

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF  
"LE CHEMIN DE VAILLANCE",  
A FIFTEENTH CENTURY ALLEGORICAL POEM  
BY  
JEAN DE COURCY

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Being a thesis presented for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
of the  
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by  
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**MARKS ON THE PAPER**

Preliminary Note.

Owing to the large number of examples which occur in the Manuscript illustrating various points dealt with in this thesis, it has been deemed advisable to restrict the references to a minimum in order that the whole may not assume too gigantic proportions.

The portion of the poem chosen for this criticism starts on folio 52a, column ii, line 32, but to facilitate the study all line references contained in the thesis refer to the numbering of the lines in the copy of the original manuscript submitted for the convenience of the examiners.

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## C H A P T E R   I .

### DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

"Le Chemin de Vaillance, ou le Songe d'Or," by Jean de Courcy is to be found in the British Museum (Royal 14.E.ii,) and is said to be a unique Manuscript(1). It is mentioned in the catalogue of 1535 of manuscripts at Richmond Palace(2), (No. 35. Le Chemin de Vaillance,) and in the catalogue of royal manuscripts of 1666(3) (f.13. Chemin de Vaillance en Vers. Traittie Oth avec Gloses. Breviaire des Nobles. Chevallerie,) being further described in the "British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and Kings Collections," and Ward's Catalogue of Romances.

It is a magnificent manuscript on vellum,  $18\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches in size, of the fifteenth century(4). It was executed in the Netherlands for Edward IV(5), whose arms(6) and badge are enclosed in the four large borders, the first border containing the arms which are: "a) az. three crowns in pale or, for S. Edmund; b) az. a cross bottony between five martlets or, for S. Edward the Confessor; c) arms of Edward IV on a banner

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(1) Ward, p.895; Romania XXVII p.583; Meyer, Alex. le Grand p.384; De la Rue p.285.

(2) Omont. MS. franc. des Rois d'Angleterre.

(3) British Museum Royal Appendix. 71.

(4) Ward, p.895; Catalogue of West. MS. Vol. II p.139.

(5) Ward, p.895.

(6) Burke, General Armory.

supported by a knight in armour; d) same arms with those of his two sons"(1). On each side of the shield is another shield "of the same arms differenced, apparently for the king's two sons, that on the left with a label of three points argent, that on the right the same charged on two of the points with a canton gules"(2). The Yorkist badge appears in five of the small borders. There are illuminated initials, four large miniatures and borders (ff.1,77,193,249,) and nine small miniatures and borders (ff.30,51b,103b,122,132,144,162b,217,260b,) with a space left for another miniature (f.286.) The variety of birds depicted is remarkable(3).

There are 293 folios in double columns, each column being of 36 lines, varying occasionally with 37.

The volume in which it is contained has 354 folios, of which the remainder comprise the Epistle of Othea, "Le Breviaire des Nobles," nineteen stanzas repeated by Hecuba, Priam, les IX malheureux, and le philosoph, and "Le Livre de l'Ordre de Chevallerie."

The miniatures are executed with attention to detail, delighting the antiquarian, and are interesting sartorially(4), but there are discrepancies between the text and the miniatures, as, for instance, although La Char is continually referred to

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(1) Catalogue of West. MS. Vol.II. p.139.

(2) Ditto.

(3) Ditto.

(4) Strutt. Dress and Habits of the English People, cxiii fig. 1, cxxv, figs. 1 and 7.

as 'le frere' of le Monde, the figure portrayed in the miniature welcoming l'Acteur is that of a woman(1).

The Flemish origin of the miniatures of this manuscript designed for Henry IV is not surprising(2), nor indeed is the fact of its inclusion in his library, fulfilling, as it does, the requirements of his collection(3), destined to be read aloud to an audience(4), often at their meals(5). But the problem remains unsolved of the reason why this allegorical work is to be found only in the English king's library. That its success was not great is evident from the lack of other copies, possibly owing to the fact that Jean de Courcy, already old when he wrote the poem, died shortly after its completion and had not sufficient force or good health to acquire publicity for his work(6), perchance on account of its great length(7), or perhaps for political reasons, a possibility not to be ignored considering the troubled state of affairs in France at that time; but the real cause of its failure is still unexplained and its unpopularity, despite its merit and conformity with the tastes of the day, continues to be a mystery.

The divisions of the selected text are as follows:

LA CHAR PARLE A L'ACTEUR.

COMMENT L'ACTEUR PRINT CONGIE DE LA CHAR POUR ALLER AU MONT DE

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(1) Royal 14.E.ii. folio 51b.

(2) Cat. of West. MS. Vol.I. Introd. p.xi, and Omont, Les MS. franc. p.2.

(3) Cat. of West. MS. Vol.I. Introd. p.xiii, and Scofield, Life and Reign of Edward IV. p.454.

(4) Cat. of West. MS. Vol.I. Introd. p.xi.

(5) Soc. of Antiq. 1790. Ordinances for the Government of Prince Edward. p.28.

(6) Romania. xxvii. p.582.

(7) De la Rue. ibid. p.286.

Vaine gloire.

Comment l'acteur parle au monde.

Le monde parle à l'acteur.

L'acteur et le monde parlent l'ung à l'autre de ce meismes.

Encores parle le monde de ce.

Le monde parle d'avarice.

Le monde parle de pluisseurs estatz.

Encores parle le monde de devotion.

Cy parle des gens d'église.

Le monde parle des princes.

Le monde se complaint du siecle.

Le monde parle de justice.

Encores de ce meisme.

Exemples de justice.

Comment le monde mena l'acteur voir son palais.

Comment l'acteur entra en la sale du monde où il vit enfance pourtraitte.

Cy parle de puericie.

Cy parle de adolescence.

Encores de jonesse.

Encores parle l'acteur de l'homme.

Encores l'acteur de viellesse.

L'acteur parle de decrepite.

Comment le monde parle à l'acteur qant il a tout veu.

De l'ymage de fortune.

Du mirouer de fortune.

DU LIVRE DE FORTUNE.

COMMENT PARLE ENCORES DU LIVRE DE FORTUNE.

ENCORES DE CE MEISMES.

L'ACTEUR PARLE DE L'EPISTRE DE FORTUNE.

EXEMPLE DE FORTUNE.

DE L'YMAGE DE RICHESSE ET DE FORTUNE.

DE L'YMAGE DE POVRETE ET DE FORTUNE.

L'ACTEUR DEMANDE AU MONDE QUE C'EST DE FORTUNE ET DES YMAGES.

DU PREMIER EAGE DU MONDE.

DU SECOND EAGE DU MONDE.

DU TIERS EAGE DU MONDE.

DU QUART EAGE DU MONDE.

DU Ve EAGE DU MONDE.

DU VIe EAGE DU MONDE.

DU VIIe EAGE DU MONDE.

DU MONDE PARLE DES YMAGES DE RICHESSE, DE POVRETE ET DE FORTUNE.

ENCORES DES YMAGES.

LE MONDE MENA L'ACTEUR EN SA CHAMBRE VEOIR iiii YMAGES.

DE L'YMAGE DE JOYE.

DE L'YMAGE DE TRISTESSE.

DE L'YMAGE DE TRAVEIL.

DE L'YMAGE DE CE REPOS.

COMMENT L'ACTEUR DEMANDE QUE C'EST DES iiii YMAGES.

LE MONDE RESPONT A L'ACTEUR.

COMMENT LE MONDE MAINE L'ACTEUR EN SA GARE ROBE.

DES JOYAULZ DU MONDE.

L'ACTEUR PARLE DE CE QU'IL A VEU.

COMMENT LE MONDE PARLE A L'ACTEUR.

ENCORES DE Vaine GLOIRE.

AULTRE EXEMPLE DE CE.

L'ACTEUR PARLE DE JONESSE.

ENCORES JONESSE A L'ACTEUR.

COMMENT L'ACTEUR DELIBERA DE SOY TENIR AVEC LE MONDE.

ANALYSIS OF THE MEETING OF L'ACTEUR AND LE MONDE.

L'Abbe de la Rue has attempted a full analysis of the first book(1), about 10,500 lines in length(2), at the end of which he adds "il serait trop long d'analyser les livres suivants qui en referment pres de 30,000 vers,"(3) and after a brief description of the second book he contents himself with a few general remarks on the literary style, abandoning the further journey of l'Acteur in search of Vaillance.

A more concise and complete analysis occurs in an article by M. Piaget in Romania, 1898(4), which outlines clearly the story.

In the light of these two analyses it is not needful to recapitulate the tale, but a brief summary of events preceding the chosen portion of the poem may facilitate its study. As in so many mediaeval allegories(5), the poem opens with L'Acteur alone

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(1) L'Abbe de la Rue. Essais historiques sur les bardes. t.iii.  
p.286-312.

(2) Romania. XXVII. p.583.

(4) Romania. XXVII. p.583.

(3) L'Abbe de la Rue. ibid p.312.

(5) From le Roman de la Rose.

in the fields falling asleep, whilst his further dreams and visions furnish the material for the allegory. In Le Chemin de Vaillance, Nature first appears and advises the young man to flee Cowardice and Laziness and to enter the service of the goddess Vaillance, introducing him to the five senses which are her guides and servants. After a discourse on the soul, illustrated with many examples drawn from classical sources, Nature disappears, but l'Acteur encounters Desir who consents to help him in his quest for Vaillance. First, however, Desir leads him to two goddesses, Prouesse and Hardiesse, daughters of Mars, who take the opportunity to instruct l'Acteur in what is needful for a young man in such circumstances: he must know how to read and write, understand Latin, be pious, be courteous, flee laziness, be jealous of his reputation, keep good company, be generous without prodigality, remember the Jongleurs (that inevitable touch.) They speak too of how to behave in royal courts, of how to care for garments and armour, giving much useful information besides of war, mines, the assaults of strongholds, attacks and pitched battles, travelling etc., with frequent interspersions of instances cited from history or classical works. L'Acteur having listened and given assurances of the benefit he will derive from their remarks, is thereupon led to Dame Raison who has in her keeping some armour which Mars, through the intermediary of his daughters, has promised to him. Raison receives them kindly and gives more words of advice to l'Acteur whilst arming him.

At length, with Desir leading the way followed by l'Acteur supported by Prouesse and Hardiesse, they set out to seek for Vaillance, la Maitresse de Chevaliers. Shortly after their departure the group is joined by Jonesse, who speedily explains his love of pleasure and his dislike of more exacting occupations recounting too how much he is beloved in the world, particularly by old men.

Eventually on the journey the travellers reach a deep valley surrounded by steep rocks, accessible only by a very narrow bridge spanning an abyss and called le Pont de Fragilite. Guarded by la Char, one must pay tribute to cross it. Prouesse and Hardiesse, undismayed but tired out, rest on the wayside turf and fall asleep. While they are thus reposing, Jonesse, accompanied by l'Acteur, seeks another passage, but la Char, lurking in ambush, surprises them both and takes them prisoner.

La Char then questions l'Acteur, and on learning that his armour has been supplied by Raison, persuades him, upheld by Jonesse, by deriding Raison, Prouesse and Hardiesse, to disarm and throw aside his lance and sword on the Roche d'Oubliance. Whilst he is in the company of la Char he is given many indications as to his dress, his table, his furniture and so on, "c'est-à-dire peinture de la vie des sybarites du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle."(1) Further to amuse her pupil la Char advises l'Acteur to seek 'la montagne de Vaine Gloire' where lives le Monde.

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(1) De la Rue; ibid. p.300.

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At this point begin the three thousand lines of the text under consideration, dealing with the meeting of l'Acteur and le Monde.

La Char encourages l'Acteur to take Jeunesse and go to visit le Monde, of whose riches and powers she paints a glowing picture, tinged however, by the idea that Fortune, that untrustworthy godess, has yet more power than he (1-55.) Thence, having bidden farewell to la Char, l'Acteur and Jeunesse leave the Pont de Fragilite, and travelling through a delightful country-side, see before them the beautiful Montagne de Vaine Gloire, with their path growing ever more beautiful (55-104.) At the top of the rise they meet a man, evidently of high rank, well dressed and seated on a charger whose trappings are also above the average (104-138.) With him is an extremely large company composed of men of great renown, princes, barons, knights, bourgeois, merchants, squires, ecclesiastical dignitaries, students, men and women, young and old, all seeking his favour, and ready to do his bidding for the accruing gain (138-182.) L'Acteur, encouraged by Jonesse, approaches him, and le Monde asks who he is (182-201.) L'Acteur speaks of la Char and le Pont de Fragilite (201-219). Le Monde assures him of a welcome as he has been sent by his brother, la Char, and promises him moreover as many of his rewards as he has power to distribute (219-252.) He approves also the inclusion of Jonesse (252-255.) L'Acteur asks him who he is (255-259). Le Monde replies with a description of his retinue whom he governs in true feudal style, and of his possessions

which he distributes according to the deserts of his subjects (259-310). He speaks too of his wardrobe containing luxurious materials, and explains how he accords stuffs to his company in proportion to merit. He describes his magnificent jewels, his wealth and power which too he divides amongst his loyal servitors (310-397.) He complains bitterly of those who are avaricious (397-442.) He is pleased with those who work for him and spend a rational sum (442-462), but regrets the churchmen who live a priestly life. For the most part however, he considers that though openly they scorn him, in secret they seek his court (462-504.) In this treachery they resemble Lichaon who attempted to poison Juppiter who was his guest (504-534). There are however devout men who live abstemiously, untempted by his proffered luxuries; these too he hates who are such men as are portrayed in the Vie des Peres (534-580). But the prelates of Sainte Eglise seek his favour everywhere and are amongst his best and most faithful adherents, though many of them do so secretly whilst professing to hate him. Saint Francis and Saint Dominic would have nothing to do with him, but priests, chapelains, clercs and students all please him well (580-650). Princes and nobles serve him wholeheartedly and therefore receive liberal recompense. This has been the case through the ages since the days of Samuel, of Saul, and of the Greeks. The Romans too were not unpleasing with such men as Tullius Ostilius. It is their right to serve and to be rewarded (650-754.) But the world is lamentable, for men always complain that they have not received suf-

ficient. Convoitise, his servant, incites them to be over-greedy, so that they never agree with Raison. Each class of society is as bad as another, and their lust for possessions causes war and violence. But these murderers shall be damned as is stated by Moses (754-850.) He speaks then of Justice, daughter of Raison. During Abraham's time Reason governed a united people without need of Justice's help. Since then Reason has fled and Justice cannot keep that peace that was known in the splendid days of antiquity, for she is not strong enough without Raison. The law courts are corrupt and Justice is not wanted and Violence rules in place of Raison (850-974.) He then gives examples of Justice and recounts the story of Zelencius drawn from Valerius, and of Brutus. In like manner should modern judges act, but acquisitiveness has led to corruption and malpractice. Just is Justice and everyone should listen to her judgement (974-1066).

Le Monde finishes this speech and then invites l'Acteur to go to see his possessions (1066-1079). He leads the newcomer over the mountain, pointing out the prosperous and beautiful country-side around (1079-1097). Then he leads him to his palace (1097-1102), which he asks him to inspect (1102-1111). He leads him into a large room filled with fine pictures (1111-1124).

The first picture was of Enfance, shown during baby-hood with its Mother. Its cradle, toys and games appear, and its age ranges from its birth to seven years, (1125-1158.) Next Puericie is portrayed, playing with childish happiness with his companions

at childish games, though in later years he is seen as a shepherd in the fields. His age is from seven to fifteen years old (1158-1203). Then comes Adolescence, delighting in gaiety, finely dressed, singing, dancing, fluting and harping, hunting and full of self-confidence, but learning how to read and write, and acquiring his profession. He reaches the age of twenty-five years (1203-1254). Adolescence is followed by Jonesse, also gaily dressed, rendering his tribute to Amours. He travels much and fights hard and well. Later he marries and settles down to work his lands, to be a merchant, to become a 'maistre es artz', or a priest. This age lasts until he reaches thirty-five (1254-1302). The next picture is of Homme, quietly dressed and with a wise and mature air. He is married usually and manages his affairs with circumspection, his aim being to have wealth, high office in church or state, or to become 'docteur en loix, en decret maistre'. Thus he continues until he is fifty years old (1302-1350). Then is Viellesse pictured, warmly clothed, thin, miserable and wrinkled, taking pleasure in nothing but sleep and loneliness, peace and tranquility. This age lasts until sixty (1350-1400). Finally appears Decrepite, most warmly clad, seated by the fire, white-haired and powerless, thin and limping, helped in everything he does as if returned to infancy (1400-1448.)

While l'Acteur is pondering on these paintings le Monde reminds him that he has not yet seen his many treasures (1448-1476) and leads him to his temple magnificently ornamented (1476-

1487.) There l'Acteur finds the statue of Fortune wonderfully portrayed (1487-1506). Thereupon he remembers that Titus Livius told of the Roman women's temple to this goddess. But here is her image, and on each side two discs, the whole being enclosed in one great circle, each round having inscribed an appropriate sentence. The wheel of Fortune turns ceaselessly (1487-1572.)

Then l'Acteur notices a mirror in which two likenesses appear, one clear and beautiful as the image of Fortune, one ugly, unkempt, poor and sad (1572-1614.)

Then he finds a large book describing an ancient myth of Fortune attributed to Fulgence (1614-1700), which is followed by a description of Fortune said to be by Aristotle (1700-1762). Then is found another Aristotelian description of Fortune's castle, (1762-1796), after which comes a Homeric simile of Fortune and an Inn-keeper (1796-1816). Finally occurs l'Epistre de Fortune in which she addresses le Monde, telling him of her power and telling him he has two other mistresses, Nature and Raison. It discusses her indifference and strength, ending by quoting the examples of Nebuchadnezar, Xerxes, Nisus and Boethius (1816-2072).

He shuts the book and inspects the portrait of Richesse, superbly dressed and with a chest full of money beside her granted by Fortune (2072-2109). On the left hand side of Fortune's image is a picture of Povrete, with wretched garments, pale and thin (2109-2159).

L'Acteur asks le Monde for an explanation of the pictures he saw in his palace and the images and writings of Fortune in the temple. To this le Monde agrees. (2159-2204), explaining that the life of man is comparable with his. Thus as a child is in its babyhood from birth to seven years old, so did the world continue in a happy state during the early days until the Flood, a state of existence which lasted one thousand and seventy-two years (2204-2242). Puericie, or the second age of the world lasted from Noah until Abraham, a pleasant carefree time lasting one thousand two hundred and eighty years (2242-2274). The third age, the equivalent of Adolescence, continued for nine hundred and seventy-three years, from Abraham to David, during which time civilisation was growing, land being cultivated, kings established, and clothes made (2274-2319). Jonesse, the fourth age, dates from David to the flight from Egypt, a matter of five hundred and twelve years (2319-2340), whilst the fifth age, lasting five hundred and forty-eight years, lay between the flight from Egypt and the coming of Christ (2340-2382). The sixth age, that corresponding to Viellesse, has endured until 1426, and will so continue until the day of judgment (2382-2430), whilst the seventh age will continue indefinitely (2430-2464).

Next le Monde explains that as Fortune has him in her power, she is of necessity his goddess to whom he makes sacrifices and oblations, as the Thebans did to Niobe. He fears and mistrusts her, as did Plato (2464-2543). The other two images, Richesse

and Povrete, alternate in their positions according to the whims of Fortune, who can reverse their status by a twist of her wheel. (2534-2584).

These explanations over, le Monde, still anxious to display his possessions to l'Acteur, leads him into his room, wonderfully decorated, where he finds four portrayals of the four conditions of human life (2584-2638). Joy is seated the highest, gay and lovely, prettily clad, and seeming fit companion for Jonesse as she sings and plays the harp (2638-2661). On the other side is Tristesse, pale and sad, with her clothing torn and her hair, anger and sorrow in her face as she weeps (2661-2693). Then is Travail painted, poorly garbed and very weary (2693-2736), whilst finally there is the picture of Repos, white and soft, well dined and wined, with Oyseuse as bedfellow (2736-2770).

L'Acteur promptly asks le Monde the meaning of these portraits (2770-2789), to which question he receives the reply that these are the four complexions of man, with an example quoted from Ypocras to illustrate his point (2789-2882).

Satisfied with this response, l'Acteur allows le Monde to show him the sumptuous contents of his wardrobe (2882-2909), and from thence goes to see his jewels which are incredibly beautiful (2909-2986). Besides these treasures, there are horses of every description with gorgeous harness, with page attendants attired in gay costume of silk (2947-2986).

Then le Monde tries to persuade l'Acteur to stay with him, promising him his share in all the marvellous things he has seen (2986-3082). To prove what advancement and pleasure he can bestow, he speaks of Cathononakes (2986-3127), and of Cosdroe of Persia (3127-3157). L'Acteur turns to Jonesse again (3157-3182), who advises him to stay with le Monde (3182-3218). L'Acteur decides to stay and serve le Monde, receiving all the benefits which appeal to him, and though doubtful of Fortune's behaviour trusting in the companionship and advice of Jonesse to help him (3218-3250).

Here the first book ends, and the extract of the poem under inspection terminates here too, for l'Acteur's dealings with le Monde do not occupy much more time, for hardly has he determined to enter the service of le Monde when Nature sends Desir to reason with him, and so successful is her messenger that l'Acteur repents and returns to Dame Nature to be re-armed before the same group, with Prudence substituted for Jonesse, sets out once more in their quest for Vaillance.

## C H A P T E R    II .

### VERSIFICATION

The poem is written in rhymed couplets, each line being octosyllabic, which form, during the Middle Ages, was the favourite for all allegorical, didactic and narrative poetry(1). Owing to the brevity of the line there is no caesura(2), but the dominant accent of the line falls most regularly on the fourth syllable (the distribution of this major accent being 1260 times on the fourth syllable, 746 on the third, 708 on the fifth, 320 on the sixth, 194 on the second, 26 on the seventh, and 4 on the first.)

Enjambement, which was always permissible with this metre(3) occurs fairly frequently, as in the lines 105,110,128,140,158, 208,287,478,498,456,505,508,520,527,554,611,670,720,835,882,888, 900,1010,1022,1114,1127,1187,1194,1215,1475,1284,1324,1332,1340, 1341,1451,1481,1483,1498,1553,1698,1768,1888,2203,2083,2095,2110, 2118,2200,2280,2643,2694,2743,2816,2884,2896,2930,3008,3016,3086, 3096,3098.

The weak medial e of the future and conditional is generally elided(4). Eaue counts as two syllables in lines 1648 and

(1) Petit de Jullebille. Hist. de lang. franç. t.II p.201; Tobler, Le Vers franç. p.123; Quicherat. Petit Traite de Vers franc. p.101; Kastner. Hist. of Fr. Vers p.140; Brunot. Précis de Grammaire Historique. p.707.

(2) Quicherat. ibid p.101; Tobler. ibid.p.123.

(3) Kastner. ibid.p.107.

(4) Studer. St Joan of Orleans p.189.

1678, but as one in 1681(1). Verbal forms such as tournoient (2149) and j'avoye (2023) may count as only two syllables(2).

Monosyllables such as que, je, ce, se, may quite regularly(3) be elided or not elided according to the requirements of the line. Non-elision may be seen in 1097, 1191, etc.

Doublet forms of avec (avecques), donc, or, comme, onques are found to fit the needs of the verse(4).

The treatment of the final e mute of polysyllables before another vowel in this manuscript has been studied by Piaget(5). According to the exigencies of the line Jean de Courcy elides or does not elide this e, and in this he is not unique(6). The hiatus resulting from such non-elision occurs in lines 7, 50, 53, 57, 73, 115, 127, 178, 262, 406, 447, 451, 459, 502, 561, 564, 584, 620, 638, 661, 668, 670, 732, 753, 817, 844, 855, 892, 897, 898, 904, 914, 915, 922, 931, 983, 1008, 1011, 1026, 1031, 1033, 1037, 1163, 1167, 1210, 1211, 1219, 1225, 1269, 1292, 1298, 1305, 1322, 1371, 1405, 1406, 1431, 1452, 1456, 1493, 1495, 1512, 1524, 1527, 1536, 1543, 1552, 1565, 1569, 1575, 1587, 1588, 1592, 1618, 1620, 1629, 1666, 1679, 1702, 1703, 1705, 1706, 1732, 1756, 1768, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1787, 1773, 1793, 1846, 1849, 1864, 1808, 1829, 1905, 1906, 1923, 1951, 1969, 2001, 2017, 2158, 2175, 2217, 2249, 2251, 2272, 2304, 2316, 2363, 2374,

(1) Romania LVI p.389; Tobler ibid. p.46.

(2) Studer ibid.p.189; Romania LVI p.397.

(3) Kastner ibid.p.6.

(4) cf. Romania LVI p.389.

(5) Romania XXVII p.591.

(6) Romania XXVII p.591; Romania XXIV p.197; Garin, Complainte et Enseignements. Guillaume de Dequilleville, Pelerinage de Vie Humaine, Pelerinage de l'Ame, Pelerinage de Jhesucrist.

2385, 2399, 2418, 2425, 2426, 2447, 2466, 2467, 2474, 2477, 2485, 2536,  
2550, 2553, 2557, 2561, 2590, 2605, 2618, 2635, 2636, 2639, 2640, 2643,  
2669, 2671, 2690, 2692, 2809, 2864, 2866, 2939, 2943, 2946, 2949, 2957,  
2962, 3012, 3103, 3151, 3164, 3178, 3180, 3197, 3215, 3216, 3223, 3227,  
3252.

Many of these could be ascribed to scribal errors or negligence on the part of the author and rectified conventionally, as for example by altering the syntax: "Quelle qu'elle soit doulce ou sure", instead of "Quelle qu'el soit doulce ou sure", (3252); but there is a large quantity of cases which are evidently intentional of which "Et maistre es artz devenir" (1292), and "Voir prebstre ou religieux", (1293), are but two striking examples, so that the conclusion is inevitable that the author allowed hiatus of the final e mute of polysyllables before another vowel, as well as that of monosyllables before initial vowel(1).

Hiatus is also found in the termination -ion and its plural -ions, which invariably count as two syllables (dominations(22), presumption (113), deception (114), temptation(116), etc.)(2).

That there is a preponderance of rimes riches over simple sones (863 rimes riches and 767 simple) is not surprising, for at this period the art of versification relied much on the embellishment of the rhymes(3). There is a tendency too in favour of

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(1) Kastner, ibid. p.6. (2) Studer, ibid. p. 189.

(3) Kastner, ibid. p. 49; Tobler, ibid. p. 149; Faral, *Les Arts Poetiques* p.92; Brandin and Hartog, *Book of French Prosody*, p. 48.

feminine rhymes (966 as against 654 masculine,) although the rimes riches are more generally masculine.

Together with the examples of normal rimes riches there are frequent instances of superfluous rhymes(1), doubled rhymes(2) or rimes leonines(3): painture;cainture(1205), Nabugodonosor:bien os or(1987), et laz:elas(431), etc.

There are cases of traductio(4) or rimes equivoques(5): s'accorde:sa corde(775), habita:habit a (71), durent:deurent (2635), etc.

Besides these occur instances of the rhyming of the same words with the same significance, a phenomenon still permissible at this epoch(6): estre:estre (891), fauldront:fauldront (3193), etc.

A similar leniency is extended to cases of simple words rhyming with their compounds(7): servir:asservir (27), faire:affaire (37), dampna:condempna (987), etc.

Annonimatio(8) an ornamentation by which a word with the same meaning is employed in different parts of speech, also adorns the poem:

Car comme juste est Justice (1055)  
Veult elle justicier le vice  
Par sa justification.

Que nul ouvrier mieulz le peust fere. (2785)  
Je ne scay ou l'ouvrier repere

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(1) Kastner, ibid p.56

(2) Tobler, ibid p.150

(3) Brandin and Hartog, ibid p.51.

(4) Faral, ibid.p.96.

(5) Tobler, ibid.p.167 and p.176;

Brandin and Hartog, ibid.p.48.

(6) Kastner, ibid.p.56.

(7) Tobler, ibid.p.177; Kastner, ibid.p.58.

(8) Faral, ibid.p.95.

Que scet faire si bel ouvrage  
Je le tieng pour vaillant et sage  
Quant il euvre par si grant cure.

Aux labourers de labourer (2825)  
Quant labour les fault demourer.

Other examples of this are to be seen in lines 233 (commission), 381 (celle and vacelle), 817 (destruction), 1459 (pourtraiture), 1333 (avoir), 1856 (creation), 2110 (lassé), etc.

#### R H Y M E S .

A complete list of the rhymes has been omitted, partly through lack of space, and partly because there is little remarkable in it. The only points of interest are that 'an' and 'en' when final are never confused and do not rhyme together; the rhyme, chevanche:puissance (235,1041) occurs. There is an apparent slip in the rhyming of impotence:potente (1411).

## C H A P T E R   III

### L A N G U A G E.

#### I. ORTHOGRAPHY.

B is replaced unsounded in certain words in an attempt to keep the correct etymological spelling: double(229 etc.), redouble(2041), endebte(425), etc., or is conserved in semi-learned words such as obscure(322).

C final may be represented by que: Dominique(634), publique(1012), etc.

...exists after s for the sake of etymology: sceure(604 etc.) sceurte(298), etc.

...by false analogy appears in such words as acquise(1051 etc.) and acquereurs(1054), etc.

...of the Latin group ctt which had > a yod and diphthongised with the preceding vowel, or which had been absorbed by the t, is replaced unsounded: jectoit(1629), jecte(2590), alectoit(2849); or is retained in learned words such as actif (2750), auctorite(1927), etc.

D of the Latin prefix ad- is replaced unsounded in advis(289), advenir(2877), adnulle(2847) etc.

E is inserted by false analogy with the masculine root: brievfe(2522), soefvement(1081), etc.

...is found for ph: Jafet(2252).

G after a nasal appears in ung(5), craing(2503), refraing (2504), besoing(857), soing(858) etc., but is unsounded.

H is placed initially in certain words in an effort to preserve the etymological spelling: habille(86 etc.), hanter (1227), hante(384), habites(1881), haultaine(3125), haultesses (710), herbergier(589), heritez(584), honte(493), homme(106), hystoire(2384), etc.

...appears by false analogy in habandonner(412) habandonne(995), habonde(50), habondoit(1681), habondance(371) etc.

L is interposed in a word, even where it has already been vocalised, in an attempt to present a Latin appearance, though it remains unsounded: aneaulz(367), adoulcy(1919), avoultise(984), doulceur(1810), exaulce(2056), exaulcee(2557), faulsete(1550), fauldront(3193), haulce(2055), haulcee(2558), haultaine(3125), haultesses(710), joyaulz(347), mieulz(455), oulfrage(1309), cieulz(138), yeulz(989), veulz(272), etc.

...unsounded is replaced after i where it had dropped: tiltre (1817).

N mouillé is spelled ngne (soviengne(808),) igne (montaigne (2),) gn (champagne (67),) etc.

P is replaced unsounded in certain words for etymological effect: compter(2379), compte(976), corps(1871), condempnez (2359), dampnez(2360), escripre(1249), escript(2392), escription (1443), descripre(1250), sepmaine(1822), tempte(706) etc.

and is mute even in the learned deceptif(3064).

S is similarly treated: estre(2362), ester(1656), estoye(596), mestier(1251), destriers(2969), estriars(2970), diesme(2280), meismes(2569), maistroie(2817), maistrise(1752), espurez(320), soustrez(3076), moustrez(3075), esprouvez(3040), etc.

...is represented by s, x or z.

x occurs as a final equivalent to s in plurals after eu, more especially after eu derived from other originals than etl vocalised: glorieux(271), lieux(605), etc.

..... is substituted medially for s where it was etymologically correct: dextre(1519), mixte(2820), exlongiez(469), or in learned and semi-learned words where its identity is preserved: exillez(821), exillee(2114), exaulcee(2557) etc.

z occurs finally frequently after é of masculine past participles or that derived from the suffix -atis; as the final of monosyllables: laz(431); in plurals after au > atl where the l has been replaced by false analogy: loyaulz(347), joyaulz (348) etc.; or after eu in similar circumstances: cieulz(138) etc; or after eu derived from other sources: lieu(456) etc. and in plurals after t: repostz(2814), vingt(2247), etc.

y initially is frequent for i: ystoire(1225), yimaginera(1499), yver(2071).

...medially is substituted for i for the sake of legibility next to u or v: ensuyr(3152) etc.; next to l: lyesses(97) etc. or where hiatus is kept: hayr(489), heyr(737), veyr(488) etc. ...finally is employed in monosyllables (j'ay (237),) for i

of past participles (party (3167)), after u or n: compaignye (965), etc. There is hesitation between i and y as final: party; parti (3167) etc., but it is common in the perfect tense: tarday (2085).

#### DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS.

P is arbitrarily doubled: hape (502), happe (611), etc.

S is arbitrarily doubled: desserte (2190), deserte (3156), etc.

...is doubled by c: repaiscent (125), etc.

T is arbitrarily doubled: ditte, parfaitte, destruitte, droiture, etc.

...is doubled by c: alectoit (1133).

by s: honnestes (1222).

#### II. PHONETICS..

##### VOWELS.

A is found for e in chanue (1365), but conversely before r>e: herite:charite (877), querelle: car elle (1029), praries: herbergeries (1087), lanterne:espargne (537) etc.

ai alternates before ll with ei: traveillier:baillier(427),etc.

ai = e: cessent:repaiscent (125), fere:frere (249), etc.

= ei>e: alaittie:haitie (2849), etc.

= oi: voise:aise (2841), repaye:joye (2821), loisir:plaisir (2745).

a + i in hiatus = e + i: heyr (737,1384) etc.

ai = ei when followed by ne, or gne: cainture(1206), enseigne: montaigne (1), ensaigne (200) etc.

a + gne = ai: champagne:paine (67), etc.

oy + ne = ai: royne:ataigne (2599), maindre:caindre (845), etc.

• oi = e: boive:eaue (1915).

a + l > el: bestielement (2221), corporelement (2435), but al is preserved: celestial (1852), etc.

am and em are confused: embler:resambler (503), fame:diffame (1015), dame:femme (1493), condempnez:dampnez (2359), etc.

an and en are confused in rende:offrande (3157), aplente:hante (384), anuyez (53), etc.; but an,en; ant,ent; ante,ente; ance, ence; are never confused in the rhymes.

## E.

ei > e: decret:me cret (2425).

e + l survives unvocalised in mantel (117), chappel (118), coutel (2688), etc.

er and er are confused in lever:le ver (1437), respiter:Jupiter (1797).

e for i is found in nourreture (1089), premiere:estre mire (2361)

## O.

The Latin o has a preponderance of ou forms, which however alternate with eu,oeu and o: onneurent (642) honnourer (3234), soche:boche (2141), souche:bouche (1433), sossier (2693), approchier (3237), approuchier (2738), euvre (3645), oeuvrent (457), etc.

o rhymes with oi: encore:gloire (1957), encore:memoire (2035), estoire:gloire (379).

o + l, or + ll > o, uei, or ou: recole:escole (547), moulle:des-poule (1741), enorgueilly:cueilly (2043), etc.

ou alternates with en: jones and jennes, monnoye:ennoye (25, etc.) emplie:accomplice (1007), etc.

ou is sometimes closed to ou: couvenoit (875), moustroit (1095), monstre:oultre (1097), jouchiee (1183), etc.

ou alternates with u: jousg (2959).

oi = wa: convoitise:atise (771), etc.

oi = oue: mircuer (1579).

u is used for o: umbrages (1178), cuvert (511), undes (1712).

#### VOWELS IN HIATUS AND DIPHTHONGS.

ai, ei and oi in hiatus are generally reduced, but are maintained in hayr (485), heyr (735, 1383), veyr (480, 630, 1383, 1870), obeyr (738), trayson (513), resjoyr:foyr (3107), etc.

ee is usually reduced but is preserved in ordoneement (1501), exceptee:agree (45), crea (1856), etc.

ea in hiatus remains in creature (1258), createur (8391), pit-eable (525), aggreade (593). In the verse although reduced to a simple sound the spelling aa remains in aage (2205), etc., but in the divisional headings the spelling is ea.

aou in hiatus is retained in sauleroit (1894), aourer (2441), and paoureuse (2111), etc.

ao is preserved in aornee (1609).

eau in hiatus is retained in leaute (1893), etc.

eo in hiatus is invariably reduced. — ?

eou and iou are generally reduced, but are retained in jugeour: piour (2445), etc.

eu in hiatus is generally reduced to u, sounding identically however when the eu spelling is retained as the Latin ā or ū > eu or as ū > u: meuris:fleuris (81), sceure:monteure (2990), etc. eis is maintained in empereis:neis (1787).

eoi in hiatus, though frequently reduced, remains in veoit:seoit (863), veoye (2163), veoient (1678), etc.

ueu is retained in the semi-learned word somptueuses (1767).

ui in hiatus is sometimes reduced to i: embelly:celluy (99), etc. but it may also be reduced to u: hus (285), etc.

ie diphthong is generally reduced to e: clucher:tresbuchier, (2023) premerain:premier aim (2241), piesme:baptesme (825), cleres:rivieres (69), or it may be reduced to i: premiere:estre mire (2361), etc. It may be retained as assadier: la sadier (777), etc., or before a nasal: terriens:ceens (1104).

## CONSONANTS.

### C

Mixed rhymes of che with ce are comparatively rare but occur in chevanche:puissance (235,1041); chaintures (354), lachiez (1221), chevanche (1330,3247) are further instances.

c + e or i sounds as ss: Grece:presse (2025), adoulcy:soussy(1919) etc., or as s: occire:sire (510), Justice:guise (879), etc.

cc rhymes with c: s'accorde:sa corde (775), etc.

### F

ff rhymes with f: force:efforce (961), etc.

L after a vowel and followed by a consonant is vocalised except after i, where it disappears from pronunciation though sometimes remains in the spelling: tiltre (1817). It drops after u: moute-plierent (2253). When l is not followed by a consonant it frequently retains its position: drapel:la pel (2137), bestielement (2221), etc.

l and ll may rhyme: sale:salle (1121), celle:envacelle (377), etc.

M *Wyley.*

m and n preceded by a,ai,e or o may rhyme together: ahan:Abraham (859), premerain:premier ain (2241), entente:tempte (705), raconter:compter (2379), etc.

N

n and gn can rhyme together: engine:engigne (2415), fines:dignes (2615), linnage:lignage (2357), ymagna:assigna (2791), gouverne:espergne (477), etc.

R

r + l is weakened: palais:par les (1113,3017).

r + t is weakened: moustroit:pourtroit (2737).

r preceded by d is mute: respondre:monde (259), etc.

metathesis of r occurs in souffrette:perte (409), ester (1656), poverte (1941), etc.

T

t + s, particularly following a nasal vowel, is absorbed by s and has no longer the value of z (parementz (729) is one of the few

examples even of spelling in this position, and the sound is a simple s).

### III. MORPHOLOGY.

NOUNS. There is practically no trace of the old system of declensions, but a few examples of the inflected forms persist: homs (509), riches homs (2039), ly homs (2801), compains (3181), etc.

ADJECTIVES. These too have discarded the old inflexional system with the exception of: (tu seras) seins (35), fus je bien contens (1463), contens fus (2881), etc.

Adjectives which in Latin had the same form in the masculine and feminine afford the following examples: ~~grand~~ grande, grandes are found frequently (92, 172, 830, 833, 1128, 1410, etc.), but the greater tendency is to retain grant, grans in the feminine: (1111, 1146, 1564, 1623, etc.).

verdes occurs in 1179. *Chanson de R.*

telle, quelle hesitate. There is a preponderance of tel, tels in the feminine over telle, telles (422, 812, 983, etc.), and similarly with quelle (191).

servente occurs once (servente devotion, 556).

Adjectives ending in el and al hesitate: a la mortel bonne (1848) etc.

Degrees of Comparison. Few synthetic comparative forms other than meilleur appear. Three examples of greigneur occur (78, 745, 1897), but co-existing are plus grant and plus grande (1492 etc.) Le maindre has its etymological significance in line 846, but is a simple positive in line 1072.

The superlative is accompanied fairly regularly by the definite article: la plus grande part (1410).

### NUMBERS.

Ordinals. Tiers (1689) occurs beside troisieme (719).

Quart is used almost exclusively as an ordinal (1546, 2321, 2323) or quarte in the feminine (1685).

Quint occurs (1551) together with the feminine quinte (2349) beside cinquieme (1691 and 2342).

