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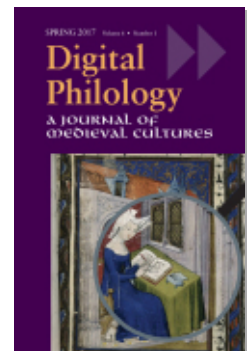
Remembering Christine de Pizan in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24392,
A Manuscript Owned by Anne de France, Duchess of Bourbon

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Remembering Christine de Pizan in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24392, A Manuscript Owned by Anne de France, Duchess of Bourbon

► A glowing tribute to Anne de France, duchess of Bourbon, appears on one of the final folios of Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24392, a fifteenth-century collection notable for its rehabilitation of Jean de Meun. The encomium, composed between 1488 and 1498, praises Anne for serving as regent for her brother, the future King Charles VIII. Citing her many attributes, the poet likens Anne's eloquence to that of Christine de Pizan. How and why he makes this comparison is the subject of this two-part article. I conclude that it is not by accident that the encomium poet added his compliment to Anne to Français 24392.

PART I

This study considers Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24392, a fifteenth-century collection containing the *Roman de la Rose*, three other texts attributed to Jean de Meun, and an extended encomium to Anne de France (1461–1522), which was added in a larger, cursive hand.¹ This verse tribute to Anne, composed between 1488 and 1498, praises her for serving as regent for her brother, the future King Charles VIII. Among Anne's attributes, the poet compares her eloquence to that of Christine de Pizan (1365–c.1430). The encomium to Anne was added to a previously existing collection in which Jean de Meun had been rehabilitated as a good Catholic and as an authoritative teacher, a rehabilitation that was brought about in response to the criticisms of Jean's misogyny, immoral-

ity, and incorrect interpretation of Church doctrine lodged by Christine and Jean Gerson in the 1401–02 debate on the *Roman de la Rose*. I argue that it is not by accident that the poet included this encomium to Anne in Français 24392.

The poem complements a collection in which Jean de Meun has been transformed into a loyal supporter of France’s “most Christian” monarchy. This ideal had been promoted in the thirteenth century by Louis IX (1214–70), the king later known as the *roi christianissimus*, in his sponsorship of the official French history, the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, and in his original composition of *Enseignements* (Instructions or Teachings) for his daughter, Queen Ysabel de Navarre, and for his son, the future King Philippe III.² That the future Saint Louis would compose instructional manuals for his daughter as well as for his son indicates the importance he accorded to women’s contributions to governmental legitimacy and political stability.³

By its very nature, the country’s hereditary monarchy depended upon the queen’s reproductive capacity and the spiritual and intellectual counsel she gave to her offspring, as well as upon the virtuous model that she set for the nascent nation-state. So crucial were women’s exemplary contributions that France’s pretensions to greatness came to be symbolized by the images projected by its great ladies. France, as the *Grandes Chroniques* poetically phrases it, is “une dame renommee seur autres nations” (“a lady renowned over other national monarchies”).⁴ The country’s preeminent early fifteenth-century lady was the regent, Queen Ysabel de Bavière (r. 1389–1422),⁵ who received counsel, orally and in writing, from another exemplary lady, her advice-giver and book producer, Christine.

The encomium praises a later fifteenth-century regent, Ysabel’s great-granddaughter, Anne de France, duchess of Bourbon, for the eloquence that she would have acquired by reading the extensive collection of Christine’s books housed in the Bourbons’ ancestral residence in Moulins, France. In 1416 Marie de Berry, duchess of Bourbon through her third marriage to Jean II in 1400, inherited the library of her father, the famous bibliophile Jean de Berry. The library at Moulins included the Duke’s Manuscript, a collection of 27 of Christine’s texts. Below I support my claim that the Duke’s Manuscript is a previously unrecognized source for Français 24392 (as well as for the *Enseignements à sa fille*, which Anne addressed c. 1505 to her daughter, Suzanne de Bourbon). In its entirety, Français 24392 celebrates Anne de France, a descendant of Ysabel de Bavière and Marie de Berry, who, like the latter, was a member of the houses of Valois and Bourbon. All three women

helped realize Christine's prophetic wish, nurtured by her readings in the *Grandes Chroniques*, that France be recognized as first among nations thanks in part to the virtue and eloquence of its great ladies.

Christine's belief in the future triumph of the heavily Bourbon Valois dynasty was seemingly confirmed in 1553 when the moribund Valois line was replaced with Henri II de Bourbon by reason of his descent from Saint Louis.⁶ The *Grandes Chroniques*' claim that France was the "most Christian" of all monarchies became an even stronger reality with the highly successful seventy-two-year long reign of another Bourbon king, Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715). I suggest that Français 24392, a manuscript completed by 1498, the year marking the beginning of the reign of an earlier King Louis, Louis XII, was purposefully designed not only to celebrate what the eloquence of women like Anne de Bourbon and Christine de Pizan had already done to further monarchical ends, but also, and perhaps most importantly, to encourage women of later generations to promote a vision of "Frenchness" and of the French monarchy based on Saint Louis's legacy.

I. Français 24392 and Its Model, Arsenal 3339

In Français 24392 the *Roman de la Rose* is followed by three other texts, the *Testament*, *Codicille*, and *Tresor ou Sept articles de la foi*, all three attributed in the manuscript to "Maistre Jehan de Meun."⁷ The tribute to Anne appears on folio 215v, in the midst of other material transcribed in a cursive script different from the manuscript's other two hands. The added material begins below the explicit of the *Tresor ou sept articles de la foi* on folio 214 and continues through folio 216. Ernest Langlois, the first to have noticed the encomium, sums up the additions as

des réflexions, des sentences, des conseils moraux, en vers, en prose, en latin, en français, extraits de différentes sources, beaucoup du *Roman de la Rose*, quelques-uns du *Testament*. (Langlois 62)

reflections, sentences, moral counsels, in verse, in prose, in Latin, in French, taken from different sources, many from the *Roman de la Rose*, some from the *Testament*.

Langlois here testifies to the planner's effort to coordinate the *Rose* with Jean's rehabilitation in his *Testament*, in which he tempers his earlier criticisms of the mendicants, Saint Louis's favored counselors. This is an effort that I have also identified in the earlier Arsenal 3339 (Walters, "The Foot on Which He Limpes" 129). The Arsenal manuscript and

Français 24392 both place Jean de Meun within the context of Saint Louis's "most Christian" monarchy.

Apart from the additions to folios 214–16, Français 24392 is very similar to the early fifteenth-century Arsenal 3339. It contains the same four texts, transcribed in the same order. Most importantly, in the two manuscripts the *Testament* is headed by a similar scene of Jean de Meun on his deathbed repenting of having composed the *Rose*. Despite having been produced at least a half century later by a different workshop, Jean's deathbed depiction in Français 24392,⁸ identified by Roger Wieck as the work of Maître François or an associate,⁹ is almost identical to the *Testament* illustration in the earlier Arsenal 3339.¹⁰ These are, in fact, the only two manuscripts to display an arresting depiction of the repentant Jean surrounded by approving clerical and secular figures. In both the group somewhat surprisingly includes several female figures: a crowned queen, a courtly lady, and her attendant. Given the presence, in the two manuscripts, of the same four texts and a strikingly similar image of Jean dying a good death, it is clear that Arsenal 3339 served as model for Français 24392.

In the inaugural issue of *Digital Philology*, I maintained that the Arsenal planner was responding to the criticisms of the *Rose* made by Christine and the eminent theologian Jean Gerson in the 1401–02 public debate. Christine objected to the effect the text would have on France's royal ladies. When she vigorously claimed to Jean de Montreuil that the *Rose*'s ending would make a queen blush with virtuous shame (Hult 60), Gerson sided with her rather than with his colleague (Hult 226, 148). The Arsenal planner put together a compilation in which he followed the *Rose* with Jean's most religiously colored texts, in the hope of rehabilitating Jean's tarnished reputation. The present essay, which comments upon an explicit mention of Christine in a collection modeled on Arsenal 3339 that was owned by a famous royal lady, would tend to confirm my earlier suggestion that Arsenal 3339 was designed expressly to meet with women's approval.

Despite their striking similarities, Arsenal 3339 and Français 24392 differ in important ways. Whereas the former was produced as a single, unified project in the early fifteenth century, Français 24392 was executed in two rounds, the first in the early fifteenth century and the second in the later part of that same century, the second stage being conceived by a different team with potentially different objectives. The encomium, presumably newly inspired by Anne and current events, was added to the manuscript between 1488 and 1498 (I establish this dating in Section II).

Arsenal 3339's three miniatures were executed by the Josephus Master, who illuminated books II and III of the copy of the *Antiquités judaïques* belonging to Christine's patron, Jean de Berry (Avril, "Grands et petits maîtres" 288).¹¹ The *Rose* of Français 24392 was also initially associated with Jean de Berry.¹² It was transcribed in the early fifteenth century in a hand similar, if not identical to, that of Jehan Flamel, Jean de Berry's secretary, who also transcribed Français 380 for him.¹³ But only one miniature of Français 24392 was executed at that time, the initial multi-compartment miniature depicting six scenes found on folio 2r.¹⁴ An artist known as the Master of the *Bible historique* of Jean de Berry executed this miniature during the first decade of the fifteenth century (Coilly and Tesnière 186). During the latter part of the fifteenth century another hand transcribed the other three texts by Jean de Meun. At that same time a workshop associated with Maître François supplied the remaining *Rose* miniatures as well as the *Testament* illustration described above and an imposing miniature of the Trinity heading the *Sept articles de la foi*.¹⁵

The singularity of Français 24392 comes to the fore when it is compared to its model. Whereas the Arsenal *Rose* has only one illustration, an initial miniature composed of five scenes,¹⁶ in Français 24392 the *Rose*'s initial miniature depicts six scenes organized in four compartments, followed by another 116 miniatures, for a total of 117 *Rose* miniatures. This makes the pictorial cycle of Français 24392 one of the most extended cycles that exist. It is also, in the words of Nathalie Coilly, "l'une des copies les plus soignées qui nous soient parvenues" ("one of the most carefully executed copies that have come down to us"; Coilly 146). The distinctive character of Français 24392 is also apparent when that manuscript is compared to the two other *Rose* manuscripts owned by Jean de Berry, Français 380 and Français 12595. The 117 *Rose* miniatures of Français 24392 (Guillaume de Lorris 34/Jean de Meun 83, Appendix I) provide a marked contrast to the 47 *Rose* miniatures of Français 380 (Guillaume de Lorris 25/Jean de Meun 22, Appendix II) and to the 80 *Rose* miniatures of Français 12595 (Guillaume de Lorris 42/Jean de Meun 38, Appendix II). The latter two manuscripts, both produced for Jean de Berry, have more miniatures in Guillaume's section than in Jean's. This is remarkable because Jean's continuation is more than four times as long as Guillaume's. In contrast, Français 24392 has roughly twice as many miniatures in Jean's section than in Guillaume's. The pictorial cycle of Français 24392, produced in Bourbon circles, places greater emphasis on Jean de Meun's section than was seen in the two earlier manuscripts owned by the duc de Berry.¹⁷ As I explain in

Section V (Part II), Jean de Meun's rehabilitation in Français 24392 is extended by the thoroughly Christianized iconographic cycle designed for the *Rose*. When this *Rose* is paired with Jean's three devotional texts in Français 24392, the latter becomes a compilation that could easily be capped by praise of a most illustrious French regent. .

II. Anne de France: "De xpine l'eloquence parfonde"

The tribute to Anne found on folio 215v of Français 24392 is introduced by a rubric identifying its dedicatee:

Cecy s'adrese a Madame la duchesse de Bourbon, Anne de France,
 fille du meilleur maistre qui oncques fut, le roy Loys xi de ce nom,
 et seur du roy Charles, qui a present est, VIII de ce nom.

This is addressed to Madame the duchess of Bourbon, Anne de France, daughter of the best master who ever was, King Louis XI of this name, and sister of Charles, who presently is king, the VIII of this name.

