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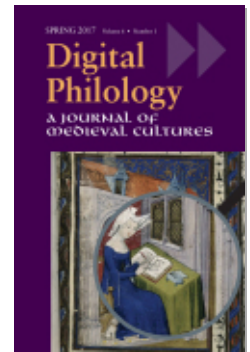
The Manuscripts of the *Livre des fais d'armes et de
chevalerie*

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The Manuscripts of the *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie*

► This article gives the first complete list of all the known manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* (1410) according to their most salient feature, first identified by A. T. P. Byles: those that identify Christine as author and those that remove the female author figure from the text. The article also provides a fuller description of the manuscripts than has hitherto been published and elaborates on the differences noted by Byles between the two major groups, with a view to aiding the selection of manuscripts for a critical edition of this text. Finally, the article suggests a new possible motive behind the initial erasure of Christine's authorship, which affected a large number of manuscripts.

This article is dedicated to the memory of the eminent Christine de Pizan scholar Charity Cannon Willard, who was working on what would have been the first critical edition of the *Fais d'armes* at the time of her death in 2005. Some six years earlier she had published, with her husband, Brig. Gen. Sumner Willard, an English translation of that text under the title *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*. In providing more information on the manuscripts than has previously been published, this article aims to promote further study of this work and, in particular, to be of use to scholars who take on the task of preparing a critical edition. Following the groundbreaking research of A. T. P. Byles, the manuscripts are presented in two groups, A and B, the first group identifying the author as "Cristine" in the prologue and making extensive reference to her in the third and fourth parts of the work. Group B manuscripts, fewer in number, erase Christine from the text and, in most cases, reorganize the tables of contents. Byles's list, which included fifteen manuscripts in all, was expanded to varying degrees in a number of later studies.¹ In the inventory below, Group A manuscripts are divided into original manu-

scripts (those produced under the author's supervision) and later ones.

Before describing the manuscripts, we can develop the differences between the two groups that Byles summed up with admirable clarity. The editorial work involved in transforming the *Fais d'Armes* version A into the B version required numerous detailed modifications. The following differences emerge from a comparison of the earliest known manuscript of each group, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België (KBR) 10476 and 10205, representing the A and B groups respectively.

The changes involved, first of all, the modification of five chapter rubrics that mention the author (I, 1; III, 1; III, 2; IV, 1 and IV, 3), in which the name "Cristine" is replaced by either the masculine nouns "l'auteur" ('the author') or "le disciple," or else eliminated altogether. The opening rubric "Le premier chappitre est le prologue ouquel Cristine se excuse d'avoir osé entreprendre a parler de si haulte matiere que est contenue oudit livre" ("The first chapter is the prologue in which Christine apologizes for having dared to undertake to speak of such high matter as is contained in the said book") becomes, simply, "Le prologue."² The second major change involves the truncation of this initial chapter by half, thus eliminating Christine's justification of her writing about military matters and her invocation of the goddess Minerva in support of her endeavor. The third major change involved the transformation of the feminine author-narrator who dialogues with Honoré Bovey in the third and fourth parts into a masculine figure. Instead of addressing the narrator as "Amie" ('friend') with or without the accompanying adjectives "belle" ('beautiful') or "chier" ('dear'), or as "fille" ('daughter'), Bovey consistently employs the masculine forms "Ami," "Bel amy," "Chier amy," or "filz" ('son'). Fourthly, in four instances, adjectival forms modifying the subject "je" ('I') are changed to the masculine form. Fifthly, the tables of contents, found at the beginning of each part in A-group manuscripts, are grouped together at the beginning of B-group manuscripts, and in most members of this group, numbered consecutively, with some chapters being broken up; for example, III, 14 becomes chapters 76, 77 and 78. Red metarubrics are added in the table of contents and text in B-group manuscripts to introduce the subject matter treated in successive chapters. For example, in the table, before chapter 43 (formerly II, 13), the metarubric "Cy commence a parler de combatre et defendre chasteaux et forterescs" ("Here begins the matter on attacking and defending castles and fortresses") introduces a number of chapters that treat various aspects of the topic. In general, B-group manuscripts shorten the original rubrics, although there are some cases where B rubrics are longer. A sixth major change involves the disap-

pearance of the female author pictured in the miniatures of a majority of A-group manuscripts. B-group manuscripts are less likely to contain any illustration, but when they do, they either replace the female- with a male-author (nos. 17 and 21) or illustrate the work with military scenes involving only male protagonists (no. 19).³

In addition to the six groups of changes outlined above, very numerous textual variants are found in manuscripts of both the A and B groups.

It has generally been assumed that the B-group manuscripts reflect either a disbelief that a woman could have written the work (Willard, “Louis de Bruges” 194) or an accommodation of the prejudices its audience harbored with regard to the idea of female authorship of a treatise on warfare (Delsaux). The oldest B-group manuscript, KBR 10205, suggests that another motive may lie behind the transformation of Christine’s text as well. At the end of this manuscript, on folio 159, a short addition that is not repeated in any other manuscript rings like an advertisement: “Ce livre nouvel comprent tous les acteurs qui ont traittié de l’art, Industrie et cautelles de guerre.... Item qui desire paix s’i aprenge par art d’obtenir victoire, car nul n’ose meffaire a celui qu’il pense que le puisse vaincre.” (“This new book [underlined in red] contains all the authors who have treated the art, methods, and ruses of war.... Item let he who desires peace learn here the art of obtaining victory, for no one dares to harm someone who he thinks can defeat him.”)

Thus, the regrouping of all four tables of contents into one in KBR 10205 was perhaps meant to disguise the fact that the work had been purloined, and to make it appear up front as something new and different as well as comprehensive. As Mary Beth Winn has shown, newness, comprehensiveness, and utility for the reader—the claims made on folio 159 of KBR 10205—are the very themes that the publisher Antoine Vérard later emphasized in the prologues he composed to promote his editions.⁴

It is astounding to realize that the doctoring of Christine’s text took place in her own lifetime, and most probably in Paris at a time when she was still actively working. According to Inès Villela-Petit, the Parisian decoration places the work closer to 1410 than the proposed catalogue date of 1430.⁵ If that is true, how could Christine not be aware that her treatise had been appropriated and substantially modified?

