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**The Naples *L'homme armé* Masses, Burgundy and the Order of the Golden Fleece:
The Origins of the *L'homme armé* Tradition**

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ABSTRACT

The Naples *L'homme armé* Masses, Burgundy and the Order of the Golden Fleece: The Origins of the *L'homme armé* Tradition

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Brandylee Dawson-Marsh

This study discusses the *L'Homme armé* tradition in Burgundy and places the six Naples *L'Homme armé* masses in that tradition. The first part of the thesis describes the court of Burgundy and the Order of the Golden Fleece as well as masses based on *L'homme armé* possibly connected to the Court.

The second part shows how the six anonymous masses based on *L'homme armé*, now conserved in Naples, are connected to the Burgundian court and, by extension, the Order of the Golden Fleece. I show how the coat of arms in the manuscript of the masses could be of Burgundian origin. I then show how the language of the dedication and also the Kyrie tropes points to a Burgundian genesis.

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I. Introduction

The six anonymous *L'homme armé* masses in Naples MS VI E 40, of the Biblioteca Nazionale, have prompted heated debate concerning their genesis since Dragan Plamenac discovered them in 1925.¹ The origin of these masses has perplexed scholars for nearly eighty years.² The discovery of the manuscript raised two sets of questions. First, where did the *L'homme armé* tradition originate and when? Second, how does the Naples manuscript fit into the *L'homme armé* tradition? There are many threads woven in this tapestry, but the origin of the tradition has always been there, quietly weaving its tale through the text and iconography present in the Naples manuscript.

The Naples *L'homme armé* cycle consists of six masses based on a cantus firmus of the tune *L'homme armé*. A complete representation of the *L'homme armé* tune and its text are unique to the Naples manuscript, though the material is used from the mid-fifteenth century into the seventeenth century in over forty masses and several songs. No two masses utilize the tune in the same manner, leading scholars to believe that the tune was not written down and was likely monophonic.³ While the earliest masses employ the

¹ Dragan Plamenac, "La Chanson de *L'homme armé* et le manuscrit VI E 40 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Naples," *Annales de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique, Congrès jubilaire* 25 (Rome:n.p., 1925): 229-230.

² Judith Cohen, *The Six Anonymous L'homme armé Masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 21 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1968); Lewis Lockwood, "Aspects of the *L'homme armé* Tradition," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* C (1973-1974): 97-122; Leeman Perkins, "The *L'homme armé* Masses of Busnoys and Ockeghem: A Comparison," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 363-96; William Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 113-53; Richard Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39(1986): 255-93.

³ David Fallows, "*L'homme armé*," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [online]; www.grove.com.

melody on G with a flat signature—these include masses by Dufay, Busnoys, and Caron, and Naples masses II, III, and V—Ockeghem’s mass and Naples masses I and VI have the melody on G without the flat.⁴ Regardless of how they were composed, there is no other cycle of masses of this size, scope, and ambition from this era.

It is the immense design in which MS VI E 40 was conceived that sets it apart from the other *L’homme armé* masses of the time. In the Naples manuscript, the *L’homme armé* tune is divided into five sections, with each section serving as the foundation for an entire mass.



Figure 1 The *L’homme armé* melody

<i>Lo(m)me lo(m)me lo(m)me arme</i>	Oh, the man, the man, the man at arms
<i>Lo(m)me arme lo(m)me arme doibt on doubter</i>	Fills the folk with dread alarms.
<i>On a fait par tout crier</i>	Everywhere I hear them wail
<i>Que ch(asc)un se veinge armer</i>	“Find, if you would the breast the gale,
<i>du(n) haubrego(n) de fer</i>	A good stout coat of mail.”
<i>Lo(m)me lo(m)me lo(m)me arme</i>	Oh, the man, the man, the man at arms
<i>Lo(m)me arme</i>	The man at arms
<i>Doibt on doubter</i>	Fills the folk with dread alarms

Figure 2 The *L’homme armé* text in MS VI E 40 with translation⁵

⁴ Faugues and Regis use the tune on D.

⁵ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1959), 73.

At the beginning of each mass there is a Latin canon that details how the cantus firmus is to be expanded for the full mass movements. There is also a *resolutio* stating the final form of the cantus firmus for each section of the mass. Mass I is the simplest, employing only the first notes and the complementary text. Mass II is the most complex and intricate of the cycle, and uses the next nine notes in retrograde, inversion, and retrograde inversion. Mass III, IV, and V also use the tune in retrograde, inversion, and retrograde inversion. Mass VI employs the entire *L'homme armé* tune and adds a fifth part, which is a canonic imitation of the cantus firmus a fifth below the tenor. To date, there are no other known cycles on this scale; however, Trent 88⁶ contains eleven masses by Dufay all following the weekly order of masses sung at the meetings for the Order of the Golden Fleece.⁷

The division of the *L'homme armé* tune over the first five masses is not the only unique aspect of the manuscript. The Kyries of each mass are troped with new texts, as is true for the Gloria from Mass VI; this is interesting because troping was almost obsolete by the 1400s.⁸ There is also a canon and an incipit at the beginning of all six masses. Chapter VI contains a discussion of the texts of the canons that will offer a new interpretation on the texts and provide a new framework for composition. In the manuscript, no attribution is given for a composer; nor is a date provided. On folio 64 recto, in the upper left corner, written in a small square format, there is a dedication to

⁶ Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Manuscript 88.

⁷ Alejandro Planchart, "Guillaume Dufay's Benefices and his Relationship to the Court of Burgundy," *Early Music History* 8 (1988):152-3. In this article, Planchart affirms Prizer's assertion that Ste Chapelle in Dijon is named the official chapel of the Order of the Golden Fleece by Philip the Good in January 1432. The duke established the perpetual celebration of seven votive masses there.

⁸ Troping reached its height during the thirteenth century in Limoges.

Beatrice, Queen of Hungary, which is vague at the very least in pinpointing a date for composition, but provides a framework for discussion in Chapter IV. On the same folio, centered haphazardly, is a blazon with the phrase *Que par Dieu soit*. The heraldry of the blazon will be analyzed in Chapter V.

The long debate that has ensued over the provenance of the *L'homme armé* tune and the origin of the tradition has linked both to Burgundy.⁹ Pietro Aron, in his *Toscanello de musica* of 1523, offers the first piece of evidence by attributing the tune to Busnoys:

It is believed that Busnois wrote that song called *L'homme armé*, notated with the dotted signature, and that he took its tenor, and because it was short, in order to have a larger expanse without changing the sign, he called the beat, which had fallen on the perfect semibreve, to the minim. Since he was a great man and an excellent musician, this is not to be considered an error on his part, and the same thing is not to be condemned in Ockeghem and other ancients, and in Obrecht and Josquin, who followed the footsteps of their predecessors.¹⁰

The debate as to which *L'homme armé* mass is the oldest has prompted much controversy. The *Missa L'homme armé* by Busnoys has been considered the oldest by Richard Taruskin,¹¹ material given below suggests that is not the case.¹² The only known manuscripts containing *L'homme armé* mass settings by Ockeghem and Dufay were copied after 1462, though this has little bearing on their date of composition. Dufay was

⁹ Perkins, "The *L'homme armé* Masses of Busnoys and Ockeghem: A Comparison," 363-96; Lockwood, "Aspects of the *L'homme armé* Tradition," *PRMA* (1973-4): 97-122; Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition," 255-93; Flynn Warmington, "The Ceremony of the Armed Man: the Sword, the Altar, and the *L'homme armé* Mass," in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999):175-214.

¹⁰ Pietro Aron, *Toscanello in music*, translated by Peter Bergquist (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1970), 55.

¹¹ Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition," 260.

¹² The other composers of the early *L'homme armé* masses are Regis, Faugues, Du Fay, Caron, and Ockeghem.

the oldest composer to have written a *Missa L'homme armé*, though it seems unlikely that the earliest *L'homme armé* mass would lack the major prolation signature, as his does.¹³ In contrast to Dufay's *Missa L'homme armé*, the Naples masses are dominated by *tempus perfectum*. What can be stated with reasonable certainty is that the earliest *L'homme armé* compositions all date from the mid-fifteenth century and are written by Burgundian composers or composers who had some relationship with the Burgundian court or its composers.

This thesis will provide new insight into the *L'homme armé* tradition, supporting Burgundy as a possible birthplace for that tradition, and will also shed new light onto the provenance of the Naples manuscript by placing its masses into that tradition via an interpretation of the canons. Chapter II will provide background on the Court of Burgundy and the Order of the Golden Fleece. Chapter III will discuss *L'homme armé* and its connection to Burgundy. Chapter IV deals with the court of Naples and its connections to Burgundy. Chapter V is an explanation of the heraldry of the blazon found on fol. 64 of the Naples manuscript. Chapter VI contains a new interpretation of the Naples *L'homme armé* canons.

¹³Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition," 260.

