as a trouvère to his departure from Arras and his death.[45]

Lawrence Earp takes some of Sylvia Huot's ideas and observations as a point of departure for much of his discussion of the manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut, the next poet-musician to have composed a body of works that appear in single-author collections. The Machaut manuscripts appear to have been compiled with input or supervision of some kind by the composer, and they are in general arranged according to genre. In addition, one of them, manuscript A, opens with the rubric "Vesci l'ordenance que .G. de machau wet qu'il ail en son livre."[46]

The Machaut single-author text and music manuscripts are:

1) Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 1584 (MS A);
2) Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 1585 (MS B);
3) Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 1586 (MS C);
4) Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 1587 (MS D, and a text-only manuscript);
5) Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 9221 (MS E);
6) Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 22545-22546 (MSS F and G);
7) Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 843 (MS M, and a text-only manuscript); and
8) New York, Wildenstein Galleries, without shelfmark (MS Vg).

Because of the way the composer's manuscripts are organized, Earp and others believe that Machaut's single-author volumes present his works at different

[45]Huot, *From Song to Book*, 64-71.

[46]Lawrence Marshburn Earp, "Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983), 54-58.

chronological stages of his career. In other words, Machaut's manuscripts tend to present a basic corpus of works, gradually augmented by additional works in later manuscripts.[47] MS A can demonstrate the usual order of these single-author collections: the *dits* are followed by the *lais*, then the motets, the Mass (which here is followed by the hocket, whose position within the manuscripts is more flexible than the other genres), the ballades, the rondeaux, the chansons baladees and, finally, *les choses qui sensuivent trouverez en Remede de fortune*. This is similar to the transmission of Adam de la Halle's works, but here Machaut's works are arranged in descending order of complexity.

The manuscript opens with a bifolio index. The various pieces of MS A are generally through-copied, that is, they were not divided into separate fascicles, but copied from one fascicle to the next continuously, without a break. One exception to this is the music section, with groups of works separated according to genre, since each genre had to be ruled differently. There is also a small number of insertions, to accommodate later revisions.[48]

> To sum up, the bifolio index at the head of MS A is in several respects independent of the body of the MS. The several inconsistencies between the index and the codex indicate that the index was initially copied as a set of directions prescribing the order in which works were to be copied into the MS. Significantly, the index preserves what seems to be a chronologically plausible arrangement for an entire group of rondeaux. Changes in the index order occur only when the physical disposition of the MS made it impossible to copy a piece in its correct order. At the root of these small transpositions was the rule carefully adhered to by the copyists of the MS: the splitting of successive polyphonic voices of a composition was not allowed across a page turn. Whatever the relationship of a MS to performance, it is striking that even a deluxe presentation MS such as A was copied so that all voices of a single work were simultaneously visible to the reader. Virtually any irregularity in order can be traced to the desire to respect this rule. The

[47]Earp, "Scribal Practice," 49-50.

[48]Ibid., 91.

> heading can be taken at its word—it truly is the order (and with respect to the narrative poems, the revised order) that Guillaume de Machaut wanted his MS to have.[49]

MS M is a text-only manuscript of Machaut's (more or less) complete works, copied in the fifteenth century. It is an unfinished MS, in that the rubrics were entered, but the initials and illuminations planned were never executed. Those texts in M which have music in other sources are typically indicated by the rubric "y a chant" or "il a chant." This is also true in M for the lyrics of the *Remede*. Earp believes, therefore, that M was copied from a notated exemplar, one specifically compiled between the copying of A and Vg. Some space was perhaps left at the end of each genre section for the later entry of at least a couple of lyric poems of each genre, although the additions were never made.[50]

Earp believes that MS B was itself copied in order to serve as an exemplar for the production of further copies. He notes that its script was hastily executed, the iconographical program was left unfinished, and the presentation of the text on the page is somewhat messy, with marginal notes, text corrections and a generally well-worn aspect, especially of the outer sheets of gatherings, indicating that the manuscript lay unbound for a long time. MS B may have been an exemplar for MS E, which might explain the poor quality of musical texts in MS E that correspond to those in MS B.[51] We will see later in the present study that the physical condition of the poetry manuscript P1719 is in many ways analogous to that of MS B and that its purpose was probably quite similar.

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[49]Ibid., 82-83.

[50]Ordering by gatherings will often result in some unused folios towards the end of each gathering. Earp, "Scribal Practice," 93-95.

[51]Ibid., 109-19.

MS E, which belonged to Jean de Berry, has been dated to c. 1390. It consistently separates each genre physically by section in the manuscript with a blank folio at the end of each genre. As mentioned above, certain musical sections of E were apparently copied from B.[52] E is the one Machaut manuscript in which motets and rondeaux are copied together, rather than separately, apparently to avoid wasting space. A motet would occupy the verso of an opening and part of the recto, and a rondeau would be copied to fill in the blank recto space in a manner similar to the layout in Ox.[53]

In his discussion of the musical sources of the Trecento, John Nádas also approaches the manuscripts from the viewpoints of codicology and paleography. He observes that FP26 was organized according to genre and composer, with the following structure:[54]

1) Gatherings 1 and 2 = two-voice ballatas of Francesco Landini;
2) Gatherings 3 and 4 = three-voice ballatas of Landini;
3) Gathering 5 = madrigals and caccias of Landini. (The scribe of the two-voice ballatas left blank folios at the ends of sections and then filled in one last ballata at the very end of the blank folios to delineate the space for ballatas that he evidently thought were forthcoming);
4) Gathering 6 = a mix of styles and genres, but only of Giovanni da Caserta and Magister Piero;
5) Gathering 7 and half of 8 = Jacopo da Bologna and Lorenzo da Firenze;

[52]Margaret Bent, "The Machaut Manuscripts *Vg*, *B* and *E*," *Musica disciplina* 37 (1983), 53-82.

[53]Ibid., 121-28.

[54]John Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1985). This manuscript is Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Panciatichiano 26.

6) Gathering 9 = Donato da Cascia and Gherardello da Firenze;

7) Gathering 10 = Jacopo, Piero, Giovanni;

8) Gathering 11 = all French pieces.[55]

There were several scribes involved in the writing of the Florentine manuscript Pit, but Nádas has ascertained that it was Scribe A who actually designed and executed the original plan of the collection—to separate compositions by genre—mainly in madrigal/caccia and ballata sections that would each showcase composers in turn. The sections would therefore not be chronologically ordered, but arranged by composer, and alphabetically by first letter of the piece within composer. The make-up of Pit:

1) Gatherings 1-4 = an anthology of madrigals, grouped by composer. There was but a small number of caccias; not enough to fill a full gathering by themselves as in other Trecento manuscripts, so they were included here. Apparently Scribe A or possibly C added Italian and French pieces at the bottom of folios in Gathering 1 before filling Gathering 2; Scribe A or possibly C also added French chansons in whatever space was available on the folios of Gathering 3;

2) Gathering 5 was ruled, but left blank. At some later point Scribe B filled it in with a collection of miscellaneous madrigals;

3) The next gathering, originally Gathering 6, but now 7, was planned to include three-voice and two-voice ballatas by Landini;

4) The next gathering, originally Gathering 7 but now 9, was planned to include two-voice ballatas by Paolo Tenorista;

[55]Nádas, "Trecento Secular Polyphony," 83-93.

5) Gathering 13 was executed by Scribe B, who made it a collection of French pieces at the outset of his copying stint;

6) Gathering 14 (the final gathering) was set aside to include sacred works, specifically a composite Mass cycle.[56]

The Mancini Codex is a collection of North-Italian and Tuscan secular songs compiled at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was planned from the start to be ordered according to separate composer groups, and its importance rests in the fact that most of its pieces are unique to the manuscript. Information about the composers' lives and whereabouts help to place this manuscript in Paduan circles, from which it was later taken and to which it was subsequently added. This same strategy of identifying composers' and authors' lives and whereabouts during the fifteenth century will be of central importance to the identification of several of the poetic (and ultimately, musical) collections that we will meet throughout the course of this document.

Nádas sees the Squarcialupi Codex as

> the most ambitious effort on the part of early fifteenth-century Florentine compilers in assembling the native song repertory of the Trecento, combining, as we shall see, careful planning, large-scale editorial considerations, and beauty of execution in the presentation of its contents.[57]

The whole manuscript is arranged according to composer sections, which always begin at the front of a gathering (usually on the verso of a folio), and often are contained within a single gathering, which means that musical continuity across gatherings is relatively rare. Within each composer section the madrigals are separate from the ballatas, and the ballatas are further divided into groups of three-voice compositions and two-voice

[56]Ibid., 276-82.

[57]Nádas, "Trecento Secular Polyphony," 363.

pieces. By the time this manuscript was written, the tradition of organizing Landini's works was essentially "fixed;" *i.e.*, the works are arranged by genre, and within genre, grouped alphabetically.[58] Although the organizing principles for the poetry print known as *Le Jardin* are considerably different from those employed for the Squarcialupi Codex, it is not an unfair comparison to make between the two sources or to paraphrase Nádas in characterizing *Le Jardin* as "the most ambitious effort on the part of the printer and book-seller Antoine Vérard in assembling the texts of the native song repertory of fifteenth-century France, combining, as we shall see, careful planning, large-scale editorial considerations, and beauty of execution in the presentation of its contents."

The above discussion demonstrates how scribes of different repertories solved the problem of how to organize the contents of their manuscripts. Although the analogies to fifteenth-century text-only sources are not direct, it can still be profitable to apply some of the same approaches and to ask similar questions, keeping in mind that every source is a unique entity with its own internal rationale.

Principles of Ordering of the Fifteenth-Century Poetry Sources

Not all poetry sources were created equal. The most useful for the purposes of this study will necessarily be those which house relatively large numbers of texts which are known to have had musical settings—either the settings still survive, or we possess documents which make reference to the set texts even if the music is no longer extant. The largest such poetry collections include three manuscripts and one early print:

1) Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett 78.B.17 (known popularly as the "Rohan Chansonnier"). Rohan, a small

[58]Ibid., 364-458.

vellum manuscript measuring 10 cm. wide by 16 cm. high, contains 215 folios. It is disposed in two main sections, the first of ballades, the second of rondeaux and virelais, the poems being created almost entirely during the fifteenth century. Rohan was produced during the fifteenth century for Louis Malet de Graville, a Norman member of the aristocracy and a member of the French royal court. The modern editor of the contents of Rohan, Martin Löpelmann, has stated that the manuscript was written between 1463 and 1475, and that upon Malet de Graville's death, it passed to a daughter, Anne de Graville. It eventually ended up in the possession of Cardinal Armand Gaston Maximilien de Rohan, for whom it was given its commonly used name.[59] David Fallows concurs with Löpelmann's dating, believing that it could even have been written shortly before 1470.[60] Certainly the repertory of Rohan bears this out: there is almost nothing in the manuscript later than the early 1460s.

The manuscript was professionally produced: the texts are in a professional gothic bâtarde bookhand, with each incipit introduced by an initial in alternating blue or red ink. The volume opens with a beautiful illumination of a garden inhabited by Cupid, Venus and the Syrinx, which bears some resemblance to illustrations in other manuscripts fabricated at Bourges. The texts themselves (there are 663 French lyric poems) present very good readings, with few corrections, strike-outs, or emendations of any kind. This is a very high quality manuscript and would have been quite expensive to produce. In total, it gives the impression of being a "coffee table book," that is, an object to peruse, to admire, and especially to preserve a beloved repertory.

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[59]Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, x-xi.

[60]Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 41.

In the course of the chapter on Rohan, it will be seen that some of the texts were apparently preserved because they were (at least in Section 2) the texts of known polyphonic chansons, even if only a small percentage of the texts today survive with settings in other sources. Additionally, these texts are disposed in eleven discrete collections ("A" through "K"), each homogeneous within itself and each having a distinct profile as to provenance and dating. This will be demonstrated by the use of various means: examination of manuscript structure, handwriting analysis, ink comparison and placement of types of poems within a collection.

2) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 1719. P1719 is a paper manuscript consisting of 183 folios preserving 509 lyric poems, verse predominantly of the fifteenth century. Fifty-nine of its poems are ballades, the rest being rondeaux, virelais and three stanzaic poems of differing lengths. The contents also include four recipes for aphrodisiacs and a love-charm. P1719 is actually a composite manuscript, consisting of two separate, incomplete manuscripts bound together, probably at some time during the sixteenth century. Many of the paper folios are damaged, especially at the lower outer corner, and some have been restored. The general appearance of the volume is worn, and the text itself gives the impression that the poems were entered somewhat carelessly, with corrections to them made simply by lining out the offending text, and the correct reading added above or below the line-out. In many cases, entire poems have been crossed out with a large "X." There are also considerable editorial marginalia, consisting of the directions "n^{a}," "no^{a}," "nus," "nl," and "Nichil." Some folios carry pen-tries, and the overall effect is of an untidy, working manuscript, rather than of a presentation manuscript.

Like Rohan, P1719 divides itself into discrete "collections," of which there are ten ("A" through "J"). And like Rohan, these individual collections are internally consistent, each emanating from a single geographic locale and generally limited to the chronological span of a decade or two at the most. Unlike Rohan, though, most of the collections do not appear to have ever been intended to preserve texts having been set elsewhere with music. These collections appear to have been copied from a pool of varying exemplars, most of which may very well have been simply gathering together lyric poetry, without any musical component. It appears that the two main scribes of P1719 were picking and choosing between musical and text-only sources for their exemplars. Two and perhaps as many as three collections, however, do show signs of having been deliberately preserved as song repositories and, in fact, were possibly copied from now-lost musical exemplars. If the editorial marginalia of the manuscript are to believed, the purpose of P1719 was most likely to serve as a resource whose contents could be drawn upon for subsequent copies and from which its owners could generate a little income.

3) London, British Library MS Lansdowne 380. The British Library manuscript Lansdowne 380 (hereafter Lans 380) is a paper volume comprised of 280 folios of unknown provenance and date, although it has generally been assumed to have been written somewhere in France during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Scholars interested in the poetry of Charles d'Orléans have long known of the manuscript, and it has also been of interest to musicologists studying the secular French chanson in general of the fifteenth century, since in 1929 Norbert Hardy Wallis published an edition of a selection of its sixty song texts.[61] Virtually nothing is actually known about the manuscript, since no

[61]N[orbert] Hardy Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse* (London: University of London Press, 1929), 119-37.

study of it has ever appeared in print, and the only (incomplete) inventory of its contents appears in the British Library catalogue of its holdings of the Lansdowne collection.[62] The only extended discussion of Lans 380 in the secondary literature is a brief description of the manuscript by Pierre Champion in 1913, as part of a larger discussion of the influence that the poetry of Charles d'Orléans had on the creation of song poetry during the fifteenth century, which will be reviewed in Chapter 4.

At first glance, the contents of Lans 380 are a confusing mix of liturgical and catechetical items, moralistic and didactic texts, historical and courtesy texts, astrological schematics, lyric poetry and song texts, medical treatises and recipes for home remedies, aphorisms, sententiae and proverbs, with the whole hodge-podge in either Middle French or Latin. Closer examination, however, reveals that the manuscript divides itself into two sections: a first half of mostly religious, moralistic or improving texts, and a second half of mostly recreational and utilitarian texts. This apparent hodge-podge actually served a purpose: it will be shown that the manuscript was to serve as a kind of text-book, or educational treatise, for the use of a young, unmarried girl, probably of the merchant-gentry class, who may have lived in Bristol. The sixty song texts included in Lans 380 would have been perceived as a part of her cultural training.

Study of the song texts will reveal that they were probably all copied from a notated exemplar, and internal evidence within the texts themselves will suggest that the entire song collection most probably represents repertory circulating at the court of one of the Croy brothers, Antoine or Jean, both vassals of the Duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Bon.

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[62]*A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum with Indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters* (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1974), 110-11.

4) *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoricque.* In 1501, the Parisian printer and bookseller Antoine Vérard brought out the first of a series of poetic anthologies that he was to call *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoricque*. The print is comprised of 672 poems preceded by a poetry treatise entitled *l'Instructif de la seconde rhétorique*. The poems are of two types: thirty-three narrative or lyrico-narrative pieces, including ten *débats* and two romance narratives at the head of the volume and at the end, which serve as a kind of story line for the volume; and a core of 639 mostly lyric ballades, rondeaux and virelais which offer examples of the kinds of poems that a would-be poet could write or that could be appropriated as written to serve as diversions in the game of love. It is this core of lyric poetry, occurring in two large sections, that is of greatest interest to musicologists, since large numbers of the poems survive today in music chansonniers from the fifteenth century. It will eventually be demonstrated that much of the repertory printed within *Le Jardin* was apparently copied more or less directly from music manuscripts that must have served as its exemplars.

There are nineteen discrete collections in *Le Jardin* ("A" through "S"), almost every one of them having a distinct profile. Because *Le Jardin* is a print rather than a manuscript, it will not be possible to employ the usual codicological and paleographical evidentiary approaches to determine the parameters of any one collection. In other words, for the anthologies Rohan and P1719, recognition of the discrete constituent collections is based upon physical evidence from the manuscript such as identification of new scribal hands, or changes within the existing scribal hand, which usually, if not always, accompany a clear change in the repertory. Since *Le Jardin* is a print and offers no evidence based on handwriting changes, inks, or even differences in watermarks, those avenues of inquiry are

closed. One has to approach the print in a different manner; one mainly based on the poems themselves. When patterns of manuscript transmission of the extant settings in the musical sources are taken into account along with what biographical information we know about the text authors and the music composers involved, however, clear groupings of texts emerge. These groupings of the texts themselves usually provide enough evidence to make the determination of collections possible. One way of pin-pointing the boundaries of a collection is by looking for what is different, or for what does not fit the overall emerging profile of the texts: Collection "A," for example, consists entirely of ballades from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. This contrasts markedly with the contents of Collection "B," which are comprised of rondeaux from the middle years of the fifteenth century, and whose patterns of manuscript transmission differ completely from the previous collection. Collection "C" is another late-fourteenth-, early fifteenth-century collection of ballades followed by rondeaux, whereas Collection "D," once again, is made up of rondeaux, all from the mid-fifteenth century with completely different patterns of manuscript transmission. And so forth.

What is true for *Le Jardin* is true for the other anthologies as well: they can be broken down into multiple discrete groupings of texts or "collections." Usually, the broad outlines of these collections are signalled by physical clues in the anthologies preserving them; internal consistency within each collection is strengthened by either a change in scribal hand at the beginning and/or end of the collection, or some kind of physical change in the ongoing scribal hand at that point. Once in a while, a new collection will be signalled by the texts themselves, as when the first letters of the poems' incipits form an acrostic or a chanson-motet appears to have opened a collection. There may not be much evidence in these cases, but what there is, is generally quite clear. Sometimes a major shift in the text

repertory signals a change from one collection to another, as when a poem from a completely different era (for example, the fourteenth century) appears sandwiched between two internally consistent collections of otherwise fifteenth-century poems. Such anomalies usually can be explained as either additions to the ends of manuscripts or flyleaf additions to the beginnings of manuscripts and are helpful clues to demarcate the outer edges of the collections. Sometimes, all one has to go on is the nature of the collections themselves, but it will be seen that in the majority of cases the internal consistency of the collections tends to make their outlines quite clear within the body of the larger anthology. In at least one case, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, the compiler of the larger anthology has taken care to arrange the individual collections according to an overall strategy, which includes a chronological component. In another, the manuscript miscellany Lans 380, the compiler of the volume has ordered the song texts appearing there to support and elucidate an educational program for its young recipient. In most cases these groupings or collections are quite consistent internally; that is, the texts can be shown to have emanated from the same general geographic area: for example, the French royal court, or from Paris, or from the court of Burgundy. In addition, the collections tend also to be internally consistent chronologically; that is, the poems generally date from roughly the same decade or two: for example, the 1450s. In many cases the collections include relatively large numbers of texts that survive with musical settings in musical chansonniers of the fifteenth century; whenever the percentage of texts surviving with music reaches twenty-five percent or one in four, it begins to look as though the text "collection" being preserved may possibly have been copied from a notated chansonnier or some kind of source containing music, such as a fascicle manuscript. The figure of twenty-five percent is admittedly somewhat subjective; the collections suspected of having been

copied from notated exemplars in most cases actually contain much higher percentages of texts having extant settings—usually thirty-three percent or higher, and if twenty-five percent or more of a collection's contents have surviving musical settings, there is a strong likelihood that other poems in that collection were also at some point set to music. Still, in comparing the collections not thought to have any musical associations with those having high percentages of texts found with musical settings elsewhere, there is a clear line dividing the former from the latter, and it occurs just below the twenty-five percent level. In most cases, in fact, when a collection apparently has few musical associations, the percentage hovers between zero and twenty percent. (See, for example, Table 3.21.)

The Role of the Scribe/Compiler

How involved were the scribes and/or compilers of Lans 380, Rohan and P1719, and the compiler(s) of *Le Jardin* in the ordering or arrangement of the sources? In the case of Lans 380, the compiler (who may very well also have been the scribe) seems to have re-organized the song texts, at least to some extent. This will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Four. In regards to Rohan, the main scribe, who wrote ten of Rohan's collections, was probably aware that at least one of them was full of poems written by Alain Chartier. (This will be discussed at greater length in Chapter One.) The logical question to follow, then, is: if the scribe was manipulating the texts to create a collection of Chartier poems for Collection "D," then why did he not include <u>all</u> of the Chartier texts occurring throughout Rohan in this section? The main scribe of Rohan left five poems by Chartier in Collection "A," and at least two of them, *Triste plaisir et doulloureuse joye* and *Ie nay povoir de vivre en joie*, were widely known to have been authored by Chartier. Moving next to P1719: if the scribe involved in copying Collections "C" and "H" was actively involved in

arranging the texts he was copying, then why would he essentially recopy in Collection "H" what he had already copied in Collection "C," and what is more, in almost exactly the same order? Why not consolidate the two? (These two collections are described in Chapter Two.) In the case of *Le Jardin*, there is at least one collection (Collection "B"), which features texts employing legal vocabulary and imagery. About a third of the texts of Collection "F" do the same, however, so the question becomes: if the compiler(s) of *Le Jardin* were actively involved in the ordering of the collections or the arrangement of the texts at the level of the individual poem, then why not include the related poems of Collection "F" alongside the poems of Collection "B"? Or, globally speaking, since, as it will be made clear in Chapter Three, if the compiler(s) of *Le Jardin* were concerned to organize the larger narrative poems of the print into a story-line, why did they not do the same for the lyric poems? One could think of at least a couple of ways in which the lyric poetry of *Le Jardin* could have been re-ordered to support the overall narrative of the print, but the compiler(s) did not take these approaches. All of this seems to indicate that the scribes (and those responsible for compiling *Le Jardin*) basically copied their exemplars as they found them. It is certainly possible that those involved in the copying of these sources manipulated the texts in some way, but not in a way that is immediately or easily discernible.

As mentioned above (p. 8), there are no surviving musical sources that share the same orderings with any of the collections that we will be examining, but many of the musical sources are as consistent within themselves as the collections making up the larger poetic anthologies are among themselves. The musical chansonnier EscA, for example, is a homogeneous collection of secular chansons from the court of Philippe le Bon and reflects

repertory current there in the 1430s.[63] The central French musical chansonnier Niv, also quite consistent regarding its contents, appears to reflect repertory limited to the 1440s and 50s from the French royal court.[64] Musical anthologies such as Dij do not transmit this same kind of homogeneity, however, perhaps because as anthologies, their musical contents would have probably passed through many hands before eventually being entered into the larger volume. It is amazing, then, that text-only anthologies such as Rohan, P1719 and *Le Jardin* do not show more heterogeneity within their sub-collections. Although some of the exemplars used as models for the anthologies must have themselves been text-only sources, corroboration from archival documentation and the smaller musical sources written closest in provenance and time to the creation of the individual poems suggest that most of the exemplars for the larger poetic anthologies were also internally consistent. In other words, in most cases, whether the exemplar for a particular anthology had music or not, its contents are localized in date to a decade or two at most and to a particular place of origin. It is impossible to state definitively whether this internal consistency of individual collections is due to the efforts of the compiler of the anthology, or reflects the state of the exemplar before the compiler of the anthology acquired it, because it is not even clear whether the compiler of the anthology knew whether the texts he was transmitting were vehicles for musical settings. Some of his exemplars probably contained music, but many (perhaps even most) of them probably did not, and for the ones that did not, if their ancestors at some point contained music, the music by this point would have been some forty or more years old, at least in the case of *Le Jardin* and possibly also P1719. Would the compiler/scribe in these cases have

[63]Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 15.

[64]Higgins, intro., *Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée*.

even known he was copying poetry that had been created to carry musical settings? In the case of Rohan, especially, it is likely that the copyist would have recognized the link between his poems and the earlier musical repertory, since the gap of time between the moment of musical creation of the songs and their entry as poems in Rohan in most cases was no greater than about twenty-five years. In fact, a fair amount of this repertory was still in circulation in 1465, about the date that Rohan was written. It also would seem that if the compilers of *Le Jardin* were aware that ninety-nine percent of the lyric poems that they were including in their print dated from before 1465, as will be shown in Chapter Three, then they were probably also aware of those poems' associations with the chanson repertory. Even if the scribes of Rohan, Lans 380 and the copysetter of *Le Jardin* were deaf and totally oblivious to the secular musical developments of the previous twenty to fifty years, it is inconceivable that Malet de Graville had no idea of the nature of the texts for which he was paying so much money to have copied, that the pedagogue involved in the compilation of Lans 380 had no idea that the lyric verse being copied on folios 237^{v} to 253^{v} were song texts, or that the businessman Vérard, whose very financial survival depended on knowing exactly what he was publishing and for whom, would not have recognized that so many of the lyric poems on which he was risking his reputation and printing business were polyphonic song texts. We in the twenty-first century may not always understand what the purpose of a medieval manuscript was, why a compiler included one text and not another, or be able to explain a source's arrangement, but that does not mean that such a source had no purpose, rationale or ordering, or that whoever caused it to be created had no idea what he/she was doing. On the contrary, it would appear that with so much money involved, the compilers of these sources knew exactly what they wanted, and what they wanted in at least part of Rohan, P1719, Lans

380 and *Le Jardin*, were polyphonic song texts. From what these sources tell us, the fact seems to be that, in general, those involved in the manufacture of these larger sources knew exactly what they were transmitting, and maybe we should give them credit for knowing what they were doing. This does not necessarily mean that all of the collections embedded within the three anthologies and the Lans 380 miscellany were copied directly from musical sources, however. It is quite possible that scribes and compilers picked from between musical and text-only exemplars. Still, just as it is unlikely that every manuscript used as an exemplar for the sources under consideration had musical notation, it is similarly unlikely that none of the exemplars contained musical notation.

The Retrospective Nature of the Texts

Because most of the sources to be examined are anthologies containing large numbers of poems covering a wide chronological and geographical range, most of these poems were written anywhere from forty to one hundred years before having been gathered up to form the basis of these sources. The poems are, therefore, by their very nature, retrospective in relation to the anthologies and, presumably, were preserved as the best poems and song texts of their time.[65] In the case of Rohan, it will be seen that for the owner of the manuscript, the song texts included within most likely held personal meaning for him, as he probably heard the majority of them performed at court and may have known some of the musicians personally. He certainly would have known many of the authors of the poems, as well as some of the people alluded to in the various acrostics and anagrams hidden within their texts. It is likely that the choice of texts to be included in the volume was influenced by his preferences, as well. This makes Rohan a deeply personal possession; a reflection of the

[65]I am indebted to Professor James Haar for this point and all the implications stemming from it.

relationships and tastes of a single member of the French aristocracy and bureaucracy. P1719, on the other hand, could not be more different. Although it, too, is a retrospective anthology, it shows every sign of having been a "group effort" rather than the product of a single mind. Its retrospective nature would have been precisely the reason it was written and preserved, so that it could serve as a repository for the manufacture of future copies. Its contents might have been of interest to members of the aristocracy, but more likely, it would have served as an exemplar to be copied for occupants of a lower socio-economic rank, the educated working classes such as merchants and artisans. This stratum of society, always fascinated by the culture of the aristocracy, would have had the means and the interest to make a manuscript such as P1719 a viable commercial investment for those who produced it and who created copies from it. Lans 380 is yet another kind of source, compiled as an educational tool for a little girl living in England. Since, as will be shown, the song texts included in this fifteenth-century "text-book" were written between twenty and forty years before the production of the manuscript, they, too, form a retrospective collection. The song texts would still have had some currency for the little girl, however, since all things French were of interest to the English during the fifteenth century, and as a member of the upwardly-mobile merchant-gentry class, she would have not only been interested in the cultural artifacts of the aristocracy, but would have been expected to know something of them as part of her upbringing. The commercial publication of *Le Jardin* is probably the ultimate witness to the educated middle class' interest in the upper class' poetry and music of the fifteenth century. Its publisher, Antoine Vérard, astutely tapped into the French public's attraction to royal and aristocratic culture by amassing and organizing well over 600 poems and song texts some forty to one hundred years after their creation, and successfully marketed his print to all

sorts of members of the educated middle class. This he could not have done if there were not already widespread interest in these "old" poems among the relatively affluent Parisians to whom the publication was targeted.

One of the questions that has been asked above is whether there are any groupings of songs in the musical sources that match the poetry sources. The quick answer is that there are no exact matches—that is, song texts and songs or even groups of poems sharing exactly the same order in two or more sources. As will be seen in Chapter Two, Collections "C" and "H" of P1719 contain most of the same poems, in almost the same order. A group of poems in the text-only manuscript P7559 also appears in the same general order in P1719, suggesting that in some cases, groups of poems were in fact copied nearly wholesale into other volumes. So why are there no musical manuscripts that are copies of each other? Or poetry manuscripts that are copies of any of the musical manuscripts, especially if some of the poetry manuscripts themselves possibly were copied from musical exemplars? The answer has to do with more than the obvious low survival rate of the musical sources, especially the fascicle manuscripts that must have been relatively common (because they were relatively inexpensive to produce), but ephemeral (because they were generally not bound and therefore fragile). It also has to do with the relatively random way that chansons would have been copied—to copy the music in the first place would require scribes possessing that particular skill, the scribe's access to a particular repertory, as well as a customer interested in paying for musical "hieroglyphics" he/she might or might not be able to read. If a patron could not actually read the music, but wanted the texts of songs that he/she had perhaps learned to sing from memory in order to remember the music, he/she might have the texts copied from a musical exemplar (or more likley, an exemplar without

music, but containing texts of known songs). This would have some parallels to the Italian *lauda* repertory, wherein the music is not transmitted, but the texts are, with instructions to sing the contrafact text "as in the manner of" or "to the music of" a particular French chanson whose title would be supplied. If Italians could be expected to know the tune of a French secular chanson by memory, then certainly a native-speaking French person could be expected to know a fair number of chanson tunes, much like teenagers from the 1960s and 70s could sing just about every song from memory from the Top 40 Hit List at any given moment.[66]

To return to the previous discussion: if a patron ordered a manuscript consisting of song texts, especially if a musical exemplar had been involved in the transmission at some point, this might very well result in a collection or collections with internally consistent profiles, unless the musical source being copied was already itself a large anthology. As mentioned above, the collections within large music anthologies would themselves have passed through so many hands prior to their inclusion in the larger, more expensive compendia, that many of the geographical and chronological relationships within the individual collections would at best have been obscured, at worst, lost. If scribal "initiative" is added to the mix, for example, as seems to be the case within Dij, where all of the four-voice compositions were grouped towards the end of the volume, then even more repertorial connections might be lost. The possibility of some scribal involvement in the organization of the collections to be examined cannot be discounted, but the other side of the coin must be allowed, as well.

[66]The present author can say this from first-hand experience!

Although it might seem counter-intuitive to examine sources without a note of music in them for what they can tell us about music, it is the intention of this study to do just that. One conclusion that the reader will no doubt reach is that a large amount of music no longer exists which at some point adorned at least some of the poetry that has survived. Although we can not reconstruct the music itself from the sources to be examined, we can at least get an idea of some of the collections which housed it and some of the people who would have heard it. The various poetic and musical collections that reveal themselves to have made up the constituent parts of the four main sources described above once existed as separate objects in their own right. They owed their existence to patrons who commissioned or copied them in order to preserve favorite repertories of poems and also of music that in many cases, unfortunately, no longer exist. We glimpse these collections, today, as if through a glass darkly, as "shadow chansonniers," which can still provide useful information about the fifteenth-century French secular song if we are but sympathetic and patient enough to recognize what they have to tell us.

CHAPTER 1: The Rohan Chansonnier

The manuscript known as the Rohan Chansonnier is a small vellum volume measuring 10 cm. wide by 16 cm. high of 215 folios. Its two sections contain a total of 663 French lyric poems, mostly of the fifteenth century.[1] Although it is known by the name of its eighteenth-century owner, Cardinal Armand Gaston Maximilien de Rohan, whose coat of arms appears at the center bottom of the illumination that accompanies the opening poem of the collection,[2] Rohan was produced in the fifteenth century for Louis Malet de Graville, a Norman aristocrat and member of the French royal court.[3] Little is known of its history between the time of Malet de Graville's death and its eventual resurfacing as part of Cardinal Rohan's library, but Martin Löpelmann, who has published a modern edition of the manuscript's contents, has speculated that Louis's daughter, Anne de Graville, inherited the volume as part of her father's library.[4] In this he was certainly correct; Rohan passed from father to daughter, and from Anne in 1540 to her daughter Jeanne, who, at her own death in

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[1]The manuscript's full call number is Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.B.17 (olim Hamilton 674); it will hereafter be referred to as Rohan.

[2]Folio 22^{r}; three golden roses on a field of crimson. Cardinal Rohan was born in Paris in 1674, appointed Bishop of Strasbourg in 1704, Cardinal in 1712, and died in Paris in 1749. For this and all subsequent historical information regarding Rohan, I am indebted primarily to the discussion in the Forward to the modern edition of the manuscript by Martin Löpelmann, ed., *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan (XV. Jahrh.) nach der Berliner Hs. Hamilton 674*, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 44 (Göttingen: Gedruckt für die Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1923), vii-xxii, esp. viii-xii.

[3]Louis Malet de Graville was born in 1433, and served Louis XI in several capacities, most notably as Admiral of France before his death in 1516.

[4]Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, x-xi.

1542, left it as part of her estate to her husband, Claude d'Urfé.[5] At Claude's death in 1558, the collection passed to a son, Jacques, but by the early 1700s the family had fallen on hard times, and in 1777 a large portion of the collection was sold to le Duc de La Vallière.[6] By this point, however, Rohan had already been acquired by the Cardinal de Rohan.

Löpelmann has placed the time of creation of the manuscript between the outer limits of 1463 and 1475, basing the first of the two dates on the inclusion of two ballades that allude to French historical events of 1463.[7] The second date of 1475 was the year that Louis le Meingre, dit Boucicaut sold the family's *seigneurie* of Breuildoré, thereby requiring that the title "Seigneur de Bridoré" be dropped from the Meingre family name. It is unclear whether Louis or his brother Jean was the author of the poem *Assez ne m'en peuz merveiller*, which is entered in the poetry manuscript P9223 under the heading "Monsr du Bridoré," but as the rondeau also appears in Rohan on folio 28^{v} (Löpelmann edition no. 643) the reasoning is that Rohan must therefore have been completed before 1475.[8] As tenuous as that particular theory is, Löpelmann is surely correct in assigning a date of c. 1470 for the compilation of Rohan. None of the poems in it can be dated to after 1465, and the contents of the manuscript in fact do seem to follow a loose chronological order for the most part,

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[5]For complete information on the d'Urfé library, see André Vernet, "Les manuscrits de Claude d'Urfé (1501-1558) au château de La Bastie," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (1976), 81-97, esp. p. 84, reprinted as "Comptes rendus des séances de l'année," in idem., *Études médiévales* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1981), 609-25.

[6]Ibid., 84-85.

[7]Ballade no 9, folios 26^{v}-27^{r}, *Quant vous verrez les princes reculler* (Löpelmann, 14-15), and Ballade no. 11, folio 27^{v}, *Dont venez vous, dont, voire?—de la court*. (Löpelmann, 16-18) refer to the siege of Paris, July of 1463, by the Burgundians and the attendant political crisis.

[8]The argument is articulated in Gaston Raynaud, *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle*, Société des Anciens Textes Français 29 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1889), x-xi.

with two poems datable to 1465 occurring two-thirds of the way through its rondeau section.[9] In addition, most of the poems with extant musical settings occur in French music manuscripts of the 1460s or in Dij and the second layer of Lab, both of which have been dated to around 1470.[10] Löpelmann has also identified the hand of the Rohan manuscript as that of a Richart Le Grant, who also wrote a copy of *Le Livre de la destruction de Troyes* for Louis Malet de Graville in 1467. This volume was subsequently bequeathed to Malet de Graville's daughter Anne.[11]

The Physical Structure of Rohan

Rohan opens with five flyleaves, beginning with a single leaf whose recto has been covered with silk cloth that extends across the opening, is glued to the volume's inside cover and is followed by two nested bifolios. This "reinforced" flyleaf arrangement has been very effective in protecting the manuscript's table of contents, which has survived intact to this day in two fascicles: a quaternion followed by a quinternion. The table of contents is contemporaneous with the rest of the manuscript, but was not included in the Roman numeral foliation that begins on the second leaf of the ballade section. There is a second foliation in Arabic numerals, added much later (probably after the volume was rebound in the twentieth century), which is first visible on the opening recto of the table of contents with the number

[9]These are *Balue, pour dieu, dormes adens!*, folios 153^{v}-154^{r} (no. 444) and *Jehanne du boys est retournee*, folio 154 (no. 445). Both concern Jean Balue, Cardinal of Angers, and his amorous and apparently dangerous liaison with Jeanne du Bois, wife of a notary of the Paris Chastelet, which became a public scandal in September of 1465. See Eugène Déprez, "La trahison du cardinal Balue (1469)," *École française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 19 (1899), 257-96.

[10]David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 41, and Jane Alden, "Makers of a Songbook: The Scribes of the Laborde Chansonnier" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999), passim, who demonstrates that the earliest layer of Lab must date from c. 1465.

[11]Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, xi.

"4." It is to this Arabic foliation that Löpelmann refers in his edition, and which this study will use. The compiler of the manuscript divided the table of contents into three parts: a section for "Ballades" beginning on folio 4^r and continuing through 6^r; a section titled "Rondeaux et Chançons" beginning on 6^v and continuing through 19^r; and a section headed "Rondealx sangles" from 19^v through 21^r. Folio 21^v is blank and was probably so planned to protect the facing illumination.

The text of the manuscript actually begins on folio 22^r, with the ballades. Portions of catchwords are still visible in the lower right margins of several pages, revealing that Rohan is constructed of twenty-five fascicles, twenty-one of which consist of quaternions. Of the other four fascicles, fascicles nine and ten of the manuscript are comprised of nine and seven folios, respectively, and fascicles twenty-four and twenty-five are quinternions. Rohan is therefore essentially organized in two main sections of twenty-three quaternions followed by two quinternions: the Ballades take up folios 22^r through 61^v; and the Rondeaux and Virelais occupy folios 62^r through 215^v. Folios 48^v through 61^v and 206^r through 215^v are blank. If one refers to the Arabic foliation, the manuscript can be seen to be thus disposed:

Flyleaves, no pagination
- Singleton
- 2 Nested Bifolios

Table of Contents, 4^r through 21^v
- 1 Quaternion
- 1 Quinternion

Poems, 22^r through 215^v
- 23 Quaternions
- 2 Quinternions

Despite some cropping of folios during the process of rebinding, catchwords are still visible on several folios.[12] Folio 197^{v} does not include a catchword even though it carries repertory, because it is in this fascicle (fascicle 22) that a change of scribal hand occurs, and this second professional scribe did not need to provide a catchword since he was entering his text contributions to an already-bound volume. This change of copyist will have some ramifications for the nature of the contents from this point following in Rohan, and will be discussed later. There are only a few alterations within the hand of the main scribe throughout the manuscript, but what slight changes as do occur are informative. The first change appears on folio 75^{v}, with the rondeau *Pour obeir* and subsequent poems. The letters here are smaller, more closely spaced, more uniformly formed, and lined up precisely on the left margin, with the whole poem having a "cleaner" appearance than the immediately preceding poems. What this seems to indicate is that the scribe finished his first copying stint with *Si hault quil ny peust advenir*, at which point his script had relaxed and loosened somewhat, laid his task aside at least briefly, and then resumed his copying with *Pour obeir* and the poems immediately following it. The same process may be observed in at least two further spots in the manuscript: on folio 85^{r} with the entry of the text for *Ou lautre ou lang* and subsequent poems, and on folio 113^{r}, with the copying of *Mon bien, mon amy*. In each case, the vertical aspect of the letters for each poem is attenuated, or stressed over the horizontal aspect, giving the letters a "thinner", or more elegant appearance than the "fatter" letters of the preceding poems. It is as if over time, the scribe has allowed his letters to become somewhat thicker and squatter as the nib of his pen gradually wore down, or perhaps he simply applied more pressure to the pen as time wore on and he became more fatigued

[12]Folios 29^{v}; 37^{v}; 69^{v}; 77^{v}; 85^{v}; 93^{v}; 102^{v}; 109^{v}; 117^{v}; 125^{v}; 141^{v}; 165^{v}; 173^{v}; 181^{v}; and 189^{v}. Due to trimming of the manuscript, catchwords are no longer visible on leaves 45^{v}, 133^{v}, 149^{v} and 157^{v}.

and less careful in his task. Then when he started a new stint, he sharpened his pen and/or relaxed his pressure. In any case, it is certainly significant that at the points where these scribal alterations occur, there is a corresponding change in the types of poems being copied. Until folio 75^{v}, all of the poems entered have been poems having lines of eight or ten syllables; the first two poems of the new copying stint are poems with lines of fewer than eight syllables. The rest of the poems copied up to folio 85^{r} all have lines of eight or more syllables, and then with *Ou lautre ou lang* on 85^{r}, there is a run of four poems, each with lines having fewer than eight syllables. *Mon bien, mon amy*, on folio 113^{r}, opens a run of four poems, each having lines of fewer than eight syllables.[13] These sections of poems having lines consisting of fewer than eight syllables appear to be delineating the beginnings of new collections. This pattern is repeated consistently throughout the manuscript; in nearly every instance where there is one poem of seven or fewer syllables per line, there are several. In other words, at various points throughout the manuscript, there are apparent deliberate groupings of two or more poems of fewer than the "standard" eight syllables (see Table 1.1). They may be in either rondeau or virelai form, but they all have in common lines consisting of fewer than eight syllables. These groupings, some of them underscored by slight alterations in the appearance of the scribal hand, seem to demarcate the beginnings of longer sections, as seen in Table 1.2, revealing that Rohan was compiled from eleven different exemplars, or collections, which will be labeled from "A" through "K." Four exceptions to the overall pattern exist: nos. 145, 229, 232, and 343.[14]

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[13]No. 272, *Quant mon oeil plus ne vous verra* technically has some lines of eight syllables, but the majority of its lines are four syllables in length, so that is probably why it was included here. The rondeau *Helas! mourir convient* (no. 15) is not included in this discussion because it is the only rondeau embedded within a section of Rohan that is otherwise made up entirely of ballades.

[14]No. 343, while occurring singly, still appears to be opening a new collection; the only true anomalies are nos. 145, 229 and 232. No. 145 stands by itself, and does not fit the pattern of beginning a collection, as

TABLE 1.1: Chanson Text Groupings in Rohan

Rohan Folios	Löpelmann Nos.	Short-syllable poems (Löpelmann No.)	Total Number of Poems	Collection
62r-75v	47-105	None	59	A
75v-80r	106-124	106; 107	19	B
80r-85r	125-146	125; 126; 127; 128; 145[15]	22	C
85r-103v	147-228	147; 148; 149; 150	82	D
103v-106v	229-241	229; 232	13	E
106v-113r	242-270	242-249	29	F
113r-130r	271-342	271; 272;[16] 273; 274	72	G
130r-133v	343-358	343	16	H
133v-178v	359-550	359; 360; 361; 362	192	I
178v-194v	551-617	551; 552;	67	J
194v-205r	618-663	620[17]	46	K

To reiterate: the contents of Rohan are entered in two separate sections: a group of forty-five ballades (and one rondeau) on folios 22r through 48r, and a continuous collection of 617 chançons, rondeaux, and virelais on folios 62r through 205r. The earliest and latest texts in the volume appear to be ballades by Philippe de Vitry and Jean Marot, respectively, encompassing a span of some 130 years, but the vast majority of the poems date from the early fifteenth century to about 1460. In spite of the relatively large number of poems, there is only one duplication.[18] The texts are entered in a careful gothic book script,

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might be expected, while nos. 229 and 232 are isolated entries within the body of what I have called Collection "E". No. 229 currently heads that collection, but as each collection is examined in turn, it will be shown that in the case of Collection "E," an argument could be made for the poems of that collection actually being part of Collection "D."

[15]Nos. 145 and 232 are the only two true anomalies in this chart, if no. 229, *Ie languis damere mort*, is considered the first poem of Collection "E."

[16]Strictly speaking, no. 272 (folios 113r-113v), *Quant mon oeil plus ne vous verra* is a R7:8/4, but was probably included at this point in Rohan because the majority of its lines are only four syllables in length.

[17]No. 620 (folio 195r), *Aime qui vouldra*, does not end a collection, but occurs within a section of Rohan which is entirely in a different hand from the main body of the manuscript. The scribe of this group of texts was not concerned with continuing the patterns set up by his predecessor, which may be more of a reflection of his exemplar than of any other reason.

[18]*Mon seul plaisir ma doulce joye* (no. 137 on folios 82v-83r) appears again, slightly varied, as *Ma seulle plaisant, doulce joie* (no. 306 on folios 121r-121v).

one immediately after the other, with an average of thirty-one lines to a page. It would be difficult to distinguish one poem from another, except that the first initial of each new poem is inset and enlarged slightly, and written in either red or blue, the colors alternating with each successive poem. The manuscript has been neatly made, with few corrections, text strike-throughs or editorial marginalia. Overall, Rohan offers the impression of a fifteenth-century "coffee table book"—that is, an object designed for browsing or for casual reference, possibly even from which songs could be sung, but not as a source to be mined for its contents in the fabrication of other copies.

Section One: The Ballades

A discerning mind was certainly behind the selection of the various poems in this part of Rohan—many of them are among the most widely copied, and presumably therefore, popular, ballades of their eras (see Table 1.2). Only a few truly major masters of lyric verse are conspicuously absent: Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, Oton de Granson, Jehan de Garencières, Charles d'Orléans and Jean Meschinot (although the latter two are represented later in the collection by several chansons and/or rondeaux). Single selections by Christine de Pizan, Eustache Deschamps, Pierre d'Ailly, Jean Munier, Pierre Chevalier, Georges Chastellain and Jehan Molinet weave in and out among several ballades each by Alain Chartier and François Villon and a large number of well-known but anonymous poems that range in tone from didactic/moralistic to political to simply humorously vulgar. Three of them are known to have been set to music—nos. 6, 22 and 35—but the question could be raised as to whether the ballades included here were chosen because they were known through now-lost musical settings. Although the ballades found here that were written by de Vitry and Molinet do not survive with musical settings, both

TABLE 1.2: Rohan Ballade Collection

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)[19]	Poet[20]	Composer[21]
22r-22v	1	*Iay ung arbre de la plante damours*	Alain Chartier	
22v-23v	2	*Nous dieu damours creature, roy de gloire*	Jehan Molinet	
23v	3	*Ie, fortune, fay a toulx assavoir*		
23v-24v	4	*Amours quya par tout grant audiui*		
24v-25r	5	*Ie congnois que dieu ma forme*		
25r-25v	6	***Mon oeil est de tendre tempure***		Anon.
25v-26r	7	*Aucunes gens mont huy arraisonne*	Alain Chartier	
26r-26v	8	*Se veulx vivre au jourduy en paix*	?Eustache Deschamps	
26v-27r	9	*Quant vous verrez les princes reculler*		
27r-27v	10	*La doulce fleur qui joie promeraine*		
27v	11	*Dont venez vous, dont, voire?—de la court*		
28r-28v	12	*Du gict dung dart, dune lance asseree*		
28v-29r	13	*Tout est fait pour home servir*		
29r-29v	14	*Bien doy maudire leure quoncques vous vis*		
29v	15	*Helas! mourir convient*[22]	Georges Chastellain	
30r-30v	16	*Le mien seigneur & prince redoubte*	François Villon	
30v	17	*Le ciel sera sans demonstrer nul signe*		
31r	18	*Le monde va en amendant*		

[19]For the remainder of this chapter, all incipits will be spelled according to those given by Löpelmann in his edition of the Rohan Chansonnier; for ease of reference, however, spellings will follow those given in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, if the poem title in question possesses an extant musical setting or has for other reasons been included in his catalogue.

[20]There are no author attributions in Rohan. All attributions have been derived from concordant sources.

[21]There are no composer attributions in Rohan. All attributions have been derived from concordant sources.

[22]This poem is a rondeau, not a ballade.

31r-31v	19	*Dune dague forte & ague*		
31v-32v	20	*Iay volentiers oy parler damours*	Alain Chartier	
32v-33r	21	*Dueil, merencolie*		
33r-33v	22	***Dueil angoisseux rage demesuree***	Christine de Pizan	Binchois
33v-34r	23	*Plaisir entier, joie delicieuse*		
34r-34v	24	*Bon iour, watier! dont viens? de picardie*		
34v-35v	25	*Par plusieurs points prent paris par cellence*	Jehan Munier	
35v-36v	26	*Dame de beaulte positive*		
36v-37r	27	*Goth helpemy! je fouty bin amouroux*		
37r-37v	28	*Une doulce plaisant nominative*		
37v-38r	29	*Home pervers, Corps mortel vicieux*		
38r-39r	30	*Grace requier, Amoureuse princesse*		
39r-39v	31	*Rancontre soit des bestes feu gectans*	?François Villon	
39v-40r	32	*Tost est deceu cuider domme oultrageux*	Pierre Chevalier	
40r-40v	33	*Qui ne contrefait lamouruex*		
40v-41r	34	*Que naies hardement et sens*		
41r-41v	35	***Il n'est dangier que de vilain***	Alain Chartier	Anon.
41v-42r	36	*En riagal, en arcenic rocher*	François Villon	
42r-42v	37	*Ie voy le temps octovien*	Eustache Deschamps	
42v-43r	38	*On voit le monde bestourner*		
43r-43v	39	*Ung chastel scay sur roche espoventable*	Pierre d'Ailly	
43v-44r	40	*Soubz faille vert, sur herbe delictable*	Philippe de Vitry	
44r-44v	41	*O cueur humain, pollu en tous estas*		
44v-45v	42	*Se je porte en ma devise cohac*		
45v-46r	43	*Se jame et sers la belle de bon het*	François Villon	
46r-46v	44	*Amour me rend par mon vouloir subgette*[23]	Jehan Marot	
47r-47v	45	*Plaisant assez, et des biens de fortune*		
47v-48r	46	*Qui en amours vault estre eureux*		

[23] This poem and the two following are in a single, 16th-century hand.

poet-composers were quite capable of setting their ballades to music, and it is possible that settings once existed for these poems that have since been lost.[24] Normally, when ballades from Villon's *Grand Testament* are preserved, all or most of them are copied as a unit, but in Rohan, only two of them were selected for inclusion, and they have been entered apart from each other, leading one to wonder if they might have deliberately been extracted from the larger work at some point so as to receive the special treatment of a musical setting, which would not necessarily have had to be polyphonic. Certain poems, by their dialogue structure, would have naturally lent themselves to a musical rendition in a convivial setting,[25] and no. 12, *Du gict dung dart, d'une lance asseree* could easily have been performed monophonically by a crowd as a drinking song. That all of these particular ballades were included in Rohan because they at one time were accompanied by musical settings is unprovable, but the possibility is worth keeping in mind.

Section Two: The Chansons, Rondeaux, Lais and Virelais

This part of Rohan is by far the larger of the two, encompassing both well-known pieces and a large number of unica, songs created in central France and a fair number from the court of Philippe le Bon. The text entries have not been treated any differently from the ballades by the scribe—as in the case of the ballades, each rondeau is entered directly after its predecessor, with only an enlarged initial in red or blue to distinguish its incipit from the rest of its text and that of the following poem. There are no rubrics, and apparently at

[24]Margaret Bent, Andrew Wathey: "Vitry, Philippe de," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy, (Accessed 1 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com> and Kathleen Sewright: "Molinet [Moulinet], Jehan [Jean]," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy, (Accessed 1 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

[25]Nos. 11, 24, 26, 29 and 30. There are extant manuscripts containing monophonic settings of songs, including those of a "popular" nature. If any of the aforementioned poems ever were provided with music, a monophonic setting is the most likely possibility.

least one criterion for inclusion is that the poem at some point may have had a musical setting. This is possibly so because, although only twenty-five percent of the poems have extant settings (or can be shown to have had settings at some point), and these poems with extant settings occur throughout Rohan in every part of the manuscript, there are four sections of Rohan where one finds particularly high concentrations of these poems. It is these sections which will be discussed first. In fact, Rohan does not appear to have been organized according to any particular overall plan or strategy (although there is some visible ordering according to global length of poetic line). It is easier to describe what Rohan is not: the poems are not entered alphabetically or chronologically (except in a very general way overall, with many exceptions); there are no clear groupings of poems set by members of the French royal court as opposed to the Burgundian court, and the poems with surviving music have not been arranged according to any musical considerations. In other words, although some of Rohan's collections may have been copied directly from music manuscripts, the surviving settings as they would have appeared in those lost exemplars reflect no obvious traces of having been ordered by any musical considerations such as range and final.[26] This is not to say that the physical appearance of the manuscript is in any way haphazard or that the texts themselves are faulty—on the contrary, the volume gives every indication of having been carefully executed by a scribe with access to accurate versions of the poems. Rohan simply refuses to give up its secrets easily.[27]

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[26]As, for example, has been M902. See Dennis Slavin, "Genre, Final and Range: Unique Sorting Procedures in a Fifteenth-Century Chansonnier," *Musica disciplina* 43 (1989), 115-39.

[27]There is some evidence that at least a couple of Rohan's collections were preserved specifically in consideration of the authors of their poems, however, and this will be explored in greater detail in the following sections.

Collection "D"

It has been recognized for some time that a few of the mostly anonymous texts of Rohan were written by the poet Alain Chartier.[28] (See Table 1.3a.) Recently, David

TABLE 1.3a: Possible Chartier Series Within Collection "D" of Rohan

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant musical setting)	Laidlaw[29]	Fallows[30]
85r	147	*Ou lautre ou lung*		
85r-85v	148	*Pour fort amer*		
85v	149	*Quant je ne vous voy*		
85v-86r	150	*Qui mesioira*		
86r	151	*Mourant sur pies faignant davoir plaisir*	X	
86r	152	*Joie me fuit et desespoir me chasse*	X	
86r-86v	153	*Adieu adieu mon esperance*		X
86v	154	***Rendre me vieng a vous sauve ma vie***		X
86v-87r	155	***S'il fault que je perde ma dame***		
87r	156	***Va t'en mon cuer jour et nuitie***		
87r-87v	157	*Gente et joieuse per semblant*		
87v	158	***Vostre alee me desplaist tant***		
87v-88r	159	*Je suys celuy quy ay mepris*		X
88r	160	*Puys que ainsy est que ne puys parvenir*		
88r-88v	161	***Faictes moy savoir de la belle***		
88v	162	***Cest asses pour mourir de dueil***		
88v	163	*Le plus humblement que je puys*		X
88v-89r	164	*Combien quon ait grant desplaisir*		
89r	165	*Puys que je ne puys avoir mieux*		X
89r-89v	166	*Qui ma fait si hault entreprendre*		
89v	167	*Au plus fort de ma maladie*[31]		

[28]Alain Chartier died c. 1440. J. C. Laidlaw, ed., *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 17.

[29]This refers to the rondeaux that are listed as part of the accepted corpus of Alain Chartier in Laidlaw, 371-92.

[30]Texts attributable to Chartier as discussed in David Fallows, "Binchois and the Poets," *Binchois Studies*, ed. Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 199-219.

[31]This text is attributed to Benoist Damien in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 25458, p. 458, where it is rubricated "Par Benoit Damien." This is the volume known as the autograph manuscript of Charles d'Orléans, although the entry is in neither the hand of the duke nor of Benoist. An edition of the poems occurs in Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, edited by Pierre Champion, 2 vols. Vol. 1: *La Retenue d'Amours, Ballades, Chansons, Complaintes et Caroles*; Vol. 2: *Rondeaux* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1923-4), 1:433-34). A brief biographical notice is given about Damien in Pierre Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465)*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1969), 602-603.

89^{v}-90^{r}	168	***Pour prison ne pour maladie***		X
90^{r}	169	***Helas mon cueur helas mon oeil***		
90^{r}-90^{v}	170	*Iay tant de douleur et de jre*		
90^{v}	171	*La plus des plus seulle sans per*[32]		
90^{v}-91^{r}	172	*Celuy qui plus joieulx sera*		
91^{r}	173	*Tant me plaist celle qui me tue*		
91^{r}-91^{v}	174	*Quant ma vie deffinera*		
91^{v}	175	***Du tout ainsy qu'il vous plaira***	X	
91^{v}	176	***Le serviteur hault guerdonne***		
91^{v}-92^{r}	177	*Ma maistresse plaisant et belle*		X
92^{r}	178	*Pour les plaisirs et tresamoureux biens*		
92^{r}-92^{v}	179	*Ne donnes point payne a vostre oeil*		X
92^{v}	180	*Se faulx parler a entame*		
92^{v}	181	***Gardés le trait de la fenestre***		
93^{r}	182	*Combien que mon corps soit loingtains*		
93^{r}	183	***Je ne vis oncques la pareille***		
93^{r}-93^{v}	184	*Toute joye m'esloignera*[33]		
93^{v}	185	***Esclave a dueil et forain de liesse***		
93^{v}-94^{r}	186	*Pres de ma dame et loing de mon vouloir*	X	X
94^{r}	187	*Du bien damours dont trop me lasse*		
94^{r}-94^{v}	188	*Soncques beaux yeulx orent telle puissance*	X	
94^{v}	189	*Se nest par vostre bon moyen*		
94^{v}	190	*La fiance que jay en vous*[34]		
95^{r}	191	*Plaisant mirour, quant je remire*		
95^{r}	192	*En esperant de recevoir*		
95^{r}-95^{v}	193	*Voules vous mon cueur assommer*		
95^{v}	194	*Ie ne scay que mon cuer veult dire*		
95^{v}-96^{r}	195	*Ie le sens, mon cueur, prys dung las*		
96^{r}	196	***Mille foiz le jour tout du maings***		
96^{r}-96^{v}	197	***Ravy d'amours, despourveu de bon sens***		
96^{v}	198	***Pour le mal qu'on vous fait porter***		
96^{v}-97^{r}	199	*Mon seul & souverain espoir*		
97^{r}	200	***Du desir que tant [je desire]***		

[32]This may be the text of the chanson, *La plus*, found in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 229 (hereafter F229) on folios 122^{v}-123^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 235.

[33]There is no extant setting for this text, but Fallows argues for a lost one based on the incipit's appearance as a refrain within a poem by Jehan Molinet that consistently applies chanson incipits as refrains for each of its stanzas; see David Fallows, "Jean Molinet and the Lost Burgundian Court Chansonniers of the 1470s," in *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 83, Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance, 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 35-43.

[34]There is no extant setting for this text, but it will be argued in Chapter 4 of this study that a setting existed at one point.

97r	201	*En la grant mer de longue actente*		
97v	202	***La plus mignonne de mon cueur***		
97v	203	***Ay je tort se je souspire***		
97v-98r	204	*Mon cueur ne se pourroit tenir*		
98r	205	*A ma nouvelle revenue*		
98r-98v	206	*Plus chault que feu, plus refoidi que glace*		X
98v	207	***J'atens le confort de la belle***		?
98v-99r	208	*Ce faictes vous, ma tresbelle maistresse*		X
99r	209	*Moy tant dolente que seray*		?
99r-99v	210	***Puis que je n'ay plus de maystresse***		X
99v	211	*Le regard dung doulx mignot oeil*		X
99v-100r	212	*Estrenez moy ou de dueil ou de joie*		X
100r	213	*Ainsi que bon vous semblera*	X	
100r-100v	214	***Ma maistresse et ma plus que autre amye***		?
100v	215	*Au povre prisonnier, ma dame*	X	
100v-101r	216	***Est il mercy de quoy l'on peust finer***		?
101r	217	***Cui dem vous [quil ait asses joie]***	X	
101r	218	***Ce que ma bouche nose dire***		?
101v	219	*Dehors! Dehors! Il vous fault deslogier*	X	
101v	220	*Helas, ma courtoise ennemye*	X	
101v-102r	221	*Loyaument & a tosiours mays*	X	
102r	222	*Comme oseroit la bouche dire*	X	X
102r-102v	223	*Ou mon desir sassouvyra*	X	
102v	224	*Riche despoir et povre dautre bien*	X	
102v-103r	225	*Doulceur acompagnie de joie*		X
103r	226	*Quant ung jour suys sans que je voie*	X	
103r	227	***Au feu, au feu! Au feu qui mon cuer art***[35]	X	
103v	228	*Ie viens a vous humblement requerir*		X

Fallows has argued convincingly that several more texts can be attributed to Chartier on the basis of their inclusion in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2619 (hereafter W2619), a volume of poetry in which, in the volume's opening illumination, the author portrays himself offering his book to the French king Charles VII.[36] As can be seen from Table 1.3a, there are many unascribed texts in Collection "D," and there is no way to prove whether any of them, much less all of them, must have come from Alain Chartier's pen. It

[35]This poem appears with a monophonic setting in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 9346, (the "Chansonnier de Bayeux"), folio 51v.

[36]Fallows, "Binchois and the Poets," 199-219.

cannot even be ascertained that the unattributed texts with extant musical settings were his. Still, the likelihood is that these lyric poems are in fact by Chartier, as is almost everything else in the manuscript. The poems in Rohan with extant settings do reveal, however, that the settings in the series from no. 147 through no. 196 share a general commonality of chronology and manuscript distribution (see Table 1.3b). The Ox and EscA manuscripts date from before 1440, RU1411 from no later than 1450, and Tr1377 (formerly Tr90) from about 1453-6.[37] The literary references to *Faictes moy scavoir* and *Le serviteur* are probably somewhat later than the songs' actual composition dates, because such citations assume prior knowledge of the object being referenced. With the exception of *Toute joye*, the remaining song settings all appear earliest only in Italian manuscripts, most of which contain a great deal of repertory that is anywhere from twenty to forty years earlier than the date of their compilation. (The Rohan manuscript is particularly interesting in this regard, as it includes all seven of the *chançon* texts by Charles d'Orléans eventually set to music, poetry written while he was a prisoner in England.)[38] When the above texts with settings are examined, one sees that the majority of them must date from before 1450, and that several are considerably older than that. It is probable, then, that (with the possible exception of *Au plus fort de ma maladie* by Benoist Damien), all of the poems from no. 147 through no. 196 date from around 1440 or before, which increases the likelihood that they were written by Chartier or one of his contemporaries.

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[37]For ease of reference, nearly all source abbreviations given here accord with those published in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs,* 5-52.

[38]They are: no. 135 (folios 82^{r}-82^{v}) *Se ma doulleur vous savies* (Chançon XV); no. 265 (folio 111^{v}) *Vostre bouche dit: baisez moi!* (Chançon XLVIII); no. 306 (folios 121^{r}-121^{v}) *Ma seulle plaisant, doulce joie* (Chançon XVI, and a duplication/remaniement of no. 137 (folios 82^{v}-83^{r}) *Mon seul plaisir ma doulce joye*; no. 314 (folio 123^{r}) *Ce moys de may, non pareille deesse* (Chançon XI); no. 316 (folio 123^{v}) *Par le pourchas du regard de mes yeux* (Chançon XXX); no. 327 (folios 126^{r}-126^{v}) *Je ne les prise pas deulx blans* (Chançon XLIX); and no. 333 (folios 127^{v}-128^{r}) *Puys que je ne puys eschapper* (Chançon XXI). More about this below.

TABLE 1.3b: General Chronology of Table 1.3a Texts with Extant Musical Settings

Löp. No.	Incipit	Earliest MS Appearance	Other Dating Criteria
154	***Rendre me vieng a vous sauve la vie***	Ox; PC III	
158	***Vostre alee me desplaist tant***	EscA 2; M902	
162	***C'est assez pour morir de dueil***	EscA; MuEm	
168	***Pour prison ne pour maladie***	RU1411	
161	***Faites moy scavoir de la belle***	Cord, Bux	Quoted in a letter from Philippe le Bon, 1451-52[39]
176	***Le serviteur hault guerdonné***	Several	In list of songs (?dated 1452)[40]
183	***Je ne vis oncques la pareille***	Tr1377	Performed 1454, Lille[41]
181	***Gardés le trait de la fenestre***	Pav	
155	***S'il fault que je perde ma dame***	FR2356; Pix	
156	***Va t'en mon cuer jour et nuitie***	BerK; Porto	
175	***Du tout ainsy qu'il vous plaira***	F176; Pix	
184	***Toute joye m'esloignera***	Roh	
185	***Esclave a deuil et forain de liesse***	Ox, PC III	
197	***Ravy d'amours et despourveu de bons sens***	Wolf	
198	***Pour le mal qu'on vous fait porter***	Niv, Wolf	
200	***Du desir que tant [je desire]***	Schedel	
202	***La plus mignonne de mon cueur***	Niv, Wolf	
203	***Ay je tort se je souspire***	EscB	
207	***J'atens le confort de la belle***	EscB	
210	***Puis que je n'ay plus de maystresse***	Ox, Stras 2	
214	***Ma maistresse et ma plus que autre amye***	Tr93	
216	***Est il mercy de quoy l'on peust finer***	Niv, Wolf	
217	***Cui diem vous***	Roh	
218	***Ce que ma bouche nose dire***	Roh	
227	***Au feu, au feu!***	Roh	

[39]See Geneviève Thibault, ed., and David Fallows, commentary, *Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu: Bibliothèque nationale, Rothschild 2973 (I.5.13)* (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1991), cxxvi.

[40]As discussed in Fabio Carboni and Agostino Ziino, "Un elenco di composizioni musicale della seconda metà del Quattrocento," in Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon (eds.), *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone*, Festschrift Series, 18 (Pendragon Press: Stuyvesant, NY, 1996), 461.

[41]Reportedly sung at the Banquet of the Oath of the Pheasant; see Henri Beaune and Jules d'Arbaumont, *Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche*, 4 vols. (Paris: Renouard, 1883-8), 2:358-9.

Collection "D" of Rohan includes a second group of poems with an even larger percentage that can be attributed to Chartier, as can be seen in Table 1.3a (nos. 206 through 228). No fewer than eighteen of the twenty-three texts are securely ascribed to the author, making it very likely that the other five are by him, as well. If this is so, then it would appear that Chartier's *formes-fixes* poetry was very popular among composers even as late as c. 1460, since *Ma maistresse* appears to be one of Ockeghem's earliest chansons (dating from before 1456, by which time it was entered into Tr93), and *Est-il mercy* by Busnoys appears in the first section of Lab, which Alden dates to around 1465.[42] As a final point of interest, if the text of *Le serviteur* (no. 176) is by Chartier, then that might explain a part of the chanson's incredible popularity and authority.[43] The extant musical settings for the second grouping of Chartier texts within "D" (the texts numbered 206 through 228) appear (from their earliest surviving notated sources) to be in general slightly later than the first group of Chartier texts, that is, from the 1440s and 50s.

Twenty-four of the eighty-two texts in Collection "D" survive with musical settings in other sources, for an overall total of twenty-nine percent, or slightly better than one in four. In addition, the way they are scattered throughout the collection (as opposed to being concentrated within just a few folios) suggests that Collection "D" may have been copied from an exemplar that was itself notated.

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[42]*Ma maistresse* appears in Trento, Museo Diocesano, MS 'BL' (hereafter Tr93) on folios 375^{v}-376^{r} (no. 1850-1). David Fallows, "Ockeghem as a Song Composer: Hints Towards a Chronology," in *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XIe Colloque international d'études humanistes. Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 301-16, sees this as an early song, based on its voice ranges, as well as its appearance in Tr93. *Est-il mercy* is found in the first section of Lab, on folios 29^{v}-30^{r} (no. 20). For a discussion of the dating of the various sections of Lab, see Alden, "Makers of a Songbook," passim.

[43]Significantly, in his *L'Art de rhétorique*, Molinet cites *Le serviteur* as a model example of a "double rondeau." Unfortunately, he does not offer an attribution. See M. E. Langlois, ed., *Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 230.

Collection "E"

If Collection "E" is in fact a separate, independent collection, then it is by far the smallest one within Rohan, with only thirteen texts (see Table 1.4). Such a small

TABLE 1.4: Rohan Collection "E"

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Poet	Composer
103^{v}	229	*Ie languis damere mort*		
103^{v}-104^{r}	230	***Esperant que mon bien vendra***		Barbingant
104^{r}	231	*Sans nul espoir davoir jamais que dueil*		
104^{r}-104^{v}	232	*Se je suys gaie et jolie*		
104^{v}	233	*Pour plus fort accroistre mon dueil*		
104^{v}-105^{r}	234	***Pour avenir a mon atainte***		Anon.
105^{r}	235	*Ay je tort, se je suys dolante*		
105^{r}-105^{v}	236	*Ostes vous de vostre cuider*		
105^{v}	237	***Tresoriere de plaisir amoureux***		Anon.
105^{v}	238	*Seray ie vostre mieulx amee*		
105^{v}-106^{r}	239	***Se je fusse mort [avec elle]***[44]		Anon.
106^{r}	240	***Qu'ara d'amours belle qui le gant a***		Anon.
106^{r}-106^{v}	241	***En sera il mieulx a vostre cuer***		Binchois

collection is certainly possible, as texts with or without music could easily have circulated in small fascicle manuscripts without bindings. Another possibility, however, is that Collection "E" is actually part of Collection "D". None of the extant settings for the texts of this section is later than about 1455, and most of them appear to be at least a decade older than that. One wonders, in fact, if these texts were also written by Alain Chartier. The final line of no. 228, Chartier's *Je viens a vous humblement requerir* reads "Cest mon actente, et pour y parvenir," which immediately calls to mind the incipit of Collection "E"'s no. 234, *Pour avenir a mon atainte*. In any case, forty-six percent of the texts making up Collection "E" have surviving musical settings, which suggests that its exemplar was possibly a music source. If

[44]This poem appears in Pierre Fabri, *Le Grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique*, ed. A[lexandre] Héron, 3 vols. (Rouen, 1889-90; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), Book 2, folio 24^{r}, as an example of a 'rondeau ouvert et non clos'.

Collections "D" and "E" are combined, the percentage drops to thirty-one percent, still a significant percentage. Of all the collections within Rohan, "D" and "E" are the best candidates to have been copied from notated sources.

Collection "K"

Collection "K" distinguishes itself in a couple of ways from all the other groupings in Rohan (see Table 1.5). Most importantly, the repertory that begins with *Je ne suis point de ces gens la* (folio 194^{v}, no. 618) has been written in a hand different from that of the main scribe of Rohan. While writing the first few lines of *Je ne suis point*, this second scribe has taken care to match his script to that of the previous scribe, but very quickly

TABLE 1.5: Rohan Collection "K"

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Poet	Composer
194^{v}	618	**Ie ne suis point de ces gens la**		Agricola
194^{v}	619	*Fi fortune de tes maintiens*		
195^{r}	620	**Aime qui vouldra**	Molinet	Anon.
195^{r}-195^{v}	621	*Se je nay de vous autre bien*		
195^{v}	622	**Le despourveu infortuné**		Caron
195^{v}	623	*De par lauctorite damours*		
195^{v}-196^{r}	624	*Deffendez la voye de fait*		
196^{r}	625	*Sang bien que maistresse vous estes*		
196^{r}-196^{v}	626	*Jen scay plus que je ne voulisse*		
196^{v}	627	*Ne peu ne point je ne vous ame*		
196^{v}-197^{r}	628	*De ma dame ne dy nul bien*		
197^{r}	629	*Gardes vous en de lœil dartuse*	Vaillant	
197^{r}	630	*Les yeulx ouvers je ny voy goutte*	Vaillant	
197^{v}	631	*Quant pere & mere et nature vous firent*		
197^{v}-198^{r}	632	*Quelque chose quamours ordonne*	Monbeton	
198^{r}	633	*Celle pour qui je porte la M*	Blosseville	
198^{r}-198^{v}	634	*Maintenant comme je pensoye*	Fredet	
198^{v}	635	*Avant que lon vous sceut louer*	Vaillant	
198^{v}	636	*Requiescant, las, in pace!*	René d'Anjou	
198^{v}-199^{r}	637	*Qui veult de dame a moy changier?*	Jehan de Lorraine	

199^{r}	638	*Ie change a vous, se cest vostre vouloir*	Blosseville	
199^{r}-199^{v}	639	*Ha, je vous tien pour fritatis*	Vaillant	
199^{v}	640	*Tellement suis de vous espris*	Antoine de Cuise	
199^{v}-200^{r}	641	*Quelque maniere que je face*	Fredet	
200^{r}	642	*Des amoureulx de lobservance*	Charles d'Orléans	
200^{r}	643	*Assez ne men puis merveiller*	Louis de Boucicault	
200^{r}-200^{v}	644	*Ce nest pas par ypocrisie*	Charles d'Orléans	
200^{v}	645	*Des amoureux de lobservance*	Vaillant	
200^{v}-201^{r}	646	*En lestat ou vous me voyez*	Monbeton	
201^{r}	647	*Ie men voys faire ma demeure*	Monseigneur de Tays	
201^{r}-201^{v}	648	*Se vous allez faire demeure*	Antoine de Cuise	
201^{v}	649	*Lasse damours et des faiz de fortune*	Blosseville	
201^{v}-202^{r}	650	*En la forest de longue attente*	Gilles des Ormes	
202^{r}	651	*En la forest de longue attente*	Fredet	
202^{r}-202^{v}	652	*En la forest de longue attente*	Charles d'Orléans	
202^{v}	653	*En la forest de longue attente*	Charles d'Orléans	
202^{v}-203^{r}	654	*Pour tous vos maulx damours garir*	Recepte de la Reine	
203^{r}	655	*Qui est plus cause de mon dueil*	Monbeton	
203^{v}	656	*Quel adieu, las, qui lactendra*	Meschinot	
203^{v}-204^{r}	657	*Esperant davoir quelque bien*	Vaillant	
204^{r}	658	*Sot oeil, raporteur de nouvelles*	Charles d'Orléans	
204^{r}	659	*En ce monde na saint ne saincte*	Louise de Beau-Chastel	
204^{v}	660	*Lequel de tous lemportera*	Huet de Vigne	
204^{v}-205^{r}	661	*En lac de larmes tresparfond*	Vaillant	
205^{r}	662	*Comme moy vous aurez vos gaiges*	André de Laval	
205^{r}	663	*Ie nen vueil porter la charge*	Blosseville	

relaxes his discipline and allows his own style to emerge. This can be seen most clearly in the grapheme that he uses to produce the "g" at beginnings of words (for example,

"guerdonne" in lines 6 and 7 of *Le despourvueu infortuné* on folio 195^{v} [no. 622]). The main scribe of Rohan never uses this particular grapheme. Also telling are the paraphs that the second scribe uses to mark each stanza—his involve shorter top extenders, but longer perpendiculars (vs.) than Rohan's main scribe.[45]

The second scribe had access to a repertory quite different from that found throughout the rest of Rohan, also. Musical settings survive for only three of the forty-six poems (no. 618, *Je ne suis point de ces gens la*; no. 620, *Aime qui vouldra*; and no. 622, *Le despourvueu infortuné*). Two more poems (no. 628, *De ma dame ne dy nul bien* and no. 657, *Esperant davoir quelque bien*) can be added to this list, since it will be shown in Chapter 4 that they, too, must have at one time had settings, but that is still only about eleven percent of the collection—not a high enough percentage to claim that the texts of this collection must all have had settings. The scribe of this section may have perceived that numbers 628 through 663 are a homogeneous group: all but two of them have known authors, poets all associated in some way with the French royal court or the court of Charles d'Orléans in the 1450s. These same poems will reappear in connection with the text-only collections of P9223, P15771, Charles d'Orléans and his circle, and Collections "F" and "H" in P1719 (this last discussed in detail in Chapter 2). It is possible that the majority of poems in Collection "K" of Rohan never had, or was intended to have, musical settings. The inclusion of these poems at the end of Rohan by a second scribe may have been due more to interest in their authors than to any relationship to musical settings.

[45]For information on how paraphs can differ from scribe to scribe, see Margaret M. Smith, "Patterns of Incomplete Rubrication in Incunables and What They Suggest about Working Methods," in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson-Lovelace/The Red Gull Press, 1990), 133-46, esp. 137.

Where numbers 618 through 627 fit into all of this is difficult to say. Nine of the ten poems are anonymous and over half of them are unique to Rohan. *Aime qui vouldra* is problematic because the music found with the text in Dij does not really fit the poem and probably is not the original setting (if there ever was one).[46] Molinet presumably wrote the poem in the 1450s or early 1460s while in Paris, but it also made its way to the court of Moulins, since it appears in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1721 (hereafter P1721), a poetry volume owned by Jean Robertet preserving works by several writers associated with that court, including Henri Baude and François Robertet.[47] The earliest setting in a French source of Caron's *Le despourvueu infortuné* appears in the second section of Lab, which probably dates it to the early 1460s or possibly late 1450s. The most intriguing of the entries is *Je ne suis point de ces gens la*, a setting of which survives in a much later source attributed to Alexander Agricola.[48] If the scribe of Collection "K" copied these poems from a text-only exemplar, before Agricola came into contact with the rondeau and set it, then there is no problem. But if it was a musical exemplar from which the scribe copied his texts, or if the poem was included here precisely because Agricola did set it, then questions must be raised about Agricola's early career. No secure documentation has come to light regarding his whereabouts before 1475-6, when he was in Cambrai singing as a *petit vicaire* at Cambrai Cathedral, so perhaps Agricola was in France in the 1460s.[49] Paris is a possibility, as is

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[46]Private communication from David Fallows.

[47]This would be the Jean Robertet who was the grandson of our poet Jean Robertet, and son of Pierre Robertet. See Jean Robertet, *Œuvres*, ed. Margaret Zsuppán (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 11.

[48]Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. xix. 178 (hereafter F178), folios 64^{v}-65^{r}, with the attribution "Alexander." Musical settings also survive in F229 (folios 274^{v}-275^{r}), and RCG (folios 60^{v}-61^{r}), without attribution. See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 214-15.

[49]Wegman, Rob: "Agricola, Alexander," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com.>

Moulins. Although it would make him quite young, if Agricola were in France in the 1460s, then *Je ne suis point* would be one of his earliest known compositions. The music itself looks to be straight out of the 1460s. It is written in the duple meter current for that time, and although it employs an opening point of imitation between the superius and tenor, imitation is never extended to all three voices within a single phrase, nor is it consistently applied to each new phrase of text, as can be seen in several of Agricola's chansons that have been dated to the 1480s and/or 90s. If Agricola set this piece in the 1480s or 90s, then it is a very old-fashioned piece for that time. If it dates from the 1460s, however, then Agricola was right in step with his composer contemporaries.

Collection "G"

At first glance, the contents of this section appear quite disparate (see Table 1.6). Poems that Busnoys must have set to music before leaving central France are entered side by side with texts set by composers associated with the court of Philippe le Bon.[50] Texts which apparently date from the 1450s are entered in proximity to texts from decades earlier. For all that, however, there is a certain consistency of tone that runs throughout many of the texts, involving personifications from the *Roman de la Rose*. Amours, Bel Acueil, Loyaulté, but especially Dangier and Fortune, appear throughout eighteen of the seventy-two poems. Four other poems employ direct address to the heart (Cueur). The use of personifications in lyric poetry is, of course, not at all new, nor is a poet's use of direct address to an allegorical figure, although the device of direct address is somewhat rarer and most often is used in connection with "Fortune". It is not common, however, for the personification involved in

[50]David Fallows, "'Trained and immersed in all musical delights': Towards a New Picture of Busnoys" in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 21-50.

TABLE 1.6: Rohan Collection "G"

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Poet	Composer
113r	271	*Mon bien, mon amy*		
113r-113v	272	*Quant mon oeil plus ne vous verra*		
113v	273	*Ie suys ad cela*		
113v-114r	274	*Cueur desloyal*		
114r	275	*Ie demande a la mort respit*		
114r-114v	276	***Ie mesbays de vous, mon cueur***		Busnoys
114v	277	*Ce que je panse se fera*		
114v-115r	278	*Ha, fortune desperee*		
115r	279	***A une dame jay fait veu***		Busnoys
115r	280	***Que pourroit plus faire une dame***		Morton
115r-115v	281	*Iusque au retour naray plaisance*		
115v	282	*Mieux ne quier en ce monde avoir*		
115v-116r	283	***Par souspirer plorer gemir et plaindre***		Anon.
116r	284	*Desgarny de grace et mercy*		
116r-116v	285	*Moult desplaisant, la lerme a lueil*		
116v	286	*Vostre oeil, ce fort arbalestier*	Antoine de Cuise	
116v-117r	287	*Aumoings que jaye ung regard dœil*		
117r	288	*Dangier a fait son alliance*		
117r	289	***Comme femme desconfortee***		Binchois
117v	290	*Ha, cueur plus dur que dyament*		
117v-118r	291	*Jay de vous amer entrepris*		
118r	292	*Panses en vous, se je doys avoir dueil?*		
118r	293	***D'ung aultre amer mon cueur s'abesseroit***		Ockeghem/ Busnoys
118v	294	***L'omme banny de sa plaisance***		Barbingant/ Fedé
118v	295	*En mondormant ainsy que je songoye*		
118v-119r	296	*Mon cueur est de moy mal contant*		
119r	297	*Du cueur procede ung monument*		
119r-119v	298	*Fortune, se tu as pouvoir*		
119v	299	*Ie veulx quon mapelle huet*		
119v-120r	300	*Bonnes gens, jay perdu ma dame*	Vaillant	
120r	301	*Saves vous quel est devenu*		
120r	302	*Pansent a vous tant de jour que de nuyt*		
120v	303	*Lever me fault sans seigner & sans paistre*		
120v-121r	304	***He, fortune! Pourquoy si fortunee***		Anon.
121r	305	*Vous ne mourres ja de cela*		
121r-121v	306	***Ma seulle plaisant, doulce joie***	Charles d'Orléans	Bedingham/ Du Fay

121^{v}	307	*Comme celuy qui nen peust plus*		
121^{v}	308	*Se vous naves autre vouloir*		
121^{v}-122^{r}	309	*Mauvaiz dangier, de dieu soies tu maudit*		
122^{r}	310	***Belle vueillés moy vengier***		Du Fay
122^{r}-122^{v}	311	*Fortune, que vous ay je fait?*		
122^{v}	312	*Qui pourra faire le messaige*		
122^{v}-123^{r}	313	*Sa vous, dame de si hault pris*		
123^{r}	314	*Ce moys de may, non pareille deesse*	Charles d'Orléans	
123^{r}-123^{v}	315	*Quant si mal, helas, me prendra*		
123^{v}	316	*Par le pourchas du regard de mes yeux*	Charles d'Orléans	
123^{v}-124^{r}	317	*Et me vousist amours diffayre*		
124^{r}	318	*Ieux, festes, dances, tornoys & compaignies*		
124^{r}-124^{v}	319	*Quant vous plaist jl que je revoye*		
124^{v}	320	***Mon espoir et ma souvenance***		Anon.
124^{v}-125^{r}	321	***Par trop vous amer je me tue***		Anon.
125^{r}	322	***Terriblement suis fortunee***		Anon.
125^{r}-125^{v}	323	*Tant que seray vif en ce monde*		
125^{v}	324	*Trouble de dueil, servy de desplaisir*		
125^{v}-126^{r}	325	*Quant a moy, je ny entends rien*		
126^{r}	326	*Ou tout mon espoir cessera*		
126^{r}-126^{v}	327	*Ie ne les prise pas deulx blans*	Charles d'Orléans	
126^{v}	328	***Chargé de dueil plus que mon fais***		Anon.
126^{v}-127^{r}	329	*Iay de ma dame asses responses*		
127^{r}	330	*Ie voy fortune envers moy corroucee*		
127^{r}-127^{v}	331	*Assovy suis, maiz sans cesser desire*		
127^{v}	332	*Ma dame, mamie, ma commere*		
127^{v}-128^{r}	333	*Puys que je ne puys eschapper*	Charles d'Orléans	
128^{r}	334	***Tant plus ame, tant plus suys mal ame***		Binchois
128^{r}-128^{v}	335	*Iamaiz mon cuer ne changera*		
128^{v}	336	*A celuy jour que chacun saparie*		
128^{v}	337	***Les douleurs dont me sens tel somme***	Antoine de Cuise	Du Fay
128^{v}-129^{r}	338	***Malheureulx cueur que vieulx tu faire***	Le Rousselet	Du Fay
129^{r}	339	*Plus que nulle autre, en bonne foy*		
129^{r}-129^{v}	340	*Mon piteulx cueur, de dueil attaint*		
129^{v}	341	*Ie vous appelle de la foy*		
129^{v}-130^{r}	342	***Ha cueur perdu et desolé***		Anon.

direct address to be that of "Cueur," at least, not during the fifteenth century. There are twelve total instances of this in the Rohan manuscript, one in the P1719 collection, seven in the first Vérard print of *Le Jardin* and none in Lans 380.[51] It does not appear to be a topos that was particularly widely cultivated in poetry that was not meant to be set to music, either. There are three instances of it in the P15771 collection, which would, on the surface of things, give the impression of a certain amount of interest in the device among the poets associated with Blosseville, but each poem is by a different author, and none of the poems is related by theme or rhymes to any of the others. In other words, there is no shared thematic or literary justification linking them. It could be said that such an approach, while certainly an option for serious authors of lyric poetry, was not a favored mode of self-expression by the poets writing during the fifteenth century. It would suffice to demonstrate one's ability with the theme by writing a single poem along that vein. It does appear to have been a particularly cherished means of lyric expression for Charles d'Orléans, however, who returned time and again to it throughout his poetic career, writing three chançons and no fewer than twelve rondeaux addressed directly to "Cueur."[52] Tellingly, there are no such

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[51]There are actually only six different poems in *Le Jardin*, since *Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure* appears twice, on folios 61^{r} (no. 10) and 71^{v} (no.103). The others are *Cueur douloureux qui ne faiz que pleurer* (folio 74^{r}, no. 129); *Ha cueur perdu et desole* (folio 86^{v}, no. 266); *Helas mon cueur hellas mon oeil* (folio 87^{v}, no. 278); *Adieu mon cueur servez la belle* (folio 88^{r}, no. 285); and *Tu te brusle a la chandelle* (folio 90^{v}, no. 309).