As stated above, the following repertoire presents the *Fais d’armes* manuscripts following Byles, that is to say, according to whether they maintain the author’s identity in the text (Group A), or erase it thoroughly (Group B). The manuscripts in Group A are separated into those

supervised by the author (original manuscripts) and those prepared outside of her supervision. Manuscripts are presented chronologically within each group. As will be seen, a majority of the manuscripts (13 of the surviving copies plus the lost copy of the Duke of Berry) contain only the *Fais d'armes*; ten of the manuscripts (nos. 2, 5, 7, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22), contain at least one other text.

I. Manuscripts

Group A, Original manuscripts:

1. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 10476, c. 1410. MS from the workshop of Christine de Pizan, presumed autograph (Ouy et al. 25–31, 700). Parchment, 295 x 215 mm, justification 187 x 128 mm, 132 folios in 2 columns of 31 lines. One miniature, *Christine and Minerva*, by the Master of the Cité des Dames on folio 3r, before opening rubric, that spreads across two columns: *Cy commence le livre de fais darmes et de chevalerie. Le premier chappitre est le prologue ou quel Cristine se excuse d'avoir osé entreprendre a parler de si haulte matiere qui est contenu oudit livre. J(I).* (Here beginnith the Book of Feats of Arms and of Chivalry. The first chapter is the prologue where Christine apologizes for having dared to speak of such high matter as is contained in the said book. J.). Delicate borders by the “Clover” ornamentor (Ouy et al. 701) and large decorated capitals at the opening of each of the four parts of the work. Binding in red calf with title “FAIS D’ARMES” in gold capitals on spine. The codex is mentioned for the first time in the 1467–69 inventory of the Dukes of Burgundy (Barrois), but almost certainly belonged to Jean the Fearless, for whom the sixth quire was apparently altered to laud his 1408 victory over the Liégeois and to add a passage on engines of war (f. 36). Other owners: Philip the Good; Charles the Bold (Inv. 1485–87, Barrois); Maximilian I; Emperor Charles V (Inv. 1535, Michelant); Philippe II (Inv. 1577, Marchal 1, cclvi no. 275). Former shelfmarks: 93^(bis),⁶ 238 (Sanderus’s 1643 Inv. in Marchal 1, cclvi, no. 275).⁷ Stamps of the Bibliothèque royale and the Bibliothèque nationale (République française) on folios 1 and 132v. Bibliography: Barrois 1830, no. 1822; Michelant 289–90; Marchal 1842, 1, cclvi, no. 275; Byles xxi; Ouy et al. 687–91, 696–703; Schaefer 195, 196.

2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 603, ff. 1r – 80r, c. 1413. Parchment, 375 x 270 mm, justification 231 x 183 mm, 2 columns of 39 lines. Bound with Christine de Pizan’s *Mutacion de Fortune* (ff. 81r–242r); entire manuscript copied by Christine’s scribe P (Ouy et

al. 299). The absence of the reference to Jean sans Peur's victory at Liège in I, 23 suggests this copy was intended for a member of the Armagnac faction, perhaps around the time of Jean sans Peur's departure from Paris in 1413, when the Armagnacs took control of the city (Willard, "Christine de Pizan" 181). The *Fais d'armes* contains four miniatures by the Cité des Dames Master, one at the beginning of each part: [1] *Christine and Minerva*; [2] *Siege by land and sea*; [3] *Christine, wielding an ax, stands with Honoré Bovet at the Tree of battles*; [4] *King seeks counsel*. (The *Mutacion* contains 7 miniatures by the same artist.) Binding: marbled calf redone in 1969, spine in red morocco with titles in gold capitals: "LIVRE DES FAITS D'ARMES and LIVRE DE LA MUTACION DE FORTUNE." Bibliography: Byles xxi–xxii; Christine de Pisan, *Le livre de la mutacion de Fortune* 1: cxix–cxxii; Fresco, "Trois recueils"; Laennec 2: 3; Meiss 1: 8–12, 291–92, 381; Ouy et al. 294–306; Reno and Villela-Petit; Schaefer 196, 197; Willard, "Christine de Pizan's Treatise." Digitized manuscript available at: gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000099t (contains images of the entire MS). Laennec's unpublished thesis includes an edition of this manuscript; the edition makes very occasional references to BnF, fr. 585 and to Caxton's translation.

Group A, Lost Original Manuscript:

Copy presented to Jean de Berry; described in Guiffrey (1: 270, no. 1004): "Item, ung *Livre des faix d'armes et de chevalerie*, composé par une damoiselle appelée Cristine de Pizan, escript en françois, de leytre de court, historié au commencement et enluminé; et a escript au commencement du second feuillet, après la table: *le recite le poète*; couvert de cuir rouge empreint, à deux fermouers de cuivre et gros boullons de mesmes sur les aiz; lequel livre ladicte damoiselle donna à mondit Seigneur, ausdictes estrainnes mil IIIc et XII." (Item, a *Livre des faix d'armes et de chevalerie*, composed by a lady named Christine de Pizan, written in French, in calligraphic style, illustrated at the beginning and decorated; the second folio after the table begins "le recite le poète;" covered with stamped red leather with two copper clasps and large copper bolts on the boards; which book the said lady gave to my said Lord, for the aforementioned New Year 1412.")

Group A, Later Manuscripts:

3. *Olim* Private Library of Robert Hoe, MS 2436, c. 1420, presumed to be in private hands. Parchment, 282 x 185 mm, 136 folios, 2 columns of 31 lines.⁸ Most of the leaves bear signs of restoration, including upper corners of text and three miniatures (*Catalogue of the Library of Robert*

Hoe, no. 2436). Four miniatures by the Boethius Master⁹ one at the beginning of each part: [1] *Christine kneeling before Minerva, seated in high-backed chair*; [2] *Christine seated in garden instructing three nobles*; [3] *Judicial duel*; [4] *Noble seated in high-backed chair in garden pointing to two armed chevaliers, accompanied by Christine holding small closed book*. Former owners: François de la Touche; Robert Hoe III. Bibliography: *Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe*, no. 2436; Sourget and Sourget no.1.

