A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF

"LE CHEMIN DE VAillance",

A FIFTEENTH CENTURY ALLEGORICAL POEM

BY

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Being a thesis presented for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of the

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

by

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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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CHAPTER 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, 18½ inches by 13½ 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.
(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 philosophe, and "Le Livre de l'Ordre de Chevalerie."

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.
(6) Romania. xxvii. p.582.
(7) De la Rue. ibid. p.286.
VAINE GLOIRE.
COMMENT L'ACTEUR PARLE AU MONDE.
LE MONDE PARLE A L'ACTEUR.
L'ACTEUR ET LE MONDE PARLENT L'UNG A L'AUTRE DE CE MEISME.
ENCORES PARLE LE MONDE DE CE.
LE MONDE PARLE D'AVARICE.
LE MONDE PARLE DE PLUSIEURS ESTATZ.
ENCORES PARLE LE MONDE DE DEVOTION.
CY PARLE DES GENS D'EGLISE.
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 OU 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 A L'ACTEUR QANT IL A TOUT VEU.
DE L'IMAGE DE FORTUNE.
DU MIRROUER DE FORTUNE.
DU LIVRE DE FORTUNE.
COMMENT PARLE ENCORES DU LIVRE DE FORTUNE.
ENCORES DE CE MEISME.
L'ACTEUR PARLE DE L'EPISTRE DE FORTUNE.
EXEMPLE DE FORTUNE.
DE L'IMAGE DE RICHESSE ET DE FORTUNE.
DE L'IMAGE 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 TIERE 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 iii1 YMAGES.
DE L'IMAGE DE JOYE.
DE L'IMAGE DE TRISTESSE.
DE L'IMAGE DE TRAVEIL.
DE L'IMAGE DE CE REPOS.
COMMENT L'ACTEUR DEMANDE QUE C'EST DES iii1 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 VAINES GLOIRE.
AULITRE 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 re-capitulate 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

(1) L'Abbe de la Rue. Essais historiques sur les bardes. t.iii. p.286-312.
(2) Romania. XXVII. p.583. (3) L'Abbe de la Rue. ibid p.312.
(4) Romania. XXVII. p.583. (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 Vaillancé, Nature first appears and advises the young man to flee Cowardice and Laziness and to enter the service of the goddess Vaillancé, 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 Vaillancé. 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 XIVe siècle."(1)

Further to amuse her pupil la Char advises l'Acteur to seek 'la montagne de Vaine Gloire' where lives le Monde.

(1) De la Rue; ibid. p.300.
MISSING PAGES ARE UNAVAILABLE
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 goddess, 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 countryside, 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, clerks 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 Tulius 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 Jovensse, 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 Vieslesse 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 Nebuchadnezzor, Xerxes, Nisus and Boe-thius (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, wondrously 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 Joneesse 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 Cathononake's (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, set out once more in their quest for Vaillance.
CHAPTER 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, 237, 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, 2063, 2095, 2110, 2118, 2200, 2280, 2643, 2694, 2743, 2816, 2848, 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;
(2) Quicherat. ibid p.101; Tobler. ibid.p.123.
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, 1495, 1499, 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, 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.169; 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.
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

(1) Kastner, ibid. p. 6.  
(2) Studer, ibid. p. 189.  
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(1937), 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

(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 (2325)  
Quant labour les fault demourer.

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

_RHYMES_.

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).
CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE.

I. ORTHOGRAPHY.

B is replaced unsounded in certain words in an attempt to keep the correct etymological spelling: doubté(229 etc.), redoubte (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 acquire(1051 etc.) and acquereurs(1054), etc.

...of the Latin group c+t 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: brieffe(2522), soeverment(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(334), habites(1881), haultaine(3125), haultesses (710), herbergier(539), 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), hautaine(3125), haultesses(710), joyaulz(347), mieulz(455), oultrage(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), escripture (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), estriers(2970), diesme(2280), meismes(2569), maistrie(2317), 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 e+l 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), exaulceee(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 > a+l 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: lieuz(456) etc.

and in plurals after t: repostz(2814), vingtz(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 or
of past participles (party (3167)), after u or n: compagnye (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, destruutte, droitture, 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:espergne (537) etc.

ai alternates before ll with ei: travellier:baullier (427), etc.

