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The Book of Peace

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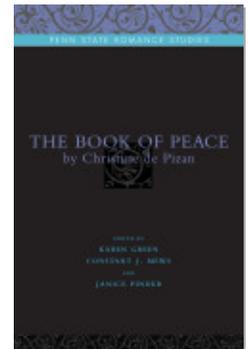
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PART 2



Here begins the table of contents of the second part of this book, begun on the third day of September, after the articles of peace were reconfirmed in the town of Pontoise, and our lords of France came in great joy and peace to Paris in the year of grace 1413.¹ This second part speaks again in praise of the good of peace, for the encouragement of the said lord of Guyenne, and of securing the princes and the knights in love, with reference to three virtues: justice, magnanimity (called high- or great-heartedness), and fortitude, giving the example of his grandfather, King Charles V.

1. The first chapter speaks of the great joy of peace and is addressed to the lords.
2. Speaks in praise of my lord of Guyenne for the accomplishment of the peace.
3. Speaks to my lord of Guyenne, encouraging him to continue the peace.
4. Blames cruelty from which war derives and issues.

1. The reconfirmation of the peace of which Christine speaks had been brought about as a result of overtures made to the dukes of Guyenne, Berry, and Bourgogne by the king of Sicily (Louis of Anjou), Charles of Orléans, John of Bourbon, and the counts of Alençon and Eu some time earlier. On July 21 Guillaume Saignet, representing the king of Sicily, had discoursed on the need for peace in the town of Pontoise, developing the popular metaphor of the body politic that Christine had previously used in her 1407 *Corps de policie*. Saignet puts his own mark on this metaphor, attributing it to Plato rather than to Plutarch as Christine and John of Salisbury had done, and making the knights the eyes of the kingdom, rather than the arms, as in their versions. According to Michel Pintoin, the peace that resulted from these negotiations was proclaimed by the royal heralds at the crossroads of Paris on August 8. The duke of Burgundy precipitously left the capital on August 23 so that he was not there to greet his cousins on the last day of August, when they ceremoniously entered the town dressed in the purple coats and red and black hats that the duke of Guyenne had sent to them. See *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.71–151.

5. Begins to speak of the virtue of justice.
6. Speaks of the attributes of justice and good magistrates.
7. Speaks of the evil that comes from not justly punishing evildoers.
8. Speaks of greedy magistrates.
9. Speaks about keeping justice well and gives examples of King Charles.
10. Speaks of how it is appropriate in justice to reward the good.
11. Gives examples from the Romans about the election to offices.
12. Begins to speak about the virtue of magnanimity.
13. Speaks to exhort my lord of Guyenne to greatness of heart.
14. Says how it does not befit a prince to be too isolated.
15. Speaks of King Charles with regard to magnanimity.
16. Speaks about the virtue of fortitude, and which man has fortitude.
17. Speaks of the virtue of fortitude in the person of King Charles, and about his wars.
18. Provides the names of some good leaders and valiant knights and men noble in deeds of war from the time of the said King Charles.

Here ends the table of contents of the second part.

Here begins the second part of the book, which speaks in praise of the good of peace, for the encouragement of this lord the Duke of Guyenne.

1

The first chapter speaks of the great joy of peace and is addressed to the lords

Those who sow in tears shall reap in
rejoicing. Psalm.²

More than I could ever say, were I to speak forever, would not suffice to express the very great joy with which my heart is now filled on account of this glorious peace confirmed once again between the French princes. For a long time they have been quarrelling, because of a malign spirit jealous of the good of this kingdom, through which the whole of France has turned to ruin. But in fulfillment of the psalmist's prophecy, by God's grace, we the good subjects of France, wanting the troubles to cease and sowing our prayers in tears and weeping, now rejoice as we gather in the harvest of divine virtue. In seeing this peace we have attained what we sincerely desired, and because of this we tremble in the abundance of our happiness, beside ourselves with

2. Ps. 125:5.

joy, and congratulate each other and celebrate together. For there would not be a human heart, well disposed in honest faith, in the love of its prince, and desiring the good of the polity, regretful of past evil, brotherly and charitable to its neighbor, which would not now experience joy and great consolation. O God! Who would not experience it, seeing an end to the slaughter—to the great cruelties, the destruction, the rebellions, the pride of vile and wretched people, the mad government of the low-born and bestial rabble, the virtual enslavement of the prince, the contempt for the nobility, and in brief, the infinite evils and hateful torments which have run riot worse than ever this present year?³ O good princes of France—enlightened by God, royal scions of the Crown, limbs with the same head, all united to one body,⁴ whose great reputation is of being most noble of all lineages, kind, good and of gentle blood, very humane, without cruelty, calm and reasonable, catholic and very Christian in faith! May you always persevere in peace, mindful of the evils which have come, and could still come, from its opposite, and may regret for such destruction ensure that you never again fall into permitting such a war, no matter what comes to pass. By your effort and advice you might repair the bitter destruction of this stricken kingdom for the good of the Crown and the betterment of the polity, in such a way that people can live as they ought, regulated by well-kept justice. If you do so, thereby holding the world in peace, with the goodwill of God and the world, then everyone will praise you; and proper order will return in all the estates, which have been diverted from their right situation through various circumstances. The nobility, as is their duty, will devote themselves to the defense of the crown and the polity—the clergy to laws and learning, burghers to their proper business, merchants to their commerce, workers to their trades, laborers to their labor. So will everything be in its right place, without anything unreasonably encroaching upon anything else;⁵ and so will policy, which has burst its banks beyond right rule, follow a straight course. May God by his grace dispose you so to act. Amen.

3. This is the first of a number of passages in this chapter in which Christine expresses her loathing for the people who had taken over the streets, burst into the royal palaces, and murdered a number of nobles during the spring and summer of 1413. These passages have been used to argue that Christine was deeply conservative and hence no feminist precursor. See Sheila Delany, “‘Mothers to Think Back Through’: Who Are They? The Ambiguous Example of Christine de Pizan,” in *Medieval Texts and Contemporary Readers*, ed. Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Schichtman (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987), 177–97, and other works cited in the Introduction, n14, for the continuation of the debate about Christine’s attitude to the common people.

4. Willard in *Paix* (Willard, 195) links to *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.11 (Solente, 1:134), but the link relies on “branches royaulx” being equated with “Les Branches de l’arbre.”

5. This is quite close to *Corps de policie* 1.10 (Kennedy, 16–17).

In praise of the said lord of Guyenne for the accomplishment of the peace⁶

Just as a sea that is peaceful after being rough greets a serene sky that has a happy countenance after being cloudy, thus war changed by peace brings the greatest joy. Heading 2, Cassiodorus.⁷

Once again taking up again what was said above, most noble and excellent prince, I say to you that after my initial joy at the peace made last year between those of your blood, I abandoned the happy song I had sung right to the end of the first part of this volume: because peace—the very theme and title of this book—eluded me on account of ill-informed people, and the demagogues and base rabble by whose plots and conspiracies the good of peace has since been disturbed. But now, considering that divine grace has put an end to the storm and turbulence that had troubled so many noble hearts, with various outrages and dreadful events—and now that God bestows upon us as before, but better and better, his worthy and sudden miracles, so that we are henceforth reconciled—I take up my pen this third day of September, even as our lords of the royal blood, long absent, have entered Paris again in joy and peace, for whose happy arrival and appearance I begin again my song of happy peace in this year 1413, saying: O! What in the world is more delightful than peace? Certainly—going beyond what is said in the Latin cited above—neither the sea turned peaceful again after being lashed by tempestuous storms, nor the sky cleared of cloudy, gloomy

6. The acceptance of these peace proposals had not been altogether smooth and had clearly been helped by some decisive acts of Louis of Guyenne. Henri de Troyes, one of the principal leaders of the spring uprisings, spoke violently against accepting the peace at a public meeting in Paris on August 2. Subsequently Simone Caboche and Denys Chaumont, with four hundred armed men, took over the town hall. Meanwhile another group of bourgeois, who were in favor of the peace proposals, were also arming themselves. The situation might well have degenerated into an armed conflict in the streets of Paris but for the actions of the duke of Burgundy and Louis of Guyenne. The first seems to have persuaded the leaders of the armed occupation of the town hall to disperse quietly. The second, putting himself fully armed at the head of the pro-peace bourgeois, traversed the town in a show of force that liberated the prisoners, including Louis of Bavaria and Robert of Bar, who had been kept in the Louvre and other prisons since May. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.123–31.