4. London, British Library, MS Harley 4605, 1434. Parchment, 310 x 212 mm, justification 190 x 125 mm, all folios mounted on stubs probably at the time of rebinding (1966); 115 folios in 2 columns of 33 lines. Four miniatures, one at the beginning of each part [1] Left: *Christine Writing at Desk*/ Rt.: *Minerva holding shield and raised sword*; [2] *Knights in combat while servant pours blood on tree*; [3] *Bishop and King, each flanked by knights*; [4] *Lord in armor orders prisoner to be taken away by soldiers*. This manuscript, though copied in London, contains (f. 8r-v) the passage in I,5 that criticizes English perfidy. Chapters numbered throughout. Four large decorated capitals (4, 5, 3 and 4 lines respectively) and leaf and flower vine borders issuing from baguettes framing miniature and text at the beginning of each part. Each chapter after the first of each part begins with 3-line *champi* initial (gold on colored background); one-line filigree initials in tables, alternating blue on red and gold on black; some cadels, particularly folios 34v–39r. Copied in London by Pey de la Fita and dated 15 May 1434. Former owners: Bigonet (seventeenth century) (f. 1: “~~Ex dono domini Bigonet amici~~”); Ste. Croix monastery of the Congregation of St. Maur in Bordeaux (Latin inscription f. 2); Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer; Henrietta Cavendish Holles, his widow. Former shelfmark: 133 A 6. Binding (redone 21 Feb. 1966): red cloth and half red morocco mounted on boards, arms and motto of Edward Harley “Virtute et fide” in gold on cover. On spine in gold capitals: “CHRISTINE DE PISAN. DES FAIS D’ARMES.” Bibliography: Byles xviii–xix; *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* 3: 178; Saxl and Meier 1: 189–90; Schaefer 195, 196; Scott 216–17; Watson no. 811; Wright 73, 77; www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7301 (description and partial images).

5. London, British Library, MS Royal 15 E. vi (“The Talbot Shrewsbury Book”), ff. 405r–438v, 1444–1445. Parchment, 475 x 335 mm, justification 335 x 230 mm, 2 columns of 74 lines. Commissioned by noted military leader John Talbot (c. 1387–1453), first earl of Shrewsbury and first earl of Waterford, as a wedding gift for Margaret

of Anjou, queen consort of Henry VI. Contents: Table of Contents (f. 1v); Dedication (f. 2v); Genealogical table of St. Louis, with Capetian, Valois and Plantagenet dynasties converging in the person of Henry VI (f. 3r); the *Roman d'Alexandre* (ff. 5r–24v); three *chansons de geste* in the Charlemagne cycle (*Simon de Pouille*, *Aspremeont*, and *Fierabras* (ff. 25r–85v); *Chanson d'Ogier* (ff. 86r–154v); *Regnaut de Montauban* or the *Quatre fils Aymon* (ff. 155r–206r); *Pontus et Sidoine* (ff. 207r–226v); *Guy de Warrewick* and its sequel *Heraud d'Ardenne* (ff. 227r–266r, 266v–272r); *Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne* (ff. 273r–292v); Honoré Bovet, *L'arbre des batailles* (ff. 293r–326v); Gilles de Rome, *Livre du gouvernement des rois*, translated by Henri de Gauchi (ff. 327r–362v); *Chroniques de Normandie* (ff. 363r–402v); Alain Chartier, *Breviaire des nobles* (ff. 403r–404v); Christine de Pizan, *Fais d'Armes et de chevalerie* (ff. 405r–438v); Statutes of Order of Garter (ff. 439r–440v). The *Fais d'armes* has one miniature by the Talbot Master (Rouen) on folio 405r: *Henry VI presenting the sword of Constable of France to Sir John Talbot*. Each part begins with a large decorated initial (8, 7, 6, and 6 lines respectively). As Byles pointed out, this manuscript omits the end of I, 5 that recounts Charles V's resumption of and success in the Hundred Years War after the English had murdered his ambassadors. Bibliography: Bossy; Byles xvi–xviii; Fresco, “Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes*”; Hedeman; Mandach; Reynolds; A. Taylor; C. Taylor; Warner and Gilson 2: 177–79. Digitized manuscript available at: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_15_E_VI (contains images of the entire MS).

6. London, British Library, MS Royal 19 B. xviii, mid-fifteenth century. Parchment, 299 x 221 mm, justification 212 x 154 mm, 99 folios of 34 long lines, ruling in purple ink. The manuscript is incomplete, ending with the words “ne mais les fourches” in chapter IV, 16 (the fourth part traditionally contains 17 chapters). Despite its English origin (Campbell), the manuscript contains the criticism leveled at the English in I, 5. No illustrations, but four large decorated initials, measuring 6, 6, 4 and 4 lines respectively, all accompanied by feathery vines with large flowers and the first additionally by a baguette spanning the length of the column; English artisan. Chapters after the first of each part begin with two-line blue initials on rather crudely executed red filigree; two-line illuminated initials with sprays introduce chapters I, 8; II, 1, 13,14; III, 8, 21; items in tables of contents introduced by alternating red and blue paragraph marks; mostly red and some blue paragraph marks punctuate the text; occasional cadels; single red and blue line-filler after first rubric in text. Binding: British Museum in-house dated

1968, half brown morocco on boards with golden royal emblem topped by crown in center, surrounded by royal motto “Honi soit qui mal y pense.” On folio 1 is glued a strip of parchment on which is written in a late-fifteenth- / sixteenth-century hand: “A bok of chyvalrye and of fayttes of armes made by (cris)tyne of pyse in frenshe.” As-yet unidentified painted coat of arms at the top of folio 4: quartered in azur and gules (azur top left and bottom right), topped by gold coronet with alternating fleurs-de-lys and crosses pattées. Old shelfmark: p. 297 (f. 1). Byles points out the close affiliation of this manuscript with Caxton’s edition (Byles xviii). Bibliography: Byles xviii; Warner and Gilson 2: 331.

7. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 9009–11, ff. 117r–226v, c. 1465. Parchment, 442 x 320 mm, justification 268 x 188 mm, 2 columns of 32 lines, red ruling. Second work in an organic volume with uniform decoration throughout, that also contains (ff. 1r–115v) Honoré Bovet’s *L’Arbre des Batailles* and (ff. 229r–236v) Philippe le Bel’s 1306 ordinance on dueling, here presented as an ordinance from “Charles.” Colophon of scribe Jacquemart Pilavaine of Mons on folio 226v. At the end of chapter I, 23, Pilavaine mentions the role of William, Duke of Bavaria, Holland and Zeland and Count of Hainaut, in John the Fearless’s victory at Liège. Two miniatures with curved tops at beginning of first and third parts: [1] *Christine, seated at desk in her bedroom, points in an open book*; [2] *Honoré Bovet appears at Christine’s bedside*. Both miniature and text on these folios are surrounded by elegant borders featuring vines with golden leaves, flowers, acanthus, and emblems of Philippe de Croÿ. At beginning of second part, 6-line capital in blue on gold background filled with vine; the 1st column is surrounded on three sides with elaborate leaf and flower border. Large capitals (5 lines) of similar decoration at beginning of 1st and 3rd parts. All other chapters begin with a two-line *champi* initial decorated with two black-ink vines with mostly gold leaves and a few colored flowers. Paragraph marks of gold on black filigree and blue on red filigree; rubrics and running titles in bright red. Binding: nineteenth-century brown tree calf, gilded edges with traces of (heraldic?) color; titles on spine in gold capitals: “L’ARBRE DES BATAILLES;” “FAITS D’ARMES ET DE CHEVALERIE.” Former owners: Philippe I de Croÿ, for whom the volume was produced and whose emblems and motto “Moy seul” appear throughout, most prominently on folios 118v and 152v; Charles I de Croÿ, Count of Chimay, his son (signature f. 236v); Margaret of Austria, who purchased the manuscript in 1511 (Inv. 1516); Mary of Hungary, whose *ex-libris* with her arms is glued to the top paste-down. The volume entered the Burgundian library in 1559, was confiscated