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

= ei > e: alaititie: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), enseigne (200) etc.
a + gne = ai: champagne:païne (67), etc.

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

oi = e: boïve: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 ér are confused in lever:le ver (1437), respiter:Jupiter (1797).

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

0.

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).
\[ o + \text{I}, \text{or} + \text{iI} > o, \text{uei, or} \text{ou: recole:escole (547), moule:despoulle (1741), enorgueilly:cueilly (2043), etc.} \]

\textit{ou} alternates with \textit{en: jones and jennes, monnoye:ennoye (25, etc.)}

\textit{emplie:accomplie (1007), etc.}

\textit{ou} is sometimes closed to \textit{ou: couvenoit (875), moustroit (1095), moustre:oultre (1097), jouchiee (1183), etc.}

\textit{ou} alternates with \textit{u: jousg (2959)}.

\textit{oi} = \textit{wa: convoitise:atise (771), etc.}

\textit{oi} = \textit{cue: mirouer (1579)}.

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

\textbf{VOWELS IN HIATUS AND DIPHTHONGS.}

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

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

\textit{ea} in hiatus remains in \textit{creature (1258), creator (6391), pit-eable (525), aggreable (593).} In the verse although reduced to a simple sound the spelling \textit{aa} remains in \textit{aage (2205), etc., but in the divisional headings the spelling is ea.}

\textit{aou} in hiatus is retained in \textit{saouleroit (1894), aouer (2441), and pacoureuse (2111), etc.}

\textit{ao} is preserved in \textit{aornne (1609)}.

\textit{eau} in hiatus is retained in \textit{leaute (1893), etc.}

\textit{eo} in hiatus is invariably reduced. —

\textit{eou} and \textit{iou} are generally reduced, but are retained in \textit{jugeour:piour (2445), etc.}
eu in hiatus is generally reduced to u, sounding identically however when the eu spelling is retained as the Latin ō 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 (363), vecye (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 aum (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); ŝi chaintures (354), lachiez (1221),
chevanche (1330,3247) are further instances.
c + e or i sounds as ss: Grece:presses (2025), adoulcy:soussy(1919)
etc., or as s: occire:sire (510), Justice:guise (879), etc.
cc rhymes with c: s'accoorde: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: tiltere (1817). It drops after u: mouteplierent (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

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

N

n and gn can rhyme together: engine:engigne (2415), fines:dignes (2615), linnage:lignage (2357), ymagina:assigna (2791), gouverne: espargne (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), poverete (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: grande, grandes are found frequently (92, 172, 630, 633, 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 6 8.
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), acquérir (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 aym (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 savoir (340, 1897, 789, 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.

...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: quy 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 (2932) etc., and also in the sense of around: laissay mes yeulz couler avant la chambre (2949), etc.
Dedans 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: fre~le 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 cie1 et terre closes (1833)

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 fois 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.

Don't (1596, etc.), adont (2948, etc.), donques (1361, etc.) and adonques (1792, etc.) co-exist and are frequent.

IV. SYNTAX.

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 (236), 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 aproprié (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 (939), fist a son filz un ceil 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 chacun 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 furent 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 demeurant chetifz et laz (431), matrones estans a Romme (1511), etc.

Past participles are almost invariably in agreement when employed with être 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 vou-lente 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.

INVARITABLE WORDS.

Negation. Ne alone without a completive 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 (458,788,etc.).

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

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

Elipses of pronouns and definite articles are numerous. they occur also with prepositions: sans faim, sans soif, travail, 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), quy 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'infernai ligne, quy en tel gloire ay ma vie avec mes serfz (280), etc. Sometimes there is a change of number in a single sentence (672, etc.).

V. DATING

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), happpe (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).

(1) Beaulieux p.83 and 189; Nyrop I.p.116.
(6) Brunot II. p.94; Beaulieux p.187.
(9) Nyrop I. p.319.
II. PHONETICS.