The poem can be dated by two details mentioned in the rubric. The first is that Anne is the duchess of Bourbon, a title that she acquired when her husband Pierre inherited the dukedom in 1488. Thus the *terminus a quo* of the encomium is 1488. The second mention is that Charles VIII is currently on the throne. Since Charles's reign extended from 1483 to his death in 1498, we can establish the *terminus ad quem* of the encomium as 1498. Given what is said in the encomium, 1498, the year of King Charles VIII's death and the beginning of the reign of King Louis XII, is also likely to be the *terminus ad quem* of the entire manuscript. Although Sylvia Huot does not give her reasons for claiming that Anne de France owned Français 24392 (Huot, *Rose* 196), the presence of the encomium dedicated to this regent was likely to have prompted her to do so. The 1523 inventory of the Bourbon library at the château de Moulins, made the year after Anne's death, lists several *Rose* manuscripts.¹⁸

Anne de France was the eldest daughter of King Louis XI (r. 1461–83). On his deathbed Louis gave over the guardianship of the dauphin Charles, Anne's underage brother, to his twenty-three-year old daughter, who in 1473 had married Pierre II de Beaujeu. Only begrudgingly acknowledged by her father to be "la femme la moins folle de France" 'the least foolish woman in France', Anne proved to be an astute regent (more astute, some believe, than Charles VIII).¹⁹ Backed by her father

and her husband, two powerful men who recognized her political acumen, she became the real power behind the throne, guiding it expertly from the sidelines (Adams, “Appearing Virtuous” 127). For eight years (1483–91) she governed France with an iron fist, silencing the rebellion of the great lords who contested her regency and the authority of the underage Charles VIII. The seventeenth-century historian Brantôme, whose grandmother had known Anne, famously called her “un des grands rois de France” ‘one of the great kings of France’.²⁰

After arranging her brother Charles’s marriage to Anne de Bretagne, a union that prepared the annexation of the duchy of Brittany to the French kingdom, Anne retired to the town of Moulins in her duchy of Bourbon. In 1491 she gave birth to her only child, a daughter named Suzanne. Widowed since 1503, Anne offered the *Enseignements* to Suzanne around the time of her daughter’s marriage in 1505 to Charles de Montpensier, the Bourbon heir and the future Constable of France, a marriage that Anne had arranged herself (Clavier 23). Anne took on roles previously assumed by Queen Ysabel and by Christine. When she became counselor to her brother, the underage dauphin, Anne stepped into a position similar to the one that Queen Ysabel had exercised on behalf of an earlier dauphin, her own son Louis de Guyenne (Adams, “Female Regency”). When she later penned written advice to her daughter in her *Enseignements*, Anne analogously assumed the position of counselor that Christine had adopted to guide not only the dauphin Louis, but also her own son, Jean de Castel. Anne follows Christine as a dispenser of oral and written advice, both women becoming masters of eloquence in the service of the state.

It is against this backdrop that we turn to the twenty-two-line enco-
mium to Anne de France found in Français 24392:²¹

Quant la beaulté de la chaste Lucesse,
 Les grans vertuz Penelope de Grece,
 Et d’Ottea le bon sens et prudence,
 De Minerve la grave sapience,
 Lustre si doux que la clere Orora,
 Qui son cher filz Cynus si fort ploura
 Qu’encore(s) en ist la très douce rouzee,
 De cueur autant comme Panthazilee,
 Aussi d’Ester le maintien et faconde,
De xpine (i.e., Christine) l’eloquence parfonde,
 O tous les dons que Grace peut donner
 Et que Raison en sauroit ordonner
 Pour eslever ung noble personnaige

De biens, d'onneur, de triumphant lignaige,
 Plain de bonté et grant magnificence,
 De franchise, loyaulté et constance,
 [S]eroient touz joings en ung corps feminine
 Et composé par ouvraige divin
 De touz les dieux et deesses ensemble,
 A mon advis, ainsi come il me semble,
 Ne souffroit a si parfaicte femme,
 Digne de lox que vous estes, Madame. (my emphasis)

When the beauty of the chaste Lucretia,
 The great virtues of Penelope of Greece,
 And the good sense and prudence of Othea,
 The grave wisdom of Minerva,
 A luster so sweet that the clear Aurora,
 Who for her dear son Cygnus so dearly wept
 That very sweet dew still comes from it,
 Of such a great heart as Penthesilea,
 And the posture and bearing of Esther,
The profound eloquence of xpine (i.e., Christine),
 And all the gifts that Grace can give
 And that Reason would know how to command and order
 To elevate a noble personage
 With goods, honor, and triumphant lineage,
 Full of goodness and great magnificence,
 Of frankness, loyalty and constancy,
 Would be joined together in a feminine body
 And composed by the divine work
 Of all the gods and goddesses together,
 In my opinion, as it seems to me,
 Would not sufficiently describe such a perfect woman
 Who is as worthy of praise as you are, my lady. (my emphasis)

The poet composes a compliment to Anne de France in which he portrays her as a “parfaicte femme.” His poem is a litany of qualities attributed to well-known characters drawn from a variety of sources: mythological (Minerva, Aurora), biblical (Esther), literary (Penelope), and real life (Christine). They are all based upon characterizations made by Christine. Anne has the moral beauty of the chaste Lucretia, who defends herself against defamation (*Cité* 2.44; 2.64);²² she evidences Penelope’s loyalty to Ulysses (*Cité* 2.41), Minerva’s serious wisdom (*Cité* 1.4; 1.34; 1.38; 1.39), Penthalisee’s “manly heart” (*Cité* 1.18; 1.19); the majesty of the Old Testament queen Esther (*Cité* 2.32); Othéa’s good sense and prudence (*Othea*); and Aurora’s power of transformative tears

(*Othea*, Exemplum no. 44). But above all Anne has Christine's "profound eloquence,"²³ the eloquence with which the early fifteenth-century author had presented the literary portraits of these and other exemplary female figures.

Christine's eloquence would appear to be the most profound in presentation copies of her texts, in which she signed herself with the divine abbreviation, "*xpine*," the same way that the encomium poet cites her. Christine's name appears as such in the Duke's MS. This collection includes the *Epistre Othea* and the *Cité des dames*, texts referred to in the encomium, in which Christine strengthens the principle of legitimate dynastic succession through primogeniture by legitimizing the dauphin's guidance by his mother, Queen Ysabel de Bavière, and by herself, advisor to the Queen and the dauphin. Christine's use of the sacred abbreviation sanctifies her advisory role in terms sanctioned by France's "most Christian" monarchy (Walters, "Signatures").

III. Jacques de Brézé: Author of the Encomium to Anne?

The encomium to Anne found in Français 24392 may well have been written by a poet who composed two similar encomia dedicated to her, Jacques de Brézé (c. 1440–94).

Jacques was a member of one of the great houses of Normandy. In 1462 he married Charlotte de France, the illegitimate daughter of Charles VII and the King's beloved mistress, Agnès Sorel. Jacques was familiar with virtuous ladies like Anne de France, and with less exemplary ladies of royal blood like his wife Charlotte. Having returned home to surprise Charlotte and his best friend *in flagrant délit*, he ran both through with his sword. Jacques's original death sentence was later commuted to time in prison (1477–81) and a heavy fine. He was obliged to surrender all his goods to Louis XI, who in turn gave the major part to Jacques's son, Louis de Brézé, and the rest to his five other children, leaving Jacques to subsist on a meager pension (Pichon 45). In the years following his release from prison, he served either as Anne's officer or as a lord of her court (Pichon vi–vii). During his time in Moulins, he wrote *La Chasse*, in which he portrays Anne as mistress of the hunt.²⁴ A heroic figure, she downs the stag herself and recounts her exploits to the ladies who did not participate in the hunt. This can be viewed as an indirect reference to the verbal mastery mentioned in the encomium (Willard, "Anne de France" 68–69).

Some time after 1488 Jacques composed another poem that is even more reminiscent of our encomium than *La Chasse*. This is the *Loenges*

de Madame de Bourbon (“Praise of Madame de Bourbon”; Pichon 47–51),²⁵ which is similar in tone and vocabulary to the poem found in Français 24392. Apostrophizing Anne as the “mirouer” and the “patron” of ladies and “la regent des femmes,” Jacques echoes the terms used in the encomium (Pichon 50). Like our poem, Jacques’s *Loenges* was also composed during Anne’s regency. Some verses refer to the fact that she directed Charles’s armies to victory in 1488, which put an end to the rebellion stirred up against him (Pichon 48). The poet emphasizes that Anne knew how to subjugate the rebels and maintain the peace.

Throughout the poem, Jacques declares himself ready to defend Anne’s name,²⁶ and with it, the name of all women, since Anne is the one who “préserve et contregarde” ‘preserves and guards’ women’s honor (Pichon 50). As we know, the defense of women’s good name was one of Christine’s major concerns. Jacques appears to be well acquainted with the poet’s texts. According to his *Loenges*, Anne outdoes Minerve, “la plus sage sybille” ‘the wisest sibyl’ (Pichon 47). We are reminded of how Christine defines herself in the *Chemin de long estude*, present in the Duke’s MS (Français 836), in which she takes on the features of a sibyl after serving an “apprenticeship” with the Cumaean sibyl (Tarnowski 146, n. 1). But the most convincing hints that Jacques is also the author of the encomium in Français 24392 are the references that he makes to Anne’s eloquence. Several are found in these verses:

Qui voudra veoir l’excellent édifice
 Et forteresse ou France se confie
 Qui voudra (veoir) l’organe et orifice
 Dont sault la voix qui chascun édifie,
 Qui voudra voir celle qui fortifie
 Le fait du roy et son auctorité (Pichon 49)

Who will want to see the excellent edifice
 And fortress on which France relies,
 Who will want to see the organ and the orifice
 From which springs the voice that edifies everyone,
 The woman who strengthens the king’s rule and his authority

Speaking with “the voice that edifies everyone” Anne offers counsel to her brother, the underage dauphin. She thereby strengthens royal authority, the dauphin being seen as one with the king his father. Another reference appears several verses later, when Jacques maintains that Anne excels everyone “En beau parler, en douceur d’eloquence” (“in speaking well, in the sweetness of eloquence”: Pichon 50). The poet ends this stanza by saying that if people wish to see someone whose counsel is

beneficial to everyone and which bears in itself the authority to make them progress toward virtue, let them direct their glance to Anne de France! When he claims that Anne's eloquent words of good counsel make others advance in excellence, we are reminded of Christine, who at the conclusion of her *Trois Vertus* defines her goal to work on "behalf of the praise and promotion of virtue through good example to every human being" (Willard trans. 224). The *Trois Vertus* has been repeatedly cited as a major source for Anne's *Enseignements* (Willard, "Anne de France"; Krueger; Clavier). Not surprisingly, several copies of the *Trois Vertus* were found in the Moulins library (Clavier 24).

But the most telling indication that Jacques is the author of our encomium is found in the final stanza of the *Loenges*. Among King Louis XI's "haulx faitz et labeurs glorieux" 'lofty deeds and glorious works' is another "oeuvre méritoire" 'worthy work': "D'avoir été père d'Anne de France" 'To have been the father of Anne de France' (Pichon 51). Louis's siring of Anne is so deserving of praise, Jacques says to him, that it is "digne assez de te canonizer" 'worthy enough to get you canonized'. The reference to canonization recalls the dedication found on folio 215v of Français 24392, quoted above, honoring Anne as the "fille du meilleur maistre qui oncques fut, le roy Loys xi de ce nom." Both of these words of praise evoke memory of an earlier Louis, France's only canonized king of recent times. Saint Louis was Louis XI's most sacred "patron," the only one of the latter's namesakes qualified to be a true "patron saint." Implicit in Saint Louis's ideal of the "most Christian" monarchy was the sanctification of the human line, to which women's contribution was equal to men's (it could even be argued that theirs was greater, given that the royal line proceeded from their maternal flesh). The Bourbons had a particular veneration for Louis IX, whose saintly blood had forever ennobled their ancestry when his sixth son, Robert de Clermont, married Beatrice de Bourbon (Avril, "Histoire d'une commande" 85; Hoover 5).

The Bourbons' special standing became apparent when in 1374 Charles V's librarian, Gérard de Montagu (†1391), presented the King with the autograph of the *Enseignements* that Louis IX had composed for his daughter Ysabel. After having a copy made of it for the royal treasury, the King gave the original to Louis II de Bourbon.²⁷ This Bourbon duke was brother to Charles V's wife, Jeanne de Bourbon, whose descent from Saint Louis was even more direct than the King's, a fact cited by Christine in the King's biography.²⁸ Charles V's gift of this book to Louis de Bourbon strengthened a previous connection between the royal *beata stirps* and the Bourbon female line. This copy of the

Enseignements à Ysabel was special. It contained Louis IX's first-person statement that he composed the instructions to his daughter in his own hand (O'Connell 78). Following the King's canonization in 1297, this book would have been considered to be a relic. Its continued presence in the Moulins library would have sanctified future developments of the Bourbon line, including the regency Anne de France exercised on behalf of her brother, the future Charles VIII.

A book about Saint Louis that incorporated whole passages from the *Enseignements à Ysabel*, several illustrated by impressive miniatures, seems calculated to strengthen Anne's regency. This was the *Livre des faiz de Monseigneur Saint Loys* (Français 2829, c. 1478),²⁹ a version of the life and miracles of Saint Louis commissioned from an unknown author by Charles II, Duke of Bourbon (1434–88), cardinal and archbishop of Lyon, for the “tres excellent princesse ma dame la duchesse de Bourbonnois, pour la grande devocion que a ma dite dame a Monseigneur saint Loys” (“the very excellent princess my lady the duchess of Bourbon, for the great devotion that my aforesaid lady has for Monsieur Saint Louis”). It is not possible to identify the duchess with greater certainty than to say that she was one of the three wives of Jean II de Bourbon, cardinal Charles's brother-in-law (Avril, “Histoire d'une commande” 84–85; Richard 8).

