

CHRISTINE DE PIZAN'S
LIVRE D'EPITRE D'OTHEA A HECTOR
AT THE INTERSECTION OF IMAGE AND TEXT

BY

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ABSTRACT

Christine de Pizan, the first professional author in Western Europe, wrote the *Book of the Epistle of Othea to Hector* in 1399. Of Italian origins, Christine had moved with her family to the Valois court of Charles V in approximately 1368. The French king had invited her father, a professor at the University of Bologna, to Paris as his personal physician and court astrologer. Surrounded by the nascent humanism encouraged by the French monarch, Christine gained the rudiments of a classical education, including the notarial script with which she would early support herself and her family upon the deaths of her husband and father. Having begun by writing lyric poetry for her personal use, the author created the *Epistle of Othea* mixing poetry and prose, using the format of earlier Latin works. Scholars generally concur that Christine participated in the facture of her numerous manuscripts. Although the extent and nature of her participation remain unclear, this paper assumes that she played some role in directing the contents and style of the illustrations with which her artists embellished the work.

Comparisons among eight manuscript copies and one printed edition of the *Epistle of Othea*, the most popular of Christine's literary creations, constitute the basis of the present study. A collection of one hundred vignettes loosely related to the Trojans (from whom the French believed they were descended), the *Epistle of Othea* contains an illustration accompanying each of its allegorical stories. Although its purported subject falls in the "miroir des princes" genre, the work's disjunctive nature leads to the conclusion that its author's actual motivations in writing it lay elsewhere. Specifically,

this paper contends that Christine created her first serious prose work as a vehicle to establish herself within the royal and aristocratic community as an author to be respected, a voice to be heard. She designed it as a demonstration of the proper form of allegorical writing, in which the author clearly guides readers' interpretations. Furthermore, she herein embarked upon a lifelong battle against misogyny. Finally, Christine began with this work her efforts to rehabilitate her astrologer/father's tarnished reputation.

Comparison of the verbal and visual imagery in the earliest three copies, created under the author's control between 1399 and ca 1410, discloses the close association between text and image. No textual comparisons among the later copies were included in the study, but the research shows that later illuminations diverge increasingly from the originals. The changes result both from new media (grisaille, watercolor and woodcut print) and from the social milieux of the owners. That is, the art work in the Bodmer mixed-grisaille copy for Antoine, Great Bastard of Burgundy, demonstrates elements suggesting a highly enlightened court, while increased violence and sensationalistic qualities characterize the watercolor copy at Lille, created for bourgeois buyers. The reductive nature of the woodcut images, like that of the watercolors, relates to their medium. The most significant changes occur in the Lille watercolor on paper, whose artists sought innovation to please their clientele, according to the Lille Médiathèque Jean-Lévy in whose collection it is found.

Similarities among the three later generations suggest possible ancestry in the ca 1400-50 Beauvais copy for the Bodmer and Lille manuscripts (both of approximately 1460) and the Paris incunable of 1499 created by Philippe Pigouchet. Although no

clearcut family relationships can be identified at this time, it appears that the latter three copies and the Beauvais manuscript may all descend from an earlier copy, now lost.

to Breck,
the great joy of my life

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Introduction

Christine de Pizan has been my quasi-constant companion for the past seven months, but I encountered the work of this remarkable late medieval woman about ten years ago. The first professional writer in Western Europe, Christine holds an important position historically, but it was her life, and then her first serious prose work, the *Book of the Epistle of Othea to Hector*, which interested me. Widowed at twenty-five with two children, her mother, and a niece to support, and with her husband's and father's estates in disarray, the resourceful Christine collected monies due her family at the same time as she was launching her prolific and lucrative writing career. She would write well over 150 works, advise royalty, and shape herself into one of the most famed authors of her era, consistently writing against misogyny, before withdrawing to a convent outside Paris in 1418. She died in approximately 1431, having written her last known work in praise of Joan of Arc.

Born in Pizzano, Italy, in 1363, Christine was the daughter of Thomasso da Pizzano, whom Charles V invited to Paris as his personal physician and court astrologer. The Pizan family lived very well in the circle of the nascent renaissance thinkers at the Valois court until Christine's father and then her husband died, leaving them destitute. Thomasso's discovery of favorable astrological signs for a "scholarly future" for his daughter had led him to aid his first-born in obtaining the rudiments of a classical education – at a time when women were considered unworthy of education and even potentially dangerous if educated. Moreover, his courtly connections opened the royal library and other collections to his daughter so that she apparently read most of the

literature current at the court. From her father or husband, a court secretary, the young woman learned the notarial script which is now recognized in her own hand in over fifty copies of Christine's works in Western Europe and the United States.

Much of what we know about Christine comes from a precocious autobiography in allegorical form, the genre she chose for many of her works. Probably having begun her career as a copyist, Christine found in the composition of lyric poetry a vehicle through which to process the enormous grief she experienced on the early and sudden death of her husband of only ten years. Among others, Queen Isabella of Bavaria, wife of Charles VI, encouraged Christine in her writing, and by 1399, the date at which my work probably appeared, Christine had written more than 100 poetic works. Her most prolific period occupied the two decades from 1389 to 1405. Christine dedicated her works and presented luxurious copies of them exclusively to a royal and aristocratic clientele who handsomely reimbursed her through their "gifts" in return. Interestingly, she recopied and rededicated the *Epistle of Othea* to at least four different patrons in France and in England.

In a time when books were valued more as objects to be possessed than as repositories of information, Christine recognized better than any of her peers the desirability of illumination in her manuscripts. Although this is subject to scholarly debate, she is generally understood to have played a decisive role in the production of her works, perhaps directing details of their artistic and codicological elements. The *Epistle of Othea*, containing 100 mythological tales loosely connected to the Trojan stories, in its definitive form, is embellished with one miniature for each story – by far the greatest number Christine ever included in any work. It is a curious work, at best, and of little

merit from a literary standpoint. Scholars have described it as derivative, disorganized, and redundant, and all are justified. As a formative work for the author's career, however, it is fascinating, and its illuminations are delightful.

The earliest identified copy, BNF fr 848, seems to be the original, working copy. Although the text was essentially already established in 1399, only six line drawings decorate its vellum folia. In addition, the page layout and even the length of the versified text varies within these first five stories. The folia are designed with a centered illustration, in frontispiece position, above a verse, which although it varied enormously at first, stabilized into a quatrain after the first five stories. Commentaries, in the form of gloss and allegory in smaller hand, flank the drawing on the left and right, respectively.

This format – the text with gloss and allegory – and page layout Christine borrowed from Latin texts of her predecessors. It begins with a lengthy prologue/dedication in which she identified Othea as the goddess of wisdom who, through these "fables," would teach Hector of Troy, her "son" how to be a good Christian knight. There follows a conglomeration of allegorical stories, first focused on the cardinal virtues of wisdom, temperance, fortitude, and justice. Next come stories concerned with the planets and the metals with which they are identified; others relate to the Ten Commandments and the Nicene creed, for example -- all somehow illustrated by a mythological vignette. Most teach good conduct for young men, and all include the four-part arrangement of text, gloss, allegory, and biblical, patristic or philosophical quotation that, in the best examples, support Christine's points in the text. Codicological elements help ensure that readers comprehend her work; each story and even the sections

of the stories are numbered. Red ink, or rubrication, emphasizes certain passages. Enlarged and often decorated capitals designate the beginning of each new section.

Christine apparently wrote *one hundred* stories in reference to one of her clear sources, the popular Boccaccio, and she rigorously maintained the four-part format, even when she apparently could not think of anything germane to say in her commentary sections, or could not find a quotation that fit the theme. Frequently, the glosses, allegories, and especially the quotations have almost no connection with the principal lessons of the stories. In addition, in order to produce the full complement of one hundred stories, Christine commonly repeated the same characters, sometimes contradicting herself in the descriptions.

Scholars have typically understood Christine's *Epistle of Othea* as a beginner's trial-and-error effort at writing. Its format is uneven; the book demonstrates little unity among or even within its stories, and stories that *do* relate to Hector's life are achronologic. If it was intended, as purported in the prologue, as a guide for how to be a good Christian knight, it falls far short of its mark. Knighthood, in fact, is rarely even mentioned.

I would argue, though, that the whole of the *Epistle of Othea* is a pretext for its author to advance her personal, several-fold agenda – thoroughly unrelated to the subject matter of the stories. In this first serious prose work Christine introduced themes she would repeat throughout her *oeuvre*: First, she identified herself as a significant author, and as a voice to be heeded. Second, she manifested in this work the long-established rules for writing allegorically. Third, Christine initiated a lifelong effort to rehabilitate her father's damaged reputation. Finally, throughout her *oeuvre*, but beginning here,

Christine argued against misogyny. Earlier scholars have considered all these themes, particularly those on women and on allegorical writing. I would argue, though, that rather than their being peripheral parts of the Trojan stories, these themes are the motivation for the writing, and that Christine contrived the Trojan stories as a vehicle to communicate her ideas on these unrelated subjects. As the French understood themselves to be descended from the Trojans, her appealing context readily brought her ideas before the eyes of her desired patrons. My support for this argument lies in the details of the text and its illuminations.

Having essentially disappeared from view in the seventeenth century, Christine became famous during the latter part of the twentieth century as the first "feminist" writer. She rewrote mythology to cleanse female figures of any wrongdoing; she wrote repeatedly, in the *Chemin de Longue Etude* especially, that women should be respected, allowed to become formally educated, and generally she argued against misogyny. To be precise, Christine carried on for two or more years the so-called "Quarrel of the *Romance of the Rose*". She argued that Jean de Meung, author of the second half of that allegory, wrote an insulting, misogynist and immoral conclusion to that work. It is an allegory on courtly love, begun by Guillaume de Lorris, but later completed by a Meung whose female characters manifest the worst of traits. After a series of scenes at the very least disrespectful to women, it ends with a rape. Jean de Montreuil and Gontier Col, scholar/clerics at the College of Navarre, defended Meung on the basis that the work was an allegory written tongue-in-cheek, not to be taken seriously. The young Christine challenged that Meung did not guide his readers to that conclusion, if indeed that had been his intention. Undergoing endless verbal abuse in that debate, Christine wrote her

own allegory, the *Epistle of Othea*, in which she stated, restated, explained and re-explained, illustrated verbally *and* visually, even numbering the sections and concluding them with quotations from authority figures, to make unmistakable the proper interpretation of her work. In short, she wrote the *Epistle* as a vehicle to demonstrate how an allegory should properly be written to guide its readers' interpretations, as Jean de Meung should have, but did not do.

Another motivation was the rehabilitation of her father's tarnished reputation. Christine adored her father, introducing him in the *Epistle's* prologue as a gifted astrologer and wise advisor to the King. However, already during the king's lifetime, Thomasso had drawn the criticism of clerics Nicolas Oresmes and Philippe de Mézières regarding his practice of astrology. Astrology, astronomy, and wisdom in general were understood by most in this era as synonymous. The king depended on Thomasso for decision-making advice and for foretelling events, despite the objections of the courtiers just mentioned and even papal prohibitions. Thomasso's predictions were frequently wrong, but his prophecy that the king would survive the illness that took his life drew harsh condemnation from his detractors. Some even blamed him for the Charles' death. Ultimately, Thomasso was discredited; although Charles VI kept him on the Court payroll, he was essentially ruined, with reduced salary, irregularly paid.

Beginning in her *Epistle's* prologue, Christine set out to alter others' opinions of her father. The theme of science (understand astrology) as a proper source of counsel and information arises in many of the stories. The very presence of the several chapters on the planets, as well as one on the clock, evokes the idea of astrology in a positive light. Moreover, a concomitant theme, that one should seek and follow the wise advice of one's

elders, pervades the text. Several stories relate unwise decisions to ignore the advice of one's elders, and Christine identified her father as the most wise advisor of all.

Finally, and most importantly for her career, Christine used this work as a vehicle to establish her identity as a valued writer and as a woman whose advice should be heeded. I have already mentioned her decision to elaborate her text artistically to an extent she never repeated. The *Epistle of Othea* is the moment, moreover, when Christine first identified herself as author. Normally, her contemporaries concealed their identities until the ends of their works, but Christine named herself in the prologue. Not only that, she wrote that her text had been divinely inspired.

The *Epistle of Othea* visually promotes Christine's identity by beginning with a frontispiece miniature, on the very first page, showing the author presenting her codex to its dedicatee of the moment, Louis of Orleans. The author wears the veil and wimple of a widow (which, in fact, she is) but she co-opts the authority of the universally wise widows who give good advice in her stories by having them wear that same type of widows' clothing. Congruent with her common theme of elevating women's status, Christine's female characters are often wise counselors. In at least two of the stories women's wise advice to men is ignored, with disastrous results. Both Hector and Leander die because of having not listened to their female advisors.

The author keeps her identity before her readers' eyes by textual means, as well. She conflates herself with Othea; at times it is difficult to know whether Othea or Christine is speaking. Furthermore, by repeatedly speaking in first person, and by addressing Hector in second-person imperatives, Christine/Othea maintains her identity in the forefront of her readers' attention. The fact of her glossing her own writing has a

similar effect. Having begun in the dedication by stating, after Boccaccio, that a "small bell sounds a great voice," Christine concluded this work with the Golden Legend tale of the sibyl's leading Augustus Caesar to recognize the Virgin and Child in the sun above them. The allegory of her all-important hundredth story states,

"Augustus learned from a woman

Who taught him...

Cesar Augustus learned to know God and belief from

a woman.

Do not be ashamed to hear truth and good teaching

from whoever may say it;

Truth ennobles whoever pronounces it."

Thus, she elevated women in general, and herself above all, to positions of authority as advisors, like this sibyl, by bracketing the whole work with admonitions to listen to women.

Christine did succeed, admirably, in gaining the ears of France's leaders. For more than two decades she wrote letters advising kings, dukes, and the queen, on the Continent and in England. Her *oeuvre*, supported by royal and aristocratic patrons, included works on politics and warfare, in addition to her autobiography and the well-known *City of Ladies*. Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy commissioned her in 1404 to write the biography of his brother Charles V. The English Duke of Salisbury and Italian Giangaleazzo Visconti both invited her to move to their respective courts. She earned a

comfortable living and placed her son and daughter in favorable situations through her connections with the Court. Christine died in her late fifties in the convent where she had joined her daughter after the Burgundians overtook Paris. She probably wrote only two works at the convent, and though one scholar claims that she continued to copy earlier works while there, no documentation corroborates that contention.

My original plan had been to analyze and compare the literary elements of the manuscripts, as well as to study their bindings, quiring, and other codicological aspects, in addition to the original miniatures. I would then compare these to later generations of the work. In the interest of completing the degree during this lifetime, however, we condensed the paper into the study of the visual images in the original copies, whose facture Christine may have overseen, as compared with the verbal imagery in the textual sections. Consideration of later generations of the *Epistle of Othea* involves only the illustrations.

The *Epistle of Othea* is the most recopied and reproduced of Christine's works, and my present study considers only seven of the 49 manuscript copies now identified. All produced in France, they range from her original in 1399 with simple line drawings on vellum, through full-color tempera illuminations on vellum, produced by 1410-15. Two intermediate, incomplete copies, a copy in grisaille (basically monochromatic gray) on parchment and a watercolor incarnation on paper of about 1460 complete the manuscript section. Four copies of a printed edition with woodcuts of ca 1499 round out the century involved in my study.