1) Reduction of the diphthong ie e(1), 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 (vecir (663), 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.
(5) Despite Chatelain's view that this is not so (p.12), and in accordance with Brunot I. p.406.
(7) Beaulieux p.175.
(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:

(6) Nyrop II p. 36. (7) Nyrop II p. 14; Brunot I p. 440; Le Miroir Aux Dames, lines 19 and 20.
(14) Brunot I. p. 472.
1) eaue: boive (1915). North West (1).

2) monnoye: ennoye (1475), emplie: accomplie (1007), Nabugodon-

3) travailleier: 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).


10) engingne: engine (2415), fines: dignes (2615), yimagina:
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).

(2) Nyrop, ibid. I. p.232; Chatelain, ibid. p.30 (also suggests
it is fifteenth century).
(6) Romania p.8; Romania XLVI p.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.
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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(3) Vie de St. Alexis, Introd. p.119.
(4) Vie de St. Eustache, Introd. p.vi.
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
tournament (1565). Nevertheless, by the time of the composition
of le "Chemin de Vaillance", these must have been of too fre-
quently occurrence to allow of any useful conclusion.

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

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

(1) The dating of these words has been done with the help of the
dictionaries of Godefroy, Bloch, Littre, 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.
(3) Bloch, Dict.Etym.; Godefroy, ibid.
(4) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.
(6) Godefroy, ibid.; Littre, ibid.; Bloch, ibid.
(7) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.; Littre, ibid.
(8) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.

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), contrepenes (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-

(1) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.; Littré, ibid.; Sainte-Palaye, ibid.
(2) Godefroy, ibid.; Littré, ibid.; 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.; Littré, ibid.
(14) Bloch, ibid. Godefroy, ibid.
naissance of the fourteenth century, though the persistence of
chars (516), confirms the authenticity of the text as early fif-
teenth 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

(2) Bloch, ibid.
(3) Norris, Costume and Fashion; Volume 2, p.386.
(4) Villiers Standford and Forsyth, History of Music; p.141;
       Parry, Summary of the History of Modern Music, p.4.
(5) Bloch, ibid.; Godefroy, ibid.
(6) Bloch, ibid.;
(7) Godefroy, ibid.
appearing in Priorat’s Livre de Vègece(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, paié XLV sous(7)”. Weber quotes an act of 1435

"touchant le fait des Servoisiers demeurant en la Terre Madame Sainte Geniève" (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

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 encore 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

(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

(1) Godefroy, ibid.  (2) Bloch, ibid.
(3) Godefroy, ibid.
(4) Godefroy, ibid.; Kelham, Dictionary of the Norman Language.
considered to have been of a date posterior to the time when "Le Chemin de Vaillance" was written.

CHAPTER 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

(1) Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, Vol.VI, Column 344. xi,xii.
(2) Ibid. Column 344. xiii.
(3) Canel, 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 Caudebec, 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 bailly de Caux pour le roi d'Angleterre'"(8). Geoffroi des Hayes was also 'capitaine d'Arques et bailly de la ville d'Eu'(9)

(3) Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, tome XII, p.302.
(4) Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy. Rotuli Normanniae. p.177.
(7) Cane,.ibid.II. p.137.
(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 jennesc, 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 degre.
(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 foury paine,
Conclut de juing le jour dixieme
En mon an soixante sixieme.
Pour Dieu en gre le veulliez prendre.
Et s'aucun 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

(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 "Viellâsc"(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 ccce et six" the 'vingt' dropped out owing to a scribal error(9), or perhaps by

(1) L'Abbé de la Rue. Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, Tome iii p.284.
(6) See Le Chemin de Vaillance, line 1400 in text.
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.