7. Not Cassiodorus, but Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta* 4.2 (Briscoe, 239): “*nam si placidum mare ex aspero caelumque ex nubilo serenum hilari aspectu sentitur, si bellum pace mutatum plurimum gaudii adfert, offensarum etiam acerbitas deposita candida relatione celebranda est.*”

weather, nor any other comparisons that one could apply are sufficient for the multitude of joys brought by war transformed into peace, so that nothing else is met with such a merry and joyful heart nor seems so fortunate. So, youth of high authority and noblest nature, through whom we receive all this good, why should I not continue in lofty praise of you, as before? For as Seneca says, he is strong who does not break at all, or abandon his constancy in finishing the good work that he has begun, because of any hindrance that might come his way.⁸ And are you not that sort of person? Whatever storm has raged against you—and there have been plenty—it has not been able to shift you from your determination and desire for peace among your own people; you have worked so hard with the aid of good loyal subjects, that against all obstacles you have obtained your desire. O holy enterprise and divine inspiration! Truly, as Saint Augustine says on this matter, although the virtue which has inspired you has come from God and not from you, nevertheless the working of it is through you, in the same way that if you opened a window the sun coming in would be doing so without you, but the house that received its brightness would have it through your intervention.⁹ And I do not doubt that God, having disposed your heart to find peace among your people so agreeable, will endow you with the intent to do everything well, and will keep you from evil.

3

Speaks to my lord of Guyenne, encouraging him to continue the peace

Every war is easily started, and also it ceases with great difficulty; for its beginning and end are not within its power. Sallust, *The Jugurthine War*, book 2.¹⁰

Most honorable prince, your noble condition, as has been said, delights in seeing peace among your own, as your achievement shows. So in order to encourage you to maintain this holy path not only now but forever—and since Fortune, bringer of all evils, prepares invitations to bitterness and discord which should

8. Cf. Seneca *Epistulae morales* 24.25 (Hense, 83): “Vir fortis ac sapiens non fugere debet e vita, sed exire.”

9. Latini *Trésor* 2.52.6, quoting Augustine *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 118, sermo 18.4, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCL 38–40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), 1725.

10. Sallust, *De bello Jugurthino* 83.1, ed. A. Kurfess (Leipzig: Teubner, 1957), 118.

not be accepted without mature consideration—kindly take note of the saying of Sallust given above in Latin: war and battle is lightly undertaken and begun, but nevertheless, as he says and as experience confirms, its conclusion is always wretched. An end to battle does not issue from the power of the stronger side, nor victory from the merit of those who hold it: it is rather in Fortune’s gift, by the will of God. Two things therefore are necessary for you, so that the good of peace might always be with you. The first is always to keep your mind and your eyes fixed on the evil that comes through war and battle, and how several kingdoms have been destroyed and emptied through pursuing it—and also on the hazards of Fortune, which no one holds in his hand. Having regard to this you should never lightly follow advice to undertake war, nor even to contemplate it. Especially you should avoid civil war against your own people or your subjects, and not tolerate it breaking out among them either, since nothing is so harmful, as the Gospel and likewise the present situation attest.

The second is that you should hold to and seek out every good and appropriate way of keeping the peace, as has been said above, and avoid the contrary. That is, you should maintain the princes of all parties in amity—in benevolence toward you and in friendship among themselves—by such an attitude and with such wisdom that they have reason to remain in peace and not to do the opposite. And even if it should happen that some spark of bitterness threatens to reignite, you should extinguish it through good measures. Likewise the knights and the nobility—the tools you can and should use in the defense of your country, and without which your lordship is empty—must be loved and held dear; and good things should be done for them to make them more obliged to you. As Solomon says in his *Proverbs*, one who has something to give, has something with which to govern; that is, through gifts and good deeds one wins the hearts of men, and this is impossible in any other way.¹¹ To those whom you know to be good and faithful, give a reason for them to persevere; for serving well is the business of a servant, and rewarding well that of a lord. The same for those of whom you are suspicious: attract them if you can by good cheer and gifts and bind them to you by oaths; for as Tully says, one cannot have too many friends or too few enemies. And do not let anyone be defamed by hearsay, without strong presumption of wrongdoing—not just for their own sake, but so that others cannot draw a poor example from you.¹² In these ways of behaving

11. Cf. Prov. 19:6: “multi colunt personam potentis et amici sunt dona tribuentis” (many people cultivate the powerful and are friends to one giving gifts).

12. Cf. Cicero *De amicitia* 78 (Simbeck, 76).

may your grandfather, the above-mentioned King Charles, be a mirror and a lesson for you. He not only kept his own people's love through gifts and good deeds, but also gained the friendship of his enemies in similar ways. In this he showed his great knowledge and prudence, as will be told in its due place and time later, for he achieved more by wisely keeping to the ways of mildness and amity than he did by arms and acts of war. And such a course do all wise men advise.¹³

4

Blames cruelty from which war derives and issues

Just as trees that are cut back regenerate with many branches by bearing forth many [kinds of shoots, thus royal cruelty increases the number of enemies]; for the parents and children of those who are killed, as well as neighbors and friends, succeed to the place of individual people. Seneca, The book *On Clemency*.¹⁴

Seneca says that just as trees that are cut back regrow again, by means of many branches and shoots dividing themselves into diverse kinds of limbs, and spring back up, so does a king's cruelty increase and multiply the number of his enemies by making many people die, for their children or kin all succeed them in hate. That is to say, for one enemy several others spring up. This proposition is of use against cruelty, wherever it may exist. In the councils of princes several opinions may be put about with regard to the matters broached, sometimes quite at odds and with each person striving to carry his point. But as Seneca says, the wise counselor advises the prince that he should not trust too much in his own power and strength; given that the strength of Fortune is so much greater, one must look with disfavor on all such approaches, as violence cannot continue for long, if evil

13. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.19, 3.46 (Solente, 1:73–74, 2:275–76).

14. Seneca *De clementia* 1.8.7 (Hosius, 221): “*Voluntas oportet ante saevienti quam causa deficiat; alioqui, quemadmodum praecisae arbores plurimis ramis repullulant et multa satorum genera, ut densiora surgant, reciduntur, ita regia crudelitas auget inimicorum numerum tollendo; parentes enim liberi que eorum, qui interfecti sunt, et propinqui et amici in locum singulorum succedunt.*” Christine supplies a French translation of the whole phrase but seems to have made an accidental omission in copying the Latin text.

is not to come of it.¹⁵ For as Tully says: “The wise man watches out for good and evil before it happens, and so he does not find himself taken by surprise.”¹⁶ While it is proper for wise men to act on advice, each should take care to be well advised. As Saint Gregory says, “man can avoid peril when he is warned about it.”¹⁷ And for this reason Juvenal said: “Prudence anticipates what is coming, and therefore whoever has it has acquired divinity.”¹⁸ Boethius agrees with this, saying: “It is not sufficient to recognize present things, but also things to come, or which *may* eventuate,” for there is no doubt that, just as many evils have been seen to come about in different ways and in different places because of cruelty, the same thing can happen in any place where it is aroused.¹⁹ And since this should be useful as an example to the insightful, I cite Juvenal, who says: “He is wise who knows from the perils of others how to protect himself.” For this reason, have some water in your house if you see fire in the neighborhood. A man prepared, as Horace says, will be safe in every situation.²⁰ How true it is that such common and cruel acts of destruction arise, when they do, for one of the following four reasons (or even for all four together, as can certainly happen): *hate*, *envy*, *vengeance*, and *greed*. Through some particular hatred or enmity toward someone, such as motivated the woman whom Herod kept, who was his brother’s wife; because Saint John the Baptist reproached him for this, she succeeded in having his head cut off.²¹ Or through envy, such as Cain had for Abel: because Abel was better than he was, Cain killed him; and so also with the brothers of Joseph, etc.²² Or through vengeance, as when the children of Jacob, for their sister who was raped, killed the king who had done it.²³ Or greed, such as Ahab had, who to possess the vineyard of Naboth had him condemned to death;²⁴ and so with David, who to

15. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.3, quoting Seneca *De beneficiis* 6.30.5 (Hosius, 168).

16. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.2, quoting Cicero *De officiis* 1.23.81, ed. C. Atzert (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914), 28.

17. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.2, quoting Gregory the Great *Moralia in Job* 26.34, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143–143B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979–81), 1313–14: “Plerumque subito inopinata tempestas omne quod aer serenum blanditur immutat; et eo periculum uitari non potest, quo nec potuit praeuideri.”

18. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.2, quoting Juvenal *Saturae sedecim* 10.365, ed. J. Willis (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1997), 150: “nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia: nos te, nos facimus, Fortuna, deam celo que locamus.”

19. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.2, quoting Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 2.1.15, ed. L. Bieler, CCSL 94 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 18.

20. Latini *Trésor* 2.74.9–10, quoting Juvenal and Horace (unidentified).

21. Matt. 14:1–11.

22. Gen. 4:1–15; Gen. 37:12–35.

23. Gen. 34.

24. 1 Kings 21.

have the wife of his knight Uriah brought about his death.²⁵ It also happens through flattery, which comes from greed, as with the false servants of King Darius who killed their lord, thinking to please King Alexander and to receive a reward from him;²⁶ or those who killed the valiant knight Pompey to have the favor of Caesar.²⁷ While such wickedness is sometimes represented under the color of justice, or an attempt is made so to represent it, to satisfy the murmuring of the world, such impulses must not be obeyed. For as Seneca says, a man overtaken by anger or hate and greed does not see, does not hear, does not understand, does not think, does not speak—except for stupidities, and without any thought for the scruples of conscience, or any other dangers.²⁸ About this Cato truly says that anger and greed so blind a man that he does not see the law, yet the law still sees him. That is to say, he does not realize the risk he faces from the power of justice, when he begins to put his wickedness into action.²⁹ Such faults are execrable in those inclined to them, and especially to true princes (not tyrants) who are apt for dominion. To them Ovid says: “Conquer your heart, you who would conquer all things.”³⁰ And Seneca says similarly: “You who wish to bring all things into submission, first submit yourself to reason; and if reason governs you, you will be a governor, and if will governs you, you will be governed.”³¹ But as for clarifying what right justice is, and what purpose it serves, we shall speak of it next.

5

Here begins consideration of the virtue of justice

Blessed are they who keep their
judgment, and do justice at all times.
Psalm.³²

25. 2 Sam. 11:1–18.

26. Cf. *Epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni* 5, ed. P.H. Thomas (Leipzig: Teubner, 1966), 2.

27. Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta* 3.2.13 (Briscoe, 163).

28. Latini *Trésor* 2.62.2, perhaps quoting Seneca *De ira* 3.5.6, ed. F. Hermes (Leipzig: Teubner, 1923), 114: “Praeterea ira, ut seponamus, quae mox secutura sunt, damna, insidias, perpetuam ex certa—minibus mutuis sollicitudinem, dat poenas dum exigit; naturam hominis eiurat: illa in amorem hortatur, haec in odium; illa prodesse iubet, haec nocere.”

29. Latini *Trésor* 2.62.2, quoting *Disticha seu dicta Catonis* 2.4, ed. E. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores* 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1888), 223.

30. Latini *Trésor* 2.62.2, quoting Ovid *Heroides* 3.85, ed. R. Ehwald (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907), 214.

31. Latini *Trésor* 2.113.3, quoting Seneca *Epistulae morales* 37.4 (Hense, 116): “Si vis omnia tibi subicere, te subice rationi; multos reges, si ratio te rexerit.”

32. Ps. 105:3.

Having said these things, we come to the second virtue: that is to say justice, which we said in the first part befits and is suitable for you, Louis of France, and similarly for all princes. Those who are just uphold justice at all times—meaning in every cause. And these are blessed, as the psalmist says. Since you should be blessed, this virtue suits you. And to say what Justice is, she is like a faithful housekeeper who distributes and shares out for each person that part and portion which is due for their acts, whether they be good or bad. It is fitting for you to keep and work through her, as nothing is more pertinent for a king or a prince. O, what good will follow for you if you keep her well! Certainly (and do not think otherwise), if your love for her is well secured, then despite the diverse and quite astonishing turns and tricks of Fortune, which sometimes strike even those elevated to the highest places, she will be a shield for you and a defense against every trouble, and she will bring you increase in prosperity and triumph. This good will first of all bring benefit to you yourself, with the highest thanks to God, who commands you to act thus when he says: “Love justice among you who judge on earth.”³³ And then generally to all your subjects, for two reasons: one, that the evildoers will not dare to persecute the good because they will know full well that your legitimate justice will punish them; the other, that no one will have a desire to *become* bad, when everyone knows that such people suffer your punishment. They will, therefore, have reason to improve themselves, and so there will be peace among your people; and that is the glory and increase of every kingdom, as has been said.

6

The attributes of justice and of good magistrates

For as long as he is said to be a judge,
for so long he is thought to be just.
Fifth letter of Seneca.³⁴

As the Latin above says, the judge is said to be good for so long as he is thought to be just. This justice, in brief, amounts to not showing favor to rich or poor, nor to friend or enemy; nor departing through any fear from just ways. To distinguish more precisely the parts of which justice consists, know that there are four principal ones. The first is that evildoers be punished, so that they may not trample on the good, nor impede the peace. The second, that the innocent be protected from wrongdoing and that justice be

33. Latini *Trésor* 2.91.9, quoting Ws. 1:1: “Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram.”

34. Not Seneca, but Cassiodorus *Variarum* 3.27 (CCSL 96:117). *P* correctly adds “dicitur.”

done to them and to all having a good cause. The third, that justice should watch that evils not be committed, for it does not suffice that the good magistrate punish evildoers when they have committed a crime: he must be aware of the harm that can be done through them before the evil is done, and forestall it. And the fourth is that the good should be rewarded for their good deeds. You will possess these four main elements of justice, which then branch into several parts according to different situations, if you are enamored of justice, as has been said. But to put them into effect, as it is impossible for one prince to suffice for many different regions, it is appropriate to put in his place various ministers and lieutenants in each of his scattered jurisdictions. O gracious prince, may it be pleasing to you to speak of this matter—in general rather than mere particular terms. For God would surely be pleased if now and in time to come you were so zealously enamored of this virtue that your ministers, following your example, dare not stray from it. Never would there be so much good in this kingdom! For this reason good ministers are needed, through whom justice is handed out to each person according to what he deserves. And what is appropriate in your lieutenants? In the name of God, to be wise so that they see clearly in all things and make no errors in their judgments, and to fear God so that greed cannot corrupt them through favors or flattery. Let them be men of probity and justice, who can hold out a firm hand to any man without giving anyone reason to complain, and gentle and humane so that the poor and simple are not afraid to approach them when wrong is done to them. What good can come from such magistrates? Ah! Surely it is beyond anyone to measure it. First of all, through justice thus maintained, God's grace will be acquired. Next, highest praise to the prince, because one knows the lord by his ministers, as the common proverb says³⁵—so everyone will proclaim him just. Next, the glory and improvement of the land, for merchants and all people will travel there at will, without fear of being wronged. So will all riches and good and joy flow into the kingdom.