I compared Christine's first copy with the next two manuscripts, which she partially or completely copied, herself. Although they are still dedicated to Louis of

Orleans, these she apparently copied for other royal patrons; BNF fr 606 went to Jean de Berry and ultimately Harley 4431, the most famous and valuable copy, to Isabella of Bavaria in a collection she commissioned from Christine around 1410. Except for containing the full complement of full-color illuminations, these do not differ appreciably from the original either in their text or their illustrations. As a rule the illustrations depict a seminal moment from either the quatrain or the gloss, and they relate closely in content to the literary source they accompany.

All other copies in my study were created outside the author's control, mostly after her death. Chantilly's copy, Condé 492, forms part of a collection of Christine's works dated 1402. Like the original BNF fr 848, this work was not designed for illustration after the first five stories, but its illustrations are obviously taken from those original line drawings. Beauvais 9, held in the municipal library at Beauvais, is roughly dated between 1400 and 1450. Although unfinished, with only about forty of its illustrations even sketched in, this copy was designed with the page layout of the original copy, suggesting direct parentage in BNF fr 848. It proved to be closely related, too, to the three remaining copies I studied – the grisaille copy at the Bodmer Foundation in Cologne, Switzerland, Bodmer 49; the watercolor copy on paper in the Lille municipal library, Lille 175; and the incunable -- the printed edition -- copies of which are in Paris, London, Berlin, and Washington, D.C.

My comparisons disclosed several surprises. The working hypothesis, that the further from Christine's originals, the greater would be the variance from her plan, was not disappointed. Little did I dream, though, that by 1460, Cupid and Jupiter would have changed to women, and Minerva to a man!

I had hoped to discern differences I could link to historical or cultural phenomena. Again, the research produced. Specifically, the Coligny manuscript, created or at least finished for Antoine, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, demonstrates a quality of enlightenment not seen in the other incarnations. Where, for example, in all other copies one sees a pitched battle illustrating the story of Pyrrhus, Bodmer 49 instead shows a parley. This happens in several of the battle stories. Another example of this more civilized society occurs in the story of the powerful Queen Thamaris, who with her entourage witnesses the execution of the enemy king. As is her wont, Christine had sanitized her female characters, so that the executioner is depicted as a male from the earliest copies. Nonetheless, a tub filled with blood and the dismembered bodies communicate the gruesome affair. The Coligny artist alone painted not the aftermath but the moment just preceding the beheading, showing that the doomed king has been blindfolded – surely a suggestion of a more humane Burgundian court. The Burgundian dukes, if intellectually enlightened, were not known for forgiving and generous behavior toward their enemies. On the other hand, Antoine sometimes responded less ferociously, as demonstrated by the fact that more than once defeated craftsmen in the Burgundians' northern territories asked him to intercede with his father or half-brother in their behalf. Perhaps we see that aspect of Antoine's character in the illustrations in the Bodmer manuscript.

Conversely, the paper manuscript, probably produced in Lille at about the same time, demonstrates the most innovations as well as the most sensationalistic, violent images in any of the copies. The library records that its owner was a bourgeois citizen of Lille. The manuscript is written in a Picard dialect, and its images for the most part relate

at least loosely to the others, most specifically those in Beauvais. Their style is necessarily reductive and rapid, because they are in watercolor. One example to demonstrate the increased violence discerned throughout the manuscript is the Adonis story. One of the bloodier images to be seen, Adonis is here attacked by a boar. While the earliest copies sanitize the scene, in the Lille manuscript, blood flows across the foreground of this violent attack. The other quality characterizing this manuscript is the reductive nature of the images, to be considered later.

The printed incarnation, of 1499, similarly demonstrates less detail than the earlier copies, the images' reductive quality being typical of the more cumbersome medium of woodcut prints. Interestingly, like only the Beauvais manuscript, the incunable demonstrates the page layout of Christine's original copy, with its illustration centered above the quatrain, flanked by gloss and allegory. Its little-studied producer, Philippe Pigouchet, even utilized smaller type size for the commentary sections, as did the original. Further, although printers frequently reused blocks, either their own or borrowed ones from other printers, this incunable repeats only one print one time. Such special care and expense suggest that the printer anticipated good financial return from this edition.

Part of my goal was to understand how visual images changed with different media, and one of the findings involved the reduction of detail in the later copies. This reductive quality is particularly evident in the two paper copies. Although the miniature for the story of Arachne from the 1405 copy shows the two women standing at a loom with a spider nearby, in the Coligny copy, Pallas and Minerva converse, but the loom and the spider are no longer present. The woodcut image still has the women, the spider

on its web and the loom. In the most reductive of all, the Lille image shows just Arachne and a spider with a tree between them. Lacking its narrative, the disparate elements no longer make any sense. That, plus the fact that the buyers of these paper manuscripts may well have been illiterate, supports the idea that books were owned as possessions, not sources of information, in this social stratum, like that of the aristocratic owners of the earlier copies.

My study found sufficient similarities among the Coligny, Lille, and woodcut editions to link them through some heretofore undescribed artistic family line. Moreover, all shared certain elements with the earlier Beauvais copy, such as pose of figures, composition, and addition or deletion of elements. For example, whereas in a fight in the Hercules/Fortitude story, hell is early depicted as an architectural structure, these four copies place the fight in an open landscape. In another scene, a figure on a horse appears, for no textual reason, in these later incarnations. Given the incomplete nature of the Beauvais copy, it cannot be the source of the others. One must hypothesize another, now-lost source common to all of these last four copies.

Christine de Pizan's *Book of the Epistle of Othea to Hector* presents fascinating literary and artistic qualities, from its exemplar in 1399 to its luxurious copies for aristocratic patrons, its paper manuscript with watercolor and the printed edition with woodcuts. Its numerous charming and beautiful miniatures originally attracted my attention, and the delightful transformations I discovered as the medium changed have sustained and increased my interest. The author has become the subject of a veritable "industry" in the academic quarter, where scholars continue to plumb her *oeuvre* with stimulating results. In my own way, I will pursue study of this first prose work in its

multiple generations, now an integral part of my life.

Chapter One

The Author and her Times

Many elements of the life of Christine de Pizan are well known, largely from her own writings, particularly *L'Avison Christine* and the *Chemin de Longue Estude*.¹ She was born in Venice to Thomasso da Pizzano and the daughter of his friend, Thomasso Mondino da Forli, a medical doctor,² in 1363. Neither Christine's mother's given name nor any information about her mother's family has been discovered. Christine was one of three known children, her two brothers being Aginolfo and Paolo. Her father and paternal grandfather, Thomasso di Benvenuto da Pizzano,³ were both professors at the University of Bologna where they knew Italian humanists, perhaps including Petrarch.⁴ Thomasso di Benvenuto da Pizzano was a doctor of medicine in Bologna, in the parish of San Mamolo, where it is probable that Christine lived until the family's departure for the French court in 1368.⁵

Thomasso was well known as a professor of astrology and astronomy and lecturer at the University of Bologna from 1342 to 1356 and then in Venice, 1357-1364, he served as councilman to the Republic.⁶ He became sufficiently recognized to be invited to join the courts of Anjou, Hungary and France. In 1365, because of the reputation of the University of Paris, he accepted Charles V's invitation to serve as personal physician, adviser, and court astrologer to the king, and he moved his family to Paris, possibly living near the Hôtel de Saint-Pol in 1368. Roux states that Thomasso was retained in the Court for his astrology, rather than for his medical knowledge, by a young Charles V who was

making every effort to avoid the political problems his father had experienced in mid-century, such as those related to the Hundred Years' War or internal issues regarding taxation.⁷ According to Willard, Charles' particular motivation to invite to his court lay scholars, such as those in Italian universities like Thomasso, was founded in his attempts to free his government from the clerical influences of the University of Paris and maintain a more secular government.⁸ Flouting its 1320 papal condemnation, the king put great stock in astrology, despite the Church's continued opposition to astrologers' and astronomers' efforts to predict the future. Thomasso's persistent practice of astrology brought harsh criticism from both Philippe de Mézières and Nicolas Oresmes.⁹ However, Charles V continued to support Thomasso very well, providing not only excellent living accommodations for him and his family but also giving Thomasso valuable manuscripts and even properties from which he could receive income. Thomasso's predictions were often wrong¹⁰ as proved to be the case with the King's fatal illness. Even so, after the King's death Thomasso remained on the royal payroll from Charles VI until his death in 1387, albeit with reduced salary, irregularly paid.¹¹

Christine writes with fondness of her childhood in the Valois court, when the family lived more than comfortably, and she had access not only to her father's attentions but also on occasion to courtly activities. She writes of one instance when the King took her hand with his own ungloved one, which she understood as a sign of intimacy or affection toward her.¹² Although she writes with regret of not having taken advantage of the opportunities for education offered her, the author criticizes little else about her childhood.

Christine's mother encouraged her toward more typically female occupations, such as needlework, rather than the formal education her father offered her. She has Raison in *Cité des Dames* say to her literary persona in that work that her mother had prohibited her "... from deepening and extending your knowledge because she wished to confine you to needlework...but...chase away natural (tendencies) and they 'come galloping back.' Whatever opposition your mother made against your inclinations toward studies, she could not keep your natural disposition from gathering a few little bits."¹³ Her mother wanted her rather to just do "girl things," says Pernoud,¹⁴ although education of girls had in the past been stressed, first in the da Pizzano family's native country of Italy, but also in France.¹⁵ During the fourteenth century, though, knowledge had become the exclusive domain of men.¹⁶ At the beginning of that century women had been prohibited from becoming doctors because they could not be trained by men, and by its end the king's advisors at the University were encouraging him to reinstitute a seventh-century Salic law prohibiting women from inheriting the throne.

Christine was more fortunate. In an unusual move possibly influenced by his friend the French canonist Jean André who allowed his daughter, Novella, to lecture at the University of Bologna, Thomasso taught his daughter to read Latin and the vernacular, Middle French.¹⁷ Even more importantly for Christine's future, he taught her to write in the notarial script which he used at court,¹⁸ and generally assisted her with obtaining the basis of a classical education. His court connections provided her access to the royal library in the Louvre, with its collection of 1,000 codices; in fact, Thomasso's friend Giles Malet, who died in 1411,¹⁹ worked there as a royal library attendant.²⁰ In

the words of Miren Lacassagne, Christine grew up in a milieu "small enough that personal and intellectual relationships were numerous." ²¹

Charles V, a great supporter of the University and of scholarship, commissioned translations of many classical and medieval works on astrology and astronomy, theology, history, and philosophy, as well as some popular literature, all of which were at the disposal of the young Christine de Pizan. The king also frequently invited additional Italian scholars to his court, encouraging the introduction of Italian Renaissance thinking to France. Petrarch had spent time in the French court as Visconti's ambassador, and had been thoroughly unimpressed with the intellectual community he found in Paris. In her article entitled "Culture Vantée, Culture Inventée," Nadia Margolis demonstrates that Petrarch's time at the French court, after which he claimed that there were no humanists/poets outside Italy, gave rise to a new form of French patriotism. ²² At the Collège de Navarre, a center of French humanism, Pierre d'Ailly, Jean Gerson, Nicolas de Clamanges and perhaps Jean de Montreuil and Jean Courtecuisse all worked at developing France's reputation. These frequenters of Charles V's court were clerics, and most of them had been scholarship students at the Collège de Navarre before joining its faculty. Roux adds to the leaders of this "premier humanisme français" ²³ who considered themselves superior to the Italians, the names of Jacques Legrand, Gontier Col, Jean Muret, Laurent de Premierfait, and Ambrogio Di Migli. As the child of an important member of that court, Christine had access to this developing humanism in Paris to which she would later work to make her own contribution. Marked by her Italian heritage, Christine was likewise readily and consistently exposed to new waves of ideas and personalities from south of the Alps.

Christine describes her childhood, like her brief marriage, as idyllic. When she was fifteen years old her father arranged her marriage to Etienne de/du Castel (one sees it spelled both ways, and also simply Etienne Castel),²⁴ a royal notary and secretary, of minor nobility from Picardy²⁵ whom she grew to love very much.²⁶ According to Pernoud,²⁷ Etienne was not titled, but was the son of a Picardian valet de chambre and part-time "armurier" or "brodeur" to the King.²⁸ Christine kept the name "de Pizan,"²⁹ although Italian contemporary documents typically record either the husband's name or both family names. Until the seventeenth century, French women could choose whether to take the names of their mothers, fathers, or husbands.³⁰ The Italian name probably helped Christine in her literary career, as anything connected with Italy attracted special attention,³¹ but the author, at the time of her marriage at age fifteen, could hardly have guessed that she would have a career of any kind. Given her attachment to her father, and her much less frequent references to her mother, one can suppose that she took her father's name because of her special personal affection for him. In any case, her ten-year marriage produced three children: Marie (born 1381), Jean, (born 1384/5), and a second son (born 1386-7) whose name is never mentioned, and who apparently died in early childhood.³² Christine wrote virtually nothing directly about motherhood, but she did write many didactic works for the public, some of which (like the subject of this study) can have served both purposes. The *Epître d'Othéa* is, in fact, purportedly essentially a "Miroir des Princes" in which Christine instructs young men on how they should lead their lives. She also worked hard to place her surviving son, Jean, in advantageous situations, and no doubt had to provide significant monies for Marie's later acceptance

into the convent at Poissy. Furthermore, she took responsibility for raising a niece, so her life, if not her literary output, speaks to her concern for the younger generation.

Etienne and Thomasso worked together at court, and the family bond seems to have been quite strong until the deaths of Thomasso in 1387 and Etienne in 1390. In fact, when Thomasso fell on hard times under the reign of Charles VI, the older man was essentially dependent financially on his son-in-law,³³ who remained in good graces with the monarchy until his death. Either en route to or in Beauvais in 1390 while there with the King, Etienne died of the same illness, possibly the plague, that caused the latter to lose his hair.³⁴

Even in the *Advision* Christine does not write much about her family life before these deaths; essentially her autobiographical content deals with her life after she became a wage-earner. Whereas both families had owned property and received *rentes*, through duplicity and disorganization within the court system it was extremely difficult for Christine to collect monies due her father and husband after their deaths. Ultimately, it took fourteen years³⁵ to finally settle the two estates, with the result that Christine's health failed temporarily around 1392/3. Christine spent twenty-one years, thirteen in court and another eight waiting for the awarded monies to be repaid by her father's and husband's debtors. Christine's brothers, Aginolfo and Paolo³⁶ returned to their native San Mamolo Parish in 1394, where the family still owned property, and purchased a house.³⁷ Burdened by responsibility for herself, her mother, a niece, her two children and perhaps one brother,³⁸ Christine struggled to survive financially during much of that time. Already more French than Italian, she chose to stay and make her way in Paris, rather than to retreat to the family's holdings in Italy. She wrote in the *Epître Othéa* and

elsewhere that France was the best place to live because of the benign rule of its princes and the courtesy and amiability of its people.³⁹ Christine at least twice demonstrated her commitment to remain in France, despite her increasing renown outside her adopted country. Once, when in France in 1396 for the marriage of Catherine and Richard II, the Count of Salisbury contacted her because of his admiration for her work. He may well have invited Christine to England at that time, or she probably could have extracted support from him had she chosen to try to go to his country. Later, when he became King of England, Salisbury invited Jean de Castel to move from the court of the assassinated king to his own, and he also encouraged Christine to join them. She declined the invitation, and fearing for her son's safety, Christine sent copies of her best works to try to persuade the new king to release her son. Eventually she achieved Jean's return to France. At another time Giangaleazzo Visconti, the father of her friend Valentina Visconti, invited Christine to move to his court in Milan. She did not record how seriously she may have considered that move, but as the count died almost immediately after having invited her to join him in Italy, the invitation became irrelevant.