[52]In the order of their appearance in Charles' autograph manuscript they are: Chançon XXXV, *Prenez tost ce baisier, mon cueur*, p. 271; Chançon LI, *Fuyez le trait de doulx regard*, p. 287; Chançon LXVII, *Mon cuer, il me fault estre mestre*, p. 332; Rondeau XXXII, *Cueur, a qui prendrez vous conseil?* p. 366; Rondeau LII, *Alons nous esbatre*, p. 386; Rondeau LXIV, *Quant tu es courcé d'autres choses*, p. 398; Rondeau LXXIV, *Cueur, que fais tu? Revenge toy*, p. 408; Rondeau XC, *Mon cuer, n'entrepren trop de choses*, p. 424; Rondeau XCIV, *Mon cueur, pour vous en garder*, p. 428; Rondeau CCXLII, *Cuer, qu'esse la?—Ce somes nous, vos yeux*, p. 454; Rondeau CCXCI, *Fermez luy l'uis au visaisge*, p. 480; Rondeau CCXCIII, *Devenons saiges, desormais*, p. 481; Rondeau CCCVII, *Mon cuer, estouppe tes oreilles*, p. 259; Rondeau CCCXIII, *Armez vous de joyeux Confort*, p. 265; and Rondeau CCCLVI, *Commandez qu'elle s'en voise*, p. 486. This argument is framed somewhat differently in Mary-Jo Arn, *Fortunes Stabilnes. Charles of Orleans's English Book of Love: A Critical Edition* (Binghampton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994), 52-53, but see especially her statement, "Though the conflict between the lover and his heart and eyes is common in courtly poetry, their exchanges owe something ultimately to the medieval genre of the debate, especially those

poems in his autograph manuscript by any of his friends or associates, although a few of his acquaintances chose direct address to other personifications.

If a few poems within Collection "G" might have been inspired or influenced by Charles d'Orléans, a handful of texts scattered throughout this section of Rohan can be shown actually to have been authored by the duke. Contrary to what one might reasonably expect, however, none of them is a rondeau—that is, one of the poems that the duke himself called by that name. Rather, all five of the poems are what Charles referred to in his autograph manuscript as "Chançons." What is more, they all belong to that part of the duke's œuvre that he wrote in England before his repatriation, the part of his output that Champion has called his "fonds primitif."[53] It is unusual to find them here because the sixty-two chançons written during Charles' English captivity normally always appear together as a group in the manuscript sources, and also in conjunction with the other ballades and *caroles* he wrote while in England.[54] To find them detached from the body of his work, and appearing anonymously, as isolated entries in the Rohan chansonnier, argues strongly that at some point these poems were perhaps singled out and given musical settings which, unfortunately, have not survived. It is most likely that this would have occurred sometime after the duke's release in November of 1440, but not necessarily. It is known that Charles

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involving two parts of the same human being: body and soul, heart and eye, etc. One notable difference in the structure of the "debate" in Charles's works from that of many other debates is that the narrator is one of those debating rather than an observer who can learn from the action played out for his benefit." Ibid, 53. In other words, Charles tends to make use of first person rather than third person address in his poetry involving Cueur.

[53]Pierre Champion, *Le manuscrit autographe des poésies de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: 1907; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975). These song texts in the order in which they appear in Rohan are: Chançon XVI, *Ma seulle plaisant doulce joye* (folios 121^{r}-121^{v}, no. 306); Chançon XI, *Ce moys de may non pareille deesse* (folio 123^{r}, no. 314); Chançon XXX, *Par le pourchas du regard de mes yeux* (folio 123^{v}, no. 316); Chançon XLIX, *Je ne les prise pas deulx blans* (folios 126^{r}-126^{v}, no. 327); and Chançon XXI, *Puys que je ne puys eschapper* (folios 127^{v}-128^{r}, no. 333).

[54]Note that what is at issue here are the lyric texts in French, not those in English, which is another matter entirely.

brought back from England a book of music, but it is not known what the nature of that music was.[55] In any case, the contents of Collection "G" now begin to appear more closely related to the duke. One other anonymous poem within this section of Rohan also appears to have a connection to the duke: *Mon espoir et ma souvenance* (folio 124^{v}, no. 320). *Mon espoir et ma souvenance* has a unique musical setting in the chansonnier Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 15123 (folios 68^{v}-69^{r}, no. 59), and based on its subject matter and end-rhymes, is quite possibly a feminine reply to Charles' *Mon seul plaisir ma doulce joye*, which also appears in this section of the manuscript (folios 121^{r}-121^{v}, no. 306).[56]

The remaining poems of Collection "G" are an assortment of texts set by Binchois, Du Fay, Barbingant, Ockeghem, Morton, and Busnoys, with a very large percentage of texts having no surviving settings. Most of the poems are anonymous, as well, although texts by Anthoine de Cuise (two poems), Vaillant (one poem) and Le Rousselet (one poem) also are included. These last three poets have been associated with French royal court circles (as have Ockeghem and possibly Busnoys), but for all that, Collection "G" does not give the impression of being an artifact of the royal court. It seems to be rather a hybrid of Burgundian and French royal court elements. It also does not appear to date from a single decade or two, but includes material that can be dated from the 1420s through the 1450s, a fairly wide time span for the contents of a typical French royal court chansonnier. In that

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[55]Andrew Wathey, "Lost Books of Polyphony in England: A List to 1500," *R[oyal] M[usical] A[ssociation] Research Chronicle* 21 (1988), 1-19, as part of a list of "Books of Polyphony in Private Ownership," p. 14, no. 153, gives an entry from Paris, Archives Nationales, K 500, No. 7, folio 5: "1440: ung autre petit livre ou sont pluseurs chansons notees" included as part of an inventory of Duke Charles d'Orléans' books brought back from England.

[56]This relationship was first noted by Daniel Poirion, *Le Poète et le prince: L'Évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), 165, n. 77.

way it is more like a chansonnier such as Pix, written in Italy, whose contents also span several decades.

When Charles d'Orléans permanently regained French soil, he began his life over, in a sense. Within the space of a month of his liberation, and largely due to Burgundian efforts, he was inducted into his cousin's Order of the Golden Fleece to bind him more firmly to Philippe le Bon, and had acquired a new, Burgundian wife, Marie de Clèves, which also bound him more firmly to the House of Burgundy.[57] It would have been necessary to build his and his wife's household staffs almost from scratch, and this is apparently what he did, starting with a good number of former Burgundian court functionaries and picking up a total of several hundred employees on his journey home from St. Omer to Blois.[58] It is likely that he picked up some musicians and music along the way, as well. This would partially explain the mix of old in with the newer music in Collection "G," and Charles' continuing contacts with the Burgundian court would explain the accrual of "Burgundian" music from the 1440s and 50s. For Charles, who had been so long away, French and Burgundian musical developments during his captivity would doubtless have interested him greatly, as would all the most recent musical compositions. The mix of music from different centers within Collection "G" may simply be a reflection of the general political position that Charles occupied throughout the 1440s and early 50s—as a mediator between French and Burgundian interests during this time period.

Another interesting mix of elements between the Burgundian and French royal courts coalesces in the text *Iusque au retour naray plaisance* (no. 281, folios 115^{r}-115^{v}),

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[57]Although technically Marie de Clèves was German, her family was a vassal to Philippe le Bon.

[58]Enid McLeod, *Charles of Orleans, Prince and Poet* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969), 249-54.

wherein is found the acrostic Iehanne Cenami. Jehanne Cenami was the wife of the Lucchese merchant and banker to Philippe le Bon, Giovanni di Arrigo Arnolfini, whom Cenami married in 1447.[59] Arnolfini apparently met the exiled dauphin, the future Louis XI, in 1460, while the latter was living at Genappe, to the south of Brussels, and with whom he was on good terms until 1465, when France and Burgundy went to war against each other.[60] When Louis became king in 1461, he appointed Arnolfini as one of his counselors and as his Général des Finances in Normandy,[61] and had Arnolfini knighted in 1463.[62] In April of 1464 Arnolfini became a naturalized Frenchman.[63] *Iusque au retour* therefore probably dates from between about 1460 and 1465, when Arnolfini returned to the Low Countries. By 1470 Arnolfini was *maître d'hotel* at the Burgundian court,[64] dying on 11 September 1472.[65] Jeanne was one of her husband's executors,[66] and she died on 14 October 1480.[67]

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[59]Lorne Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1998), 195, citing Jacques Paviot, "Le double portrait Arnolfini de Jan van Eyck," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 66 (1997), 19-33; esp. 21.

[60]Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 195, citing Joseph Frédéric Louis Vaesen, Étienne Charavay, and Bernard Édouard de Mandrot, *Lettres de Louis XI, roi de France, publiées d'après les originaux pour la Société de l'histoire de France*, 11 vols. Vol. 1: *Lettres de Louis dauphin 1438-1461* (Paris: Renouard, H. Laurens, successeur, 1909), 1:28-29, 160.

[61]Campbell, 195, citing Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, *Études sur les institutions financières de la France à la fin du Moyen Age*, 2 vols. Volume 1: *Les Elections et leur personnel* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1930), 1:237, 276.

[62]Campbell, 195, citing Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des titres, Pièces originales 102, Arnolfini no. 3.

[63]Ibid., citing Archives Nationales, Paris, K168.

[64]Ibid., citing Stadsarchief, Bruges, Civiele sentenciën, Vierschaar, 1469-1492, vol. 1, folio 55^{v}.

[65]Ibid., citing Bisschoppelijk Archief, Bruges (BAB), C 222, Cartulary of the Rich Clares, folio 83; C 224, Necrology of the Rich Clares, folio 201.

[66]Ibid., citing BAB C 222, Cartulary of the Rich Clares, folios 83-94.

[67]Ibid., citing BAB C 224, Necrology of the Rich Clares, folio 203^{v}.

Since, as has been demonstrated above, most of the texts of Collection "G" date from the 1440s and early 1450s, and appear to have some connection to Charles d'Orléans, it is worth taking another look at Collection "D," which, as it may be recalled, contains a large number of texts that have been attributed to Alain Chartier. In fact, with the exception of *Mille foiz le jour tout du maings*, the text of which (and presumably the music, as well) can be attributed to Busnoys, and *Au plus fort de ma maladie* by Benoist Damien, all of the attributed poems in this section of Rohan are by Alain Chartier.[68] The appearance of a single poem by Busnoys is odd, but the inclusion of the poem by Damien is odder still, since Benoist Damien is known to have only ever worked for Charles d'Orléans, and the refrain *Au plus fort de ma maladie* seems only to have been cultivated at the court of Blois.[69] The refrain does not seem to have been taken up by Blosseville or by any of the other poets represented in the collections P15771 or P9223,[70] and of Damien's eight poems, *Au plus fort de ma maladie* is the only one to appear in a source other than that of the duke's personal

[68]*Mille foiz le jour tout du maings* is attributed to Busnoys by the Norman poet Pierre Fabri in his *Le Grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique*, where it is given as *Cent mille foys*; see Fabri, *Le Grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique*, 2:73. *Au plus fort de ma maladie* appears in the autograph poetry manuscript belonging to Charles d'Orléans, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 25458, with the rubric "Benoist Damien," on page 458; see Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 2:433 (CCL).

[69]Benoist Damien, or more properly, Damiano, issued from an Italian family (probably from Asti), that had several members working in the duke's administration. Also known as "le Petit Benoit Damien" to distinguish him from his father, Benoîtin, he was first "huissier d'armes" and later, in 1456, "echanson." In March of 1460 he was still working for Duke Charles, whose records at that time refer to him as "noble homme." His motto, "du surplus," along with his signature, can still be seen in the book of verse by Alain Chartier that was owned by Marie de Clèves. See Pierre Champion, "Un *liber amicorum* du XVe siècle: Notice d'un manuscrit d'Alain Chartier ayant appartenu à Marie de Clèves, femme de Charles d'Orléans (Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 20026)," *Revue des Bibliothèques* 20 (1910), 320-36, esp. 332-33; idem., *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 602-603. For Benoist Damien's motto "Du surplus" in the Book of Hours, New York City, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 1027, see John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530.* (New York and London: The Pierpont Morgan Library and Oxford University Press, 1982), 63.

[70]There is, however, an anonymous rondeau upon the same theme in *Le Jardin*.

manuscript.[71] As a literary product of the court at Blois, it most likely also received its (now lost) musical setting at Blois, which throws open the entire question of the provenance of Collection "D." Either Charles or his wife could have requested that a group of Chartier poems with musical settings be gathered together to create a collection, since both were known to appreciate the author's works. It is also possible, however, that Benoist himself brought together the contents of Collection "D," since he is known to have been interested in the works of Chartier, and, as a nobleman, he would have had the financial means to have a poetry collection compiled for himself. Once Charles was deceased, Malet de Graville could have then borrowed the collection from Damien to have a copy made for himself since he, too, appears to have valued the poetry of his fellow Norman countryman.[72] These are tantalizing possibilities, but ultimately unprovable.

Collections "A" and "I"

The two groups will be discussed together because they share certain key characteristics and may issue from the same milieu. Collection "A," the smaller of the two with fifty-nine poems, opens the manuscript with five anonymous rondeaux, which by their language and imagery are reminiscent of poems by Charles d'Orléans (see Table 1.7). The first poem in fact opens with an incipit very similar to Charles' third *Complainte* and his

[71]Benoist's other poems are: *Contre fenoches et nos buze* (CCCLXXI, p. 496); *En la grant mer de Desplaisance* (CCLXXIX, p. 473); *Pour les maux dont je suis sy plains* (CCLII, p. 459); *Pour parvenir a vostre grace* (CCLIII, p. 459); *Nagent en angoisse parfonde* (CCCCXXIX, p. 531); *N'oubliez pas les prisoniers* (CCCLXXXVIII, p. 504); and *Tant plus regarde, moins y voy* (CCCCXXX, p. 531). All Roman numerals and page numbers refer to the poems as they appear in the Champion edition of Charles d'Orleans, *Poésies*.

[72]After the duke's death, Damien apparently stayed in central France for a while, since he had a Book of Hours made for himself around the year 1465. That he might have known Malet de Graville is, of course, pure speculation (although the timing fits).

TABLE 1.7: Rohan Collection "A"

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Poet	Composer
62r	47	*Ma seulle dame, ma maistresse & amye*		
62r	48	*Mon cueur ressuscita de mort*		
62r-62v	49	*Sans ce qualegie je me treuve*		
62v	50	*La dame de la querche la*		
62v-63r	51	*Tousiours me presche on & sermonne*		
63r	52	*Celle qui est du ranc de charite*		
63r-63v	53	*Ce que tant ayme du ranc de charite*		
63v	54	*Ce que dictes en mainte place*		
63v-64r	55	*Belle, dont nul ne sceut le pris*		
64r	56	*Quant de bonte vous portes los & pris*	Tanneguy du Chastel	
64r-64v	57	*Pourtant se je ne parle a vous*		
64v	58	*En la forest de longue actente*	Marie de Clèves	
64v-65r	59	*Une partie de vostre grace*		
65r	60	***Triste plaisir et doulloureuse joye***	Alain Chartier	Binchois
65r	61	*Ie nay povoir de vivre en joie*	Alain Chartier	
65r-65v	62	***Se jay vostre grace requise***		Anon.
65v	63	*Ma douleur ne vous ose dire*		
65v-66r	64	*Pleust a dieu que sceussiez la payne*		
66r	65	*Par trop amer ce quil nestoit pas myen*		
66r-66v	66	*Mon seul confort, ma dame & ma maistresse*		
66v-67r	67	*Ha, mort, helas*	Antoine de Cuise	
67r	68	*Quant de compter mon mal fay mon effort*		
67r	69	*Oncq, sur ma foy, je ne me repenty*		
67r-67v	70	***Au lit de pleurs pare de plains***		Anon.
67v	71	*De tout bien, de toutes vertus*		
67v-68r	72	*En fin mais que soies piteuse*		
68r	73	*Pour toulx mes plaisirs desconfire*		
68r-68v	74	*Quen dictes vous? feres vous rien*		
68v	75	*Tout a ung mot je vous require*		
68v-69r	76	*En lourdoys, pour nous vouloir plaire*		
69r	77	***Fors seulement l'attente que je meure***		Ockeghem
69r-69v	78	***Pour les biens qu'en vous je parcoy***		Anon.
69v	79	***Que me fault il plus que la mort***		Anon.
69v-70r	80	*Quant je suis ou les autres sont*		

70r	81	*Par long temps jay nage en londe*		
70r	82	*De quoy me sert le reguard de mes yeulx*	Alain Chartier	
70v-70v	83	*La bonne volente que jay*	Alain Chartier	
70v	84	*Pour quautre bien ne me peust plaire*	Alain Chartier	
70v-71r	85	*Tout droit, de coste a lenvers*		
71r	86	*Ce doulx accueil longuement actendu*		
71r-71v	87	*Sa si hault bien povoye parvenir*		
71v	88	*En riens ne pretendz a venir*		
71v-72r	89	***En tout honneur et en tout bien***		Anon.
72r	90	***Nul ne me doit de ce blasmer***	Orvilier	Anon.
72r	91	***Loing de vo tresdoulce presence***		Anon.
72v	92	***Soudainement mon cueur a pris***		Busnoys
72v	93	*Se iay riens envers vous meffait*		
72v-73r	94	*Mon bien, mon mal, ma joye, ma tristesse*		
73r	95	*Dangier, vous estes mal apris*		
73r-73v	96	*Ie ne requier qung seul baiser*		
73v	97	*Ie vueil servir ceste saison jolie*		
73v-74r	98	*Puys quil vous plaist, bien doy ma vie*		
74r	99	*Pour quoy fut mise en mon cueur la pansee*		
74r	100	***Quant jamais aultre bien n'aroye***	Le Rousselet	Anon.
74r-74v	101	***Se je fayz dueil je n'en puis mais***		Le Rouge
74v	102	*Pour vous guarir entierement*		
74v-75r	103	*Loignement des mains jay receu*		
75r	104	*Devant que soyes mal contante*		
75r-75v	105	*Si hault quil ny peust advenir*		

Chanson no. 38, *Ma seule amour, ma joye et ma maistresse*.[73] As can be seen from Table 1.7, the collection also includes poetry with attributions to Charles' wife, Marie de Clèves, and the French royal court habitués Tanneguy du Chastel, Anthoine de Cuise, Le Rousselet, and Orvilier, as well as at least two groups of poems by Alain Chartier. Texts with attributable settings include songs by Binchois, Ockeghem, Busnoys, and Guillaume le Rouge. The disparate nature of the authors and composers makes identifying a single source center difficult, but the weight of the evidence points to someone with strong French royal

[73]Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 265 and 226, respectively.

court associations, possibly living in Paris. The Paris connection is further strengthened by the inclusion of several poems whose acrostics and anagrams indicate an association with Catherine du Drac, a Parisian noblewoman, and daughter of a member of the Parisian Parliament. The du Drac family apparently was related to the Hacqueville-Bochart clan, another family group with members in Parliament.[74]

The five texts by members of the French royal court and Marie de Clèves are most interesting, since these texts appear here isolated from the rest of the poems of the generation with which they usually appear.[75] This argues for now-lost musical settings that circulated independently. The poem on the refrain *En la forest de longue attente*, and the setting by Guillaume le Rouge, as well as possibly the verse with its echoes of poetry by Charles d'Orléans indicates that the compiler of the collection was familiar with developments throughout the 1440s and 50s at the court of Blois.[76] Although the texts of Collection "A" range in date from the early fifteenth century through the 1450s and involve at least one composer from Burgundy as well as a number of the composers normally associated with the French royal court or central France, this picture of disparate elements is somewhat ameliorated by the personal nature of the collection. There are fewer poems employing personifications and allegorical figures as the impetus for the poems' topics, and

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[74]As cited by Paula Higgins, "Parisian Nobles, a Scottish Princess, and the Woman's Voice in Late Medieval Song," *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 145-200, esp. 178, who found her information in J. de Launay, "Une sainte-veuve parisienne au XVIe siècle," *Annuaire de Conseil Héraldique de France* 21 (1908), 170 and 172. The texts within Collections "A" and "I" of Rohan that can be associated with Catherine du Drac include *Celle qui est du ranc de charite*, *Ce que tant ayme du ranc de charite*, *Sa si hault bien povoye parvenir*, (whose second line of verse reads "Destre compte du ranc de charite"), *Ce premier jour quen amours pris plaisir* and *Checun y tarddera souvent*.

[75]These would be the texts found in the poetry manuscripts P9223, P15771 and P25458.

[76]Guillaume le Rouge is documented in 1453 as working at the court of Charles d'Orléans, and the poem he set, *Se je fayz dueil je n'en puis mais*, is a virelai. Virelais were especially cultivated in the 1450s. See David Fallows, "Bergerette," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Bärenreiter: Kassel and Stuttgart, 1994-), 1:1411-13.

more poems that speak directly to the love object. Beyond the references to Catherine du Drac through the devices of anagram and acrostic, a group of three related song texts, (no. 102, *Pour vous guarir entierement*; no. 103, *Loignement des mains jay receu*, a female response to no. 102, and *Devant que soyes mal contante*, no. 104, the male rejoinder to no. 103), contribute to the personal tone of this section of Rohan, as does no. 66, *Mon seul confort, ma dame et ma maistresse*, a masculine response to the feminine complaint of no. 65, *Par trop amer ce quil nestoit pas myen*. The impression generated by the combination of these elements is one of a collection of songs selected by someone with a personal stake in the poetry, with a relationship to those who created it, but songs otherwise unrelated except by intended recipient. It begins to look as though the exemplar for this section was Catherine du Drac's personal collection of poems, many of which were written just for her.

Collection "I" likewise displays the character of a private collection, although its much larger number of song texts (190) make it seem much more of a mixed bag (see Table 1.8). This more personal character is enhanced by the inclusion of three small groups of poems that, while anonymous, are reminiscent of the groups of debate poems cultivated at the court of Blois by Charles d'Orléans and his associates. Nos. 413 through 415 play with the refrain *Il la qui la*, *Cela ou riens* is the sexually euphemistic topic of no. 435 and its feminine response, no. 436, and nos. 508 through 510 are titled *La plus des accomplies de France*, and the related *La plus desloialle du monde*.[77] Although the number of authors involved in these poetic exchanges is much smaller than for those at Blois, the same process is clearly at work here, preserving a written record of personal relationships, the nature of which, unfortunately, must remain forever obscure.

[77]Marked as "le retraire" in the margin of the manuscript, folio 169^{r}.

TABLE 1.8: Rohan Collection "I"

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Poet	Composer
133^{v}-134^{r}	359	*Tant me durera*		
134^{r}	360	***Quant viendra la journee***		Anon.
134^{r}-134^{v}	361	*Mort desesperee*		
134^{v}	362	*Le maintieng gracieulx*		
134^{v}-135^{r}	363	*Se me pars sans mes maulx vous dire*		
135^{r}	364	*Mon desir, se tu veulx mon bien*		
135^{r}	365	*Par quelqungs venans par deca*		
135^{v}	366	*Ie demeure seulle esgaree*		
135^{v}-136^{r}	367	*Adieu, mamour, mon souvenir!*		
136^{r}	368	*En tel point je me deporte*		
136^{r}	369	***A ceste derraine venue***		Anon.
136^{r}-136^{v}	370	*Helas! cest fait de moy nest plus*		
136^{v}	371	***A quoy passeray je mon deul***		Anon.
136^{v}-137^{r}	372	***Adieu m'amour adieu ma joye***		Du Fay
137^{r}	373	*Helas! esse bien fait, amours*		
137^{r}-137^{v}	374	***Adieu jusques je vous revoye***		Binchois
137^{v}	375	*Ne le laisses jamaiz venir*		
137^{v}-138^{r}	376	***Se je demeure despourveu***		Anon.
138^{r}	377	*Ie men repens de vous avoir amee*		
138^{r}-138^{v}	378	*Les regres croissent ma doulleur*		
138^{v}	379	*Puys que laves habandonne*		
138^{v}-139^{r}	380	*Ha, mort cruelle, aspre et despicte*		
139^{r}	381	***De quatre nuys les troys veillier***		Hayne
139^{v}	382	*Aucune foys quant je sommellie*		
139^{v}	383	*Se ma dolleur brief ne sapaise*		
139^{v}-140^{r}	384	*Ou ce que mon cueur panse ment*		
140^{r}	385	*Le premier jour quen amours prins plaisir*		
140^{r}	386	*Apres le dueil et le grant desplaisir*		
140^{r}-140^{v}	387	*Se par vous nay allegement*		
140^{v}	388	***Bon jour bon mois bonne sepmaine***		Anon.
140^{v}-141^{r}	389	*Mon cueur a fait nouvelle emprise*		
141^{r}	390	***En triumphant de cruel dueil***		Du Fay
141^{r}-141^{v}	391	***Pour voz pechez je porte penitance***		Anon.
141^{v}	392	***Quant vous me ferez plus de bien***		Busnoys
141^{v}-142^{r}	393	*Au sault du lit, la plus part nue*		
142^{r}	394	***Je ne seray plus vert vestu***		Phillipet de Prez
142^{r}-142^{v}	395	*Plus que nulle autre vivant nee*		
142^{v}	396	*Helas! lavoige desservy*		
142^{v}-143^{r}	397	*Ma foy seure vrite germa*		

143^{r}	398	*Dieu sauve et gard ma gente valentine*		
143^{r}-143^{v}	399	*Ie vueil chanter ce que je panse*		
143^{v}	400	*Saint valentin, bien suis tenu a toy*		
143^{v}	401	*Vostre doulceur ma si esprise*		
143^{v}-144^{r}	402	*Vostre doulceur mest si prochaine*		
144^{r}	403	*De plus en plus mon cuer veult amer*		
144^{r}-144^{v}	404	*Ou tout prive ou tout sauvage*		
144^{v}	405	*Nen doubtes ne que de la mort*		
144^{v}-145^{r}	406	*Gracieuse entre mile et belle*		
145^{r}	407	***Plus voy mon mignon plus le prise***		Anon.
145^{r}-145^{v}	408	*Malle bouche la decevable*		
145^{v}	409	*De bout contre le pie dun lit*		
145^{v}-146^{r}	410	*Quel bien vous vient jl de mon dueil*		
146^{r}	411	***Se mieulx ne vient d'amours peu me contente***	?Cretin	Convert
146^{r}-146^{v}	412	***Tant est mignonne ma pensee***		Anon.
146^{v}	413	*Il la qui la: je nay que payne*		
146^{v}	414	*Il la qui la: je nay que plaindre*		
147^{r}	415	*Il la qui la si dure: cest bien fait*		
147^{r}	416	*Mon amy, tant fort ma despleu*		
147^{r}-147^{v}	417	*A ceste heure congnois je et scay*		
147^{v}	418	*Tout ainsy comme ung corps sans ame*		
147^{v}-148^{r}	419	*A quoy pourra prendre plaisance*		
148^{r}	420	*Il nest viandre que naveaux*		
148^{r}-148^{v}	421	***Ma plus ma mignonne m'amie***		Convert
148^{v}	422	*Sautre de moy voules amer*		
148^{v}-149^{r}	423	*Il me souffit destre le maindre*		
149^{r}	424	*Ie vous pry, faictes moy cela*		
149^{r}-149^{v}	425	*Au plus destroit de ma dure destresse*		
149^{v}	426	*Departes vous merancolie*		
149^{v}	427	*Tant mennuye vostre esloignement*		
149^{v}-150^{r}	428	*Qua tosiours vous fusse en servage*		
150^{r}	429	*Folz mesdisans, cloes la bouche*		
150^{r}-150^{v}	430	***J'en ay le deul et vous la joie***	Hugues de Blosseville	Anon.
150^{v}	431	*Mieulx vous en fut, ma douce amye*		
150^{v}-151^{r}	432	*Pour toulx biens, las, que je desire*		
151^{r}	433	*Quant vous poves, vous ne voules*		
151^{r}-151^{v}	434	*A peu parler et en grant craincte*		
151^{v}	435	*Cela ou riens est ma devise*		
151^{v}-152^{r}	436	*Cela ou riens, mon gentil homme?*		
152^{r}	437	*Ie ne suis pas seul qui vous prise*		
152^{r}-152^{v}	438	*Ou tout, ou riens; ou pres ou loing!*		
152^{v}	439	***Presque transi un peu moins qu'estre mort***		Ockeghem

152^{v}-153^{r}	440	*Onques ne peus estre ame de fortune*		
153^{r}	441	*Mamour, mon desir terrien*		
153^{r}-153^{v}	442	*Comment jay bien perdu mon temps*		
153^{v}	443	*Lung de nous deulx si nest pas sage*		
153^{v}-154^{r}	444	*Balue, pour dieu, dormes adens!*		
154^{r}	445	*Iehanne du boys est retournee*		
154^{r}-154^{v}	446	***Le corps s'en va et le cueur vous demeure***		Busnoys
154^{v}	447	*Sur toutes est la marguerite*		
154^{v}-155^{r}	448	*Son ne me va mary querre*		
155^{r}	449	*Pour bien vous veoir le nom tourner*		
155^{r}	450	*Y pourroit plus mectre nature*		
155^{r}-155^{v}	451	*Pour bien et loiaument amer*		
155^{v}	452	*Le plus dolent que jamaiz on peust dire*		
155^{v}-156^{r}	453	*Cela que maves dit souvent*		
156^{r}	454	***Ma demoiselle ma maistresse***		Busnoys
156^{r}-156^{v}	455	*De ma part nest venu loutrage*		
156^{v}	456	***Helas m'amour ma tresparfete amye***		Caron
156^{v}-157^{r}	457	*Que de fatras, que de redictes!*		
157^{r}	458	***Quant ce viendra au droit destraindre***		Busnoys/ Ockeghem
157^{r}-157^{v}	459	*Ung dieu, ung roy & une dame*		
157^{v}	460	*Home, pour qui mon sang jespens*		
157^{v}-158^{r}	461	*Le departir de vous tant fort me griefve*		
158^{r}	462	*La figue a toulx les envieux*		
158^{r}-158^{v}	463	*Au feu ou ie me sens brulee*		
158^{v}	464	*Ie mon voys seul, esloingne de ma dame*		
158^{v}-159^{r}	465	*Se ma demeure est trop loingtayne*		
159^{r}	466	***Jamais ne seray amoureulx***		Anon.
159^{r}-159^{v}	467	*Puys quainsi vous lavez voulu*		
159^{v}	468	***J'ars de desir si enflame d'amer***		?Agricola
159^{v}	469	*Marczot, vous soiez le bien venu*		
160^{r}	470	***J'ay pris amours a ma devise***		Anon.
160^{r}	471	*Est ce point terrible martire*		
160^{r}-160^{v}	472	***Mort j'appelle de ta rigueur***	?François Villon	Delahaye
160^{v}	473	*Ie voys, ie viens, je boutte et tire*		
160^{v}-161^{r}	474	*On ne la pas par souhaicter*		
161^{r}	475	*Quen dictes vous de ce tigneux*		
161^{r}-161^{v}	476	***En soustenant vostre querelle***		Busnoys
161^{v}	477	*Te cuidde absence avoir minee*		
161^{v}-162^{r}	478	*Pourtant say demoure huit jours*		

162^{r}	479	*Ce premier jour quen amours pris plaisir*		
162^{r}-162^{v}	480	*Checun y tarddera souvent*		
162^{v}	481	*Feru suis du vent de la bise*		
162^{v}-163^{r}	482	*Iay tant de plaisir, quant je panse*		
163^{r}	483	*Pour mectre fin a mes douleurs & plains*	Jehan Meschinot	
163^{r}	484	*En cours, en cloisters, en couvens*		
163^{r}-163^{v}	485	***Les treves d'amours et de moi***		Anon.
163^{v}	486	***Non pas que je veuille penser***		Joye
163^{v}-164^{r}	487	*Se ma douleur povoit souffire*		
164^{r}	488	***Mon cuer chante joyeusement***	?Charles d'Orléans	Binchois
164^{r}-164^{v}	489	***Ostez la moi de mon oreille***		Anon.
164^{v}	490	*Pour reverdir je lay plantee*		
164^{v}-165^{r}	491	*Dictes le moy, mon seul desir*		
165^{r}-165^{v}	492	*Ma gente amour, mon souvenir*		
165^{v}	493	*Non sans cause, las je me plains*		
165^{v}	494	*En rondelant souvent mesbas*		
165^{v}-166^{r}	495	*Paris se plaint par trop de foiz*		
166^{r}	496	*Ou pourray ie tant de lermes finer*		
166^{r}-166^{v}	497	*Vous qui ceans estes nouveaux*		
166^{v}	498	*Ce suis ie qui souloie avoir*		
166^{v}-167^{r}	499	*Povre Jehannette, trop vous plains*		
167^{r}	500	*Laissons passer amour mortelle*		
167^{r}-167^{v}	501	*Plus quoncques maiz vous vueil amer*		
167^{v}	502	*Qui est tout vostre que celluy*		
167^{v}-168^{r}	503	*Sa vous ne tient, je vous jure & affie*		
168^{r}	504	*Se vous laissies la porte ouverte*		
168^{r}	505	*Robin, robin, seuffre que len te boute*		
168^{r}-168^{v}	506	*Vie de court, douloureuse*		
168^{v}	507	*Se nouvelles voulez avoir*		
168^{v}-169^{r}	508	*La plus des accomplies de france*		
169^{r}	509	*La plus des accomplies de france*		
169^{r}-169^{v}	510	*La plus desloialle du monde*		
169^{v}	511	*Les biens dont vous estes ma dame*		
169^{v}-170^{r}	512	*Tel fait semblant destre joieux*		
170^{r}	513	*Pour dieu, vueillez mon fait entendre*		
170^{r}	514	*Fine affine, ramplie de finesse*		
170^{r}-170^{v}	515	***A quoy tient il? le cueur me volle***	Guillaume Fredet	Anon.
170^{v}	516	*Vueillent ou non, les envieux*		
170^{v}-171^{r}	517	*Sur quanque me craignes desplaire*		
171^{r}	518	*Esguillon serpentin, dangier*		
171^{r}	519	***Querez ailleurs paille en estrain***		Anon.

171^{r}-171^{v}	520	*Par deulx mignons, petis, vers yeulx rians*		
171^{v}-172^{r}	521	*Ma plus sans per, et son maintien*		
172^{r}	522	*Lisses mactins et chiens courans*		
172^{r}	523	*Le iour que suis sans que vous voie*		
172^{r}-172^{v}	524	*Pour les biens quen vous sont compris*		
172^{v}	525	*Tant que cest trop, las ie vous ame*		
172^{v}-173^{r}	526	*Querant, helas, ce quil faut que ie fuie*		
173^{r}	527	*Ou purgatoire de desir*		
173^{r}-173^{v}	528	*Que peust valoir ma penitence*		
173^{v}	529	*Haro, au fort, taire me veulx*		
173^{v}-174^{r}	530	*Tant est a voir doulce & en respons fiere*		
174^{r}	531	*Avant, parlez! sus, mesdisans!*		
174^{r}-174^{v}	532	*Ma dame, par vostre doulceur*		
174^{v}	533	*Desquelz de tous me doy je plus complaindre*		
174^{v}	534	*Quant plus jesloingne ma veue de labelle*		
175^{r}	535	*Vostre rigueur a bien grant tort*		
175^{r}	536	*Ha, fortune, a moy si fort contraire*		
175^{r}-175^{v}	537	*La, mon œil, la, la, par la va!*		
175^{v}	538	*Iay mal; maiz quel, dire ne le saroie*		
175^{v}-176^{r}	539	***J'ayme quanque par Y commence***		Anon.
176^{r}	540	*Contre mon bien tousdis moy combatant*		
176^{r}-176^{v}	541	*Pleures, mes yeux, acompaignant mon cueur*		
176^{v}	542	*Laisses ses plains & ses larmes ester*		
176^{v}-177^{r}	543	*Toutes les foiz que la belle je voy*		
177^{r}	544	*Povres assottes & bemus*		
177^{r}-177^{v}	545	*Ha, que jame ce tour la tant*		
177^{v}	546	*Ilz semblent sacs a charbonnier*		
177^{v}-178^{r}	547	*Tant que jamaiz on ne porroit plus dire*		
178^{r}	548	*Ma tresamoureuse pensee*		
178^{r}	549	*Helas, mon amy, sur mon ame*	Jehanne Filleul	
178^{v}	550	*Soies contante seullement que je meure*		

Only a handful of poems within this section of Rohan have any attributions (all from other sources), but Collection "I" does contain several acrostics, anagrams, and

references to specific individuals.[78] Anagrams within the incipits of no. 397 (*Ma foy seure vrite germa*), no. 406 (*Gracieuse entre mile et belle*), no. 480 (*Checun y tarddera souvent*) and no. 481 (*Feru suis du vent de la bise*) spell out "Marguerite," "Marguerite Lencisée," "Catherine du Drac" and "Isabel," respectively. Acrostics of the names Perrette de Roye, Catherine du Drac and the motto "Sans autre amer" are embedded within their corresponding texts no. 432 (*Pour toulx biens las que je desire*), no. 479 (*Ce premier jour quen amours pris plaisir*) and no. 503 (*Sa vous ne tient je vous jure et affie*), with a Marguerite being named outright in no. 447, *Sur toutes est la Marguerite*. The references to Catherine du Drac suggest a web of interrelationships involving members of the French aristocracy who would have had contact with each other through their ties to the workings of the government, specifically the Parliament of Paris. This orientation towards Paris is further advanced, albeit indirectly, by the content of a few of the texts themselves. Aside from the obvious references to the capital in no. 495, *Paris se plaint par trop de foiz*, certain events which took place in the city were immortalized in *Balue pour dieu dormes adens* (no. 444) and *Jehanne du Boys est retournee* (no. 445), both mocking the prelate Cardinal Jean Balue.[79] In addition, thirty-seven of the poems of Collection "I" can also be found in the Parisian publication *Le Jardin*. This is about nineteen percent, a fairly high percentage in comparison to the other collections of Rohan.

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[78]See Table 1.8 for the poems with attributions: nos. 411, 430, 472, 483, 488, 515 and 549.

[79]Although Jean Balue was an ordained priest and therefore had taken a vow of chastity, he apparently was not a fanatic about it. As the story goes, the Cardinal of Angers was soundly beaten the night of 23 September 1465 by a group of unknown assailants, during which scuffle he was stabbed a couple of times. The attack was purportedly instigated by the Sire de Villers-Bocage, jealous of the cardinal's amorous attentions towards the above-named Jehanne du Bois, the wife of a notary of the Paris Chastelet, and a woman with something of a scandalous reputation herself. See Déprez, "La trahison du Cardinal Balue," 280-81.

When the extant musical settings of the texts are taken into consideration, the contents of Collection "I" separate themselves into two general chronological groupings. The first, which includes nos. 363 through 389, involves some settings from the 1430s and 40s, as well as a few settings by "Burgundian" composers, settings that would have nonetheless circulated in Paris. The separate nature of this first part of the collection is further underscored by its overall mood and themes. With but one exception, the mood of these poems is dark, with sadness at separation and grief at loss and/or unrequited or unrewarded love as the predominant themes. The compiler of this part of the collection was particularly interested in poems exploring the negative side of love and the emotions it engenders. Beginning with Du Fay's *En triumphant de cruel dueil*, presumably written at the death of Binchois (c. 1460),[80] the composers represented and the extant settings all point to a collection mainly from the late 1450s and the 60s. Accompanying this change in chronology is a change in overall tone and the themes of the texts. A few poems express sadness or despair but on the whole, the themes are much more varied and the tone is lighter. Most, if not all, of the Busnoys pieces would have been composed by or during the 1460s,[81] and the Delahaye setting of François Villon's *Mort, jappelle de ta rigueur* was designated specifically as a legacy for the Parisian Ythier Marchant, provided that Marchant would have it set to music after the poet's death, which presumably occurred sometime soon after 1461.[82] Almost nothing is known of the composer Convert, but it is thought that he was active in the

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[80]David Fallows, "Two More Dufay Songs Reconstructed," *Early Music* 3 (1975), 358-60, esp. 359.

[81]See Fallows, "'Trained and immersed…'," 23-24.

[82]Jean Dufournet, *Recherches sur Le Testament de François Villon*, 2d ed., rev. and enl., 2 vols. (Paris: Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Supérieure, 1971-73), 1:259-74; Paula Higgins, "Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987), 280-1; Jane Alden: "Delahaye, Jean [Johannes; ?Jehan Delahaie; Johannes Deshayes]," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 January 2008), <http://grovemusic.com.>

years around 1470.[83] Perhaps this dating could be moved forward a bit to the early to mid-1460s, since two of the three texts of his known chansons appear in this section of Rohan. Collection "I" also suggests that he spent some time in Paris.

Two surprises involve texts that apparently were set by Hayne van Ghizeghem (no. 381, folio 139^{r}, *De quatre nuys les trois veiller*) and Alexander Agricola (no. 468, folio 159^{v}, *Jars de desir, si enflamé damer*). If these texts do, in fact, refer to the known settings, are by these composers (as seems the case), and they were set soon after their creation, then these are among the earliest surviving pieces by the two composers.[84] While it is theoretically possible that the poems were set later, say, the 1480s or 90s, the music itself argues against this. Hayne's *De quatre nuys les trois veiller* is clearly either from the 1460s or by a less experienced composer. The point of imitation for the second phrase of text (measures 10-22) is the only point of imitation within the rondeau to involve all three voices, and it is extremely simple. The other points of imitation involve but two voices, are not strict, and state similarly simple and repetitive motives. There are also two instances of voice crossing (measures 9-10 and 38-39). Overall, this piece feels like a tentative attempt at writing in the imitative style of the 1460s, and there is nothing in the piece to argue for its having been composed later than the early 1460s. Since the poem has been copied into a section of Rohan which includes other poetry mainly from the late 1450s and the early 1460s, and a young composer would be more likely to make an impression by setting a newly-composed rather than an old text,[85] *De quatre nuys* probably was composed during this

[83]Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 687.

[84]See the qualifying remarks for the Agricola piece by Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 191.

[85]I owe this point to a private communication from Professor John Nádas.

decade. It should be noted also that this section of poetry within Rohan also includes two poems with extant settings by Binchois, as well as the poem of Phillipet de Prez' *Je ne seray plus vert vestu*, which would have been current in the musical repertory of the musicians employed by Philippe le Bon when nearly his entire court personnel traveled to Paris in 1461 to attend the coronation festivities of Louis XI.[86]

In some ways, *Jars de desir si enflamé d'amer* is an even less sophisticated musical essay. It contains absolutely no imitative writing, employs an octave-leap cadence at the end, and some crossing of voices within the body of the composition. The modern editor of the piece, Edward Lerner, notes that "Stylistic traits support the suggestion that the composer of Number 74 [*Jars de desir*] belonged to the generation of composers active largely in the third quarter of the fifteenth century."[87] It can be argued that the poem's inclusion within this section of Rohan further pinpoints its musical setting to the 1460s, making it one of the earliest compositions that Agricola wrote, since he would have been a teenager. What is more, both Hayne and Agricola must then have spent time in or around Paris early in their careers—Hayne, sometime between 1457, when he is first documented as working for Philippe le Bon as a young boy, and December-January 1467, when he is next documented at the court of the duke of Burgundy, and Agricola, before traveling to Cambrai Cathedral to sing as a *petit vicaire*—even if no archival evidence survives to prove it.

With its orientation towards Paris, Collection "I" has clear implications for the early career of Busnoys, who, with five chansons, is the most frequently represented composer of the collection. His connections to the Parisian Hacqueville-Bochart clan are

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[86]This will be explored in further detail in Chapter 3.

[87]Edward R. Lerner, *Alexandri Agricola (1446—1506): Opera omnia*, 5 vols. ([S.I.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1961-1970), 5:lxxxvi.

well known, but it is not those songs that appear here.[88] Likewise, as a whole, Collection "I" only includes seven texts by known poets—Guillaume Crétin, Hugues de Blosseville, Meschinot, Charles d'Orléans, François Villon, Guillaume Fredet and Jehanne Filleul. If the focus of Collection "I" were activity by members of the French royal court or the aristocracy most closely associated with it, one might reasonably expect more surviving evidence of verse by poets known to be associates of that milieu. That is not the case. Very few of the usual suspects are included, suggesting that Busnoys' contacts were far-ranging and in this case probably also included unknown members of the "noblesse de robe"—the intellectual elite of the law profession working in the capital. Collection "I" is by most appearances a private, but urban collection that can trace its origins to Paris, as opposed to being a direct product of the French royal court or its satellite institutions of the Loire Valley.

Collection "C"

The twenty-two poems of this section of Rohan (nos. 129 through 150, folios 81^{r} through 86^{r}) form a relatively homogeneous group (see Table 1.9). On the whole, they exhibit style traits that could be considered polished and "courtly," if quite conventional. They express conventional love sentiments and their structures could even be considered conservative, in that they do not appear to experiment with line lengths (as does the verse of the 1450s) or with unusual rhyme schemes. Several poems are of the older ten-syllable line length that was current in the very last decades of the fourteenth century and first decades of the fifteenth century, and which then came back into style and was the predominant verse form at the end of the fifteenth century. A few of the texts may date from the 1430s, but

[88]Leeman L. Perkins, "Antoine Busnois and the d'Hacqueville Connection," in *Musique naturelle et musique artificielle: In Memoriam Gustav Reese*, ed. Mary Beth Winn, *Le Moyen frannçais* 5 (1979), 49-64; Higgins, "Parisian Nobles," *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 145-200.

TABLE 1.9: Rohan Collection "C"

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting	Poet	Composer
80r	125	*Traiteuse espie*		
80r-80v	126	*Que puys je mieulx faire*		
80v	127	*Quant il vous plaira*		
80v-81r	128	*Iay tant de plaisance*		
81r	129	*Combien que trop de mal jendure*		
81r	130	*Se jay longuement actendu*		
81r-81v	131	*Ha, dieu ha aussy nostre dame*		
81v	132	*Prest de perir en lamer de fortune*		
81v-82r	133	*A ceste foiz suys hors de pacience*		
82r	134	*La plus dolente que je voye*		
82r-82v	135	*Se ma doulleur vous savies*	Charles d'Orléans	
82v	136	*Se je me dueil et je me plains*		
82v-83r	137	***Mon seul plaisir ma doulce joye***	Charles d'Orléans	Bedyngham/ Du Fay
83r	138	***Tout a par moy affin qu'on ne me voye***		Frye/ Binchois
83r-83v	139	*Amer vous vueil soit ma mort ou ma vie*		
83v	140	*Du grant desir que mon cueur a*		
83v	141	*Avant puisse je, las, mourir*		
83v-84r	142	***Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure***		Ockeghem
84r	143	*Pourroit on jamaiz mieulx choisir*		
84r-84v	144	*Pour quoy esse que nose dire*		
84v	145	*Ne me mectes en oubly*		
84v-85r	146	*Quant mon œil plus ne vous verra*		

most seem to have been written in the 1440s, and are generally of two kinds, either 1) extremely well-known and widely disseminated song texts that were among the "greatest hits" of their era, such as no. 137, *Mon seul plaisir, ma doulce joye*; no. 138, *Tout a par moy affin quon ne me voye*; and no. 142, *Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure*, or 2) unique or all but unknown elsewhere.[89] Fourteen of these texts are unique (almost 70%), a huge

[89]For an idea of the "greatest hits" of each decade of the greater part of the fifteenth century, see Fallows, "Jean Molinet and the Lost Burgundian Court Chansonniers of the 1470s," 35-42, esp. 41-42.

percentage. Of the three very popular pieces, *Tout a par moy* appears to have been copied into the Vérard print *Le Jardin* from a source coeval to that which also provided Rohan's no. 144, *Pourquoy esse que nose dire*, that is, a source most likely dating from the 1430s and 1440s, further linking the pieces in this section of Rohan.[90] Collection "C," then, is an older (mainly 1440s) repertory, conservative, and for the most part, circumscribed in its diffusion. This suggests a provincial center of production having some contact with the Crown. Beyond these general remarks, there is not enough evidence to draw specific conclusions about this repertory.

Collection "B"

Whereas Collection "C" seems somewhat "provincial" in nature, Collection "B" has many characteristics of a more urban artifact (see Table 1.10). While ten of its twenty-one pieces are unique, another ten of its texts show up in the Parisian *Le Jardin*. What few names can be associated with the texts and music are authors and composers involved with the French royal court of the 1450s: Hugues de Blosseville, Jean Robertet and Johannes Ockeghem. Four other songs probably also stem from the 1450s, since they are in the form of the virelai, which was particularly en vogue in royal court circles during that decade (nos. 117, 122, 124 and 125).[91] Nos. 113 and 114, while rondeaux, incorporate four-syllable line lengths among their majority eight-syllable line lengths, which also argues for a dating during the 1450s. The remaining poems are probably mostly from the 1440s, with two possible exceptions—nos. 115 and 118, which probably date from the 1450s, although

[90]The section of *Le Jardin* containing both *Tout a par moy* and *Pour quoy esse que nous dire* will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.

[91]See Fallows, "Bergerette," 1:1411-13.

the source in which they first appear, Niv, is thought to have been written between 1460 and 1465.

TABLE 1.10: Rohan Collection "B"

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Poet	Composer
75^{v}	106	*Pour obeir*		
75^{v}	107	*Helas, mon seul bien*		
76^{r}	108	*Je viens vers vous pour requerir*		
76^{r}-76^{v}	109	*De mon fait, las, ne scay que dire*	Hugues de Blosseville	
76^{v}	110	*Celuy qui sert sans desservir*		
76^{v}	111	***Depuis deux ou trios jours en ca***		Anon.
76^{v}-77^{r}	112	*Je vous requier, faignes vostre œil*		
77^{r}	113	*Le plus dolent qouncques fu ne*[92]		
77^{r}-77^{v}	114	*Fortune, a quelle occasion*		
77^{v}	115	***Se vous me voulés estre bonne***		Anon.
77^{v}-78^{r}	116	*A la mort suys par vous, ma chere dame*		
78^{r}	117	*Belle, de qui jay plus denuye*		
78^{r}-78^{v}	118	***S'il advient que mon dueil me tue***		Michelet
78^{v}	119	*En attendant guarison ou la mort*	Jehan Robertet	
78^{v}-79^{r}	120	*Pour le don damours acquerir*		
79^{r}	121	***Les desloyaulx ont la saison***		Ockeghem
79^{r}-79^{v}	122	*Je me resioys de panser*		
79^{v}	123	*Mamour & ma plus cher tenue*		
79^{v}-80^{r}	124	*Quant mon desir sacomplira*		

Sil advient que mon dueil me tue (no. 118, folios 78^{r}-78^{v}) may offer a clue to the provenance of Collection "B". "Sil avient" was the motto of Antoine Raguier, who had this *devise* and his initials inscribed on folio 15^{r} in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 834.[93] This is a Book of Hours that he commissioned from the artist Jean Fouquet, who worked on it from c. 1465 to 1468, when Raguier died. It subsequently came into the

[92]This text appears in *Le Jardin*, folio 61^{v} (no. 15), with the rubric, "Rondel en chant."

[93]Jane Alden, "Reading the Loire Valley Chansonniers," *Acta musicologica* 79 (2007), 1-31, esp. 26.

possession of the poet Jean Robertet, who had the manuscript's decoration completed by Jean Colombe in Bourges around the year 1470, which is why the manuscript is now known as the "Hours of Jean Robertet."[94] Books of Hours were extremely expensive, valuable devotional objects, and quite personal possessions. When an owner died, such an object would usually be passed along to an immediate or at least close, family member. That Jean Robertet acquired Raguier's Book of Hours suggests a close, personal friendship between the two men. Perhaps Robertet wrote the text to *Sil advient que mon dueil me tue*, since the poem appears in Rohan next to Robertet's *En attendant guarison ou la mort* (folio 78^{v}, no. 119). It is even possible that Collection "B" preserves poems from a music manuscript that belonged to Raguier.

Collection "J"

As can be seen from Table 1.11, this section of Rohan presents a quite varied selection of texts by several different poets and composers. There are at least six different poets, and ten different composers included, associated with various centers from all over France. Hayne van Ghizeghem, Robert Morton, Gilles de Bins and Guillaume Du Fay are all normally associated with the court at Burgundy, Fedé with Blois, Philipon Basiron with Bourges, and the elusive Firminus Caron and Convert possibly with activities in Paris. The bulk of the evidence, however, points to Tours and the French royal court as the locus for this collection, however, at a time when Antoine Busnoys and Johannes Ockeghem would have both been present, along with several poets/functionaries of the Crown such as Le Rousselet,

[94]Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1997), 44.

TABLE 1.11: Rohan Collection "J"

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Poet	Composer
178^{v}	551	*A ce coup cy*		
178^{v}-179^{r}	552	*Sans vous, ou que je soie*		
179^{r}-179^{v}	553	*Il fault que fortune ait emprise*		
179^{v}	554	***Qu'en a affaire Mallebouche***		Anon.
179^{v}	555	*Estront de chien en son visage*		
179^{v}-180^{r}	556	*Sen fault il pourtant donner dueil*		
180^{r}	557	***C'est vous en qui j'ay esperance***		Busnoys
180^{r}-180^{v}	558	*Desdaing massault, dueil me queurt seure*		
180^{v}	559	*Je ne dy mot, et si ne me puis taire*		
180^{v}-181^{r}	560	*Roe de fortune la diverse*		
181^{r}	561	*Pour faire debatre mes yeux*		
181^{r}-181^{v}	562	***Souffice toy povre cuer dolereux***		Anon. (Du Fay?)
181^{v}	563	*Quant je me trouve au pres de celle*	Le Rousselet	
181^{v}-182^{r}	564	***En tous les lieux ou j'ay esté***	Jaques de Luxembourg	Busnoys
182^{r}	565	*Mamye, quant voir ne vous puis*		
182^{r}-182^{v}	566	*Ie doy bien estre desplaisant*		
182^{v}	567	***Quant je fus prins au pavillon***	Charles d'Orléans	Anon.
182^{v}	568	*Esperant davoir aucun bien*		
182^{v}-183^{r}	569	*Changer ne vueil temoing vostre cueur, beausire*		
183^{r}	570	***Ha que ville et abhominable***		Busnoys
183^{r}-183^{v}	571	*Tant plus vous voy, plus vous desire*		
183^{v}	572	***Puis qu'a chacun ris et quaquectes***		Anon.
183^{v}-184^{r}	573	*Beaute, bonte, magniere, honneur*		
184^{r}	574	***Cent mille escus quant je vouldroye***		Caron/Busnoys
184^{r}-184^{v}	575	***De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse***		Hayne
184^{v}	576	***Nul ne l'a telle sa maistresse***		Basiron
184^{v}	577	*Iay des semblans tant que je vueil*	Montbeton	
185^{r}	578	***Prenez sur moi vostre exemple amoureux***		Ockeghem
185^{r}	579	***Le souvenir de vous me tue***		Morton
185^{r}-185^{v}	580	***La despourveue et la bannye***		Ockeghem
185^{v}	581	*Se vous tenoie maintenant en ce lit*		
185^{v}-186^{r}	582	***Pour changier l'air ne pour fuir les lieux***		Convert or "Coubert"
186^{r}	583	*Moy qui faiz chancons & rondeaux*		

186^{r}	584	*De user vostre con a pisser*		
186^{v}	585	***En regardant vostre tres doulx maintieng***	Alain Chartier	Binchois
186^{v}	586	*Le plaisir qui tous autres passe*		
187^{r}	587	*Haha, ma dame, esse cela?*		
187^{r}	588	*Sot œil, trop estes voluntaire*	Vaillant	
187^{r}-187^{v}	589	*Trouve me suis en la forest*		
187^{v}	590	*Esgare suis en la forest*		
187^{v}-188^{r}	591	*En la forest de longue actente*		
188^{r}	592	*En la forest de longue attante*		
188^{r}-188^{v}	593	*Il ne menchault dautruy affaire*		
188^{v}	594	***A la longue j'ay bien cognu***		Fedé
188^{v}-189^{r}	595	*Pour de vous son chief deuvre faire*		
189^{r}	596	*Oncques depuis la despartie*		
189^{r}-189^{v}	597	*Montes sur moy qui ay le bruit du monde*		
189^{v}	598	***Sancta Barbara pour le trait***		Anon.
189^{v}	599	*Amours est le cry de la nuyt*		
190^{r}	600	*Iescoute et voy et ne dy rien*		
190^{r}	601	*Tant est ioesne, doulx et sotin*		
190^{r}-190^{v}	602	*Ma plaisante merencolie*		
190^{v}	603	*In manus tuas, ma maistresse*		
190^{v}-191^{r}	604	*Ma mieulx amee & ma maistresse*		
191^{r}	605	*Du bien que iay me tiens contant*		
191^{r}-191^{v}	606	***De ma haulte et bonne aventure***		Du Fay
191^{v}-192^{r}	607	*Point de desir de complaire a chascune*		
192^{r}	608	*Vivant en dueil o desconfort*		
192^{r}-192^{v}	609	*Il est perdu le povre vit*		
192^{v}	610	*Dung con qui luy fist ouverture*		
192^{v}-193^{r}	611	*Le feu ardant dangoisse merveilleuse*		
193^{r}	612	*Adieu, paris, adieu, ville souveraine!*		
193^{r}-193^{v}	613	*Qualegues vous de ma fortune?*		
193^{v}	614	*Il ne men tient de chanter ne de rire*		
193^{v}-194^{r}	615	*Puis quainsi est quil fault que je demure*		
194^{r}	616	*Puis que vous estes si volage*		
194^{r}-194^{v}	617	*Il ne menchault plus de ma vie*		

Jaques de Luxembourg, Montbeton, and Vaillant ("de Tours").[95] The most likely time period for the confluence of all these artistic personalities would have been in the 1450s and early 1460s, during the last years of the reign of King Charles VII and the first years of King Louis XI. The relatively high number of poems set by Burgundian composers suggests that the compiler of these texts was in Paris when the retinue of Philippe le Bon came to the capital in 1461. In addition, whoever gathered these songs together had to have been highly placed within the court hierarchy, that is, an aristocrat with access to the highest levels of the court and the financial means to amass such a diverse collection. This collection is not the reflection of a relatively small, intimate, closed society such as the court at Blois or the court of Arthur de Richemont of Brittany—the texts are much too diverse for the relatively short time span involved. There are the usual conventional love songs, but also texts employing acrostics and mottos. There are several bawdy and frankly obscene texts, including one text, no. 572, *Puisqua chacun ris et quaquectes* (folio 183^{v}), that formed part of a combinative chanson dating most likely from around 1460.[96] There is even a group of texts (nos. 589-592) on the theme "En la forest de longue attente." As is well known, this was a debate topic first devised at the court of Charles d'Orléans at Blois in the 1450s, but curiously, none of those poems figures here. It is as if the poet Blosseville and some of his associates "borrowed" the theme from Blois and carried on their own mini-debate around it at Tours.

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[95]Barbara Inglis has documented all five of these poets as active within French royal court circles during the 1450s. See Barbara L.S. Inglis, ed., *Une nouvelle collection de poésies lyriques et courtoises du XVe siècle: Le manuscrit B.N. Nouv. Acq. Fr. 15771*, Bibliothèque du XVe siècle, 48 (Geneva and Paris, 1985), 19-63. Vaillant "de Tours" is so named in the principal manuscript of his works, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2230 (hereafter P2230); see Robert Deschaux, *Les Œuvres de Pierre Chastellain et de Vaillant: Poètes du XVe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1982), 13, and 159. Although P2230 does not include the poem *Sot oeil trop estes voluntaire*, it is included in P15771 and P9223, where it is attributed to Vaillant.

[96]"In 1460, polytextuality was rampant, as was the practice of combining disparate musical material;" see Honey Meconi, "Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France," in *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du Xle Colloque international d'études humanistes. Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, ed. Philippe Vendrix, (Paris: Kincksieck, 1998), 381-402, esp. 187-88.

This music was certainly heard at the French royal court in Tours and draws on sources from around the realm including Brittany. Collection "J" may, in fact, be the compilation of a member of the French royal court who hailed from Brittany. Ties to Brittany include 1) no. 564, *En tous les lieux ou jay esté*, with its text by the Breton Jaques de Luxembourg, which text Busnoys may have set while physically present at the court of Brittany;[97] 2) no. 569, *Changer ne vueil tesmoing vo cuer, beausire*. The first letters of each line of this latter poem together form the name of Catherine d'Alençon, who married François, *dit* Guy XV de Laval (of Brittany, 1435-1501) in 1461 (o.s.) in Tours, in the presence of Louis XI;[98] and 3) no. 576, *Nul ne la telle sa maistresse*, with surviving settings in three of the central French chansonniers of the fifteenth century. "Nul ne la" was the motto of Jaques de Luxembourg, which raises the question of whether he himself wrote the poem that Basiron set.[99] He certainly was capable of it, having written over twenty poems that can be securely attributed to him.[100]

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[97]For the identification of Jaques de Luxembourg as the author of the poem, see Inglis, *Le manuscrit 15771*, App. A: "Notice sur le manuscrit B.N. fr. 9223," 213-14. David Fallows was the first to recognize that Busnoys might have spent time at the court of Brittany (probably in the late 1440s); see Fallows, "'Trained and immersed…',' 26.

[98]See [Arthur] Bertrand de Broussillon, *La Maison de Laval, 1020-1605*, 3 vols. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1895-1900), 3:188-93.

[99]The motto and Jaques de Luxembourg's signature are found on folio 15^{v} of Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 243, a Book of Hours of the use of Tours. See Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*. 2 vols. Volume 1: *France, 875-1420* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1989). Volume 2: *France, 1420-1540* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1992), 2:1, 194.

[100]It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the exemplar for Collection "I" actually belonged to Luxembourg, since his elevated status, wealth and prowess as a man of arms would have brought him into contact with many of the most important people of his day. His sister, Catherine, married Arthur of Brittany, count of Richemont in 1445, whom Jaques served in several military campaigns until Arthur's death in 1458. In December of 1459 he was at the court of Charles VII, attending the funeral service of King Ladislas of Hungary. In 1461 he accompanied Philippe le Bon of Burgundy to Rheims for the crowning of Louis XI as king of France. In 1464 he personally helped bring about an alliance between the duke of Brittany and Charles, count of Charolais. In 1465 he received the vicomté of Lannoy as a reward from Charles of Burgundy for services rendered on a diplomatic mission, while at the same time attending the wedding of his niece, Elizabeth

Collections "F" and "H"

Although Collections "F" and "H" do not actually share any repertory, they are similar in profile and scope, and so will be considered together (See Tables 1.12 and 1.13). Both are small repertories: Collection "F" contains a total of twenty-nine poems and Collection "H" preserves only sixteen texts. Collection "F" begins with a well-known poem by the poet Meschinot; "H" begins with a well-known piece by the composer Caron. Each collection then continues with a series of texts that, in the main, are unique: fifteen for "F" and twelve for "H," which works out to sixty-eight percent in each case, a high percentage. Each collection includes one piece utilizing an acrostic; in "F" it is no. 256, *A vous belle tres debonayre*, with its acrostic of the name Agnes de Suauld, and in "G," the name Marguerite is formed from the first letter of each line of no. 349, *Mieux en ce monde avoir je ne desire*. Five of the poems of collection "F" are in the form of a virelai (about seventeen percent), while Collection "H" includes five virelais (about thirty-one percent). The higher percentage of virelais in Collection "H" is consistent with its having been copied from a slightly later source, from the 1450s. In addition, nos. 345 through 347 treat the theme "Pour acquerir honneur et pris," that was current among Breton and French royal court habitués of the

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Woodville, with Edward IV, king of England. During the Guerre du Bien Public he fought on the Burgundian side, and was with Charles, count of Charolais, at the siege of Dinant in 1466 and in several subsequent campaigns. He accompanied the mortal remains of Philippe le Bon to their resting place in Dijon, and was given the ultimate Burgundian honor in 1468, when he was made a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece. After Charles' death at the battle of Nancy, Luxembourg eventually was won over to the French side, became a counselor and chamberlain to Louis XI, and accepted the collar of the Order of Saint-Michel, fighting in 1486 against the Burgundians to regain the Artois region. He died 20 August 1487. See Jacques Paviot, "Jacques de Luxembourg, vicomte de Lannoy, seigneur de Richebourg, de Ruminghem et de Sainghin," in *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle*, ed. Raphaël de Smedt (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 138-40. As a final remark, it should be noted that the initial letters of the first four song texts of Collection "I" are "I," "Q," "E," and "S," in that order. Since "I" and "J" frequently were interchanged, it is possible to see the incomplete acrostic J-[a]-[c]-Q-[u]-E-S among the letters. It is a simple thing to explain the absence of song texts beginning with "A," "C" and "U": those songs would have already been copied earlier into Rohan by the scribe, who, as has been seen, was extremely careful not to duplicate his entries. (It is also quite possible that there never was a "C" song text, since throughout the fifteenth century, the name Jaques was often written without the "c." In that case, only two song texts would be missing from the acrostic.)

TABLE 1.12: Rohan Collection "F"

Rohan Folio No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Poet	Composer
106^{v}	242	*Souvent seul a part*		
106^{v}-107^{r}	243	***Tout a sa dame***		Fedé
107^{r}	244	*Mon bien*		
107^{r}	245	*Vostre riant oeil*		
107^{r}-107^{v}	246	*Ie me plains denvye* (v)[101]		
107^{v}	247	*Voisine mamye*		
107^{v}-108^{r}	248	*Ie suis en destresse*		
108^{r}	249	*Pour amer trop fort*		
108^{r}-108^{v}	250	***C'est par vous que tant je souspire***	Jehan Meschinot	Anon.
108^{v}	251	*Alarme, alarme! cameline*		
108^{v}-109^{r}	252	*Passe tost, passé, malleureux*		
109^{r}	253	*Abregies la mort ou la vie*[102] (v)		
109^{r}-109^{v}	254	*Vostre œil qui est si fort a destre*	Jean de Clermont	
109^{v}	255	*Par le moyen de doulx espoir*		
109^{v}	256	*A vous, belle tresdebon ayre*		
110^{r}	257	*Rien de nouveau ne vous demande*		
110^{r}	258	*A vous seulle suys et seray*		
110^{r}-110^{v}	259	*Ie desire vostre venue*		
110^{v}	260	*Ie men voys sans nulle esperance*		
110^{v}-111^{r}	261	*Tout ce que jay, & fut mon corps*		
111^{r}	262	*Se je puys estre vostre amy*		
111^{r}-111^{v}	263	*Puys que jay ma dame perdue* (v)		
111^{v}	264	***Laissez Dangier faire tous ses effors*** (v)		Busnoys
111^{v}	265	*Vostre bouche dit: baises moy!*	Charles d'Orléans	
112^{r}	266	***N'est il secours que puisse avoir*** (v)		Anon.
112^{r}	267	*Pour oublier ennui, merencolie*		
112^{r}-112^{v}	268	*Va, je te pry a joinctes mains*		
112^{v}	269	*Faictes vos francs archiers retraire*		
112^{v}-113^{r}	270	***Nul ne s'i frotte a ma maistresse***		Simon "le Breton"

[101]A (v) indicates that this poem is a virelai.

[102]This poem appears in Lans 380 and most likely had a setting at some point. See Chapter 4.

1450s.[103] Collection "F" appears to contain a number of texts from the 1440s as well as the early 1450s, including one of Charles d'Orléans' French chançons written while he was in England.[104] The other rondeaux of the section are nearly all in the regular eight-syllable lines typical for this genre during the late 1440s and early 1450s. The profile of these two sections is somewhat indistinct in that it is not possible to claim a specific provenance for them, but there is enough evidence to show that they belong to the same central French tradition of poetry and music that spawned most of the rest of Rohan. It does not appear, however, that

TABLE 1.13: Rohan Collection "H"

Rohan Fol. No.	Löp. No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Poet	Composer
130r	343	*Ma grief douleur finera* (v) [105]		
130r-130v	344	***Helas que pourra devenir***		Caron
130v	345	*Pour acquerir honneur & pris*		
130v-131r	346	*Le fictes vous le faulx rondeau?* (v)		
131r	347	*Ainsy maist dieux, se je le fis!* (v)		
131r-131v	348	*Ie loue amours & ma dame & maistresse*		
131v	349	*Mieux en ce monde avoir ie ne desire*		
131v	350	*Loingtaing de vous, incertain du retour*		
131v-132r	351	*Gisant envers sur une couche*		
132r	352	*Pource quames autre partie*		
132r-132v	353	*A qui diray je ma douleur* (v)		
132v	354	***Ne je ne dors ne je ne veille***		Du Fay
132v-133r	355	***Plus sui en bonne compagnie***		Anon.
133r	356	*Ie vous pry de non accuser*		
133r-133v	357	*Que ne puys ie des yeulx pler*		
133v	358	*Ha, tristesse desordonnee* (v)		

[103]Barbara Inglis, "Appendice A: Notice sur le manuscript B.N. fr. 9223," *Le Manuscrit B.N. nouv. acq. fr. 15771*, 213-14, was the first to recognize that the second section of P9223 contained poetry almost exclusively by members of the court of Brittany during the brief reign of Arthur de Richemont. The majority of surviving poems on the incipit "Pour acquérir honneur et pris" occurs in the second section of P9223, suggesting that the topic was particularly developed at the court of Brittany, somewhat like the various debate topics cultivated at the court of Blois.

[104]Chançon XLVII; Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:232.

[105]A (v) indicates that this poem is a virelai.

Collections "F" and "H" directly reflect musical activity at the French royal court. Rather, the repertories involved seem to be somewhat removed from that center, although whoever collected them clearly had some access to and knowledge of artistic goings-on there, however indirectly. The two collections seem so similar in so many ways that it is even possible that they record musical activity at a single center, just at slightly differing times. The court at Moulins before Jean, comte de Clermont became Jean II, Duc de Bourbon in December of 1456 is a possibility, although it must be said that there is nothing intrinsic to either collection to support such a speculation.

The Exemplars for the Rohan Manuscript

Table 1.14 below shows the collections within Rohan, their dimensions, and the percentage of texts within them with surviving settings or some other evidence that demonstrates the existence of a musical setting for a particular text at some point. Those collections that were possibly copied from a musical exemplar are highlighted in boldface type. At the beginning of this study, a standard of twenty-five percent, or one in four, was

TABLE 1.14: Collections Within Rohan Possibly Copied from a Notated Exemplar

Collection	Rohan Folios	Percentage of Texts Associated with Musical Settings
Ballades	22^{r}-48^{r}	6%
"A"	62^{r}-75^{v}	22%
"B"	75^{v}-80^{r}	21%
"C"	80^{r}-85^{r}	13%
"D"	**85^{r}-103^{v}**	**34%**
"E"	**103^{v}-106^{v}**	**46%**
"F"	106^{v}-113^{r}	20%
"G"	**113^{r}-130^{r}**	**25%**
"H"	130^{r}-133^{v}	18%
"I"	133^{v}-178^{v}	17%
"J"	**178^{v}-194^{v}**	**26%**
"K"	194^{v}-205^{r}	11%

established as the criterion which had to be met before a collection could be considered to have been copied from a music exemplar. As can be seen from Table 1.14, four of Rohan's twelve collections satisfy that criterion: Collections "D," "E," "G," and "J".[106] This argues for a considerable number of chanson settings that have been lost to us. It also highlights the fact that although Alain Chartier is not normally thought of as primarily a writer of lyric *formes fixes*, he was certainly the most sought-after poet of the fifteenth century for anyone seeking the highest quality poetry to set to music, at least according to the surviving sources. Someone thought enough of his short-form lyric poetry to go to the trouble of collecting up eveything of his of this type that could be found, even the poems set to music long after his death. It would thus seem that, at least to the original owner of the exemplar of Collection "D" (and possibly "E"), Chartier's poetry and the music that adorned it were considered symbiotic, if not inseparable. Collection "G" may very well have been copied from a notated exemplar; this possibility becomes even stronger if, as seems likely, the collection was in any way associated with Charles d'Orléans. Collection "J," likewise, was probably copied from a musical source and witnesses to repertory that was current in the 1450s and 60s and circulating at the French royal court. It most likely reflects the tastes of a highly placed court official, possibly someone originally from Brittany.

Summary

The Rohan Chansonnier is a parchment manuscript of very high quality, professionally produced by two scribes about the year 1470 or a few years before. It contains the texts of 663 ballades, rondeaux and virelais, and was owned by the French royal court official Louis Malet de Graville, who would have known personally many, if not most of the

[106]Or only three of eleven, if "D" and "E" are considered together.

known poets and composers represented within the volume. Scribal handwriting changes show that the manuscript was copied from several exemplars; there were probably eleven or twelve of these, and most of them opened with poems of line lengths shorter than the "standard" eight or even ten syllables. The collections from the ballades through Collection "J" were produced by the main scribe, while Collection "K" was added by a second scribe after the volume was bound. Although all of the collections involve repertory circulating at the French royal court and satellite institutions within central France during the fifteenth century, (but primarily from the 1440s through the early 1460s), each collection has its own distinct profile and particular interest. Several of the collections may have been copied from text-only exemplars, and this includes "K," which appears to have been included specifically for the poetry by the authors that it includes (that is, aristocrats and functionaries who would have known each other through their contact at the French royal court). Collection "D" (and possibly "E") was clearly valued for the large number of poems it includes by the poet Alain Chartier, and much of Collection "G"'s interest is probably due to its likely association with Charles d'Orléans. Other collections, such as "A," appear to be more personal collections (the exemplar for "A" may have been Catherine du Drac's own possession) and present evidence as well as having been products of a particular milieu or locale, such as Paris. It has been demonstrated that at least four of these collections, "D," "E," "G" and "J," preserve such large numbers of texts which ultimately received musical settings, that it appears that the main Rohan scribe copied them directly from notated sources. Since the poems of these last-mentioned collections consistently show extremely close readings with the texts of the same poems that have been set in musical sources, this further implies that the scribe of Rohan had at his disposal some musical exemplars rather than just text-only manuscripts, and

copied his texts from them, rather than from poetry collections containing no music, such as P9223 or P15771.

What Rohan also reveals is that Alain Chartier's *formes fixes* verse was considered the most desirable of all fifteenth-century verse among composers looking for poetry to set from about 1430 to at least 1450, and possibly from 1410 to about 1460. His was certainly the most frequently set lyric verse, to judge from the numbers of surviving monophonic and polyphonic compositions. Rohan also hints that there was considerably more musical activity taking place at the court of Charles d'Orléans in Blois than can be proven by the surviving archival documentation and that a large amount of secular polyphonic music from fifteenth-century France has been lost to us.

In the mind's eye, one can visualize Malet de Graville approaching his closest friends and asking to borrow their personal collections of poetry and music, his scribe sitting at a table or desk with a stack of the borrowed bound and unbound manuscripts before him, transferring the precious contents of each collection into succeeding parchment fascicles. Once the text was finished, the illumination supplied, and the whole bound, one can then imagine Malet de Graville leafing through Rohan's pages, reflecting on this poem or that song, and the pleasure he would have experienced remembering the circumstances under which he had heard a particular virelai sung or a ballade recited. It is fortunate today that Malet de Graville brought the Rohan manuscript into existence, esteeming the poetry and music of his time so dearly that he went to no small expense to have an object made that would preserve everything that it was possible to obtain of a beloved repertory. With its careful readings, relatively clean presentation and beautiful opening illumination, Rohan is a

kind of late-medieval coffee-table book—meant to be thumbed, admired and safeguarded for future generations to enjoy.

CHAPTER 2: MS Paris 1719

Scholars of fifteenth-century French poetry have long known about the manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, fonds français 1719,[1] but it has only come to the attention of musicologists in the last few decades, and only then as a source of concordant readings for poems having settings in music chansonniers. P1719 is much more than just a compendium of randomly collected rondeaux and ballades, however; there are organizational principles guiding the disposition of the poems among the leaves of the manuscript, and some of the rationale for the poems' organization is a direct result of their relationship to the music to which they were set. By looking at the manuscript from a musicologist's point of view, it is apparent that the poems of P1719 group themselves into broad categories or collections, and that at least two of these collections preserve the contents of now-lost music manuscripts.

Literary Significance of P1719

Although much of the verse in P1719 is anonymous, the manuscript does contain a selection of ballades by François Villon, and it is for his works that P1719 first came to the attention of devotees of French lyric poetry. In 1891 W. G. C. Bijvanck published a ballade from the manuscript that he believed to be by the great poet, but only mentioned P1719 in passing.[2] A few years later Gaston Raynaud used P1719 to aid in

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[1]Hereafter referred to as P1719.

[2]W[illem] G[ertrud] C[ornelis] Bijvanck, *Un poète inconnu de la Société de François Villon…suivi d'une ballade inédite de François Villon à sa dame* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1891), 45-51.

establishing the text for his edition of another, much smaller collection of lyric poetry, P9223.[3] The two collections share fifty-seven poems written by what Raynaud believed were members of a poetry cenacle centered at the court of Blois around the French prince Charles d'Orléans; although the contents of P1719 are preserved anonymously, nearly all of the poems in P9223 are supplied with attributions. In his very brief discussion of P1719, Raynaud expressed the *desideratum* that the entire manuscript might one day be published.[4] His wish, unfortunately, has not yet come true, as all publications to date based on the contents of P1719 have been partial editions. In 1905, Marcel Schwob provided a comprehensive list of the manuscript's contents by incipit and edited sixty-six of its previously unpublished poems.[5] The style of his selection of poems is mainly ribald and/or obscene.

In 1965, the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris acquired a previously unknown poetry manuscript of the fifteenth century: nouvelles acquisitions françaises 15771. P15771 contains 100 pieces within its sixty-one folios, most of which pieces are also found in P9223 or the manuscripts associated with Charles d'Orléans. All appear with attributions, for a total of twenty-five different authors.[6] The volume was first studied by Annie Angremy, who catalogued its contents and edited thirteen previously unpublished poems, eight of which

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[3]Gaston Raynaud, *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle publiés d'après le manuscrit de la bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1889).

[4]Ibid., lxiv.

[5]Marcel Schwob, ed., *Le Parnasse satyrique du quinzième siècle. Anthologie de pièces libres* (Paris: [H. Welter], 1905; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 23-133. Also included are four recipes for love-potions and a charm on pages 63-65.

[6]P15771 shares seventy-one poems with P1719.

appear elsewhere only in P1719.[7] P15771 is a small, elegantly produced parchment manuscript, with one poem entered per page. The calligraphy is neat, and acrostics are highlighted with gold initials. Although preserving only four unique poems, P15771 does contain fifteen attributions for poems not previously identified elsewhere. Angremy noted that P15771 shares sixty-nine of its poems with P9223 and that the scribe seemed especially keen on preserving the works of the French royal court secretary Blosseville, who, during his life, had very little contact with the Orléannais court.[8] Still, she concluded that P15771 is an important witness to the poetic activity that took place at the court of Blois and reflects the literary interests of Charles d'Orléans, members of his household, and court visitors.

This view is challenged in a second study of P15771 that includes a new edition of all the poems of the manuscript and a discussion of P9223's relationship to it.[9] In the earlier editions of these two collections the editors provided biographical information regarding the poets and took pains to identify them, even if only tangentially, with the court at Blois.[10] Inglis, however, has made the most comprehensive study of the authors named within both manuscripts and has linked both collections, not to Charles d'Orléans and his household, but to a group of Breton and French aristocrats active at the French royal court during the middle of the fifteenth century.[11] The distinction is important, since along with

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[7]Annie Angremy, "Un nouveau recueil de poésies françaises du XVe siècle: Le ms. B.N. nouv. acq. fr. 15771," *Romania* 95 (1974), 3-53.

[8]Angremy, "Un nouveau recueil," 4-5.

[9]Barbara Inglis, *Une nouvelle collection de poésies lyriques et courtoises du XVe siècle: Le manuscrit B.N. nouv. acq. fr. 15771*, Bibliothèque du XVe siècle 48 (Geneva and Paris: Slatkine, 1985).

[10]Raynaud, regarding the authors named in P9223, pages v-xxxiv. Pierre Champion offers some corrections concerning some of these identifications in his article "Remarques sur un recueil de poésies du milieu du XVe siècle (B.N. fr. 9223) *Romania* 48 (1922), 106-14. For the poets in P15771, see Angremy, "Un nouveau recueil," 11-22.

[11]Inglis, *Le manuscrit 15771*, 19-22.

the poems in Charles d'Orléans's personal album, these poems are, with relatively few exceptions, the only ones appearing with attributions in poetry collections of the fifteenth century, and it would be a mistake to marshal them as evidence primarily of the influence of the court at Blois.[12] A large number of these poems appear as two separate collections within P1719, suggesting that the manuscript's center of gravity, as it were, is the French royal court. Also, several of these poems were set to music, pointing to musical activity emanating from the courts of Brittany and France in these cases, rather than documentable activity at Blois.[13]

A fair number of the poems from P1719 have been published in studies of other poetry manuscripts, early prints and chansonniers, but there is no single, comprehensive edition of its contents.[14] This is a problem for anyone attempting an analysis of concordant versions, but it is a problem somewhat ameliorated by the most recent inventory and study of the manuscript, which includes an edition of all previously

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[12]Ibid., 62-63.

[13]A list of these poems is given by Paula Higgins, "Parisian Nobles, A Scottish Princess, and the Woman's Voice in Late Medieval Song," *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 145-200, particularly 165, n. 63. Higgins further narrows the focus of much of the poetic activity preserved in P9223 and P15771 to the courtiers at the court of France within the circle of Margaret of Scotland, wife of the future Louis XI, and herself a poet. (Ibid., 164-68.)

[14]Several poems from P1719 also appear in the manuscript P7559, edited by E. M. B[ancel], as *Cent quarante cinq rondeaux d'amours publiés d'après un manuscrit autographe de la fin du XVe siècle* (Paris: A. Lemerre and P. Rouquette, 1875); and in Lille, Bibl. Mun., MS 402, edited by Marcel Françon, in *Poèmes de transition (XVe-XVIe siècles)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and Paris: E. Droz, 1938). For the earliest print of lyric poetry, see E[ugénie] Droz and A[rthur] Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique*. 2 vols. 1. *Reproduction en fac-similé de l'édition publiée par Antoine Vérard vers 1501* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1910); 2. *Introduction et notes* (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925). Two chansonniers with a particularly high number of text concordances with P1719 are Dij, published in facsimile by Dragan Plamenac, ed., *Dijon, Bibliothèque publique manuscrit 517*. Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 12 (Brooklyn: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1971); and London, Brit. Lib. Roy. 20 A. xvi, published in facsimile with an introduction by Howard Mayer Brown, *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*. Vol. 10: *London, British Library, MS Royal 20 A. xvi* (New York and London: Garland, 1987).

unpublished poems, manuscript and print concordances for all of its items, and a codicological analysis.[15]

Physical Characteristics of the Manuscript

P1719 is a paper manuscript consisting of 183 folios preserving 509 lyric poems, verse predominantly of the fifteenth century. Fifty-nine of its poems are ballades, the rest being rondeaux, virelais and three stanzaic poems of differing lengths.[16] The contents also include four recipes for aphrodisiacs and a love-charm.[17] P1719 is actually a composite manuscript, consisting of two separate, incomplete manuscripts bound together, probably at some point in the sixteenth century. The original binding, now lost, was replaced sometime during the seventeenth century, which is also when someone provided the entire collection with an Arabic pagination. The binding, in mottled calfskin for the sides, and red Moroccan leather for the spine, shows signs of restoration from the nineteenth century. It is in poor shape, the spine breaking away from the boards on both sides.[18] Many of the paper folios are damaged, especially at the lower outer corner, and some have been restored. The general appearance of the volume is worn, and the text itself gives the impression that the poems were entered somewhat carelessly. This is in part because the folios were never pricked or ruled, with the result that the lines of text are not rectified, nor are the text margins justified. In addition, corrections to the poems were made simply by lining out the offending text. In

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[15]Françoise Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…(Pièces inédites du manuscrit Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 1719): Étude et édition.=Le moyen français* 27-28 (Montreal: CERES, 1991).

[16]These are the seizain *Prince qui n'ayme sa noblesse* on folio 12^{r}; the douzain *Bouches qui trop avés amors*, also on folio 12^{r}; and an epitaph in several strophes on folios 17^{v} through 18^{v}, *Pour savoir en lisant ces vers* (an extract from George Chastellain's *L'Oultré d'Amour*).

[17]These are entered on folios 19^{r} and 19^{v}.

[18]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 9.

some cases, entire poems have been crossed out in ink with a large "X;" in others, only a single line of text will have been lined out, with a correct reading entered just below or above it. Each poem is accompanied by what appears to be a guide-letter in the left-hand margin, and occasionally a second mark also appears—a "b" or a "+." Some folios carry marginal annotations or pen-tries, and the overall effect is of an untidy, working manuscript, rather than of a presentation manuscript. Its messy appearance, however, is characteristic of late-medieval composite volumes of verse considered to be of relatively little value.[19]

Section One of P1719, folios one through nineteen, consists of three unequal fascicles (see Table 2.1, beginning on page 115). The first fascicle (folios 1-9) originally contained five bifolios but has lost its first leaf. The second fascicle consists of two complete bifolios (folios 10-13), and the third (folios 14-19), which originally contained four bifolios, is missing its innermost bifolio and so now contains only three.[20] Each of the fascicles forming Section 2 of the manuscript originally held twelve bifolios, but some have lost one or two leaves. Fascicle one (folios 20-41) is missing its first two leaves, fascicle six (folios 137-159) has lost an internal leaf between the current folios 147 and 148, and fascicle seven (folios 160-182) is missing its last leaf. Fascicles two through five (folios 42-65; 66-88 [there are two folio 86s: 86 and 86 *bis*]; 89-112; 113-136) are intact. All of the fascicles of Section 2 were provided with catchwords, but the catchword for fascicle six has been torn off.[21]

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[19]Jacques Lemaire, *Introduction à la codicologie* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institute d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1989), 106, n. 26.

[20]This now-missing bifolio was lost from the manuscript before P1719 received its current pagination.

[21]The collation of the manuscript appears in Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 9.

Fery-Hue has identified eighteen different cursive hands in the manuscript, with fourteen of them occurring only within the leaves of Section 1 (folios 1-19).[22] Each hand in this section appears to have entered text for between one and four folios,[23] giving the impression that poems were written down as they were acquired; not according to any formal overall plan, but simply by the next person who happened to have additional verse at hand. Some of the pages were left blank (13^v and 14^v through 16^r), and two copyists (Scribal Hand II with nos. 4, 5 and 7 on folios 1^v, 2^r and 2^v, and Scribal Hand VIII with nos. 34, 37, 38, 39 and 47 on folios 8^v, 9^v, 10^r, 10^v and 14^r, respectively) entered only the first line of verse for each poem (as if to reserve the poem's place on the page) and returned later using a different ink to fill out the rest of the poem. Within this section Fery-Hue also notes the presence of a correcting or revising hand that made marginal annotations, marked certain pieces with a cross,[24] and supplied missing text for incomplete entries.[25]

Section Two of P1719 involves the work of four copyists (Scribal Hands XV, XVI, XVII and XVIII), although Scribal Hands XVII and XVIII were responsible for only one poem apiece.[26] The bulk of the poems in Section Two was written by Scribal Hand XVI, who began with no. 70 on folio 146^v, and who also entered a group of mostly anonymous ballades on folios 163^r through part of 176^v (nos. 483 through 501). Scribal Hand XV entered poems in three groups that alternate with the work of Scribal Hand XVI: this hand

[22]Fery-Hue provides a chart of her breakdown of the manuscript's various Scribal Hands on page 11.

[23]Scribal Hand V, with the most text, is identified on five different folios.

[24]Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 20, 21, 22, 50 and 51.

[25]Nos. 25, 29, 30, 32, 34 and 39; Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 10-11.

[26]Scribal Hand XVII entered the first three lines only of rondeau no. 455 on folio 144^v, and no. 510, another rondeau, appears at the end of a collection of ballades on folio 182^r, giving every indication of being an afterthought inserted by Scribal Hand XVIII, which otherwise appears nowhere else in the volume.

opens Section Two, copying nos. 52 through 69 (on folios 20^{r} through part of 26^{v}), nos. 458 through 482 (on folios 146^{v} through part of 163^{r}), and nos. 502 through 509 (from the second half of folio 176^{v} through 181^{v}). Once Sections One and Two were brought together to form a single source, a second editor went through the entire work, crossing out duplications in Section Two of poems already appearing in Section One, as well as the recipes and charm on folios 19^{r}-19^{v}. This editor wrote the first letter of each poem in the left-hand margin, and also indicated when a text was a ballade or a bergerette by supplying a "b." He also made occasional marginal annotations throughout the manuscript consisting of the directions "n^{a}," "no^{a}," "nus," "nl," and "Nichil."[27] This second editor of the manuscript was also responsible for starting a rudimentary and incomplete table of contents on folio 182^{v}.