7

The evil that comes from not bringing wrongdoers to justice

Because judgment against wrongdoers is not brought forward quickly, they perpetrate evils without any fear of the son of man. Ecclesiasticus, chapter 8.³⁶

35. Cf. Le Roux de Lincy, *Proverbes*, 2:71; Ulrich, no. 91.

36. Ecclus. 8:11.

But as it is well-known fact that not all magistrates are good, or of the kind described, I assign the cause to that suggested in the authority cited above in Latin: because wrongdoers have been allowed to remain in power so often and for so long, men are emboldened to engage in diverse wrongs. That is to say, past negligence and failure to guard against the wicked in such offices has licensed an increase in wickedness, in those able to take advantage through deceit and various frauds. Because of this failure, it has come to pass in many courts that extortion and horrific cruelties can be carried out, under a cover of justice. What is worse, though, is when such things happen and no one dares complain about them. The pity is that then such truth is suppressed through fear or favor, which harms both the prince and the public good. But what precipitates this misfortune is usually what gives rise to every evil and every vice, of which we have spoken above, and which likewise corrupts many counselors and court officers: accursed, treacherous Greed. O Greed, root of all evils and of all vices! Indeed, he who compared you to the pit of hell, which is so adept at swallowing up souls and is never sated, named you fittingly. For nothing is more insatiable than the heart of the greedy person, which nothing, except lack of power, holds back from perpetrating all manner of evils; and as for the eye of conscience, it is quite blinded by dame Greed.³⁷

8

Of greedy magistrates

By that through which someone sins,
by that he will also be tormented.
Ecclesiastes.³⁸

I find there are some sins in particular, which, not to put too fine a point on it, bring with them their own hell: envy and greed. Envy gnaws at the heart of whomever it inhabits, consuming it completely but bringing no benefit. Greed causes the person who is overtaken by it such obsession and torment that he has no rest from his eagerness for acquisition; it never ceases. For this reason, Ecclesiastes, quoted above, rightly says: “That through which someone sins, by that he will also be tormented.” And Boethius says: “No vice is without punishment, and no virtue without reward.”³⁹ And Solomon: “The

37. John of Salisbury *Policraticus* 7.17, ed. C. C. J. Webb (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 2:164.

38. Not Ecclesiastes, but Ws. 11:17: “ut scirent quia per quae peccat quis per haec et torquetur.”

39. Latini *Trésor* 2.52.9, quoting Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 4.1.7 (Bieler, 65): “nec sine poena umquam esse uitia nec sine praemio uirtutes.”

wickedness of evildoers tips them into the ditch.”⁴⁰ But to speak further about this greed which cannot be too much scorned, certainly if such a plant is bad and poisonous, this is not to be marveled at, because it grows from many hateful roots. For some, it is the desire to have money because of their prodigality, for giving to fools or for using for gluttony and lavish spending; and for some, in order to climb more in honors than befits them; for others, by jealousy of their neighbors so as to have more than they have and to surpass them in possessions. And others pile up wealth with great effort because of the fear and wretched apprehension that they always have of not having enough, and that some ill fortune may come to them. These people are not happy with what they have, and cannot bear to do good either to themselves or to others, because they think they will avoid every misfortune through their wealth. But in this they are too foolish, and grossly deceived: because there have been many cases of such ill-starred folk being basely killed for their wealth. Thinking that through money they can avoid misfortune, instead they are bringing it upon themselves. This kind of greedy people are the worst, for two reasons. One, because what they have is kept locked up and piled in a chest, and is as good as lost—since if it circulated more in common, many people would benefit. The other is that for all their wealth, they themselves are so pitiable that they die of cold, hunger, and illness, poorly clothed and shamefully dressed. All this Dame Avarice makes them suffer patiently, so that they become poor beggars without honor or any ease from the fullness of wealth; and then comes death, which takes them painfully without any benefit to the soul or the body—and what was theirs is used with great mockery and merriment, since their relatives, for whom they never did anything good, care nothing for them.

But to return to our first consideration. O God, what danger, when such a vice overruns the heart of a magistrate! There is no greater calamity. Wrong is made right, and right is made wrong—by means of gifts. Nothing is excluded: someone deserves death or has a bad case, and gifts are presented to counter it. Alas! But there is worse, for in line with what has been said before about bad counselors and servants, the danger is great when flattery strikes among them. To win the regard of the prince, whom they understand to be inclined more to one side than to another, they consent to give judgment according to the

40. Possibly Christine is thinking here of Prov. 26:27, “qui fodit foveam incidet in eam et qui volvit lapidem revertetur ad eum” (Who digs a pit shall fall into it, and he that rolls a stone will have it return on him), or Prov. 28:10, “qui decipit iustos in via mala in interitu suo corruet” (Who deceives the righteous on to an evil path shall fall into his own pit).

will of the prince and not at all according to justice. Or they delay judgments for the innocent, or in other cases give judgments in favor of lords, or because of friendships or enmities. There is no doubt, with flatteries of this or some similar kind, which all flow from greed for gaining or keeping favor, whether of the prince or some other, so as to receive gifts, payments, and profit, or to have greater authority or tenure in office—these are all hateful and accursed, and work to the severe condemnation of the judge and of those in whose favor they are done. For this reason Boethius says: “False friends bring flattery in place of counsel, and deceive with smooth words.”⁴¹

9

On keeping justice well, with the example of King Charles

The righteousness of the just will free
them and the wicked will be caught in
their own traps. Proverbs, chapter 11.⁴²

O honorable prince, listen to what Solomon says in his *Proverbs* about this noble and worthy virtue of justice. Certainly, since it will protect those who righteously uphold it, and those who corrupt it will be punished and taken through their own fault, you, along with every prince and all good people, should maintain justice with all your power, in order to be well guarded and defended and to avoid God’s punishment. The way to maintain it is to desire it, and so to order things that in all circumstances it is done to everyone, as much to the little folk as to the great, as has been said, without sparing anyone—punishing the guilty in accordance with their deserts, with no more rigor than the case requires, but righteously and with due regard, so that the innocent are protected, the cases of the poor expedited, and the rich not suffered to crush them by their force. Solomon says that justice involves two things in particular: one is that the judge have the will and desire to benefit all, and the other is not to harm anyone.⁴³ This is also commanded by natural law. And Tully says: “To remove the bad from among the good is not to harm, but to benefit.” Just as, if certain parts of a man were already dead and rotten with sickness, to amputate or cut them out so that they do not harm the other parts would be a benefit to the man, and no harm to the parts.⁴⁴ Therefore Seneca says: “The judge is damned if the malefactor is absolved.” We could no doubt find many

41. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.4, quoting Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 2.5.14 (Bieler, 27).

42. Prov. 11:6.

43. Unidentified.

44. Latini *Trésor* 2.92.2, quoting Cicero *De officiis* 3.19.76 (Atzert, 108).

propositions on this subject, for the authors have written many.⁴⁵ But to turn to examples from your good grandfather: God, how well he maintained it, and desired that it would be upheld above all else! Who in his time could complain of injustice? As soon as any complaint came to his ears, it did not matter whose cause it should be. For he certainly spared no one, as he many times demonstrated with regard to those closest to him—stranger or private acquaintance, no matter how great—as is only right. For example, once one of his best-loved chamberlains, whom there is no need to name, when he had struck one of the sergeants at court, was only reprieved with great difficulty from having his hand cut off in accord with the law, by means of much petitioning from the king’s own brothers, and others of the royal blood; and even then, the man was never thereafter in his grace.⁴⁶ I do not know whether one could say more of the emperor Trajan, of whose justice history makes such great mention, and who even got down from his horse, which he had mounted in order to go off to war, in order to do justice and right to a woman who asked him for it. For King Charles once did no less a thing at St-Germain-en-Laye, when a good woman, as he was coming out of the castle to go hunting, came crying to his feet, complaining that one of his servants, whom she had lodged in her house, had raped one of her daughters. The King, immediately well informed of the case after the confession of the man himself, would hear no requests for remission, but immediately commanded that he should be hanged on a tree in sight of all so that others would take example.⁴⁷ By doing thus and continually upholding justice, I promise you he was so feared that everyone took care not to do wrong. And speaking of justice, did he not even sometimes want to hear the cases which came before his stewards concerning his private servants, and often decided them himself?