During the time of her daily struggle with issues concerning the resolution of the two estates, Christine entered the working world. It appears that in the last decade of the fourteenth century she began working as a copyist. Moreover, she said that by 1399 she had composed at least one hundred ballads and other lyrical poetic works to give vent to her grief at the loss of her beloved husband. Her courtly friends encouraged her, she wrote, to compile her poetry and offer it to others, and thus with "Cent Ballades" she began her career as a professional writer. Roux states that in approximately 1404 (which is when she first worked for Philip the Bold) Christine began to emerge from her

financial difficulties.⁴⁰ Roux calculates that the author received 320 *écus* from the Duke of Burgundy alone between 1403 and 1408 – a salary equal to what her husband would have earned, but only ten per cent of her father's former potential income.⁴¹ She also had other income; Pernoud says that she wrote the *Livre du Duc des Vrais Amants* on commission.⁴² Furthermore, in the late 1390's, the Queen had named Christine as *chambrière*, but that the author chose to not write about that aspect of her life.⁴³ Roux hypothesizes that Christine may have been influenced by the manuscript market in Bologna, where women worked in that trade, and suggests that the author may also have known about manuscript fabrication through her husband.⁴⁴ Christine may have practiced the rapid, abbreviated writing of the courtiers with whom she stayed in contact after Etienne's death after the 1390's⁴⁵ but probably not between 1390 and 1399.⁴⁶ Roux believes that one can understand from Christine's comments regarding Anastasie in the *Cité des Dames*⁴⁷ that Christine directed the creation of her manuscripts and that she worked with "craftsmen, booksellers, and illuminators who handled the bulk of the work."⁴⁸ Roux's opinion is that the surprising thing is Christine de Pizan's even possessing the practical and intellectual capabilities, like Renaissance printers and editors, necessary to accomplish production of manuscripts.⁴⁹

Continually copying and reproducing old works even as she created new ones, Christine wrote fifteen principal volumes and multiple minor works between 1389 and 1405, the most prolific period of her career. These include *L'Epître au Dieu d'Amors* (1399), the epistolary recordings of the *Querelle du Roman de la Rose* (1399-1400), and the *Livre d'Epître d'Othéa à Hector* (1399-1400), among others. Already the author was, according to the fashion, presenting copies of her codices to various patrons, often as

étrennes, or New Year's Day gifts, in anticipation of valuable objects or money in return. Artisans normally gave patrons gifts of crafts other than their own which they were paid to produce.⁵⁰ For example, the Limbourgs gave Jean de Berry an agate and gold salt cellar for New Year's, 1415. Perhaps Christine offered gifts other than manuscripts later in her career; it is not mentioned in any texts, but one may presume that earlier she simply did not have the means to offer things other than her own manuscripts. Madame du Castel⁵¹ says that Louis d'Orléans gave the author 50 *francs d'or* in return for her gift of the *Livre d'Epître d'Othéa à Hector* — a very handsome return, indeed.⁵¹

This “marketing” technique Christine was to exploit throughout her career. On occasion, such a “gift” was (in modern-day terminology) commissioned by its patron, as is the case with the collection Harley BL 4431 which Christine prepared upon request for Isabeau de Bavière in approximately 1411, and, certainly, the biography of Charles V which the Duke of Burgundy commissioned her to write in 1404. Christine's skill and popularity in the court community seem to have allowed her to move with ease among patrons, sometimes working simultaneously for dukes at war with one another! She actually named Louis d'Orléans as her ideal prince in the 1403 *Chemin de Longue Estude*, while at the same time her son was living in the Burgundian court. Only three years later the Burgundian duke engineered the assassination of Louis d'Orléans. In 1404 Philip the Bold commissioned Christine to write the biography of his father, the *Le Livre des Fais et Bonnes Moeurs du Sage Roi Charles*. Then, on Philip the Bold's death, she amazingly convinced his enemy Jean de Berry to continue as her patron until she finished the biography.⁵² Although a middle-class book trade was growing from the time and encouragement of Charles V, Christine's patrons remained exclusively among the

monarchy and nobility, primarily of Paris.⁵³ As one major patron's interest waned (the reasons for which are not clear), Christine seems to have been able to switch to another readily. This skill is demonstrated by the transfer of her attention from Louis d'Orléans to Philip the Bold when the former apparently disappointed her by not accepting her son Jean into his tutelage.⁵⁴

Christine's Mature Writing

Having begun as a composer of love poetry which she had described as being for her personal use, Christine moved from lyric poetry to prose at about the turn of the fifteenth century, first in the *Epître Othéa*, which combined the two forms. Although she continued to write some poetry after that, her work developed increasingly as prose, in her time considered more suited to serious topics. Hindman suggests that this change in form resulted from Christine's change of patronage, from the "frivolous" court style of Louis d'Orléans to the more serious Burgundian court. She also states that Christine's writing was immediately successful there because her personal style fit better in Burgundy; one might wonder, moreover, whether the success related also to her increased experience, exposure, and popularity. Pernoud finds that the author's career was made already with the creation of *Cent Ballades* and Roux dates her establishing her authority as a writer from her lyric poetry.⁵⁵ And *Mutacion*'s success caused Philip the Bold to hire her for the history of his father's reign. In any case, the "poète engagé par excellence," she became more and more involved in didactic writing, especially in the form of letters. In addition to her long correspondence in the *Querelle du Roman de la Rose*, Christine

also wrote to various leaders, often begging them to take a more active role in solving the political problems plaguing her adoptive homeland.

Political violence wracked Paris during the most prolific time of Christine's career. She saw her friend Louis d'Orléans assassinated and discredited, his wife (her good friend) banished from the city. She not only wrote letters, but also published many politically-oriented works, always urging for peace. Finally, at the time of the Burgundian invasion of 1418, Christine fled Paris for the Saint-Louis de Poissy convent. She may have literally been at risk personally because of her letter-writing campaigns. It is probable that she had secretly sided with the Orleanists, though she was not yet at liberty to make public her opinion on this issue. Her supporter in the *Querelle*, Jean Gerson, had overtly criticized the Burgundians. Obligated to leave Paris for his own safety, he retired to Lyons to live out his life at a Celestine convent. From her exile Valentina continued her efforts to rehabilitate her husband's reputation, finally winning out. She, too, would obviously not have been safe in Paris.

After 1418 Christine did publicly side with the Armagnacs,⁵⁶ having retired to the Benedictine-turned-Dominican house in the diocese of Chartres where her daughter had been a nun since around 1400.⁵⁷ The convent had been founded by Jean le Bon on the location of the birth of Louis IX. After her husband's near-death experience with the fire, Queen Isabella had given her daughter Marie (the first to be born after Charles's mental illness began) to this convent,⁵⁸ perhaps another personal reason for Christine's decision to go there.⁵⁹ Although apparently having taken no vows, the author essentially disappeared from public life. After nearly a decade the discouraged Christine produced her *Oraison Notre Dame* in the form of a book of hours. Then in joyous rejuvenation of

hope for her country, Christine wrote her last known work, the *Dittie de Jeanne d'Arc*, in 1429. She is presumed to have died at Poissy between that year and 1430 or 1431, as Guillebert de Mets mentions her in past tense in 1434.⁶⁰

Historical Setting

The French in the region of Paris were enjoying a particularly peaceful and productive era during the reign of Charles V, the Wise, when Thomasso da Pizzano moved his family to his court. The King, of fragile health throughout his life, preferred diplomacy to war, and believed strongly in educating himself and his supporters at court through reading classical and contemporary authors on a wide variety of subjects. Having spent his early adulthood as regent for his imprisoned father, Charles V had learned to depend on wise elder advisors, a tactic he continued even after he had reached maturity and was legitimately the king. Charles had relatively successfully managed the wars with England, but at the expense of increasing taxes on an already-overburdened and angry populace.

Charles V's death in 1380 led to grave difficulties in France, for his oldest son, Charles VI, was only twelve years old. Knowing that his death approached, the King had named his brothers, the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Anjou, as well as his wife's brother, the Duke of Bourbon, as supporters for his young son, with his oldest brother, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, as guardian. Partly the result of the taxation for war, though, from 1378 to 1382 France, as well as all of the Christian West, was submerged in waves of insurrections.⁶¹ Economic recession, the continuation of the Hundred Years' War, and the Great Schism (1378-1415) all contributed to the difficulties the young prince had to

face upon his father's death. Already in 1382 the revolt of the Maillotins over taxes and the Parisians' generally impoverished situation had challenged his rule, when the enraged commoners stormed and entered the Hôtel de Ville with lead hammers (hence the name). With the help of his uncles, Charles VI suppressed this revolt. Dealing with similar uprisings in their respective homelands, the young French king and King Richard II of England even temporarily made peace in order to discuss their mutual internal difficulties.⁶² In 1396, Charles VI's daughter, Isabella, married the English king, bringing temporary encouragement for the next generation's hope for peace between those two countries.

To the great detriment of France, the dukes (except for Anjou, who died in 1384), focused more on their own interests than on those of the young king and his responsibilities to his country, and horrific problems resulted. At the age of twenty, Charles VI in 1388 assumed rule himself, and directly thereafter dismissed his self-seeking uncles to replace them with his father's former trusted advisors. These became known at this time as the Marmousets – Bureau de la Rivière, Jean de Montaigu and Arnaud de Corbie or Philippe de Mézières.⁶³ With their help the reign largely stabilized and began on a more positive course. Tragically, in 1392, the young king fell ill in the first of repeated intermittent episodes of paranoia and psychosis which lasted for the remaining thirty years of his life. Never long enough to make it clearly appropriate to set up a regency for Charles VI as king, these periods nevertheless destroyed his ability to rule effectively. During the frequent absences of Duke Philip, if the King fell ill, his mother, Isabella of Bavaria, and his younger brother, Louis, Duke of Orleans, handled the government as best they could. When Philip died in 1404, his son, John the Fearless, of a

less conciliatory and diplomatic character than his father, replaced him at court. Increasingly John, Duke of Berry and John the Fearless vied for control of the insane king. In 1407 John the Fearless ordered the assassination of Louis d'Orléans, who had aligned himself with the Berry faction against the Burgundians. The Orleanist/Berry group came to be referred to as the Armagnacs from the name of the father-in-law of Louis d'Orléans' son, Charles d'Orléans -- Bernard d'Armagnac. All this time the two factions had been using the commoners in Paris as pawns. Taxes were so high, and the Armagnacs lived so extravagantly that the commoners actually ended up supporting the Burgundians in the aftermath of the young duke's assassination, a clear act of despotism. The Cabochiens, so-named by their leader, Simon Caboche, were a guild of butchers who became so violent in their support of the Burgundians that eventually, after a 1413 attack, the terrified Parisians turned against the latter faction and again placed their allegiance with the Armagnacs. In 1418 the Burgundians successfully overthrew the government and took control of Paris. Then in 1419 an Orleanist supporter assassinated John the Fearless, with the eventual result that the Burgundians joined forces with the English. Their 1420 Treaty of Troyes placed the English Duke of Lancaster on the French throne, creating a "double monarchy". The dauphin, Charles VII, was powerless to overthrow the English rule until Joan of Arc, who led the French to victory and saw the young man established as King of France in Reims in 1429.

Christine's *Epître Othéa* Manuscripts: BNF fr 848, BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431

Christine, more than any other author of her time, capitalized on the desire for luxurious codices among the royalty and aristocracy of northern France. Aware that

beautiful and expensive decoration made her works the more marketable, she designed all of her major compositions to be illuminated until 1410, after which she planned no more with such artwork.⁶⁴ Evidence suggests that Christine worked as a jobbing scribe and copyist early in her career. Later she hired such professionals to produce her own works. According to Hindman, Christine penned BNF fr 848 and Harley 4431 entirely;⁶⁵ for BNF fr 606 she utilized other scribes as well as doing part of her own copying. Her role in the production of her works is unrecorded, but she apparently worked very closely with the artists she chose to elaborate her texts. In some cases she wrote what many scholars interpret as marginal instructions for artists or copyists. Unfortunately, even Rouse's and Rouse's recent and exhaustive research on production of manuscripts in Paris during Christine's lifetime has not disclosed specifics of the author's working methods.⁶⁶ Their primary research into the locations of the domiciles of scribes and artists from tax records and other legal documents presents specifics regarding dozens of Parisian craftsmen. Surprisingly, the Rouses' publication demonstrates that workshops as physical locations where groups of scribes and/or artists joined together did not exist; the craftsmen seem to have labored on their own in their own shops or even in their homes. This new research could be at odds with Hindman's earlier conjectures that Christine developed ideas for text while associating with artists in ateliers where all worked together. There is no reason, though, why Christine could not have still gained inspiration from earlier works -- in images she saw in other books and contexts, even as common as just looking through or reading books in the libraries where she studied. It is also likely that professionals in her field knew one another and could well have shared ideas in various contexts other than toiling together in a workshop.

The *Epître d'Othéa à Hector*: Why and How Christine Wrote it this Way

Scholars have debated Christine's motivation for her organization of the *Livre d'Epître d'Othéa à Hector* throughout the literature. Conventional wisdom finds that as a young and rather inexperienced author who describes the *Epître Othéa* as her first serious prose work, Christine simply experimented as she wrote. Because Christine definitely penned *Le Livre d'Epître d'Othéa à Hector*, BNF fr 848 herself, and it seems to be the first copy of the work, the following comments will refer to that initial design.

According to Laidlaw, BNF fr 848 demonstrates "examples of inexperience or poor planning," where the glosses and allegories differ too much in length to be shaped into uniform columns.⁶⁷ Images # 1/2 and # 3/4 are paired while #5 stands alone, and, furthermore, the drawings do not always fall in proximity to the stories they are intended to illustrate. Many scholars have observed her endless verbal repetition of the same ideas. She consistently drives her points home by repeating them over and over in all of her works, sometimes rephrasing but often simply repeating. For example, Tarnowsky states that in her autobiographical work, *L'Advision Christine*, the prologue offers three meanings for every image she proposes.⁶⁸ It is even the case that the author repeats the same myths within the *Epître Othéa*. (Paris, for example, functions as protagonist in at least three of the 100 chapters.) Unlike the other works, in the *Epître Othéa* Christine restates her ideas in different literary genres, as well. First she articulates an idea in the versified *Texte*, then explains it in the prose *Glose*, reinterprets it in the *Allegorie*, and purports to support it in the quotations from the patristic writing, or the Old or New Testaments which conclude each story. While there is some variation in the content of

these different sections (often their connection to one another seems quite remote) included in every chapter, the essential overall concepts are generally at least somehow related.