In sketching out the history of the collection, Fery-Hue has gathered watermark evidence and clues from entries by later hands. She has identified seven different paper types used within P1719, all exhibiting a unicorn (licorne) watermark. The five found in Section One are similar to the unicorn watermark groups within Briquet's *Les Filigranes* numbers 10021, 10029 and 10032; 10034 and 10019; 10031; 10032; and 10354.[28] The two watermarks of Section Two most closely resemble Briquet groups 10425 to 10431, but none of the seven is an exact match.[29] Briquet gives 1459 and 1505 as the outside dates for these watermarks and an extremely broad geographic distribution throughout Western and Eastern Europe for their dissemination, so the watermarks are of limited help in dating and localizing

[27]These are apparently directions not to copy the poems so marked.

[28]C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600 avec 39 figures dans le texte et 16,112 fac-similés de filigranes*, 2nd edition, 4 vols. (New York: Reprinted by Hacker Art Books, 1966), 3:519-33; Fery-Hue discusses these watermarks on page 9, n. 3.

[29]Ibid., n. 4.

the manuscript.[30] Internal evidence from the manuscript does add more information regarding its history, however, and this will be discussed later. A sixteenth-century hand has written "In abacia Grandemontis," "Debigne," and "PARIS" on folio 181^{v}. Two names of persons also appear within P1719: "Denis Bourdier" and the surname "Marbove," which has been entered a total of three times in the manuscript—on folios 6^{v}, 115^{r} and 182^{v}. "Debigne," "Denis Bourdier" and "Marbove" remain unidentified,[31] but Fery-Hue proposes that the reference to Grandmont could have either of two explanations. The manuscript could have been assembled in Paris before ending up at the abbey of Saint-Michel in Grandmont (near Limoges), or it could have belonged to the Collège Mignon at the University of Paris, an institution maintained (from 24 April 1584) by the religious order of Grandmont.[32] The history of P1719 stands on firmer footing from the seventeenth century when it became volume number 444 in the library of Etienne Baluze (1630-1718), librarian to French Royal Minister Colbert.[33] After Baluze's death, P1719 was sold, along with the

[30]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 10.

[31]It is possible, however, that the "Marbove" in P1719 could be read as "Marboue." Barbara Inglis, in her study of P15571, notes that one of the Breton poets of that manuscript, Regné d'Orenge, pledged himself in service to an Olivier de Feschal, seigneur de Marboué, in 1459 in exchange for the fief of Sacé (page 51, citing Arthur Bertrand de Broussillon, "René d'Orange, poète du Bas-Maine," an extract from the *Bulletin historique et archéologique de la Mayenne*, 2nd series, 6 [1892], 197-202, esp. 200).

[32]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 13-14, citing A. Berty and L.-M. Tisserand, *Topographie historique du Vieux Paris. Région occidentale de l'Université* (Paris, 1887), 482-86; and Jacques Hillairet, *Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris*, 9th ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Les Éditions de minuit, 1985), 2:130.

[33]Although Baluze could have bought the poetry manuscript in Paris, it is equally possible that P1719 was acquired for him in the region of Limoges, where a Du Molinet had gone in 1669 to purchase books both for Baluze and Colbert. (Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 14, n. 23, citing correspondence preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. lat. 9363, folios. 62-67.)

rest of Baluze's library, on 19 September 1719, where it entered the Bibliothèque du Roi as Regius 7686[3].[34]

Three rondeaux appearing in P1719 can help somewhat in dating the manuscript: numbers 350, 351 and 352 (folios 110^{v}-111^{v}) originally were part of a larger literary work written by Octovien de Saint-Gelais known as *Complainte sur le départ de Marguerite*.[35] Marguerite d'Autriche, daughter of Maximilien d'Autriche, and heiress to the Hapsburg Empire, who had been betrothed to the French king Charles VIII in 1485 when she was still a child, was sent to the court of France to be raised until her marriage. When Charles suddenly married Anne of Brittany in December 1491, however, provision was made for Margaret to return to the Hapsburg court by the Treaty of Senlis of 23 May 1493. Saint-Gelais' *Complainte* expresses regret at Margaret's departure from France in the form of a combined verse and prose narrative, with three rondeaux as speeches by Noblesse, Beaulté, and Prudence being the only *formes fixes* within the work. The three rondeaux included in P1719 enjoyed circulation independently of the longer text and were eventually set to music. Their presence in Section Two of P1719 therefore dates this part of the collection from May 1493 or later.[36] Fery-Hue further argues for a narrower dating of P1719 based on the anonymous rondeau *Dela les mons, en Lombardie* (no. 35, folio 9^{r}). Line two of the poem

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[34]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 14, citing L. Auvray, "La Collection Baluze à la Bibliothèque nationale," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 81 (1920), 93-174.

[35]*Tous nobles cuers qui mes regretz voyés* (Fery-Hue no. 350, folio 110^{v}); *Le cueur la suyt et mon œil la regrecte* (no. 351, folio 111^{r}); and *Tous les regretz qui les cueurs tourmentez* (no. 352, folios 111^{r}-111^{v}). All three rondeaux are decasyllabic cinquains, and all three eventually received musical settings. For more on "regretz" texts, see Mary Beth W. Marvin, "'Regretz' in French Chanson Texts of the Late Fifteenth Century," *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 2 vols. Edited by Guy R. Mermier and Edelgard E. Du Bruck (Ann Arbor, MI: Published for the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, by University Microfilms International, 1978), 1:193-217. For an edition of the *Complainte*, see Mary Beth Winn, "Octovien de Saint-Gelais: *Complainte sur le départ de Marguerite*," *Le Moyen français* 5 (1979), 65-80.

[36]Marguerite actually left the court in November of 1493.

refers to the Italian town of Casault (known today as Casale Monferrato), along the Po River in the Piedmont section of Lombardy, which in October of 1494 hosted King Charles VIII of France for three days as he was en route to Naples. Casault was the capital of Montferrat, and when its ruler, the marquise Marie de Montferrat, died in 1495, leaving two young children, Charles VIII sent his envoy Commynes to Casault to arrange for the education and upbringing of the children by their uncle and regent Constantin Arniti.[37] Fery-Hue believes that either one of these contacts with Casault would have provided many Frenchmen an opportunity to appreciate the charms of both the town and its female inhabitants, and therefore *Dela les mons* should be seen as a poetic reference to these events and dated to 1495.[38] This is certainly a possibility, since the French king apparently was accompanied during his invasion of Italy by an extensive retinue, including members of his musical chapel. In a letter to his father dated 7 October 1494, Ferrante d'Este of Ferrara wrote of meeting the composer Loyset Compère during the king's stay in Casault and requesting that the composer furnish him with music.[39] If one accepts Fery-Hue's argument, then Section One of P1719 cannot have been written before 1494, nor can the composite manuscript have been created before then.

Fery-Hue notes that P1719 includes seventy-five poems that also appear in the 1501 print, *Le Jardin*, and sees this as evidence that the manuscript must have been written

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[37]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 296, citing H[enri]-François Delaborde, *L'expédition Charles VIII en Italie; Histoire diplomatique et militaire…* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1888), 416-17 and 665; [Marie Alphonse René] de Maulde-La-Clavière, *Histoire de Louis XII. Première partie: Louis d'Orléans…*, 3 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1889-1891), 3:65; J[ules] de La Pilorgerie, *Campagne et bulletins de la grande armée d'Italie commandée par Charles VIII (1494-1495) d'après les documents rares ou inédits, extraits, en grande partie, de la Bibliothèque de Nantes* (Nantes and Paris: V. Forest et É. Grimaud; Didier, 1866), 377.

[38]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 17-18.

[39]Lewis Lockwood, "Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole d'Este," *Studi musicali* 1 (1972), 101-31, especially 115-16 and 129-30.

by 1501. This conclusion is particularly shaky since, as she herself admits, a comparison of the two collections shows that neither could have served as a model for the other.[40] For the purposes of this study, therefore, the broader dating of 1494 to 1505 for the compilation of P1719 is preferred to Fery-Hue's dating of 1495-1501,[41] allowing that Section Two could have been written as early as 1493. Perhaps one day, more conclusive watermark evidence will permit a narrower dating.

One of the most interesting aspects of P1719 is the way it preserves its contents: in successive groupings or collections of similar items. Fery-Hue notes that Section One is essentially a haphazard mix of obscene poems and more "genteel" works, but that within Section Two, beginning around folio 41, there are blocs of poems grouped together according to specific criteria. For instance, folios 40^{v} through 67^{r} (Fery-Hue nos. 118 through 200) and 120^{r} through 141^{r} (nos. 380 through 444) are groupings of lyric poems that, while appearing anonymously in P1719, are known to have been written by habitués of the French royal court and the court at Blois.[42] Most of them are attributed in the manuscripts already discussed above, and their subject matter reflects the literary interests of the French nobility and their associates during the 1450s. Fery-Hue then groups together all the poems occurring between folios 74^{r} and 120^{r} as a bloc, although she acknowledges that there is a clear difference of tone between a section of predominantly "loose" or obscene verse (folio 74^{r} through part of 86^{r}) and the more "genteel" anonymous lyric poems

[40]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 18.

[41]The dating of "…perhaps from the mid-1480s…" in David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 33, is most certainly a typographical error.

[42]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 15.

beginning on folio 86^{r} and ending on 120^{r}.[43] The volume is rounded out by a collection of ballades (folios 145^{r}-181^{r}). Fifteen of these are a selection of ballades by François Villon (folios 151^{v}-162^{v}) and the rest are mostly anonymous.[44] Fery-Hue characterizes the verse interspersed among these larger collections (folios 20^{r}-40^{v}, 67^{r}-73^{v}, 141^{r}-141^{v} and 143^{v}-144^{r}) as essentially isolated, unrelated poems that do not share a part in any larger organizational plan.[45] It is possible to show, however, that the scribes' practice of entering poems of similar type or character together in blocs was also the procedure governing certain seemingly random entries of poems in Section 2, particularly the texts appearing within folios 26^{r} through 40^{v}, 86^{r} through 97^{v} and 108^{r} through 118^{v}. These groupings may properly be called collections, and it is possible to show that there are at least ten such separate, distinct collections, which in Table 2.1 have been given letter names and which will be discussed individually.

The catalogue of P1719 prepared by Fery-Hue is extremely useful, especially in the area of concordances. Not only has the editor ferreted out all the relevant text-only manuscripts and early prints containing each poem, but she has included as well manuscript collections of music preserving the lyrics of P1719 that received musical settings. It is surprising, therefore, that nowhere in her study does she mention that certain folios within P1719 contain unusually high concentrations of verse that was set during the fifteenth century as polyphonic songs. This is true in particular for the three areas of the manuscript

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[43]Ibid.

[44]The ballades known by attributions in other collections include works by Jean Marot, Pierre d'Anché, Jehan Molinet, Daré de Rouen, Eustache Deschamps, Pierre Chevalier, Christine de Pisan and Charles d'Orléans.

[45]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 15.

mentioned above: folios 26^{r} through 40^{v}, 86^{r} through 97^{v}, and 108^{r} through 118^{v}.[46] (The reader is referred to Table 2.1.)

[46]It was David Fallows, in *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 33, who first remarked that P1719 contained a large number of song texts, observing that "At least two groups of the poems may well have been copied directly from musical sources."

TABLE 2.1: Contents of P1719 by Collection

Collection	Fascicle	Folios	Fery-Hue No.	Scribe	Contents
Section 1					
a	1	1^r through 9^v	1 through 37	I through VIII, Rev. 1, IX	A broad mix of rondeaux; mostly in the "courtly" tradition, some bawdy. A few dating from the 1450s; most later. Only 6 with any musical connections (Nos. 9, 14, 19, 21, 24, 33).
b	2	10^r through 13^v	38 through 46	VIII, X through XII	A mix of poems, over half of which are unique to P1719. Only one poem (no. 38) with an extant musical setting.
c	3	14^r through 19^v	47 through 51	V, VI, VIII, XIV	Ballades, an epitaph, love potion recipes and a charm. No musical connection.
Section 2					
A	1	20^r into 26^r	52 through 69	XV	Originally began with a group of ballades; now a collection of rondeaux, mostly decasyllabic from 1460s and 1470s. Only 4 with any musical connections.
B	1	26^r into 40^v	70 through 117	XVI	A collection of polyphonic chanson texts from the 1470s and early 1480s; settings of these texts by composers associated with the French royal court.
C	1 through 2, into 3	40^v into 67^r	118 through 200	XVI	Verse by Breton and French poets active at the court of France possibly in the 1440s, but primarily in the 1450s. Only 6 poems with any musical connection (Nos. 122, 162, 163[?], 183, 184, 187).

D	3	67^{r} into 86^{r}	201 through 265	XVI	A mix of “courtly” and bawdy rondeaux; mostly anonymous; tone predominantly ribald. Almost half are unique to P1719. Only 5 with musical connections (Nos. 214, 225, 228, 256[?], 260); possibly with ties to the court of Brittany, but more likely, central France.
E	3 into 4	86^{r} into 97^{v}	266 through 306	XVI	A collection of polyphonic chanson texts, nearly two-thirds having extant music; almost all from 1450s and 1460s.
F	4	97^{v} into 108^{r}	307 through 341	XVI	A group of mostly anonymous “courtly” poems; high percentage unique to P1719 or surviving in only one other source (P1722). Only 2 poems with extant musical settings (Nos. 321 and 322).
G	4 into 5	108^{r} into 118^{v}	342 through 374	XVI	A mix of 30 “courtly” and ribald poems from the 1460s and early 1470s, with 3 more from the 1490s; 17 with extant music, 2 more with possible settings. At one time all 33 probably had musical settings.
	5	118^{v} into 120^{r}	375 through 379	XVI	All unique to P1719; all but one are octosyllabic four-line rondeaux (no. 377=R4:10). These 5 texts possibly belong with the next group.
H	5 into 6	120^{r} into 141^{r}	380 through 444	XVI	A second collection of poems by the Breton and French nobles associated with the court of France in the 1440s and 1450s, including poems by Charles d’Orléans and associates. Only 6 or 7 poems with a musical connection (Nos. 382, 387, 389, 395, 410[?], 415, 416).
I	6	141^{r} through 144^{v}	445 through 455	XVI	A mix of mostly anonymous ballades and rondeaux; only one (no. 455) with a musical connection. No unifying features.

J	6 into 7	145^{r} through 182^{r} (end of MS)	456 through 510	XVI and XV alternating in groups, XVIII (no. 510 only)	Mostly ballades (3 rondeaux: Nos. 506, 507, 510); only 2 with extant music (Nos. 494 and 510).

Collection "B"

As mentioned above, Section 2 of P1719 is comprised of a series of discrete collections. Of these ten collections, Collection "B" offers the strongest evidence that its texts not only reflect the contents of a chansonnier, but were actually copied from one. The appearance of the group of texts on folios 26^{r} through 40^{v} coincides with a change of scribal hand: *Hors de propos, de raison separé* is the first of a group of forty-eight texts in the hand of Scribe XVI, thirty-six of which have been preserved elsewhere with musical settings. This is just over seventy percent, a very high ratio of surviving musical settings. Furthermore, the texts without surviving music are scattered among the ones that do have extant music in such a way that it is clear that the whole group belongs together as a chanson collection (see Table 2.2). Although P1719 contains no attributions, in other sources these texts are ascribed to the following composers: Johannes Ockeghem, Hayne van Ghizeghem, Johannes Fresneau, Alexander Agricola, Loyset Compère, Gilles Binchois/Guillaume Du Fay, Antoine Busnoys, Johannes Prioris, and Gilles Mureau. As is generally known, almost every one of these composers worked for at least a part of his career in central France, and several were employed as musicians within the royal court chapel.

It is well known that Ockeghem, who entered the French royal chapel as a singer in 1451, spent nearly his entire career in that institution, serving successive kings of France until his death in 1497.[47] Alexander Agricola must have been a member of the French royal chapel sometime between 28 July 1486 and April of 1492, because a letter exists from Charles VIII to Piero de' Medici, dated 25 April 1492, requesting Agricola's

[47]Leeman L. Perkins, "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422-83)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984), 507-66; idem.: "Ockeghem, Jean de," *Grove Music Online* ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 27 December 2007), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

TABLE 2.2: Collection "B": Song Text Grouping No. 1 in P1719

Folio	Fery-Hue No.	Chanson Incipit[48]	Composer[49]	Musical Setting[50]
26r	70	***Hors de propos, de raison separé***	Anon.	Cop1848 pp.198-99
26v	71	*La, non ailleurs, secretement demeure*		None extant
26v-27r	72	***Je n'ay dueil que je ne suis morte***	Ockeghem	**A: main version** Br228 15v-16; CantiC 93v-94r; FC2439 30v-31; Lab 3 120v-121r; LoA 23v-24r; Tournai/Br 24-25 and 25-26
27r	73	***Ce n'est pas jeu d'esloigner ce qu'on ayme***	Hayne/ Ockeghem	FR2794 43v-44; Lab 3 104v-105r; LoA 18v-19r; P2245 14v-15r; RCas 48v-49r; RCG 105v-106r; Segovia 163
27r-27v	74	***En m'en venant [de Monlouy]***	Agricola	RCas 53v-54r
27v	75	***De vous aymer follement m'assenty***	Hayne	FR2794 27v-28r; LoA 21v-22r; Uppsala76a 2v-3r
27v-28r	76	***De vous servir m'est prins envie***	Fresneau/ Hayne	BQ17 33v-34r; Cop1848 p. 202; F229 281v-282r; FR2356 85v-86r; Lab 3 103v-104r; RCG 87v-88r
28r-28v	77	***Femme de bien, s'il en est point au monde***	Anon.	?FR2794 42v-43r
28v	78	***En attendant la grace de ma dame***	Agricola	F121 27v-28r; F178 25v-26r; F229 125v-126r; Lab 3 111v-112r; LoA 7v-8r; RCas 10v-11r; RCG 68v-69r; Verona 757 52v-53r
28v-29r	79	***Penser en vous ne m'est point ennuyeulx***	Hayne	Lab 3 148v-149r; P1597 22v-23r; P2245 8v-9r; Segovia 186v
29r	80	***En effait se ne reprenés***	?Agricola	F229 78v-79r; FR2794 60v-61r; LoA 11v-12r; RCG 9v-10r

[48]When there is a musical setting, the spelling of the chanson incipit follows that given in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*. In cases where no musical setting survives, the spelling of the incipit follows the edition by Fery-Hue in *Au gré d'amours….*

[49]There are no composer attributions in P1719. All attributions have been derived from concordant sources.

[50]As given in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*.

29^{r}-29^{v}	81	***C'est mal chercher vostre avantage***	Agricola	Col Q3^{v}-4^{r}; Cop1848 p. 225; F178 20^{v}-21^{r}; F229 65^{v}-66^{r}; Lo30587 37^{v}-38^{r}; LoA 10^{v}-11^{r}; Odh 14^{v}-15^{r}; RCas 19^{v}-20^{r}; Verona757 26^{v}-27^{r}
29^{v}	82	***Pour faire l'arlkymie d'amours***	?Agricola	F229 102^{v}-103^{r}; LoA 13^{v}-14^{r}
30^{r}	83	***C'est trop sur amours entrepriz***	Agricola	BQ17 28^{v}-29^{r}; Col R6^{v}-7^{r}; F178 24^{v}-25^{r}; F229 64^{v}-65^{r}; LoA 14^{v}-15^{r}
30^{r}	84	***Venez, Regretz, sourdez en habondance***	Anon.	P1597 23^{v}-24^{r}
30^{v}	85	***Allez regretz vuydez de ma presence***	Hayne	26 sources, including LoA 20^{v}-21^{r}
30^{v}	86	***Mon loyal cueur a entrepris parti***	Anon.	LoA 35^{v}-36^{r}
31^{r}	87	***Tout mal me vient dieu mercy et fortune***	Compère	Cop1848 p. 433; RCas 59^{v}-60^{r}; TVC #83
31^{r}-31^{v}	88	***Il n'est vivant tant soit savant ou sage***	Agricola/ Compère	Cop 1848 p. 397; F178 11^{v}-13^{r}; F229 85^{v}-87^{r}; LoA 8^{v}-10^{r}; P1597 37^{v}-39^{r}; RCas 31^{v}-32^{r}; RCG 89^{v}-90^{r}
31^{v}	89	***Serviteur soye de par vous retenu***	Agricola	FR2794 54^{v}-56^{r}; RCas 74^{v}-76^{r}
32^{r}	90	***Nuyt et jour sans repos avoir***	Fresneau	**?Version A:** Cop1848 p. 366 and 432; FR2794 38^{v}-39^{r}; Lab 3 113^{v}-114^{r}; LoA 33^{v}-34^{r}; RCG 56^{v}-57^{r}
32^{r}-32^{v}	91	***Je n'ay dueil que de vous ne viengne***	Agricola	13 sources, including LoA 24^{v}-26^{r}
32^{v}	92	*Dames qui maintz cueurs asservez*		None extant
32^{v}-33^{r}	93	***Vostre hault bruyt, lequel est tant parfaict***	?Agricola	**?B setting of *Vostre bruit et vostre grant fame*:** F178 55^{v}-56^{r}; F229 68^{v}-69^{r}; RCas 47^{v}-48^{r}; Verona757 30^{v}-31^{r}
33^{r}-33^{v}	94	***Le renvoy d'ung cuer esgaré***	Compère	10 sources
33^{v}	95	***Je ne vis oncques la pareille***	Binchois/ Du Fay	11 sources
33^{v}-34^{r}	96	***Joye me fuit et Douleur me queurt seure***	Busnoys	Dij 26^{v}-27^{r}; F176 13^{v}-15^{r}; Lab 2 100^{v}-101^{r}; Mel 36^{v}-38^{r}; Pix 163^{v}-164^{r}; RCas 13^{v}-14^{r}; Tr1378 258^{v}-259^{r}

34^{r}	97	***Fors seulement l'attente que je meure***	Ockeghem	Dij 25^{v}-26^{r}; Lab 2 99^{v}-100^{r}; Niv 6^{r}; P1597 36^{v}-37^{r}; RCG 104^{v}-105^{r}; SG461 pp. 2-3; Wolf 43^{v}-45^{r}
34^{v}	98	***Amours amours trop me fiers de tes dars***	Hayne	15 sources
34^{v}-35^{r}	99	***Se je vous eslonge de l'oeil***	Agricola/ Hayne	Br228 60^{v}-62^{r}; F178 14^{v}-16^{r}; FR2794 44^{v}-46^{r}; LoA 16^{v}-18^{r}; Ox831 260^{r-v}; P1597 15^{v}-17^{r}
35^{r}	100	***Par vos sermens tous plains de decepvance***	Prioris	BQ17 51^{v}-52^{r}; Egenolff no. 68; FC2439 54^{v}-55^{r}
35^{r}-35^{v}	101	***Vostre oeil s'est bientost repenti***	Prioris	BQ17 48^{v}-49^{r}; Cop1848 p. 357; FR2794 24^{v}-25^{r}; P2245 3^{v}-4^{r}
35^{v}-36^{r}	102	*Je vous quicte jeu et entente*		None extant
36^{r}	103	*Visage de mirouer ardant*		None extant
36^{r}-36^{v}	104	*Tant qu'il suffit, d'une je me contente*		None extant
36^{v}	105	*Ennuyt en lieu de reposer*		None extant
37^{r}	106	***A la mignonne de Fortune***	Agricola	Ber40021 16^{v}; F229 130^{v}-132^{r}; FR2794 71^{v}-72^{r}; LoA 3^{v}-5^{r}; RCG 121^{v}-123^{r}; TurinI.27 8^{v}-9^{r}
37^{r}-37^{v}	107	***Soit loing ou pres tousjours me souviendra***	Agricola	BQ17 38^{v}-39^{r}; Cop1848 p. 372 and p. 443; F229 267^{v}-268^{r}; FR2794 72^{v}-73^{r}; LoA 15^{v}-16^{r}; RCG 43^{v}-44^{r}; Segovia 162^{v}
37^{v}-38^{r}	108	*C'est bien tost lasché vostre prise*		None extant
38^{r}	109	***Gardez vous bien de ce faulveau***	?Agricola	?Uppsala76a 50^{v} and 51^{v}-53^{r}
38^{r}-38^{v}	110	*Pour obeir au plaisir de mes yeulx*		None extant
38^{v}	111	*Esse fait de lëalle amye*		None extant
39^{r}	112	*Quant je voy quelqu'ung qui vous baise*		None extant
39^{r}-39^{v}	113	***Je ne fay plus je ne dis ne escrips***	Mureau/ Busnoys/ Compère	17 sources

39^{v}	114	*Bien m'en est pris d'avoir vostre acoinctance*		None extant
39^{v}-40^{r}	115	*Plus qu'oncques mais je me voy pris*		None extant
40^{r}-40^{v}	116	***Ha qu'il m'ennuye et que je me treuve esbaye***	Fresneau/ Agricola	Cop1848 p. 46; F178 46^{v}-47^{r}; F229 128^{v}-129^{r}; Niv 79^{v}-80^{r}; P1597 19^{v}-20^{r}; P2245 18^{v}-19^{r}
40^{v}	117	***Les grans regretz que sans cesser je porte***	Hayne/ Agricola	10 sources, including P2245 19^{v}-20^{r}

return to the French royal court from Florence Cathedral.[51] Johannes Fresneau is documented as working as a singer in the French royal chapel from 1469 to 1475, and again in 1486.[52] If he is the "Jehan Verneau dit Loyauté" listed in records of the French royal chapel from 1452 to 1459, then his association with the court chapel would span at least some thirty-five years.[53] Loyset Compère is recorded as being a singer in the French royal chapel in 1486 and was still working for Charles VIII in 1494.[54] It has been suggested that Compère was working somewhere in central France from the 1460s to the early 1470s and that after 6 February 1477 he was in Moulins at the court of Jean II, Duc de Bourbon, since

[51]Agricola's name does not appear among those of chapel musicians listed in letters requesting benefices during Pope Innocent VIII's reign by the French king and written for the pope on 28 July 1486; see Perkins, "Musical Patronage," 552. For information on Agricola's presence at the court of France, see Wegman, Rob: "Agricola, Alexander," *Grove Music Online* ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 5 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>. The letter requesting the composer's return to France has been published and discussed in Martin Picker, "A Letter of Charles VIII of France Concerning Alexander Agricola," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 665-72.

[52]Perkins, "Musical Patronage," 552, 535-6 and 554-5.

[53]Atlas, Allan W. and Jane Alden: "Fresneau, Jehan," *Grove Music Online* ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 27 December 2007), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

[54]Perkins, "Musical Patronage," 552, and Rifkin, Joshua, Jeffrey Dean, and David Fallows: "Compère, Loyset," *Grove Music Online* ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 27 December 2007), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

he set two poems by that prince.[55] There is no secure documentation to place Johannes Prioris at the court of France before 1503, when he is listed in chapel records as "maître de chapelle" for Louis XII, but he probably served Charles VIII in some capacity prior to that time, since he is mentioned in Guillaume Crétin's *Déploration* on the death of Ockeghem from 1497 along with other composers associated with the French royal chapel. Gilles Mureau was a lifelong inhabitant of Chartres, a city situated on the main road between the capital, Paris, and Tours, the most important city along the Loire River during the fifteenth century.[56] The only composer with a substantial number of songs in French sources (including six song texts in P1719) with no documented ties to the French royal court or to the Loire valley is Hayne van Ghizeghem. He may, however, have spent time in France after 1477 (the death of his known patron, Duke Charles the Rash of Burgundy), but documentation for the French royal court is almost entirely lacking between 1475 and 1515.[57] Overall then, the collection of song texts in this section (folio 26^{r} through part of 40^{v}) of P1719 implicates musical activity mainly at the French royal court and perhaps at ecclesiastical and secular institutions throughout central France with ties to it.

The musical source with which this section of P1719 shares the largest number of concordances—sixteen—is London, British Library MS Royal 20.A.xvi (hereafter

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[55]Gerald Montagna, "Caron, Hayne, Compère: A Transmission Reassessment," *Early Music History* 7 (1987), 107-57, esp. 110-17. Mary Beth Winn Marvin, in "The Texts of the Chansons of Loyset Compere" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1974), 8 and 27-28, was the first to suggest Compère's possible affiliation with the court at Moulins.

[56]André Pirro, "Gilles Mureau, chanoine de Chartres," in *Festschrift für Johannes Wolf zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstage*, ed. Walter Lott, Helmuth Osthoff, and Werner Wolffheim (Berlin: Martin Breslauer, 1929), 163-67. Tours derived much of its importance during the fifteenth century from the fact that Louis XI (1461-1483) made his primary residence there, which naturally generated a great deal of commercial activity.

[57]Litterick, Louise: "Hayne van Ghizeghem," *Grove Music Online* ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 27 December 2007), <http//www.grovemusic.com>, notes that Hayne's name disappears from Burgundian court records after 9 December 1476, during Charles' final campaign, the siege of the city of Nancy. A summary of the surviving documentation of the French royal court is provided in Perkins, "Musical Patronage," 514.

LoA), which was likely produced in 1488 for Anne de Beaujeu and her husband, Pierre de Bourbon, to celebrate the acquisition of the duchy by the pair upon the death of the previous duke of Bourbon, Jean II.[58] Louise Litterick has identified two distinct layers within LoA: a first layer, comprising sixteen songs by Alexander Agricola and Hayne van Ghizeghem, repertory which appears to date from the 1480s; and a second layer, from the 1490s in a different hand, with twelve songs by a larger group of composers, most having a documented association with the French royal court.[59] Apparently, this second section does not date from the 1490s, as was previously thought, but is contemporaneous with the first layer or just slightly later.[60] The sixteen pieces shared between the two sources constitute well over fifty percent of LoA's total contents (see Table 2.3). In addition, three-quarters of this shared repertory—twelve chansons—occurs in the first section of LoA, which was written in 1488. By implication, then, the P1719 texts of Collection "B" must also transmit repertory in circulation in the 1480s and perhaps even from the 1470s. This squares with what little biographical information is available about the composers of these pieces. Ockeghem is thought to have written the bulk of his contribution to the chanson literature before 1470.[61] This includes his *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure*, which, however, occurs in P1719 embedded within a small group of songs that were clearly composed prior to the rest of the

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[58]These new findings regarding ownership of the manuscript, which was previously thought to have been created for Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne, are detailed by Lisa Urkevich, "MS Royal 20 A. xvi, London, British Library: A French Renaissance Music Book of Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre de Bourbon," in preparation. I am grateful to Dr. Urkevich for allowing me access to her article prior to its publication.

[59]Louise Litterick Rifkin, "The Manuscript Royal 20.A.XVI" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1976), 2-3; 56-76; 79-82.

[60]Urkevich, "MS Royal 20 A. xvi."

[61]David Fallows, "Ockeghem as a Song Composer: Hints Towards a Chronology," in *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du Xle Colloque international d'études humanistes. Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 301-16, especially the chart on pages 303-304.

TABLE 2.3: Repertory Shared Between P1719 and LoA

Chanson Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Composer	LoA folios	P1719 folios
L'eure est venue de me plaindre	Agricola	1^{v}-3^{r}	
A la mignonne de Fortune	Agricola	3^{v}-5^{r}	37^{r}
Se vous voulez m'estre loyale et bonne	Agricola	5^{v}-7^{r}	
En attendant la grace de ma dame	Agricola	7^{v}-8^{r}	28^{v}
Il n'est vivant tant soit savant ou sage	Agricola/Compère	8^{v}-10^{r}	31^{r}-31^{v}
C'est mal chercher vostre avantage	Agricola	10^{v}-11^{r}	29^{r}-29^{v}
En effait se ne reprenés	?Agricola	11^{v}-12^{r}	29^{r}
Par ung jour de matinee	Agricola	12^{v}-13^{r}	
Pour faire l'arlkymie d'amours	?Agricola	13^{v}-14^{r}	29^{v}
C'est trop sur amours entrepriz	Agricola	14^{v}-15^{r}	30^{r}
Soit loing ou pres tousjours me souviendra	Agricola	15^{v}-16^{r}	37^{r}-37^{v}
Se je vous eslonge de l'oeil	Agricola/Hayne	16^{v}-17^{r}	34^{v}-35^{r}
Ce n'est pas jeu d'esloigner ce qu'on ayme	Hayne/Ockeghem	18^{v}-19^{r}	27^{r}
Elle en est hors du cueur et de l'oreille	?Hayne	19^{v}-20^{r}	
Allez regretz vuydez de ma presence	Hayne	20^{v}-21^{r}	30^{v}
De vous aymer follement m'assenty	Hayne	21^{v}-22^{r}	27^{v}
La regretee en tous biens accomplie	Hayne	22^{v}-23^{r}	
Je n'ay dueil que je ne suis morte	Ockeghem	23^{v}-24^{r}	26^{v}-27^{r}
Je n'ay dueil que de vous ne viengne	Agricola	24^{v}-26^{r}	32^{r}-32^{v}
Royne des flours que je desire tant	Agricola	26^{v}-27^{r}	
Mon souvenir me fait mourir	Hayne	27^{v}-28^{r}	
A l'eure que premier vous vis	Bouvel	28^{v}-29^{r}	
Sire se vous ne pourvoyez	Crespieres	29^{v}-30^{r}	
Que vous ma dame je le jure	Josquin/Agricola	30^{v}-31^{r}	
Je scay tout ce qui me nuist a scavoir	Hayne	31^{v}-33^{r}	
Nuyt et jour sans repos avoir	Fresneau	33^{v}-34^{r}	32^{r}
Mes pensees ne me laissent une heure	Compère	34^{v}-35^{r}	
Mon loyal cueur a entrepris parti	Anon.	35^{v}-36^{r}	30^{v}

chansons whose texts appear in this section of the manuscript.[62] His only other song to appear in this fascicle, *Je n'ay dueil que je ne suis morte*, is included in the 1480s section of LoA. Alexander Agricola is the most frequently represented composer in P1719, with ten securely attributed songs and five more for which a convincing case of his authorship can be

[62]These song texts are: *Je ne vis oncques la pareille* (folio 33^{v}, no. 95); *Joye me fuit et Douleur me queurt seure* (folios 33^{v}-34^{r}, no. 96); *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure* (folio 34^{r}, no. 97); and *Amours amours trop me fiers de tes dars* (folio 34^{v}, no. 98).

made. As pointed out above, Agricola must have been associated with the French royal court at some time in the (probably late) 1480s, because his former employer, Charles VIII, wrote to Piero de' Medici in 1492 requesting that Agricola return to France. Clearly, his music was appreciated at the court. Three out of Johannes Fresneau's five known songs are included in this section of P1719; it is believed that all five date from the 1470s, when he is also documented as being a member of the French royal court chapel.[63] Hayne van Ghizeghem is represented in P1719 by six securely attributed chansons. The text of his *Amours amours trop me fiers de tes dars*, considered to be one of his earliest songs, does in fact appear in P1719 within the aforementioned small group of pieces (folios 33^{v}-34^{v}) that are earlier than the rest of the poems transmitted in this section of the manuscript. In a suggested chronology of Hayne's songs, David Fallows places *Allez regretz vuydez de ma presence* and *Ce n'est pas jeu d'esloigner ce qu'on ayme* in the 1470s, and *De vous aymer follement m'assenty*, *Penser en vous ne m'est point ennuyeulx* and *Les grans regretz que sans cesser je porte* in the 1480s.[64] The only piece by Antoine Busnoys in this section, *Joye me fuit et Douleur me queurt seure*, is found in the group of four earlier pieces (*Je ne vis oncques la pareille* through *Amours amours*) and must have been written before the composer left France to work for Duke Charles of Burgundy in 1469.[65]

This group of four somewhat earlier chansons seems to be a dividing line of sorts within the continuing series of song texts, as there are subtle changes in the composers represented and patterns of transmission within the texts beginning with no. 99, *Se je vous*

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[63]Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 692.

[64]Ibid., 697.

[65]David Fallows, "'Trained and immersed in all musical delights': Towards a New Picture of Busnoys," in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 21-50, esp. 23-24 and 44-48.

eslonge de l'oeil by Agricola. Of the nineteen texts following the small group of earlier song poems, nine were set by known musicians, but the rest have been transmitted anonymously and without extant music, a much higher percentage than in the first part of this collection. The identifiable composers are still those with ties to central France but for the first time, texts set by Johannes Prioris are included. As mentioned above, it is likely that Prioris worked for the Crown during the second half of the fifteenth century, since he is listed in Crétin's *Déploration* mourning Ockeghem's death in 1497. David Fallows believes that, based on stylistic characteristics, Prioris' songs must be earlier than 1503, when Prioris is actually documented as being at the court.[66] Perhaps this grouping of songs, then, reflects musical activity at some remove from the royal court, but still associated with it.

Much about the content of Collection "B" is similar to the notated chansonnier LoA. Beyond sharing sixteen songs with LoA, P1719 shares two specific pairings of songs with that chansonnier, both appearing to involve songs by Agricola (see Table 2.3). Louise Litterick has argued persuasively for attributions to Agricola of *En effait se ne reprenés* and *Pour faire l'arlkymie d'amours* based on their position within LoA and their stylistic features, and this argument has been accepted by David Fallows.[67] Even if one does not accept the attribution to Agricola, the fact remains that the pairings are preserved between the two collections, which suggests an intrinsic relationship between them. In the case of *Pour faire l'arlkymie d'amours* and *C'est trop sur amours entrepriz*, the rationale for pairing is clear: both share the thematic topos of the alchemy of love. Dragan Plamenac first

[66]Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 715.

[67]Litterick Rifkin, "The Manuscript Royal 20.A.XVI," 106-10; Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 678.

suggested that the two are companion pieces,[68] Fery-Hue further analyzed *C'est trop sur* as a poetic response to *Pour faire l'arlkymie*, and Litterick has drawn musical parallels between the two compositions, so the two musical settings would make natural "traveling companions" during manuscript transmission. The relationship between *En effait se ne reprenés* and *C'est mal chercher vostre avantage* is not as obvious, but Litterick has observed that both make use of the relatively rare technique of marking the poetic caesura of the refrain with a fermata to indicate a stoppage of musical motion.[69] If both are by Agricola, as she believes, then their shared musical authorship alone may be reason enough for them to be transmitted together between manuscripts. At least three more pairings within P1719 reflect shared composer authorship: *Il n'est vivant tant soit savant ou sage* and *Serviteur soye de par vous retenu* (both decasyllabic *virelais cinquains*); *A la mignonne de Fortune* and *Soit loing ou pres tousjours me souviendra*; and *Par vos sermens tous plains de decepvance* and *Vostre œil s'est bientost repenti*. The first two pairings group musical settings by Agricola, and the third is a pair of song texts set by Prioris. The texts of *A la mignonne* and *Soit loing ou pres*, although anonymous, may have been penned by the same author, since they share certain elements of poetic construction (see Example 2.1). Each poem lauds the "parfait[z] bien[s]" of the love object (line 15; line 2), and each uses a comparative term to describe her or pledge the speaker to her ("plus:" line 7; line 3) and to set her apart from all other women. Furthermore, each relies upon the somewhat unusual device of a relative clause accompanying a negative antecedent with either the subjunctive in

[68]Dragan Plamenac, "A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville," *The Musical Quarterly* 37 (1951), 501-42; 38 (1952), 85-117 and 245-77, esp. 273; Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 300-301; Litterick Rifkin, "The Manuscript Royal 20.A.XVI," 108-10.

[69]Litterick Rifkin, "The Manuscript Royal 20.A.XVI," 110.

A la mignonne (line 13) or with the indicative in *Soit loing ou pres* (line 5) to further enlarge upon her uniqueness or to claim priority for her love. Echoes of these phrases and approaches dot the two other poems set by Agricola paired in P1719: *Il n'est vivant* and *Serviteur soye* (see Example 2.2).

* * * * *

Example 2.1: *A la mignonne de Fortune* and *Soit loing ou pres, tousjours me souvendra*
Editions from Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 192 and 193.

A la mignonne de Fortune,
Qu'on doibt nommer devant chascune,
[sans craindre aucune][70]
j'ay donné – dont sage me tien –
5 le cueur qui soulloit estre mien,
qui sera sien
pour la servir plus que nez une.

Car, qui en vouldroit une eslire,
ou il n'y eust riens que redire,
10 chascun de tire
y courroit comme a la plus belle.
On ne pourroit d'elle trop dire.
Il n'est bouche qui sceust suffire
louer le pire
15 des parfaitz biens qui sont en elle.

Sa valleur croist comme la lune.
Sa loyaulté n'est point commune.
On dist: "C'est l'une,
de ce monde, ou a plus de bien,
20 car il n'y a faulte de rien".
Tout va sy bien
que de telles pas n'en est une.
A la mignonne (etc.)

Soit loing ou pres, tousjours me souvendra
du parfaict bien dont vous estes tenue
plus que femme qui soit soubz la nue;
et vif, et mort, mon cueur le maintendra.

5 Il n'est pas né, qui mieulx vous aymera.
Ma voulenté est assez resolue:
soit loing ou pres, (etc.)

Lors que mon oeil de veue vous erdera,
Dueil me soupprint auquel je continue,
10 mais aussi tost qu'il vous aura vëue,
il est a naistre qui tant aisé sera …
Soit loing ou prez, (etc.)

[70]Missing in P1719, supplied from LoA.

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Example 2.2: *Il n'est vivant, tant soit savant ou sage* and *Serviteur soye de par vous retenu*

Editions from Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 181 and 182.

Il n'est vivant, tant soit savant ou sage,
ou habondant en eloquent langage,
qui voz vertus sceust a demy louer.
Dieu a voulu en tout tant vous douer
5 que sur toutes en portez l'avantage.

Vostre beaulté a fait de mon cueur prise–
par quoy chascun seulle vous ayme et prise–
et serviray le surplus de ma vie.
Tant que j'en voy emprés vous, je desprise,
10 car vous estes en tout art sy apprise
que plus qu'autre vallez estre servie.

Pour ce, vous faiz de quant que j'ay hommage,
sans requerir ung bien, proffit ne gage,
fors que vueillez vostre amy me advouer.
15 A autre sainct ne vueil mon corps vouer,
car, qui a veu ung sy plaisant ymage,
Il n'est vivant, (etc.)

Serviteur soye de par vous retenu,
et de tous pointz auray le contenu
de mon desir, en soulas et en joye,
car des dames vous estes la montjoye:
5 ce bruyt vous est par mainct entretenu.

Ainsi comme de chevalier le nom
passe d'honneur tous les autres du monde,
aussi faictes de valleur, de renom,
toutes autres, qui en grans biens habondent.

10 Se tant de bien il m'estoit advenu
que je congneusse que feusse devenu
cellui qui, plus de tous, aymé seroye,
je ne sçay rien que tant priser vouldroye,
dont vous requier que, pour bien cher tenu,
15 Serviteur soye (etc.)

* * * * *

The first opens using a subjunctive relative clause of characteristic with negative antecedent (lines 1-3) that calls to mind by its language lines 13-15 of *A la mignonne* and cleverly uses another (although indicative) relative clause to tie the final strophe to the opening hemistich (lines 16-17). Included also are two comparisons: the first (lines 4-5) sets the subject apart from all other women; the second (lines 10-11) pledges the speaker to her. In *Serviteur soye*, instead of a relative clause, the male speaker uses a somewhat convoluted imperfect to conditional structure (lines 10-13) to set up a comparison

(line 12), which makes him the chosen one. The pointedly chivalric language and images of the poem obscure a certain poverty of vocabulary: "bien[s]" appears three times within *Serviteur soye* (twice as a noun, once as an adverb), and "tous" (or its feminine "toutes") appears four times. *Il n'est vivant* suffers from an overuse of the adverb "tant" (lines 1, 4 and 9, in addition to "sy," in line 16). These similarities of approach and technique suggest that each poetic pair was authored by the same person and that perhaps all four poems set by Agricola were the work of a single poet.

The two texts set by Prioris do not share any obvious connections beyond a small amount of vocabulary and a general tone of unhappiness due to unrequited love (see Example 2.3). Their pairing in P1719, therefore, may have been based on nothing more than

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Example 2.3: *Par voz sermens tous plains de décepvance* and *Vostre oeil c'est bien tost repenty*

Editions from Bancel, 126, and Fery-Hue, 189-190, respectively.

Par voz sermens tous plains de décepvance,
J'ay prins en vous plus qu'en autre fiance
Vous pensant autre qu'à present ne vous voy
Dont a mon cueur si grant doulleur recoy
5 Que m'esjouyr n'est pas en ma puissance.

Vivre me faictes en toute desplaisance,
Puis que congnois que de moy souvenance
Vous n'avez plus, clèrement l'apercoy
Par vos sermons (etc.)

10 Las quant de vous j'euz premier
congnoissance
Je vous pensoye rempli en habondance
De loyaulté, vérité & de foy,
Mais le contraire regner en vous je voy,
Dont je mauldis l'heure de ma naissance,
15 Par vos sermons (etc.)

Vostre oeil c'est bien tost repenty
du bon acueil qu'il m'avoit fait.
Sy ne lui ay je rien meffait
et, s'il a dit, il a menty.

5 Pour quoy doncques se departy
de moy, sans luy avoir forfaict?
Vostre oeil (etc.)

C'est pour ce qu'il a consenty
d'un autre amer et, en effect,
10 je voy bien que j'en suis deffaict,
puis qu'ailleurs va prendre party.
Vostre oeil (etc.)

* * * * *

their shared musical authorship, since the settings are not related in any significant way, either. Paula Higgins was the first to note that the two decasyllabic *rondeaux cinquains Joye me fuit et Douleur me queurt seure* and *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure* are paired poetically in P1719, with both sharing the rhyme scheme aabba and several "a" rhymes.[71] Both appropriate the female voice, appear to be inspired by lines from works by Alain Chartier and are transmitted consecutively in Dij and Lab.[72] Chanson pairings such as this one between song collections most often occur as evidence of a personal relationship between the poets and/or composers. In this case, Ockeghem, the older man, and Busnoys, most likely his pupil, would have had contact with each other in the 1460s in the city of Tours and at the church of St.-Martin, where they both held positions. Other pairings are not poetically or thematically linked, but do remain together between musical collections; already mentioned are the pairings of Agricola songs shared between P1719 and LoA. *Ha qu'il m'ennuye* travels with *Les grans regretz que sans cesser je porte* within the chansonnier Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2245 as well as within P1719.[73] The pairing of the decasyllabic rondeau *Venez Regretz, sourdez en habondance* with *Allez regretz, vuydez de ma presence* in

[71]Paula Higgins, "Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987), 146.

[72]The incipit of the song *Fors seulement l'attente* is from line 72 of Chartier's *Complainte*, as first noted by Paula Higgins in her Introduction to *Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Rés. Vmc. Ms. 57, ca 1460)*, [Facsimile] (Geneva: Minkoff, 1984), iii, and the first hemistich of *Joye me fuit* finds its precursors in the Chartier rondeau *Joie me fuit et desespoir me chace*, a rondeau by Froissart, and in the *Louange des dames* by Guillaume Machaut (Higgins, "Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture," 144-46).

[73]Such pairings between song collections of the fifteenth century have been examined in some detail by Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff, *Der Wolfenbütteler Chansonnier Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Codex Guelf. 287 Extrav. Untersuchungen zu Repertoire und Überlieferung einer Musikhandschrift des 15 Jahrhunderts und ihres Umkreises*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 29 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985), 185-99.

P1719 is not repeated in any musical source;[74] the two texts, however, are clearly linked, based on the opposition of their opening imperatives and were probably copied by Scribe XVI from a music exemplar that itself contained the pairing.

The various pairings scattered throughout this section of P1719 suggest that the model used by Scribe XVI (most likely a music collection) was itself a reflection of the acquisition habits of its compiler. A music copyist could have accumulated pairings of songs on single sheets, with one song to each side, the two chansons transmitted together on the basis of shared poetic authorship, composer authorship, or thematic content. Or small groupings of pieces (three or four) could travel in what Charles Hamm has called "fascicle manuscripts,"[75] still linked by textual or musical considerations.

To return to similarities between this section of P1719 and the songbook LoA: each series of songs begins with a secular chanson that at some point in its life was paired with a Latin text and music to form what is typically referred to as a motet-chanson. In LoA, it is the Agricola virelai *L'eure est venue de me plaindre* that opens the chansonnier, and in P1719 it is the anonymous rondeau *Hors de propos, de raison séparé*.[76] The iconography of the miniatures accompanying the music of *L'eure est venue* and the following chanson *A la mignonne de Fortune* in LoA suggest references to specific events in the life of the

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[74]This *Venez Regretz* is transmitted musically only in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1597 (the "Lorraine Chansonnier") and is an anonymous setting quite different from the one by Compère found in eight manuscripts and listed by Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 399-400.

[75]Charles E. Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," *Acta musicologica* 34 (1962), 166-84.

[76]Although shorn of its Latin tenor text here in P1719, *Hors de propos* appears with its second text, *Creator omnium rerum*, in the collection Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°, pp. 198-99 (hereafter Cop1848); see Honey Meconi, "Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France," in *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du Xle Colloque international d'études humanistes. Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 381-402. *L'eure est venue* appears with the Latin text, *Circumdederunt me viri mendaces* in BR228 (folios 62^{v}-64^{r}), and FR2794 (folios 32^{v}-33^{r}).

chansonnier's owners,[77] but the same claim cannot be made for P1719's *Hors de propos*, unfortunately, as its text is a much more conventional expression of love, and there is no accompanying illustration to illuminate or interpret its meaning.

LoA actually contains two collections of songs; as has been discussed above, its second section of twelve songs was copied by a different hand and reflects a somewhat different and possibly slightly later repertory from that of the first section, although still of works by composers associated with the French royal court. Likewise, Collection "B" of P1719 may also actually transmit two repertories, with a possible division between the two occurring just before no. 99, *Se je vous esloigne*. If this is the case, then the group of four chronologically earlier songs (nos. 95-98) would close out the first section, explaining why an island of musical settings from the 1450s and 60s would suddenly appear in a sea of otherwise later pieces. The resulting two collections would then contain twenty-nine and nineteen pieces. An alternative argument could also be made that the break separating the one repertory from the other occurs with chanson no. 90, *Nuyt et jour sans repos avoir*, by Fresneau. David Fallows believes that *Nuyt et jour* at some point in its history was provided with a Latin text as a motet-chanson, making it suitable as an opening work for a chansonnier.[78] Nothing within the structure of P1719 indicates the beginning of another collection at this point, but perhaps the placement of Agricola's four-voice *Je n'ay deuil que de vous ne viengne* immediately following *Nuyt et jour* is significant. Both Collection "B" of

[77]This is fully discussed in Urkevich, "MS Royal 20 A. xvi."

[78]Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 298. In his discussion of the way *Nuyt et jour* has been preserved in the Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana C.G. XIII. 27), Allan Atlas never explicitly refers to the work as a motet-chanson, but he does note that the melody of the tenor "…bears some resemblance to the solemn first-tone intonation of the Magnificat with the differentia that closes on F." Allan Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier, (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C.G. XIII. 27)*, Musicological Studies 27/1 (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediæval Music, Ltd., 1975), 125.

P1719 and LoA include two four-voice compositions among their other three-voice pieces: Ockeghem's *Je n'ay dueil que je ne suis morte* and the Agricola *Je n'ay dueil*. Instead of pairing the two four-voice compositions, however, as is the case in LoA, P1719 transmits the Ockeghem song text as the second piece to follow the opening chanson-motet *Hors de propos* (just after *La, non ailleurs, secretement demeure*), and the Agricola follows immediately upon *Nuyt et jour*. It would be useful to know whether the chanson *La, non ailleurs, secretement demeure* was written for three or for four voices, because if for four, then this section of P1719 would clearly be preserving its four-voice songs separately from the three-voice pieces, deliberately setting them apart to acknowledge their distinctiveness. Precedent for this occurs in Dij, where four-voice chansons (albeit with multiple texts) have been gathered into a group and entered apart from the rest of the repertory. Regardless of whether one chooses to believe that Collection "B" preserves the contents of two separate chansonniers or transmits the text entries of a single music manuscript in two separate layers along the lines of LoA, it should be clear enough that this section of P1719, having been copied from a chansonnier, is an important, although incomplete, witness of musical activity from central France during the 1470s and early 1480s.

Collection "E"

A second group of song texts occurs from folio 86 through part of folio 97^{v} (Fery-Hue numbers 266 through 306—see Table 2.4), signaled in part by a change in tone from predominantly comic and obscene to one more generally expressive of "courtly" ideals. This change in repertory is accompanied by a clear change in the appearance of the text entries at this point in the manuscript, even though they were still written by Scribal Hand XVI. With *Malheureux cueur que vieulx tu faire* the look of the text on the page becomes

Table 2.4: Collection "E": Song Text Grouping No. 2 in P1719

Folio	F-H No.	Chanson Incipit/Text Author (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Composer	Musical Setting
86^{r}	266	***Malheureulx cueur que vieulx tu faire***/Le Rousselet	Du Fay	Lab 1 26^{v}-28^{r}; Schedel 101^{v}-103^{r}; Wolf 25^{v}-27^{r}
86^{r}-86^{v}	267	*Haa, mon cueur, vous estes bien fol*		None extant
86^{v}-86*bis*^{r}	268	***Pour voz pechez je porte penitance***	Anon.	Dij 46^{v}-47^{r}
86*bis*^{r}	269	*Au choiz de vostre cueur et oeil*		None extant
86*bis*^{r}-86*bis*^{v}	270	***Que voulez vous que je devise***	Anon.	Dij 72^{v}-73^{r}
86*bis*^{v}	271	***Quelque povre homme que je soie***	Busnoys	**Version A:** Dij 62^{v}-63^{r} **Version B:** Col K12^{v}-L1^{r}; Pix 164^{v}-165^{r}
87^{r}	272	***S'elle m'amera je ne scay***	Ockeghem	9 sources, including Niv 55^{v}-56^{r}
87^{r}-87^{v}	273	***Le serviteur hault guerdonné***	Du Fay	14 sources, including Pav 40^{v}-41^{r}
87^{v}	274	***L'omme banny de sa plaisance***	Barbingant/ Fedé	8 sources, including Pav 21^{v}-22^{r}
87^{v}-88^{r}	275	***Trop m'est amer vostre service Amours***	Anon.	Dij 114^{v}-115^{r}
88^{r}-88^{v}	276	*Ce ne fust que je crains Dangier*		None extant
88^{v}	277	***L'omme enrage hors du sens forcené***	Boubert	Dij 51^{v}-52^{r}; Niv 63^{v}-64^{r}
88^{v}-89^{r}	278	*Chose qui soit vous ne m'avez mandé*		None extant
89^{r}	279	*Je meurs de soif auprés de la fontaine*		None extant
89^{v}	280	***Pour le mal qu'on vous fait porter***	Anon.	Niv 9^{v}-10^{r}; Wolf 56^{v}-57^{r}
89^{v}-90^{r}	281	*Je viens vers vous pour enquerir*		None extant; text concordance Rohan 76^{r}
90^{r}	282	***S'il vous plaist bien que je vous tiegne***	Anon.	Dij 116^{v}-118^{r}; Niv 13^{v}-15^{r}
90^{r}-90^{v}	283	***Quant je fus prins au pavillon***/Charles d'Orléans	Anon.	Uppsala76a 5^{v}-6^{r}
90^{v}	284	*Par souspirer, plourer, gemir et plaindre*		None extant; text concordance Rohan 115^{v}-116^{r}
91^{r}	285	***Ne je ne dors ne je ne veille***	Du Fay	F176 29^{v}-30^{r}

91^{r}-91^{v}	286	***Videz dehors car vous estes trop chaut***	Anon.	Dij 74^{v}-75^{r}; F176 34^{v}-36^{r}
91^{v}	287	***Bel Acueil le sergent d'Amours***	Busnoys	Dij 19^{v}-20^{r}; Mel 1^{v}-2^{r}
91^{v}-92^{r}	288	***Nul ne me doit de ce blasmer***/ Monsr. d'Orvilier	Anon.	BQ16 46^{v}-47^{r}; Dij 139^{v}-140^{r}
92^{r}	289	*Bien mauldire doibz la journee*		None extant
92^{v}	290	***Quant vous me ferez plus de bien***	Busnoys	Cop 29^{v}-30^{r}; Dij 115^{v}-116^{r}; Niv 18^{v}-19^{r}
92^{v}	291	*Escu d'ennuy, semé de pleurs*		None extant
93^{r}	292	*Je quicte Amours pour ceste annee*		None extant
93^{r}-93^{v}	293	***En soustenant vostre querelle***	Busnoys	Dij 128^{v}-129^{r}; Mel 2^{v}-3^{r}; RCas 70^{v}-71^{r}
93^{v}	294	***Je n'ay povoir de vivre en joye***	Anon.	Lab 1 22^{r}
93^{v}-94^{r}	295	***Nulle plus dolente de moi***	Anon.	Dij 126^{v}-127^{r}
94^{r}	296	*Et on vous le fera, fera*		None extant
94^{v}	297	***Par Dieu ma dame c'est a tort***	Anon.	Dij 122^{v}-124^{r}; Niv 46^{v}-48^{r}
95^{r}	298	***S'une fois me dictes ouy***	Anon.	Dij 146^{v}-148^{r}
95^{r}-95^{v}	299	*Deffendez la voye (et) de fait*		None extant
95^{v}	300	*Le plus heureux qui soit en France*		None extant
96^{r}	301	*Quant se viendra que nous assembleron*		None extant
96^{r}-96^{v}	302	***Je ne prise point tels baisiers***/Charles d'Orléans	Anon.	EscB 42^{v}-43^{r}; Pix 38^{v}-39^{r}
96^{v}	303	*Pardieu, je n'aymeray que vous*		None extant
96^{v}-97^{r}	304	*Fortune, mes que veulx tu faire?*		None extant
97^{r}	305	*Sans nul espoir avoir jamais que dueil*		None extant
97^{v}	306	***Ce que pour [rien je n'ose dire]***	Anon.	Tr93 373^{r}

somewhat "cleaner." That is, the lines of verse are spaced more closely together, and the left edge of each line of text aligns more evenly, with each under the other as if the scribe were following a now invisible left margin. The individual letters of each word are formed more neatly, etc., with the overall appearance of the text on the page neater and more careful, as if the scribe had taken a break from copying just prior to this point and then returned to the manuscript rested, fresh, and more attentive to the details of his task.

Of the total forty-one poems in this section of P1719, twenty-four occur in other sources with extant musical settings. In addition, while no musical setting survives for no. 284—*Par souspirer, plourer, gemir et plaindre*—the poem does occur in a context strongly suggesting that it was well known as a polyphonic song.[79] This brings to twenty-five the number of poems in this section of P1719 having demonstrable polyphonic settings, about fifty-six percent. This is a high percentage, and argues for the view that Scribe XVI was copying from a music exemplar. Perhaps there was a healthy market for poem texts that were known to have been set to music at some point, even if the poems had subsequently been stripped of their settings. The song texts that survive with music nearly all belong to the generation of polyphonic chansons composed in the 1450s and 60s.[80] *Malheureulx cueur*

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[79]In line 165 of his *Oroison a la Vierge Marie*, the poet-composer and Burgundian court historiographer Jehan Molinet quotes the incipit of *Par souspirer, plourer, gemir et plaindre* along with lines from thirty-five other mostly polyphonic chansons, in a technique akin to that of the long-standing tradition of quoting proverbs at the ends and/or beginnings of strophes of moralistic literature. For the *Oroison*, see Jean Molinet, *Les Faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, ed. Noël Dupire, 3 vols. (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1936-39), 2:468-75. Molinet's use of chanson quotations has been thoroughly discussed by David Fallows, "Jean Molinet and the Lost Burgundian Court Chansonniers of the 1470s," in *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 83; Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance, 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 35-42.

[80]A handful of texts from this section of P1719 belong to songs that may have been composed during the decade of the 1440s: Barbingant's *L'omme banny de sa plaisance*, which appears earliest in the chansonnier Pav, folios 21^{v}-22^{r} copied c. 1460, may actually date from around 1440, since it is described as somewhat out-of-date in a theatrical work which makes reference to political events of 1440; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 260, citing Édouard Fournier, *Le Théâtre français avant la Renaissance, 1450-1550* (Paris: Laplace, Sanchez, [c. 1872]), 45-53. Mentioned also in the same farce (*Mestier et Marchandise*) are *Puis que Fortune est contre moy* and the otherwise unknown *J'ay perdu mon esperance* (Fournier, 48). The chanson *Je ne prise point tels baisiers* (Fery-Hue no. 302, and earlier as no. 56), with its text by Charles d'Orléans, is quite possibly from the early 1440s, since its text was written during the duke's twenty-five years of captivity in England following the battle of Agincourt, and began to circulate as part of his "English book" of poetry once he returned to France. See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, ed. Pierre Champion. 2 vols. 1. *La Retenue d'Amours, Ballades, Chansons, Complaintes et Caroles*. 2. *Rondeaux*. Les Classiques Français du Moyen Age 34 and 56 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1923-1927), Chanson XXXVII, 1:225-6. The poetry written by Charles d'Orléans which received musical settings has been discussed at further length in Chapter 1 of this study. The text incipit *Le serviteur hault guerdonné* is given, along with several other song titles, in a list that appears to date from 1452, which indicates that its musical setting is considerably older than the first notated source in which it appears. See Fabio Carboni and Agostino Ziino, "Un elenco di composizioni musicali della seconda metà del Quattrocento," in *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone*, ed. Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon, Festschrift Series 18 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1996), 425-87.

que vieulx tu faire and *Nul ne me doit de ce blasmer* both appear in the first section of the poetry collection P9223, which was written by 1456,[81] and *Quant je fus prins au pavillon*, a rondeau penned by Charles d'Orléans, appears in his personal poetry album surrounded by poems from the very late 1440s and the early 1450s. The musical settings of all three poems also must date from no later than the 1450s or 60s, since the earliest chansonniers in which they appear date from around 1470 or even a bit earlier.[82] The same is true for the four songs by Busnoys, the earliest of which is *Quant vous me ferez plus de bien*, found in Niv.[83] The other three all appear in Dij, but in no earlier source. The only attributed Ockeghem piece, *S'elle m'amera je ne scay*, apparently dates from around 1460,[84] and the remaining chanson settings, as can be seen from Table 2.4, must have been composed before 1465 (the date by which the first layer of Niv was copied), or 1470 (the date currently accepted for the copying of Dij as well as Rohan), although many of these songs were surely composed in the 1450s.

The poets and composers represented in Collection "E" are nearly all names that have been associated with French royal court circles or can be documented as having been active in central France. Almost nothing is known of the "Boubert" of *L'omme enragé* or the Monseigneur Orvilier of *Nul ne me doit de ce blasmer*, but Le Rousselet, author of *Malheureulx cueur*, may be the J. Rousselet who is identified as an *avocat* of the *Cour du*

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[81]Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 34.

[82]The chansonnier Wolf probably dates from c. 1467 (although it has been dated as early as 1461-65); see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 51. Dij was copied c. 1470 (Ibid., 13). The unique music source of *Quant je fus prins*, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS Vokalmusik I Handskrift 76a (hereafter Uppsala76a), dates from c. 1500, and is therefore too late a witness to help with establishing a date of composition for the chanson, but the text of *Quant je fus prins* is also preserved in the text-only chansonnier Rohan, which, as has been discussed in Chapter 1, dates from c. 1470 or possibly slightly earlier.

[83]All discussion here of the dates of Busnoys' songs is based upon the approximate chronology provided in Fallows, "'Trained and immersed," 44-46.

[84]Fallows, "Ockeghem as a Song Composer," 310.

Trésor at Paris in 1477.[85] Another mention of a "J. Rousselet," possibly referring to the same person, identifies him as an *homme d'armes* for Louis d'Orléans (the future Louis XII) in 1485.[86] This possible connection to the house of Orléans is reinforced by the presence of three poems associated with the literary activity of Duke Charles and his household at Blois. Two of the poems were written by the duke himself: the first, *Je ne prise point tels baisiers*, as mentioned above, dates from his years as a prisoner in England; the second, *Quant je fus prins au pavillon*, also mentioned above, appears among Charles' rondeaux in his autograph poetry manuscript just after a poetic exchange between the duke and his son-in-law, Jean II d'Alençon, an exchange which Champion believes must have taken place before 1451.[87] *Quant je fus prins* was therefore probably written in the very late 1440s or possibly in 1450. The third poem with a connection to the court at Blois is the anonymous rondeau quatrain *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine*, which appears uniquely in P1719. Its incipit is taken from the refrain of the anonymous ballade *Du tout me metz en vostre obeissance*, which was widely disseminated in manuscripts from the late fourteenth century through the early sixteenth century.[88] Charles d'Orléans used the refrain as the initial line of his first ballade on the theme "Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine," exploiting the borrowed refrain's antithesis to fashion a vivid picture of Fortune's opposite effects on the speaker's life (see

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[85]David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982; Reprint, Vintage Master Musicians. New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1988), 249, citing Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, *Les Origines et le premier siècle de la Cour du Trésor*, Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, 266 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1936), 222.

[86]Fallows, *Dufay*, 249, citing Raynaud, *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle*, xxiii-xxiv.

[87]Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 2:303-304, (Rondeau XXIII, following the numbering assigned by Champion); the poetic exchange between Duke Charles and his son-in-law is discussed by Champion in ibid., 609.

[88]Found in Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.b.IX.10, folios 7^{v}-8^{r}; Cambridge, Trinity Hall Library, MS 12, folio 74^{r}; London, Westminster Abbey, MS 21, folio 27^{v}; and Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 19182, folio 132^{r}. The ballade also appears in three early prints: *Le Jardin*, folio 107^{v} and 112^{v}; *Le joyeux devis recreatif de l'esprit trouble*, folios Bvii^{v}-C; and *Thresor des joyeuses inventions*, folios BIII-BIII^{v}.

Example 2.4). Somewhat later, in Ballade CXX, Charles writes a kind of repudiation of the first ballade and then writes five more ballades upon the same topic, apparently inspired initially by the restoration in 1457 of a well on his property.[89] Several familiars and

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Example 2.4: Charles d'Orléans, *Je meurs de soif en couste la fontaine*[90]

Je meurs de soif en couste la fontaine;
Tremblant de froit ou feu des amoureux;
Aveugle suis, et si les autres maine;
Povre de sens, entre saichans l'un d'eulx;
Trop negligent, en vain souvent songneux;
C'est de mon fait une chose faiee,
En bien et mal par Fortune menee.

Je gaingne temps, et pers mainte sepmaine;
Je joue et ris, quant me sens douloreux;
Desplaisance j'ay d'esperance plaine;
J'atens bon eur en regret engoisseux;
Rien ne me plaist, et si suis desireux;
Je m'esjoïs, et cource a ma pensee,
En bien et mal par Fortune menee.

Je parle trop, et me tais a grant paine;
Je m'esbays, et si suis couraigeux;
Tristesse tient mon confort en demaine;
Faillir ne puis, au mains a l'un des deulx;
Bonne chiere je faiz quant je me deulx;
Maladie m'est en santé donnee,
En bien et mal par Fortune menee.

Prince, je dy que mon fait maleureux
Et mon prouffit aussi avantageux,
Sur ung hasart j'asserray quelque annee,
En bien et mal par Fortune menee.

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[89]Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:182-83; Pierre Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465)*. 2d ed. (Paris: Honoré Champion, Éditeur, 1969), 654.

[90]This is Ballade C following Champion's numbering of the ballades in Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:156-57, and the edition here follows Champion's.

members of the duke's household also contributed a poem each on the same theme: Berthault de Villebresme, in Charles' employ from at least 1456, Gilles des Ourmes, *écuyer trenchant* to the duke from 1455, Simmonet Caillau, and Jean Caillau, Charles' physician and good friend.[91] A few visitors to the court at Blois also participated in the debate: François Villon entered three poems in Charles' personal poetry album, one of which (Ballade CXXIIIe) took up the theme of *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine*; and in a curious "collaboration," the courtier and poet Montbeton wrote the opening stanza of what is now Ballade CXXIIIh, while Jean Robertet, secretary to the duke of Bourbon, Jean II, completed the poem by adding two stanzas and an envoy.[92] In total, the duke's autograph manuscript preserves thirteen ballades (but no rondeaux or virelais) on the refrain, with all but Charles' first ballade dating from 1458 to 1460.[93] The two later ballades most closely related to the original by Charles are those by J. Caillau and des Ourmes; each borrows Charles' second line of verse for the second line of his own poem (see Example 2.5) and continues the list of contradictory descriptions so skillfully extended by the duke. The ballade by des Ourmes is a response to Caillau's, however, picking up on Caillau's refrain and several of his oppositions. The rondeau *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine*, which appears on folio 89 of P1719 (Fery-Hue no. 279), also borrows the second line of Charles' original poem and takes its "b"

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[91]The ballade by de Villebresme appears in the duke's autograph manuscript as Ballade CXXIIIj (Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:199-200); biographical information on him, ibid., 2:611 and in Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 598. The poem by des Ourmes appears as Ballade CXXIIIl (Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:202). For more biographical information on des Ourmes, who remained in the service of the house of Orléans after the duke's death, see Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 600-601 and Inglis, *Le manuscrit 15771*, 34-35. Simmonet Caillau was *écuyer* to Duke Charles (Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 606-607); he contributed Ballade CXXIIIm to the poetic debate (Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:203). Jean Caillau, whose ballade appears in the duke's autograph manuscript as Ballade CXXIIIk (Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:200-201), will be discussed in greater detail further in this section.

[92]The Villon poem appears in Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:194-95; the Montbeton/Robertet collaboration is provided in ibid., 197-98.

[93]Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 652-54.

Example 2.5: *Je meurs de soif auprés de la fontaine*
Editions from Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 200-201, and 202, respectively.

J. Caillau

Je meurs de soif auprés de la fontaine;
Tramblant de froit ou feu des amoureux;
Je suis tout sein en langueur et en paine;
Et suis asseur, ou tout est dangereux;
Tout mal, tout grief, m'est doulx et savoureux;
Plain de tourment, mene joyeuse vie,
Et ce qui plaist a tous ne me plaist mie;
En povreté, je suis très richement;
En angoisse, j'ay plaisance assovye;
Or jugez donc se je vis plaisamment?

Je suis joyeux sans plaisance mondaine;
Ou chascun rit, pensif et douloreux;
Sans nul travail, si suis je hors d'alaine;
Pres de tout bien, suis le treslangoruex;
Ce qui me plaist est aspre et rigoreux;
J'ayme ester seul, et si vueil compagnie;
Je dors, assez, et suis en frenesie;
En desespoir j'ay grant allegement;
Ce qui est doulx, m'est plus amer que suye;
Or jugez donc se je viz plaisamment?

Je suis seigneur sans terre et sans demaine;
Tant plus ay biens, et plus suis maleueux:
Je meurs de faim, et ay ma grange plaine;
Ou tout est seur, si suis je trespeureux;

Gilles des Ourmes

Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine;
Tremblant de froit ou feu des amoureux;
Je suis foieux s'aucun mal me demaine;
Plaintz et souspirs sont mes riz et mes jeux;
Je n'ay santé, sinon quant je me deulx;
Beau temps me plaist, et desire la pluye;
Qui bien me fait, je le tien mon hayneux;
Or regardez et jugiez s'il m'ennuye!

Je n'ay repos qu'en doleur et en paine;
J'ayme travail, et si suis paresceux;
Ung mois ne m'est au'a ung autre sepmaine,
Et m'est advis que le jour dure deux;
Se j'ay nul bien, je m'en tien maleureux;
Quant j'ayme aucun, force est que je le fuye;
Qui m'est courtois, je luy suis rigoreux;
Or regardez et jugiez s'il m'ennuye!

J'ay mille maulx, et ma personne est saine;
Plaisirs mondains me sont malencontreux;
Quant je suis seul, lors ung chascun m'ataine;
Rien n'ay asseur, si je n'en suis doubteux;
Gens bien en point me semblent soufreteux;
En plain midy j'ay la veue esbluye;
Je n'ayme rien, et si suis convoiteux;
Or regardez, et jugiez s'il m'ennuye!

J. Caillau (cont'd)

Des plus vaillans et moins chevalereux;
Qui mal me fait, je lui rens courtoysie;
S'il fait beau temps, je demande la pluye;
Se je meurs tout, si vis je longuement;
En grant repos, plain de forsenerie;
Or jugez donc si je viz plaisamment?

Prince, mon fait est droicte faerie,
Je hay travail, et le repos m'ennuye;
Maintenant d'ung et tantost autrement;
J'ay tous les jeux, et quicte la partie;
Or jugez donc si je vis plaisamment?

Gilles des Ourmes (cont'd)

Sans mot sonner, je dy mon cas piteux;
Je n'ay regret qu'en ce que je ne veulx;
Ce qui est doulx m'est plus amer que suye;
Quant gens n'ont rien, je vueil mordre sur eulx;
Or regardez, et jugiez s'il m'ennuye!

rhymes from the Caillau ballade, even going so far as to borrow six more of its ending rhymes out of a possible eight (not including the opening two lines or the *rentrement*) (see Example 2.6). Although the rondeau is transmitted anonymously in P1719, its theme of love as a sickness requiring the medicine of human love as its cure would be a particularly apt metaphor for a poem written by a physician such as Jean Caillau.[94] Even if he is not its author, the rondeau was almost certainly written by someone close to Duke Charles, since of the handful of themes debated at his court, that of *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine* is one of only a few that apparently did not circulate beyond the relatively small assembly at Blois.[95] Of the poetic themes that were cultivated at Blois, most generated just a handful of rondeaux on any given topic. For example, the theme of the ills of love (les maux d'amour)

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[94]Jean Caillau, maître ès-arts, physician, friend and counselor to Charles d'Orléans, was in the duke's employ from 1442 until Charles' death in 1465. After that, he continued to serve Charles' wife, Marie de Clèves, until at least 22 September 1472, when he is documented as having received 40 écus for having treated a Monseigneur de Mornac, who was staying with Marie and her children. The document recording this identifies Caillau as Dean of the church of Saint-Aignan and canon of the church of Sainte-Croix, both in Orléans. (Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 604-605, citing Paris, Bibl. Nat., Pièces originales 570, Cailleau, no. 14). Prior to that, Caillau held a benefice as a canon at Saint-Martin in Tours (Ibid., no. 10), and during that time he lived in Orléans, working for the duke in more of a consulting capacity (from 1457 onwards), traveling to Blois occasionally when he was summoned, especially during Marie de Clèves' pregnancies in 1457 and 1460 (Ibid., nos. 11 and 12). As a canon at Saint-Martin of Tours, he may have met Ockeghem and Busnoys, and he is known to have exchanged verse with the poet Vaillant "de Tours" around 1450 (Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 606). It is also likely that, as Dean of Saint-Aignan and a canon of Sainte-Croix in Orléans, he knew the theorist and composer Johannes Tinctoris, who was master of the choirboys at Sainte-Croix in the 1460s. In connection with this, it is worth noting that three out of the first four songs of the Mellon Chansonnier also occur in this text section of P1719 (see Table 2.4): *Bel Acueil le sergent d'Amours* (Busnoys); *En soustenant vostre querelle* (Busnoys); and *S'elle m'amera je ne scay* (Ockeghem), and that Barbingant's *L'omme banny de sa plaisance* also occurs in both collections (Mel, folios 30^{v}-31^{r}). It is generally accepted that Tinctoris had a hand in the compilation of Mel; see Leeman Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 17-20.

[95]The reason for this may be simple chronology—the group of ballades on the topic *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine* was written from 1458 to 1460, and are the last ballades to be entered into Charles' personal poetry manuscript. At the end of 1461, the duke apparently stopped writing poetry, according to the evidence of his autograph manuscript, which preserves only a handful of rondeaux by Charles and a few members of his household written after 1458. The last rondeaux to be included in the duke's manuscript by someone other than a member of the court of Blois constitute a group of poems by the Breton poet Meschinot, who seems to have met Charles in 1458 while in the retinue of Arthur, Connétable de Richemont. For information on contact between the duke and the poet, see Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 2:623-24.

Example 2.6: *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine*

Editions from Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 200-201, and Schwob, 96 (no. XL), respectively.

J. Caillau

Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine;
Tramblant de froit ou feu des amoureux;
Je suis tout sein en langueur et en paine;
Et suis asseur, ou tout est dangereux;
5 Tout mal, tout grief, m'est doulx et savoureux;
Plain de tourment, mene joyeuse vie,
Et ce qui plaist a tous ne me plaist mie;
En povreté, je suis très richement;
En angoisse, j'ay plaisance assovye;
10 Or jugez donc se je vis plaisamment?

Je suis joyeux sans plaisance mondaine;
Ou chascun rit, pensif et douloreux;
Sans nul travail, si suis je hors d'alaine;
Pres de tout bien, suis le treslangoruex;
15 Ce qui me plaist est aspre et rigoreux;
J'ayme ester seul, et si vueil compagnie;
Je dors, assez, et suis en frenesie;
En desespoit j'ay grant allegement;
Ce qui est doulx, m'est plus amer que suye;
20 Or jugez donc se je viz plaisamment?

Je suis seigneur sans terre et sans demaine;
Tant plus ay biens, et plus suis maleueux:
Je meurs de faim, et ay ma grange plaine;
Ou tout est seur, si suis je trespeureux;
25 Des plus vaillans et moins chevalereux;
Qui mal me fait, je lui rens courtoysie;
S'il fait beau temps, je demande la pluye;
Se je meurs tout, si vis je longuement;
En grant repos, plain de forsenerie;
30 Or jugez donc si je viz plaisamment?

Prince, mon fait est droicte faerie,
Je hay travail, et le repos m'ennuye;
Maintenant d'ung et tantost autrement;
J'ay tous les jeux, et quicte la partie;
35 Or jugez donc si je vis plaisamment?

Anonymous Rondeau

Je meurs de soif aupres de la fontaine,
Tremblant de froit au feu des amoureux
Et soeuffre fain prez morceaulx savoureux
Dont chacun jour voy l'escuelle plaine.

5 Ma fievre croist de sepmaine en sepmaine,
En me faisant du mal tres dangereux,
Je meurs de soif [aupres de la fontaine.]

C'est grant pitié: la medicine humaine,
Qui peult garir mon mal tant rigoureux,
10 Fault au besoing: dont je suis douloureux,
En languissant en sy tres dure paine.
Je meurs de soif [aupres de la fontaine,]
Tremblant de froit [au feu des amoureux.]

* * * * *

and their cure inspired four rondeaux which were copied into the duke's personal album: *Pour bref tels maulx d'Amours guerir* by Simonnet Caillau, which appears to be a response to the poem by Fredet immediately preceding it; *Pour bref du mal d'amer guerir* by Jehan, Monseigneur de Lorraine; Charles' contribution, *Les malades cueurs amoureux*; and Rondeau CXIX, entitled *Recepte*.[96] This last enjoyed a fairly wide diffusion, being copied twice into P1719 (folios 75^{r} and 120^{v}) and Carpentras, Bibl. Mun., MS 375 (folios 55^{r} and 64^{r}), and once in each of the manuscript copies of the duke's personal album (Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 1104, folio 92^{v} and London, Brit. Lib. MS Harley 6916, folio 181^{v}), and in the manuscripts P7559 (folio 68^{r}) and Rohan (folio 202^{v}). The rondeau also appears in P15771, (folio XXXIV^{r}), where it is entitled *Recepte de la Raine*.[97] Inglis offers two possible identifications for "la Raine:" Marie d'Anjou, Queen of France; or Jeanne de Laval, third wife of René d'Anjou. Inglis seems to prefer the latter, since the poem accompanies that of René's son, Jehan de Lorraine, in Duke Charles' album. Inglis also mentions a third possibility: that "Recepte de la Raine" is actually a scribal garbling of "Recepte de Lorraine" and that the poem was a second, and even more successful, dilation upon the theme of "les maux amoureux" by the heir to the House of Anjou.[98] In any case, the *Recepte* clearly enjoyed considerable popularity beyond the immediate circle of Blois.

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[96]The poem by Caillau is included in Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 2:356-57, Rondeau CXVI. Fredet, *Le truchement de ma pensée*; ibid., 356, Rondeau CXV; Jehan, Monseigneur de Lorraine, ibid., 357, Rondeau CXVII; Charles d'Orléans, ibid., 358, Rondeau CXVIII; *Recepte, Pour tous voz maulx d'amours guerir*; ibid., 358-59.

[97]Inglis, *Le manuscrit 15771*, 137.

[98]Ibid., 206.

Another theme of poetic debate at Blois, *En la forest de Longue Attente*, first proposed by Charles in a ballade, was taken up in rondeau form by eight of his friends and household members: Rondeau CXXXI by Messire Philippe Pot; Rondeau CXXXII by Anthoyne de Lussay; Rondeau CXXXIII by Guiot Pot; Rondeau CXXXIV by Gilles [des Ourmes]; Rondeau CXXXVIII by Jacques, Bastart de la Tremoïlle; Rondeau CCXXVI by Madame d'Orléans; Rondeau CCXXVII by Fredet; and a rondeau by Thignonville, in Carpentras 375, folio 56^{v}.[99] Charles as well contributed two further poems to the debate—Rondeaux CCXXV and CCXXVIII.[100] In addition to these ten Orléannais poems, four more rondeaux on the theme *En la forest de Longue Attente* survive, which were not produced at the court in Blois and are not associated with the duke. Two of these are found in the Blosseville manuscript P15771: a rondeau by Jeucourt on folio XIV verso and another by Blosseville on folio XVIII recto.[101] The Rohan Chansonnier contains an anonymous rondeau on folios 187^{v}-188^{r}, and a final rondeau, also anonymous, occurs on folio 98^{v} of P1719.[102] It is clear from the manuscript distribution of these poems that although the theme *En la forest de Longue Attente* originated with Charles d'Orléans and his associates, it was not limited to the circle at Blois, but taken up by members of the French royal court and preserved in an array of fifteenth-century sources.[103] Such is not the case for the group of poems based on

[99]Charles' contribution is Ballade CV, Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:165-66; Philippe Pot, ibid., 2:365; de Lussay, ibid., 365-66; Guiot Pot, ibid., 366; Gilles, ibid., 367; Jacques, ibid., 369; Madame d'Orléans, ibid., 419-20; Fredet, ibid., 420; Thignonville, ibid., 582.

[100]Ibid., 419 and 421, respectively.

[101]Inglis, *Le manuscrit 15771*, 98 and 105.

[102]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 90 (no. 309).

[103]Additional sources preserving various of the above-mentioned rondeaux on *En la forest de Longue Attente* are P9223 (with six) and the Vérard print *Le Jardin* (with three).

the incipit *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine*, although this is no doubt partly because at least two of the manuscripts that include works by the cenacle at Blois were compiled before 1457, the date at which the earliest activity on the topic *Je meurs de soif* would have taken place. P15771 was probably completed by 1456, as was the first section of P9223.[104] Even so, no poem with the incipit *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine* beyond the rondeaux discussed above appears in any collection of the fifteenth century not connected with the court at Blois, including the much later P1719 and *Le Jardin*. The point to be made is that the inclusion of such a geographically specific rondeau as *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine* among the other chanson texts of this section of P1719 suggests that this part of the manuscript conveys evidence of musical activity at Blois or at least the area of Orléans.

Admittedly, there are few attributions provided by other sources of poems to poets and composers in this section of P1719, but from the few that we do have, it would seem that several of the texts and songs were created from about 1455 to about 1461. These would include the Du Fay setting of the Le Rousselet poem, the anonymous setting of the Orvilier poem (written after 1453 and before 1458), the music for the Charles d'Orléans rondeau and the anonymous *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine*. Also included could be Ockeghem's *S'elle m'amera je ne scay*, since its earliest musical source is Niv, copied c. 1465, and it is found also in the section of four-voice chansons copied into Dij, next to his *Mort tu as navré de ton dart*, dated 1460. Four other songs could have easily been written before 1465, the year of Duke Charles' death: *Pour le mal qu'on vous fait porter*; *Par Dieu ma dame c'est a tort*; Busnoys' *Quant vous me ferez plus de bien*; and Boubert's *L'omme enragé hors du sens forcené*, since all are included in Niv. There is some justification, then,

[104]Inglis, *Le manuscrit 15771*, 17, 63-64. The second section of P9223, a witness to poetic activity at the court of Brittany, was copied about 1458 (Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 34).

for considering Collection "E" of P1719 to be a snapshot of musical activity around the years 1458 to 1461 and that it is connected to the areas of Blois and Orléans. If Busnoys was indeed at the court of Brittany in 1458, then perhaps this section of P1719 transmits one of his chansons from that time. A logical candidate for such a setting might be *Quant vous me ferez plus de bien*, since it is preserved in Niv, the earliest source of Busnoys' songs. There is nothing intrinsic to the poem or its setting however, that would link it to the court of Brittany. In addition, none of the text authors or composers of the chansons in this section of P1719 can be linked specifically to the court at Brittany, however, so the music collection that Scribe XVI used as his exemplar probably was itself not from that court. The presence of only one song by Ockeghem is unusual for a source assumed to have originated within French court circles, so perhaps this collection is instead testimony to musical activity at a center somewhat removed from the main activity of the royal court, such as the court at Blois. This raises the question of Busnoys' whereabouts around 1460, although it is not to suggest that he must have worked for Charles d'Orléans. The music-loving duke could have easily acquired the latest music through his contacts with the highest-ranking aristocrats in the realm, and his own musicians could have procured music for use at the court on trips such as the one made in 1464 by the chapel member Billart, who bought four pairs of spectacles for the aged duke.[105] At this point in time, there is absolutely no documentary evidence that Busnoys ever even had contact with the duke, much less worked for him in any capacity.

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[105]Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 565 and Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364-1419: A Documentary History*. Musicological Studies 28 (Henryville/Ottawa/Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979), 109, n. 145, citing Léon de Laborde, *Preuves* [La Chambre des Comptes de Blois], second part, vol. 3 of *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Études sur les letters, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle* (Paris: Plon frères, 1849-1852), 397. The Pierre Billart listed in these documents is not the same man as the composer of the composition showing *Ars subtilior* traits in Ox 213; his name is Aubert Billart. Perhaps he was a relative, however. See Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 301-302 and Anne Stone, "The Ars subtilior in Paris," *Musica e storia* 10 (2002), 373-404.

The decision to consider no. 306 as the last song text of Collection "E" is necessarily somewhat arbitrary, since there is nothing about the physical structure of the manuscript or the appearance of the entries on the page to indicate where Scribe XVI's exemplar ended for this section, only where it began. Still, there are some subtle clues within the transmission patterns of the poems themselves at this point that speak to a change of repertory, and there is also a bit of indirect evidence to mark the beginning of a new exemplar. When combined, the first letters of poems no. 307 through no. 315 form the acrostic A-L-E-S-J F-V-M-A (Alexi Fuma), a name which, while possibly produced coincidentally through an inadvertent and fortuitous arrangement of the poems as they were entered, is more likely to be an intentional reference to the owner of Scribe XVI's exemplar. Acrostics created between songs in chansonniers are not unknown,[106] and when they occur, it is almost always at the beginning of a collection, as a stamp of ownership or dedication.[107]

Collection "G"

The third and final group of poems that apparently was entered into P1719 as a discrete collection of song texts (Collection "G") occupies folios 108^{r} to 118^{v} and involves

[106]Two examples of this are the monophonic chansonnier Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 9346, "Chansonnier de Bayeux," (hereafter P9346), in which the initials of the first seventeen songs spell out the name "Charles de Bourbon," (see Douglas Jay Rahn, "Melodic and Textual Types in French Popular Songs, ca. 1500" [Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1978], 64), and Wolf, where the name "Estiene Petit" is spelled in an acrostic of the chansonnier's first twelve songs. (See Fallows, "'Trained and immersed'," 41-42.)