10

How it is appropriate in justice to reward the good

For a special person, clemency is to be shown to those nourished by a praiseworthy and honest life. Guido, in the introduction to his *Summa*.⁴⁸

45. Latini *Trésor* 2.92.3, quoting Seneca *De ira* 2.7.3 (Hermes, 78): “et iudex damnaturus quae fecit eligitur et corona pro mala causa—bona patroni voce corrupta.”

46. This anecdote, plus the comparison with Trajan and the story that follows, are all repeated from *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.23 (Solente, 1:60–62).

47. John the Deacon *Sancti Gregorii Vita* 2.44, PL 75 (Paris: Garnier, 1849), 105AB.

48. Unidentified in Guido Faba *Summa dictaminis*.

We said earlier that we can take the fourth attribute of justice to be that it is as good to reward the good as to punish the bad. We can speak to this in terms of the statement cited above in Latin, which suggests that to those we observe to be virtuous and good, who seem to adorn and sustain themselves by so being, one should in particular offer great rewards, kind encouragement, and honors. These words can be principally addressed to princes and lords, since it is up to them to reward the good for their good deeds as much as to punish the bad for their crimes; so we shall speak on this theme in this chapter, because there are many problems current today that require remedy, on which princes could take action if they pleased. There are in particular two remedies. The first is that things should be organized by those princes in such a way that the evil are punished without any being spared through favor, no matter who they are. This should be according to the nature of their wrongdoing—and never out of hate, but in strict justice. And those who are vicious with immoral and worthless ways should be dismissed, no matter how great and rich they are; no account should be taken of them, nor welcome given at court. The other remedy is that legislation should be passed and upheld so that the good, virtuous, and worthy are honored and remunerated generously, and promoted in accordance with their deserts, in order of merit—and no account taken of other people. This is how the valiant Romans did things, as I have said before in speaking of this matter, of which one cannot say too much. The Romans never prized anyone of any rank if he was not worthy and virtuous. No knight or gentleman had any honor or title in the office of arms, no matter what his breeding, unless he had won it through valiant deeds and bodily prowess; and they were remunerated and honored in accordance with the good they did. So that they would be well informed concerning this, and the good not be forgotten, they committed to writing each voyage, enterprise, deed of arms, and every valiant act worth remembering that anyone did.

O, please God that things were done thus now! There would be more who are honored and fewer who are not; for there would be today fewer of those valiant men who have done many things which are worthy of a great reputation and memory but are seemingly forgotten. O! How much it displeases those of good heart to see people of great value, in a realm so renowned, where all nobility used to gather and be given due regard, but where at present the good seem to be ignored. And others for the sake of a little outward show, or less, with no great deeds, but who are in someone's favor, are pushed forward and have the honors.

Examples from the Romans about the election to offices

Nothing is more distinguished than
virtue, nothing is more beautiful: and
it is a good and desirable thing for
anything to be governed by its rule.
Seneca, Letter to Lucilius.⁴⁹

On this same topic of praising the virtues above anything else—or of praising worthy and virtuous people, in effect—Seneca suggests above that, since nothing is more noble or beautiful than virtue, or better or more delightful to be governed by, so the virtuous should be exalted. This is why, in the time of the Romans, when they came to consult the books of knighthood where the good deeds of each were recorded, they elected men to be chieftains and governors of others according to the reports given in them; and similarly they inquired concerning their way of life, for no matter what prowess they might have, no ill-bred man would there be elected. And they said that a man was not worthy of honor whose heart was corrupted by vices and bad ways. Similarly they would inquire concerning the behavior of all their other officers, and they promoted them according to whether they were well-behaved and cultivated. There was therefore nothing which men wanted more to acquire, with all their heart, than good reputation, because in those days one took no account of other riches and kinds of estate. This is well illustrated by that valiant knight and general in the Roman army, Fabricius, who was not at all ashamed to be seen by his enemies' distinguished ambassadors eating at table and sitting on a little bench, served with wooden dishes—which he could easily have changed if greed were his mistress, but his generosity, whereby he gave everything to the good until nothing remained for himself, prevented him.⁵⁰ Virtue was all their study

49. Seneca *Epistulae morales* 67.15 (Hense, 230): “Nihil est virtute praestantius, nihil pulchrius. Et bonum est et optabile, quicquid ex huius geritur imperio. Vale.”

50. Cf. John of Salisbury *Policraticus* 1.5.7 (Webb, 311). Fabricius was a much-cited example of Roman probity. He appears in this role in Dante *Monarchia* 2.5 (Shaw, 64–65), where Vergil's *Aeneid* is cited, and he serves the same purpose in the glossed Valerius Maximus that was used extensively by Christine in her *Corps de policie*. Although she tells a number of stories about this general in that earlier work (1.12), this one was not used by her previously. Fabricius's probity is reported by Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta* 4.3.6–7 (Briscoe, 247–48), where it is followed by this story, but told about the consul M. Curius. Christine had also mentioned Fabricius in *Long estude* 4802 in a long list of wise exemplars who despised wealth.

because wealth, estate, and clothing brought them no honor. They would say that they wished their adornments to be interior and not exterior, so that they could never be taken away or stolen by thieves; and such are virtues. It is because they upheld such ways that the Romans were such valiant people, the like of which has never since been in the world, as much in prowess of arms as in prudence, the acquisition of knowledge, and integrity—and in all things that accord with high and legitimate government. While they continued thus they ruled over all lands; but when pride began to take hold, and evil lords came who pursued their own profit out of greed, their rule collapsed.

Why do you think it is that in ancient times people were more worthy than they now are: nobles in arms as much as scholars in knowledge, and people of justice, and all others? In God's name, because they were encouraged to be thus by the very great account that was taken of the good, and the disdain in which the unworthy were then held. When people of those days, who were even pagans and without the Law, did such in order to be good and nobly cultivated, it is to be presumed that the Christians of today might far more excel and increase in virtue, and certainly it is a very great cause for reproach if they do otherwise.

Ah! How well what I previously said of King Charles illustrates this matter. He managed things that same way: wherever he heard of good people, he sent in search of them and wished to have them, whether in the office of arms, in learning, or in some other capacity. And God knows, as do others who still live, how he held serious people in great reverence and took great account of them; and the way he maintained them in honors, estates, and benefits certainly could not have been better. So I conclude that it is through the fault of the rulers, as I said before, that people are not better—when honors and benefits are not given to the virtues but to the great estates. But if the opposite were done, valiant deeds would be promoted and pillage put down. Please God, then, that such a thing be done, for it would be to the common as well as the private good.