The page layout is unmistakably clear, with larger script for the verse, written directly below the miniature in a narrow vertical column. The comments (gloss and allegory) elucidating her idea in the versified *Texte* appear at its sides, clearly separated from the verse, but as clearly linked to it, by its proximity to the verse and its consistency of form (after Chapter #5). *Texte*, *glose*, and *Allegorie* are all labeled just above their top lines. Moreover, Christine took the effort not only to number the stories, but to number each gloss and each allegory. Rubrication emphasizes the different sections, as well. Most importantly for this study, the author included not only the verbal discussions but also a visual illustration for each of the first five stories – to be elaborated in BNF fr 606 into one hundred miniatures, one for each of the stories. The presence of one drawing for each of the first five stories in BNF fr 848 demonstrates that Christine had therein set the pattern for future copies. The huge number of miniatures in the following copies is very unusual both in Christine's *oeuvre* and in that of her contemporaries. No other author's work even came close to this number; generally they included only a presentation miniature or one on the title page, if they were illuminated at all. (It is possible that Christine was influenced in this arrangement by the popular books of hours, the most luxurious of which had illuminations on nearly every page. Her decision may have been her own invention, as an effort to elaborate her work in every way as completely as possible.) Further, in the whole of the manuscript collection contained in Harley 4431, there are only twenty-seven additional miniatures after the *Epître Othéa*.

These miniatures, as Tuve demonstrates,⁶⁹ present the most striking statement of Christine's ideas, and coming as the introduction of each story, they play the most important communicative role in the entire work. In short, through repetition in several forms of the verbal information, in titles, numbering, rubrication and visual illustration, the author has made every effort imaginable to make her meaning clear.

Christine, as first and foremost an author, but not an artist, began by setting her ideas onto paper, and then engaged artists to follow with illustrations. In the text, Christine used the "triple-tiered semiotic system" designed centuries earlier for use in interpreting the Bible.⁷⁰ That is, she included textual, (the literal meaning) gloss (the moral meaning), and allegorical (the spiritual meaning) commentaries to produce the most thorough exegesis scholars had to date devised. Christine chose it not only as the most typical in current use for scholarly exegesis, but in part also to follow the lead of Charles V. The King had begun a tradition of having his Latin texts translated into the vernacular on the pattern of those three interpretations.⁷¹ She could not have chosen a more authoritative model, nor one which, by association with the King and with his Italian-style humanist translators, would gain her more prestige as an author. In addition to drawing on these traditions, as she moved into writing prose, Christine apparently sought to produce more lengthy works than in the past. Lewis finds that generally the primary concern of designers and rhetoricians at this time was amplifying and extending narrative line.⁷² The most effective method for that is a "visual accumulation of details around the action".⁷³ The author was already sufficiently informed about the work of writing to know that, once the ideas were formed, the most effective method of expanding a text, according to a Ciceronian handbook (*Ad Herennium*), was by using

"precepts originally designed for use in persuasive oratoria – exposito and interpretatio".⁷⁴

As much as she desired that her readers understand her ideas, Christine also wanted them to remember what she said. Several contemporary scholars study the efforts she made toward helping them to that end. For example, Margarete Zimmerman understands the quatrain as a mnemonic device, which "names the central character and summarizes its lesson".⁷⁵ The gloss, a short summary and practical interpretation is followed by an "allegory with a theological interpretation and mnemonic phrase in Latin". All of these elements Zimmerman interprets as demonstrating Christine's goal of helping the reader remember her thoughts expressed in the text. Describing the miniatures as "mnemotechnical storage media"⁷⁶ where the miniature in each chapter depicts a "moment of crisis and a climax", Zimmerman finds in the *Epître Othéa* a "new textual model ... a new pedagogical concept that relies on the miniatures to support the act of memorizing".⁷⁷

These same concepts help answer the question of why the author planned this first serious prose work with such an ambitious cycle of illuminations. Moreover, to begin, most texts destined for a royal audience were illuminated. In fact, patrons expected their manuscripts to be of luxurious quality.⁷⁸ Both the king and his sons, particularly John of Berry, collected illuminated manuscripts. Christine was at this point trying to create an image of herself as a serious author, and also as one worthy of the patronage of the highest of society. Moreover, the goal (at least purported) of the *Epître Othéa* derived essentially from the "miroir des princes" genre -- a didactic one -- and visual aids were already recognized as one of the most successful teaching tools. Finally, more than

anything else, Christine wanted to direct her readers' understanding of her writing. According to Suzanne Lewis, because books were not read aloud, when hearers' understanding could be immediately corrected or controlled, images came to provide a "visual matrix capable of guiding and controlling the reader's perception of the written text".⁷⁹ Further, as the first and most prominent experience of the idea presented, illustrations took on an interpretative role, and conditioned and determined the readers' perception of the text.⁸⁰

In devotional texts of the thirteenth century images had become highly valued, as, according to optics and perception theories in translations of Averroes, Avicenna, Alhazen, and Al Kindi, in addition to Aristotle, Plato and Arabic commentaries, an object transmitted the image of itself through the eye to the intellect and the soul.⁸¹ Thus, during the thirteenth century, an image in a manuscript was considered a likeness or "species," not a "picture," and functioned as a "spiritual similarity".⁸² In this process, the gaze, intellect or soul, according to Grosstete and Bacon, gained spiritual power and insight from its object of vision.⁸³ A century later these philosophical ideas still impacted people's experience of visual representations, and Christine must have been familiar with them as she created her literary output.

The *Real* Goals

The ideas Christine verbalized in the *Epître Othéa* seem to be contrived – particularly the often vague connection among ideas in the text, gloss, allegory and patristic quotations. A few of the stories' four parts work together perfectly. Story # 64, Arachne, is one of them:

Texte: Ne te vantes, car mal en prist
 A Yragnes qui tant mesprist
 Que contre Pallas se vanta,
 Dont la deesse l'enchantà.

Glose: Yragnes, ce dit une fable, fu une damoiselle moult soubtive en l'art de tissir et de fillerie, mais trop se outrecuida de son savoir, et de fait se vanta contre Pallas, dont la deesse s'ayra contre elle si que pour ycelle vantance la mua en yraigne et dist: Puis que tant te vantes de filer et tyssir, a tous jours mais filleras et tistras ouvrage de nulle value. Et tres dont vindrent les yraignes qui encore ne cessent de filer et tyssir. Si pot estre que aucune se vanta contre sa maistresse, dont mal lui en prist en aucune maniere. Pour ce dit au bon chevalier que vanter ne se doit, comme ce soit moult laide chose a chevalier estre vanteur et qui trop peut abaissier le loz de sa bonté. Et semblablement dit Platon: Quant tu feras une chose mielx que un aultre, garde ne t'en vanter car ta valeur en seroit trop mendre.

Allegorie: Que il se doit vanter pouons dire que le bon esperit se gard de vantise, car contre vantance dit saint Augustin ou .xij. livre de la Cité de Dieu que vantance n'est pas vice de louange humaine, mais est vice de l'ame perverse qui aime la louange humaine et despite la vraye tesmoignance de sa propre conscience. A ce propos dit le sage: Quid profuit nobis superbia aut diviciarum jactancia quid contulit nobis? Sapiencie .v. capitulo.

Texte: Do not boast; for evil followed from it
 To Arachne, who misgauged so totally
 That against Pallas she boasted,
 For which the goddess enchanted her.⁸⁴

Glose: Arachne, this fable says, was a gentlewoman very skilled in the art of weaving and spinning, but was too overweening in her wisdom and indeed she boasted to Pallas, for which the goddess was angry with her, so that for this boasting she changed her into a spider. And said: "Because you have boasted so much of spinning and weaving, hereafter for all your days you shall spin and weave work of no value." And truly from this came the spiders, who never cease to spin and weave. So it may be that someone boasted to her mistress, for which evil ensued to her in some manner. Therefore it is said to the good knight that he should not boast, as it

may be a very easy thing for a knight to be boastful, and it may abuse too much the reputation of the goddess. And similarly Plato declares: "When you do a thing better than another, watch that you do not boast of it, for your worth by it will be much less."

Allegorie: That he ought not to boast, we may say that the good spirit guards himself from boasting. For against boasting St. Augustine states in the twelfth book of *The City of God* that boasting is not a vice of human praising, but of the perverse soul, which loves human praising and despises the true testimony of correct conscience. To this purpose the sage declares: "What hath pride profited us? or what advantage hath the boasting of riches brought us?" Wisdom 5⁸⁵

Others demonstrate only the most nebulous connections among their various verbal sections. A particularly blatant example of this problem occurs in the story of Hero and Leander, Story # 42:

Texte: N'ayez pas si cher ta plaisance,
Que trop mettes en grant balance
Ta vie, que tu dois amer;
Leander en peri en mer.

Glose: Leander fu un damoiseil qui trop amoit de grant amour Hero la belle; et comme il eust un bras de mer entre les manoirs aux .ij. amans, le passoit Leander tout a no, par nuit, moult souventes fois, pour sa dame veoir qui pres du rivage avoit son chastel, affin que leur amour ne fust apperceue. Mais il avint que un grant orage de temps leva qui par plusieurs jours dura en la marine, qui destournoit la joie des .ij. amans. Mais il avint une nuit que Leander, contraint de trop grant desir, se mist en la mer ou temps de l'orage, et la fu si loings portez par les vagues peril-leuses, que perir lui couvint piteusement. Hero qui fu de l'autre part en grant souci pour son ami, quant elle vit le corps venir flottant au rivage, adont estrainte de trop merveilleuse douleur se geta en mer et, en embrassant le corps, peri et fut noyee. Pour ce dit au bon chevalier que tant ne doit amer son delit que pour ce doye mettre sa vie en trop grant aventure. Si dit un sage: "Je me merveil de ce que je voy tant de perilz souffrir pour le delit du corps, et faire si petite pourveance a l'ame qui est pardurable.

Allegorie: Comme l'auctorité deffent qu'il n'ait si chere sa plaisance, peut estre entendu le commandement qui dit: Tu ne parleras point faulx tesmoignage contre ton prochain. Et si est deffendu, ce dit saint Augustin toute faulse accusacion, murmuracion, detraccion, tout faulx rapport et diffamacion d'autrui. Et est assavoir, ce dist Ysidore, que le faulx tesmoing fait villenie a .iij. parties: c'est assavoir a Dieu que il despise en le parjurant, au juge que il deçoit en mentant et a son prochain que il blesse en faulusement contre lui depossant. Pour ce dit l'Escripture: Testis falsus non erit impositus et qui loquitur mendacia non effugiet. Proverbiorum .xix. capitulo.⁸⁶

Texte: Do not hold so dear your delight
That you set in too great a balance
Your life, which you should love;
Leander perished in the sea.

Glose: Leander was a young gentleman who loved too much with a great passion Hero the beautiful; and as there was an arm of the sea between the manors of the two lovers, Leander passed it swimming very many a time to see his lady who had her castle close by the river, so that their love should not be perceived. But it happened that a great weather storm arose, which for several days endured in the sea, that interrupted the joy of the two lovers. And it happened one night that Leander, constrained by too great a desire, took to the sea during the weather storm, and was carried so long there by the perilous waves that he perished piteously. Hero, who was on the other side in great concern for her love, when she saw the body come floating on the river then became distressed by such a marvelous sadness that she threw herself into the sea, and in embracing the perished body drowned. Therefore it is said to the good knight that he should not revere his pleasure to the extent that through it he set his life at too great a risk. So says a sage: "I marvel that I see so many perils suffered for the pleasure of the body, and so little purveyance for the soul, which is eternal."

So far, so good. But the allegory section has virtually no connection:

Allegorie: As the authority prohibits that he hold so dear his pleasure, may be understood the Commandment that says: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." And so is prohibited, as St. Augustine says, all false accusation, murmuring, detraction, all false reports and defamation of another. And it is to say, as Isidore declares, that the false witness causes villainy to three parties: that is to say, to God, whom he despises in his perjuring; to the judge, whom he deceives in lying; and to his neighbor,

whom he hurts in falsely deposing against him. Therefore says Scripture: "A false witness shall not be unpunished; and he that speaketh lies shall not escape." Proverbs 19.⁸⁷

It is difficult to explain these textual disjunctures, which occur especially frequently in the allegory sections, unless one posits a different agenda than simply that set forth overtly: the education of a young prince. Christine's personal circumstances, explaining why she wrote for hoped-for patrons with such driving force, in addition to her inexperience, might justify her having written the *Epître Othéa* in such a heretofore unexplained form and with such redundancy. It seems probable that the young woman was using this physical creation as a vehicle for a completely different agenda. She was creating a platform on which to present material unrelated in subject matter to the ideas in her book, but which would help establish her as a writer. One support for this hypothesis is that in the *Epître Othéa* she first projects herself as a political writer. Blumenfeld-Kozinski describes the *Epître Othéa* as Christine's first foray into the mirror of princes genre, therefore representing her first "politically engaged textual production".⁸⁸

Furthermore, Christine could use that platform for a subject about which she was increasingly passionate at the time.⁸⁹ For even as she was writing the *Epître Othéa*, Christine was at least mentally engaged with the issues concerning the debate over Jean de Meung's section of the *Roman de la Rose*. Her careful and repeated criticisms were twofold: She criticized Jean de Meung for his verbal abuse of women, and when Gontier Col responded that Meung's writing was tongue-in-cheek, she criticized the *Rose*'s author vociferously for not having guided his readers in understanding his allegory. She continued her fiery and lengthy correspondence with Gontier Col, Jean de Montreuil and

others for more than two years, undergoing relentless personal attack because of her declarations against the *Rose*. Then she abruptly withdrew from the debate, but remained engaged personally. Shortly later she, herself, recopied the whole correspondence and presented it to Queen Isabeau, demonstrating continued pride in her efforts and interest in the problem.

Christine's commitment to her arguments against Jean de Meung's verbal abuse of women has been the subject of much scholarly writing, and she has been hailed as the first feminist as a result of the battle she waged. Less attention has been paid to the other aspect of her argument – the author's responsibility to guide his/her readers -- which may be her ultimate motivation for writing the *Epître Othéa*. Tuve, Schibanoff, Adams and others have written on this topic, but it seems to the present writer far more important – even perhaps the basic rationale for the curious literary creation. As she continued to hurl futile invectives against Meung's writing in a correspondence that was probably exhausting her, and from which no revenues might be anticipated, Christine knew also that she had written an allegory full of possibilities for varying interpretations and in it demonstrated concretely what Jean de Meung should have done in his conclusion of the *Rose*. She wanted above all, in her process of challenging Jean de Meung for not guiding his readers in the *Roman de la Rose*, to do the reverse. The budding polemicist wanted to demonstrate in the *Epître Othéa* what she argued vehemently in the *Querelle* that Jean de Meung should have done and did not do!

Already in classical times scholars had written at length on authors' responsibilities to their readers, using the same arguments. While it is not certain whether Christine might have had personal access to such texts in the libraries at her disposal, her

arguments in the letters of the *Querelle* demonstrate that she knew the premises, the most important of which was that the author must make clear his meaning if writing allegorically. While neither Christine nor anyone could ever actually prove whether Jean de Meung seriously or facetiously wrote his section of the *Rose*, the pragmatic young woman eventually chose the more fruitful path of writing an allegory in which she demonstrated, explained, interpreted, and visually illustrated her point *ad nauseam*, leaving absolutely no question possible about how readers were to understand what she had written.

Such a motivation, literally outside the subject matter of the *Epître Othéa*, explains why it does not ultimately work very well as a literary effort, much more satisfactorily than the idea that she simply was not yet capable of a more integrated literary work. By presenting it to Louis d'Orléans and then to multiple other patrons during the next approximate decade, Christine not only told her story of how to be a good Christian knight, but demonstrated the more important but subliminal concept of how properly to guide readers in understanding an allegory. As an author who would continue to write in the allegorical mode with the *Epître Othéa* Christine was laying the groundwork for her later career.