II: The Court of Burgundy and the Order of the Golden Fleece

The Court of Burgundy was one of the most illustrious of the fifteenth-century. It enjoyed a relatively charmed existence by comparison to some of its neighbors. An anonymous French historian refers to Burgundy as “a world between the rivers, a little Mesopotamia.”¹⁴ The duchy of Burgundy blossomed under the rule of Philip the Good who reigned from 1419-1467. In a time fraught with civil wars and the imminent threat from the Turks, Philip the Good was able to expand his holdings, not only thorough conquering, but by offering an alternative to war. During the years 1420 to 1433, Burgundy added not only Brabant, Hainault, and Holland to Flanders and Artois to the Low Countries, Philip laid the foundation for the birth of the Burgundian State.¹⁵ Philip the Good’s crusading plans were always at the heart of his politics. In the introduction to the 2002 edition of Vaughan’s biography on the Duke, Graeme Small says, “the business of Christ was very much at the forefront of the duke’s thoughts, particularly in the early stages of his reign.”¹⁶ One of the benefits Philip gained from his crusading passion was an improved relationship with the church, as well as an improved presence on the international stage.¹⁷ One of the events sealing Philip the Good’s role as a crusading leader was the establishment of a new chivalric order.

¹⁴ William Tyler, *Dijon and the Valois Dukes of Burgundy* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 3.

¹⁵For a detailed account of this time period see Richard Vaughan *Philip the Good* 2nd edition (New York: Boydell, 2002), especially Chapter 2, “Conquest and Expansion: 1420-1433,” 29-53.

¹⁶ Ibid., xlviii.

¹⁷ Ibid., xlviii-xlix.

Philip the Good founded the Order of the Golden Fleece on his wedding day to Isabelle of Portugal in 1431. According to George Chastellain, the contemporary court chronicler, the order was not spontaneously created; instead, “the institution of the Golden Fleece had long been considered in secret by the duke, but not revealed until this hour.”¹⁸ Philip’s timing could not have been better. He chose to make his chivalric order public when all eyes in Europe were on him. With the decline of the chivalric order, Europe reflected the decadence of the military monastic orders leading to the death of the crusading ideal, and gave rise to petty infighting among the nobility. Philip needed to create a brotherhood that would forge a common bond between he himself and those who served him.

The Order of the Golden Fleece was a mechanism designed to help Philip control the significant expansion of the Burgundian territories that had begun in 1425. The years 1425-1435 would be the final decade of any lasting peace between Burgundy and France. During this time Philip focused his attention on the consolidation of his territories. Philip, using France as a model, developed three ways to attempt to bring uniformity to the administrators of his regional territories. First, he created a number of coordination institutions with authority over either all the principalities or all those in the Low Countries. Second, he brought more uniformity to the internal administration of different regions. Third, he strove to curb local resistance through the offer of personal advantage

¹⁸ Ibid., 111.

to local potentates, or, as a last resort, armed repression of resistance.¹⁹ Philip the Good, therefore, created an environment in which he established himself as the undisputed ruler and yet created positive incentives for those who willingly chose to support him.

The records for events concerning the Order of the Golden Fleece are sparse at the very least; however, of all these records, the most complete records are from the official chapter meetings. Appendix I provides a complete listing of all the dates, cities, and churches where the meetings were held, as well as name of the presiding sovereign. Appendix III contains a list of all the members of the Order of the Golden Fleece from 1430-1473 and the year in which they were nominated for induction. At these meetings, the chevaliers were required to attend mass. Originally the only services attended were the Vespers of St. Andrew and a Requiem Mass in honor of the dead of the order. The next morning the members would attend a solemn Mass of Our Lady.²⁰ Philip eventually established a perpetual celebration of seven votive masses at Ste. Chapelle in Dijon. They are as follows:²¹

Monday	Mass of the Dead
Tuesday	Mass of the Angels
Wednesday	Mass of St. Andrew
Thursday	Mass of the Holy Ghost
Friday	Mass of the Holy Cross
Saturday	Mass of the Virgin
Sunday	Mass of the Trinity

Concerning politics, the Burgundian court paid close attention to the situation in the East. Philip the Good sent two scouts in 1432 to gather intelligence on the situation in

¹⁹Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, trans. Elizabeth Fackelman, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 103.

²⁰ Planchart, "Guillaume Dufay's Benefices," 152.

²¹ Ibid., 152.

Syria, Palestine, Constantinople, and Adrianople. As a result of these findings, Philip went to the King of France, Charles VII, to urge him to join and lead a crusade.

Although Charles VII agreed to commit troops and go personally, the domestic situation during the last part of the Hundred Years' War prevented him from going. Philip had his own problems with the task of consolidating his ever-expanding Burgundian territories. Nevertheless in 1453, when he heard that Constantinople had fallen, he immediately began plans to launch a formidable attack. In fact, at this stage in history, Burgundy was the only European power with the means, both financial and in terms of the political will and energy, to wage such a grandiose war. With England on the verge of the War of the Roses and France emerging from the Hundred Years' War with England, both kingdoms were financially and politically impoverished, as well as divided and weakly ruled. Neither realm was in a condition even to attempt to take a role in an international undertaking such as launching a massive crusade against unspeakable odds.²²

Several factors affected changes in the balance of power in the fifteenth century. The rise of Burgundy was made possible by an economic upsurge in the Low Countries during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. The cities of Bruges, Brussels and Antwerp expanded while cities like Ypres declined at this time. On the continent, the well-established kingdoms of England, France, and Aragon all underwent and survived severe internal crisis. France suffered numerous rebellions and civil wars from the Armagnacs and Burgundians between 1380 and 1422 during the reign of the mad Charles

²² Tyler, *Dijon and the Valois Dukes of Burgundy*, 115.

VI.²³ The devastation in France from the Hundred Years' War was widespread during the first half of the fifteenth century. England fell under the rule of a mad king, Henry VI, in 1422. Under his reign England experienced civil war, including the War of the Roses. Aragon's worst trial came in the years 1461 to 1472 with the Catalan revolt against John II. His son Ferdinand's marriage to Isabel of Castile, was one of the catalysts for the Spanish unification strengthening the Spanish monarchy.²⁴

Between the years 1360-1480, the dynamics of these three kingdoms would radically change. With France ultimately winning the Hundred Years' War, England's continental possessions were drastically reduced to a mere hold on Calais. After 1461, during Louis XI's reign, the French monarchy was immeasurably strengthened.²⁵ The decades of the 1440s, 1450s, and 1460s in Europe saw great turmoil, but also great promise for peace and understanding, a trend that would eventually set the Burgundian state apart from France and England during this time.

Philip tried On February 17, 1454, one of the grandest of all fifteenth-century court banquets was held in Lille: the Feast of the Pheasant. The objective of this feast was to announce officially Philip's intention of mounting a crusade, rally his knights and courtiers, and have them make their crusading vows. A full account of the feast was drawn up and distributed throughout the duchy. The following letter was written to an unknown person who was not necessarily affiliated with the Court. The letter describes the extent to which the extravagance of the Feast was displayed.

²³ Richard Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London: Penguin Books, 1975), 6-7.

²⁴ Vaughan, *Philip the Good* 8-9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

Dearest and honoured sir.... I recommend myself to you. Since you like to have news from here, may it please you to know that my lord the duke, my lady the duchess and my lord of Charolais are in good health....as I write this. Last Sunday my lord the duke gave a banquet in the hôtel de al Salle in the town.... The dishes were such that they had to be served with trolleys, and seemed infinite in number. There were so many side-dishes, and they were so curious, that it's difficult to describe them. There was even a chapel on the table, with in it, a pasty full of flute players, and a turret from which came the sound of an organ and other music. The figure of a girl, quite naked, stood against a pillar. Hippocras sprayed from her right breast and she was guarded by a live lion who sat near her on a round table in front of my lord the duke. The story of Jason was represented on a raised stage by actors who did not speak. My lord the duke was served at a table by a two-headed horse ridden by two men sitting back to back, each holding a trumpet and sounding it as loud as he could, and then by a monster, consisting of a man riding on an elephant, with another man, whose feet were hidden, on his shoulders. Next came a white stag ridden by a young boy who sang marvelously, while the stag accompanied him with the tenor part. Next came an elephant... carrying a castle in which sat Holy Church, who made piteous complaint on behalf of the Christians persecuted by the Turks, and begged for help. Then two knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece brought in two damsels, together with a pheasant, which had a gold collar round its neck decorated with rubies and fine large pearls. These ladies asked my lord the duke to make his vow, which he handed in writing to Golden Fleece King-at-Arms to read out. It was understood that, if the king [of France] would go on crusade, the duke would follow him in person and with all his power. If the king did not go, but sent a royal prince instead, the duke would obey him; and if the king neither went, nor sent anyone, but other princes went, he would go with them provided his lands were at peace. If, when he was there, the Turk challenged him to single combat, my lord the duke would accept. Everyone was amazed at this, but Holy Church was overjoyed, and invited other princes and knights to vow. Thereupon, my lord of Charolais, my lord of Cleves, my lord of St. Pol, my lord of Éstampes and several others swore the oath. And it was announced that everyone who had sworn, or who wanted to swear, should hand in their vows in writing to Golden Fleece....

All this I saw. I took the trouble to stay till nearly 4.00 a.m., and I believe that nothing so sublime and splendid has ever been done before. The knights wore robes of damask, half grey, half black; the squires wore satin in the same colours.... My lord the duke had so many diamonds, rubies and fine large pearls in his hat that there was no room for any more, and he was wearing a very fine necklace. It was said that his jewels were worth 100,000 nobles, more or less. You shall have no more for the moment.