The duchess in question cannot be Anne de France because Jean II is depicted on folio 3r of Français 2829, implying that he was the dedicatee's husband; Anne was married to Jean's brother Pierre. But Anne did acquire Français 2829 at a later, unknown, date, after which she made a gift of it, by 1488 at the latest, to her brother, Charles (Richard 8). 1488 is also the year when Anne acceded to the duchy and two years prior to the time when she assumed the regency for the future king, whose royal identity, arms, and motto appear in a frontispiece later added to the manuscript (f. 2v). We recall that Français 24392 was produced some time between 1488 and the end of Charles VIII's reign. Français 2829 and Français 24392 testify to a similar impetus: to strengthen the monarchy through its connections to Saint Louis, most particularly through the roles that this monarch had ascribed to powerful women such as his mother, the regent Blanche de Castille and his daughter, the queen of Navarre. Through its pictorial cycle Français 2829 foregrounds Blanche's determinant influence on her young son Louis (Hoover 18–32).³⁰

Two of the scenes in the imposing miniature on folio 64v emphasize Louis's recognition of the importance of the actions of strong and eloquent royal ladies to the realization of monarchical aims. In the

first, Louis, whose crown and halo signal his divinely sanctified authority, composes his *Enseignementz à Ysabel*. In the second, his messenger delivers the book to Queen Ysabel in her kingdom of Navarre.³¹ The fact that the words “Vivat rex Louis” ‘long live King Louis!’ are written in gold letters above the image of the sainted king composing his *Enseignements à Ysabel* suggests how central to the thinking of royal ladies was Gerson’s *Vivat rex* sermon, in which he stresses the responsibility of queens (with a nod to the reigning queen Ysabel) to contribute to monarchical progress. Anne de France positions herself directly in the tradition established by Saint Louis by relying heavily on the *Enseignementz à Ysabel* in the *Enseignements* that she directed to her own daughter (Avril, “Histoire d’une commande” 85; Chazaud xv–xxvii). Anne thereby adopts the pedagogical role that Saint Louis had mapped out for his descendants,³² and which had been continued by Christine. As we will see below, Français 24392 could have aided Anne in educating her own and future generations.

IV. The Preservation of Christine’s Memory in Anne’s Library at Moulins

The citing of Christine by name in Français 24392 attests to an obvious, albeit easily overlooked fact: the major way that Christine was remembered was in the manuscript books transmitting her texts. Around 1490, the probable date of the encomium to Anne, Christine had been dead for some sixty years (she died c.1430). The poet (Jacques de Brézé?) connects his encomium to Anne with memory of Christine, and in particular with her eloquence, which in 1488 would have been observable solely in books. The terms of the encomium suggest quite strongly that our poet has read Christine’s texts, and furthermore, that he counts upon Anne’s familiarity with those texts. From the comparisons made by the poet, it is clear that he is cognizant that Anne had formed her self-image on the portraits of illustrious women that she had found in Christine’s *Cité des dames* and *Epistre Othea*.

The encomium was obviously meant for Anne’s eyes. It appeared in Français 24392, a book preserved in the Moulins collection along with the majority, perhaps even the totality of Christine’s many books (Clavier 24). Two inventories of the library were made, the first in 1507, and the second in 1523, the year after Anne’s death. Together the inventories list some 494 volumes.³³ The library housed two copies each of the *Cité des dames* and the *Epistre Othea*. Of Christine’s other books that I have already mentioned, there was also a copy of the *Chemin de*

long estude and two copies of the *Trois Vertus*. One copy of the *Trois Vertus* would have been particularly dear to Anne, because her mother, Charlotte de Savoie, had passed it down to her (Clavier 24). The transmission of a book of Christine's wisdom from Charlotte to Anne may have helped inspire the book of practical advice that she gave to her own daughter Suzanne, her *Enseignements*.³⁴

If Christine's memory was well preserved in the Bourbon library at Moulins,³⁵ nowhere was it better looked after than in the Duke's MS (c. 1406–08).³⁶ Although Christine originally prepared the collection for Louis d'Orléans, after the latter's assassination on 23 November 1407, his uncle Jean de Berry purchased it (Ouy et al. 231 and n. 17). Upon Jean's death on 15 June 1416, the collection passed to his daughter Marie. From an early date the collection was divided into five separate volumes. Here is how those volumes are listed in the inventory of 1523:³⁷

310. Ung volume ou a *cent ballades, pluseurs lais et virelais, rondeaux, Jeux à vendre, l'Espistre au dieu d'Amours, Le Débat des deux amans, Les Troys jugemens, Le dit de Poissy, Les Espitres sur le rommant de la Rose*, en parchemin, à la main.

311. Ung autre ou est *Le Livre du chemin de longue estude, Les Dits de la pastoure, Une belle oraison de saint Grégoire, et Le Livre dit duc des vraiz amans*, en parchemin, à la main.

312. Ung autre volume contenant *Les Troys livres de la cité des dames*, en parchemin, à la main.

313. Ung autre volume des *Espîtres que Othéa*, déesse de prudence, *envoya à Hector de Troye*, en parchemin, à la main.

314. Ung autre volume ou est *Le Livre de Prudence, Les Proverbes moraulx, une Espitre à la Royne de France, une autre à Eustace Morel*, en parchemin, à la main. (Chazaud 255–56; see Ouy et al. 231–32).

These volumes correspond, in order, to the manuscripts bearing the current shelf marks Français 835, 836, 607, 606, and 605 (Ouy et al. 228–92). In the inventory of 1523, these five volumes are preceded by this notice: “Ce sont les livres qui ont esté restitués et aporrez de Paris, l’an v x.” (“These are the books that have been restored and brought from Paris in 1515”; Chazaud 255). We do not know for how long the books remained in Paris. But given that James Laidlaw has established that the five volumes originally formed one large volume (Laidlaw 53),

it is reasonable to think that the imposing original work had been sent there to be recast as five separate, more easily manageable tomes. (If one were to object that the Duke's MS might not have been in Moulins when Anne was composing the *Enseignements*, one could counter that she could have consulted it on one of her frequent visits to Paris to see her brother, Charles VIII.)

The reference to “*Une Belle oraison de saint Grégoire*,” which at first glance appears to be an anomaly, actually proves that the manuscript in question is the Duke's MS. The phrase refers to the rubric that opens the *Oroyson de Nostre Seigneur* in Français 836. The rubric on folio 63 reads (Ouy et al. 269–70, n. 10):

Nostre Seigneur s'apparu a saint gregoire pape en sa contemplacion
en telle semblance / Et pour la compassion qu'ot le dit saint de la
mort et passion n(ost)re seign(eu)r /...

Our Lord appeared to Saint Gregory, the Pope, in his contempla-
tion in such a form / And for the compassion that had the aforesaid
saint of the death and passion of Our Lord /...

These words are followed by a formula of indulgence and a prayer.³⁸ Given that this description of the text is found exclusively in the Duke's MS, it confirms that this manuscript was present in the Bourbon collection.

We have already seen that our encomium implicitly refers to two of Christine's texts—namely the *Cité* and *Othea*—preserved in the Duke's MS. But the Duke's MS also contains the instructional manual that Christine composed for her son, her *Enseignements* (although it is not mentioned in the inventory quoted above).³⁹ She refers to the text in a more personalized way than in any other of her presentation copies. This is the only one in which she actually states her son's name. She identifies the text here as the *Enseignemens que je xpine donne a Jehan de Castel mon fils* (Ouy et al. 269). This title at once refers back to Saint Louis's *Enseignements à Philippe* and looks forward to Anne's own *Enseignements à sa fille*. It is also significant that in her *Enseignemens* Christine refers to herself as “*xpine*,” which is the way the encomium poet also refers to her. His use of her signature implies that he was familiar with the way it appears in her presentation copies. No other presentation copy held in the Moulins library would have been as valued by the encomium poet or by Anne as the Duke's MS, given that it contains a large number of her texts and has connections to Anne's ancestor on both her paternal and maternal sides, Marie de Berry.

But as for the eloquence shared by Christine and Anne de France, we have to consider that the Duke's MS contains the *Epistres du debat sur le Romant de la Rose* (ff. 87a–103d; Ouy et al. 229). These include the epistle in which Christine implicitly calls for a “book of the Rose” that would be more user friendly for royal ladies. The *Rose Epistres* are examples of Christine's commanding eloquence, backed up as it was by Gerson's ruling that she argued correct doctrine more persuasively than did her male clerical opponents. In general, the *Rose Epistles* legitimize a woman's right to use her voice to instruct others orally and in writing. Christine's aim in including her *Rose Epistres* in the Duke's MS was to inspire women to instruct others through their eloquence. The eloquence of Christine, Queen Ysabel, and Anne de Bourbon, which rendered more persuasive the advice they offered respectively to Louis de Guyenne and the future Charles VIII, helped to assure legitimate dynastic succession. Gerson stressed this theme in his *Vivat Rex* sermon that was preserved in the Moulins library in Français 926, a devotional collection presented to Marie de Berry in May 1406 by her Franciscan confessor.⁴⁰ The scribe of the majority of the collection was Pierre de la Croix, who also copied the Duke's MS (Delsaux, “Profil”).

Français 926 would have held a special attraction for Anne de France. Its dedication miniature depicts Marie de Berry, accompanied by a woman who in all likelihood is Marie's daughter Bonne d'Artois, who together pray to be remembered by the Virgin and Child seated before them. It is appropriate that Français 926 includes Gerson's *Vivat Rex* (to which Français 2829 makes reference), a sermon in which the preacher reaffirms the principle of dynastic succession while placing new emphasis on the queen's role in assuring it (Walters, “Le thème du livre” 319, 322). Female eloquence informed by Church doctrine was an ideal for all royal ladies, and nowhere did Christine promote that ideal more forcefully than in her *Rose Epistles*, which were present in the Moulins library in the Duke's MS. The Duke's MS and Français 926, both books having been transmitted to Anne and her descendants through Marie de Berry, encouraged Anne to live up to the ideals of eloquence and wisdom demonstrated by Marie. Christine had also respectfully addressed Marie as one mother to another in her *Epistre de la Prison de Vie Humaine* of 1418.⁴¹ In so doing, she appealed to Marie as a maternal model of wisdom and eloquence, a model exemplified above all by Saint Louis's mother, Blanche de Castille. A line of French ladies stretching from Blanche to Marie de Berry would have inspired Anne's benevolent instruction of family members.⁴²

Another reason for believing that the Duke's MS played a key role in inspiring the composition of the encomium to Anne is that the poem's depiction of the perfect lady in Français 24392 patently recalls the portrait found in the *Complainte amoureuse* in the Duke's MS. Here is how the male lover praises the noble woman of royal blood in Français 835:

...tres belle nee
 Dame d'onneur en ce monde ordonnee
 Pour ma plaisant joyeuse destinee,
 De qui je port
 Empreinte a ou cuer, toute heure de l'annee
 La tres plaisant face escripte et signee
 Et vo beaute parfaicte et affine (f. 51v)

...very beautifully born,
 Lady of honor commanded [to be] in this world
 For my pleasant joyous destiny
 Of whom I bear
 Imprinted on my heart, every hour of the year,
 The very pleasant face written and signed,
 And your perfect and refined beauty.

The poet's use of the term "*ordonnee*" calls for comment. God commanded (or ordered) the appearance in the world of the lady, who was honorable because she was "well ordered." This means that she had mastered her senses through her reason, thereby reflecting, albeit imperfectly, the *imago Dei*, the perfect image that human beings should strive to incarnate in their person despite its obfuscation by original sin. The *Complainte* describes the effect that a virtuous royal lady should have on a man at court. He should adore her as a superlative creation, sent to him by God to guide him toward perfection, rather than as a prey to be seduced for his carnal satisfaction. The poem transforms the eroticism of a love relationship into a higher form of devotion to the lady, expressed in the language of religious contemplation and devotion. Its vision of feminine perfection recalls the final lines of the encomium in Français 24392, where the poet lauds his lady as "si parfaicte femme / Digne de los," the idea being that human beings who show forth God's original intentions for humanity are eminently worthy of praise.

The encomium conceives of both Christine and Anne as ladies who guide others to perfection through their eloquence. This idea is illustrated in the final miniature of the *Epistre Othea* in the Duke's MS. On folio 46r of Français 606 (Ouy et al. 266), the Cumaeen sibyl, one of Christine's most potent alter egos, has Emperor Caesar Augustus recog-

nize that instead of establishing himself as a god (his predecessor, Julius Caesar, had been deified by Senate decree in 44 BC), his people should revere the savior, who is represented in the miniature as the Christ Child whom the Virgin Mary holds on her lap. The French monarchy, with Christine as its spokesperson, thereby co-opts one of Christianity's defining icons in the service of its hereditary dynasty. In Section VII, I examine a key passage in Français 24392 that describes how human affairs are to be guided by the "sibylline eloquence" of French ladies.