Rosamond Tuve reads Christine in the same way as suggested above. Richards quotes her as follows: (Christine) is "invaluable for understanding late Medieval Christian allegory, not only because she 'tells us outright how she expects to be read,' but also because her allegorical explanations are tied to illuminations whose execution Christine herself supervised".⁹⁰ How they are tied to the text is the next area of this discussion: For Reno and Dulac, the miniatures add "another potential hermeneutic

dimension".⁹¹ In certain cases, to be considered in later chapters, the illustrations simply elucidate the identification of the characters. In others, they show character traits of deities, while in yet others they depict the action of the story at hand. Although admittedly to a lesser degree, the miniatures also in some cases demonstrate the same type of disjunctures from the verbal content as occur within the texts described earlier. These are presented in Chapter Two, which focused on the illuminations.

Two other underlying motives for Christine's writing production first become clear in the *Epître Othéa*. One of these relates to her father. Particularly in the obligatorily self-deprecating dedication or prologue statements, Christine's overt praises of him (which one must assume to be genuine and not simply motivated by a desire to increase her own stature by association with him) repeat throughout her *oeuvre*. By this and other means she tried unceasingly to rehabilitate her father's discredited reputation. Philippe de Mézières' and Nicolas Oresme's criticism of Thomasso's mistaken prediction that Charles V would survive his fatal illness, both by overtly naming him and indirectly, by defaming his profession, are very clear. For example, in his *Livre de Divinacions*, the scholar accuses Thomasso of either misleading the King or of not saying anything about his "misguided" belief in astrology. Lefevre states that Oresme

"s'en sert pour stigmatiser l'entourage des princes dans le cas precis ou ceux-ci sont portes vers les arts divinatoires"

(he takes advantage of it (that fact) to stigmatize the prince's adherents precisely as they are attracted to the divining arts) (my translations here)

"Item aucuns autres familiaires de princes leur loent souvent telx choses quant il veoient que il sont enclins a ce, ou au mains se teisent il et n'osent dire verite"⁹²

(Some other figures close to the princes often praise such things when

they see that they lean toward this, or at least they say nothing and dare not tell the truth.)

Decision making based on astrology is wrong, Oresmes firmly states, because the stars in the present day have aligned differently than in the past:⁹³

"les etoiles dites fixes, par opposition aux planetes, n'ont plus la meme position celeste qu'autrefois...L'astrologie judicative"s'appuie sur ces regles pour determiner les evenements mondiaux futurs, les regimes medicaux et predire les temps."

(The so-called "fixed stars," as opposed to the planets, do not have the same heavenly positions as in the past... Astrology used in decision making rests on these rules to determine future world events, medical regimens, and to predict the weather.)

Mézières, in the 1389 *Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, laments the errors and deceptions belief in astrology causes:⁹⁴

"Il est descript es livres de jugemens d'astrologie que toutes les foiz que la lune prendra au degre ascendant, a l'eure de sa conjonction avecques le soleil, se celui degre sera pluvieux, il pleuvra en celle region en laquelle la lune estoit a son ascendant. et toutesfoiz il advient, et par vraye experience, le contrayre. O quantes fois Thomas de Bouloigne a cestui petit jugement failly et fu deceu!"

(It is described in books on astrological decision making that every time the moon takes one ascendant degree, at the hour of its conjunction with the sun, if this degree is rainy, it will rain in this region where the moon is in its ascendance. and the opposite happens every time, and by true experience. Oh how many times Thomasso da Bologne has failed and been deceived by this little judgement!)

Mézières has his *Songe* figures Dame Providence and Dame Truth say that in the latter years of Charles V and the early years of Charles VI, one of the reigns' abuses was "blind confidence in astrologers".⁹⁵ The damage to Thomasso's reputation was intolerable to

Christine, who used her pen here and in many later works to try to rectify it.

Not only does Christine directly praise her father, as seen in the dedication.

...jadis philosophe et docteur 1. 19
 Qui conseiller et humble serviteur
 Vostre pere fu, que Dieu face grace,
 Et jadis vint de B oulongne la grace
 Dont il fu né, par le sien mandement,
 Maistre Thomas de Pizan, autrement
 De Boulongne fudit et surnommé
 Qui sollempnel cleric estoit renommé...
 (There follows a section of self-depreciation)
 Mon bon pere, fors ainsi com l'en emble 1. 38
 Espis de blé en glenant en moissons
 Par mi ces champs et coste les buissons,
 Ou mietes cheans de haulte table
 Que l'en conqueult quant li mes sont notable;
 Autre chose n'en ay je recueilli
 De son grant sens dont l assez cueilli.⁹⁶

...former philosopher and doctor,
 Who was counselor and humble servant
 Of your father, may God have mercy upon him,
 And who once came by his command,
 From Boulogne la Grace where he was born,
 Master Thomasso de Pizan, once
 Was called and named De Boulogne
 Who was renowned as a serious scholar...
 (There follows a section of self-depreciation)
 ...in this case I do not resemble
 My good father, except as one who steals
 In the fields and near the woods;
 Of crumbs falling from the high table
 That one scrabbles to gather when the dishes are of note;
 Nothing more have I gathered
 From his great wisdom, from which he has greatly reaped.⁹⁷

She also repeatedly writes in the *Epître Othéa* and elsewhere of the fact that certain

(understand "his") ideas are based in science, with common references to astronomy and

astrology. In Thomasso's era scholars considered these disciplines one and the same; moreover, astrology and wisdom were considered synonymous,⁹⁸ and many rulers depended on their astrologers to help them rule. Christine wrote in the *Chemin de Longue Etude* of the utility of astrology, "parmi les premières sciences qui aident au bon gouvernement" and said that the ideal prince was, himself, an astrologer.⁹⁹ She commented in *Le Livre du Corps de Policie* on the "truth" earlier astronomers/astrologers had produced:¹⁰⁰

"Et quant a notre propos, c'est a savoir que le bon prince se gouvernera par sages, ne repugne mie la science d'astrologie es notables hommes que il ne doivent estre appelez es estrois consauls des princes"

(And as for our statement, it means that the good prince will be governed by wise men, will in no way repudiate the science of astrology from notable men who should not be called away from the serious counsel of princes.)

Also in the *Livre du Corps de Policie*, Christine carefully reiterates the verbal battle between Oresmes and her father, who had helped the King by his astrological predictions on elections, birth dates, questions on virtually any subject -- everything that Oresmes unreservedly condemned, but which Charles V, like others of his era, greatly valued.¹⁰¹

Examples of positive references to astrology/astronomy as a science in the *Epître Othéa* are almost countless. The basic idea of her using the planets as the subject of the group of stories following the first five virtues may have derived from their association with astrology. Like other astrologers of his time, Thomasso held that metals were generated by the planets with which they were associated by name, and that the planets shared properties or the nature of the metals.¹⁰² Christine's stories (Jupiter, Venus,

Saturn, Apollo, Phoebe and Mars) work directly from this premise, which Christine treats as pure scientific fact. Many of the individual stories contain references to the "sciences" as well. For example, in Story # 28, where Cadmus "*divined* the serpent, which is to understand that he was master and corrector of others" and was thus able to defeat it, Christine wrote: "So Othea wishes to say that the good knight ought to love and honor the letters of the clerks, which are founded on sciences".¹⁰³ Repeatedly the author conflated astrology and science, as is seen in this example. In fact, when Christine used the term "science" she specifically meant astrology. The story of Aesculapius and Circe, # 39, offered another opportunity for Christine to distinguish between Circe's type of sorcery and science, as her father practiced it: "Plato repudiated and burned the books of enchantment and of sorcery made about medicine which at one time had been used, and approved and held himself to those of reasonable science and of experience".¹⁰⁴ More specifically, the gloss on Story # 56, of Mars and Venus, states, "To this fable diverse expositions may be set, and it may quite sovereignly touch on some points of astrology for those who can subtly understand it".¹⁰⁵ She thus constructed an elite who have the facility to comprehend the sciences, and of whom her father was a prominent figure. In yet another example of her positive comments on astrology, Christine wrote, in her gloss on the story about Semele, # 62, "Of this fable may be taken various interpretations, and especially about the science of astronomy, as the masters say".¹⁰⁶ Story # 82, about Hermaphroditis, includes in its gloss the following: "This fable may be understood in many manners, and like the clerks, subtle philosophers have hidden their great secrets under cover of fable, by which may be understood signification appertaining to the science of astronomy...".¹⁰⁷ Further, Story # 84, that of Briseis/Chryseide, more directly

demonstrates the author's position by stating it outright: "Calchas, father of the gentlewoman who through science knew that Troy would be destroyed..."¹⁰⁸ And Story # 85, Patroclus and Achilles, says, "Thus Othea says to Hector, by prophecy of that which is to come, that, when he will have slain Patroclus, it will be necessary for him to beware of Achilles".¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, Christine credited her father in her *Livre des Fais et Bonnes Moeurs du Sage Roi Charles* (3.70) with having known correct information regarding Charles V's death, when she actually took this very information about the king from the anonymous *Relation latine de la mort de Charles V*.¹¹⁰ Whereas Hicks reads this attribution as the author's effort to "extol her father, the astute and faithful attending physician, as an oral authority, seconded by other witnesses,"¹¹¹ it seems to this writer that her goal was more ambitious than that. Because of examples such as all of these, one could argue that in the same way as she used the *Epître Othéa* as a platform to show how an author should guide his/her readers, she used it to articulate ideas favoring a more positive interpretation of her father's professional life.

An additional example of Christine's effort on her father's behalf lies in Story # 2, Temperance. Her use of the clock as an attribute for that virtue is a curious and creative innovation, as Willard and others have observed.¹¹² Surprisingly, no one has linked it to her father. Timkeeping, though, was associated with astronomy/astrology, so it seems that her use of the clock in this important story may equally be understood as a reference to her father's profession. It is a very positive reference, as the first story after the introduction, describing the most important virtue after prudence or wisdom. There had been a prior example in manuscript form of a clock associated with mythology, as

discussed in *France: A Medieval Encyclopedia*, by Bert S. Hall.¹¹³ In the Pygmalion miniature in the *Roman de la Rose* Hall discusses, a mechanical alarm clock was depicted. The manuscript may have already existed in Paris at the time of Christine composed this work, and she may have known of it. The increased interest for her, given that it was in a copy of the *Rose*, is clear. It seems almost obvious that Christine would have used this additional and more subtle means in Story # 2 to address the benefits of astrology and therefore to help her in her crusade to rehabilitate her father's reputation.

A final element of Christine's agenda underlying her writing of the *Epître Othéa* relates both to her father and to the older men who had befriended her. Particularly Jean Gerson, most recently, supported her unfailingly in the *Querelle*. Several of them had assisted the unfortunate woman as she struggled financially, or with the legal matters. She had a particularly close relationship with Bureau de la Rivière (one of the Marmousets) and his wife. Throughout the *Epître* the author advises that the young prince heed the advice of his elders. The story of Troilus, # 80, for example, precisely tells the "good knight" that he should not take the advice of a child.

Texte: A conseil d'enfant ne t'accordes 1. 2
 Et de Troylus te recordes;
 Croy les vieulx et les expars
 Et charges d'armes les appare.

Glose: Quant le roy Priant ot faite reddiffier Troye qui pour la cause du congeement de ceulx qui aloient en Colcos ot esté destruite adonc d'icelle destruccion vold Priant faire la vengeance. Adont assembla son conseil, ou moult ot de haulx barons et sages, pour savoir se bon seroit que Paris, sonfilz, alast en Grece...Mais tous les sages s'accorderent que non pour cause des prophecies et des escriptures que disoient que par cellui ravissement seroit Troye destruite. Adont Troylus, qui enfes estoit et li mainsnez des enfans Priant, dist que l'en ne devoit croire en conseil de guerre ces viellars ne ces prouoires qui par recreandise conseilloyent le repos. Si conseilla que on y alast. Le conseil Troylus fu

tenus dont grant mal s'en ensuivi...A ce propos dit une auctorité:
"La terre est maudite dont le prince est enfant."¹¹⁴

Texte: Do not agree with the counsel of a child,
And remember Troilus.
Believe the old and the expert,
And in charges of arms the skilled men.

Glose: When the King Priam had finished reconstructing Troy, which because of the grieving of those who went to Colchos had been destroyed, then for that destruction Priam wished to take vengeance. Then he assembled his council, in which there were many exalted barons and sages, to know whether there would be good when Paris, his son, journeyed to Greece...But all the sages agreed no, because of the prophecies and writings which said that because of this ravishment (of Helen) Troy would be destroyed. Then Troilus, who was a child and the youngest of the children of Priam, said that one should not believe, in the council of war, the old and the priests who counseled rest out of cowardice. So he counseled that one should go there. The advice of Troilus was taken, after which great evil ensued... To this purpose an authority declares: "The land is cursed where the prince is a child."¹¹⁵

Elsewhere the message is subsumed under stories with different themes, but with equal interest in seeking and following the advice of older sages. For example, in Story # 52, Apollo's Crow, the (female) crow advises the raven to refrain from telling Phoebus the news that his beloved, Coronis, was ill. The raven ignores the advice, tells Phoebus, and the god kills the bird for bringing him bad news.¹¹⁶ Ganymede's Story # 53 concludes with the advice from the book of Proverbs: "There shall be safety where there are many counsels."¹¹⁷ The story of Paris, # 68, includes the advice that "a great enterprise should not be made without great deliberation of counsel".¹¹⁸ As the collection of stories continues, the author more frequently relates them to taking good counsel. Story # 75, for example, is Paris the Warrior. In it Christine has Aristotle say to Alexander: "You

should establish as constable for your chivalrous band from those whom you perceive as wise and expert in arms".¹¹⁹ Two stories later, Helenus (# 77) advises Hector not to go to Greece for Helen:

Do not despise the counsel
Of Helenus; I counsel you so,
For often many an injury happens
Through not desiring to believe the sages.

The gloss continues, "Therefore it is said to the good knight that he should believe the sages and their counsel. And Hermes says: Whoever honors the sages and uses their counsel is everlasting."¹²⁰

Ceyx and Alcyone, Story # 79, focuses around the advice of the woman in its versified text and gloss. The allegory interprets the story with the metaphor of Joseph's advising Pharaoh correctly and saving the realm. St. Ambrose's admonition appears near the end of this section: "Believe counsel and you will never repent." Proverbs 3 finishes it: To this purpose declares the sage... "Keep the law and the counsel. And there shall be life to thy soul".¹²¹ Hector, in Story # 90, is instructed by Aristotle's advice to Alexander: "As long as you believe the counsel of those who use wisdom and love you loyally, you will reign gloriously".¹²² The most powerful of these admonitions regarding the wisdom of older men falls, not by chance, at the important position of the fiftieth story, that of Amphiaraus, at the exact middle of the collection.

Texte: Against the counsel of Amphiaraus
Do not go to destroy the city of Thebes
Or of Argos, or you will die;
Do not assemble a host with shield or targe.