J. DE PLEINE²⁶

The Feast of the Pheasant was the third in a series of feasts designed to explore the topic of going on a crusade. The duke had formed a committee of three to consider the best means of supporting a crusade. Their goal was to present and gain the greatest influence among the knights and lords in order to gain their support to go on the crusade. The custom in Burgundy during this time was that when noblemen desired to undertake a particularly hazardous or important action they took an oath on a bird, which was

²⁶ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 144-5.

regarded as noble and virtuous in its nature and rarity—for example the peacock or heron.²⁷ The pheasant, chosen by Philip and his committee, was believed in classical times to spread from the valley of the Phasis River that flows into the eastern section of the Black Sea. Thus, it symbolized a link with the crusade of Jason and the Argonauts.²⁸

The duke attended all three feasts in order to rally as many knights as possible to the cause. Many letters containing vows were collected over the following months and Philip even met with the Emperor Frederick III to discuss the crusade, but in the end Frederick III was prevented from mounting a crusade because of the situation in Hungary.²⁹ Finally, in the autumn of 1454, it was decided that a general crusade would be planned, at which point King Alfonso V of Aragon and Naples vowed to participate and send resources for this crusade.³⁰

The relationship between Burgundy and other monarchs was solidified by admitting them into the Order of the Golden Fleece. Among the rulers inducted were Friedrich, count of Mörs, brother of the archbishop of Cologne (1431); Charles, Duke of Orleans; John V, Duke of Brittany; John, Duke of Alençon and the Count of Comminges (1440); and King Alfonso V of Naples and Aragon, the first reigning monarch to be invited (1445).³¹ Alfonso V was a known crusading monarch and Philip participated in every crusading initiative in the West and kept in close touch with Alfonso V. Later

²⁷ Tyler, *Dijon and the Valois Dukes of Burgundy*, 133.

²⁸ Ibid., 133.

²⁹ Ibid., 152.

³⁰ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 365; for further discussion of the Burgundian crusading ideal see 334-372.

³¹ Ibid., 161.

monarch inductees include Edward IV, king of England (1468), and Ferrante I of Aragon and Naples (1473).

III: The *L'homme armé* Tradition and Its Connections to Burgundy

The Burgundian court was famous not only for its chivalric order, but equally for the music associated with the court and chapels. Documents of the fifteenth-century Burgundian chapel read as a “Who’s Who” of fifteenth-century musicians. But perhaps the most noted musical element to spring from the mid-fifteenth-century Burgundian court is the *L'homme armé* tradition. Although there is no definitive evidence that it originated in Burgundy, individual pieces of evidence make a strong case for a Burgundian provenance.

The first piece of evidence is Philip’s obsession with going on a crusade and freeing Jerusalem from the Turks, as detailed in Chapter II. The only contemporary court with the means necessary to go on a crusade was Burgundy, and even though the crusade of 1454 never came to fruition, the duke still longed to go. Philip the Good had a long history of trying to gather the means necessary for going on a crusade. In fact, he is only one of three European leaders actively seeking to find the means to go on a crusade.³²

The second piece of evidence is that of the web of connections between the composers of the earliest *L'homme armé* compositions. In some cases, these connections involve interaction with the Order of the Golden Fleece or the Burgundian Court.

The oldest known *L'homme armé* masses are those by Regis, Du Fay, Ockeghem, Faugues, Busnoys, and Caron, as well as the six anonymous *L'homme armé* masses; dates for these works range from 1460-1467. This rules out Busnoys as a “Burgundian”

³² The other two leaders are Alfonso V of Aragon and Matthias Corvinus of Hungary.

author of the tune.³³ The oldest known *L'homme armé* mass is by Johannes Regis and dates from 1462.³⁴ During his lifetime he never traveled outside of the diocese of Cambrai, and he was one of only a few composers to write two masses on the *L'homme armé* tune. However, Regis was invited by Du Fay to become the master of the choirboys at Cambrai in 1460, but Regis turned him down.³⁵ The two composers clearly knew one another and even used the same scribe to copy their works, Simon Mellet.³⁶

Du Fay's mass is likely second, with a composition date of no later than 1462, the year it was copied.³⁷ Du Fay's relationship with the Burgundian Court likely began around 1440.³⁸ It seems that after his prebend was granted for St. Donation, in Bruges, Du Fay had little intention of being a resident canon because he was seldom in Bruges. For example, in the years 1441-1443 he was only present for a total of seventeen days.³⁹ Since Du Fay did not live in Bruges, he was subject to heavy taxes that he attempted to circumvent by stating that he had been in the service of the Duke of Burgundy from June 1439 to just past February 2 1440.⁴⁰ The documentation concerning Du Fay's taxes

³³ Busnoys had not yet begun to work for the Burgundian Court before composers began writing *L'homme armé* masses.

³⁴ Sean Gallagher, "Regis, Johannes," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [online]; <http://www.grove.com>.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Planchart, "Guillaume Dufay's Benefices," 141.

³⁷ Taruskin, "Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition," 258.

³⁸ Planchart, "Guillaume Dufay's Benefices," 134.

³⁹ Ibid., 134. In January 1442, he was there three days; In September 1442 he was there ten days, and in October of 1443 he was there four days.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 134.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 134.

provides a better understanding of the relationship between the Duke and Du Fay. At the time, the Duke counted Du Fay among his *familiaris*, even though it was not entirely true.⁴¹ Another connection comes from the 1450s, when Du Fay wrote his cycle of Propers for the Ste. Chapelle, Dijon, for the weekly series of votive masses for the Order of the Golden Fleece.⁴² In 1451, he attended the chapter meeting for the Order of the Golden Fleece in Mons.⁴³ In 1457, Du Fay renewed his ties with Burgundy, and in 1460 one of his motets was sung when Charles the Bold visited Cambrai.⁴⁴ He thus has a strong, if unofficial, connection to the Burgundian Court.

The next *L'homme armé* mass in the tradition could be any one of four. There is no date for Ockeghem's *Missa L'homme armé*, but it was likely written around the time of the chanson *Il sera pour vous*, because the chanson was quoted in the mass. Faugues' *L'homme armé* mass dates from around 1462 and Caron's is from the early 1460s. Faugues and Caron were both French composers and had no known association with the Burgundian court, but they both knew Du Fay. Faugues' biography is sketchy at best, but he was the chaplain at Ste. Chapelle in Bourges and his works were widely disseminated during the 1460s and 1470s.⁴⁵

⁴¹Planchart, "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices," 138.

⁴²Ibid., 152-3.

⁴³ Ibid, 160-161.

⁴⁴ Alejandro Planchart, "Du Fay, Guillaume," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [online]; <http://www.grove.com>.

⁴⁵Rob Wegman, "Faugues, Guillaume," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [online]; <http://www.grove.com>.

The fourth and probably most complex in dating is the *L'homme armé* mass by Busnoys. By 1467, Antoine Busnoys was at least part time in the service of Charles the Bold.⁴⁶ He had been working for the Burgundian court in a freelance capacity and was likely recruiting musicians for the choir.⁴⁷ There are few surviving pieces of his from after 1470, because the majority of Busnoys' works were written prior to his arrival in Burgundy. Busnoys' *Missa L'homme armé* dates from the middle of the 1460s. Richard Taruskin argues that the Busnoys mass was the first in line of the tradition,⁴⁸ but the lack of any copies of the mass prior to 1475 makes that claim unlikely, especially because Busnoys' *Missa L'homme armé* survives in seven different manuscripts.

The third piece of evidence is one of the other *L'homme armé* pieces. There are seven known secular pieces employing the *L'homme armé* melody;⁴⁹ the oldest and most relevant to this discussion is the combinative chanson *Il sera pour vous/l'home armé* ascribed in the Mellon Chansonnier⁵⁰ to Borton.⁵¹ No composer by that name seems to exist outside of that chansonnier. David Fallows has argued convincingly for an attribution instead to Robert Morton, based on stylistic similarities between *Il sera pour*

⁴⁶ Paula Higgins, "Busnoys, Antoine," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [online]; <http://www.grove.com>.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition," 262.

⁴⁹ There are seven known secular songs based on the *L'homme armé* tune, which have an anonymous four-part chanson attributed to Obrecht, Josquin des Prez's four-part chanson, the anonymous three-part chanson in the Mellon chansonnier, the four-part chanson *Il sera pour vous* attributed to Borton, Basiron's, four-part song, Japart's four-part song and Tinctoris's quodlibet with *O Rosa bella*, *L'homme armé*, and *Et robinet*.

⁵⁰ New Haven, Yale University, Beinicke Library for Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS 91.

⁵¹ David Fallows, "Morton, Robert" *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [online]; <http://www.grove.com>

vous/l'home armé and Morton's other chansons. Morton was an English composer who was in the chapel choir of the Burgundian court from 1457 to 1476, thus placing Morton in the Burgundian *L'homme armé* circle. The chanson *Il sera pour vous/l'home armé* was likely written for Simon le Breton upon his retirement from the Burgundian Court in May 1464,⁵² although, Richard Taruskin has offered an earlier range of the 1440s and 1450s based on the work's mensuration sign of C3.⁵³ The other six secular works were composed after 1470 and represent the second layer of the *L'homme armé* tradition.