12

Here begins consideration of the virtue of magnanimity, which is called greatness of heart

It is particular to a great mind to be peaceful and tranquil, and to spurn and

despise injuries and offences. Seneca, the book *On Clemency*.⁵¹

The third virtue which we have said is appropriate to the prince is magnanimity, which is called greatness of heart. The characteristic of this, says Seneca, is that it makes men peaceful, gracious, agreeable, settled, mild, and composed; and it causes them to despise and take no heed of insults and offences. O, noble virtue in a great lord—indeed, in all noble men! For it does more than what is said above: it makes a person splendid in his deeds, causes him to be spoken about, enhances his dignity and the awe, fear, and love with which he is regarded, declares his honor and strength of character; and in brief, there is so much good in it that nothing is better suited to a prince or great lord. Here we say what this virtue is, so as to make better understood what it consists in, and so that none will be misled about it, for some who are ignorant are apt to believe that pride, presumption and arrogance, which are ugly and evil vices, come from greatheartedness: but it is absolutely the opposite. That is to say, the virtue of high- or greatheartedness, where it is established, makes a man such that he despises all vile and base things; nor could he give himself or his thoughts to anything other than good, beautiful, and praiseworthy works. Such a man habitually desires renown—not in the least for himself, but to provide a good example. Therefore there is nothing in this world that he hates so much as ugly vices, bad habits of life, and obnoxious faults, and he would rather die than allow any such baseness to be truly reported of him. He strives to be worthy in all things; he inquires what prudence is, so that he might know how to direct his greatness of heart with good sense. Such a man has a high manner and firm countenance, not at all from arrogance—for there is nothing he despises more—but on account of what befits the rank that he has. In speech he is wise and kindly, courteous and friendly, not loquacious; and he rarely says things of no value. He presents a joyous face when among his own people; he loves them and wants their love; if they bring him honor, service and loyalty, he rewards them generously; he occupies himself diligently with the good of the polity, and does not waste time with trifles or encumber himself with vices and base concerns;

51. Seneca *De clementia* 1.5.4 (Hosius, 217; with slight differences): “*magni autem animi proprium est placidum esse tranquillum que et iniurias atque offensiones superne despiciere.*”

he always wants to hear about virtuous affairs; he does not lightly rise to anger, nor take account of slight misdeeds or demand vengeance in petty matters; his games and his laughter are temperate; he wishes to do no one wrong, though he would rather die than allow another to wrong him in turn; his word and promise is stable and firm in all matters, and he would never lie. Such a man never decides anything without taking plenty of advice, but no one is more constant once things are decided; in the execution of his wars he is diligent and cautious, fierce toward his enemies and bold as a lion—but mild, merciful, and humane to the vanquished and to those who surrender. Such a man despises greed and hates avarice, wishes to possess only in order to be able to give generously to those who are deserving; wrongdoing displeases him more than anything else: he does not do it himself, nor suffer it to be done, so far as this is within his power; and he is never more unhappy than when people have reason to complain with just cause. His thoughts never cease to seek out ways in which he can continually grow in high renown and fame. Such are the characteristics of greatheartedness (along with others, all of them good) in a prince or in any noble man who has it also, each in his degree.

13

Exhorting my lord of Guyenne to greatness of heart

Magnanimity seems to be the jewel of the virtues. Aristotle, *Ethics*.⁵²

A kingdom with magnanimity is to be prized. Aristotle, *Politics*.⁵³

You have the material of virtue; put the thing into action. Walter in the *Alexandreis*, about the words of Aristotle.⁵⁴

Concerning this virtue of magnanimity, or greatness of heart as we may call it, Aristotle says above in Latin that it is the jewel through which the other virtues are honored, which means that it exalts and manifests the others. For in one who has it the others can be seen shining through his works; otherwise this

52. Aristotle *Ethica* 4.7.1124a (AL 26.3:440): “Videtur quidem igitur magnanimitas ut ornatus quidam esse virtutum.”

53. Not found in Aristotle *Politica*.

54. Walter of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.83, ed. Marvin L. Colker, *Thesaurus mundi* 17 (Padua: Antenore, 1978), 11.

would not be magnanimity, since it cannot exist alone. This is why Aristotle says elsewhere that the prince is most prized by his subjects when they see that he is greathearted, and why he said to Alexander: “Young man, have within you a strong and magnanimous heart, and if you have the material for virtue (that is, if you have reason to exercise virtue, as you do), then *execute* the thing (which is to say, demonstrate it in action).”⁵⁵ These words, most noble prince, can be addressed to you as much as to Alexander; or so it certainly seems to me, in light of the properties of this magnanimity or greatness of heart. It among all the virtues is suited to you and to any prince or high person; you are one such, so it is appropriate that you be guided by and conform to it in everything from your earliest youth—not only in that you have it or know what it is, but in that you act from it. For, as Saint Augustine says, there is little value in knowing what virtue is if one does not put it into practice.⁵⁶ O noble youth! May it please you for a moment to contemplate how beautiful a thing it is to see a prince, even in his youth and as he grows up, ever better ornamented by the beautiful precepts and manners that are encompassed by this virtue. That is to say, despising vices more than anything and desiring to encourage all good manners and habits, in practice and also in countenance and words, since there is nothing more agreeable to see than a prince who is wise, restrained, of a beautiful eloquence of manner and discreet speech, doing his duty toward God and his service, attentive at his council to the opinions of his wise councilors, gracious to foreigners, receiving in lordly manner and with good welcome each according to his degree, with great love toward those of his blood, honoring the good and valiant, wanting to hear their deeds spoken of, rewarding those who deserve it, mild, humane, gracious, accommodating, and joyous as the time and place may require, and, where it is called for in his games and amusements, courteous and moderate, without rowdiness at any stage of his life.

14

How it does not befit a prince to be too isolated

Men of great intellect and will are
naturally lords and rulers of others.
Aristotle, *Politics*.⁵⁷

55. See Introduction p. 20.

56. Unidentified.

57. Cf. *Les “Auctoritates Aristotelis”* 1.1 (*Les “Auctoritates Aristotelis”: Un florilège médiéval; Étude historique et édition critique* 1.1, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse [Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1974], 252), glossing Aristotle *Politica* 1 (1252d31–b5): “*Hominis ratione et intellectu vigentes naturaliter aliorum domini sunt et rectores.*”

If a man were seized into heaven, everything wonderful that he saw there would be mourned by one not having anyone to whom he could reveal it. Archyta of Tarentum, as reported by Tully.⁵⁸

Man is naturally a social animal. Aristotle, *Ethics*, book 1.⁵⁹

Your deeds ought to be done openly and do not believe that any secret can ever be given to royal vices. Lucan.⁶⁰

It behooves a prince to know everything which he can't do if he is alone. Giles, in the book *On the Government of Princes*.⁶¹

Once more, in order better to demonstrate that this greatheartedness is more appropriate to a prince than to any other, I have produced in testimony the sayings of the authorities on this matter. For since it is the case, as Aristotle says in the first Latin text above, that even common men who are great of heart and have good understanding are constituted by right of nature to have prerogative over the others, these qualities are all the more necessary to you, and all other princes already established in lordship and government of a multitude of people. To carry through with this matter of the manners appropriate to a prince: since nothing pleases his faithful and loving subjects more than to be in the presence of their lord, he should not keep himself in too great solitude. Archyta of Tarentum says that if a man had visited the heavens, it would be very hard if he could not tell anyone about the marvels that he had seen there—meaning that it is a natural and appropriate pleasure for men to discourse and communicate with others. On this matter Aristotle says, “Man is sociable by nature,” which is to say that people will happily

58. Paraphrase of Cicero *De amicitia* 88 (Simbeck, 79): “verum ergo illud est quod a Tarentino Archyta . . . si quis in caelum ascendisset naturam que mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore; quae iucundissima fuisset, si aliquem cui narraret, habuisset.”

59. Aristotle *Ethica* 1.5.1097b11 (AL 26.3:382): “quia natura civile homo”; cf. *Politica* 1.2 1253a (AL 29.1:5): “et quod homo natura civile animal est.”

60. Not Lucan; actually Claudian *Panegyricus* 8.269, ed. J. B. Hall (Leipzig: Teubner, 1985), 71: “cunctis tua gentibus esse / facta palam nec posse dari regalibus usquam / secretum uitiiis.”

61. Not found in Giles of Rome *De Regimine principum*.

converse. And says Giles: “The deeds of a prince should be open to view, for if they are bad, they cannot then be hidden.” And he says further: “It is proper for a prince to familiarize himself with everything, which would be impossible if he were too solitary.” Therefore he should willingly keep himself in the presence of his nobles and his people without making difficulties about being seen, giving appropriate audience at hours that are convenient to those that have business with him. He should not adopt habits or behavior that are inappropriate or unbecoming to a prince, either in attitude and expression of body and speech or in manner and order of life, so that none can say of so elevated a person that he is unwise, cruel, despicable, a blasphemer, of ugly habits or of disordered life. In short, all of these good things and many others belong to greatness of heart, as has been said: despising base things, meaning that the prince does not waste time that should be devoted to good governance of lands and subjects in follies, whether in word or in deed. Nor in childish and effeminate things, nor in anything from which honor cannot come: for being addicted to such shameful things can lead to his subjects despising him, and it can turn out so badly for him that he is accounted a fool, or naïve and simple, which are not the properties of grandeur.