PART II

V. Français 24392: A Christianized *Rose* for Anne de France

I begin Part II of this essay by showing how in Français 24392 the *Rose* becomes a mirror for royal lovers, where the text's protagonist, the Lover (referred to as "Amans" in Appendix I and II), is a prince whose marriage and legitimate offspring will further dynastic succession. As we have seen in Part I, Français 24392 associates Christine's memory, preserved in the encomium, with its portrait of a reformed Jean de Meun. The encomium, as we recall, was added to a previously existing collection in which Jean de Meun had been rehabilitated as a good Catholic and as an authoritative teacher. The three religious texts that Jean supposedly composed at the end of his life, and which are present in Français 24392, depict him dying a good death.⁴³ By Jean's demise around 1305, he had become a devoted servant of the monarchy, as is apparent in the list of his works that he gives in his *Livre du comfort de philosophie*. We know that Christine was aware of this list, because she cites it in the debate (Hult 164–65). Among Jean's texts was the recasting of Vegetius that in 1284 he presented to Jean de Brienne, the crusade companion of Louis IX and Jean de Joinville. And it was Saint Louis's grandson, Philippe IV le Bel (r. 1285–1314), who commissioned the *Livre du comfort* from Jean de Meun. It is clear that by the second half of his career Jean had allied himself with the future Saint Louis and members of his "most Christian" monarchy.

A high priority for Philippe IV le Bel was the promotion of royal ladies in the tradition established by his grandfather and continued by his father, Philippe III, the king for whom Louis IX had composed his *Enseignements*.⁴⁴ Some time between 1297, when Louis IX was canonized, and 1305, Philippe le Bel founded the Dominican abbey of Saint-Louis-de-Poissy, choosing for it the spot where Blanche had given birth to Louis in the flesh and later in the spirit, when she had him baptized.⁴⁵ Philippe named as its first prioress Marie de Bourbon,⁴⁶ who was daugh-

ter to Saint Louis's son, Robert de Clermont, and sister to Jeanne de Bourbon, Charles V's queen. In her *Dit de Poissy* (Duke's MS, Français 835, ff. 74r–86v) Christine describes her visit c. 1400 to visit her daughter, born Marie de Castel, a nun in Poissy. Christine's Marie had entered Poissy in 1397 along with the royal daughter, Marie de Valois. Christine takes care to note that the then prioress was (a later) Marie de Bourbon and that she was King Charles VI's aunt (line 253).⁴⁷ This would make her the great aunt of Charles VI's daughter, Marie de Valois, whose presence in the abbey is also noted by Christine (lines 275, 281). Marie de Valois eventually became Poissy's prioress, a position that she occupied until her death in 1438. We can easily understand why it would have been essential for Christine and Gerson to call for a recasting of the *Rose* in function of Jean de Meun's later, highly prominent status as a staunch supporter of France's "most Christian" monarchy, which conceived of leading, and spiritually informed, roles for its women.

The planner of Français 24392 devotes the entire, extensive pictorial cycle of Jean's continuation (83 miniatures) to transforming this author into a teacher of correct Church doctrine suitable for the instruction of a "most Christian" prince. First of all, the planner designs a *Rose* that is more in line with Christian doctrine. Let me note here that insofar as there are other copies and versions that try to make the *Rose* more Christian-appropriate through redaction or heavily glossing the text, this manuscript accomplishes that goal differently by using miniatures and other paratextual features to draw attention to Christian details, promote Christian interpretations, and perhaps forestall more worldly mental images by conditioning the reader to see Christian symbols and allegories.

The most conspicuous revision comes in the passage in which Nature instructs Genius.⁴⁸ There the planner supplies two miniatures not seen elsewhere, in which Nature expounds upon the Trinity and the significance of Christ's passion and death.⁴⁹ These two are part of a group of five closely spaced miniatures, extending from folio 153r to 154r (Appendix I), in which Nature acts as an authoritative female teacher well versed in Christian doctrine.⁵⁰ There the miniature heading Genius's discourse on the Park of the White Lamb (f. 163r, Appendix I) is introduced by rubrics that condition the reader to interpret the episode in more conventionally doctrinal terms than was usual (Tesnière 126). And this densely rubricated and illuminated copy of the *Rose* ends with a highly stylized scene in which Jean de Meun, in Marie-Hélène Tesnière's words, authoritatively oversees the Lover as he "pudiquement"—which I translate here as "prudently and with no impure inten-

tions”—plucks the rose (f. 175r, Appendix I; Tesnière 126–27). This is a scene calculated to please a high-minded female reader. I agree with Tesnière’s suggestion that the planner of Français 24392 was presenting a rehabilitated Jean de Meun in response to the criticisms leveled by Christine and Gerson.

In Français 24392 the *Rose* becomes a mirror for royal lovers, where the Lover is a prince whose marriage and legitimate offspring will further dynastic succession. The Lover can perfect himself according to this model when he is guided by poet / preachers like Français 24392’s rehabilitated Jean de Meun. When in the miniature on folio 6v Oiseuse opens the garden door to the Lover, the mirror in her hand reflects his face, not hers, as is typically seen.⁵¹ The mirror she holds up to him is a mirror of self-knowledge and self-correction. The mirror motif appears again later on in Français 24392 in a series of miniatures depicting the battle between the personification figures representing the competing emotions felt by the lady in response to the Lover’s advances. In six of these miniatures (those found on folios 125r, 125v, and 126r, Appendix I), the shield serves as a mirror. A similar shield is depicted in the miniature on folio 167v, described in the introductory rubrics as “Cy met exemple comme perteulz / Le filz Jovis desconfit medusa” (“Here is placed the example of how Perseus / Son of Jove outwits Medusa”). The Perseus episode, which the rubrics specifically identify as an example, can justifiably be seen as the manuscript’s crowning example.⁵² The miniature introduces the Medusa interpolation. As Sylvia Huot describes him, Perseus, the good knight, triumphs over adversity and evil by observing Medusa “in the polished shield of Athena, the mirror of wisdom and prowess” (Huot “The Medusa” 871–72). In Français 24392 the Lover escapes the dangers of feminine seductiveness, redeeming erotic desire through procreation performed as a dynastic duty.⁵³

This is in line with the interpretation given by Christine in the Perseus exemplum in the *Othea* found in the Duke’s MS (Français 606). The *Othea* is a compendium of 100 doctrinally correct examples, which were informed by Gerson’s French sermons (Walters, “Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson”).⁵⁴ In her “Glose” to that exemplum (no. 55), Christine warns Othea’s mythological addressee Hector, and her own historical addressee the dauphin Louis de Guyenne, to avoid looking directly at the Gorgon, a beautiful woman whose glance turns men to stone. Instead, Hector and Louis should protect themselves with a shield that deflects the Gorgon’s fatal glance by reflecting her image. Christine describes how the shield becomes a mirror of self-correction for Perseus: [he] “se mira en son escu, c’est a dire en la force et chevalerie” (“[He] mirrored himself in his shield, that is to say, in force and in chivalry”). Christine’s “Allegorie” reads:

Que Gorgon ne doye regarder, c'est que le bon esperit ne doit regarder en penser a delices quelconques, mais soy mirer en l'escu de l'estat de perfeccion. (Parussa 277).

That Gorgon should not be looked at [directly], that is that the good spirit must not look at or think about any [carnal] delights, but look at him- or herself in the mirror of the state of perfection.

According to Christine's interpretation the maternal figure—Othea, and, by extension, Queen Ysabel—is a good Venus facilitating fertile dynastic marriage.⁵⁵ In Français 24392 Lady Nature is a female teacher who gives Genius / Jean the instruction he needs to rehabilitate himself and his “mirror for lovers.”

The planner presents Jean de Meun as a corrected figure of the preacher Genius, who gives proper teaching to the Lover from the beginning of his Continuation. In the miniature on folio 33r, Jean, identified by the rubric, wearing blue robes and an authoritative cap, instructs the Lover with pointed index finger, a gesture of instruction employed throughout the pictorial cycle. In the series of five miniatures that we have discussed above, Jean is then conflated with Genius, who is corrected by receiving proper doctrinal teaching from Nature. On folio 156r, Genius, now identified with the transformed preacher Jean de Meun, writes the pardon and sentence that Nature delivers to the army of the Dieu d'amours. On folio 156v we have the second of two miniatures portraying Nature working in her forge to perpetuate the continuation of the species (the first is found on folio 129r, to be discussed below), to which is added a representation of Genius / Jean, who, hatless and in sackcloth (worn to make public repentance), appears before the Dieu d'amours to beg forgiveness for his transgressions.⁵⁶ Note that the Dieu d'amours here is crowned and haloed, as he is throughout this *Rose*, to show that he sanctifies divinely ordained royal love and marriage. On folio 157v, Genius / Jean preaches to the barons what Nature has told him to say, followed by his highly Christianized speech on the Park of the White Lamb. The Venus who then sets fire to Pygmalion's image and Jealousy's Castle is a good Venus rather than an evil one. She is a Venus of dynastic procreative love, practicing a type of eroticism that would lead a good prince to produce legitimate offspring.

The transformation of a bad Venus into a good one is a prominent theme in the pictorial cycle of Français 24393. The illuminator first presents a bad Venus.⁵⁷ On folio 128r an envoy comes to Venus with a message of her son's love for her. As states the rubric accompanying the next miniature (f. 128r), mother and son have their barons swear vows on their leather armor (“*cuirees*”) instead of on relics.⁵⁸ The depiction of

the bad Venus, which is associated with the first image of Nature working in her forge, folio 129r, culminates in the image of Venus taken in adultery on folio 145v.⁵⁹ But after Nature has instructed Genius in the basics of the Christian faith—teaching him about the Trinity, Christ’s sacrificial passion to redeem humanity, and most significantly, about the Virgin’s role in the divine plan, Nature is pardoned, thus allowing Venus to become a natural force for good. The natural world is redeemed by its progression toward salvation at the end of time,⁶⁰ a progression led by ladies who pattern their actions on those of the Virgin and her court of female saints of Book 3 of Christine’s *Cité des dames*, the final text in the Duke’s MS. Significantly, in *Cité* Book 3, Chapter 3, Christine has Nature take her place alongside the Three Virtues of Reason, Rectitude, and Justice.

In her *Epistre au Dieu d’amours* (Duke’s MS, Français 835, ff. 45r–50r), Christine creates a true ‘God of Love’, a Cupid who defends women just as France is supposed to do. Her Cupid has a good mother, a good Venus. Christine sums up her conception of the role of this exemplary mother in her pithy dictum: “Car aux meres bien ressemblent les fieulz” ‘For sons most certainly resemble their mothers’. She thereby suggests that the fate of France’s sons is inextricably tied up with their mothers’ moral character and the quality of their teachings. This applies both to herself as mother to Jean de Castel and to Ysabel as mother to the dauphin Louis de Guyenne. It likewise applies to Blanche de Castille, who represents the quintessential good Venus, as Christine understands the concept.⁶¹ Blanche’s teachings had a determinant effect on her son, the future Saint Louis, as we have seen, and about which we will have more evidence below. Blanche was also a miracle of fertility. She gave birth to 12 children, 10 of whom were sons, the eldest, Louis, becoming king of France. But despite her multiple pregnancies which alone would have tired out a lesser woman,⁶² she also headed military campaigns alongside Louis.⁶³ Although she was a less prolific a mother than Blanche, Anne de France similarly appeared in battle alongside her brother Charles. As guide and counselor for her brother, the future king, and for her own daughter, Anne was a model regent like her predecessors Blanche and Ysabel.

VI: Anne de France and the Regents Praised by Christine.

The comments made by Anne de France in her *Enseignements à sa fille* suggest that she had patterned her conduct as regent on the portraits of

her blood relations, Ysabel de Bavière and Blanche de Castille, whom Christine holds up as models in texts housed in the Moulins library. In *Cité* 2.68 Christine gives Queen Ysabel pride of place her list of nine noteworthy ladies of the French royal court:

la noble royne de France, Ysabel de Baviere, a present par la grace de Dieu raignant, en laquelle n'a raim de cruauté, extorcion ne quelconques mal vice, mais toute bonne amour et benignité vers ses subgiez. (Duke's MS, Français 607, f. 66; Curnow 2: 967)⁶⁴

the noble queen of France, Ysabel de Baviere [...] reigning now by the grace of God, and in whom there is not a trace of cruelty, extortion, or any other evil vice, but only great love and benevolence toward her subjects. (*Cité* 2.68)⁶⁵

Christine's praise of Ysabel leads back to her praise of Blanche. In her 1405 *Epistre a la Royne* (Epistle to the Queen), Christine addresses Ysabel with a passage contrasting Blanche with perverse and defamed queens like the Old Testament Jezebel:

...la très saige et bonne royne de France, Blanche, mere de Saint Louys, quant les barons estoient en descort pour cause de regenter le royaume, ne prenoit-elle son filz mendre d'aage entre ses bras, et entre les barons le tenoit disant: "Ne voyez-vous vostre roy? Ne faites chose dont, quant Dieu l'ara conduit en aage de discretion, il se doye d'aucun de vous tenir pour mal content." Et ainsi par son sens les appaisoit. (Duke's MS, Français 605, f. 2r).

the very wise and good queen of France, Blanche, mother of Saint Louis, when the barons had a disagreement about the regency of the kingdom, did she not take her underage son in her arms and hold him before the barons, saying: "Do you not see your king? Do not do anything that, when God will have brought him to the age of reason, he will declare himself discontented with any of you." And thus by her good sense she appeased them.