Rob Wegman has argued that the *L'homme armé* tune was likely the basis of the tradition rather than *Il sera pour vous/l'home armé*.⁵⁴ He proposes that the *L'homme armé* tune was possibly associated with the street life in Paris. The practice of fighting the Turks' heads or manikins dressed as Turks in civic games or jousts seem to have been universal in fifteenth-century Europe.⁵⁵ Therefore, the tune might have been a monophonic street melody sung during these civic games, much like we sing "Take me out to the ballgame" during a baseball game. But this does not contradict the close Burgundian connection of *Il sera pour vous/l'home armé*.

The fourth piece of evidence is chivalric games and tournaments. There were many chivalric games, jousts and tournaments in the Low Countries, consisting of municipal activities, mystery plays, and various types of public ceremonies, with many

⁵² David Fallows. "Simon Le Breton" *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [online]; <http://www.grove.com>.

⁵³ Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition," 289-92.

⁵⁴ Rob Wegman, "Mensural Intertextuality in Busnoys," in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 197-8.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 197-8.

musicians, including trumpeters, minstrels, and heralds.⁵⁶ It was in these settings that the *chanson rustique* thrived, and these settings did not exclude the nobility.⁵⁷ A tournament was announced sometimes as much as a year in advance in all countries where the institution of chivalry flourished, in the hope of attracting the best skilled participants available.⁵⁸ Burgundy was known for having extravagant tournaments and dinners. For example, when the Duke was married in 1430, there was a 400-man escort, with a week of celebrations.⁵⁹ His wedding and subsequent tournaments are only rivaled by the previously discussed Feast of Pheasant. Another famous tournament was thrown in 1443 and lasted forty days with participants coming from Dauphiny, Savoy, northern Italy and Spain.⁶⁰

The climax of jousting in Burgundy came in 1450 with tournaments held by Jehan de Luxembourg and Jacques de Laling. The former was advertised all over Europe, but was poorly attended; as was the latter.⁶¹ Jacques de Lalaing kept his games opened an entire year, but in the end did not attract many comers. He closed the games with a banquet that was well attended.⁶² This is not to say that chivalric games did not occur in other countries or regions during this time, but that the Burgundian ones were excessively

⁵⁶ For a more complete discussion of chivalric games in Low Countries see Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Suffolk: Boydell, 1982), especially Chapter 2 "Civic *festes* and Society in the Low Countries and Northern France," 25-41.

⁵⁷ Wegman, "Mensural Intertextuality in Busnoys," 197.

⁵⁸ Tyler, *Dijon and the Valois*, 124.

⁵⁹ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 56.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 149.

extravagant in comparison is clear. It is also during these games, attended strictly by the nobility, that this lowly peasant song might have entered into the noble circle and subsequently become an overnight hit. The tune is very easy to learn and the rhythm lacks complication, but has just enough zip to keep the singers and audience interested.

The fifth piece of evidence is the sword ceremonies recently researched by Flynn Warmington.⁶³ She has uncovered four different ceremonies involving armor and swords. They are the Mass Ceremony of the Armed Man at Sant' Antimo, The Emperor in the Papal Mass and Christmas Matins, priests celebrating the mass in armor, and masses with arms at the altar. The first type of sword ceremony is from the Abbey of Sant' Antimo. Warmington's discoveries draw on a book written by Giovanni Rucellai in 1457 called *Zibaldone quaresimale*. The book is a collection of quotations, both ancient and modern, intended to help Rucellai's sons govern their lives. The *Zibaldone* contains a section on religion including passages discussing the mass that, until Warmington's work, had been glossed over. The document states that the Abbey of Sant' Antimo near Siena held a solemn Mass during which an armed man "stood beside the altar... with the bared sword in hand in defense of the Christian faith against whoever would contradict it."⁶⁴ Rucellai explains the meaning behind the ceremony and how the ceremony was performed. The ceremony was an imperial one, but the abbot was allowed to celebrate it in his own abbey.⁶⁵ This sword ceremony was required for major feasts, i.e. Christmas, as well as Marian feasts. The ceremony appears to be the oldest of the four. Rucellai states

⁶³ Warmington, "The Ceremony of the Armed Man," 89-90.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 89-90.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 95.

the Charlemagne used it and gave the authority to Sant'Antimo, though this cannot be proven and is unlikely.⁶⁶ The origins of the papal sword ceremony are important to any discussion of the origins of the *L'homme armé* tradition, because it is another clue to the genesis of the tradition. The Abbey of Sant'Antimo is situated about twenty miles south of Siena, near the ancient *Via francigena*, the main pilgrimage road leading from Rome to Burgundy and France—the latter two locations associated with the origins of the *L'homme armé* tradition.⁶⁷

At the time of Rucellai's book, the ceremony was considered extremely old and was authorized by imperial privilege.⁶⁸ Rucellai's text also deals with three other sword ceremonies for the pope, priests wearing armor, and arms placed on the altar. The second type of ceremony involves the Emperor in the Papal Mass and Christmas Matins, where the emperor serves as deacon and holds up the bared sword while he reads the Gospel. The reading of the Gospel was usually reserved for deacons and priests; however, Pierre Amiel stipulates that the emperor or king may take part in the papal service of Christmas Matins.⁶⁹ In the second half of the fourteenth-century, in Avignon, the pope began to commission a special sword and cap to give away to the nobility who performed the ceremonies.⁷⁰ The sword itself was extravagant. It was made of silver, worked in gold, the sheaths covered in velvet, often studded with precious stones. The ducal hat, in one

⁶⁶ Warmington, "The Ceremony of the Armed Man," 95-96.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 90.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 96-97.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 99.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 109.

fifteenth-century description, was made from beaver fur edged in ermine, with a dove, symbolic of the Holy Spirit, sewn in pearls.⁷¹

Philip the Good was the only major supporter of Pope Pius in his quest for a crusade. It is significant that Philip the Good received a papal sword in 1461. The timing is suggestive, with the Burgundian Duke Philip the Good becoming a papally-approved “armed man” precisely when the earliest *L’homme armé* masses are appearing.

The third and fourth types of sword ceremonies are related. In third type, a priest would celebrate mass in armor. This ceremony was not celebrated in the larger cathedrals, but usually performed in the countryside. The fourth type of sword ceremony is a mass with arms present at the altar. This is the only ceremony that Rucellai saw personally. In this ceremony, Rucellai saw an iron helmet with a bishop’s mitre placed on the altar during the ceremony.⁷² All four ceremonies link the armed man with Christian ceremonies, with the second ceremony tying nicely into Philip the Good’s desired role as crusader.

⁷¹Warmington, “The Ceremony of the Armed Man,” 109.

⁷² Ibid., 107.

IV. The Court of Naples and Connections with Burgundy

The court of Naples and Aragon during the reigns of Alfonso V and Ferrante I enjoyed an elaborate musical and cultural life.⁷³ The Neapolitan chapel never matched the Sforza chapel of Milan during the 1470s, but it is considered nonetheless one of the most important Italian musical centers of the time.⁷⁴ The marriage of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, and Ippolita Sforza in 1465 established new musical ties with Milan.⁷⁵ Chansonniers began to be copied with the latest music by Ockeghem, Busnoys, and their contemporaries. The royal chapel began to flourish under Alfonso, but under Ferrante a few changes were made. With the separation of Naples from Aragon on June 27, 1458, Ferrante inherited the kingdom of Naples.⁷⁶ Ferrante was able gradually to replace the primarily Spanish-dominated chapel of his father with Franco-Netherlandish composers and singers.⁷⁷ The 1470s and 1480s, judged by the extant repertory, were the high point of cultural activities in Aragonese Naples.⁷⁸ Perhaps the most famous musician at the court during this time was Tinctoris, who was a member of the court by at least 1474.⁷⁹

Around the year 1472, Tinctoris was invited to Naples where he likely began to supervise the music education of Beatrice, Ferrante's I daughter, and simultaneously

⁷³ Alfonso V reigned from 1416 to 1458, and Ferrante I reigned from 1458 to 1494.

⁷⁴ Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 23.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 39.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 43.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 43.

began the translation of the Statutes of the Golden Fleece for Ferrante's induction into the Order on May 8, 1473.⁸⁰ Relations with Burgundy were cordial during the time of Alfonso, but there was no true alliance until the 1470s.