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<td>Viellesse</td>
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<td>Decrepitie</td>
<td>70 -</td>
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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'Abbe de la Rue, ibid. Tome.III. p.284.
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 Bouquechardière, 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) (1.1228 Le Chemin de Vaillance) and literature(10), so that he finds "ay mise ma plaisance a traiictier ces matieres tout au mieulz que j'ay peu"(11). His descriptions of child-

(1) Harleyan. 4376. folio I.    (2) Ditto.
(3) Ditto.                      (4) Ditto.
(5) Le Chemin de Vaillance, 11.1351-1400 in the text.
(6) Mem. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. Vol.xix. p.155; Caston 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.
(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

(1) Froissart, Oeuvres poetiques, Vol.I. p.147, etc.
(2) Gabriel Compayre, History of Pedagogy, p.80.
(4) Ditto.
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 desenmuy 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.
CHAPTER VI.

LITERARY SOURCES.

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 Deguilleville(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-

(1) Romania, No.27. 1898. p.583.
(3) Petit de Jullleville, Histoire de la Litterature Française, Tome II. p.150.
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 alle-
gory 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 jour-
ney 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 emmeurees?
Car, quant plus vous assembleront
Et plus de peuer trembleront; (R. de Rose. 5257).

Mes autres sont filz d'avarice.....
Ains en seuuffrent 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 sachierent des entailles
Ses anciens repostailles,
Metauz et pierres precieuses
Don genz devindrent enveuses,
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 assembler
Tollis prendre, revir, embler,
Et a eulz tous aproprié. (787).

Les ungz par plait, autres par guerre
S’entretollent maisons et terre,
Regnes, chateaulz et manandises;
En plusieurs 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 irreligi-
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 superfluitez (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,

Aincois vivent par abstinence....
Donc je les haiz et doy hayr
Tant que je ne les puis veyr,
Pou c'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'amera. (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 parfaittement
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 aggreable
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 morsens deliciens
E beivent les vins precieus;
E la povrete vous preeschent,
E les granz richeces preeschent. (R. de la Rose, 11041).
Si le quiere au siecle ou en cloistre,
Nul leu; fors en ces deus, ne mains
Maris en l'un plus, en l'autre mains;
Buement je me vois ateler
La ou je me cuit meauz celer;
S'est la celie plus seure
Souz la plus umble vesteure.
Religieux sont mout couvert,
Seculer sont plus auvert. (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 rigliez ou mendians -
Envers moy sont humilians
Et ayyent 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 Jus-
tice, bear a marked resemblance.

Pour ce, compainz, li ancien,
Senz servitude e sensz lien,
Paisiblement, sensz vilenie,
S'entreportaient compaignié,
N'il ne donasse pas franchise
Pour l'or d'Arabe ne de Frise;
Car qui tout l'or en vouldrat prendre
Ne la pourroit il pas bien vendre.
N'estoit lors nul pelegrinage,
N'issoit nus hors de son rivage
Pour cherchier estrange contrees... (R. de la Rose,9495)
Mais le prumier don je vous conte
Ne scavaient que nagier monte;
Trestout trouvaient en leur terre
Quanque leur semblait bon a guerre.
Riche estaient tuit egament
E s'entraiment leiaument.
Ainsinc paisiblement vivaient,
Car naturelemment 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 plaît, 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 sapvioit d'une potente; (1412).

Et ne se pooit mais aidier,
Ainz retournoit 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 sage,
Sans estre mais discret ne sage; (1423).

Bien fu vestue chaudement... (R. de la Rose, 403).
Elle ot d'une chapeau fourée
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 couroux et par son ire
Estoit tout son corps a martire. (2672).

Je cui que nous ne li seust
Faire rien qui li peust plaier; (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 espadu 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 re-
semblances:

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 frot. (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 refaitures, (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 mistre,
Quant il est en son plus hault estre,
Que sitost que le veul huchier
Jus ne la face trebuchier; (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 obedience.
Comme je veul, toy et ton peuple,
Veulles 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 Anticleudianus(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

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 mêmes faiture.
Ardanz de pierres précieuses
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 précieuses....
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'espès pleine paume;
S'est toute couverte de chaume. (R. de la Rose, 6106).

Car l'autre part de ceste sale
Sy est faitte d'euvre 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).