Christine similarly praises Blanche in *Cité* 1.13:

Et semblablement se peut dire de la tres saige, et en tous cas bonne, la noble royne Blanche, mere de saint Loys, qui tant noblement et prudentment gouverna le royaume de France tant que son filz fu mendre d'aage, que oncques mieulx par homme ne fu gouverné. Et meesmement quant il fu grant, par l'espreuve du saige gouvernement d'elle fu tousjours chief du conseil, ne riens n'estoit fait sans elle, et meesmement en guerre suivoit son filz." (Duke's MS, Français 607, f. 11r; Curnow 2: 669)

And similarly, I could tell you a story about the very wise and always good, the noble queen Blanche, Saint Louis's mother who very nobly and prudently governed the kingdom of France as long as her son was underage, so that it was never better governed by a man. And similarly when he was grown up, she proved herself such a wise governor that she was always head of council, and nothing was done without her. She even followed her son into battle.

In *Cité* 2.65 Christine recounts that Blanche cunningly converted into a political asset Thibaut I's illicit desires for her, winning a permanent ally for her young son, the future Saint Louis. How she tamed his passion is telling—she did so with her eloquent words of testimony to her irreproachable virtue. This is how Thibaut responded to her:

Toutesvoies, luy respondi que elle ne se doubast que jamais guerre ne feroit au roy, ains vouloit estre tout sien, et que elle fust certaine que cuer et corps et quanque il avoit estoit tout soubmis au commandement d'elle. Sy l'ama toute sa vie depuis celle heure et ne laissa pour pou d'esperance que il eust d'avenir a s'amour. Et faisoit ses complaints a amours en ses dittiez en louant moult grandement sa dame. Lesquelz moult bialuz dittiez que il fist furent mis en chans moult delictables. Et les fist escripre en sa sale a Prouvins et aussi a Trois, en encores y apperent. Et ainsi te pourroye dire d'assez d'autres." [...] (Duke's MS, Français 607, f. 65r; Curnow 2: 961–62)

In any case, he responded to her that she should have no fear that he would ever wage war on the king, for he would always remain his loyal subject. Moreover, she could be sure that not just his mind and body, but everything he owned, were entirely at her disposal. From that moment on, he adored her for the rest of his life, even though he had little hope of ever seeing his passion requited. He gave expression to his feelings of longing by writing poetry in which he sang his lady's praises most beautifully. These lovely poems were later set to music and made into delightful songs. The count had the texts inscribed on the walls of his great halls in both Provins and Troyes, where they still can be seen to this day. I could go on to tell you about many other women like this.

Christine's passage illustrates the didactic value of women's eloquence. Blanche protected her young son against rebellious nobles when she made Thibaut Louis's lifelong ally. By preserving her chastity, she diverted his erotic desire for her into channels more beneficial to the monarchy (Clavier, "*Les Enseignements*" 30). Christine's lesson is that women who are

able to master their bodies as well as their spirit can thereby dominate men, including those as fearless as the Count of Navarre.⁶⁶

Anne summed up this educative process in her *Enseignements*: “Car par leur ferme chasteté et bonne vertu sont cause de réduire les folz, désordonnez en leur charnalité, à bonne voye” (“Because by their firm chastity and good virtue they return the foolish ones, disorderly in their carnality, to the right way”; Clavier and Viennot 30–31). Ladies’ impregnable virtue had a crucial part to play in the monarchy’s goal of continual self-improvement. By preserving her chastity Blanche teaches honor to men, by gently but firmly turning away their misplaced advances. Her act had long-lasting ramifications. It led to the enrichment of the dynastic line. Thibaut’s son, Thibaut II, married Ysabel, granddaughter of Blanche, the queen whom his father had been unable to seduce.⁶⁷ Although Christine does not spell it out, for her Blanche was the perfect example of how a queen’s mastering of male desire could influence the purity of the royal line and thereby raise the status of the French monarchy. The argument underlying Christine’s sustained promotion of Blanche, both in the *Cité des dames* and elsewhere, is that women well schooled in Church doctrine had a duty to instruct their male relatives and associates. This gains added power with the realization that Thibaut II’s wife Ysabel was the wise and virtuous daughter to whom Saint Louis directs his instruction in the *Enseignements à Ysabel*. The queen of Navarre carries on the example of her grandmother Blanche, whose piety and concern for her son’s advancement anchored his rule. In writing his *Enseignements* Saint Louis encouraged later royal women to follow that same example. We have seen that the author of the *Livre des faiz* repeats the lessons the King had passed on to his descendants in that text. Again, we can envision Christine as perpetuating a tradition begun by Saint Louis, who had absorbed the lessons taught to him by his mother and appreciated the alliances that she had formed, alliances that enabled him to strengthen France’s “most Christian” monarchy.

Christine’s praise of Blanche as a model regent (*Cité* 1.13; 2.65) echoes the praise of Blanche made by Primat, the original chronicler of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, for having accomplished the task required of all Christian queens, to “bien endoctriner et enseigner” ‘indoctrinate well and teach’, Viard 7: 34) future monarchs. This is exactly what Anne did for her brother Charles, conditioning him for the time when he would rule by himself. Women’s efforts to guide those in their charge had their source in the story that Augustine, in his *Confessions*, told about his mother. In *Cité* 1.10 Christine retells that story, mentioning that Augustine’s mother received the backing of Ambrose in

her (eventually) successful attempts to persuade her apostate son to renounce his heretical Manichean beliefs. (Otherwise, as Christine tactfully insinuates, he would have gone to hell instead of becoming a Church luminary.) Christine's underlying point is that a mother's piety is just as important in realizing monarchical ends as her son's commanding intelligence.⁶⁸ Anne also makes this point when she claims that there is no higher pleasure for fathers and mothers than to have children well "endoctrines" 'indoctrinated' (Clavier and Viennot 81), a term echoing the reference to Blanche in the *Grandes Chroniques*.⁶⁹ When Anne de France explains to her daughter how virtuous women can teach correct behavior, she relies heavily, albeit implicitly, on Blanche de Castille as an example of the model French regent that, as we have seen, Christine implicitly holds up to Ysabel. Anne follows Christine and Primat in believing that education begins with the religious training that mothers give their children.

Blanche's exemplary conduct, lauded by Augustine in his well-circulated *Confessions*, was known throughout early fifteenth-century France. We can cite the sermon that Gerson preached to professors and students at the Collège de Navarre on 25 August 1401, the anniversary of the birth of Saint Louis. In it he explains that teachers have the obligation to address their students with the same words full of religious and maternal piety with which the mother of Saint Louis exhorted the illustrious young man. Gerson quotes Blanche as having said to her son: "I would rather, dear son, that you incur a temporal death than that you offend your Creator owing to some mortal sin."⁷⁰ The preacher's quotation shows that Louis's injunction to avoid mortal sin originally came from Blanche.⁷¹ What Gerson's words bring out is that Louis's mother had inspired her son's exceptional piety. This explains why the preacher and Christine placed so much emphasis on maternal instruction. Saint Louis advises his daughter to avoid mortal sin in paragraph 6 of the *Enseignements à Ysabel*, where he dramatically says that it would be better for her to let herself be torn limb from limb or be tortured to death than to commit a mortal sin. The injunction to avoid mortal sin was well known outside of academic circles. Gerson's own mother Elisabeth la Charnière employed it in a letter, dated to c. 1396–97. "I would rather see your bodily death," she writes to her sons Jean and Nicolas, "than see you living and persisting in mortal sin's filth" (McGuire 155).⁷²

From individual households to the highest university levels, early fifteenth-century France prized women as "indoctrinators" of religiously inflected wisdom. Their role was to guide their relatives and associates, firmly but affectionately, according to the principles of Christian doc-

trine. One way that they did so was through their eloquence. Prestige was accorded to the simple but determined persuasiveness of men's mothers, sisters, and wives (Clavier and Viennot 41, 81, 87, 90). Insisting that a courtly lady must use her tongue with skill, Anne testifies to the fact that "la plus noble chose que Dieu ait mise en creature est la parole" ("the noblest thing that God has placed in his creature is the word"; Clavier and Viennot 67). A woman who could eloquently speak or write was considered to be truly noble. For the encomium poet of Français 24392, Anne de France was a worthy follower of Christine de Pizan.

VII: Anne and Christine: Eloquent Patrons for the Body Politic

For Christine, wise and virtuous ladies such as Saint Augustine's mother and Blanche de Castille justified France's pretensions, as they are stated in the *Grandes Chroniques*, to be seen as a "dame renommee seur autres nations." Anne de France bought into the same state-sanctioned attitudes as Christine. For Anne, as for Christine, great ladies are more in the public eye than others. As such, each one of them must be a model, a "patron" for them.⁷³ In Anne's words, "Car, en toutes choses, elles sont et doivent être, le miroir, patron, et exemple des autres" ("For in all things, they are and should be, the mirror, pattern, and example for others"; Clavier and Viennot 65). As Tatiana Clavier puts it so well, Christine emphasizes over and again that "la responsabilité de la femme noble concerne avant tout sa propre image" ("the responsibility of the noblewoman concerns above all her own image"; Clavier "Les Enseignements" 28). This was as true for Anne as it had been for Christine.

Christine was well aware that a noblewoman's conduct was motivated by her concern to increase the luster of her already distinguished ancestral line (Clavier and Viennot 20, 58; Klapisch-Zuber; Lequain). In the Prologue that she composed expressly for inclusion in her masterpiece, London, British Library, Harley MS 4431, she sums up her attitude toward Queen Ysabel by addressing her as "Haulte dame d'attraction / D'empereurs de digne memoire" ("lofty lady of the line of emperors of worthy memory"; Walters, "Christine de Pizan's Prologue"). This goes along with Anne's words: "la nature des nobles...doit etre d'accroitre leur renommee de bien en mieux, en vertus qu'en savoir" ("the nature of nobles...must be to increase their renown from good to better, in virtue as in learning"; Clavier and Viennot 20). Learning and virtue were taught both directly by people during their own lifetime and indirectly by books that preserved their teachings for the benefit of future

generations. Through the eloquent advice that she dispensed when she was alive, Anne guided her brother, the underage King Charles VIII, and her daughter Suzanne. We know a lot about what she said and did with her daughter because she inscribed her teachings in her *Enseignements*. There Anne prescribed a strict line of conduct for Suzanne, who in her turn was supposed to be a “miroer patron et exemple” ‘mirror, pattern, and example’ for women in her charge in the court that she would go on to form.

The notion that Anne was an eloquent “*patron*” for her daughter, and more generally speaking, for the entire body politic, is rendered visually by the Maître des Moulins in a triptych commissioned by Anne and her husband Pierre II de Bourbon for the church of Notre-Dame-de l’Annonciation in Moulins c. 1501. The Maître des Moulins cast Anne and Pierre as civic patrons.⁷⁴ On either side of the enthroned Virgin and child are Pierre and Anne together with their patron saints. On our left Pierre is presented to the viewer by Saint Pierre, who holds the keys to the heavenly city; on our right Sainte Anne designates Anne de France kneeling before her with her daughter Suzanne (“Suz-anne”) at her side.

The image presents Anne as the mother and educator of her line. Her role as patron or model for the body politic is sanctified by her patron saint, Saint Anne, whose most frequent representation shows her teaching her daughter, the Virgin, from an open book. The image of the mother teaching her child is recalled in the opening miniature of the original manuscript of the *Enseignements*, now in St Petersburg, where Anne and Suzanne are shown side-by-side reading from open books (reproduced by Clavier and Viennot 36 and by Chazaud 1). The image represents female eloquence put to the use of later generations. As my discussion has shown, this was a lesson that Anne had learned from reading Christine. The prayer that the author and bookmaker addresses to her patron saint Christine in *Cité* 3.10 sanctifies the lessons she hands down to women of present and future ages.

As Christine demonstrates in speaking of Blanche de Castille’s effect on Count Thibaut, the Frenchwoman of royal blood should be an example for the men around her. In citing the effect of Blanche’s conduct on the king of Navarre, which, as I have pointed out, influenced the monarchy’s evolution to a higher state, Christine stressed the educative value of the example set by a woman of high morals, speaking with simple eloquence (Clavier, “*Les Enseignements*” 30). It is then not totally unexpected that a poet (Jacques de Brézé?) would add an encomium to Anne to Français 24392. It is even all the more likely given that this manuscript, in its original early fifteenth-century state, had already fore-



Fig. 1. Saint Anne presents Anne de France and her daughter Suzanne in the right-hand panel of a triptych found in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame-de l'Annonciation, Moulins, c.1501. [DEA / G. DAGLI ORTI] / [De Agostini] / Getty Images

grounded female eloquence in a Christianized reworking of the *Rose*, which was calculated to please high-minded female readers like Anne and Christine.