[107]I am unfamiliar with the name Alexi Fuma and was unable to find documentation of such a person in the fifteenth century. There is preserved, however, at Blickling Hall in Aylsham, Norfolk, a manuscript written in France in the late fifteenth century of the *Flosculus ex prato* and other works, that contains an inscription of ownership on folio 189^{r} as follows: "A […] lucas fumee chanoine de tours prieur de sainct martin lez bourges." Another apparent mark of ownership on folio 193^{r} (16th century) reads: "Ludovicus fumee Iunior. Ex domino (?) Tho. Ruze." See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-1983), 2:134. The section of P1719 in which the possible acrostic "Alexi Fuma" occurs contains no other song texts beginning with an "E." Is it possible that an "A" was substituted because no song was available that began with the requisite "E," (along the lines of the substitution of "S" for "X" and "V" for "U")?

thirty-three titles (see Table 2.5). Extant musical settings survive for fifteen of the texts. One rondeau is preserved in Rohan and therefore presumably had a setting at one time, and another four poems may possibly match up with existing music.[108] Fifteen musical settings out of a possible thirty-three is a fairly high percentage (forty-five percent), but one problem with this group of texts and their settings is that they are not homogeneous. David Fallows has demonstrated that the five chansons by Antoine Busnoys must all have been composed before he left central France to work for the court of Burgundy in 1467.[109] The piece *C'est vous seulle que chacun doit amer* by Johannes Fresneau was most likely written before 1475 (and possibly much earlier). Since *Pour tous mes plaisirs desconfire* is preserved in Rohan, it must have been written by 1470, and any poem with a setting in the Dij songbook can also be considered to have been written before 1470.[110] From Collection "G," this would include *Ravy d'amours despourveu de bon sens*, *Pensez de faire garnison* and *Pour accomplir le vouloir de mon cueur*. Significantly, the text of *Povre cueur, de tous poins esperdu* is preserved in the poetry manuscript P7559 (folio 56^{r}) surrounded by poems from the 1460s: *Ravy d'amours* (folio 55^{r}); *Pour accomplir le vouloir de mon cueur* (folio 55^{v}); and *Qu'en dictes vous, ferez vous rien* (folio 57^{r}), and so *Povre cueur* probably also dates from the 1460s. Since the chansonnier F176 dates from 1480 or slightly earlier, *Qu'en a affaire*

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[108]*Pour tous mes plaisirs desconfire*, Rohan folio 68^{r}, Löpelmann, 86 (no. 73). *Dictes le moy qui m'a donné le bont* may be the poem for the "B" setting of the music which is attributed in several manuscripts to Alexander Agricola and which appears with the incipit *Dictes le moy* in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q16, folios 24^{v}-25^{r} (See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 132-33); the poem *Jay un regret qui tous les autres passe* may be the text of *J'ay ung regret* which occurs anonymously on folio 14^{v} of the music collection Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS Ris. mus. I.27 (Ibid., 199); the remaining two poems, *Le cueur la suyt et mon oeil la regrecte* and *Tous les regretz qui les cueurs tourmentez*, will be discussed later in this chapter.

[109]Fallows, "'Trained and immersed'," 23-24.

[110]Martin Löpelmann, ed., *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan (XV. Jahrh.) nach der Berliner Hs. Hamilton 674*, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 44 (Göttingen: Gedruckt für die Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1923), ix.

TABLE 2.5: Collection "G": Song Text Grouping No. 3 in P1719

Folio	F-H No.	Chanson Incipit[111]	Musical Setting[112]	Composer	Text Author[113]
108r	342	*Pour tous mes plaisirs desconfire*	None; text concordance Rohan 68r		Anon.
108v	343	***Ravy d'amours despourveu de bons sens***	Dij 129v-130; Per1013 107v-108; Wolf 53v-54r	Anon.	Anon.
108v-109r	344	***Pensez de faire garnison***	Dij 103v-104 (Uppsala 76a 36v-37)	Anon.; (Anon.)	Anon.
109r	345	***J'ay mains de bien que s'il n'en estoit point***	Seven sources, including Dij 150v-152	Busnoys	Anon.
109r-109v	346	*La et ailleurs fait il bon assayer*	None; text unique to P1719		Anon.
109v-110r	347	*Femme de bien*	None; several text concordances		Anon.
110r	348	*Elle scet bien que j'ay dueil*	None; text unique to P1719		Anon.
110r-110v	349	*Au gré du cueur*	None; several text concordances		Anon.
110v	350	***Tous noble cuers qui mes regretz voyés***	P1596 6v-7	Anon.	Saint-Gelais
111r	351	***La cueur la suyt et mon oeil la regrecte***	?FC2439 84v-85 ?Cop1848 p. 437	Verbonnet	Saint-Gelais
111r-111v	352	***Tous les regretz***	?CantiC 163v-165	Anon.	Saint-Gelais
111v	353	*Mon mignon, mon gentil varlet*	None; text unique to P1719		Anon.
111v-112r	354	*Femme de bien*	None; text unique to P1719		Anon.
112r-112v	355	*Jusques au bout j'ai mise mon entente*	None; text unique to P1719		Anon.

[111]Spellings for texts without musical settings follow those given in Fery-Hue, *Au gré d'amours…*; texts with musical settings follow the spellings as they appear in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*. Boldface indicates an extant musical setting for the poem.

[112]As listed in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*.

[113]There are no author attributions in P1719. All author attributions have been derived from concordant sources.

112^{v}	356	***Pour accomplir le vouloir de mon cueur***	Dij 63^{v}-64	Anon.	Anon.
113^{r}	357	***En voyant sa dame au matin***	BQ16 124^{v}-125; Dij 71^{v}-72; Lab 2 83^{v}-84	Busnoys	Anon.
113^{r}-113^{v}	358	***A une dame j'ay fait veu***	Six sources, including Dij 64^{v}-66	Busnoys	Anon.
113^{v}	359	***M'a vostre cueur mis en oubli***	Eight sources, including Dij 98^{v}-100	Busnoys	Anon.
113^{v}-114^{r}	360	***Qu'en a affaire Mallebouche***	F176 79^{v}-81	Anon.	Anon.
114^{r}-114^{v}	361	*Povre cueur, de tous poins esperdu*	None; text concordance P7559 56^{r}		Anon.
114^{v}	362	*A Louvyés, quant je fus couché*	None; text unique to P1719		Anon.
114^{v}-115^{r}	363	***Dictes le moy; qui m'a donné le bont***	**?The 'B' setting of *Dictes moy toutes vos pensées***: Seven sources	Agricola	Anon.
115^{r}	364	***J'ay ung regret qui tous les autres passe***	?*J'ay ung regret* in TurinI.27 14^{v}	Anon.	Anon.
115^{v}	365	*Puis que plus ne suis amé de .M.*	None; text concordance P7559 41^{r}		Anon.
115^{v}	366	*Le dyable m'en port se j'en mens*	None; text concordance P1722 39^{v}		Anon.
116^{r}	367	*J'avoye du bien, mais on le m'a tollu*	None; text unique to P1719		Anon.
116^{r}-116^{v}	368	***Je ne me puis voir a mon aise***	Cop1848 p. 47; F176 116^{v}-118; Lab 3 102^{v}-103	Anon.	Anon.
116^{v}	369	***En attendant de vous secours***	Eight sources	Compère	Anon.
117^{r}	370	***Chanter ne puis [chieux la mynonne]***	CantiB 49^{v}-50; Egenolff no. 19; HeilbronnX/2 no. 20	Compère	Anon.
117^{r}-117^{v}	371	***Se vous voulez que je vous face***	Cop1848 p. 147; F229 256^{v}-257	Anon.	Anon.
117^{v}	372	*Tous les regretz sont en moy*	None; text unique to P1719		Anon.
118^{r}	373	***C'est vous seulle que chacun doit amer***	FR2794 31^{v}-32	Fresneau	Anon.
118^{r}-118^{v}	374	***Le monde est tel pour le present***	RCas 41^{v}-42	Busnoys	Anon.

Mallebouche and *Je ne me puis voir a mon aise* must also pre-date 1480.[114] Altogether then, the datable texts and music of this section of P1719 suggest a repertory from the generation of the 1460s and possibly early 1470s. Certainly not belonging within this time frame, however, are three rondeaux written by Octovien de Saint-Gelais in 1493 as part of his *La nuict après que la claire bussine*, also known as *Complainte sur le départ de Marguerite*.[115] It may seem odd that a collection beginning with poems dating from the 1460s and 70s would suddenly transmit a small group of much later poems (from the early 1490s) and then revert to poems from the 1460s, since it is much more common for a manuscript to transmit its most recent material either at its beginning or at its very end.[116] The situation found in P1719 is not unique, however. The poetry manuscript P7559 also preserves the three Saint-Gelais rondeaux together in the same order, part way into the manuscript (on folios 20^{r}, 20^{v} and 21^{r}).[117] They are preceded by somewhat older poems (including five polyphonic song

[114]*Qu'en a affaire Mallebouche* is preserved on folios 79^{v}-81^{r}; *Je ne me puis voir a mon aise* occurs on folios 116^{v}-118^{r}.

[115]Appearing on folios 110^{v} to 111^{v}. See footnote 35 for bibliography on this subject.

[116]Both sections of the Rohan chansonnier end with more recent material having been added, in both cases by a later hand. Kathleen Chesney notes the tendency of poetry manuscript compilers to put their most up-to-date material at the head of their collections, as in the British Library manuscript Sloane 2553; see Chesney, "Two Collections of Early Sixteenth-Century French Rondeaux (British Museum, MS. Sloane 2553)," *Medium Ævum* 40 (1971), 157-71, esp. 162.

[117]P7559 is a small, paper manuscript containing 146 poems of the fifteenth century, twenty of which have extant musical settings. It contains no attributions and no decoration. Possibly dating from around 1500, it includes poems from the 1450s (e.g., *Malheureulx cueur que veulx tu faire* and *C'est par vous que tant je souspire*) through the three Saint-Gelais *Complainte* rondeaux of 1493. An edition of the manuscript has been published by E. M. B[ancel] as *Cent quarante cinq rondeaux d'amours, publiés d'après un manuscrit autographe de la fin du XVe siècle* (Paris: A. Lemerre and P. Rouquette, 1875). Unfortunately, it is not complete, and the poems as published do not reflect their actual ordering in the manuscript, Bancel having rearranged them. A complete alphabetical listing of the poems is provided in Marcel Françon, *Albums poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche* (Cambridge, MA and Paris: Harvard University Press and E. Droz, 1934), 277-84. Further details about P7559 are given in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 33-34.

texts),[118] and followed by much older poems, including a few with polyphonic settings dating from the 1450s. But it is also possible that Scribe XVI copied P1719's folios 110^{v}-118^{v} from a music collection containing twenty-five chansons in which the Saint-Gelais texts and their settings occupied "pride of place" at the beginning of the chansonnier, followed by earlier repertory.[119] One tiny piece of evidence further supports the theory that these texts were copied from a music manuscript: the incipit of the poem *Chanter ne puis* (no. 370) is missing its "C" in P1719.[120] Presumably, Scribe XVI would have copied the initial of the refrain had it been present in his exemplar, but if it were missing in his model, he would not have necessarily realized it if he were copying quickly or mechanically, since the French word "hanter" (which means "to associate with" or "to haunt") would not destroy the logic of the poem. And it is not uncommon at all for musical chansonniers to be missing the first letter of a cantus incipit; the Dij songbook, for instance, is lacking its discantus refrain initials from the Molinet rondeau *Tart ara mon cueur sa plaisance* (folios 82^{v}-84, new folios 85^{v}-87) to the end of the manuscript.[121]

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[118]They are *Venez, Regretz, sourdez en habondance* (anonymous, folio 6^{v}), *Au hault de la roe de Fortune* (Verjeust, folio 7^{r}), *A l'eure que premier vous vis* (Bouvel, folio 7^{v}), *Mon loyal cueur a entrepris parti* (anonymous, folio 14^{r}) and *Hors de propos, de raison séparé* (anonymous, folio 14^{v}).

[119]Of the three Saint-Gelais texts, possible musical settings for *Le cueur la suyt et mon oeil la regrecte* and *Tous les regretz qui les cueurs tourmentez* are not included in David Fallows' catalogue. One reason for this is that the music presumed to be that written for the texts appears in no source earlier than 1504 (and so falls considerably later than the stated outside limit of the catalogue); also, it cannot be determined with certainty that the music (especially for *Tous les regretz*) was intended for the specific texts in question. Martin Picker (in "More 'Regret' Chansons for Marguerite d'Autriche," *Le Moyen français* 5 [1979], 81-101) argues persuasively that the chanson *Le cueur la suyt* by Johannes Ghiselin dit Verbonnet and the anonymous *Tous les regretz* found in the Petrucci print *Canti C* could have been, in fact, written for Marguerite d'Autriche before her departure from the French royal court.

[120]Apparently first noticed in Helen Hewitt, ed., *Ottaviano Petrucci: Canti B numero cinquanta, Venice, 1502*, with an introduction by Edward E. Lowinsky, texts edited and annotated by Morton W. Briggs, translated by Norman B. Spector, Monuments of Renaissance Music 2 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 80. The left-hand margin of the page carries an "h" as a guide letter next to the poem.

[121]Plamenac, *Dijon, Bibliothèque publique, manuscrit 517*.

As to the provenance of Collection "G," it might seem obvious at first that this is repertory from the French royal court. After all, Verbonnet, Agricola and Compère all worked for the Crown at some point during their careers. The relatively large number of texts set by Busnoys, however (five, which is the largest number of Busnoys chansons within any collection of P1719) should make one cautious about immediately assigning the texts of Collection "G" to the members of Louis XI's chapel, since Busnoys is not known to have ever been employed by the king. One could also reasonably expect any collection of texts involving repertory by members of the royal chapel to include something by its most illustrious member, Johannes Ockeghem, which Collection "G" does not. Furthermore, the two texts set by Compère would appear to be from early in his career (the 1450s to early 1460s), before he became known to the king. If the three texts and their settings by Saint-Gelais are held out of the mix, the case for direct royal court influence weakens considerably. It begins to look instead as if this repertory belongs to a center of musical activity not directly answerable to the king, perhaps a satellite court or establishment located in Tours, Poitiers or Angoulême. Tours immediately comes to mind because it is known that Busnoys worked in that city for several years prior to leaving for the Burgundian court. Angoulême or its environs is a possibility because it was the primary residence for several members of the royal family. Jean, comte d'Angoulême (brother of the poet Charles d'Orléans) and his wife Marguerite de Rohan lived there until their deaths in 1467 and 1495, respectively.[122] After 1488, Angoulême and then nearby Cognac became important centers for the court of Charles d'Angoulême (Jean's son and nephew of the poet Charles d'Orléans) and his wife, Louise de

[122]F[rançois] Marvaud, *Études historiques sur la ville de Cognac et l'arrondissement*, vol. 1 (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1870), 179-99.

Savoie, who were patrons of Octovien de Saint-Gelais throughout his short life.[123] Poitiers, situated between Tours and Angoulême, had a long and distinguished cultural history, with a university that had been founded in 1432. The collegiate church of St.-Hilaire-le-Grand apparently exercised enough of a financial attraction to have managed to succeed in hiring Busnoys (although he only stayed about ten months) as master of the choirboys.[124] Later, the composer Eloy d'Amerval served in the same capacity from 1476 to 1480.[125] Compositions by Busnoys and literary works by Saint-Gelais would certainly have been known to the cultural elite of the city.

The Purpose of the Manuscript

The preservation of groups of song texts shorn of their settings suggests that the chanson poetry even without music was thought to be of considerable value. Still, it is difficult to reconcile the intrinsic value of the contents of P1719 with their untidy, somewhat haphazard appearance on the page. P1719 was obviously never intended to be a presentation manuscript or even a personal collection of homogeneous items along the lines of the Rohan manuscript. Everything about the physical state of the volume militates against either of those possible functions: it is of paper rather than parchment, there is absolutely no decoration, it is written by several hands and contains many duplicate poems, its contents, rather than being ordered, are entered in a jumbled, almost chaotic sequence, and the texts

[123]Ibid., 205-208.

[124]Paula Higgins, "Musical Politics in Late Medieval Poitiers: A Tale of Two Choirmasters," in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 155-74.

[125]Ibid., 164, n. 30.

themselves appear on the page in an extremely messy fashion, with numerous strikeouts and corrections, editorial markings and comments.

Rather, P1719 appears to be an example of a "working" manuscript; that is, a source whose purpose was to serve as a repository from which poems could be repeatedly culled to create "on spec" collections for a paying public. In this sense, then, it can be considered a "commercial" artifact, and would have derived its value from the income it generated, presumably for the order of Grandmont.[126]

Collection "F"

The remaining collections within P1719 cannot be said to preserve the texts of now-lost chansonniers since, in fact, it cannot even be demonstrated that most of their contents were ever set to music. Even so, the collections are interesting in and of themselves, and in some instances can offer insights into a particular chanson or the relationship between chansons whose texts have been preserved here.

As mentioned above, Collection "F" opens with a possible acrostic formed by the first letters of poems nos. 307 through 315, which would lead one to suspect that the texts of the entire collection might have had musical settings at one time. Of a total of thirty-five poems (Fery-Hue nos. 307 through 341), however, only two musical settings have come down to us in the sources: no. 321, *Veu que tant de vous me souvent*; and no. 322, *Pour les biens qu'en vous je parcoy*. Another three texts within this section also are transmitted in the Rohan Chansonnier and therefore could reasonably be considered to be song texts of now-lost settings: no. 307, *A vous est que l'on doibt complaire*; no. 308, *Le plus doullent que*

[126]Susan Kovacs, "The French Lyric Collection from Manuscript to Print: Authorship, Arrangement, and Poetic Identity," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994), 31.

jamais on peult dire; and no. 331, *Sur quant que me craingnez desplaire*. Five demonstrable songs among a total of thirty-five texts is only about fourteen percent; this is not a high enough percentage to justify the claim that this section of P1719 must reflect the contents of a chansonnier, notwithstanding the opening acrostic. One characteristic that separates this collection from the previous and succeeding groups of songs is its relatively high number of unique texts—fifteen—nos. 313-316; 319-320; 330; 332-333; 335; and 337-341. Another is that every text is anonymous, and both characteristics may be indications that these poems were not produced by well-known poets, courtiers, or functionaries frequenting the royal court, but perhaps created at some remove from the king and his retinue. The only clues to a possible provenance for the collection are the two texts of the musical settings, since the unattributed *Pour les biens*, which occurs in Niv, may have been set by Busnoys,[127] and *Veu que tant de vous* is one of three polyphonic virelais which are transmitted as a group in the Florentine songbook F176 and attributed to the composer Raulin.[128] The Raulin of *Veu que tant de vous* is otherwise unknown, but it is possible that he can be identified with the Johannes Roullin whose name appears on a list of the chapel personnel of Charles d'Orléans in 1455 and 1456.[129] Whether the Johannes Roullin working for the court of Orléans is the same as the Raulin de Vaux given as the composer of *Savés pour quoy suy sy gay* in Ox is difficult to say, since Johannes Roullin was in the employ of the duke of Orléans from 1441 to at least 1456, and possibly even until 1465,[130] which would put the composer of *Saves*

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[127]Higgins, "Parisian Nobles," 173-81.

[128]Folios 113^{v}-115^{r}. The other two virelais are *En elle croi c'est toute ma pensee* (folios 108^{v}-111^{r}) and *Je suis trop jeunette* (folios 111^{v}-113^{r}). *Veu que tant de vous* is preserved also in Pix, folios 173^{v}-175^{r}.

[129]Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy*, 109, n. 145, citing A.N., MS KK 271, folio 23^{v}.

[130]*Savés pour quoy suy sy gay* appears on folio 121^{v} of Ox (Section VIII). What little is known of Johannes Roullin has been distilled in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 718.

pour quoy in his sixties or even seventies in 1465.[131] The composer Guillaume Legrant (aka Guillaume le Macherier, Le Grant Guillaume, Guillaume Le Groing, Gran Guielmo) is also believed to have been a member of the duke's (apparently geriatric) chapel in 1455 and 1456, which would have meant that he was still working well into his seventies.[132] In any case, Collection "F" probably originated within one of the central French establishments dotting the Loire river valley and perhaps reflects poetic activity of the late 1450s and/or early 1460s. The virelai form so popular during the 1450s within French court circles is still current (six of the thirty-five poems), but the hegemony of the octosyllabic line length from mid-century has been broken by a new interest in ten-syllable lines (five poems, compared to eight decasyllabic texts out of the eighty-two poems of Collection "C" [1450s] and twenty-one decasyllabic texts out of the forty-eight poems of Collection "B" [1470s and 80s]).

Collection "F" may in fact be the text witness of a lost chansonnier, but as tantalizing as that possibility is, it will have to remain just a possibility, since the evidence at present is not strong enough to demonstrate it as a certainty.

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[131]In connection with this, it is worth mentioning that the Rolin (Raolin) clan, most members of which were associated in one way or another with Philippe le Bon of Burgundy and/or his son Charles, had at least one branch of the family with holdings in Vaux, in the parish of d'Étang-sur-Arroux, along the bank of the Arroux river, near Autun. At least three males of the Vaux branch of the Rolin family were given the Christian name of Jean, none of whom appears to be the composer, however. For the most recent discussion of the Rolin lineage, see Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, "La famille de Nicolas Rolin," in *La splendeur des Rolin: Un mécénat privé à la cour de Bourgogne. Table ronde 27-28 février 1995*, ed. Brigitte Maurice-Chabard (Paris: Picard, 1999), 19-35.

[132]Guillaume Le Groing is documented as working at the court of Blois by Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy*, 109, n. 145, citing A.N., KK 271, folio 23^{v}. A short biographical sketch of Guillermus Le Machecrier is provided by Vincent Tabbagh, *Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae. Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines de France de 1200 à 1500*. Vol. 2: *Diocèse de Rouen* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 203. Le Machecrier's dates are given as circa 1378-1460 May; he is described as noble, from the diocese of Rouen, and a priest living with his servant and illegitimate son. Guillaume Le Groing and Guillaume Le Grand are equated by Paula Higgins in "Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture," p. 267, n. 563.

Collections "C" and "H"

Six collections within P1719 contain few or no texts that have extant musical settings and apparently were never intended to have any.[133] Two of these appear in Table 2.1 as collections "C" and "H". These two collections contain poems primarily from the 1450s, attributable to members of the French and Breton aristocracy, and find concordances in two main manuscripts of this repertory, P9223 and P15771. Collection "C" includes a total of eighty-three rondeaux and virelais, and Collection "H" involves sixty-five poems, fifty of which are shared by Collection "C" and which occur in the same general order, as can be seen in Table 2.6. There are enough significant variants between readings of the poems common to Collections "C" and "H," however, to demonstrate that Scribe XVI did not copy them from the same exemplar. Scribe XVI's exemplars for "C" and "H" may themselves have descended from a common ancestor, however. One particularly interesting group of texts that strengthens this view involves a handful of possible polyphonic chanson texts (see Table 2.7). Within Collection "C" the texts occur as Fery-Hue numbers 182 through 189; within Collection "H" the numbers are 415 through 420. Two of the four poems common to "C" and "H" have extant musical settings by Ockeghem (*Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure* and *Les desleaulx ont la saison*), "C" alone transmits *En tous les lieux ou j'ay esté*, set by Busnoys, and "H" alone includes *En actendant garison ou la mort* by the poet Jean Robertet. No setting survives for this virelai, but it probably had one, since the text is also preserved in Rohan, just after Michelet's *S'il advient que mon dueil me tue*[134] and one poem away from,

[133]These are collections "A," "C," "D," "H," "I" and "J" of Table 2.1.

[134]Rohan folios 78^{r} to 78^{v}, Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, 110 (no. 118).

Table 2.6: **Collections "C" and "H" Compared in P1719**[135]

Collection C		Incipit/Text Author [following Fery-Hue]	Collection H	
Folio No.	**Fery-Hue No.**		**Folio No.**	**Fery-Hue No.**
40^{v}-41^{r}	118	*Mon cueur et moy n'avons voulloir*/[Anonymous]	-	-
41^{r}-41^{v}	119	*Je m'en vois faire ma demeure*/[le sire de Rais]	-	-
41^{v}	120	*De mon fait, las! ne sçay que dire*[Blosseville]	-	-
42^{r}	121	*Yeulx aveuglez par force de desir*/[Blosseville]	134^{r}	421
42^{r}-42^{v}	122	*Mon bien, ma dame et ma maistresse*/[le Cadet d'Albret]	-	-
42^{v}	123	*L'une bonté l'autre requiert*/[Montbeton]	-	-
43^{r}	124	*Au fons d'un val garny d'adversité*/[Anonymous]	134^{v}	422
43^{r}-43^{v}	125	*J'actens l'aulmosne de Doulceur*/[Fredet]	-	-
43^{v}	126	*Helas! J'ay tousjours loyaulté*/[Anonymous]	134^{v}-135^{r}	423
43^{v}-44^{r}	127	*Avant que l'on vous sceust louer*/[Vaillant]	-	-
44^{r}	128	*Requiescant, las! in pace!*/[René d'Anjou]	-	-
44^{r}-44^{v}	129	*C'est pour me receler les biens*/[Jammette de Nesson]	-	-
44^{v}	130	*Amours, je vous reguier justice*/[le Cadet d'Albret]	135^{r}-135^{v}	425
45^{r}	131	*Quelque jour, il vous souvendra*/[Anonymous]	-	-
45^{r}	132	*Qui veult de dame a moy changer*/[Jean de Lorraine]	135^{v}	426
45^{v}	133	*Je change a vous, ce c'est vostre voulloir*/[Blosseville]	135^{v}-136^{r}	427
45^{v}	134	*Je n'en vueil plus porter la charge*/[Blosseville]	-	-

[135]There are sixteen poems in Collection "H" that do not appear within Collection "C." These are *Pour tous voz maulx d'amours garir* (folio 120^{v}, no. 381); *Les douleurs dont me sens tel somme* (folios 120^{v}-121^{r}, no. 382); *Helas! Mon amy et mon ame* (folio 121^{r}, no. 383); *Ce fait vostre oeil, qui par sy fort me maine* (folios 121^{v}-122^{r}, no. 385); *J'en ay le dueil* (folio 122^{v}, no. 388); *C'est pour vous que tant fort souspire* (folios 124^{v}-125^{r}, no. 395); *En lac de lermes tresparfond* (folios 125^{r}-125^{v}, no. 396); *Le jour m'est nuyt* (folios 131^{r}-131^{v}, no. 413); *Tout acomplis, a mon advis* (folio 132^{v}, no. 417); *En actendant garison ou la mort* (folios 133^{v}-134^{r}, no. 420); *En pensant a vostre bonté* (folio 135^{r}, no. 424); *Doubtant de tous pointz l'escondire* (folios 136^{r}-136^{v}, no. 428); *En la montaigne de Tristresse* (folios 136^{v}-137^{r}, no. 430); *En la montaigne de Tristresse* (folio 137^{r}, no. 431); *Quelque chose qu'Amours ordonne* (folio 138^{r}, no. 434); and *Et n'esse pas assez tenu* (folios 138^{r}-138^{v}, no. 435).

46^{r}	135	*Des amoureulx de l'Observance*/[Charles d'Orléans]	136^{v}	429
46^{r}-46^{v}	136	*Des amoureux de l'Observance*/[Vaillant]	-	-
46^{v}	137	*Tu te brulles a la chandelle*/[Antoine de Cuise]	-	-
46^{v}-47^{r}	138	*En l'estat ou vous me voyez*/[Montbeton]	-	-
47^{r}-47^{v}	139	*Bien souvent quant je vous regarde*/[Antoine de Cuise]	-	-
47^{v}	140	*Celluy qui sy fort vous reprend*/[Blosseville]	137^{r}-137^{v}	432
47^{v}-48^{r}	141	*Pardieu, Fortune, tu as tort*/[Anonymous]	137^{v}	433
48^{r}	142	*Mon cueur m'est icy venu dire*/[Blosseville]	141^{r}	444
48^{v}	143	*N'ay je pas esté bien party*/[Jean de Torcy]	-	-
48^{v}	144	*Adieu, mon cueur, servez la belle*[monseigneur de Coram]	-	-
49^{r}	145	*Au port ou jamais nul ne passé*[le sire de Rais]	120^{r}-120^{v}	380
49^{r}-49^{v}	146	*Quant l'amour de vous me fauldra*/[Anonymous]	-	-
49^{v}-50^{r}	147	*Qui est plus cause de mon dueil*/[Montbeton]	121^{v}	384
50^{r}	148	*J'ay des semblans tant que je vueil*/[Montbeton]	-	-
50^{r}-50^{v}	149	*Le plus malheureux, par mon ame*/[Anonymous]	138^{v}	436
50^{v}	150	*Mort trescruelle et mauldicte*/[René d'Orange]	-	-
51^{r}	151	*Mis en exil en la forest de Dueil*/[le sire de Rais]	138^{v}-139^{r}	437
51^{r}-51^{v}	152	*S'en amours a ung paradis*/[Blosseville]	139^{r}	438
51^{v}	153	*Bonnes gens, j'ay perdu ma dame*/[Vaillant]	139^{r}-139^{v}	439
51^{v}-52^{r}	154	*Celle pour qui je porte l'ame*/[Blosseville]	139^{v}-140^{r}	440
52^{r}-52^{v}	155	*Sot oeil, trop estes voulentaire*/[Vaillant]	-	-
52^{v}	156	*Sot oeil, fay ton fait par compass*/[Blosseville]	-	-
52^{v}-53^{r}	157	*Se vous allez faire demeure*/[Antoine de Cuise]	-	-
53^{r}	158	*J'ay veu le debat de voz yeulx*/[Vaillant]	-	-
53^{v}	159	*Lassé d'Amours et des faiz de Fortune*/[Blosseville]	140^{r}	441
53^{v}-54^{r}	160	*A, cueur, qu'as tu qui me reprens*/[Blosseville]	53^{v}-54^{r}	442

54^{r}	161	*Le cueur trouble, le sens perdu*/[Blosseville]	122^{r}	386
54^{r}-54^{v}	162	*J'en ay le dueil et vous la joye*/[Blosseville]	122^{v}	387
54^{v}-55^{r}	163	*De ma dame ne dy nul bien*/[Anonymous]	123^{r}	389
55^{r}	164	*En esperant bonne response*/[Anonymous]	123^{v}	391
55^{r}-55^{v}	165	*Ou que je soye, n'en quelque place*/[Anonymous]	124^{r}	392
55^{v}	166	*Se n'est pas par ypocrisie*/[Charles d'Orléans]	124^{r}-124^{v}	393
56^{r}	167	*A ce mur, ha! Estes vous sourde*/[Vaillant]	124^{v}	394
56^{r}-56^{v}	168	*En la montaigne de Tristresse*/[Jeucourt]	125^{v}-126^{r}	397
56^{v}	169	*En la montaigne de Tristresse*/[Robinet le Sénéchal]	126^{r}	398
57^{r}	170	*Je le voy bien selon les vers*/[Vaillant]	126^{r}-126^{v}	399
57^{r}	171	*De ma joye n'est plus nouvelle*/[Robinet le Sénéchal]	127^{r}	401
57^{v}	172	*Gardez vous ent de l'oeil d'Artuse*/[Vaillant]	127^{r}-127^{v}	402
57^{v}-58^{r}	173	*Au mains que ce desconforté*/[Anonymous]	127^{v}	403
58^{r}	174	*Plus qu'onques mes je suis au bas*/[Blosseville]	127^{v}-128^{r}	404
58^{v}	175	*Comme moy vous aurez voz gages*/[André de Laval, maréchal de Lohéac]	128^{v}-129^{r}	406
58^{v}-59^{r}	176	*Quel adieu! Las, qui l'actendra*/[Jean Meschinot]	128^{r}-128^{v}	405
59^{r}	177	*Esperant d'avoir quelque bien*/[Vaillant]	129^{r}	407
59^{v}	178	*Assez ne me puis merveiller*/[Boucicaut]	129^{v}-130^{r}	409
59^{v}-60^{r}	179	*Or mauldit soit il qui en ment*/[Vaillant]	130^{r}	410
60^{r}-60^{v}	180	*Grant tort avez, par Nostre Dame*/[Blosseville]	130^{v}-131^{r}	412
60^{v}	181	*Sot oeil, rapporteur de nouvelles*/[Charles d'Orléans]	-	-
60^{v}-61^{r}	182	*Le cueur marry, les yeulx de lermes plains*/[Anonymous]	119^{r}-119^{v}	377
61^{r}	183	*Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure*/[Anonymous]	132^{r}	415
61^{v}	184	*Les desloyaulx ont la saison*/[Anonymous]	132^{r}-132^{v}	416
61^{v}	185	*Quant je vous vy de moy party*/[Anonymous]	-	-
62^{r}	186	*Il est force que je m'en aille*/[Anonymous]	-	-
62^{r}-62^{v}	187	*En tous les lieux ou jay esté*/[Jacques de Luxembourg[136]]	-	-

[136]Although Fery-Hue gives Jacques de la Trémoille as the author, Barbara Inglis has shown that the author is more likely to be Jacques de Luxembourg. See Inglis, *Le manuscrit 15771*, 214 and Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 730.

62^{v}	188	*Pour vous aujourd'uy adieu dire*/[Anonymous]	133^{r}	418
62^{v}-63^{r}	189	*Je ne suis pas bien de Fortune*/[Anonymous]	133^{r}-133^{v}	419
63^{r}-63^{v}	190	*En la forest de Longue Actente*/[Fredet]	-	-
63^{v}-64^{r}	191	*En la forest de Longue Actente*/[Charles d'Orléans]	123^{r}-123^{v}	390
64^{r}	192	*En la forest de Longue Actente*/[Gilles des Ormes]	140^{v}-141^{r}	443
64^{r}-64^{v}	193	*En la forest de Longue Actente*/[Charles d'Orléans]	-	-
64^{v}-65^{r}	194	*En la forest de Longue Actente*/[Marie de Clèves]	129^{r}-129^{v}	408
65^{r}	195	*En la forest de Longue Actente*/[Jeucourt]	126^{v}	400
65^{r}-65^{v}	196	*En la forest de Longue Actente*/[Blosseville]	130^{v}	411
65^{v}-66^{r}	197	*Comme ung homme desconforté*/[Anonymous]	-	-
66^{r}-66^{v}	198	*Pour ung chef d'oeuvre vous feist Dieux*/[Anonymous]	-	-
66^{v}	199	*Pour contrefaire l'amoureux*/[Blosseville]	131^{v}	414
66^{v}-67^{r}	200	*Qui mieulx ne peult, il est bien a son aise*/[Anonymous]	-	-

as it happens, the above-mentioned *Les desleaulx ont la saison.*[137] If there were a common manuscript ancestor to "C" and "H" at some point, then these (mostly anonymous) poems might have been assembled purposely within this ancestor as song texts whose musical settings, unfortunately, have in the main not survived. It would appear that the interest in grouping poems of a similar nature was the principle behind Collection "C's" preservation of a group of seven poems on the theme *En la forest de Longue Actente* (Table 2.6, nos. 190-196), which in Collection "H" occur scattered throughout the collection. If the exemplar for Collections "C" and "H" did in fact carry nos. 182 through 189 and 415 through 420 as a single group of song texts, then their subsequent separation in Collections "C" and "H" might

[137]In Rohan, *En actendant* occurs on folio 78^{v}, Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, 111 (no. 119); *Les desleaulx* appears on folio 79^{r}, Löpelmann, 112 (no. 121).

Table 2.7: **Possible Song Grouping Between Collections "C" and "H" in P1719**[138]

F-H No.	Incipit/Author	Music	F-H No.	Incipit/Author	Music	F-H No.	Incipit/Author	Music
182	*Le cueur marry et de doulleurs tant plains*/Anon. (unique to P1719)	None	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	183, 415	***Ma bouche rit***/Anon.	Ockeghem (Rohan No. 142)	-	-	-
-	-	-	184, 416	***Les desleaulx ont la saison***/Anon.	Ockeghem (Rohan No. 121)	-	-	-
185	*Quant je vous vy de moy party*/Anon. (unique to P1719)	None	-	-	-	-	-	-
186	*Il est force que je m'en aille*/Anon. (unique to P1719)	None	-	-	-	-	-	-
187	***En tous les lieux***/Jacques de Luxembourg	Busnoys (Rohan No. 564)	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	417	*Tout accomplis, a mon advis*/Jacques de Luxembourg	None

[138]Boldface indicates an extant musical setting.

-	-	-	188, 418	*Pour vous aujourd'hui dire*/Anon. (unique to P1719)	None	-	-	-
-	-	-	189, 419	*Je ne suis pas bien de Fortune*/Anon. (unique to P1719)	None	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	420	*En actendant garrison ou la mort*/Jean Robertet	None (Rohan No. 119)

have resulted from the scribe of each new group not recognizing the reason why they were originally gathered together. In any case, the inclusion of the two Ockeghem song texts suggests that they originated within the same cultural milieu which generated the rest of Collections "C and "H;" that is, among French and Breton aristocrats associated with the French royal court of the 1450s. *Les desleaulx*, therefore, cannot have been written as a political commentary during the Ligue du Bien Public, as has been suggested, since that civil unrest began in 1465.[139] *Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure*, one of the most popular chansons of its era, was printed twice within *Le Jardin*, each time with a special rubric: "Dictié et chançon magistrale" and "Motet magistral".[140] It is the only text in the entire volume to be so designated, and therefore must have been considered to be quite special. Perhaps *Ma bouche rit* is the "chançon bien richement enluminee" that Ockeghem offered to King Charles on New Year's Day in 1459 for which he received the cash gift of forty-four *livres tournois*, a very large amount of money for a single song, regardless of how richly illuminated it might have been.[141] In any case, *Ma bouche rit* must, along with *Les desleaulx ont la saison*, belong to the generation of *formes fixes* lyric poetry created during the very prolific 1450s.

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[139]Fabrice Fitch, "Down in the Valley," *The Musical Times* 136 (1995), 456-64, esp. 463.

[140]On the relative popularity of certain songs composed during the fifteenth century, see Fallows, "Jean Molinet," 41. *Ma bouche rit* with its rubric "Dictié et chançon magistrale" ["masterful poem and music"] occurs on folio 61^{r} (no. 10); *Ma bouche rit* with the rubric "Motet magistral" ["masterful virelai"] appears on folio 71^{v} (no. 103). I have translated the appellation "motet" as "virelai" here because in *Le Jardin*, of the six times the edition provides the rubric "motet," it is always in connection with a poem in the virelai form of ABBA ccd ccd [ABBA]. The other virelais so designated are *Terriblement suis fortunee*, "Motet en chant," folio 70^{v} (no. 96); *Ha! Ma maistresse et ma plus qu'autre amye*, "Autre rondel ou motet," folio 71^{r} (no. 99); *S'une foiz me dictes oy*, "Autre rondel ou motet," folio 71^{r} (no. 100); and *Pour mettre a fin la grant douleur*, "Motet," folio 81^{r} (no. 217).

[141]Perkins, "Musical Patronage," 523, citing an entry in Paris, A.N., MS KK 51, folio 122.

Collection "D"

Collection "D," with its sixty-five poems, also appears to preserve texts that, for the most part, never received musical settings. Over half (thirty-four) also survive uniquely in P1719. Of the poems that do appear elsewhere, the largest number of concordances (twelve) is shared with the text-only poetry collection P1722, a manuscript that most likely hails from the court of Cognac.[142] The texts of Collection "D" are a mix of obscene lyrics and love expressed in conventional terms, with the few demonstrable song texts scattered throughout.[143] As usual, the texts are anonymous, and only a handful can be attributed from other sources. The Breton poet and courtier Jean Meschinot is the author of *Prestez moy encore cela* (folio 70^{r}, no. 210), and François Villon's *Mort j'appelle de ta rigueur* (folio 71^{r}, no. 214) appears among seven otherwise unique and anonymous rondeaux (folios 70^{v} through part of 72^{v}, no. 212 through no. 219). The rondeau *Pour tous voz maulx d'amours guerir* (folio 75^{r}, no. 229), although unattributed here, carries the rubric "Recepte de la Raine" ("The Queen's Recipe") elsewhere, and has been linked variously with the Queen of France, Marie d'Anjou, Jeanne de Laval, the Breton wife of René d'Anjou, and even René's son, Jean de Lorraine.[144] Here the poem immediately follows the rondeau text *Le corps s'en va et le cueur vous demeure*, which Busnoys set to music by 1460.[145] If it could be shown that the Delahaye who composed the music for Villon's *Mort j'appelle de ta*

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[142]See Richard Wexler, "Music and Poetry in Renaissance Cognac," *Le Moyen français* 5 [1979], 102-14.

[143]These are: *Mort j'appelle de ta rigueur* (folio 71^{r}, no. 214); *Qui veut mesdire si mesdie* (folio 74^{r}, no. 225); *Le corps s'en va et le cueur vous demeure* (folios 74^{v}-75^{r}, no. 228); *En ce printtemps* (folio 83^{r}, no. 256); and *Corps contre corps sans penser convoitise* (folios 84^{r}-84^{v}, no. 260).

[144]P15571, folio 34^{r}; Inglis, *Le manuscrit 15771*, 206.

[145]Fallows, "'Trained and immersed'," 23-24.

rigueur in Niv was associated with the court of Brittany, then a case might be made that Collection "D" is a witness to poetic activity at that court.[146] Its inclusion of Busnoy's *Le corps s'en va* would then suddenly take on a new significance. The evidence is not strong enough, however, to draw any conclusions at this point. Equally interesting is the proximity of the Binchois rondeau *Qui veut mesdire si mesdie* (folio 74^{r}, no. 225) to a poem that has been attributed to the Earl of Suffolk—*Quel desplaisir, quelz couroulx, quel destresse* (folio 73^{v}, no. 223).[147] *Qui veut mesdire* is preserved in an extra section of the Reina Codex that has been dated to about 1430, which squares nicely with the apparent approximate date of the writing of *Quel desplaisir*.[148] Binchois is documented as having created the rondel *Ainsi que a la foiz m'y souvient* in 1424 at Suffolk's command,[149] so perhaps folios 73 and 74 of P1719 preserve the remnants of an artistic association between the earl and the composer.

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[146]The most recent discussion of the possible identity of the composer Delahaye is found in Jean Delahaye, *Jean Delahaye: Chansons in Loire Valley Sources*, ed. Jane Alden (Paris: Minerve, 2001), 12-14.

[147]William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was captured by the French in 1429 at the siege of Jargeau and was held prisoner for about a month by the half-brother of Charles d'Orléans, Jean, Count of Dunois. *Quel desplaisir* is among a small group of French poems entered into the Cambridge, Trinity College Library manuscript R.3.20 (p. 35), where the poem is headed by the rubric "And filowing here begynethe a Roundell made the same time by my sayde lord therlle of Suffolk," referring to the previous poem's rubric "Ycy commence un balade que fist monseigneur le Conte de Suffolk quant il estoit prysonier en ffraunce." Henry Noble MacCracken, "An English Friend of Charles of Orléans," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 26 (1911; New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1962), 142-80. This ballade, *Je vous salue ma maistresse*, was set anonymously in the chansonnier EscA, probably dates from 1429 and was possibly composed by Binchois. See the discussion by David Fallows in his review of *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics*, by Julia Boffey, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 112 (1987), 132-38.

[148]Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS nouv. acq. fr. 6771 (the "Reina Codex"). At least one poem in the Cambridge group, *Lealement a tousjours mais*, is actually not by Suffolk, but by Alain Chartier, leaving room for doubt about the true author of *Quel desplaisir*. Even if Suffolk is not the author, however, he could have requested that it be set to music during the 1420s (again by Binchois?), which would explain its position in P1719 so near to the Binchois chanson text and the otherwise unknown rondeau quatrain *Du tout me metz a vostre voulenté* (folio 73^{r}, no. 222), clearly related to the late fourteenth-/early fifteenth-century ballade *Du tout me metz en vostre obeissance*.

[149]A. Desplanque, "Projet d'assassinat de Philippe le Bon par les anglais (1424-1426)." Extract from *Mémoires couronnés et Mémoires des savants étrangers, publiés par l'Académie royale de Belgique* 33 (Brussels: l'Académie royale de Belgique, 1867), 19-21 and 69-74, esp. 70.

Several further observations about the contents of this section are possible: first, setting aside nos. 222 through 225, which are demonstrably earlier than the rest of Collection "D," at least a few texts appear to date from the very late 1450s through the early 1460s. *Le corps s'en va et le cueur vous demeure* was likely set by Busnoys by 1467, and the text of Villon's *Mort j'appelle de ta rigueur*, although written several years before the poet's death, was probably provided with music soon after his death, honoring Villon's wishes, probably in 1463 or shortly thereafter. The text *Corps contre corps sans penser convoitise* is undated, but Caron probably set it in the 1460s, at the same time that polytextual works in general were in vogue.[150] Second, there is a certain consistency of tone among many of the texts; this collection includes a large number of unique poems, as well as a larger number of obscene poems than in any other collection in P1719. Furthermore, no. 209 is a response to no. 227,[151] and nos. 231, 232, 258 and 265 are all obviously related by their incipits *Tant qu'il souffit*…. One of the rondeaux involves language that is reminiscent of Villon:

> Je ne suis plus celluy que je soulloye;
> je cognoys tout, se je me congnoissoye...[152]

as compared to Villon's:

> Je congois bien mouches en lait,
> Je cognois tout fors que moy mesmes.[153]

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[150]Meconi, "*Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson*," 387-88.

[151]Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours*…, 331.

[152]Anonymous Rondeau, (P1719 folio 84^{v}, no. 261), lines 1 and 2. Edition from Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours*… , 80.

[153]Villon Ballade (Extract from his *Poésies diverses*, P1719 folios 156^{r}-156^{v}, no. 473), line 1 and the refrain. Ibid., 127.

Another rondeau echoes a ballade that apparently was thought to be by Villon, a ballade that is included in P1719 among several extracts from his *Testament* and *Poésies diverses*:

> Vous m'amiez mieulx sain que malade,
> Car quant Fortune me court seure …[154]

as compared to:

> Je vy le temps qu'aymé j'estoie;
> On m'ayme mieulx sain que mallade.[155]

This is not to claim that the two anonymous rondeaux must be by Villon; rather, someone who knew the poet's work penned these rondeaux influenced by Villon's turn of phrase. Friedrich-Eduard Schnéegans has noticed that much of the verse written by the poet and courtier Jehan Picart, bailli d'Estellan, shows the influence of Villon;[156] as it happens, Picart's *devise* was *Tant qu'il souffit*.[157] Biographical information about Picart is slim: son of Guillaume Picart, Seigneur d'Estellan, he served during Louis XII's reign, exchanging verse epistles with several associates of the royal court during the first decade of the sixteenth century. A number of these letters have survived, preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1679 and Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1701; another manuscript, P1721, includes several rondeaux by the bailli (none of which, however, appears in P1719).[158] If Collection "D" does, in fact, include poems associated with Jehan Picart, they would apparently date

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[154]Anonymous Rondeau (P1719 folio 77^{r}, no. 236), lines 1 and 2. Ibid., 75.

[155]Anonymous Ballade (P1719 folios 160^{v}-161^{r}, no. 479 among Villon items), line 1 and the refrain. Ibid., 280.

[156]F[riedrich]-Ed[uard] Schnéegans, *Épitres en vers de Jehan Picart, seigneur d'Estellan, et de ses amis* (Neuchatel: Imprimerie Attinger Frères, 1921), 8.

[157]Marvin, "The Texts of the Chansons of Loyset Compère," 47-48. This is known from the rondeau *Tant qu'il suffit d'amours je me contente* in P1721, folios 17^{v}-18^{r}, which is headed by the rubric: "Fait par le dict maitre Jehan Marot pour le petit bailly Picard et sur sa devise."

[158]Philippe Auguste Becker, "La vie littéraire à la cour de Louis XII," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 68 (1922), 113-43.

from an earlier period of his life, before he penned his verse epistles, and would seem to point to activity in the Loire Valley.

Jehan Marot's poem beginning with Picart's motto appears below as Example 2.7, and is an extremely clever, if somewhat vulgar, response to the anonymous rondeau *Tant qu'il souffist d'une je me contente*. Although it appears anonymously in all its sources, the rondeau that Marot parodies is almost certainly also associated with Jehan Picart since it

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Example 2.7

Edition from Françon, *Poèmes de transition*, 546 (no. CCCCXXXIII)[159]

Tant qu'il souffit, d'amour je me contente,
Car, supposé que femme, ainsy c'on tente
Par doulx regars, [m'ayt] de son con tenté,
Pour le present je m'en tiens contenté,
5 Deliberé plus ne mectre en con tente.

Celluy est foul qui d'aymer se demente,
Et n'ay pas peur qu'un saige m'en desmente,
Car, en ce cas, suis experimenté
Tant qu'il souffit.

10 C'est ung chemin obscur et lourde sente,
Dont rien ne vault la montée ne descente,
Cent maulx en viennent; le pire des cent ay,
Qui me desnue de biens et de santé;
Si je m'en plains, ma raison est dessente
Tant qu'il souffit.

* * * * *

employs Picart's motto as its opening hemistich (see Example 2.8). Since *Tant qu'il souffist d'une je me contente* appears within the group of polyphonic chanson texts of Collection "B," its music would have dated from the 1470s or 80s, and would have been known at the

[159]See also Gérard Defaux and Thierry Mantovani, eds., *Les Deux Recueils. Jehan Marot de Caen, poëte et escripvain de la royne Anne de Bretagne, et depuis valet de chambre du treschrestien roy François premier* (Geneva: Droz, 1999), 83 and 341.

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Example 2.8
Edition from Françon, *Poèmes de transition*, 483 (no. CCCLXX).

Tant qu'il souffit d'une je me contente
Et n'ay desir, espoir, vouloir n'atente,
Se bien m'en vient, de choisir aultre dame,
Et, qu'il soit vray, je n'ay cueur, corps ny ame
5 Qu'a la servir [n'ayent mis] leur entente.

Pour ceste heure la raison est parente
S'espoir a lieu, or de rien ne me vante,
Mais tant y a qu'en se propos suis ferme
Tant qu'i[l] souffit.

10 Ce qui m'assure: elle est doulce et savante
Sans se monstrer une goute fringante,
J'entens fringuer ung tour d'abille femme;
Se je layme, se n'est ne sort ne charme,
Car, de bon cueur, de la servir me vante
Tant qu'i[l] souffit.

* * * * *

royal court. The two rondeaux form part of a web of associated texts related to, and likely based upon, the rondeau cinquain *Se mieulx me vient d'amours peu me contente*, a group that includes *Se pis ne vient d'amours je me contente* (see Example 2.9). The similarities between the texts have been noted by Mary Beth Winn Marvin, who has also pointed out the personal relationships between several of the poets involved in their creation, gentlemen who would have known each other through their contact within French royal court circles.[160] The musical settings of these various poems stem from central France and, very likely, the royal court.

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[160]Marvin, "The Texts of the Chansons of Loyset Compère," 47-49.

Example 2.9

Edition from Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, 269. [161]

Se mieulx ne vient damours, peu men contente.
Une jen sers qui est bien souffisante
Pour contanter ung grant duc ou ung roy.
Je lame bien, maiz non pas elle moy.
5 Ja nest besoing que de ce je me vante.

Combien quelle est a droicte, belle & gente,
De men louer pour ceste heure presente,
Pardonnez moy; car je ny voy de quoy,
Se mieulx ne vient damours.

10 Quant je luy dy de mon vouloir lentente,
Et cueur et corps et biens je luy presente,
Pour tout ce la remedde je ny voy.
Delibere suis; saves vous de quoy?
De luy quicter & le jeu & lactente;
Se mieulx ne vient damours.

* * * * *

The anonymous virelai *Je vous quicte jeu et entente* (folios 35^{v}-36^{r}, no. 102) from Collection "B" may be related to the above group as well. It shares its "A" rhymes with the poems above, as well as taking the language of its incipit directly from line fourteen of *Se mieulx ne vient d'amours peu me contente* (see Example 2.10).

* * * * *

[161]It may be significant that the *devise* of yet another royal court poet, Guillaume Crétin, was "mieulx que pis," and that *Se mieulx ne vient* appears in the poetry manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2335 (folio 81^{v}) with the abbreviation "Cre" above it. *Se mieulx ne vient*, which received a musical setting in the 1460s by a "Convert" (or possibly "Coubert"), apparently also influenced the poet of *Excepté vous, chef d'œuvre de Nature* (Lille402, no. XXXXCVIII; Françon, *Poèmes de transition*, 511). Line 4 of this anonymous rondeau cinquain reads, "Pour changier l'air ne pour fouyr les lieux," a direct quote of the incipit from the Convert setting (or vice versa). The texts of *Excepté vous* and *Pour changier l'air* are further related in that the speaker(s) of both poems describe their love as a sickness, claiming that their illness began with a glance from the beloved's eyes. Significantly, *Excepté vous* appears only two poems away from *Se mieulx ne vient* and its "Response" *Se pirs ne vient* in Lille402, and is followed immediately in P1719 by two poems attributed to the French royal court habitué Antoine de Cuise: *A! mort, hellas!*, and *Les douleurs dont me sens tel somme* (P1719 folios 24^{r}-25^{r}, Fery-Hue nos. 65-67). A setting of *Les douleurs* survives by Du Fay; I have argued in Chapter 1 that *A! mort, hellas!* also must have had a setting at one point.

Example 2.10
Edition from Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 190-91.

Je vous quicte jeu et entente.
Puis que vostre voulloir contente
Tant de gens pour ung mesme bien,
Autant m'est de vous que de rien:
5 Je n'y ay plus espoir ne actente.

Se vostre cueur ayme le change,
Je luy repute a grant louenge,
Car cela luy vient par Nature.
De voulloir user de revenge,
10 Le terme me seroit estrange;

Se je le fais, c'est adventure:
Je vous quicte [jeu et entente,
Puis que vostre voulloir contente
Tant de gens pour ung mesme bien].
15 Aux ungs vous monstrez apparente

Et, envers moy, grave et pesente.
Plus ne vueil de vostre entretien;
Desormaiz exempt je me tien.
Ne dictes pas que je vous tempte:
20 Je vous quicte [je et entente.
Puis que vostre voulloir contente
Tant de gens pour ung mesme bien,
Autant m'est de vous que de rien:
Je n'y ay plus espoir ne actente].

* * * * *

Jean Picart authored severeal rondeaux that appear in the poetry collection Lille402, both as bailli d'Estellan and as visconte de Falaise, apparently a later title. Two of them, *Tant qu'il souffit sur ma foy J. vous M* (no. CCCXIX) and *Tant qu'il souffit de douleur suis attainte* (no. CCCLX, just three poems away from *La, non ailleurs, secretement demeure*, by Martin de Housse), begin with his trademark motto.[162] It begins to look as if

[162]Françon, *Poèmes de transition*, 432, 473 and 476. *La, non ailleurs*, it may be remembered, appears on folio 26^{v} of P1719 in Collection "B" immediately after *Hors de propos* and presumably had its own musical setting, now lost (see Table 2.2).

Picart wrote poetry for most of his life and that more of his rondeaux reside in P1719, particularly in Collections "B" and "D". Whether this is so or not, Picart was clearly associated with a group of French royal court poets whose works were attractive to composers looking for poems to set.

From the few clues that can be gleaned from the texts, it appears that Collection "D" is not directly a product or reflection of poetic activity at the French royal court, but was likely compiled for someone who at least had some connection to the court. Its fairly large number of unique texts also argues for a provenance at some remove from the king and his immediate circle of courtiers. Its datable texts range from the 1420s to about 1485, which makes it overall something of an anthology, although the presence of the small number of texts on the motto "Tant qu'il souffit" argues as well for a collection which preserves poetic production considered to be of a somewhat personal nature in its relationship to the owner. A possible former owner of the exemplar for Collection "D" might be Jean Picart or someone of his acquaintance.

Collection "I"

This small section of the manuscript (folios 141^{r} to 144^{v}) carries only eleven texts (nos. 445 through 455) and is quite distinct from both of the sections that surround it. In Collection "I" the attributable verse from the 1450s of Section "H" gives way to earlier, anonymous poetry, which in turn forms a buffer to the group of ballades that follows as Collection "J". All but one of the texts of Collection "I" are still in the hand of Scribe XVI.[163] The initial poem is headed by the rubric "Balade," the first such title to be provided

[163]With the exception of no. 455, which apparently was added later by Scribal Hand XVII. Rondeau no. 455 is incomplete, having only the first three lines of its text.

within Section 2 following the "Rondeau" rubric of no. 56. Furthermore, seven of the eleven texts are unique to P1719, in contrast to the much wider dissemination of the contents of Collections "H" and "J".[164] One of the more widely known texts of this collection, the ballade *Du tout me metz en vostre obeissance*, dates from the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, and its refrain, "Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine," as discussed above, became the subject of one of the poetic debates that took place at the court of Charles d'Orléans in the late 1450s.

Collection "A"

Collection "A" originally began with a group of ballades, but with the subsequent loss of at least one folio between the current folios 19 and 20, only a few lines of the final ballade remain, along with fourteen rondeaux and three virelais. All eighteen pieces (folios 20^{r} through part of 26^{r}, no. 52 through no. 69) are in the hand of Scribe XV. Two of the virelais reappear in other sections of P1719, and both are by Antoine de Cuise, active as a poet in central France, and possibly also at the court of Brittany, in the 1450s.[165] Beyond that, only one other poem within the group has a known author—no. 56, *Je ne prise point telz baisiers* is by Charles d'Orléans—and it was written before 1440.[166] Ten of the poems were written to ten-syllable lines; this, along with only one "new" virelai, indicates a dating for Collection "A" as a whole from the 1450s through the early 1460s. Four of the poems have

[164]*Dangier a fait une saillie* (folio 142^{v}, no. 449), although presented as unique in the edition, actually has a concordance in Lans 380 (folio 235^{r}), where it carries the rubric "Chancon."

[165]These are: *A! mort, hellas! Veu que je suis de vivre las* (folios 24^{r}-24^{v}, no. 66 and folio 4^{v}, no. 18) and *Les douleurs dont me sens tel somme* (folio 25, no. 67; folio 5, no. 19 and folios 120^{v}-121^{r}, no. 382). Biographical information on the poet is available in Inglis, *Le manuscrit 15771*, 29-33.

[166]The chronology of the body of poetry written by Duke Charles has been discussed in Chapter 1.

extant musical settings.[167] Another two find concordances in the Rohan manuscript and so probably also were set to music at some point.[168] Six musical settings out of a total of seventeen texts is about thirty-five percent, which is enough to suspect that this section of poems might have been preserved in P1719 specifically as a collection of song texts. The evidence is inconclusive, however.

Although Collection "A" has little in common with other sections of poetry in P1719 already discussed, it does share nearly half of its texts with the little-known manuscript P7559. As can be seen in Table 2.8 seven of those shared poems are grouped together in both sources. The last poem entered by Scribe XV in Collection "A," *J'en ay cogneu ce que j'en veul congnoistre* (folios 25^{v}-26^{r}, no. 69), also belongs with the above group—not only because it has a concordance in P7559 (folio 26^{r}), but also because by its

Table 2.8: **Collection "A": Shared Repertory Between P1719 and P7559 Texts Transmitted as a Group, Indicating a Single Shared Place of Origin**

Fery-Hue No.	Incipit	Folio No. in P1719	Folio No. in P7559
57	*Cuydant estre amé de la belle*	21^{v}	46^{v}
58	*Doubtant reffus qui par trop fait a craindre*	21^{v}-22^{r}	47^{v}
59	*C'est temps perdu de servir sans congnoistre*	22^{r}	43^{v}
60	*Par contraincte d'amour tres naturelle*	22^{v}	45^{r}
61	*Par trop amer, ma doulleur dire n'oze*	22^{v}-23^{r}	46^{r}
62	*En attendant la grace souvereinne*	23^{r}	44^{r}
65	*X.c.t.* (*sic* for: *Excepté*) *vous, chief d'oeuvre de Nature*	24^{r}	45^{v}
69	*J'en ay congneu ce que j'en veul congnoistre*	25^{v}-26^{r}	26^{r}

[167]These are: no. 56, *Je ne prise point telz baisiers* (folio 21^{r}); no. 62, *En attendant la grace souvereinne* (folio 23^{r}); no. 63, *Quel remede de monstrer par semblant* (folio 23^{v}); and no. 67, *Les douleurs dont me sens tel somme* (folio 25^{r}).

[168]The two texts appearing in Rohan are no. 53, *Ung Dieu, ung roy et une dame* (folio 20^{r}), Rohan folios 157^{r}-157^{v}, (no. 459); and no. 66, *A! mort, hellas!* (folios 24^{r}-24^{v}), Rohan folio 66^{v}, (no. 67).

subject matter and choice of syllabification and rhyme, it is a feminine response to the masculine speaker of no. 59, *C'est temps perdu de servir sans congnoistre*.[169] (See Example 2.11.) In sum, then, although it cannot be claimed that the contents of Collection "A" are remnants of any musical activity, they do belong together on the basis of a shared cultural sphere of origin, possibly with Antoine de Cuise as the pivot around which the poetic activity that produced them took place.

Collection "J"

Collection "J," with its three rondeaux and fifty-two ballades, is the last collection to be considered here because it has the least to do with music of any of the other collections included in P1719. Only one of its ballades apparently was ever set to music: Christine de Pisan's *Dueil angoisseux rage demesuree* (folios 170^{v}-171^{r}, Fery-Hue no. 494). The contents of Collection "J" are also much more heterogeneous than the rest of the manuscript, spanning at least seventy years, from *Dueil angoisseux*, written in the 1390s, to a pair of poems by Jehan Molinet and Daré de Rouen dating from c. 1467. Instead of preserving a group of like items stemming from a common cultural milieu or general time period, the intention here seems rather to gather together a variety of ballade types written by many different authors. For example, only two of Pierre d'Anché's three *blasons* are here (folios 145^{v}-147^{r}, nos. 457 and 458); François Villon is represented by eight of his *Poésies diverses* (folios 154^{r}-155^{r}, no. 470; folios 155^{v}-156^{v}, nos. 472 and 473; folios 157^{v}-159^{v}, nos. 475-477; and folios 161^{r}-162^{v}, nos. 480 and 481), but only seven extracts from his *Testament* (folios 151^{v}-154^{r}, nos. 466-469; folios 155^{r}-155^{v}, no. 471; folios 157^{r}-157^{v}, no. 474; and folios 159^{v}-160^{r}, no. 478). There is a single satirical political ballade by Eustache

[169]Note that this is not the text to the Caron/Morton chanson setting.

Example 2.11: ***C'est temps perdu de servir sans congoistre*** **and** ***J'en ay congnu ce que j'en veulx congnoistre***
Edition from Bancel, 112 and 90, respectively.

C'est temps perdu de servir sans congnoistre
Se le service du servant ne plaist au maistre.
Pour ce, Madame, dictez moy que je face
Pour acquérir vostre très bonne grace,
Ainsi pourrez mon voulloir recongnoistre.

Et vous servant mon honneur peult accroistre,
Mais si je sers sans en vostre grace estre,
Je n'aviendray au bien que je pourchasse,
Cest temps perdu.

Si vous voulez vos servans mescongnoistre,
Vous faictez bien povres amoureulx paistre,
Qui vous jugent doulce à vostre face,
Vostre rigueur toute pitié efface,
Quant pour servir le loyer ne peult croistre,
Cest temps perdu.

J'en ay congnu ce que j'en veulx congnoistre
Et n'est besoing de plus me faire paistre,
Je scay assez ce que vous scavez dire,
Mais tant y a je ne m'en faiz que rire,
Car par voz ditz il ne m'en peult pix estre.

Si vous estiez quelque peu veritable,
Je tiendroye vostre parler doubtable,
Mais chascun scet ce que vous scavez faire,

Par quoy despite vostre pensée muable,
Que maintes gens ont trouvée variable
Et d'autres maulx dont je me veul bien taire.

Pensez vous point que j'aye la langue adestre
Pour vostre bruyt & renommée accroistre,
Si ay par Dieu & scay lire & escripre
Et si scay bien si je voulloye mesdire
De vostre fait aisé à apparestre.
J'en ay congneu.

Deschamps (folios 165^{r}-165^{v}, no. 486), a moralistic ballade by Pierre Chevalier (folios 170^{r}-170^{v}, no. 493) and a conventional love poem by Jean Marot (folios 145^{r}-145^{v}, no. 456). Two anonymous imprecatory ballades are juxtaposed (folios 150^{v}-151^{v}, nos. 464 and 465), the first with its curses directed towards those who would prevent peace (Refrain: "Puisse mourir qui empesche la paix!"), the second a response to the first (Refrain: "Soit honnouré qui empesche la paix.") using the same rhymes. Just preceding these are two historical ballades concerning the revolt of the citizens of Liège in 1467, the first by Jehan Molinet, the second by Daré de Rouen (folios 149^{r}-150^{v}, nos. 462 and 463). Once again the second poem is a response to the first, sharing elements of its model's refrain and rhyme scheme. These deliberate pairings may be seen as an invitation to compare the poems in order better to appreciate the skill of their authors.[170] Among the anonymous ballades can be found the obligatory misogynistic poems (folios 171^{v}-172^{v}, nos. 495 and 496), a couple of imprecatory ballades that would have been especially apt for recitation in the convivial atmosphere of a tavern (folios 175^{v}-177^{r}, nos. 501 and 502) and a handful of bawdy texts (folios 162^{v}-163^{v}, nos. 482 and 483; folios 167^{r}-168^{v}, nos. 489 and 490; folios 177^{r}-179^{v}, nos. 503-507; and folios 180^{v}-181^{r}, no. 509). A fair number of these poems enjoyed significant popularity and distribution, being preserved in manuscripts and prints well into the sixteenth century.

Summary

P1719 is a composite manuscript dating from between 1494 and 1504, most likely compiled by and for clerics of the order of Grandmont. It is in two sections, with its more extensive and important second section comprised of several internally differentiated,

[170]Adrian Armstrong, "François Villon: Rhétoriqueur?" in *Villon at Oxford: The Drama of the Text. Proceedings of the Conference Held at St. Hilda's College Oxford March 1996*, ed. Michael Freeman and Jane H. M. Taylor (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999), 51-83, esp. 77.

discrete collections, each carrying poetry associated with a particular group of authors or court environment, and relatively localized as to dates of creation.[171] It is a true anthology, with texts that, overall, span about a century, preserving many well-known poems, but also a great deal of lyric poetry that survives nowhere else. Its contents all originate from the French royal court and its satellite courts of the Loire river valley, or other aristocratic circles from central France. Ten separate and distinct collections can be identified, of which three clearly gather together texts of polyphonic songs. The first of these, Collection "B," opens with the French text of a motet-chanson and continues with forty-seven rondeau and virelai texts set by composers active mainly at the French royal court chapel of the 1470s and 80s: Ockeghem, van Ghizeghem, Fresneau, Agricola, Compère, Prioris and Mureau. A small group of slightly earlier texts (mainly from the 1450s and 60s) that were set by Busnoys, Compère and van Ghizeghem (before these last two entered employment within the chapel) and Binchois/Du Fay are also included in this section. In several ways, Collection "B" is very similar to the music manuscript LoA. The second collection of P1719 having strong associations with musical settings is Collection "E". Its forty-one texts and the surviving settings for them date from the decade of about 1455 to 1465, and the authors and composers involved were all active within French royal court circles. Furthermore, the personnel involved in this particular group of texts point towards Blois and the court of Charles d'Orléans as the possible provenance of the collection. The third collection, Collection "G," includes thirty-three texts, the majority of which date from the 1460s and 70s. The three texts written by Saint-Gelais upon the departure of Marguerite d'Autriche, however, must date from early in the 1490s, so this collection may, in fact, be two collections. In any event,

[171]The one exception to this is Collection "J," with its disparate ballades dating from about 1400 to about 1470.

the largest number of texts within P1719 to have been set by Busnoys occurs in this section of the manuscript, so although several composers associated with the musical settings of these texts worked directly for the Crown at a later date, Collection "G" is more likely a reflection of activity in a locale at some remove from the immediate sphere of the king..

For at least two of the three collections summarized above, the texts were apparently copied directly from musical sources, thereby indirectly preserving information about musical sources that no longer exist. The compilation of P1719 presumably served two purposes: 1) to preserve as much as possible of an essentially oral art form before it became lost to memory; and 2) to gather in one place a wide selection of items that could be copied repeatedly, perhaps as a source of income for whomever possessed the anthology.[172] There is some evidence that P1719 was put to a "commercial" use: to begin with, its overall appearance and the entry of its texts on the page are relatively sloppy, as if it were conceived of as a working manuscript rather than as a presentation manuscript. The many hands involved in its copying and editing, the frequent cross-outs, squeezed-in text additions and editorial notes such as "nus," "Nichil," etc., all argue for a compilation whose purpose was to serve as a resource whose contents could be drawn upon for subsequent copies, probably for educated members of the middle class—artisans, merchants and the merchant-gentry—all of whom would have had an interest in the culture of the upper aristocracy and the royalty. P1719 survived the vagaries of time not because it was a beautiful object, but because its wide-ranging inclusiveness made it useful and unique, and therefore valuable.

[172]Jacqueline Cerquiglini, "Quand la voix s'est tue: La mise en recueil de la poésie lyrique aux XIVe et XVe siècles," in *La présentation du livre: Actes du colloque de Paris X - Nanterre (4, 5, 6 décembre 1985)*, ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Nicole Boulestreau (Paris: Centre de Recherches du Département de Français, 1987), 313-27, esp. 324-27.

CHAPTER 3: *Le Jardin de plaisance*

In 1501, the Parisian printer and bookseller Antoine Vérard went to press with the first of a series of poetic anthologies that he was to call *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoricque*. Although he had previously published several volumes of various types, including moralistic and didactic literature, romance and a historiated Bible, this was to be the first-ever volume devoted exclusively to the genre of French secular love poetry.[1] Its success was immediate and apparently lucrative, since the 1501 impression was subsequently followed by at least seven more editions brought out by various printers throughout the first three decades of the century.[2] Four known copies of that first impression have survived, including the one that has been reproduced in facsimile and edited by Droz and Piaget.[3]

The collection is comprised of 672 poems preceded by a poetry treatise entitled *l'Instructif de la seconde rhétorique*. The poems are of two types: thirty-three narrative or lyrico-narrative pieces, including ten *débats* and two romance narratives at the head of the volume and at the end which serve as a kind of story line for the volume, and a

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[1]Examples of his previous publications include *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles* (1485); *L'orloge de sapience* (1493); *Les vigilles des morts* (1497); *Lancelot du Lac* (1494); *Merlin* (1498); and *Le premier volume de la bible historiee* (no date). For the complete list of Vérard's catalogue, see John Macfarlane, *Antoine Vérard* (London: The Bibliographical Society at the Chiswick Press, 1899).

[2]Information about each impression is available in Frédéric Lachèvre, *Recueils collectifs de poésies du XVI siècle, du* <u>*Jardin de Plaisance*</u> *[1502] aux recueils de Toussaint du Bray [1609]* (Paris: E. Champion, 1922), 3-11 and Brigitte Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du seizième siécle*, 5 vols. (Paris: Service des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris, 1972-2004), 1:131 (no. 63) and 165 (no. 118); 2:485 (no. 1864); 3:353 (no. 1247).

[3]Eugénie Droz and Arthur Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique*. 2 vols. 1. *Reproduction en fac-similé de l'édition publiée par Antoine Vérard vers 1501* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1910); 2. *Introduction et notes* (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925), 12.

core of 639 mostly lyric ballades, rondeaux and virelais, which offer examples of the kinds of roles that the lovers in the garden (*le jardin*) could appropriate as aspects of their fictionalized and theatricalized role-playing. The readers of the volume are also invited to participate by taking on the roles specified by the various lyric poems.[4] It is this core of lyric poetry, occurring in two large sections, that is of greatest interest to musicologists, since large numbers of the poems survive today in chansonniers from the fifteenth century. It will eventually be demonstrated that much of the repertory printed within *Le Jardin* was apparently type-set more or less directly from the manuscripts which must have served as its exemplars.

Example 3.1 gives a list of the narrative structures within *Le Jardin de plaisance*, beginning with the poetic treatise.[5] The lyric poems are disposed into two main sections: the first, from folio 60^{r} to folio 99^{r} (no. 7 to no. 401), is comprised of verse employing a style of mostly "high" discourse; the second section, from folio 99^{r} to folio 126^{r}

Example 3.1: The Narrative Structure of *Le Jardin de plaisance*[6]

Edit. No.	Title/Author[7]	Folio
2	*L'Instructif de la seconde rhetorique*, l'Infortuné	2^{v}
3	*Doleance de Megere*, Regnaud Le Queux	15^{r}
4	*Le Donnet baillé au feu roy Charles huytiesme de ce nom*, [Jehan Molinet]	21^{v}

[4]Susan R. Kovacs, "The French Lyric Collection from Manuscript to Print: Authorship, Arrangement, and Poetic Identity," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994), 68-9; idem., "Staging Lyric Performances in Early Print Culture: *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique* (c. 1501-02)," *French Studies* 55 (2001), 1-24.

[5]The first item in the edition (no. 1) is the dedication (folio 2).

[6]Spellings of titles follow those given in the facsimile of *Le Jardin de plaisance*. When a title as such is not provided, the spelling of the title as it appears in the edition by Droz and Piaget is followed.

[7]When the author's name of a particular text is not given within the body of the text, it is provided in brackets from concordant sources, or given as [Anon.].

5	*Le Chastel de joyeuse destinee*, [Anon.]	25^{v}
6	*Le Débat du Coeur et de l'Œil*, [Michault Taillevent]	55^{r}
613	*Comment ung povre amoureux qui estoit en la campaignie des dames estant au jardin de plaisance s'enhardit de deprier l'une des dames. Et les responces de la dicte dame a ycelluy amant*, [Anon.]	126^{r}
614	*Le Débat de l'estrange et de l'escondit*, [Anon.]	129^{v}
615	*Le Débat du clerc et de la damoiselle*, [Anon.]	132^{v}
616	*La Lamentacion*, Jehan de Calais	136^{v}
617	*Le Parlement d'amours contre la Belle dame sans mercy* [aka] *Le Jugement* [or] *Le Procès de la Belle dame sans merci*, [Baudet Herenc]	139^{r}
618	*La Cruelle femme en amours*, [Achilles Caulier]	142^{v}
619	*La relacion faicte au jardin de plaisance du debat de l'amant et de la dame qui est sans conclusion*, [Anon.]	148^{r}
620	*Le Débat des deux fortunés d'amour*, [Alain Chartier]	153^{r}
621	*Complainte du prisonnier d'amour*, [This is actually a series of fourteen rondeaux by Alain Chartier, the title of which is derived from the first verse of the third rondeau. All but one appear in Rohan.]	161^{r}
622	*Le Serviteur sans guerdon*, [Anon.]	162^{r}
623	*Le Dit du nouveau marié* [aka] *Le Débat de l'homme marié et de l'homme non marié*, [Anon.]	164^{v}
624	*Le Chastoiement des dames*, [Robert de Blois] [followed by] *La Chanson d'amours*, [Anon.]	166^{v} & 170^{v}
625	*Le Débat des deux demoiselles* [aka] *Le Débat de la noire et de la tannée*, [Anon.]	172^{v}
626	*La Comparaison des biens et des maux d'Amours*, [Anon.]	179^{r}
627	*Le Purgatoire d'Amours*, [Anon.]	182^{v}
628	*La Pipee du dieu d'amours*, [Regnauld Le Queux?]	186^{v} [bis]
629	*Le Procès de Honneur féminin*, [Pierre Michaut]	191^{r}
662	*Complainte de l'amant dans la Forest de tristesse*, [Jacques Milet, 1459]	202^{v}
663, 664, 665, 666	[Pieces written by André de la Vigne and several ladies of Lyons, touching several topics]	225^{r} – 229^{r}
667	*Le povre amant desconforté*, [Anon.]	229^{r}
668	*Comment la dame se complaignant douloureusement en requerant la mort et depriant, soubdainement la vint frapper de sa dardre mortelle dont piteusement elle mourut*, [Anon.]	231^{r}
669	*L'Oultré d'Amours*, [Georges Chastellain]	234^{r}
670	*Le Débat du cueur et du corps*, [Anon.]	244^{v}
671	*La Complainte de l'amant trespassé de deuil*, [Pierre de Hautville?]	247^{r}
672	*L'epitaphe*, [Anon.]	258^{v}

(no. 402 to no. 612), includes a wider variety of low-brow poems in ballade and rondeau forms, as well as a few other genres, in addition to a few pieces in a more "courtly" vein.

The Overall Rationale for the Vérard Print

What was the purpose of *Le Jardin de plaisance*? In her detailed study of the publication, Susan Kovacs has identified several possible functions of the early print.[8] First and foremost Kovacs sees the narrative contents of the volume as having been selected, manipulated and ordered to create a paratextual frame for a narrative structure that is a self-contained entity (the rationale for the activities of the *locus amoenus* or garden of love) in which the characters inhabiting the garden (that is, the voices of the core lyric pieces) play out the various possibilities of lyric discourse within a fictionalized courtly drama. To this end, the first four pieces of *Le Jardin* form a theatrical and critical prologue to the work for a fictional reader. After the prologue, all the subsequent verse compositions are situated within the "*jardin de plaisance*," which is the setting for the rest of the book, where the texts are spoken by the lovers in the garden.[9] The two lyric sections depict the merrymaking by the lovers in the garden. It is a form of role-playing in which the reader is invited to participate. These lyric pieces are not meant to be part of the narrative itself; rather, they are offered to the reader as possibilities for recitation, emulation, adaptation and musical setting.[10] To round out the narrative of the volume, the last six pieces of *Le Jardin* have been selected and

[8]Kovacs, "The French Lyric Collection," 65-66. Much of Kovacs' discussion of the organization and structure of *Le Jardin* (as well as the role played by the iconography of the print in determining the print's function) is echoed by Jane H. M. Taylor, "La mise en mélange au XVe siècle: feuilleter le *Jardin de Plaisance*," in *Le Goût du lecteur à la fin du moyen age*, ed. Danielle Bohler (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 2006), 47-63, who was apparently unaware of the considerably earlier dissertation and subsequent article.

[9]Kovacs, "Staging Lyric Performances," passim.

[10]Kovacs, "The French Lyric Collection," 67-69.

ordered to compose a dramatic unity staged as the misfortunes and death of a single character, "*le chevalier oultré d'amours*."[11]

Kovacs sees several possible further functions for *Le Jardin*: as a kind of *summa* of courtly lyric poetic activity of the fifteenth century, it probably had a certain nostalgic appeal for Vérard's aristocratic clientele; it would have been of interest to amateur poets seeking models to imitate; still others may have read the didactic pieces for their value as models of etiquette or for their historical interest.[12] It is also possible that the volume played a role in the ongoing *Querelle des femmes*.[13] The kinds of people who appear to have been most interested in Vérard's anthology can be deduced from a list of those who actually bought it, gleaned from surviving sixteenth-century inventories and other documents: Charles d'Albiac, conseiller du roi en sa chambre au pay de Languedoc; André Baudry, président des enquêtes, conseiller du roi; Nicole Guédon, seigneur de Presles, avocat en Parlement; Gilbert de Hodic, notaire au Châtelet; Etienne de Passavant, maître tapissier, Philbert de Luxembourg; and Pierre Ricouart, libraire.[14] It can be seen from the list that members of the educated middle class (an artisan, a bookseller) purchased the print, as well as at least one member of the aristocracy, but that Vérard's target clientele appears to have been members of the *noblesse de robe* and government functionaries, whose upwardly

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[11]Ibid., 74-75.

[12]Ibid., 42.

[13]Octavien de Saint-Gelais (attribué à), *La Chasse d'amours, poème publié en 1509*, ed. Mary Beth Winn (Geneva: Droz, 1984), l-liii.

[14]A. H. Schutz, *Vernacular Books in Parisian Private Libraries of the Sixteenth Century According to the Notarial Inventories*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures 25 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955). The inventories do not specify which impression or edition of *Le Jardin* is meant, but it is not likely that the target audience for the print would have changed that much over the course of the sixteenth century.

mobile status contributed to the desire to imitate and aspire to entrance into the ranks of the aristocratic class. The educated class' enduring interest in the artistic artifacts of its social superiors goes at least part way towards explaining *Le Jardin*'s obvious success in spite of the fact that nearly all of its lyric pieces were at least thirty-five to forty years old by the year 1501 and therefore considerably out of date.[15] This segment of the population possessed the necessary education, affluence and interest in vernacular literature to make Verard's publication a worthwhile venture.

The Compilation of *Le Jardin*

The author of the treatise *l'Instructif de la seconde rhétorique* of *Le Jardin* called himself "l'Infortuné." Although he is anonymous, Droz and Piaget believe that he was also one of the compilers of *Le Jardin* and that he is most likely to be identified with the poet Regnauld Le Queux.[16] Part of their argument hinges on the placement of Le Queux's own *La Doléance de Mégère* immediately following the anonymous *Instructif*; they believe it is most likely that the compiler of *Le Jardin* would have naturally given his own works pride of place at the head of the volume, and they also believe that Le Queux's style meshes nicely with that of the poetry treatise and its examples. They note that "l'Infortuné" claimed to have written *L'Instructif* at the request of "certain men licensed in law" ("*d'aucuns licenciez en loix*") and that Le Queux himself also obtained a licence to practice law. Droz and Piaget further believe that Le Queux was the author of the *Donnet baillé au feu roi Charles VIII*, but this cannot be, since this particular work, under the title *Le donet baillié au roys Loys douziesme de ce nom*, was actually written by Jehan Molinet. It appears in the three main

[15]I owe this point to conversations with Professor James Haar.

[16]Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:36-40.

manuscripts of Molinet's work and, in fact, bears his name, although Droz and Piaget apparently were unaware of this.[17]

Details about Le Queux's life are sketchy. He was a native of Douai in Flanders.[18] In 1463 he wrote an *Exclamation en la mort de Marie d'Anjou* and wrote at least two large-scale works: *La Doléance de Mégère*, which dates from the end of 1469[19] and appears in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 12490 (folios 44^{r}-67^{v}), and *Le Barâtre infernal* from 1480, which is preserved in three manuscripts.[20] Droz and Piaget speculate that he was born around the year 1440, eventually earning his *maîtrise* (probably from 1465 to 1469). In 1470 he is documented as offering a volume of ballades and rondeaux to Marie de Clèves, the widow of Charles d'Orléans,[21] written by himself and Robert du Herlin, secretary to René d'Anjou. He apparently also wrote two lost works, *Le Miroer de Court* (1471) and a *Maison céleste*, the latter of which is mentioned by the writer Bouchet, who included Le Queux among the eminent writers of France, along with Milet, Greban, Chastellain, Castel, Alexis,

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[17]These three manuscripts are: Tournai, Bibl. communale, MS 105, folios 342^{r}-353^{r} (destroyed during World War II; Arras, Bibl. Mun., MS 692, folios 142^{r}-149^{r}; and Paris, Bibl. James de Rothschild, MS 471, folios 183^{r}-191^{v}. Noël Dupire, *Étude critique des manuscrits et éditions des poésies de Jean Molinet* (Paris: E. Droz, 1932).

[18]Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:67, where they note that an acrostic of *Le Barâtre infernal* gives the following: Regnaud Le Queux de Douay.

[19]Ibid., 2:62. The surviving manuscript of this work was copied by François Robertet.

[20]These are Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 450, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 655, and Rouen, Bibl. Mun., MS 681.

[21]Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:67, citing Léon marquis de Larborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne*, 3 vols. (Paris: Plon frères, 1849-1852), 3: no. 403. Le Queux also offered a copy of his *Barâtre* to André Giron, seigneur de la Garde, who served Charles de Guyenne, and who is also known to have participated in the literary activities at the court of Blois. See Sylvie Lefèvre, "Regnaud Le Queux," *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Age*, ed. Geneviève Hasenohr and Michel Zink ([Paris?]: Fayard, 1992-), 1248-50.

Meschinot and Saint-Gelais.[22] Droz and Piaget also document him, beginning in 1469, as a protégé of the governor of Picardy and counselor and chamberlain to the king, Charles de Gaucourt.[23] At some point Le Queux became the *précepteur*, or tutor, to René de Brosse, dit de Bretagne. Droz and Piaget speculate that this most likely took place after the death of René's mother, Louise de Laval, in 1480.[24] At some point after Charles VIII took the throne in 1483, Le Queux made a gift to the king of a translation of Albumazar's astrology treatise *Le Livre des conjonctions et des revolutions*, to which he appended a dedication of twenty-five quatrains, no doubt in hopes of securing some sort of position at court.[25] It is unknown whether or not he was successful in this endeavor. If Le Queux was, in fact, hired by Vérard to be the compiler of *Le Jardin*, then he would have been around the age of sixty, and it would have probably been the last major literary project of his life.

A notarial *minute* preserved from fifteenth-century Paris and published by Rémy Scheurer sheds some light on Vérard's business relationships and perhaps may even indirectly offer evidence of how he acquired some of the manuscripts he published (see Example 3.2).[26] The *minute* implies that Nicole Gilles acted as an agent on behalf of Vérard to acquire several manuscripts for the publisher and edited at least one of them, the *Cent*

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[22]Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:68, citing Jean Bouchet in *Le Temple de bonne renommé*, folio 45^{r} (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Rés Ye 355).

[23]Citing a piece of parchment affixed to the inside cover of the copy of Le Queux's *Le Barâtre infernal* which reads: "Le Baratre composé par maistre Regnauld Le Queux, licencié en loix, precepteur de treshault et puissant seigneur Monseigneur le conte de Painthievre et de Perigueux, viconte de Lymoges et de Bridiers, seigneur de l'Aigle, de Chantoceaux, de Boussac, des Essars, de Paluyau, etc., messire René de Bretaigne, chevalier." The volume, with its dedication, survives as Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 450. Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:69.

[24]Ibid., 2:69, n. 2.

[25]Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. lat. 7331.

[26]Paris, Archives Nationales, Min. centr., XIX 6, published by Rémy Scheurer, "Nicole Gilles et Antoine Vérard," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 128 (1970), 415-19.