(1) Ernest Langlois. Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose. p. 149.
Géaigneur soif avoit que devant,
Par quoy ceulz, quy 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'elle est si parverse
Que les bons en la boe verse
E les desenuere e les grieve
E les mauvais en haut eslive
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 eslive,
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 ilieuc se veit cheue,
Sa chiere e son abit remue,
E si se desnue e desrobe
Qu'elle est or orfeline de robe,
E semble qu'el n'ait riens vaillant
Tant li vont tuit bien defailant... (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)

Jupiter en toute saison
A seur le seuil 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 pleni`re,
Don Fortune est taverriere....
Car bien e mal a chacun 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 respiter,
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 toneaux plains de vin ou biere,
Dont Fortune est taverriere.
A toutes gens en done a boire
Pour en retenir le memoire.
L'ung sy est douz 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 taverriere,
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 DEGUILEVILLE.

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, (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.

THEOPHANES(1) and CEDRENUS(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 Cathomonakes (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:


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(2) Joannis Zonare Annales, aucti additionibus Georgij Cedreni. Tomus III.
(4) Constans. Le Roman de Troie. line 14361, etc.
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 quât la dedies / li dolle ou simulachre fortune parla deux fois en disant. Matrones vous me dedies a droit. Ceste matiere traiicte tituš 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 Civi-tate 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 coëunt....."(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 Locrensium"(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 (Ek. 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 desquellz Valerius fait mention seulement en ceste lectre" (1). Book I, Chapter vi gave authority for the statement "Brutus, juge autentique, quy au temps Valere Publicque gardoit a Romme la justice" (1011).

The case of Xerces (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 Tulius Hostilius (718) bears a very slight resemblance to Valerius (Lib. III, 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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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 verde, 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(l).

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.

(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

(1) C. Plini Secundj Naturalis Historiae Libri xxxvii.
(2) Sancti Aurelii Augustini Episcop; De Civitate Dei.
(3) Raoul de Presles. Cy commence....la cite de dieu.
(4) Anicii 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, Yseac, 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-

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, 1-6) 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,
Desroban 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,
Consequenturque rates, facient cupidine vires,
Gnosiaeaque haeret comes invidiosa carinae.
Quam pater ut vidit - nam iam pendebat in auras,
Et modo factus erat fulvis haliaetos 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 commend 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 Dequilleville, Jean de Courcy copied, or at least was subconsciously affected, much.

NICOLE BOZON.(2)

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

(1) e.g. Machault. Vol.II.2.1530, Pimalion;III.1.1501,1395, Py-malion; Froissart Vol.II.p.366,p.246. Pymalion.
(2) Les Contes Moralises 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 vieillesce 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 iiiii. 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:

(3) Ditto. p.105.
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 puft
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.
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 encombre,
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).

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'adresse
Le cors tient si fraile et si froit,
Juner ne villier ne porroit.
En languissant manjue et boit
Et fait de caut lit forteresse,
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 maisnie
Orgoel 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;
Couvoitise n'en ot mas meins
Qui est sa cosine germeine;
Rapine bien autant en meine
Com Avarice et coueitise. (Tornoiement Antecrit, p. 52. 64).

(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 emui.
Donc li recourent il norice.
Donc ne prent il rien a delice.
Donc est frailes e acorbiz.
Donc comence son ploreiz.
Les orailles li assordissent,
Le chief crolle, les denz porrissent.
Ne se peut abevrer, ne pestre
Grant ennui est dentor lui estre.
Donc le recourent il bercier.
Donc:i a mult a adresciere
Ne peut 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)

(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 defecction 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 vifoient;
Plains estoient de charitei
Et fondes sus humilitei.
Or est le dey changei,he las!