Dixieme is reduced to diesme (2280).

### PRONOUNS.

Personals. The masculine li is not found as a dative.

On occurs as an impersonal (1430, 1776, 1782, etc.).

Y is confused with il (1296, etc.).

El for il occurs (46, 2562, 2563, etc.); for elle (870, 913, 937, 1130, etc.).

Elle as an accusative following a preposition is consistent in the feminine.

The declensions of these pronouns are not remarkable.

Possessives. Moye occurs twice (760, 2349).

Leur never adds a feminine e, but with a few rare exceptions (pour leur grandes providences (172), etc.); it regularly has the final s of the plural.

Demonstratives. There is no trace of cist, and cil occurs comparatively rarely (850, 969, 1916, 2089, 2451, etc.). Celuy is extremely frequent, and examples of cestuy are found (1583, 3107, etc.).

Reinforced forms are very rare: ce la (45), etc.

Relatives. There is much confusion of qui and que.

Lequel with its compound forms is widely used.

Quy and qu'il are confused (1916).

Periphrastic forms are frequent: a quy qu'el veult tout a deslivre (2488).

Indefinites. There are instances of quelque .. que: en quelque lieu qu'elle veoit (1148), de quelque estat qu'il eust estre (1391), etc.

Autruy (175) and auques are found.

CONTRACTION OF THE ARTICLE. There are some survivals of the contraction of en + le: ou (701, 774, 840, etc.); es (1178, 1188, 1292, etc.), ouquel (50, 272, 1100, etc.), esquelz (563, etc.); but considering the frequency with which the preposition is employed the examples are not numerous.

VERBS. In the present indicative the ending e of the first person singular of the first conjugation is widespread, but there co-exist forms without e: je aym (738), etc. By extension this e is found even with third conjugation verbs: je die (484), etc.

In the conditional and imperfect the first person singular often retains e rather than s: je n'avoie (1480), je scaroie (2908), etc. Both forms however exist.

The extension of s to the first person singular of the other conjugations in similar circumstances is much less noticeable. Although forms such as je veulz (272), etc., occur, there are more numerous cases of je veul (270), etc. Je suy (1536, etc.), je tieng (780, etc.) and je croy (1100, etc.), are more in evidence than those forms with an analogous s.

The perfect endings of this person hesitate between those with s and those without s: je fu (2230), je fus (1463), etc.

Of the first person plural one example is found terminating in on: lison (514).

#### Infinitives.

Querir has uniformly the ending ir, but its derivatives hesitate between requerrir (1661) and requerre (1689), acquerir (1333) and enquerre (191).

#### Roots.

The Latin root am is well preserved in its alternations: amer (888,etc.), amez (1947,etc.), il ama (979), il amoit (1387), je asym (738), elle ayme (1210), ils ayment (302,etc.).

The Latin root in e is also conserved: leve (2739), elle lieve (386).

The Latin root in e is retained in tu voyes (1075), nous veyons (96).

A remarkable feature is the retention of the form ar in the future and conditional of the verbs avoir and scavoir (340,1897, 769,529,etc.), beside the form aur (2462,2533,etc.).

In the verb avoir the imperfect form ot (1219,etc.) is present.

#### INVARIABLE WORDS.

Adverbs. Alors appears several times: 190, etc.

Lors is still widely used: 136,720, etc.

Encore has the forms encor (83,etc.), encores (1294,etc.) encore (733,674,etc.).

Souvent occurs (1139 as well as souventesfoiz (2299) and asouvent (1228).

Or (198, etc.) is found as well as ores (1614, etc.).

Lassus occurs: 916, etc.

Amont occurs: 1361.

### PREPOSITIONS.

Nonobstant appears several times: (67, 2346, etc.)

Au regard de is found (2349), etc.

En is used in apposition to hors de: en ou hors de religion (542)  
...for direction: le tumbera en la bol (2452), aloit en estranges voyages (1278), etc.

...for a specific place: en ses livres (975), etc.

...for a point: en ton chemin trouveras (3), en Babylone (2327), etc.

...to express manner: en mille maniere (1045), etc.

...for a point of time: en aucun temps vis si propice (854), etc.

De marks possession: de mes grans richesses (709), etc.

...agent: fut d'Improvidence couvert (122), etc.

...distance: garderoient de toute vice (685), etc.

...time: de nuyt (513), etc.

...complement: draps de soye (723), etc.

A denotes direction: je scay bien a moy traire (652), etc.

...place: gardoit a Romme (1013), etc.

...duration of time: au temps (1012), etc.

X <sup>Alors que</sup> ...apposition: Samuel les oignit a roix (671), etc.

...connection: a luy avoir accointance (165), etc.

Pour is final: pour faire leurs petitions (1660), etc.

...causal: guy pour moy se deporte (1539), etc.

Par is instrumental: acquis par male decevance (1042), etc.

Devant is applied to people and places: le fist devant moy venir (2977); devant le seul de sa maison (1802); and it is applied to time: greigneur soif avoit que devant (1897), au temps devant la transmigration (2336), etc.

Avant is employed to mark distance: encor plus avant me mena (2892) etc., and also in the sense of around: laissay mes yeulz couler avant la chambre (2949), etc.

Dedens denotes interior: bon feu dedens sa cheminee (1388), etc.

...direction and direction: me mena dedens la sale (1121), etc.

Sur denotes surface: cercle d'or sur son chief porter (2095) etc.

...specific place: desrobant les gens sur la voye (2050), etc.

...It may be strengthened by par (207, etc.).

Dessus denotes surface: d'ung vert chapel dessus liez (1224), etc.

...It may also be strengthened by par (2714, etc.)

Soubz denotes surface: soubz sa chappe (2944, etc.).

...It may be strengthened by par, or de (dessoubs(2695) etc.).

Vers denotes direction: tournoit vers luy (2148, etc.).

...sentiments towards apperson: fresle vers moy (3035, etc.).

...Devers is used almost exclusively of actual direction 168, etc.

...Envers is used metaphorically: envers moy sont humilians 608, etc.

Dessoubz marks surface: ces chevaulz faillir dessoubz ces pages pour saillir (2983), etc.

Par sus marks surface: Fortune estoit deesse par sus le Monde (2084), etc.

Contreval marks direction: contreval la rue (2119).

A l'encontre de " : regarday a l'encontre d'elle (1577), etc.

Entour " " : garder entour eulz (1196), etc.

Environ " " : environ la sale du monde (1455), etc.

Parmy " " : com parmy jaisoi mon erre (1487), etc.

" position: parmy celle orfaverie (356), etc.

Emmy " " : emmy une roe assise (1653), etc.

Entre " " : entre le ciel et terre closes (1833)  
etc.

Delez " " : (2981).

Pres de " " : pres du feu (1409), etc.

Fors de and hors de exist concurrently (3059, etc., and 2047, etc.)

Par dehors is also found (525), etc.

Avec (1214, etc.) co-exists with the form avecques (601, etc.),

while there remain several instances of o (237, 528, etc.).

Selon occurs frequently (297, etc.).

## CONJUNCTIONS.

Adfin que is to be found: adfin qu'ilz partent en ma gloire  
(734), etc.

Combien que has several examples: combien que ce soit fort de  
traire (958), etc.

De quoy occurs: de quoy j'ay grant doeul et grant honte (493) etc.

Fors que (382, etc.) is extensively used, as is lorsque (1032) etc.

Comme (564, etc.) co-exists with the form com (1024, etc.).

Ainsy que (1234, etc.) is very frequent.

Tant que takes both the indicative and the subjunctive: tant que  
les hoirs ne peuvent tenir (1044), and tant qu'il y ait faulz  
jugement (941), etc.

Au regard que occurs once (2318).

Sitost com (1856, etc.), and des que (661, etc.) have their normal constructions.

Dont (1596, etc.), adont (2948, etc.), donques (1361, etc.) and adonques (1792, etc.) co-exist and are frequent.

#### IV. S Y N T A X.

Despite the absence of case endings a pronominal subject is so frequently omitted in a sentence for this to be more the rule than the exception.

Complements are usually preceded by 'pour', but 'a' is also found: tieng celuy a fol musart (780), etc.

Genitives by juxtaposition also occur: par le conseil Jonesse (186), la gueule Cerberus (286), au temps Valere Publique (1012), la pourtraitte Jonesse (2647); but it is to be noticed that in each case it is with a proper noun that this construction exists.

#### PRONOUNS.

With impersonal verbs the pronoun is frequent, but in an equal number of sentences it is omitted.

The form of the pronoun toi is found as subject: te dois en mon fait mirer (276), etc.

There is a general tendency to use the strong form of the personal pronouns when stress is laid upon them: luy et moy sommes (226), comme toy et les samblables mengiez et beuvez a mes tables (2193), etc., whilst at the same time the nominative

form is found: O tu, Monde, quy es registre (1824). The accented form is more generally used than the unstressed one after a preposition, even when it is a reflexive accompanying an infinitive although both forms exist: pour moy aydier et moy servir (2935), quy avans me sambla aimable (1805), devant t'ay fait amener (2988), de soy aux ecoles tenir (1291), etc.

Reflexives. There are some instances of confusion of the personal pronouns with the reflexives: a eulz tous aprovrier (791), a honnourablement eulz vivre (4131,) etc.; while the reverse is noted in such examples as: dont Jupiter se fist muer (520).

Possessives. The masculine form of the possessive is placed before nouns beginning with a vowel: mon escole (548), and 63, etc.

Possession is shown by: de mon frere (49), d'ung mien frere (5), en la puissance moye (761 and 2449), qu'on luy creveroit les deux yeulz (989), fist a son filz un oeil crever (1003), est a moy ceste contree (241), l'amour de luy (177).

Demonstratives. Ce is used very extensively with impersonal verbs, and expressions such as, c'est la sale espoentable (127), c'est Jonesse (252) etc., are to be found on every page. Moreover 'ce' is employed for summing up preceding matter: et par ce veul je ceulz remettre (1059). Ce que is an expression employed so frequently as occasionally to replace the simple que: c'estoit ce que Raison ma mere (871), etc.

Cele may be substituted for ce: cele est la principale (2809), etc.

Cestuy and ceste are extensively used, but often they have lost their force and are only equal to ce, cela, cele, which are also frequently found. A stronger form is present in iceluy (1589), etc., icelle (660), etc., iceulz 447, etc., icelles (2888), etc.

Cel alternates with cele (1619), etc.

Relatives. Quoy is found after both singular and plural antecedents (2898, etc.).

Que and quy are often confused (1576, 1189, etc.).

#### DEFINITE ARTICLE.

This is frequently omitted, as is also the partitive article. There appears to be no reason, other than complying with the scansion, of such omissions.

#### VERBS.

Impersonals. There is hesitation with ce and ils with a plural: ce furent les anciens (699), etc.

Plural verbs are used with chascun as the subject (1071, etc.)

Subjunctives. These are used as past conditionals (144, etc.), present conditionals (1937, etc.), after croire (2001, etc.), doubter (3024, etc.), vouloir (209, etc.), quoy que (2403, etc.), combien que (2860, etc.), fors que (384, etc.), tant que (1190, etc.). But frequently in such cases the indicative is found instead.

Conditional. This occurs comparatively often: estoit signe que honneur et grace asoient dedens pou d'espace (1684), et ce que bien aise ma vie avec luy porroye avoir (3226), etc. It

occurs after comparatives: car celuy quy plus en buroit, greigneur soif asoit que devant (1896).

Faire, aller and croire. These form semi-auxiliaries with infinitives or present participles: nul temps ne se va tardant (777), des terres qu'il firent ouvrir (2306), etc.

Gerundives with en are occasionally found: 1162, 1199, 1347.

Present participles are much used. Often they have the value of relative clauses when they are in apposition: sy demeurent chetifz et laz (431), matrones estans a Romme (1511), etc.

Past participles are almost invariably in agreement when employed with etre and, when the object precedes the participle, with avoir: robe doree que nul ains luy n'avoit portee (722), etc. Examples are found of the participle with avoir agreeing with the accusative which follows it, a construction which generally excludes such a phenomenon: je t'ay monstree ma montaigne (3000), il y a perdue sa cure (436), etc. Past participles and adjectives often agree with the adjacent noun: son cuer et sa vouleinte plaine (1102), etc.

Hypothesis. The hypothetical construction with the principal verb in the imperfect indicative and the subordinate in the conditional is to be found: se tu scavoies tu diroies (348); s'il povoit il le tendroit (770), etc. The subjunctive construction co-exists (1396), etc.

#### INVARIABLE WORDS.

Negation. Ne alone without a compleutive is the most common construction. There are, nevertheless, many instances of ne

without completing words: pas: 785, 1018, etc; point (1230, 2085, etc.); mye (910, 201, etc.); goute (2729); guerre (1782); rien (1992, 549, etc.); nullement (1194, etc.); nul (875, 2602, etc.); jamais (3200, 3242, etc.); ja (762, 1050, etc.); mais (756, 882, etc.); onques (3216, etc.); ong (783, 1464, etc.); plus (438, 786, etc.).

Independent of ne are also found non pas (322, 3243), and non mye (1969).

Inversion of the negative is frequent: qu'pas n'est chose prouffitable (2859), etc.

Ellipses of pronouns and definite articles are numerous. they occur also with prepositions: sans faim, sans soif, traveil, ne paine (14), etc.

#### ORDER OF WORDS.

Owing to the exigencies of metre and rhyme seldom can any conclusions be drawn from the order of the words in a sentence or phrase of a poem. For example, to meet the requirements of the rhyme, the following inversion has been made: Tant qu'en son palais me mena (1099), etc. However, even in cases where circumstances do not prevent the pronouns from taking the normal position which they occupy in Modern French, they are often placed before the principal verb, rather than the infinitive which they accompany: apres les aloit tuer (519), qu'amer la veulle (888), ne se peut ne doit soustenir (1053), etc.

Despite the absence of inflected forms the clauses are sometimes obscurely connected in a sentence so that it is difficult on the first reading to know the real antecedent of a subordinate

clause: J'ay nom le Monde, yssu de l'infernal lignie, quy en tel gloire ay ma vie avec mes serfz (260), etc. Sometimes there is a change of number in a single sentence (672, etc.).

V. D A T I N G .

I. ORTHOGRAPHY.

Fifteenth century characteristics are:

- 1) the presence of so many redundant letters which had been re-inserted after the simplifications of the thirteenth century(1), as in chasteaulz (92), prebstre (1293), etc.
- 2) the arbitrary doubling of consonants(2) as in hape (501), happen (611), etc.
- 3) the etymological use of h,p,c, etc.(3).
- 4) l inserted medially even where it was vocalised(4).
- 5) the retention of ad(5) as in advis (66), etc.
- 6) the presence of g after n(6); ung (5), etc.
- 7) the retention of the masculine root consonant with its feminine variant(7); briefve (2522), etc.
- 8) the equivalents x and z for s(8).
- 9) the variations of gn,ngn,ign,ingn for n mouille(9).

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(1) Beaulieu p.83 and 189; Nyrop I.p.116.

(2) Beaulieu p.186 and 187. (3) Beaulieu p.180.

(4) Beaulieu p.185.

(5) Beaulieu p.190 and 186.

(6) Brunot II. p.94; Beaulieu p.187.

(7) Brunot I. p.594.

(8) Beaulieu p.180.

(9) Nyrop I. p.319.

### II. PHONETICS.

- 1).. reduction of the diphthong ie e(l), although its retention in certain instances proves the text to be of the first half of the fifteenth century(2).
- 2).. reduction of the hiatuses(3) a + ai ai, ea a, ee e, ei i, eo o, eoi oi, eor eur, eii eu, ai ai, though some are kept (veoir (863), obeyr (738), etc.).
- 3).. confusion of a and e before r or l(4); herite:charite (877), etc.
- 4).. confusion of ai and oi(5); voise:aise (3231), etc.
- 5).. weakening of final r, or of r + a consonant(6); respondre: Monde (259).
- 6).. closing of o + n to ou(7) in certain instances; Moustre (1097), etc.

### III MORPHOLOGY.

- 1).. dropping of the noun inflexions(8), but with a few isolated examples persisting; ly homs (2803), etc.
- 2).. disappearance of synthetic comparative forms of adjectives(9).
- 3).. dropping of inflexions in declension of adjectives(10).
- 4).. adjectives occasionally agreeing with the adjacent noun only(11).

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(1) Brunot I. p.405.

(2) Ditto.

(3) Brunot I. p.408 etc.

(4) Brunot I. p.407; Nyrop I. p.243; Dauzat, Geog. Ling. p.62.

(5) Despite Chatelain's view that this is not so (p.12), and in accordance with Brunot I. p.406.

(6) Nyrop. I. p.345; Brunot I. p.412.

(7) Beaulieu p.175.

(8) Brunot I. p.453. Nyrop I p.39.

(9) Brunot I pp.413, 417.

(10) Brunot I. p.414.

(11) Nyrop V. p.72.

- 5)..double forms of grand and grande in the feminine(1).
- 6)..absence of cist(2).
- 7)..persistence of cil(3).
- 8)..'verde', really a fourteenth century form proves it of comparatively early origin(4).
- 9)..briefve was rare before the fifteenth century(5).
- (10) presence of both s and e as the endings of the first person present indicative(6).
- 11)..alternation in the roots of verbs surviving(7).
- 12)..doublets such as donc and donques(8).
- 13)..the presence of alors(9) and nonobstant(10) both adopted

#### IV. SYNTAX.

- 1)..survival of genitive by juxtaposition(11).
- 2)..survival of such possessive forms as en la puissance moye (2449), etc.(12).
- 3)..the fairly general use of personal pronouns with the verbs(13)
- 4)..subjunctives following comparatives(14).

#### VI. DIALECT.

The following are the dialectal features of this text:

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- (1) Livre de la Passion. Introduction p.xviii.
  - (2) Brunot I. p.414. (3) Nyrop II p.396.
  - (4) Brunot I. p.415. (5) Brunot I p.415.
  - (6) Nyrop II p.36. (7)
  - (7) Nyrop II p.14; Brunot I p.440; Le Miroir Aux Dames, lines 19
  - (8) Beaulieu. pp. 206-209. and 20.
  - (9) Brunot I. p.451. (10) Brunot I. p.452.
  - (11) Nyrop V. p.134; Brunot I. p.453.
  - (12) Nyrop II. p.385. (13) Brunot II. p.455.
  - (14) Brunot I. p.472.

- 1)...eau: boive (1915). North West(1).
- 2)...monnoye: ennoye (1475), emplie: accomplie (1007), Nabugodonosor: bien os or (1987). Eastern(2).
- 3)...traveillier: baillier (427). Picard, Isle de France, or Burgundian(3).
- 4)...umbrages (1178). Norman(4).
- 5)...fleuris: meuris (81). Norman(5) or Picard(6).
- 6)...difference between an and en partially preserved. Norman or Picard(7).
- 7)...hus (285). Norman or Picard(8).
- 8)...encore: gloire (1957), encore: memoire (2035), gloire: estoire (379). Northern(9).
- 9)...premiere: mire (2361). Picard(10).
- 10)...engingne: engine (2415), fines: dignes (2615), ymagina: assigna (2791), etc. Gascon, Lorrain, Campenois or Picard(11).
- 11)...mixed rhymes in che and ce (235,104), etc. Norman or Picard(12).
- 12)...tieng as the first person singular indicative present (718) Picard(13).

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(1) Nyrop, ibid. I. p.208.

(2) Nyrop, ibid. I. p.232; Chatelain, ibid.p.30 (also suggests it is fifteenth century).

(3) Romania XLVI p.537. (4) Nyrop ibid. I. p.196.

(5) Nyrop, ibid. I. p.196; Chatelain ibid. p.21. Romania XLVI p.

(6) Romania p.8; Romania XLVI p.537. 537.

(7) Nyrop ibid. I. p.222.

(8) Nyrop ibid. I. p.211; Romania XLVI p.537.

(9) Chatelain ibid. p.36; Romania 1904, p.8; Romania XLVI p.537.

(10) Chatelain ibid. p.37. (11) Chatelain ibid. p.61.

(12) Chatelain ibid. p.69; Aiol, Introd. p.ix.

(13) Romania XLVI p.537. Aiol, Introd. p.ix.

13)...ot as third person singular imperfect indicative (1219).

Norman(1).

14)...on as first person plural indicative present (514).

Norman(2) or Picard(3).

15)...el for elle. North Western(4).

## VII. CONCLUSION.

From the evidence it is clear that the poem was written fairly early in the first half of the fifteenth century, since both fourteenth and fifteenth century characteristics are remarkable.

The dialect is less easily solved for both Norman and Picard forms are present. Definitely the poem was written in the North of France, and the surmise appears to be the conclusion that the author had frequented the boundaries of these two districts, whence certain tendencies of each division invaded his work.

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- (1) Brunot, *ibid.* I. p.323; Gorlich, *Die Nordwest. Dialekte* p.87;  
(2) *Vie de Saint Eustache*, *Introd.* p.vi.  
(2) Brunot, *ibid.* I. p.323; Nyrop, *ibid.* II. p.39; *Vie de St. Eustache*, *Introd.* p.vi.  
(3) *Vie de St. Alexis*, *Introd.* p.119.  
(4) *Vie de St. Eustache*, *Introd.* p.vi.

C H A P T E R   I V.

V O C A B U L A R Y .

A glance, however casual, through the oriented vocabulary of the selected passage of Le Chemin de Vaillance indicates immediately how conversant was Jean de Courcy with the life, customs and artistic developments of his age. With equal facility he employs simple words dealing with agriculture, or describing intimately details of household management, and those of a technical source relating to jurisdiction of both a temporal and secular nature. Many of these terms however, were current throughout the epoch of Old French and are still to be found in modern usage, so that no particular deduction can be drawn from their appearance in the text, although they prove the diversity of the author's interests. But there exist in the work elements of an essentially fifteenth century nature, either by reason of the inclusion of now archaic forms or of the introduction of words or extension of their meaning caused by new inventions or latinisms, which were known to have belonged to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

A number of words which made their appearance in French texts during the first half of the fourteenth century are included in the present text. Such are: abilite (246), officier (947), solemniser (3131), contenter (1001), commissaires (229), joyeusete (245), approbation (2900), embourre (1408), quille (1185), provision (3007), a l'opposite de (1581), limite (2434),

instructions (700), paillardie (1949), providence (418), and tournement (1565). Nevertheless, by the time of the composition of le "Chemin de Vaillance", these must have been of too frequent occurrence to allow of any useful conclusion.

There is present also a series of terms definitely of fourteenth century origin in so far as written records can establish this(1): admiration (145), bribes (2143), chanteresse (1670), cointoiee (75), decrepite (1402), desole (1371), diffame (832), distributresse (2486), divine (119), fructifieuse (3005), goust (1906), habillemens (591), improvidence (120), langoureusement (3057), noticion (667), nutrition (133), occuper (1200), operations (575), ordonnance (600), paciens (925), promptement (2060) solitai'rement (1379), souhaitier (11), supplians (154), tissure (2632), tapisserie (2785).

Besides these however, occur many words whose first appearance in manuscripts lies between 1350 and 1426. A number are attributed to Oresme: adfin que (27)(2), dilater (767)(3), fertile (85)(4), nonobstant (645)(5), nvisible (2529)(6), pratique (1700)(7), replez (2127)(8).

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(1) The dating of these words has been done with the help of the dictionaries of Godefroy, Bloch, Littré, Meyer-Lübke, and Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, and as little importance is attached to the terms it has not seemed necessary to give each reference.

(2) Godefroy, Dict. de l'Anc.Lang.Franc.

(3) Bloch, Dict.Etym.; Godefroy, ibid.

(4) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.

(5) Godefroy, ibid.; Littré, Dict. de la Lang.Franc.

(6) Godefroy, ibid.; Littré, ibid.; Bloch, ibid.

(7) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.; Littré, ibid.

(8) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.

A few appear first in the works of Deschamps: confians (413)(1), contrepoint (1229)(2), herbette (2261)(3), pierrie (2099)(4); and three in Froissart: floer (1677)(5), fortunee (2668)(6), monteuse (3021)(7).

Other words of this epoch contained in le "Chemin de Vaillance" are: eviter (1828) 1350(8), satin (321) 1361(9), rechief (2086) 1365(10), ostentation (2929) 1366(11), bottines (2767) 1367(12), haguenees (2969) 1367(13), damas (2644) 1380(14), acquereurs (104) 1385(15), nourriture (1089) 1393(16), frire (740) 1394(17), contrepense (3250) 1405(18), pilliez (824) 1415(19), paroit (1303) 1419(20), whilst Godefroy submits as fifteenth century usage the words ensaigne (200), ordonnoient (174), and repaye (2821), with the significance that they have here. Hence it is obvious that Jean de Courcy had at his command the vocabulary instituted and employed by the writers of the minor re-

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- (1) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.; Littré, ibid.; Sainte-Palaye, ibid.
  - (2) Godefroye, ibid.; Littré, ibid.; Sainte-Palaye, ibid.
  - (3) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.
  - (4) Godefroy, ibid.; Littré ibid.
  - (5) Godefroy, ibid.; Sainte-palaye, ibid.
  - (6) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.
  - (7) Godefroy, ibid. (8) Bloch, ibid.
  - (9) Godefroy, ibid.; Littre, ibid.
  - (10) Godefroy, ibid. (11) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.
  - (12) Bloch, ibid. (13) Bloch, ibid.
  - (14) Bloch, ibid. Godefroy, ibid.
  - (15) Bloch, ibid. Godefroy, ibid.
  - (16) Godefroy, ibid. (17) Bloch, ibid.
  - (18) Godefroy, ibid. (19) Godefroy, ibid.
  - (20) Nyrnop, ibid. Tome I. p.242.

naissance of the fourteenth century, though the persistence of chars (516), confirms the authenticity of the text as early fifteenth century(1); bobelins (2761) which were employed only from towards the end of the fourteenth century until the sixteenth(2), and chapperon (1152) popular during the fourteenth century and quite out of fashion by 1483(3), both give support to this view.

From the majority of these terms, beyond the interest of the rapidity with which they had become popular, no definite proof can be ascertained, though some stress may be laid on the specialised use of contrepoint, for it was on the border of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that this form of music was accepted by the church and spread amongst the laymen(4).

There occur also several words of exactly the same date or anterior to the dates cited by the dictionaries. Guestres (2715 according to Godefroy and Bloch appeared first in the "Journal d'un Bourg de Paris sous Charles VI", and as a form of apparel it is unlikely that it had previously been in common usage. Jolerie (2919), is dated in 1434(5), batelage in 1443(6), whilst the locution je me chevy a (3160) has been attributed first to Martin le Franc(7). Nagemens (1086) has been considered as firs

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(1) Nyrop, *ibid.* Tome I. p.242.

(2) Bloch, *ibid.*

(3) Norris, *Costume and Fashion*; Volume 2, p.386.

(4) Villiers Standford and Forsyth, *History of Music*; p.141;

(5) Parry, *Summary of the History of Modern Music*, p.4.

(6) Bloch, *ibid.*; Godefroy, *ibid.*

(7) Godefroy, *ibid.*

appearing in Priorat's *Livre de Vegece*(1); *tique* (633) was dated in 1464(2), *puericie* (1189) in 1473(3), and *renclusages* (1156) in 1483(4), *specieuses* (3111) in the works of J. le Fevre followed by a document at the end of the fifteenth century.

*Biere* (1803) occurs in a passage copied directly from some lines of the "Roman de la Rose" where, however, beer is not mentioned and wine alone is discussed. Littré gives the first instance of this word as opposed to and replacing *cervoise* in the sixteenth century in the works of Otto de Serres; Bloch places it in 1539 and Godefroy in 1522 all of them concurring on the Netherlandic source of both the word and the product. Brunot includes it in his list of borrowed words belonging to the sixteenth century but states it to be of German origin(5). But there are earlier traces of the word, particularly in Normandy(6). Delisle notes that in the fifteenth century the bishops of Rouen testify to the usage of white English beer, 1451 (still called *cervoise*), and the existence of a Dutch malting house at Dieppe in 1424, also of 1448-1449 a document, the "Compte de Pi le Francais" is found, which reads thus: "A Jehan Durant, de Rouen, pour deux hambours de bière, païé XLV sous(7)". Weber quotes an act of 1435

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(1) Godefroy, *ibid.*

(2) Godefroy, *ibid.*

(3) Godefroy, *ibid.*

(4) Godefroy, *ibid.*

(5) Brunot, *Précis de la Grammaire Historique*, p.184.

(6) Delisle, *Etude sur la Classe Agricole....au Moyen Age*, p.478;

Weber, *Essai sur la Brasserie Francaise*, p.89.

(7) Delisle, *La Condition de la Classe Agricole....au Moyen Age*, p.483.

"touchant le fait des Servoisiers demeurant en la Terre Madame Sainte Genève"(1), in which the first clause is, "défense de vendre au détail la meilleure bière plus de 4 tournois la pinte"(2), to which the footnote is added by the editor "c'est ici où pour la première fois, on rencontre le mot Bière dans un acte officiel". Weber suggests that the word had been in use before this(3), but it is evident that it did not become common until the sixteenth century, a fact which is curiously similar to its sudden popularity in England at the same time(4). The English had largely abandoned the word beer in favour of ale, only re-adopting it from the Flemings with the changed significance of unsweetened malt liquor instead of the original sense of a sort of mead(5) after some centuries of disuse. In both cases, French and English, was bière or beer restricted to the hopped liquor(6). But whatever its later history it is evident from its inclusion in the works of Jean de Courcy that it was at any rate known in the Northern districts of France at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

A curious feature is to be noticed in the presence of four words (perturbations (125), regenter (1002), sumptuosite (94), toupiner (1170)), one of which made its first appearance in the

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(1) Weber, *ibid.* p.58. (2) *Ditto.*

(3) Weber, *ibid.* p.55.

(4) A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Oxford.

(5) Bickerdyke, Curiosities of Ale and Beer, p.152; Haydn, Dictionary of Dates.

(6) Weber, *ibid.* p.55; New English Dictionary.

French language in Jean de Courcy's "La Bouquechardière", while the three others are known in only one previous instance (sumptuosite in the fourteenth century; trocus:toupiner, Glossarium latinum francorum; regenter in Jur. des Uisins Charles VI, an 1407,)(1). Perturbations is used in "Le Chemin de Vaillance" in exactly similar circumstances to those of "La Bouquechardière" where it occurs as 'demoniques perturbations' (ars. 3689. fo.124c). Regenter also exists in a context not far removed from the one it holds in the text under inspection: Anthonius qui encores regentoit les parties de l'Orient (ars. 3689. fo.255). Sumptuosite stated by Littré to be of sixteenth century origin, has only one previous example quoted by Godefroy from ars. 3689. fo.175a, though Bloch dates it as fourteenth century. Toupiner in this form is not mentioned in the dictionaries, but a second example of toupin is given by Godefroy: Joue de Toupin et fuy le jeu des dez (ars. 3689. fo. ). The occurrence of these words in such similar positions at a date when they were clearly not common in French speech should dispel whatever slight doubts may have been felt as to whether the author of "Le Chemin de Vaillance" and "La Bouquechardière" was the same man.

Further evidence for the dialect of this manuscript can be evinced from remprone (1986), primarily of Norman and Burgundian usage(2); monteure (3021) of which the two cases cited

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(1) Godefroy, *ibid.*

(2) *Ditto.*

by Godefroy are of Norman sources whilst the word has best flourished in Normandy(1); huchier (1940) though particularly used in the West(2) was not uncommon in Normandy, Brittany and Picardy(3); destourber (60) which is still more popular in northern regions(4).

The manuscript contains numerous latinisms (nutrition, presumption, deception, temptation, etc.) and learned words (sapience, improvidence, provision, etc.), without which no text of that period is complete(5).

#### CONCLUSION.

From the oriented vocabulary it is evident how wide were the interests of Jean de Courcy and how at this time a knight with an inclination towards literature was versed in country and battle lore, the management of countries and estates, even of chateaux, in literature and musical and artistic developments.

From a closer inspection of the actual dates and forms of the words can be seen the inevitable latinisms due to the taste of the day, slight traces of a Norman dialect, resemblances to "La Bouquechardière" in the case of four unusual words not likely to have been commonly used, the growth and rapidity of the use of many words introduced during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and finally the existence of several terms hitherto

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(1) Godefroy, *ibid.*

(2) Bloch, *ibid.*

(3) Godefroy, *ibid.*

(4) Godefroy, *ibid.*; Kelham, *Dictionary of the Norman Language.*

(5) Brunot, *Hist. de la langue franc.* Tome I. p.525.

considered to have been of a date posterior to the time when "Le Chemin de Vaillance" was written.

## C H A P T E R V .

### LIFE OF JEAN DE COURCY.

To the already existing knowledge of the life of Jean de Courcy little has been found to add, and as far as actual facts, extraneous to details involuntarily betrayed in the work, the present chapter can be not much more than a summary of previous articles on this subject.

Jean de Courcy, son of Guillaume de Courcy (third of the name), inherited the fief of Bourg-Achard through his grandmother Jeanne Mallet, daughter of Robert Mallet seigneur de Planes and Jeanne de la Mouche, and wife of Guillaume de Courcy(1). In 1399 'Jean de Courcy, Ecuyer' was seigneur of Bourg-Achard(2). In 1403 he founded the chapel of Saint Gilles du Fay(3). He wrote, in 1416, "La Bouquechardière", a compilation of ancient history "pour eschiver a vie oyeuse et moy occuper en aucun labour.....ay commencie compilacions prinses sur le retour des contrees de

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(1) Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, Vol.VI, Column 344. xi,xii.

(2) Ibid. Column 344. xiii.

(3) Caneil, Essai Historique....sur l'arrondissement de Pont-Audemer. II. p.141.

Grece, en l'an de la benoiste Incarnation mil cccc et xvi"(1). It is presumed that he was one of the knights who served under the Emperor Manuel II(2). In 1417 he commanded a garrison but was forced to surrender Exmes to the English(3), and a safe conduct was granted to him(4). There is a suggestion, and a highly probable one when considered in conjunction with other obscure points, that it was not he but a son Jean, hitherto untraced by the genealogists, who was the subject concerned at Exmes(5). In 1418 the lands of Bourg-Achard were confiscated and given to Jean de Bienfaite(6), although these should later have been restored to their rightful owner(7). "It is probable that Jean de Courcy came to some terms with the English, as it appears that in his later years he resided at Caudébec, the capital of the Pays de Caud; and as in 1423 his daughter Jeanne (said to be his only child by his first wife) was married to Geoffroi des Hayes, Seigneur d'Espinay, who was 'lieutenant-general du bailli de Caux pour le roi d'Angleterre'"(8). Geoffroi des Hayes was also 'capitaine d'Arques et bailli de la ville d'Eu(9)

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(1) La Bouquechardière. Harleyan.4376.folio 1.

(2) Ward. Catalogue of Romances. Vol.1.p.

(3) Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, tome XII, p.302.

(4) Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy. Rotuli Normanniae. p.177.

(5) Ward. ibid. Vol.1.p.899.

(6) Mem. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Normandie, tome XII, p.307

(7) Cane, ibid.II. p.137.

(8) Ward, ibid. Vol.1.p.899

(9) Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, Vol.VI. Column.345. II.

Jean de Courcy was twice married, his first wife being Marie Malet de Graville by whom he had one daughter Jeanne; Charles, the son who succeeded him was the child of his second wife Jeanne de Trumeville(1). There is mention of him and Guillaume de Quesnoy in a matter of feudal dues owing in 1413, 1421, 1427, and 1428(2). Paulin Paris(3) and Ward(4) were the first to throw doubt on the correctness of attributing the signature of quittance of 1448 to Jean de Courcy the author, and Ward suggests the possibility of there being a son Jean (mentioned previously) to whom this signature might belong. Apart from the obvious unlikelihood of so prolonged a life, Paulin Paris(5) and Paul Meyer(6) point out a note in La Vallière manuscript of La Bouquechardière, to the effect that "Celuy qui composa ce livre trespassa à Caudebec le penultième jour de Octobre, l'an mil quatre cens xxxi. Priès Dieu pour lui"(7). As in 1416 when writing his moral history he described himself as "moy", Jehan de Courcy, chevalier normant, plain de jours et vydie de jennesce, desirant l'estat de pais et de repos"(8), it seems probable that the year 1431 saw the completion of his life.

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(1) Dict. de la Noblesse, Vol. VI, Col.344. xii.

(2) Armorial Général. Régistre Quatrième. De Quesnoy. II degré.

(3) Paulin Paris. Manuscrits françois, Vol.2. p.333.

(4) Ward. ibid. Vol I. p.

(5) Paulin Paris, ibid. Vol.2. p.333.

(6) Paul Meyer. Alexandre le Grand. Tome II, p.348.

(7) Paulin Paris, ibid. Vol.2. p.333 quotes this from Bibl.Nat.

21024.

(8) Harleyan.4376.folio 1.

In the "Chemin de Vaillance ou le Songe Doré" the author gives a short account of himself in the Epilogue:

En l'an mil cccc et six  
Par ans et par moy suy resis,  
Moy, Jehan de Courcy, qui traittie  
Ay, en viel aage, ce traittie,  
Au mieulz que j'ay peu concepvoir  
Et enseignement recepvoir.  
Fait fu a Caudebec sur Saine  
Par desennuy et foyr paine,  
Conclut de juing le jour dixieme  
En mon an soixante sixieme.  
Pour Dieu en gre le veulliez prendre.  
Et s'aulcun me vouloit reprendre  
De chose que je mis y aye  
Pardonnez moi, car je songoye.(1)

The last clause seems to be a pun on the form of his poem and his own old age.

There is a discrepancy in the dates given in this allegory as to the time of its composition, for, when speaking of the sixth age of the world, occur the following lines:

Le mien VIe est vaillable  
Quy a dure de temps estable  
Puis l'avenement Jhesucrist  
Jusques au temps de cest escript  
Mil cccc et xxiiii.  
Et encor me puis bien esbatre,  
Car il durera fermement  
Jusques au jour du jugement.....(2)

Thus the difficulty is presented of reconciling these two contradictory dates, 1424 as the commencement and 1406 as the termination of the poem. L'Abbé de la Rue thought that Jean de

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(1) Royal 14.E.ii.

(2) Ditto.

Courcy was 66 in 1406(1) but this statement was made before the material now at our disposal was current. The solution offered by Ward is as follows: "Moreover the lines about the year 1424 form an essential part of the speech of the world, and they do not look as though the scribe had tampered with them. And again, the date of 1424 agrees better than 1406 with what we know of Jean de Courcy, seigneur of Bourg-Achard who is supposed by De la Rue and others (and, we believe, correctly supposed) to have been the author of the present poem"(2). This explanation is accepted by Paul Meyer(3), and the verdict is given added authority by M. Piaget by the discovery in the third book of an allusion to the burning of Jean Huss, an event which took place in 1415(4). He is thus confident that the literary work of Jean de Courcy dated from 1416-1422, being the Bouquechardière, whilst his second, Le Chemin de Vaillance, was composed between the years 1424 and 1426(5). If these opinions are accepted, then in 1416 he was 56 years old advancing in the sixth age of "Viellesce"(6), possibly further aged by hardship and war(7), and 66 in 1426(8). It is easy enough to see the explanation given that in the line "En l'an mil cccc et six" the 'vingt' dropped out owing to a scribal error(9), or perhaps by

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(1) L'Abbé de la Rue. Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, Tome iii p.284.

(2) Ward, ibid. Vol I. p.897.

(3) Paul Meyer, ibid. Vol.II. p.348.

(4) Romania, 1898. p.590. (5) Romania, 1898. p.590.

(6) See Le Chemin de Vaillance, line 1400 in text.

(7) Ward, ibid. Vol.I. p.900. (8) Royal 14.E.ii.

(9) Ward, ibid. Vol.I. p.899.

the scribe mistaking xx for et or its abbreviation, but there is also a flaw in the line "mil cccc et xxiiii" where there are only seven syllables instead of the customary eight. If again allowance is made for the copyist's mistake and 'an' is inserted at the beginning of the line (and many of the dates in the poem are so prefaced(1)), the line is perfect; whereas if 1404 were to be accepted to agree with de la Rue's statement that it was written in 1406(2), the scansion would remain incorrect, thus: "an mil quatre cens et quatre". So there appears to be no alternative but to concur with previous opinions that Le Chemin de Vaillance was written between 1424 and 1426, although it appears to be an extraordinary coincidence that the two lines important for the actual dating of the poem should both have suffered mistakes at the hand of the copyist.