The encomium poet compares Anne's notable speaking ability to Christine's in Français 24392, a manuscript in which the *Rose* contains a key passage about the salutary effects of female eloquence.⁷⁵ This passage concerns a line of sibyls preparing a new Golden Age through their divinely mandated persuasive speech. The passage appears on folio 154v, a heavily rubricated folio that follows folios 153r–154r, which I have discussed above, in which there are five miniatures of Nature instructing Genius in the basics of Christian faith. The rubric on folio 154v that merits our attention is the following:

Cy recite a propos les bucoliques
 Virgile es quelles il est trouvé que le
 Saint Esperit denonça a Sebile l'incarnation

A propos here is Virgil's *Bucolics*
 In which it is written that the Holy Spirit
 Announced the Incarnation to the Sibyl

The rubric is followed immediately by this text:

Car es bucoliques Virgile
 Lison ceste vois de Sebile
 Du Saint Esperit enseignie
 Ja nous est nouvelle lignie
 Du hault ciel ca jus envoiee
 Pour avoir gent destinee
 Dont li siècle de fer faudroit
 Et cil d'or el monde saudroit

Because in Virgil's *Bucolics*
 We read about this voice of the sibyl
 Taught by the Holy Spirit
 That the new line has been sent to us
 From the highest heaven
 To have a people destined
 To put an end to the age of iron
 And inaugurate the age of gold

These lines claim that the Holy Spirit taught the sibyl not only about the Incarnation, but also about a line of humans of a coming Golden Age. (Virgil's sibyl, we recall, was the Cumaean sibyl whom Christine takes as her alter ego and guide throughout her *Chemin de long estude*, and which she also writes about in her *Epistre Othea* and *Cité des dames* evoked by the encomium poet.) The reference to the Golden Age implies that the incarnate Christ is the prototype of superior human beings. This corresponds to the concept of "deification," which was being debated at the University of Paris by Gerson and others (Walters, "Le thème du livre" 325). The idea was that members of the human line, headed by French monarchs, God's representatives on earth, could ascend to a semi-divine state by patterning themselves on the *imago Dei* that the Creator had hidden in their souls.

The mention of the sibyl preparing the coming of higher beings may be related to the inclusion in Français 24392 of an interpolation that represents ancient heroes such as the Trojans, Alexander the Great, Caesar, and Pompey as being the forerunners of great French leaders to come (Huot, *Rose* 195–206, 372–83). French monarchs could outdo their

Roman predecessors by actualizing the idea that Christ was a Roman citizen living during the reign of Augustus Caesar. A ruler who kept the peace for many years, the Emperor acknowledged that the true God was not himself, but Christ. This is in fact the lesson that the Cumaean sibyl teaches the Emperor Augustus in the final miniature that Christine as scriptorium head had placed in several of the presentation copies of her *Epistre Othea*, including the one found in the Duke's MS, as we have seen above. Christine takes on the persona of the Cumaean sibyl as she produces books in her scriptorium that perpetuate the benefits to the monarchy of women's sibylline counsel. The "new race of men" could refer to dauphins like Charles VIII, who would be guided by Anne's "sibylline" counsel, which would help him govern well despite his youth and inexperience. This new race could also refer to the dauphin Louis de Guyenne, who was guided by the "sibylline" advice of Christine and his own mother, Queen Ysabel. All such women helped assure the coming of a more perfect human race through the eloquent counsel they gave to present and future French monarchs. We are once again encouraged to conclude that it is not by accident that the encomium author added his compliment to Anne to Français 24392.

Books take their place along with other objects like panel paintings in preserving the exemplary image of the royal lady and of the national monarchy that she symbolizes, as in Primat's formulation. This is how Jacques de Brézé celebrates Anne in his *Loenges*. In terms consecrated by the *Grandes Chroniques*, copies of which, we recall, were well represented in the Moulins library, Jacques addresses Anne with a respectful stance devoid of any carnal longing. We hear echoes of the lady as the symbol of France, as per Primat's formulation, in Jacques's apostrophes of Anne:

Qui voudra veoir celle qui la porte oeuvre,
Dont sault l'honneur des François par le monde (Pichon 48)

Who will want to see she who opens the door
Out of which leaps the honor of the French throughout the world

Qui voudra veoir l'escharboucle très clair
Qui resplendist et fait France reluire (Pichon 49)

Who will want to see the very clear carbuncle
Which shines forth and makes France shine with it

These descriptions correspond to Primat's representation of France as a lady who is "renowned over other national monarchies" and to Christine's portrait of the ideal lady in the Duke's MS's lyric *complainte*.

VIII. Conclusions: Remembering Christine

My study shows how Anne de France positioned herself within the tradition of the *Enseignements* first popularized by Saint Louis and developed by Christine. Even more importantly for my argument, the encomium, composed between 1488 and 1498, in the years prior to her *Enseignement à sa fille*, suggests that Anne was already engaged in an ongoing process of self-fashioning based not only on Christine's exemplary portraits of duchess Marie de Berry and queens Blanche and Ysabel—all of whom were blood relatives of Anne or of her descendants, but also on the model of the life that Christine actually lived, a life characterized by her verbal and literary eloquence. Anne de France gave flesh and bone to Christine's ideal of the wise and eloquent royal lady. This female ideal was a fitting complement to that of the poet / prince, the latter best realized in the person of Charles d'Orléans (1394–1465). A prolific poet, Charles was father to King Louis XII, whose marriage to Anne de Bretagne was engineered through the eloquent diplomacy of none other than this same Anne de France.

The analysis that I have pursued here strongly suggests that the encomium in Français 24392 was composed by someone in the circles around Anne, someone who had access to the Moulins library. We can easily envision Jacques de Brézé penning the poem around the time that he composed the encomia to Anne already attributed to him, and doing so on sheets left blank at the end of Français 24392, a manuscript housed in a library to which we can reasonably assume he had access. If the author were not Jacques, then he was a poet who imitated his themes and style, but whose name did not come down to us.

Whether Jacques or an epigone was the author of our encomium, in the poems in Anne's praise that are securely attributed to him, the writer assumes the stance of the exemplary court poet whom Christine strives to form in her texts. Instead of seeking to seduce the lady, a true courtly poet like Jacques acknowledges her transcendent value for her own time and for times to come. Such a poet celebrates the lady's reputation in texts designed to form the ladies of future eras, so that they, like Christine and Anne de France, can educate, through their doctrinally informed eloquence, the human beings of a coming Golden Age. All the examples treated in this essay plead for seeing the memory

of Christine as being intricately and consciously woven into the fabric of the early modern French monarchy. But even more intriguing is the realization that this was a movement that Christine had initiated herself, through the sibylline advice that she had incarnated in the books that her scriptorium prepared for her own times and for future generations.⁷⁶

Notes

1. I gratefully acknowledge the comments made on an earlier version of this paper by anonymous readers of *Digital Philology*.

2. Hedeman 1, 143, 152 discusses how Louis's image as *roi christianissimus* determined the character of the French monarchy.

3. King Charles VI's uncle, the powerful duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Hardi, lent a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* to Queen Ysabel. He also recommended to Christine that she consult copies of it in composing her biography of King Charles V. We can thus assume that these chronicles exercised a disproportionate influence on both Ysabel and Christine. See Walters, "Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson."

4. All translations in this paper are my own, unless I indicate otherwise.

5. Note that I adopt the spelling "Ysabel," which is the way Christine writes the Queen's name in each and every one of her presentation copies. Another reason for calling the queen Ysabel is the fact that she signed letters with that spelling. Her letters in French also began "Ysabel, par la grace de Dieu royne de France" For a transcription of one such letter, see De Pétigny 333–35. I thank Richard C. Famiglietti for this reference.

6. Christine states her belief in the glorious future awaiting the French monarchy in her biography of King Charles V: "Ainsi fu le commencement de celle noble nacion françoise couronnee d'ancienne noblesce laquelle [Dieux mercis !] d'oïr en hoïr est continuee maulgre les flocs de la descordable fortune jusques cy en amendent en bien la laquelle chose dieux otroit tousjours accroissement de gloire jusques au terme des cieulx" ("Thus was the beginning of this noble French nation crowned with ancient nobility, which [thanks be to God!], from heir to heir, has continued to improve up to now, despite the flows of discordant Fortune, to which God granted incessant increase of glory until the end of time"; *Charles V* 1.5). I transcribed the passage from folio 4r of Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5025, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90615927/f8.item>>, a presentation copy dated to 1404–05, transcribed by Hand X (believed to be Christine's; Ouy et al. 504). In all future references to the King's biography, Christine's *Livre des Fais et Bonnes Meurs du Sage Roy Charles V*, I will indicate the book and chapter of the text, referring to it with the shortened title *Charles V*, followed by the page reference(s) to Suzanne Solente's edition. The passage quoted above appears in Solente 1: 13–14, where the editor has added modern punctuation. Solente identifies the *Grandes Chroniques* as one of Christine's main sources.

See Autrand 296–300 for a discussion of Jean de Berry’s feminine based familiar strategy, espoused also by Christine. Autrand notes that the descendants of Jean’s daughters Marie and Bonne included François I and Henri IX.

7. See folios 206r, 207v, and 214r. The author’s name is also written in this way on folios 33r, 85v, and 86v of the *Rose*. Folio 85v contains the variant: “Maistre Jehan Chopinel ‘dit de Meun’.”

8. See <<http://romandelarose.org/#read;Francais24392.177r.tif>>.

9. Roger Wieck and I corresponded by e-mail about this question in August 2014. I thank him for his help in identifying the illuminator. For information on Maître François, who flourished between 1460–80, see Hourihan 2: 612–14.

10. See <<http://romandelarose.org/#read;Arsenal3339.156r.tif>>.

11. The Josephus Master was also associated with the *Cité des dames* Master, so-named after his work on Christine’s most famous text.

12. The name of Jean de Berry is found on folio 3r and folio 160r of Français 380. Jean’s name was erased from the last flyleaf of Français 12595, folio 201r.

13. For Flamel’s signature, see: <<http://romandelarose.org/#read;Francais380.frontmatter.flyleaf.03r.tif>>. It is suggested, at <<http://romandelarose.org/#book;Francais380>>, that the artist of Français 380 might also have illuminated Français 12595.

14. See <<http://romandelarose.org/#read;Francais24392.002r.tif>>. These are the six scenes: The Lover sleeps; the Lover dresses; the Lover washes his hands; the Lover sews up his sleeve; the Lover washes his hands (??) in the stream; the Lover looks at the images on the garden wall.

15. See <<http://romandelarose.org/#read;Francais24392.208r.tif>>.

16. See <<http://romandelarose.org/#read;Arsenal3339.001r.tif>>. These are the five scenes: the Lover in bed, the Lover washes his hands, the Lover sews his sleeves, the Lover washes his face in the stream, the Lover looks at the images on the garden wall. It can be asked if the second washing scene depicted in Arsenal 3339 influenced the theme of the manuscript as a mirror of self-correction in Français 24392, to be discussed below. See also Walters, “The Foot on Which He Limpes” 125.

17. Note that the character of the pictorial cycle had to have been determined to a great extent by the duke de Berry’s planner, who left spaces for the miniatures in the text.

18. Chazaud 231, Entry no.2 records the existence of a *Rose* followed by several other texts. Although it is not unusual for the *Rose* to head a collection, as is the case with Arsenal 3339, Français 380, and Français 12595, the information presented in this paper suggests that this entry could well refer to Français 24392.

19. See, for example, Willard, “Anne de France” 68: “It was France’s misfortune that, because of insistence on the Salic law, she was not allowed to reign in the place of her younger brother, who was all too mesmerized by his

dreams of conquest in Italy. Anne was a realist where her brother was a dreamer, and she was far more capable than he of placing her country's interests above her own." On Christine's use of the term *folle femme*, see Patterson. Patterson points out that calling women *folle* carries a lot of baggage from a biblical register. It boils down to the ubiquitous medieval trope that women's counsel is not to be trusted.

20. Brantôme gives a nuanced portrait of Anne. On the one hand, she was her father's true daughter, vindictive, but, on the other hand, she was kind to those she loved, very clever, and on the whole a good person. See Willard, "Anne de France" 68–69.

21. See Langlois 62 and <<http://romandelarose.org/#read;Francais24392.215v.tif>>.

22. Here and elsewhere I frequently use shortened references to texts. For example, I refer to the *Cité des dames* as *Cité*, the *Epistre Othea* as *Othea*.

23. Marot cites Christine's eloquence in a *rondeau* in celebration of Jehanne Gaillard, dating from before 1527, according to Gérard Defaux; see Ouy et al. 533, n. 13. Brown 233, n. 37 reproduces the entire *rondeau* with an English translation.

24. It is worthy of note that Diane de Poitiers, often represented as a huntress after her Roman namesake, was the second wife of Louis de Brézé, Jacques's son.

25. In his 1858 edition, Pichon refers to the *Loenges* as a poem that Jacques, "le Grand Seneschal de Normandie," sent to M. J. Robertet, "secrétaire du roi et greffier de l'ordre." The poem is composed of 9 stanzas of 11 ten-syllable verses, followed by an envoi of 7 verses. It receives a response composed by M. J. Robertet (Pichon 52–56), secretary to Pierre II and later, to King Charles VIII, whom he addresses in the poem's envoi ("O Roy regnant" 56). Although Robertet also sings Anne's praises, the style of his response disqualifies him from being the author of the encomium to Anne found in Français 24392.