Example 3.2: *Quittance* between Antoine Vérard and Nicole Gilles

Led. Anthoine Verard confesse devoir et gaige aud. Gilles ou au porteur la somme de cent livres tournois, monnoie courant a present, de reste et de compte final fait ensemble pour demourer quicte et deschargé envers luy tant de la societé qui'ilz ont eue ensemble pour faire imprimer le livre des Cent nouvelles nouvelles, titulemus Cydrac et autres livres, comme generalement de toutes autres choses quelzconques dont ilz ont eu a besongner ensemble et il povoit estre tenu envers led. Gilles le temps passé jusques a huy, sans riens en excepter, fors la garentie seulement en quoy il est tenu envers luy a cause de xvi l. t. de rente qu'il a ceddees et transportees aud. Gilles et qu'il avoit droit de prendre par chacun an sur tous les biens et heritages de Nicole Esguire, aussi libraire a Paris, si comme etc… dont… a paier au jour saint Jehan-Baptiste prouchain venant. En seureté de laquelle somme il a baillé aud. Gilles a ce present que de luy confesse avoir receu une cedulle escripte en papier et signee, comme il apparoit, de la main de messire Pierre Ysabeau, presbtre, chanoine et seelleur de l'eglise cathedralle de Noyon, par laquelle appart. led. Ysabeau estre tenu et obligé envers led. Anthoine Verard en la somme de IIIc l. t. pour les causes contenues en lad. cedulle, dactee du IIIe jour de janvier mil IIIIc IIIIxx et dix dernier passé, laquelle led. Gilles promect rendre et restituer aud. Anthoine Verard en luy paiant et baillant la somme de c l. t. dont dessus est faicte mention. Promectant… obligeant… renonçant… Fait et passé double, cestes pour led. Gilles, le lundy IXe jour de may l'an mil IIIIc IIIIxx et unze.[27]

The said Antoine Verard acknowledges owing the said Gilles or the bearer the sum of 100 *livres tournois*, in coin as it is worth currently, for the balance and the final account made together in order to leave him [Vérard] even and discharged [from any debt] towards him [Gilles] as much in the dealings that they have had together to print the book of *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, the title of *Sydrach*, and other books, as generally in all other matters whatsoever in which they have worked together and for which he can be held [obligated] towards the said Gilles from the past until today, without exception, except for the only guarantee in which he [Vérard] is held towards him [Gilles] by reason of 16 *livres tournois* in rent that he has given and delivered to the said Gilles that he has the right to collect each year on all the goods and inheritances of Nicole Esguire, also a bookseller in Paris….to be paid on the next future day of John the Baptist. In surety of which amount he has given to the said Gilles, and for which he acknowledges having received a contract written on paper, and signed, as it appears, by the hand of messire Pierre Ysabeau, priest, canon and keeper of the seal [Treasurer?] of the Cathedral church of Noyon, by which contract the said Ysabeau is held and obligated towards the said Antoine Verard for the sum of 300 *livres tournois* for the reasons contained in the said contract, dated the 3rd day of January last, 1490, which the said Gilles promises to repay the said Antoine Verard, by giving him the amount of 100 *livres tournois*. Promissing…obliging…renouncing…Made and copied, this last for the said Gilles, Monday, the 9th day of May, 1491.[28]

[27]Scheurer, Rémy, "Nicole Gilles," 415-19.

[28]The translation is my own.

nouvelles nouvelles, to make it suitable for publication. It also appears that Gilles was involved in the publication of Vérard's version of *La fontaine de toutes sciences du Philosophe Sydrach* as well as a French vernacular version of Boccaccio's *Décameron*.[29] All three of these works were among the first five that Vérard had printed.

By February of 1475 Nicole Gilles was a notary and secretary to Louis XI;[30] in 1482-83 he was a *clerc extraordinaire* in the *Chambre des comptes*;[31] and from 1484 he was Comptroller of the Treasury.[32] He thus belonged to the segment of French society known as the *noblesse de robe*. He was also a man of letters, amassing a personal library of sixty-four books by 1499,[33] and copying at least one work by hand, a *Doctrinal aux simples gens*, in 1474.[34] He himself compiled and wrote at least one work, the *Annales et Croniques de France*, which was subsequently published in eight editions and re-impressions up to 1621.[35] The *minute* also indicates that Gilles financed in part Vérard's fledgling operation

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[29]The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was published on 24 December 1486, followed by *La fontaine de toutes sciences du Philosophe Sydrach* on 20 February 1487, printed by Levet for Vérard. Scheurer, "Nicole Gilles," 416-17, citing Macfarlane 4 and 5, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Rés Y^2 174 and Paris, Bibl. Nat., Rés Y^2 183.

[30]Scheurer, "Nicole Gilles," 415, citing J. Riche in collaboration with A. Lapeyre, *L'historien Nicole Gilles*, Ph. D. diss., l'École des Chartes, Paris, 1930), no page.

[31]Scheurer, "Nicole Gilles," 415, citing Henri Jassemin, *La Chambre des comptes de Paris au XVe siècle, précédé d'une étude sur ses origines* (Paris: A. Picard, 1933), 33, no. 4, and Paris, AN, P 2301, folio 529^v.

[32]Scheurer, "Nicole Gilles," 415, citing Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, "Le personnel de la Cour du Trésor," extract from *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* (1935-37, 1938), 155, no. 232.

[33]Scheurer, "Nicole Gilles," 416, citing R[oger] Doucet, *Les bibliothèques parisiennes au XVIe siècle* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1956), 83-89.

[34]This volume survives today as Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 17088. Scheurer, "Nicole Gilles," 416, citing Léopold Délisle, "Documents parisiens de la Bibliothèque de Berne," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France* 23 (1896), 248-80, esp. p. 265, n. 1.

[35]Scheurer, "Nicole Gilles," 416, citing Molinier, *Sources*, IV:29, no. 4669, and Hauser, *Sources*, 1:21, no. 12.

and that by early May of 1491 the business relationship had been liquidated, although the two men remained friends.[36]

Nicole Gilles was therefore not only equipped financially and inclined because of his literary interests to act as an agent/editor for Vérard, but his status among the higher echelons of Parisian society meant that he had many contacts among other like-minded individuals, and would have easily been able to identify owners of particular manuscripts (for example, Estienne Petit, the Du Drac family and the Hacqueville-Bochart clan) and induce them to make the works available to Vérard. This has ramifications for the case of Regnauld Le Queux, who also was a member of the *noblesse de robe*, was himself a man of letters and may possibly have also acted as agent/editor for Vérard, although there would have been no need for him to support Vérard financially at this point, since by 1501 Vérard's business was on solid ground. Le Queux likely would have identified owners of chansonniers among his friends and associates, perhaps also among aristocratic strangers through word-of-mouth, and would have offered to remunerate the owners for their out-of-date song collections, eventually to be reimbursed by Vérard. Within *Le Jardin*, very little of the song repertory is later than the 1460s, so it would not have been that difficult to find owners willing to give up *passé* music. It is also possible that the collections were simply rented and eventually returned to their owners.

In regards to Le Queux possibly operating as Vérard's compiler, recent scholarship on the subject has tended to be sceptical.[37] It is perhaps significant, therefore,

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[36]Scheurer, "Nicole Gilles," 417, citing Paris, AN, Min. centr. XIX 12.

[37]See Jane H. M. Taylor, for example, in "La double fonction de l'*Instructif de la seconde rhétorique*: une hypothèse," in *L'écrit et le manuscrit à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Tania Van Hemelryck and Céline Van Hoorebeeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 343-51, esp. p. 345 and Sylvie Lefèvre in her entry on "Regnaud Le Queux," in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, 1248-50.

that the final collection of *Le Jardin*, Collection "S," is a group of didactic and moralistic pieces of the very kind that a *précepteur* would use for the instruction of young children. Three of the texts, in fact, are included in Lans 380, which I have shown elsewhere is a textbook for the education of a young, unmarried girl who had just learned to read.[38] It is also worth noting that a previously unnoticed document listing all of the people involved in the funeral ceremonies of Charles d'Orléans in 1465 includes a Regnault, le Queux along with other artists, artisans and servants.[39] Regnault Le Queux is not a common name, and, knowing of Vérard's tremendous success in a field littered with failures, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that this astute businessman and tireless self-promoter hired Le Queux to compile his poetry volume specifically because of his former ties to the father of King Louis XII.[40] It is even possible, although undocumentable, that Le Queux had been

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[38]"An Introduction to the British Library MS Lansdowne 380," paper read at the 41st International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, 4-7 May 2006; eadem, "Charles d'Orléans, Philip the Good, and a Wool Merchant's Daughter: An Introduction to the British Library MS Lansdowne 380," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Quebec City, Canada, 1-4 November 2007. See also Chapter 4.

[39]Paris, Bibl. Nat., Pièces originales du Cabinet des titres, vol. 2164, Orléans II, pages 725-28. For the published transcription, see J. Roman, "Compte des obsèques et du deuil de Charles, duc d'Orléans-Valois: Seconde partie: Documents et notices historiques," *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*," 22 (1885), 225-47, esp. 232. Pierre Champion, in his *Vie de Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465)*, 2d ed. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1969), 390, mentions our Regnault, but interestingly, describes him as "…jadis chantre de la chapelle d'Alençon," without giving his source. If Le Queux, was, in fact, formerly a singer before arriving at Blois, then his training as such would have certainly equipped him with the necessary skills to be able to evaluate chansonniers on Vérard's behalf.

[40]A beautiful presentation copy of *Le Jardin* was prepared by Vérard specifically for Louis XII: Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek Perg. Haun 182º. On these early presentation prints, see Mary Beth Winn, "Offerings for the King: Antoine Vérard's Presentation Manuscripts and Printed Books," in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years After the Invention of Printing*, ed. J. B. Trapp (London: University of London, 1983), 66-74. Mary Beth Winn, *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher, 1485-1512: Prologues, Poems and Presentations* (Geneva: Droz, 1997), 477, provides information on the dedication of the 1501 publication of *Le Jardin* which gives the reader the impression that the volume was published for Charles VIII, but posthumously. Taylor, "La double fonction," 343-51, esp. 344, n. 8, clarifies this information by explaining that the frontispiece for the 1501 edition of *Le Jardin* was in fact recycled by Vérard from an edition of Aristotle's *Ethiques* published in 1488; Taylor cites A. Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900-1914), 2:114-16.

engaged as *précepteur* to the young Louis de Valois.[41] Presumably, Vérard would have begun plans for *Le Jardin de plaisance* almost as soon as Louis XII took the throne after the death of his predecessor, Charles VIII, 7 April 1498. This is because such a large project would have taken several years to bring to completion, and the print was published sometime in 1501. Even so, three to three and a half years is a relatively short period of time for all of the activity and work that would have needed to go into such a production.[42]

When the lyric section of *Le Jardin* begins, an opening section of thirty-seven poems serves as a kind of introduction or transition to the larger body of ballades and rondeaux. Kovacs has pointed out that these poems are each quite different from one another and explains this as the compiler's attempt to show the principle of *varietas* at work.[43] In other words, the two large sections of the lyric poems that function as the core of the volume are meant to serve as models of the possibilities of lyric verse that the lovers in the garden could use to create, entertain each other, instruct each other, set to music, etc., and the first thirty-seven examples of these are a microcosm of the variety that is possible. Within this small subsection of the print will be found love poems, satirical poems, bawdy verse, moralistic and didactic poems, a drinking song, a pastoral poem, verse that may be set to music and even a poem constructed completely from the incipits of thirty-two different monophonic and polyphonic chansons. The principle of *varietas* is signaled to the reader or audience by the rubrics for many of the poems, such as "balade d'ung amoureux a sa dame," "balade de bergerie," "rondel moral," "rondel en chant," "rondel d'estuves," "sote balade,"

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[41]Surely it cannot be a coincidence that the lyric repertory contained within the pages of *Le Jardin* extends just to, but not beyond, the year in which Charles d'Orléans, the father of the future Louis XII, died.

[42]I owe these observations to conversations with Professor James Haar.

[43]Kovacs, "The French Lyric Collection," 78-79.

"balade des abus des femmes," "joyeux rondel," "autre rondel de refus" and "balade faicte de plusieurs chançons." Once the principle of variety has been firmly established for this section of the volume, the compiler has then simply provided a series of poems in a courtly vein, followed by a second more variegated section of verse which includes poems in a looser, more low-brow style. At this point, the compiler's main concern must have been to avoid duplicating items as far as possible, which he seems to have achieved fairly successfully, considering that there are only nine duplications among the over 630 lyric poems within *Le Jardin*[44] and that no Table of Contents or Index was provided for the print until the modern edition by Droz and Piaget. After the first lyric section of *varietas*, however, no other effort was made to organize the poems at the level of the individual poem. Essentially, the compiler would have simply opened up his first exemplar, marked each poem as he came to it for the type-setter and, when he had worked through the entire exemplar, picked up the next one in the pile and repeated the process, taking care to avoid duplicating previously included poems (an expensive waste of space and paper).[45] Alternatively, the compiler of *Le Jardin* could have copied poems from the exemplars into paper fascicle

[44]The duplications are *Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure* (folio 61^{r}, no. 10 and folio 71^{v}, no. 103); *Ha hay estes vous rencherie* (folio 64^{v}, no. 37 and folio 78^{r}, no. 177); *Las! pourquoy vis je de mes yeulx* (folio 69^{r}, no. 76 and folio 99^{v}, no. 403); *V[u]eille ou non vueille celle que j'ay servie* (folio 72^{r}, no. 111, folio 96^{v} (no. 372); *Se je garde bien vostre honneur* (folio 75^{r}, no. 140 and folio 96^{v}, no. 373); *Je languis en dure destresse* (folio 83^{v}, no. 237 and folio 95^{r}, no. 358); *C'est par vous que tant je souspire* (folio 85^{v}, no. 260 and folio 123^{v} no. 592); *Le chois d'amours, des belles l'exemplaire*/*Que veult on plus que d'aymer l'exemplaire* (folio 96^{v}, no. 375 and folio 97^{r}, no. 378) and *Du tout me metz en vostre obeyssance*/*Ma doulce dame en qui j'ay ma fiance* (folio 107^{v}, no. 445 and folio 112^{v}, no. 475).

[45]There is evidence that in the case of at least two groups of poems, no. 351 – no. 362 and no. 448 – no. 456, a kind of "mini-narrative" is being played out. The first group of poems involves absence of the loved one and the lover's response; the second involves a series of poems (mostly having to do with prison) by Villon. These mini-narratives have been discussed in some detail by Jane H. M. Taylor, "'A rude heap together hurl'd'?: Disorder and Design in Vérard's *Jardin de Plaisance* (1501)," in *"De sens rassis": Essays in Honor of Rupert T. Pickens*, ed. Keith Busby, Bernard Guidot, and Logan E. Whalen (Amsterdam and New York: Radopi, 2005), 629-44. What Taylor has not determined, however, is whether these poems were manipulated to form a group by the compiler of *Le Jardin* or were already present as a group within the exemplar that served as the model for Vérard's compositor. Since the majority of poems do not appear to have been so manipulated, it is probably wise not to read too much into the role of *Le Jardin*'s compiler.

manuscripts in the order in which the typesetter would have been expected to set them, the compiler also providing the rubrics that the print would ultimately present to the reader. In either case, there is no evidence by the compiler (or anyone else involved in the making of the print) of any large-scale ordering or manipulation of the core repertory of lyric pieces beyond the opening *varietas* section. The lyric poems within the core of *Le Jardin* appear to reflect the order of the exemplars from which they were copied. This lack of manipulation of the individual poems is fortuitous for us today, since the contents within each exemplar remain relatively intact, and it is therefore possible to draw some conclusions about each collection as a result.

The first such conclusion to be drawn is that the compiler, in addition to organizing the exemplars of the two lyric sections in general order from earliest to latest repertory, appears to have placed the overall contents of each exemplar in an order that would maximize their marketability. In other words, exemplars containing the repertory that would have been most familiar to the average Parisian who would have had an interest in purchasing the volume appear first, followed by what would have been less familiar collections. This was achieved by placing the contents from the exemplars with widely known and widely disseminated pieces ahead of the contents of the exemplars containing more localized and, therefore, less familiar, pieces. There are nineteen discrete lyric collections in *Le Jardin*, almost every one of them having a distinct profile (see Table 3.1). Collections "A" through "H" contain repertory that was probably not known just to members of the French royal court, where much of it was written and composed, but also throughout Paris. Collection "I," however, is somewhat more localized, known mainly to members and habitués of the French royal court and aristocracy, and bureaucrats connected to the court in

Table 3.1: Collections Within *Le Jardin de plaisance*

Folio Nos.	Edition Nos.	Collection	Nature of the Collection	Nature of Vérard's Exemplar
64^{v} - 66^{r}	38-48	A	Generation of Machaut and his younger contemporaries. 54% with surviving settings. Citation *ballades*?	Probably musical
66^{r} - 68^{r}	49-71	B	*Rondeaux*. Extant settings from the 1450s and 60s. Mix of Central French and Burgundian composers. 47% with surviving settings. Several songs w/legal terms, imagery.	Probably musical
68^{r} - 69^{v}	72-80	C	Fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century *ballades* followed by *rondeaux*. 44% with extant settings. Citation poems? (Machaut, Granson, Garencières)	Probably musical
69^{v} - 73^{v}	81-124	D	Songs and texts mainly from the 1450s, mostly from central France. 38% with extant settings, or had settings at some point.	Probably musical
73^{v} - 74^{r}	125-133	E	Poems and settings of the 1430s and 40s. Only attributions are to Binchois and Du Fay. 44% with extant settings. None of the poems or settings preserved in central French manuscripts. A likely Burgundian orientation.	Probably musical
74^{v} - 76^{v}	134-160	F	Central French repertory, mainly from the 1450s. Many songs use legal language/vocabulary. Last three texts of the collection from the late fourteenth, early fifteenth century. 33% with extant settings.	Probably musical
76^{v} - 81^{r}	161-207	G	No clear pattern of MS transmission or distribution. Several poems appear in Rohan, but the only attributed composers are Binchois (1), Du Fay (3), Frye/Binchois (1). 25% with musical associations.	Probably musical

81^{r} - 85^{r}	208-251	H	Poems and settings from the 1450s and early 1460s. Central French, with a strong Parisian element. Collection probably belonged to a court functionary, a member of the *noblesse de robe* or someone who spent a great deal of time in Paris. 36% with extant settings, or had a setting at some point.	Probably musical
85^{r} - 91^{v}	252-319	I	Poems and settings from the Blosseville/French royal court circle of poets and composers active in the 1450s. Very similar to Paris 1719, Collections F and H. Only 16 certain extant settings for 23%, another in Lans 380; 25% total w/possible settings.	Probably musical
91^{v} - 96^{r}	320-370	J	Collection apparently Burgundian in provenance. 43% with extant or known settings. This collection contains the largest chronological span of any in the volume: 1320s to c. 1460	Probably musical
96^{r} - 99^{r}	371-401	K	Composers mostly from central France; authors mainly associated w/French royal court of the 1450s. A slant toward Brittany with poems of very limited circulation by Tanneguy de Chastel and the collection's opening acrostic [Du] Gu[e]scl[in]. 22% with extant settings.	Probably musical
99^{r} - 101^{v}	402-419	L	Misc. collection of *ballades*, *rondeaux*, *dictiés*, riddles. Late fourteenth century through 1480s. Authors, acrostics suggest French royal court provenance. No extant settings.	Probably not musical
101^{v} – 103^{r}	420-421	M	Deamandes d'amour and a small group of epistolary poems by Guillaume Crétin with responses.	Probably not musical
103^{r} - 113^{v}	422-481	N	All *ballades* except for 3 *rondeaux*. Late fourteenth century to about 1460. One extant setting. Many unica. Parisian.	Probably not musical
113^{v} - 116^{r}	482-511	O	*Rondeaux*, mainly from the French royal court of the 1450s through the 1460s. 5 poems with extant settings; 13% with settings. Collection connected to court of Jean d'Angoulême and/or Marguerite de Rohan?	Probably not musical

116^{r} - 121^{v}	512-572	P	*Rondeaux* . Texts and extant settings from the 1450s and 60s. A few texts and acrostics associated with personnel at the French royal court, but also some with ties to Jean II, Duke of Bourbon. Collection associated with court at Moulins? 11% with settings	Probably not musical
122^{r}	573-577	Q	All five *rondeaux* are from *Le Livre du faulcon des dames*, Anon. One poem with a musical setting, 1460s. Possibly part of previous collection.	Probably not musical
122^{r} - 124^{r}	578-596	R	Combination of *rondeaux* and *ballades*. Several poems by Meschinot. Mostly 1450s and 1460s. One extant setting. Many unique poems; possible connection to court of Brittany?	Probably not musical
124^{v} - 126^{r}	597-612	S	Mix of *ballades*, *rondeaux*, bawdy poems and moralistic *dictiés*. Didactic. No clear provenance. No settings.	Probably not musical

some way. Collection "J" clearly reflects musical activity at the court of Burgundy, while "K" seems to be connected to the court of Brittany, etc., so that the further one moves into each lyric section, the less familiar the pieces are likely to be to our imagined Parisian reader.

Collections "A" and "B"

Collection "A" comprises eleven total texts, all ballades. Six of them also have musical settings, of which four are by Guillaume Machaut (see Table 3.2). All of the ballades have stanzas of seven or eight lines and no envoy, and so theoretically all could have been set to music. The only attributions available through other sources are those to Machaut, but it is clear from the lack of envoys for the poems and transmission patterns of the manuscripts for the poetry as well as the music that this collection is entirely from the fourteenth century/very early fifteenth century. Six of the eleven pieces (or fifty-four percent) of the collection have extant musical settings in other sources. No. 43, *Se Lancelot, Paris, la belle Helaine* (folio 65^{r}) apparently had a setting at one point, since its incipit is

Table 3.2: *Le Jardin* Collection "A"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit[46] (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author[47]	Composer
64v	38	*Oncques Hester ne souffrit tant de paine*		
"	39	***Mort ou mercy ay longtemps desiré***		Anon.
"	40	*Jugez amans et oyez ma douleur*		
65r	41	*Dame san per que pieça comparay*		
"	42	***Mon esperit se combat a nature***	Guillaume de Machaut	Guillaume de Machaut
"	43	***Se Lancelot, Paris, la belle Helaine***		Anon.
65v	44	*Hé! doulx regard, pourqouy plantas l'amour*		
"	45	***De Fortune me dois plaindre et louer***	Machaut	Machaut
"	46	***Je doy tres bien ma dame comparer***	Machaut	Machaut
66r	47	*Aspre refus contre doulce priere*		
"	48	***De petit peu, de nyent voulenté***	Machaut	Machaut

listed in the index of the now-lost Tremoïlle manuscript.[48] In addition, it intersects with a complex of citation ballades by Philippus de Caserta and Cuvelier, and appears to have originated close to the French royal court, at this point still in Paris.[49] *Se Lancelot, Paris, la belle Helaine* and its related complex apparently relate text-wise to two ballades that were included in Collection "A" of *Le Jardin*, as well: no. 38, *Oncques Hester ne souffrit tant de paine* (folio 64v) and no. 41, *Dame sans per que pieça comparay* (folio 65r). Example 3.3

[46]All incipits are given as they appear in Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, vol. 2, unless the title also appears in David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), in which case the spelling follows that given in Fallows.

[47]There are no text author or composer attributions in *Le Jardin*. These have been supplied, when possible, by concordant sources.

[48]Margaret Bent, "A Note on the Dating of the Trémoïlle Manuscript," in Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, eds., *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, Musicological Studies 53 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 217-42, esp. 237.

[49]Yolanda Plumley, "Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing: The Relationship between the Chanson and Lyric Poetry Repertories in the Late Fourteenth Century," unpublished paper read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston 1998. I am grateful to Professor Plumley for allowing me access to this paper; eadem., "Citation and Allusion in the Late *Ars nova*: The Case of *Esperance* and the *En Attendant* songs." *Early Music History* 18 (1999), 287-363.

presents *Oncques Hester*, *Se Lancelot* and *Dame sans per* for comparison. *Oncques Hester* preserves the "a" rhyme of *Se Lancelot* as well as the topos of references to past historical figures. Some of the same vocabulary and locutions are re-used as well; these are underlined. Presumably, if the second stanza of *Oncques Hester* had been included, the allusions and borrowings between the two poems would be even greater.[50] In Example 3.4, *Dame sans per* employs the "a" rhyme of *Se Lancelot* and *Oncques Hester* for its "b" rhyme, but employs several of the exact words found in *Se Lancelot* and two poems associated with it: *Le saut perilleux a l'aventure prins* and *Se Geneivre, Tristan, Yssout, Helainne*.[51] Shared vocabulary between these four poems is also underlined, including the important "fontainne." *Oncques Hester* and *Dame sans per* would thus also seem to be part of the *Se Lancelot*/*En attendant complex*. No. 45, *De Fortune me dois plaindre et louer* (folio 65^{v}), is by Machaut and is also a citation ballade, quoting the incipit of Machaut's Ballade 22, *Il mest avis quil nest don de nature*, sharing its "a" rhyme as well as its rhyme-words "Nature" and "descomfiture" with B22.[52] No. 46, *Je puis trop bien ma dame comparer* (folio 65^{v}) is also a citation ballade. It begins to look as though Collection "A" was preserved specifically as a citation collection.

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[50]Gordon K. Greene, *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564*, vols. 18 and 19 of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco: L'Oiseau-lyre, c. 1981- c. 1982), 18:125-27.

[51]Plumley, "Citation and Allusion." *Le sault perilleux* and *Se Geneivre, Tristan* are edited as nos. 53 and 63, respectively, in Greene, *Manuscript Chantilly*, 19:6-8 and 40-45.

[52]Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Fortune's Demesne: The Interrelation of Text and Music in Machaut's *Il mest avis* (B22), *De Fortune* (B23) and Two Related Balades," *Early Music History* 19 (2000), 47-79.

Example 3.3

Se Lancelot (*Le Jardin*, folio 65[r])

Se Lancelot, Paris, la belle Helaine,
Tristan, Iason, Juno ne Narcisus,
Onc Gedeon ne souffrit tant de paine
Pour bien aymer/ne souffriroient plus
Pour ma dame par amours que Dieu gard,
Pour son amour ie languis, brusle et ard
Mon povre cuer/languissant main et soir,
Doulce dame, pour vostre amour avoir.

Helas! Je voy de doulceur la fontaine
Dont cueur damant povoit estre repeu
Doulce, plaisant/mais elle est si haultaine
Que ie nen puis gouster/ien suis perdu
Pource quelle me fiere de son regard
Cler et luysant/ardant comme ung liepard.
Gouster nen puis/dont ie languis pour voir,
Doulce dame, pour vostre amour avoir.

Si vous supply dame de bonte plaine,
Quen vo mercy soyt briefvement receu
Mon dolent cueur qui nuyt et jour se paine
De vous servir sans estre secouru
De vous ma dame et ne de vostre part.
Ne garde lheure que de moy se depart
Toute ma joye/ainsi suis sans espoir,
Doulce dame, pour vostre amour avoir.

Oncques Hester (*Le Jardin*, folio 64[v])

Oncque Hester ne souffrit tant de paine
Ne Job autant de tribulation
Que fortune ma fait par son demaine
Et par sa fausse enserree trahison
Las: cest sans cause/et si est sans raison
Que mon las cueur seuffre si grief martire
Mais cest pour vous dame/dieu le vous mire

(Missing the second strophe)

Si vous supply doulce fleur souveraine
Pour qui iay tant de tribulation
Et que ie nay qui ioye me ramaine
Vueillez oyr ma lamentacion
Pour moster hors de grant affliction
Car ie ne faiz que languir et desire
Mais cest pour vous, etc.

Dame sans per (*Le Jardin*, folio 65[r])

Dame san per qui pieca comparay
Au beau cler jour que joye nous amaine
Ad ce mene suis si que ne pourray
Espoir davoir par creature humaine
Joye et confort se de vous ne me vient
Lespoir de vous seulement si soubstient
Mon povre cueur/helas et triste envie
A qui fortune est de present ennemye

Car riens ne treuve/riens ne voie/rien ne scay
Qui ne me soit douleur/tristesse et paine
Tout me desplaist tout me tourne a esmay
Et tout par vous ma dame soureraine
Pensez dame que quant il me souvient
Estre recours du mal qui me survient
Contre raison ma maistresse et amye
A qui fortune, etc.

Dame excellente quon peut tenir de vray
Fleur de beaulte et de doulceur fontaine
A vous me rens/a vous suis et seray
En quelque lieu ou fortune me maine
Tout ce note/ma dame sil advient
Que moubliez durant le temps qui vient
Tant endurer certes ie ne puis mie
A qui fortune est de present ennemje.

Example 3.4

Dame sans per (*Le Jardin*, folio 65[r])

Dame san per qui pieca comparay
Au beau cler jour que joye nous amaine
Ad ce mene suis si que ne pourray
Espoir davoir par creature humaine
Joye et confort se de vous ne me vient
Lespoir de vous seulement si soubstient
Mon povre cueur/helas et triste envie
A qui fortune est de present ennemye

Car riens ne treuve/riens ne voie/rien ne scay
Qui ne me soit douleur/tristesse et paine
Tout me desplaist tout me tourne a esmay
Et tout par vous ma dame soureraine
Pensez dame que quant il me souvient
Estre recours du mal qui me survient
Contre raison ma maistresse et amye
A qui fortune, etc.

Dame excellente quon peut tenir de vray
Fleur de beaulte et de doulceur fontaine
A vous me rens/a vous suis et seray
En quelque lieu ou fortune me maine
Tout ce note/ma dame sil advient
Que moubliez durant le temps qui vient
Tant endurer certes ie ne puis mie
A qui fortune est de present ennemje.

Le sault perilleux (Chantilly)

Le sault perillaux a l'aventure prins
Quant faillit mon cuer en la clere fontainne
Ou maint amoureux a estre entré perist
Par les ruisselés qui la font leur demainne.
Gardee est moult estroit d'une chastellainne
En un plaisant vergier qui la tient en sa guarde.
Nulz n'en puet aprocher sans cuer point d'une darde.

Quant ainsi me vi en ce tres doulz pourpris.
Au cuer me senti feru par mi la vaine
D'un plaisant soubrire qus rosiers reprins,
Dont avis me fu que vis la belle Elainne,
Qui tant m'arousa de sa tres doulce alaine
Qu'elle me fist entrer en amoureuse garde.
Nulz n'en puet aprocher sans cuer point d'une darde.

Et se en amours n'eusse esté ben aprins,
N'en fuesse parti pour creature humaine
Que n'eusse gouté de la fontaine et prins
A l'aventure sans doubter sousfrir paine;
Se [je] puis dire pour verité certaine
Qie ke fis deceü quant a mon regarde
Nulz n'en puet aprocher sans cuer point d'une darde.

Se Genevre (Chantilly)

Se Genevre, Tristan, Yssout, Helainne,
Paris, Jason, Lancelot et Medée
Soufrirent onc pour bien amer grant payne,
Je suefre plus mille fois la journée
Pour la rose en qui j'ai cuer et pensée
Soit tart, tempres, ou jorn [ou] main, harsoir,
Dont je languis pour santir la rosée
Par desconfort sans nul confort avouyr.

Car Danger et Refus qu'avuec li maine
Sont d'un acort de moy tollir l'antrée
En enguardent lonc la tres souverayne,
Quar du monde est la plus belle [ja née]
La flour des flours, la plus gente assenée,
Dont par ces [yeaux] j'y pris tot mon espoir,
Et ma doulour en est toute espaniée
Par desconfort [sans nul confort avoyr].

Mes se Pitié avuec ly contramaine
Bel Acueil et Franchise l'honourée
Et Amors, ce vasist desor demaine.
Je say de vray que tost seroit alée
Leur faulce errour et ma doulour cessée
De la flour que tant mon cuer fait douloir.
Or n'en sera riens de ce qui m'effrée
Par desconfort [sans nul confort avoyr].

In contradistinction to Collection "A," Collection "B" is made up entirely of rondeaux, twenty-three in all (see Table 3.3).[53] Eleven of the collection's poems have been

Table 3.3: *Le Jardin* Collection "B"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
66r	49	***Est il mercy de quoy l'on peust finer***	?Alain Chartier	Antoine Busnoys
"	50	*Ma redoubtee plus qu'oncque mais*		
"	51	*Or ne laissez jamais venir*		
66v	52	*Je me metz en vostre mercy*		
"	53	*A peu que le cueur ne me part*		
"	54	***Non pas que je vueille penser***		Gilles Joye
"	55	***Vostre rigueur trop importune***		Anon.
"	56	*S'autre que moy voulez aymer*		
67r	57	*Ainsi que la turtre se plaint*		
"	58	***Se n'ay secours de vous ma dame***		Anon.
"	59	***La plus mignonne de mon cueur***		Du Fay
"	60	***Qui ne le croit est il dampné***		Anon.
"	61	***Quant seray je clamé pour vostre amy***		Anon.
"	62	*Le dire adieu qui le dira*		
67v	63	*A bien juger mon povre affaire*		
"	64	*Se ma dame je perdoye*		
"	65	*O quelle lyesse de cueur!*		
"	66	*Je suis vostre amy, s'il vous plaist*		
"	67	***Paracheve ton entreprise***		Robert Morton
68r	68	***Le souvenir de vous me tue***		Morton
"	69	***A vous sans autre me viens rendre***		Busnoys
"	70	*Celle qui toutes autres passe*		
"	71	***Ung plus que tous est en mon souvenir***		Busnoys

transmitted in fifteenth-century chansonniers with musical settings, about forty-seven percent. Only one author is known, but it may be significant that it is the poem which heads the collection: Alain Chartier's *Est il mercy de quoy l'on peust finer*. The settings of the

[53]Although as the rondeau no. 65, *O quelle lyesse de cueur!* (folio 67v) stands now within *Le Jardin*, its second strophe rhymes do not match the refrain, and therefore give the impression that the poem was originally a virelai.

remaining pieces are by a mix of central-French and Burgundian composers, with at least as many musical settings being transmitted in non-French manuscripts as in the sources considered to be "central-French."[54] No. 66, *Je suis vostre amy, s'il vous plaist* (folio 67^{v}) gives the one acrostic for the group, "Jacques Balochert," but it has not been possible to determine who this was. No. 63, *A bien juger mon povre affaire* (folio 67^{v}) employs legal imagery and vocabulary throughout its text, as do several other pieces within the collection, with the words "mercy" and "juger" figuring prominently. This collection may have been the possession of a member of the law profession who worked in Paris. The poems and their settings appear to have been created mostly in the 1450s and early 1460s, with three settings by Busnoys, two by Morton and one each by Du Fay and Gilles Joye.

Collections "C" and "D"

Collection "C," like Collection "A," is comprised of texts primarily from the fourteenth century. Unlike "A," however, it is a nearly equal mix of five ballades followed by four rondeaux. Of the nine total pieces, four survive with musical settings; therefore about forty-four percent of the texts can be associated with music (see Table 3.4). Only one composer can be identified, and that is Machaut, with three pieces. Oton de Granson and Jehan de Garencières authored one text apiece, as well: no. 74, *Des ans y a passez deux et demy* (folio 68^{v}) and no. 76, *Las! pourquoy vis je de mes yeulx* (folio 69^{r}), respectively. These last two ballades have been "modernized" however, in that they have been provided

[54]The chansonniers considered to be from central France are: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 291 8º, (the "Copenhagen Chansonnier"); Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 517 (the "Dijon Chansonnier"); Washington DC, Library of Congress, MS M2 .1 L25 Case (the "Laborde Chansonnier"); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 287 Extrv. (the "Wolfenbüttel Chansonnier); and Paris, Bibl. Nat., Dépt. de Musique, Rés Vmc MS 57 (the "Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chausée").

Table 3.4: *Le Jardin* Collection "C"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
68r	72	***Dame de qui toute ma joye vient***	Machaut	Machaut
68v	73	*L'arriere ban de mortelle douleur*		
"	74	*Des ans y a passez deux et demy*	Oton de Granson	
69r	75	*C'est noble chose que d'amour*		
"	76	*Las! pourquoy vis je de mes yeulx*	Jehan de Garencières	
"	77	***Certes mon œil richement visa bel***	Machaut	Machaut
"	78	***Rose sans per sur toutes separee***		Anon.
"	79	*Passe rose sur toutes pure et fine*		
69v	80	***Se vous n'estes pour mon guerredon nee***	Machaut	Machaut

with envoys that were not part of the original poems.[55] Except for no. 75, *C'est noble chose que d'amour* (folio 69r), none of the rest of the ballades has an envoy, and most of them have but seven- or eight-line stanzas, so theoretically therefore could have been set to music.

In his monograph, *Le Poète et le Prince*, Daniel Poirion observes that during the Middle Ages, "…poet-knights, from Grandson to Garencières, obviously assimilated the poetics of Machaut."[56] This is certainly true in the case of *Las! pourquoy vis je de mes yeulx* by Garencières, whose incipit begins with a reference to Machaut's motet 12: *Helas pourquoy virent oncques mi ouiel*. Likewise, no. 79, *Passe rose sur toutes pure et fine* (folio 69r) may be related to the ballade in the Ars subtilior repertory manuscript Paris, Chantilly, Musée Condé 564 composed by Trebor, *Passerose de beauté*, which itself shares material

[55]See Oton de Granson, *Oton de Grandson: sa vie et ses poésies*, ed. Arthur Piaget (Geneva: Payot, 1941), 256. *Des ans y a passez deux et demi* occurs in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2201, also known as Granson's "Recueil de Paris;" Y[oung]. A. Neal, *Le Chevalier Poète Jehan de Garencieres, (1372-1415): sa vie et ses poésies complètes dont de nombreuses inédites* (Paris: A. Nizet, 1953), 14.

[56]Daniel Poirion, *Le Poète et le prince: L'Évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), 154.

with *Roses et lis ay veu*, a contemporary ballade by Egidius.[57] It is not clear that Collection "C" is a group of citation works as Collection "A" seems to be, but like "A," it does seem to invite the reader to consider it in relation to the following collection of texts. Collection "D" is considerably larger than "C," with forty-four total pieces. Seventeen of them occur in the chansonniers with music; about thirty-eight percent (see Table 3.5). The authors and composers involved in "D" are something of a mixed bag, with Parisian, central-French and Burgundian composers represented. The same is true for the manuscript transmission patterns of the poems with anonymous settings: some are only from central France, some are found only in non-French manuscripts, and others are found in both. Several of the texts are among the most widely disseminated songs of the fifteenth century: *Terriblement suis fortunee*, *Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure*, *Accueilly m'a la belle au gent atour*, *Se mieulx ne vient d'amours peu me contente*, *N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay*; fourteen more are unique to *Le Jardin*. Another group of texts—no. 112, no. 113, no. 114, no. 117, no. 118, no. 119 and no. 120—occurs almost exclusively in the Rohan Chansonnier, Collection "H,"

Table 3.5: *Le Jardin* Collection "D"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
69^{v}	81	*Hellas, ma dame, qu'est-ce la?*		
"	82	*Si tost que de vous me souvient*		
"	83	*Quant je vous oy souspirer*		
"	84	*Le plus grant eur que j'aye sur*		
"	85	*Quant on vous mect en desplaisir*		
70^{r}	86	*Souffrir me fault et tousjours endurer*		
"	87	***Mon seul bien***		?Anon.
"	88	*Le cher don d'amours, je vous prie*		
"	89	***De la montaigne ou je souloie***		Anon.

[57]Yolanda Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'? Ars subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes," *Early Music History* 22 (2003), 103-63, esp. 130-48. *Passerose de beaute* and *Roses et lis ay veu* are edited as nos. 19 and 21, respectively, in Greene, *Manuscript Chantilly*, 18:50-52 and 56-58.

"	90	*Pour entretenir mes amours*		
"	91	*Nonpareille dame en amours*		
70v	92	***Du bon du cueur sans aultre amer***		Anon.
"	93	*Mieulx ayme la mort que languir*		
"	94	***Dieu gard la bone sans reprise***		Du Fay
"	95	*Je n'ay quelque cause de joye*		
"	96	***Terriblement suis fortunee***		Anon.
71r	97	*Vray dieu d'Amours, helas, hemy*		
"	98	*Que dur m'est le departement*		
"	99	***Ma maistresse et ma plus que autre amye***	?Alain Chartier	Johannes Ockeghem
"	100	***S'une fois me dictes ouy***		Anon.
"	101	*A ma dolente departie*		
71v	102	***J'ay pris amours a ma devise***		Anon.
"	103	***Ma bouche rit et ma pensee pleure***		Ockeghem
"	104	***Accueilly m'a la belle au gent atour***		Firminus Caron
"	105	*Las! je ne sçay que faire doye*		
"	106	***Reposons nous entre nous amoureux***	?Busnoys	Busnoys
72r	107	*Je boy!—A qui?—A la plus belle*		
"	108	*Ha! Faulx Dangier, estes vous la*		
"	109	***Se mieulx ne vient d'amours peu me contente***	?Guillaume Crétin	Convert
"	110	***N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay***		Morton
"	111	*Vueille ou non vueille celle que j'ay servie*		
72v	112	*Sur quanque me povez desplaire*		
"	113	***Tel fait semblant d'estre joieux***		Anon.
"	114	*Les biens dont vous estes la dame*		
"	115	***J'en ay le deul et vous la joie***	Hugues de Blosseville	Anon.
"	116	*Vostre œil qui est si fort adestre*	Jean, comte de Clermont	
73r	117	*Fine affinee remplie de finesse*		
"	118	*Vie de court (qui tant est) douloureuse*		
"	119	*Esguillon, serpentin, danger*		
"	120	***Querez ailleurs paille en estrain***		Anon.
"	121	*Vostre œil me guerroye*		
"	122	*Resjoyssez vous, amoureux*		
73v	123	***Je ne me congnois en semblant***		Anon.
"	124	*Le grant regret et adieu dire*		

which has been shown to be Parisian. Paris appears to be the common denominator for the provenance of Collection "D" and probably for Collection "C" as well.

The placement of the fourteenth-century Collection "C" is somewhat puzzling in that, since it is clear that the compiler of *Le Jardin* had an awareness of historical development, he still chose to place it after the fifteenth-century Collection "B" instead of the fourteenth-century Collection "A". Since "A" and "C" are so similar, it would seem to make more sense to place the one immediately following the other. Instead, however, he chose to juxtapose "A" with "B" and "C" with "D," as if to highlight some aspect or relationship that he saw each pair as sharing. It is not at all clear what he saw that relationship to be. Although "A" and "C" may both be collections of citation works, there is no evidence that "B" and "D" share that feature. Likewise, the known authors and composers involved are completely different between each pairing. Perhaps we simply do not have enough information: the opening text of Collection "B" is by Alain Chartier—if most of the texts of this section were, in fact, written by Chartier, or if the compiler of *Le Jardin* at least believed them to be, then a case could be made that our compiler was trying to show a line of poetic development from the greatest French poet of the fourteenth century through that of the fifteenth century; that is, Guillaume Machaut through Alain Chartier. Collection "C" would then privilege Machaut, but admit Granson and Garencières, and "D" would continue the line from Chartier through later fifteenth-century poets such as Busnoys, Blosseville and Jean, comte de Clermont. Unfortunately, this must remain speculation.

Collection "E"

Because of its relatively few texts, not much can be determined with certainty about Collection "E" (see Table 3.6). Of its nine poems, four survive with musical settings,

Table 3.6: *Le Jardin* Collection "E"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
73^{v}	125	***Esclave puist yl devenir***		Binchois
"	126	*Mon bien, mon amy*		
"	127	*Pour ung trou puant plain d'ordure*		
74^{r}	128	***Mon bien imparfait***		Anon.
"	129	*Cueur douloureux qui ne fait que plourer*		
"	130	*Je vous requiers, doulce Jehannete*		
"	131	***S'il est plaisir que je vous puist faire***		?Du Fay
"	132	*Mon bien, m'amour, ma joye et mon desir*		
"	133	***Franc cuer gentil sur toutes gracieuse***		Du Fay

or roughly forty-four percent. Its relatively few pieces suggest that the exemplar may have been an unbound fascicle manuscript, however, rather than a bound chansonnier. The exemplar for Collection "E" was a relatively early source, probably from the 1430s, and considerably earlier than the surrounding Collections "D" and "F." The only named composers (from other sources) are Binchois and Du Fay, suggesting that the exemplar was possibly a Burgundian source. Given its position in *Le Jardin*, however, surrounded as it is by other Parisian sources, it is more likely to share a Parisian provenance with the collections immediately preceding it.

Collection "F"

Collection "F" contains twenty-seven texts, nine of which occur with musical settings throughout the fifteenth century, or thirty-three percent. Only one text author is known, Vaillant–for no. 154, *Quant les trois anges corneront* (folio 76^{r}), but four composers are known from their settings of the poetry involved: Busnoys, Boubert, Mureau and Du Fay (see Table 3.7). Many of the poems and settings within this collection appear to stem from central-French centers, based on their manuscript transmission and/or composer

identifications, but a relatively large number of texts appear to have circulated outside of France, primarily in Italian manuscripts, which suggests a repertory with a profile of a

Table 3.7: *Le Jardin* Collection "F"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
74v	134	***Ma plus qu'assez et tant bruiante***		Busnoys
"	135	*Banny de joye et plein de desconfort*		
"	136	***Une sans plus a mon desir***		Anon.
"	137	***L'omme enragé hors du sens forcené***		Boubert
"	138	*Quelque jour quant temps il sera*	Le Rousselet	
"	139	*Quant vous tenrez vos grans estas*		
75r	140	***Se je garde bien vostre honneur***		Anon.
"	141	***Pensez y se le povez faire***		Mureau
"	142	*Viengne comment pourra venir*		
"	143	***Bon jour bon mois bonne sepmaine***		Anon.
"	144	*Je l'ayme bien, sans penser nul diffame*		
"	145	***Vostre bruit et vostre grant fame***		Du Fay
75v	146	***Recours d'honneur et de lyesse***		Anon.
"	147	*En quelque place que je soye*		
"	148	*Pour tous mes souhais accomplir*		
"	149	*En vray espoir de parvenir a bien*		
76r	150	*Vueillent ou non les envieux*		
"	151	*Pour les biens qu'en vous sont compris*		
"	152	*Combien qu'on ait grant desplaisir*		
"	153	*Quant mon œil plus ne vous verra*		
"	154	*Quant les trois anges corneront*	Vaillant	
"	155	*Joye, soulas, honneur, liesse*		
76v	156	*Le jour que suis que ne vous voye*		
"	157	*Pour Dieu! vueillez mon fait entendre*		
"	158	***Quiconques veut d'amour joyr***		Anon.
"	159	*Puis qu'il me fault de vous partir*		
"	160	*Quant premierement te tins*		

cosmopolitan nature. The one common thread that links at least a third of this collection (nine texts) is the interest in legal vocabulary and imagery to express the sentiments of the speakers of the texts. Love and personal relationships are couched in legal language in poems nos. 138, 139, 145, 154 and 157, while poems nos. 140, 141, 144 and 146 all treat the themes of *honneur* or *fame*, which in the fifteenth century both carried legal implications.

Therefore, although the texts and their settings range in date from the 1440s through the early 1460s, the collection is anchored by its owner's interest in the law. Perhaps the original compiler of the exemplar of Collection "F" was a member of the Parisian *noblesse de robe*. The final three *rondeaux simples* of the collection, nos. 158-160, appear to have been added at a different time or as an afterthought, as all three are from the fourteenth or very early fifteenth century and form a clear dividing line between the end of Collection "F" and the beginning of Collection "G".

Collection "G"

Forty-seven texts make up the contents of Collection "G" (see Table 3.8). Twelve of them survive with settings in music manuscripts, or twenty-five percent. Most of the pieces with settings are anonymous, but there are three set by Du Fay, two by Binchois, one by Frye/Binchois and one possibly by Touront (no. 198, folio 80^{r}, the ballade *Mon oeil est de tendre tempure*). The attributions would seem to point to the Burgundian court of Philippe le Bon, but there is an equal number of texts found only in central-French poetry manuscripts. Add to this that most of the texts in Collection "G" are completely unique to *Le Jardin* (twenty-eight texts, or fifty-nine percent), and it is clear that this is a mix of pieces from all over France, but filtered through the clearing-house that was Paris. From the composers and manuscripts involved, it would appear that although there are a few texts

Table 3.8: *Le Jardin* Collection "G"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
76^{v}	161	*Se vous laissiez la porte ouverte*		
"	162	*Pour mon tresor je vous tenoye*		
77^{r}	163	*Fleur de beaulté, belle et bonne*		
"	164	***Tout a par moy affin qu'on ne me voye***		Frye/Binchois
"	165	***Par le regart de vos beaulx yeulx***		Du Fay

"	166	*En ung desert ou nul n'abite*		
"	167	*Amis, aymez secretement*		
77^{v}	168	*Gardez l'honneur soigneusement*		
"	169	*Ma parfaite joye*		
"	170	*Langue poignant plus esguillon*		
"	171	*Je renonce a toute esperance*		
"	172	*Mon cueur fait nouvelle entreprise*		
78^{r}	173	***Chargé de dueil plus que mon fais***		Anon.
"	174	*Puis qu'ainsi est qu'il ne vous plaist*		
"	175	*Quand je regarde vostre vis*		
"	176	*Mon pere estoit sot en jeune aage*		
"	177	***Hahay! estez vous rencherie?***		Anon.
"	178	*Pourquoy est ce que n'ose dire*		
78^{v}	179	*Seray je tousjours attendant*		
"	180	*Se par vous n'ay alegement*		
"	181	*Je viens a vous pour enquerir*		
"	182	*On m'appellera coquillart*		
"	183	***Pour l'amour d'une [qui est cy]***		?Anon.
"	184	***Mon cuer chante joyeusement***	?Charles d'Orléans	Binchois
79^{r}	185	*Hellas, Fortune! pourquoy est ce*		
"	186	*Tout au plus tost que je pourray*		
"	187	*De cueur joyeux grace querant*		
"	188	*Mes yeulx se font recommander*		
"	189	***A quoy passeray je mon deul***		Anon.
79^{v}	190	*Ma tresexcellent maistresse*		
"	191	*Mes yeulx on a leur gré choisy*		
"	192	*La ferme espoir qu'ay d'obtenir*		
"	193	***Vo regard et doulce maniere***		Du Fay
"	194	***Adieu mes tres belles amours***		Binchois
"	195	*Vous sçavez bien comment il va*		
80^{r}	196	***Adieu m'amour adieu ma joye***		Du Fay
"	197	*Ma seule amour tant desiree*		
"	198	***Mon oeil est de tendre tempure***		Anon.
"	199	*Veu qu'en ce point suis desolé*		
"	200	***Dedans la mer [de longue actente]***		Anon.
80^{v}	201	*Quel desplaisir*		
"	202	*Ne cuydez plus*		
"	203	*Chantons et faisons bonne chiere*		
"	204	*Quant ce mal, helas! me prendra*		
"	205	*La mienne voulenté seroit*		
"	206	*Mon doulx espoir, mon trestout et ma joye*		
81^{r}	207	*Je n'ay qu'un seul desir*		

from the 1430s and a couple possibly from the 1450s, the majority of the poems and their settings date from the 1440s.

Collection "H"

Of the forty-four total pieces within Collection "H" (folio 81r-85r, no. 208-no. 251), fifteen can be found in chansonniers with musical settings, and another is preserved in Lans 380, bringing to sixteen the number of song texts that can be associated with music. That is roughly thirty-six percent (see Table 3.9). The known poets of the collection include Charles d'Orléans, members and habitués of the French royal court of Charles VII such as Jehanne Filleul, Fredet, Vaillant and Antoine de Cuise, and the poet Molinet, who spent several years in Paris working as a secretary in the Collège du Cardinal LeMoine.[58] It is a somewhat personal collection, with one motto, one acrostic,[59] and two poem pairings: no.

Table 3.9: *Le Jardin* Collection "H"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
81r	208	***Sil advient que mon dueil me tue***		Michelet
"	209	*Au plus fort de ma maladie*		
"	210	*S'il ne vous plaist plaindre mes plains*		
"	211	*Trop plus en vous qu'en autre femme*		
81v	212	*Hellas! mon amy, sur mon ame*		
"	213	*Tant me desplaist adieu vous dire*		
"	214	*C'est a jamais que je me suis*		
"	215	*Acquittez vostre conscience*		
"	216	*Adieu des bonnes la meilleur*		
82r	217	*Pour mettre a fin la grant douleur*	Fredet	
"	218	*Mon cueur s'en va en ambaxade*		

[58]"…dum dudum Cardinalis Monacus super stultos triumphavit, suus fui scriba indoctus," from his *Individuis Porphirianae arboris militonibusque peripateticorum Montis acuti….* See Noël Dupire, *Jean Molinet, la vie — les œuvres* (Paris: E. Droz, 1932), 8.

[59]The acrostic Jaqueline d'Aqueville appears in no. 241, *Je ne puis vivre ainsi toujours*, set by Busnoys.

"	219	*Des amoureux de l'observance*	Charles d'Orléans	
"	220	*Depuis que me deistes oy*		
"	221	*Ce fut grant malheur qui m'avint*		
"	222	*Bonnes gens, j'ay perdu ma dame*	Vaillant	
82v	223	*Je me repens de vous avoir aymee*		
"	224	***Les douleurs dont me sens tel somme***	Antoine de Cuise	Du Fay
"	225	*Pour Dieu, deffendez a vostre oeil*		
"	226	*Par ung regard qui de vous vint*		
"	227	*Si esloigné suis de mes amours*		
83r	228	*Faulx envieux, de Dieu soyez (vous) mauldiz*		
"	229	*A quans coups je le souffreroye*		
"	230	***Ne je ne dors ne je ne veille***		Du Fay
"	231	***Tart ara mon cueur sa plaisance***	?Molinet	Molinet
"	232	***Quant j'ay au cueur aucun contraire***		Busnoys
83v	233	***Tant est mignonne ma pensee***		Anon.
"	234	*Se je pers celle que mon cueur ayme tant*		
"	235	*Se la belle ne prent la cure*		
"	236	*La belle des belles sans per*		
"	237	*Je languis en dure destresse*		
"	238	*Dictes le moy, mon seul desir*		
84r	239	*Faulx envieux, mesdisans par envie*		
"	240	*Plus que tous suis infortuné*		
"	241	***Je ne puis vivre ainsi toujours***		Busnoys
"	242	***Ayme qui vouldra***	Molinet	?Molinet[60]
"	243	***D'ung aultre amer mon cueur s'abesseroit***		Ockeghem/ Busnoys
"	244	***Puis qu'aultrement ne me peut etre***		Anon.
84v	245	***Nous vous verens bien Malebouche***		Binchois
"	246	***Se je fayz dueil je n'en puis mais***		Le Rouge
"	247	***Pour acomplir le vouloir de mon cueur***		Anon.
"	248	***Le despourveu infortuné***		Caron
85r	249	***Jamais si bien ne me peut advenir***		Anon.
"	250	*Mon cueur emble a joye et dueil*		
"	251	*Saint Valentin, puis que j'ay fait de vous*		

[60]The music for this piece, in Dij, does not fit the poem, and is probably not by Molinet.

211, *Trop plus en vous qu'en autre femme* is adressed to Jehanne Filleul, and no. 212 is written by Jehanne Filleul as a response to the previous poem. The rhyme schemes of the two poems match, as does much of the vocabulary. The two poems also share the structure R5: 8/4.The following two poems are also paired in their shared structure of R4: 8/4: no. 213, *Tant me desplaist adieu vous die* is written from the male point of view, and its response, no. 214, *C'est a jamais que je me suis* is written in the female voice. Numbers 211 through 214 were apparently written around roughly the same time and place, since the structures R5: 8/4 and R4: 8/4 were not terribly common for poems at this time.

The composers who set the poetry of the collection are an equally varied group: the French royal court composer Ockeghem, Guillaume le Rouge, who is documented as working for Charles d'Orléans, the central-French composer Busnoys and the composers Michelet and Caron, about whom nothing is known.[61] Two pieces by Du Fay are included in the collection, as is Molinet's one securely attributed composition, *Tart ara mon cueur sa plaisance*. The poets and composers involved are mainly central French, and many are associated in some way with the royal court of Charles VII. There is also a strong Parisian element, however, which manifests itself by the reference to the Parisian Jaqueline d'Aqueville and by the inclusion of the works by Molinet, Caron, Binchois and possibly Michelet. This last is the composer of *Si'l advient que mon dueil me tue*, the first poem of the collection, and whose incipit, as has already been discussed in Chapter 1, contains the motto of the French royal court functionary Antoine Raguier. The bulk of the poems and settings dates from the 1450s and very early 1460s, with perhaps a piece or two (such as the

[61]Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419: A Documentary History*, Musicological Studies 28 (Henryville/Ottawa/Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979), 109, n. 145, and Paula Higgins, "Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987), 251 and 268.

Binchois) from before 1450, and the exemplar was probably owned by a French royal court functionary based in Paris (Antoine Raguier?).

Collection "I"

With sixty-eight poems, "I" is one of the largest collections in *Le Jardin*. Thirteen of its poems survive with musical settings, and two more poems are part of the chanson text collection in Lans 380.[62] Two further poems, *J'ay des semblans* and *En la forest de long attente* appear within Collection "J" of Rohan, which was shown to have been copied from a music exemplar, and so probably also had settings at some point.[63] This brings to seventeen the number of poems having musical associations, or twenty-five percent (see Table 3.10). Most of the texts have attributions from other sources and involved aristocrats, nobility and functionaries associated with the French royal court of the 1450s in Tours. In profile, Collection "I" is very much like Collection "J" of the Rohan Chansonnier,[64] Collections "F" and "H" of the P1719 poetry manuscript,[65] and the two Blosseville manuscripts, P9223 and P15771. Most of the musical settings of the poems are anonymous, except for a setting by Ockeghem, and one each by Du Fay and Dunstable. This last composer, although English, may have spent a brief period of time in Northern France during the Hundred Years' War.[66]

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[62]This will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[63]See Chapter 1.

[64]See Chapter 1.

[65]See Chapter 2.

[66]Andrew Wathey, "Dunstable in France," *Music & Letters* 67 (1986), 1-36.

Table 3.10: *Le Jardin* Collection "I"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
85r	252	*A ce mur hau! estes vous sourde?*	Vaillant	
"	253	*Ung corps sans cueur qui n'a que l'ame*	Vaillant	
"	254	*Esperant d'avoir quelque bien*	Vaillant	
85v	255	*J'atens l'aumosne de doulceur*	Fredet	
"	256	*Comme moy vous aurez vos gaiges*	André de Laval	
"	257	*S'en amours a ung paradis*	Blosseville	
"	258	*Les yeulx ouvers je n'y voy goute*	Vaillant	
"	259	*Le jour m'est nuyt*	Martin Le Franc	
"	260	***C'est par vous que tant je souspire***	Meschinot	Anon.
86r	261	*L'une boute, l'autre requiert*	Monbeton	
"	262	*Faignant d'avoir mainte douleur escripte*		
"	263	*Le noir me plaist mieulx qu'aultre sorte*		
"	264	*J'ay des semblans tant que je vueil*	Monbeton	
"	265	*Quelque chose qu'Amours ordonne*	Monbeton	
86v	266	***Ha cueur perdu et desolé***		Anon.
"	267	*Desplaisir chascun jour m'assault*	Seigneur de Tais	
"	268	*De ma dame ne dy nul bien*		
"	269	*Plus qu'oncques mais je suis au bas*	Blosseville	
87r	270	*Maintenant comme je pensoye*	Fredet	
"	271	*N'ay je pas esté bien party*	Jean, Seigneur de Torcy	
"	272	***Pour Dieu, faictes moy ceste honneur***		Anon.
"	273	*Se vous me voulés estre bonne*		
"	274	***Le serviteur hault guerdonné***		Du Fay
"	275	*J'ay tel desir que je vous voye*		
87v	276	***Toute joye m'esloignera***		Anon.
"	277	***Puis que m'amour m'a prins en desplaysir***		Dunstable
"	278	***Helas mon cuer helas mon œil***		Anon.
"	279	*Beuvons et faisons bonne chiere*		
"	280	*Las! demourray je ainsi tousjours?*		
88r	281	***Qu'en a affaire Mallebouche***		Anon.
"	282	***Tout bien de vous me peut venir***		Anon.
"	283	*La plus belle eslite*		
"	284	*Faulte d'argent, Dieu te mauldie*		
"	285	*Adieu, mon cueur, servez la belle*	Monseigneur de Coram	
"	286	*Je le voy bien selon les vers*	Vaillant	

88v	287	*A ce coup n'est mon cueur plus mien*		
"	288	*De ma joye n'est plus nouvelle*	Robinet le Sénéchal	
"	289	*Je m'en vois et mon cueur demeure*		
"	290	*Requiescant, las! in pace*		
"	291	*Adieu mon amy*		
"	292	*De mourir vueil faire entreprise*		
89r	293	***A ceste derraine venue***		Anon.
"	294	*Que gaignerés vous a ma mort*		
"	295	***Adieu vous di la lerme [a l'œil]***	Vaillant	Anon.
"	296	*Mon cueur m'est icy venu dire*	Blosseville	
"	297	*Le cueur troublé, le sens perdu*		
"	298	*En la forest de Longue attente*	Fredet	
89v	299	*En la forest de Longue attente*	Blosseville	
"	300	*Vivre en desplaisir*		
"	301	*Sinon seulement vostre grace*		
"	302	*Qui veult de dame a moy changer*	Jean de Lorraine	
90r	303	*Je change a vous, se c'est vostre vouloir*	Blosseville	
"	304	*Se me pars sans mes maulx vous dire*		
"	305	*Au povre d'amours*	Vaillant	
"	306	*Pour acquerir honneur et pris*		
"	307	*Ha! Nostre-Dame*		
"	308	*En attendant garison ou la mort*	Jean Robertet	
90v	309	*Tu te brusles a la chandelle*	Antoine de Cuise	
"	310	*Ha! mort, helas!*	Antoine de Cuise	
"	311	*Yeulx aveuglez par force de desir*	Blosseville	
"	312	*De mon fait je ne sçay que dire*	Blosseville	
91r	313	*Or est mon cueur en abisme de dueil*		
"	314	*Quelque chose que je vous die*	Vaillant	
"	315	*Mon mari s'emburelicoque*		
"	316	***Quant de vous seul je pers la veue***		Ockeghem
"	317	*A qui diray je ma douleur*		
91v	318	***Ravy d'amours despourvu de bon sens***		Anon.
"	319	*Or suis je ou estre desiroie*		

The poem eventually set by Dunstable, *Puis que m'amour m'a prins en desplaysir* (no. 277), is preserved among a group of texts placed within the middle of the collection, and it is a group that differs slightly from the rest of the poems. Numbers 273

through 282 are anonymous as to author, in contrast to the majority of the rest of the collection, but several of the poems survive in chansonniers of the fifteenth century with musical settings, even if the settings, too, are anonymous. These ten poems also appear to be somewhat earlier than the surrounding verse and may stem from a different locale. At least a handful of them appear to be more closely related to the court of Philippe le Bon and/or England than to the French royal court of Charles VII, based on considerations of composer attribution and manuscript transmission. No. 274, *Le serviteur hault guerdonné* (folio 87^{r}), is entered in the Rohan Chansonnier anonymously, but is surrounded by a group of Alain Chartier poems, as are no. 276, *Toute joye m'esloignera* (folio 87^{v}), and no. 278, *Helas mon cuer helas mon oeil* (folio 87^{v}). These three poems all appear in Collection "D" of Rohan, the "Chartier Collection." No. 277, *Puis que m'amour m'a prins en desplaysir* (folio 86^{v}), is also anonymous, but has been preserved in the manuscript *S-Sk*, Vu 22 on folio 159^{v} next to *Mon cuer chante joyeusement*, which is probably by Charles d'Orléans, but which has been thought in the past to be by Chartier. What we may have here, then, is an "island" of Chartier poems in the midst of creations by French royal court functionaries of the 1450s.

Collection "J"

The collection to be considered next is Collection "J," with fifty-one poems, twenty of them having extant musical settings, while two more must have had settings at some point, since they are cited as chansons in literature of the time. This means that forty-three percent of the collection survives with musical associations (see Table 3.11). Six of the poems have settings by the composer Binchois, the largest concentration of his pieces in a single collection in all of *Le Jardin*. There are also poems with settings by Du Fay, Phillipet de Prez and Hayne van Ghizeghem. The rest of the known settings are all anonymous, but

Table 3.11: *Le Jardin* Collection "J"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
91v	320	***Mon seul et souverain desir***		Binchois
"	321	*Certes, ma doulce dame chere*		
"	322	*Sire, vous vous rompez la teste*		
92r	323	*La tresamoureuse esperance*		
"	324	***Vostre tresdoulx regart plaisant***		Binchois
"	325	*Puis qu'ainsi est que choisy ay*		
"	326	*Jamais mon cuer joye n'aura*[67]		Anon.
"	327	*Ou loing ou pres quelque part que je soye*		
92v	328	***Adieu jusques je vous revoye***		Binchois
"	329	***Jamais tant que je vous revoye***		Binchois
"	330	*En peu d'heure sont mis au bas*		
"	331	*Sans ce que j'aye en riens meffait*		
"	332	*Semblant joyeux, plein de tristour*		
"	333	***Je ne seray plus vert vestu***		Phillipet de Prez
93r	334	*Je n'ay desir de vivre en joye*		
"	335	***Comme femme desconfortee***		Binchois
"	336	***Le malheureux habandonné***		Anon.
"	337	*Une tresgente damoiselle*		
"	338	*Vous soyez le bien retourné*		
93v	339	*Vous soyez la tresbien venue*		
"	340	***La douleur que je reçoy***		Anon.
"	341	***Bien viengnant ma tresredoubtee***		Anon.
"	342	*En frequentant les basses marches*		
"	343	*Gentil archer qui me guerroyes*		
94r	344	*Adieu, toute joyeuseté*		
"	345	***Hé Fortune pour quoy si fortunee***		Anon.
"	346	*Tresdoux rossignol gracieux*		
"	347	***Puis que je vis le regart gracieux***		Anon.
"	348	*Mon cueur a une fleur choisy*		
"	349	*Deporte toy, dame Fortune*		
94v	350	*Puisque d'elle nouvelles ay*		
"	351	***J'atens le confort de la belle***	?Alain Chartier	Anon.
"	352	*Qui plus veult a vous obeir*		
"	353	***Gentil gallans [soions tousjours joyeux]***		Hayne
"	354	*A joye puissiez vous avoir*		
95r	355	*Puis qu'ainsi est que ne puis parvenir*		

[67]Cited in Nicolas de La Chesnaye, *La Condemnacion du Banquet* , ed. Jelle Koopmans and Paul Verhuyck (Geneva: Droz, 1991), 118.

"	356	*Ceste venue soit telle*		
"	357	*Je demande voz beaulx yeulx voir*		
"	358	*Je languis en telle destresse*		
"	359	*Mon doulx espoir, je vous supply*		
95^{v}	360	***Faites moy scavoir de la belle***		Anon.
"	361	***Languir me fault et grieuf doleurs***		Anon.
"	362	*A cheval, tout homme, a cheval*[68]		Anon.
"	363	***Adieu ma tres belle maistresse***	?Charles d'Orléans	Anon.
"	364	***C'est assez pour morir de dueil***		Binchois
"	365	*Ne vous desplaise, ma maistresse*		
96^{r}	366	***Las j'ayme mieulx mes jours***		Anon.
"	367	*Amours et danger sont d'accord*		
"	368	***Hé compaignons resvelons nous***		Du Fay
"	369	*Franc corps gentil, trop m'est dur et amer*		
"	370	***Soiez faitis et menez joye***	Nicole de Margival	Anon.

the music for the poems in each case appears in manuscripts associated with the Burgundian court, the Germanic territories, or the Italian states. In fact, only one piece has even one concordance in a central-French chansonnier, and that is Phillipet de Prez' *Je ne seray plus vert vestu*, which has a concordance in Wolf (folios 54^{v}-55^{r}, no. 45). It is clear from the composers involved and the manuscript transmission of the extant music that Collection "J" contains repertory that was circulating at the court of Philippe le Bon. The repertory was written mainly during the 1430s and 40s, but also includes at least a poem or two from the late 1450s and/or early 1460s. Collection "J" also contains repertory with the widest chronological span of the print, since the original version of its last piece, Nicole de Margival's *Soiez faitis et menez joye*, probably dates from c. 1310.[69] This wide

[68]Cited in *Le debat du viel gendarme et du viel amoureux*, Dupire, ed., *Les Faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, 2:617.

[69]Lawrence Earp, "Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1991), 101-31, esp. 106-109.

chronological span is perfectly normal for a manuscript from the court of Philippe le Bon, however, since this conservative court kept certain composers, such as Binchois, in its repertory long after other courts had abandoned his works.[70]

Gentilz galans by Hayne is of particular interest here, since it has generally been considered until now to be one of his latest compositions, dating from the 1480s or even 90s. This cannot be so, however, since it appears here as part of an exemplar from the court of Philippe le Bon alongside repertory that dates from no later than the mid-1460s, and Louise Litterick has reported that Hayne disappears from the records of the court after the battle of Nancy in 1477.[71] Because of its inclusion with so much other early repertory, *Gentilz galans* appears to be one of the earliest attributable extant compositions by Hayne, dating probably from the very early 1460s. It may, in fact, date from 1461, the year that Philippe le Bon and his retinue traveled to France for the accession of Louis XI to the throne, which would go a long way toward explaining how a collection of music from the Burgundian court came into the possession of a Parisian.[72] A comparison of the text of *Gentilz galans* with that of *Reposons nous entre nous amoureux* by Antoine Busnoys (see Example 3.5) shows that the two poems are related. Both are rondeaux of ten syllables, directed toward a group of friends in a convivial setting, and they share not only the "A" rhyme but four of the same words, as well as the tell-tale "Car/Que le retour (n)est pas/par

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[70]David Fallows, "Jean Molinet and the Lost Burgundian Court Chansonniers of the 1470s," *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 83; Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance, 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 35-42.

[71]Louise Litterick: "Hayne van Ghizeghem," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 3 August 2007) <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

[72]Richard Vaughn, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 354; C[amille] Couderc, "L'Entrée solennelle de Louis XI à Paris (31 août 1461)," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de L'Île-de-France* 23 (1896), 125-66.

* * * * *

Example 3.5: Comparison of *Gentilz galans* (Hayne) with *Reposons nous* (Busnoys)
(*Le Jardin* folio 94^{v} [no. 353] and folio 71^{v} [no. 106], respectively)

Gentilz **galans** soions tousjours **ioyeux**
Et ie vous en prie treshumblement
Et si servons les dames loyaulment
Sans **repos**er le vray cueur **amoureux**

Se nous souffrons aucun mal douloureux
Pour noz amours portons paciemment
Gentilz galans, etc.

Sil est ainsi quon nous soit rigoreux
Ce non obstant poursuyvons hardiment
Et si pensons en noz cueurs bien souvent
Que le retour nest pas trop dangereux.
Gentilz galans, etc.

Reposons nous entre nous **amoureux**
Du temps iadis no saison est passe
Ne frequentons iamais a la bassee
Car le retour est par trop dangereux

Fuyons les troux et passages perilleux
De nuyt et jour sont les chassemaree
Reposons nous, etc.

Quant est a moy devenu parceux
Si me convient dormir grant matinee
Je me tendray a la bonne vinee
Avec **galans** pour estre plus **ioyeux**.
Reposons nous, etc.

* * * * *

trop dangereux." *Gentilz galans* is clearly a response to the slightly earlier *Reposons nous*, likely written when both composers were in Paris for the activities surrounding the coronation of the new king of France.[73] The music of *Gentilz galans* is somewhat archaic for a piece supposedly written in the 1480s; although its duple time signature is current for the 1460s, it contains only one short passage of imitative writing (mm. 9-11), compared to Hayne's demonstrably later *Ce n'est pas jeu*, in which nearly every new phrase of text begins with a point of imitation. Still, it is a remarkable work for a teenager, and someone in Paris found it attractive enough to go to the trouble to have it copied for his own personal use.

[73]Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl has shown, in "*Resjois toi terre de France/Rex pacificus*: An 'Ockeghem' Work Reattributed to Busnoys," in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 277-94, that the song-motet *Resjois toi terre de France/Rex pacificus*, which must have been written for the ceremonies surrounding the coronation of Louis XI as the king of France on 15 August, 1461, has been attributed to Busnoys in Pix. Busnoys would certainly have therefore been in Paris for the coronation festivities, where he likely made the acquaintance not just of Hayne, but of Jehan Molinet, as well.

Collection "K"

Of the thirty-one poems in this collection, seven have extant musical settings, about twenty-two percent (see Table 3.12). Most of the poems and settings are anonymous;

Table 3.12: *Le Jardin* Collection "K"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
96r	371	***Grace actendant en la mort pour tous mes***		Gilles Mureau
96v	372	*Vueille ou ne vueille celle que j'ay servie*		
"	373	***Se je garde bien vostre honneur***		Anon.
"	374	***Ce qu'on fait a catimini***		Gilles Joye
"	375	*Le chois d'amours, des belles l'exemplaire*		
"	376	*Layssons passer amour mortelle*		
"	377	*Amoureux œil*		
97r	378	*Que veult on plus que d'aymer l'exemplaire*		
"	379	*Le mendiant transi me clame*		
"	380	*Quelle douleur, quelle angoisse, quel dueil*		
"	381	*Belle, tant vous desire a veoir*		
"	382	***Je languis en piteux martire***		Du Fay
"	383	***Tant me desplait [mon hatif partement]***		Anon.
97v	384	*Par ung souspir lequel je vous envoye*		
"	385	*Placebo sans dilexi*		
"	386	*Le plus dolent que jamais on verra*		
"	387	***Pour changer l'air ne pour fuir les lieux***		Convert/Couvert
"	388	*Changer ne vueil, tesmoing vo cueur, beau sire*		
98r	389	***Joye me fuit et Douleur me queurt seure***		Busnoys
"	390	*Au grant dueil que mon cueur raporte*	Tanneguy du Chastel	
"	391	*Qu'est ce que j'oy? ho paix, est ce mon cueur*	Tanneguy du Chastel	
"	392	*N'est-ce grant fait*		
"	393	*En la forest de Longue Actente*	Charles d'Orléans	
98v	394	*Je ne l'ose dire*		

"	395	*Quant mon vouloir s'acomplira*		
"	396	*Mieulx ne si bien pour voir tout plaisir*		
"	397	*Franc cueur gracieux*		
"	398	*Je demeure seule esgaree*		
99r	399	*Tout prestement quand la ville seray*		
"	400	*A la mort suis pour vous, ma chere dame*		
	401	*Quant il vous plaira*		

however, the few poems and settings with attributions in other sources suggest a source with roots in central France, but with a decidedly Breton bent. There are two poems by the Breton Tanneguy du Chastel (no. 390 and no. 391), and neither of them circulated very widely. *Au grant dueil que mon cueur raporte* is found only in P15771 (folio 24v, no. XLVI) and P9223 (folio 30r), and *Qu'est-ce que j'oy? ho, paix est ce mon cueur* is transmitted only in P15771 (folio 37v, no. LXXII). Such limited circulation suggests a specific interest in poetic and musical artifacts with a Breton focus. The first three words of the incipit of *Changer ne vueil, tesmoing vo cueur, beau sire* (no. 388), form the motto of Catherine d'Alençon, who married the Breton Guy de Laval in Tours in 1461. The first five poems of the collection may in fact form part of a now-incomplete acrostic: G, U, S, C, L; or Du Guesclin, which is a venerable Breton name. The majority of the poems and extant settings appear to date from the 1450s and early 1460s, and about half are for the most part associated with central France. The collection was probably compiled for a Breton member of the French royal court. The relatively large number of unique pieces (fourteen, about forty-five percent), may indicate that at least some of these pieces originated at the court of Brittany, or were penned by members of the Breton aristocracy.

Collection "L"

This collection initiates what Susan Kovacs sees as the second section of lyric poetry in *Le Jardin*; a section of more variegated types of poems.[74] Within this collection of eighteen items will be found not only rondeaux, but ballades, *dictiés* and even *devenettes* (riddles). Only one poem survives elsewhere with an attribution (Jehan de Garencières' *Las pourquoy virent mes yeulx*, folio 99^{v}, no. 403),[75] but four of the poems carry personal names, making this a very personal collection.[76] Several of the poems also appear to be problematic; that is, they are either incomplete, or the rhyme schemes do not work. The poems of the collection appear to be Parisian and mainly from the 1440s and 50s, except for no. 419, *Adieu ma pere, ma createur gardi* (folio 101^{v}), which Droz and Piaget discuss as having been written at the point of the French army's departure for Italy during the reign of Charles VIII, which would date it from the early 1490s, but before 1494.[77] Significantly, this text, which would not have been part of the original exemplar but was doubtless added some time later, is the last poem of the collection. None of the poems within Collection "L" has an extant musical setting, and the presence of so many poems in unusual verse forms would seem to indicate that the exemplar for this group of verse was not provided with music (see Table 3.13).

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[74]Kovacs, "The French Lyric Collection," 77.

[75]Neal, *Jehan de Garencieres*, 14.

[76]These poems are *En contemplant de la plus belle dame* (folio 100^{r}, no. 410) with its second strophe acrostic Alison; *Maintenant je vueil commencer* (folio 101^{r}, no. 413) with its acrostic Madamoyselle de Selignat; *Jeune, gente et tresbelle dame* (folio 101^{r}, no. 414) with its acrostic Jehane de Lus; and *Jehanne de Lux, ma tresbelle maistresse* (folio 101^{r}, no. 415).

[77]Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 206.

Table 3.13: *Le Jardin* Collection "L"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit	Text Author	Composer
99r	402	*Vous qui parlez d'amours en general*		
99v	403	*Las pourquoy virent mes yeulx*	Jehan de Garencières	
"	404	*Ung frisque mignon experlucat*		
100r	405	*Vous sembl[e] il pour advancer*		
"	406	*Sans trop declarer le cas*		
"	407	*Comme oyseau qui va voletant*		
"	408	*Enfans, enfans, veez cy vos peres*		
"	409	*Ung enfant est nez qui encores vit*		
"	410	*En contemplant de la plus belle dame*		
100v	411	*A brief parler, je suis ravy*		
"	412	*Amours, amours, tresprecieuse pierre*		
101r	413	*Maintenant je vueil commencer*		
"	414	*Jeune, gente et tresbelle dame*		
"	415	*Jehanne de Lux, ma tresbelle maistresse*		
101v	416	*L'amoureux povre guerdonné*		
"	417	*Prenez en gré pour ceste foiz*		
"	418	*Ainsi qu'a l'œil vous povez veoir*		
"	419	*Adieu ma pere, ma createur gardi*		

Collection "N"

Collection "N" may have actually opened with the *demandes d'amour* and the *dictiés* by Guillaume Crétin that appear in *Le Jardin* as items nos. 420 and 421 (See Table 3.14). Neither of these literary works would have been set to music, however, so for our

Table 3.14: *Le Jardin* Collection "M"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit	Text Author	Composer
101v	420	*Deux hommes ayment une femme*	Anon.	
102v	421	*Salut a vous, dames de Lyonnois*	Guillaume Crétin	

purposes, they comprise Collection "M" and Collection "N" properly begins with *Le Jardin* item no. 422 (an anonymous ballade—see Table 3.15) and extends through item no. 481 (another anonymous ballade). The intervening works are almost all ballades (there are,

Table 3.15: *Le Jardin* Collection "N"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
103r	422	*Le dieu d'Amours fait du lys escusson*		
"	423	*Qui ses besognes veult bien faire*	?Oton de Granson	
"	424	*S'en mes maulx me peusse esjouyr*		
103v	425	*D'une dague forte et agüe*		
"	426	*Ung asne vy l'autre jour complaignant*		
104r	427	*Las! Que je seuffre grief torment*	?Jehan de Garencières	
"	428	*Ma dame, pour dire verité*		
"	429	*J'ay demouré entre les Sarrazins*		
104v	430	*Chascun se loue de mariage*		
"	431	*Servir vous veuil bonnement sans faulx tour*		
105r	432	*Helas ma tresbelle maistresse*	?Garencières	
"	433	*Amours a qui je suis tout sien*		
"	434	*Gente de corps, miroir qui mon cueur art*		
105v	435	*Je ris souvent en grant destresse*		
"	436	*Je desire souvent la mort*		
"	437	*Adieu mon cueur, le maistre cueur d'amours*		
106r	438	*Amis loiaulx, des beaulx le mirouer*		
"	439	*Du tresor d'amours chastelaine*		
"	440	*Rire ne puis pour esbat que je voye*		
106v	441	*Doulce chose est de loyaulment aymer*		
"	442	*Puis qu'en douleur me fault user ma vie*		
107r	443	*Cuer desolé, banni de tout soulas*		
"	444	*Or nous commence a venir le printemps*		
107v	445	*Du tout me metz en vostre obeyssance*		
"	446	*Je vous choisy noble loyale amour*	Granson	
"	447	*Mon seul amy tresbien aymé*		
"	448	*Que dictes vous de mon appel*	François Villon	
108r	449	*Freres humains qui après nous vivez*	Villon	
"	450	*Qu'est ce j'oy? --- Ce suis je – Qui? – Ton cueur*	Villon	
108v	451	*Tous mes cinq sens, yeulx, oreilles et bouche*	Villon	
"	452	*Tant grate chievre que mal gist*	Villon	
109r	453	*Jenin l'anemy*	?Villon	
"	454	*En reagal, en arcenic rocher*	Villon	
"	455	*Se j'ayme et sers la belle de bon hait*	Villon	
109v	456	*Je congnois bien mousches en lait*	Villon	

"	457	*On parle de champs labourer*		
"	458	*Helas! mes yeulx, mon cueur avez trahy*		
110r	459	*Le monde va en amendant*		
"	460	***Il n'est dangier que de vilain***	Alain Chartier	Anon.
"	461	*Las! je me plains d'amours et de ma dame*		
110v	462	*Hellas! je suis au pays de servage*	?Garencières	
"	463	*Je hez ma vie et desire ma mort*	Garencières	
"	464	*Il n'est tresor que de lyesse*		
"	465	*Pour nous maintenir en santé*		
111r	466	*L'autrier nous fusmes de compaignons plusieurs*	Garencières	
"	467	*Par longtemps ay nagé en l'onde*		
"	468	*Pluye d'avril et rousee de may*		
"	469	*S'il n'est d'argent ou de joyaulx garni*		
111v	470	*J'ay longement Amours servy*	Garencières	
"	471	*Pour tout plaisir ay je dueil angoisseux*		
112r	472	*Adieu ma dame souveraine*		
"	473	*Adieu vous dy, ma tresbelle maistresse*		
"	474	*Doulce benigne pour plaisance mondaine*		
112v	475	*Ma doulce dame en qui j'ay ma fiance*		
"	476	*Aucunes gens se vont esmerveillant*		
"	477	*Je suis baigné du vent d'adversité*		
113r	478	*D'ou venez vous? D'ou, voire? De la court*		
"	479	*Toy qui veulx d'amer*		
"	480	*Plus n'ay le vit tel que souloye*		
113v	481	*Une haguenee atout le doré frain*		

however, four rondeaux within the collection: nos. 453, 464, 465 and 467). The fifty-six ballades comprising the collection run the entire gamut of ballade types, including *balades morales*, a *balade de mariage*, *balades pour un prisonnier*, *balade d'un amoureux a sa dame* and a *balade responsive* or ballade in dialogue. Once again, as at the beginning of the first lyric section, *varietas* seems to be the guiding principle, and a variety of authors is represented, including Oton de Granson, Deschamps, Jehan de Garencières and Alain Chartier, as well as several poems by François Villon. Several ballades have no *envoy* and are transmitted in manuscripts from the late fourteenth and very early fifteenth century. The

only poem with an extant musical setting is Alain Chartier's *Il n'est dangier que de vilain* (folio 110^{v}, no. 460). One setting out of sixty poems suggests that the exemplar for this collection was not a music manuscript. As for provenance, Paris of the 1450s and 60s is the most likely candidate for the origin of the exemplar for this collection, but even that is uncertain. The one personal touch within the collection occurs as the incipit of no. 464, *Il n'est tresor que de lyesse* (folio 115^{r}), which was the motto of Francis II, duke of Brittany (1435-1488), who married Marguerite de Foix.[78]

Collection "O"

The ballades of Collection "N" give way to the rondeaux of Collection "O," of which there are thirty (folios 113^{v} through 116^{r}, nos. 482 through 511—see Table 3.16). There are extant settings for four of the poems. About thirteen percent of the collection can therefore be associated with music, which means that the exemplar for the collection probably was not a music manuscript. The poets represented are Vaillant (with three poems), Charles d'Orléans, Jean Caillau and Charles de Poupet, Seigneur de la Chaulx and also ambassadeur du roi de Castille et de l'empereur auprès du roi d'Aragon.[79] There are two poems with settings by Ockeghem and one with a setting by Pietrequin Bonnel. The inclusion of the poem by Jean Caillau is particularly interesting, since he was Charles d'Orléans' doctor and close personal friend.[80] It is entered in Charles' autograph poetry

[78]John P. Harthan, *The Book of Hours, with a Historical Survey and Commentary* (1977; reprint, New York, Park Lane, 1982), 125.

[79]For the attribution of *Au plus offrant ma dame est mise* to Charles de Poupet, see Marcel Françon, *Albums poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche* (Cambridge, MA and Paris: Harvard University Press and E. Droz, 1934), 54, 178.

[80]See Chapter 1.

Table 3.16: *Le Jardin* Collection "O"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
113^{v}	482	*En prison au[x] champs, dehors l'uys*		
"	483	***En desirant ce que ne puis avoir***		Pietrequin Bonnel
114^{r}	484	*Se vous m'avez autre vouloir*		
"	485	*Pourroit on jamais choisir mieulx*		
"	486	*S'en vous ne tient ma souvenance*		
"	487	*Tant que loyalle me serez*		
"	488	*Avant la main fournir pecune*		
"	489	***Les desleaulx ont la saison***		Ockeghem
114^{v}	490	*A mon gré j'ayme la plus belle*		
"	491	*En attendant de vous [dame] secours*		
"	492	*En despit de vous, Mallebouche*		
"	493	*Se vous pensés que je vous ame*	Vaillant	
"	494	***Jamais ne seray amoureulx***		Anon.
"	495	*Jour et nuyt mon las cueur souspire*		
115^{r}	496	***Fors seulement l'attente que je meure***		Ockeghem
"	497	*Oncques homme femme ne vit*		
"	498	*Qui veult orloge maintenir*		
"	499	*Merciez Dieu aussi Fortune*	Vaillant	
"	500	*Sur toutes suis infortunee*		
"	501	*Sot œil, trop estes volentaire*	Vaillant	
115^{v}	502	*De la blasmer j'auroye grant tort*		
"	503	*Au plus offrant ma dame est mise*	Charles de Poupet	
"	504	*L'exillé de toute esperance*		
"	505	*Sot œil, raporteur de nouvelles*	Charles d'Orléans	
"	506	*Et bien, bien, il m'en souviendra*		
"	507	*Puis que plus ne suis aymé de M*		
116^{r}	508	*Tant sont les yeulx de mon cueur endormis*	Jean Caillau	
"	509	*Doubtant reffuz qui par trop fait a craindre*		
"	510	*Assouvy suis, mais sans cesser, desire*		
"	511	*Amours, c'est le cry de la nuyt*		

manuscript immediately following a rondeau by Charles employing the same refrain and thus appears to be a personal response to it.[81]

The particular constellation of authors and composers (specifically Vaillant, Charles d'Orléans, Jean Caillau and Ockeghem) suggests a provenance for the exemplar of Collection "O" in a center connected to both the French royal court in Tours and the Orléans court at Blois. A possible geographic center with ties to both courts would be the court of Jean d'Angoulême and Marguerite de Rohan at Angoulême. It is known that Vaillant's poetry was particularly valued at that court, and Jean d'Angoulême, who was Charles d'Orléans' brother, would have had knowledge of and access to the poetry at his older brother's court. The time frame fits, also: Jean was not ransomed from his own captivity in England until 1444, but lived until 30 April 1467, and Collection "O" is comprised almost entirely of poems and their settings from the 1450s and early 1460s.

Collections "P" and "Q"

Sixty-one poems make up the contents of Collection "P," which runs from folio 116^{r} to 121^{v} (nos. 512 through 572—see Table 3.17). Seven of the poems have surviving musical settings, about eleven percent of the collection. The list of poets involved in the collection is quite interesting. Guillaume Fredet and Jacques de Bigue are both represented by two attributed poems, while Jean Marot, Jehan Molinet, René d'Anjou and Charles d'Orléans each can claim one poem apiece. Significantly, the two rondeaux by Marot and Molinet also are recorded in P1721, a poetry manuscript executed and owned by Jean Robertet while he was employed in Moulins at the court of Duke Jean II of Bourbon.