Ronald Woodley sheds new light on Tinctoris's role in Ferrante's court and also provides a more complete chronology for events and people involved in the induction process for the Order of the Golden Fleece.⁸¹ On August 14, 1473, Charles the Bold had Martin Steenberch, the registrar of the order, draft the letter conferring on Jean de Rubempré the responsibility for taking the necklace of office of the order to Naples, to present to Ferrante. In May 1474, Ferrante sent word back to the Burgundian court confirming that he had received the necklace from Jean Rubempré, and six weeks later, on July 6, 1474, Charles instructed Antoine de Bourgogne, his half-brother, to travel to Naples in order to confirm the news of Ferrante's election and to administer the king's oath upon the statutes. A copy of the statutes must have accompanied Antoine on this occasion, along with the cloak of office for the induction. On April 20, 1475, a letter from Ferrante confirming his induction and oath was sent to Burgundy, and shortly thereafter he commissioned a translation of the statutes from Burgundian French into Italian by Tinctoris.⁸²

The events surrounding Ferrante's induction, Beatrice's engagement and subsequent marriage to Matthias Corvinus in 1476, and the seemingly constant travel

⁸⁰Ronald Woodley, "Tinctoris's Italian Translation of the Golden Fleece Statutes: A Text and a (Possible) Context," *Early Music History*, 8 (1988): 173-175. Beatrice of Aragon was born in 1457, and was the second daughter of Ferrante I and Isabella of Chiaramonte. She received a broad education, with an emphasis on music.

⁸¹Woodley, "Tinctoris's Italian Translation," 173-175.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 173-175.

between the Burgundian, Neapolitan, and Hungarian courts provide a new basis for understanding the relationship between the three realms and also a possible provenance for the Naples manuscript. The last page of the manuscript contains an epigram narrowing the span for dates of composition of the masses and sheds light on who gave the manuscript to Beatrice. The epigram reads:

	Ad serenissimam Ungarie Reginam	To the Illustrious Queen of Hungary
1	Regia progenies et regi nupta beatrix Qua sub sole viget nulla probanda magis Te tua virtutum series lustrata per orbem Nunciat, ut nostris sis quique nota locis	Royal progeny Beatrice, happily married to a king There is no one beneath the sun fairer than thou. The list of thy virtues, spread the world over Speaks thy fame so far and wide that thou art known even in our parts.
5	Tu modo divinos cultus regionibus istis Extollens, cantus aducis ipsa modos. O pietas miranda nimis laudandaque, maius Hoc regina tibi quod decus esse potest? Rex hostes fidei vincit. Regina colendo	Thou art the only one that bringest heavenly culture to those parts And also tuneful melodies. Oh, admirable piety, worthy of the highest praise, What could embellish thee, Queen, more than this? The King conquers the enemies of the Faith. It is the Queen
10	Magnificat santum sublevat arque fidem. Quam bene concordii iuxerunt numina lecto Quos natura facit moribus esse pares. Hinc licet ignotis, dominam te munere tantam Ausus adire fui, servulus ipse tuus.	Who with zealous care, enhances and sustains that sacred faith. How wisely the gods united in the nuptial bed Those whom Nature had united in the ways of life. It is this that has emboldened the lowliest of thy servants, unknown, To take the liberty of making an offering to such a sovereign lady.
15	Charolus hoc princeps quondam gaudere solebat Conveniet, certum est, moribus idque tuis Hoc capias igitur quaeso, videasque libenter. Munus ab ignoto saepe placere solet. Jam valeas foelix cum caro coniuge semper	As surely as Charles the Duke was wont to revel in it. May it prove gratifying likewise to thy taste. Mayst thou deign to accept it and take pleasure in it. A gift from one unknown often gladdens the heart. May thou, furthermore, always live joyfully with thy beloved spouse
20	Augeat in nostram fortis uterique fidem.	And may you both with steadfast courage grow ever stronger within our faith. ⁸³

An analysis of the epigram leads to a discussion of provenance. Although the epigram refers to Beatrice and a Charles by name and makes reference to a king, it also states another previously overlooked fact—the donor of the manuscript wished to remain anonymous and did not know Beatrice personally. The donor clearly knew of Beatrice, her love for music, and the fact that music had been dedicated to her (lines 3-7). This

⁸³Cohen, *The Six Anonymous L'Homme armé Masses*, 62-63

eliminates anyone from Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, Naples and Buda, because the people associated with those courts would have known Beatrice and she them.⁸⁴ There are relatively few pieces written for Beatrice, but Tinctoris wrote two of them included in the Mellon Chansonnier.

Lines 9-10 also reveal that the king is Matthias Corvinus and at the writing of the epigram he had already defeated the Turks. Matthias defeated the Turks in December 1463 at Jaysca, Bosnia, and recaptured Moldavia and Wallachia in 1467. In 1475, he recaptured Savacz, and in 1482 he ran the Turks out of Serbia, but he was not able, during his reign, to drive the Turks out of the Balkans.⁸⁵ Therefore, it is likely that the epigram was written after 1475, the date in which Beatrice begins using the title Queen of Hungary, but before 1480 when Bosnia fell back into the hands of the Turks. In court records from 1475, Beatrice was addressed as Queen of Hungary.⁸⁶

The dating of the epigram is important because it is another thread in the tapestry of the *L'homme armé* tradition. By dating the epigram, we can now suggest a *terminus ante quem* for the Naples manuscript as 1480, with a *terminus post quem* of 1475, when Beatrice assumes the title of Queen⁸⁷ These dates deal with the actual Naples manuscript and not, however, to the *L'homme armé* masses themselves. In line 15, *Charolus hoc*

⁸⁴ Beatrice's sister Leonora was the wife of Ercole d'Este of Ferrara, her niece, Isabella, was the wife of Francesco of Gonzaga in Mantua, and another niece, Beatrice, was the wife of Ludovico de More of Milan.

⁸⁵ Henry Bogden and István Fehérváry, *From Warsaw to Sofia: A History of Europe* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Pro Libertate, 1989) 46-8.

⁸⁶ Cohen, *Six Anonymous L'homme armé Masses*, 66.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 66-67.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 66.

princeps is claimed to have known the masses and liked them. This most likely candidate for the “prince Charles” is Charles the Bold. It is well documented that Charles the Bold was an ardent music lover and that he had many renowned musicians of the fifteenth century at his court.⁸⁸

The epigram sheds some light on the timeline for presentation of the Naples manuscript and also points toward a Burgundian origin for the masses; otherwise, why mention Charles the Bold? If the masses were from another noble family, why mention the names of Charles? It suggests that the masses, or at the very least the manuscript, is of Burgundian origin, and sent to Beatrice as a wedding gift and also as an homage to her father following his recent induction into the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1473.

⁸⁸Ibid., 66-67.

V. An Explanation of the Heraldry of the Blazon

The manuscript also contains a blazon underneath the epigram and to the right. Judith Cohen, in her initial study, was able to rule out Naples, Venice, Budapest, and Brussels as points of origin for the blazon.⁸⁹ This study will attempt to rule out England, Germany, and Spain as well. When a knight entered the lists at a tournament, he was announced by the sounding of a trumpet and the calling out of his coats of arms. This is known as blazoning.⁹⁰ The Naples blazon contains manteling, a shield, crest, helmet, and a motto. Analyzing the origins of the shield is the first step in determining the region of origin.

The Naples shield is called a heater shield and was the most common shield shape during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁹¹ The shape of the shield alone can narrow the field for possible candidates, and the shape of the Naples shield rules out Spain and Portugal. Spain and Portugal have a distinct curve towards the point at the bottom of the shield.⁹² The Naples shield does not have this type of curve.

The principal terms and order of description employed in blazon description have been in existence since the early thirteenth century. The language used on the mottoes of early blazons was French and Latin, but these were later replaced by the language of each representative nation. In order to write or read a blazon it is necessary to know the order in which the description is set out. The order for description of the field is listed here.

⁸⁹Cohen *The Six Anonymous L'Homme armé Masses*, 11.

⁹⁰ Terence Wise, *Medieval Heraldry* (Oxford: Osprey, 1980), 11.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 9.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 11.

First one describes the tincture of the field. Tinctures are the colors employed in heraldry. They are divided into metals (silver and gold), colors (red, blue, and black), and furs, ermine, and vair.⁹³ The tinctures on the Naples blazon are pale blue and dark blue, with an orange-red color on the crescent. Second, a description of the charges or the field division follows. Charges can be divided in many different ways, but by the fourteenth century the heraldry books describe ten charges.⁹⁴ Third, if the partition lines are not straight, they must be described. Fourth, one must discuss any small charges present on the shield. The Naples blazon is a tripartite division with apparent straight lines in a fess ordinary and contains no other apparent partitions or lines.

The motto of the blazon is located in a wavy ribbon pattern underneath the shield and reads *Que par Dieu soit*. The motto has yet to be linked with a specific region or country. Scotland and France placed great emphasis on the mottoes; they were often incorporated above the crest on top of the shield or below the shield in a ribbon fashion, whereas in Germany they were typically used sparingly.⁹⁵ Mottoes in early Tudor England were primarily in French, with a few in Latin and English.⁹⁶

There are no supporters on the blazon. Supporters and crests were rare in all types of French heraldry, including civic, royal, and noble arms.⁹⁷

⁹³ Wise, *Medieval Heraldry*, 11.

⁹⁴ The ten Ordinaries are Chief, Fess, Pale, Chevron, Bend, Saltire, Cross, Pile, and Quarter or Canon.

⁹⁵ Wise, *Medieval Heraldry*, 15.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 13.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 20.