26. "Je m'offre à luy le combater à outrance / Pour soustenir le nom d'Anne de France" (Pichon 47).

27. We know this because Gérard includes an explanatory note in the copy he had made for the royal collection (O'Connell 27–28). O'Connell states that a copy of this text, with the note that Gérard appends to it, "can be found in a manuscript currently held in the Bibliothèque Municipale d'Amiens under the title *Traités et Alliances entre la France et les autres Etats*" (O'Connell 28).

28. In chapter 2.14 of her biography of the 'Wise King' Charles V, Christine, like Gérard before her, celebrates the fact that both Louis and his sister Jeanne were descendants of Saint Louis: they were "venus et descendus par droite ligne et estoc du glorieux roy de France, saint Louys"; Solente 1:153 ("they came and descended in a straight line from, and [were of the] stock of, the glorious king of France, Saint Louis"). Christine's words, which closely echo Gérard's, suggests she was familiar with the copy of the *Enseignements* that was

kept in the royal library as of 1374. But she accords even greater emphasis to the descent of Jeanne and Louis II de Bourbon from Saint Louis than had Gérard, and she does so in order to foreground the efforts of Charles V to connect his Valois dynasty to Saint Louis, which Charles V did through his marriage to Jeanne de Bourbon.

29. Avril and Reynaud 271; Wieck and van Buren 228. Hoover dates it c. 1482.

30. In one of the six scenes depicted on folio 13 of Français 2829, Blanche receives Thibaut, who according to the accompanying text was pardoned for his rebellion against her son through her mediation.

31. Hoover reproduces these scenes in Figure 12 (Hoover 65), which shows a detail of the entire full-page miniature found on folio 64v (Hoover 63). Figure 14 (Hoover 66) shows the bottom marginalia of Figure 10, which portrays a crowned Louis teaching his children assembled before him, while a female attendant encourages them to listen to the lessons given them by their father.

32. Christine did not compose worldly advice for her daughter, because the latter entered a convent, which was considered to be a higher calling than a secular one. Although Christine initially opposed her daughter's vocation, she later praises her for being a source of inspiration and consolation for her. See Walters, "Mother-Daughter Conflicts and Their Resolution."

33. *Pace* Clavier 24, who cites only the 324 volumes of the 1523 inventory, overlooking the books inventoried in 1507 (Chazaud 213–30). Chazaud rectified the errors made in 1850 by Leroux de Lincy in his publication in the *Mélanges de la Société des Bibliophiles* by copying the text from the originals. We add the caveat that inventories are notoriously incomplete; they tell you which books were present in the library when the inventories were made, but cannot provide the complete list of all the books present there from 1400, when Marie became duchess of Bourbon, to 1507, over a century later, when the first inventory was made. I emphasize points made by Clavier: that Anne would have found the majority of her sources for the *Enseignements* in the Moulins library and that the duchesse "conservait l'essentiel des oeuvres de Christine" (Clavier 24).

34. In numerous studies Cynthia Brown and Anne-Marie Legaré have emphasized the importance of the line of transmission of books through women.

35. The Duke's MS is the largest collection of Christine's texts after the Queen's MS (London, BL, Harley 4431), which had been taken to England c. 1429 by the Duke of Bedford or his wife Jaquette de Luxembourg (I write her name as she herself inscribed it in the book).

36. This contains the "second edition" of the *Enseignemens* (Reno 7).

37. The inventory was made at Moulins and signed there on 19 September 1523 by Pierre Antoine "conseiller du Roy nostre sire en son grant conseil" and verified by "maistre Mathieu Espinette," the Bourbons' librarian and canon of Moulins (Chazaud 257). The king in question was François I, who had the inventory made in order to take possession of the Moulins library when he disin-

herited Charles de Bourbon in 1523. At this time all of Christine's books in that collection would have entered the royal library.

38. Let me open a parenthesis to say that although we now have a tendency to discount the importance of Christine's religious texts, to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century reader who added the marginal note, "le meilleur de tout le livre" ("the best of all the book"; f. 63r; Ouy et al. 270), the *Oroyson de Nostre Seigneur*, the reciting of which conveyed an indulgence, was the most valuable thing in the volume.

39. See Thorington. Note that I refer to the text simply as the *Enseignements*, instead of the more usual *Enseignements moraux*, in conformity with Christine's own usage.

40. There were two collections of Gerson's French sermons in the Moulins library (Chazaud 242, Entry no. 141; 253, Entry no. 281); I also note that Gerson's *Mountain of Contemplation* is listed in Chazaud 253, Entry no.289.

41. It is likely that the presentation copy of this text was once present in the Moulins library; see Ouy et al. 713, n. 2.

42. See Crane: "ancestors define descendants because blood is not simply one's own but is continuous through time" (Crane 107).

43. We note parenthetically that this same theme receives illustration in the deathbed scenes of Saint-Louis and Blanche, present on folios 78v and 55 respectively of the *Livre des faiz*, discussed in Part I.

44. Philippe III's queen was another Ysabel, Isabella of Aragon.

45. On the royal abbey of Saint-Louis-de-Poissy, see Erlande-Brandenburg.

46. Marie de Bourbon-Clermont was prioress in name only during her youth, when she presided over the abbey under the direction of Mathée de la Roche (†1334), whom Philippe le Bel had designated to be Marie's *tutrice*.

47. Christine names Marie de Bourbon in line 251. Marie was Poissy's seventh prioress, a position she held from 1380 until her death in 1401.

48. I had already noted this in "The Foot on Which He Limps" 134, n. 37. There is a misprint in 234, n. 38 of that article. It should read: "Schandel confirms Marie-Thérèse Gousset's earlier dating of the manuscript to the third quarter of the fifteenth century."

49. See <<http://romandelarose.org/#read;Francais24392.154r.tif>>.

50. We note that Anne opens her *Enseignements* by addressing her daughter out of the "parfaite amour naturelle" ("perfect natural love"; Clavier and Viennot 37) that she has for her. Anne takes on the role of teacher inspired by her natural love for her daughter that reflects what is found in Français 24392.

51. See Richards on the ambiguous depiction of Oiseuse.

52. Prior rubrics that label the stories they illustrate as examples are found on folio 53r (Charles I of Naples defeats Manfred of Sicily), and on folio 107v (Phyllis hangs herself because of her abandonment by Demophon).

53. See Akbari 305–07 on Christine's borrowings from the *Ovide moralisé*'s portrait of Perseus as "an exemplary figure of knightly virtue."

54. That the *Othea* was her most widely circulated text, as shown by the number of surviving copies, indicates that the public was eager for models informed by proper Church doctrine.

55. She is the goddess Venus to whom the members of her court give their hearts. Although the miniature appearing on folio 6r of Français 606 lacks a rubric, the one introducing a very similar miniature on folio 100r of London, British Library, Harley 4431, reads “cy figurez amans qui lui presentent leurs cuers” (“here are figured lovers who present their hearts to her” [i.e., Venus]). It follows that Christine’s devotion to her husband Etienne (†1390) and their three offspring reinforces her qualifications to be a monarchical spokesperson. Two of her children grew up, under her example and guidance, to be productive individuals and loyal French subjects: her daughter Marie de Castel became a nun at Poissy; her son Jean de Castel became a royal secretary and poet; her second son died young.

56. See <<http://romandelarose.org/#read;Francais24392.156v.tif>>.

57. For the theme of the two Venuses, see Adams, *Violent Passions* 133.

58. Can we read sexual innuendos into the arrows, into Cupid’s hand gesture, and perhaps also into the *cuirees*? The latter are, after all, leather garments, or sheaths of animal skin covering human skin, and as such recall a penis, with its sheath-like casing. Is the planner suggesting a sexual practice that prevents conception, considered to be a sin by the Church?

59. Note the face of the disapproving monk at the top of the facing column of text!

60. This is emphasized by a detail of the miniature on folio 135v that depicts the Divine Creator blessing Nature’s lesson to Genius about the creation of the world. See the discussion by McWebb in this volume.

61. Saint Louis’s pious and powerful mother appears throughout the pictorial cycle of the *Livre de faiz* in Français 2829. Her dying a good death is the subject of a full-page miniature on folio 55.

62. Having 12 children meant that Blanche was pregnant during at least 9 years of her life.

63. See the image on folio 10v, in which the name “Blanche” appears in gold lettering underneath the name “S Loÿs.”

64. I also cite from Curnow’s edition of the *Cité* because her base text is Français 607, part of the Duke’s MS.

65. Jacques describes the regent Anne in similar terms (Pichon 49). Most of all, she lacks cruelty: “Qui cruauté ne procure ou machine / Mais abolist et remet toute injure” (“who neither procures nor machinates cruelty / But abolishes and redeems all injuries”). As Anne’s court poet and close admirer, Jacques may well have patterned his description of Anne on Christine’s portrayal of Queen Ysabel, which he could have read in the Duke’s MS, Français 607, or in the other two copies of the *Cité* found in the Moulins library.

66. In one of the six scenes depicted on folio 13 of Français 2829, Blanche receives Thibaut, who according to the accompanying text was pardoned for his rebellion against her son through her mediation.

67. It appeared to have been a love match. Thibaut II died soon after returning from the Eighth Crusade; Ysabel died soon afterwards, “allegedly suffering from a broken heart when she passed away herself” (O’Connell 56).

68. Christine’s example shows that a mother’s piety is at least as important as her son’s intelligence, a point consonant with the hierarchy established by Saint Thomas Aquinas, in which reason is ultimately subordinate to faith.

69. Copies of the *Grandes Chroniques* were well represented in the Bourbon collections (Chazaud 214 Entry no. 8; 216 Entry no. 31, Entry no. 42; 238, Entry no. 65. This last entry notes that the copy in question is Français 2608; see Hedeman 239–41).

70. See Hult 88. Gerson repeats a well-known anecdote, which had earlier been recounted by Jean de Joinville in his *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin 36 [par. 71]. Joinville cites Louis’s shocked reaction to his own statement that he would rather commit a mortal sin than have leprosy (O’Connell 68).

71. Blanche here models herself on the Virgin mother of God, whose success at avoiding committing a mortal sin earned her the Lord’s invitation, delivered to her at the Annunciation, to facilitate the Incarnation.

72. McGuire identifies it as the same remark that Blanche was remembered as having made (McGuire 414, n. 30).

73. See Walters, “The Foot on Which He Limps” 130 for a treatment of the idea of the “*patron*,” the patron as pattern setter, and the origins of the idea in St Paul’s view of the Bible as the original pattern book.

74. John Hey also portrayed Cardinal Charles II de Bourbon. See Richard 8 for a black-and-white reproduction of the portrait.

75. See Le Ninan 185–224.

76. This is the subject of the book-length study on which I am currently involved, which bears the provisional title: *The Female Creator: Christine de Pizan and Her Books*.

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Appendix I.

Miniatures in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24392, a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose*

Lori J. Walters, Florida State University

PART 1: Guillaume de Lorris

Multi-compartment miniature : 6 scenes organized in 4 compartments

Amans sleeps ¹	
Amans dresses and Amans washes his hands	
Amans sews up his sleeve and Amans washes his hands (?) in the stream	
Amans looks at the images on the garden wall	f. 2r
Portrait of Haine	f. 3r
Portrait of Villenie	f. 3r
Portrait of Covoitise	f. 3v
Portrait of Avarice	f. 3v
Portrait of Envie	f. 4r
Portrait of Tritesece	f. 4v
Portrait of Vieilleice	f. 5r
Portrait of Papelardie	f. 5v
Portrait of Povrete	f. 5v
Amans speaks about the lovely garden	f. 6r
How Oiseuse opens the garden door to Amans	f. 6v
The Carole of the God of Love (i.e., Amors)	f. 8r
Amans at the fountain	f. 13r
Amans looks into the fountain	f. 13v
Amans sees the rosebush in the crystals	f. 14r
Amors strikes Amans as he looks at the rosebud	f. 15r
Amors looks at Amans, whose heart is pierced with an arrow	f. 15v
Amans gives himself over to Amors	f. 16v
Amans, kneeling, does homage to Amors	f. 16v
Amans becomes Amors's man by kissing him	f. 17r
Amors locks Amans's heart with a key	f. 17v
Amans, kneeling, asks Amors for protection	f. 17v
Amors teaches his commandments to Amans	f. 18r
Amans speaks about Amors	f. 23r
Bel Accueil lets Amans approach the rosebush	f. 23r
Bel Accueil allows Amans to pass over the hedge	f. 23v
Amans tells how Dangier chased him from the garden	f. 24v
Reson descends from her tower to teach Amans	f. 24v
Amans asks for mercy from Dangier	f. 26r
Amans tells how Franchise and Pitie come to Dangier	f. 27r

Jalousie speaks to Bel Acueil	f. 29r
Amans tells how Honte and Peor find Dangier asleep under a tree	f. 30r
Jalousie has a tower built to imprison Bel Acueil	f. 31r
TOTAL MINIATURES, PART I	34