It is worth remarking on the subject of dates, as Ward has already noted(3), that the duration of the various stages in the description of the seven ages of man does not tally with that of the world.

The Ages of Man.

The Ages of the World.

Enfance

Puericie..... 7 - 15

Adolescence.... 15 - 25 ..... - 21

Jonesse..... 25 - 35 ..... 21 - 31

Homme..... 35 - 40 ..... 31 - 51

Viellesse..... 40 - 70 ..... 51 - 66

Decrepite..... 70 - ..... 66 - eternity.

The origins of these divisions have so far eluded discovery.

(1) e.g. Le Chemin de Vaillance, epilogue, 'l'an mil cccc et six'.

(2) L'Abbé de la Rue, ibid. Tome III. p.284.

(3) Ward, ibid. Vol.I. p.896.

Of himself Jean de Courcy supplies several details in his work. He was already old and "desirant l'estat de pais et de repos"(1) this "chevalier normant"(2) when he wrote the Bouque-chardière, no longer able "mon corps exposer au fait de la guerre"(3), or "plus pour la guerre servir"(4), a description which agrees well with his version of old age in Le Chemin de Vaillance(5). Yet it seems that he enjoyed his warrior days, or at least did not regret them, for there is no sorrowing for his country's peace despite the pitiful state of Normandy at the time(6), no grief and anger for the stupidity of warfare such as is found in Charles d'Orléans or Alain Chartier(7).

His upbringing must have been that of any man of his position at that time. Versed in the art of war(8) (as may be seen in his long discussions with Hardiesse and Franchise in the Chemin de Vaillance), he was an educated man, understanding music(9) (l.1228 Le Chemin de Vaillance) and literature(10), so that he finds "ay mise ma plaisirance a traictier ces matieres tout au mieulz que j'ay peu"(11). His descriptions of child-

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(1) Harleyan. 4376. folio I. (2) Ditto.

(3) Ditto. (4) Ditto.

(5) Le Chemin de Vaillance, ll.1351-1400 in the text.

(6) Mem. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. Vol.xix. p.155; Gaston Paris, Chansons du XVe siècle, Chanson lxviii; Cranel, Lettres sur l'histoire de Normandie, p.132. etc.

(7) Charles d'Orléans, Oeuvres I, p.261. Alain Chartier, Oeuvres p.394. e.g.

(8) Léon Gautier, La Chevalerie, p.170.

(9) Léon Gautier, ibid. p.149.

(10) Ditto.

(11) Harleyan. 4376. folio I.

hood and youth (11.1159-1302 Le Chemin de Vaillance) are comparable with those of Froissart(1), and prove that his own early days were spent in a conventional manner, playing with his contemporaries, studying, and acquiring those graces necessary to the young nobles of the age.

He clearly benefitted by the education he received ("a higher education reserved to the ecclesiastics and men of noble rank" (2)), and read and employed for his own writing Latin authors not then translated into French(3), so that he may be considered "un homme fort instruit pour son temps"(4).

It must in no way be considered, however, that Jean de Courcy was a mediaeval prototype of the present day retired army colonel who spends his declining years in literary activities such as writing letters to the Times, or handbooks on military tactics and society etiquette. Such is the vision which l'Abbé de la Rue tries to conjure up(5), but the narrative is too well sustained, the philosophical interest in the moral problems themselves too great, to allow of acceptance of the theory that the 'Chemin de Vaillance' was written as a guide for the young knights of the day.

His appreciation of literature was sincere and profound, his own literary style easy and pleasant. Above all he was an

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(1) Froissart, Oeuvres poetiques, Vol.I. p.147, etc.

(2) Gabriel Compayre, History of Pedagogy, p.80.

(3) Paul Meyer, ibid. Tome II. p.348.

(4) Ditto.

(5) L'Abbé de la Rue, ibid. Tome III. p.285.

observer, tinging his every illustration with realism, "chacun de ses portraits est tracé d'après les mœurs et les usages du siècle dans lequel il écrivait"(1). It is this gift of noting details of every day life(2), this sympathy with the tastes of the life he knew and had fully savoured, which makes his writing agreeable and interesting. And we are indebted to the cessation of his active life which made him "en viel aage", "por desennuy et fuyr paine"(3) pen his vast allegory of "Le Chemin de Vaillance."

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(1) L'Abbé de la Rue, *ibid.* Tome III. p.315.

(2) e.g. *Le Chemin de Vaillance*, ll. 1159-1448.

(3) *Le Chemin de Vaillance*; Royal 14.E.ii. Epilogue.

## C H A P T E R   V I .

### L I T E R A R Y   S O U R C E S .

#### LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE.

It has already been remarked that Le Chemin de Vaillance was greatly influenced by the Roman de la Rose and the three pilgrimages of Guillaume de Deguileville(1). Following the tradition consolidated by the Roman de la Rose(2) allegorical, didactic and moral writings marched hand in hand throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries(3). Allegory became popular even to the extent of its introduction into lyrical poetry(4), and there is hardly an author of the latter part of the fourteenth century and much of the fifteenth, who is not guilty of abuse of this literary adornment. It is not surprising then to find that Jean de Courcy followed this trend of literature when he composed his vast poem. So convincing is the comparison of certain extracts from the Roman de la Rose and le Chemin de Vaillance, however, that there can be no doubt but that the former's influence was exerted not only as regards the form, but in actual detail also. In the portion of the manuscript under con-

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(1) Romania, No.27. 1898. p.583.

(2) Mary Wood, The Spirit of Protest in Old French Literature, p.15. Champion, La Libraire de Charles d'Orleans, p.15. Shears, Froissart, p.199. Gaston Paris, La Litterature Française au Moyen Age, p.183.

(3) Petit'de Julleville, Histoire de la Litterature Française, Tome II. p.150.

(4) Gaston Paris, La Poésie du Moyen Age. Deuxième Série, pp. 227 and 259.

sideration there is little to show the influence of the form of the Roman de la Rose other than such personifications as Char, Le Monde, and Jonesse; but in viewing the poem as a whole, the very fact that the setting, or excuse, for the protracted allegory is a dream dreamed one fine day in rural surroundings, the object being the search for the author's lady (the Virgin Mary), the vision of whom is vouchsafed only after succumbing to and overcoming the many obstacles and temptations that beset a journey through the world, suffices to show how profoundly affected was Jean de Courcy, and the numerous digressions on moral topics prove him to have respected rather the work of Jean de Meun than that of Guillaume de Lorris.

In actual detail there are many incidents, even lines, borrowed direct from the Roman de la Rose by the later poet. Thus their conception of Avarice does not differ widely:

O! douces riches morteus,  
Dites, donc estes vous or teus  
Que vous faciez beneurees  
Genz qui si vous ont enmeurees?  
Car, quant plus vous assempleront  
E plus de peeur trembleront; (R. de Rose.5257).

Mes autres sont filz d'avarice.....  
Ains en seuffrent necessite  
Faignans vivre en charite;  
(Ains on peur que le bien leur faille  
Que je leur ottroye et baille)  
Comme chetifz et malheureux  
Quy de bien vivre sont peureux,  
Et ont crainte d'avoir souffrette. (396).

E pour qu'il orent or chiere,  
La terre firent escorcher,  
E li s'achierent des entailles  
Ses anciens repostailles,  
Metauz et pierres precieuses  
Don genz devindrent envieuses,  
Car Avarice et Couvoitise  
Ont les cueurs des omes assise

La grant ardeur d'aveir acquerre....(R. de Rose 9569),  
a similar sentiment being expressed in line 3009.

Ainsy fait Convoitise arder,  
Et ses disciples regarder  
Comment tout puissent assambler  
Tollis prendre, ravir, embler,  
Et a eulz tous aprovrier. (787).

Les ungz par plait, autres par guerre  
S'entretollent maisons et terre,  
Regnes, chateaulz et manandises;  
En pluiseurs manieres et guises  
Et pour celle occasion  
Mettent ilz a destruction  
Tout le peuple.....(812).

In satirical vein discussing the state of the world there  
is much comparable with the description of Faux Semblant (R. de  
la Rose, 11007 etc.), especially concerning the church (468 etc.)  
although this satire does not mean that either man was irreli-  
gious(1).

Je mains avec les orguilleurs  
Les veziez, les artilleurs,  
Qui mondaines eneurs couvertent (R. de la Rose, 11037)

Mais les prelats de Saint Eglise  
Ont ma puissance partout guise,  
Mes biens, mes superflitez (581).

Religieux sont tuit piteus,  
Ja n'en verreeiz d'un despiteus;  
Il n'ont cure d'orgueil ensivre  
Tuit se veulent umblement vivre.  
Avec teus jens ja ne maindra,  
Et se j'i mains, je m'i faindrai; (R. de la Rose,  
11028).

Autres en secularite  
Quy hayrent moy et mon affaire  
Tant que ilz ne me veulent faire  
Servitude ne reverence,

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(1) Léon Cledat, Rutbeuf. p.107.

Aincois vivent par abstinence....  
Donc je les haiz et doy hayr  
Tant que je ne les puis veyr,  
Pour ce que conte ne tiennent  
De ceulz quy ma gloire maintiennent....(476).

...des faus religieus...  
Qui l'abit en veule vestir  
E ne veulent leur cueurs mestir. (R.de la Rose, 11024)

Qu'ocultement ou en couvert  
Tantost ne m'ayent recouvert  
Quelque habit ne quelque couronne  
Que la religion leur donne,  
Ne me laissent ilz a amer. (531).

Si ne veuil je mie blasmer  
Religion ne diffamer,  
En quelque habit que l'en la truisse;  
Ja religion, que je puisse,  
Umblement et leial ne blasmerai  
Nepourquant ja ne l'amerai. (R. de la Rose, 11017).

Combien que ces choses ne die  
Pour les usans de bonne vie  
Vivans en contemplation  
Ens, ou hors de, religion,  
Ceulz que je haiz parfaitement  
Car me heent pareillement. (539).

This last sentiment may also be compared with line 11087  
in the Roman. Further comparisons of Avarice and the church  
may be seen in:

....mon fait leur est aggreadable  
Boire et mengier a ma table,  
Estre servis com je seroye,  
Puis prendre mes esbatemens  
Et mes mondains eslievemens  
Comme moy... (593).

Et vont... pourchacant les acointances  
Des poissanz omes e les sivent;  
E se font povre, e il se vivent  
Des bons morseaus delicieus  
E beivent les vins precieus;  
E la povrete vous preeschent,  
E les granz richeces peeschent. (R. de la Rose, 11041)

Si le quiere au siecle ou en cloistre,  
Nul leu, fors en ces deus, ne mains  
Maris je n'l'un plus, en l'autre mains;  
Buement je me vois ateler  
La ou je me cuit meauz celer;  
S'est la celee plus seure  
Souz la plus umble vesteure.  
Religieux sont mout couvert,  
Seculer sont plus aouvert. (R. de la Rose. 11007).

Mais ilz mettent toute leur cure  
Secretement, en tapinage,  
De moy avoir argent ou gage... (498).  
Et les cloistriers religieux -  
Soyent righiez ou mendians -  
Envers moy sont humilians  
Et ayment tout couvertement  
Mon fait et mon gouvernement. (606).

The examples of the early stages of the world when all apparently was tranquility and bliss under the sway of Justice, bear a marked resemblance.

Pour ce, compainz, li ancien,  
Senz servitude e senz lien,  
Paisiblement, senz vilenie,  
S'entreportaient compaignie,  
N'il ne donasse pas franchise  
Pour l'or d'Arabe ne de Frise;  
Car qui tout l'or en voudrait prendre  
Ne la pourroit il pas bien vendre.  
N'estoit lors nul pelerinage,  
N'issait nus hors de son rivage  
Pour cherchier estrange contree... (R. de la Rose, 9493)  
Mais le prumier don je vous conte  
Ne scavaient que nagier monte;  
Trestout trouvaient en leur terre  
Quanque leur semblait bon a querre.  
Riche estaient tuit egaument  
E s'entraiment leiaument.  
Ainsinc paisiblement vivaient,  
Car naturelement s'entraimaient  
Les simples genz de bone vie...  
L'uns ne demandait riens a l'autre... (R. de la Rose,  
9516)

Ce fut quant vivoit Abraham  
Que tous, sans paine et sans ahan,  
Cueilloient les fruits de la terre  
Sans plait, sans debat et sans guerre,  
Parce que la Dame Raison  
Gouvernoit en toute saison

Mon peuple en tel unite,  
En amour, en tranquilite  
Les faisoit aler et venir  
Et en bon amour convenir  
Par quoy Justice se seoit  
Joyeuse de ce qu'el veoit. (859)  
Lesquelz en la loy de Nature  
Avoient prins leur nourreture  
Et vescu bestielement,  
Sans labeur, sans continent,  
Mes seulement vivoient des choses  
Quy n'estoient de nulz encloses  
Sans avoirs, sans possessions  
Ne pour chasser deceptions. (2219).

Besides these several of the descriptions of allegorical figures, particularly those described in the seven ages of man, tally closely.

In the portrait of Old Age, Viellece in the Roman de la Rose and Decrepite in Le Chemin de Vaillance, occur almost identical passages:

A poine qu'el se pooit paistre. (R. de la Rose, 342).

Et tant que lors la failloit paistre  
Et luy mettre tout en la bouche. (1432).

Toute sa teste estoit chenue  
E blanche con s'el fust flori. (R. de la Rose, 346).

Ses cheveulz blons, la barbe blanche. (1413).

Qu'el n'alast mie la montance  
De quatre toises senz potence. (R. de la Rose, 359).

Ja yert plaine d'impotence,  
Et sapviolet d'une potente; (1412).

Et ne se pooit mais aidier,  
Ainz retornoit ja en enfance;  
Car certes el n'avoit poissance, (R. de la Rose, 340).

Car ja estoit toute retraitte,  
En l'estat d'Enfance attraitte,  
Car de riens servir ne povoit. (1416).

Ele avoit este sage e entre  
Quant ele iert en son droit aage;

Mais je cuit qu'el n'iert mais sage  
Ainz estoit toute rassotee. (R. de la Rose, 395).

Et toutes ses vertues perdues  
Tant qu'elle fusent revenues  
En l'essence du premier aage,  
Sans estre mais discret ne sage; (1423).

Bien fu vestue chaudement... (R. de la Rose, 403).  
Elle ot d'une chapeau fourree  
Mout bien. (R. de la Rose, 400).

Vestue estoit chaudement, (1405).  
..... chapeau fourre. (1407).

There are similarities between the descriptions of Tristece  
(R. de la Rose 291-338. 1929-1933), and in further detail:

Mais bien paroit a sa color  
Qu'ele avoit au cuer grant dolor. (R. de la Rose, 293)

Toute lasse, deschevelee,  
De courroux plaine et de douleur. (2665).

Onques rien nee en tel martire  
Ne fu mais ne n'ot si grant ire. (R. de la Rose, 304).

Par son courroux et par son ire  
Estoit tout son corps a martire. (2672).

Je cui que nous ne li seust  
Faire rien qui li peust plaire; (R. de la Rose, 307).

Tant ireuse, tant desplaisant,  
Que chose ne luy fut plaisant,  
Ne en rien plaisir ne prenoit. (2681).

En naint leu l'avoit desciree,  
Con cele qui mout iert iriee  
Si chevel tuit destrecie furent,  
E espandu par son col jurent; (R. de la Rose, 317).

Son vis, ses cheveulz deschirez,  
Tant les eut rompus et tirez  
Que mais n'avoit entiere tresse  
Que n'eust rompu par son destresse. (2675).

Qu'ele ploroit mout parfondement. (R. de la Rose, 324).

Car elle plouroit tendrement. (2685).

Sachiez de voir qu'il n'a talent  
De dancier ne de queroler.

Nus ne se poroit amoler,  
Qui duel eust a joie faire,  
Car joie e diaus sont dui contraire. (R. de la Rose,  
334).

Et aloit sa vie emblant  
Pour luy vouloir desesperer,  
Comme on povoit esperer,  
Et son corps livrer au sossier. (2690).

The portrayal of Haine (R. de la Rose 139-152), has resemblances:

Courroceuse e tenconerresse...  
Ainz sembloit fame forsenee. (R. de la Rose, 142).

Ainsy que femme fortunee,  
Hors du sens, toute enragee. (2668).

The description of Povrete owes various lines to those of Envie, Avarice and Povrete in the Roman de la Rose.

De palete ne de maigrece (R. de la Rose, 297).

Palle et maigre malement. (2115).

Je cuit qu'ele acorast de froit. (R. de la Rose, 447)

Car en temps chault a grant ardure  
Et en temps d'yver grant froidure. (2139).

Cote avoit viez et derompue  
Come s'el fust as chiens remue; (R. de la Rose, 208).

Sy n'avoit aucun garnement  
Quy viel ne fust, et deschire,  
Comme se les chiens detire  
L'eussent contre val la rue. (2117).

Povre estoit la cote e esrese  
E pleine de viez paletiaus. (R. de la Rose, 210).

En sa robe avoit de plez,  
De clus, et de grosses coustures  
De piecettes, de refaittures, (2128).

The descriptions of Oyseuse and Deduiz though vaguely similar to those of Repos and Joye are not peculiarly alike, while those of Richece (R. de la Rose 1017-1108, 2071, etc.)

agree only in the stressing in both of the rich costumes.

Strangely, too, the portrait of Jonesse (1255-1303) owes practically nothing to that of the Roman de la Rose (4463-4490).

It is in the treatment of Fortune that the strongest resemblance takes place, and it is in this passage that Jean de Courcy most closely followed the Roman de la Rose, his whole conception of the fickle goddess, variable and cruel, having been inspired by the work of Jean de Meun. That he interposed ideas and examples from other works, changed the sequence of observations, added an "epitre de Fortune" and a version of four small wheels contained in the one large one, does not in any way detract from the debt he owed the earlier writer for this long passage. The following extracts will show to what extent he borrowed not only ideas but often the very words of the Roman.

En poi d'eure son semblant mue;  
Une eure rit, autre eure est morne; (R. de la Rose,  
3983).

Laquelle de corps et de visage  
Estoit com femme inconstante,  
Variable, souvent muante, (1516).

E celuy qui est sor la roe  
Reverse a un tor en la boe; (R. de la Rose, 3989).

De cheoir de si haut estage  
Com il est et venu a terre  
Par ses muances, (1943).

(It is interesting to note that it is only in the Chemin de Vaillance that Fortune herself may suffer reversal on the wheel (1555-1566), while in the Roman de la Rose she guides it herself supreme).

Mais la contraire e la parverse,  
Quant de leur granz estaz les verse,  
E les tombe, au tour de la roe,  
Dou somet envers en la boe, (R. de la Rose, 4893).

Ains tournoie tousjours sa roe,  
Maintenant or, puis tantost boe, (1568).  
Car il est nul, tant soit grant mestre,  
Quant il est en son plus hault estre,  
Que sitost que le veul huchier  
Jus ne la face tresbuchier; (1937).

Laisse li sa roe tourner  
Qu'el tourne ades senz sejourner, (R. de la Rose,  
5901).

Emmy une roe assise  
Laquelle tournoit par tel guise  
Que riens ne la peut arrester,  
Ne ung moment en paix ester. (1653).

Les uns de richeces avugle,  
E d'eneurs e de dignitez,  
Aux autres donne povretez  
E quant li plaist, tout en reporte; (R. de la Rose,  
5904).

Car j'ay tout en obediene.  
Comme je veul, toy et ton peuple,  
Veuilles ou non, destruis, repeuple  
Des contrees ou tu habites.  
Les grandes fais venir petites,  
Et les petites grans devinir. (1878).

The passage extending from line 1701 to 1762, attributed by Jean de Courcy to Aristotle (as he again does in line 2475) resembles closely lines 5921-6118 in the Roman de la Rose, a passage which is itself almost a direct translation from Alain de Lille's Anticlaudianus(1). This extract dealing with Fortune and the sea is too long to allow of quotation, but the existing similarities are very great. Further the description

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(1) J. P. Migne. ccx. Alani de Insulis. (Anticlaudianus, Lib. VII, Cap. VIII).

of her house (1763-1796) follows closely that of the Roman de la Rose (6093-6114), which is also an imitation of Alain de Lille(1). The idea of one half of the dwelling being wealthy and one half poverty-stricken occurs in both poems:

.... onques maison  
Moult reluist d'une part, car gent  
I sont li mur d'or e d'argent,  
Si est toute la couverture  
De cele meismes faiture.  
Ardanz de pierres precieuses  
Mout clers e mout vertueuses. (R. de la Rose, 6098).

L'une moitie est moult propice  
De fin or faitte est couverte  
Sy bien que chose est apperte,  
Des grandes euvres somptueuses  
Et des pierres precieuses....  
Sy bien et si tresrichement  
Qu'on ne pourroit aucunement  
Mieulz faire, ne edifier. (1770).

D'autre part sont li mur de boe,  
Qui n'ont pas d'espes pleine paume;  
S'est toute couverte de chaume. (R. de la Rose, 6106).

Car l'autre part de ceste sale  
Sy est faitte d'œuvre trop male,  
De chaume, de boe, de terre,  
Tant povre qu'on ne scavoit guerre  
Sy meschant ne sy malheureuse.... (1779).

The theory expounded of the two fountains one of which was sweet and one sour (1885-1919) is a direct adaptation of one in the Roman de la Rose (5978-6067) from which phrases are exactly copied:

Car cil qui plus en vont bevant  
Ardent plus de seif que devant; (R. de la Rose, 1908).

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(1) Ernest Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, p. 149.

Gfeigneur soif avoit que devant,  
Par quoy ceulz, guy en vont beuvant  
Ont tousjours soif et tousjours boivent, ... (1898).

Further similarities are noticeable. For instance on the instability of Fortune:

E pour ce qu'ele est si parverse  
Que les bons en la boe verse  
E les desenuere e les grieve  
E les mauvais en haut eslieve  
E leur done a grant abandons. (R. de la Rose, 6165).

Celuy veult Fortune garder  
Tant com luy plaira, sur sa roe,  
Puis le tumbera en la boe  
Quant assez l'aura esleve,  
En mes biens et honneurs leve. (2540).

Tousjours se vest de fourme estrange (R. de la Rose,  
1754).

Ne se tient en fourme aucune (1756).

The double Fortune (1573-1614) may be compared with the description in the Roman de la Rose (6120-1655), one half having the appearance of wealth and charm, one of impecunious misery.

E quant ileuc se veit cheue,  
Sa chiere e son abit remue,  
E si se desnue e desrobe  
Qu'ele est or orfeline de robe,  
E semble qu'el n'ait riens vaillant  
Tant li vont tuit bien defaillant... (R. de la Rose,  
6154).

D'elle meisme faisoit muance  
Par son regard, par sa samblance,  
Car premier estoit d'or vestue,  
Tost aprez sambloit toute nue,  
Et aornee povrement  
De bien desole garnement. (1605).

One example of Fortune (1787), attributed to Homer, must, considering the history of this passage in the Roman de la Rose (1)

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(1) Le Roman de la Rose, edit. Langlois. Tome III, p. 271.

have been copied from the work of Jean de Meun.

Jupiter en toute saison  
A seur le sueil de sa maison,  
Ce dit Homers, deus pleins toneaus;  
Si n'est veauz ne garconeaus....  
Qui vie en cet monde receive,  
Qui de ces deux toneaus ne beive  
C'est une taverne pleniere,  
Don Fortune est taverniere....  
Car bien e mal a chascun verse,  
Si come ele est douce e parverse.  
Ne ja sus si liez ne sera,  
Quant il bien se pourpensera,  
Qu'il ne truisse en sa graigneur aise  
Quelque chose qui li desplaise.  
Ne ja tant de meschief n'avra,  
Quant bien pourpenser ne savra,  
Qu'il ne truisse en son desconfort  
Quelque chose qui le confort, etc....

(R. de la Rose,  
6813-6854).

Plus avant leus, sans respirer,  
Sy trouvay comme Juppiter,  
Ainsy comme Omer le recite  
Dedens icelle page escripte,  
A celuy en toute saison  
Devant le seul de sa maison  
Deux tonneaux plains de vin ou biere,  
Dont Fortune est taverniere.  
A toutes gens en done a boire  
Pour en retenir le memoire.  
L'ung sy est doulz et cler tenu,  
Mais tost aigre est devenu;  
L'autre aigre, plain de douleur,  
Mais pou en celle saveur dure  
Qu'elle ne soit trouble ou sure  
Par la mutation legiere  
De Fortune la taverniere,  
Quy ainsy ses breuvages part,  
Et a quy qu'el veult en depart. (1787).

Hence it is evident that not only was the general form and style, the mixture of moral and literary digressions, largely inspired by the Roman de la Rose which supplied whole passages which, if not directly copied, at least imitated; but there is sufficient material, if the position of most of the lines

quoted from the Roman is considered(1), to show that the greater influence was exerted by Jean de Meun, a few cases only being due to Guillaume de Lorris.

GUILLAUME DE DEGUILLEVILLE.

Though the influence of the Roman de la Rose was exceptionally strong, yet it was to some extent modified by that exerted by the works of Guillaume de Deguileville, particularly the "Pelerinage de Vie Humaine"(2). In this there is a greater moral and religious force in the allegory to which Jean de Courcy's quest for his lady, an adventure not the result of adoration of a mere woman but for the Virgin Mary, proves him to have been not insensible. It is in the whole rather than in the peculiar that this influence may be observed, for in the present portion there is practically nothing for which Le Chemin de Vaillance is indebted to de Deguileville, except perhaps for the appointment of Jonesse as mentor to l'Acteur and the subsequent failure and dismissal of this gay companion (an event which takes place rather later than l'Acteur's acceptance of Le Monde's invitation to him, a similar episode being found in Le Pelerinage de Vie Humaine, 11782 etc.). There is a similarity of ideas in the picture of Nature clothing the world in Springtime (Pelerinage de Vie Humaine, 1569. Chemin de Vaillance, 1725), but this occurs frequently in poetry of this time (e.g. Charles d'Orleans,

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(1) Le Roman de la Rose, edit. Ernest Langlois, Vol. I. p.8.  
(2) Guillaume de Deguileville, edit. Stürzinger, Vol. I.

Tome I. p. 307). Strangely there is little comparable between the descriptions of Avarice (*Pelerinage de Vie Humaine*, 9201; *Chemin de Vaillance*, 149, etc.), or even of Viellesse (*Pelerinage de Vie Humaine*, 13225 etc.; *Chemin de Vaillance*, 1405, etc.). Despite the inability to attribute specific passages to the fourteenth century poet, yet the style of *Le Chemin de Vaillance*, its form with its ultimate aim and moral significance, the peculiarities of its versification, prove that in conception and composition the work of Guillaume de Deguileville exerted almost as profound an influence as the *Roman de la Rose*.

#### LATIN SOURCES.

Apart from the effect produced by these allegorical works on Jean de Courcy, there are many other sources of inspiration to be traced in his poem. Many of the references to ancient mythology, history and philosophy which occur may be found in mediæval French writings, and as such give neither proof of the poet's knowledge of Latin (which he certainly possessed(1)), nor of the actual origin of the quotations. Nevertheless, there are some which, by virtue of their close connection with Latin originals force the conclusion that not only was Jean de Courcy thoroughly conversant with Latin, but that he availed himself of material in that language to embellish his own narrative.

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(1) Paul Meyer. *Alexander le Grand*. Tome II. p. 348.

THEOPHANES(1) and CEDRENU(2).

The example of Chosdroe (3128) may take its being from Cedrenus with possible augmentations from Theophanes. There appears to be no other mention of this Persian king in French literature of the period, (though the subject of this sort of architecture was popular in earlier romances(3)), but there are grounds for suspicion that it does occur in some intervening text, for it is given a semi-moral explanation and is preceded by the story of Cathononakes (3083) (so far untraced except for similarities with a passage in le Roman de Troie(4)), and it is noticeable that two examples following each other so closely are usually of the same derivation. Moreover, the distortion of 'Chosdroe' from 'Chosroes' seems to support the supposition.

Cedrenus gives the following account:

"Inter urbes autem Gazacum cepit. Ea in urbe fuit sanum solis, thesauris Croesi Lydorum regis, et impostura casbonum. Ingressus autem in eam, aboninandum offendit Chosroe simulachrum, et effigiem eius in globi formam, referente palatis tholo tanquam in cælo sedentem. Circum erant sol, luna, et astra, quibus ille superstitiosus tanquam deis serviebat, circumstantibus sibi angelis scepteris machinas porro impius paraverat quae eo ex loco guttas pluriae instar emitterent, sonitumque tonitus aemulum ederet"(5).

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- (1) J. P. Migne. Tomus cviii. Pat. Graecæ. S. P. N. Theophanis.  
(2) Joannis Zonare Annales, aucti additionibus Georgij Cedreni. Tomus III.  
(3) Faral. Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes. p. 320.  
(4) Constans. Le Roman de Troie. line 14361, etc.  
(5) Joannis Zonare Annales. Tomus III. p. 127a.

The account in Theophanes(1) presents a less vivid picture and does not elaborate on the throne, stressing only the king's wealth.

LIVY(2).

The tale quoted from Titus Livius (1509) has indeed its original source in Livy, Book II, 40, being part of the history of Coriolanus. It occurs also in Bercheure's translation(3), and also in his translation of Valerius Maximus(4). The former work is a possible source although there the words 'femmes' and 'dames' are preferred while Jean de Courcy uses the more Latin "matrones estans a Romme" (1511). The second is more probable as, despite the use of femmes at the beginning, the end is: "Et quāt la dedies / li dolle ou simulachre fortune parla deux fois en disant. Matrones vous me dedies a droit. Ceste matiere traicte titus livius ou second livre ab urbem dita du long(5)". The episode is also recounted in both the original(6) and Raoul de Presles' translation of book IV of Saint Augustine's "De Civitate Dei". It is difficult to know which is the direct source, the French texts or the Latin: "Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volumniamque uxorem frequentes coēunt....".(7), the

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(1) J. P. Migne. Tomus CVIII. 268.

(2) T. Livii Patavini Historiarum. Liber II.

(3) Pierre Bercheure. Cy commence le livre que fist titus livius .... second livre. XXVIII. folio 54a.

(4) Pierre Bercheure. ...le livre de Valerius Maximus translate de latin.

(5) Pierre Bercheure. ...le livre de Valerius Maximus. Book I. Chap. 5.

(6) T. Livii Patavini Historiarum. Liber II. 40.

(7) Ditto.

final passage being as Bercheure translated it. The more emphatic use of the word 'matrones' tempts one to conclude that the origin was the Latin version, but the knowledge that the translation of Valerius Maximus was employed elsewhere, lends colour to the idea that it was this volume which furnished the example.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS(1).

The extracts given from Valere (975 and 1010) are to be found in Valerius Books VI, Cap. v. 3., and V, Cap. vii. 1. The mistake of calling Zelencius a consul of Rome does not occur in Bercheure's translation(2) which adheres to the "Zaleucus urbe Locrensum"(3); it is therefore impossible to state which writer provided the material, though there is bias in favour of Bercheure in that in this text in the Table de Matiere(4) the name Zaleucus is printed as 'Zelencus', from which 'Zelencius' is an easy change (978).

The example of Brutus (1010) is also drawn from Valerius (Lib. V. Cap. vii. 1.) and is to be found in Bercheure's translation in the history of Tarquin (Bk. V. Chap. vii). The comparative brevity of the original account against the longer one of the adaption seem to point to the former having been used, but the sentence "ses deux filz et deux de sa fame" (1015), ap-

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(1) Valerii Maximi. Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium.

(2) Pierre Bercheure. ...le livre de Valerius Maximus...

(3) Ditto. Book VI. Chap. 5.

(4) Pierre Bercheure. ...le livre de Valerius Maximus. Table de Matiere.

pears to be a confusion of the French text "entre lesquels furent deux vetiliens, les deux freres de sa femme / et les deux propres filz desquelz Valerius fait mencion seulement en ceste lectre"(1). Book I, Chapter vi gave authority for the statement "Brutus, juge autentique, quy au temps Valere Publique gardoit a Romme la justice" (1011).

The case of Xerxes (2008) who fell from power on account of his over-confidence is cited in a similar context in Valerius (Lib. XI, Cap. v. 2. Bercheure, Bk. IX, Chap. 5), and may have been copied from this.

This story of Tullius Hostilius (718) bears a very slight resemblance to Valerius (Lib. IIII, Cap. iii. 1; Bercheure, Lib. III, Chap. 4) but it is unlikely that these passages are its real origin which remains untraced.

The ill-fortune of Nabugodonosor (1985) although the only stated source is "Daniel texte de Bible" (2007) (2), is not given in Valerius but in the additions of Bercheure (Bk. IX. Chap. 5) where the "grant orgueil du roy Nabugodonosor" and its results are mentioned. This is a possible source.

The description of Fortune and her fountain (1641-1700) attributed by Jean de Courcy to Fulgence, is not to be traced in the works of Favius Fulgentius, nor has it been found in any other text. In Bercheure's translation of Valerius however,

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(1) Pierre Bercheure. ...le livre de Valerius Maximus. *1641-1700* Bk. V. Chap. 7.

(2) Biblia Sacra. Vulgate Editionis. Prophetia Danielis. Caput IV. 1-54.

in the adaptor's additions (Bk. I, Chap. 5), is a collection of quotations from other writers dealing with various traditions and legends of miraculous fountains. If - an unlikely hypothesis - our poet did not imitate a portion of some hitherto unidentified work, it is possible that with the aid of his imagination he embodied several of these legends into a united account. Thus would be included: "Ysidore ou treziesme livre parla de moult diverses eaues ..... item la fontaine iob en idumee mue quatre fois l'an sa couleur et tient une couleur trois mois. les premiers mois elle est ainsi que poivre, les trois mois apres rouge comme sang, les trois apres verte, et les trois autres clere et nette." "Item solin ou chapitre ou il parle de fezille dist quil y a ung fleuve quil nomme timereus lequel si comme son canel se tourne diversement mue sa saveur / car quant il court devers midi / il est doulx et quant il court devers septentrion il est sale. Itez dist quil y a une fontaine en une region quon appelle allesma laquelle quant on joue des instruments s'eslieve et croit ainsi que selle ses sioyssoit du chant et quant on ne chante ou ioue plus elle se rassiet(1)."

Thus it is seen that Jean de Courcy clearly knew Bercheure's translation, but it is not improbable that he also knew the works of Valerius Maximus in the original.

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(1) Pierre Bercheure. ...le livre de Valerius Maximus. Book I. Chapter 5.

PLINY. (1)

The exquisite paintings of Parrhasius are mentioned several times by Pliny (Lib. xxxv, 64-72). As this painter was not as well known to mediaeval writers as the sculptor Pygmalion, the mention of him in the *Chemin de Vaillance* (1464) may indicate Pliny as the source, but the spelling Pathasius suggests that it was borrowed from some other text.

SAINT AUGUSTIN. (2)

The reference to "la Cite de Dieu" (2525) instead of "De Civitate Dei" seems to suggest that it was Raoul de Presles' translation(3) rather than Saint Augustin's own work which gave rise to this quotation in which the first book is cited, although in reality book four (even lacking the allegory) more closely resembles Jean de Courcy's observations. Another extract of Raoul de Presles' (Chap.xix) is one of the possible sources of the example given of Fortune (1509).

BOETHIUS. (4)

Strangely Boethius' *De Philosophiae Consolatione* seems to have had no direct influence on the "*Chemin de Vaillance*", in spite of the reference to Boece (2044). Indirectly through the

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(1) C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri xxxvii.

(2) Sancti Aurelii Augustini Episkepe De Civitate Dei.

(3) Raoul de Presles. Cy commence....la cite de dieu.

(4) Aniciti Manlii Severini Boetii Philosophiae Consolationis.

Roman de la Rose and Simun de Freines there are many extracts of the original work contained in the poem, not only, for instance, general concepts of the instability and cruelty of Fortune, but even in actual detail such as the description of Juppiter's two barrels of liquor and "Fortune la taverniere" (Boethius. Lib.II, Pr.ii, Roman de la Rose 6813-6854, Le Chemin de Vaillance 1787 etc.).

#### THE BIBLE.

The Old Testament furnished several examples.

The distrust of Fortune "comme dist ecclesiastiques" (2518) is to be found in the Liber Ecclesiastici (Caput x. 15-25, Caput xxxii 25-28).

The story of Nabugodonosor's downfall (1985) occurs in the Prophetia Danielis (Caput iv, 1-54).

"Quant Saul fut roy de Judee" (662) is found in Samuel I, Caput xi. 21.

The mention of Moses (837) is due to Liber Deuteronomii (Caput v. 17), while the people referred to in the discourse of the world (2205 etc.), Samuel, Adam, Cayn and Abel, Sem, Enoc, Mathusale, Noe, Abraham, Can et Jafet, David, Ysaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses and Sedichias are all of the Old Testament.

In the fifth age (2341, etc.) from the New Testament is derived the story of Christ and the Virgin.

#### OVID.(1)

The example of Lichaon (505) is drawn from the Metamor-

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(1) Publili Ovidii Nasonis Opera. Oxford.

phoseon (Lib. I. 216-228) and is probably derived direct from that source rather than from the "Ovide Moralise" where it also occurs (premier livre, 1203-1388) but so heavily encumbered with explanations as to make the first simple narrative the more likely origin of Jean de Courcy's short quotation.

The details of the portrayal of Old Age (Tristium. Lib. IV. E.viii, Epitolarum ex Ponto, Lib. I. Epistola iv, l-6) were probably not taken at first hand but transmitted through the Roman de la Rose (342 etc.).

The example of "Nisus, roy d'Archade" (2035-2053) is copied from the Metamorphoseon (Lib. VIII. i. 1-151). It does not occur in the Ovide Moralise, but in the Chemin de Vaillance the end is slightly altered, giving a practical explanation to the mythical termination:

Comme larron querant la proye,  
Desrobant les gens sur la voye,  
Tant qu'en celle desroberie  
Usa le surplus de sa vie  
En meschief et en grant tristesse. (2049)

..... vix discerat, insulit undis,  
Consequiturque rates, facient cupidine vires,  
Gnosiacaeque haeret comes invidiosa carinae.  
Quam pater ut vidit - nam iam pendebat in auras,  
Et modo factus erat fulvis haliaetus alis -  
Ibat, ut haerentem rostro laceraret adunco.  
Illa metu puppim dimisit, et aura candentem  
Sustinuisse levis, ne tangeret aequora, visa est:  
Pluma fuit: plumis in avem mutata vocatur  
Ciris, et a tonso est hoc nomen adepta capillo.  
(Metam. I. viii. 142).

The reference to Pygmalion (1499), a very frequent conventional comparison in the middle ages, has nothing but its

spelling(1) to command its claim to being derived directly from Ovid (Met. Lib. X, 243-298).

Nyobe (2497), is mentioned in the Ovide Moralise (973-1378) but as that version does not differ essentially from Ovid (Met. lib. VI, 146-312), and is certainly no more like the brief extract in Le Chemin de Vaillance, it is safe to presume that the Latin itself was imitated.

None of the passages concerning Fortune were directly influenced by Ovid, for such ideas as are common to both writers were the result of the greater effect produced by the Roman de la Rose. Nevertheless concerning certain passages, it was from Ovid himself that Jean de Courcy collected his material without recourse to the Ovide Moralise.

#### FRENCH SOURCES.

From French literature besides the two great influences of the Roman de la Rose and the pilgrimages of Guillaume de Dequileville, Jean de Courcy copied, or at least was subconsciously affected, much.

#### NICOLE BOZON.(2)

It is just possible that the passage "De periculus transitu hujus mundi....et nous qe sums en ceste vie passantz par un

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(1) e.g. Machault. Vol.II.2.1530, Pimalion; III.1.1301, 1395, Py-, malion; Froissart Vol.II.p.366, p.246. Pymalion.

(2) Les Contes Moralisés de Nicole Bozon. Frère Mineur, edit. Smith and Meyer.

ponte mout estreit et perilous, cum dit nostre Seigneur: Arte est via et ducit at vitam"(1), may have inspired the account of the Pont Fragille by which entrance was gained to the Mont de Vaine Gloire (previous to the extract of the Chemin de Vaillance under consideration but mentioned briefly in this portion (3037).