by the French army in 1794 and returned in 1815. Bibliography: Byles xix–xxi; Debae no. 86; Fresco, “Trois recueils”; Schaefer 196–97; Van den Bergen-Pantens no. 13.

8. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS CFM 21, c. 1470–80, 86 folios; contains the first three books; the last 22 folios (87–108), slated to receive the fourth book, are unruled and devoid of text. Paper, 287 x 202 mm, justification 183 x 115 mm, 33–38 long lines per folio. The manuscript contains a superabundance of catchwords, since within quires, on the verso side of many leaves, the first words of the next folio are written in the margin opposite the last line. Chapter I, 23 (here numbered I, 21) does not mention John the Fearless’s victory over the Liégeois. Three half-page pen drawings at the beginning of each part; the first comes not at the head of the first part, as expected, but towards the end of I, 1, before the words “O Minerve deesse d’armes [...]” [1] Left: *Christine writing*/ Right: *Christine and Minerva, who points to armorers in foreground*; [2] *Scipio Africanus’s men employ disguise and trickery to spy on enemy troops*; [3] *Honoré Bovet appears beside Christine, who is grinning in her sleep*. Large red capitals (6, 6, 6, 4 lines) at the beginning of each part and introducing “O Minerve deesse d’armes” in the last paragraph of I, 1; individual chapters after the first of each part are introduced by 3-line red capitals; several capitals highlighted with a red stroke on every page; most chapters numbered in red or brown Roman numerals. Binding in nineteenth-century gold-tooled quarter blue morocco with blue marbled paper boards; title on spine in gold capitals: “LIVRE DES FAITS D’ARMES ET DE CHEVALERIE.” Owners: Bertram, 4th Earl of Ashburnham (Ashburnham-Barrois MS 378); lot 115 at Sotheby’s, 10 June 1901; Sir Charles Fairfax Murray, who donated the manuscript to the Fitzwilliam in 1904. Bibliography: *A Descriptive Catalogue* 35–37.¹⁰

9. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1241, third quarter of the fifteenth century, probably towards 1475.¹¹ Parchment, folios 1r–83r; 276 x 201 mm, justification 177 x 115 mm. Contains only parts 1–3. Folios 83v–110v (f. 110 being unnumbered), ruled in dark rose, like the rest of the volume, were evidently prepared for part IV; they contain instead several rough drawings. A number of surviving stubs indicate that the codex probably had at the outset three or perhaps four illuminations. As a result of these cuts, parts of text are missing: the end of I, 1 and the beginning of I, 2 (between ff. 2–3); the second table of contents and the beginning of II, 1 (between ff. 34–35); the end of the third table of contents and the beginning of III, 1 (between ff. 62–63). The chapter here numbered I, 21 does not mention Jean sans

Peur's victory over the Liégeois (f. 29v). Most chapters are numbered in brown ink with Roman numerals in the margins. The volume is richly decorated with some 83 ornate borders of acanthus, flowers and fruits in gold, blue, green and rose, the borders contained in rectangles outlined in deep rose that run the entire length of the text and embellish either the recto or verso side of a leaf, or both. The decoration of folios 5, 31 and 65r-v has a different palette (grey, rose, black, and gold) and was probably done by a different artist. Three-line initials of deep blue, crimson, gold, and white with floral motifs, especially acanthus, at beginning of each chapter, the first two, III, 1 and 3, being of 6 and 4 lines respectively. Red paragraph marks (infrequent) and line-fillers; cadels. Binding in sixteenth-century brown calf with four embedded rectangles, the outer and inner two containing various types of decorated vases; no title on cover. Former owners: "Arnoul" (ex-libris on f. 110), Colbert (no. 1876); Jacques-Augustin de Thou (signature on f. 1). The eminent scholar Nicolas Lefèvre, tutor of Henri II de Bourbon, prince of Condé (father of the Grand Condé) and of the future Louis XIII is apparently responsible for information about Christine written on the verso of the upper fly-leaf and folios 1 and 6).¹² Former shelfmark Regius 7434^{2.2} of the Royal Library (now BnF). Bibliography: Brown, "The Reconstruction"; Byles xxii-xxiii. Digitized manuscript available at: gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8448955q (contains images of the entire MS).

10. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1183, early sixteenth century. Paper, 290 x 196 mm, justification 178 x 118 mm, text incomplete: like BL, Royal MS 19 B. xviii, the work ends abruptly in the midst of IV, 16, adding an *etc.* and *Explicit* mid-page after "ne mais les fourches." 222 folios, 24 long lines per folio. The volume is not ruled, and each part of the work is preceded by its table of contents. Chapters are unnumbered both in the tables and throughout the text. No illustrations, the only decoration consisting of 2-line red capitals at the beginning of each chapter and red paragraph marks preceding some of the chapter headings. The scribe, who has copied the text in a rapid cursive, uses a larger calligraphic script for the initial words of some chapters. Several marginal notes by readers of different periods, especially in early folios. Napoleonic binding in brown tree calf with red morocco spine stamped with large gold *N*'s surmounted by imperial crown and flanked by laurel wreaths and stars. Title on spine in gold capitals: "LE LIVRE DES FAITS D'ARMES PAR CHRIST. DE PISAN." Former owners: Sainte-Marthe family, whose full-page arms appear on the verso of the beginning guard leaf; Etienne Baluze (shelfmark 505).

The Bibliothèque nationale acquired the manuscript in January, 1707 (Regius 7398³). Bibliography: Byles xxii. Digitized manuscript available at: gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84489727.

11. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Duchesne 65, ff. 79r–80r, seventeenth century. Paper. Excerpts from chapters I, 5–7 copied by André Duchesne (1584–1640), royal historiographer and geographer, along with extracts of some thirty other mostly historical works. The passages chosen, titled “Extrait du *Livre des faits d'armes & de chevalerie* composé par Dame Christine qui vivoit sous Charles VI” (“Excerpt from the *Book of Feats of Arms and Chivalry* composed by Dame Christine who lived under Charles VI”), recount Charles V’s resumption of the Hundred Years War after the murder by the English of his ambassadors, Charles VI’s victory at the battle of Roosebeke, the victories obtained by Charles V despite his refraining from direct military action, the comparison of the French army and its ancient counterpart, and the qualities required of a good constable. Bibliography: Byles xxiii. Digitized manuscript available at: gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8531139n (contains images of the entire MS).

12. Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Raccolta Saluzzo, MS 328, nineteenth century. Hand-written copy of the *Fais d'armes* commissioned by Cesare Saluzzo (1778–1853); the text is copied as is without any modernizations. The title page gives author and title as “Christine de Pisan,” “Les fais D’armes et de Chevalerie” and states that it is a copy of “n° 7434/2.2 de la Bibliothèque du Roi à Paris,” current Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1241, “Complétée avec le MS n° 7097 de la meme Bibliothèque,” completed from current Paris, BnF, MS fr. 603. The passages from fr. 603 involve text that was lost from fr. 1241 when the miniatures were cut out; the manuscript indicates clearly the beginning and end of the point where missing material was supplied, reiterating the source. Paper, 378 x 247 mm, justification 298 x 188 mm, 317 pages of 25 long lines. Binding in brown paper boards with title “FAITS D’ARMES ET DE CHEVALERIE” in gold letters on spine. Like BnF, fr. 1241, this manuscript contains only the first three parts of the work and omits mention of Jean sans Peur’s victory over the Liégeois.

Group B Manuscripts:

13. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 10205, c. 1410. Parchment, 321 x 227 mm, justification 177 x 125 mm, 158 folios of 28–29 long lines. The scribe, recently identified as most probably Guillebert of Metz (Delsaux), has added on folio 159, as stated above, four comments unique to this manuscript, that present the work as a

new compilation from several authors, claim the superiority of military knowledge over the use of force, and affirm that the best way to keep peace is to maintain military superiority. This is the earliest known manuscript that erases Christine as author, and it was most probably copied and decorated in Paris during her floruit.¹³ The table of contents groups the four original tables of contents into one and numbers all chapters consecutively, adding metarubrics in red before chapter 43 (2nd part) : “Cy commence a parler de combatre et defendre chasteaux et forteresces” (“Here begins the matter on attacking and defending castles and fortresses”); before chapter 80 (3rd part) “de prisonniers de guerre” (“on prisoners of war”); before chapter 92 (4th part) “de treves et de marque” (“on truces and letters of marque”); before chapter 95 “de champ de bataille” (“on duels”) and before chapter 103 “Cy commence a parler de fait d’armoirie” (“Here begins the discussion of weaponry”). These metarubrics are added in the text as well, where, as in the tables, chapters are numbered consecutively throughout, from 1 to 105. Nine large (4–7 lines) dark rose and blue initials on gold background, with vine interior, at beginning of each part, each prolonged by vines of leaves, stylized flowers, and stylized prickly fruits, the first and fourth also extended by a baguette. Two-line *champi* initials at beginning of remaining chapters. Space is left for paragraph marks that have not been drawn. Binding in unadorned parchment. Owners: Philip the Good (first mentioned in 1467–69 inventory), Charles the Bold (inventory 1487), Maximilian I, Philip II. The volume was confiscated by the French in 1794 (Revolutionary-period BN stamp on ff. 1, 9 and 158v) and returned to the Burgundian Library in 1815. Bibliography: Bousmanne et al. 144–48; Byles xxiii–xxiv; Delsaux; Dogaer and Debae no. 118.

14. Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 815, ff. 1r–156v, c. 1465. Paper, 290 x 205 mm, justification 157 x 141 mm, 24–25 long lines on each folio, bound with (ff. 157r–173v) the *Chronique des rois de France* that goes through the reign of Charles VI. The manuscript is an organic volume where both works are copied in the same hand; the minimal decoration is uniform throughout: painted red capital at the beginning of each chapter, with red strokes highlighting certain letters. A single table of contents at beginning lists 105 chapters for all four parts of the work; metarubrics signal the beginning of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th parts and also general subjects such as, before chapter 43, “Cy commence a parler de forteresces combatre” (“Here begin [the chapters] on attacking fortresses”); before chapter 80, “Cy commence a parler des prisonniers de guerre” (“Here begin [the chapters] on prison-

ers of war”); before chapter 92, “De treves” (“On truces”). The table of contents lacks the first twelve entries and the beginning of the title of the 13th chapter. Rubrics in text give only chapter numbers (“le premier chapitre, le second chapitre,” etc.). The folios are heavily damaged by moisture, insects and rodents, and the bottom part of most folios has been repaired. Numerous readers’ notes in margins up to folio 101 highlight, especially, historical figures mentioned in the text. Half-binding in sheepskin. Previous owners: St. Louis Convent of disalqued Carmelites, Bordeaux. Bibliography: *Catalogue Général* 439; Fresco, “Trois recueils.”

15. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23997, ff. 8r–162r, c. 1470. The volume ends (ff. 162r–163v) with an untitled list of thirteen ancient and medieval military stratagems. Paper, 275 x 200 mm, justification 180 x 122 mm, 29 long lines per folio. The volume, written in Picard dialect, lacks tables of contents, and the numbering of the rubrics starts anew with each part. No illustrations, ornamentation limited to red rubrics, large filigreed initials at the beginning of the 1st, 3rd and 4th parts, a number of red and blue capitals (II, 12–16, 33–34, 36, III, 7) and a red or blue initial at the beginning of each chapter, with a few capitals highlighted with a red stroke. Unadorned binding in brown calf. No visible marks of ownership; an eighteenth-century hand has summarized the contents of each part of the work on folio 7r. Bibliography: Byles xxvi. Digitized manuscript available at: gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451466w.

16. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1242, c. 1470, ff. 1r–162r; the volume closes (ff. 162r–163v) with the list of thirteen unidentified stratagems. Paper, 288 x 208 mm, justification 198 x 127 mm, 31 long lines per folio. Tables of all four parts presented at the beginning, only the numbering of the first is more or less complete and correct. The wording of the last three tables is idiosyncratic. The third table is repeated before the third part of the work (ff. 96r–98r). Many rubrics are lacking in the text, including the first ten of the first part. Most chapters preceded by a rubric and renumbered according to their order in each part of the work. Most of these chapters also numbered consecutively in the margins of the manuscript. The second table of contents at the beginning lists, for certain chapters, both the number of its place in the second part and its place overall. Several rubrics, passages, and individual words, especially proper names and parts of lists, underlined in red. No illustrations and little ornamentation: large 7- and 5-line capitals at the beginning of table of contents and prologue and 2-line capitals at the beginning of other chapters, many capitals high-

lighted with a red stroke. Binding in brown marbled calf, red morocco spine with title “LE LIVRE DES FAITS D’ARMES” in gold capitals with fleurs-de-lys and two entwined *L*’s surmounted by crown. Bibliography: Byles xxv. Digitized manuscript available at gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449712k (contains images of the entire MS, but the final folios are out of order).

17. Turin, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Antica, MS J.b.II.15. Parchment, 308 x 222 mm, justification 198 x 138 mm, 2 columns of 33 lines, 96 folios (including 81bis; the last folio, numbered 96, is ruled but blank). Bruges (?), third quarter of fifteenth century. Volume incomplete: the first two miniatures have been cut with a resulting loss of text: I, 1 and very beginning of I, 2, plus end of first part and very beginning of II, 1; the stubs of the cut folios are visible between folios 4–5 and 36–37. The volume ends (f. 95r) with “Explicit Vegece” and the table of contents (f. 3v) with “Explicit la table de Vegece.” Binding: probably fifteenth century: worn dark green velvet brocade on wood with five brass nails on each cover, decorated metal strips along length of spine and four metal corners, remains of brass clasps on front, and four-leaf metal fastener on back and copper clasp still intact in center. The parchment label on the back cover, protected by thin sheet of horn encased in rectangular metal frame, identifies author and title as: “Vegece de l’art de chevalerie.” Volume ruled in red and purple. Table of contents at beginning groups all four parts but does not number chapters, nor are chapters numbered in text. Some chapters have been merged (for example, I, 3 + 4, 13 + 14, 16 + 17, and 24 + 25 + 26); some rubrics have been reworded and others moved around. The two remaining miniatures at the beginning of the third and fourth parts feature respectively Honoré Bovet instructing a male figure in a countryside setting with windmill in the background (f. 64) and a duel in a closed field (f. 83); both miniatures are accompanied by elaborate acanthus, flower, fruit borders with some geometric design and 4-line decorated initials. Two-line *champi* initials begin every chapter but the first of each part; many filigreed paragraph marks adorn the first two parts, but only two are found in the third and none in the fourth. Former owners: Antoine, Great Bastard of Burgundy (1421–1504), mottos “nul ne s’y frote” and “nul ne l’aproche” (both meaning “no one approaches him”) and signature on folio 95v; Commynes, signature partially erased on folio 4v and identified in a note by Liliane Dulac dated 1985 inserted in the papers accompanying the manuscript box. Bibliography: *Les manuscrits enluminés* 201; Mombello 195–97; Vayra 105–07.

18. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1243, c. 1470–80, 5 unnumbered folios containing table of contents + folios 1r–130r containing text; original foliation in large red Arabic numerals; final numbered folios (130v–131v) contain the list of thirteen unidentified stratagems. Paper, 280 x 202 mm, justification 172 x 124 mm, 30 long lines per folio. Tables of contents for all four parts are grouped at beginning of work where the chapters are numbered consecutively I–CXXIX, with several numbers repeated and several others skipped; table 3 is repeated before the third part (ff. 79v–81r) as in BnF, fr. 1242; rubrics not numbered in the body of the work. No illustrations; ornamentation limited to three large capitals in blue and red at beginning of the first three part plus 2-line capitals and paragraph marks in red ink, rubrics (in brown ink) underlined in red and several small capitals highlighted in red throughout. Former owners: Colbert (no. 1608), whose arms appear on the red morocco binding. Early shelfmark: (BnF) Regius 7339. On folio 130r, “Explicit l’arbre des batailles” (“Explicit the Tree of Battles”) barred or perhaps highlighted by red line. Bibliography: Byles xxv. Digitized manuscript available at gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449705f (contains images of the entire MS).

19. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 585, c. 1470–80, folios A–H (A–E containing the table of contents of the four parts, each part beginning with chapter 1), + 123 folios with original Arabic numbering in red. The opening rubric titles the work *De la chose de chevalerie en fais d'armes* and attributes it to Vegetius. (Thick) parchment, 320 x 224 mm, justification 200 x 150 mm, 2 columns of 33 lines. Four miniatures by the Master of Margaret of York, one at the beginning of each part of the work; the top edges of all but the second are curved: [1] *Battle scene*; [2] *Assault of fortified city with naval battle in background*; [3] *Debate between an emperor and a king* (on the rules of warfare); [4] *Sword duel between a French and an English soldier*. Four elaborate borders of acanthus, flowers, fruits and birds surround the miniatures. Large (3–5 line) blue and red initials framed in gold at beginning of parts 1, 2 and 4, 3-line *champi* initial (gold on blue and red background) at beginning of part 3, and 2-line *champi* initial at beginning of each chapter. Paragraph marks in gold with black filigree or blue with red filigree; running titles with gold *L* (for *Livre*) and black filigree at left and Roman numeral of book in blue with red filigree and gold with black filigree at right. Each chapter of table of contents begins with gold capital on black filigree. Numbers underlined in red in the second part of the work. Ruling in dark rose and violet. Binding in light brown tree calf with spine in red morocco with initial *N* (Napoleon)

and title “LE LIVRE DES FAITS D’ARMES ET DE CHEVALERIE PAR CHR. DE PISAN,” which correctly contradicts the opening rubric. Owners: Louis de Bruges, for whom the manuscript was made; Louis XII, who acquired Louis de Bruges’s collection after his death, and whose arms are painted over those of Louis de Bruges on folio 1; the volume figures in the 1518 and 1544 inventories of the royal collection as respectively no. 243 and no. 1348. Former Bibliothèque nationale shelfmarks: (Rigault) six cents cinquante deux, (Dupuy) 648, (Régius) 7076. Bibliography: Byles xxiv–xxv; Hans-Collas and Schandel no. 32, 137–38 and pl. 92–93; Willard, “Louis de Bruges”; Schaefer 197, 201. Digitized manuscript available at gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8448959c (contains images of the entire MS).