[81]Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, edited by Pierre Champion, 2 vols. 1. *La Retenue d'Amours, Ballades, Chansons, Complaintes et Caroles*, 2. *Rondeaux*; Les Classiques Français du Moyen Age 34 and 56. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1923-7), 2:305-306.

Table 3.17: *Le Jardin* Collection "P"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
116r	512	*Il reviendra in patria*		
116v	513	*Il est venu impropria*		
"	514	***Tant ay d'ennuy et tant de desconfort***		Anon.
"	515	*A toutes deux et chascune a par soy*	Jean Marot	
"	516	*Excepté vous chef d'œuvre de nature*		
"	517	*Infortuné [sans] espoir d'avoir mieulx*		
117r	518	*Tous regretz fors q'un je les passe*		
"	519	*Pour parvenir a ce qu [je] pretendz*		
"	520	***Esse bien fait dictez moy, belle amye***		Anon.
"	521	***Mon souvenir me fait mourir***		Hayne
"	522	*Loing de plaisir et pres de desplaisance*		
117v	523	*Pour vous guerir entierement*		
"	524	***Au travail suis sans espoir de confort***		Compère
"	525	*Moy qui faiz chançons et rondeaulx*		
"	526	*Je l'aymeray puis que je l'ay empris*		
"	527	*Noir et tanné sont mes couleurs*		
"	528	*Tel est le temps, il s'en fault contenter*		
118r	529	*Une fois [nous] fault tous mourir*		
"	530	*De vous servir de corps et d'ame*		
"	531	*Trop en [y] a qui deux en ame*		
"	532	*Se vous sçaviez la douleur de mon cueur*		
"	533	*De reffus plaine est une que tant j'ayme*		
"	534	*De m'esjouyr et faire bonne chiere*		
"	535	*Tous ceulx qui m'ont donné le bout*		
"	536	*Escu d'ennuy semé de plours*		
118v	537	*Cuydant estre aymé de la belle*		
"	538	*Gisant envers sur une couche*		
119r	539	*Vous me tenez par vos faulx yeulx*		
"	540	*Puis que ainsi l'avez voulu*		
"	541	*Quelque maniere que je face*		
"	542	*Puis qu'il faut que je le vous die*		
"	543	*Comme les loups d'icy en la*		
"	544	*Si vous m'aimez aucunement*		
119v	545	*Tout droit, de coste, en l'envers*		
"	546	***A quoy tient il le cueur me volle***	Fredet	Anon.
"	547	*Au besoing est l'amy congneu*		
"	548	***Mais que ce fust secretement***		Pietrequin/ Compère
"	549	*(De) quelque bon petit mot pour rire*		
"	550	*Esperance m'est venu veoir*		
120r	551	*J'en ay dueil qui trop me tormente*		

"	552	*C'est grant maleur et fortune mauldicte*		
"	553	*Je t'en prie, Tacinet*		
"	554	*Ja demy mort en prison trop obscure*	Jacques de Biguë	
"	555	*Jamais femme ne choisit mieulx*		
120v	556	*Je le sçay bien que vous estes la dame*	?Jacques de Biguë	
"	557	*C'est [a] mon gré que m'a point la plus belle*		
"	558	*Si dolent je me trouve a part*	René d'Anjou	
"	559	***Quant je fus prins au pavillon***	Charles d'Orléans	Anon.
"	560	*Cette fillette a qui le tetin point*	Jehan Molinet	
"	561	*Toutes les nuitz que sans vous je me couche*		
121r	562	*Voz yeulz, voz manieres, voz pas*		
"	563	*Ceste belle petite bouche*		
"	564	*A quoy tient il? dont vient cela*		
"	565	*Je feroye voulentiers cela*		
"	566	*Rendez moy le cueur que fut mien*		
"	567	*Ung plaisir est bien cher vendu*		
121v	568	*Se L M n'esse pas bien raison*		
"	569	*A deux belles mon cueur je donne*		
"	570	*Qu'en dictes vous? ferez [vous] rien*		
"	571	*Elle m'ayme, je le sçay bien*		
"	572	*Si je suis gueres en ce villaige*		

Yet another rondeau in *Le Jardin*, *Esperance m'est venu veoir* (no. 550, folio 119v) opens with the motto or *devise* of the House of Bourbon: *Esperance*. Very little is known of the *rhétoriqueur* Jacques de Bigue,[82] but his *Épitaphe d'Anne de Bretagne* also appears in P1721 (folio 35v), and he wrote an account of the funeral ceremonies of Pierre de Bourbon (Bibl.

[82]He served as *valet de chambre* to the successive kings Charles VIII, Louis XII, and François Ier, and probably died around 1516. Droz and Piaget, 2:242, citing Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 7856, and Henry Guy, *Histoire de la poésie française au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. 1: *L'École des rhétoriqueurs*; 2: *Clément Marot et son école* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1968), 1:206. Significantly, Jacques de Bigue and Jean Marot also both worked for, or were associated with, Anne de Bretagne. For Marot's association with the court of Anne while she was queen of France, see Gérard Defaux and Thierry Mantovani, *Les deux recueils. Jehan Marot de Caen, poëte et escripvain de la royne Anne de Bretagne, et depuis valet de chambre du tres christien roy François premier* (Geneva: Droz, 1999).

Nat., MS f. fr. 5872).[83] It begins to look as though Collection "P" is a witness to poetic and possibly musical activity at the court of Moulins.

Only three names of composers can be associated with any of the surviving musical settings, but they are equally as intriguing: Hayne van Ghizeghem, Loyset Compère and Pietrequin Bonnel.[84] It has been suspected for some time that Compère may have worked at Moulins or in some capacity for the duke of Bourbon;[85] the presence in Collection "P" of a unique version of his rondeau *Au travail suis* would seem to confirm this. The inclusion of Hayne's *Mon souvenir me fait mourir* is something of a surprise, as well. The transmission of the piece in manuscripts dating from the 1480s and beyond has led most scholars to believe that *Mon souvenir* is a piece from late in Hayne's output, but the piece must be much earlier than that, based on its inclusion in the third section of Lab (folios 110^{v}-111^{r}, no. 90).[86] Its dating from the 1460s is corroborated by *Le Jardin*: since everything except the first two poems of Collection "P" is from the 1460s and 50s, *Mon souvenir* therefore must also be earlier.[87] Bonnel's rondeau, no. 548, *Mais que ce fut secretement* (*Le*

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[83]Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 242.

[84]Bonnel shares the attribution of *Mais que ce fust secretement* in the sources with Compère.

[85]Jeanne Marix, "Hayne van Ghizeghem: Musician at the Court of the 15th-Century Burgundian Dukes," *The Musical Quarterly* 28 (1942), 276-87, esp. 283.

[86]Jane Alden, "Makers of a Songbook: The Scribes of the Laborde Chansonnier" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999), passim.

[87]The first two poems of Collection "P," no. 512, *Il reviendra in patria* (folio 116^{r}), and no. 513, *Il est venu impropria*, both involve events in the life of Cardinal Jean Balue of Angers. Balue spent the years 1482-83 in Italy, following his imprisonment in France for treason. After the death of Louis XI, he was "rehabilitated" by the Pope who appointed him Papal Legate and Balue returned to France in that capacity in 1484. The two poems in question have to do with his sojourn in Italy and return to France, and therefore date from no earlier than 1482. They are thus ten to fifteen years later than the rest of Collection "P" and give the impression of having been added to the front pastedown or flyleaf of the manuscript exemplar housing the collection. Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 233.

Jardin, folio 119^{v}), is found four songs away from *Mon souvenir* in the same section of Lab and is therefore roughly contemporaneous.[88]

Musical settings of *Au travail suis* are transmitted in three manuscripts—all dating from the 1480s or later.[89] The poem may also be found in the text-only manuscript Lille402 (now MS 308, but universally known by its old number), probably from the reign of François Ier, but it is a considerably different version. The poem as it appears in *Le Jardin* is almost certainly the earliest complete version and reads as follows:

Example 3.6: *Au travail suis* as it Appears in *Le Jardin*, folio 117^{v}

Refrain	*En travail suis* sans espoir de confort *Presque transsy*/et vaulx a demy mort *Par le regard* dune *de tous biens plaine* *Dung autre aimer* celle mestoit certaine *Maleureux cueur* certes tu auroyes grant tort
Short Strophe	*En attandant* je languis sans support *Les envieux* avecques faulx raport *Incessamment* me font douleur et paine En travail suis, etc.
Long strophe	*Mes pensees* me donnent tel effort *Que tous les jours* menvoient desconfort *A mon reveil*/pensez donc a ma paine *Guerissez moy* ma dame souveraine *Car long attente* par espoir me remort En travail suis, etc.

[88]*Mais que ce fut secretement* appears in a musical setting next to *Mon souvenir* in the chansonnier Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Giulia, XIII.27 (where they are no. 41 and no. 40, respectively), as well as nine songs away from *Mon souvenir* in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q17. Since chansons which travel together in two or more manuscripts often do so because they originate from the same geographic and chronological milieu, one wonders whether Pietrequin Bonnel was also employed for a time at the court of Moulins in the 1460s. That would explain the conflicting attributions in the sources; *Mais que ce fust secretement* is (erroneously) attributed to Compère in the early Petrucci print *Harmonice musices odhecaton A.*

[89]They appear in Cop1848, page 106 (no. 56); FR2794, folios 51^{v}-52^{r} (no. 44); and RCas, folios 4^{v}-5^{r} (no. 2).

As this is a quodlibet chanson, there are some thirteen or fourteen chanson incipit citations embedded within its text. *Au travail suis* is probably a chanson by Barbingant, although at least one manuscript also gives it to Ockeghem; *Presque transy* and *D'ung aultre amer* are both by Ockeghem. *De tous biens plaine* is by Hayne, and Du Fay composed settings for both *Par le regard* and *Malheureux cueur*, although Fallows reports that the music of the quodlibet chanson is unrelated to Du Fay's piece.[90] The rest of the chanson citations are anonymous with the possible exception of *En attendant*, which may be the poem set by Loyset Compère, and *Mes pensees* and *Guerissey moy*, which definitely were set by Compère. What these song titles may be signaling, however, is that every piece cited in the short strophe and long strophe of *Au travail suis* is actually by Compère, and that by following the refrain citations of earlier composers with citations from his own output, he is in fact indicating that he is in essence following in their footsteps or is indebted to them in some way. It is known that Ockeghem worked as a member of the ducal chapel for Charles I, duke of Bourbon at Moulins, in the late 1440s;[91] it has been suspected that he was Compère's teacher.[92] On the basis of stylistic similarities between Ockeghem's music and that of Barbingant's, it may be that the latter composer was Ockeghem's teacher.[93] If Barbingant worked also at Moulins, then the relationship becomes much clearer. What connection Hayne and Du Fay may have had with the court at Moulins or with the duke is

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[90]Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 94.

[91]Leeman L. Perkins: "Ockeghem, Jean de," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 17 June 2007), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

[92]Mary Beth Winn Marvin, "The Texts of the Chansons of Loyset Compère" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1974), 10.

[93]David Fallows: "Barbingant," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 24 June 2007), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

entirely unknown, but Hayne's *Mon souvenir* does show up in Collection "P," and Jean II de Bourbon was the author of at least one poem that Hayne set.[94] As for Du Fay, a letter written by him from Geneva on 22 February, probably in 1456, states that he was sending "some chansons which I made recently while I was in France with Monseigneur de Savoye at the request of several lords of the king's household."[95] Perhaps Du Fay wrote *Par le regard* specifically for Jean de Bourbon, as it is one of his late songs.

In any case, the three songs with attributions by Compère, by virtue of their inclusion within a text which itself must date from the 1460s, must themselves be yet slightly earlier. Settings of *En attendant de vous secours* appear in the 1490s in the earliest sources to transmit them (except for the P1719 poetry manuscript, which includes the poem embedded within repertory from the 1470s and 80s), but the chanson must actually be much earlier than that. The musical manuscripts in which *Guerissey moy* appears are in several cases even later; again, the piece must date from earlier in Compère's career. *Mes pensees* is the only one of the three to have been recorded in a music manuscript from the 1460s; it appears in the third section of Lab, in proximity to other songs from the 1460s.[96] These would appear to be among the first chansons that Compère composed, written some twenty to thirty years before their earliest appearance in the extant sources, for the most part.

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[94]Marix, "Hayne van Ghizeghem," 284, notes that "…the work of Compère was strongly influenced by the older man [Hayne]…."

[95]David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982; Reprint, Vintage Master Musicians. New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1988), 71, citing Armand Grunzweig, "Notes sur la musique des Pays-Bas au XVe siècle," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 18 (1937), 73-88 and Craig Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 175-229, esp. p. 190.

[96]Alden, "Makers of a Songbook," passim.

If one accepts that the anonymous citations within *Au travail suis* are likely titles of songs composed by Compère, then the song text *Incessament* suddenly becomes much more interesting. *Incessament* is the first of several rondeaux that appear as part of the work in both prose and verse titled *Le Faucon des Dames* or *Le Faulcon de la Dame* or *Livre du Faulcon des Dames*, aka *Faulcon d'amours*. The rondeau carries the acrostic Isabeau Faucon, who was presumably the intended recipient or dedicatee of the work.[97] The work is anonymous, as is the rondeau. Because the rondeau survives in a setting that carries an attribution to Pierre de la Rue, it has always been assumed that he was the only composer to set the poem and that the polyphonic musical setting dated from the 1490s or later.[98] An inventory of the possessions of Antoine de Castelnau at the château of Villandraut in 1467, however, discloses the presence of "a…small (book), with a parchment cover, called *Le Faulcon de la Dame*" in the holdings of the château's library.[99] Since the inventory is dated 1467, the work must obviously have been written before then, but probably not by much more than a few years, since the style of the poems (decasyllabic *rondeaux cinquains*) was fashionable starting in the very late 1450s and the 1460s. The *Incessament* included within the pages of *Le Jardin*, therefore, could not be the version as set by Pierre de la Rue; this poem was likely first set by Compère, which is why it shows up in his quodlibet catalogue of musical compositions, *Au travail suis*. Pierre de la Rue also set the poem and it subsequently

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[97]An edition of *Incessament* appears in Françon, *Poèmes de transition (XVe-XVIe siècles): Rondeaux du MS. 402 de Lille*. With a Preface by Henry Guy (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 126 (XX, no. 19).

[98]See J. Evan Kreider, "Pierre de la Rue's *Incessament* and its Musical Descendents," in *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: donum natalicium Willem Elders*, ed. Albert Clement and Eric Jas (Rodopi: Amsterdam/Atlanta, GA, 1994), 167-78.

[99]"#28-Item ung autre petit (livre) couverture de parchemin, appellé *Le Faulcon de la Dame*." Pierre Tucoo-Chala, "Un inventaire du trésor du château de Villandraut en 1467," in *De Nérac à Condom. Actes du XXXVe Congrès d'études regionales tenu à Condom, Flaran et Nérac, les 17, 18 et 19 juin 1983* (Agen: Fédération historique du Sud-ouest, 1987), 111-23.

became an extremely popular work,[100] but it was likely originally set by Compère.[101] Unfortunately, the setting by Compère has not survived.

The relatively early dating of *Incessament* throws into question the other known pieces by Compère that are listed in *Au travail suis*: *Guerissey moy* and *Mes pensées*. *Mes pensées*, as mentioned above, is included in the third section of the Laborde Chansonnier and so is clearly from the 1460s.[102] That leaves just *Guerissey moy*, whose earliest musical source dates from c. 1500.[103] The music of the chanson, however, fits very well within the style of other songs from the 1460s or even the late 1450s: the song is written in *tempus perfectum*, which is actually somewhat archaic for the 1460s, there is some imitation, but it is not consistent, nor is it strict, and although the tenor and contratenor voices are for the most part separate, they occasionally touch or even cross, as in measure 31. Certainly this is an early piece from Compère's career.

As one last point of interest, it is worth noting that both Jean Robertet and Loyset Compère created works involving the incipit *En attendant*, which seems to function in these pieces as a kind of *devise*. Could this have been yet another motto of members of the House of Bourbon? If so, then its employment as such may stretch back to the mid-

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[100]Pierre de la Rue's *Incessament mon pauvre cueur lamente* is preserved in fifteen sources. Honey Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 167.

[101]It is quite possible that La Rue's setting of *Incessament* is a reworking of Compère's piece. La Rue drew upon at least one other piece by Compère for his own compositions: Compère's motet-chanson *Tant ay d'ennuy/O vos omnes* provided the tenor for La Rue's *Il faut morir*. Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 160.

[102]Alden, "Makers of a Songbook."

[103]The sources containing *Guerissez moy* are: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q18 (folios 90^{v}-91^{r}), copied c. 1502-6; *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (folios 63^{v}-64^{r}), with a dedication dated 1501; Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, MS s.s. (folios 191^{v}-192^{r}), copied probably c. 1500; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 461 (pp. 48-9), copied well after 1501, possibly after 1510; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS Ris. mus. I.27 (folios 13^{v}-14^{r}), copied in the early sixteenth century; and *Trium vocum carmina* (no. 53), 1538.

fourteenth century and involve the complex of songs sharing this incipit in the Chantilly Codex. Yolanda Plumley has demonstrated that *En attendant, Esperance conforte*, *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* and *En attendant d'amer la douce vie* are all interrelated, were composed contemporaneously, likely originated somewhere in the north of France, and that all appear to be centered on an anonymous *Esperance* rondeau based on material from *Le Roman de la Rose*.[104] "Esperance," however, was also the main motto of the House of Bourbon throughout its history until its eventual demise (which Plumley notes). Just as *Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine* would later become the focus of a poetic *concours* at the court of Charles d'Orléans at Blois in the fifteenth century, perhaps *En atttendant* was an earlier manifestation of a kind of poetic *concours* surrounding a member or members of the Bourbon-Valois court in the fourteenth century. Robertet and Compère would then simply be the latest in a long line of artists honoring one of the symbols of their employer.

Collection "Q" is actually just five poems, all of them extracted from a larger anonymous work entitled *Le Faucon des dames* (see Table 3.18). It may not even be a

Table 3.18: *Le Jardin* Collection "Q"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit	Text Author	Composer
122r	573	*Incessamment mon povre cueur lamente*		
"	574	*En may que les champs sont tous vers*		
"	575	*C'est grant fait que de jalousie*		
"	576	*Cueur ennuyeux, envieux*		
"	577	*Ne pensez plus au plaisir de mes yeulx*		

separate collection at all—it may very well be an extension of Collection "P." Since all of the poems originate from the same work, however, and none of them has an extant setting, they will be treated as if they form a separate collection. The collection's one (lost) song

[104]Plumley, "Citation and Allusion in the Late *Ars nova*," 287-363.

setting, *Incessament*, is quite possibly by Compère. The first poem of the collection contains an acrostic: Isabeau Faucon. It is not known who Isabeau was, but a Jean Faucon is mentioned in a letter from Louis XI (1468), in which the King gives the territories and seigneuries of La Linde,[105] Montpensier,[106] Roquépine,[107] Châtillonnais and Belmont[108] to his "amé et feal conseiller Jehan Faucon, chevalier, seigneur de Thouron." Perhaps this Jehan Faucon was a relative.

Collection "R"

A mix of ballades and rondeaux makes up Collection "R," and the tone of the poems is mixed as well, with some "courtly" poems, some political verse and some frankly bawdy texts. Only one poem survives with a musical setting, so it is unlikely that the exemplar for this collection was a music manuscript (see Table 3.19). Ten of the nineteen

Table 3.19: *Le Jardin* Collection "R"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit (Boldface = Extant Musical Setting)	Text Author	Composer
122r	578	*Prenez en gré ce present*	Meschinot	
122v	579	*Entre vous [tres] parfais amoureux*		
"	580	*Au gré d'amours se veult brancher*		
"	581	*M'aymerez vous bien*	Meschinot	
"	582	*Donnez moy encores cela*	Meschinot	
"	583	*Deporte toy, beau sire, car je jure*		
"	584	*Vivent les gorgias de court*		
123r	585	*Pour passer temps ung jour vouloye*		
"	586	*Ung jour, a part, m'avanture*		
"	587	*Ma dame regardez en pitié*		
"	588	*Belle en qui [est] toute joye et doulceur*		

[105]County seat of the canton of the arrondissement of Bergerac (Dordogne).

[106]Commune of the canton D'Aigueperse, in the arrondissement of Riom (Puy-de-Dôme).

[107]Commune of the canton of Valence, arrondissement of Condom (Gers).

[108]Belmont is probably today the commune of the same name of the canton of Vic-Fezensac, arrondissement d'Auch (Gers).

123^{v}	589	*Cueur amoureux de noble dame espris*		
"	590	*Tresvoulentiers de cueur te salueroye*		
"	591	*Jamais ne fut si tresnavré ne poinct*		
"	592	***C'est par vous que tant je souspire***	Meschinot	Anon.
124^{r}	593	*Ceulx qui deussent par[ler] sont mutz*	Meschinot	
"	594	*La teneur de cent mille escuz*		
"	595	*Vostre flacon fermant a vis*		
"	596	*Le trou du cul d'une nourrice*		

poems are unique to *Le Jardin*, but the five poems with attributions in other sources were all penned by the Breton Meschinot, so Collection "R" may be a witness to literary activity at the court of Brittany.[109] The collection appears to stem from the 1450s and early 1460s.

Collection "S"

Collection "S" is another mixed bag of genres, including ballades, rondeaux, huitains and *dictiés* (see Table 3.20). What they all share in common is the element of didacticism. There are two *blasons* by Pierre d'Anché—a *blason* is typically a ballade that describes the best or most-sought-after features of the particular object under consideration—in this case, no. 598 (folio 124^{v}, *Une dame d'excellente beauté*) describes the best qualities to be found in a beautiful woman, and no. 599 (folio 124^{v}, *Pour blasonner ung cheval proprement*) teaches the characteristics required of a fine horse.[110] No. 610 (*L'or se compare au cler soleil*, folio 125^{v}) links each planetary orb with a particular color, and the *dictiés*, nos. 602, 603 and 604, are two- or four-line verses, typically pithy, with a "nut" of wisdom. It has already been noted that three of the pieces, nos. 600-602 (folio 125^{r}) also appear in Lans 380 (folio 135^{v}; folio 140^{r}; and folio 258^{v}, Catalogue no. 40; no. 56; and no. 159), where their function in that context is also didactic. Collection "S," then, is a teaching collection, and if

[109]Meschinot spent his entire career working for the successive dukes of Brittany.

[110]At least the poem describing the ideal woman is printed first!

Table 3.20: *Le Jardin* Collection "S"

Folio No.	Edition No.	Incipit	Text Author	Composer
124v	597	*Mignon maintien, gorgiase beaulté*		
"	598	*Une dame d'excellente beaulté*	Pierre d'Anché	
"	599	*Pour blasonner ung cheval proprement*	Pierre d'Anché	
125r	600	*Si (tu) aujourd'uy vivre en paix*	?Deschamps	
"	601	*En povre loyaulté*		
"	602	*Quant on te dira villenye*		
"	603	*Femme qui fait tetins paroir*		
"	604	*On ne peult con garder sans coilles*		
"	605	*Cueur tresvaillant autant qu'il est possible*		
125v	606	*Homme soyez tousjours saige*		
"	607	*Banny d'amours vous me voulez, m'amye*		
"	608	*Ce deul que porte en cueur et face*		
"	609	*Triste penser, adversaire du corps*		
"	610	*L'or se compare au cler soleil*		
"	611	*L'autrier m'en alors a l'esbat*		
126r	612	*Treshumblement je vous supplie mon cueur*		

Regnauld Le Queux was, in fact, one of the compilers of *Le Jardin*, it may have been his own personal collection. Le Queux may have made the acquaintance of the poet Pierre d'Anché when the latter visited the court at Blois sometime in the late 1450s or very early 1460s. A poem by d'Anché, *Gardez vous de ce faveau*, was entered into Charles d'Orléans' autograph manuscript sometime at the end of the 1450s or at the beginning of the next decade.[111] None of the texts found within Collection "S" survives with an extant musical setting.

The Nature of the Exemplars for *Le Jardin*

As with all of the other sources examined in this study, a collection within *Le Jardin* will be deemed to have been copied from a notated exemplar if at least twenty-five

[111]Pierre Champion, in his edition of Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 2:594, observes that the d'Anché poem is a late addition to the manuscript and quite possibly in d'Anché's own hand.

percent of the texts involved have extant musical settings or there is some other documentation to demonstrate that a text did have a musical setting at some point. Table 3.21 shows the dimensions of the nineteen collections within *Le Jardin* and the percentage of texts that satisfy the above criterion. According to Table 3.21, Collections "A" through "J," all with twenty-five percent or higher, were probably copied from musical exemplars.

Table 3.21: Collections With and Without Musical Exemplars in *Le Jardin*

***Le Jardin* Folios**	**Collection**	**Percentage of Texts Associated with Music**
64^{v}-66^{r}	A	54%
66^{r}-68^{r}	B	47%
68^{r}-70^{r}	C	44%
70^{r}-73^{v}	D	38%
73^{v}-74^{r}	E	44%
74^{v}-76^{v}	F	33%
76^{v}-81^{r}	G	25%
81^{r}-85^{r}	H	36%
85^{r}-91^{v}	I	25%
91^{v}-96^{r}	J	39%
96^{r}-99^{r}	K	22%
99^{r}-101^{v}	L	0%
101^{v}-103^{r}	M	0%
103^{r}-113^{v}	N	3%
113^{v}-116^{r}	O	13%
116^{r}-121^{v}	P	11%
122^{r}-122^{r}	Q	0%
122^{r}-124^{r}	R	5%
124^{v}-126^{r}	S	0%

For Collection "K," with only twenty-two percent, the case is not so easily made, although the overall ordering of the collections within *Le Jardin* may help to tip the balance in favor of a musical exemplar for this section, too. It is to be remembered that in her discussion of the organizational rationale for *Le Jardin*, Susan Kovacs noted not just one, but two core lyric sections for the volume, and she placed the beginning of the second section at folio 99^{r},

where this study also places the beginning of a separate section, Collection "L".[112] She notes that this second section of lyric verse is in some ways even more heterogeneous than the first section of *varietas*, including several types of poetry not represented in the first, such as "demandes d'amour," "dictiés," and an occasional "devenail." Significantly, however, this section of *varietas* as well as the rest of the lyric poetry includes no rubric referencing anything to do with music; there is not a single "Rondel en chant," "motet en chant" or "chançon" in the entire section. A glance at Table 3.21 immediately explains why: this part of *Le Jardin* was not meant to have musical associations the way the first part containing Collections "A" through "K" was. The exemplars for this section of *Le Jardin* were almost certainly completely notationless, even if a fair number of the poems they transmitted did have musical settings elsewhere. No musical claims were made by Vérard for this section because these exemplars contained only text. If there were no intrinsic difference between the repertories of the first and second lyric sections, then the two could have simply been lumped together without any need to distinguish between the two. And since these are both lyric sections, the difference must be the presence or absence of the musical component. Collection "K," therefore, was probably also copied from a musical source, but fewer of its settings have survived.

Summary

Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoricque was the first print produced by Antoine Vérard (or anyone else) of nothing but French poetry. The very newness of the idea necessitated packaging the product (that is, the poetry) in an equally unusual way in order to make the enterprise as attractive to its target audience as possible and thereby guarantee its

[112]Kovacs, "The French Lyric Collection," 77.

commercial success. Vérard managed to do this by identifying the growing educated Parisian middle class as his prospective customers (artisans, merchants, merchant-gentry, court and government workers) as well as members of the aristocracy and nobility with a certain nostalgia for the past. He enlisted the help of at least one other person, Regnauld Le Queux (but possibly also André de la Vigne), to procure the necessary exemplars that would form the contents of the publication and probably also gave Le Queux some guidance in how best to organize the contents of the volume so as to generate interest in it among the largest possible market of buyers. This he and/or Le Queux did by providing a poetry treatise for would-be poets at the outset of the print and then devising a kind of story line for the volume, made up of several otherwise independently-written narrative and lyrico-narrative poems. These form a fictionalized and theatricalized narrative in which the reader is encouraged to place himself and to participate, especially within the inner core of lyric poems that forms the center of the volume. This inner core is comprised of two sections; a section meant to be associated with music and another without musical associations, and these sections can be further subdivided into nineteen discrete collections according to the character of the exemplars from which they were copied. These collections have been ordered in a general chronological scheme from earliest to latest, and from centering on repertory that would be most familiar to the average educated Parisian to collections originating at further and further remove from the capital. This organizational strategy was apparently very successful for the businessman Vérard, but in many ways it has also been quite fortunate for today's scholars interested in poetry and music of the fifteenth century. The exemplars for *Le Jardin* have all long disappeared, but we can glimpse something of what they must have been like by the way their poetic contents have been preserved in the prints that have survived. What *Le*

Jardin can tell us about the fifteenth-century chanson is especially precious, since so much of this repertory has obviously since been lost. In particular, when used in conjunction with what we do know from the surviving music manuscripts, poetry sources and archival documents, *Le Jardin* can help in re-dating certain polyphonic chansons, such as Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Gentilz galans* and Loyset Compère's *Au travail suis* and *Guerissez moy*. *Le Jardin* also witnesses to musical activity at centers for which very little other evidence exists, including the Bourbon court at Moulins. Although the music of late-medieval polyphonic chansons may have fallen out of favor with nearly the rapidity with which it was embraced, the poetry that it adorned clearly had a longer shelf-life. Vérard capitalized on that, and so can we.

CHAPTER 4: British Library MS Lansdowne 380

Introduction

The British Library manuscript Lansdowne 380 is a quarto volume comprised of 280 paper folios, measuring 210 by 145 centimeters. It was rebound in 1970, so the original binding, which might have given some clue to the manuscript's provenance, is now lost. It is of unknown provenance and date, although it has generally been assumed to have been written somewhere in France during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Scholars interested in the poetry of Charles d'Orléans have long known of the manuscript, and it has also been of interest to musicologists studying the secular French chanson of the fifteenth century, since in 1929 Norbert Hardy Wallis published an edition of a selection of its sixty song texts.[1] Very little else, however, is actually known about the manuscript, since no study of it has ever appeared in print, and the only inventory of its contents appears in the British Library catalogue of its holdings of the Lansdowne collection.[2] The inventory is really only a listing of the longest items occurring in the manuscript, however, and in many cases simply reiterates the rubric given for an item, which is not always enlightening. One of the most extended discussions of Lans 380 in the secondary literature is a brief description of the manuscript by Pierre Champion in 1913, as part of a larger discussion of the influence

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[1]N[orbert] Hardy Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse* (London: University of London Press, 1929), 119-37.

[2]*A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum with Indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters* (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1974), 110-11.

that the poetry of Charles d'Orléans had on the creation of song poetry during the fifteenth century.[3] It will be useful to give his brief comments in full:

> The manuscript Lansdowne 380 is a small, paper volume, written in France by several hands during the second half of the fifteenth century; it was already in England in the first half of the sixteenth century, since there is written, on the first flyleaf, in a handwriting of that time: 'by the leysurles hand de nouster [sic] pover serviteur Thomas Kendall.'[4]

As will be seen, there are problems with Champion's assessment, although it is probably true that the manuscript was written during the second half of the fifteenth century.

A single bifolium serves as protective flyleaves at the beginning of the volume; following this, there is a succession of thirty-four fascicles of lengths varying from six through ten leaves in the resulting collation: 1^{10}, 2^{8}, $3\text{-}4^{7}$: 5^{9}, $6\text{-}7^{8}$: 8^{10}, $9\text{-}10^{8}$: 11^{10}, 12^{6},

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[3]The entire information available in the secondary literature is as follows. H. L. D. Ward and J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols. (London: British Museum, 1883-1910), 1:59, where Lans 380 is described as "Paper; XVIth cent. Octavo; ff. 4, each full page having 28 to 30 lines. With the first initial of the rubric in blue, and the first initial of the verses in red. The rest of the volume, consisting of 280 leaves altogether, contains miscellaneous *French* poems, chiefly by Pierre de Nesson and Charles, Duke of Orleans, intermixed with a few religious and medical treatises in prose. At the beginning (f. 1) is the name of an owner, Thomas Kendall, and at f. 3 that of 'E. de Kyngstone,' both of the 16th cent."; Monica H. Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," Essay VII (1994) in *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts* (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 28, n. 82: "This 'enseingement' [*Régime du corps*] on sexual relations is followed immediately by a tract on infertility adapted from one of the *Trotula* texts; although this latter text does not address female readers explicitly, female ownership of the manuscript nevertheless seems possible. It contains short moral texts (including a *Doctrinal des filles*), pious works (including a *Vie de sainte Catherine*), lyrics, and various brief medical notes." The most recent assessment of Lansdowne 380 may be found in David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 22: "Paper octavo text source perhaps from as early as 1460, probably copied in France. It includes many poems by Charles d'Orléans; but on fos. 237^{v}-248^{v} and 250^{v}-254 there is a run of sixty rondeaux and virelais, of which twenty-eight are known to have had musical settings. This high proportion gives the source exceptional status. Many of the poems are edited in WallisA." Lans 380 is also mentioned in the *Catalogue of the Additional Manuscripts of the British Library* as a concordance to an Additional manuscript.

[4]The actual quotation is, "Le ms. Lansdowne 380 est un petit volume de papier écrit en France, de diverses mains, dans la seconde partie du XVe siècle; il était déjà en Angleterre dans la première partie du XVIe siècle, puisqu'on lit, sur le premier feuillet de garde, d'une écriture de ce temps: 'by the leysurles hand de nouster [sic] pover serviteur Thomas Kendall'." Taken from Pierre Champion, "Du success de l'œuvre de Charles d'Orléans et de ses imitateurs jusqu'au XVIe siècle," *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot*, 2 vols. (Paris: Damascène Morgand, 1913), 1:409-20, esp. 416-17.

13^{10}, 14^{6}, $15\text{-}16^{9}$: $17\text{-}18^{6}$: $19\text{-}26^{8}$: 27^{6}, 28^{10}, 29^{6}, 30^{10}, 31^{6}, 32^{10}, 33^{6}, 34^{8}. There are two main watermarks to be found throughout Lans 380: a bull's head with surmounting "X," and a forked, barred, gothic letter "P" crowned by a fleuron. Although these watermarks occur quite commonly throughout Europe during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it has not been possible to establish a corresponding match for either of them in the main sources for identifying watermarks in the middle ages.[5] What they do reveal about Lans 380, however, is that since they alternate regularly throughout the manuscript, the manuscript was essentially written all of a piece rather than in stages. Beginning with what is currently folio 13^{r} of fascicle 2, the scribe wrote essentially non-stop to the end of the manuscript, at which point he wrote fascicle 1, which he inserted at the front of the manuscript, rather than at the end. He chose to place it at the beginning of the volume most likely because the fascicle's contents, being religious, moralistic and liturgical in nature, were a better fit with the similar contents of the first half of Lans 380 than with the more utilitarian and entertainment-oriented texts of the second half of the volume.

There are two other watermarks occurring within the leaves of Lans 380: on folio 7 there appears a small crown with a trefoil, while on folio 8 one can see the partial watermark of a "J P" and a heart. On folio 94, the front half of a forward-facing dog appears, surmounted by a fleuron. These two watermarks are partially obscured by the volume's gutter, but enough is visible to suggest that the "J P" with its heart and facing crown is similar to Briquet "Cœur" 4324.[6] This watermark has been dated to paper produced during

[5]C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 2nd edition, 4 vols. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966) and Gerhard Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, 17 vols. (Stuttgart: Kahlhammer, 1961-1997).

[6]Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 2:264.

the 1480s and 90s by the mills of Jean Lebé, Le Ber, Le Bez or Le Bey of Troyes, in the Champagne region of France.[7] The dog watermark, although not a match, is most like Briquet "Chien" 3628, which has appeared in documents dating from the 1480s.[8]

As stated above, this first fascicle was actually the last one to be written. Fascicle 2, which was originally meant to open the manuscript, was not only the first to be written, but apparently sat on top of the stack of fascicles as they were completed, one by one, since its appearance is slightly grimier than that of the other fascicles. It was also meant to be something of a self-contained unit, since its contents fill the entire fascicle and the scribe took more care with the opening Lombard initials of its paragraphs, enlarging and slightly decorating them with interior filigree as well as alternating their colors between blue and red. Fascicle 2 is the only self-contained "booklet" in the entire manuscript, the scribe having continued his texts across fascicles without a break.[9] The scribe also was inconsistent in his alternation of blue and red Lombard initial letters—the pattern breaks at folio 82^{v} with a blue initial for the *Quatuor novissima* (Catalogue no. 33). After this point, there is a combined red and blue initial "J" for "Je fus indigne serviteur," the first line of George Chastellain's *Miroir de Mort* (Catalogue no. 34), on folio 95^{r}, a blue initial on 95^{r} for "Pour au miroir de mort venir" of the same work and a single blue "Q" on folio 269^{r} for "Quant nostre seigneur dieu eust fait lomme a sa semblance" (the incipit of a redaction of the *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*, Catalogue no. 176).

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[7]Ibid., 259-60. A similar, but larger watermark of this type is given in Étienne Midoux and Auguste Matton, *Étude sur les filigranes des papiers employés en France aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris: Dumoulin and A. Caudin, 1868).

[8]Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 1:233.

[9]P. R. Robinson, "The 'Booklet:' A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," *Codicologica* 3 (1980), 46-69.

A date of the 1480s is corroborated by the handwriting of the manuscript, which is primarily in a *Cursiva currens* or Secretary hand for most of the entries and a more formal Latin gothic bâtarde for Biblical references.[10] This hand is very similar to that of the scribe of the Rous Rolls, who is thought to have produced those documents in the 1480s.[11] Internal evidence within the manuscript also supports a date of the 1480s: the editors of Guillaume Alexis's *Les faintises du monde* (Catalogue no. 37) have noticed that the Lans 380 reading of this work is much closer to that of the earliest manuscript copy of it (Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 5065) than to any other version, including the published versions, which date from around 1485-1490. They also believe that the first published versions of this treatise are some twenty to twenty-five years later than the original. This implies that the Lans 380 version is closer in time than the other versions to the original, thus suggesting a completion date prior to 1485-1490.[12]

When first encountered, the contents of Lans 380 seem to be a farrago with no overall rationale or overarching design, since moralistic and didactic texts follow astrological schematics, historical and courtesy texts are surrounded by liturgical and catechetical items, poetry by Charles d'Orléans is followed by medical treatises and recipes for home remedies, with the whole hodge-podge in either Latin or Middle French. Closer examination, however, reveals that the manuscript divides itself into two sections: a first half of mostly religious, moralistic or improving texts, and a second half of mostly recreational and utilitarian texts.

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[10]Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 142-53 and plate 110.

[11]Martha W. Driver, "Presentation, Layout, and Censorship in the Rous Rolls," Paper presented Saturday, 6 May, at the 41st International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, 4-7 May 2006.

[12]See Guillaume Alexis, *Œuvres poétiques de Guillaume Alexis, Prieur de Bucy*, ed. Arthur Piaget and Émile Picot, 3 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1896-1908), 1:58-59.

The division is not strictly maintained, but it does generally correspond to the two categories of texts that Malcolm Parkes has distinguished for readings of the middle class in England during the fifteenth century: those for "edification and profit" and those for "edification and delight."[13] He includes catechetical and devotional readings, courtesy poems and utilitarian literature such as medical treatises and recipes in the first category, and romance, "biographies" and saints' lives in the second.[14] In this sense, then, Lans 380 is a not-unusual manuscript of its type, since as will be discussed in some detail below, it was produced in England for lay use in England.[15] The song texts are something of an unusual addition, however, and a full understanding of the entire contents of the manuscript will help to place them in their proper context. Andrew Taylor has argued that studying any medieval text in isolation, cut off from its accompanying texts and removed from its material context robs it of much of its meaning. As he points out:

> …it is the powerful legacy of the medieval book as an idea or structuring principle that has made the fluidity and acoustic and visual multiplicity of specific medieval books so difficult for us to recognize. We have read medieval texts as if they belonged to the world of print, divorcing the works from their codicological context, and thus from the music and conversation that once surrounded them, from their institutional situation, and from the lives they helped shape. In this way we have transformed these works into the isolated verbal icons of late print culture. The world of print is now deeply challenged, however, and the confident assumptions

[13]Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," in idem., *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London and Rio Grande: The Hanbledon Press, 1991), 275-297. Reprinted from D. Daiches and A.K. Thorlby, eds., *Literature and Western Civilization: The Medieval World* (London: Aldus Books, 1973), 555-76.

[14]Ibid., 288-89.

[15]For an excellent overview of the kinds of religious literature being produced in the French language during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Geneviève Hasenohr, "La Littérature religieuse," in *La Littérature française aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, vol. VIII/1 of *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, ed. Armin Biermann and Dagmar Tillman-Bartylla (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1988), 266-305.

> with which we once approached a text, dispensing with any consideration of its material support, are now becoming untenable and thus apparent.[16]

Any fruitful discussion of the song texts of Lans 380, therefore, must first be prefaced by a thorough accounting of the rest of the contents of the manuscript.

The Contents of Lans 380

Beginning on folio 3^{r}, the first fascicle contains various catechetical items, such as the Ten Commandments and the Apostles' Creed, a courtesy poem titled *Le doctrinal des filles*, several sentential excerpts attributed in the manuscript to Bernard of Clairvaux, two Latin astrological schematics, a translation and abridgement of the treatise *De doctrina cordis* by Hugues de St.-Cher, and several Latin liturgical items.[17] The following fascicles (fascicles 2 through the last recto of 17) include an abridgement of *La destruction de Troye la grant*, two works by Pierre de Nesson, an abridgement of *Quatuor novissima*, an explanation of the seven planets, George Chastellain's *Miroir de mort*, *Les Faintises du monde* by Guillaume Alexis, and a large number of proverbial and aphoristic sentences and rhymes in couplets, quatrains and sixains (Catalogue, items no. 26 through no. 67). All of this is followed by more catechetical material, such as lists of the Seven Deadly Sins and Their Corresponding Virtues, and a section of ballades, including five by Jehan de Garencières and the ballades written by Charles d'Orléans while he was a captive in England for twenty-five years. His ballades are immediately followed by the Chançon poetry he wrote while in England, and this is followed by the texts of over fifty French polyphonic songs without

[16]Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and Their Readers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 23-24.

[17]See the Catalogue of the MS Lans 380 in the Appendix, items no. 3 through no. 25.

music. (See Catalogue, items no. 68 through no. 155; the last verso of fascicle 17 through part of fascicle 32.) A verse life of St. Catherine of Alexandria, several recipes for home remedies and a couple of medical treatises, including an anonymous text on sexuality, the *Enseignement de medecine*, based in part on a section of Aldobrandino of Siena's *Régime du corps* and portions of the *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*, round out the volume. (See Catalogue, items no. 156 through no. 190; part of fascicles 32 through 35.)

Lans 380 as Confessional Aide

The disparate nature of the manuscript's contents begins to make more sense when considered in the light of the legislation promulgated by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which decreed obligatory confession at least once a year to one's own parish priest, thus making it incumbent upon priests to educate their flocks concerning a minimum level of knowledge required to make a thorough examination of conscience and a satisfactory confession.[18] At first, the penitential manuals that were produced were written with the intent of assisting the priest, whose own mastery of the subject and its arcana might be questionable.[19] In the centuries that followed, however, more and more information was written and disseminated with an eye toward educating the laity, as well.[20] A basic program of education for the laity aimed at instilling the rudiments of the faith, which normally began

[18]Peter Biller, "Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction," in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, York Studies in Medieval Theology II (Woodbridge, England: Boydell & Brewer, 1998), 3-33.

[19]A useful discussion of these clerical confessional manuals may be found in Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XII-XVI siècles)*. Analecta mediaevalia namurcensia 13 (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1962).

[20]The literature on this topic is vast. Useful introductory texts include Marjorie Curry Woods and Rita Copeland, "Classroom and Confession," Chapter 14 of *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, edited by David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 376-406; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West: 1400-1700* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and Pierre Michaud-Quantin, "Les méthodes de la pastorale du XIII au XV siècle," *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 7 (1970), 76-91.

with the *Pater noster*, *Ave maria* and *Credo*.[21] The Ten Commandments, Seven Vices and Seven Virtues, The Beatitudes, The Gifts of the Holy Spirit, The Seven Works of Bodily Mercy, The Seven Works of Spiritual Mercy, The Joys of Heaven and the Pains of Hell, the Five Bodily Senses, etc., were often all included as ways to organize one's examination of conscience.[22] These items might simply be enumerated, as several of them are in Lans 380, or they might be organized into a program of instruction that involved a certain amount of amplification and/or versification. Two such programs of instruction for the laity are the French *La somme le roi* and *Le manuel des Péchés*, both of which enjoyed considerable currency on the Continent as well as in England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[23] Other kinds of writings, less catechetical in nature, perhaps, but devotional nevertheless, were also included in collections for the laity, as their function was perceived at least in part to help put the penitent in the proper frame of mind to make a sincere confession; that is, to encourage remorse for wrongdoing. Texts where the reader was encouraged to meditate on and identify with Christ's suffering and death fall into this category, such as Lans 380's poem on the instruments of Christ's torture (Catalogue no. 32), or the number of wounds inflicted upon Christ's body (Catalogue no. 31), as do texts that stress the transitory

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[21]Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Du bon usage du 'Credo'," in *Faire croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 51 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), 337-61.

[22]John Bossy, "Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments," in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Edmund Leites (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 214-34; Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, no. 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993); Joseph Slattery, "The Catechetical Use of the Decalogue from the End of the Catechumenate Through the Late Medieval Period," (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1979).

[23]Ch.-V. Langlois, "La Somme le roi," in *La Vie spirituelle; enseignements, méditations et controverses*, vol. 4 of *La Vie en France au moyen âge du XIIe au milieu du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1928), 123-98; E. J. Arnould, *Le Manuel des Péchés: Étude de littéraire religieuse anglo-normande (XIIIme siècle)* (Paris: E. Droz, 1940).

nature of life (collectively known as treatises on the *Contemptus mundi*) such as the *Mirror of Death* (Catalogue no. 34) or the nature of death, such as the *Four Last Things* (Catalogue no. 33). Priests preached many of the same topics found in Lans 380 from the pulpit throughout the year as part of their duty to educate the faithful. Even items within Lans 380 that at first glance would seem to be unrelated to the sacrament of confession, such as Pierre de Nesson's *Vigiles des mors* (Catalogue no. 28), the anonymous *Les six maîtres qui parlent de tribulation* (Catalogue no. 30) or the verse life of St. Catherine of Alexandria were considered to be useful prior to confession, in that they were perceived to prepare the penitent mentally and emotionally to make an efficacious confession by spurring him or her to sincere contrition for sins committed. In this way, priests turned penitents into pupils.[24]

The non-religious items of Lans 380 also served a purpose. The function of the utilitarian home remedies and medical texts is obvious, but even the song texts, the secular lyrics by Charles d'Orléans, Jehan Garencières, the courtesy poem (Catalogue no. 11) and the abridged verse romance of *La destruction de Troye la grant* (Catalogue no. 27), while entertaining, would have been understood as performing a moralistic function, exposing the reader to a level of common cultural literacy that would have been desired, even expected, of a member of a certain level of society.[25] In its general contents, then, Lans 380 is very much like the manuscript anthology Cambridge University Library Ff. 2. 38. That paper manuscript dates from the middle of the fifteenth century and is thought to have

[24]Woods and Copeland, "Classroom and Confession," 376-406.

[25]For the moralistic and cultural functions performed by courtesy literature and romance, see Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Suffolk, England: D. S. Brewer, 1985).

belonged to a middle-class family of some means.[26] Although it is in English whereas Lans 380 is in French and Latin, its contents are comparable: a collection of catechetical and specifically penitential items such as the Ten Commandments, The Seven Works of Mercy, The Seven Deadly Sins, a paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms, prayers, the Five Bodily Senses, The Seven Sacraments, etc., many of them versified, as in Lans 380. Texts in verse would have been easier to learn and retain.[27] Each manuscript contains a complaint, a *Parce mihi* (also known as the *Nine Lessons of Dirige* or *Job*), a section of proverbial sayings and a prayer to Mary. It has been suggested that this essentially one-volume library was designed to provide for the instruction of children, since much of the material included deals only with basic doctrine, and "the level of instruction in the verse items is rudimentary."[28] Like Lans 380, there are also a few prose items in the Cambridge volume, including various devout and moralistic pieces, three saints' lives, courtesy texts and—unlike Lans 380—ten romances. It contains only a couple of song texts, however, and these appear to have been added later, during the sixteenth century.[29]

Lans 380 as a Manuscript for a Child

Lans 380 also shares several items with the sixteenth-century catechetical and pedagogical device known as *La Croix de par Dieu*, a collection of texts by which a child was taught not only his ABCs, but also the basic prayers and doctrinal readings that every

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[26]Frances McSparran and P. R. Robinson, *Cambridge University Library MS Ff.2.38* (London: Scolar Press, 1979), vii-xii.

[27]Mary Denley, "Elementary Teaching Techniques and Middle English Religious Didactic Writing," in *Langland, the Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition. Essays in Honour of S. S. Hussey*, ed. Helen Phillips (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), 223-41, esp. 234-38.

[28]McSparran and Robinson, *Cambridge University Library MS Ff.2.38*, viii.

[29]Ibid., xvii.

good Catholic was expected to have learned by heart.[30] It derived its name from the image of the cross that usually preceded the enumeration of the letters of the alphabet and normally included some combination of the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, the Apostles' Creed, Prayers of the Mass, the Ten Commandments of God, the Five Commandments of the Church, the Seven Deadly Sins and Their Contrary Virtues, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Seven Works of Spiritual Mercy, the Seven Works of Bodily Mercy and the Seven Sacraments of the Church. Most of the texts are given in the vernacular, but some, such as the Prayers of the Mass, are given in Latin. The vernacular texts are often versified in distichs or in quatrains, as in the case of the Ten Commandments of God and the Five Commandments of the Church, which are also found verbatim in Lans 380 (Catalogue no. 4 and no. 5),[31] as is the admonitory verse, *Mourir convient* (Catalogue no. 35).[32] Gasnault notes that this collection of texts was printed often throughout the sixteenth century and, as it has come down to us, was usually bound in with another pedagogical devotional text, the Book of Hours. These same texts were taught by sixteenth-century schoolmasters to their elementary-level students, and parents were encouraged to use them as well to indoctrinate their children and servants into the rudiments of the faith.[33]

It would appear, then, that the contents of Lans 380 were written for the use of a child who had recently learned to read. Several other texts within its pages bear this out. A large section of the volume is given over to aphoristic and proverbial sentences and

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[30]The following discussion is indebted to Pierre Gasnault, "La *Croix de par Dieu* au XVIe siècle," in *Aux origines du catéchisme en France*, ed. Pierre Colin, Elisabeth Germain, Jean Joncheray and Marc Venard (Paris: Desclée, 1989), 13-27.

[31]The corresponding texts in Gasnault may be found on pp. 19-20.

[32]Ibid., 17.

[33]Ibid., 16.

proverbial statements in verse (Catalogue no. 42 through no. 67d). A few of them are of the "Many hands make light work" variety, but most of them are moralistic in nature, to underscore the lessons to be learned throughout the rest of the volume. Danièle Alexandre-Bidon emphasizes the didactic nature of proverbs and proverbial statements, and notes that they tend to surface in written form in sources that served a pedagogical purpose, such as Books of Hours, Psalters and *abécédaires*, which included the alphabet and were intended to teach children how to read.[34] In this capacity, they also tend to show up in collections of animal fables, which themselves emphasize a moral lesson.[35] Moralistic lessons involving animals, or a kind of bestiary, also show up in Lans 380 as *Les ditz de certaines bestes* (Catalogue no. 38). These kinds of items might or might not be versified in the vernacular; in Lans 380 they even appear in Latin, as in Catalogue no. 52b, "Multi manus faciunt leve opus." Preachers might sprinkle them throughout a sermon and school teachers often used them to drive home a point in their lessons to elementary school-age children—wherever the aim was to teach, one would encounter the proverb.[36]

Another text within Lans 380 that was probably used to teach school-age children during the fifteenth century is the zodiac-based *De effectibus duodecim signorum super nascentia maximeque rationalia*, or *De nativitatibus puerorum* (Catalogue no. 22). Children were often taught the days of the week and the months of the year at the same time

[34]Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, "Quand les maîtres parlaient par proverbes," *Éducation, apprentissages, initiation au moyen age. Actes du premier colloque international de Montpellier, Université Paul-Valéry, novembre 1991*. Les Cahiers du C.R.I.S.I.M.A. no. 1, novembre 1993 (Montpellier: C.R.I.S.I.M.A., 1993), 23-43, esp. 25-27.

[35]Ron Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages* (Thrupp, England: Sutton; Courtauld Institute, 1998), who makes the following point regarding the medieval view of a Bestiary's function: "…all the [medieval religious] librarians who imposed a subject classification on the books in their care [in England for which catalogues of library holdings are extant] treated Bestiaries as works of theology and shelved them alongside sermons, penitentials and works of moral philosophy" (p. 188).

[36]Ibid., 23-24.

that they were taught their ABCs, and it is but a short step to then teach a child the signs of the zodiac and their corresponding months.[37] Essentially a straightforward schematic in very simple Latin, the *De nativitatibus puerorum* would not have been a difficult text for a child to read and, in at least one case, shows up among the texts of a schoolteacher, Richard de Bazoques.[38] Bazoques, a Norman cleric who lived from 1360 to at least 1408 and was rector of the *College* of Conches in 1390, left a list of books and writings in his private library, which included a *Tractatus de Destructione magne Troye*.[39] This last also appears among the leaves of Lans 380 (Catalogue no. 27), although here it has been translated, much abridged and versified, which would make it much easier for a child to apprehend. A few of the texts of Lans 380 have been translated into French from the original Latin and then abridged and/or versified, as for example, Hugues de St.-Cher's *De doctrina cordis* (Catalogue no. 24) and the anonymous *Quatuor novissima* (Catalogue no. 33). The lion's share of the items within Lans 380 is versified, including the catechetical items, which would have made it much easier for a child to learn and memorize them.[40] Although it is not generally recognized today, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the particular versified version of the Decalogue which begins "Un seul Dieu tu adoreras et aimeras parfaictement" (Catalogue no. 4) was normally taught orally, accompanied by a simple three-note melody, in

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[37]Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, "La Lettre volée. Apprendre à lire à l'enfant au Moyen Age." *Annales Economie, Société, Civilisation* 44 (1989), 953-88, esp. 964.

[38]Jeanne Bignami-Odier and André Vernet, "Les Livres de Richard de Bazoques," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 110 (1962), 124-153; reprinted in André Vernet, ed., *Études médiévales* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1981), 500-29.

[39]Ibid., 526 [Item no. 114].

[40]Jean-Claude Dhotel, *Les Origines du catéchisme moderne* (Paris: Montaigne, 1967), 32-33.

order to make it easier for children to retain.[41] The version in distichs of "Un seul Dieu…" is only one of at least four different rhyming versions of the Decalogue current in France during the fifteenth century, but it was apparently the first one taught to very small children. As a child matured, he might then be taught the version in tercets that begins, "En un seul Dieu tu croiras/Celui tu serviras/Par grand humilité;" still later he might be taught the version in quatrains that begins "Un seul Dieu de tout Créateur/Tu serviras et aimeras/Et en lui l'amour de ton cœur/Sur toutes choses tu mettras," and by the time he was nearly an adult, he might be taught yet another version of the Ten Commandments, but this time in Latin verse.[42] Something like this appears to be going on with the three different versions of the Decalogue appearing in Lans 380: "Dieu dessus tous ameras et cremiras souverainement" (Catalogue no. 3) is immediately followed by "Ung seul dieu tu adoras et ameras parfaictement" (Catalogue no. 4), and a third Decalogue combines Latin and the French versified version in quatrains thusly: "Non habebis deos alienos/Ung seul dieu ton createur/Tu serviras et ameras/Et en lui lamour de ton cueur/Sur toutes choses tu mectras" (Catalogue no. 69). Other texts that a child might reasonably be expected to know were the *Misereatur* and the *Confiteor*, which were normally exchanged between the celebrant and the assembly just before the beginning of Mass (Catalogue no. 8 and no. 9). Although in Latin, these prayers are fairly short and were recited before every Mass, so that a child would hear them often enough to learn them by heart. At least one fifteenth-century children's text, *The Book of*

[41]"La permanence du texte fut peut-être liée à la mélodie sur trois notes qui, jadis comme naguère, en accompagna la récitation enfantine." Ibid., 34. Unfortunately, the melodic formula has not come down to us today.

[42]Ibid., 34-35.

Courtesy, prescribes the *Confiteor* and *Misereatur* among the prayers that a child should know:

The Second Book

If thou be a young infant
And think the schools for to haunt,
This lesson shall thy master thee mark--
Cross-Christ thee speed in all thy work.
After thy *Pater Noster* he will thee teach,
As Christ's own apostles did preach;
After, thy *Ave Maria* and thy *Creed*,
That shall thee save at doom of dread.
Then after to bless thee with the Trinity,
In nomine patris he will teach thee.
Then with Mark, Matthew, Luke and John
With thee *Per crucis* and the high name,
To shrive thee in general thou shalt learn
Thy *Confiteor* and *Misereatur* in turn….[43]

Even so, however, they must have taxed the intelligence of some, since the altar boys at Durham Cathedral c. 1384-93 were found to be deficient in their recitation of the two prayers:

> …Item compertum est quod clerici deputati ad iuvandum sacerdotes monachos celebrare sunt inhonesti et quasi illiterati, nescientes dicere *Confiteor* aut *Misereatur*, nec prompti vel parati ad implendum illud officium, unde plures sacerdotes retardantur et multociens impediuntur a celebracione missarum suarum ob defectum illorum.[44]

The very layout and presentation of texts in Lans 380 argues for a child's compilation—the text is written in single columns, with an average of only thirty-one lines to a page, leaving large margins and making it quite readable. The handwriting is largish, rather

[43]This text (lines 11-24) appears in London, Brit. Lib., MS Sloane 1986, which dates from about 1460. Rickert, Edith, ed., *The Babee's Book: Medieval Manners for the Young: Done Into Modern English from Dr. Furnivall's Texts by Edith Rickert* (New York: Cooper Square, 1966), 79-121, esp. 85-86.

[44][Art. 7], Durham Misc. 5634. William Abel Pantin, ed., *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540*. 3 vols. Camden Third Series, 54 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1937), 3:82-83.

than cramped. Almost every new text is given some kind of a rubric and explicit to make it easy to distinguish from the surrounding items, there are very few abbreviations, and hairline diacriticals have been included above "i"s to distinguish those letters from the surrounding minim strokes of "m"s and "n"s. As mentioned above, most of the texts are in versified French, but even what few Latin prose texts do appear are in a style that is easy to read for someone with but rudimentary Latin skills. This is a compilation for a child.

Lans 380 as a Collection for a Young Girl

Most of the texts within Lans 380 are gender-neutral; that is, they are suitable for a child of either sex, but just enough texts within its pages are directed toward the female sex to indicate that Lans 380 must have originally been compiled for the use of a young, unmarried girl. The first of these texts, the *Doctrinal des filles à marier*, is an anonymous courtesy poem of thirty-four quatrains that enjoyed some popularity during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in at least one other manuscript and several early prints. It seeks to guide the public as well as private behavior of girls of marriageable age, offering advice on topics as far-ranging as how to comport oneself during a dance or at a banquet, not speaking ill of others, keeping God's commandments and attending church devoutly.[45] The verse life in quatrains of St. Catherine of Alexandria by a certain Frere Laurens would have been an especially apt teaching text for a young married girl—virgin-martyrs' lives were frequently presented to young girls as role models, in part due to their heroine's chastity, but also because of her generosity to the poor, her level of education and even her skills at managing a household. In this context, Catherine of Alexandria was considered the epitome of the

[45]*Le Doctrinal des filles* is discussed briefly in Alice A. Hentsch, *De la Littérature didactique du moyen age s'adressant spécialement aux femmes* (Halle, 1903), 187-8.

virgin-martyr, since her educational background made her capable of discerning between good and evil, yet her chastity, humility and compassion for the poor and the members of her household made her an excellent guide and spiritual role model for those around her.[46] Many families belonging to the urban mercantile class, the gentry and the aristocracy owned collections that included the life of the sovereign queen St. Katherine, so she was clearly a role model for women of a fairly wide cultural/social standing, but it has also been noted that:

> Reading the life of St. Katherine could even have been bound up with the cultivation of an aristocratic identity, especially as the contents of these household books often suggest a training programme of required knowledge and conduct for the well-born.[47]

As will be seen in a later discussion, such appears to be the case for the owner of Lans 380.

Several of the more aphoristic and proverbial-like entries within the manuscript are directed specifically at the female sex, such as Catalogue nos. 53c, 53h, 53i and 66. The anonymous *Doctrine saine pour les vierges* (Catalogue no. 65), which begins, "Nostre pasteur dit ainsi, que sans les douze vertus qui cy apres ensuyvent, nulle vierge nest a dieu agreable," is also directed at young girls.[48] It can be argued that the various medical treatises and recipes for home remedies found in Lans 380 were included because it was usually the lady of the house who was responsible for the daily minor medical needs of her

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[46]For much of this material and that which follows see Katherine J. Lewis, "Model Girls? Virgin-Martyrs and the Training of Young Women in Late Medieval England," in *Young Medieval Women*, ed. Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge and Kim M. Phillips (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 25-46.

[47]Ibid., 33.

[48]For the argument that the fifteenth-century English manuscript Manchester, Chetham 8009 was compiled for a young woman's use although it displays no explicit marks of female ownership, see Rhiannon Purdie, "Sexing the Manuscript: The Case for Female Ownership of MS Chetham 8009," *Neophilologus* 82 (1998), 139-48.

family members and servants, much as today's housewife often delivers minor medical services to her family members and administers over-the-counter medications and home remedies.[49]

The status of the intended recipient of Lans 380 is less clear, as there are no heraldic devices, mottoes, or marks of ownership within its pages beyond the signature "E. de Kyngstone" on folio 3^{r}, to which we shall return later. The nature of the texts, lack of decoration of the manuscript, yet large number of texts suggests an owner who, while relatively affluent, probably was not aristocratic and certainly not royal. A possible candidate would be a wool or cloth merchant; a more likely candidate would be a recently *parvenu* member of the merchant-gentry class. Although the manuscript is of paper and is somewhat plain, it would not have been inexpensive to produce, and although Lans 380 shares some features found in common-place books and owner-written miscellanies and household books of the fifteenth century, it is not a common-place book or household miscellany in the strict sense of those terms.[50] It was professionally produced and is in the

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[49]What little is known of medieval women's health care (both given and received) indicates that most health care took place in the home setting. See Monica H. Green, "Women's Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe," Essay 1 in *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West. Texts and Contexts*, ed. Monica H. Green (Aldershot, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 44, n. 10; see also M[arie]-T[hérèse] Lorcin, "Les intermédiaires culturels: L'amateur éclairé de « recettes de bonnes femmes »," in Chapter 13, Part 5 of *Système éducatif et cultures dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, ed. D[anièle] Alexandre-Bidon and M[arie]-T[hérèse] Lorcin (Paris: Ophrys, 1998), 178-82.

[50]Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). Lans 380 may have eventually come to be used as a kind of household book, however, since its contents would have made it extremely useful not only in the teaching of Catholic doctrine to small children and possibly to untutored servants who spoke the French language, but its more utilitarian entries, such as the recipes and home remedies, would have made it a useful volume as well for the little girl when she grew up to become the mistress of her own household, and responsible for the health care of those living under her roof. For the rather fluid nature of the definition of what constituted a household book, see Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, "Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts," in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 279-315, and Julie Boffey, "Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 and Definitions of the 'Household Book'," in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, edited by A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna (London: The British Library, 2000), 125-34.

script of a single, professional scribe who was capable of writing in at least two different bookhands.[51] It was written in a single, limited time period rather than over several years, since, as discussed earlier, an examination of the paper shows only two main watermarks that alternate regularly; a bull's-head with surmounting "X," and a forked, barred, gothic letter "P" topped by a fleuron.

If the little girl who was the intended recipient of Lans 380 was indeed a member of the merchant-gentry class, then she certainly would have been expected to read at a certain level and perhaps even to be able to write. Studies of literacy rates in France and England throughout the fifteenth century indicate that between ten and fifteen percent of the population could read Latin; presumably a higher percentage could read in the vernacular. As the century wore on, this number increased, especially in urban areas and especially among the middle and upper classes. Merchants, especially, had to be able to read, write at some level and count in order to run their businesses, but even farmers might have some skills in these areas. Jean Gerson's parents, who were farmers in the last years of the fourteenth century, were both able to read and to write, at least in the vernacular.[52] Several studies have demonstrated that some women not only owned and/or borrowed books, but passed them on to their heirs.[53] By the end of the fifteenth century, there were elementary-

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[51]The one duplication in Lans 380, Jehan Molinet's ballade *Nous dieu damour createur roy de gloire*, aka "Le blason des armes de nostre redempcion" (Catalogue no. 32), is accompanied in each of its two appearances by a Latin gloss in a very formal, gothic bâtarde bookhand, which is quite distinct from the *cursiva currens* of the rest of the volume. It is clear that the scribe of Lans 380, a professional scribe from all appearances, was proficient in at least two different scripts.

[52]Brian Patrick McGuire, "Late Medieval Care and Control of Women: Jean Gerson and His Sisters," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 92 (1997), 5-37, esp. 24.

[53]For two such studies, see Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7 (1982), 742-68. Reprinted in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 149-87; Anne M. Dutton, "Passing the Book: Testamentary Transmission of Religious Literature to and by Women in England 1350-1500," in *Women, the Book and the Godly: Selected Proceedings of the St Hilda's Conference, 1993*, ed.

level schools in nearly every metropolitan area of France and England, and in many rural areas, as well, and there is some evidence that pre-pubescent girls in England often attended them to learn the basics of reading, the faith and singing.[54] Those who could afford tutors for their children and other people's children being raised in their households would educate the children privately.[55] At the very least, mothers were held responsible for the earliest training in the rudiments of the faith of their children, and a book like Lans 380, with no illustrations and in a foreign language, would have no value for the little girl who owned it if she could not actually read it.[56] Presumably, it was given to her as much so that when she grew up and had a family of her own, she could refer to it as a teaching manual, as it was planned to be an instrument of her own education. The kinds of religious texts encountered in Lans 380 are the very kinds of texts most often found in the libraries of persons both lay and cloistered in both France and England during the late Middle Ages: catechetical items and examinations of conscience, works exhorting contempt for the world, abridged translations of devotional

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Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 1:41-54.

[54]Studies of literacy rates and schools in France include, but are not limited to, the following: Alain Derville, "L'alphabétisation du peuple à la fin du Moyen Age," *Revue du nord* 66 (1984), 761-72; Sylvette Guilbert, "Les écoles rurales en Champagne au XVe siècle: Enseignement et promotion sociale," *Annales de l'Est* 34 (1982), 129-47; Michael Jones, "Education in Brittany in the Later Middle Ages: A Survey," *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 22 (1978), 58-77, revised and reprinted in Michael Jones, *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State* (London and Ronceverte, WV: The Hambledon Press, 1988), 309-28; Michel Rouche, *Histoire générale de l'ensignement et de l'éducation en France des origines à la Renaissance*, ed. Louis-Henri Parias (Paris: Nouvelle librairie de France, 1981); and Dominique Viaux, "L'école élémentaire dans les pays bourguignons à la fin du moyen-âge (XIVe-XVe siècles)," *Annales de Bourgogne* 59 (1987), 5-19. A good general introduction to the same topic for England remains Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973).

[55]For a general historical overview of the education of women throughout the Middle Ages, see Charles Jourdain, "Mémoire sur l'éducation des femmes au moyen âge," *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 28 (1874), 79-133.

[56]Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, "Des femmes de bonne foi. La religion des mères au Moyen Âge," in *La religion de ma mère: Le rôle des femmes dans la transmission de la foi*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 91-122, esp. 95.

treatises such as the *De doctrina cordis*,[57] and saints' lives—in this respect, Lans 380 is entirely typical of its time.[58] The secular items within Lans 380's leaves, such as the *Abregié de la destruction de Troye la grant*, the lyric poetry by Charles d'Orléans and the song texts are likewise normal expressions of the kinds of literature found in the fifteenth century, but to a more limited degree.[59] This literature highlights the tastes of members of the aristocracy as well as the collections of members of the social stratum directly beneath it, who aspired to emulate the nobility while simultaneously seeking entrance to its ranks.[60]

The Provenance of Lans 380

As noted previously, the first fascicle of Lans 380 contains several Latin liturgical items, specifically three antiphons, six responsories and two prayers (Catalogue

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[57]Ibid., 117. See also Geneviève Hasenohr, "Place et rôle des traductions dans la pastorale française du XVe siècle," in *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge. Actes du colloque international du CNRS organisé à Paris, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes les 26-28 mai 1986*, ed. Geneviève Contamine (Paris: CNRS, 1989), 265-75.

[58]For discussion of the kinds of didactic and catechetical texts typically found in women's Books of Hours during the Middle Ages, see Alexander-Bidon, "Des femmes de bonne foi," 107-119. Using the evidence of books that the clergy recommended for reading by the laity as well as wills and inventories of private libraries, Geneviève Hasenohr has shown that much of the material found in Lans 380 fits exactly into the paradigm of what was typical reading material for the laity in the fifteenth century, right down to specific titles (works on the vices and virtues, works of devotion to the suffering Christ, to the Cross, to the Blood, and the Wounds, devotions to saints, the *Vigiles des morts* of Pierre de Nesson and the *De quattuor novissimis*). See Geneviève Hasenohr, "Religious Reading Amongst the Laity in France in the Fifteenth Century," in *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530*, ed. Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 23 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 205-21.

[59]During the Middle Ages, both the French and the English traced their origins to events that occurred as a result of the fall of Troy. See Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), and A. Bossuat, "Les origines troyennes: Leur rôle dans la littérature historique au XVe siècle," *Annales de Normandie* 8 (1958), 187-97.

[60]Cedric E. Pickford, "Fiction and the Reading Public in the Fifteenth Century," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 45 (1963), 423-38. Geneviève Hasenohr, "L'essor des bibliothèques privées aux XIVe et XVe siècles," in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, ed. André Vernet, 4 vols. (Paris: Promodis, 1989), 1:215-66, stresses that the majority of literature mentioned in lay women's wills was of a religious or devotional nature, with Books of Hours being the type of book mentioned predominantly. Perhaps the presence of so much non-devotional, secular material in Lans 380 could be a concession to the young age of its intended recipient (not yet married, therefore still open to courtship, love, and literature that speaks to those interests), or it might be a reflection of the recipient's status (merchant-gentry, therefore expected to know something of "aristocratic" culture).

items nos. 8, 9 and 13a-13i). All of the chant texts share a general penitential nature, which makes them especially suitable within the context of the rest of the contents of the manuscript. As it happens, however, they are also useful clues to the provenance of the volume. Although each item by itself will be found commonly enough in diverse liturgical collections throughout various European centers during the Middle Ages, no known institution incorporates all nine of them. The six responsories are particularly problematic because, while any particular church or monastery may have regularly performed the respond itself, the verses to each of the responds differ widely from one center to another. The three antiphons and five of the responsories with their indicated verses do show up, however, in the Use of Sarum, which by the middle of the fifteenth century had spread throughout most of the British Isles.[61] (See Examples 4.1a and 4.1b.) Within the Sarum Use, the three antiphons served as special processional chants, with but one single function apiece, and appear nowhere else in the liturgy. *Ecce carissimi* is the pre-Mass processional antiphon for Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima Sundays, *Cum venerimus* is the processional antiphon before Mass for the first two Sundays of Quadragesima, and *In die quando* is the antiphon for the processional prior to Mass for the third and fourth Sundays of Quadragesima. Five of the six responsories with the verses indicated are provided as processional chants to an altar before Mass during the litanies of the Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent in two Sarum missals—one housed in Paris, the other in Bologna.[62] The absence

[61]Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, Studies and Texts, 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), x.

[62]Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 135 and Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 2565. All of the responsories except *Abscondi tanquam* and its verse *Quoniam* are published as Sarum Lenten ferial processional chants in J. Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (1916; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 59, with the following rubric: "Sciendum quod. in. quadragesima. omni feria .iiii. et .vi. usque ad cenam domini. nisi festum .ix. leccionum impediat: fiat processio post nonam ad unum altarium ecclesie. hoc modo. In procedendo."

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Example 4.1a: **Lans 380 Processional Chants**[63]

Ant. Ecce carissimi dies illa judicii magna…
Ant. Cum venerimus ante conspectum dominum in die judicii…
Ant. In die quando venerit dominus ad judicium…

Resp. Abscondi tanquam aurum peccata mea… V. Quoniam iniquitatem meam…
Resp. Emendemus in melius que ignoranter peccavimus… V. Peccavimus cum patribus nostris…
Resp. Paradisi portas aperiet nobis iejunii tempus suscipiamus illud… V. Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile…
Resp. Afflicti pro peccatis nostris… V. Domine deus Israel exaudi preces nostras…
Resp. Scindite corda et non vestimenta vestra… V. Revertimini unusquis…
Resp. Abscondite elemosinam in sinu pauperis… V. Date elemosimam dicit dominus…

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Example 4.1b: **Sarum Use Ordinary Processional Chants before the High Mass**

Ant. Ecce carissimi dies illa judicci magna…
Ant. Cum venerimus ante conspectum dominum in die judicii…
Ant. In die quando venerit dominus ad judicium…[64]

Sciendum est quod per totam quadragesimam in omni quarta et sexta feria, usque ad Cenam Domini, fiat processio ad unum altare ecclesie per ordinem, post ix. dictam, ante inchoacionem misse, nisi festum ix. leccionum ibidem contigerit.

¶ Quarta autem feria prime ebdomade quadragesimali, eat processio per ostium presbiterij septentrionale ad altare sancti Martini, ex parte ecclesie boriali, sacerdos vero cum suis ministries, albis cum amictibus indutis, choro sequente, habitu non mutato, cantando unum Responsorium per ordinem, cantore incipiente hoc modo.

Afflicti pro peccatis…innovantur in nobis. V. Domine, Deus Israel, exaudi…cordis nostri. Ut ervas.

Resp. Emendemus. ut supra in feria quarta in capite ieiunij.

Responsorium. Paradisi portas aperiet…gloriemer. V. Ecce nunc tempus… paciencia. Ut in die.

Resp. Scindite corda vestra…misericors est. [V.] Revertimini…suis. Et convertimini.

Responsorium. Abscondite elemosinam…peccatum. V. Date elemosinam…nobis. Quia sicut.[65]

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[63]Folios 8^{v} through 9^{v}.

[64]Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Liturg. d. 4, folios 21, 31 and 36.

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of the sixth responsory, *Abscondi tanquam* and its verse, *Quoniam*, really does not alter the picture at all, since its addition to the liturgy of the church represented by these entries in Lans 380 could have happened at any time during the Middle Ages, reflecting local usage.[66] Since processional chants were considered non-canonical, that is, not part of the actual Mass or Offices, they were not sacrosanct in the same way the chants of these latter liturgies were; they were, therefore, more susceptible to variations from region to region, reflecting local variants and traditions, in something of the same way that calendars of saints and alleluia sequences could vary from place to place.[67] Even minor differences, then, can be useful in localizing them, and it is helpful not to think of even such a relatively young Use as that of Sarum as an unchanging, monolithic structure.

Sarum Use is corroborated by the two prayers given as Examples 4.2a and 4.2b, and 4.3a and 4.3b below. The Confiteor and Misereatur as shown are also para-

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[65]Christopher Wordsworth, ed., *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), 64-5; his information is taken from Salisbury Cathedral Chapter MS 148 (fifteenth century), folios 24b-25a.

[66]All six of the Lans 380 responsories with their indicated verses, including *Abscondi tanquam* and its verse *Quoniam*, are transmitted in the Sarum Antiphonary. See Walter Howard Frere, ed., *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile from Early Manuscripts with a Dissertation and Analytical Index*, 6 vols. (London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901-1924), 2:152-53; 3:105-106 and W. G. Henderson, *Processionale ad usum insignis ac præclaræ ecclesiæ sarum* (Leeds: McCorquodale, 1882), 24-42.

[67]For the use of the post-Pentecost sequence of alleluia verses in identification of manuscript provenance, see V[ictor] Leroquais, *Les Sacrementaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1924), 1:xxiv-xxvi; see also David Hiley, "Post-Pentecost Alleluias in Medieval British Liturgies," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong & Mediæval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 145-74. In his essay "'Use' and 'Beyond Use'," John Plummer demonstrates how Calendars of Saints' names and the prayers "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata," in conjunction with the Hours of the Virgin, the Litany, and the Office of the Dead, can be useful in localizing not only where a Book of Hours was intended to be used, but where it was written. See John Plummer, "'Use' and 'Beyond Use'," chapter 13 of *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, ed. Roger S. Wieck (New York: George Braziller, in Association with the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1988), 149-56.

liturgical in function, in that during the Middle Ages they were normally said before Mass by both the celebrant and the congregation, while the celebrant stood at the steps of the altar,

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Example 4.2a: **Sarum Use Confiteor**[68]

Confiteor Deo beate Marie omnibus sanctis et vobis peccavi nimis cogitatione locutione et opera mea culpa. Precor sanctam Mariam omnes sanctos Dei, et vos orare pro me.

* * * * *

Example 4.2b: **Lans 380 Confiteor (Folio 5^{r})**

Confiteor Deo celi beate Marie omnibus sanctis eius et vobis, peccavi nimis in cogitatione locutione et opera mea culpa. Precor sanctam mariam omnes sanctes dei et vos orare pro me. Amen.

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Example 4.3a: Sarum Use Misereatur[69]

Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra liberet vos ab omni malo, conservet et confirmet in bono et ad vitam perducat eternam. Amen.

* * * * *

Example 4.3b: **Lans 380 Misereatur (Folio 5^{r})**

Misereatur vestri omnipotens deus et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra liberet vos deus ab omni malo, conservet et confirmet in bono et ad vitam perducat eternam. Amen.

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just after the pre-Mass processional and just before ascending the steps to the altar to begin the Mass. The priest would say the Confiteor, and his assistants and the congregation would respond with the Misereatur. The congregation would in turn recite the Confiteor, the priest

[68]Edmond Martène, *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus libri*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Antwerp: Joannis Baptiste de la Bry, 1736; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), 1:664, citing a 12th-century abbey MS.

[69]Ibid.

would answer with the Misereatur and then begin the celebration of the Mass.[70] As can be seen from a comparison of Examples 4.2a with 4.2b and 4.3a with 4.3b, the prayers found in Lans 380 are almost word-for-word the same as the texts which are of proven Sarum Use. Again, what slight variants exist can be attributed to differences in local usage. Examples 4.2 and 4.3 are corporate worship liturgical items; that is, they are meant to be recited or sung by the entire assembly, not prayed silently by a single individual as a personal, private devotion. They were included so that the little girl who was the intended recipient of the manuscript would more quickly learn them and be able to participate in the Lenten liturgies of her own parish church that were such an important part of preparing to make a full and sincere confession. Since her own parish church employed the Sarum Use, Lans 380 was most likely compiled for use in the British Isles; although it is not possible to identify the specific church she would have attended, the city of Bristol is one possibility: the text of the opening of a fragment of a Confiteor that is preserved in a Book of Hours housed today in the Bristol Public Library reads as follows: "Confiteor deo celi et beate marie et omnibus."[71] The Book of Hours belonged to an Isabel Ruddok, who may be the Isabel Ruddok or Clive attending St. Thomas the Martyr Church in Bristol, who is mentioned in 1434 as an inhabitant of that city.[72] The volume appears never to have left Bristol. Unfortunately, all that was entered of the Confiteor was what is shown above, but in comparing it with the Confiteor in Lans 380 of

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[70]For the use of the Confiteor at Mass, see the entry "Confiteor," in *Catholicisme: hier, aujourd'hui, demain. Encyclopédie en sept volumes dirigée par G. Jacquemet* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1947), 1522-23; an excellent introduction to the prayer is also provided in Madeleine Bernard, "Un texte inédit: le Confiteor lyonnais," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 83 (1969), 459-81, esp. 459-60.

[71]Bristol Public Library MS 14, folio 2^{r}.

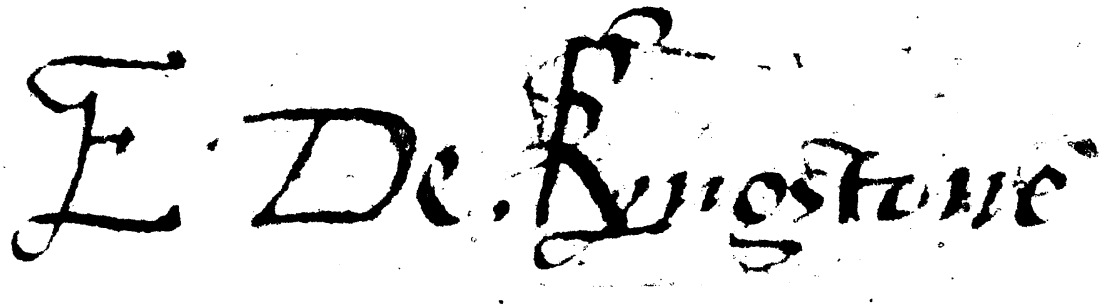
[72]N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-1983), 2:210; J[ohn] Challenor C. Smith, comp., *Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1383-1558*, 2 vols. (London: The British Record Society, Limited, 1893-85), 2:457. Excerpts from Isabel Ruddok's Book of Hours appear in Charity Scott-Stokes, *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 39-46; 126-7; 135-6.

Example 4.2b, it is clear that the two begin very similarly, including the crucial variant "coeli." Of all the many Confiteors that I have examined, I have found only a few others which employ this variant.[73] Without the rest of the Bristol Confiteor, connecting the Lans 380 Confiteor to Bristol cannot be considered definitive, but it is of probative value.

It is likely that our scribe worked in or around London, and to judge by the liturgical and religious texts as well as by the Latin items in both manuscripts, he may very well have been a cleric.

This brings us back to the signature "E. De Kyngstone" on folio 3^{r} of Lans 380 (see Example 4.4):

Example 4.4: Signature of E. de Kyngstone



A search of the various records surviving for Bristol in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries turns up references to several Kyngstones living in or near the port

[73]One such Confiteor, which begins, "[C]Onfiteor deo celi et beate marie beato benedicto et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis," apparently was recited at an institution where St. Benedict was especially venerated, perhaps a monastery, although the usual "fratres" is lacking. The prayer appears in London, Brit. Lib., MS Harley 172, folio 11 (15th century); see Peter Revell, comp., *Fifteenth Century English Prayers and Meditations: A Descriptive List of Manuscripts in the British Library* (New York and London: Garland, 1975), 118 (#346). Other Confiteors employing the variant "coeli" do not continue as does the Bristol Confiteor and are found within Books of Hours of Flemish origin. These occur in Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, MS 46 (The Warburg Hours, c. 1500), folios 33^{r}-33^{v}; Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, MS 48 (Book of Hours, early 16th century), folio 31^{r}; and Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, MS 49 (Book of Hours, 1st half of the 15th century), folio 20^{r}. See Svato Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress: A Descriptive Catalog*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1989), 1:289; 200; and 304.

city. In particular, a Johanna Kyngstone, the widow and executrix of the will of the Bristol merchant Philip Kyngstone, herself deceased by 1509, appears to have named a William Kyngstone, a burgess of the Bristol Staple (and probably her son) as the executor of her own will. Example 4.5 shows the entries in the Staple Court Book of Bristol for 1509 and 1511

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Example 4.5: **Bristol Staple Court Book Entries for the Name of Kyngstone**

It[em]. Vii die ffebruarii anno prescripto [=anno regni Regis Henrici viii primo] (1509). It. Johannes Daw de Bristoll' hosyer attachiatur versus Willelmum Kyngston executorem testamenti Johanne Kyngston nuper de villa predicta vidue alias dictum Willelmum Kyngston burgensem stapule ville predicte in placito debiti super demandam vii li. iiii s.v.d. st. per ii billas remanentes in Curia.[74]

It. Curia tenta die mercurii Xmo die Septembris anno regni Regis Henrici viii tercio (1511). It. Johannes Person dyer of Bristolle attachiatur versus Willelmum Kyngston Burgensem stapule ville Bristoll' executorem testamenti Johanne Kyngston' vidue executricis testamenti Philippi Kyngston' de eadem villa mercatoris iam defuncti in placito debiti super demandam iiii li. per billam remanentem in Curia.[75]

* * * * *

regarding the litigation involving Philip Kyngstone's estate. Although nowhere is anyone named in the Bristol book who could be Lans 380's "E. De Kyngstone," a William Kyngstone does appear regularly from 1509 in the various account books of King Henry VIII.[76] He first appears in the records as a yeoman of the chamber and is documented as attending the funeral of King Henry VII in 1509 as a gentleman usher. Prior to that, it is

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[74]E. E. Rich, ed., *The Staple Court Books of Bristol*, 5 vols. (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1934), 5:106.

[75]Ibid., 130.

[76]Except where otherwise indicated, the following biographical information on William Kyngstone relies upon Stanford Lehmberg, "Kingston, Sir William (*c*. 1476-1540), *courtier and administrator*," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in Association with The British Academy From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 61 vols. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 31:726-27.

quite possible that he participated in the family business in or around Bristol as a cloth merchant, since in July of 1510, King Henry is recorded as granting "William Kyngeston, esquire for the body, along with a certain Arthur [Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle], esquire, a licence to export 2,000 pieces of woollen cloths called kerseys, from London and Southampton, free of custom."[77] This was probably a one-time grant to provide Kingston with a little extra cash to provide for his family in the expectation that he would be going to Spain on campaign for the king, which he subsequently did in 1512-13 as Counsellor and Under Marshal. It should be remembered that during the fifteenth century, the city of Bristol was a leading manufacturer and exporter of cloth, and that although the grant from the king allowed Kingston to export the cloth free of taxes, it is unlikely that he would have been able to export the cloth in the first place if he had not already been associated with the cloth merchants' guild or the Merchant Venturers.[78]

Lehmberg describes William Kyngstone as probably being from Gloucestershire, just to the north and east of Bristol, and throughout his life, he is granted positions and possessions from Henry VIII involving the county of Gloucester.[79] Lehmberg believes he was related to the barons Berkeley of Berkeley Castle and also had some connection to the third duke of Buckingham. Kingston married three times, although the order of his first two wives is unknown; Elizabeth, whose surname is unknown, Anne, widow of Sir John Guise (d. 1501), and Mary, daughter of Richard Scrope and widow of Edward

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[77]J. S. Brewer and R. H. Brodie, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 2[d] ed., Part 1 (no. 1- no. 1805) (London: 1920; reprint, Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965), 322 (no. 546/67).

[78]E. M. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers: Collected Studies* (London: Methuen, 1954), xxviii.

[79]J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, Vol. 2, Part 2 (London: 1894; reprint, Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965), 1051 (no. 3281).

Jerningham (d. 1515) of Somerleighton, Suffolk, whom Kingston had married by 1534. He had one son, Anthony Kingston, and one or two daughters. About Elizabeth nothing is known.

Kingston probably distinguished himself early on in his career with his king by his jousting ability. Entries in the documents describe Kingston as participating in several tourneys and jousts, an activity of which Henry VIII was particularly fond. Kingston must have been something of an imposing figure physically, since he was also designated sheriff of Gloucestershire for much of his early adulthood. As he aged he was granted higher and higher favors and positions, being ennobled in October of 1513 as a Knight of the Bath. He was made a sewer to the king as well as one of the four Knights of the Body to the king by December 1517,[80] was given an annuity for life of £100 in 1519 and was named the king's first carver in 1521.