Glose: Amphiaraus was a very wise clerk of the city of Argos and displayed much learning. When the King Adrastus wished to go to Thebes to destroy the city, Amphiaraus, who knew through his skill what harm might ensue because of it, said to the king that he should not go; and if he should go, all would be dead and destroyed. But he

was not believed; so it happened as he said. For this wishes to say to the good knight that he should not undertake any great adventure against the counsel of the sages. But as Solomon declares: "The counsel of the sage profits little him who does not wish to use it."¹²³

In addition to all these textual admonitions to follow the advice of one's superiors in wisdom and experience, the artist/designer depicted advisors accompanying the protagonists in the dedication, presentation and Justice images as well as countless others through the work. Thus visually as well as verbally the message is clear that one should consult one's elders – of whom Thomasso da Pizzano was the foremost in the author's mind.

Finally, the *Epître Othéa* functions as Christine's platform to promote herself as a voice to be heard. In fact, precisely at the time this work appeared, Christine first identified herself, in 1399-1400.¹²⁴ Specifically, Christine names herself in her dedications, at the beginning of her works.

Moy, nommee Christine, femme indigne
De sens acquis, pour si fite euvre entreprendre... 1. 52

I, named Christine, woman unworthy,
Have acquired knowledge, in order to undertake...¹²⁵

Traditionally, according to Brown, the author's identity was kept secret until the end of a work. As an example Brown cites André de la Vigne, who did not identify himself until the verbal dedication he chose to place on the final page.¹²⁶ Christine promotes herself not only as a writer whose works should be recompensed by jewels, gold, or whatever, to provide her living, but also to gain the ear of the political leaders of the day. It is clear that she pursued voluminous correspondences with the French king, the dukes and the

queen as well as with other political and academic leaders throughout her professional time in Paris. She also served as unofficial advisor to leaders outside France.

By keeping herself constantly in the eyes of her readers, Christine used the *Epître Othéa* as an early platform to demonstrate that her ideas were to be reckoned with. She did this in several ways, first by overlaying her biographical self over the goddess, Othea. It is no coincidence that Othea had a fifteen-year-old son; that Christine also had a fifteen-year-old son, and furthermore, that her dedicatee, Louis d'Orléans, was fifteen years old upon reception of this book. Nor is it coincidental that the royal dedication image, which falls on the recto of its folio, immediately precedes that depicting Othea presenting her book to Hector, on the recto of the following folio. In addition to their being in the identical position in the collation of the manuscript, the formal composition of the two presentations is very similar.¹²⁷ Particularly in BNF fr 606, this composition reinforces the identification of the author with the goddess, the prince with the Trojan hero. (This may be one of the reasons she reversed their positions from BNF fr 848.) There, in the words of Patrizia Romagnoli, Christine functions both as author and character in her text, referring to Othea as Christine's "mythologic double."¹²⁸ Moreover, if Christine is thus doubled textually with the goddess, she continues to appear doubled visually throughout the codex, as the artist repeats the same and similar physical descriptions of the goddess time after time. Other goddesses may also share that visual physical description, and thus be conflated with the author, as well. Romagnoli understands Andromache as the link between Christine/Othea and the Cumaean Sibyl, because the latter wears the same headdress as Andromache.¹²⁹ That identification of figures supports exactly the points being made in this argument: The sibyl is capable of

superhuman wisdom and influence, in that although a pagan, she knows who the Christian savior is, and she is capable of leading the pagan Augustus Caesar to him. Andromache had been warned in her prophetic dream of the disastrous future awaiting Hector, and she did her best to dissuade him from going into battle. Othea is a powerful and wise goddess who is advising Hector in this literary work on how to lead his life so that he will not be killed in battle – with the irony that he has already been killed, and she has predicted it: Story # 90 (Hector):

Texte: Hector, it is necessary to announce your death
 For which great heartfelt sorrow kills me,
 That will occur when you do not believe
 King Priam, who will go with you praying.¹³⁰

Christine/Othea is repeatedly depicted in BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431 in the same type widow's veil and wimple, signaling Christine's widowhood, but also reminding readers of her identity with the other widow/sages in her work. The visual repetition is only one of the ways Christine keeps herself in the eye of the reader; the entire collection of stories uses first person:

Story # 91, Texte: Again **I** intend to make you wise,
 So that you have no habit in battle
 To expose yourself out of your arms,
 For then your death will open.¹³¹

88, To you also **I** make mention
 Of the prophetic dreams of Andromache
 Do not dispraise your wife in everything
 Or other women well taught.¹³²

85, When you will have killed Patroclus,
 Then you should beware of Achilles.
 If you do not believe **me**, for it is all one,
 Then goods between the two of them are communal.¹³³

She commonly uses first person in other parts of the stories, as well. For example, in the gloss in Story # 61, Death of Laomedon, Othea says, "Laomedon, as **I** have said before, was king of Troy..."¹³⁴ Not only that, but the versified text section of nearly all chapters includes an exhortation, a second-person command – the speaker of which is of course understood as Othea/Christine.

Story # 86	Watch that you do not reject Echo, Nor despise her piteous complaints; If you can endure her desire, You do not know what is to come to you . ¹³⁵
# 4	Again, if you wish to be one of us , It behooves you to resemble Midas... ¹³⁶

Another way in which Christine keeps herself in her readers' awareness is that she glossed her own work. Brownlee understands this fact of the author's self-referencing as demonstration that the her status has increased in her own eyes.¹³⁷ Similarly, Monahan finds that when she mediates between her Latin texts and her readers, by interpreting for them the Latin, Christine draws attention to herself and the act of her mediation.¹³⁸

In her dedication prologue of the *Epître Othéa*, at the same time as Christine is denigrating herself as unworthy of writing, and lacking education, the author subtly mentions that a small bell has a big ring, a metaphor for encouraging her patron (and her other readers) to pay her heed.

Thus, if you please, do not scorn my work...
Since the small bell often sounds a great voice,
Which, quite often, awakens the wisest
And counsels them to the labor of study.¹³⁹

Christine's use of the clock in the Temperance story reinforces the verbal admonition in the dedication, its illustration drawing attention as it does to the bell attached on its top.

Furthermore, she says,

Now God gives to me, to sing his praises,
Each deed, saying, and thing which may please
You, my redoubted lord, for whom I undertake it...¹⁴⁴

She also assumed this posture of divine inspiration in the *Avision* and elsewhere, and there is no doubt that the concept fits within the framework of her goal of aggrandizing herself in the eyes of her current and potential patrons.

To undergird her own authority as adviser, Christine repeatedly included stories where women gave good advice. In every case it went unheeded, with disastrous results. For example, Andromache, Story # 88, knew from a dream that her husband, Hector, would die if he went to battle.¹⁴⁰ She convinced her father-in-law, Priam, that Hector should not go, but could not persuade her husband. He was killed that day. In Story # 79, Ceyx goes to sea despite Alcyone's warnings, and he dies on a sea voyage.¹⁴¹

Finally, the entire literary work is bracketed by women giving good advice:

Othea/Christine begins the work, speaking to Hector and giving him her letter which she advises him to read carefully; she will, in the continuation of the chapters, predict his bad decision to plunder Polyboetes' body during a battle and describe his resulting death.

(One questions the non-linear organization of the chapters, when Othea is talking to the already-deceased Hector, and forewarning him of the consequences of his rash and greedy behavior. The motivations described in this study may help explain the author's overall confusing organization.) Then, in the ultimate good advice, the Cumaean sibyl ends the *Epître Othéa* by pointing out to Julius Caesar the reality of the Virgin and Child

whose vision he experiences in Story #100. There, in the story as it was told in the *Golden Legend*, the emperor believes the sibyl and receives salvation because of having accepted her as an appropriate teacher. The text, in fact, articulates the wisdom of listening to her (the sibyl doubled as the author), a means for Christine to conclude her work with the exhortation to heed her voice.

Texte : One hundred authorities have I written to you
 If they are not despised by you
 For Augustus learned from a woman
 Who taught him about being worshiped.

Glose: ...And because Caesar Augustus, who was prince of all the world, **learned to know God and belief from a woman**, to this purpose may be said the authority which Hermes stated: "Do not be ashamed to hear truth and good teaching, whoever may say it; for truth ennobles whoever pronounces it."

Allegorie: There where Othea says that she has written to him one hundred authorities and that Augustus **learned from a woman**, is to understand that good words and good teaching bring praise to whichever persons said them. ...a man listens willingly to everything and learns willingly from each...**he does not despise the individual...he does not consider who it is who speaks...**To this purpose says the wise man: "A good ear will hear wisdom with all desire." Ecclesiasticus 3. ¹⁴²

Thus, not only does the author conclude her work with an final exhortation to listen to women, but she also states that whoever pronounces truth will be ennobled by it. It would be difficult to miss the identity of the person speaking in this work, or the self-referential element in this, the all-important hundredth and final story.

A Note about the Title

Just as scholars have struggled with Christine's organization in the *Epître Othéa*,

the source of its title has remained unclear. The name "Othea" has been generally understood as the author's invention, making reference to the goddess' role in the text, because of the root "thea" as a feminine form for "theos". However, approximately five years before Christine wrote this work, a battle near Liège, in Burgundian territories, may have provided the name. During the first of many violent encounters between the bourgeois leaders and the urban oligarchs of that northern city, a 1394 battle was waged on a plain outside Tongres – the Battle of Othea. The catalyst for this particular period's problems lay in the fact that John of Bavaria, brother-in-law of John the Fearless, had been named bishop-elect of Liège without having taken the appropriate orders. He was only a sub-deacon, so he had to take the title "bishop-elect", and was referred to as the "elect of Liège". His unpopular mission was to restore episcopal authority in the headstrong city, which the citizens already resented. His lack of background in the Church exacerbated their opposition to his rule. Open revolt broke out against him in 1394. John the Fearless sent in military support and the Liégeois were brutally crushed. The insurgency recurred through the next fourteen years in response to his "vigorous if brash attempts to establish and maintain his own authority".¹⁴⁵

It is unclear at this time how Christine might have known of the battle, or heard the name, but it seems evident that her source was in that battle. How the battle got its name is another question. There are Roman ruins in that area, including burial sites in the general location outside Tongres called the Plain of Othea where the battle occurred.¹⁴⁶

Conclusion

The author created a "miroir des princes" in an unusually luxurious format to present to the young Duke d'Orléans. By conflating herself with her protagonist/narrator, visually and verbally; by utilizing first- and second-person pronouns throughout the text; by self-referencing not only in the dedication, but in every story's gloss and allegory sections; most importantly by repeating in many ways that women's advice should be heeded, Christine developed her importance and authority in this earliest of her serious literary works. She lay the groundwork for placing herself in later works of all genres in the role of advisor to leaders in her adopted homeland. Second, Christine here commenced, with the stories about heeding the advice of elder sages, as well as with the many examples of direct and indirect praise, her repeated efforts to rehabilitate her father's damaged reputation. Finally, and most importantly, she declared herself capable of writing allegorically in a way which guides her readers to the appropriate understanding of her text, by the content and organization of the *Epître Othéa*.

The next chapter will demonstrate in its discussion of the visual accompaniments of Christine's *Epître Othéa* how these ideas apply to the manuscript as she produced it. It will consider the artistic manifestations that show Christine's promotion of herself as a voice to be heard, (of women's voices, generally, but specifically her own); of her efforts toward Thomasso's rehabilitation; and that Christine worked tirelessly – and, finally, with an absolutely tiring result – to make her allegory clear. In ensuing chapters, having illuminated the differences between the earliest manuscripts and the later fifteenth-century copies, this study will link those changes to political, cultural, (perhaps in the case of the Coligny manuscript, personal), and technical aspects which may have determined the content of the visual complements to the stories. Special attention to the

function of the images will suggest in what cases they simply depict the story they illustrate, when they amplify or elaborate upon them, and how the artists guide the readers through their visual presentations. Particular focus on the woodcut production will elucidate the changes it demonstrates because of the transformation from painting to print, and show that the necessarily reductive content functions less as a guide to readers than the earlier media in which the *Epître Othéa* appears.

Notes

Chapter 1 The Author and her Times

1. *Le Chemin de Longue Estude*, 1402. *L'Avison Christine*, 1405. The two works are very similar in content, primarily autobiographical.
2. Régine Pernoud, *Christine de Pisan*. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1982), 10.
3. Nicolai Wandruzska, "The Family Origins," in *Au Champ des Ecritures*, ed. Erik Hicks and Bernard Ribemont, 113. Wandruzska does not use the title, "Thomasso da Pizzano," as seen elsewhere, perhaps suggesting uncertainty regarding the family's social status. (hereafter cited as *Au Champ*)
4. Charity Cannon Willard. *Christine de Pisan: Her Life and Works*. New York: Persea Books, 1984. Willard says the author's grandfather may have known Petrarch, and that Boccaccio had visited Petrarch, so that Thomasso di Benvenuto da Pizzano may also have met Boccaccio.
5. "Family Origins," 113.
6. Pernoud, *Christine de Pisan*, 10.
7. Simone Roux, *Christine de Pizan: Femme de Tête, femme de coeur* (Paris: Payot et Rivages, 2006), 40.
8. Willard, *Life and Works*, 22.
9. Roux, 40.
10. Roux, 58.
11. Roux, 59.
12. Roux, 47.
13. (d')approfondir et (d')étendre tes connaissances car elle voulait te confiner dans les travaux d'aiguille... mais... 'chassez le naturel, il revient au galop'. Quelque opposition que fit ta mère à ton penchant pour l'étude, elle ne put empêcher que tes dispositions naturelles n'en récoltent quelques goûtelettes." *Cité des Dames*, fnnt 11, p. 231, in Moreau and Hicks and Ribemont, *Christine de Pizan, 2000*) 180. (hereafter cited as *CdP 2000*)
14. Pernoud, 18.
15. *ibid.*
16. Pernoud, 107.
17. Christine would write all her own texts in Middle French. It is interesting to note that, although she remained connected to her Italian native roots, and read and frequently used Italian authors as sources and even for citations, Christine never wrote anything in Italian. Roux, 48.
18. Willard, 18. Thomasso had found a favorable astrological sign for his daughter's "scholarly future". Barbara Edmonds. *Aspects of Christine de Pizan's Social and Political Ideas*, (Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1972) 170.
19. Pernoud, 80.
20. As "garde de la librairie royale" Malet would have had almost free access to the royal libraries, and he could have offered the same to Christine.
21. Miren Lacassagne, "La Figure de Fortune..." in *Au Champ*, 233.

My translation of her thought: ". .. suffisamment petit pour que les relations personnelles et intellectuelles soient nombreuses."

22. Nadia Margolis, "Culture Vantée, Culture Inventée: Christine, Clamanges et le Défi de Pétrarque," *Au Champ*, 269.

23. Roux, 101.

24. Pernoud does not deny that Etienne came of the minor aristocracy; she does not address the issue.

25. Françoise du Castel, *Damoiselle Chritine de Pizan: Veuve de M^e Etienne de Castel 1364-1431* (Paris: Editions A. et J. Picard, 1972). There is debate on this issue. As this Madame du Castel was descended from the author, it seems at least plausible since there seems to be no documentation about Etienne (de/du/--) Castel, that the title is a later addition to the family line, not in use during the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

26. See, for Christine's poem # XI, "Alone am I," in *Cent Ballades*.

27. Pernoud, 27.

28. Christine and Etienne's son, Jean, used "du" Castel in his own writing, printed copies of which are still extant.

29. The name was spelled "Pisan" based on an early error in the literature about the author, where scholars had understood that the family had hailed from Pisa. In current scholarship it is always spelled "Pizan" but there remain many older publications and even archives still using the earlier spelling.

30. Pernoud, 82.

31. Roux, 24-25. "le renom italien est fort grand"

32. Pernoud p. 46 says that this occurred after the death of Christine's father, which might help clarify the actual date of Thomasso's death, if there were more certainty about the child's death.