Similarly, we have said that it pertains to greatness of heart to have high thoughts about matters of honor, and to want to put these high thoughts into practice. The high thoughts of honor for a prince concern deeds of chivalry, whether initiating them, or defending his country or his own lands. With regard to which, as everyone knows, defense is more fitting than attack, since one is from God and the other is from the will. Nevertheless in both are recognized the properties of greatheartedness, for he who defends well does something no less admirable than he who invades well, except that such affairs in particular should be guided by the advice of experts. In such cases, says Sallust, the counsel should precede the act.⁶² But “after long counsel, brief expedition,” as Lucan says.⁶³ To illustrate the practice of these things, we shall discuss what has been said concerning the deeds of the aforementioned King Charles.

15

Of King Charles, concerning magnanimity

A mind is more distinguished than any
weapon. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.⁶⁴

62. Latini *Trésor* 2.57.1, referring to Sallust *De bello Jugurthino* 10.7 (Kurfess, 60).

63. Paraphrasing Latini *Trésor* 2.57.1, referring to Lucan.

64. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.54 (Anderson, 55): “telo que animus praestantior omni!”

This magnanimity makes it possible for men to accomplish very great things, to which Ovid is witness in the brief text above: “There is no blade so good as courage.” This means that all force of arms is as nothing, if the heart is not behind it. So it was said in the country proverb: “It is the heart that does the deed.”⁶⁵ And for a good example of this, it is well once more to remember that same King Charles, who never once failed to display his greatness and nobility of heart in practice, from the moment he was crowned, which was at a very young age. For when he saw how his kingdom was greatly diminished by past wars—as by the loss of the whole Duchy of Guyenne to which were attached twelve counties and many cities, towns and lands, such as la Rochelle, the city of Poitiers and others, and in Picardy the county of Ponthieu and that of Guines which are rightful fiefs of France, and several other lands that the English held without having to pay any rent at all, as properties won by the sword—O! his great and mighty heart could not suffer this, nor that the reproach might arise in future times that you and his successors would be so impoverished in honor and inheritance.

Because of this, with very great courage informed by good sense, he put his hand to the task, which was no small thing; but he had heart, and certainly demonstrated it when, on seeing himself impoverished by his predecessors through long wars of the past—stripped of so many men, rents, and revenues—he dared to try to recover what was his by use of war.⁶⁶ Now this shows what great courage is, governed by wisdom: and what great faith it gives to one possessed of it. By means of it he was not at all disappointed, so it seems. For he worked so effectively—diligently and with wise counsel, aided by the efforts of good people whom he had drawn to himself for this purpose, as we saw above—that by the grace of God, not moving from his royal throne but ordering things from his rich palaces, he toiled against strong resistance and recovered the greatest part of the said duchy and all the other lands lost by his predecessors. This work bore out the words of Vegetius, who said: “In matters of chivalry arm yourself more with the strength of courage united with wisdom, than with iron or steel,” which means that more is achieved this way than by force of arms.⁶⁷

65. Le Roux de Lincy, *Proverbes*, 2:175.

66. The list of territories lost occurs at *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.8 (Solente, 1:127).

67. Vegetius *De re militari* 1.1 (Önnefors, 9).

Of the virtue of fortitude, and which man is truly strong

Spare the defeated and crush the proud.
Vergil, *Aeneid*.⁶⁸

The fourth that belongs to you, most revered Prince, is the virtue of fortitude, which is so greatly compatible with magnanimity that one seems to be born of the other. It is not to be understood as bodily strength or power, but as simply strength of heart. So Vergil says, here above, that the property of the latter is to subjugate the arrogant but to spare those who are humbled and subdued, from which we gather that his words are addressed only to princes and powerful men, because it is not for everyone to humiliate the proud and to dispense mercy, and the like. This is not at all to suggest that strength of heart is hard, cruel, or unyielding, so that it cannot be shifted from any bad opinion nor persuaded to bend in pity: rather that the heart is so firmly tempered that it is ever quick and ready to resist the blows that Fortune may assail it with—so much so that by no misadventures, loss, or mischance whatsoever can it be daunted, cast down into desolation, or deprived of its resolve. Similarly, it does not rise in arrogance on account of the prosperity that might come its way. This virtue the ancients depicted and imagined as an armed lady, whose shield and lance were borne by Dame Constance, who accompanied her; for truly is constancy the rightful and steadfast companion of fortitude. She truly helps a man to endure all manner of burdens without them weighing him down—nor do ordinary large affairs, since they are reckoned small, seem to him arduous or bitter. He is ready to put up with cold, heat, hunger, austere lodging, and every hardship with equanimity, if need be, to uphold justice, virtue, and the right. Neither undertaking deeds nor persevering in them is hard for him. Such a man does not undertake his actions without taking full counsel, nor engage in them imprudently, and therefore he never does anything lightly, and is not distracted from his enterprise, nor frightened by anything. He does not base his hopes on frivolous schemes; nor is he prone to give credence to statements with some mere paltry appearance of truth. Few things trouble such a person, nor divert him from his opinion; and, following the teaching of the wise, he gives flatterers and sycophants no hearing. For concerning this Tully said: “No traps are so perilous as those that hide under flattery.” By such a thing was Troy laid waste, and many another

68. Vergil *Aeneid* 6.853, ed. O. Ribbeck (Leipzig: Teubner, 1895), 526.

city.⁶⁹ About this also Macrobius used to say: “A flatterer is worse than a thief.” Not for nothing do all men scorn them. The strong heart loves the virtuous and those resembling itself, and draws them close to itself. O God, how many grand endeavors has this virtue caused to be achieved, which had seemed impossible to carry through! For there is hardly anything so great that the steady courage of the man of fortitude cannot accomplish it.

17

Of the virtue of fortitude in the person of King Charles, and concerning his wars

Courage is praised insofar as it faces the most difficult circumstances and greatest dangers. Aristotle, *Ethics*, book 3.⁷⁰

The reason that fortitude is praised among the virtues is, according to Aristotle, that it prevails among and triumphs over difficulties and perils. This is to say that, because dealing with weighty and toilsome deeds takes great effort, pain, and application—and is therefore a difficult thing constantly to endure—they merit high praise who persevere long-sufferingly until their good work is completed. For an example of the truth that it has value in the heart of a prince, let us say more concerning the said good king, your grandfather. For whence might you suppose he got the great stamina and infallible persistence that he had in the management of his wars—so great, onerous and perilous they were, almost all his life!—if not from strong and powerful courage? And how could he have otherwise put up with such a burden, when enormous care and diligence had to be exercised because of the various shocks and chances (sometimes favorable, sometimes adverse) that turn up in warfare, if he did not have great fortitude in him? For he could have found a way to treat with his enemies had he preferred instead to leave things unfinished. But who is now such a prince, or where was there ever seen one more circumspect, wise, and mightily strong in all things? He took warfare so completely to heart, and managed all things so wisely, that in order to be loyally and more honorably served he employed even those of his blood and his closest companions, such as his own brothers, who took

69. Cicero *De amicitia* 99 (Simbeck, 83).

70. Aristotle *Ethica* 3.12.1117a (AL 26.3:425): “fortitudo et iuste laudatur; difficilium enim [est] tristia ut dictum est sustinere.”