PHILIPPE DE NAVARRE. (2)

In the Quatre Ages de l'Homme some of the divisions of the ages of man might be expected to concur with those given in Le Chemin de Vaillance, but actually the only one which corresponds is "Et viellesce qui est de LX. anz en amont, et li milieu de LX. et X. anz est mout enuieus au comencement et plus a la fin, qui est de iiii. vinz ans"(3). This agrees with the dating of Viellesse by Jean de Courcy from 50 to 70 years old, Decrepite beginning at 70. This is the only point of contact.

RAOUL DE HOUDAN. (4)

"La Voye ou le Songe d'Enfer" which provided material for the Roman de la Rose(5) has given practically nothing to Le Chemin de Vaillance except through the intermediary of Jean de Meun. The effects of covetousness are recorded similarly in both works:

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(1) Les Contes Moralises de Nicole Bozon. Frere Mineur, edit. Smith and Meyer, p.45. No.29.

(2) Philippe de Navarre, Les Quatre Ages de l'Homme. edit. de

(3) Ditto. p.105. Fréville.

(4) Histoire Litteraire de la France. Tome XVIII. p.786.

(5) Ernest Langlois. Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose. p.151.

Que me herberjai chez Envie; ....  
En l'ostel avoec nous menie  
Tricherie, sa soeur Rabine;  
Et Avarice sa cousine  
Vint avoec li, .... (Songe d'Enfer. p.788)

may be compared with Le Chemin de Vaillance line 787, etc.

SIMUN DE FREINE.(1)

The adaptation of Boethius by Simun de Freine in Le Roman de Philosophie, supplied some lines to Jean de Courcy.

Prenez garde de la lune,  
Tut vet ausi de Fortune,  
Quant la lune est rude e pleine,  
Dunc descret dedens quinzeine;  
Or est avant, or arere,  
Ore oscure e ore clere ....  
Hom plus crere ne la puet  
Ke fevrer ki vente e pluet. (R. de Philosophie. 115).

Monstroit de Fortune la teche  
Quy resamble la lune plaine,  
Comme au bout de la quinzaine  
Aucune chose n'y appert,  
Pour ce quy s'y fie la pert  
Son temps, .... (1694).

These lines, the gist of which is contained in De Philosophiae Consolatione (Bk. IV Pr. VI), were modified in the adaptation from which the fifteenth century lines were taken. Passages relating to the fickleness of Fortune and her never ceasing wheel such as:

Ja sa roe ne sujurne,  
Mes tut dis entur se turne;  
Ore est haute e ore est basse,  
Unkes n'est de turner lasse. (R. de Philosophie. 303),

are common to most mediaeval writers in their compositions of the goddess(2), and hence do not prove a definite origin.

(1) Les Oeuvres de Simund de Freine. edit. Matzke.

(2) Patch. The Goddess Fortuna in Med. Lit. p.54. Fortune in Old French Lit. p.5.

GUIOT DE PROVINS. (1)

In his Bible, Guiot de Provins makes several observations on the clergy which, if not the actual source of those of Jean de Courcy, at least help to point the tradition in which he was writing, so that lines 468-650 of the Chemin de Vaillance may be compared with:

Il sont comble d'ypocrisie,  
Et d'orgueil et de symonie,  
Et d'autres vices encombe,  
Et sanz foi et sanz charite,  
Molt sont malement deceu,  
Et molt ont lor travail perdu,  
Et les biauz moz et les biaus dis  
Que il recordent es escris. (Bible. 2372).

ESTIENNE DE FOUGIERES. (2)

Similarly in the Livre des Manieres, Estienne de Fougieres levelled these charges at the clergy, much of the same nature as those which later appear in Le Chemin de Vaillance,

Il pressent moult abstinence  
Mes autre est moult lor concience.  
L'un a l'autre de beivre tence;  
Et aus noalz est lor consence. (Livre des Manieres. 197)

which may have been transmitted through the Roman de la Rose, but which in any case corresponds in spirit with,

Combien que Constrainte Abstinence  
Faintement leur en fait deffense,  
Et dist que de moy n'ayent cure.  
Mais chacun d'eulz vers moy procure  
D'estre de mes biens parconniers, ... (613).

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(1) Fabliaux et Contes de Poètes François. edit. Meon. Tome II .  
p. 307.

(2) Estienne Von Fougères. Livre des Manières. edit. Josef Kremer.

LE VERS DE LE MORT. (1)

In like manner does Li Vers de le Mort offer an instance of the corrupt clergy and their hypocrisy and greed (Vers de le Mort. p.16. XL): In the description of Viellece:

Car toute nature s'adrecess  
Le cors tient si fraile et si froit,  
Juner ne villier ne porroit.  
En languissant manjue et boit  
Et fait de caut lit fortterece,  
Dusqu'adont que mors le decoit. (Vers de le Mort. p.68.  
CLXVII.)

there is a similarity, perhaps purely conventional, with the later essay on Viellesse:-

Bon feu dedens sa cheminee,  
Bon mol lit, et grasse pasture,  
Celuy admonestoit Nature  
De quelque estat qu'il eust este  
Fust en yver ou en este. (1389).

In common with his contemporaries the author held the view that,

Couvoitise tient de maistrie  
Orgueil et haine et envie. (Vers de le Mort, p.76.  
CLXXXIX).

an opinion also expressed by Jean de Courcy. (787)

HUON DE MERY. (2)

The same sentiment occurs in Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit:

Avarice ot en son conroi  
Grant gent, mes molt i ot Romains;  
Coveitise n'en ot mas meins  
Qui est sa cosine germeine;  
Rapine bien autant en meine  
Com Avarice et coveitise. (Tornoiemenz Antecrit, p.52.  
64).

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(1) Li Vers de le Mort. edit. Windahl.

(2) Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit von Huon de Mery. edit. Wimmer.

Hence with all these expressions of the same idea it is difficult to decide whether it was direct from one of these poems or through the Roman de la Rose, which had itself been influenced by them, that Jean de Courcy accepted this tradition; but while allowing for the possibility of these poems being the real sources, the preponderance of other examples taken from Jean de Meun, suggest the greater probability of his work alone having been the real origin.

GUILLAUME LE CLERC. (1)

In Le Besant de Dieu the portrayal of Viellesse is noticeably like that in Le Chemin de Vaillance.

E quant il ne peut mes pecchier  
Ne par sei lever ne cochier  
E il est si vielz qu'il redote,  
Donc est il autrefeiz enfant.  
Cels loe qui furent avant,  
Cels blasme qui sont endreit lui.  
Donc recommence son enui.  
Donc li recovrent il norice.  
Donc ne prend il rien a delice.  
Donc est frailes e acorbiz.  
Donc comence son ploreiz.  
Les orailles li assordissent,  
Le chief croille, les denz porrissent.  
Ne se puet abevrer, ne pestre  
Grant ennui est dentor lui estre.  
Donc le recovrent il bercier.  
Doncei a mult a adrescier  
Ne puet aler ne ens ne hors.  
Li put l'aleine e tut le cors.  
En son lit fait tut son afaire,  
Donc li est tute rien contraire.  
En ceste misere languist  
Desqu'a tant que l'alme s'en ist.  
Del vessel ord qui l'a honie  
Par orgoil e par glotonie. (Li Besant. p.41, 1409)

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(1) Le Besant de Dieu von Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie.  
edit. Martir.

Whether it was from this poem or through the Roman de la Rose, the fact is that there are similar ideas and lines in the two poems:

Par defection de puissance  
Retornoit en l'estat d'Enfance.....(1419)  
..... lors la failloit paistre,  
Et luy mettre tout en la bouche,...(1432)  
Seant.... prez du feu...  
La plus grande part de l'annee.... (1410)

The treatment of the greedy spendthrift in Le Chemin de Vaillance has indications that it was influenced by the earlier work:

Donc ne fine del suen despendre  
Tant que il n'a mes rien que prendre.  
E quant il a tut despendu,  
Dont vait embler; si est pendu  
Ou essorbe ou esmanche.... (Li Besant, p.9. 297).

Autre part me couvient entendre  
Sy demeurant chetifz et laz  
Tant qu'en la fin dient, "Elas!  
Pourquoi ay je tant despendu!  
Par le col deusse estre pendu...." (430).

#### GERVAIS DU BUS. (1)

"Le Roman de Fauvel" like so many of the allegorical mediaeval poems, while praising the virtues of the early religious men and those few remaining of the same nature draws unfavourable comparisons with the majority of contemporary clerics:

Les premiers apostres estoient  
Povres, et povrement vivoient:  
Plains estoient de charitei  
Et fordes sus humilitiei.  
Or est le dey changei,hé las!

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(1) Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus. edit. Langfors.

Quer autrement vont nos prelas.  
Je n'en puis faire bon hystoire  
Quer Avarice et Vaine Gloire  
Les ont du droit chemin osteir; (R. du Fauvel, 600)  
Nos prelas, quy huy tant se prisent,  
Pour les biens qu'il sont de l'Iglise,  
Que toute lour entente ont mise  
En orguie et en vanite?  
Tous temps veulent, c'est verite,  
Avoir honnours et grans servises  
A genoiz et en toutes guises,  
Enclineis, chaperons osteis. (R. du Fauvel, 676)  
Saint Francois et Saint Dominique  
Deux ordres commencierent si que  
Fondeies fussent sus poverte:  
Sans terres et possessions  
Doivent ces deux religions  
Vivre humblement, c'est chose aperte... (R. du Fauvel  
676),

may be compared with Le Chemin de Vaillance lines 462-288, and,

Comme en la Vie des Peres  
List on de pluiseurs bons preudhommes  
Quy jadis porterent telz sommes  
Et vesquirent mout saintement  
Pour le bien de leur sauvement.  
Ceulz n'ont cure de mes richesses  
De mes dons ne de mes promesses;  
Aincois veulent sobrement vivre  
Sans de riens mes vouloirs ensuivre. (564)

Mes les prelatz de Sainte Eglise  
Ont ma puissance partout quise,  
Mes biens, mes superfluitez  
Estre en veulent heritez  
Vers moy ne prisent une tique  
Saint Francois et Saint Dominique. (633)

Each poem contains a long description of Fortune containing elements common to all writers on that subject at that epoch. Comparable are the two passages and the two-sided image:

L'une face ot oscure et brune.  
Et a regarder trop hideuse,  
Et l'autre bele et gracieuse,  
Tendre, blance, clere et rouvante.  
Ne semble pas femme dolente  
Quant l'en la voit de celle part;  
Mes de l'autre semble liepart,

De tourment plaine, felle et fiere,  
Desirante que tous jours fiere. (R. du Fauvel, 1907)

Ou mirouer avoit deux visages,  
Dont l'ung ne sambloit plain d'oultrages,  
De rigueur et de felonnye;  
L'autre ne luy resambloit mye.  
Il estoit douz et piteable  
Et a regarde delictable. (1595)

There is a possibility that the example of Nabugodonosor (1985) was copied from the Roman du Fauvel:

Nabugodonosor le roy  
En exemplaire te treroy,  
Car jadis fu sy enyvre  
Des grans honneurs que li livre  
Qu'en son estat tant se fia  
Que son createur oublia  
Et fist par son tresfol outrage  
Aourer a tous son ymage.  
De mon pere ne li souvint,  
Pour ce comparer le couvint,  
Car assez tout je le gete  
En si horrible povrete  
Qu'avec les bestez ala pestre:  
Tout nu vii ans li couvint estre. (R. du Fauvel, 2354)

which, with a few embellishments is much the same as the example in Jean de Courcy (1985-2008).

The ages specified in the division of man's life into four parts (R. du Fauvel 3020-3051) in no way coincides with the table expounded in Le Chemin de Vaillance (1125-1458).

#### BENOIT DE SAINTE-MAURE. (1)

The description of the palace of Cathonakes (3083-3127) owes not a little to "Le Roman de Troie", wherein occurs the lengthy disquisition on La Chambre de Beautes. Thus the word-

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(1) L. Constans. Le Roman de Troie, Tome II.

ing of the two passages relating to the maidens is markedly similar:

Jones pucelles, gentes, belles,  
Vestues de robes nouvelles.....  
Et disoit que angelz estoient  
Quy la divinement venoient. (3097)

Les dous que plus esteient beles  
Aveient formes de puceles;....  
Qui esguardot, co li ert vis  
Qu'angle fussent de Paradis. (R. de Troie. 14673)

That these maidens thus depicted on the walls appeared by some almost superhuman art to dance and sing is an idea common to both poets. Nevertheless, because of the strange name Cathononakes, the lack of absolute concurrence on detail, and the moral drawn from the account given by Jean de Courcy, this passage cannot wholly be attributed to Benoit de Sainte-Maure, and the earlier suggestion that these lines were imitated with the help of "Le Roman de Troie" from some untraced manuscript, seems the best explanation of the source of this example.

#### RUTEBEUF. (1)

In Des Jacobins, ou le Dist des Jacobins, Rutebeuf, in common with many others classifies together "Orgueil et Convoitise, Avarice et Envie" (Vol. I. p.208), a theory already noted to have been adopted by Jean de Courcy, and in further invective against the clergy are judgments voiced very similar to the later poet's:

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(1) Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf. edit. Jubinal.

Je n'i voi ne prince ne roi  
Qui de prendre face desroi,  
Ne nul prelat de Sainte Yglise  
Qui ne soit compains Covoitise,  
Ou au mains dame Symonie  
Qui les doneors ne het mie. (Rutebeuf. Vol. II, p.23)  
La seconde n'est pas petite  
Qui sor la gent clergie est dite  
Fors escoliers, autre clergie  
Sont tuit d'Avarice vergie. (Rutebeuf. Vol. II, p.35)

Princes, barons et chevalliers,....  
Prelats cloistriers et mendiants  
Devant luy furent supplians;  
Chapelains, clerz et escoliers  
Y tiroient a leurs coliers;  
Car n'y avoient docteur ne maistre  
Quy devers luy ne voulzist estre  
Au plus prez qu'il s'en povoit traire  
Pour ses biens et sa gloire attraire. (149).

The effects of Envie (Vol. II, p.182,335) are so similar to others already cited as to make it unnecessary for further quotation.

Like the Roman de la Rose (293, etc.) Ire may be compared with Tristesse:

Ire, qui est male et vilaine,  
Ne set pas tant deschampir laine  
Comme ele set de cheveus rompre;  
Tout ront quanqu'ele puet arompre;  
Tout a corouz, tant o dolor  
Qui tant li fet muer color,  
Que toz jors font ses denz ferrees  
Qui ja ne seront desserrees  
Se n'est por felonie dire; (Rutebeuf, Vol.II, p.178,  
229).

Avoit elle pale couleur  
Car toute fut descoulouree  
Ainsy que femme fortunee.....  
ses cheveulz deschirez,  
Tant les eut rompus et tirez  
Que mais n'avoit entiere tresse  
Que n'eust rompu par sa destresse.... (2665).

GUILLAUME DE TIGNONVILLE. (1)

La Forest des Philosophes of Guillaume de Tignonville, shown by Paul Meyer(2) to have been used by Jean de Courcy in his Bouquechardière, has been copied in one passage directly into the present text:

De Platon.....et dist: Ce luy qui se fie a la fortune, et nest aucunement songneux de proffiter en bonnes œuvres le bien ressort encontre luy comme fait la saiette qui a feru en une pierre.

(Edit. of 1529. feuillet LVII).

Com Platon dist, en voix commune,  
Celuy que se fie en Fortune,  
Combien qu'el luy rie es yeulz,  
S'il n'est aucunement soigneux  
De bonnes euvres prouffiter,  
Le bien ne luy peut habiter,  
Ains ressorty de luy grant erre  
Com la flesche fait de la pierre,  
Quy dedens ne peut assener. (2507).

GUILLAUME DE MACHAULT. (3)

In the Remede de Fortune(4), much of which is an imitation of Boethius, there are lines which seem to have influenced Jean de Courcy:

Cils qui plus en a, plus li faut. (Machault, Vol.2.1, 2743).

Plus en aroit plus en vouldroit. (769).

Car en leur cuerce boute et lance  
Un ardant rain de couvoitise  
Qui si les ambrase et atise  
Qu'il les art jusques es entrailles. (Machault, Vol.2.1, 2748).

(1) Guillaume de Tignonville. La Forest des Philosophes.

(2) Paul Meyer. Alexandre le Grand, Tome II. p.351.

(3) Œuvres de Guillaume de Machault. Edit. Hoepffner.

(4) Ditto. Tome II. No. 1.

....Convoitise

Quy a ce vouloir les atise....  
Ains est comme le feu ardant,  
Plus y met on de bois, plus art,  
Sy tieng celuy a fol musart  
Quy la vouldroit assadier. (771, etc.).

The changability of Fortune and her cruelty (Machault, Vol. 2.1. 2412, 2477, 2671, 2689, 2531, Vol 3. 1. p.853, 1867), though much discussed, agrees only generally with that shown in Le Chemin de Vaillance, and the details not being exactly similar make it unlikely that the later writer benefitted by the former's discourse.

EUSTACE DESCHAMPS. (1)

The angry railings and fierce invective against Avarice and Convoitise by Eustace Deschamps (e.g. Vol. 1, pp. 73, 74, 77, 83, 35, 91, 99, 113, 135, 170, 229, Vol. 2, pp. 127, 178, Vol. 7, p. 237, Vol. 8, pp. 101, 127) with criticisms levelled against the Church, seem not to have inspired Jean de Courcy. True such lines in Machault's tradition as:

.....Covoitise  
Qui art maint cuer de crueuse estincelle:  
Envie apres fait grant embrassement;  
Puis vient Orgueil plus tost qu'on ne l'appelle;  
(Deschamps, II. p.127; cf. Machault, II.  
l. 2748).

or,

Car riches veult les autres subvertir  
Et tout avoir; prandre aux povres le leur,  
(Deschamps, I. p.73),

may be compared with similar ones in Le Chemin de Vaillance

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(1) Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps. Edit. de Queux de Saint-Hilaire.

(771, 149, etc.), but it is really in the general spirit rather than in the actual detail or reference that the influence of Eustache Deschamps was felt. The hypocrisy of the churchmen, and particularly that of the higher officials, their greed and pride added to the same failings in statesmen nauseated Guill-aume de Machault's pupil to such an extent that bitter ballades and rondeaux on this subject are in great evidence in his work. The same spirit appears in Jean de Courcy's writing, born probably of the abuses in the church and state at the time, nourished in all the satirical poems of the epoch, receiving education and inspiration from the Roman de la Rose, and encouraged by such poets as Deschamps, yet lacking in the fifteenth century poet the same intense ferocity and profound sentiments of the earlier authors.

The views of Deschamps and de Courcy coincide on justice and the superiority of the ancients:

Selon les fais et livres anciens  
Orent jadis vaillance les Grejois,  
Saiges furent Atheniens,  
Et les Rommains establirent les loys,  
Tout le monde soubmirent une fois  
Soubz leur pouvoir par leur bonne ordonnance;  
Le bien commun orent en remembrance,  
Ne povrete n'orent pour lors despite  
Qui ainsi fait, il regne en grant puissance;  
Large cuer ait et bone souffisance,  
Qui cultement fait, il se desherite....

(Deschamps. 1, p.280)

....ce furent les anciens.  
Au conseil des Atheniens  
Firent par grant intentions  
Les laiz et les instructions  
Quy furent ou pays tenues  
Tant que apres furent venues  
Aux Rommains, quy les regarderent  
Et diligamement les garderent.

Ceulz me servent de vraye entente.  
Nul ne me lobbe, ne me tempte,  
Car ilz vestent mes paremens,  
Mes draps d'or, mes beaulz vestemens,  
Et usent de mes grans richesses,  
Mes grans avoirs et mes haultesses,  
Guy pour eulz sont appropriees  
De droit choisies et triees. (679).

Moreover the ballade xcvi of Deschamps (Vol. 1, p.204), Les Anciens Valaient Mieux que Nous, is in agreement with Jean de Courcy (563).

In the treatment of Fortune, although the broad outlines correspond, there is nothing to suggest that Le Chemin de Vaillance owes anything to the poems of Deschamps. (Fortune is treated in these in Vol. 1, pp. 289,316, Vol. 2, pp. 140,141, Vol. 6, p. 57).

There are similar theories in both poets on Viellesse and it is possible that Jean de Courcy borrowed some lines for his description from Deschamps.

Desor me fault tost coucher,  
Bien couvrir, dormir le main,  
Bonne viande manger,  
Avoir bon vin et bon pain; (Deschamps. Vol. 5, p. 16).

Car plus amoit que rousee  
Bon feu dedens sa cheminee,  
Bon mol lit, et grasse pasture. (1387).

Couvoiteus suis, blans et chanus,  
Eschars, courroceux;  
Je voy envix rire et jouer,  
J'ay grant plaisir a grumeler  
Car le temps passé me remort;.....  
Tous mes corps est frois devenus,  
Maigres et secs; (Deschamps. Vol. 7, p. 1).

La barbe meslee chanue  
De blancs peulz et de noirs ensamble.  
De noir au blanc sa couleur amble....  
Amaigrie et desolee,

Corps peau celu, face ridee.  
Et ne desiroit nullement  
Avoir deduit n'esbattement,.... (1366)

"Du Regret de Jeunesse"(1) shows how Deschamps divided the Ages of Man, but it is only a contrast of youth and old age, and the number of years allotted to each span does not correspond with that of Jean de Courcy, nor does the division in "Cinq Vers, des Eages du Monde" have any agreement with the seven ages discussed in Le Chemin de Vaillance.

FROISSART. (2)

In "Le Trettie de l'Espinette d'Amours" Froissart has a long description of his childhood which, more than any other of the conventional pictures of that time, seems to have influenced Jean de Courcy in his portrayals of Enfance and Puerice (though here too the actual ages do not concur). After a charming discourse on some of the diversions of childhood Froissart wrote:

Mes de terre a faire pastels,  
Rons pains, flannes et tartelettes,  
En un four de quatre tieulettes  
Ou je mettoie ce mestier  
Qui m'avoit adout grant mestier. (Froissart. Vol. 1,  
p.147),

with which may be compared,

De terre faire ung paston  
Com elle avoit veu pain faire  
A sa nourrice ou sa mere. (1156)

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(1) Oeuvres Complètes. Tome VIII. p.135.

(2) Oeuvres de Froissart. Poésies. Edit. Scheler.

There are other similarities:

Et s'ai souvent d'un bastoncel  
Fait un cheval nomme Grisel; (Froissart. Vol 1,  
p.185),

Comme chevauchier un baston; (1155),

whilst of older children they note:

Quant un peu fui plus assagis,  
Estre me couvint plus sougis,  
Car on me fist latin aprendre; (Froissart. Vol 1,  
p.186),

Qu'il fut clerc et aprint matiere;  
Sy faisoit il lire et escripre; (1248)

D'un chapelet de violettes  
Pour donner a ces basselettes  
Faisoie a ce dont plus grand compte.... (Froissart.  
Vol 1, p.188, and also Vol 2  
p.233).

Faisoient chapeaulz par boscages,  
Et se gisoient es umbrages,  
Faisans poree de flourettes....(1177).

The later discussion of the influence of the planets on men and the number of years during which they are exerted do not agree with Le Chemin de Vaillance, save in such general principles as the joyfulness of youth and the frigidity of old age (Froissart. Vol 2, l. line 1615 etc. Chemin de Vaillance, 1742 etc.).

#### CHRISTINE DE PISAN. (1)

The works of Christine de Pisan seem to have had no direct influence on Jean de Courcy, but in so far as many of his lines appear reflexions of hers, her poems may be considered to have

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(1) Oeuvres Poétiques de Christine de Pisan. Edit. Maurice Roy.

affected Le Chemin de Vaillance by the continuation of the satirical treatment of covetousness (Vol. 2, p.213); by the dismissal of Fortune as cruel (Vol. 2, p.8), and (Vol. 2, p. 13), "Car inconstant elle est plus que la lune"; by the charming but conventional descriptions of the country-side with stereotyped references to May, Spring and so forth (e.g. Vol. 1, Ballade xxxiv). In that respect at least her work may be deemed to have provided material for, or strengthened the foundations of Le Chemin de Vaillance.

#### CONCLUSION.

The similarity of subjects and their treatment in the writings of poets just previous to Jean de Courcy, or of those of his youth, and those discussed in Le Chemin de Vaillance, shows him to have been alive to the literature of his own day.

Like Froissart he gives intimate pictures of contemporary life, of the games and pleasures of youth and the arid leisure of old age(1). So too does he illustrate his various points with examples of and allusions to mythical, ancient or Biblical stories, a fashion common in didactic works of that epoch.

Like Eustace Deschamps and Christine de Pisan he reviles the greed of the world and the corrupt clergy(2), and like them inherited the traditional interest in Fortune(3). Like Chris-

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(1) See Sources. Froissart.

(2) e.g. Deschamps. Tome I, p.73,74,85 etc. Christine de Pisan Tome II, 295.

(3) e.g. Deschamps. Tome I.,pp.289,316,etc. Christine de Pisan Tome II, p.8, 13, etc.

tine de Pisan he can draw a conventional little portrait of shepherds(1)

D'autre riens n'avoye cure  
Fors de repairer en champs  
Et en bois, ou les doulz chans  
Des oysiaulx souvent ouoye,  
N'autres gens je n'avouye  
Fors pastoures et pastours.  
Si savoye tous les tours  
Du mestier de bergerie;  
Aignaulx en la bergerie  
Sorgnier, mettre fein en creche,  
Semer en toit paille fresche,  
Et les mottons d'une part.... (Christine de Pisan.  
Vol. 2, p.223)

Et aprez ce en celuy aage  
Fut en estat de pastourage,  
Et les bestes aux champs gardoit,  
Ou nullement ne se tardoit  
D'avec les autres pastoureaux  
Jouer, et garder entour eulz  
Pour les loups et mauvaises bestes.  
Puis menoit reveaulz et festes  
En cueillant les freses nouvelles. (1191)

Like her and Froissart he depicts the pursuits and idle joys of young people(2).

His references to Alexandrie and Lucques show him to have been acquainted with the conventional comparisons of wealth then current.

That he was truly of his day, experiencing the same influences and using the same sources as his contemporaries and subsequent authors, is obvious when considering such writers.

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(1) cf. L'Art de Chevalerie. p. 7. III.

(2) e.g. Christine de Pisan. Tome II. p.224 etc. Froissart, Tome II. No. 1, line 1742 etc.

Alain Chartier(1), Charles d'Orleans(2), Michault Taillevant(3), anonymous song-makers(4), writers of ballades and rondeaux(5), Pierre de Nesson(6), Jean Regnier(7), and Meschinot(8), wrote violent invective against Fortune or at least discussed her with bitterness. They all, with the addition of Molinet(9) and Chastellain(10), embellished their work with allegory if indeed it was not already the principal part of their writing. Men such as Alain Chartier poured scorn on the corrupt practices of the clergy and the injustices of the day(11). They could write charming and graceful lines on the country-side which were never the less conventional, so that passages in *Le Chemin de Vaillance* (72, etc.) are like some of Charles d'Orleans (d'Orleans, Vol. I. p.307), or

Adonques Zephirus la flate  
Et la fait estre coye et mate  
Lors que cesse d'Yver la guerre,  
Et de vert veult vestir la terre,  
Les arbres fleurir et feuillir. (1725)

Le temps a laissie son manteau  
De vent, de froidure et de pluye,  
Et s'est vestu de brouderie....  
Riviere, fontaine et ruisseau  
Portent, en livree jolie,  
Gouttes d'argent d'orfaverie. (d'Orleans, Vol. I. p.  
307).

Thus it may be seen that although his education, and possibly his temperament, had rendered Jean de Courcy susceptible

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(1) Alain Chartier. *Oeuvres*. edit. 1617.

(2) Charles d'Orléans. *Poésies*. edit. Champion.

(3) Michault Taillevant. *Le Régime de Fortune* in *Oeuvres d'Alain*

(4) Chansons du XVe siècle. Gaston Paris. Chartier. 1617

(5) Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle. Raymaud.

(6) Pierre Champion *Histoire Poétique du Quinzième Siècle*. Tome

(7) Ditto. Tome I. p.242. I. p.206.

(8) Ditto. Tome II.p.207.

(9) Ditto. Tome II.p.330. (10) Ditto. Tome I. p.351.

(11) Alain Chartier. *ibid.* pp.394,395,412,430,etc.

to the influence of Latin works to the extent that he drew liberally from his knowledge of such books to adorn his own writings, yet the most profound effect was produced by the Roman de la Rose and sustained by the Pelerinages of Guillaume de Diqueville. Besides these he had read widely in the French literature of an earlier date than his own, and he appears to have been interested in his contemporaries for essentially he was a poet of his age.

G L O S S A R Y .

Owing to the lack of space it has been found necessary to give only a few references of examples which occur many times in the manuscript. Abbreviations have been used. They are as follows:

n. noun; m. masculine; f. feminine; pr. present tense;  
imperf. imperfect; perf. perfect; fut. future; condit. conditional;  
subj. subjunctive; imper. imperative; pr.p. present  
participle; p.p. past participle;

while persons are shown as, 1st, 2nd, 3rd sing., 1st,  
2nd, 3rd pl.

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G L O S S A R Y .

A.

a, to, 15, 21, 25, 28, etc.; at, 42, 44, 59, 156, etc.; with, 165, 775, 887, etc.; by, 1158, 1257, 2074, 2122, etc.; in, 538, 1060, 1382, 1478, etc.; from, 587, 1541, 2466; on, 179; as, 780.

aage, n.m. age, 1101, 1310, 1370, 1425, etc.; aages, 1453, 2201, 2811, 2317; n.f. 1448.

abandons, largely, 416.

abat, it) beats down, 560.

abilite, n.f. facility, 246.

abondy, it) abounded. 2141.

abregier, to shorten, 1842.

abriefz, briefly, 2957.

absolution, n.f. absolution, 835.

abstinence, n.f. abstinence, 480; abstinentes, 3059.

accointance, n.f. acquaintance, 165, 177.

accomplie, accomplished, 1008.

accorde, she) agrees, 775.

accourent, they) run, 304.

acensions, n.f. ascensions, 817.

acertenay, I) made known, 212.

achat, n.m. purchases, 811.

achoison, n.m. occasion, 197; opportunity, 934, 1849.

aclucher, to limp, 2023.

acquereurs, n.m. gains, 1054.

acquerir, to acquire, 1333, 3010; acquis, p.p. 1047; acquise, 1051; acquises, 1063.

acquisition, n.f. gain, 1039. acquisitions, 812, 1035, 1336.

acteur, n.m. author, 1825.

actif, active, 2750; active, 485, 1324.

adfin que, in order that, 27, 734, 1006, 1149, 2192, etc.

administration, n.f. administration, 446.

admiration, n.f. admiration, 145.

admonestoit, she) admonished, 1390.

adnulle, he) nullifies, 2846.

adonc, then, 221; adont, 987, 1114, 1503, 1540, etc.; adonques, 725, 1725, 1792, 1998.

adonner, to submit, 2568.

adoulcir, to sweeten, 1665; adouly, p.p. 1919.

adresse, n.f. way, 185, 251, 7862, 2149, 3256; rank, 1126.

adresse, she) directs, 1786.

advenir, to arrive, 296, 2878;  
adviennent, pr. 3rd pl.  
2848; aviengne, pr. 3rd sing.  
3042.

adversite, n.f. adversity,  
1933, 3243.

advise, n.m. opinion, 289, 579;  
advice, 3066.

advise, I) note, 1528; advisay,  
perf. 1st sing., 1578; advi-  
sant, pr. p. 1588; advise,  
p.p. 2771, 3065.

afamee, infamous, 2553.

affaire, n.f. business, 38, 187,  
477, 903, 2502, 2519, 3169.

affaitier, to manage; affetoit,  
imperf. 3rd sing. 1134.

affie, I) swear, 202.

aggreable, pleasing, 593.

agree, he) agrees to, 46.

ahan, n.m. effort, 860, 2249.

ahaner, to labour, 1288.

aigre, bitter, 1808, 1809, 2124.

aincois, but, 57, 480, 2594,  
3046, 3194; rather, 998.

ains, but, 57, 403, 405, 551, etc.

ainsy, thus, 143, 333, 495, 670,  
etc.

ainsy que, just as, 513, 521,  
643, 648, etc.

ainsy comme, just as, 309.

air, n.m. air, 3144.

aise, n.f. ease, 50, 178, 2857,  
2842, 3079, 3190, 3231. aise,  
it) eases, 3226.

aisement, n.m. ease, 400, 3058.

aisement 2507.

alaine, n.f. breath, 1671.

alaitte, she) gives milk, 1911  
2849; alectoit, imperf. 3rd  
sing. 1133.

alencontre, around, 1590.

aler, to go, 867, 2002, 2048, 2063,  
etc.; va, pr. 3rd sing, 777, 886,  
925; vont, pr. 3rd pl. 1738,  
1898; aloye, imperf. 1st sing.  
1558; aloit, imperf. 3rd sing.  
1157; alay, perf. 1st sing. 1635  
aloit, imperf. 3rd sing., 519,  
855, 1278, 1157, etc.; alcient,  
imperf. 3rd pl. 1090, 1657, 2304;  
vasmes, perf. 1st pl. 64; ira,  
fut. 3rd sing, 1049, 2460, 2564;  
iroit, cond. 3rd sing, 764;  
aille, subj. pr. 3rd sing, 2445  
va. imper. 2nd sing, 31; ale,  
p.p. 2216.

aloer, to ally, 970.

alors, then, 190, 874, 1507, 2230;  
alore, 1469.

amaigrier, to grow thin, 2125;  
amaigrie, p.p. 1371.

amble, it) goes, 1368.

ambre, n.m. amber, 2922.

ame, n.f. soul, 831, 1872; ames,  
1078.

amendrir, to lead, 2988; amenoit,  
imperf. 3rd sing, 1430.

amer, to love, 281, 535, 655,  
888, etc.; aym, pr. 1st  
sing, 738, 2242; ayme, 3124;  
ayme, pr. 3rd sing, 1210;  
ayment, pr. 3rd pl. 302,  
576, 609, 631; amoit, imperf.  
3rd sing, 1387; ama, perf.  
3rd sing, 979; amerent,  
perf. 3rd pl. 2294; amans,  
pr.p. 358; ame, p.p. 2056;  
amez, 1947.

amer, n.m. bitterness, 671,  
1542.

amere, bitter, 872, 1536, 1906.

amertume, n.f. bitterness,  
1915.

amy, n.m. friend, 3071; amis,  
friend, 195, 260, 1075, 1103,  
etc.

amiable, pleasant, 1505.

amollir, to mollify, 3248.

amont, on high, 1361.

amorce, n.m. lure, 2496.

amortement, n.m. death, 959.

amour, n.m. love, 177, 250,  
340, 818, 866, 868, 3028, 3088,  
3189.

amplement, adequately, 952.

anciennement, in days of yore,  
670.

anciens, n.m. ancients, 679,  
923, 1485, 1643.

aneaulz, n.m. chains, 366.

angels, n.m. angels, 3123;  
angelz, 3103.

annee, n.f. year, 1410.

ans, n.m. year, 1201, 1208, 1253,  
1400, etc.

antiquite, n.f. antiquity, 93,  
920.

environnoit, it) surrounded, 1119.

aourer, to ornament, 2495.

aornee, adorned, 1609.

apaine, with difficulty, 2104.

apaisiee, appeased, 1679.

apaye, I) placate, 292.

aporte, he) brings, 1520.

aporter <sup>179</sup>  
apparer, to appear, 3141; appa-  
roit, imperf. 3rd sing, 648,  
1697; appert, p.p. 1304.

appareil, n.m. accoutrements,  
109, 1315; apparel, 1611, 1259.

apparisante, evident, 2316.

appartient, it) belongs, 715.

appert, en, openly, 647, 748.

apperte, open, 1772.

applique, he) applies, 1699.

approbation, n.f. approval, 2900.

approuchement, n.m. approach,  
632.

approuchier, to approach, 2736,  
3237.

apres, after, 519, 1136, 1401, 2559,  
2848; aprez, 702, 855, 1038, 1151,  
etc.

apprendre, to learn, 1295,  
2175, 2419, 2768; appren-  
dent, pr. 3rd plur, 548;  
aprint, perf. 3rd sing, 1251,  
2175. aprint, p.p. 1248.

aproprier, to appropriate, 791,  
aproprie, p.p. 1235; appro-  
priees, 711.

aproouver, to appreciate, 2480.

apover, to support, 179; apui-  
oit, perf. 3rd sing, 1412,  
1418; apuye, p.p. 2982.

arbres, n.m. trees, 79, 1729,  
1743, 2258, 2265.

arc-ou-ciel, n.m. rainbow,  
3141.

arcz, n.m. bows, 1181.

arder, to burn, 787, 998; arde  
pr. 3rd sing, 779, 785; ardent  
pr. 3rd pl, 821; ardant, pr.  
p. 778.

ardure, n.f. burning, 2139.

arer, to plough, 2301.

arest, n.m. rest, 1506.

argent, n.m. silver, 371, 389,  
393, 500, 796, 2951.

armes, n.f. arms, 1279.

arois, n.m. display, 672.

arrestement, n.m. stopping,  
1762.

arrester, to stop, 1655.

art, nlf. art, 3139; artz,  
n.m. 1292.

ascavoir, to know. ; 625.

ascouvent, often, 1228.

assadier, to assuage, 781.

assamblee, n.f. assembly, 167,  
183.

assambler, to assemble, 789;  
assamble, pr. 1st sing, 1529.  
assembloit, imperf. 3rd sing,  
1302; assambla, perf. 3rd  
sing, 2015; assemblee, p.p.  
147, 168, 184, 2018.

assient, it) serves, 441.

assigna, she) assigned, 279.

assise, seated, 1283, 1653, 2640,  
2098; assises, 90, 1462.

assener, to guide, 2515, 2774,  
3150; assena, perf. 3rd sing,  
2612; assenez, p.p. 340; asse-  
nees, 2639.

asserie, calmed, 1737.

asservir, to subject, 28.

asseure, I) assure, 603.

assez, enough, 1446, 1476, 1614,  
2082, etc.

assez qu', as much as, 2906.

ataigne, n.f. animosity, 2500.

atise, she) incites, 772.

attrirander, to 2769.

attendent, they) await, 931.

attendrir, to soften, 2410.

attraire, to attract, 160, 284,  
585, 957, 1026; attraitte, p.p.  
1416.

au, to the, 1368, 1632, 1987,  
2209, etc.; aux, 341, 517,  
703, 798, etc.; au, at the,  
159, 1185, 1291, 1681, etc.;  
aux, 1185; au, in the, 561,  
698, 1012, 1136, etc.; aux,  
1193; au, on the, 784; from  
the, 2161; aux, 1743, 2465.

aucun, pronoun and adjective,  
any, 854, 888, 908, 917, etc.;  
aucune, 1697, 1756, 2147, 2520,  
3243; aucuns, 455; aucunes,  
364, 1431, 1700; aulcun, 1841;  
aulcuns, 468.

aucunement, nohow, 1761, 1776,  
1965, 2510, 3035.

auctorite, n.f. authority, 799,  
1927.

auditeur, n.m. officers of the  
law who are present at cer-  
tain courts but have no de-  
liberative voice, 294.

augmentation, n.f. increase,  
234, 2070.

aumailles,  
2003.

aumuce, n.f. hood, 612; au-  
musse, 1314.

auques, also, 1319, 2165.

aussy, also, 337, 876, 1428, 2477,  
etc.

autel, n.f. altar, 1488, 1502,  
1626, 2168.

autentique, authentic, 1011.

autre, pronoun and adjective,  
other, 294, 430, 651, 948, etc;  
aultre, 381, 1034, 2662, 3149;  
autres, 76, 83, 171, 188, etc.

autrement, otherwise, 925, 1951,  
3139.

autruy, another, 175.

avaines, n.f. oats, 1085.

avancer, to forward, 63; avancier,  
to advance, 1715.

avans, before, 1505; avant, 95,  
1098, 1797, 2483, 2892, 2910, 2949.

avant que, before, 1562.

avantage, n.m. advantage, 1334,  
1582, 1732, 2462, 3192, .

avec, with, 56, 248, 252, 255, etc.

avenement, n.m. particularly used  
in the Middle Ages of the com-  
ing of Christ, 391.

aveuglee, blinded, 1543.

aventure, n.f. adventure, 3251.

aver, greedy, 3084.

avire, she) plots, 2806. ?

avironne, surrounded, 1093, 1266;  
avironnees, 3113.

avoir, to have, 110, 165, 166, 178,  
etc.; ay, pr. 1st sing, 45, 56,  
237, 260, etc.; as, pr. 2nd sing  
1470, 1826, 1959, 2467, etc.; a,  
pr. 3rd sing, 11, 15, 72, 200, etc.  
ont, pr. 3rd pl, 231, 290, 339,  
etc.; avoye, imperf. 1st sing.  
224, 759, 1023, 1360, etc.; avoit,  
imperf. 3rd sing, 89, 139, 144,  
722, etc.; avoient, imperf. 3rd  
pl, 1662, 1675, 2180, 2220, etc.;  
euz, perf. 1st sing, 187, 1095,  
1351, 1449, etc.; eust, perf.  
3rd sing, 894, 986, 999, 1260, etc.  
ot, perf. 3rd sing, 1067, 1219,  
1349, 1527, etc.; eurent, perf.  
3rd pl

3rd pl. 2256; aray, fut.  
1st sing, 340; aras, fut,  
2nd sing, 3065; auras,  
234, 2008, 2189, 2190, etc.  
aura, fut, 3rd sing, 2462,  
2533, 3205; auront, fut,  
3rd pl, 351, 530; aroye,  
condit. 1st sing, 3242;  
auroies, condit, 2nd sing,  
2522; aroit, condit, 3rd  
sing, 769, 1897; auroit, 1690  
aroient, condit, 3rd pl, 1683;  
ayes, pr. subj. 2nd sing,  
2190, 2990, 3033; ait, pr. subj.,  
3rd sing, 757, 1101, 2439;  
ayent, pr. subj, 3rd pl, 338,  
421, 532, 615, 665; eussent,  
perf. subj, 3rd pl, 2119; eu,  
p.p. 2053, 2756.

avoir, n.m. possession, 387,  
409, 611, 766, etc.; avoirs,  
666, 1064, 1110, 1333, etc.

avoultise, n.f. adultery, 984.

avoye, directed, 217, 3030.

aydier, to help, 2837, 2935;  
ayde, pr. 1st sing, 451.

azur, blue, 1458.