20. Saint-Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS Fr. F. II No. 96, c. 1470–80. Paper, 292 x 207 mm, justification 220 x 200 mm. Incomplete, manuscript beginning towards the beginning of I, 3. No table of contents, and few chapter rubrics are numbered, with most chapters being introduced by a 2-line capital. The second and third parts begin with a 7-line decorated initial and the fourth part with a 2-line decorated capital. No illustrations. Binding: stamped calf on boards, signed four times “Gohon,” probably dating from late fifteenth century. Former owners: counts Zaluski (Poland), from whom the Imperial Library acquired the manuscript in 1795. Bibliography: Brayer 25; Kisseleva 187; Laborde 1: 61–62.¹⁴

21. Turin, Biblioteca reale, Raccolta Saluzzo, MS 17, c. 1470–80. Paper, 279 x 197 mm, justification 168 x 118 mm; 12 unnumbered folios containing table of contents + folios ii–ccxxxix recto, skipping folio 224; folios 239v–242 contain the list of thirteen unidentified stratagems. Numbers of chapters begin anew for each part both in the table and the text; the table guides the reader by providing the folio number where each chapter begins. The volume opens with the last part of a hortatory prologue that is unique to this manuscript (“...et propos deliberé de allegier la paine des bons corages vertueulx quy a la perfection du loable stille d’armes desirent pourfiter et en Icelluy leur jeunesse employer” (“...and the express intention to lighten the burden of the desire of good, virtuous spirits to benefit from and devote their youth to the perfection of the praiseworthy practice of arms”). The volume, considerably damaged by humidity, has smudged ink throughout; it was repaired in 1981–82 (Mombello). Three miniatures at head of parts 2–4: [1] *Two armies marching towards each other*; [2] *A youthful-looking Honoré Bovet comes to instruct the male author, dozing in his study chair*; [3] *Two armed soldiers bring a sealed document to the author*,

awake in his study chair that overlooks a field and city in the distance. A fourth miniature no doubt disappeared with the removal of the first folio. Binding in brown calf with gold fillets and arms and monogram of Claude Mollet on front and back (Mombello), spine in red morocco with same arms and monogram, plus title “FAITS D’ARMES ET DE CHEVAL” in gold; page edges marbelized with blue and red. Early owners: Lannoy family, from whose château the manuscript was taken by a member of the Grand Condé’s army in 1646: note on recto of the third flyleaf: “J’ay pris ce livre dans le chasteau de Lannoy en Flandres lors que monseigneur le duc d’Anguyon le pris en l’an 1646” (“I took this book from the château of Lannoy in Flanders when my lord the duke of Enghien [the Grand Condé] took it in 1646”); perhaps Etienne Baluze (1630–1718), whose name and manuscript number 505 appear on front pastedown, although this could be a reference to another copy owned by Baluze (currently BnF, fr. 1183); Claude Mollet; Tremet, canon of the Treasury of the church in Troyes (“Tremet 1758” on front pastedown and f. 242). Bought by Cesare Saluzzo in Paris in 1824 from the bookseller Igomette (note in Saluzzo’s hand on recto of third flyleaf: “On croit que l’auteur de cet ouvrage est Louis II, marquis de Saluces,” “It is believed that the author of this work is Louis II, marquis of Saluces”). Bibliography: Mombello 198–200.

22. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS 168, end of fifteenth century, folios 1–236v. Paper, 273 x 192 mm, justification 172 x 118 mm, 22 long lines per folio; folios 236v–239 contain the thirteen unidentified stratagems. Complete table of contents at the beginning on fourteen unnumbered folios, where each part begins at chapter 1. Text opens with a preamble.¹⁵ The text, copied in a large bâtarde script, contains numerous Picardisms. Folios numbered prominently in red; table of contents gives folio number for each chapter. Ruling in purple. Authors cited or figures mentioned in text (*Vegece*, *Virgile*, *Saluste*, *Cathon*, *Jullius Cesar*, etc.) often highlighted in red. Space left for illustration and a large initial (5, 3, 4, 4) at the beginning of each chapter on folios 1, 75, 142, 192. Capitals in red or blue at the beginning of chapters and introducing items in table of contents; paragraph marks in same colors, line-fillers in red and blue, several capitals highlighted in red. Text annotated, particularly towards beginning, with numerous nota benes, manicules, symbols and brief comments such as “bon conseil” (‘good advice’), “helas, helas” (‘alas, alas’), “decret” (‘decretal’), “droit escript” (‘written law’). Many marginal and interlinear notes that make corrections and modernize obsolete words and spellings or interpret letters. Owners: Guillaume de Naste (signature

ff. 71, 74v, 117v, 141v, 165v, 237); Count Pierre Louis Roederer; Count Roederer's son-in-law Baron Gaspar Gourgaud, general and aide-de-camp of Napoleon I (acquisition 1838), who writes note and signs verso of upper fly leaf; Adriana R. Salem. Nineteenth-century Chambolle-Duru binding in crushed crimson morocco with gilded edges; title on spine in gold capitals: "LE LIVRE DES FAICTS D'ARMES ET DE CHEVALERIE. MANUSCRIT DU QUINZIÈME SIÈCLE." Bibliography: *Catalogue of the Third Portion of the Extensive and Valuable Library of the late Charles Butler* 268, no. 2258. Digitized MS available at [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45607528\\$1i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45607528$1i) (contains images of the entire MS).

23. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 824, end of fifteenth century. Paper, 284 x 212 mm, justification 175 X 125 mm, 139 folios, 24–33 long lines per folio, framework ruled in pencil or by folding but no ruling for individual lines. Table of contents at beginning lists 105 chapters. The table is punctuated with headings: "Les chapitres de la seconde partie" ("the chapters of the second part") after chapter 29; "De forteresses combatre" ("On attacking fortresses") before chapter 43; "Des Lois de droit escript / La table de la tierce partie" ("On written laws / the table of the third part") after chapter 60; "De Prisonniers de guerre" ("On prisoners of war") before chapter 80; "La table de la quarte partie / De saufconduis" ("The table of the fourth part / On safe conduct passes") after chapter 88; "De treves et de marque" ("On truces and letters of marque") before chapter 92; "De champ de bataille" ("On duels") before chapter 95; "De fait d'armoirie" ("On weaponry") before chapter 103. Chapters only occasionally numbered in text, either in red Arabic or brown Roman numerals. The volume begins with 4-line red capital on dark blue filigree; all other chapters begin with 2-line red capital. Late sixteenth-century English binding, stamped white parchment on boards, covering earlier brown leather, vestiges of first set of clasps, remainder of later metal clasp, vestiges of chain clasp.¹⁶ Note on folio 140 concerning the arms of "Maistre Morun" (Mohun). Early owners: John Starkey (sixteenth century), signature on folio 1; Denis Edwards, from whom the Bodleian acquired the manuscript for 3 shillings 17 May 1615.¹⁷ Earlier shelfmarks: 2707; Arts C7 12 (Duke Humphrey Room); Ms. Med. 108 (unidentified). Small rectangular piece of parchment glued to corner of front cover with title "of deedes of Armes." Bibliography: Byles xxiii; Hunt 100; Madan and Craster 506.