to it well. Thus his first brother the Duke of Anjou, a most virtuous lord of great courage, who was later king of Sicily: with the contingent of men-at-arms that the king had committed to him conquered a great part of the Duchy of Guyenne, the town of La Rochelle, and a great tally of fortresses.⁷¹ Similarly, the Duke of Berry, who is still alive: he conquered the city of Poitiers and that of Limoges, and in Languedoc a good number of fortresses, and also in Auvergne. Likewise the Duke of Burgundy, who was the third brother, took the town of Ardre and a great part of the county of Pontieu, in Picardy. The Duke of Bourbon also, who was his brother-in-law—and indeed like a brother to him, for he was a good and valiant lord—with that fine commander my lord Bertrand du Guesclin, assisted by the barons of the place, conquered almost all of Brittany, whose duke at the time was in rebellion against him. Elsewhere too his boldness was felt. And in this fashion the said lords moved, here and there, against their enemies.⁷²

But to our theme of the fortitude and courage of the abovementioned king: we should emphasize that it was by no means only against the King of England that he was waging war, since at the very same time he stood against the King of Navarre (who was then still living) and the Duke of Brittany. In total, for these wars it was necessary to maintain troops in perhaps five or six places—on the frontiers, through the kingdom, or even at sea. This meant a huge army in Guyenne, and also in Picardy, Brittany, Languedoc, Auvergne (where the Duke of Berry achieved much, as has been said); and in Normandy, where the Duke of Burgundy conquered many a strong castle, and accomplished great things. Also, in order continually to protect the sea routes my lord John of Vienne, a fine admiral, maintained twenty-five or thirty galleys filled with men-at-arms and whatever was necessary—to say nothing of the other craft and smaller vessels that plied the sea causing much obstruction to the enemies.⁷³ And for all of this that most wise king, by his great prudence and fortitude, made provision in full measure.

71. The brothers of Charles V are described in greater detail in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.11–14 (Solente, 1:133–60).

72. The feats of Bertrand du Guesclin were praised at length in *Fais et bonnes meurs*. Christine speaks of him at 2.5–6, 19–20, and eulogizes his feats at 2.23–25 (Solente, 1:120–25, 184–89, 194–201); the account of Charles V's wars that follows this eulogy contains many mentions of him. She later represents his death as presaging that of his master (3.70; Solente, 2:180–82).

73. Christine mentions the admiral Jean of Vienne at *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.25, where Suzanne Solente refers to *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, 10 vols. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1920–53); see Solente, 2:150n7, for information about him. It is noteworthy that the description of his role is fuller here than in that earlier work. He was one of the knights killed at the battle of Nicopolis; see *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 2.515.

The names of certain good captains, and valiant noblemen in warfare, at the time of the abovementioned King Charles

The truly strong person does not fear a good death. Aristotle, *Ethics*, book 3.⁷⁴

The truly strong man, says Aristotle, is one who through the love of virtue has no fear of death. In relation to this, since it is noteworthy and a good example, honorable and praiseworthy, we turn to those who were the noble King Charles' servants in the conduct of those honorably fought wars. Much joy to the heirs who might hear of it! It is appropriate after speaking of the lord, since everything contributes to the same glory, that we say something about those who most often took part in person, with true strength and no fear of death, as is borne out by what has been said of their deeds. In order too that the names of these remarkable people not be effaced by the passage of time, it is proper to record them here, and to preserve the memory of at least some of them; and since to tell all would require a long account, we shall speak of those most regularly involved. The four noble brothers of the said king have been mentioned before, as has that good commander my lord Bertrand du Guesclin, a very valiant knight who, in concurrence with the common proverb that says "a household is conducted according to its lord,"⁷⁵ did well for the lord he served. He knew how to recognize and reward his men according to their desert. Other principal captains continually on the field were of royal blood: the Count of Alençon and his brother the Count of Perche;⁷⁶ the marshal of Sancerre, who was then a commander; the marshal of Blainville;⁷⁷ the Lord of Clisson;⁷⁸ the Lord of Coucy; the Stutterer of Villaines; the Lord of Montfort; the Lord of Montauban; that of Roye; my lord Guy of Rochefort; my lords Oliver of Mauny; Jacques Daulphin, master of the crossbows; the Lord of Beuil;

74. Aristotle *Ethica* 3.9.1115a (AL 26.3:421): "Utique fortis, qui circa bonam mortem inavidus."

75. Joseph Morawski, *Proverbes antérieures au xv^e siècle* (Paris: Champion 1925), no. 2249, p. 81.

76. Mentioned in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.33 (Solente, 1:224).

77. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.25: "Citons, parmi ceux-ci, les frères du roi Charles mentionnés plus haut; l'amiral de France Jean de Vienne, chevalier noble, vaillant et avisé; le maréchal Louis de Sancerre, tout aussi vaillant et courageux; le maréchal Jean de Blainville—ainsi que bien d'autres" (Hicks and Moreau, 163). Blainville is also mentioned at 3.36, preceding Charles V in the procession that went to visit the emperor, and at 3.37 (Solente, 2:99, 102), escorting the emperor into Paris.

78. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.35–36 (Solente, 1:231).

the Lord Owen of Wales (while he still lived);⁷⁹ the “Herald of Love”,⁸⁰ my lord Omenion of Pommiers.⁸¹ Other barons, knights, and valiant upright noblemen were there also, of whom I have no knowledge, along with a great contingent of foreign captains: for there is no doubt the wise king had provided himself with so many good people that nothing was wanting, neither in men-at-arms nor in any other provision for war. So I can conclude at the end of this chapter on my original theme: that, considering the remarkable military establishment put in place by this prudent king, it was yet more a matter of the fortitude of his noble heart, his first principle, than even the strength of the mighty power he had deployed. And now ends the second part of this book.

79. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.31: “Pendant quelque temps le duc d’Anjou fut dans le pays de Périgord, et le connétable Bertrand Du Guesclin en Champagne; quant au duc de Bourbon, frère de la reine de France, au maréchal de Sancerre, au seigneur de Coucy, au seigneur de Montfort, au seigneur de Montauban, au seigneur de Rais, à Gui de Rochefort, à Olivier de Mauny, au seigneur d’Assé, au Bègue de Villaines, à Owen de Galles, au seigneur de Châteaugiron, au seigneur de Bueil, ils s’étaient répandus, avec une multitude d’autres nobles et vaillants chefs, aux quatre coins du royaume” (Hicks and Moreau, 175; Solente, 1:216–17).

80. Christine had also spoken of the “Herald of Love” in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.26 (Solente, 1:203–4). He was Jacques Wyn, a companion of Owen of Wales. In 1372, during the reign of Edward III, Owen had transferred his allegiance to the French: “Qui plus est, toujours en cette même année, le noble écuyer Owen de Galles, qui était de l’avis général l’héritier légitime de son pays, arriva en France, accompagné de beaucoup d’autres Gallois, tous beaux gentilshommes et vaillants combattants. Il avait abandonné la cause anglaise en raison du grand prestige de notre bon roi Charles V, et souhaitait devenir, avec son parent et compagnon d’armes Jacques Wyn, vassal du roi de France. Ce noble chevalier s’était trouvé aux côtés des Anglais lors du Combat des Trente; on l’appelait ‘le poursuivant d’Amours.’ Tout en étant les compagnons du prince de Galles, fils du roi d’Angleterre, et membres de sa maison, ils s’estimaient dépossédés de leurs terres et domaines par les Anglais et leur portaient une haine bien compréhensible” (Hicks and Moreau, 166).

81. Like Jacques Daulphin, the knight Omenion of Pommiers is one of the few mentioned here who had not previously been spoken of in the *Fais et bonnes meurs*. Omenion had, however, been discussed by Christine in her *Cité des dames* 2.67.2, where he is described as the recipient of the generosity of Christine’s friend Marguerite de la Rivière. It is unclear why she now chooses to mention Jacques Daulphin. Suzanne Solente (2:195n1) identifies him as Guichart Daulphin, lord of Jaligny. He is perhaps the same person as the Guichard Daulphin mentioned in *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.679 as having given up the castle of Sancerre (then in the hands of the Orléans faction) to the king.