B.

baignent, they) delight in,  
528; baignoit, he) bathed,  
1134.

bail, I) grant, 453; baille, I)  
accord, 392, 406, 445; baille,  
she) governs, 2487; bailla,  
he) granted, 2292; baillie,  
entrusted, 231.

baillier, n.m. government, 428.

balance, n.f. scale, 386, 1973.

baler, to dance, 3118; baloit,  
imperf. 3rd sing, 1168.

balais, n.m. rings, 357.

baptesme, n.m. baptism, 827.

barat, n.m. treason, 1040, 1053.

barbe, n.f. beard, 1366, 1413.

bargaigne, n.m. delay, 60.

barons, n.m. barons, 149.

barres, n.m. prisoners' base,  
1185.

bas, low, 1975, 1978, 2064, 2695.

bas, n.m. low notes, 1547.

basset, low, 194.

baston, n.m. stick, 1153, 1418.

bat, he) beats, 2733.

batelage, n.m. boat fare, 2386.

baudes, n.f. cross-belts, 360.

beau, 2775, beautiful; bel, 1480,  
2787; belle, 69, 130, 393, 1894,  
etc.; beaulz, 394, 552, 708, 1078,  
etc.; belles, 90, 1525, 1664, 3097

beaulte, n.f. beauty, 1891;  
beaultez, 2782.

belins, n.m. sheep, 2712.

bellement, beautifully, 1082.

benefices, n.f. benefits, 645,  
798, 1338.

benoite, blessed, 668, 2286.

- bercer, n.m. cradle, 1136.
- besche, n.f. spade, 2726.
- besoing, n.m. need, 418, 857, 879, 920, etc.; besongne, n.f. 925.
- bestail, n.m. live stock, 802.
- bestes, n.f. beasts, 1072, 1193, 1197, 2003, 2298, 3105.
- bestiale, bestial, 2285.
- bestielement, bestially, 2221.
- bestournoit, she) overturned, 1558.
- beufz, n.m. cattle, 1087.
- bien, well, 2820, 2830, 2959, 3005, etc.
- bienfaiz, n.m. benefits, 452.
- biens, n.m. goods, 160, 235, 290, 307, etc.
- bienvenus, welcomed, 164.
- biere, n.f. beer, 1803.
- bille, he) plays, 1186.
- bille, n.f. request, 1840.
- bis, brown, 2124.
- blanc, white, 1368, 1570, 1764, 2743; blanche, 1413, 2032, 2953; blancs, 1367; blanches, 1092, 1733.
- blasmant, blaming, 2863.
- blasme, n.m. blame, 1322.
- bledz, n.m. wheat, 68, 1085, 2307.
- blesse, it) wounds, 2198, 2882.
- blondeur, n.m. fairness, 2642.
- blons, white, 1223, 1413; blondes, 3101.
- bobelins, n.m. kind of shoe worn by the lower classes, 2711.
- boche, n.f. small leather bag, 2142.
- boe, n.f. mud, 1568, 1781, 2542.
- boire, to drink, 594, 1805, 1900, 1914, 1916, 2757; bevez, pr. 2nd pl, 2194; boivent, pr. 3rd pl, 1899; buroit, condit, 3rd sing, 1896; beuvant, pr.p. 1898; beu, p.p. 2747, 2749.
- bois, n.f. wood, 779, 1731, 2731.
- bon, good, 389, 868, 939, 947, etc.; bonne, 233, 298, 394, 475, etc.; bons, 924, 1311, 1766; bonnes, 354, 2511.
- bon, good, n.m. 1380, 2599, 3066, 3175; bonne, n.f. 1848.
- bonnement, well, 326.
- bonnet, n.m. cap, 612.
- bonte, n.f. abundance, 108, 2905; bounty, 1068, 1922; bontez, 103.
- bosquages, n.m. copse, 471; thickets, 1177, 2265.
- bossue, hunch-backed, 1427.
- botines, n.f. small, light, short boot, 2710.
- bouche, n.f. mouth, 1433.
- bougons, n.m. arrows, 1181.
- bout, n.m. end, 1696.

boute, I) enter, 2997;  
boutent, pr. 3rd pl. 301,  
601; boutee, p.p. beaten,  
1708.

bourgois, n.m. bourgeois,  
150.

bourse, n.f. purse, 2101.

boutonnoient, they) were bud-  
ding, 83.

boutons, n.m. buds, 1264.

brasse, he) embraces, 1065.

breuvage, n.m. beverage,  
507, 1911; breuvages, 1815.

bribes, n.f. scraps of food,  
2143.

brides, n.f. bridles, 2975.

brief, short, 1999, 2522,  
2778.

brille, she) deceives, 1910.

brise, she) breaks, 2576;  
brisoit, imperf. 3rd sing.  
1280.

brochiez, embroidered, 320.

brusque, rude, 1427.

buchettes, n.f. small bricks,  
1153.

C.

cainture, n.f. girdle, 1206,  
1219, 2097; chaintures, 354.

car, for, 7, 36, 39, 42, 46, etc.

cartre, n.f. region, 232.

cas, n.m. case, 836, 995.

cause, n.f. cause, 29.

cautelle, n.f. trickery, 2417.

cave, n.f. cellar, 774.

ce, masculine pronoun and demon-  
strative adjective, this, 85,  
137, 167, 193, etc.; c', 207, 213,  
227, 252, 747, etc.; ces, 84, 539,  
1175, etc.; feminine, celle,  
183, 198, 199, 488, etc.; cel, fem.  
87, 211, 1615, 1833, 2384, 2496, 3121,  
3257; celles, 874, 2799, etc.

ceens, here, 1108.

celer, to hide, 2652; celles, pr.  
2nd sing. 196, 201; celle, pr.  
3rd sing. 1747; cele, p.p. 387.

celestial, celestial, 1854; cel-  
estre, 1993, 3146.

celu, hidden, 1372.

celuy, demonstrative pronoun and  
adjective, that, 25, 72, 100, 382,  
511, 780; ceulz, 289, 380, 411,  
492, etc.

cendre, n.m. ash, 1976.

cens, hundred, 1687, 2236, 2247, 2315  
2539, 2351, 2393, 3004.

ce guy, who or which, 588, 832, 967,  
1098, etc.; ce que, which or what  
272, 410, 806, 870, etc.; because,  
991; ce qu', what, 11, 760, 890,  
894, 1590, etc.

cercle, n.m. circle, 1521, 1527,  
1532, 1546, etc.; cercles, 1519,  
1537, 1601.

certain, certain, 225; certaine,  
474.

certes, certainly, 3203.

cesse, n.f. cessation 676.

cesser, to cease, 994, 1723;  
  cesse, pr. 3rd sing. 1562,  
  1727; cesserent, pr. 3rd pl.  
  126; cesserent, perf. 3rd  
  pl. 2340.

cest, this, 2392; ceste, 241,  
  251, 1353, 1445, 1779, 3029.

cestuy, this, 1583, 3107.

chamberiere, n.f. chamberlain,  
  1830.

chambre, n.f. room, 2612, 2890,  
  2914, 2921, 2949; chambres,  
  295.

champagne, n.f. country-side,  
  67, 1084.

champions, n.m. champions,  
  735.

champs, n.m. fields, 1193.

chancelle, she) governs, 937,  
  1973.

changier, to change, 332, 333,  
  1885; changeray, fut. 1st  
  sing. 336; changirent, perf.  
  3rd pl. 2369; changee, p.p.  
  1593, 1613.

chanson, n.f. song, 1673.

chansonettes, n.f. little  
  songs, 1137.

chant, n.m. song, 1548, 1681.

chanteaux, n.m. hunks of bread,  
  2143.

chanter, to sing, 1228; chante,  
  pr. 1st sing. 1547; chantoit,  
  imperf. 3rd sing. 1137, 1168,  
  1668, 1671, etc.; chantoiient,  
  imperf. 3rd pl. 3106, 3123.

chanteresse, n.f. songstress,  
  1670.

chapeau, n.m. hat, 1407; chap-  
  peau, 2704; chapel, 1224,  
  2646; chappel, 118; chapeaulz  
  353, 724, 1177.

chapelains, n.m. chaplains,  
  155, 637.

chaperon, n.m. head-dress, usu-  
  ally high hood worn by men  
  and women; here a bonnet,  
  1152.

chapitres, n.m. chapters, 264.

chappe, n.m. priests' robes worn  
  during services, 501, 612.

chappelles, n.f. chapels, 472.

char, n.f. flesh, 2355; chars,  
  516.

chargez, laden, 80.

charite, n.f. charity, 404, 878.

chariot, n.m. cart, 1144, 1150.

charrue, n.f. plough, 2731.

chartre, n.f. prison, 844, 1933;  
  chartres, 2329.

chascun, pronoun and adjective,  
  each, 143, 179, 181, 215, etc.  
  chascune, 6.

chateaulz, n.m. castles, 92,  
  277, 293, 815, 3001.

chaucie, shod, 2710.

chaudement, warmly, 329,  
1363, 1405.

chault, warm, 330, 2139.

chault, it) is necessary,  
2841; chailloit, imperf.  
3rd sing, 175; it failed,  
856.

chaume, n.m. thatch, 1781.

chausses, n.f. hose, 1221.

chauvres, shorn, 2308.

chemin, n.m. road, 3, 3257;  
chemins, 376, 1175.

cheminee, n.f. fire-place,  
1388, 1409.

chenus, white-haired, 163;  
chanue, 1366.

cheoir, to fall, 1944; chiet,  
pr. 3rd sing, 1066, 2527.

chesnes, n.m. oak trees, 2262.

chetif, wretched, 1611, 1932,  
3063; chetive, 1794, 2561;  
chetifz, 431, 1948.

chetif, n.m. wretch, 2547; che-  
tive, 2679; chetifz, 407.

chetivement, miserably, 2145.

cheval, n.m. horse, 120, 124,  
370; cheaulz, 2968, 2974,  
2983.

chevalerie, n.f. chivalry, 728.

chevalliers, n.m. knights, 149,  
820, 2038.

chevance, n.f. power, 377, 458,  
3049, 3090; chevances, 665;  
chevanché, 235, 1041, 1330;  
chevanches, 3247.

chevauchier, to ride, 1155; che-  
vaulchoit, imperf. 3rd sing,  
1239.

chevelure, n.f. hair, 3101.

cheveulz, n.m. hair, 468, 1223,  
1413, 2675; cheveux, 2642.

chevy, I) decided to, 3160.

chief, n.m. head, 725, 1265, 1314,  
2095, 2137, 2704.

chiens, n.m. dogs, 2118.

chiere, n.f. cheer, 1184.

chiere, dear, 424, 1534.

choisir, to choose, 3260; choisy,  
perf. 1st sing. 1488, 2620;  
choisies, p.p. 712.

chose, n.f. thing, 8, 41, 484, 765,  
etc.; choses, 15, 19, 275, 537,  
etc.

ciche, parsimonious, 3084.

ciel, n.m. sky, 1832; cieulz,  
heavens, 138.

cil, demonstrative pronoun and  
adjective, that 969, 1916, 2080,  
2451, etc.

cil guy, he who, 850.

cinq, five, 1663, 1664, 2339,  
2351.

cinquante, fifty, 1350.

cinquieme, fifth, 1691.

cite, n.f. city, 1649, 2065, 2372;  
citez, 91, 277, 795, 1474.

clamer, to proclaim, 282;  
clamez, p.p. 1948.

clarte, n.f. clarity, 1580, 1584.

- clef, n.f. key, 288.
- clerc, n.m. clerk, 1202, 1248, 2057; clercz, 155, 637, 798, 820.
- clere, clear, 1586, 1647, 1648, 1807, 2642; cleres, 69, 3138.
- clerement, clearly, 2207.
- cloistriers, cloistered, 153.
- cloistriers, n.m. monks, 606.
- cloys, I) shut, 2077; close, p.p. 2594; closes, enclosed, 1832.
- cloture, n.f. enclosure, 1523.
- clouee, studded, 1120.
- clus, n.m. piece, 2129.
- cofre, n.f. chest, 2105; cofres, 419, 2917, 2924.
- cogitations, n.f. meditations, 2763, 3211.
- cointoiee, ornamented, 75.
- col, n.m. neck, 434, 2142.
- coliers, n.m. hoods, 156.
- combien que, how much, 539, 613, 958, 1203, etc.
- comiseration, n.f. pity, 465.
- commandemens, n.m. commands, 266, 750; bidding, 460, 644, 960, 2208.
- commande, she) orders, 890.
- commans, n.m. orders, 3235.
- comme, like, as, 61, 104, 134, 169, etc.; com, 143, 181, 247, 595.
- commencement, n.m. beginning, 1758, 2898, 3036, 3166.
- comment, how, 652, 789, 837, 841, etc.
- comment que, how, 3232.
- commissionnaire, n.m. temporary deputy, 283; commissaires, 229.
- commission, n.f. charge given by one to another to act for him, 233, 1958; accomplishment, 1843.
- commun, n.m. commoners, 1023.
- commune, common, 1620, 1876, 2507, 2556.
- communement, in common, 161, 274.
- communite, n.f. community, 1650.
- compaaignie, n.f. company, 48, 306, 1166, 3196; compaaignye, 139, 254, 883, 965, 3008, 3173; compagnye, 842.
- compains, n.m. companion, 3183.
- compas, n.m. compass, 1523.
- complexions, n.f. complexions, 2804.
- composa, he) composed, 3109.
- comprenoit, it) contained, 1551, 1521.
- compte, he) reckons, 2840.
- concevoir, to conceive, 2473.
- conclud, decided, 3233.

- conclusion, n.f. conclusion, 1048. 1966; consentiroit, condit. 3rd sing. 1866.
- concupiscence, n.f. concupis- cence, 2520. consequences, n.f. consequences, 2408, 2478.
- condempna, he) condemned, 988; condempnez, p.p. 1017, 2359. conservateur, n.m. preserver, 840.
- conduire, to conduct, 2161; conduit, perf. 3rd sing, 253, 481. considerant, considering, 2595, 2661, 2887.
- confession, n.f. confessional, 826. considere, considering, 3224.
- confians, trusting, 415. consomme, he) consumes, 785.
- confondre, to confound, 2559. constance, n.f. constancy, 757.
- confusion, n.f. confusion, 2061, 2460. constant, constant, 1307.
- congie, n.f. leave, 55. constellations, n.f. constella- tions, 2405.
- congneus, I) knew, 2959; con- gnoissoient, imperf. 3rd pl. 1674, 1677; congnu, p.p. 1480, 3046. constraints, constrained, 963; constraintes, restrained, 2492.
- congnoissance, n.f. acquain- tance, 2482, 2565, 2990. consul, n.m. consul, 977.
- congregation, n.f. congrega- tion, 146. contemplation, n.f. contempla- tion, 541.
- conjure, I) swear, 573. contemplative, contemplative, 486, 559.
- conquerre, to conquer, 2013. conte, n.m. account, 491, 494, 976.
- conseil, I) advise, 3218; conseille, pr. 3rd sing, 3218; conseillie, p.p. 3219. contenances, n.f. countenances, 2470.
- conseille, n.f. counsellor, conter, to recount, 974, 1172, 2379; conte, pr. 3rd sing, 838; contoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1642, 2171; conte, p.p. 1067, 2906.
- consentir, to agree to, 3199; consentiront, fut. 3rd pl.

- conter, n.m. account, 3145.
- contens, pleased, 1463, 2883.
- contenter, to placate, 1001.
- continent, n.m. restriction, 2222.
- continuer, to continue, 1329; continuant, pr.p. 1382, 2239, 2269.
- contraire, n.m. contrary, 2687.
- contre, against, 2071.
- contredire, to oppose, 1020.
- contree, n.f. country, 241, 2031, 2331; contrees, 1881.
- contrepense, considered, 3250.
- contrepoint, n.m. counterpoint, 1229.
- contreval, along, 2119.
- convertir, to convert, 1976; convertist, perf 3rd sing, 1774; convertie, p.p. 2454.
- convoitise, n.f. covetousness, 2363.
- cordes, n.f. cords, 776, 2655.
- cornes, n.f. corners, 2633.
- corporelement, bodily, 2435.
- corps, n.m. body, 28, 109, 239, 249, etc.
- corrompable, corruptible, 116.
- corrompt, it) corrupts, 2874; corrompue, p.p. 999.
- corruption, n.f. corruption, 117.
- coton, n.f. cotton, 344.
- cotte, n.f. long garment worn beneath the top-coat, 1406.
- couchier, to put to bed, 1437, 2735; couchoit, imperf 3rd sing, 1134; couchiee, p.p. 2746.
- couler, to flow, 2948.
- couleur, n.m. colour, 930, 2666; couleurs, 2615, 3144; n.f. 1368, 1570, 1628, 2615.
- coup, n.m. blow, 442.
- courcer, to race, 2854.
- courir, to run, 2985; court, pr 3rd sing, 1186, 1893, 1910; courroit, imperf 3rd sing, 1313, 2258; courant, pr. p. 1648; courantes, 70.
- couronne, n.f. crown, 533, 1560; couronnes, 353.
- couronnee, crowned, 1555.
- courroux, n.m. passion, 439, 1913, 2164, 2665, 2673.
- cours, n.m. course, 1847, 2376.
- coursiers, n.m. steeds, 2967.
- court, n.f. court, 467, 745, 1422.
- courte, short, 335.
- courtines, n.f. curtains, 2620.
- coussin, n.m. cushion, 1408.
- coustures, n.f. sewing, 2129.

- cousu, sewn, 2713.
- coutel, n.m. knife, 2688.
- couvenant, n.m. pledge, 40.
- couvenir, to suit, 868; couvient, pr. 3rd sing, 430, 1833, 1902, 1984, etc; couvenoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 876; couvint, perf. 3rd sing, 2026.
- couvent, n.m. agreement, 33.
- couvert, en, secretly, 531.
- couvertement, secretly, 509, 537, 609, 752.
- couverture, n.f. covering, 121, 355, 748.
- couvoitise, n.f. covetousness, 2267.
- couvrir, to cover, 2305; coeuvre, pr. 3rd.sing, 1746, 2646; coeuvent, pr.3rd.pl, 1709; couvroit, imperf. 3rd sing, 2138; couvert, p.p. 121, 506, 511, 1263, 2619; couverte, 73, 1771.
- coye, quiet, 1726, 1738.
- craindre, to fear, 845; craing, pr.1st sing, 2503; craignoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1992; craignoient, imperf. 3rd pl, 2294; craint, p.p. 2041.
- crainte, n.f. fear, 409.
- cramoisie, n.m. crimson stuff, 221.
- creance, n.f. belief, 2601.
- createur, n.m. creator, 839, 2624.
- creation, n.f. creation, 1857.
- creature, n.f. creature, 1258, 1796, 2183, 2624, 2702.
- cree, created, 1856, 2211.
- crever, to break, 1003, 1005; creveroit, condit., 3rd sing, 989; crevez, p.p. 986.
- crier, to cry, 1060; crie, pr. 3rd sing, 2872.
- criminel, criminal, 1014.
- crocer, to strike, 1171; crochier, 3238.
- croire, to believe, 484, 2517, 2964; croy, pr.1st sing, 504, 1100; crois, pr.2nd sing, 2006, 3217; cret, pr.3rd sing, 2426; cuides, pr.1st sing, 2784; cuides, pr.2nd sing, 3201; cuident, pr.3rd pl, 504; cuiday, imperf. 1st sing, 136; cuidoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1993; cuide, imper. sing, 2999; cuidant, pr.p. 2877.
- cuidier, n.m. belief, 1498.
- croistre, to grow, 2014; croist, pr.3rd sing, 2417; creurent, perf. 3rd pl, 2307; crue, p.p. 2963, 2215.
- cueillir, to pluck, 1730, 2259; cueilly, perf.1st sing, 2044; cueilloient, imperf. 3rd pl, 84, 861, 1182, 1199.
- cuer, n.m. heart, 275, 300, 658, 751, 1096, etc.
- cuir, n.m. hide, 2713; cuirs, 2712.
- cure, n.f. care, 181, 231, 435, 456, 482, etc.
- curer, to cure, 2278; curee, p.p. 1245.

curez, clerical, 635.

cy, here, 223, 2314, 2934.

D.

damas, n.m. silken material, 319, 2644.

dame, n.f. lady, 911, 1493, 1964; dames, 162, 820.

damoiseaulz, n.m. young men before they were knighted, 162.

damoiselles, n.f. girls, 162.

dampna, he) condemned, 987.

dampnable, damnable, 115, 128, 843, 1034; dampnables, 2764.

dampnablete, n.f. damnation, 2450.

dampnation, n.f. damnation, 847, 2361.

dampnement, n.m. damnation, 2447.

dampnez, n.m. condemned ones, 2360.

dancer, to dance, 3118, dancer, 1228.

dance, n.f. dance, 1404.

dangier, n.m. power, 334, 1886.

dangereuses, dangerous, 2530.

de, of or with, 49, 141, 146, 151, etc; de, than, 2206; d', of or with, 5, 121, 275, 320, etc; du, of the, or with the, 372, 623, 1226, 1442, etc; des, of the, 138, 216, 462, 625, etc.

debat, n.m. strife, 862, 875.

debatre, to struggle, 1375.

deceptif, deceptive, 3064.

deception, n.f. deception, 114, 1040; deceptions, 2226.

decevable, deceitful, 522, 526.

decevance, n.f. deceit, 1042.

decevoir, to deceive, 268, 2366; decoivent, pr 3rd pl, 1900; deceu, p.p. 2534.

declaration, n.f. declaration, 2899.

decret, n.m. decree, 1342, 2425.

dedens, within, 286, 914, 1119, 1121, 1388, etc; par dedens, inwardly, 526, 1682.

deduiement, n.m. delight, 78, 2649.

deduire, to amuse, 1241.

deduit, n.m. pleasure, 1374, 2197; deduitz, 97.

deesse, n.f. goddess, 39, 227, 1513, 1553, 1561, etc.; deesses, 1485.

defection, n.f. lack, 1419.

deffaiz, I) undo, 1039.

deffacon, n.m. mutilation, 1311.

deffaillant, defaulting, 895.

deffendroient, they) would defend, 684.

deffense, n.f. prohibition, 614; deffense, 1868.

definement, n.m. end, 2441.

degre, n.m. rank, 714, 752;  
degrez, 209.

dehors, par, outwardly, 325.

delectations, n.f. pleasures,  
1346.

délez, beside, 2981.

delicatif, delicate, 2749.

delicieuses, delicious, 19.

delices, n.f. delights, 1393.

delicitable, delightful, 1600,  
2860; delictables, 1172.

deliez, unbound, 1223.

delivre, n.m. freedom, 1702;  
deslivre, 1632; a delivre,  
freely, 1838, 2078, 2488.

deluge, n.m. flood, 2229.

demaine, n.m. power, 152.

demaine, she) governs, 1821.

demande, he) asks, 889; de-  
manday, perf 1st sing,  
2160.

demonoit, he) brought out,  
3171; demene, p.p. 1398.

dementer, to dement, 2880;  
dement, pr 3rd sing, 643;  
dementast, perf 3rd sing,  
880; demente, p.p. 2600.

demourance, n.f. delay, 1080,  
1112, 2160.

demourer, to dwell, 450, 2742,  
2766, 2826, 3233; demeure,  
pr 3rd sing, 5, 1738, 1934;

demeurent, pr 3rd pl., 641; de-  
moure, p.p. 2232; demeurant, pr  
p., 431.

demoustrance, n.f. demonstration,  
1187.

demoustroit, he) showed, 1225,  
1297.

denier, n.m. mite, 2957.

denrees, n.f. affairs, 1287.

de par, from which, 2080.

departir, to divide, 2495; depars,  
pr 1st sing, 377, 1530, 3014;  
depart, pr 3rd sing, 1816; de-  
partist, he) departed, 2891.

depiece, I) rend, 1038; despiecee,  
p.p. 2671.

deporter, to bear oneself, 2096;  
deporte, he) behaves, 1539.

depuis, since, 270, 1201, 2208, 3166.

derision, n.f. derision, 830.

dernier, last, 2131.

des, since, 2268, 2281, 2313, 2626,  
2898.

des que, whence, 661.

descendre, to descend, 1975, 2356;  
descendit, perf 3rd sing, 2287;  
descendirent, perf 3rd pl, 2370;  
descendu, p.p. 138.

deschire, torn, 2117; deschiree,  
2671, 2707; deschirez, 2675.

desferma, he) unlocked, 2917.

deschevelee, dishevelled, 2664.

descollee, ignorant, 1750.

desconfire, to discomfort, 2030, 3245; desconfit, p.p. 2027.

descongue, unrecognisable, 1422.

descoulouree, discoloured, 2667.

descouverte, n.f. robbery, 1791.

descouvrir, to uncover, 1635; descoeuvre, pr. 3rd sing, 1745; descoeuvrent, pr. 3rd pl. 1710.

descripre, to describe, 1250.

desert, n.m. desert, 2293, desers, 562.

desert, deserted, 2066; desers, deserted, 471.

deserte, deserts, 918, 3156; desserte, 2190.

desesperer, to render desperate, 2691.

deservir, to merit, 176, 3088; desservent, pr. 3rd pl, 452.

deseure, over, 2546.

desfie, I) distrust, 2531; deffiez, pr. 2nd pl, 251; desfieray, fut. 1st sing, 2531.

desirer, to) desire, 275; desiroie, imperf 3rd sing, 1373, 1393, 1395; desirant, pr. p. 1162, 1348.

desloyaulte, n.f. disloyalty, 940, 980.

desmence, n.f. insanity, 133.

desnaturee, unnatural, 2378.

desnuer, to denude, 1997.

desolation, n.f. desolation, 833.

desole, desolate, 1610; desolee, 1371, 1793, 2123.

desparage, she) drives mad, 2468.

desparages, ill assorted, 2588.

despendre, to) spend, 399, 1327.

despent, pr. 3rd sing, 441; despendent, pr. 3rd pl, 415, 810; despenu, p.p. 433; despendus, 438.

despense, n.f. expenditure, 422, 444; despenses, 3060.

desplaisances, n.f. disagreeable things, 1571.

desplaire, to) displease, 964; desplaisant, pr. p. 2681.

desplaisir, n.m. displeasure, 1965.

despoule, she) despoils, 1742.

despuisoit, he) despised, 2596.

desraine, last, 2958.

desrober, to rob, 1972; desrobant, pr. p. 2050; desrobee, p.p. 2332.

desroberie, n.f. robbing, 2051.

desrompt, she) tears, 2576.

dessi, par, underneath, 134.

dessoubz, under, 2695; dessoulz, 2546, 2984; par dessous, 501.

dussus, on, 107, 683, 725, 1224, 1299, 1626, 1631, 1647, 2137, 2158,

2814, 2886, 3093; par dessus  
2714, 3002.

destresse, n.f. distress,  
1929, 2027, 2678.

destrier, n.m. war-horse,  
107; destriers, 2969.

destourber, n.m. interference,  
60.

destruction, n.f. 128, 818, 825,  
1563, 2048.

destruis, I) destroy, 1880;  
destruit, pr. 3rd sing, 945,  
destruisent, pr. 3rd pl.  
821; destroy, perf 1st sing,  
2331; destruite, p.p. 2371.

destua, he) eschewed, 784.

determine, it) states, 2338.

detire, torn, 2118.

devale, to descend, 2064.

devant, before, 2, 154, 210, 527,  
946, etc.

devenir, to become, 189, 1883;  
devient, pr. 3rd sing, 1931,  
2832; devenoit, imperf 3rd  
sing, 1687, 1693; devint,  
perf 3rd sing, 2234; deve-  
nue, p.p. 180, 913, 2120.

devers, towards, 147, 157, 168,  
184, 218, 265, 546, 2150, 2621.

devestir, to doff, 552.

devis, n.m. depiction, 1495.

devise, n.f. plan, 1527, 2641.

deviser, to contrive, 2909,  
3132; devise, pr. 1st sing,  
1468, 2483, 2910; devisoit,  
imperf 3rd sing, 2884.

devoir, to owe, 2010; doy, I) must,  
462, 489, 664, 738, 891, 1953; doye,  
I) owe, 465; dois, I) must, 276,  
dois, thou) must, 309, 1963, 2348,  
2803, 2834, 3183; doye, he) must,  
2435; doit, he) must, 53, 845, 850  
3081, 3080; doit, he) must, 588,  
973, 1053, 1858; doient, they) must  
503; devoie, I) ought, 80, 3170;  
deust, he) must, 1375, 1385, 1635,  
2144, 2499; deut, he) must, 2161;  
durent, they) ought, 688, 2317;  
deurent, they) ought, 2635; devr-  
oies, thou) ought, 3210; deusse,  
I) ought, 434, deussent, they)  
ought, 1025, 1030; duisse, I)  
might owe, 398; duissent, they  
ought to have, 822.

devotion, n.f. devotion, 556; de-  
votions, 576, 1659, 2492.

deux, two, 986, 989, 1015, 1519, 1520,  
etc.

dextre, right, 1477, 1519, 1626, 2087,  
2089, 2151, 2535, 2537.

diesme, tenth, 2280.

dieu, n.m. god, 1541, 1993, 2775;  
dieux, 1485.

diffame, n.m. ignominy, infamous  
deed, 1016, 1964.

diffamee, discredited, 2554.

dignes, worthy, 2616.

dignitez, n.f. dignities, 3023.

dilater, to increase, 767, 2014.

diligamment, diligently, 704.

dire, to say, 440, 1438, 2162, 2776,  
2951; die, pr. 1st sing, 484, 537,  
dis, pr. 2nd sing, 26, 201; dies,  
197; diez pr. 2nd pl, 258; dient,  
pr 3rd pl 432; disoit, imperf  
3rd sing, 1267, 1763, 1823, 2595,

etc.; dis, perf 1st sing  
202, 256, 2775; dit, perf  
3rd sing, 521, 2401; dist,  
perf 3rd sing, 194, 209, 221,  
260, etc.; diras, fut 2nd  
sing, 3066; diroies, con-  
dit 2nd sing, 350; disant,  
pr.p. 764, 1526, 497; dit,  
p.p. 956, 1961; ditte, 1592,  
2255, 2372; dittes, 1537.

disans, n.m. sayings, 1399,  
2235.

disciples, n.m. pupils, 788.

discret, discreet, 1426.

discretion, n.f. discretion,  
474.

disnoit, he) dined, 2720.

disposition, n.f. disposition,  
1344.

dissiper, to dissipate, 308.

distributresse, n.f. distri-  
butor, 2486, 2598.

divers, diverse, 1720; di-  
verse, contrary, 1536, 2368,  
diverses, 2470.

diversement, differently,  
1713.

divin, divine, 916; divine,  
119, 487, 2623, 2628; di-  
vines, 3116.

divinement, divinely, 3104.

dix, ten, 1508, 2322, 2985,  
3038.

docteur, n.m. doctor, 157,  
1342.

doctrine, n.f. theory, 3048,  
3151

doeul, n.m. grief, 493.

domination, n.f. domination,  
742, 794, 1858, 2606; dominations  
22; one of the orders of the  
hierarchy.

dommage, n.m. a pity, 907, 949,  
1912, 1943.

dommagee, damaged, 2670.

donc, hence, 489.

don, n.m. gift, 1340; dons, 267,  
415, 570,

donne, n.f. gift, 210, 2938.

donner, to give, 397, 411, 507, 695,  
549, etc. donne, pr. 1st sing,  
383, 401, 453, 654, 2946; donne,  
pr. 3rd sing 44, 534, 930, 1531, etc.  
donnent, pr. 3rd pl, 2407;  
donnoit, imperf 3rd sing, 516,  
1118; donnay, perf 1st sing,  
1623; donne, perf 1st sing,  
3085, 3129; donna, perf 3rd  
sing, 2626, 3158, 3149; donnant,  
pr. p. 2763; donne, p.p. 200,  
739, 744, 759, 1266; donnee, 251  
1749; donnez, 646.

donques, then, 1301, 1632, 2016,  
2085, 2830.

dont, then, of whom or of which,  
1, 31, 520, 691, etc.

dont que, of which, 2333.

doree, golden, 720, 1556, 2614, 2953

dormez, you) sleep, 2195; dor-  
moit, imperf 3rd sing, 2745.

dossier, n.m. wall or bed hang-  
ings, 2621, 2630, 2663, 2694, 2781.

double, she) doubles, 1913.

doubte, n.f. doubt, 229, 2181, 2965

doubte, I) doubt, 3034, 3244;  
doubtent, pr. 3rd pl, 302,  
602; doubte, imper. sing,  
221.

douez, endowed, 2136.

doulceur, n.f. sweetness,  
1810, 1891, 1917.

doulent, sorrowful, 1932;  
doulente, 1796, 2561.

doulereux, sad, 2548; douleureuse,  
1784, 2551.

douleur, n.m. sorrow, 907, 929,  
937, 1569, 1929, 1935, 2665, 2819,  
3062.

douloureuse, n.f. sad one,  
2679.

doulz, n.m. sweet, 1542.

doulz, sweet, 1599, 1731, 1807;  
douce, 1918, 3252.

douze, ten, 2339.

drap, n.m. cloth, 122, 341, 1218,  
1788, 2091; draps, 315, 344,  
553, etc.

drapel, n.m. cloth, 1237; drapelles,  
rags, 1129; drappeaulz,  
2715.

draperent, they draped, 2308.

dresse, I) place, 1361; dresse,  
pr. 3rd sing, 1256, 1554.

droit, n.f. law, 985; right,  
712, 887, 939, 3080.

droit, right, 1751, 2896; droite,  
3094, 3257.

droitture, n.f. right, 747, 881,  
932.

druerie, n.f. friendship, 1165,  
1211.

dure - 398.

durable, lasting, 2402.

duree, n.f. duration, 1300, 2323,  
2377, 2403, 2869.

durement, severely, 885.

durer, to last, 2273, 2277, 2573;  
dure, pr. 1st sing, 2350; pr.  
3rd sing, 1533, 1811, 2204, 2244,  
2280, etc. durent, pr. 3rd pl,  
2318; dura, perf 3rd sing,  
2271, 227, 2374; durera, fut. 3rd  
sing, 2375, 2395, 2463; dure,  
p.p. 2235, 2387, 2390.

dyamans, n.m. diamonds, 357.