II. Conclusion

As has been noted by Willard and others, Vérard's *L'Art de chevalerie selon Végèce*, published in Paris in 1488,¹⁸ is based on a B-group manuscript, as is the 1527 French edition of Philippe Le Noir (Willard, "Christine de Pizan's Treatise" 181). Caxton's 1489 English translation followed an A-group manuscript. A mid-fifteenth-century German manuscript translation that resurfaced fairly recently and is now housed in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek under the shelfmark MS germ. fol. 1705 is also based on a manuscript from the A group.¹⁹

From these preliminary findings, a few incipient subgroups emerge that should prove helpful in classifying the manuscripts; most notably, manuscripts that end abruptly at the same place (nos. 6 and 10); manuscripts that do not mention Jean sans Peur's victory at Roosebeke (including nos. 2, 8, 9, 12); those that are followed by the thirteen anonymous stratagems (no. 15, 16, 18, 21, 22).

Charity Cannon Willard, whose papers are now housed in the Sophia Smith Collection of the Smith College Library, had made a judicious selection for her edition. She had planned to use as base text KBR 10476 and provide variants from KBR 9009-11 and 10105 and BnF, fr. 585 and 603 as well as the Vérard edition. A digital edition could, of course, give an even more detailed picture of the textual tradition and a fuller picture of the transformations that Christine's work underwent both in manuscripts where her name remained and in those from which it was removed.

Recent years have seen a growing number of illuminating studies on the changes wrought on medieval works in the early years of print. Focus on the contrast between manuscript and print versions could, however, lead to false assumptions regarding differences found in the latter. A critical edition of Christine de Pizan's *Fais d'armes* would provide a dramatic reminder of the transformations a medieval work could undergo even before it reached the printing press.

Notes

1. See Solente 66–68; Wisman 151–52; Kennedy, *Christine de Pizan* 100–01, no. 416; and Kennedy *Christine de Pizan. Supplement I* 103, no. 838; Fresco "Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes*"; Parussa.

2. All translations are mine.

3. The anonymous reader of this article should be credited for this observation. As Byles (xviii) and others have pointed out, "The Talbot Shrewsbury

Book,” that contains an A-group copy of the *Fais d’armes*, also features male figures rather than the female author in the accompanying miniature.

4. Winn 251–52, 277–79, 333–34, 377–78, for example.

5. I am grateful to Inès Villela-Petit for sharing her opinion for the purposes of this article. Description by Marguerite Debae in Bousmanne et al. 144–48.

6. I thank Marguerite Debae for identifying the origin of this shelfmark, which is written on a small round of parchment or weathered paper glued to the upper pastedown: it was assigned by a Burgundian librarian shortly after the manuscript’s return to the collection in 1815.

7. The manuscript also figures in the Franquen inventory of 1731 as no. 375, and in the Gerard inventory (1797) as no. 612 (Marchal 1, cclvi, no. 275).

8. I thank Sandra Hindman for informing me of the sale of this manuscript and for giving me a photocopy of the catalogue description.

9. Thanks again to Inès Villela-Petit for this attribution, and for her observation that the artist modified Christine’s program.

10. The *Descriptive Catalogue* identifies the watermark as Briquet 8659; in fact, the manuscript watermarks are very similar to this but not identical. Many thanks to Deirdre Jackson of the Fitzwilliam for helping me locate them.

11. Many thanks to Marie-Hélène Tesnière of the BnF for giving her opinion on this date.

12. Attribution made by François Avril; see Brown, “The Reconstruction.”

13. See note 5.

14. I would like to take this opportunity to thank A. P. Romanov, former Director of Foreign Acquisitions of the library in Saint-Petersburg, who several years ago answered my inquiry regarding this manuscript. Thanks also to Henry Hollithron, who translated her reply.

15. “Prez que j’ay leu, regardé et viseté plusieurs volummes, livres particuliers et histoires traitans haultement et especialment du tresexcellent et honnouré mestier d’armes...plus legierement et en moins de dilligence se peust la substance de yceulx livres ou vollumes intelligiblement comprendre.” (“As I have read and consulted several volumes and books that treat of the most excellent practice of arms, I can understand the matter of these books more easily.”)

16. I am grateful to Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield for pointing out the details of the binding.

17. According to Curator Eva Oledska, whom I thank here, the information would have been obtained from library records, as Denis Edwards did not sign this manuscript. The acquisition is not mentioned by Macray.

18. The work misidentified by Winn (380) as Vêrard’s edition of the *Fais d’armes* in BnF, Rés. Vélins 1018 (ff. 59–82r) is rather a Middle French translation of Ramon Llull’s *Libre del orde de cavalleria: Le livre de l’ordre de chevalerie*; I am grateful to Jonathan Boulton for this identification. A digitized copy of the volume is available on *Gallica*: <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10705247>. A digitized reproduction of Vêrard’s edition of the *Fais d’armes* can be found

at: <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k111077r>. MacFarlane (3–4) identified six copies of Vêrard's edition.

19. A digitized reproduction is available at: <http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN622408569&PHYSID=PHYS_0005>; see also Buschinger and Schneider-Lastin.

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<http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN622408569&PHYSID=PHYS_0005>

Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 815.

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Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 10205.

Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 10476.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS CFM 21.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS 168.

<[https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45607528\\$1i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45607528$1i)>

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London, British Library, MS Royal 15 E. vi.

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London, British Library, MS Royal 19 B. xviii.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 824.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Duchesne 65.

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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1241.

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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23997.

<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451466w>

Olim Private Library of Robert Hoe, MS 2436, presumed in private hands.

St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS Fr. F. II N^o 96.

Turin, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Antica, MS J.b.II.15.

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