The crest is only that part of the design on the top of the helmet. In the Naples manuscript the crest is a single upward crescent in an orange-red color. In English heraldry, the crescent is one of the marks of cadency, which distinguish the arms of children. The crescent is assigned to the second son and when used as a mark of cadency it is always turned upward.⁹⁸ This type of crest limits the point of origin and could imply a British one, but not definitively. Germany can be ruled out almost completely at this point as a possible point of origin. In Germany, for example, there are typically multiple crests that are usually found somewhere on the shield as tinctures.⁹⁹

The manteling is ornamental design, which in a representation of an armorial achievement extends from the helmet, falling away on either side of the escutcheon. The Naples manteling is indicative of French heraldry in the design and flow of the mantles from the helmet.

The helmet itself also greatly limits the point of origin. Because of the curved nature of the face plate of the helmet the Naples helmet can only be from two regions/countries: France/Burgundy and Spain. English and German helmets are more square and have a pointy faceplate.

⁹⁸ Charles Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry: An Encyclopædia of Armory*, (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), 345.

⁹⁹ Wise, *Medieval Heraldry*, 16.

Based on the above evidence and descriptions, the heraldry of the Naples blazon can now be further limited to Burgundy and France as possible places of origin for the blazon, for both of them employ the same heraldic symbols and designs. The blazon, based on the presence of the crest on the helmet, is likely from of a son of a nobleman. The lack of any supporters makes the case very weak for a English origin and stronger for a Burgundian and French one.

VI: The Tropes and Canons of the Naples *L'homme armé* Masses

The Naples *L'homme armé* masses are unique among other *L'homme armé* masses in that not only are there no other extant cycles of masses based on a single cantus firmus, but there are no other masses with such elaborate and distinctive tropes. The texts of all six Kyries are troped as well as that of the Gloria of Mass VI. Within the history of the Christian liturgy the Kyrie began as a response to a long series of petitions called litanies, with the use of the Kyrie in litanies dating back to the fifth and sixth centuries. Mass troping typically occurs in the Proper sections of the mass, although there are a fair number of troped Kyries and Glorias. Tropes date predominately from the tenth and eleventh centuries; by the fifteenth century troping was largely an outdated practice though troped texts continued to be sung until the Council of Trent.

The texts of the Naples Kyrie tropes appear to be unique.¹⁰⁰ There has been some work as to placing the tropes within theological works of the period, but this work has as not yet proved fruitful.¹⁰¹ The Kyrie texts discuss a number of issues, including showing mercy, spiritual warfare, fearing God, judgment tempered with mercy, wearing the armor of God, and redemption. The texts of the canons are a different matter. On the surface, they give the instructions for how the cantus firmus will unfold in the mass. However, the canons also allude to events in Burgundian history. See the chronology in Appendix IV for a complete listing of events. The following is a new look as to how the text of the canons relate to the events in

¹⁰⁰ Appendix II gives the text with translations.

¹⁰¹ Andrew Kirkman, " *L'homme armé*: A New Hypothesis" (paper read at the American Musicological Society Meeting, Houston, Texas, November 14, 2003.)

Burgundian history, and it offers Burgundy as the most likely origin for the Naples masses.

The canon of Mass I states: “In twice two turns the man climbs step by step in order. When the former attacks he steps back down.” This canon sets the stage with previous events important in the history of the Burgundian state. It alludes to the fall of Nicopolis in 1396 under the leadership of Philip the Bold and the ending of John the Fearless’ reign in Burgundy in 1419. During the Nicopolis campaign, Philip the Bold had to turn back rather than engage the Turks, because of their sheer numbers. From a historical perspective, the tropes and canons allude to Philip becoming Duke and his subsequent mark on Burgundian history with the founding of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The trope texts in Mass I speak of forgiveness, protection, and the power to protect others. This text corresponds with the philosophical ideals Philip the Good would state as his reasons for the establishment of the Order of Golden Fleece.

The canon of Mass II states: “This armed man goes forth and with face averted takes up arms and pursues to the right, just as, turned about, he might go up to the left. Taking his previous countenance he steps back down. The end corresponds to the beginning.” This text refers to the Feast of Pheasant and the crusade that never happened, in 1454. The crusade was postponed twice owing to King Charles VII, who eventually allowed Philip to recruit troops in France in March 1455. Because of circumstances in and around Burgundy during this time a crusade was not possible; therefore, as with the Nicopolis campaign, the Duchy of Burgundy was back where it started. The Kyrie texts speak of giving the man arms so that he might struggle with

the cruel enemy. It refers to the powerful Hungarian kings, the only power with successful campaigns against the Turks.

The canon of Mass III states: “Let the fearful one proceed thus, lest he pause before turning back his step. At length he proceeds by climbing a fourth, but as soon as he mounts, he will quickly come back with fortune reversed. He makes his final descent by a fifth.” This canon is one of the longest, with one of the shortest Kyrie tropes. The canon in this mass refers the sword ceremony in 1461, where Philip the Good received a papal sword for his desire to go on crusade, but at the same time it illustrates that it became obvious that a crusade during the fifteenth century was going to be difficult. The tropes in this mass discuss fear as well. All three verses are concerned with different aspects of fear. The first Kyrie speaks of the “dark spirit” fearing God and saving the faithful from a cowardly evil race. In the Christe, the “powerful troop” asks to be spared. The final Kyrie speaks of holy fear. Holy fear is given by the Holy Spirit to the enemies of God. The language of the tropes alludes to the struggle between the Christians and Muslims throughout the fifteenth-century. This struggle is precisely the reason why the Papacy began giving and blessing swords and hats.

The canon of Mass IV states: “It was made everywhere that each man should arm himself. The trumpet reflects its sound, turning voices about, and resounds again, crying out at the fourth step below.” The cantus firmus text in this mass is from the refrain of the chanson, “It was made known everywhere that each man should arm himself.” This mass refers to the events of 1464, the point at which the Burgundian crusade came the closest to embarking. The Burgundian delegation

gathered several times during this year to discuss going on a crusade and finally rallied a contingent which eventually left from Ghent.¹⁰² The text of the canon is relatively short, but the trope text is the longest thus far and provides a more detailed view into how fifteenth-century theology viewed the crusades. On one hand, they wanted to free Jerusalem and defeat the Turks, but on the other they did not want to be judged for their actions and ask to be comforted when the final trumpet sounded.

The canon of Mass V states: “Let the breastplate sound, turning back a fifth below; afterwards, when it has finished, it resumes its course, and you, singing, that is like the beginning.” These lines allude sadly to the crusade that tried to leave Ghent in 1464, but did not make it out of the Burgundian territories. Philip was not present at this crusade. The tropes refer to the David and Goliath analogy. The number of Turkish forces far outnumbered those of the Christians, but like David, the Christians believed they would triumph because of their faith.

The canon of Mass VI states: “I sing of arms and of a man, and I am bested through the arms of a man. We step by turns, where this sign is silent. He comes forth under the lichanos hypaton and so proceeds in every case: He is fashioned out of my very own entrails.” The final canon and subsequent Kyrie tropes offer a revelation as to identity of the armed man referred to in the masses. In this mass, the Duchy of Burgundy is passed to Charles the Bold. Charles became Duke of Burgundy in 1467 with the death of his father. In this final section, Charles the Bold takes up his father’s sword and now becomes the armed man. He pays homage to God by asking for the same sevenfold gift bestowed on his father.

¹⁰²Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 369.

VII. Conclusions

The language of the canons and tropes is a lifelong tribute to one of the greatest rulers in the fifteenth century, Philip the Good. They were likely composed for Philip the Good's funeral sometime after he died in, 1467. The canons list all his accomplishments as a leader in the fight for Holy Land Freedom. This compositional dating gives Charles plenty of time to "enjoy" the masses, as the epigram in the Naples manuscript states. The masses were clearly not only a political statement, much like the political laments they are akin to, but they also represent a unique compositional method, since no other cyclic masses composed on a single cantus firmus are known. We know Du Fay wrote a cycle of seven votive masses for Ste. Chapelle, in 1451, and he is the only composer to whom any type of mass cycle can be linked. The Naples *L'homme armé* masses cannot be the first masses written in the *L'homme armé* tradition, with a composition date of c.1467, but they are among the first. They are most likely a part of a Burgundian *L'homme armé* tradition, likely founded as a result of Philip the Good's passionate interest in going on a crusade. Burgundy is the most common thread in the early *L'homme armé* tradition, with interrelationships among composers and pieces pointing to that court, as well as that court's interest in chivalric games, Philip's crusading ideal, and his receipt of a papal sword in 1461. Though a Burgundian origin of the tradition and the Naples masses cannot be proven, Burgundy remains the most likely center for the beginning of this musically important tradition.