## E.

eau, n.f. water, 1148, 1678, 1681,  
1915, 1923.

edifices, n.m. building, 1769;  
edifices, 1471.

edifier, to build, 1777.

effacent, they) destroy, 496.

efforce, he) forces, 962.

eglise, n.f. church, 799; eglises  
2424.

elas, alas, 432.

ele, n.f. wing, 454.

elements, n.m. elements, 2410.

elle, she, 773, 883, 890, 892, etc.;  
el, 46, 870, 913, 937, etc.

embatre, to combat, 2756, 2801.

embelly, beautified, 99.

embler, to wander, 503, 790;  
emblant, pr.p. 2690.

embourrez, stuffed, 1408.

embrace, he) embraces, 1066.

emmaillottee, swathed, 1130.

emmy, amidst, 1554, 1649, 1653.

empereis, n.f. empress, 1787.

emplir, to fill, 419.

empoisonner, to poison, 508.

emprez, near, 2726.

en, in or of it, 73, 74, 198,  
200, etc.; es, in the,  
1178, 1188, 1356.

encloses, enclosed, 16, 2224,  
2795.

encombremens, n.m. obstacles,  
551.

encontrasmes, we) met, 106;  
encontre, p.p. 2962.

encontre, against, 39, 1577,  
1589, 1836.

encor, again or yet, 83, 755,  
919, 1010, etc.; encore, 1470,  
1532, 1958, 2009, etc.; en-  
cores, 1246, 1294, 1763, 2145,  
etc.; encoire, still, 733.

endebite, indebted, 426.

endiray, I) mentioned, 203.

endoctrine, taught, 3047.

endormir, to put to sleep, 1138;  
endomoit, imperf 3rd sing,  
1136.

endroit, n.m. place, 1637.

endurer, to suffer, 2274, 2574;  
endure, I) endure, 1037.

enfans, n.m. children, 827, 991,  
1166.

enfer, n.m. hell, 2360.

enfermer, to enclose, 3096.

engelle, she) freezes, 1741.

engendrure, n.f. offspring, 1021.

engin, n.m. design, 546; engigne,  
n.f. 2416, expedient.

engine, I) design, 2415.

enhardy, I) grew bold, 256.

enjovelee, adorned, 2954.

ennuy, n.m. boredom, 1920.

ennuye, I am bored, 428; ennoye,  
imperf 3rd sing, 2696; ennuyoit,  
imperf 3rd sing, 2720; ennoye,  
subj pr. 1st sing, 372, 1476;  
anuyez, p.p. 53.

enorgueilly, swollen with pride,  
2043.

enquerre, to enquire, 191, 2592,  
2889; enquist, perf 3rd sing,  
211.

enragee, angry, 1622, 2669.

ensaigne, n.f. teaching, 200,  
3094; enseignemens, 3222.

ensamble, together, 831, 1367,  
1874, 2713.

enseigne, I) teach, 1.

ensement, together, 1074,  
1406, 3165.

enservent, they) are slaves,  
1860.

ensleve, lifted, 2019.

ensuyr, to follow, 463, 3151.

ensuivre, to follow, 572; en-  
suivir, 3235; ensuivy, perf  
1st sing, 3254.

entaillee, shaped, 1497.

ente, it) places, 2808.

entendement, n.m. understanding,  
1380.

entendre, to hear, 430, 2176,  
2834; entendu, p.p. 2744.

entente, n.f. understanding,  
705, 836, 2773.

entiere, entire, 1046, 2677.

entierement, completely, 658,  
1261.

entonner, to entone, 2656.

entour, around, 1196, 1206.

entre, between, 1832, 2057,  
2155, 2297, 2554, 2620.

entredonnent, they) exchange,  
358.

entree, n.f. entrance, 59, 242,  
1113.

entremettre, to place, 1290,

1639, 2000; entremettoit, he)  
busied, 1140.

entretollent, they) rob each  
other, 814.

envacele, enslaved, 388.

envelopee, enveloped, 1129,  
1707, 1712.

envers, towards, 608, 2271.

envie, envy, 2238, 2296.

envieux, desirous, 1294.

environ, around, 1094, 1455, 2098;  
environne, 2617.

environs, n.m. surroundings.

envoye, I) send, 26, 551, 3011;  
envoye, p.p. 218, 223, 2108,  
3029.

envroient, they made drunk,  
1604.

epistre, n.f. epistle, 1818,  
1823, 2073, 2081, 2166, 2471, 2480.

equalite, n.f. equality, 2154.

equite, n.f. equity, 901, 921,  
1031, 2581.

er, n.m. air, 3142.

ermines, n.f. ermine, 324, 1094,  
2619.

erre, n.m. wandering, 63, 1487,  
2513, 2890; erres, ways, 376.

errer, to go, 1143; esrames,  
perf 1st pl, 58.

esbat, n.m. blow, 1404.

esbatement, n.m. diversion,

- 1210; esbattement, 1374; esbatemens, 597, 1162, 1237.
- esbatre, to strive, 1213, 1376, 2394, 2755, 2854; esbatoient, they) fought, 1174.
- escarlates, sort of cloth of superior quality whose colour varied, generally of rich silk, 321.
- esceing, n.m. knowledge, 2918.
- escole, n.f. school, 548, 1167, 2421; escoles, 1291.
- escoliers, n.m. scholars, 155.
- escous, too full blown, 82.
- escoute, he) hears, 2426; imper. sing, 2182, 2998.
- escrire, to write, 1249; escript, pr 3rd sing, 1704; escript, p.p. 1640; escripte, 1800, 2292, 2455; escriptes, 1538, 1677, 2794.
- script, n.m. writing, 2392.
- escripture, n.f. writing, 1268, 1298, 1302, 1339, 1350, etc. escriptures, 1616, 2173.
- escuyers, n.m. squires, 150.
- escuz, n.m. shields, 1280.
- egarder, to look, 1331, 2933.
- esgaree, troubled, 1794.
- esjouyra, he) will enjoy, 1050.
- esleve, raised, 2543.
- esleurent, they) elected, 681; esluz, p.p. 687.
- eslievemens, n.m. elevations, 598.
- eslongee, removed, 885; 1369; eslongie, p.p. 530.
- esmeraudes, n.f. emeralds, 359.
- esmes, n.f. calculations, 2570.
- espace, n.m. space, 1662, 1683, 2985.
- espargee, spared, 1621.
- espargne, n.f. savings, 482; espergne, 538.
- espargner, to spare, 1979.
- espartir, to have lightning, 3143.
- espece, n.f. kind, 1999; especes, 1450, 1486.
- espee, n.f. sword, 2032, 2738.
- esperance, n.f. hope, 3203.
- esperer, to hope, 2692; esperant, hoping, 166.
- espesse, thick, 1574.
- espines, n.f. hawthorn trees, 2262, 2709.
- espoentable, fearful, 127, 287, 844.
- esprevier, n.m. falcon, 1240.
- esprouve, proved, 1766; esprouvez, 3040.
- espurez, purified, 320.
- essence, n.f. estate, 24, 488, 554, 1425, 2627; essences, 171.

essongne, n.f. anxiety, 926.

estable, n.f. stable, 288, 2005,

estable, stable, 124, 1506, 2390.

establirent, they) establish, 2313; estable, p.p. 727.

estaches, n.f. bonds, 366.

estage, n.m. habitation, 1646, 1944.

estat, n.m. state, 395, 483, 577, 592, 648, etc.; estas, 141, 592; estatz, 2632, 2798, 2802.

estatures, n.f. statues, 1484.

este, n.m. summer, 1392, 2072.

estendit, it) extended, 2288.

esnuer, to denude, 1330.

estincelees, glittering, 3099.

estoilles, n.f. stars, 3137.

estoire, n.f. store, 379.

estrange, foreign, 1278.

estre, n.m. being or place, 87, 1478, 1989, 2188, 2895, 3121; estres, beings, 1871, 3017.

estre, to be, 53, 108, 164, 255, 306, etc.; ester, 1656; suy, pr. 1st sing, 219, 329, 330, 891, etc.; suis, 283; es, pr. 2nd sing, 195, 199, 224, 1824, etc.; est, pr. 3rd sing, 7, 9, 17, 73, etc.; e, pr. 3rd sing, 66, 3066; sommes, pr. 1st pl, 226, 229; sont, pr. 3rd pl, 54, 315, 396, 365, etc.; estoye, imperf 1st sing, 192,

193, 596, 2980, etc.; estoit, imperf 3rd sing, 115, 145, 207, 211, etc.; estoient, imperf 3rd pl 152, 316, 1173, 1457; fus, perf, 1st sing, 1073, 2078, 2209, 2306, etc.; fut, perf. 3rd sing, 511, 662, 2110, 719, etc.; fust, 88, 134, 137, 138; fusmes, perf. 1st pl, 104; furent, perf 3rd pl, 129, 148, 154, 187, etc.; seray, fut 1st sing, 3207; seras, fut 2nd sing, 34, 222; sera, fut 3rd sing, 841, 2448, 2454, 2534, etc.; seront, fut 3rd pl, 81, 1908; seroye, condit 1st sing, 595; seroit, condit 3rd sing, 370, 2728, 3056; soye, subj. pr 1st 2979, 3205; soyes, subj pr 2nd sing, 3034, 3043; soit, subj. pr 3rd sing, 958, 1190, 1549, 1749, etc.; soient, subj.pr. 3rd pl, 345, 607, 1839, etc.; estant, pr. p. 2250; estans, 1511; este, p.p. 425, 1391, 2740.

estrier, n.m. equipment, 2970.

estriver, to strive, 2071; estrivent, pr. 3rd pl, 1873, estrivoient, imperf 3rd pl, 2298; estrivant, pr.p. 1980.

estroite, narrow, 335.

estudes, n.f. studies, 3116.

estudians, n.m. students, 637.

estudie, n.f. study, 305.

esveillie, awakened, 3220.

et, and, 344, 367, 368, 685, etc. e, 3048.

eulz, them, 400, 402, 413, 464, 585, 616, 711, 737, etc.; themselves, 415, 416, 791, 2305.

euvre, n.f. work, 1465, 1540, 1780, 2629, 2645, 2698; euvres, 1200, 1773, 2511, 2521.

- eviter, to avoid, 1828.
- evvangelles, n.f. Gospel, 624.
- exaulce, exalted, 2056; exaulcee, 2557.
- exceptee, excepted, 45.
- excercer, to exercise, 936; to accomplish, 1135.
- excercite, n.f. exercise, 2864.
- excertiter, to exercise, 2864.
- excuser, to excuse, 461.
- excusation, n.f. excuse, 2062.
- exemplaire, n.m. example, 587, 974, 3082.
- exemple, n.m. example, 1490, 2466; exemples, 2479.
- exil, n.m. exile, 2063.
- exille, he) exiles, 945; exillē, p.p. 2066; exillée, 2114; exilliez, 823.
- exlongiez, banished, 467.
- exposer, to explain, 2777.
- exposition, n.f. explanation, 2593.
- extraittes, drawn, 1452.
- exultations, n.f. exultations, 1925.
- F.
- fable, n.f. fable, 521; n.m. 2066.
- fable, weak, 679.
- face, n.f. face, 1372, 2641.
- facon, n.f. manner,
- faculte, n.f. faculty, 297, 2420.
- faillir, to fail, 2570, 2983; faillist, perf. 3rd sing, 1150; faille, subj. pr. 3rd sing, 405, 446.
- faim, n.m. hunger, 14, 2552, 2290, 2748.
- faindre, to feign, 461, 529, 749, 1071, 2867; faigne, pr. 1st sing, 2999; faignent, pr. 3rd pl, 527; faignoit, imperf 3rd sing, 524; faignant, pr. p. 510; faignans, 404, 629.
- faintement, feignedly, 614.
- faire, to make, 37, 188, 423, 440, etc.; fere, 249, 2785, 3027; fais, pr. 1st sing, 272, 376, 450, 454, etc; fay, 2503; faiz, 1043; fait, pr. 3rd sing, 37, 42, 46, 329, etc.; font, pr. 3rd pl, 422, 427, 471, 1715, etc.; faisoie, imperf. 1st sing, 1487; faisoies, 1964; faisoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 881, 1249, 1279, 1323, etc.; faisoient, imperf. 3rd pl, 142, 923, 1177, 1998; fis, perf. 1st sing, 2010, 2025, 2060, etc.; fist, perf. 3rd sing, 520, 919, 1003, 1465, etc.; firent, perf. 3rd pl, 699, 1512, 2497, etc.; feray, fut. 1st sing, 1974, 2929; feras, fut. 2nd sing, 3191; fera, fut. 3rd sing, 33; feroye, condit, 1st sing, 1966; feroit, condit, 3rd sing, 1840, 2172, 2510, etc.; face, subj. pr. 1st sing, 1940, 1983, 2575, 2938; subj. pr. 3rd sing, 1837; facet, subj. pr. 3rd pl, 495, 2854; fisse, subj. perf. 1st sing, 203, 2063; feist, subj. perf. 3rd sing, 998; faisant, pr. p. 867, 1179, 1548; fait, p.p. 733, 1009, 1217, 2409, etc.; fais, 92, 94, 724, etc.; faitte, 339, 1456, 1493, 1497, etc.

fette, 1675; faittes, 1035,  
1221, 1461, 1472, etc.

fait, n.m. deed, 276, 547, 587,  
593, 610, 623, 1236, 1000, 1007,  
1065, 1844, 2176, 2402; fet, 2251.  
fais, 4774, 2863.

fait, au de, according to, 460.

faitives, dainty, 131.

fame, n.f. woman or wife, 1015,  
1321; femme, 1494, 1517, 2668;  
fames, 161, 819.

famille, n.f. family, 1839.

fantasie, n.f. phantasy, 2871.

fault, it) is necessary, 937,  
1901, 1916, 2493, 2496, 2826, 2853;  
failloit, imperf 3rd sing, 1404,  
1432, 1437, 1441; faillist, perf  
3rd sing, 894.

fauldras, thou) needest, 3153;  
fauldront, fut. 3rd pl, 3193,  
3194.

faulusement, falsely, 1547; par  
faulusement, very falsely, 515.

faulsete, n.f. falsehood, 677, 1550,  
1688.

faulz, false, 941.

fel, evil, 287.

felonnye, n.f. sin, 1597.

fenestre, n.f. window, 2981.

ferine, wild, 1529.

ferir, to strike, 442; fier, pr  
3rd sing, 442.

fermement, firmly, 136, 2395.

fermer, to close, 3095; fermay, perf  
1st sing, 2077; ferma, perf  
3rd sing, 2918.

fermaulz, n.m. strong-holds,  
353.

fermetez, n.m. citadels, 3001.

ferrer, iron hoop, 1144.

fertille, fertile, 85, 244, 3003.

festes, n.f. merrymakings, 1198,  
3106.

festoyer, to revel, 1274.

feu, n.m. fire, 778, 1388, 1409,  
2459.

feugieres, n.f. fern, 1182.

feulles, n.f. leaves, 1701

feullir, to leaf, 1729.

fiche, I) transfix, 1982.

fier, to trust, 1778, 2505; fie,  
pr. 3rd sing, 578, 1698, 1936,  
2508; fieray, fut. 1st sing,  
2532,

fiers, proud, 736.

figure, n.f. face, 1160, 1188,  
1257, 1306, 1503, 2157, 2341, 2431;  
figures, 1124, 1450, 1459, 1483,  
2200, 2476.

figurement, they) designed, 1646;  
figure, p.p. 1205, 1454, 1246;  
figuree, 1458, 2663; figurez,  
319.

fille, n.f. daughter, 853, 1820,  
1851, 1909, 1930, 2045, 2647;  
filles, 623.

fils, n.m. son, 980; filz, 988, 1003, 2283; sons, 396, 623, 1015.

filz, n.m. threads, 316.

fin, n.f. end, 432, 1276, 1328, 2312, 2534, 3055; fins, 1296.

fin, fine, 354, 1771, 2971, 3114; fine, 1314, 2099, 2100; fines, 1525, 2615, 3132, 3135.

finement, n.m. end, 2448, 2463, 3054.

finera, it) will end, 2461; finie, p.p. 1190, 2217.

finition, n.f. end, 1844, 2452.

flail, n.m. flail, 2733.

flater, to flatter, 1971; flate, he) throws, 1725.

flesche, n.f. arrow, 2514.

fleschit, it) bows, 10.

fleurir, to flower, 1729; fleuris, p.p. 82.

fleurs, n.m. flowers, 1604.

fleuter, to flute, 1231.

floer, to flow, 1678.

flots, n.m. waves, 1709.

flourete, flowered, 123.

flourettes, n.f. small flowers, 76, 131, 1138, 1179, 1263.

fois, n.f. time, 909, 1214, 1708, 1747, 2832; foiz, times, 1243, 1431, 2986; fois, times, 1710, 1716, 1950; foix, times, 1508,

foison, n.f. plenty, 585, 1116.

fol, mad, 780, 1065, 1936.

foleur, n.f. madness, 1544, 1776.

fondre, to destroy, 2560.

fons, n.m. depths, 774, 1717.

fontaine, n.f. fountain, 1647, 1672, 1686, 1692, 1901, 1914, 1918; fontaines, 69, 1888, 3109.

force, n.f. force, 961, 1118, 1961, 2272, 2495, 2500.

forestz, n.f. forests, 65, 1088.

forment, strongly, 3258.

fors, but or except, 424, 440, 2405, 2436, 3059; forz, 2265.

fors que, unless, 176, 384, 2563.

fort, strong, 679, 958.

forteresses, n.f. fortresses, 91, 795.

fourme, n.f. form, 1756.

fournee, furnished, 2184.

fournie, n.f. extension, 1456.

fourre, furred, 1317, 1364, 1407, 2093; fourrez, 323, 1365, 1407.

fouyr, to construct, 2727, 2741, 3108.

frains, n.m. bits, 2975.

fragille, fragile, 3039.

franche, frank, 1414.

franchises, n.f. immunities from taxation, 794.

fraulde, n.f. fraud, 1033.

frere, n.m. brother, 5,49,  
225,250,3028.

fresces, fresh, 1664.

freschement, freshly, 330.

fresles, weak, 3035.

freeses, n.f. strawberries,  
1199.

frise, n.f. thick woollen  
material, 1740.

frise, Frisian, 2967.

froideur, n.f. coldness,  
1744.

froidure, n.f. cold, 2140.

froissoit, he) shattered,  
1280.

froit, cold, 329.

fructifieuse, fruitful, 3005.

fruit, n.m. fruit, 80; fruits,  
861,2259,2262; fruitz, 84,  
2253.

fust, n.m. fustian, 1500.

fuyr, to flee, 847,1378,2026;  
fuye, fled, 884.

G.

gage, n.m. pledge, 500.

gans, n.m. gloves, 1222.

garde, n.f. guardian, 954,  
1104; care, 1236,3072,3178.

garder, to keep, 663,713,717,  
901, etc.; garde, pr. 3rd  
sing, 953,955; gardoit, im-  
perf. 3rd sing, 215,1013,  
1193; garderent, perf. 3rd  
pl, 704,2293; garderoient,  
condit, 3rd pl, 685; garde,  
p.p. 437; gardee, 752.

garderobe, n.f. wardrobe, 2893.

garnache, n.f. a kind of smock  
usually worn under a top-  
coat, 2706.

garnement, n.m. adornment, or  
garment, 1610,2116; garnemens  
313,394.

garnis, adorned, 365,2970;  
garny, 2039; garnye, 1105;  
garnies, 2711.

generation, n.f. generation,  
689,2228.

gens, n.f. people, 140,148,151,  
171, etc.

gent, lovely, 86,1259; gente,  
1258,3097.

gentement, pleasantly, 1209,  
2644,2654.

gesir, to lie, 2005; gisoient,  
they) lay, 1178.

gibiers, n.m. game, 1241.

gloire, n.f. glory, 17,30,51,  
123,160, etc.; glore, 1531;  
gloires, 496.

glorieuse, glorious, 328; glo-  
rieux, 137,271.

gobe, glorious, 2092.

gorge, n.f. throat, 2725.

goust, n.m. taste, 1906.

gousteront, they) will taste, 1907.

gouvernance, n.f. government, 1079, 2192.

gouverner, to govern, 1831; gouverne, pr. 3rd sing, 481; gouvernoit, imperf 3rd sing, 864, 1169; gouvernoient, imperf 3rd pl, 873; gouvernerent, perf. 3rd pl, 688.

gouvernement, n.m. government, 253, 391, 610, 1830, 2430, 2604.

grace, n.f. grace, 1661, 1682, 2109, 2430, 2937, 3088.

gracieuse, 3006; gracieuses, 352; gracious.

graines, n.f. grains, 1086.

granche, n.f. granary, 803, 2733.

grant, big, 30, 108, 146, 180, etc.; grand, 603, 690, 724, 3224, etc.; grande, 830, 833, 1410, 1492, etc.; grans, 237, 278, 415, 452, etc.; grandes, 92, 172, 1659, 1773, etc.;

grappes, n.f. bunches, 1734, graps, 1977.

gras, fat, 1089, 2811, 2974; grasse, 13, 182, 1389, 2126.

gravelle, n.f. gravel, 1893.

gre, n.m. taste, 751, 873.

greigneur, greater, 78, 1897; greigneure, 745.

grever, to torture, 1007; greve, tortured, 2740; grevez, 985.

grief, n.m. grief, 926.

grises, grey, 1092.

gros, big, 357; grosse, 2097; grosses, 2129, 2710.

guerre, n.f. war, 813, 862, 1690, 1727, 1946, 2212, 2368.

guestes, n.f. gaiters, 2715.

gueule, n.f. throat, 286.

guise, n.f. manner, 639, 880, 899, 1467, 1654, 1969, 2575, 2909, 2942; guises, 141, 816, 1091, 2423, 2968, 2968.

H.

abandonner, to abandon, 412, 696, 2752, 3062; abandonnay, perf. 1st sing, 1624; abandonna, 402; perf 3rd sing, 3147; abandonne, p.p. 996, 3086, 3130.

habille, comely, 86, 243.

habillemens, n.m. garments, 591.

habillie, dressed, 1317, 2703; habillee, 2113.

habillitez, n.f. skilful works, 278.

habit, n.m. clothing, 72, 114, 533.

habitation, n.f. dwelling, 470; habitations, 1345.

habiter, to dwell, 2512; habites, pr. 2nd sing, 1881; habite, pr. 3rd sing, 6; habita, perf. 3rd sing, 71.

habondance, n.f. abundance, 373,378; habondances, 3025.

habonde, n.f. abundance, 2021.

habonde, it) abounds, 50; habondoit, imperf 3rd sing, 1681.

haguenees, n.m. hackneys, 2969.

hayr, to hate, 489,528,629; heyr, 738,1384,1869; haiz, pr. 1st sing, 489,543; hayent, pr. 3rd pl, 477; heent, pr. 3rd pl, 544; hayst, perf, 3rd sing, 1394.

haitier, to enjoy, 12,240, 762,3183; haite, pr. 3rd sing, 336; haitie, p.p. 2850.

hanter, to haunt, 1227; hante, haunted, 384.

hape, he) snaps, 502; 2943; happe, 611.

harnois, n.m. harness, 129.

harpe, n.f. harp, 2653.

harper, to harp, 1231,1232.

haulce, elevated, 2055; haulcee, 2558.

haut, high, 24,107,1117,1576, 1938, etc.; haulte, 23,1671, 2572,3093; haulz, 3095; haultes, 496,1925,3002.

haultaine, high, 3126.

haultesse, n.f. high rank, 1069,2012,3225; haultesses, 710.

have, she) burns, 773.

hayes, n.f. hedges, 1176,2109.

herbe, n.f. grass, 74; herbes, 1180,2004.

herbergeries, n.f. dwellings, 1088.

herbergier, to lodge, 589,2305; herbergoient, they) lodged, 518.

herbettes, n.f. small grasses, 2261.

herde, he) attacks, 940.

heritage, n.m. inheritance, 620, 908,2358.

herite, n.m. inheritor, 877; heritez, 584.

hermitages, n.m. hermitages, 472,562.

heur, n.f. hour, 602; heure, 6, 1680,1846,2545,2723; heures, 2817.

histoire, n.f. story, 1267,1283; hystoire, 2384; hystoires, 3016; ystoire, 1225,1448; ystoires, 1356.

hoir, n.m. heir, 1049; hoirs, 1044.

hom, n.m. man, 756; homme, 106, 208,211,239,275,653,1024,1100, 1795,1979; 2054,2066,2816,2882, 3107; homs, 510,2039,2803; hommes, 161,519,2031.

honneste, honest, 1675; honneste 1222.

honnestement, honestly, 1309.

honneur, n.m. honour, 1513,1682; honneurs, 1111,1977,2544.

honnourable, honourable, 417.  
honnourablement, honourably, 399, 413, 3053.

honnourer, to honour, 3234;  
onneurent, pr. 3rd pl, 642;  
honnoure, p.p. 2231.

honist, it) shames, 2882;  
honnye, p.p. 966.

honte, n.f. shame, 493, 2861.

hors, outside, 542, 554, 1920,  
2047, 2160, etc.

hostes, n.m. guests, 512, 517.

houe, n.f. hoe, 2719.

houoit, he) hoes, 2718; houe,  
p.p. 2722; houee, 2728.

huchier, to call, 1939.

huit, eight, 2357.

humain, human, 1919, 2357; hu-  
maine, 1452, 2355, 2627; u-  
maine, 2184, 2632; humains,  
284.

humanite, n.f. humanity, 1271,  
2201.

humilians, humble, 608.

hus, n.m. opening, 285.

## I.

iceluy, that, 1016; 1269, 1589;  
icelle, 660, 1800; icelles,  
2888, 3119; iceulz, 447, 2636.

ici, here, 219; icy, 2249.

il, he or it, 11, 1237, 46, etc.;  
ilz, they, 80, 81, 339, 432, etc.  
ils, 420, etc.

illec, there 102, 2926.

impatibles, antipathetic, 2530.

impetrer, to seek, 1338.

impetueuse, impetuous, 122.

impotence, n.f. weakness, 1411.

improvidence, n.f. improvidence,  
120.

incarnation, n.f. incarnation,  
2354.

incognition, n.f. ignorance, 118

inconstante, inconstant, 1517.

inestable, unstable, 123.

infernal, infernal, 261; infer-  
naulz, 270.

infernaulz, n.m. devils, 125.

influences, n.f. influences,  
2407.

iniuite, n.f. iniquity, 1032.

injustement, unjustly, 1062.

instructions, n.f. preparation  
of cases for judgment, 700.

intention, n.f. design, 3009;  
intentions, 699.

ire, n.m. anger, 2673.

ireuse, angry, 2681.

isseroit, she) would issue, 1862  
issus, p.p. 316, 2213.

J.

ja, already, 1202, 1411, 1415,  
2284, etc.; never, 204.

jacintes, n.m. jacinth, 311.

jadis, formerly, 566, 977, 1644,  
1830, etc.

jamais, never, 101, 3058, 3242.

jambes, n.f. legs, 2133.

jardins, n.m. gardens, 65, 1088.

je, I, 1, 45, 55, 136, etc.; j',  
187, 192, 237, 260, etc.

jectoit, she) cast, 1630; jecte,  
p.p. 2590.

jolerie, n.f. jewelry, 2919.

joly, pretty, 1262; jolis, 1238,  
2973; jolie, 2100.

joliement, prettily, 77, 1239.

joliette, pretty, 1226; joli-  
ettes, 1154.

joliettement, prettily, 1218.

jolivete, n.f. jollity, 1383.

jons, n.m. rushes, 1182.

jones, young, 1376, 2978, 3097;  
jenne, 1271; jennes, 163.

jouchiee, n.f. rest, 1183.

jouer, to play, 1196, 1986, 2755;  
jouoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1170;  
enjoyed, 1165; jouoient, im-  
perf. 3rd pl, 1184; jouant,  
pr. p. 1244.

jour, n.m. day, 215, 1377, 1822,  
2396, 3256; jours, 1215.

jouster, to joust, 1273.

jouyr, to amuse, 1140.

joyaulz, n.m. jewels, 348, 365,  
2914.

joye, n.f. joy, 724, 1211, 1569,  
2164, etc.

joye, I) enjoy, 2350.

joyete, n.f. joy, 2388.

joyeusement, happily, 2658,  
3067, 3231.

joyeuseete, n.f. happiness, 245.

joyeux, joyful, 2818, 3056; joy-  
euse, 870, 912, 1212, 1680.

juge, n.m. judge, 942, 973, 1011,  
1024, 1025.

jugement, n.m. judgment, 941,  
2442, 2396.

jugeour, n.m. judge, 2445.

jugeresse, n.f. judge, 228, 1853.

jus, at once, 1940.

jusques, until, 271, 1049, 1119,  
1201, etc.; jusqu', 2205,  
2218, 2230, 2283, 2325; jusq',  
2250; jousq', 2958.

juste, just, 1055, 1675, 1864.

justement, justly, 955.

justice, n.f. justice, 86, 740,  
994, 979, 997, 1013, 1853, 1957.

justicier, n.m. lawgiver, 249.

justicier, to render justice,  
858, 1056.

justification, n.f. justification, 1057.

L.

la, there, 5,138,148,1564, 2190, etc.

labour, n.m. labour, 151,1252, 1289,2756, etc.; labour, 2222; labours, 803; labeurs, 1325.

labourer, to work, 449,2732, 2741,2765,2825,2836,2957; labourent, pr. 3rd pl, 303; labouroit, imperf 3rd sing, 2257; labourez, p.p. 2196.

labouriers, n.m. workmen, 801.

laboureurs, n.m. labourers, 2825.

lac, n.m., lake, 2527.

lachiez, laced, 1221.

laide, ugly, 1905.

laidement, uglily, 1757.

laidengier, to injure, 515.

laidure, n.f. ugliness, 2454.

laine, n.f. wool, 344; laines, 2308.

laisser, to leave, 1724; laisse, pr. 3rd sing, 1541,1542,2867; laissent, pr. 3rd pl, 535; laisoient, imperf 3rd pl, 2310; laissay, perf. 1st sing, 1358,2948; laissasses, subj. perf. 2nd sing, 3212; lesse, p.p. 2284.

lait, n.m. milk, 2358,3110.

lame, n.f. blade, 586.

lances, n.f. lances, 1280.

lancier, to throw, 1716; lance, pr. 3rd sing, 1716.

langage, n.m. language, 1616, 2080.

languist, she) languished, 2563; languirra, fut. 3rd sing, 2563.

langouree, wearied, 2552.

langoureusement, languorously, 3057.

lanterne, n.f. lantern, 537

large, wide, 335,1587.

larron, n.m. criminal, 2049; larrons, 882.

las, wretched, 639,2721; lasse 2110,2112,2664,2702; laz, 431.

lassus, below, 916.

latines, latin, 1526.

le, either the definite article or the accusative of the 3rd person, personal pronoun, 9, 17,27,71, etc.; 1',59,167, 197,200, etc.; la, 6,17,29, 48; etc.; les, 54,70,79,125, etc.; ly, definite article, 717,1570,1765,2803.

luy, dative of 3rd person, personal pronoun, reflexive, or emphatic.accusative, 8,10,21, 26, etc.

leans, n.m. elegance, 3017.

legiere, light, 1813.

lente, slow, 2759.

lequel, which, 217, 774, 2387;  
laquelle, 242, 1164, 1304, 1516,  
1654; lesquelz, 674, 687, 1461,  
2219, 2925; lesquelles, 2408;  
duquel, of which, 1988; des-  
quelles, 1890; esquelz, in  
which, 563; ouquel, 50, 272,  
783, 1100, 1515; auquel, to  
whom, 720, 944; auxquelz, 654,  
682.

leticc, n.m. animal of great white-  
ness, perhaps a species  
of ermine, most often used to  
denote a white fur, employed  
especially for bordering  
clothes. 324.

lettre, n.f. letter, 1060, 1640,  
2338; lettres, 1525.

leur, 3rd pers. possessive adj.,  
dative, 3rd pers. pl. pronoun,  
305, 308, 392, 398, etc.; leurs,  
126, 468, 576, 596, etc.

lever, to raise, 1437, 2735; lieve,  
she) lifts, 386; leve, raised,  
2020, 2546, 2739.

lie, she) binds, 944; lient, they  
bind, 2798; liez, bound, 1224.

lie, n.f. lees, 424.

liee, gay, 1680, 1614, 2017.

liens, n.m. bonds, 2329.

lieu, n.m. place, 105, 1027, 1148,  
2304, etc.; lieux, 89, 228, 375,  
456, etc.

lignage, n.m. lineage, 2239, 2240,  
2269, 2357; lynnage, 2079.

ligne, n.f. line, 2717.

lignie, n.f. lineage, 261,  
1323, 2214, 2218, 2286.

limite, limited, 2434.

linges, n.m. linen, 1161.

lins, n.m. linen, 2307.

lire, to read, 1249, 1447, 1638,  
1702, 2078, 2525; lit, pr. 3rd  
sing, 2619, 2739, 2758, 2742,  
etc.; list, 565, 2282; lison,  
pr. 1st pl, 514; lisoie, im-  
perf. 1st sing, 1298; lisoit,  
imperf. 3rd sing, 1268; leuz,  
perf. 1st sing, 1532, 1797;  
lis, imper. 2nd sing, 2007,  
lisans, pr. p., 202; leu,  
p.p. 2166; leue, 2074; 2472.

lit, n.m. bed, 1389, 2195.

livre, n.m. book, 838, 976, 1536,  
1702, etc.; livres, 1704;  
livre, n.f. 1631.

livrer, to deliver, 2693;  
livre, I) grant, 445, 453;  
livre, she) delivers, 2487.

lobe, n.f. lie, 2894.

lober, to cajole, 1971, 2366.  
lobbe, he) cajoles, 706.

loge, he) lodges, 289.

loisir, n.m. leisure, 2660,  
2745, 3198.

long, au, de, along, 1353.

longtemps, for a long time,  
205, 2374.

longue, long, 335, 2869.

longuement, long, 384, 1351,  
2439.

lors, then, 55, 136, 256, 720,  
857, etc.; lore, 673.

lorsque, when, 183, 1032, 1927,  
2073, 2211, 2367, 2915, 3040.

louer, to praise, 1963, 2348;  
loer, 969; loe, I) praise,  
47; loe, he) praises, 1890.

loups, n.m. wolves, 1197; leu,  
wolf, 521.

loy, n.f. law, 952, 953, 997,  
999, 1002, etc.; loix, 1342,  
2425; lais, 2422; laiz, 700.

loyal, loyal, 751, 901, 948,  
1024; loyale, 906; loyaulz,  
347, 2913.

loyaute, n.f. loyalty, 523, 1029;  
leaute, 1892.

luy, dative, 3rd pers sing, per-  
sonal pronoun, accusative,  
accented form, 28, 29, 37, 56,  
etc.

luitier, to dance, 1213.

lune, n.f. moon, 1492, 1695,  
3136; lunes, 3138.

lunette, n.f. glass, 1585.

lyons, n.m. lions, 736.

lyement, gaily, 1240.

lyesse, n.f. gaiety, 1514, 2197,  
2648; leesse, 2661; lyesses,  
97.

M.

maconner, to build, 3108.

magique, magic, 3139.

magnificence, n.f. magnificence,  
25.

maigre, thin, 1428, 2115, 2121,  
2123, 2553, 2811; maigres, 2133.

maille, n.f. small coin, 2840.

main, n.m. morning, 1164.

main, n.f. hand, 429, 1081, 1139,  
1163, etc.; mains, 1930, 2653.

maindre, smallest, 846, 1072.

maint, many, 2072, 2239, 2416;  
mainte, 2228, 2291; maintes,  
362.

maintenant, now, 1568, 3073.

maintenir, to maintain, 24, 713,  
906, 3222; maintiennent, pr.  
3rd pl, 492, 674; maintenoit,  
imperf 3rd sing, 2654; maintint  
perf. 3rd sing, 2687; maintin-  
drent, perf. 3rd pl, 692, 2363.

mais, but, 47, 102, 258, 396, etc.;  
mais, never, 1426; mes, never,  
1994.

maison, n.f. house, 509, 1104,  
1115, 1353, etc.; maisons, 295,  
596, 766, 814, 821, 1153.

maistre, n.m. master, 7, 157, 256,  
849, 1292, 1342; mestre, 1937,  
1990, 3052,

maistresse, n.f. mistress, 1954,  
2084, 2597; maistresses, 1826.

maistrise, n.f. mastery, 1752.

maistroie, he) mastered, 2817.

mal, bad, 507, 2113, 2152, 2579,  
2703; male, 1042, 1780, 2033;  
maulz, 1054.

mal, n.m. evil, 2861,3200.

mal, badly, 437,1051.

malement, badly, 886,2115.

malheureux, unfortunate, 407, 2111,2547,3063; malheureuse, 1783.

malice, n.m. malice, 505,1033, 2363,2413.

malicieuse, malicious, 2046.

maltalenz, n.m. irritations, 550.

malyer, to ride, 2506.

manandises, n.f. dwellings, 815; manantises, n.f. dwellings, 89,1064.

mandemens, n.m. strongholds, 265.

maniere, n.f manner, 423,599, 1045,1142,1247,1439,3255; manieres, 816.

mansion, n.f. house, 2264; mansions, 803,1956.

mantel, n.m. coat, 117,1316, 1406,2091,2094.

marchandise, n.f. merchandise, 447,1284.

marchans, n.m. merchants, 150, 805.

maree, n.f. tide, 1711.

mariage, n.m. marriage, 1282, 1320; marriages, 625.

marry, n.m. husband, 891.

martres, n.m. martins, 323,2093.

martire, n.m. martyrdom, 2674.

masiere, n.f. wall, 1141,1357.

massise, massive, 2097.

mate, flat, 1726,2551; quiescent, mates, 322.

matiere, n.f. matter, 1248,1769.

matin, n.m. morning, 2735.

matrones, n.f. women, 1511.

maudis, I) curse, 573.

mauvais, evil, 1906,2135; mauvaises, 1197.

me, 1st pers. sing personal pronoun, accusative, dative or reflexive, 130,185,280,299, etc.; m', 211,217,218,339, etc.

meilleur, better, 2446; meilleure, 327; mieulz, 54,240,310,411, etc.

meisme, self, 1605; meismes, even, 2054,2475.

meismement, evenly, 3177.

meismement que, similarly to, 675.

melodieusement, melodiously, 2657.

membres, n.m. limbs, 1496.

memoire, n.f. memory, 1226,1806, 2035,2383,3026,3078.

mencion, n.f. mention, 2335.

mendians, begging, 153,607.

mener, to lead, 13,285,417,732, 1082,1120,1212,1287; maine,

pr. 1st sing, 447, 1902; maine,  
pr. 2nd sing, 31; maine, pr. 3rd  
sing, 253, 1145; mainent, pr. 3rd  
pl, 444; menoit, imperf. 3rd  
sing, 61, 2177; menoient, imperf.  
3rd pl, 1198, 1663, 3106; mena,  
perf. 3rd sing, 1099, 1112, 1119,  
1121, etc.; meneray, fut. 1st  
sing, 1109; menee, p.p. 934,  
2327.

mengier, meal which a vassal owed  
to his overlord a certain num-  
ber of times a year, 516.

mengier, to eat, 594, 2004, 2757;  
mengiez, pr. 2nd pl, 2194; men-  
goit, imperf. 3rd sing, 679;  
mengerent, perf. 3rd pl, 2307;  
mengie, p.p. 2747.

menter, to lie, 2879; ment, pr. 3rd  
sing, 942, 956, 2400; mentiray, fut.  
1st sing, 204.

menu, small, 1220; menues, 1263.

menu, gently, 194.

mer, n.f. sea, 71, 230, 1708, 1706,  
1722, 1752.

mercy, n.m. mercy, 848.

mere, n.f. mother, 256, 855, 871, 904,  
1133, 1147, 1158.

merveille, n.m. marvel, 1623.

mesaisier, to make uncomfortable,  
2838.

meschant, wicked, 1783, 1931, 2548.

meschief, n.m. wickedness, 2053,  
2684.

meschine, n.f. girl, 1685.

mesgnye, n.f. retinue, 140, 222, 2412. 1583, 1589, 1595.

meslee, mingled, 1366.

messages, n.m. money due to  
an overlord, 626.

messoniers, n.m. harvesters,  
618.

mestier, n.m. profession,  
1251; mestiers, 1295.

metal, n.m. metal, 1500.

mettre, to place, 1289, 1433,  
1999, 2047, 2546, 2957; mets,  
pr. 1st sing, 558; met,  
pr. 3rd sing, 38, 779, 1563;  
mettent, pr. 3rd pl, 305,  
498, 818, 830; mettoit, imp  
perf. 3rd sing, 1139, 1733;  
mis, perf. 1st sing, 1582,  
1632, 3089, 3236, 3251; mis,  
au<sup>321</sup>) began, 1638; met-  
tray, I) shall put, 236;  
mettes, pr. 2nd sing, 2991;  
mis, p.p. 753, 822, 1545,  
1920, 1989, 2329, mise, 2556,  
2645, 2754.

meuble, n.m. furnishing, 909.

meur, ripe, 1319; meuris, 81.

miel, n.m. honey, 3110.

mien, my, 5, 767, 2279, 2323,  
2389; miens, 2318.

mil, thousand, 2236, 2247;  
mille, 3004, 3038.

ministres, n.m. ministers,  
263.

mirer, to admire, 276, 1356,  
1448, 1584; mire, pr. 3rd  
2362, 2526.

mirouer, n.m. mirror, 1579,

1583, 1589, 1595.

missions, n.f. money to spend, 801.

mixte, mixed, 2820.

moitie, n.f. half, 1770, 2822.

mol, soft, 1389, 2743.

mon, my, 49, 63, 225, 249, etc.;  
ma, 262, 279, 292, 306, etc.;  
mes, 263, 264, 265, 266, etc.;  
mien, 2271.

mondain, worldly, 2767; mondaine, 13, 343, 1101, 1759, 2068, 3125, 3230; mondains, 598; mondaines, 1124.

monde, n.m. world, 271, 280, 1261, 2084, 3171.

monnoye, n.f. minted money, 371, 419, 805, 1475, 2931, 2950.

monnoye, minted, 369, 2103, 2107.

mont, n.m. mountain, 9, 16, 17, 25, 66, 71, 72, 85, 105, 193, 784.

montaigne, n.f. mountain, 2, 18, 59, 199, 1083, 1957, 3000, 3093.

monteplierent, they) multiplied, 2253.

montions, we) ascended, 95; montay, perf. 1st sing, 2012; monte, p.p. 107, 269, 1921; montez, mounted, 104.

monstrarer, to show, 2610; monstre, pr. 1st sing, 1999; moustre, pr. 3rd sing, 2476; moustrent, pr. 3rd pl, 2478; moustroit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1095, 1590, 1694, 2895, 3256; monstra, perf. 3rd sing, 2901, 2919, 2980; mousteray, fut. 1st sing, 1110; moustrans, pr. p., 554, 3170; monstre, p.p. 1097; monstree, 3000; monstrez, 3075.

monture, n.f. trappings, 394, 2992; monteure, equipment, 3021.

moquerie, n.f. mockery, 2894.

moralitez, n.f. moral tales,

mort, n.f. death, 442, 3209.

mortel, mortal, 1848.

mot, n.m. word, 204, 2074, 2472.

moulle, she) damps, 1741.

moult, much, 77, 567, 827, 869, 1093, etc.

mourir, to die, 1017, 1837; m meurs, pr. 1st sing, 439; mourra, fut. 3rd sing, 843; meure, subj. pr. 3rd sing, 1845; morte, p.p. 904, 2686; mors, 2397.

moutons, n.m. sheep, 1089.

mouvement, n.m. movement, 1714, 1952, 3140.

mouver, to move, 3117; mouvoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1673.

moy, 1st pers. sing, personal pronoun, nom. or acc., emphatic, 51, 279, 301, 385, etc.

moye, my, 760, 2349, 3196; moyes, 3180.

moyen, medium, 846.

muable, changeable, 2458.

muance, n.f. change, 1505, 1688, 2566, 2584, 3204; muances, 43, 1572, 1946, 2469.

mue, n.f. retreat, 1436.

muer, to change, 520, 1602,  
1885, 1998; mue, pr. 3rd sing,  
36; meut, pr. 3rd sing, 1435;  
muante, pr. p., 1518; mue  
perf. 3rd sing, 783; muee,  
p.p. 1593, 1720.

muletz, n.m. mules, 2968.

multiplication, n.f. multiplication, 690, 2930.

mur, n.m. wall, 1117; murs, 3095.

musart, n.m. madman, 780.

mutation, n.f. change, 1564, 1759,  
1813; mutations, 1887, 2578.