33. Françoise du Castel, *Damoiselle Christine de Pizan: Veuve de Monsieur Etienne de Castel 1364-1431* (Paris: Ed. A. and J. Picard, 1972), 69.

34. Pernoud, 44.

35. McLeod, *Avision*, X111.

36. The names of her brothers are taken from the same footnote as that suggesting that her one brother stayed with her rather than to return to Italy.

37. Wandruszka, 117.

38. It remains unclear whether the brother, who is not named in this source, stayed in France or returned with Christine's other brother, to Italy. Both ideas are stated in the literature.

39. Margolis, *Au Champ*, 279.

40. Roux, 68.

41. Roux, 82.

42. Pernoud, 68.

43. Roux, 92.

44. Roux, 97.

45. Roux, 96.

46. Roux, 96-7.

47. Christine mentions Anastasia, whose work is seen in the *Cité des Dames*. Earlier it had been hypothesized that she was the illuminator, but now it is presumed that she was more a decorator of borders and backgrounds. James Laidlaw, "Christine and

the Manuscript Tradition" in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*. Marilyn Altmann and Deborah McGrady, ed (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 239. (hereafter cited as *Casebook*)

48. My translation of Roux: "gens de métier, des libraires et des enlumineurs qui se chargeaient du gros de la tache." Roux, 96.

49. Roux, 97.

50. Millard Meiss, *Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries* (New York: George Braziller, 1974), vol. 1 and 2 (Images), 67.

51. Castel, 63.

52. Jean de Berry had actually been Christine's greatest patron.

53. It will be remembered that although his lands were in south-central and northern (modern-day) France Phillip the Bold spent much of his time – most of his time – in Paris.

54. Christine did not record the circumstances of her departure from the patronage of Louis d'Orleans, so this is conjecture on my part. Once she had placed Jean in the Burgundian court 1402-3, according to Hindman, there is no evidence that she ever dedicated anything else to Louis. (Hindman, Sandra, "Christine de Pizan on the Art of Warfare," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, Medieval Cultures, vol 14 ed. Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 5. How Christine must have struggled with her allegiances, with Valentina (wife of Louis d'Orléans) such a good friend and the enmities between the Armagnacs and Burgundians – particularly after the Orléans' assassination 1407! She did change sides several times. It speaks to her motivation to be successful as a writer and to have her son well placed that she was able to move among patrons notwithstanding her personal opinions of their behavior.

55. Pernoud, 78 and Roux, 111.

56. Roux, 17.

57. Pernoud, 99.

58. Pernoud, 86.

59. Her daughter's presence may have been the reason for her staying, but it is known, also, that there was a monastery with a scriptorium close by. Perhaps she was attracted to the activities there, and could keep up her courage by observing the scribal work at that monastery.

60. McLeod, *Avision*, XXI.

61. Roux, 13.

62. Roux, 62.

63. Different scholars list both different men and more of them. For example, Pernoud lists Jehan le Mercier de Montaigu, Olivier de Clisson, Bureau de la Rivière and, in addition, Pierre Aycelin de Montaigu, all "haute bourgeoisie ou petite noblesse," 41-42.

64. Hindman, *Painting*, 183.

65. Ouy and Reno have identified 55 partially or completely autograph manuscripts. Hindman, *Painting*, 13.

66. Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse. I spoke with Richard at the Manuscripta Conference in St. Louis a few years ago, and asked why Christine is not even mentioned in their books. He very graciously responded that a friend of theirs is

researching Christine and will publish her own findings, so he and Mary chose to leave that territory to their friend. To my knowledge, that work remains unpublished.

67. James Laidlaw, "Christine and the Manuscript Tradition," in Barbara Altmann and Deborah McGrady, *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 234.
68. Andrea Tarnowsky, "Perspectives on the 'Advision'" in *CdP 2000*, 106.
69. Rosamond Tuve, "in Desmond, *Categories*, 44.
70. Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the 13th Century Illuminated Apocalypse*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 40.
71. Lori J. Walters, "Christine de Pizan as Translator and Voice of the Body Politic" in *A Casebook*, 32.
72. Lewis, 55.
73. *ibid.*
74. *ibid.*
75. Margarete Zimmerman, "Christine de Pizan: Memory's Architect" in *A Casebook*, 61.
76. *ibid.*
77. Zimmerman, 61.
78. Meiss, 8.
79. Lewis, 3.
80. Lewis, 4.
81. Lewis, 6.
82. Lewis, 9.
83. Lewis, 8.
84. Gabriella Parussa, *Christine de Pizan: Epistre Othea* (Geneva: Droz, 1999), 289-290.
85. Jane M. Chance, *Christine de Pizan's Letter of Othea to Hector: Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Interpretative Essay*, 90-91.
86. Parussa, 259-260.
87. Chance, 72-73.
88. Renate Blumenfield-Kozinski, "Christine de Pizan and the Political Life in late Medieval France" in *A Casebook*, 10-11.
89. Although Desmond and Sheingorn state that Christine had completed the *Epître Othéa* before undertaking the *Querelle*, I think it is clear that she was at least mentally engaged with the issue, and anticipating her involvement in it. Perhaps she initially used the mythological epistle to articulate her ideas, grew more bold (or more frustrated), and eventually could not resist engaging Montreuil, the Cols, et al, in an overt confrontation. Marilyn Desmond and Pamela Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage, and Visuality in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othea"* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003) 198.
90. Earl Jeffery Richards (quoting Rosamond Tuve), "Somewhere between Destructive Glosses and Chaos: Christine de Pizan and Medieval Theology" in *A Casebook*, 45.
91. Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac, "Le Livre de l'Advision Christine" in *A Casebook*, 199.
92. Sylvie Lefevre, "Christine de Pizan et l'Aristote Oresmien," in *Au Champs*, 240.

93. *ibid.* This refers to "l'astrologie judicative".
94. Lefevre, 241.
95. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Vol. III (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 589.
96. Parussa, 195-5.
97. Chance, 33-34.
98. Thorndike, 585.
99. Roux, 41.
100. Lefevre, 240.
101. *ibid.*
102. Thorndike, 626.
103. Chance, 62.
104. Chance 70-71.
105. Chance, 84.
106. Chance, 89.
107. Chance, 105-106.
108. Chance, 107.
109. Chance, 108.
110. Eric Hicks, "Excerpts and Originality: Authorial Purpose in the *Fais et Bonnes Moeurs*," in *Christine de Pizan 2000*, 224.
111. *ibid.*
112. Willard. 27.
113. Bert S. Hall, "Clocks and Timekeeping" in *Medieval France, An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York and London: Garland Publ., 1995) 235. The manuscript is a *Roman de la Rose*, where a miniature shows Pygmalion with a clock. It is probable that the manuscript was in Paris, and that Christine could have seen it or a copy. I am indebted to Professor Linda Voigts this information, as well as for other assistance she has provided, and to Professor Meradith McMunn. Heinrich Suso (c. 1265-1366) wrote *The Clock of Wisdom (Horologium Sapientiae)*, c. 1334. See Appendix B, # 135.
114. Parussa, 312-13.
115. Chance, 104. Chance translates this "counsels that one should *not* go there," but I have used my own translation, in the affirmative. The Middle French uses a pleonastic "ne", which is not a negative, but a reinforcement of a concept, and is not articulated in English.
116. Chance, 80-81.
117. *ibid.*
118. Chance, 93.
119. Chance, 100.
120. Chance, 101-02.
121. Chance, 102-03.
122. Chance, 112-13.
123. Chance, 79.
124. Wandruska, "Family", 121.
125. Chance, 34.

126. Cynthia J. Brown. "Text, Image and Authorial Self-Consciousness in Late Medieval Paris," in *Printing the Written word*, 111.
127. See Appendix B, #1a, 1b, 1c.
128. Patrizia Romagnoli, "Les Formes de la Voix: Masques et Dédouplements du Moi dans l'Oeuvre de Christine de Pizan" in *Au Champ*, 85.
129. Romagnoli, 84.
130. Chance, 112.
131. Chance, 113.
132. Chance, 110-11.
133. Chance, 108.
134. Chance, 88.
135. Chance, 109.
136. Chance, 41.
137. Kevin Brownlee, "Le Projet Autobiographique de Christine de Pizan: Histoires et Fables du Moi" in *Au Champ*, 22.
138. Monahan, "Authority and Marginal Status: Authorial Stance in Christine de Pizan's *Livre du Corps de Policie* and *Livre de la Paix*" in *Au Champ*, 47.
139. Chance, 34. Boccaccio, a model for Christine in so many ways, used a similar metaphor for a small voice's commanding great authority.
140. Chance, 110-11.
141. Chance, 102-03.
142. Chance, 119-20.
143. Nadia Margolis, "Makers of the Christinian Corpus" in *A Casebook*, 255.
144. Chance, 34.
145. Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (London, Boydell Press, 2002), 50. Willard had discovered a later battle, in 1408, and also called the Battle of Othea. It was during that battle that John the Fearless fought with such bravery that he gained his sobriquet "The Fearless". Willard mentions the battle in her article, "Christine de Pizan on the Art of Warfare," in *Categories of Difference*, 10. She did not, I believe, learn of or comment on the earlier battle, which could have been the inspiration for Christine's title.
146. There are ancient Roman tombs on the site where the three Battles of Othea took place between the Liégeois and their Burgundian opponents (1394, 1408, 1413). A village nearby, called Othea, has disappeared, leaving the town of Tongres closest to the tombs.

Chapter Two

The Earliest Manuscripts: BNF fr 848, BNF fr 606, and Harley 4431

This chapter treats manuscripts of the *Epître Othéa* Christine created herself, or whose creation some scholars believe she directly controlled.¹ In two of the copies her hand as scribe is detected,² as is evidence understood to represent her oversight of the hired scribes, artists and decorators in others.² Her role in the facture of her manuscripts is of particular interest for its precocity in the field, as well as for its goldmine of information elucidating the process of fine manuscript production in Paris at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Although earlier scholarship had held that Christine maintained an actual workshop location where she and her artists and scribes worked together,³ Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse have concluded that there existed no such physical location.⁴ As there is evidence that Christine concerned herself with book production, she is described as publisher of her works, as well as their author.⁵ Just as the author/publisher's presence may be felt in the design, facture, and script of the *Epître Othéa*, its miniatures and text offer symbolic representations of Christine where a young woman in widow's garb (discussed in Chapter 1) appears repeatedly in the miniatures. Likewise, in many of the versified texts, Othea instructs Hector in the second-person imperative, by definition implying her own first-person presence in the scenes throughout the production. In certain cases she literally uses first-person pronouns. These aspects will become clear in the following discussions.

The Manuscripts

The three manuscripts of the *Epître Othéa* Christine apparently produced are BNF fr 848, BNF fr 606, and Harley 4431. The earliest example, BNF fr 848, dates from 1399-1400, and is held in the *Site Richelieu* section of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. Identified as BNF fr 848, this exemplar was described by Mombello as Christine's original working copy of the text.⁶ It is a manuscript of twenty vellum leaves bound into three quires, and written in large and smaller library hand. In addition to the line drawings to be described below, the manuscript is rubricated and has three decorated capitals. Mombello's extensive study of the *Epître Othéa* remains the definitive, unchallenged evaluation of the families of text which hail from this original work, and upon which this chapter's comments are founded. Since Mombello's findings, scholars have identified three additional manuscripts.⁷ In BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431 Mombello identified two copies of the *Epître Othéa* very closely related to BNF fr 848 whose creation he believed the author also personally oversaw.⁸ Ouy and Reno have corroborated Mombello's conclusions through their evaluation of the handwriting in these two.⁹ They found autograph copies in BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431; the latter they believe to be exclusively by her hand.¹⁰ BNF fr 606 is composed of six vellum quires measuring 347 x 250 mm, with red and blue decorated capitals on gold grounds. In addition to its full complement of miniatures, this manuscript also contains rubricated titles, numbering, and Latin quotations. Based on its numbering scholars have concluded that it was originally bound together with BNF fr 835, 836, and 605, from which it is now separated.¹¹ Like all three manuscripts discussed in this chapter, BNF fr 606 has a replaced binding. Harley 4431 is also vellum, a part of a large compilation of which the *Epître Othéa* occupies 398 folia in 52 quires. Except for color and details of decoration,

the composition and content of its miniatures are very similar to BNF fr 606, as will be shown in the ensuing text.

A variety of textual and artistic elements led to Mombello's conclusion that BNF fr 848 is the original, and subsequent scholarship agrees. For example, its initially inconsistent format suggests its experimental nature. Specifically, while the versified *texte* regularizes in chapter six into a quatrain with which are associated a standard-length *Glose*, *Allegorie*, and scriptural, patristic or antique quotation, the first five chapters of BNF fr 848 vary considerably in length and page layout. The visual images contribute additional evidence that this copy is the foundational one: Instead of one image centered at the beginning of each chapter, like the succeeding copies, in BNF fr 848 Chapters 1/2 and 3/4 have two miniatures joined within one vertically divided frame, while Chapter 5 has its own image in isolation. The order of the images within the frame for Justice and Fortitude is inverted, such that although Fortitude is textually Story # 3, its drawing follows that illustrating Story # 4. Furthermore, no other images decorate the manuscript, whose definitive version shows one miniature introducing each chapter. Nor is there much other decoration outside the simple double-line frames of these images. Excepting three blue decorated capitals against gold fields approximately four lines high, (one on the otherwise-undecorated dedication page, one accompanying the undecorated Story # 6, and one under the centered drawing of Othea presenting her letter to Hector {folio 1 recto}), and an unelaborated rinceau descending sixteen lines from the decorated capital down the middle of folio 1 recto, no artistic contribution appears in BNF fr 848. Paragraphs (undoubtedly scribal) announce new paragraphs, while simple capitals two or three lines high irregularly introduce some sections of the text. These, along with tall and elegant

chapter numbers penned into the margins, and rubrication for the final scriptural or other quotations, qualify more readily as textual elements than artistic ones, but constitute the only other decoration besides BNF fr 848's five illustrations to be described.