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Appendix I

Meetings of the Order of the Golden Fleece¹⁰³

	Year	City	Church	Sovereign
1.	1431	Lille	St. Pierre	Philip the Good
2.	1432	Bruges	St. Donation	Philip the Good
3.	1433	Dijon	Ste. Chapelle	Philip the Good
4.	1435	Brussels	St. Gudule	Philip the Good
5.	1436	Lille	St. Pierre	Philip the Good
6.	1440	St. Omer	St. Bertin	Philip the Good
7.	1445	Ghent	St. Jan	Philip the Good
8.	1451	Mons	Ste. Waudru	Philip the Good
9.	1456	The Hague	St. Jacob	Philip the Good
10.	1461	St. Omer	St. Bertin	Philip the Good
11.	1468	Bruges	Onze Lieve Vrouw	Charles the Bold
12.	1473	Valenciennes	St. Paul	Charles the Bold
13.	1478	Bruges	St. Salvador	Maximilian I
14.	1481	's-Hertogenbosch	St. Jan	Maximilian I
15.	1491	Mechelen	St. Rombaut	Philip the Fair
16.	1501	Brussels	Notre Dame des Carmes	Philip the Fair
17.	1505	Middelbourg	[no ceremonies]	Philip the Fair
18.	1517	Brussels	Ste. Gudule	Charles V
19.	1519	Barcelona	San Pablo	Charles V
20.	1531	Tournai	Notre Dame	Charles V
21.	1546	Utrecht	St. Martin	Charles V
22.	1556	Antwerp	Onze Lieve Vrouw	Philip II
23.	1559	Ghent	St. Baaf	Philip II

¹⁰³ William Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 118.

Appendix II: Kyrie Trope Translations¹⁰⁴

Mass I Kyrie Tropes

C.F. text	L'homme, L'homme	The man. The man
Canon	Vicibus binis gradatim vir in ordine Scadit. Ut prius incessit, ipse retrograditur	In twice two turns the man climbs step by step in order. When the former attacks he steps back down.
Kyrie		
1	Kyrie, plasmator hominis mondique creator eleyson	Lord, fashioner of man and creator of the world, have mercy
2	Ut precellat homo qui das vivencia cunta eleyson	Who givest all vigor that man may excel, have mercy
3	Protegat atque regat hominem tua gratia semper eleyson	May Thy grace protect and rule man forever, have mercy
4	riste Deus qui factus homo de Virgine natus eleyson.	Christ, God who was made man, born of the Virgin, have mercy.
5	Qui cruce transfixus homini vitam reparasti eleyson	Who, transfixed by the cross, didst redeem the life of man forever have mercy.
6	Salvificet pietas hominem tua nunc et in evum eleyson	May Thy compassion save man now and through the ages, have mercy
7	Kyrie lux hominis venie fons pneumaque sacrum eleyson	Lord, light of man, fount of grace and Holy Spirit, have mercy
8	Purificans hominem vitam dans crimina delens eleyson	Purifying man, giving life, blotting out transgressions, have mercy.
9	Inspires hominem sacro quoque munere dites eleyson.	Inspire and also enrich man with scared duty, have mercy.

¹⁰⁴ All Kyrie translations are by Steven Moore Whiting as given in Barbara Helen Haggh's, "Communication," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987):139-143.

Mass II Kyrie Tropes

C.F. text Canon	<i>L'homme armé, l'homme armé, l'homme armé</i> Ambulat hic armatus homo, verso quoque vultu arma rapit; dexteram sequitur, sic ut vice versa ad levam scandat. Vultus sumendo priores ipse retrograditur: respondent ultima primis	The armed man This armed man goes forth, and with face averted takes up arms and pursues to the right, just as, turned about, he might go up to the left. Taking his previous countenance he steps back down. The end corresponds to the beginning.
Kyrie		
1	Kyrie virtutis auctor virique creator celi terre pontique sator, eleyson	Lord, author of virtue and creator of man, begetter of heaven, earth, and sea, have mercy
2	Kyrie, fidei miro arma donans viro quis cum hoste dimicet diro, eleyson.	Lord, giving man the arms of a wondrous faith so that he might struggle with the cruel enemy, have mercy.
3	Kyrie, cuius virtute, vir armatus tute hostem vincit gaudet salute eleyson	Lord, by whose protecting virtue the armed man conquers the enemy and rejoices in safety, have mercy
4	Christe, salvator viri potens armator armorum dator quibus hostis fit vir triumphator effugatus abit temptator, eleyson	Christ, Saviour, powerful armer of man giver of weapons by which man is made triumphant over the enemy, and the tempter is put to flight, have mercy.
5	Kyrie, spiritus alme viro donans arma palme dono septemplice patris nati nexus unice , eleyson	Lord, nourishing Spirit, giving man arms for his hand as a sevenfold gift, single bond of the Father and Son, have mercy.

Mass III Kyrie Tropes

C.F. text	Doibt on doubter, doibt on doubter	Must be feared, must be feared
Canon	Sic metuendus eat gressum rependendo ne pausat. Demum scandendo per dyatessaron it. Ast ubi concedit vice mox versa remeabit. Descensus finem per diapentem facit.	Let the fearful one proceed thus, lest he pause before turning back his step. At length he proceeds by climbing a fourth, but as soon as he mounts, he will quickly come back with his fortune reversed. He makes his final descent by a fifth.
Kyrie		
1	Kyrie, summe Pater timuit te spiritus ater Israel in pelago salvato pertimuit te pharo gente mala timida salvato fideles eleyson.	Lord, Father most high, the dark spirit feared Thee; after Israel was saved in the sea, Pharaoh feared thee greatly, who saved the faithful from a cowardly evil race, have mercy.
2	Christe, timende Deus sola moriturus iniquos voce subegesti presenti parce caterne eleyson.	Christ, God art to be feared, with Thy voice alone. Thou hast castd own the iniquitous to die. Spare Thy powerful troop, have mercy.
3	Kyrie, vivificum da sacri pneuma timoris quem dudum sanctis electis sponte dedisti eleyson.	Lord, give the quickening spirit of a holy fear, which Thou once gavest freely to Thy holy elect, have mercy.

Mass IV Kyrie Tropes

C.F. text <i>On a fait partout crier que chascun se viengne armer</i>		It was made known everywhere that each man should arm himself.
Canon	Buccina clangorem voces vertendo reflectit subque gradu reboat iterum clamando quaterno.	The trumpet reflects its sound, turning voices about, and resounds again, crying out at the fourth step below.
Kyrie		
1	Kyrie, altitonans genitor Deus orbis conditor alme eleyson.	Lord, God most high and Father of the world, nourishing Founder, have mercy
2	Qui Moysem revocare tuba populum voluisti, eleyson	Who wanted Moses to call his people with the trumpet, have mercy
3	Te tuba cuncta canat nostra quoque suscipe vota, eleyson	May every trumpet sing to you, hear also our prayers, have mercy.
4	Christe, Deus homoque iudex ultor vitorum, eleyson	Christ, Deity and man, judge and punisher of crimes, have mercy.
5	Cuius iudicium tuba precunt alta futurum, eleyson	Whose judgment heralds what is to be with the lofty trumpet, have mercy.
6	Voce tube populis indulge vivificandis eleyson	Grant that Thy people may be called to life with the voice of the trumpet, have mercy.
7	Spiritus immense Patri natoque coeve, eleyson	Boundless Spirit with Father and Son coeval, have mercy.
8	Qui sonitu magno veniens tua dona dedisti, eleyson	Coming with a great noise, Thou hast given Thy gifts, have mercy.
9	Utlima soleris nos cum tuba fine sonabit eleyson.	Thou wilt comfort us in the end when the final trumpet sounds, have mercy.

Mass V Kyrie Tropes

C.F. text	<i>D'un haubregon de fer</i>	With a hauberk of iron
Canon	Per dyapente sonat subter remeando lorica; Post ubi finierit gressum renovando resumit. Tubque gradu sursum cantando revertere quinto, principio finem da qui modularis eundem.	Let the breastplate, sound, turning back a fifth below; Afterwards, when it is finished, it resumes its course, and you, singing upwards by a fifth step, turn back, Make a close, you who are singing, that is like the beginning.
Kyrie		
1	Kyrie, O Deus excelse lorica casside tali protégé Chriaticolas famulosque tuos velud olim David Goliam vicitet Israel hostem, eleyson	Lord, O God most high, with such a breastplate an helmet protect Christians and Thy servants, just as once David vanquished Goliath and Israel her enemies, have mercy.
2	Christe, spei galea scuto fideique salutis contritis tenebris nos indue lucis et armis eleyson	Christ, when the darkness has passed, dress us with the helmet of hope, the shield of faith and safety, and with light and arms have mercy.
3	Kyrie Spiritus optime da loricum dulcis amoris obstantem jaculis nos quis ferit immundus hostis, eleyson.	Lord, Boundless spirit, give the breastplate of sweet love to withstand the javelins which the impure enemy bear against us, have mercy.

Mass VI Kyrie Trope

C.F. text	Entire song	
Canon	Arme virumque cano vincerque per arma virumque. Alterni gradimur hic ubi signo tacet. Sublychanos hypaton oritur sic undique pergit visceribus propriis conditur ille meis.	I sing of arms and of a man, and I am bested through the arms of a man. We step by turns where this sign is silent. He comes forth under the lichanos hypaton and so proceeds in every case: He is fashioned out of my very own entrails.
Kyrie		
1	Kyrie, alme Pater summeque Deus celi quoque rector, eleyson	Lord, nourishing Father and God most high, also Master of heaven, have mercy.
2	Principium finis immensi conditor orbis, eleyson.	The beginning, bound of the boundless, Creator of the world, have mercy.
3	Ne pereat da plasma tuum sed pace fruatur, eleyson.	Give Thy created one, let Him not perish but be delighted by peace, have mercy.
4	Christe, coeterne splendor sapientia virtus, eleyson.	Christ, coeternal splendor, wisdom, and virtue, have mercy.
5	Lumen imago Patris lux verbum nate redemptor, eleyson.	Light of life, image of the Father, light of day, Word made flesh, Redeemer, have mercy.
6	Sanguine perfuso proprio tu parce redemptis, eleyson.	Through the shedding of Thine own blood, spare the redeemed one, have mercy.
7	Kyrie, spiritus une Dei nexus spiramen amorque, eleyson	Lord, One Spirit, bond of God and breath of love, have mercy.
8	Ignis sono linguis qui missus dona dedisti, eleyson	Through the fire, thunder, and tongues which Thou hast sent, have mercy.
9	Munere, tu nostra septemplice complue corda, eleyson	Shower upon our hearts Thy sevenfold gift, have mercy.