N.

nagemens, n.m. ships, 1078.

naistre, to bear, 1736; naist,  
pr. 3rd sing, 1918, 2827; ne,  
p.p. 2205; nee, 661, 1208,  
2870; nez, 660.

nappes, n.f. cloths, 1733.

natee, swum, 1299.

nature, n.f. nature, 122, 2184,  
2186.

naturel, natural, 1847; natur-ele, 1403.

naturelement, naturally, 1457.

navie, n.f. ship, 1286.

ne, not or nor, 8, 37, 40, 41, 175,  
etc.; n', 53, 56, 100, 204, etc.;  
ne...goute, not at all, 2729;  
ne...guerre, hardly, 1782;  
ne...ja, never, 257, 529, 762,  
1050, 2532, 2734, 3042, 3204, 3207;  
ne...jamais, never, 947, 3193;

ne...mais, 756, 882, 1108, 2677;  
ne...mye, not at all, 196,  
201, 221, 910, 1598, 1841, 2346,  
2505, 2516, 2784, 3080; ne...  
nul, none, 578, 706, 721, 726,  
875, 1865, 1895, 1937, 2602, 2606,  
2801, 2845; ...nulle, 872,  
2965; ne...onques, never,  
726, 2918, ...ong, 1464, 1480,  
3084; ne...pas, not, 110, 205,  
322, 785, 876, 895, 1018, 1122,  
1768, 2245, 2280, 2378, 2434,  
2438, 2574, 2752, 2859, 2999, 3153;  
ne...plus, no more, 786, 2592,  
2889; ne...point, not at all,  
36, 775, 950, 1230, 1470, 1566,  
2085, 3054; ne...que, only,  
857, 2106, 2156, 2244, 2277, 2322,  
2571; ne...riens, nothing,  
549, 768, 800, 1835, 1992, 2240,  
2270, 2279, 2319; riens, 548,  
1417, 1655, 2317.

neant, nothing, 1043, 2234, 2740.

neantmoins, nevertheless, 47,  
2411.

necessairement, necessarily,  
2823.

necessite, n.f. necessity, 403,  
621.

neis, pure, 1789.

nennil, not at all, 3203.

nettes, clean, 1586, 3138.

nettier, to clean, 2126.

neuf, nine, 2315.

nidz, n.m. nests, 1176.

noble, noble, 72, 112, 1851, 3022;  
nobles, 653, 691, 692.

noblesse, n.f. nobility, 52, 96,  
1125, 2538, 2609, 3019, noblesses,  
92, 238, 2960, 3186.

nobilitez, n.f. nobilities,  
3002.

noe, it) swims away, 1706.

noir, black, 1368; noire, 1570,  
nere, 1905; noirs, 1367;  
noires, 1092.

nom, n.m. name, 259, 260, 1690.

nom, I) name, 1936; nomme,  
named, 1460, 2343, 2433;  
nommez, 693, 740.

nombre, n.m. number, 367, 2245,  
2434.

nombre, I) number, 368; it)  
numbers, 2246.

non, not, 1839, 1880, 2493, 2269;  
non mye, 1969; non pas, 3243.

nonobstant, notwithstanding,  
167, 645, 1841, 2344, 2346.

nostre, our, 2627.

note, he) notes, 1704, 1764,  
2476.

noticion, n.f. knowledge, 667.

nourrice, n.f. nurse, 1158.

nourrisoit, he) nourished, 2296.

nourrie, nourished, 1131, 2124.

nourriture, n.f. nourishment,  
2001; nouiture, 2158, 2220,  
2256, 2300, 2322; nouretures,  
young live stock, 1089.

nous, 1st person plural, per-  
sonal pronoun, nom. acc. dat.,  
58, 99, 100, 104, 106, 976, 1732, 2407,  
2872.

nouvelle, new, 1578; nouveaulz,  
1238; nouvelles, 1199, 3098.

nouvellettes, new, 1180,  
1264.

noye, I) drown, 2932; noye,  
drowned, 370.

nue, naked, , 1365; 1608; 1793;  
.nues, 2133.

nue, n.f. cloud, 914.

nul, pronoun and adjective,  
none, 53, 777, 2785, 3056;  
nulle, 8, 423, 639, 880, 899,  
1045, 1309, 1467, 1969, 2845,  
2909; nulz, 2224; nulles,  
350.

nullement, not at all, 1194,  
1375, 1835, 2146.

nuire, to injure, 8, 3246;  
nuise, it) may harm, 2753,  
2198.

nuisibles, harmful, 2529.

nutrition, n.f. nourishment,  
132.

nuyt, n.f. night, 513.

nymphes, n.f. nymphs, 1730.

O.

o, oh, 1824, 2190.

o, with, 237, 528, 1174, 2189,  
3192, 3213.

obedience, n.f. obedience,  
553, 602, 1878.

obeyr, to obey, 737; obeyroit,  
she) would obey, 1865;  
obeyssans, obedient, 21.

obeyssance, n.f. feudal hommage,  
299.

oblations, n.f. oblations, 2491.

obliques, crooked, 2517.

obprobe, n.m. disgrace, 1967.

obscure, dark, 232.

occasion, n.f. gain, 817,

occire, to kill, 512, 1019, 2689;  
occist, pr. 3rd sing, 850,  
2633, 2212; occis, p.p. 850.

occupoit, he) occupied, 1200.

occultement, secretly, 531.

oeil, n.m. eye, 1003; yeulz,  
247, 986, 989, 1361, 1630, 2149,  
2509, 2642, 2948.

offense, n.m. offence, 967, 1867.

office, n.f. office, 390, 739, 903,  
905, 936, etc.; offices, 646,  
797, 1337, 1472, 1927.

officier, n.m. official, 947.

offrande, n.m. offering, 650,  
3158.

offrinent, they) offer, 2498.

oign, I) anoint, 2940; oignit,  
perf. 3rd sing, 671.

oiseaulz, n.m. birds, 1091, 3105.

ombrage, n.m. shadow, 1731; um-  
brates, shadows, 1178.

ombre, n.f. shade, 180, 501, 628.

omidide, n.f. murderer, 841.

on, n.m. man, 326.

on, one, (pronoun), 41, 112,  
565, 647, 779, etc.

onction, n.function, 668.

onde, n.f. wave, 3187; ondes  
1707, 1723; undes, 1712.

onniement, with stability,  
1566, 2603.

onques, never, 1108, 3216.

operation, n.f. operation,  
1058; operations, good  
works, 575.

opposite, opposite, 1581,  
1591; opposite, 2793.

or, n.m. gold, 320, 354, 369,  
389, 393, 724, 796, 1458, 1475,  
1525, 1607, 1771, 1786, 1789,  
2091, 2095, 2097, 2103, 2107,  
2182, 2907, 2931, 2951, 2954,  
2971, 2975, 3114, 3133.

or, now, 198, 895, 1988, 2928,  
2998, 3099; ore, 2912, 3201;  
ores, 1570, 1614, 2453, 2850.

ordinaire, ordinary, 444.

ordoneement, orderly, 1502.

ordonnance, n.f. bidding,  
600, 753, 3223; ordonnances,  
2634.

ordonner, to arrange, 731.

ordonne, I) arranged, 729;  
ordonnoient, imperf 3rd pl  
174; ordonnay, perf. 1st  
sing, 682, 720; ordonna,  
perf. 3rd sing, 672; or-  
donne, p.p. 135; ordonnee,  
855, 1207, 1467, 2209, 2618,  
2637, 3100; ordonnez, 345.

ordre, n.f. order, 469, 660,  
661, 728.

- ordre, soiled, 1122.
- ordrenez, arranged, 659.
- orendroit, now, 882, 2776, 3217.
- orfaverie, n.f. goldsmith's art products, 356.
- orges, n.f. barley, 1085.
- orgueil, n.m. pride, 2238.
- orgueibleux, proud, 2092.
- orians, golden, 2642.
- os, I) dare, 1998; ose, I) dare, 2505.
- ossue, bony, 1428.
- ostentation, n.f. demonstration, 2929.
- oster, to remove, 2250; oste, pr. 1st sing, 1996, 2946; oste, pr. 3rd sing, 1743.
- ostz, n.m. armies, 2015.
- ottroy, n.m. permission, 744.
- ottroy, II) grant, 743; ottroye, pr. 1st sing, 406.
- ou, or, 317, 385, 500, 542, etc.; where, 4, 125, 289, 294, etc.; in the 701, 774, 838, 922, etc.
- oublians, forgetful, 638.
- oublie, forgotten, 1236.
- oultrage, n.m. exaggeration, 1309; ultrages, excesses, 1596.
- oultre, advanced, 1098.
- ourdir, to observe, 2625.
- ouvertement, openly, 749.
- ouvrage, n.m. work, 2787.
- ouvrir, to work, 927, 935, 2705, 2734; ouvrir, 2306; euvre, pr. 3rd sing, 2789; oeuvrent, pr. 3rd pl, 457; ouvre, p.p. 131, 1482; ouvree, 77, 1457, 1768, 2599; ouvrees, 3114.
- ouvrier, n.m. workman, 2785, 2786.
- ouvrir, to open, 1636, ouvry, perf. 1st sing, 2167.
- oyr, to hear, 266, 2422.
- P.
- pacient, patient, 1980; paciens, 924, 1644.
- page, n.f. page, 1678, 1800; n.m. 1269; pages, n.m. page boys, 2978, 2984.
- paillardie, n.f. lechery, 1949.
- pailles, n.f. straws, 2004.
- pain, n.m. bread, 1157, 2124, 2307. etc.
- paine, n.f. pain, 14, 151, 804, 860, 1146, etc.
- paines, 2180, 2762; a paine, with difficulty, 2956.
- paint, painted, 1141, 1357, 2384.
- peinture, n.f. painting, 1205, 1233, 1297, 1444, 1465; paintings, 1449, 2174, 2586.
- paisible, peaceful, 2008.

paistre, to feed, 1432, 1994,  
2004.

paix, n.f. peace, 298, 897,  
1381, 1656, 1661, 1590, 2852.

palais, n.m. palace, 93, 277,  
590, 1099, 2995, 3015.

pale, pale, 2121, 2666, 2810;  
palle, 2115.

par, through, by or across,  
6, 12, 43, 67, 70, etc.

par, n.m. part, 651.

paradis, n.m. paradise, 88, 3091.

parage, n.m. high rank, 1551.

par ce que, because, 684, 863,  
910, 1062, 1905, 1909, 2555.

parconniers, n.m. participants,  
617.

pardonner, to forgive, 550, 995.

pardurable, eternal, 2401.

pardurablement, eternally, 2399.

pardurablete, n.f. eternity, 2449.

pareil, equal, 110, 1260, 1316,  
1612; pareux, contemporaries,  
1274.

pareillement, equally, 544.

paremens, n.m. display, 314, 592,  
707, 728, 1077, 3019, 3239.

parer, to adorn, 312; paree,  
p.p. 64, 2613, 2926.

parfait, perfect, 2344; par-  
faiite, 3215.

parfaittement, completely, 543,  
631.

parfois, sometimes, 3118.

parfonde, deep, 3211.

parle, she) speaks, 2761; p  
parle, p.p. 2915.

parmy, amidst, 356, 1487, 2921.

parole, n.f. word, 839, 2422,  
2594; paroles, 1526, 1528,  
1538.

paroit, it) appeared, 1247,  
2157; pare, p.p. 2832.

paroit, n.f. parade, 1303,  
1353, 1358; paroitz, 1457;  
pare, 2621.

part, n.f. side, 381, 430, 716,  
1006, etc.; pars, 170, 173,  
1359, 1489, 3013.

participer, to share, 307.

partie, n.f. part, 943, 1028,  
1786; parties, 74, 3092.

partir, to divide, 538, 3144;  
part, pr. 3rd sing, 1815;  
partent, pr. 3rd pl, 734;  
partismes, we) departed, 57;  
party, p.p. departed, 3167;  
partie, separated, 1442, 2151,  
2152.

partout, everywhere, 582, 601,  
1287, 2895, 2997.

parvenir, to arrive, 3074.

passage, n.m. passage, 215.

passans, n.m. passers-by, 216.

passer, to pass, 3038, 3190;  
passoye, imperf. 1st sing,  
205; passas, perf. 2nd sing,  
3037; passerent, perf. 3rd  
pl, 2339; passeray, fut. 1st  
sing, 3208; passees, p.p.  
2875.

passion, n.f. passion, 2873, 2881.

paston, n.m. pie, 1156.

pastourage, n.m. pastoral pursuit, 1192.

pastoureux, n.m. shepherds, 1195.

pasture, n.f. nourishment, 182, 1389; pasture, 2002; pastures, pastures, 1090, 2299.

payages, n.m. payments, 1277.

payens, n.m. pagans, 1643.

payer, to pay, 1270, 2386, 2489; paye, pr. 1st sing, 291, payent, pr. 3rd pl, 3124; paye, subj. pr. 1st sing, 806; payez, p.p. 54, 3070.

pays, n.m. country, 79, 701, 823, 3003, 3156.

peau, n.m. skin, 1372.

pechie, n.m. sin, 1867.

pecune, n.f. money, 446.

pel, n.f. skin, 2138.

peleterie, n.f. fur, 2904.

pelote, n.f. ball, 1163.

pendoit, it) hung, 1579; pendans, pr. p., 3102; pendu, p.p. 434.

pener, to take pains, 418, 2516, 2987; pene, pr. 3rd sing, 2828; painent, pr. 3rd pl, 281, 2428; pene, perf. 1st sing, 2210; pena, perf. 3rd sing, 1120, 2891; penast, 920; peneroit, condit. 3rd sing, 3055.

penitences, n.f. penitances, 3060.

penne, n.f. silken material with long threads, 115.

pensee, n.f. thought, 1543, 1544, 2817, 3059.

pensement, n.m. meditation, 1073, 2824.

penser, n.m. thought, 857, 2750.

penser, to think, 2753, 2773, 2875, 3149, 3204, 3209; pense, I) think, 3201; pense, think thou, 3054.

peraclose, n.f. end, 3182.

perce, it) measures, 3127.

perdre, to lose, 831, 939; perdes, pr. 2nd sing, 3077; pert, pr. 3rd sing, 786, 808, 908, 945, 1698; perdent, pr. 3rd pl, 1047, 1950; perdit, perf. 3rd sing, 1995; perdue, p.p. 436; perdues, 1423.

perdition, n.f. perdition, 2528.

pere, n.m. father, 915, 2538.

perilleuse, perilous, 206.

perira, it) will perish, 2459.

perles, n.f. pearls, 359.

permettent, they allow, 835.

perpetroit, he) perpetrated, 524.

perpetuelement, perpetually, 2464.

persener, to participate, 2469.

perte, n.m. loss, 410, 917; n.f. 1792, 1942, 2025.

- perturbations, n.f. functional disturbances, 126.
- petit, little, 603, 930, 1506, 1981, etc.; petits, 163, 1519, 1883; petites, 1618, 1882.
- petitions, n.f. requests, 1660.
- peu, little, 852, 1203, 3248; pou, 1506, 1612, 1683, 2986, 3220.
- peulz, n.m. hairs, 1367.
- peuple, n.m. people, 663, 673, 683, 694, 819, etc.
- peuplerent, they) peopled, 2254.
- peur, n.m. fear, 405.
- peureux, frightened, 408, 2112.
- peuz, n.m. participants, 54, 3070.
- piece, n.f. bit, 425, 1037, 2901, 2902; pieces, 2631.
- piécettes, n.f. patches, 2120.
- pierre, n.f. stone, 1488, 1500, 2514, 2922; pierres, 349, 351, 360, 363, 1774, 3112, 3123.
- pierrie, n.f. jewelry, 355, 2099, 2926.
- piesme, 828.
- pille, he) steals, 946; pilliez, p.p. 824.
- piour, worse, 2446.
- Pis, worst, 455.
- Piteable, merciful, 525, 1599.
- piteuse, pitiful, 911.
- pitie, n.f. pity, 929.
- place, n.f. place, 1429, 2985; places, 90, 302, 456, 605.
- plaident, they) plead, 809.
- plaintdre, to complain, 462, 3080; plaints, pr. 1st sing, 755, 635.
- plain, full, 506, 1596, 1809; plaine, 18, 68, 245, 803, etc. plains, 1803; plaines, 1308, 3110.
- plainement, fully, 657.
- plaint-chant, n.m. plain song, 1229.
- plaire, to please, 588, 973, 3081; plait, pr. 3rd sing, 862; plaist, 2843; plaira, fut. 3rd sing, 2437, 2541.
- plaisance, n.f. pleasure, 178, 2583; plaisances, 44, 3185.
- plaisant, pleasant, 130, 352, 1315, 1586, 1894, 1641, 2682, 3006.
- plaisir, n.m. pleasure, 42, 2472, 2649, 2659, etc.; plaisirs, 1571.
- plait, n.m. hole, 813; plez, 2128.
- planettes, n.f. planets, 3137.
- plate, flat, 2552.
- plente, n.f. generosity, 383, 2838.
- plenturieuse, bountiful, 244.
- plonge, it) dives, 706.
- plouroit, she) wept, 2685.
- pluiseurs, several, 375, 565,

- 816, 826, 959, 1154, 1296,  
2369, 3144.
- plus, more, 24, 95, 96, 99, etc.
- plust, it) rained, 3142.
- plutost, rather, 2579, 3045.
- point, n.m. point, 426, 783,  
1884.
- policie, n.f. policy, 1285.
- polis, polished, 2974.
- pomme, n.f. apple, 786.
- poree, n.m. mixture, (literally soup), 1179.
- porter, to wear, 1152, 2095;  
porte, pr. 3rd sing, 288;  
portoit, imperf 3rd sing,  
2090; portoient, imperf.  
3rd pl, 1181, 2303; portast,  
perf. 3rd sing, 721, 725;  
porterent, perf. 3rd pl,  
566; portant, pr. p., 1240,  
1664; porte, p.p. 726; portee,  
722.
- portier, n.m. porter, 287.
- pose, n.f. space, 2852.
- poser, to place, 2758, 2856,  
3213.
- possession, n.f. possession,  
2044, 2227, 2326; possessions,  
793, 1036, 1335, 1926, 1955, 2225,  
2577, 3186.
- possible, possible, 2438.
- possibilite, n.f. possibility,  
1272.
- post, n.m. position, 797.
- poste, n.f. position, 1995,  
2945.
- potente, n.f. staff, 1412.
- pour, to, in order to, for,  
23, 29, 46, 78, 100, etc.
- pour ce que, wherefore, 283,  
491, 522.
- pourchasser, to pursue, 2226,  
3189.
- pourpenser, to consider, 3210,  
3249.
- pourpre, n.m. rich, precious  
purple material, 723.
- pourquoy, why, 198, 433.
- pourtraitte, n.f. portrait, 1362.
- pourtroit, he depicted, 1096;  
pourtraitte, portrayed, 1128,  
1209, 1362, 1401, etc.; pour-  
traittes, 1451, 1462, 2694, 3017.
- pourtrai~~t~~ture, n.f. portrait,  
1159, 1187, 1305, 1397, etc.
- pourvoye, I) may provide, 420.
- povre, poor, 954, 1782, 1791, 1794,  
etc.; povres, 3060, 3061.
- povrement, poorly, 1609.
- povrete, n.f. poverty, 2134, 3242;  
poverté, 1941, 2067.
- povo~~ir~~, n.m. power, 642, 1070,  
2022, 2074, etc.; pouer, 180,  
1962, 2347; povoirs, 5025.
- povo~~ir~~, to be able, 2504; puis,  
pr. 1st sing, 240, 285, 440, 490,  
etc.; peus, pr. 2nd sing, 1827,  
1835, 1870, 2569, etc.; peut, pr.  
3rd sing, 169, 172, 275, 296, etc.  
peuent, pr. 3rd pl, 247, 835,  
2876, 3150; povoit, imperf. 3rd  
sing, 159, 680, 1216, 1417, etc.

peus, perf. 1st sing, 1702,  
2075; peust, perf. 3rd sing,  
87, 763, 1328, 1396, etc.; pourras,  
fut. 2nd sing, 3032, 3184;  
pourra, fut, 3rd sing, 2273;  
pourroye, condit. 1st sing,  
249, 3227, 3238; pourrois, condit.,  
2nd sing, 1968; pourroyes,  
2187; pourroit, condit. 3rd  
sing, 326, 751, 1776, 2549, etc.;  
puisse, subj. pr. 1st sing, 397;  
puisses, subj. 2nd sing, 30,  
3074; puisse, subj. pr. 3rd.  
sing, 41, 2829; puissent, subj.  
3rd pl, 789; peussent, subj.  
perf. 3rd pl, 176; peu, p.p.  
495, 2378, 2473, 2539.

praries, n.f. plains, 1087.

pratique, practical, 1700.

prebstre, n.m. priest, 1293;  
prebstres, 635, 820.

precieux, precious, 2616, 3240;  
precieuses, 351, 1774, 2100, 3112.

predestination, n.f. predestination, 2451.

prelat, n.m. prelate, 1343; pre-lats, 153; prelatz, 581.

prelatiez, ecclesiastical, 798.

premerain, first, 2241; premeraine, 1917.

premier, first, 721, 1131, 1132,  
1421, etc.; premiere, 1060,  
1126, 1440, 1670, etc.

premierement, firstly, 1061.

prendre, to take, 181, 591, 597,  
790, 2355, 2466, 2767, 2833; preant,  
pr. 3rd sing, 502, 611, 773, 2716;  
2733; prenez, pr. 2nd pl, 2197;  
prisent, pr. 3rd pl, 302, 633;  
prenoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1282,  
2001, 2683; prins, perf. 1st

55, 185, 1490, 3161; print,  
perf. 3rd sing, 1080, 2611;  
prist, 858, 1477; prenist,  
2550; print,a, she) began,  
1143; prindrent, perf. 3rd  
pl, 2300; prendroient, con-  
dit, 3rd pl, 683; prengne,  
subj. pr. 3rd sing, 2943;  
prens, imper. sing, 25, pre-  
nant, pr. p. 3230; prenans,  
587; prins, p.p. 985, 2220.

preschent, they) preach, 624.

presentement, presently, 1966.

presse, n.f. press, 2025.

preste, I) lend 2939.

presumption, n.f. presumption,  
113.

prez, n.m. fields, 65.

prez (de), near, 66, 159, 414,  
782, 1409, 1722, 2105, 3237.

preudhomme, n.m. worthy man,  
978; preudhommes, 563, 565.

prie, I) pray, 47, 195.

princes, n.m. princes, 149, 232,  
653, 681, 687, 1959.

principale, n.f. theory, 2809.

principalement, principally,  
2805.

proces, n.m. law-suit, 939.

procurer, to procure, 1337;  
procure, pr. 3rd sing, 616,  
1833; procurez, p.p. 636.

profession, n.f. profession,  
473.

prolixite, n.f. delay, 2778.

promesse, n.f. promise, 32, 40,  
2170; promises, 570.

promisse, I) might promise,  
209; promis, promised, 3033.

promptement, immediately,  
2060.

prophecie, n.f. prophecy,  
2455.

prophetes, n.m. prophets,  
2457.

propice, propitious, 389, 854,  
1770, 1864, 3175.

propice, n.f. prosperity, 2381.

propos, n.m. purpose, 36.

propre, own, 2604.

proprement, cleanly, 459, 1481,  
2643; suitably, 1501, 1631.

prosecutions, n.f. accomplishments,  
2406.

protection, n.f. protection,  
555.

prouffitable, profitable,  
2859; prouffitables, 1086.

prouffiter, to profit, 2511.

prouver, to prove, 1216; prouve,  
p.p. 1446, 2082.

providence, n.f. providence,  
421, 443, 487, 2628; providences,  
provisions, 172.

provision, n.f. provision, 3010.

proye, n.f. prey, 342, 2049.

prudence, n.f. prudence, 203,  
2040.

publique, public, 1026,

pucelle, n.f. maiden, 1668,  
1691; pucelles, 1663, 3097.

puyr, worse, 464.

puis, then, 597, 1181, 1186,  
1198, etc.

puis que, since, 346, 1594,  
2205, 2324, 3199.

puissant, powerful, 86, 243,  
1556, 2038, 2372, 3022.

puissance, n.f. power, 166,  
236, 300, 374, 582, 760, 1111,  
1128, 1403, 1419, 2058, 2159,  
2345, 2439, 2443, 2602, 3010,  
3224; puissances, rights  
owed to an overlord, 20,  
98, 238, 246, 666.

Q.

quant, when, 37, 66, 80, 126, 187,  
etc.

quarante, forty, 2351.

quart, fourth, 1546, 2321, 2323.

quartre, four, 1214, 1243, 1522,  
1524, etc.

quatre vingt, eighty, 2247.

que, relative pronoun, whom,  
which, that, what, 3, 26, 29,  
34, 48, etc.; qu', 33, 41, 80,  
144, etc.; que, as, 3177,  
3191; que, than, 999, 1387,  
1492, 1897, 2377, etc.

quel, what, 835, 3049; quelle,  
192, 1327, 2479, 3048, 3049;  
quelz, 2180.

quelle qu', whatever, 3252.

quelque, some, 533, 2444.

quelque...que, whatever, 1148, 1391.

querelle, n.f. affairs, 1029.

querir, to seek, 1334, 1667;  
querre, 112; queroit, imperf.  
3rd sing, 1237; queroient,  
imperf. 3rd pl, 1176; querant,  
pr. p. 1166, 2049; quise, p.p.  
582.

quille, n.f. ninepins, 1185.

quitte, left, 902.

quint, fifth, 1551; quinte, 2349.

quinzaine, fifth, 1696.

quinze, fifteen, 1201, 1208, 2387,  
2952.

quoy, relative pronoun, which,  
that, what, 12, 219, 314, 493,  
etc.

quoy que, whatever, 1689, 2403.

guy, relative pronoun, nominative  
case, who, 5, 49, 84, 101, etc.;  
which, 16, 21, 68, 71, 83; acc.  
whom, 383, 1268, 1531, 1749, 2096,  
3129; that, 1916.

guy que, whoever, 1549, 1816, 2488.

R.

racheter, to redeem, 2357.

racines, n.f. roots, 2261.

raconter, to recount, 1988, 2380;  
raconte, pr. 3rd sing, 837, 975,

1510, 2862; racontoit, imperf  
3rd sing, 1621, 1819.

racourir, to return running,  
2985.

rade, severe, 2038.

radement, rapidly, 1603.

rage, n.f. passion, 950.

raison, n.f. reason, right,  
332, 510, 649, 755, 758, 1354, 3157.

raisonnable, reasonable, 1675,  
1863.

ramentevoir, to remind, 2009,  
2036.

rapport, n.m. agreement, 1359.

ravir, to ravish, 790; ravis,  
p.p. 290.

rebillie, pushed back, 2704.

rebinoit, he) reploughed, 2719.

recepveurs, n.m. receivers, 619.

recevoir, to receive; receu,  
received, 2533.

rechief, n.m. a step back, 2086.

recite, recited, 1549, 1799, 2888.

reclamer, to acclaim, 536.

recole, I) recoil, 547.

recompense, n.m. recompense, 804.

recors, mindful of, 1871.

recouvrer, to recover, 928, 3228;  
recoeuvent, pr. 3rd sing, 458;  
recouvert, p.p. 532; recou-  
vrees, 2876.

recrans, miserable, 639.

recreant, admitting his crime, 932.

recreu, renounced, 2964.

receueilly, greeted, 4.

redoubte, feared, 2041.

refaittures, n.f. patches, 2130.

refraing, I) refrain, 2504.

regard, n.m. look, 1606, 1635, 2319; au regard de, according to, 1952, 2349; au regard que, 2318.

regarde, n.f. sight, 1600.

regarder, to look at, 247, 788, 2260, 2539, 2581, 2925; regard, pr. 3rd sing, 1031; regardo~~doit~~, imperf 3rd sing, 1637; regardoient, imperf. 3rd pl, 2972; regarday, perf. 1st sing, 1114, 1303, 1483, 1503, etc.; regafde, 1817, 2146; regarda, perf. 3rd sing, 3177; regardasmes, perf. 1st pl, 67; regarderent, perf. 3rd pl, 703; regarde, imper. sing, 1103, 3071; regarde, p.p. 187, 1094, 1351, 1449, 1615, 2092; regardee, 1594.

regenter, to rule, 1002.

registe, n.m. refuge, 1824.

regle, n.f. rule, 2175.

regne, n.m. kingdom, 1996, 2459; regnes, 815, 2369.

regne, she) reigns, 968; regnoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 2333; regnoient, imperf. 3rd pl, 874; regnast, perf. 3rd sing, 919.

regrettera, he) will lament, 1942.

relevee, n.f. rising of the sap, 2727.

religion, n.f. religion, 469, 534, 542, 557, 1343.

relieux, religious, 606, 1293.

reluit, it) shines, 2782.

relues, overcome, 2134.

remettre, to replace, 1059.

remirer, to admire, 1355, 1447, 1583; remiray, perf. 1st sing, 1306; remiras, perf. 2nd sing, 2432.

remise, re-established, 1751.

remission, n.f. remission, 848.

remplie, fulfilled, 1007.

remprone, n.f. trick, 1986.

remoustrant, demonstrating, 1084.

remuer, to change, 1601; remue, pr. 3rd sing, 1435.

remuneration, n.f. remuneration, 741.

renclusages, n.f. hermitages, 561.

rendenge, he) produces, 1734.

rendre, to render, 1275; rende, pr. 3rd sing, 649; rande, 3157; rendent, pr. 3rd pl, 1147; rendoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 918, 1580; rendra, fut. 3rd sing, 2458.

renommee, n.f. renown, 148, 2324.

renommez, renowned, 694.

renouveleront, they) will renew, 2398.

repaistre, to feed, 1735; repaixent, pr. 3rd pl, 125.

reparer, to repair, 311, 2302; reparée, p.p. 951.

repaye, it) repays, 2821.

repentir, to repent, 1984; repentant, pr. p. 3043.

reperer, to repair to, 1978; repere, pr. 3rd sing, 2786.

repere, n.m. retreat, 916; reperes, 563.

repeuple, I) repeople, 1880.

replez, replete, 2127.

repondre, to reply, 259.

repos, n.m. repose, 1378, 2729, 2751, 2767, 2829.

reposer, to rest, 2730, 2757, 2760, 2855, 3214; repose, pr. 3rd sing, 2842, 2851; repotz, p.p. 2814.

requerre, to require, 1689; requerir, 1661; request, perf. 3rd sing, 993.

requeste, n.f. request, 1008, 1675.

resambler, to resemble, 504; resamble, pr. 3rd sing, 1695; resambloit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1598.

resjoyr, to rejoice, 3107.

respite, n.f. respite, 2291.

respiter, n.m. respite, 1797.

resplendissant, shining, 1587, 2615, 2921; resplendissans, 362.

ressorty, it) rebounds, 2513.

ressourt, it) springs, 1904.

resusciteront, they) will revive, 2397.

retenir, to retain, 1806, 3174; retieng, pr. 1st sing, 3078; retins, perf. 1st sing, 2076.

retenu, n.m. delay, 220.

retenue, n.f. retinue, 35.

retins, n.m. contents, 2075.

retourner, to return, 107, 1968, 2028; retournoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1420; retournera, fut. 3rd sing, 2443; retournee, p.p. 915.

retraire, to withdraw, 651, 2608; retrais, pr. 1st sing, 2997; retrait, pr. 3rd sing, 1711; retraitte, p.p. 914, 1010, 1402, 1415.

reveaulz, n.m. revels, 1198.

revenir, to return, 1717, 2877; revient, pr. 3rd sing, 1339, 2440; revenues, p.p. 1424.

reverence, n.f. reverence, 479.

riche, rich, 86, 121, 580, 1205, 1481, etc.; riches, 313, 349, 1123, 2039.

richement, richly, 135, 325,  
1555, 2613, 2622, 2637, 2954,  
2976, 3114.

richesse, n.f. wealth, 18, 51,  
1861, 2107, 2904, 2556; richesses,  
98, 237, 379, 401, 569, etc.

ridee, wrinkled, 1372.

rie, she) laughs, 2509; rit,  
perf. 3rd sing, 1876; rians,  
pr. p. 2641.

rien, anything, 1866, 2683;  
riens, 334, 438, 572.

righiez, ordered, 607.

rigueur, n.m. severity, 1597,  
1665.

rihote, n.m. quarrelling, 676.

rivieres, n.f. rivers, 70.

robe, n.f. robe, 333, 721, 946,  
1740, 1742, etc.; robes, 1308,  
1316, 2897, 2929, 3098.

rober, to rob, 2365.

roe, n.f. wheel, 1535, 1567, 1653,  
1705, etc.

rompu, broken, 2678; rompue,  
2678; rompue, 2673, 2705.

ronces, n.f. briars, 2709.

roncins, n.m. chargers, 2967.

ronde, round, 1456.

rongiez, shaved, 468.

roses, n.f. roses, 1264.

rouelles, n.f. small wheels,  
1145.

rouge, red, 2810.

rousee, n.f. dew, 1387.

rousseur, n.f. source, 1809.

route, n.f. line, 2966.

roy, n.m. king, 662, 719, 1987,  
1991, etc.; roix, 671, 2313,  
2952.

royne, n.f. queen, 1789, 2499.

rubis, n.m. rubies, 361.

rude, harsh, 546.

rue, n.f. street, 295, 2119.

rue, he) precipitates, 296.

rusez, outcast, 2716.

S.

sacrement, n.m. sacrament,  
669.

sacrifice, n.m. sacrifice,  
2490; sacrifices, 2498.

sadier, n.m. caress, 782.

sage, wise, 1281, 1319, 1426,  
2788, 3191.

sagement, wisely, 3033.

saillir, to jump, 2984; sai-  
llist, subj. pr. 3rd sing,  
1149; saillant, pr. p. 1244.

saine, healthy, 254; seins,  
safe, 35.

saint, n.m. saint, 650, 3158.

saintement, saintedly, 567.

saisir, to grasp, 41.

saison, n.f. season, 198,331,  
864,1801; saisons, 2996.

sale, n.f. room, 127,1109,  
1121,1125, etc.; salle, 1206.

salle, dirty, 1122.

samblelement, similarly, 337.

samblables, seeming, 1154.

samblables, n.m. contemporaries, 1171,1602.

samblance, n.f. likeness, 1494,  
1529,1606; samblances, 1486.

samblant, n.m. likeness, 629,  
1504.

sambler, to seem, 87; samble,  
pr. 3rd sing, 464,1787,1892;  
sambloit, imperf 3rd sing,  
108,110,1233,1242,1257, etc.;  
sambloient, imperf. 3rd pl,  
2971; sambla, perf. 3rd sing,  
130,525,784,1505,1630, etc.;  
samblant, pr. p. 80,503,1784,  
2114,2696,2701; samblans,  
3138.

sanche, he) protects, 2734.

*Sauteler*

sans, without, 14,60,220,229,  
etc.

sans que, without, 2483.

saouleroit, he) would get drunk,  
1895.

saphirs, n.m. saphires, 359.

sapience, n.f. wisdom, 119.

satins, n.m. satin, 321.

sault, he) jumps, 1186.

sauteler, to jump, 2651.

sauvages, wild, 2266.

sauvement, n.m. salvation, 568.

saveur, n.f. taste, 1814,1922.

scavoir, n.m. knowledge, 2040.

scavoir, to know, 309,622,626,  
1326,2429, etc.; scay, pr.  
1st sing, 652,835,851,887, etc  
scez, pr. 2nd sing, 2183;  
scet, pr. 3rd sing, 913,2567,  
2787; scavez, pr. 2nd pl,  
3160; scavoye, imperf. 1st  
sing, 2165; scavoyes, imperf.  
2nd sing, 348; scavoit, imperf  
3rd sing, 143,1135,1254,1782,  
2106,2657,2717,2730,2924;  
scavoient, imperf. 3rd pl,  
2427; sceuz, perf. 1st sing,  
1639; sceus, 1986; sceust,  
perf. 3rd sing, 762,782; sca-  
ront, fut. 3rd pl, 529; sca-  
roie, condit. 1st sing, 2908;  
scaches, imper. sing, 34,224,  
3515.

science, n.f. science, 1700,  
1852.

sciente, knowing, 2418.

sceur, sure, 34; sceure, 328,  
604,3022; sure, 1812,3252.

sceurte, n.f. safety, 298,1762.

se, s', 3rd person, reflexive  
pronoun, acc., 125,159,190,  
293, etc.

se,s', if, 27,37,285,330,336,  
etc.; sy, 3191.

sebelines, n.f. sables, 323,  
2093.

seche, dry, 1428,1693,2725;  
seches, 2133.

second, 1532,2243,2246; seconde,  
1677,1850.

secourir, to help, 1018; secourt,

- pr. 3rd sing, 1721.
- secretz, n.m. secret places, 270.
- secretement, secretly, 499, 627.
- secularite, n.f. secular power, 476.
- seculiere, secular, 600.
- seigneur, n.m. lord, 2041; seigneurs, 746, 797.
- seignourie, n.f. government, 10, 279, 1106; 2234, 2903, 3225; seignouries, 692.
- seignourie, I) govern, 2411; seignouria, he) governed, 2373.
- seignourieuses, seignorial, 20.
- seinence, n.f. instruction, 134.
- sejour, n.m. stay, 2989, 3021.
- sejourner, to stay, 102.
- selle, n.f. saddle, 129; selles, 2976.
- selon, according to, 144, 297, 332, 339, 390, etc.
- semonnoit, he) exhorted, 62.
- senestre, left, 1520, 2088, 2110, 2536, 2550, 2896, 2981.
- sens, n.m. sense, 2413, 2669.
- sentir, to feel, 1983, 3200; sente, pr. 3rd sing, 2807; sentent, pr. 3rd pl, 2127.
- seoit, she) sat, 869, 1575;
- seant, pr. p. 1407, 1649.
- sepmaine, n.f. week, 1214, 1377, 1822, 2144, 2700.
- sept, seven, 1201, 1453, 2201, 2205, 2206, 2245, 2277.
- septieme, seventh, 2431, 2461.
- septre, n.m. sceptre, 1561.
- serfz, n.m. serfs, 263, 735.
- sergent, n.m. man-at-arms, 294.
- serie, calm, 1738.
- seres, serried, 1733.
- serre, she) locks, 1790.
- serte, n.f. service, 339, 2068, 2189, 3155; serte, reward, 1190.
- servans, n.m. servants, 899.
- servante, n.f. servant, 771.
- servante, slavish, 556.
- serve, n.f. slave, 2494.
- service, n.f. feudal service, 395, 971, 2800; servise, n.f. 448, 640, 754, 900, 1970, 2268, 2364, 2484, 2941; servises, 142.
- servir, to serve, 27, 174, 175, 282, 655, etc.; serve, pr. 1st sing, 2493; sers, pr. 2nd sing, 3153; sert, pr. 3rd sing, 310, 752; servent, pr. 3rd pl, 299, 451, 49, 641, etc.; servoient, imperf. 3rd pl, 2179, 2885; servy, perf. 1st sing, 3253; servy, p.p. 2231, 2993; servis, 595.
- serviteur, n.m. servant, 293.