PART II: Jean de Meun

Here Master Jean de Meun begins to finish the tale	f. 33r
Reson describes good fortune	f. 39v
Reson describes how Virginius cuts off the head of his daughter Virginia	f. 45v
Reson describes blindfolded Fortune, which makes the rich poor and vice versa	f. 49v
Nero opens up his mother to see where he was born	f. 49v
Nero has his master bled and the good man dies	f. 50r
Nero commits suicide	f. 51v
Phanie speaks to her father Croesus about her dream	f. 52r
Fortune decrees that Croesus be hanged	f. 53r
Another example: Charles I of Naples defeats Manfred, King of Sicily	f. 53r
Amans is comforted by Ami	f. 60r
Jalous says that love and lordship do not go together	f. 69r
Lucretia commits suicide after being raped	f. 70v
Jalous beats his wife, drags her by her hair; neighbors try to stop him	f. 76r
Amans takes leave of Ami	f. 81r
Amans comes upon Richece and her friend resting	f. 81r
Richece speaks of Povrete	f. 82r
Amans asks Amors to forgive him for taking Reson's advice	f. 83v
Amors speaks of Fausemblant	f. 84v
Amors tells his barons how to win the battle	f. 84v
Amors tells how Guillaume de Lorris died and Master Jehan Chopinel, "dit de Meun," finished his book	f. 85v
Amors asks his barons to comfort Amans by letting him take Jalousie's Castle and Amors's prayer for Master Jean de Meun	f. 86r
Amors asks Fausemblant where he lives	f. 88r
Amors prepares his barons for the attack on Jalousie's Castle	f. 97v
Fausemblant and Contreinte Atenance pledge to wage war against Male Bouche	f. 98r
Contreinte Atenance dresses up as a beguine	f. 98r
Fausemblant dresses up as a Jacobin to accompany Contreinte Atenance	f. 98v
Fausemblant & Contreinte Atenance go to Male Bouche before Jalousie's Castle	f. 98v

Amans recounts how Fausemblant & Contreinte Atenance cut Male Bouche's throat	f. 100v
Fausemblant, Contreinte Atenance, Cortoisie, & Largescie speak to Vieille	f. 101r
Vieille comforts Bel Acueil	f. 102r
Vieille lets Bel Acueil approach her	f. 103v
Dido, abandoned, commits suicide	f. 107v
Another example: Phyllis hangs herself because Demophon abandoned her	f. 107v
Medea kills her children because Jason betrayed and deflowered her	f. 108r
Vieille comes to Amans	f. 118v
Vieille lets in Amans	f. 119r
Amans speaks to Bel Acueil	f. 119v
Dangier spies on Amans when he wants to pick the rose	f. 120r
Dangier, Peor, and Honte imprison Bel Acueil	f. 121r
Amors's barons help Amans, who is attacked by Dangier, Peor, and Honte	f. 122r
Amors and his men go on a hunt	f. 122v
The battle between Franchise and Dangier	f. 123v
Pitie comes to help her companion battle Dangier	f. 124v
Honte and Peor speak with Dangier	f. 124v
Honte battles Pitie	f. 125r
Deliz attacks Honte to help Pitie	f. 125r
Bien Celer comes to help Honte attack Deliz	f. 125v
Peor helps Honte fight Bien Celer	f. 125v
Hardement helps Bien Celer fight Peor	f. 126r
Seurte helps Peor fight Hardement	f. 126r
Venus chastises her friend and asks him to remember her chastisement	f. 127v
An envoy comes to Venus with a message about her son's love for her	f. 128r
Venus arrives at her son's camp	f. 128r
Venus and Amors swear their vow on brass (cuivres), not on relics	f. 129r
Nature hammers out the species on her forge	f. 129r
Nature speaks to her priest Genyus about women	f. 132r
The tricks women play to learn their husbands' secrets	f. 133r
Nature confesses to Genyus and tells how the world was created	f. 135v
Deucalion and his wife pray in the temple	f. 142r
Deucalion and wife throw stones behind their backs to create men and women	f. 142r
Venus taken in adultery by Vulcan	f. 145v
Nature recites Plato's example to Genyus	f. 153r
Nature recites another of Plato's examples to Genyus	f. 153v
Nature tells Genyus that Plato, albeit the greatest of philosophers, and the one who knew the most about God, did not know a thing about the Virgin	f. 153v

Nature explains the Trinity to Genyus	f. 154r
Nature explains to Genyus that God suffered death and passion to rescue humans from the hands of the enemy (i.e., the devil)	f. 154r
Genyus writes the pardon and sentence that Nature delivers to the army	f. 156r
Genyus gives absolution and penitence to Nature for her sins	f. 156v
Nature works in her forge and Genyus/Jean, arrayed in sackcloth, appears before Amors	f. 156v
Amors gives Genyus a chasuble, a ring, a cross and a miter	f. 157r
Genyus preaches Nature's message to the barons	f. 157v
Genyus speaks about the Park of the White Lamb	f. 163r
Genyus throws the candle into the place where Venus heats up all women	f. 166r
Venus and the barons attack the castle tower (an unusual two-column miniature)	f. 166v
Example: Perseus outwits Medusa	f. 167v
Pygmalion sculpts the image	f. 168r
Pygmalion, kneeling, begs the image for mercy	f. 169r
Pygmalion clothes his image with robes and jewels	f. 169r
Venus sets fire to Pygmalion's image	f. 170v
Venus sets fire to the castle	f. 171v
Amans embraces the rosebush and plucks the bud, under the watchful eye of Genyus, who is assimilated to the figure of the rehabilitated preacher Jean de Meun	f. 175r
TOTAL MINIATURES, PART II	83
TOTAL MINIATURES	
<i>Roman de la Rose</i>	117
<i>Testament</i>	1
Jean de Meun on his deathbed	f. 177r
<i>Codicille</i>	0
<i>Sept articles de la foi</i>	1
The Trinity	f. 208r
TOTAL MINIATURES, Français 24392	119

1. The spelling of proper names is taken from the Roman de la Rose site, at <http://roman-delarose.org/#chars>. The only exception is L'Amans, which is changed to Amans, on analogy with the other names in which the article is dropped (Vieille, Jalous, etc).

Appendix II.

Miniatures in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 12595 and BnF, MS fr. 380, Two Early Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* owned by Jean de Berry

Molly O'Brien, Florida State University

PART 1: Guillaume de Lorris	BnF, fr. 12595	BnF, fr. 380
Triple portrait of Amans		
1. Amans sleeps		
2. Amans rises and dresses		
3. Amans goes into the countryside	f. 1r	*absent
Single portrait of Amans sleeping	*absent	f. 1r
Portrait of Haine	f. 9	f. 1v
Portrait of Felonie	f. 2v	f. 2r
Portrait of Covoitise	f. 2v	f. 2r
Portrait of Avarice	f. 2v	f. 2v
Portrait of Envie	f. 3r	f. 2v
Portrait of Tritesce	f. 3v	f. 3r
Portrait of Vielleice V V	f. 4r	f. 3v
Portrait of Papelardie	f. 4v	f. 4r
Portrait of Povrete	f. 5r	f. 4r
Oiseuse recounts the creation of the		
Garden of Deduiz	f. 6r	f. 5r
Deduiz and Leesce	f. 7v	*absent
Deduiz and Leesce	f. 7v	*absent
Amors and Douz Regart	f. 8r	*absent
Portrait of Largesce/Richece	f. 9v	*absent
The Dance in the Garden of Deduiz	f. 10v	f. 6v
Amors takes his golden bow	f. 11v	*absent
Amans at the Fountain of Narcisus	f. 12v	*absent
Narcisus at the Fountain	f. 12v	f. 10v
Miroir périlleux	f. 13r	*absent
Amans sees the rose in the mirror	f. 13v	*absent
Amans sees the rose	f. 14r	*absent
Amors shoots Amans with his arrows	f. 14v	f. 12r
Amors grabs hold of Amans	f. 16r	*absent
Amans speaks to Amors	*absent	f. 13v
Amans pays homage to Amors	f. 16v	*absent
Amors locks Amans's heart	f. 17r	f. 14v
Amors and Amans embrace and kiss	*absent	f. 14r
Amors explains his commandments	f. 17v	*absent

Bel Acueil speaks to Amans	f. 22v	*absent
Amans smells the rose	f. 23r	*absent
Dangier warns off Bel Acueil	*absent	f. 19v
Dangier warns off Amans	f. 23v	f. 20v
Reson scolds Amans	f. 25r	f. 21r
Ami counsels Amans	f. 25r	*absent
Amans apologizes to Dangier	f. 25v	f. 22r
Franchise pleads Amans's cause with Dangier	f. 26r	f. 23r
Venus intercedes with Bel Acueil	f. 27v	*absent
Bel Acueil with Amans, who kisses rose	f. 27v	f. 24r
Male Bouche wakes Jalousie	f. 28r	*absent
Jalousie chastises Bel Acueil	f. 28r	*absent
Honte speaks to Jalousie	f. 28v	*absent
Honte speaks to Peor	f. 29r	*absent
Honte and Peor wake Dangier	f. 29v	f. 25vv
Building the Castle of Jalousie	*absent	f. 26v
Amans despairs	f. 32r	*absent
TOTAL MINIATURES, PART I	42	25

PART II: Jean de Meun

Portrait of Jean de Meun	*absent	f. 28v
Reson speaks to Amans	f. 33v	f. 29v
Reson speaks to Amans II	f. 43r	*absent
Virginius pleads with Appius Claudius to return Virginia	f. 43r	*absent
Reson speaks to Amans III	f. 44v	*absent
The Wheel of Fortune	*absent	f. 36v
Virginius beheads Virginia	*absent	f. 38v
The residence of Fortune	f. 45v	*absent
Croesus saved from the pyre	*absent	f. 44r
Seneca kills himself	f. 47v	f. 43v
Nero kills himself	f. 49r	*absent
Phanie interprets Croesus's dream	f. 49v	*absent
Charles I of Naples defeats Manfred, King of Sicily	f. 50v	*absent
Fortune dispenses wine from the barrels of Jupiter	f. 52r	f. 46v
Amans responds to Reson	f. 52v	*absent
Ami again counsels Amans	f. 55r	f. 49r
Amis describes the Golden Age	f. 62v	*absent
Jalous berates his wife	f. 63v	f. 57r
Lucretia kills herself	f. 64v	*absent
Jalous beats his wife	f. 69v	f. 62v
Povrete and Larrecin	f. 71r	*absent

Ami speaks of the prince who would be chosen after the fall of the Golden Age	f. 71v	* absent
Amans finds Richece	f. 74v	f. 67v
Amors speaks to Amans	* absent	f. 69r
Contreinte Atenance and Fausemblant before Amors	f. 77v	* absent
Fausemblant and Amors converse	* absent	f. 73r
Amors prays for the birth of Jean de Meun	f. 78v	* absent
Amors assembles his barons	* absent	f. 70r
Amors responds to his barons	f. 79v	* absent
Contreinte Atenance and Fausemblant approach Male Bouche	* absent	f. 81r
Contreinte Atenance and Fausemblant scold		
Male Bouche	f. 89v	* absent
Vieille gives Bel Accueil a crown of flowers	* absent	f. 84r
Vieille speaks to Bel Accueil	* absent	f. 85v
The battle begins before the castle	* absent	f. 99v
Franchise fights Dangier	f. 111v	* absent
Nature confesses to Genyus	f. 121r	f. 108r
Genyus preaches Nature's message	* absent	f. 125r
Empedocles jumps into the fire	f. 123v	* absent
Genyus absolves Nature	f. 139v	* absent
Amors vests Genyus as bishop	f. 140r	* absent
Genyus preaches Nature's message	f. 140r	* absent
The Fountain of Life	f. 147r	* absent
Venus shouts down Honte	f. 148v	* absent
Venus strings her bow	f. 149r	* absent
Pygmalion carves the image	f. 150r	f. 132v
Pygmalion dresses the image	f. 150v	* absent
Pygmalion petitions Venus	f. 152r	* absent
Pygmalion finds Galatea alive	f. 152v	* absent
Venus burns the castle	f. 153r	f. 135v
Cortoisie speaks to Bel Accueil	f. 153v	* absent
TOTAL MINIATURES, PART II	38	22
TOTAL MINIATURES		
<i>Roman de la Rose</i>	80	47
Testament ¹	1	1
The Trinity	f. 158r	f. 140r
<i>Sept articles de la foi</i>	* absent	1
The Trinity	* absent	f. 154r

<i>Codicille</i>	1	1
The Trinity	f. 189r	* absent
Jean de Meun's coffin	* absent	f. 159v
TOTAL MINIATURES IN MANUSCRIPT	82	50

1. Français 12595 attributes the authorship of the Testament and Codicille to Jean de Meun. The spelling of proper names is taken from the Roman de la Rose site, at <http://romandelarose.org/#chars>. The only exception is L'Amans, which is changed to Amans, on analogy with the other names in which the article is dropped (Vieille, Jalous, etc).