Appendix III

Members of the Order of the Golden Fleece¹⁰⁵

1430 Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, presiding sovereign of the Order Original Members of the Order of the Golden Fleece

1. Philip the Good
2. Guillaume de Vienne, sgr. de Saint-George
3. Regnier Pot, sgr. de la Prugne
4. Jehan seigneur de Roubaix
5. Roland d'Untkercke, sgr. de Hemsrode
6. Antoine de Vergy, comte de Dammartin
7. David de Brimeu, sgr. de Ligny
8. Hue de Lannoy, sgr. de Santes
9. Jehan seigneur de Comines
10. Antoine de Toulonjon, meréchal de Bourgogne
11. Pierre de Luxembourg, comte de Saint-Pol
12. Jehan de la Trémoille, sgr. de Jonvelle
13. Guilbert de Lannoy, sgr. de Villerval
14. Jehan de Luxembourg, comte de Ligny
15. Jehan de Villers, sgr. de l'Isle-Adam
16. Antoine seigneur de Croy, comte de Porcéan
17. Florimond de Brimeu, sgr. de Massincourt
18. Robert seigneur de Masmines
19. Jacques de Brimeu, sgr. de Grigny
20. Baudouin de Lannoy, sgr. de Molembaix
21. Pierre de Bauffremont, comte de Charny
22. Philippe seigneur de Ternant
23. Jehan de Croy, comte de Chimay
24. Jehan seigneur de Créquy
25. Jehan de Neufchâtel, sgr. de Montague

1431 First Chapter Meeting: Lille

26. Frédéric, comte de Meurs
27. Simon de Laing, sgr. de Santes

1432 Second Chapter Meeting: Bruges

28. André de Toulonjon
29. Jehan de Melun, sgr. d'Antoing

1433 Third Chapter Meeting: Dijon

30. Jacques seigneur de Crèvecoeur

¹⁰⁵ This is the official published list of Knights of the Order of The Golden Fleece listed on Society of the Golden Fleece webpage, monitored by Stephen Herold, cancelier of the Confrérie. www.antiquesatoz.com/sgfleece/knights1.htm.

- 31. Jehan deVergy, sgr. de Fouvans
- 32. Guy de Pontailler, sgr. de Tallemé
- 33. Baudot de Noyelles-Wion, sgr. de Casteau
- 34. Jean bâtard de Luxembourg, sgr. de Hautbourdin
- 35. Charles de Bourgogne, comte de Charlais
- 36. Ruprecht comte de Virnebourg
- 37. Thibaut de Neufchâtel

1435 Fourth Chapter Meeting: Brussels

No nominations

1436 Fifth Chapter Meeting: Lille

No nominations

1440 Sixth Chapter Meeting: Saint-Omer

- 38. Charles duc d'Orleans et de Valois
- 39. Jehan duc de Bretagne, comte de Montfort
- 40. Jehan II duc d'Alençon, comte de Perches
- 41. Mathieu de Foix, comte de Comminges

1445 Seventh Chapter Meeting: Ghent

- 42. Alfonse V, roi d'Aragon at de Naples
- 43. Franck de Borsele, comte d'Ostrevant
- 44. Renaud II, seigneur de Brederode et Vianen
- 45. Henry de Borsele, sgr. de Vere
- 46. Jean IV, seigneur et heer d'Auxy
- 47. Andre seigneur de Humières

1451 Eighth Chapter Meeting: Mons

- 48. Jehan I, duc de Clèves, comte de la Marck
- 49. Jehan de Guevara, comte d'Ariano
- 50. Pedro de Cardona, comte de Colisano
- 51. Jehan seigneur de Lannoy
- 52. Jacques de Lalaing, sgr. de Bugincourt
- 53. Jehan de Neufchâtel, sgr. de Montagu

1456 Ninth Chapter Meeting: The Hague

- 54. Giosia I Acquaviva, comte de Terranuò
- 55. Jehan de Bourgogne, duc de Nevers
- 56. Antoine bâtard de Bourgogne
- 57. Adolphe de Clèves et la Marck, sgr. de Ravenstein
- 58. Jehan de Portugal, duc de Coïmbre, prince titulaire d'Antiochel

1461 Tenth Chapter Meeting: Saint-Omer

- 59. Jehan II roi d'Aragon at de Navarre
- 60. Adolphe le Jeune, duc de Gueldre, comte de Zutphen

- 61. Thiebault de Neufchâtel, maréchal de Bourgogne
- 62. Philippe Pot, sgr. de La Roche de Nolay
- 63. Louis de Bruges, sgr. de Gruuthuse
- 64. Guy seigneur de Roye

1467 Charles the Bold becomes chief sovereign and Duke of Burgundy

1468 Eleventh Chapter Meeting: Bruges

- 65. Edouard IV, roi d'Angleterre
- 66. Louis de Châlons, sgr. de de Château-Guyon
- 67. Jehan de Damas, sgr. de Clessy
- 68. Jacques de Bourbon, frère du duc
- 69. Jacques deluxembourg, sgr. de Richebourg
- 70. Philippe de Savoie, comte de Bresse
- 71. Philippe de Crèvecoeur, sgr. des Cardes
- 72. Claude de Montagu, sgr. de Couches

1473 Twelfth Chapter Meeting: Valenciennes

- 73. Ferdinand V, roi de Sicile, Aragon, dit le Catholique
- 74. Ferdinand I, roi de Naples
- 75. Jean Rubempré, sgr. Bièvres
- 76. Philippe de Croy, comte de Chimay
- 77. Jean de Luxemborg, comt de Marle
- 78. Guy de Brimeu, sgr. de Humbercourt
- 79. Engelbert II, comte de Nassau et Vianen

Appendix IV: Chronology

- 1393 Bulgaria is conquered by the Turks.
- 1395 King Sigismund of Hungary asks for help from Burgundy in fighting the Turks.
- 1396 Nicopolis crusade by Philip the Bold is a success therefore elevating the Valois to a European power.
- 1419 Philip the Good becomes Duke of Burgundy.
- 1431 1st meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Lille
- 1432 Philip the Good establishes the perpetual celebration of seven votive masses at Ste. Chapelle in Dijon; 2nd meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Bruges
- 1435 4th meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Brussels
- 1436 5th meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Lille
- 1440 6th meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, St. Omer
- 1442 John Hunyadi of Hungary defeats Turks invading Transylvania
- 1443 November 10: John Hunyadi leads a crusader army to victory against the Turks at Nish and also captures Sofia
- 1445 7th meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Ghent
- 1451 8th meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Mons; Du Fay present in Mons for the meeting
- 1453 Fall of Constantinople to the Turks
- 1454 Philip the Good vows to go on a crusade at the Feast of the Pheasant
- 1455–6 elaborate plans drawn up for a crusade
- 1456 9th Meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, The Hague
- 1456 July 22: Hunyadi defeats Turks besieging Belgrade
- 1460 Philip the Good's papal sword and hat are blessed.
- 1461 10th meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, St. Omer; Philip receives his

blessed sword and hat

- 1462 June: Ockeghem visits Du Fay at Cambrai
- 1463 Matthias Corvinus defeats the Turks and takes Jaysca, Bosnia
- 1464 Crusaders rally in Ghent
- 1466 February–March, Ockeghem visits Du Fay in Cambrai; May: 82 volunteers march out of Ghent to go on Crusade
- 1467 June 16th death of Philip the Good, Charles the Bold becomes Duke of Burgundy

c. 1467 possible date for composition of Naples *L'homme armé* masses

- 1467–1483 Busnoys at the Burgundian court
- 1468 Charles the Bold marries his third wife, Margaret of York ; 11th meeting of the Golden Fleece, Bruges
- 1471 Louis XI declares war on Charles the Bold
- 1471–1477 Busnoys travels with Charles the Bold
- 1473 Simon le Breyton dies; 12th meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Valenciennes; Ferrante I of Naples inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece
- 1474 Du Fay dies, leaves Requiem mass to be sung at his funeral.
- 1475 June 14th, last report of Robert Morton at Burgundian Court; Beatrice takes on title Queen of Hungary; Matthias Corvinus takes Savacz from Turks
- 1476 December 12: Beatrice of Aragon marries King Matthias Corvinus
- 1477 Charles the Bold dies at the battle of Nancy
- 1478 13th meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Bruges
- 1480 Matthias drives the Turks from Bosnia