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 prisen,
Pour les biens qu'il sont de l'Iglise,
Que toute leur entente ont mise
En orgueie et en vanité?
Tous temps veulent, c'est verite,
Avoir honnours et grans servises
A genoiz et en toutes guises,
Enclines, 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 plusieurs bons preudhommes
Quy jadis porterent telz sommes
Et vesquirent mout saiment
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 prisen 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 rourente.
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 creator 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-

(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 discit que angelz estoient
Quy la divinement vencient. (3097)

Les doux que plus esteient beles
Aveient formes de puceles;....
Qui esgardot, 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:

(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 Coivoitise,
Ou au mains dame Symonie
Qui les doneors ne het mie. (Rutebeuf. Vol. II, p.23)
La seconde n'est pas petite
Qui sur 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 attaire. (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 descharpir laine
Comme ele set de cheveus rompre;
Tout ront quanqu'elle puet acompre;
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......

Ainsy que femme fortunee......

Ainsy que femme fortunee......
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 n'est aucunement songneux de profitter en bonnes œuvres le bien ressort encontre luy comme fait la saiette qui a feru en une pierre.
(Edit. of 1529. feuillet LVII).

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 ardent 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) Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machault. Edit. Hœpffner.
(4) Ditto. Tome II. No. 1.
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:

{...Convoitise
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. 1. 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.

(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 Guillaume 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 faits et livres anciens
Orent jadis vaillance les Grejois,
Saiges furent Athenienciens,
Et les Rommains establirent les loys,
Tout le monde soumirent une fois
Soubz leur povoir 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 diligamment 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 hautesses,  
Cuy 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 passe me remort; ....  
Tous mes corps est frois devenus,  

La barbe meslee chamue  
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'avoi t 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)

(1) Oeuvres Complètes. Tome VIII. p.135.
There are other similarities:

\[
\text{Et s'ai souvent d'un bastoncel} \\
\text{Fait un cheval nommé Grisel; (Froissart. Vol 1, p.185),}
\]

\[
\text{Comme chevauchier un baston; (1155),}
\]

whilst of older children they note:

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

\[
\text{Qu'il fut clerc et aprint matiere;} \\
\text{Sy faisoit il lire et escripre; (1248)}
\]

\[
\text{D'un chapelet de violettet} \\
\text{Pour donner a ces basselettes} \\
\text{Faisoie a ce dont plus grand compte.... (Froissart. Vol 1, p.188, and also Vol 2 p.233).}
\]

\[
\text{Faisoient chapeaulz par boscages,} \\
\text{Et se gisoient es umbrages,} \\
\text{Faisans poree de flourettes....(1177).}
\]

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, 1. 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-

(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 repaire en champs
Et en bois, ou les doulz chans
Des cysiaulx souuent ouoye,
N'autres gens je n'avoyye
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
Put en estat de pastourage,
Et les bestes aux champz gardoit,
Ou nullement ne se tardoit
D'avec les autres pasteureuz
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.

(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 neverthe less conventional, so that passages in Le Chemin de Vaillance (72, etc.) are like some of Charles d'Orleans (d'Orleans, Vol. 1. 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 froideur et de pluye,
Et s'est vestu de brouderie....
Riviere, fontaine et ruisseau
Portent, en livree jolie,

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

(1) Alain Chartier. Oeuvres. edit. 1617.
(3) Michault Taillevant. Le Régime de Fortune in Oeuvres d'Alain Chartier. 1617
(5) Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle. Raymaud.
(6) Pierre Champion Histoire Poétique du Quinzième Siècle. Tome
(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.
GLOSSARY.

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.
GLOSSARY.

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.

age, n.m. age, 1101, 1310, 1370, 1425, etc.; ages, 1453, 2201, 2311, 2517; n.f. 1443.

abandons, largely, 416.

abat, it) beats down, 560.

abillite, 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; abstinences, 3059.

accontance, 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.

achatz, n.m. purchases, 811.

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

aclucher, to limp, 2023.

acquereurs, n.m. gains, 1054.

acquierir, to acquire, 1333, 3010; acquis, p.p. 1047; acquire, 1051; acquires, 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.

admonesteoit, 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.

adou1cir, to sweeten, 1665; adou1-cy, p.p. 1619.

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.

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

advise, I note, 1528; advisay, perf. 1st sing., 1578; advise, 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, 2637, 2842, 3079, 3190, 3231. aise, it eases, 3226.

aises, n.m. ease, 400, 3058.

alaine, n.f. breath, 1671.