As an esquire and as a Knight of the Body, Kingston would have had regular, if not daily, contact with Henry VIII. He participated in the court revels and pageants which the king frequently had staged and also attended state affairs such as banquets when foreign embassies came to the court. In this regard it is significant that when over forty French emissaries came to England in September of 1518, each had his English counterpart seated in the hall, and under the heading "Pensioners," Sir William Kyngeston is entered second on the English side.[81] In 1520, when Charles V and his retinue attended the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Kingston is listed third among the men of Gloucestershire chosen to attend upon Henry

[80]Kingston is designated as a Knight of the Body in a 1 Dec. document listed under "Mixed Obligations," in Brewer, Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 1199 (no. 3820).

[81]Ibid., Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 1357 (no. 4409), citing from London, Brit. Lib., MS Harley 433, folio 294b.

VIII at the interview with the French king.[82] In 1520 Kingston's son, Anthony, who was then about twelve, made a trip to France in April of that year and met with the dauphin, who, according to the English ambassador Sir Richard Wingfield, had taken "a marvellous pleasure in young Kyngston, whom, after he had seen once, he called him *beau fils*."[83] From the evidence, it would seem that all the members of the Kingston family were conversant in French.

Kingston was amply rewarded for his services. A document of March 1521 states:

> Sir William Kyngeston, Knight of the Body. Grant in fee of three tenements with shops, cellars, and gardens in the parish of St. Martin near Ludgate, London, tenanted by Th. Sonnyff, Wm. Charsay and Edm. Snewyn, and in the King's hands because Scolastica Esterfyld, of Bristol, widow, deceased, bequeathed them in mortmain without licence: to hold in free and pure socage at the rent of a red rose.[84]

Also in 1521, when the third duke of Buckingham was found culpable of treason, Henry VIII made Kingston steward and bailiff of Buckingham's possessions in Gloucestershire as well as constable of Thornbury Castle and master of the hunts in the county.

The picture that emerges from all of this is of an extremely capable administrator who eventually worked his way into the king's inner circle. Although nothing is known of Elizabeth, she must have possessed considerable administrative skills as well,

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[82]J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, Vol. 3, Part 1 (London: 1867; reprint, Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965), 243 (no. 704).

[83]It is not known whether Kingston accompanied his son on this visit to France, but in 1523 he left England to serve in France under the Duke of Suffolk, and he did make at least one trip to Calais, in October of 1532.

[84]Brewer, Vol. 3, Part 1, p. 460 (no. 30).

since she would have had to run the household in her husband's absence.[85] Kingston's duties at court would have taken him away from home at least six months out of the year and frequently for even longer periods of time. Elizabeth no doubt shared a very conservative religious outlook with her husband, as the contents of Lans 380 bear out. As sheriff of Gloucestershire, Kingston had to take an oath promising "…in various ways to protect the King's interests, deal justly, etc., one item being to endeavor to stop 'all maner heresyes and erroures comynly called Lolardys' and assist the ordinaries and commissaries of Holy Church."[86] In 1539 Kingston spoke in Parliament on the conservative side in the debate about the Act of Six Articles, "rebuking the position taken on the eucharist by the evangelical Thomas Broke and even saying that if Broke repeated his arguments before the council after the act had passed, 'I will bring a fagot to help burn you withal.'"

Although no direct line of evidence links William and Elizabeth Kingston to Lans 380, the circumstantial evidence is quite strong, and they appear as the most likely candidates to have been the owners of the manuscript.

Lans 380 and 'The French Connection'

Many fundamental questions about William Kingston's wife and, by extension, her manuscript, remain unanswerable, one of the most vexing being why she would have owned a manuscript entirely in French and Latin, especially if she was English by birth. Because she probably lived in or near Bristol as a married lady, it is possible that she originated from French Flanders, Calais, or even from France. During the fifteenth

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[85]Jennifer C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London and New York: Longman, 1992), especially Chapter 3, "The Household," 50-70.

[86]J. S. Brewer and R. H. Brodie, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII,* Vol. 1, 2d ed., Part 2 (No. 1806-Appx. 27) (London: 1920; reprint Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965), 1440 (no. 3422).

century, Bristol was a thriving international port city, second in population and importance only to London, and many immigrants made their home there, mostly in association with the city's cloth industry. If she were the daughter of a French merchant there might be no record of her family in any case, since merchants from "territories formally in obedience to the king of England in Normandy and the Pays de Conquête" from 1482 on were not required to pay taxes and, therefore, did not have to register.[87] The odds are, however, that she was English. The one text within Lans 380 that might have been helpful in this regard actually raises more questions than it answers: a second Confiteor (Catalogue no. 10) on folio 5^{v}. This second Confiteor, unlike the first, is a private devotion meant to be prayed by the little girl in conjunction with her other penitential practices. It includes seventy-five saints' names in the usual hierarchical order: Mary, Archangels, Prophets and Evangelists, Martyrs, Bishops and Confessors, and Virgins. The interest of such a litany is that because it is a private, personal devotion, the saints named are generally those to whom the supplicant felt a personal relationship, or who had some special meaning for the supplicant. Often, they were saints whose relics or images were housed in the nearby parish church, or who were the patron saints of the devotee's confraternity, guild, etc., or who were believed to have special powers of intercession. Saint Catherine was a special intercessor for young, unmarried girls, for example, and St. Nicholas was also considered a patron saint of young children. When the seventy-five names of the Lans 380 Confiteor are considered in these terms, however, no clear patterns emerge (see Example 4.6). It is in the category of Bishops and Confessors, as well as in Virgins, that personal preferences and relationships can most easily be discerned,

[87]J. L. Bolton, ed., *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century. The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 & 1483-4* (Stamford, CT: Richard III & Yorkist History Trust in association with Paul Watkins, 1998), 7-8.

but the Lans 380 choices are wide-ranging, including "universal" saints, "regional" saints and "local" saints.[88] In a manuscript meant for use in England, it is something of an anomaly, therefore, that there is not a single local English saint's name in the entire litany. Only one geographical pattern emerges: there are five saints associated with Bourges, the largest number of saints from a single locale in the Lans 380 Confiteor. These are Guillermus (Guillaume), Austregisilus, Ursinus, Sulpicius and Montana.[89] Of the five, only Montana is a truly "local" or obscure saint, but her inclusion is significant, in light of the evidence that the recipient of Lans 380 was probably a woman. It is also significant that Guillaume, Austregisila and Ursinus are all listed in the hierarchy above such luminaries as Benedict, Bernard, Dominic and Francis (of Assisi), after whom they would normally appear. Clearly, Bourges held some significance for either the recipient of Lans 380 or someone in her family. Perhaps her father, if he was a Merchant Adventurer, cloth merchant, or a diplomat, had spent time in Bourges. It cannot be maintained, however, that the presence of these saints in the long Confiteor indicates that Lans 380 therefore must have been written in Bourges. The inclusion of eleven liturgical items from the Use of Sarum must surely carry greater weight than that of a single devotional item whose interpretation is ambiguous. Sarum Use can be documented for parts of northern France during the Middle Ages, but it was never appropriated by any church within the Archbishopric of Bourges. It is quite possible,

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[88]Leroquais, *Les Sacrementaires*, 1:xxvi-xxvii..

[89]Austregisilus, Bishop of Bourges († 624), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (*BHL*), Subsidia hagiographica, #6 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898-99; reprint, 1992), 132-33; Guillaume (=Willelmus), Bishop of Bourges († 1209), *BHL*, 1283-84; Montana, cult in the diocese of Bourges and Sens, *BHL*, 876; Sulpicius, (Sulpitius Pius, Bishop of Bourges, † 646), *BHL*, 1146 or (Sulpitius Severus, † 591), *BHL*, 1146-47; Ursinus, Bishop of Bourges, (I/III cent.), *BHL*, 1216.

Example 4.6: The Saints of the Devotional Confiteor of Lans 380:

Maria
[Archangels]
Michaeli
[Prophets and Evangelists]
Johanni [John the Baptist]
Johanni [John the Evangelist]
[Apostles]
Petri
Pauli
Andrei
Jacobi
Bartholomei
[Martyrs]
Georgii
Dionisi
Stephani
Cristofori
Erasme
Sebastiani
Adriani
Quintini
Laurenti
Vincenti
Gervasi et Protasi
Crispini et Crispiniani
[Bishops and Confessors]
Martini
Nicholai
Gregorii
Jheronimi
Augustini
Ambrosi
Glaudi [=Claude]
*Guillermi
[=Wilhelmus=Guillaume]
*Austregisila
*Ursini
Anthoni
Benedicti
Fiacri
Bernardi
Mauri
Dominici
Francisci
Bernardini
*Sulplici [=Sulpici]
Eligi
Egidi
Gatiani
Brici
Audomari
Bertoni
Lazari
Florentini
Nichaisi
Vitoni
Cirici
Eurci
Ebirsi
Onofari
Eutropi
Lupi
Romuli
Silvini
Macuti
Aniani
[Virgins and Virgin martyrs]
Anne
Catherine
Barbare
Margarete
Marie magdalene
Marie egipciace
Genovefe
Eugenie
*Montane
Queterie
Libarie
Radegunde
Elisabeth

*An asterisk denotes those saints that were particularly venerated in Bourges.

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however, that elements from the rite at Bourges may have found their way into the Sarum Use in England.[90]

Lans 380 and the Poetry of Charles d'Orléans

It is well known to students of fifteenth-century French lyric poetry that while he was a prisoner in England, Charles d'Orléans passed much of his time writing poetry. He mostly wrote ballades and chançons, but also wrote three caroles that have come down to us. Before leaving England, he gathered all of his poetry in the French language into a single collection, which then began to circulate on the Continent almost immediately after his release. Martin le Franc, in his *Le Champion des dames*, called it "le livre qui'il fit en Inglant" and it was subsequently copied several times.[91] The complete collection normally includes Charles' *La Retenue d'Amours*, his three *Complaintes*, ninety ballades, fifty-two chançons and the three caroles in French. All of the poems that Charles himself referred to as "rondeaux" seem to postdate his repatriation to France. Lans 380 contains a copy of Charles' "English Book," but with twenty-two ballades missing and one duplicated ballade,

[90]Private communication from Michel Huglo, 13 September 2006. Since a young girl could not reasonably be expected to have the knowledge to select a roster of some seventy-plus personal, intercessory saints' names, the question may be asked whether the long-form Confiteor is less a reflection of her own personal devotional preferences and more that of the scribe/compiler of the manuscript. To judge from his handling of the French texts, the scribe of Lans 380 would seem to be not only comfortable with the French language, but fluent in it. If the scribe himself were French, and possibly even from Bourges, that might explain the lack of English saints' names and the emphasis on saints from Bourges. The Confiteor, therefore, would actually be a record of the scribe's personal devotional preferences, rather than the little girl's. As such, it might then have been included as an example of the prayer for the child, so that eventually she could develop a list of her own intercessory saints.

[91]Robert Deschaux, ed., *Martin Le Franc, Le Champion des Dames*, 5 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 3:42. Hereafter, the collection of poems in French that Charles wrote while in England will be referred to as his "English Book."

as well as one missing chançon.[92] The caroles are not included with the rest of his "English Book," either.[93]

Apparently, Ballade I was never included in the exemplar from which Lans 380 was copied even though it is the first poem in the series, but this is not certain, because the entire folio at this point is missing, which would have included any rubric, as well as Ballade I if it had been available.[94] Why so many other ballades are missing when the chançons are nearly complete is not clear. A few of the ballades may be lacking due to scribal oversight, but that surely can not be the explanation for the entire groups of ballades that are missing from numbers LXXX through LXXXV, LXXXVII through LXXXIX and XCIII through XCIV. As it turns out, these are ballades that make explicit reference to Charles' captivity, to other hostages in England at the time (the duke of Bourbon) or to Charles' cousin, the duke of Burgundy, who was working for Charles' eventual release through his wife, Isabelle. Since Charles presumably had control over whatever he allowed to be copied from the collection of poetry in his possession while a captive in England, this appears to be a case of self-censoring; at some point before returning to France, it appears

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[92]The missing ballades are: *Belle, bonne, nompareille, plaisant* (I); *En ce joyeux temps du jour d'uy* (XVII); *Je ne crains Dangier ne les siens* (XXIX); *Vous, soiés la tresbien venue* (XLVII); *Le lendemain de premier jour de May* (LXII); *Mon cueur dormant en Nonchaloir* (LXVII); *J'oy estrangement* (LXXI); *Mon cueur m'a fait commandement* (LXXIV); *En regardant vers le païs de France* (LXXV); *Je, qui suis Dieu des amoureux* (LXXVII); *Je fu en fleur ou temps passé d'enfance* (LXXX); *Cueur, trop es plain de folie* (LXXXI); *Nouvelles ont couru en France* (LXXXII); *Puis qu'ainsi est que vous alez en France* (LXXXIII); *Mon gracieux cousin, duc de Bourbon* (LXXXIV); *Mon chier cousin, de bon cueur vous mercie* (LXXXV); *Puisque, je suis vostre voisin* (LXXXVII); *Pour le haste de mon passage* (LXXXVIII); *Des nouvelles d'Albion* (LXXXIX); *Visage de basse venu* (XCI); *Beau frere, je vous remercie* (XCIII); *Pour ce que je suis a present* (XCIV). The numbering of Charles' poems follows that given in the edition of his poetry by Pierre Champion in Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 2 vols. 1: *La Retenue d'Amours, Ballades, Chansons, Complaintes et Caroles.* 2: *Rondeaux* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1923-4).

[93]Although they show up later in the manuscript, as part of the group of chanson texts.

[94]Folio 149r*-149v*. The opening words of Ballade II are provided as catchwords ("Vueulliez voz") at the bottom corner of folio 148^{v}. It seems that the missing folio was removed before the volume was bound.

that he had his poetry copied, but withheld certain poems from the copyist in England due to their political sensitivity.[95] The scribe of Lans 380 thus acquired a version of the duke's poetry that was circulating in England, rather than a version that circulated in France. This would mean, then, that Charles' poetry in French circulated in at least two different versions: a version for English consumption and a version for French consumption, because at least one copy of Charles' "English Book" seems to have been copied in Calais: Janet Backhouse has argued persuasively that the original campaign of work on London, Brit. Lib., MS Royal 16 F. ii, which contains the poems by Charles d'Orléans, shows a close relationship to the work of Hugues de Lembourg, clerk to Thomas Thwaytes, Treasurer of Calais, whom she believes wrote it in the late 1480s.[96] The Royal manuscript contains Charles' correspondence in ballades with the duke of Burgundy, however, whereas any ballade with even a whiff of politics about it is missing from Lans 380. Lans 380 may therefore preserve a very early version of Charles' poetry, a version that began to circulate even before he left England. William Askins has recently suggested that Charles may have given a manuscript of his poetry in the English language, London, Brit. Lib., Harley 682, as a gift to his keeper John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, member of the Privy Council, with whom Charles stayed (mostly in London) from December 1429 until August of 1432. John Cornwall apparently had an ongoing, close association with the merchant community of London and elsewhere in England, and when Cornwall went to France he took a number of members of the London

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[95]This is certainly possible, since Charles's "autograph" manuscript was made in England (London), before his return to France. See François Avril and Patricia Danz Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire VIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1987), 180-81.

[96]Janet Backhouse, "Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts," in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1987), 23-41; eadem., "Charles of Orléans Illuminated," in *Charles d'Orléans in England (1415-1440)*, ed. Mary-Jo Arn (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 157-63.

mercantile community with him in his retinue. It is also believed that the friendship between Charles and John Cornwall was particularly close, since Cornwall, of all of the Englishmen who were Charles' keepers, was the only one who attended Charles' wedding in 1440.[97] The link to the English mercantile community is supported by an all-but-invisible sixteenth-century inscription within Brit. Lib. MS Harley 862 which links the manuscript to members of the cloth trade.[98] Like John Cornwall, William Kingston maintained ties to the English mercantile community and, like Cornwall, had access to poetry (although in French, rather than English) by Charles d'Orléans. It would seem, then, that throughout the fifteenth century, members of the English mercantile community had an interest in the poetry of Charles d'Orléans, just as did the aristocracy.

The Song Texts of Lans 380

Grouped together on folios 237^{v} through 253^{v} are fifty-nine fifteenth-century French secular chanson texts (see Table 4.1).[99] Twenty-eight of the texts have surviving polyphonic musical settings, and another four can be shown to have probably had settings, also.[100] This means that a little over fifty-three percent of the song texts in Lans 380 can be

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[97]William Askins, "The Brothers Orléans and their Keepers," in *Charles d'Orleans in England*, ed. Mary-Jo Arn (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 27-45, esp. 40-41.

[98]Mary-Jo Arn, *Fortunes Stabilnes: Charles of Orleans's English Book of Love. A Critical Edition* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994), 116.

[99]No. 60 is a single ballade by Alain Chartier, *Il n'est dangier que de vilain*, on folios 220^{v}-221^{r} (Catalogue no. 89). It was originally meant to appear with the other ballades of the manuscript, not the song texts, although a musical setting for the poem does exist in Ox, folio 108 (no. 247); for this, see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 186.

[100]*Le plus dolent qu'oncques fut né* is given in the 1501 print by Antoine Vérard, *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoricque nouvellement imprime a Paris* (folio 61^{v}, no. 15), as a "rondel en chant," and *Par trop vous amer je me tue* is probably the song which is quoted in the Discantus of the two-voice quodlibet *O rosa bella* in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS nouv. acq. fr. 4379, folios 2^{v}-3^{r} (no. 28); see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 548. Another two song texts appear in Collection "G" of Rohan: *Fortune que vous ay je fait* and *Je suis à cela*.

associated with musical settings, a very high percentage. Because these song texts were grouped together and such a high percentage of them still have their musical settings in other sources, it is likely that they all had musical settings at one point and so were quite possibly copied from a musical exemplar (or more than one). The organization of the texts within Lans 380 is somewhat different from that of the three sources previously studied, however. There seem, in fact, to be two different organizational strategies at work in this collection. The first could be described as an essentially additive principle, where the first sixteen texts (*Sil vous plaist* through *Tres doulx penser*), which date mainly from the 1430s and 40s, are followed by twenty-eight texts (*D'ung aultre amer* through *Par trop vous amer*) dating mostly from the 1450s and early 60s. These are followed by nine texts (*Las, merencollie* through *Au plus fort de ma maladie*) that appear to have been collected because of their relationship to Charles d'Orléans and other poets who were associated with the French royal court.[101] The second organizing principle operating here seems to be a certain pedagogical concern; that is, the compiler or scribe has grouped certain poems (especially towards the end of the collection) to reflect the rubric provided as the heading to this section on 223^{v}: "Chancons, Rondeaulx, Carolles, Lais, Et virelaiz." The "Chancons" referred to are those written in French by Charles d'Orléans while he was in England.[102] These are followed immediately by rondeaux, then the three carols that Charles d'Orléans wrote while in

[101]*Prest de perir en la mer de fortune* picks up on a theme of poetic debate at Blois, and the only other poem on the theme *Au plus fort de ma maladie*, as has been seen in Chapter 1, was written by a member of Charles' court, Benoist Damiens.

[102]Plus four anonymous chançons. These are *Celle belle vermeille bouche* (folio 235^{r}, Lans 380 Cat. no. 93); *Dangier a fait une saillie* (folio 235^{r}, Cat. no. 94); *Puis que tant voulles estre mien* (folio 235^{v}, Cat. no. 95); and *Nulluy naura mon cueur en gage* (folio 237^{v}, Cat. no. 97).

England,[103] then a couple of lyric poems with line lengths shorter than eight syllables (the "lais"), then a closing group of virelais. The categories are not strictly maintained, however, since the anonymous virelai *Ha loyaulte* is embedded between two rondeaux, the anonymous virelai *Amours puis quavez refuse* appears sandwiched between the rondeaux *Pour avenir a mon atainte* and *Las je ne scay quant ce sera*, and the anonymous virelai *Se je demeure despourvue* is entered between the rondeaux *Le regard de vostre beaute* and *Pour bien aimer et loyaument servir*. The virelais at the end of the collection do not reflect the general chronological organization of the list, however, as they appear to be from the very late 1440s or early 1450s and instead, give the impression of having been tacked on to the end of the collection. Since the categories of "lai" and "virelai" are not strictly observed throughout the rest of the list either, one wonders if perhaps the two lais and the four virelais which round out the collection originally appeared somewhere else within the body of the texts and were subsequently relocated by the scribe or compiler in order to better illustrate the different poetic forms being demonstrated to the manuscript's recipient.[104] In spite of the formal discrepancies within the categories, however, they are observed to enough of a degree for one to see that the compiler of the manuscript was supplying E. de Kyngestone with a kind of instructional manual providing examples of different genres of lyric poetry. Two of the skills a young girl of the upper classes would have been expected to possess during the fifteenth

[103]Their presence here, separated from the rest of his poetry, suggests that they may have had musical settings at one time.

[104]Such possible "manipulation" of the list's contents is not new; something akin to this appears to be the explanation for the different orderings of what are essentially the same contents of Collections "C" and "H" in Paris 1719 (see Chapter 2). While the contents of the two collections are very much alike and appear in much the same order (although the readings are not always exactly the same), someone took care in Collection "C" to group all six of the poems together whose incipits begin *En la forest de longue attente* (folios 63^{r} to 65^{v}).

Table 4.1: **The Song Texts in Lans 380**

Lans 380 Folio Nos.	Incipit[105]	Poetic Genre[106]	Author[107]	Composer[108]
237^{v}	*Sil vous plaist que je couche*	rondeau		
238^{r}	***Le malheureux habandonne***	rondeau		Anon.
238^{r}	*Ha loyaulté*	lai		
238^{v}	***Mon seul plaisir ma doulce joye***	rondeau	Charles d'Orléans	Bedyngham/ Du Fay
238^{v}	*Je viens vers vous pour requerir*	rondeau		
239^{r}	***Tousjours me souvient de la belle***	rondeau		Anon.
239^{r}	***Pour prison ne pour maladie***	rondeau	Alain Chartier	Binchois
239^{v}	***Vostre tres doulx regart plaisant***	rondeau		Binchois
239^{v}	***Les douleurs dont me sens tel somme***	rondeau	Antoine de Cuise	Du Fay
240^{r}	*Jeune dame de beau maintien*	rondeau		
240^{r}	*Margot mamie*	lai	Grant Guillaume	
240^{v}	***Se j'ay vostre grace requise***	rondeau		Anon.
240^{v}	*Fine afffinee remplie de finesse*	rondeau		
241^{r}	***Terriblement suis fortunee***	virelai		Anon.
241^{v}	***Le serviteur hault guerdonné***	rondeau		Du Fay
241^{v}	***Tres doulx penser dieu te convoye***	rondeau		Anon.[109]

[105]For song texts with extant musical settings, incipit spellings follow those given by Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*. For song texts without musical settings, but which appear in printed poetry editions, the spellings follow those editions. For unique song texts within Lans 380, incipits are spelled as they appear in the manuscript. Boldface indicates an extant setting.

[106]The genre of each poetic text is given following the rubric that appears in Lans 380, folio 223^{v}: "Chancons, Rondeaulx, Carolles, Laiz Et Virelaiz."

[107]All author attributions have been supplied from concordant manuscripts.

[108]All composer attributions have been supplied from concordant manuscripts.

[109]*Tres doulx penser appears* as a later adaptation of an earlier 3-voice chanson in Cop1848; it also appears as a monophonic chanson in the Bayeux Chansonnier (see Lans 380 Catalogue, no. 113).

242r	***D'ung aultre amer mon cueur s'abesseroit***	rondeau		Okeghem/ Busnoys
242r	***Cent mille escus quant je vouldroye***	rondeau		Caron/Busnoys
242v	***Prenez sur moi vostre exemple amoureux***	rondeau		Okeghem
242v	***J'ay pris amours a ma devise***	rondeau		Anon.
243r	***S'il convient que prende congié***	rondeau		Anon.
243r	*Quant le mestier japrens a faire*	rondeau		
243v	***La fiance qui j'ay en vous***	rondeau		Anon.
243v	*Je ne croy pas quil soit ung plus grant bien*	rondeau		
244r	*Demouray je tousjours ainsy*	rondeau		
244r	*Je croy quil nest point tel plaisir*	rondeau		
244v	*Le plus dolent conques fut né*	rondeau		
244v	***Pour avenir a mon atainte***	rondeau		Anon.
245r	*Amours puis quavez refusé*	virelai		
245r	*Las je ne scay quant ce sera*	rondeau		
245v	*Mon tres chier et parfait amy*	rondeau		
245v	***Ne je ne dors ne je ne veille***	rondeau		Du Fay
246r	***Je ne vis oncques la pareille***	rondeau		Binchois/Du Fay
246r	***La plus mignonne de mon cueur***	rondeau		Du Fay
246v	*Helas cest fait de moy nest plus*	rondeau		
246v	***Puis que Fortune est contre moy***	rondeau		Puyllois
247r	***Quant vous me ferez plus de bien***	rondeau		Busnoys
247r	*Fortune que vous ay je fait*	rondeau		
247v	*Felon dangier je te deffie*	rondeau		
247v	***Mon bien imparfait***	lai		Anon.
248r	*Le regard de vostre beaulté*	rondeau		
248r	***Se je demeure despourveue***	virelai		Anon.
248v	*Pour bien amer et loyaument servir*	rondeau		
248v	*Par trop vous amer je me tue*	rondeau		

249^{r}	*Las, merencollie*	carole	Charles d'Orléans	
249^{v}	*Avances vous, esperance*	carole	Charles d'Orléans	
250^{r}	*M'avez vous point mis en oubly*	carole	Charles d'Orléans	
250^{v}	*De ma dame ne dit nul bien*	virelai	Blosseville	
250^{v}	*Esperant d'avoir quelque bien*	virelai	Vaillant	
251^{r}	*Prest de perir en la mer de fortune*	rondeau		
251^{r}	***Fors seulement l'attente que je meure***	rondeau		Okeghem
251^{v}	***A quoy tient il le cuer me vole***	rondeau	Fredet	Anon.
251^{v}	*Au plus fort de ma maladie*	rondeau		
252^{r}	*Vivre en desplaisir*	lai		
252^{r}	*Je suis à cela*	lai		
252^{v}	***Fortune laisse moy la vie***	virelai		Anon.
253^{r}	*Abregies la mort ou la vie*	virelai		
253^{r}	*M'amour, mon seul desir, ma joye*	virelai		
253^{v}	***Hé Fortune pourquoy si fortunee***	virelai		Anon.
220^{v}	***Il n'est dangier que de vilain***[110]	ballade	Alain Chartier	Anon.

century (and beyond) were some degree of musical literacy (the ability to sing and possibly to play an instrument) and the ability to write poetry.[111]

Although it cannot be proven, it is quite likely that the song texts in Lans 380 were originally copied from one or more musical exemplars or chansonniers and then re-

[110]Because it is a ballade, *Il n'est dangier que de vilain* appears in Lans 380 on folios 220^{v}-221^{r}, along with the other ballades of the manuscript. It is listed here simply for completeness, since there is an extant musical setting of part of its text in Ox, folio 108^{r}.

[111]Although there is no musical notation in this manuscript, there is some indication that E. de Kyngstone had some knowledge of music. The ballade *Chantes dessus*, (no. 158), is a dialogue between a lady and a man of a "licentious nature" (see *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 111), and it employs certain musical terms and vocabulary which the little girl would not have understood if she had not had at least some basic musical instruction. The "humor" of the ballade hinges entirely on one's understanding of the musical terms employed, so it would not have made much sense to include the poem in the volume if the recipient of Lans 380 could not have understood it.

arranged to suit the pedagogical purposes of the compiler. If this is so, then Lans 380 is a kind of "shadow witness" to musical activity not just in England in the fifteenth century, but ultimately, to some originating spot on the Continent. In examining the songs with settings, it can be seen that they range in date from the 1430s to the very early 1460s, with music by Binchois, Du Fay, Okeghem, Busnoys, Caron (or Busnoys) and Puyllois, representing a nearly equal mix of central French and Burgundian composers. Such a mix is actually quite consistent with the contents of the rest of the manuscript, since central French non-musical texts co-exist with texts that were written or translated for Philippe le Bon or members of his court. During a good part of the fifteenth century, the valley of the Somme River and its towns, which lay between France and the Burgundian possessions, were controlled by the duke of Burgundy and were part of his territories.[112] They were administered in his name by the Croy brothers, Antoine and Jean, who, until their fall from grace in 1465, were Philippe's most trusted advisors and the richest of his vassals. At the same time, due to their position as a buffer zone between the French Crown and the duke of Burgundy's lands, the territories held and administered by the Croys were politically important to the French king, who sought to bind the Croys in allegiance to himself by offering both Antoine and Jean titles at court, gifts of land and financial remuneration. Both Antoine and Jean paid visits to the king of France, and it is likely that that is where they obtained some of the music by the central French composers, such as Okeghem and Busnoys, for the collection that ultimately turns up

[112]They were ceded to Philippe le Bon in 1435 by the treaty of the Paix of Arras with the provision that the French Crown could buy them back for 400,000 écus d'or, which Louis XI did in September, 1463. Robert Born, *Les Croy: Une grande lignée hennuyère d'hommes de guerre, de diplomates, de conseillers secrets, dans les coulisses du pouvoir, sous les ducs de Bourgogne et la maison d'Autriche (1390-1612)* (Brussels: Les Éditeurs d'Art Associés, 1981), 39.

within Lans 380.[113] But it is the nature of their relationship with the French king and the threat that their growing power and influence raised, that eventually led to their downfall, when they were disgraced by Philippe's son Charles, count of Charolais.

One small, but important clue is particularly significant in assigning this repertory to the Croy family or one of their clients: the song texts *Je ne croy pas quil soit ung plus grant bien* and *Je croy quil nest point tel plaisir* each carries the Croy name prominently within its incipit. The use of any form of the verb "croire" (to believe, as in "I believe in God Almighty…") is extremely rare during the fifteenth century within the incipit of a lyric poem. After a study of the surviving poetry manuscripts, I have found only seven examples of incipits involving some form of the verb "croire," and six of them occur in sixteenth-century sources.[114] It is much more common during the fifteenth century to find the use of the verb "cuider" within lyric poems.[115] In fact, Charles d'Orléans never uses the verb "croire" in this way, preferring always the verb "cuider."[116] The point to be made, then, is that not only is the use of "croy" rare in a song text incipit of the fifteenth century, but to

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[113]In particular, Jean made several trips to France on diplomatic business on behalf of Philippe le Bon during a roughly twenty-year period. See Born, *Les Croy*, 56.

[114]They are: *Comme je croy si tu n'es bien muable*, folio 234 in Lille402 and folio 97^{r}, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 19182; *Nulle autrefoys or escout et me croy*, folio 448 in Lille402 and folio 48^{r}, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 477; *De dire ouy et croire le contraire*, folio 275 in Lille402; *Du mal que j'ay hellas qui m'en croyra*, folio 31^{r} in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 19182; *C'est le vieil jeu de croire un villart saige*, folio 110^{r} in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 2206; *Qui l'eust croydé dessoubz ung tel visage*, folios 37^{v}-38^{r} in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS f. fr. 1701. The one fifteenth-century song incipit is *En elle croi c'est toute ma pensee*, set by Raulin on folio 108^{v}-111^{r} (no. 72) in F176.

[115]For example: *Puis qu'en moy cuidez tant de biens*, folio 39^{v} (no. 76) by Taneguy du Chastel in P15771; *Cuydant estre amé de la belle*, folio 21^{v} (no. 57), Anon.; *De quoy me cuidez vous nuire*, folio 101^{r} (no. 319), Anon.; and *Tost est deceu cuider d'homme orgueilleux*, folios 170^{r}-170^{v} (no. 493) by Pierre Chevalier, all in P1719.

[116]For example: *Dame qui cuidiez trop savoir*, p. 137 (Ballade no. 86); *Gens qui cuident estre si sages*, p. 311 (Rondeau no. 37); *Je cuide que ce sont nouvelles*, p. 166 (Ballade no. 106); and *Que cuidez vous qu'on verra*, p. 328 (Rondeau no. 68). Page numbers refer to the edition by Pierre Champion of Charles' autograph manuscript, P25458.

find it in two song text incipits in the same collection is certainly significant. The song texts also fit exactly into the time frame when the Croy clan was gaining its greatest influence: the 1440s through the early 1460s. None of the song texts within the collection is later than about 1462. Whether the collection belonged to Antoine or to Jean cannot be determined, although as the eldest brother and the head of the clan, Antoine would seem to be the more likely candidate.[117] One of the texts appears to corroborate this: *Jeune dame de beau maintien* is a somewhat mediocre literary effort, but it does possess the virtue of containing the acrostic Jaqueline d'Ausqu, the only acrostic in the collection. Although no information regarding Jaqueline has so far come to light, a Ghillebert d'Ausque is documented as having been given a line of credit in 1450 worth 100 riddres d'or «pour obtenir…le plus qu'il porroit à l'avantaige et confort des privileges de la ville» [of Cassel, part of Antoine de Croy's St. Omer administrative territories], regarding confiscations of property belonging to the bourgeois element in the baillage of Cassel. In other words, Ghillebert d'Ausque was authorized by the merchants and bourgeoisie of Cassel to dip into a "slush fund" to offer a pot-de-vin or bribe to Antoine de Croy in exchange for consideration regarding impredations the latter was apparently making upon the bourgeoisie of Cassel. This was a normal way of doing business with the duke of Burgundy's administrative representative, and the person chosen to offer the financial "incentive" would have likely been selected precisely because he had some kind of prior and probably personal relationship to Antoine de Croy.[118]

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[117]Although "Souvienne vous" was Jean de Croy's motto, and a quodlibet chanson of this title will be found in Dij, folios 143^{v}-144 (no. 122). Examples of Jean de Croy's motto, written in a volume of Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, translated by Laurent de Premierfait, and produced in Flanders, 1461-62, may be found within alternating chapter initials in San Marino, CA, Huntington Library HM 937. See C. W. Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, 2 vols. (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1989), 1:285.

[118]Alain Derville, "Pots-de-vin, cadeaux, racket, patronage; essai sur les mécanismes de décision dans l'État bourguignon," *Revue du nord* 56 (1974), 341-64, esp. n. 105; see also idem, "Les pots-de-vin dans le

It should not be surprising that Phillipe le Bon's most trusted counselors and most powerful vassals would themselves have been fond of music and would have collected up a repertory of songs to preserve, just as various functionaries of the French king seem to have done.[119] They certainly had the connections and the financial means to do so.

The origins of the Croy family are obscure.[120] The first fact known for certain is that when Guillaume de Croy married Isabelle de Renty (of the oldest family of the Artois region of France) in the fourteenth century, the alliance brought him the territorial possessions of Seninghem and Sempy in the Artois, as well as Renty.[121] These territories were added to the lands that the Croy family already possessed of Crouy and Airaines, near Picquigny.[122] Isabelle's son Jean de Croy inherited the family patrimony and made his career subsequently as chamberlain and counselor from 1398 to Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, and then passed into the service of Jean sans Peur. In 1405 he was named *échanson* to the count of Charolais, the future duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Bon. He subsequently became captain of Tournehem and governor of the County of Artois.[123] It

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dernier tiers du XVe siècle (d'après les comptes de Lille et de Saint-Omer)," *Anciens pays et assemblées d'état* 80 (1985), 449-71.

[119]For the example of Wolf, which was evidently made for the notary and secretary of Louis XI, Estienne le Petit, see David Fallows, "'Trained and Immersed in all Musical Delights': Towards a New Picture of Busnoys," in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 21-50, esp. 41-43.

[120]Except where otherwise indicated, all biographical information regarding the Croy clan comes from M. R. Thielemans, "Les Croÿ, conseillers des ducs de Bourgogne. Documents extraits de leurs archives familiales, 1357-1487," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire* 124 (1959), 1-141.

[121]Seninghem, France, département Pas-de-Calais, arrondissement Saint-Omer, canton Lumbres; Sempy, France, dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Montreuil, c. Campagne-lez-Hesdin. Renty, France, dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Saint-Omer, c. Fauquembergues.

[122]Crouy, France, dép. Somme, arr. Amiens, c. Picquigny; Airaines, dép. Somme, arr. Amiens, c. Molliens-Vidame.

[123]Tournehem, France, dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Saint-Omer, c. Ardres.

certainly did not hurt the fortunes of the Croy family that Jean de Croy's sister, Agnes, gave birth to an illegitimate son by Jean sans Peur.

In 1410, Jean de Croy was captured by men loyal to Charles d'Orléans, tortured and eventually freed in an exchange for the children of Jean de Bourbon. To make up for what Jean had been through, Charles VI gave to Jean de Croy lands in Champagne that had been confiscated from Charles d'Orléans and his adherents, lands which the king eventually restored to Charles in exchange for land holdings in the baillage d'Amiens, which Jean de Croy added to his already substantial possessions in the Pas-de-Calais.[124] During this time, when the duke of Burgundy controlled Paris, he introduced Jean de Croy to the French court, and eventually Jean was named Grand Bouteiller de France. Jean de Croy also possessed hôtels in Mons, Bavai and Binche.[125]

Jean de Croy married Marguerite de Craon; they had sixteen children, of whom only two will be of interest here: Antoine and Jean. Antoine apparently married twice—first to Jeanne or Marie de Roubaix, then to Marguerite de Lorraine, sister of Antoine de Lorraine, who defeated René d'Anjou in 1431 at the battle of Bulgnéville. Soon after, Antoine de Croy loaned 15,000 vieux florins to his father-in-law in exchange for the territories of Aarschot and Bierbeck. In 1430 both Antoine and his brother Jean were elected "chevaliers" among the original members of Philippe le Bon's Order of the Golden Fleece.[126] Around the same time, in 1433, Philippe le Bon made Antoine's brother, Jean de Croy, seigneur de Tours-sur-Marne, capitaine général and bailli of Hainaut, and it is at this time

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[124]These were Beaurain and Beaurainville, with the hamlets of Beaurain-le-Château and Beaurain-le-Petit, dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Montreuil, c. Campagne-lez-Hesdin.

[125]Born, 41.

[126]Paul de Win, "Antoine de Croÿ" and "Jean II de Croÿ," in *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle*, Raphaël de Smedt, ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 49-53 and 60-62.

that the careers of the two brothers and their influence at the court of Philippe le Bon began to take off. As counselors to Philippe, they were won to the French cause in 1435 at the Conference of Nevers, along with several other high-ranking servants of the duke of Burgundy. This brought them generous rewards from Charles VII, who remunerated Antoine de Croy alone with 10,000 saluts d'or. Later in the year, a French embassy gave Antoine 3,000 livres de rente "…en récompense d'avoir travaillé à la paix «de tout son cuer et povoir»." Antoine put these monies towards the purchase of the territory of Bar-sur-Aube.[127] In 1440 he bought the balance of the seigneurie of Chièvres from Charles d'Orléans.[128] In 1442, the government of the ducal lands, in the absence of Philippe le Bon and Isabelle de Portugal, was confided jointly to Antoine de Croy and Jean Chevrot, bishop of Tournai and president of the Ducal Council.

When Louis XI, as dauphin, took refuge during his father's reign at the court of Philippe le Bon, he solidified his contacts with Antoine and Jean, and this relationship continued throughout the earliest years of Louis' reign. On 26 April 1461, Louis XI named Antoine counselor and grand master of his hôtel, as well as making him captain of the towns and châteaux of Sainte-Menehould, Mouzon and Châlons. On 17 September of the same year, Louis granted Antoine the right to name all of the royal officers, which put about 10,000 livres into Antoine's pocket. In the same month, Louis gave Antoine the comté of Guînes, and in 1463, declared that the town of Ardres, the châtellenie of Angle, and "la terre et revenue estant à Saint Omer" were part of Guînes. Louis XI also named Jean de Croy and Jean's son Philippe his counselors and chamberlains in 1462. At the height of his influence

[127]France, dép. Aube, chef-lieu arr.

[128]Province Hainaut, arr. Ath, chef-lieu du canton.

and power, then, Antoine de Croy was an incredibly rich man and enjoyed the favors of the two most powerful sovereigns of the time.

Of the sixty song texts in Lans 380, fifteen of them (or twenty-five percent) are unique to the manuscript. The source which contains the largest number of concordances with Lans 380 is the Rohan chansonnier, with which it shares twenty-eight texts. Because the texts of Lans 380 appear to have been manipulated at some point, either by Lans 380's compiler or by the compiler of its exemplar, it is hazardous to claim too much for the contents of its collection; still, it is possible to distinguish three general sources of influence on the chanson texts within its folios. Although the divisions are by no means exact or strictly maintained the texts tend to group themselves thusly: texts written by and set to music by members of the court of Philippe le Bon; texts written by and set to music by members of the musical institutions of central France and the Loire River Valley; and texts having some association with or relationship to Charles d'Orléans. As we have seen, these influences correspond broadly to events that occurred during the careers of the Croy brothers, Antoine and Jean.

The majority of texts and chansons (and they are by artists normally associated with Philippe le Bon) tend to occur in the first two-thirds of the table (see Table 4.1), from *Le malheureux habandonné* through *Puis que Fortune est contre moy*. This is where all of the texts set by Binchois and the text by Grant Guillaume are found.[129] The Du

[129]*Margot mamie* is ascribed to "Grant Guilluame" by his fellow countryman Pierre Fabri in *Le Grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique*, ed. A. Héron (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 69. Grant Guillaume can be equated with Guillaume le Grant, or Guillaume le Machecrier, who lived from circa 1378 to May of 1460. He came from a noble family of the diocese of Rouen, where he was a priest and held a prebend as sous-chantre from 1422 to his death. See Vincent Tabbagh, *Diocèse de Rouen*, Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 203 (no. 297). He was a clerk and chaplain at Ste-Chapelle in Bourges, 1405-10, and then briefly a singer in the Papal Chapel from 1418 to 1421. See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 704. He also spent some time in the chapel of Phillipe le Bon from at least 1433 (Tabbagh, 203), and turns up in the

Fay pieces are more complicated, since at least one of them, *Les douleurs dont me sens tel sommé*, was authored by a French court habitué, Antoine de Cuise. Likewise, *Cent mille escus* by Caron/Busnoys and *Prenez sur moi* by Okeghem are products of Paris and/or the courts of central France. This "pocket" of central French songs continues with *J'ay pris amours*, *S'il convient* and *La fiance que j'ay*, since the music that survives for these songs occurs only in central French sources. Beginning with *Je ne croy pas*, however, the songs are mostly unica or have been set by composers normally associated with the Burgundian court. A series of texts that appear to have originated in central France begins with Busnoys' *Quant vous me ferez plus de bien* and continues through *Abregies la mort ou la vie*. The exceptions to this would appear to be the three caroles by Charles d'Orléans and the unique texts *Prest de perir*, *Au plus fort de ma maladie* and *Je suis à cela*. The origin of these last three poems is unknown, but it is possible that they are associated with Charles d'Orléans, since all three incipits carry echoes of poems that can be associated with the duke.[130] *Prest de perir en la mer de fortune* is reminiscent of a series of debate poems current at the court of Blois in the 1450s, and *Au plus fort de ma maladie* is based on the same incipit that Benoist Damiens, one of Charles' courtiers, employed for a rondeau that appears in the duke's autograph manuscript.[131] *Je suis à cela* likewise shares an incipit with a poem written at Blois, this time by the duke himself, but the poem is problematic because as it is entered in Lans 380, it appears to be a conflation of two different poems. As can be seen in Example

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chapel of Charles d'Orléans in the mid-1450s (Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 704). Since he was a poet as well as a composer, he may well have authored the texts for his surviving songs in Ox.

[130]Pierre Champion, "Du succès de l'œuvre de Charles d'Orléans et de ses imitateurs jusqu'au XVIe siècle," *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot*, Vol. 1. (Paris: Damascène Morgand, 1913), 409-20, was the first to notice this.

[131]Ibid.

4.7, the poem begins as if it is a rondeau quatrain with the typical rhyme scheme abba, but then seems to switch to another rondeau for its latter two thirds, with a new "c" rhyme. The poem within Rohan of the same title (see Example 4.8) employs lines 1, 5, 6 and 7 as they are found in Lans 380, but continues differently. The scribe of Lans 380 seems to have

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Example 4.7: *Je suis à cela*, Lans 380, folio 252^{r}

1 Je suis à cela
De quicter amours
Se je nay secours
Dung peu de cela

5 Quant je la tiens nue
Trois fois de venue
Je lui fais cela
Je suis

Et tant pour cela
10 Goucte je men sue?
Es autres je rue?
Et puis veez me la?
Je suis

* * * * *

Example 4.8: *Je suys ad cela*, Rohan, folio 113^{v}

1 Je suys ad cela:
Quant la trouve nue,
Troys foiz de venue
Je luy fay cela.

5 Ne ja pour cela
Ma couleur ne mue;
Je suys ad cela

Et selle dit la,
Adonc me remue,
10 Sans ce que jen sue,
Quant je pars de la:
Je suys ad cela.

* * * * *

combined two similar, but different rondeaux, with the first part of the poem corresponding to the one of the same name found in Rohan. As one possible final instance of the influence of literary activity by Charles, the incipit of the unique text of *M'amour, mon seul desir, ma joye*, is also redolent of several poems written by the duke throughout his lifetime.

The Croys, Antoine and Jean, vassals of the duke of Burgundy, but clients as well of the king of France, would have made the acquaintance of Charles d'Orléans in 1440, when he was inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which they had both been members since 1430.[132] Antoine and Jean were both also instrumental in negotiating the Peace of Arras, which set in motion the events which led up to Charles' release from England. One imagines that Charles recognized this and that perhaps an exchange of music took place at some point as a mark of friendship, with the contents of Lans 380 reflecting this to some degree.

Summary

Lans 380 was written as a kind of catechetical and cultural "textbook" for the use of a young, unmarried woman of the merchant-gentry class whose name began with "E". She appears to have lived in or near Bristol, and she eventually married William Kingston, himself a member of the merchant-gentry class, who gradually worked his way through the English royal administrative ranks from yeoman and esquire to body man for King Henry VIII. The texts included within Lans 380 were meant to serve a two-pronged approach: first, to teach its young owner the rudiments of the faith and to learn how to make a proper, efficacious examination of conscience; in other words, to become a good Christian; secondly, the contents of a secular and utilitarian nature were included to provide a proper cultural

[132]Paul de Win, 49-52 and 60-62.

upbringing fitting to her station in life and to help her better run her own household once she was married. Lans 380 would then be useful to her in fulfilling her obligations as the first "educator" of her own children, especially in regard to inculcating the Christian faith within them. The song texts within the manuscript had their pedagogical purpose to perform within the overall educational program as well, since any properly educated young girl of the merchant-gentry class would be expected to have some knowledge of the workings of poetry and some skill in musical performance. As it happens, the song texts in Lans 380 form a discrete collection, related to each other by their apparent cultivation and use by a member of the Croy clan, either Antoine or Jean de Croy. Both vassals of the duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Bon, their wealth, power and contacts provided one of them with the means by which he could assemble a collection of polyphonic song texts of the time. Evidence of musical activity at the courts of Philippe le Bon, Louis XI and Charles d'Orleans is present in the collection, which reflects in broad outline the cultural contacts and political events of the life of one of the duke of Burgundy's two most trusted advisors. While there is still a great deal to be learned about Lans 380 and the environment in which it was compiled, the manuscript gives ample evidence that for those occupying the higher echelons of English society who could read French, the poetry of Charles d'Orléans and the French-language secular polyphonic chanson continued to retain their interest throughout the duration of the fifteenth century.

EPILOGUE

Each of the sources we have investigated throughout this study has something to tell us about the ways manuscripts including chanson texts were thought of and constructed: Rohan, P1719 and *Le Jardin* show us that such anthologies tended to be constructed of smaller subsections that generally preserve relatively unchanged the ordering of the contents of the exemplars from which they were copied. This general statement must be qualified, of course, to take into account a compiler's desire to avoid unnecessary duplication of poems. Compilers of anthologies apparently gathered up as many collections—formal and informal—of poems as they could identify and procure, and then organized their anthologies according to the intended purpose of the finished volume, preferring to keep together whole collections related by time frame (in conjunction with geographic provenance), authorial considerations and personal ties, rather than re-arranging them at the level of the individual poem according to strictly clerical criteria such as alphabetical ordering or genre of poem. This stress upon the personal aspect of the poetry means that deconstructing these constituent collections can reveal unknown facets and details of the relationships surrounding them and offer insights into the ways this poetry was viewed by those who wrote it, listened to it, read it and preserved it.

At the same time, the four sources involved here have demonstrated that at the level of the collection there was considerable lattitude and scope as to how such anthologies were organized. A poetic anthology could be an extremely personal object, as is the case with the Rohan manuscript, compiled to record and preserve recreational moments and the

relationships among individuals sharing similar interests, socio-economic status and personal friendships. The Rohan manuscript transmits its collections in general chronological order, from earliest poems to latest, but more particularly reveals a concern with preserving collections of poetry by specific authors, especially the French court poet Alain Chartier and the lettered members of the French royal court active during the 1440s, 50s and early 60s. This was the world in which Malet de Graville moved, and he would have known many of these authors personally. In the case of the compilers of P1719, it is doubtful that they would have personally known more than a handful of the authors involved, so their motivation for creating the anthology would have been quite different and somewhat impersonal.

Anything associated with the French royal court was of interest to and imitated by the stratum of society directly below it: the educated, relatively affluent minor aristocracy, merchant-gentry, merchant and artisan classes seeking to better themselves. Among its several discrete collections of repertory, P1719 includes a large number of "low-brow" poems alongside the more "courtly" poems, and the manuscript itself appears to have been put to commercial use. In this way, the artistic products of the elite classes "trickled down" to the middle classes. Seen in these terms, the print *Le Jardin* was a commercial object *par excellence*, since everything about it was calculated to make it attractive to the prospective customer. It, too, is essentially a succession of discrete collections, but they were selected and ordered to maximize the print's marketability—again, to the educated classes of France, but specifically members of the Parisian *noblesse de robe*. The English miscellany Lans 380 is, by its intended function, a completely different kind of manuscript, but its song texts also form a discrete collection, which was meant to support the education of a young girl. The compiler of the manuscript has ordered the song texts so as to highlight the

structures of the different lyric genres, even as the contents of the poems participate in the overall program of moral instruction for the manuscript's recipient. Although the compiler of Lans 380 has to some degree manipulated the poems of the chanson collection for his own (didactic) purposes, the poems themselves still betray their origin as a discrete collection, that is, as a repertory of monophonic and polyphonic chansons that circulated at the French royal court, Burgundian court and court of Charles d'Orléans, which were subsequently gathered together by someone associated with the Croy clan, vassals of Philippe le Bon.

Each of the four collections has something to tell us about the polyphonic chanson of the fifteenth century, as well. In the case of P1719, it would appear that there were at least two, if not three, different musical chansonniers or fascicle manuscripts still extant at the time the manuscript was copied which no longer survive, and that at least one of them contained repertory that was written and performed at the royal court of France. Rohan, *Le Jardin* and Lans 380 also appear to preserve collections of chanson texts that were possibly copied more or less directly from notated sources. Lans 380 speaks to previously unknown musical activity at the court of one of the Croy brothers, as well as offering confirmation of a certain amount of interest in the French secular polyphonic chanson among some segments of English society during the fifteenth century. Both Rohan and *Le Jardin* indicate that our suspicion of considerable musical activity at the courts of Charles d'Orléans in Blois and Jean de Bourbon in Moulins is not unfounded.

What is more, these poetry collections can offer information about the dating and provenance of specific pieces; we will probably have to accept the fact that at least some of the chanson repertory that we have until this point assigned to the decades of the 1480s and 90s was actually composed much earlier. *Gentilz galans, J'ars de desir, Guerissey moy,*

En attendant and *Au travail suis* are evidence of this. As a corollary, it begins to look more and more as though the first compositions of a young, inexperienced composer typically were secular chansons; these are small, relatively uncomplicated genres and just the kinds of compositions that an up-and-coming composer could excel at in order to make a name for himself. In addition, if a young composer, such as Busnoys, were hired as a master of the choirboys, he would not only be expected to produce such pieces for his choirboys to sing, but would have the forces on hand to perform them. Polyphonic chansons are not only the earliest compositional essays an aspiring composer/chapel member would typically write, but are also among the most difficult items of a composer's career to attribute because they were so often written early in a composer's career, before he had become well known. Once he had gained some experience and had perhaps been hired as a member of a princely or ecclesiastical chapel, he would then have acquired the necessary skills to try the more extended and demanding forms of motet and mass. In addition, the demands of his employment would also require them. This is not to say that chansons were only written by young French composers—on the contrary—it is clear that composers such as Ockeghem, Hayne, Compère, Du Fay, Busnoys and Agricola wrote them off and on throughout their lives, but that the polyphonic chanson was the logical, natural place for a composer to start.

The repertory of French secular polyphonic chansons written during the lifetime of Charles d'Orléans and his contemporaries occupied a special place in the hearts of those who grew up with it, much as the popular music of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been cherished by the youth of each succeeding generation, who remember it with nostalgia as they grow older. And like the popular music of today, the French secular polyphonic chanson was "exported" to other countries such as England, Italy and Spain by

the most modern means then available for dissemination, much as today's popular youth music is transmitted to and consumed in almost every corner of the globe. Who is to say that the youth of five hundred years hence won't be downloading their favorite music into computer chips planted directly into their brains? The technology may change, the music will change, and even the record weasels will change, but young people composing, performing and listening to music almost certainly will not. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

APPENDIX: Working Catalogue of the MS Lansdowne 380

This is an initial attempt to inventory the contents of London, British Library MS Lansdowne 380. Not all items are identified completely, but all have been located within the manuscript. Items are numbered consecutively from beginning to end and related information regarding concordancees and literature has been included whenever known. Schematics have been indicated but not illustrated.

#	Item number, assigned in direct order of items as found in the MS
f.	Folio numbers (beginning to end) on which item is found
Incipit:	Exact beginning of text found in Lansdowne (Some never-published texts may be included in their entirety)
Rubric:	(if present)
Gloss:	(if present)
Concordances:	Other sources with same item
Literature:	Writings about or relevant to item
Note:	Relevant commentary

The Catalogue Begins Here:

#1	[An inscription in a late 15th-/early 16th-century hand]
f. 1r	
Incipit:	"By the leysurles hand de vouster pover servituer Thomas Kendall"
Note:	The inscription remarked by Pierre Champion, "Du succès de l'oeuvre de Charles d'Orléans," *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot*, 2 vols. (Paris: Damascène Morgand, 1913), 1: 417.

#2	[An inscription in a late 15th-/early 16th-century hand, possibly that of the scribe Thomas Kendall]
f. 2r	
Incipit:	"In my most hartiest manor I humbly recommend and daily beseeching the blessed and the_____"

#3	[The Ten Commandments]
f. 3r	
Incipit:	"Dieu dessus tous ameras et cremiras souverainement"

Rubric:	"Les 10 Commandemens de la loy"
Literature:	Listed in Exodus 20: 1-17 and Deuteronomy 5: 6-21. See Joseph A. Slattery, "The Catechetical Use of the Decalogue from the End of the Catechumenate Through the Late Medieval Period" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1979).
Note:	The order here is 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 6, 8, 9, 10. Annotation: In a 16th-century hand (an owner?):] "E. De Kingstone"

#4	[The Ten Commandments]
f. 3^v	
Incipit:	"Ung seul dieu tu adoras et ameras parfaictement"
Concordances:	Appears at the end of an early print of *Le Doctrinal des filles* (c. 1510?), London, B.L. C.22.a.22; also in Paris, B.N. f. lat. 1373, f. 131r[?].
Literature:	B[ertrand] Guégan, ed., *Grant kalendrier et compost des bergiers*, (Paris, 1926; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1978), Arthur Långfors, *Les incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1917; New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), 434.K lxxiv; *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, s.v. "Décalogue;" Jean-Claude Dhotel, *Les Origines du catéchisme moderne* (Paris: Éditions Montaigne, 1967), 34-5; Pierre Gasnault, "La *Croix de par Dieu* au XVIe siècle," in *Aux origines du catéchisme en France*, edited by Pierre Colin, Elisabeth Germain, Jean Joncheray and Marc Venard (Paris: Desclée, 1989), 13-27.
Note:	The order here is 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10

#5	[The Five Commandments of the Church]
f. 4^r	
Incipit:	"Les dimanches messe orras, et les festes de commandement"
Concordances:	Appears immediately following #4 above within the same early print, London, B.L. C.22.a.22.
Literature:	Guégan, K lxxiv; *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, s.v. "Commandements de l'Église"; Gasnault, 13-27.

#6	[Instructions for saying one's prayers properly]
f. 4^r-5^v	
Incipit:	"Quant tu vouldras faire priere...Monseigneur saint Jehan baptiste, prie dieu quil me doint sa grace...Et ainsi...selon ta devocion et neccessite que tu auras."

Literature:	Keith V. Sinclair, *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages: A Bibliographic Manuscript Guide, First Supplement* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1982), 116 (#4721); Pierre Rézeau, *Les Prières aux saints en français à la fin du moyen âge. Prières à un saint particulier et aux anges*, Publications romanes et françaises 166 (Geneva: Droz, 1983), Addendum: 3. *Textes nouveaux*, 676.

#7	[The Apostles' Creed]
f. 4^v-5^r	
Incipit:	"Saint Pierre Je croy en dieu le pere tout puissant, createur du ciel et de la terre"
Rubric:	"Les xii articles de la foy faiz et composez par les xii apostres. Et commence"
Concordances:	Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. mun., MS 19, 30 (Heures du roi René).[?] Edition in the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. XVI, 24 (Paris: 1855-1889 [?]); see Arthur Långfors, *Les incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1917; Burt Franklin, New York, 1970), 175.

#8	[Misereatur]
f. 5^r	
Incipit:	"Misereatur vestri omnipotens deus...et ad vitam perducat eternam. Amen."

#9	[Short form Confiteor]
f. 5^r	
Incipit:	"Confiteor deo celi, beate marie, omnibus sanctis eius...omnes sanctes ei et vos orare pro me. Amen"
Concordances:	Other sources with same item
Literature:	*Catholicisme: hier, aujourd'hui, demain. Encyclopédie en sept volumes dirigée par G. Jacquemet*, s.v. "Confiteor" (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1947).

#10	[Long form Confiteor]
f. 5^v	
Incipit:	"Confiteor tibi domine Jhesu Christi omnia peccata mea...et omnis sancti et electi dei orate pro me ut mercae vobiscum regnum dei possidere. Amen."

Literature:	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, s.v. “La pénitence privée.”

#11	[Anonymous courtesy poem, *Le Doctrinal des filles*]
f. 6^{r}-8^{r}	
Incipit:	“Fille pour faire bon tresor/Crainte ayes devant voz yeux/Car en fille crainte siet mieulx/Que le rubis fait en lor”
Rubric:	“Sensuit le doctrinal des filles”
Concordances:	London, B.L. Add. 41062, ff. 64^{v}-67^{r}. Early editions: London, B.L. C.22.a.22 (*Le doctrinal des filles a marier* c. 1510?) and I.A. 42292 (*Le doctrinal des filles utile et proffitable*, Lyon: Jacques Maillet, 1490?); Paris, B. N., Département des imprimés, Rés Ye 337[?] (according to Kelso, 358); *Le doctrinal des filles. A elles tresutile*. Lyon, Jacques Maillet, 1490?; Rés 2575[?]; and Rés Y 4481 A (7)[?]. See also *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1938), 7: 551 (## 8596-8599); Anatole de Montaiglon, *Recueil de poésies françoises des XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris: P. Jannet, Libraire, 1855), 2: 18-19; Ruth Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 358.
Literature:	Montaiglon, 2: 18-24; Kelso, 38-77, 358; Alice A. Hentsch, *De la littérature didactique du moyen âge s’adressant spécialement aux femmes* (Halle, 1903), 187-88, #85; Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, “Des femmes de bonne foi. La religion des mères au Moyen Âge,” *La religion de ma mère: Le rôle des femmes dans la transmission de la foi*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 91-122, esp. 104.

#12	[Anonymous leonine hexameter]
f. 8^{r}	
Incipit:	“Vir videas. quid tu jubeas. dum magnum haberus, prospicias....Dat varias fortuna vias non ergo mireris”
Concordance:	London, B. L. Add. 41062, flyleaf

#13a	[Antiphon, Fourth Sunday of Lent]
f. 8^{v}	
Incipit:	“Ecce carissimi dies illa judicii magna...”
Rubric:	“Antiphona”

#13b	[Antiphon, Sunday after Epiphany]
f. 8^{v}	

Incipit:	“Cum venerimus ante aspectum aominum in die judicii....”
Rubric:	“Antiphona”

#13c	
f. 8^{v}-9^{r}	
Incipit:	“In die quando venerit dominus ad judicium...”
Rubric:	“Ant”

#13d	[4th Responsory in 3rd Nocturne, Sunday in Ordinary Time]
f. 9^{r}	
Incipit:	“Abscondi tanquam aurum peccata mea. et celam in sinu meo iniquitatem meam. miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. [Verse:] Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego agnosco. et delectum meum contra me est semper tibi soli peccavi. Miserere”
Rubric:	“Responsorium”

#13e	[3rd Responsory in 1st Nocturne, 1st Sunday of Lent]
f. 9^{r}	
Incipit:	“Emendemus in melius que ignoranter peccavimus. Ne subito preocupati die mortis queramus spatium penitencie et invenire non possumus. Atende domine et miserere quia peccavimus tibi. [Verse:] Peccavimus cum patribus nostris. Iniuste egimus. Iniquitatem fecimus. Atende”
Rubric:	“Responsorium”

#13f	[2nd Responsory in 1st Nocturne, 1st Sunday of Lent]
f. 9^{r}	
Incipit:	“Paradisi portas aperiet nobis iejunii tempus suscipiamus illud. orantes et deprecantes. Ut in die resurrectionis cum domino gloriemur. [Verse:] Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile. Ecce nunc dies salutis commendemus nos meciplos in multa paciencia. Ut in die”
Rubric:	“Responsorium”

#13g	[2nd Responsory, 3rd Nocturne, Sunday in Ordinary Time]
f. 9^{r}	
Incipit:	“Afflicti pro peccatis nostris cotidie cum lacrimis expectemus finem nostrum. Dolor cordis nostri ascendit ad te domine. Ut ervas nos a malis

	que innovantur in nobis. [Verse:] Domine deus Israel exaudi preces nostras auribus percipe dolorem cordis nostri. Ut ervas nos”

#13h	[2nd Responsory, 3rd Nocturne, 1st Sunday of Lent]
f. 9^{v}	
Incipit:	“Scindite corda [vestra] et non vestimenta vestra. Et Convertimini ad dominum deum. quia benignus et misericors est. [Verse:] Revertimini unusquis qz a via sua mala. Et a pessimis cogitacionibus suis. Et convertimini”
Rubric:	“Responsorium”

#13i	[2nd Responsory, 2nd Nocturne, 1st Sunday of Lent]
f. 9^{v}	
Incipit:	“Abscondite elemosinam in sinu pauperis. Et ipsa orat pro nobis ad dominum. Quia sicut aqua extinguit ignem Ita elemosma extinguit peccatum. [Verse:] Date elemosmam dicit dominus. Et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis. Quia sicut aqua”
Rubric:	“Responsorium”

#14a	
f. 9^{v}	
Incipit:	“Cogita ____ multi modo moriuntur quibus ...”
Rubric:	“Bernardus”

#14b	[Extract from Pseudo-Bernard treatise *De Charitate*]
f. 10^{r}	
Incipit:	“Super omnia bone Jhesu amabilem te michi...”
Rubric:	“Item. Bernardus”
Concordances:	Fitzwilliam Museum MS 356, ff. 90-91b
Literature:	*S. Bernardi, Claræ-vallensis abbatis primi, Opera omnia*, ed. Johannes Mabillon, vol. 184 of *Patrologiae latinae*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Turnhout: Brepols, 1854), 599 (Chapter 6, paragraph 30); Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum Acquired Between 1895 and 1979 (Excluding the McClean Collection)*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 352.

#14c	
f. 10^{r}	
Incipit:	“Lectio parit cognicionem. Cognicio amorem....”
Rubric:	“Item. Bernardus”

#14d	
f. 10^{r}	
Incipit:	“Minime pro certo bonus est. Qui melior fieri non vult.”
Rubric:	“Item. Bernardus”

#14e	
f. 10^{r}	
Incipit:	“Vir est dies in anno in quo non possis...”
Rubric:	“Item Bernardus”

#14f				
f.10^{r}				
Incipit:	Ber	Serva Expecta Cave ne perdas	connissum promissum prohibitum concessum	nardus
Rubric:	“Item Bernardus”			
Note:	This is a simple schematic			

#14g	
f. 10^{r}	
Incipit:	“Corde manu labiis oculis pia monitatracta[?]”

#15a	[Anonymous *De domino planetarum in nativitatibus puerorum* (Influence of the Planets on Personality)]
f. 10^{v}	
Incipit:	“Saturnus--Si quis nascatur dum saturnus dominatur audax urbanus malus antiquus fur avarus”
Concordances:	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Handschriften, Codex Latinus Monacensis 658, (15th century), ff. 11^{r}-12^{v}[?]; Paris, B. N. lat. 7179,

	(15th century), f. 38^{r}[?]; Ernst Zinner, *Verzeichnis der astronomischen Handschriften des deutschen Kulturgebietes* (Munich, 1925).
Literature:	Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieaval Academy of America, 1963), 1461.
Note:	The order here is Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon

#15b	[Schema of Anonymous *De effectibus duodecim signorum super nascentia maximeque rationalia*; aka *De nativitatibus puerorum*]
f. 10^{v}	
Incipit:	"Natus In Ariete decrepitus erit [etc.] In Piscibus graciosus"
Concordances:	Rome, Bib. Vat. Reg. Lat. 1559[?]; Brussels, Bibl. roy. MS 10816, (15th century), f. 232^{v}[?], with the title *Nota de Nativitatibus puerorum secundum solem, quid eveneret eis*.
Literature:	Jeanne Bignami-Odier and André Vernet, "Les livres de Richard de Bazoques," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 110 (1962), 124-153 and reprinted in André Vernet, ed., *Études médiévales* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1981), 500-29; Thorndike and Kibre, 905; Hubert Sylvestre, "Incipits des traités médiévaux de sciences expérimentales dans les mss latins de Bruxelles. I.: Corrections au catalogue de Lynn Thorndike et Pearl Kibre," *Scriptorium* 5 (1951), 145-60, esp. 155.
Note:	This text entry dated 17 February 1408 in Rome, Bib. Vat. Reg. Lat. 1559.

#16	
f. 10^{v}	
Incipit:	"Cena brevis vel cena levis/fit raro molesta magna nocet medicina docet/..."
Rubric:	"Versus"

#17	[Anonymous translation and abridgement of the treatise *De doctrina cordis* (aka *De praeparatione cordis*) by Hugues de Saint-Cher or Gerardus Leodiensis]
f.11^{r}-12^{r}	
Incipit:	"Preparate corda vestra domino. Nous lisons en la saincte escripture sept manieres denseignemens du cueur...."
Literature:	Morton W. Bloomfield, et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100-1500 A.D.*,The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 88 (The Mediaeval Academy of America: Cambridge, MA, 1979),

	##4036-4038; A. Wilmart, "Gérard de Liège: Un traité inédit de l'amour de Dieu," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 12 (1931), 349-430; K. Chesney, "Notes on Some Treatises of Devotion Intended for Margaret of York (MS Douce 365)," *Medium Aevum* 20 (1951), 11-39 (Fragment of *De doctrina corda* translated into French). G. Hendrix, "Handschriften en in handschrift bewaarde vertalingen van het aan Gerard van Luik toegeschreven traktaat *De doctina cordis*. Een overzicht," *Ons geestelijk Erf* 51 (1977), 146-168, "Handschriften van het traktaat *De doctrina cordis*. Aanvullende opsomming," *Ons geestelijk Erf* 54 (1980), 39-42, and "Note relative aux manuscrits des traités *De doctrina cordis* et *De praeparatione cordis*," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54 (1987), 255-56 list all known manuscripts of *De doctrina cordis* up to that point in time. The same author's "Hugh of St. Cher O.P., Author of Two Texts Attributed to the 13th-Century Cistercian Gerard of Liège," *Studia Cisterciensia R.P. Edmundo Mikkers oblata. Cîteaux; commentarii cistercienses* 31 (1980), 343-356 and"Onderzoek naar het oeuvre van 'Gerardus Leodiensis'," *Ons geestilijk Erf* 56 (1982), 300-41, lay out the arguments for attributing authorship to Hugh of St. Cher instead of Gerard of Liège, and Hendrix's facsimile edition of the treatise and some subsequent revisions are available in *Le manuscrit Leyde Bibliothèque de l'Université, BPL 2579, témoin principal des phases de redaction du traité De doctrina cordis à attribuer au dominicain français Hugues de Saint-Cher (pseudo-Gérard de Liège)* De doctrina sive praeparatione cordis 1. (Ghent: 1980). Hendrix's latest pronouncement on the manuscript concordances is his *Hugo de Sancto Caro's traktaat De doctrina cordis*, 2 vols. (Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, 1995).

#18	[A Prayer to Mary in verse]
f. 12v	
Incipit:	"Salve royne glorieuse/Vie misericordieuse..."
Rubric:	"Salve Regina en francois"
Literature:	Keith V. Sinclair, *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages: A Bibliographic Manuscript Guide* (Greenwood Press: Westport, CT and London, 1979), 161, #3609.
Note:	Catchwords: "Traictie des grans joyes"

#19	
f. 13r-35r	
Incipit:	"Ce petit livret qui est principallement des joyes de paradis contient trois chapitres...."

Rubric:	"Traictie des grans joyes de paradis"
Note:	Catchwords on f. 20^{v}: "on dacier"; on f. 28^{v}: "Car tous"; on f. 35^{v}: "Listoire de troye la grant".

#20	[Anonymous *Abregié de la destruction de Troye la grant*, aka *L'Abregié de Troyes*]
f. 36^{r}-39^{v}	
Incipit:	"Yason et hercules vers colcos sen aloyent..."
Rubric:	"Listoire de troye la grant abregee"
Concordances:	For the most complete listing of manuscript concordances, see Marc-René Jung, *La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge: Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscripts*, Romanica Helvetica, 114 (Basel and Tubingen: Francke, 1996), 596-99. Early print: Paris, B. N. Rés Ye. 265 (Paris, Michel Le Noir, 1494) [?]. Further print concordances listed in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 1:44-45 (##117-119).
Literature:	See Jung, 594-99; H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: British Museum, 1883), 1:59; a reference to "l'Abregié de Troyes" within Jehan Molinet's *L'Art de Rhethorique*, in M. E. Langlois, *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 223. See also Paul Chavy, *Traducteurs d'autrefois. Moyen âge et Renaissance. Dictionnaire des traducteurs et de la littérature traduite en ancien et moyen français*, 2 vols. (Paris and Geneva: Champion-Slatkine, 1988), 1:413 (#017) and 440-41 (#066).
Note:	Apparently *L'Abregié* is of Burgundian origin, and written 1459. See Jung, *La légende de Troie en France*, 570, 584.

#21	[*Vigiles des morts* by Pierre Nesson]
f. 39^{v}-73^{v}	
Incipit:	"La premier lesson Parce michi domine nichil enim sunt dies mei. Pardonnez moy beau sire dieux..."
Rubric:	"Ensuivent les vigilles de mors translatees de latin en francois par maistre pierre de nesson"
Concordances:	See Piaget and Droz, *Pierre de Nesson et ses oeuvres* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977), 20-21, 31-38.
Literature:	Piaget and Droz, *Pierre de Nesson et ses oeuvres*, 20-25, 31-38, 70-106; Alain Collet, "Dix-neuf strophes inconnues des *Vigiles des morts* de Pierre de Nesson," *Romania* 114 (1996), 535-48.

Note:	Catchwords on f. 43^{v} “Que dieu;” f. 51^{v} “Les uns;” f. 59^{v} “Lequel;” f. 67^{v} “Et Il leur;” and f. 77^{v} “Que vous.”

#22	[*L’Hommage à la Vièrge* by Pierre Nesson]
f. 74^{r}-78^{v}	
Incipit:	“Ma doulce nourrice pucelle...”
Rubric:	“Oroison de nostre dame faicte et composee par maistre pierre de nesson”
Concordances:	See Piaget and Droz, *Pierre de Nesson et ses oeuvres*, 8, 26-30.
Literature:	Ibid., 8-12, 26-30, 39-45.
Note:	Written for Marie of Berry, between 1415 and 1434 (Piaget and Droz, *Pierre de Nesson et ses oeuvres*, 11).

#23	[Anonymous, *Les six maîtres qui parlent de tribulation*]
f. 79^{r}-80^{v}	
Incipit:	“Le premier maistre dit que saucune chose fust plus noble que tribulacion a creature vivant en ce monde...”
Rubric:	“Ilz estoient six docteurs en theologie ensemble et demandoient lung a lautre quelle chose ilz diroient de dieu.”
Concordances:	Brussels, Bibl. roy., MS 9106, f. 246-47 (manuscript in the hand of David Aubert written for Margaret of York, dated 1475); Brussels, Bibl. roy., MS 3827-28, f. 31^{v}-33^{v} (manuscript in the hand of Jehan Mielot, dating 1451); Paris, B.N. fr. 24839, f. 133-134[?]; Paris, B. N. fr. 190, f. 158-159^{v}[?]; Paris, B.N. fr. 1468, f. 79[?]; Avignon, B.M. MS 344, f. 82[?].
Literature:	Modern edition in E. Vansteenberghe, “Quelques écrits de Jean Gerson: Textes inédits et étude,” *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 15 (1935), 532-66, esp. 550-51. J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, (Brussels: Henri Lamertin, 1903), 3:400-401 and 414-15. See also Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1909), 215; Max Lieberman, “Gersoniana,” *Romania* 78 (1957), 145-181, esp. 169-173.
Note:	This text may be a French translation of a Latin treatise by a Henricus de Balma; it also appears in an English translation in several mss (Lieberman, “Gersoniana,” 169-170).

#24	
f. 80^{v}-81^{r}	
Incipit:	“La premiere fois quant il fut circumciz...”

Rubric:	"Cy ensuit la declaracion comment nostre saulveur et Redempteur Jhesucrist espandi vii fois son tresbenoist et precieux sang"
Concordances:	Brussels, Bibl. roy., MS 3827-28, f. 22-24 (manuscript in the hand of Jehan Mielot, dated 1451.)
Literature:	See Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 3:414-15.

#25	[Ballade by Jehan Molinet]
f. 81^{v}-82^{r}	
Incipit:	"Nous dieu damour createur roy de gloire... [Refrain] Loyaulx amans, recongnoisses ces armes"
Rubric:	"Cy commence le Blason des armes de nostre redempcion"
Gloss:	"Terribilis sunt arma viri qui spiritus auffert principibus terre terrendus regibus altis"
Concordances:	Keith V. Sinclair, *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages: A Bibliographic Manuscript Guide* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1979), 115 (#3236).
Literature:	See Noël Dupire, *Les Faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, 3 vols. (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1937), 2: 453-54; idem, *Jean Molinet, la vie -- les oeuvres* (Paris: E. Droz, 1932), 111.
Note:	The gloss appears to be in a Latin bookhand, possibly that of the main scribe of Lans 380.

#26	[Anonymous abridgement, translation, and versification of *Quatuor novissima*]
f. 82^{v}-94^{v}	
Incipit:	"La premiere partie des quatre choses derrenieres qui est traictee de la mort corporelle qui est retraicture des pechies. Memorare novissima tua et in eternum non peccabis...."
Rubric:	"Cy apres ensuivent certaines metrificatures bien prouffitables et de bon exemple, extraictes du livre des quatre choses derrenieres, autrement appellees les quatre novissimes" [Rubric appears on f. 82^{r}]
Literature:	Morton W. Bloomfield et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100-1500 A.D.*, The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 88 (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1979), 263 (#3057). See also Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature française*, 215.
Note:	Annotations: On f. 90^{r}, pen-try in a 16th-century hand: "By the ley" Catchwords on f. 85^{v} "Sa mere" and f. 94^{v} "Le Mirouer de mort."

#27	[The *Miroir de Mort* by George Chastellain]
f. 95^{r}-110^{v}	
Incipit:	"Je fus indigne serviteur..."
Rubric:	"Le mirouer de mort"
Gloss:	"Nil certius morte nec eius hora incertius" [Gloss on f. 110v:] [Possibly a quotation of Bernard of Clairvaux that acquired the force of a proverb, or perhaps a quotation of Cicero that the saint used in his writings. See A. Wilmart, "Les méditations réunis sous le nom de saint Anselme,"in *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Age latin*, ed. A. Wilmart (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1932), 173-201, esp. 179.]
Concordances:	Georges Chastellain, *Le Miroir de Mort*, ed. Tania Van Hemelryck (Louvain-la-Neuve: L'Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1995), 24-28.
Literature:	See above.
Note:	Van Hemelryck dates this work between 1436 and 1445, (p. 20) Annotations: f. 95^{r} several pen tries in a 16th-century hand Catchwords, f. 102^{v}: "Lors le vault"

#28	[Anonymous moralistic quatrain]
f. 110^{v}	
Incipit:	"Mourir con Cest chose d Nul nen re vient De pourrit ure" Souvent ad Selon nat Et nen sou A creat
Concordances:	Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. mun, MS 249, f. 2v[?]; Paris, B.N. f. fr. 1181, f. 25[?]. The quatrain is preserved also in Brussels, B.R. MS 21530 (4632), f. 225^{r}[?], where it appears following the *Miroir de Mort* of George Chastellain as it does in Lans 380.
Literature:	See Camille Couderc, "Notice du manuscrit 249 de la bibliothèque de Clermont-Ferrand," *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français* 15 (1889), 100; Joseph Morawski, *Les Diz et proverbes des sages (Proverbes as philosophes)* (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1924), 60 (*Quatrains apocryphes: Groupe III*, #CLXXIII).
Note:	Catchwords: "Traictie de la." This is a simple schematic.

#29	
f. 111^{r}-115^{v}	
Incipit:	"Complainte des pechiez du monde/Par lesquelz on chut en enfer/Ou toutes affliction habonde..."

Rubric:	“Traictie de la complainte des pechiez du monde”

#30	[*Les Faintises du monde* by Guillaume Alexis]
f. 116^{r}-134^{r}	
Incipit:	“Beau frere. Se dieu vous doint joye affin que soyez plus prudent...”
Rubric:	“Ensuivent les faintises du monde” [Rubric appears on f. 115^{v}]
Concordances:	See Lemaire below, p. 81.
Literature:	See Arthur Piaget and Emile Picot, eds., *Œuvres poétiques de Guillaume Alexis, Prieur de Bucy*, 3 vols., Société des Anciens Textes Français, 38 (Paris: F. Didot, 1896-1908), 1:55-119; Jacques Lemaire, *Meschinot, Molinet, Villon: Témoignages inédits. Étude du Bruxellensis IV 541, suivie de l’édition de quelques ballades* (Brussels, 1979), 12, 81.
Note:	Written c. 1485-1490. Catchwords: on f. 118^{v} “Tel en cuide” and on f. 126^{v} “Tel estoit”

#31	
f. 134^{v}	
Incipit:	“Le cerf dit Qui dautrui na compassion/le cueur il a trop endurcy...”
Rubric:	“Les ditz de certaines bestes”
Note:	Catchwords: “Nota des Septs”

#32	
f. 135^{r}	
Incipit:	“Saturnus mect a faire son tour XXX ans ou plus...”
Rubric:	“Nota des septs planets”
Concordances:	Possibly a translation of “Saturnus fertur explere circulum suum annis triginta…” with the rubric “De septem planetis” in Cambridge University Library MS Kk.V.32, (11th-12th century), f. 48^{r}[?].
Literature:	Thorndike and Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits*, 1382.

#33a	[Anonymous moralistic poem]
f. 135^{v}-136^{r}	
Incipit:	“[1] En prince, loyaulte [2] En clerc, humilite [3] En prelat, sapience [4] En advocat, loquence

	[5] En chevalier, proesse [6] En riche homme, largesse [7] A marchant, foy tenir [8] A sergent, obeyr”
Rubric:	“Certaines condicions et qualites principallement requises en gens de plusieurs estatz”
Concordances:	*Le Jardin de Plaisance et fleur de rethorique, (c.1500)*, f. cxxv, “Dictie,” (12 lines); Paris, B.N. f. fr. 2307, f. 43^{v}[?]; Paris, B.N. f. fr. 5391, f. 4^{v}[?]; Paris, B.N. f. fr. 5727, f. 1^{r}[?]; Paris, B.N. f. lat. 2607, f. 73^{v}[?]; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. mun. MS 47, f. 296^{r}[?]; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. mun. MS 249, f. 31^{v}[?]; Poitiers, Bibl. mun. MS 215, f. 43^{r}[?]; Toulouse, Bibl. mun. MS 824, f. 122^{v}[?] (fragment); Toulouse, Bibl. mun. MS 831, f. 27^{r}[?]; London, B.L. Harl. 4473, f. 42^{v} and 45^{r}; Fribourg, MS Diesbach, f. 99^{v}[?].
Literature:	See E[ugénie] Droz and A[rthur] Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rhétorique* (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925), 2: 255 (#601). Edition: Anatole de Montaiglon, *Recueil de poesies des XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris: P. Jannet, 1857), 6:196; *Les Diz et proverbes des sages (Proverbes as philosophes)*, published with introduction, notes and tables by J[oseph] Morawski, Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres, 2nd series, II (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1924), 89 (*Appendice I, Pièces diverses*: #XVII); Marcel Schwob, *Le Parnasse satyrique du quinzième siècle. Anthologie de pièces libres* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 306-307.
Note:	This poem appears to have had a long history, and is preserved with many variations of text.

#33b	[Anonymous moralistic poem]
f. 136^{v}	
Incipit:	“[1] Labeur de picart [2] Pitie de lombart [3] pascience dalemant [4] humilite de normant [5] largesse de francois [6] Loyaulte danglois [7] science de Breton [8] conscience de gascon [9] Confession de beguigne [10] Acointance de pouvre meschine [11] de femme qui demande [12] de varlet qui commande [13] de cheval qui reculle [14] de vieil chien qui urle [15] Ces choses sont aussi propices

	[16] Que de voller sont escrevisses”
Rubric:	“Autres condicions de plusieurs personnes”
Concordances:	Brussels, B.R. IV 541, f. 323^{v}[?], as a *cinquain* with a different ending, and with the rubric “Improprietez d’aulcunes nations;” Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. mun. MS 47, f. 296^{r}[?]; lines 11-14 appear as lines 1,2,4, and 5 of a *sixain* found in Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. mun. MS 249, f. 17^{v}[?]; Mons, Archives de l’État, MS divers #114, ff. 16^{v}-17^{r}[?]; Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, #236, no folio given[?]; London, B. L. Harley 4473, f. 43^{r}; Oxford, Bodl. Auct., F. 5.23, f. 110^{v}[?]; Paris, B.N. Anc. #2566, no folio given[?]; Paris, B.N. f. fr. 5391, f. 4^{r}[?]; Paris, B.N. f. fr. 19531, f. 1^{v}[?]; Paris, B.N. De Rothschild 471, f. 136^{v}[?].
Literature:	See Jacques Lemaire, *Meschinot, Molinet, Villon: Témoignages inédits. Études du Bruxellensis IV 541, suivie de l’édition de quelques ballades*, Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique – Archiefen Bibliotheekwezen in België, Numéro special – Extranummer, 20 (Brussels, 1979), 100; Morawski, 87 (*Appendice* I, *Pièces diverses*: #XIV), with several variants.
Note:	This Lans 380 version is probably a conflation of at least two different poems. Annotation in a 16th-century hand: “Picardye”

#34	
f. 136^{r}	
Incipit:	“Nul ne scet sans esprouver/Sil peut loyal amy avoir”

#35a	
f. 136^{v}	
Incipit:	“Sachies que dons les gens affolent Aux mesdisans. Les langues tollent...”
Rubric:	“Les proprietes des dons”

#35b	
f. 136^{v}-137^{r}	
Incipit:	“Homs qui bien saige seroit Tous dons de femme doubteroit…”
Rubric:	“Comme dons de femmes ne sont que pour decepvoir les homes”

#36	
f. 137^{r}	
Incipit:	"Contre vous desdaing natains/Neuz oncques, ne vueil avoir/Trop grant amour, ne trop grant haine/Ne vostre privete savoir/Se cuider vous fait parcevoir/Que peu de chose doit trop plaire/Et vous vous voulez decepvoir/Ce ne vueil je pas pourtant faire."

#37	[Anonymous quatrain *Trois choses* combined with anonymous moralistic sixain]
f. 137^{r}	
Incipit:	"[1] De trois choses dieu nous gard, [2] De boucon de lombart, [3] De et cetera de notaire, [4] De quit pro quo dapoticaire, [5] Qui se garderoit de plaidier, [6] Du jeu des dez et du tablez, [7] Et de lostel du Tavernier, [8] Et du trou empres le fessier, [9] Et meist paine a gaignier, [10] Il auroit du pain a mengier."
Concordances:	See Morawski, 84, 97.
Literature:	Lines 1-4, see Morawski, 97 (Appendix II: *Quatrains tirés de différents mss. des XIVe-XVIe s*., #XII); lines 5-10, Ibid., 84 (Appendix I: *Pièces diverses*, #VII).

#38	
f. 137^{r}	
Incipit:	"Trop est forte chose nature/Car elle passe nourriture."

#39	
f. 137^{v}	
Incipit:	"Par femme fut deceu le saige Salmon, le fort Sampson, le grant Holofernes, le prophete David, le philosophe Aristote, le poete Virgille, et plusieurs autres saiges."

#40	
f. 137^{v}	
Incipit:	"Serviteurs en leurs services doyvent avoir six condicions. La premiere,

	ilz doyvent honneur a leur maistre. La seconde, loyaulte. La tierce, verite. La quarte, obeisance. La cinquieme, diligence. Et la sixieme, es affaires, pascience.”

#41	
f. 137^{v}	
Incipit:	“Tel a pillie, et est pillart/Qui puis sera povre pillart/Car tel pillage est de tel estre/Qui a pillie, pillie doit estre/Et quant pillars auront pillie/Et les pillez seront pilliez/Les pillez auront du pain/Et les pillars mourront de faim.”

#42	
f. 138^{r}	
Incipit:	“Quant ung cordier cordant/veult accorder sa corde/pour sa corde accorder,/trois cordons y accorde,/car si lung des cordons/de la corde descorde/le cordon descordant/fait descorder la corde”
Concordances:	Brussels, B.R. IV 541, f. 298^{v}[?]; London, B.L. Harley 4473, f. 46^{r}; Paris, Arsenal MS 3059, f. 124^{r}
Literature:	See Lemaire, *Meschinot, Molinet, Villon: Témoignages inédits*, 87-88.

#43a	
f. 138^{r}	
Incipit:	“Faulte dargent et jaleusie/font faire a homs mainte folie”

#43b	
f. 138^{r}	
Incipit:	“Moult est plustost proye eschenee/quant par plusieurs mains est louee.”
Gloss:	“Multi manus faciunt leve opus”
Note:	“Many hands make light work.”