- servitude, n.f. servitude, 479, 545, 3052.
- seul, n.m. threshold, 1802.
- seule, alone, 1151.
- seulement, only, 2223; seulement, 2583, 3044.
- si, sy, s', thus, and, 1, 25, 31, 85, 194, etc.
- si, sy, so, 64, 135, 217, 243, 511, etc.; si qu', so that, 87; sy que, 2035, 3074, 3076, de si que, so much so that, 1750.
- sicom, just as, 1297; sicommé, 1267.
- siecle, n.m. world, 291, 561, 756, 1442, 2209, 2424, 2573.
- sien, his, 3061,
- signe, n.m. sign, 1682.
- signifiant, they) signify, 2797.
- sigrant, so large, 342.
- similitude, n.f. likeness, 1127 3115.
- simple, simple, 577, 2237.
- simplement, simply, 2267.
- sinon, unless, 1430, 202, 3044.
- sire, n.m. lord, 7, 202, 282, 511, 1242, 2775.
- sixiesme, sixth, 2342, 2385, 2389.
- sitost, at once, 1856.
- sitost que, as soon as, 530, 589 1535, 1557, 1939.
- sobrement, quietly, 571.
- sobrete, n.f. soberness, 1382.
- soche, n.f. bale of a tree, 2141.
- soif, n.f. thirst, 14, 1897, 1899, 1904, 2725; soef, 2290.
- soigneux, careful, 2510.
- soing, n.m. care, 423, 446, 858, 1245, 2756, 2824.
- soir, n.m. evening, 1164.
- soixantes dix, seventy, 1400.
- soixantes douze, seventy two, 2236.
- soleil, n.m. sun, 3136.
- solempniser, to solemnise, 3131.
- solempnite, n.f. solemnity, 1514, 3128.
- solitairement, alone, 1379.
- soller, to play a game with a leather or wooden ball, 1213.
- sollers, n.m. shoes, 1221, 2135.
- somme, n.f. summit, 2344.
- sommes, n.f. burdens, 564, 566; sums, 654.
- somptueuses, sumptuous, 1773.
- son, n.m. sound, 1674.
- son, 3rd person singular possessive adjective, 15, 36, 38, 42, 109, etc.; sa, 9, 23, 30, 32, 35, etc.; ses, 43, 44, 74, 160, etc.
- songe, n.f. dream, 2871.
- songie, dreamed, 56.

sonner, to sound, 2655.

sossier, n.m. care, 2693.

soubdaines, sudden, 1887.

soubz, under, 612, 628, 1409, 1889, 2265, 2560, 2944; soulz, 80, 279, 454, 1817, 1903, 1910; par soubz, 1183.

souche, n.f. bole of a tree, 1434.

souefvement, gently, 1081.

souffler, n.m. blowing, 1754.

souffrir, to suffer, 2762; seuffrent, pr. 3rd pl, 403; soufferte, p.p. 2700.

souffrette, n.f. suffering, 409.

souhaitier, to desire, 11, 239, 327, 761, 3184.

soulas, n.m. comfort, 52, 318, 1076, 1211, 3162.

souloit, she) was accustomed.

soudre, to rise, 1716; sourt, pr. 3rd sing, 1256, 1903, 1912, 2417; sourdent, pr. 3rd pl, 1889, 3187.

soussy, n.m. worry, 1245, 1920, 2878.

soustenir, to sustain, 1053, 2059; soustenoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 2104; soustendroit, condit. 3rd sing, 949.

soustrez, forcibly removed, 3076.

souvenance, n.f. remembrance, 2191.

souvenir, to remember, 169; sou-

vient, pr. 3rd sing, 852; souviengne, pr. 3rd sing, 808, 3041; souvenoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 2102, 2684; souvenant, pr. p. 1507.

souvent, often, 62, 372, 1139, 1168 etc.

souventesfoiz, often, 2299.

souverain, sovereign, 849; souveraine, 1923.

soy, 3rd person reflexive pronoun, emphatic form, 757, 881, 1021, 1071.

soy meismes, himself, 1005.

soye, n.f. silk, 341, 723, 2907.

specieuses, speciously, 3111.

speculative, meditative, 566.

subject, n.m. subject, 189p subjects, 3007.

subjection, n.f. subjection, 2178, 2605.

substance, n.f. substance, 2076.

subtile, crafty, 2046.

succession, n.f. succession, 1046.

suffire, to suffice, 2029, 2952, suffise, pr. 3rd sing, 800; souffist, perf. 3rd sing, 806, suffisant, pr. p. 763.

suffisance, n.f. sufficiency, 758, 2057.

suivre, to follow, 29, 414; suyr, 3152; suives, pr. 2nd sing, 48; suivent, pr. 3rd pl, 380, 3013; sievoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1147; suivy, perf. 1st

sing, 3253; suys, imper.  
sing, 2519.

sumptuositez, n.f. magnificences,  
94,1473.

superficiene, n.f. sufficiency,  
1877.

superflu, n.m. superfluity, 374.

superfluitez, n.f. excesses, 583,  
3024.

suppediter, to suppress, 1827.

supplier, to beg, 792; supply,  
pr. 1st sing, 258; supplie,  
pr. 3rd sing, 10,280.

sur, on, 105,673,694,740, etc.  
par sur, over, 207.

surondoit, it) surged, 1682.

surplus, n.m. remainder, 2052.

sus, par, above, 2084.

sustentation, n.f. sustenance,  
2263.

T.

table, n.f. table, 594; tables,  
2194.

taillee, carved, 1498,2645.

talente, she) inspires the wish,  
2760.

tant, so much, 58,103,140,305,  
367, etc.; tant,com, as much  
as, 448, tant que, or qu',  
so much that, 100,255,259,  
427,432, etc.

tantost, soon, 532,1568,1569,  
1613,2850; tantost, qu', 2852.

tapinage, en, covertly,  
499.

tapis, n.m. carpets, 2616.

tapisserie, n.f. tapestry,  
2783,2794.

tarder, to tarry, 664,2926  
tardoit, imperf. 3rd  
sing, 1194; tarday, perf  
1st sing, 2085; tardant,  
pr. p. 777; tarde, p.p.  
1357.

tassette, n.f. small purse,  
1219.

taverniere, n.f. tavern-  
keeper, 1804,1814.

te, t', 2nd person, perso-  
nal pronoun, acc. and  
dat. case, 1,26,32,33,  
45,47,195.

teche, n.f. stain, 1194.

tel, such, 262,650,715,765,  
836, etc.; telle, 422,  
2418; telz, 84,566,  
1393; teles, 1336;  
telles, 812,1200,3120.

temple, n.m. temple, 1479,  
1489,1512,1515,1575,1765,  
2168,2465; temples, 93.

temporalite, n.f. temporal  
power of an ecclesiasti-  
tical dignitary, 475,  
622; temporalitez, 1063.

temps, n.m. time, 308,777,  
851,902, etc.; times,  
1012,2335,2996; weather,  
331,1310,1731,2139,2140;  
age, 1173.

temptation, n.f. tempta-  
tion, 116,2527; temp-  
tations, 2764.

tempte, he) tempts, 706.

tenant, en un, immediately, 1508.

tendrement, tenderly, 2685.

tendrir, to soften, 2867.

tenebreux, infernal, 1959, 2358.

tenir, to hold, 190, 714, 1044, 1291, etc.; tendre, 429, 1276, 1296, 1328, 2420; tiens, pr. 1st sing, 3191; tieng, 780, 2788; tient, pr. 3rd sing, 293, 488, 716, 953, 1566, 1722, 1756; tiennent, pr. 3rd pl, 2800; tendent, 932, 1048; tenoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1146, 1321, 1429, 1522; tins, perf. 1st sing, 1766, 2268, 2594; tint, perf. 3rd sing, 2688; tindrent, perf. 3rd pl, 2311; tendra, fut. 3rd sing, 32; tendroit, condit., 3rd sing, 770, 2523; tenant, pr. p. 686; tendu, p.p. 2743; tenue, 1534, 1807, 2618; tenues, 701.

tentes, n.f. tents, 2303.

terine, n.f. kind of gold money, 1530.

terme, n.m. period, 1846; termes, 1188.

termine, n.m. period, 1313, 2185, 2337.

terminer, to end, 1169; termine, she) ends, 2186.

terre, n.f. earth, 64, 73, 111, 192, 230, etc.; terres, 350, 364, 375, 766, etc.

terrestre, earthly, 88, 3122.

terriens, earthly, 681, 1107, 1991.

testaments, n.m. testaments, 625.

teste, n.f. head, 2646.

texte, n.m. text, 1642, 2007.

thoison, n.f. fleece, 586.

tiers, third, 1049, 1681, 2275; tierce, 1875.

tiers, n.m. game of chase, 1185.

tiltre, n.f. title, 1817, 2479, 2626.

tique, n.f. small piece, 633.

tirer, to draw, 776; tire, pr. 3rd sing, 502, 773; tiroient, imperf. 3rd pl, 156; tirast, perf. 3rd sing, 1396; tiree, p.p. 2708, 2672; tirez, 2676.

tissure, n.f. tissue, 2623.

tissus, woven, 315.

tistre, woven, 2625.

toile, n.f. linen, 1707.

tollir, to withdraw, 3247; tolt, pr. 3rd sing, 44; tollent, pr. 3rd pl, 545; tollis, pl.p. 790.

ton, 2nd person possessive adjective, 3, 29, 1879, 1976, etc.; ta, 25, 254, 1839, 1954, etc.; tes, 247, 1860, 1956, 1977, etc.; tien, 2462.

tonneaux, n.m. barrels, 1803.

tonner, to thunder, 2143.

topaces, n.m. topazes, 361.

tort, n.m. wrong, 943.

tost, soon, 388, 1608, 1614,  
1688, 1808, 1810, 1928.

toupiner, to play at top,  
1170.

tour, n.m. turn, 1562, 1559,  
1669, 1889, 1978, 2519; tours,  
43, 1572, 1983, 2567, 2578.

tourmenter, to torment, 1753;  
tormente, pr. 3rd sing, 1757.

tourmentines, n.f. torments,  
1724.

tourne bouelle, n.f. reversal,  
1974.

tournement, n.m. turning, 1565.

tourner, to turn, 1967; tourne,  
pr. 1st sing, 1359; tourne,  
pr. 3rd sing, 1810; tour-  
noit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1557,  
1654, 2147, 2149; tournoie,  
imperf. 3rd sing, 1567; tour-  
noient, imperf. 3rd pl, 1603,  
tournay, perf. 1st sing, 1701;  
tournant, pr. p. 1560; tourne,  
p.p. 2780.

tournoyer, to tourney, 1273.

tours, n.m. towers, 1116.

tous jours, always, 102, 423, 764,  
785, etc.

tout, all, 10, 34, 52, 85, etc.;  
toute, 50, 51, 52, 111, etc.;  
tous, 74, 89, 141, 142, etc.;  
toutes, 15, 141, 170, 173, etc.

toy, 2nd pers. personal pro-  
noun, ~~emphatic~~ form of nom.  
and acc., 2, 252, 255, 1879, etc.

trait, n.m. characteristic,  
2739.

traire, to draw, 159, 652, 897,  
958, 2688; traist, pr. 3rd  
sing, 1916; traïs, perf. 1st  
sing, 185; trait, p.p. 124;  
traitte, 340; traittes, 3018.

tranquilite, n.f. tranquility  
866, 1381.

transitoire, transitory, 2571.

transmigration, n.f. transmi-  
gration, 2336, 2355.

transmue, changed, 1719.

traveil, n.m. hard work, 14,  
2699, 2724, 2831, 2833, 3229.

traveillier, to work, 427, 2835,  
2855; traveille, pr. 3rd  
sing, 2839, 2851; traveillie,  
overworked, 2721; traveilliez  
2196.

trayr, to betray, 2366.

trayson, n.f. treason, 513.

treize et soixante, seventy  
three, 2315.

trente cinq, thirty five, 1301.

tres, very, 62, 233, 349, 886, 1457,  
1466, 1611, 1659, 1894, 2702, 2928,  
3112.

tresbelle, lovely, 1495.

tresbien, excellently, 325,  
2747, 3176.

tresbonne, excellent, 560.

tresbuchier, to fall, 1940,  
2024; tresbuche, pr. 3rd sing,  
1928.

tresfins, very fine, 315.

tresjoyeuses, exhilarating,  
360.

treslieve, lifted, 2521.

tresors, n.m. treasures, 696,  
796, 1475, 2927, 2960, 3020.

trespuisant, very powerful,  
1991.

tresrichement, expensively,  
1482, 1775.

tresriches, expensive, 3112..

tresse, n.f. lock, 2677.

tressue, he) sweats, 2724.

treuage, n.m. seigneurial  
rights, 216, 619, 270.

tribulation, n.f. tribulation,  
829.

tribut, n.m. tribute, 1275.

triche, I) trick, 579.

triees, selected, 712.

triste, sad, 1614, 2819, 2850;  
tristes, 1908.

tristesse, n.f. sadness, 2053,  
2156.

tristeur, n.m. sorrow, 2822.

trois, three, 1214, 1826, 3109.

troisieme, third, 719, 1537, 2279.

trop, too much, 290, 1492, 1719,  
1780, etc.

etrosne, n.m. throne, 3133, 3146.

trouble, she) troubles, 1914;  
trouble, p.p. 1812.

trouez, in holes, 2135.

trouvables, obtainable, 364.

trouver, to find, 285, 1215,  
2203; treuve, pr. 1st sing,  
638; trouvoit, imperf. 3rd  
sing, 872; trouvay, perf.  
1st sing, 208, 1640, 1765, 1798,  
2916; trouve, 1445; trouvast,  
perf. 3rd sing, 3135; trou-  
vastes, perf. 1st pl, 103,  
105; trouveras, fut. 2nd  
sing, 3; trouveroit, condit.  
3rd sing, 3004; trouve, p.p.  
2081; trouvez, 3039.

truisse, thou) holdest, 2913.

tu, 2nd pers. personal pro-  
noun, nom. case, 4, 48, 195,  
196, 224, etc.

tuver, to kill, 519; tue, pr.  
3rd sing, 2732.

tumbera, she) will throw down,  
2542.

## U.

un, indefinite article, 852,  
1003, 3220; ung, 5, 106, 107,  
208, etc.; une, 206, 226,  
425, 786, etc.; ungs, 341,  
558; ungz, 449, 485, 813, 2370;  
unes, 2807, 2808.

ung, one, 293, 1596, 1656, 1807,  
etc.; une, 1006, 1489, 1768,  
1769, etc.

unite, n.f. unity, 865.

us, n.m. custom, 717, 1510.

user, to use, 1441; usent, pr.  
3rd sing, 709; usoit, he)  
exhausted, 1414; usa, he)  
exhausted, 2052; usant, using,  
540; usused, 2067; usee, 2217;  
usez, 2715.

usans, n.m. employers, 540.

V.

vacelle, n.f. vassal, 381

vaguer, to make waves, 1753.

vaillable, valuable, 2389.

vaillances, n.f. deeds of  
valour, 1279.

vaillant, n.m. value, 1243.

vaillant, meritorious, 896.

vaillist, he is worth, 893;  
valoit, imperf. 3rd sing,  
2132; vaulzist, perf. 3rd  
sing, 2765; vaillant, pr.  
p. 2788.

vaine, vain, 17; vaines,  
2761.

vaisselle, n.f. vessel, 2953.

vaisselement, slavishly, 392.

valeur, n.f. value, 1068, 2558.

variable, variable, 1518.

vaulz, n.m. valleys, 70.

veillier, to keep vigil, 2836;  
veille, pr. 3rd sing, 2858;  
veilliez, pr. 2nd pl, 2195;  
veillie, p.p. 2722.

veir, n.m. parti-coloured fur,  
324.

velour, n.m. material of double  
weave with the top thick and  
soft, 319.

vendengeurs, n.m. ravagers,  
618.

vengoit, he) revenged, 680;  
vengie, relieved, 2748.

venir, to come, 170, 867, 1043,  
1847, etc.; vient, pr. 3rd  
sing, 851, 2528, 2869, 2871,  
etc.; viennent, pr. 3rd pl,  
264, 304, 536, 640, etc.; ve-  
noit, imperf. 3rd sing,  
875, 1341, 2080, 3172; venoient,  
imperf. 3rd pl, 173, 517,  
3104; vins, perf. 1st sing,  
vint, perf. 3rd sing, 2215,  
2233, 2354; venist, 411, 902;  
venismes, perf. 1st pl, 58;  
vindrent, perf. 3rd pl, 691,  
2312; vendra, fut. 3rd sing,  
1941; viengne, subj. pr. 3rd  
sing, 807; venisse, subj.  
perf. 1st sing, 210; venu,  
p.p. 193, 199, 219, 1419, 1945,  
3045; venue, 1421, 2723; ve-  
nues, 702.

venue, n.f. advent, 1533.

ventast, it) blew, 3142.

venter, n.m. wind, 1754.

veoir, n.m. sight, 372.

vergier, n.m. orchard, 590.

veritables, veritable, 2457.

verdeur, n.f. greeness, 1743,  
1746.

verdoient, they) were green,  
79.

verite, n.f. truth, 913, 1667,  
1928, 2151, 2162, 2202, 2586,  
2777, 2887.

vers, gray, 2644.

vers, towards, 186, 616, 633, 638  
etc.

verser, to let fall, 81; verse  
I) reverse, 1535.

vert, green, 1218, 1224,  
1728, 2644, 2646; verte,  
74; verdes, 1180.

vertu, n.f. virtues, 2404,  
2409; vertus, 133, 1256,  
1375, 1423, 2866.

vespre, n.m. evening, 2697.

vestement, n.m. clothing,  
338, 628, 1217, 1262, 1364;  
vestemens, 552, 708, 1161,  
1238, 2897, 3240.

vestir, to wear, 312, 553,  
1728; vestent, pr. 3rd pl,  
707; vestoit, imperf. 3rd  
sing, 1308; vestirent,  
perf. 3rd pl, 567; vestu,  
p.p. 113, 1161, 2703; vestue,  
1363, 1405, 1607, 1740, 1788,  
2113; vestus, 2979; vestues,  
3098.

vestue, n.f. clothing, 2706.

vesture, n.f. clothing, 327,  
393, 732, 2090, 2309, 2643,  
2670; vesteures, 3002.

vue, en, in view of, 2, 109.

veue, n.f. sight, 1000, 1359,  
1422; veues, looks, 2780.

veule, n.f. veil, 1152.

veuler, to wish, 2879.

vice, n.m. vice, 506, 685, 1014,  
1034, 1056, 1865; vices, 132,  
1394.

victoire, n.f. victory, 1070.

vide, empty, 1693.

vie, n.f. life, 13, 262, 318,  
417, 483, etc.

viel, old, 2117, 2137, 2713; vielz,  
2135, 2715; vieux, 1347.

vigne, n.f. vine, 2718, 2728;  
vignes, 68, 1087, 1289.

vigueur, n.f. vigour, 1666.

vilite, n.f. vileness, 1934.

villes, n.f. towns, 91, 278, 795,  
1474, 3001.

vin, n.m. wine, 1803, 2749, 3110.

vinces, thou) conquerest, 1960.

vingt, twenty, 2347.

vingt cinq, twenty five, 1253.

vingt quatre, twenty four, 2393.

violence, n.f. violence, 824.

violettes, n.f. violets, 75.

vis, n.m. face, 1496, 2675.

visage, n.m. face, 1516, 1595,  
2121.

visiblement, visibly, 2686.

viturpere, n.m. vituperation, 1977.

vive, alive, 1466, 2449, 2562, 2680.

vives, lively, 322.

vivre, n.m. living, 408, 2144.

vivre, to live, 30, 404, 413, 454,  
etc.; vivent, pr. 3rd pl, 480,  
485, 1874, 1949; vivoit, imperf.  
3rd sing, 859, 1285, 1324, 1439,  
2223, 2297, 2566; vesquy, perf.  
3rd sing, 2058; vesquirent,  
perf. 3rd pl, 2314; viveras,  
fut. 2nd sing, 3195; vivroit,

condit. 3rd sing, 2057; vive, subj. pr. 3rd sing, 1845; vivant, pr. p. 1347, 1979, 2185; vivans, 541; vescu, p.p. 1349, 2221.

voir, n.m. truth, 1028, 1293, 2400, 2474; ver, 1438.

voir, to see, 1352, 2659, 2994, 3082, veoir, 1604, 1633, 2341, 2569; veyr, 490, 630, 1383, 1870, 2925; voise, pr. 1st sing, 3232; vis, 2770; vois, pr. 2nd sing, 242, 2276, 2320, 2384, 2793; voyes, 1075; voit, pr. 3rd sing, 2207; voiez, pr. 2nd pl, 3069; voyent, pr. 3rd pl, 933; veoye, imperf. 1st sing, 2163, 3162; vecoit, imperf. 3rd sing, 870, 1148, 1339, 1376, 1576; viscoit, imperf. 3rd 1386; veyons, imperf. 1st pl, 96; veoient, imperf. 3rd pl, 1678; vis, perf. 1st sing, 170, 183, 854, 1307, etc.; vy, 1159, 2168, 1354; vit, perf. 3rd sing, 992, 3181; veismes, perf. 1st pl, 66; verras, fut. 2nd sing, 1476; verra, fut. 3rd sing, 2545; voyes, subj. pr. 2nd sing, 2989; veu, p.p. 1095, 1157, 1470, 1573, 2467, 3015; veue, 1360, 2073, 2471, 2779; voise, 2841.

voire, indeed, 853, 1215, 1337, 1820; verre, 2018.

voisement, really 2650.

voix, n.f. voice, 2507, 2656.

volans, flying, 1091.

volume, n.m. volume, 1687, 1817, 2167.

vostre, your, 259, 2781.

voulente, n.f. will, 604, 1102, 1414, 1924, 2033, 2599, 2754, 3259; voulentez, 1828.

vouloir, n.m. wish, 15, 574, 772, 992, 2584, 3064; vouler, 2947, voulairs, 284, 572.

vouloir, to wish, 2691; veul, pr. 1st sing, 208, 311, 333, 337, etc.; veulz, 272; veulle, 1972; veulz, pr. 2nd sing, 27, 3031, 3188; veulles, 1880; veult, pr. 3rd sing, 11, 332, 776, 957, etc.; veulle, pr. 3rd sing, 889; veulent, pr. 3rd pl, 347, 412, 414, 463, etc.; vouloit, imperf. 3rd sing, 1227, 1232, 1270, 1276, etc.; vouloient, imperf. 3rd pl, 2365; voulu, perf. 1st sing, 188, 695, 717, 3174, etc.; voulus, perf. 1st sing, 1833, 2059, 2592, 2889, etc.; voul, perf. 3rd sing, 209, 508, 512, 1020, etc.; voulzist, perf. 3rd sing, 101, 158, 181, 191, etc.; voulut, 1004; vouldrent perf. 3rd pl, 164; vouldray, fut. 1st sing, 248; voudroye, condit, 1st sing, 765, 3180; vouldroit, condit., 3rd sing, 769, 781, 2580; veulle, subj. pr. 1st sing, 2485; veulliez, subj. pr. 2nd pl, 2776; voulzissent subj. perf. 3rd pl, 2501; veullant, pr. p. 1212, 2071, voulu, p.p. 731, 2559, 3027, 3213.

vous, 2nd person plural, personal pronoun, nom. acc. and dat. cases, 202, 203, 210, 218, 257, 258, 259, 1438, 2190, 2656, 3069.

voyage, n.m. journey, 2444; voyages, 1278.

voye, n.f. way, 25, 99, 206, 558, 2050, 2147, 2867, 2916, 3012, 3257; voyes, 1175, 2517, 2529.

vray, true, 189, 203, 2176; vraye,

705,1851.

vyder, to quit, 2065; vide,  
he) empties, 842; vyt,  
ended, 2352.

*vyt. 2352*

Y.

y, there, or dat. of 3rd pers.  
personal pronoun, 26,95,96,  
103,164, etc.

yere, I wander; yert, perf.  
3rd sing, 1411,1675,2109,2151.

ymage, n.f. image, 1491,1515,  
1522,1553,1574,1581,1615,1629,  
1637,1645,1652,2122,2136,2148,  
2150,2467,2550; ymages, 2172,  
2465,2555,2587,2636,2772,2779,  
2797,2812,2884.

ymagerie, n.f. imagery, 2631.

ymagina, she) portrayed, 2791.

ymaginere, n.m. sculptor, 1499.

yre, n.f. fury, 439.

yssit, it) issued, 2251; yssans,  
pr. p. 22.

yssu, n.m. issue, 261.

yver, n.m. winter, 1392,2072,  
2140.

O R I E N T E D   G L O S S A R Y .

I. NATURAL PHENOMENA.

le monde, (49), siecle (756), terre, (64), contree (241),  
pays (701), champagne (67), mont (9), montaigne (2), vaulz  
(70), rivieres (70), fontaines (69), lac (2527), gravelle,  
(1893), terres (766), desers (562), praries (1087), champs  
(1193), pastures (1090), prez (65), bois (779), boscages (1177),  
vergier (590), arbres (79), soche (2141), chesnes (2262), es-  
pines (2262), fruit (80), pomme (786), ombre (180), umbrages  
(1178), hayes (1176), ronces (2709), herbe (74), herbettes  
(2261), racines (2261), boutons (1264), graines (1086), avaines  
(1085), bledz (68), orges (1085), chaume (1781), vignes (1087),  
grappes (1734), jardins (65), feuilles (1701), flourettes (76),  
violettes (75), roses (1264), freses (1199), jons (1182),  
feugieres (1182), la mer (230), marree (1711), ondes (1707),  
flots (1708), navie (1286), le ciel (1833) soleil (3136), lune  
(1695), estoilles (3137), planettes (3137), l'arc ou ciel (3141),  
air (3144), saison (198), yver (1727), relevee (2727), vespre  
(2697), terme (1846), termine (2185), aage (1191), une piece  
(1037), mois (821), sepmaine (2144), heure (1846), Zephirus  
(1721), Bise (1739), froideur (1744), ardure (2139), feu (778),  
bestes (1092), bestail (802), chiens (2218), nourretures (1089),  
belins (2712), beufz (1089), moutons (1089), leu (521), loups  
(1197), lyons (736), oiseaulz (1091), esprevier (1240), nidz  
(1176), thoison (586), il plust (3142), ventast (3142), tonner  
(3143), engelle (1741), surondoit (1682), creurent (2307),  
boutonnoient (83).

II INSTITUTIONS.

1. A. Law.

i. people.

juge (1011), jugeresse (1853), jugeor (2445), larrons (823),  
damoiselles (162), damoiseaulz (162), chevalliers (149),  
barons (149), bourgeois (150), hoirs (1044), auditeur (294),  
vacelle (381).

ii. things.

justice (740), jugement (2396), justicier (858), administration  
(464), loy (982), laiz (700), droit (979), condempna (988),

pardonnes (995), proces (939), instructions (700), partie (943), trayson (513), omicide (841), criminel vice (1074), heritage (620), heritez (584), tribut (1275), batelage (2386), franchises (794), treuage (619), messager (626).

B. Feudal Organisation.

famille (1839), pere (915), mere (226), frere (5), engendure (1021), filz (980), fille (2045), enfans (991), nourrice (1158), amis (195), marry (891), mariage (625), matrones (1511), hostes (517), maistresse (2084), servante (771), sergent (294), escuyers (150), champions (735), marchans (150), messonniers (618), vendengeurs (618), serfz (735), garde (1104), portier (287), taverniere (1804), martire (2674), distributresse (2486), hommes (161), fame (1015), dames (820), pucelles (3097), meschine (1685), nymphes (1730), musart (780), conservateur (840), pastoureaux (1195), labourier (801), laboureurs (2825), povres (3061), gens de paine (151), gens de labour (151), compaignye (883), amour (250), anciens (923), accointance (165), druerie (1165),

C. Administration.

i. Royal.

empereis (1787), roy (662), royne (1789), princes (149), puissances (20), nobles (691), chamberiere (1830), peuple (990), commun (1023), gens (2050), gouverne (479), gouvernance (1079), domination (742), conseil (698), regenter (1002), regnoient (874), regle (2175), regnes (815), office (739), baillie (231), excercer (936), chapitres (264).

ii. Feudal.

l'ordre de sa chevalerie (728), sire (7), seigneurs (746), chevalliers (820), maistre (256), ministres (263), commissaires (229), registre (1824), pages (2978), serfz (263), seignourie (9), seignourieuses (20), servises (142), servitude (477), commission (233), subject (189), mesgnye (140), compaignie (48), retenue (35), promesse (32), couvent (33), congie (55), subjection (2176).

iii. Ecclesiastical.

religieux (1293), cloistriers rigliez (607), cloistriers mendians (607), cloistriers religieux (606), prebstre (1293), prebstres curez (635), prelatz (153), clerz (155), cleric lisans (1202), escoliers (155), estudians (637), disciples (788), docteur (157), dominations (22), chapelains (155),

maistre (157), maistre es artz (1292), saint (650), bencuite onction (668), prelatiez benefices (798), reverence (477), temporalite (473), secularite (474), ordonnance seculiere (600).

## 2. Possessions.

avoirs (710), biens (766), richesses (709), possessions (793), chevance (1041), haultesses (710), acensions (811), remuneration (741), tresors (696), or (796), argent (498), monnoye (416), d'or monnoye (2103), denier (2132), maille (2840), terine (1530), marchandise (811), denrees (1287).

## 3. Dwellings.

villes (91), citez (91).

habitations (470), reperes (564), manantises (89), edifice (1769), temples (93), eglise (199), escole (548), palais (93), chateaulz (92), fermetez (3001), forteresses (91), mandemens (265), mansions (802), maisons (596), renchusages (561), hermitages (562), chappelles (470), herbergeries (1088), chartres (2329), granche (803), tentes (2303), estable (124).

sale (126), chambre (2890), cave (774), garde-robe (2893), tours (1116), seul (1802), entree (1113), murs (3095), pare (2621), fenestre (2981), cornes (2633), pont (207), passage (215), masiere (1141), matiere (1769).

autel (1626), meuble (909), trosne (3133), table (594), bercer (1136), lit (2195), cofre (2105), vaisselle blanche doree (2953), mirouer (1579), lunette (1585), tonneaux (1803), balance (386), lanterne (537), courtines (2620), tapis (2618), tapisserie (2783), dossier (2621), la clef (288).

herbergoient (518), demeurent (641), edifier (1775), maconner (3108), fouyr (3108), composa (3109), loge (2891).

## 4. Clothing and Adornment.

appareil (110), couverture (121), garnement (2116), paremens (1077), vescement (552).

drap (123), draps d'or (708), draps de soye (723), drap vert (1218), escarlates (321), pourpre (723), damas (2644), cramoisis (321), satins (321), penne (115), toile (2707), lins (2308), coton (339), linges (1161), veloux (318), frise

(1740), laine (586), laines chauvres (2308), ermines (2094), martres (2093), sebelines (2093), cuir (2712), letices (324), veir (324).

habit (114), mantel (117), robes (1308), garnache (2706), cotte (1406), chappe (1152), chapel (1224), chapeaulz d'or (724), bonnet (612), veul (1150), coliers (156), couronne (533), coliers (153), aumuce (612), cainture (1219), cercle d'or (2095), tassette (1219), bourse (2101), boche (2142), septre (1561), balais (357), aneaulz (366), gans (1222), guestres (2715), sollers lachiez (1221), chausses troues (1221), bobelins (2711), botines (2710), drapel (2137), drapeles (1129), piecettes 2130), refaittures (2130), coutures (2129), plez (2128), clus (2129), sa corde (776), peleterie (2904), jolerie (2919), pierrie (2920), pierres precieuses (1774), joyaulz (2914), pierre d'ambre (2922), orfaveries (355), dyamans (357), perles (359), saphirs (359), esmeraudes (359), jacintes (361), rubis (361), topaces (361).

vestir (553), devestir (552), draperent (2308), habillie (1317), fourre (1317), chaucie (2710), chausses (1221), couronnee (1555), cousu (2713), tissue (2623), ouvree (77), paree (2613), cointoee (75), ordonnee (135), envelopee (1129), emmaillottee (1230), rebillie (2704), despicee (2671), deschiree (2671), brochiez (320).

## 5. War.

guerre (813), faisoit ses armes (1279), luitier (1213), espee (2738), escuz (1285), lances (1280), arcz (1181), flesche (2514), bougons (1181), harnois (129), selles (2970), brides (2975), frains (2975).

## 6. Routes and Means of Travelling.

chemin (3), voye (25), rue (2118), route (2966), voyages (1278), erre (63), adresse (185).

cheveaulz (2968), coursiers (2965), destrier (187), roncins (2967), haguenees (2969), muletz (2968), chariot (1144), rouelles (1145), nagemens (1078).

emblant (2690), aloit (3172), venoit (3172), yert (2151), passes (3037), espartir (3143), courir (2985), racourir (2985), devaler (2064), lancier (1716), sourdre (1716), chevauchier (1155), sault (1186), sauteler (2651), plonge (1706), noe (1706).

7. Food.

nourretures (1089), sustentation (2263), nutrition (132),  
pasture (182), faim (2290), saveur (1811).

mengier (516), disnoit (2720), alectoit (1733), nourrie  
(1131), repaistre (1735), empoisonner (508).

chars (516), pain (1157), pain bis (2124), paston (1156),  
bribes (2143), chanteaux (2143), miel (3110).

boire (594), saouleroit (1895), enyvroient (1604).

soif (1897), vin (1803), biere (1803), lait (3110), breu-  
vage (507).

8. The Body.

corps, (109), perturbations (126), teste (2646), chief (2095),  
vis (1496), visages (1595), contenances (2470), face (2641),  
yeulzl (247), cheveulz (2642), tresse (2677), gorge (2725),  
cuer (1096), jambes (2133), main (1081), dextre (2089).

III. SCIENCE, ARTS, LETTERS AND RELIGION.

A. Science.

science (1700), pratique (1700), compas (1523), art magique  
(3139), constellations (2405), quatre complexions (2804).

B. Arts.

peinture (1205), pourtraitte (1128), pourtraittures (1123),  
ymage (1515), pieces d'ymagerie (2631), figure (1160), simi-  
litudes (3115), figure (1205), moulle (1741), taillie (2645),  
paint (1141), ymaginere (1499).

entaillier (1497), chanter (1228), sonner (2655), entonner  
(2656), harper (1231), fleuter (1231), melodieusement (1257),  
chanteresse (1670), chason (1673), voix (2656), bas (1547),  
plaint chant (229), contrepoint (1229), harpe (2653).

danser (1228), baloit (1168).

C. Letters.

matiere (1248), langage (1616), pensee (1543), mot (2472),  
parole (839), paroles latines (1526), lire (1249), escrire

(1249), note (2476), exposition (2593), exemplaire (974), exemple (2466), escripture (1524), livre (1631), volume (2167), tiltre (1817), epistre (1818), feulles du livre (1701), lettres d'or (1525), page (1638), ystoire (1225), testaments (625), fable (521), euvangilles (624), temps d'antiquite (922), songe (2871), fantasie (2871).

D. Religion.

Dieu (137), deesse (227), paradis (88), enfer (2360), infernaulz (125), dampnez (2360), peuz, (54), religion (467), divine (485), divine providente (2628), ame (831), angels (3103), vie (909), predestination (2451), prophetes (2457), prophetie (2455), baptesme (827), sacrifice (2490), oblations (2491).

IV. CUSTOMS, USAGES, ETC.

gibiers (1241), jouster (1273), tournoyer (1273), pelote (1163), soller (1213), quille (1185), barres (1185), tiers (1185), toupiner (1170), chevauchier un baston (1155), maisons de buchettes (1153), crocer (1171).

la charrue (2731), houe (2719), flail (2733), besche (2726), houoit (2718), rebinoit (2719), arer (2301).

V. PROVERBS AND BANAL PHRASES.

les mieulz peuz sont les mieulz payez (54); chascun sert pour mieulz avoir (310); quy plus despent qu'a luy n'assiert, sans coup ferir a mort se fiert (439); quy tousjours art pas ne consomme, sy n'y pert plus qu'en une pomme (785); cil quy occist, occis doit estre (850); car tout chiet a quy tout embrace (1066); on rende de tant a tel saint tel offrande (3157); sy les fais fiers comme lyons (736).

paradis terrestre (88); la cite de Dieu (2524); roy celestre (3146), jour de jugement (2396); souverain maistre (849); vie transitoire (2571); gloire mondaine (1101); vie mondaine (12); mutation mondaine (1759); fruits de la terre (861); mortel bonne (1848); bien publique (1026).

G L O S S A R Y   O F   P R O P E R   N A M E S .

A.

Abel, 2212.  
Abraham, 859, 2250, 2281.  
Adam, 2210.  
Adolescence, 1204, 2275.  
Alexandrie, 317.  
Amours, 1226, 1275.  
Archabanus, 2034.  
Archade, 2037.  
Aristote, 1703, 1763, 2400, 2475.  
Assiriens, 1990, 2330.  
Atheniens, 698.  
Avarice, 396.

B.

Babilone, 1985; Babylone,  
2327.  
Bacus, 1734.  
Bible, 2006.  
Bise, 1739.  
Boece, 2054.  
Brutus, 1011.

C.

Cathononakes, 3083.  
Cayn, 2212.  
Cerberus, 286.  
Cite de Dieu, 2524.  
Char, 55, 222, 250, 3028.  
Constrainte Abstinence, 613.  
Convoitise, 771, 787.  
Cosdroe, 3128.

D.

Daniel, 2006.  
David, 2283, 2324.  
Deception, 114.  
Decrepite, 1402, 2432.  
Dieu, 137, 832, 1830, 1855, 1993,  
2294, 2355, 3146, 3212, 3221.

E.

Ecclesiastiques, 2518.

Enfance, 1127, 1369, 1416, 1420,  
2205, 2440.  
Enoc, 2213.  
Equite, 972.  
Erode, 838.  
Esculapius, 2872.

F.

Fortune, 835, 1491, 1619, 1645, 1694,  
1755, 1785, 1804, 1814, 1875, 2083,  
2108, 2148, 2165, 2177, 2467, 2526,  
2540, 2555, 2587, 2596, 3244.  
Fulgence, 1641, 2477.

G.

Grece, 675, 691, 2102.  
Grecz, 2367.

H.

Homme, 1305, 2343.

I.

Iherusalem, 2332.  
Ihesucrist, 2391.  
Improvidence, 120.  
Inde, 3092.  
Israel, 673.

J.

Jacob, 2289.  
Jafet, 2252.  
Jesse, 2283.  
Jonesse, 31, 57, 186, 252, 2320, 3166,  
3219, 3255.  
Joseph, 2289.  
Joye, 2639, 2695, 2813, 2868, 2869.  
Judee, 662, 2328.  
Juppiter, 1798; Jupiter, 509, 520.  
Justice, 869, 879, 896, 906, 921, 927,  
935, 944, 966, 970, 1010, 1022, 1055

L.

Labour, 2813.  
Lichaon, 505.  
Lucques, 317.

M.

Mathusale, 2215.  
Monde, 49, 260, 1067, 1455, 1824,  
2161, 2170, 2585, 2775, 3171,  
3178, 3188.  
Mont de Gloire Vaine, 17.

N.

Nabugodonosor, 1988.  
Nature, 1340, 1390, 1398, 1453,  
1829, 2219, 2255, 2310, 2376,  
2437, 2629, 2790, 2806,  
Nisus, 2037.  
Noe, 2233, 2248; Noeh, 2217.

O.

Omer, 1799, 2477.  
Ovide, 514.  
Oyseuse, 2759, 2766, 2856.

P.

Pathasius, 1464.  
Perse, 2011, 2028, 2367, 3128.  
Platon, 2507.  
Pont Fragille, 207, 214, 3037.  
Povrete, 2111, 2155, 2549, 2589.  
Presumption, 113.  
Puerice, 1160; Puericie, 1189.  
Pygmalion, 1499.

R.

Raison, 827, 852, 863, 871, 884,  
904, 910, 928, 933, 957, 968,  
972, 1027, 2582, 3047.  
Repos, 2736, 2737, 2813.  
Richesse, 2150, 2155, 2157, 2537,  
2589.  
Romme, 719, 977, 1013, 1023, 1511,  
2055, 2065, 2372.  
Rommains, 703.

S.

Saint Dominique, 634.  
Saint Francois, 634.  
Samuel, 671,  
Sapience, 1851,  
Saul, 662.  
Sedichias, 2333.  
Sem, 2213.  
Silla, 2045.  
Soussy, 2870.

T.

Titus Livius, 1509.  
Thebes, 2497.  
Thesiphe, 227.  
Traveil, 2695.  
Tristes, 1820, 1909, 1930, 2662,  
2870, 2881.  
Tristeur, 2813, 2868, 2873.  
Troye, 2571.  
Tulius Ostilius, 718.

V.

Valere, 975.  
Valere, Publique, 1012.  
Verite, 971, 2582.  
Vie des Peres, 564.  
Viellesse, 1362, 2385.  
la Vierge, 2356.  
Violence, 968.

X.

Xerces, 2011.

Y.

Ypocras, 2862.  
Ysaac, 2289.  
Yver, 1727.

Z.

Zelencius, 978.  
Zephirus, 1721, 1725, 1736.

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