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

alentre, 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. 157; alay, perf. 1st sing. 1635 aloit, imperf. 3rd sing., 519, 555, 1278, 1157, etc.; alociento, imperf. 3rd pl. 1090, 1657, 2304; vasmes, perf. 1st pl. 64; iro, fut. 3rd sing, 1049, 2460, 2564; ial, cond. 3rd sing, 764; aille, subj. pr. 3rd sing, 2445 va, imper. 2nd sing, 31; ale, p.p. 2216.

alera, to ally, 270.

alors, then, 190, 674, 1507, 2230; alore, 1469.

amaigrir, to grow thin, 2125; amaigrir, 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, 838, 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, 1397; 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, 340,818,866,668,3028,3088, 3189.

amplement, adequately, 952.

anciennement, in days of yore, 170.

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

anesaulz, 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.

anvironnoit, it) surrounded, 1119.

aourer, to ornament, 2495.

aornnee, adorned, 1609.

apaine, with difficulty, 2104.

apaisiee, appeased, 1679.

apye, I) placate, 292.

aporte, he) brings, 1520.

appareil, n.m. accoutrements, 109,1315; apparel, 1611,1259.

apparantes, evident, 2316.

appartient, it) belongs, 715.

appert, en, openly, 647,748.

appertente, open, 1772.

applique, he) applies, 1699.

approbation, n.f. approval, 2900.

approchement, n.m. approach, 632.

approchier, to approach, 2736, 3237.

apres, after, 519,1136,1401,2559, 2848; aprez, 702,855,1038,1151, etc.
aprendre, 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, aproprié, p.p. 1235; appro-
приées, 711.
aprouver, 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.
arèz, n.m. bows, 1181.
arder, to burn, 787, 998; ards, pr. 3rd sing., 779, 785; ardent, pr. 3rd pl., 621; ardant, pr. p. 778.
ardeure, n.f. burning, 2139.
arer, to plough, 2301.
areste, 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, n.f. art, 3139; artz, n.m. 1292.
ascavoir, to know, 625.
ascouvent, often, 1228.
assadier, to assuage, 781.
assamblée, n.f. assembly, 167, 183.
assambluer, to assemble, 789; assamblée, pr. 1st sing., 1529; assamblöit, imperf. 3rd sing., 1302; assambia, perf. 3rd sing., 2015; assamblée, p.p. 147, 168, 184, 2018.
assient, it) serves, 441.
assigna, she) assigned, 279.
asise, seated, 1283, 1655, 2640, 2098; asises, 90, 1462.
asenser, to guide, 2515, 2774, 3150; assena, perf. 3rd sing., 2612; assenez, p.p. 340; asse-
nees, 2639.
asserie, calmed, 1737.
aservir, to subject, 28.
asseeur, 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.
tattendend, they) await, 931.
tattendrir, to soften, 2410.
attraire, to attract, 160, 284, 580, 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, 1631, 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, 903, 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 certain courts but have no deliberative voice, 294.

augmentation, n.f. increase, 234, 2070.


aumuce, n.f. hood, 612; aumusse, 1314.

auques, also, 1319, 2165.

aussy, also, 337, 876, 1423, 2477, etc.

autel, n.f. altar, 1488, 1502, 1626, 2168.

autentique, authentic, 1011.

autre, pronoun and adjective, other, 294, 430, 651, 948, etc.; aultre, 331, 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, 2465, 2392, 2910, 2949.

avant que, before, 1562.

avantage, n.m. advantage, 1334, 1532, 1732, 2462, 3192, etc.

avec, with, 56, 248, 252, 255, etc.

avenement, n.m. particularly used in the Middle Ages of the coming 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, 1626, 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.; avoir, imperf. 3rd sing, 89, 139, 144, 722, etc.; avoiere, 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. 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. 361, 530; aroye,
condit. 1st sing, 3242;
auroies, condit, 2nd sing,
2522; aroyt, condit, 3rd
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aroident, condit, 3rd pl., 1683;
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