#43c	
f. 138^{r}	
Incipit:	“Parle peu escoute et voy/et quant tu parles garde toy/de qui tu parle et de quoy”

#43d	
f. 138^{r}	
Incipit:	“Garde les portes de ta bouche/pour fuir peril et reprouche”

#43e	
f. 138^{r}	
Incipit:	“Enfant qui ne craint pere et mere ne peut estre quil ne le _____”

#43f	
f. 138^{r}	
Incipit:	“Il nest homs qui ne peche/car toujours a chascun quelque tache”

#44a	
f. 138^{v}	
Incipit:	“Jeunes gens ne sont pas estables/Car ilz ont trop les cueurs muables/Non sont les vielz souvent effoiz/Mais mentent sermens et foy”

#44b	
f. 138^{v}	
Incipit:	“Demeure les amans a tise/Mais que trop longue ne soit prise”

#44c	
f. 138^{v}	
Incipit:	“Nul ne peut en femme mectre guarde/Se elle mesmes ne se guarde”

#44d	
f. 138^{v}	
Incipit:	“Qui de femme veult avoir grace/Mecte la tousjours en espace/Jamais en rigle ne la tiengne/Avis aille a son vouloir et viengne/Car saucun la veult retenir/Quelle ne puisse aller et venir/Soit sa femme ou soit samie/Tantost en est lamour departie”

#44e	
f. 138^{v}	

Incipit:	“Len ne doit pas par jalousie/Laissier a mener bonne vie/Ne solacier joyeusement/Son amy premierement”

#44f	
f. 138^{v}	
Incipit:	“Celuy se doit sentir bien nest/Qui daultruy mesdire sentiemect”

#44g	
f. 139^{r}	
Incipit:	“Ce dit aristote que jaye sceu/vielle femme nay point congneu/fruit cru mangie ne beu pres du lit/Las pourquoy meurs je sans tel delit”

#44h	
f. 139^{r}	
Incipit:	“Toute femme qui a con/Ne doit mesdire par raison/daultre femme qui con a/Jusqua tant quelle saura/Comment son con se portera/Car en la fin compte en rendra”

#44i	
f. 139^{r}	
Incipit:	“Qui a con et a fille ____ /Ne doit mesdire de sa voisine/Femme est de trop pres hastee/Quant de mentir est esgaree”

#44j	[Anonymous moralistic quatrain]
f. 139^{r}	
Incipit:	“Chez jeune femme ne vieil prudomme/Ne pren hostel ne ne ta somme/Car souvent chez telz hosteliers/Sont larrons murdriers ribaulx hohiers”
Concordances:	See Morawski, xii-xiii, 60, 78.
Literature:	See Morawski, 78 (*Quatrains apocryphes: Groupe III*, #CCXLVII).

#45a	
f. 139^{r}	
Incipit:	“Dehors semblent aigneaulx piteables/Et dedens sont loups ravissables/Ja ne les congnoisties aux robbes/les faulx traistres plains de parolles/leurs

	fais vous comment regarder/Se doulx vous voulez bien garder”
Rubric:	“Des ypocrites”

#45b	[Anonymous moralistic quatrain]
f. 139^{v}	
Incipit:	“Saiges est qui lomme deporte/Que yre et mal talent porte/Ne say chose qui tant me plaise/Quon die bien on quon se taise”
Concordances:	See Morawski, xii-xiii, 29.
Literature:	Morawski, 30 (*Quatrains apocryphes: Groupe I*, #LIX).

#45c	[Quatrain XXXIII (“Cato”) of the anonymous *Les Diz et proverbes des sages* (*Proverbes as philosophe*)]
f. 139^{v}	
Incipit:	“Qui son povoir veult essaulcer/Ayme son amy et tiegne cher/Souvent sont plus fors deux amis/Que ne sont quatre ennemis”
Concordances:	See Morawski, xii-xxxvi, 154.
Literature:	See Morawski, 11, 114-15.

#45d	[Quatrain XIV ("Marcoux") of the anonymous *Les Diz et proverbes des sages* (*Proverbes as philosophe*)]
f. 139^{v}	
Incipit:	“Qui en son sens trop se fie/deceu se voit en sa folie/Il avoient bien que le homs mort/Tel morceau que le nuit a mort”
Concordances:	See Morawski, xii-xxxvi, 154.
Literature:	See Morawski, 6, 107.

#45e	[Quatrain XXVII (“Solomon”) of the anonymous *Les Diz et proverbes des sages* (*Proverbes as philosophe*)]
f. 139^{v}	
Incipit:	“Oste hors de ton oeuil la paille/Que en ung autre vous sains faille/Fol est qui ne congnoist en lui/De quil veult jugier en aultrui”
Concordances:	See Morawski, xii-xxxvi, 154.
Literature:	See Morawski, 9, 111-12.

#45f	
f. 139^{v}	
Incipit:	“Bon cueur fait la pensee bonne/La robbe my tost me ne donne/Illec gist la religion/Selon la droicte entencion”

#46a	
f. 139^{v}	
Incipit:	“Quant oyseux hante aultrui table/Flateur est et set de fable”

#46b	
f. 139^{v}	
Incipit:	“Tous amans voulentiers visitent/Les lieux ou leurs amours habitent”

#46c	
f. 140^{r}	
Incipit:	“Nulz de legier chose amee/Ne mescroit tant soit diffamee”

#46d	
f. 140^{r}	
Incipit:	“Toujours cuide chascune vieille/Que chescun decepvoir la veille”

#46e	
f. 140^{r}	
Incipit:	“Mal feu et malle flambe larde/Qui vous ____ avoit mis en telle garde”

#47	[Incomplete ballade, probably by E. Deschamps]
f. 140^{r}	
Incipit:	“Saujourduy veulx vivre en paix [Refrain] Cest la chose dont je tenorte”
Concordances:	Most complete list given in Lemaire, *Meschinot, Molinet, Villon: Témoignages inédits*, 84-85.
Literature:	Ibid.; James I. Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of ‘CH’ in University of Pennsylvania MS French 15*, Chaucer Studies 9 (Cambridge, England and Totowa, NJ: D.S. Brewer and Rowman & Littlefield Inc., 1982), 91-92.
Note:	Only the first stanza is given here.

#48	[Anonymous moralistic quatrain]
f. 140^{r}	
Incipit:	“Trop a la conscience dure/Et mect son ame en avanture/Qui en ce monde pour lordure/Pert paradis qui tousjours dure”
Concordances:	See Lemaire, *Meschinot, Molinet, Villon: Témoignages inédits*, 53.
Literature:	See Lemaire, *Meschinot, Molinet, Villon*, 53; Morawski, 76, 140-41 (*Quatrains apocryphes, Groupe III*: #CCXXXVII).

#49a	
f. 140^{r}	
Incipit:	“Dont vins ou es et ou iras/Et puis pense bien en parfont/Trois choses. Qui a savoir font/Que fus, que es, et que feras”
Rubric:	“Enseignement pour home”

#49b	
f. 140^{r}	
Incipit:	“Ceulx que puissance fait amis/Adversite fait ennemis”

#49c	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Du dit ____ bien vous souviegne/Il nest nul mal que bien nen viegne”

#49d	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Selon ce que dit le saige/amour joint plus que lignaige”

#49e	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Grant honneur ne peux pas avoir/Qui la folie fait savoir”

#50a	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Lire des bons fait plus a louer et a eslire que lonneur des maulvais”
Rubric:	“Nota bene”

#50b	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Lomme sans doctrine est comme ung arbre sans fruit”

#50c	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Len peut donner doctrine a tout homme. Si non a cellui qui est sans honte.”

#50d	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Le liberal ne peut mal vuire”

#50e	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Le voir disant ne peu estre deshonnore”

#50f	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Lumble ne peut estre hayz”

#50g	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Et le bien actrempe ne peut estre mallade”

#50h	
f. 140^{v}	
Incipit:	“Nul ne doit pour sien tenir/Le bien quil ne peut retenir”

#51a	
f. 141^{r}	
Incipit:	“Ung clerc non pas par felonnie/A tel question avant trait/Car au dieu est, on il nest mie/Ce comment octroyer sans plait/Se dieu est, dont vient tricherie/Qui de tout son cueur lui desplait/Se dieu nest que vault bonne

	vie/Et que gagne cil qui bien fait”

#51b	
f. 141^{r}	
Incipit:	“Quant venterie en homme hanbonde/Et son bien fait par tout recite/Pour la vaine gloire du monde/Il appetire son merite/Qui de vanter trop se parfonde/Sa gloire doit estre petite/Quant en lui sens plus ne redonde/Cest ce que sage homs despite”

#51c	
f. 141^{r}	
Incipit:	“Vos parolle sont moult jolies/Et par dehors tresbien polies/Par rethorique sont ornees/Et par musique fluoretees/Bien appert a vostre parolle/Quavez este a bonne escolle”

#51d	
f. 141^{r}	
Incipit:	“Cest la premiere oppinion/Des voix de toute la commune/Car quant on voit temptacion/Advenir a personne aucune/On dit que tel tribulacion/Lui vient par sa droicte fortune/Et que dieu par provision/Lui transmet par quelque rancune”

#51e	
f. 141^{v}	
Incipit:	“Exillie nest cil qui est fort/Quant adversite lesperonne/Car par raison lui fait deport/Pascience, qui lenvironne/Mais cil qui prent de desconfort/Plus que droit et raison ne donne/Exillie est non pas a tort/Et la raison le desraisonne”

#51f	
f. 141^{v}	
Incipit:	“Quant fortune vous est amie/Vous avez moult grant compaignie/de gens, qui se font voz amis/Mais quant fortune vos a mis/En povrete et par derriere/Assez tot se tournent arriere”
Gloss:	“Quid fueris felix multos numerabis amicos/Tempora quid fuerint nubila solus eris” [Publius Ovidius Naso, *Tristia*, ed. John Barrie Hall (Stuttgart and Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1995), 39 (I, 9a, 5-6).] [in left margin]

#52	
f. 141^{v}	
Incipit:	“Se trestous les biens de terre/Quon peut assembler et aquerre/A ung tant seullement estoient/Son cueur remplir ilz ne pourvoient”
Rubric:	“Nota des avaricieux”

#53a	
f. 142^{r}	
Incipit:	“Sautant quen lamer a davaines/et ou ciel destoilles seraines/Tant avoit homs or et avoir/Et tout ce que pourroit avoir/Ja pour ce ne lairroit a plaindre/Ne de plus demander soy faindre/Nul ne peut fine covoitise/Assouyr de plus en plus satise/Tant ne pourroit avoir covoiteux/Que ne se tiegne a souffreteux”
Rubric:	“Item des avaricieux” [on folio 142^{v}, bottom of page]

#53b	
f. 142^{r}	
Incipit:	“Se riche avers avoit/Autant dor quen ung goffre entieroit/Et son col chargie tant quil peust/de pierres precieuses eust/Quon treuve empres la rouge mer/Et grasse terre pour semer/Autant que mil bueufz gaigneroient/Neantmoins ces choses ne pourvoient/Son cueur tenir tant comme il vive/Que tousjours ne tende et estrive/A assembler dardant desir/Ce que ja ne pourra emplir/plus compaignie ne confort/Ne fera richesse au riche mort”

#54	[*Les xii Imperfections de l’homme* by Pierre d’Ailly]
f. 142^{v}	
Incipit:	“Plus est servi, et plus se plaint/Plus est nourry, et plus se fame/Plus est pare, et plus est de maine/Plus est ame et plus fait de paine/Plus est creu et plus souvent ment/Plus est repeu et mains est content/Plus est reprins et plus murmure/Plus a hault pris, mains de dieu cure/Plus a de biens, mains lui suffit/Plus a savoir, mains de bien dit/Plus a mespris mains de cremeur/Plus pres de dieu mains a savoir”
Rubric:	“Nota des xii Imperfections de lomme”
Concordances:	Paris, B.N. f. fr. 25434, f. 58^{r}-58^{v} with attribution to M. P. de Alliaco and with the title *Les enfermetez du corps*[?]; London, British Library Add. 17446, f. 11^{r}; Dijon, Bibl. mun. MS 212, f. 85^{v}[?]; Dijon, Bibl. mun. MS 214, f. 78^{r}[?]; Troyes, Bibl. mun. MS 1465, f. 65^{r}[?]; Paris, B.N. f. fr. 952, f. 190^{v}-191^{r}, dated 1478, and with the title *Douze abus du corps*

	humain[?]
Literature:	Edition: Anatole de Montaiglon, *Recueil de poésies françoises des XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris: P. Jannet, 1857), 6: 196 [with the title *L'Estat present de l'homme*]. Arthur Piaget, "Quelques vers du Cardinal Pierre d'Ailli," *Romania* 29 (1900), 112-115; Max Lieberman, "Autour de l'iconographie gersonienne (suite): Le tombeau de Philippe le Hardi (II), Appendice," *Romania* 85 (1964), 266-268; Jacques Lemaire, *Les visions de la vie de cour dans la littérature française de la fin du Moyen Âge* (Brussels and Paris: Klincksieck, 1994), 421 (as *Les enfermetez du corps*).

#55	
f. 142^{v}-143^{r}	
Incipit:	"Nostre pasteur dit ainsi, que sans les xii vertus qui cy apres ensuyvent, nulle vierge nest a dieu agreable. La premiere est foy, abstinence, pascience, magnanimite, simplesse, innocence, concorde, charite, discipline, chastete, prudence et continance."
Rubric:	"Doctrine saine pour les vierges"

#56a	
f. 143^{r}	
Incipit:	"Quant vestu as robbe bien faicte/Bien aournes, et bien poutraicte/de matiere riche et nouvelle/Tu cuides que soit chose belle/Et en cuides estre honnourez/Et de toutes gens plus louez/Mais se loz et honneur y a /Nest pas a cellui qui la robbe a/On doit la matiere louer/Et doit on louvrier honnourer/Louvrier y a mis sa cure/Et telle est du drap la nature/Car tel a vestu robbe pollie/Qui a conscience pourvie/Tel est le corps quant il est nudz/Comme quant il est bien vestuz"

#56b	[Anonymous moralistic double quatrain]
f. 143^{r}	
Incipit:	"Trois choses doiz en paix garder/Ton lit, ta table, et le moustier/Len doit en son lit reposer/A la table boyre et mangier/Au moustier estre en oroison/vers dieu, et en devocion/Car qui en eulx tence et noise/Dieu ne layme, ne il na aise"
Concordances:	See Morawski, *Les Diz et proverbes des sages*, 60.
Literature:	See Ibid., 77 (*Quatrains apocryphes: Groupe III*, #CCXLII [Lans 380 lines 1,2,7,8] and #CCXLIIB [Lans 380 lines 3,4,5,6]).

#56c	
f. 143^{v}	
Incipit:	"Six choses sont dont len doit guarder/De hardi prestre, et de couart chevalier/de rongneux bolengier/et de puant barbier/de femme jalouse et divrogne bouteillier"
Concordances:	London, B.L. Harley 4473, f. 42^{v}-43^{r}; see Morawski, 98 for listing.
Literature:	Ibid., 98, 150 (*Appendice II: Quatrains tirés de différents mss. des XIVe-XVIe s*, #XIV.

#56d	[Anonymous moralistic quatrain]
f. 143^{v}	
Incipit:	"Six choses sont quau monde nont mestier/Prestre hardi ne couart chevalier/Mire piteux, ne rongneux bolengier/Convoiteux juge, ne puant barbier"
Concordances:	London, B.L. Harley 4473, f. 42^{v}-43^{r}; Paris, B.N. f. fr. 2231, fr. 43^{r}[?]; Besançon, Bibl. mun. MS 93, f. de garde; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibl. mun. MS 249, f. 17^{v}[?].
Literature:	See Morawski, 98, 150 (*Appendix II: Quatrains tirés de différents mss des XIVe-XVIe siècles*, #XIV).

#56e	[Anonymous moralistic cinquain]
f. 143^{v}	
Incipit:	"De quatre choses dieu nous garde/de petit dysgner qui trop tarde/de char sallee sans moustarde/de toute femme qui se farde/de beau varlet qui se regarde"
Concordances:	London, B. L. Harley 4473, f. 41^{v}; Toulouse, Bibl. mun. MS 824, f. 122^{r}[?].
Literature:	See Morawski, 97, 150 (*Appendix II: Quatrains tirés de différents mss des XIVe-XVIe siècles*, #XII [b].

#57a	[Anonymous mnemonic of the Ten Commandments]
f. 143^{v}	
Incipit:	"Unum crede deum, ne jures vana per ipsum. Sabbata sanctifices et venerare patres, Non sis occisor, fur, mechus, testis iniquus vicinique thorum, resque caveto suas."
Concordances:	Naples, B.N. MS VIII.A.19, f. 182^{v}b[?] (with slight variants); Paris, B.N. lat. 3463, f. 33^{r}[?].

Literature:	See M. Michèle Mulchahey, "More Notes on the Education of the *Fratres communes* in the Dominican Order: Elias de Ferreriis of Salagnac's *Libellus de doctrina fratrum*," in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.*, ed. Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 328-69, esp. pp. 345 and 364, note 60.

#57b	[*Les dix commandemens de la loy*, possibly by Jean Gerson]
f. 144^{r}-145^{r}	
Incipit:	"Non habebis deos alienos/Ung seul dieu ton createur/Tu serviras et ameras/Et en lui lamour de ton cueur/Sur toutes choses tu mectras…"
Rubric:	"Ensuyvent les dix commandemens de la loy"
Concordances:	Paris, B.N. fr. 1843, ff. 47-50[?] with significant variants] [Literature: See Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* 143 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 113; Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris: Desclée, 1960-1973), 7:xix, 423-24.
Note:	This is a combination of the Latin form of the 10 Commandments with the French text attributed by Glorieux to Gerson, but only six stanzas of the Gerson text are used; the five remaining stanzas appear to stem from a different tradition. Catchwords, f. 144^{v}: "Guarde toy"

#58a	
f. 145^{r}	
Incipit:	"Vestir les nudz, repaistre les ayan faim..."
Rubric:	"Les sept euvres de misericorde appartenans au corps"

#58b	
f. 145^{v}	
Incipit:	"Donner conseil au demandant, soit de bouche ou de fait...."
Rubric:	"Les sept euvres des misericorde appartenans a lame"

#59	
f. 146^{r}	
Incipit:	"Clere aperte vision de dieu avecques parfaicte function..."
Rubric:	"Les sept douaires de lame glorifiee en paradis"

#60	
f. 146^{r}	
Incipit:	“Les cardinales sont foy, esperance, charite, justice. Les theologales sont actrempance, force, prudence”
Rubric:	“Les Sept vertus principalles dont il en ya trios theologales et quatre cardinals”

#61	
f. 146^{v}	
Incipit:	“Orgueil Humilite Avarice Largesse Luxure Chastete Ire contre Pascience Gloutonnie Abstinence Envie Amour de prouchaine Paresse Diligence”
Rubric:	Les sept pechiez mortelz et les sept vertus contraires a iceulx pechiez
Note:	Simple schematic

#62	
f. 146^{v}-147^{r}	
Incipit:	“Et premierement, Les branches dorgueil. Presumpcion. ypocrisie. desdaing. arrogance. oultrecuidance....”
Rubric:	“Ensuivent les branches des sept pechiez mortelz”
Gloss:	“Vera penitencia est dolere de peccatis et de dolore gaudere” [at bottom of f. 147^{r}]

#63	
f. 147^{v}	
Incipit:	“Veoir. Oyr. Gouster. Sentir. Taster”
Rubric:	“Les cinq sens de nature”

#64	
f. 147^{v}	
Incipit:	“Baptesme. Confirmation. Lordre de prestrise....”
Rubric:	“Les sept sacremens de de[sic] leglise”

#[64*]	
f. 148^{r}*-148^{v}*	
Rubric:	"Ensuivent les utilites et prouffis que on peut avoir et acquerir de oyr la messe" [on folio 147^{v}]
Note:	The entire folio has been removed. Annotations (in a much later hand) on folio 147^{v}: "This article has been cut out probably by some Puritan"

#65	[Text remaining is an amplification of "Aucunes painnes qui sont en enfer," the final section of the *A.B.C. des simples gens* by Jean Gerson]
f. 148^{r}	
Incipit:	"...sans cesser leurs tresespoventables regars. Faim cruelle, soif insaoulable, froit insuportable, chaleur inesvinable, feu sans estaindre...."
Rubric:	"Fin des joyes de paradis et paines denfer"
Literature:	Gerson, 7: 154-57; Michel Rouche, *Histoire générale de l'enseignement et de l'éducation en France des Origines à la Renaissance*, ed. Louis-Henri Parias (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France, 1981), 601-602.
Note:	This French text is the continuation of something begun on the missing folio, presumably Gerson's "Les principales joyes de paradis" from his *A.B.C. des simples gens*.

#66	
f. 148^{v}	
Incipit:	"Se ung roy feust/Qui bien sceust/Combien peust/Despendre en guerre Se donnast riens/Se tollist riens/Se payast bien/Tout de sa terre Nul ne feust/Tant fort fust/Qui riens sceust/Sur lui conquerre"

# [empty]	
f. 149^{r}*-149^{v}*	
Note:	This folio completely removed. Probably contained *Ballade* I, "Belle, bonne, nompareille, plaisant" by Charles d'Orléans on the verso of the missing folio.

#67a	[*Ballade* II* by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 149^{r}-149^{v}	
Incipit:	"Vueilliez vos yeulx enprisonner [Refrain] Ma seule souveraine joye"

Rubric:	"Cy apres ensuyvent plusieurs ballades plaisans et joyeuses" [on folio 148^{v}]
Concordances:	Concordances for the ballades are discussed in Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, ed. Pierre Champion, 2 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1923-24), 1:viii-xxi and 2:552-63.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:17-98, for an edition of the ballades. Ballade II appears on pages 18-19.
Note:	The Roman numeral for each ballade is that assigned to it by Pierre Champion in his edition, Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:17-144.

#67b	[*Ballade* III by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 149^{v}-150^{r}	
Incipit:	"Cest grant peril de regarder [Refrain] Aussi bien au foul comme au sage"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 19-20.

#67c	[*Ballade* IV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 150^{r}-150^{v}	
Incipit:	"Comment se peut ung povre cuer deffendre [Refrain] Nul ne tendroit contre telle puissance"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 20-21.

#67d	[*Ballade* V by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 150^{v}-151^{r}	
Incipit:	"Espargnies vostre doulx atrait [Refrain] Par vostre plaisant accointance"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 21-22.

#67e	[*Ballade* XCI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 151^{r}-151^{v}	
Incipit:	"Visage de basse venue [Refrain] Dieu le me sauve ce varlet"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 151^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 145-46.

#67f	[*Ballade* VI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 152^{r}	
Incipit:	"Na pas longtemps qualay parler [Refrain] Ainsi mont raporte mes yeulx"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 151^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 22-23.

#67g	[*Ballade* VII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 152^{v}-153^{r}	
Incipit:	"De jamais namer par amours [Refrain] Mon cuer qui est maistre de moy"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 23-24.

#67h	[*Ballade* VIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 153^{r}-153^{v}	
Incipit:	"Quant je suis couchie en mon lit [Refrain] Ainsi je laisse le dormer"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 24-25.

#67i	[*Ballade* IX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 153^{v}-154^{v}	
Incipit:	"Fresche beaulte tres riche de jeunesse [Refrain] De ces grans biens est ma dame garnie"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 25-27.

#67j	[*Ballade* X by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 154^{v}-155^{r}	
Incipit:	"A Madame je ne scay que je die [Refrain] Puis quainsi est que de vous suis loingtains"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 27-28.

#67k	[*Ballade* XI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 155^{r}-155^{v}	

Incipit:	“Loingtain de vous ma tresbelle maistresse [Refrain] Autant de bien que jay de desplaisance”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 28-29.

#67l	[*Ballade* XII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 155^{v}-156^{r}	
Incipit:	“Puis quainsi est que loingtain de vous suis [Refrain] Pour alegier mes griefs maulx doloreux”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 29-30.

#67m	[*Ballade* XIII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 156^{r}-156^{v}	
Incipit:	“Pourtant se souvent ne vous voy [Refrain] Fors que la mort tant seulement”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [on folio 156^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 30-31.
Note:	Catchwords on 156^{v}: “Quelles nouvelles”

#67n	[*Ballade* XIV by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 157^{r}-157^{v}	
Incipit:	“Quelles nouvelles ma maistresse [Refrain] Acquittiez vous pareillement”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [on folio 156^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 31-32.

#67o	[*Ballade* XV by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 157^{v}-158^{r}	
Incipit:	“Belle que je tiens pour ma mye [Refrain] En vous se dire je losoye”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 32-33.

#67p	[*Ballade* XVI by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 158^{r}-158^{v}	

Incipit:	“Ma dame vous povez savoir [Refrain] Ce peu de plaisir que javoye”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 33-34.

#67q	[*Ballade* XVIII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 158^{v}-159^{r}	
Incipit:	“Doullour, couroux, desplaisir et tristesse [Refrain] Le plus grant bien qui me puist avenir”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [on folio 158^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 36-37.

#67r	[*Ballade* XIX by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 159^{v}	
Incipit:	“Jeune gente plaisant et debonnaire [Refrain] Jaymasse mieulx de bouche le vous dire”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [on folio 159^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 37.

#67s	[*Ballade* XX by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 160^{r}	
Incipit:	“Quant je parti derrainement [Refrain] Ce nest que miracle damours”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [on folio 159^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 38-39.

#67t	[*Ballade* XXI by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 160^{v}-161^{r}	
Incipit:	“Loue soit celui qui trouva [Refrain] Pour bien et loyaument amer”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 39-40.

#67u	[*Ballade* XXII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 161^{r}-161^{v}	
Incipit:	“Belle combien de mon fait [Refrain] Dieu scet en quel mauvais party”
Rubric:	“Ballade”

Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 40-41.

#67v	[*Ballade* XXIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 161^{v}-162^{r}	
Incipit:	"Loyal espoir trop je vous voy dormer [Refrain] Ne lui vueilliez a son besoing faillir"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 41-42.

#67w	[*Ballade* XXIV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 162^{r}-162^{v}	
Incipit:	"Mon cueur au derrain entrera [Refrain] Ou purgatoire de tristesse"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 42-43.

#67x	[*Ballade* XXV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 162^{v}-163^{r}	
Incipit:	"Desployes vostre banniere [Refrain] Je pry Dieu quil les maudie"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 162^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 43-44
Note:	A folio has been excised from the MS between current folios 162^{v} and 163^{r}.

#67y	[*Ballade* XXVI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 163^{r}-163^{v}	
Incipit:	"Ardant desir de veoir ma maistresse [Refrain] Je l'oy crier piteusement secours"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 44-45.

#67z	[*Ballade* XXVII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 163^{v}-164^{r}	
Incipit:	"Mon cueur a envoye querir [Refrain] En la prison de desplaisance"
Rubric:	"Ballade"

Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 45-46.
Note:	Catchword: "Briefment"

#67aa	[*Ballade* XXX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 164^{r}-164^{v}	
Incipit:	"Belle bien avres souvenance [Refrain] Quant temps et besoing en sera"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 49-50.

#67bb	[*Ballade* XXXI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 165^{r}-165^{v}	
Incipit:	"Venez vers moy bonne nouvelle [Refrain] Quant me donna le nom damy"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 164^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 50-51.

#67cc	[*Ballade* XXXII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 165^{v}-166^{r}	
Incipit:	"Belle sil vous plaist mescouter [Refrain] Ou coffre de ma souvenance"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 51-52.

#67dd	[*Ballade* XXV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 166^{r}-166^{v}	
Incipit:	"Jay au tresor de ma pensee [Refrain] En attendant bonne esperance"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 54-55.

#67ee	[*Ballade* XXXIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 167^{r}	
Incipit:	"Se je vous di bonne nouvelle –lamant / Qui loyaument fait son devoir"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 166^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 52-53.

#67ff	[*Ballade* LXXI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 167^{v}	
Incipit:	"Joy estrangement [Refrain] Tout leur pensement"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 167^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 97-98.

#67gg	[*Ballade* LXXXVI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 168^{r}	
Incipit:	"Dame qui cuidiez trop savoir [Refrain] Encore ne mavez vous pas"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 167^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 137-38.

#67hh	[*Ballade* XXXVI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 168^{v}	
Incipit:	"Je ne vous puis ne scay amer [Refrain] En esperant que brief vous voye"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 167^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 55-56.

#67ii	[*Ballade* XXXVII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 169^{r}-169^{v}	
Incipit:	"Lautrier alay mon cueur veoir [Refrain] Tresor damoureuse richesse"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 168^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 56-57.

#67jj	[*Ballade* XL by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 169^{v}-170^{r}	
Incipit:	"Fortune vueillies moy laissier [Refrain] Helas et nest ce pas asses"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 60-61.

#67kk	[*Ballade* XLI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 170^{r}-170^{v}	
Incipit:	"Espoir ma apporte nouvelle [Refrain] Dieu doint quainsi puist avenir"

Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 61-62.

#67ll	[*Ballade* XLV by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 171^{r}-171^{v}	
Incipit:	“Se dieu plaist briefment la nuee [Refrain] Par les fenestres de mes yeulx”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [on folio 170^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 67-68.

#67mm	[*Ballade* XLVI by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 171^{v}-172^{r}	
Incipit:	“Au court jeu de tables jouer [Refrain] Gaangnier le jeu entierement”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [on folio 171^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 68-69.
Note:	Catchwords on folio 171^{v}: “Lenvoy. Je vous”

#67nn	[*Ballade* L by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 172^{r}-172^{v}	
Incipit:	“Par le commandement damours [Refrain] Je le tendray jusqua la mort”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 72-73.

#67oo	[*Ballade* LI by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 172^{v}-173^{r}	
Incipit:	“La premiere foiz ma maistresse [Refrain] Cest une chose que fort doubte”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 73-74.

#67pp	[*Ballade* LIII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 173^{r}-173^{v}	
Incipit:	“Le premier jour du moiys de mays [Refrain] Ou temps quay congneu en ma vie”
Rubric:	“Ballade”

Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 76-77.

#67qq	[*Ballade* LVIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 173^{v}-174^{r}	
Incipit:	"Jay aux esches joue devant amours [Refrain] Se je ne fais une dame nouvelle"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 82-83.

#67rr	[*Ballade* LII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 174^{r}-174^{v}	
Incipit:	"Me mocques vous joyeux espoir [Refrain] Car trop ennuie qui attent"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 74-75.

#67ss	[*Ballade* LV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 174^{v}-175^{r}	
Incipit:	"Helas, hellas, qui a laissie entrer [Refrain] Et dit quil est ennuye de sa vie"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 79-80.

#67tt	[*Ballade* LIV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 175^{v}-176^{r}	
Incipit:	"Pour dieu gardes bien souvenir [Refrain] Madame, ma seule maistresse"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 175^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 77-79.

#67uu	[*Ballade* XXXIV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 176^{v}-177^{r}	
Incipit:	"Mon cueur ouvrez luis de pensee [Refrain] Tousjours tresloyalle maistresse"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 176^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 53-54.

#67vv	[*Ballade* XXVIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 177^{r}-177^{v}	
Incipit:	"En la nef de bonne nouvelle [Refrain] Et le tresor de ma lyesse"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 47-48.

#67ww	[*Ballade* XXXVIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 177^{v}-178^{r}	
Incipit:	"Ha doulx penser jamais je ne pourroye [Refrain] Quant il vous plaist dainsi me conforter"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 177^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 58-59.

#67xx	[*Ballade* XXXIX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 178^{v}	
Incipit:	"Se je povoye mes souhais [Refrain] Pour ma maistresse souveraine"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [at top of folio 178^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 59-60.

#67yy	[*Ballade* XLII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 179^{r}-179^{v}	
Incipit:	"Je ne me scay en quel point maintenir [Refrain] Treshumblement de toute ma puissance"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on bottom of folio 178^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 62-64.

#67zz	[*Ballade* XLIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 179^{v}-180^{r}	
Incipit:	"Mon cueur est devenu hermite [Refrain] Si lui dis je que cest folie"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [on folio 179^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 64-65.
Note:	Catchwords on folio 179^{v}: "Pour ce"

#67aaa	[*Ballade* XLVIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 180^{r}-180^{v}	
Incipit:	"Trop long temps vous voy sommeillier [Refrain] Ce premier jour du mois de may"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 180^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 70-71.

#67bbb	[*Ballade* XLIV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 181^{r}-181^{v}	
Incipit:	"Dangier, je vous giecte mon gant [Refrain] Sa leaute ne vous rendes"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 180^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 65-67.

#67ccc	[*Ballade* XLIX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 181^{v}-182^{r}	
Incipit:	"Jay mis en escript mes souhais [Refrain] De mille lun puist avenir"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 181^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 71-72.

#67ddd	[*Ballade* LVI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 182^{v}-183^{r}	
Incipit:	"Si tost que lautre jour jouy [Refrain] Saint Gabriel bonne nouvelle"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 182^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 80-81.

#67eee	[*Ballade* LVII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 183^{r}-183^{v}	
Incipit:	"Las mort, qui ta fait si hardie [Refrain] En paine, soussy et doleur"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 81-82.

#67fff	[*Ballade* LIX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 183^{v}-184^{r}	

Incipit:	“Je me souloye pourpenser [Refrain] Je pry a Dieu quil en ait lame”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [appears on folio 183^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 83-84.

#67ggg	[*Ballade* LX by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 184^{v}-185^{r}	
Incipit:	“Quant souvenir me ramentoit [Refrain] Ce monde nest que chose vaine”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [appears on folio 184^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 84-85.

#67hhh	[*Ballade* LXI by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 185^{r}-185^{v}	
Incipit:	“Le premier jour du moys de may [Refrian] Comme lors fut mon aventure”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 85-87.

#67iii	[*Ballade* LXIII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 185^{v}-186^{r}	
Incipit:	“En la forest dennuyeuse tristesse [Refrain] Lomme esgare qui ne scet ou il va”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 88-89.

#67jjj	[*Ballade* LXIV by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 186^{r}-186^{v}	
Incipit:	“Jay este de la compagnie [Refrain] Tout est rompu, cest a refaire”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [appears on folio 186^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 89-90.

#67kkk	[*Ballade* LXV by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 187^{r}	
Incipit:	“Plaisant beaulte mon cueur navra [Refrain] Se la playe ne renouvelle”
Rubric:	“Ballade” [appears on folio 186^{v}]

Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 90-91.

#67lll	[*Ballade* LXVI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 187^{v}-188^{r}	
Incipit:	"Le beau soleil le jour saint valentine [Refrain] Sur le dur lit dennuieuse pensee"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 187^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 91-92.
Note:	Catchwords on folio 187^{v}: "Sainct Valentin"

#67mmm	[*Ballade* LXVIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 188^{r}-188^{v}	
Incipit:	"Belle, se ne mosez donner [Refrain] Maugre dangier et ses conseulx"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 188^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 93-94.

#67nnn	[*Ballade* LXIX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 188^{v}-189^{r}	
Incipit:	"Jay fait lobseque de ma dame [Refrain] Le tresor de tous biens mondains"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 188^{v}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 95-96.

#67ooo	[*Ballade* LXX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 189^{v}-190^{r}	
Incipit:	"Puis que mort a pris ma maistresse [Refrain] Devant tous loyaulx amoureux"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 96-97.

#67ppp	[*Ballade* LXXII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 190^{r}-190^{v}	
Incipit:	"Ballades, chanssons et complaints [Refrain] Tout enroillie de nonchaloir"

Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 119-20.

#67qqq	[*Ballade* LXXIII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 190^{v}-191^{r}	
Incipit:	“Lemplastre de nonchalloir [Refrain] Lamoureuse maladie”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 120-21.

#67rrr	[*Ballade* LXXIX by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 191^{r}-191^{v}	
Incipit:	“Bien monstres printemps gracieux [Refrain] A vostre joyeuse venue”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 129-30.

#67sss	[*Ballade* LXXVIII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 191^{v}-192^{r}	
Incipit:	“En acquitant nostre temps vers jeunesse [Refrain] Pour resveillier voz pensees joieuses”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 128-29.

#67ttt	[*Ballade* XC by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 192^{r}-192^{v}	
Incipit:	“Jay tant joue avec aage [Refrain] Ne je ne crains riens que soussy”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 144-45.

#67uuu	[*Ballade* XCII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 192^{v}-193^{r}	
Incipit:	“Amours qui tant a de puissance [Refrain] Ce nest fors que plaisant folie”
Rubric:	“Ballade”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 146-47.

#68	[*Complainte* III by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 193^{v}-195^{r}	
Incipit:	"Ma seulle dame et ma maistresse"
Rubric:	"Complainte" [appears on folio 193^{r}]
Concordances:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 574.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 265-68.
Note:	Catchwords on folio 195^{v} (which is otherwise blank): "Du temps passé"

#69	[*La Retenue d'amours* by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 196^{r}-203^{r}	
Incipit:	"Du temps passe quant nature mefist"
Concordances:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 551-52.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1-16.

#70	[*Songe en Complainte* by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 203^{v}-214^{r}	
Incipit:	"Apres le jour qui est fait pour traveil"
Rubric:	"Songe en complainte" [appears on folio 203^{v}]
Concordances:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 556.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 99-118.
Note:	Catchwords on folio 203^{v}: "Or est ainsi"; folio 211^{v}: "Quant jeuz"

#71	[*Complainte* I by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 214^{v}-216^{r}	
Incipit:	"France, jadis on te souloit nommer"
Rubric:	"La Complainte de France" [appears on folio 214^{v}]
Concordances:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 574.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 258-61.

#72	[*Ballade* LXXVI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 216^{r}-217^{r}	
Incipit:	"Pries pour paix doulce vierge marie [Refrain] Priez pour paix le vray tresor de joye"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 216^{r}]

Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 123-25; Sinclair, *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages. First Supplement*, 151 (#5005).

#73	[*Ballade* XC by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 217^{r}-217^{v}	
Incipit:	"Jay tant joue avec aage [Refrain] Ne je ne crains riens que soussy"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 217^{r}]
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 144-45.
Note:	This is a duplication of #62ttt, f. 192^{r}.

#74	[Anonymous *Ballade*]
f. 218^{r}	
Incipit:	"Quant union nest plus en saincte eglise [Refrain] Que vaut le monde. Helas il ne vault rien"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 217^{v}]
Literature:	Edition given in N. Hardy Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse: An Anthology of Fifteenth Century Poems Collected From Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: University of London Press, 1929), 117-18.

#75	[Anonymous *Ballade*]
f. 218^{v}	
Incipit:	"Puis que voulez que soye vo maistresse [Refrain] Si servires le monde et dieu aussi"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	Edition in Wallis, 118-19.
Note:	Catchwords: "Cy commence"

#76	[*Ballade* by Jehan Molinet]
f. 219^{r}-219^{v}	
Incipit:	"Nous dieu damour createur roy de gloire [Refrain] Loyaulx amans recongnoisses ces armes"
Rubric:	"Cy commence le blason des armes de nostre redempcion" [appears on folio 219^{r}]
Gloss:	"Terribilis sunt arma viri qui spriritus auffert principibus terre terrendus regibus altis" [appears on folio 219^{v}]
Concordances:	See #25

Literature:	See #25
Note:	This is a duplication of #25, ff. 81^{v}-82^{r}.

#77	[Anonymous *Ballade*]
f. 219^{v}-220^{r}	
Incipit:	"Clerc. Que dis tu. Que veulx tu que je dies [Refrain] Me dis tu voir? Oil saincte marie"
Rubric:	"Ballade qui parle du temps present" [appears on folio 219^{v}]
Concordances:	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20, 104[?]; *Jardin de Plaisance*, f. lxij^{v} (where it is called a "Comedie joyeuse.")
Literature:	See Paul Meyer, "Les Manuscrits français de Cambridge. III. Trinity College," *Romania* 32 (1903), 63-65; Droz and Piaget, eds., *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:120 (#24).

#78	[*Ballade* by Alain Chartier]
f. 220^{v}-221^{r}	
Incipit:	"Il nest dangier que de villain [Refrain] Ne chere que domme joieux"
Rubric:	"Ballade faicte et composee par le doulx poete maistre alain charretier" [appears on folio 220^{r}]
Concordances:	See J. C. Laidlaw, ed., *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 371; also Droz and Piaget, eds., *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:218-19.
Literature:	See Laidlaw, 371-92; Droz et Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:218-19 (#460).
Note:	Two stanzas set to music by Velut? in Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Canonici Misc. 213, f. 108.

#79a	[*Ballade* by Jehan de Garencières]
f. 221^{r}-221^{v}	
Incipit:	"Maintenant seray je joyeux [Refrain] Car ma douleur en cessera"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 221^{r}]
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 19139, 430-431[?] (where it is titled "Balade Vous m'avez.")
Literature:	See Y. A. Neal, *Le Chevalier poète Jehan de Garencières (1372-1415): Sa Vie et ses poèsies complètes dont de nombreuses inédites*. [Vol. 2:] *Les Poesies completes de Jean de Garencieres*, (Paris: A. Nizet, 1953), 2: vii-xiv; xxxi-xxxiv, and 12; also Arthur Piaget, "Jean de Garencières,"

	Romania 22 (1893), 422-81. Edition in Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse*, 112 (#CXCV). Authorship of Lans 380 #74a-e first noted by Daniel Poirion, *Le Poète et le prince: L'Évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965): 152, footnote 30.

#79b	[*Ballade* by Jehan de Garencières]
f. 221^{v}-222^{r}	
Incipit:	"Helas madame sil vous plaist me parfaire [Refrain] Que par vous belle je suis fait ou deffait"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 221^{v}]
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 19139, 431-432[?] with the title "Balade".
Literature:	See Neal, 2:3; Wallis, 113 (#CXCVI).

#79c	[*Ballade* by Jehan de Garencières]
f. 222^{r}-222^{v}	
Incipit:	"A vous me plain dame de grant valour [Refrain] Car je voy bien que japrouche ma mort"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 222^{r}]
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 19139, 432-433[?] with the title "Balade Vous m'avez".
Literature:	See Neal, 2:1-2; Wallis, 114 (#CXCVII).

#79d	[*Ballade* by Jehan de Garencières]
f. 222^{v}-223^{r}	
Incipit:	"Je ne voy homme de mes yeux [Refrain] Que jamais il nen avenra"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 222^{v}]
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f .fr. 19139, 435-6.
Literature:	See Neal, 2:16-17; Piaget, "Jean de Garencières," 439-40; Wallis, 115 (#CXCVIII).

#79e	[*Ballade* by Jehan de Garencières]
f. 223^{r}-223^{v}	
Incipit:	"Jay veu dames et demoiselles [Refrain] Entre les autres la plus belle"
Rubric:	"Ballade" [appears on folio 223^{r}]
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 19139, 436-437.

Literature:	See Neal, 2:22; Piaget, "Jean de Garencières," 440-41; Wallis, 116 (#CXCIX).

#80a	[*Chanson* I by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 224^{r}	
Incipit:	"Ce moy quamours pas ne sommeille [Rubric] Chancon"
Concordances:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 1:viii-xxv and 2:564-73.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 204. Also: Sarah Spence, ed. and trans., *The French Chansons of Charles D'Orleans with the Corresponding Middle English Chansons*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature 46, Series A (New York and London: Garland, 1986).
Note:	The Roman numeral numbering system refers to the order assigned the chansons by Champion in his edition of Charles's poetry.

#80b	[*Chanson* II by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 224^{r}	
Incipit:	"Tiengne soy damer qui pourra"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 204-205; Spence, 4-5.

#80c	[*Chanson* III by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 224^{v}	
Incipit:	"Quelque chose que je die"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 205; Spence, 6-7.

#80d	[*Chanson* IV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 224^{v}	
Incipit:	"Nest elle de tous biens garnie"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 206; Spence, 8-9.

#80e	[*Chanson* V by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 225^{r}	

Incipit:	“Quant jay non pareille maistresse”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 206-207; Spence, 10-11.

#80f	[*Chanson* VI by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 225^{r}	
Incipit:	“Dieu qui la fait bon regarder”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 207; Spence, 12-13.

#80g	[*Chanson* VII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 225^{v}	
Incipit:	“Par dieu mon plaisant bien joyeux”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 207-208; Spence, 14-15.

#80h	[*Chanson* VIII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 225^{v}	
Incipit:	“Que me conseillies vous mon cueur”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 208; Spence, 16-17.

#80i	[*Chanson* X by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 226^{r}	
Incipit:	“Qui la regarde des ses yeux”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 209-210; Spence, 20-21.

#80j	[*Chanson* XI by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 226^{r}	
Incipit:	“Ce moy de may non pareille princesse”
Rubric:	“Chancon”

Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 17 (olim Hamilton) ("Rohan Chansonnier"), f. 123^{r}.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 210; Spence, 22-23; Martin Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan (XV. Jahrh.)*, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 44 (Göttingen: Gedruckt für die Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1923), 215-16 (#314).

#80k	[*Chanson* XII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 226^{v}	
Incipit:	"Commandes vostre bon vouloir"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 210-11; Spence, 24-25.

#80l	[*Chanson* XV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 226^{v}	
Incipit:	"Se ma doulleur vous savies"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 82^{r}.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 212-13; Spence, 30-31; Löpelmann, 119-20 (#135).
Note:	Catchwords: "Chancon. Ma seulle"

#80m	[*Chanson* XVI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 227^{r}	
Incipit:	"Ma seulle plaisant doulce joye"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Concordances:	London, B. L. MS Lansdowne 380, f. 238^{v} (within a section of polyphonic chanson texts); Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 121^{r}-121^{v}; for complete listing of musical concordances, see David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 274.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 213; Spence, 32-33; Wallis, 122 (#CCVIII); Löpelmann, 211 (#306).
Note:	Musical setting is by Bedyngham or Du Fay.

#80n	[*Chanson* XIV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 227^{r}	
Incipit:	"Rafreschissies le chastel de mon cueur"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 212; Spence, 28-29.

#80o	[*Chanson* XXIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 227^{v}	
Incipit:	"Puis quamours veult que banny soye"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 217-218; Spence, 46-47.

#80p	[*Chanson* XXIV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 227^{v}	
Incipit:	"Pour le don que maves donne"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 218; Spence, 48-49.

#80q	[*Chanson* XIX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 228^{r}	
Incipit:	"Madame tant quil vous plaira"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 215; Spence, 38-39.

#80r	[*Chanson* XX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 228^{r}	
Incipit:	"De la regarder vous gardes"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 215-216; Spence, 40-41.

#80s	[*Chanson* XXI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 228^{v}	
Incipit:	"Puis que je ne puis eschapper"

Rubric:	“Chancon”
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 127^{v}-128^{r}.
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 216; Spence, 42-43; Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, 226 (#333).

#80t	[*Chanson* XXII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 228^{v}	
Incipit:	“Cest fait. Il nen fault plus parler”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 217; Spence, 44-45.

#80u	[*Chanson* XXV by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 229^{r}	
Incipit:	“Se jeusse ma part de tous biens”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 218-219; Spence, 50-51.

#80v	[*Chanson* XXVI by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 229^{r}	
Incipit:	“Pour les grans biens de vostre renomme”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 219; Spence, 52-53.

#80w	[*Chanson* XXVII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 229^{v}	
Incipit:	“En songe, souhaid, et penssee”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 220; Spence, 54-55.

#80x	[*Chanson* XXVIII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 229^{v}	
Incipit:	“De loyal cueur content de joye”
Rubric:	“Chancon”

Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 220-221; Spence, 56-57.

#80y	[*Chanson* XXIX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 230^{r}	
Incipit:	"Se mon propos vient a contraire"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 221; Spence, 58-59.

#80z	[*Chanson* XXX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 230^{r}	
Incipit:	"Par le pourchas du regart de mes yeux"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 123^{v}.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 221-22; Spence, 60-61; Löpelmann, 216-17 (#316).

#80aa	[*Chanson* XXXI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 230^{v}	
Incipit:	"Pour vous monstrer que point ne vous oublie"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 222; Spence, 62-63.

#80bb	[*Chanson* XXXII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 230^{v}	
Incipit:	"Loingtain de joyeuse sente"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 223; Spence, 64-65.

#80cc	[*Chanson* XXXIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 231^{r}	
Incipit:	"Dedens mon sein pres de mon cueur"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 223-24; Spence, 66-67.

#80dd	[*Chanson* XXXIV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 231^{r}	
Incipit:	"De vostre beaute regarder"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 224; Spence, 68-69.

#80ee	[*Chanson* XXXV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 231^{v}	
Incipit:	"Prenez tost ce baisier mon cueur"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 224-25; Spence, 70-71.

#80ff	[*Chanson* XXXVI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 231^{v}	
Incipit:	"Comment vous puis ie tant amer"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 225; Spence, 72-73.

#80gg	[*Chanson* XXXVII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 232^{r}	
Incipit:	"Je ne prise point tels baisiers"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 225-26; Spence, 74-75.

#80hh	[*Chanson* XXXVIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 232^{r}	
Incipit:	"Ma seulle amour ma joye et ma maistresse"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 226; Spence, 76-77.

#80ii	[*Chanson* XL by Charles d'Orléans]
f.232^{v}	
Incipit:	"Mallade de mal ennuyeux"

Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 227-28; Spence, 80-81.

#80jj	[*Chanson* XLII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 232^{v}	
Incipit:	“Ma seulle amour que tant desire”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 229; Spence, 84-85.

#80kk	[*Chanson* XLIII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 233^{r}	
Incipit:	“Logiez moy entre vos bras”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 229-30; Spence, 86-87.

#80ll	[*Chanson* XLVI by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 233^{r}	
Incipit:	“Je me metz en vostre mercy”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 231-32; Spence, 92-93.

#80mm	[*Chanson* XLVII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 233^{v}	
Incipit:	“Trop estes de moy endetee”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Literature:	See Charles d’Orléans, *Poésies*, 232; Spence, 94-95.

#80nn	[*Chanson* XLVIII by Charles d’Orléans]
f. 233^{v}	
Incipit:	“Vostre bouche dit baisies moy”
Rubric:	“Chancon”
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 111^{v}.

Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 232-33; Spence, 96-97; Löpelmann, 189-90 (#265).

#80oo	[*Chanson* XLIX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 234^{r}	
Incipit:	"Je ne les prise pas deux blans"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 126^{r}-126^{v}.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 233; Spence, 98-99; Löpelmann, 223 (#327).

#80pp	[*Chanson* L by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 234^{r}	
Incipit:	"Au besoing congnoist on lamy"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 233-34; Spence, 100-101.

#80qq	[*Chanson* LI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 234^{v}	
Incipit:	"Fuyes le trait de doulx regard"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 234; Spence, 102-103.

#80rr	[*Chanson* LII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 234^{v}	
Incipit:	"Mon seul amy mon bien ma joye"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 235; Spence, 104-105.
Note:	Catchwords: "Chancon. Celle belle"

#80ss	[Anonymous *Chanson*]
f. 235^{r}	
Incipit:	"Celle belle vermeille bouche"
Rubric:	"Chancon"

Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 121^{r} (with considerable alterations); London, B. L. app. roy. 26-30, art. 3; *Fleur de toutes joyeusetez*, f. Evij[?]; See Droz and Piaget below for further early editions.
Literature:	Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:244 (#563); edition in Wallis, 120 (#CCIII).

#80tt	[Anonymous *Chanson*]
f. 235^{r}	
Incipit:	"Dangier a fait une saillie"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, f. 142^{v}.
Literature:	See Wallis, 120 (#CCIV); Françoise Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…(Pièces inédites du manuscrit Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 1719): Etude et Édition*, *Le Moyen français* 27-28 (Montreal: Editions CERES, 1991), 118 (#449).

#80uu	[Anonymous *Chanson*]
f. 235^{v}	
Incipit:	"Puis que tant voulles estre mien"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Wallis, 121 (#CCV); Henrietta Schavran, "The Manuscript Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Codice Aldini 362: A Study of Song Tradition in Italy circa 1440-1480," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1978), 1:195-96, but see Fallows, *Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 334 ("Puis qu'il ha pleu a la tres belle").

#80vv	[*Chanson* IX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 235^{v}	
Incipit:	"Ou regart de voz beaulx doulx yeux"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 209; Spence, 18-19.

#80ww	[*Chanson* XVII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 236^{r}	
Incipit:	"Je ne vueil plus riens que la mort"
Rubric:	"Chancon"

Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 213-14; Spence, 34-35.

#80xx	[*Chanson* XIII by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 236^{r}	
Incipit:	"Belle se cest vostre plaisir"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 211-12; Spence, 26-27.

#80yy	[*Chanson* XXXIX by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 236^{v}	
Incipit:	"Se desplaire ne vous doubtoye"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 227; Spence, 78-79.

#80zz	[*Chanson* XLI by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 236^{v}	
Incipit:	"Sil vous plaist vendre vos baisiers"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 228; Spence, 82-83.

#80aaa	[*Chanson* XLIV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 237^{r}	
Incipit:	"Se dangier me toult le parler"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 230; Spence, 88-89.

#80bbb	[*Chanson* XLV by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 237^{r}	
Incipit:	"Va tost mon amoureux desir"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Concordances:	See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 398, for complete list of musical concordances.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 230-31; Spence, 90-91.

Note:	Musical setting anonymous; possibly by Binchois

#80ccc	[Anonymous *Chanson*]
f. 237^{v}	
Incipit:	"Nulluy naura mon cueur en gage"
Rubric:	"Chancon"
Literature:	See Wallis, 121 (#CCVI).
Note:	Woman's voice.

#81	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain layé*]
f. 237^{v}	
Incipit:	"Sil vous plaist que je couche/En la couche..."
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, ff. 102^{v}-103^{r}.
Literature:	See Fery-Hue, *Au grey d'amours…*, 93 (#324); also, Pierre Champion, "Pièces joyeuses du XVe siècle," *Revue de Philologie française et de Littérature* 21 (1907), 177 (#XXIX).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#82	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 238^{r}	
Incipit:	"Le malheureux habandonné"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 99^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 247, for musical concordances.
Literature:	Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:190 (#336).
Note:	Musical setting anonymous.

#83	[Anonymous *Virelai*]
f. 238^{r}	
Incipit:	"Ha loyaulte/Je te supplie"
Literature:	See Wallis, 122 (#CCVII).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#84	[*Rondeau quatrain* (Chanson) by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 238^{v}	

Incipit:	"Mon seul plaisir et ma doulce joye"
Concordances:	London, B. L. MS Lansdowne 380, f. 227^{r}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 82^{v}-83^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 285-86, for complete listing of musical concordances.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 213; Löpelmann, 121 (#137); Wallis, 122 (#CCVIII); David Fallows, "Words and Music in Two English Songs of the Mid-15th Century: Charles d'Orléans and John Lydgate," *Early Music* 5 (1997), 38-43; Pierre Champion, "Du succès de l'oeuvre de Charles d'Orléans et de ses imitateurs jusqu'au XVe siècle," *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot* (Paris: Damascène Morgand, 1913), 1:419.
Note:	Musical setting by Bedyngham or Du Fay.

#85	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 238^{v}	
Incipit:	"Je viens vers vous pour requerir"
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, ff. 89^{v}-90^{r}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 76^{r}; *Jardin de plaisance*, f. 78^{v}.
Literature:	See Fery-Hue, 84 (#281); Löpelmann, 104-105 (#108); Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:155 (#181).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#86	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 239^{r}	
Incipit:	"Tousiours me souvient de la belle"
Concordances:	*La Chasse et depart de l'amour*, f. P2^{r}-P2^{v}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 385, for musical concordances.
Note:	Musical setting anonymous.

#87	[*Rondeau cinquain* possibly by Alain Chartier]
f. 239^{r}	
Incipit:	"Pour prison ne pour maladie"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 61^{r}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 89^{v}-90^{r}; Vienna, N. B. 2619, f. 79^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 321-22, for best listing of musical concordances.
Literature:	Droz and Piaget, 2:111 (#12); Löpelmann, 138 (#168); David Fallows, "Binchois and the Poets," *Binchois Studies*, ed. Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 199-219, esp. 209ff.

Note:	Musical setting by Binchois.

#88	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 239^{v}	
Incipit:	"Vostre tresdoulx regard plaisant"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 92^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 406, for musical concordances.
Literature:	Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2:188 (#324).
Note:	Musical setting by Binchois.

#89	[*Rondeau quatrain* by Antoine de Cuise]
f. 239^{v}	
Incipit:	"Les douleurs dont me sens tel somme"
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, f. 5, f. 25, and ff. 120^{v}-121^{r}; *Jardin de plaisance*, f. 82^{v}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 128^{v}; Paris, B. N., nouv. acq. fr. 15771, f. XXXI^{r}; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 9223, f. 8^{v}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 251, for most complete listing of musical concordances.
Literature:	See Fery-Hue, 26 (#19), 36 (#67), and 105 (#382); Droz and Piaget, 2:164 (#224); Löpelmann, 228-29 (#337); Barbara Inglis, ed., *Le manuscrit B.N. nouv. acq. fr. 15771: Une nouvelle collection de poésies lyriques et courtoises du XVe siècle*, Bibliothèque du XVe siècle, 48 (Geneva and Paris: Editions Slatkine, 1985), 131 (#LIX); Gaston Raynaud, *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle, publiés d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1889), 6 (#VII).
Note:	Musical setting by Du Fay.

#90	[Anonymous *Rondeau sixain*]
f. 240^{r}	
Incipit:	"Jeune dame de beau maintien"
Literature:	See Wallis, 123 (#CCIX).
Note:	No extant musical setting; acrostic "Jaqueline d'Ausqu".

#91	[*Rondeau en lay* by Grant Guillaume]
f. 240^{r}	
Incipit:	"Margot/mamie/Ung mot/Margot/Si sot/quon rie/Margot"

Concordances:	Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, V.u.22, f. 28^{r}[?].
Literature:	See A. Piaget and E. Droz, "Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de Villon. 1. Le manuscrit de Stockholm," *Romania* 58 (1932), 248; the text is given as an example of *rime plate* by the anonymous author of *L'art de rhetoricque pour rimer en plusieurs sortes de rimes*, in Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Recueil de poesies françoises des XVe et XVI e siècles*, (Paris: P. Jannet, 1856), 3:121; the poem is published, with an attribution to Grant Guillaume in Pierre Fabri, *Le Grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique*, ed. A. Héron (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 69.
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#92	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 240^{v}	
Incipit:	"Se jay vostre grace requise"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 65^{r}-65^{v}; *La Chasse et depart d'amours*, f. P3^{v}[?]; see Fallows *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 358, for complete list of musical concordances.
Literature:	See Löpelmann, 80 (#62).
Note:	Musical setting anonymous.

#93	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 240^{v}	
Incipit:	"Fine affinee remplie de finesse"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 170^{r}; *Jardin de plaisance*, f. 73^{r}; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1722, f. 24^{v}[?].
Literature:	See Löpelmann, 325 (#514); Droz and Piaget, 2:141 (#117).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#94	[Anonymous *Virelai*]
f. 241^{r}	
Incipit:	"Terriblement suis fortune"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, ff. 70^{v}-71^{r}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 125^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 384-85, for complete list of musical concordances.
Literature:	See Droz and Piaget, 2:135 (#96); Löpelmann, 220 (#322).
Note:	Musical setting anonymous; Woman's voice.

#95	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 241^{v}	
Incipit:	"Le serviteur hault guerdonne"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 87^{r}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 91^{v}; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, ff. 87^{r}-87^{v}; Namur, Archives du Royaume, Haute cour, Reg. 14 (1445-61), f. 363^{v}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 251-53 for most complete listing of musical concordances.]
Literature:	Droz and Piaget, 2:176 (#274); Löpelmann, 142-43 (#176); Fery-Hue, 82-83 (#273).
Note:	Musical setting by Du Fay.

#96	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 241^{v}	
Incipit:	"Tresdoulx penser dieu te convoye"
Literature:	See Wallis, 123 (#CCX); Pierre Champion, "Du succès de l'oeuvre de Charles d'Orléans," 418-19; Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, *French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1994), 1:153-4, 2:86, 187, and 3:28; Théodore Gérold, *Le Manuscrit de Bayeux: Texte et musique d'un recueil de chansons du XVe siècle* (Geneva: Minkoff Reprints, 1971), 67 (#LVII).
Note:	Musical setting in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, Ny Kongelige Samling, 2º 1848 appears to be a later adaptation of part of a three-voice original.

#97	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 242^{r}	
Incipit:	"Dung autre amer mon cueur sabesseroit"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 84^{r}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 118^{r}; *La Chasse et depart d'Amours*, f. Q4[?]; Paris, B. N., Rothschild 2819, f. 29^{r}[?]; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 139-41, for complete musical concordances.
Literature:	See Droz and Piaget, 2:168 (#243); Löpelmann, 204 (#293).
Note:	Musical setting by Okeghem or Busnoys.

#98	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 242^{r}	
Incipit:	"Cent mil escuz quant je vouldroye"

Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 184^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 107-8, for complete musical concordances.
Literature:	See Wallis, 124 (#CCXI); Löpelmann, 357-58 (#574).
Note:	Musical setting by Caron or Busnoys.

#99	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 242^{v}	
Incipit:	"Prenez sur moy vostre exemple amoureux"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 185^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 325-27, for complete musical concordances.
Literature:	See Wallis, 124 (#CCXII); Löpelmann, 359-60 (#578).
Note:	Musical setting by Okeghem.

#100	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 242^{v}	
Incipit:	"Jay pris amours a ma devise"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 71^{v}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 160^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 195-97, for complete listing of musical concordances.
Literature:	See Droz and Piaget, 2:136 (#102); Löpelmann, 301 (#470).
Note:	Musical setting anonymous.

#101	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 243^{r}	
Incipit:	"Sil convient que preigne congie"
Concordances:	See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 372, for musical concordances.
Literature:	See Wallis, 125 (#CCXIII).
Note:	Musical setting anonymous.

#102	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 243^{r}	
Incipit:	"Quant le mestier japrens a faire"

Literature:	See Wallis, 125 (#CCXIV).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#103	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 243^{v}	
Incipit:	"La fiance que jay en vous"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 94^{v}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 232, for musical concordances.
Literature:	See Wallis, 126 (#CCXV); Löpelmann, 149-50 (#190).
Note:	Musical setting anonymous; Woman's voice.

#104	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 243^{v}	
Incipit:	"Je ne croy pas quil soit ung plus grant bien"
Literature:	See Wallis, 126 (#CCXVI).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#105	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 244^{r}	
Incipit:	"Demouray je tousiours ainsy"
Literature:	See Wallis, 127 (#CCXVII).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#106	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain layé*]
f. 244^{r}	
Incipit:	"Je croy quil nest point tel plaisir"
Literature:	See Wallis, 127 (#CCXVIII).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#107	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 244^{v}	
Incipit:	"Le plus dolent conques fut ne"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 61^{v}, where it is entitled "Rondel en chant"; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 77^{r}.

Literature:	Droz and Piaget, 2:112 (#15); Löpelmann, 107-108 (#113).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#108	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 244^{v}	
Incipit:	"Pour advenir a mon atainte"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 61^{r}, where it is entitled "Rondeau en chant"; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 104^{v}-105^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 316, for musical concordances.
Literature:	See Droz and Piaget, 2:109-110 (#9); Löpelmann, 173-74 (#234); Pierre Champion, "Du succès de l'oeuvre de Charles d'Orléans," 1:420; discussion of compositional date of "Pour advenir" and its musical relationship to "Le serviteur hault guerdonné" in David Fallows, "Le serviteur of several masters," in *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg im Breisgau 1993*, ed. Hermann Danuser and Tobias Plebuch, 2 vols. (Kassel/Basel/London/New York/Prague: Bärenreiter, 1998), 1:337-45, esp. 342-44.
Note:	Musical setting anonymous.

#109	[Anonymous *Virelai*]
f. 245^{r}	
Incipit:	"Amours puis quavez refuse"
Literature:	See Wallis, 119 (#CCII).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#110	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 245^{r}	
Incipit:	"Las je ne scay quant ce sera"
Literature:	See Wallis, 128 (#CCXIX).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#111	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 245^{v}	
Incipit:	"Mon treschier et parfait amy"
Literature:	See Wallis, 128 (#CCXX).

Note:	No extant musical setting; Woman's voice.

#112	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 245^{v}	
Incipit:	"Ne je ne dors ne je ne veille"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 83^{r}; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, f. 91^{r}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 132^{v}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 293, for musical concordance.
Literature:	Droz and Piaget, 2:165 (#230); Fery-Hue, 85 (#285); Löpelmann, 238 (#354)
Note:	Musical setting by Du Fay.

#113	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 246^{r}	
Incipit:	"Je ne vis oncques la pareille"
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, f. 33^{v}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 93^{r}; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1722, f. 72^{v}[?]; Soissons, Bibl. mun., MS 203, f. 51^{v}[?]; *La fleur de toutes joyeusetez*, f. E5; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 215-16, for complete list of musical concordances.
Literature:	See Wallis, 129 (#CCXXI); Fery-Hue, 42-43 (#95); Löpelmann, 146 (#183).
Note:	Musical setting by Binchois or Du Fay.

#114	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 246^{r}	
Incipit:	"La plus mignonne de mon cueur"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 67^{r}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 97^{v}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 237-38, for complete musical concordances.
Literature:	See Droz and Piaget, 2:128 (#59); Löpelmann, 156 (#202).
Note:	Two different musical settings: one by Du Fay, the second anonymous.

#115	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 246^{v}	
Incipit:	"Helas cest fait de moy nest plus"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 136^{r}-136^{v}.

Literature:	See Wallis, 129 (#CCXXII); Löpelmann, 247 (#370).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#116	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 246^{v}	
Incipit:	"Puis que fortune est contre moy"
Concordances:	See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 330, for musical concordances.
Literature:	See Wallis, 130 (#CCXXIII).
Note:	Musical setting by Puyllois.

#117	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 247^{r}	
Incipit:	"Quant vous me ferez plus de bien"
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, f. 92^{v}; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1722, f. 43^{r}[?]; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 141^{v}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 340, for musical concordances.
Literature:	See Wallis, 130 (#CCXXIV); Fery-Hue, 86 (#290); Löpelmann, 259 (#392).
Note:	Musical setting by Busnoys.

#118	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 247^{r}	
Incipit:	"Fortune que vous ay je fait"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 122^{r}-122^{v}.
Literature:	See Wallis, 131 (#CCXXV); Löpelmann, 214 (#311).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#119	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 247^{v}	
Incipit:	"Felon dangier je te deffie"
Literature:	See Wallis, 131 (#CCXXVI).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#120	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain en lay*]
f. 247^{v}	
Incipit:	"Mon bien imparfait"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 74^{r}, titled "Rondel en lay;" see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 278, for musical concordances.
Literature:	See Droz and Piaget, 2:143 (#128).
Note:	Musical setting anonymous.

#121	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 248^{r}	
Incipit:	"Le regard de vostre beaulte"
Literature:	See Wallis, 132 (#CCXXVII).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#122	[Anonymous *Virelai*]
f. 248^{r}	
Incipit:	"Se je demeure despourvue"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 137^{v}-138^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 358, for musical concordance.
Literature:	See Wallis, 132 (#CCXXVIII); Löpelmann, 250 (#376).
Note:	Musical setting anonymous; Woman's voice.

#123	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 248^{v}	
Incipit:	"Pour bien amer et loyaument servir"
Literature:	See Wallis, 133 (#CCXXIX).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#124	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain*]
f. 248^{v}	
Incipit:	"Par trop vous amer je me tue"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 124^{v}-125^{r}.
Literature:	See Wallis, 133 (#CCXXX); Löpelmann, 219 (#321).

Note:	No extant musical setting, but probably the chanson quoted in the Discantus of the quodlibet "O rosa bella" in Sev/Par (Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 309); Woman's voice.

#125a	[*Carole* I by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 249^{r}	
Incipit:	"Las merencollie"
Rubric:	"Carolle"
Concordances:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, viii-xxi and 574.
Note:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 287-88.

#125b	[*Carole* II by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 249^{v}	
Incipit:	"Avances vous esperance"
Rubric:	"Carolle"
Concordances:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 574.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 288.

#125c	[*Carole* III by Charles d'Orléans]
f. 250^{r}	
Incipit:	"Mavez vous point mis en oubly"
Rubric:	"Carolle"
Concordances:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 574.
Literature:	See Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, 289.

#126	[Anonymous *Virelai*]
f. 250^{v}	
Incipit:	"De ma dame ne dit nul bien"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 86^{v}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 196^{v}-197^{r}; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, ff. 54^{v}-55^{r} and 123^{r}.
Literature:	Droz and Piaget, 2:174-75 (#268); Löpelmann, 387-88 (#628); Fery-Hue, 59-60 (#163) and 106 (#389); Marcel Schwob, *Le Parnasse satyrique du quinzième siècle*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 112 (#LVI).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#127	[*Virelai* by Vaillant]
f. 250^{v}	
Incipit:	"Esperant davoir quelque bien"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 203^{v}-204^{r}; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, f. 59^{r} and f. 129^{r}; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1722, f. 47^{r}[?]; Paris, B. N., nouv. acq. fr. 15771, f. IV^{v}; Turin, Deputazione subalpina di Storia patria, XXXV, f. 68^{r}[?]; *Jardin de plaisance*, f. 85^{r}; *La Fleur de toutes joyeusetez*, f. Dv^{v}[?]; see Fery-Hue, 63, for further early editions.
Literature:	See Löpelmann, 407 (#657); Fery-Hue, 63 (#177) and 110 (#407); Inglis, 78 (#VI); Droz and Piaget, 2:171 (#254); Robert Deschaux, ed., *Les Oeuvres de Pierre Chastellain et de Vaillant, poètes du XVe siècle*, (Geneva: Droz, 1982), 190 (#XII).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#128	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 251^{r}	
Incipit:	"Prest de perir en la mer de fortune"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 81^{v}.
Literature:	See Wallis, 134 (#CCXXXI); Löpelmann, 118 (#132).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#129	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 251^{r}	
Incipit:	"Fors seulement latente que je meure"
Concordances:	Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1719, f. 34^{r}; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1722, f. 72^{v}[?]; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 69^{r}; *Jardin de plaisance*, f. 115^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 163-64, for complete musical concordances.
Literature:	See Fery-Hue, 43-44 (#97); Löpelmann, 89 (#77); Droz and Piaget, 2:228-29 (#496).]
Note:	Musical setting by Okeghem; Woman's voice.

#130	[*Rondeau quatrain* by Fredet]
f. 251^{v}	
Incipit:	"A quoy tient il. le cueur me volle"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 119^{v}; Paris, B. N., nouv. acq. 15771, f. VIII^{v}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 170^{r}-170^{v}; Copenhagen, Thott

	416 2°, f. 125^{r} (back pastedown)[?]; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 89, for musical concordance.
Literature:	See Droz and Piaget, 2:240 (#546); Inglis, 86 (XIV); Löpelmann, 325-26 (#515).
Note:	Musical setting anonymous.

#131	[Anonymous *Rondeau cinquain*]
f. 251^{v}	
Incipit:	"Au plus fort de ma maladie"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 81^{r}.
Literature:	Droz and Piaget, 2:160 (#209); Champion, "Du succès de l'oeuvre de Charles d'Orléans," (Paris: Damascène Morgand, 1913), 1:418.
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#132	[Anonymous *Virelai*]
f. 252^{r}	
Incipit:	"Vivre en desplaisir"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 89^{v}.
Literature:	See Droz and Piaget, 2:182 (#300).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#133	[Anonymous *Rondeau quatrain en lay*]
f. 252^{r}	
Incipit:	"Je suis a cela"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 113^{v} (This is, however, only a partial concordance).
Literature:	See Löpelmann, 194 (#273); Champion, "Du success de l'oeuvre de Charles d'Orléans," 1:419.
Note:	No extant musical setting. This manifestation of the text appears to be a conflation of two different poems.

#134	[Anonymous *Virelai*]
f. 252^{v}	
Incipit:	"Fortune laisse moy la vie"

Concordances:	See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 166, for musical concordances.
Literature:	See Wallis, 135 (#CCXXXII).
Note:	Musical setting anonymous.

#135	[Anonymous *Virelai*]
f. 253^{r}	
Incipit:	"Abregies la mort ou la vie"
Concordances:	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, f. 109^{r}.
Literature:	See Wallis, 136 (#CCXXXIII); Löpelmann, 183 (#253).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#136	[Anonymous *Virelai*]
f. 253^{r}	
Incipit:	"Mamour mon seul desir ma joye"
Literature:	See Wallis, 137 (#CCXXXIV).
Note:	No extant musical setting.

#137	[Anonymous *Virelai*]
f. 253^{v}	
Incipit:	"He fortune pourquoy si fortune"
Concordances:	*Jardin de plaisance*, f. 94^{r}; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 17, ff. 120^{v}-121^{r}; see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 176, for complete musical concordances.
Literature:	See Droz and Piaget, 2:192 (#345); Löpelmann, 210 (#304); Champion, "Du success de l'oeuvre de Charles d'Orléans," 1:417-18.
Note:	Musical setting anonymous; Woman's voice.

#138	[Anonymous *Ballade*]
f. 254^{r}	
Incipit:	"Fy de bonte fy de fiancé [Refrain] Fors que de ceulx qui ont argent"
Rubric:	"Ballade"
Literature:	See Wallis, 138 (#CCXXXV).
Note:	Only two stanzas and an envoy; a response to this poem appears in Brussels, B. R., IV 541, ff. 22^{v}-23^{r}; see Jacques Lemaire, *Meschinot*,

	Molinet, Villon: Témoignages inédits. Étude du Bruxellensis IV 541, suivie de l'édition de quelques ballades, (Brussels, 1979), 39 (#XIX), with the title "Ballade que on ne faict contre fors de ceulx qui ont argent").

#139	[Anonymous Life of St. Catherine of Alexandria in verse, written as a prayer]
f. 254^{v}-257^{v}	
Incipit:	"Ave tres saincte Katherine/Vierge pucelle nette et fine"
Rubric:	"La vie saincte Katherine faicte et composee en forme doroison" [appears on f. 254^{v}]
Gloss:	Ave maria vueillies dire pour celui qui ma voulu escopre. Saincte Katherine souffrit, mort, et passiona ung jour de vendredi. A heure de tierce. Qui fut le XXVme jour du moys de novembre. Lan nostre seigneur CCC et dix. [appears on 257^{v}]
Concordances:	Chantilly, Musée Condé 101 (XIV G 22), f. 28^{v}-36^{r}[?]; Lyon, Bibl. Mun., MS 5142 (without foliation)[?]; Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 515, f. 55^{r}-62^{r}[?]; Paris, B. N., f. fr. 24864, f. 112^{r}-117^{v}[?]; Colombus, Ohio State Univ. Libr. French 1, f. 1^{r}-9^{v}.
Literature:	See Pierre Rézeau, *Les Prières aux saints en français à la fin du moyen âge: Prières à un saint particulier et aux anges*, Publications romanes et français 166 (Geneva: Droz, 1983), 127; Keith V. Sinclair, *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages: A Bibliographic Manuscript Guide* (Westport, CT and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1979), 19 (#2519); Paul Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques en français. 1. Légendes en vers," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, ed. Paul Meyer (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), 33:328-78, esp. 343 (#7); also listed in S. Bledniak, "L'hagiographie imprimée: œuvres en français, 1476-1550," in *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, ed. Guy Philippart, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994-1996), 1:359-405, esp. 368, n. 28. This last gives the impression that the two late-fifteenth-century prints of the *Vie de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie*, B. N. Rés. Ye 847 and Rés. Ye 820 (listed by Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques…," 343, [#9]), are the same text as the Lans 380 version, which is incorrect. Meyer is very clear that the manuscript version found in Lans 380 is different from the two prints. The most recent listing of the different versions of the French language Life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria appears in G. Brunel-Lobrichon, A.-F. Leurquin-Labie and M. Thiry-Stassin, "L'hagiographie de langue française sur le Continent, IXe-XVe siècle," in Philippart, *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale…*, 2:291-371, esp. the "Annexe," 327-60. The authors did not include the version preserved in Lans 380 (or its concordances) in their "Annexe," however,

	because it is in the form of a prayer.
Note:	Possibly written by a Freres Lorens de Verberie, whose name appears in an acrostic at the end of the poem.

#140	[Anonymous *Ballade*]
f. 258^{r}	
Incipit:	"La dame Chantes dessus Dieu quel B dur Le cercle est ront Or boutez fort Que ferez vous Tenez mesure Failly? Pourquoi? Destournez vous Soustenez fort Dont vient la faulte Recommencons Prenez rigle Notez ce point Accordez vous Touchez le la Jayme nature Ne muez point Tenez en hault Nous descordon Dont vient la faulte Tournez fueillez Doubles trigola Ceste vault trois La briefve sonne Dieu quel souppir Nous sommes bien Vous chantez bas Tendez au la Plus hault plus hault Dont vient la faulte Encore un cop Vous rendes vous Vous pozes trop Dont vient la fault Le serviteur Tenez moi la teneur Dieu quel prolacion Cest de parfait mineur Tenez proporcion La diminucion Ha dame. Jay failly Vous chantez trop de ly Oyl bon gre sanct pol Je suy fort afoibly Elle vient de B mol Avant. cest le meilleur Mectez moy en mon ton Je cognois sa valour Levez hault le menton La la la. Les vent on Et becarre est a my Je quiers B fa, B my Je me rous tout le col Je fais fa contre my Elle vient de B mol Et cest petit mineur Tripplez dyapazon Si aura grant douleur Et la longue a bon son Je fine en vuisson Nous sommes a lamy Je suy en elamy Ne puis oultre mon sol Je soustiens a demy Elle vient de B mol Dame, pour dieu mercy Je nay voix quung flageol Il fault quil soit ainsi Elle vient de B mol"
Rubric:	"Dialogue en ballade sur lart de musique"

#141	[Anonymous *Quatrain*]
f. 258^{v}	
Incipit:	“Saucun te fait villennie/Metz en ton sacq et te lye/Et quant tu verras le temps/Deslie ton sacq, et luy rens”
Rubric:	“Nota”
Concordances:	Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 1:125^{r}.
Literature:	Droz and Piaget, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, 2: 255 (#602); Schwob, 236 (#CXXXII).
Note:	The septasyllabic lines in Lans 380 have been smoothed out to octosyllabic lines in *Le Jardin*.

#142	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 258^{v}-259^{r}	
Incipit:	“Medicine contre lepidimie, envoyee par nostre sainct pere le pape au Roy de France. La quelle est une maniere de buivaige. De quoy plusieurs gens sont mors par deffaulte de medicine non prise a temps...Aussitost que on sentira ceste malladie on doit donner au pacient triacle magnagalien, trempe avecques harbes nommees sapience, ou avecques Bethoine...”
Rubric:	“Nota bene medicinam contra epidimiam”
Note:	Catchwords: “La personne”

#143	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 259^{r}	
Incipit:	“Qui de ceste malladie se veult garder devant que on soit feru, il convient prendre fueilles de saulge, feuilles de ronce, fueilles de sureau, autant de lung que de lautre....”

#144	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 259^{r}	
Incipit:	“Sachez que se la bosse prent a aucune personne on doit prendre semence de moustarde et fueilles de sureau....”
Rubric:	“Item”

#145	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 259^{r}-259^{v}	

Incipit:	“Prenez fueilles darronces et fueilles de blanc faulx et destrampez ensemble de vin blanc et le mectez dessus....”
Rubric:	“Aultrement”

#146	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 259^{v}	
Incipit:	“Prenez de lherbe qui se nomme esclere ou cellidoine et brayez la racine avecques ung petit de sel, et de vin aigre et lenveloppez en drap linge dessoubz ou couste ou le mal est....”
Rubric:	“Autre remedde pour cellui qui se sentira feru de lepidimie”

#147	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 259^{v}	
Incipit:	“Qui veult son corps en sante maintenir et resister contre lepidimie doit joye, amour et tristesse fuir. Laissier le lieu ou est la maladie. Boyre bon vin. Necte viande user et frequenter joyeuse compaignie. Et naler hors la maison sil ne fait beau temps et cler...”

#148	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 259^{v}-260^{r}	
Incipit:	“Prenez de la grame de paradis et du saffran, de chacun environ _____ ung breton et de lueil du persil trois ou quatre couppeaulx. Brayez le dit saffran et grame tout ensemble en pouldre du mortier de lapoticaire. Et aussi brayez le persil tresbien et deffait dung petit de vin blanc....”
Rubric:	“Pour jaunesse”

#149	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 260^{r}	
Incipit:	“Prenez miel rosac, la quantite de deux cuillerees dargent. Vin blanc, 4 cuillerees, vin vermeil, deux cuillerees, vinaigre une cuilleree, de sel blanc delye, une bonne cuilleree, une cuilleree deaue doulce, et meslez tout ensemble en en vaisselle dargent....”
Rubric:	“Recepte pour la douleur des dens”

#150	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 260^{r}-260^{v}	

Incipit:	“Prenez du cresson et en faictes jus. Puis prenez le jus et le mectez en loreille opposee des dens qui vous font mal, et mectez le marc dont vous avez tire ledit jus dessus ladite oreille. Et puis dormez sur le coste de la dent mallade....”
Rubric:	“Autre remedde”

#151	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 260^{v}	
Incipit:	“Prenez de la rue avecques un petit de sel...”
Rubric:	“Autre remedde”

#152	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 260^{v}-261^{r}	
Incipit:	“Prenes du poyvre en pouldre environ la quantite de xx ou de xxx grains dudit poyvre. Puis prenez une cuilleree dargent plaine de miel et le faictes bouillir et escuiviez bien. Puis prenez vostre poyvre et le faictes bouillir avecques le miel....”
Rubric:	“Pour guerir toutes malladies de dens”

#153	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 261^{r}	
Incipit:	“Prenez une poignee de saulge franche et demye poignee de fenoil, avec le poix dung gros de triacle, et les mectez cuyre en vin blanc. Puis lavez vostre bouche au matin et au soir. Sil y a goucte ou enfleure elles gariront. Sil y a vers ilz mourront. Et fait ce bonne bouche et bonne alaine.”
Rubric:	“Autre remedde pour la douleur des dens”

#154	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 261^{r}	
Incipit:	“Prenez du verd de deux ou trois pourcaulx et les mesliz en huille rosac, et vin aigre bien fort, et un petit deuces et les brayez bien ensemble. Et puis les mectez es narrilles. Si estancherez incontinent, et les devez mectre en ung petit drapelet.”
Rubric:	“Pous estancher du sang courant par les narillez”

#155	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 261^{v}-262^{r}	
Incipit:	"Premierement prenez ung jeune couchon de lait qui ne soit pas gras, et ung cocq bien vieil, et les decoppes par piesses dedens ung grant pot de terre ou autre vassel bien nect. Et prenez trois quartes du meilleur vin rouge que pourrez trouver pour faire cuyre lesditz couchon et cocq, et les laissez bouillir ensemble a fort feu deux heures ou environ et les escuivez tresfort et souvent. Et mectez du sel dedens ledit pot environ demye cuilleree dargent...."
Rubric:	"Recepte pour faire vi platz de gellee" [on folio 261^{v}]
Gloss:	"Verum est" [on folio 262^{r}]

#156	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 262^{v}	
Incipit:	"Lynamome fin . . . . demie livre, valeur vi patars Sucre fin . . . . . une livre, valeur viij patars Gingibre blanc . . . une unce, valeur i patars Cloux nasses pour ung patart muguectes Graines pour ung patart Long poivre Et que toutes lesdictes espisses soient mises en pouldre, et que eilles soient nouvelles et non eventeer. [In a later hand:] Somme 17 patars"
Rubric:	"Recepte pour faire ung lot dypocras"

#157	[Anonymous text on sexuality, *Enseignement de Medicine*, based in part on a section of Aldobrandino of Siena's *Régime du corps* and portions of the French translation of the *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*]
f. 263^{r}-268^{v}	
Incipit:	"Chescun qui a sens entendement et discrecion doit savoir habiter. Pour ce que cest une chose principalle du corps...Sachiez que la matiere qui depart du corps de lhomme a user la femme...Dont Ypocras dit que elle se depart plus de la cervelle..."
Rubric:	"Enseignement de Medicine" [on folio 263^{r}]
Literature:	Monica H. Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy." In Monica H. Green, *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts*, essay VII, 1-76, esp. 26-28, 68. Aldershot, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2000.

Note:	Catchwords on folio 266^{v}: “Aussi comme”

#158	[Anonymous French translation (in the version known as Redaction III) of the *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum* 1, one of the texts known collectively as *Trotula* texts]
f. 269^{r}-271^{v}	
Incipit:	“Quant nostre seigneur dieu eust fait lomme a sa semblance. Il lui donna seigneurie sur toutes choses terriennes. Et ordonna que de corps de lui ystroit une femme...”
Literature:	Monica H. Green, “The Development of the *Trotula*,” *Revue d’Histoire des Textes* 26 (1996), 119-203; eadem,“A Handlist of Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-called *Trotula* Texts. Part II: The Vernacular Translations and Latin Re-Writings,” *Scriptorium* 51 (1997), 80-104; see especially 90 and 92.

#159	[Anonymous Treatise on Blood-letting]
f. 272^{r}-277^{r}	
Incipit:	“Ensuyvent les declaracions daucunes seignees prouffitables pour aucuns qui se vouldroient meslor du fait de chirugie. Et aussi nul ne doit estre passe maistre. Jusques a tant quil saiche toutes ses seignees par cueur, et ou, et en quel lieu elles sont sur le corps de la personne. Premierement. La veyne qui est ou myllieu du front. Vaulx a la douleur et malladie du chief. Et contre goucte migraine....”
Note:	Catchword on folio 274^{v}: “Restrainctes”

#160	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 277^{v}	
Incipit:	“Prenez arosne, saulge, herbe terrestre. Et destrampez en eaue....”
Rubric:	“Pour advertin du chief”

#161	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 277^{v}	
Incipit:	“Cuisez celidoine avecques brensre et les roulez parmy ung drap....”
Rubric:	“Aultrement”

#162	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 277^{v}	

Incipit:	“Prenez gresse de suif et miel aveques farine dorge....”
Rubric:	“Pour felon qui vient au chief”

#163	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 278^{r}	
Incipit:	“Prenez du lierre les plus tendres fueilles et les triblez bien en arsil ou avecques huille dollive...”
Rubric:	“Aultrement pour felon”

#164	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 278^{r}	
Incipit:	“Prenez bethoyne, vervayne, alesne, celidoine, rue, plantain, hiebles et saulge et triblez tout ensemble et les faictes bien cuyre en vin. Et chacun jour en buvez a jeung…”
Rubric:	“Encores pour felon”

#165	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 278^{r}	
Incipit:	“Friez advoyne en une paelle. Puis la mectez en ung petit sac fait de drap linge....”
Rubric:	“Pour la douleur des coustez”

#166	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 278^{v}	
Incipit:	“Prenez pierre calamine, rouge, une unce. Litarge dor ii unces, sang de dragon, demie unce....”
Rubric:	“Recept pour faire la bonne emplastre”

#167	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 278^{v}	
Incipit:	“Prenez pierre calamine rouge, et la mectez en pouldre et puis la mectez en bassin qui soit bien cler....”
Rubric:	“Pour le mal des yeux”

#168	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 279^{r}	
Incipit:	“Prenez thuthie une dragme, Lapis dalammaris preparate....”
Rubric:	“Item. Pour le mal des yeux”

#169	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 279^{r}	
Incipit:	“Prenez consouldes, morelle, jombarde, rappe, autant dung que daultre....”
Rubric:	“Pour guerir mamelles chancres. Et noli me tangere.”

#170	[Anonymous Recipe]
f. 279^{r}-279^{v}	
Incipit:	[Highly abbreviated. Parts in French, parts in Latin.]
Rubric:	“Emplastre pour guerir toutes maulvaises jambes qui sont de dificille curacion”

#171	[Anonymous List of Angels]	
f. 280^{r}		
Incipit:	“Saturnius Joni Martii Soli Venerii Mercuri Innae	 Angelus Zapkiel Zadkiel Camael Raphael Hamiel Michael Gabriel....”
Rubric:	In a modern hand: “The names of the angels of every planet”	
Note:	This is a simple schematic	

[End of Manuscript]

[On inside back cover:] Examined after binding 26.2.70
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