The Literary Work and its *Mise-en-Page*

A brief review of the manuscript's organization is necessary to the discussion that follows. The complete form of the *Epître Othéa* (first seen in BNF fr 606) begins with a textual dedication to Louis d'Orléans, amplified by a presentation miniature. The overarching narrative line, articulated in the versified *texte*, is the goddess Othea recounting "fables" (involving the virtues, the planets, the Trojans) from the pagan past.¹² Glosses representing the Christian present elaborate on these, primarily interpreting the versified myth as a lesson in good conduct for the knight.¹³ The allegories revolve around one's hoped-for future in heaven.¹⁴

The first four stories describe situations where figures portray the cardinal virtues of Prudence, Temperance, Strength, and Justice. Aristotle had written of these virtues in Books II and IV of his *Ethics*, which Nicolas Oresmes translated for Charles V beginning in the 1370's.¹⁵ Christine added Fame to these qualities that had long been identified with the ideal ruler.¹⁶ They are followed by seven stories centered on certain planets. Influenced by historical writing here as well, Christine associated the planets with deities and metals.¹⁷ A series of mythological vignettes, dominated by the Trojan stories, complete the hundred vignettes. (See Appendix A for list.) The Trojan stories appeared in many manuscripts copied at the Court during the latter part of the fourteenth century, including translations of Benoist de Saint Maure's *Roman de Troye* (1264). Guido

Colonna's *Histoire de Troyes* was among the best sellers of the age.¹⁸ The popular *Histoire Ancienne* contained a prose adaptation of Saint Maure's *Roman de Troye*.¹⁹ At Charles V's request Pierre Bersuire had translated Livy's *History of Rome* where the Trojans appear as that city's legendary founders.²⁰ Moreover, Guillaume de Machaut, an important precursor of Christine, had featured Hector in his versified *Dit du Lion* and *Prise d'Alexandrie*.²¹ The Trojan stories' obvious popularity, as foundation stories for the French, as well as their currency in the Court, would have recommended them as subject matter for Christine.²²

Christine rewrote mythology to suit her own ends, as demonstrated in her *Book of the City of Ladies*. Certain of the *Epître Othéa* stories diverge from their classical forms, as well. For example, in the Bacchus story, # 21, the *texte* states that Bacchus made people turn into swine, and the miniature shows swine among drunken men – an unusual emphasis, at the least. Other divergences appear to be errors on the author's part: Aurora (Story # 44), for example, is not the mother of Cygnus, but of Memnon.²³ Neptune, Cygnus' father, (not his mother) turned his son into a swan after Achilles had strangled the young man. The Spartan youth killed by Apollo was not Ganymede (Story # 53) but Hyacinthus. The Cumaean sibyl pointing out the Virgin and Child to Caesar Augustus in Story # 100 is actually a Tiburtine sibyl in its *Golden Legend* source.²⁴ In some translations the sibyl's identity is not disclosed at all.²⁵

Christine might also choose one aspect of a character to fit her purpose, omitting other less savory qualities. An example is Saturn who ate his own progeny. Story # 8 describes Saturn as "heavy and wise" and in Story # 51 he personifies the wisdom of holding one's tongue, with no mention of Saturn's difficulties with his children. Despite

the occasional confusion, and building on the revisions, the stories serve Christine as a scaffold for ideas she wished to communicate, as discussed in Chapter 1. Later in this chapter specific narratives are recounted in the context of discussing their associated miniatures. Here the organization of the fables is considered in more detail.

The *Epître Othéa* presents a "disjunctive reorganization of the chronology of the Trojan stories" interspersed with other mythological episodes and personifications where the miniatures, like the stories, have no narrative continuity.²⁶ Christine's arrangement, described by Sheingorn and Desmond as "bricolage" (Levy-Strauss's term [regarding mythology] for elements thrown together haphazardly),²⁷ precludes any overall structure for this work. It functions as a montage of images where, by interacting creatively with the unexpected juxtapositions among the text and images readers gain their understanding of the manuscript. In addition to the fact that the stories may be incomplete or lack logical sequencing, commentaries (glosses and allegories), quotations from biblical, patristic or antique writers, and visual embellishments may not relate to the versified *texte* with which they are associated, or to one another. One example of a disjuncture between *texte* and allegory is found in Story # 4, Justice, where the allegory concerns primarily obeissance to one's sovereign. The various sections may even contradict one another, and further, certain visual images may relate more closely to stories other than the ones with which they are presented. This general lack of continuity may represent deliberate arrangement on the author's part, or may suggest a rapid, careless, or innocently conceived but error-ridden manuscript.²⁸

Despite her strong reaction to Oresmes' criticism of her father over the latter's activities involving astrology, commonalities between Oresmes' translations of Aristotle's

Politics and *Ethics* suggest significant influence on Christine as she developed her *Epître Othéa*. As part of the Louvre Palace library made available to his entourage by the king, the Aristotle works would have been readily available to Christine. She could have borrowed the cardinal virtues from the *Ethics* for the beginning of her work. She might also have found inspiration there for glossing her text with biblical, patristic, and antique writings, where even the formula is shared: "E pour ce dient il un proverbe.." ("And for this a proverb says...")²⁹ or "Et pour ce dit l'Escripture..." ("And for this Scripture says...")³⁰ The *Epître Othéa's* mise-en-page, likewise, corresponds to the Aristotle translations. Following Aristotle's mandate to illustrate writing with visual imagery, Oresmes included many scenes depicting the philosopher's text, as did Christine. Moreover, Oresmes chose color-washed grisaille images to decorate his text, as did Christine for BNF fr 848. Even the artistic style of the *Epître Othéa's* drawings is similar to that in the *Ethics* and *Politics*, in part created by the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI. (See Appendix B for images) The effort (titles, rubrication, repeated explanations) to which Christine went to ensure that her readers clearly understood her points is discussed in Chapter 1; Oresmes had done the same before her.³¹ Minute details also correspond in the two works: For example, Christine spells "Temperance" (usually "Atemprance") "Attrempance" in her second story, as does Oresmes in the manuscript Sherman has designated as "Ms C".³² Oresmes had spelled it "Actrempance" in Ms A.³³ Finally, the very concept of writing a work to teach ethics may have emanated from Oresmes' translations of Aristotle.

Function of the Miniatures

Christine utilized the visual embellishment in her manuscripts as a means to shape both her readers and their reading experience.³⁴ Knowing that visual imagery enhances memory, (a point made in Oresmes' Aristotle translations) Christine focused on it to guide her readers' interpretations, and to reshape their understanding of the stories she changed.³⁵ Christine's images worked as guides to the text because, placed at the beginning of each fable, they represent her readers' first exposure to the ideas she expressed.³⁶ Miniatures, among the fundamental elements of illuminated manuscripts, transmit intellectual content and decorate the works of which they are a part. Playing an essential role in the technical and aesthetic elaboration of a deluxe product, decoration is "arranged for the reader's benefit: to serve as markers, to inform him, to strike his imagination or flatter his taste".³⁷ An image can introduce a text, as in the *Epître Othéa*, or visually translate it.³⁸ Christine's *Epître Othéa* images often function like synecdoches in literature, where one element represents the whole story. In Story # 3, personifying Fortitude, for example, several battles are described in the text, but the single one with Cerberus, et al., stands for the whole range.

Images can simply depict the verbal content of a text in a visual form, much as one sees in the first miniature. When images elaborate on a text, their artists have worked creatively to fill in details the text has no room or need to mention. For example, the miniature accompanying the story of Thamaris (Story # 57) shows the warrior women overseeing the execution of Cyrus and his men by decapitation. The artist has painted a *male* executioner, sparing the women the dirtywork, and supporting Christine's overarching career effort to place women in desirable or honorable roles. Particularly in this era, the style of Northern realism encourages artists to add minutely detailed

elements absent in the text.³⁹ All miniatures contain detailed representations of clothing, landscape and architectural structures not described in the text. Story # 74, Fortune, demonstrates this phenomenon, where, though not specified in the text, the wheel spins figures from various social classes, including a king, a peasant, a bourgeois, a cleric and two other men. Artwork can also override a text, as in the Cephalus miniature, #76, where the protagonist holds a bow and arrow (in Harley 4431), rather than the javelin Christine had described in the text (which is depicted in BNF fr 606).

Conversely, images may present less information than the text they accompany. They can become so reductive as to be ambiguous.⁴⁰ Martin suggests that one reason for this is a lack of prototypes from which artists might draw when designing them.⁴¹ An example occurs in Story # 60, where Discord enters to play out her revenge for not having been invited to the engagement celebration of Peleus and Thetis. As nothing suggests a problem in this generic banquet scene, readers could interpret it many ways without the guidance of the text. Images may also be ambiguous because by their nature they can offer different interpretations.⁴² The Arachne scene, for example, evoking spinning and weaving, could be taken either as a criticism of deceptive behavior in women or as praising their hard work.⁴³ At the same time, their inherent multiple meanings may permit images to gloss texts visually. Ultimately, Toubert finds that the proper role of visual imagery is to support the textual content it accompanies, in all of its "material and intellectual texture".⁴⁴ Within the discussions of the individual miniatures, this study will weigh the support offered by the visuals in the present text.

The Miniatures and the Stories they Accompany

Presentation Miniatures

BNF fr 848 is embellished with grisaille line drawings with wash -- not technically miniatures in the strict translation of "miniare" or "minium".⁴⁵ Because their composition and content relate directly to the next two copies, however, they are grouped together under the "Miniatures" rubric. The following two copies are fully illuminated. BNF fr 606's paintings have brilliant blue and red elements, as well as brown. The overall tonality is pastel, as the background structures and many elements in the miniatures are pink. Harley 4431's miniatures are dominated by brilliant red and blue, with complements in brown and sometimes pink. In part because of the background diapering including gold leaf, Harley 4431 looks more luxurious and rich in its coloration, and differs from the pastel tonality of its exemplar.

The *Epître Othéa* begins, according to custom for deluxe manuscripts, with the dedication to its patron. Although not all the manuscripts contain royal presentation miniatures, every book examined in this study except the Lille watercolor on paper contains the author's textual dedication to the patron of the moment. Together these dedications serve verbally and visually to place the author before the eyes of all readers, a reminder of whose work – whose gift – they represent. Presentation images originate in author portraits, the first miniatures created in medieval manuscripts.⁴⁶ The earliest known such work occurs in the earlier *Vienna Dioscorides*. By the thirteenth century these had evolved into presentation miniatures functioning as visual titles introducing their texts. Authors typically knelt or stood across from a seated patron, exactly as one sees in Christine's presentation images. The designer usually included the book in the miniature to "emphasize its contents and its materiality".⁴⁷ As documentation of the

event, these images would have been particularly important for the author's developing career.

The presentation image in BNF fr 848 shows Christine posed before the youthful Duke Louis d'Orléans in a simple frame designed with triple lines, where the outside two lines are filled in on the right and bottom, but the coloring is between the inside two lines on the left and top -- perhaps a rudimentary effort at suggesting three dimensionality, or possibly a mistake on the part of the decorator. In an interior setting with no background indicated and only a shallow stagelike space designated by the very low groundline, the author is tiny in relation to the duke enthroned across from her. A very slender and feminine lady, she leans back and holds her codex out before her torso toward the duke, who touches its spine with his left hand.⁴⁸ The book rests, spine-up on Christine's left hand, and she steadies it with her right. The duke and author lock eyes, attention clearly fixed on one another, as the courtier behind the duke near the left of the composition also focuses on her. While Christine turns slightly to her left, the duke, his throne, and his entourage pose at the opposite angle. Thus, the composition forms a "V" shape with its apex at the picture plane – another artistic effort at perspective.

Christine wears a long, fitted dress and a wimple and veil like that of a nun or widow. The back of the veil seems to blow in a breeze or to somehow be raised up.⁴⁹ Her long sleeve splits and hangs loosely at her side, emphasizing her slender and elegant proportions. The young duke wears a tall, cylindrical hat and long flowing robes under a cape thrown back casually over his right shoulder. The full sleeves are folded back or cuffed to expose a striped lining, which may be fur. At his neck he wears a flounced collar, and the edge of the long cape is dagged or flounced like the collar.

Four men stand behind the duke, in front of the baldachin or cloth of honor canopied over his head. The baldachin is decorated with fleurs de lys and silver blades, the arms of Duke Louis.⁵⁰ Its front edge is affixed by its corners just below the top of the frame. Whereas the back drapery appears parallel with the picture plane, the angle of the canopy's sides suggests its three-quarters position in the throne room.

The courtiers stand behind Duke Louis' backless faldstool-type throne, two side by side close behind him, and another two nearly hidden behind them. The figure at the left edge looking across at Christine wears a short, belted robe and high slippers. His robe's hem is dagged, and the deep, long sleeves are attached at the shoulder by elaborate trim. Special attention is paid to the garment's fasteners down the middle of his chest. The man wears a loosely knotted turban which extends outward laterally, and he holds a long, spiraled object upright in his right hand. To his left is a figure in a tall, narrow-brimmed hat and high-collared robes, hidden by the duke's flowing cape, with a scarf wrapped around his head and neck, covering his ears. Further back another bearded man looks across toward Christine.

The composition of the scene, with the five men clustered together near the duke under the decorated baldachin, emphasizes Christine's importance. She is isolated at the right, with nothing distracting one's focus from her. On the other hand, the author's robes touch the duke's at their feet, her hands close to his as each touches the thick codex. They look directly at one another, establishing yet another visual connection – all of which contribute to the viewer's understanding of the author's elevated standing in this court.

The intimate tone established in this presentation image pervades the other dedication images as well. Dramatic contrasts between the dedication text and this drawing merit discussion. The author, in traditional self-deprecatory fashion, depicts herself verbally as of little consequence, unworthy, ignorant and of small stature. She mentions her trepidation in sending a New Year's gift to the duke, fearing his scorn at her gift and contempt of her "ignorant person". None of these qualities is easily depicted except her small size (which is described in the image). The drawing contradicts the others, formally proclaiming other qualities, such as the author's close relationship with the duke, and the respect with which she is attended by all present. If the artist designates Christine as already having the attention of the duke and his courtiers, her textual dedication counsels that he should do so in the future:

"...the small bell often sounds a great voice,
which, quite often, awakens the wisest
and counsels them to the labor of study." .⁵¹

Like BNF fr 848, the stories of BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431 are preceded by a royal presentation illumination and dedicatory text. That in BNF fr 606 shows Christine kneeling at the right of the throne room, framed by an arched opening in the wall located on a diagonal toward the left. Wearing a round-necked, long-sleeved, long dress fitted to her young figure and a white headdress, the author turns slightly toward the front of the frame. She faces the duke, holding her book out before her chest.

Enthroned just left of center in the composition, the attentive duke focuses his attention on Christine while he rests his right hand on the arm of the throne. He holds a scepter in his left. The duke sits diagonally across from the author, a clear relationship established between them by their poses. The elegant young man is dressed in a long,

belted robe, with exaggeratedly long, full sleeves which drape gracefully to the floor on the left. From his belt hang tassels, and his high collar may be lace or fur. He wears a broad, flat hat, jauntily tilted on his head. In this opulent setting the duke is seated below a baldachin decorated with fleurs de lis, and an elaborate traceried triple arch extends across the front of the scene, springing from columns on either side. The ceiling is planked, and an arched alcove behind Christine draws attention to her by framing her, its line continuing her silhouette to suggest greater height.

Three elegantly garbed courtiers flank the throne, two on the left, crowded between its left edge and the frame, while a third stands to its right. The figure against the left frame stands in profile, his face almost hidden by the enormous, curving brim of his hat. Wearing a high collar and long, full sleeves on his full-cut, long robe, he extends his right hand outward, palm up, toward mid-frame. Just behind him and slightly to the right stands another elegantly dressed man, this one holding a baton-shaped object in front of him, and looking downward. He wears a chain of medals at his neck, and from his flat hat sprouts a curving feather. On the far side of the throne a third courtier, in similar robes, looks down at Christine's face and gestures with his right hand raised toward his chest, his left hand in a slightly raised, relaxed position to his side. Formally, both of his hands could be read as pointing toward the author on the right.

The compact scene, where Christine's dress nearly touches the hem of Duke Louis' robes, suggests the intimacy of the relationship the author wishes to develop with the young duke, in part by presenting this book to him. The great height of the figures relative to that of the ceiling and the fact that the courtier on the left is cut off by the outer wall lend a crowded quality to the scene. Furthermore, the fact that Christine's feet

extend beyond the outer wall on the right and the adjustment of the frame across the bottom to accommodate the figures contribute to a sense of overcrowding.

Slightly different from its prototype BNF fr 606, Harley 4431 shows the author kneeling deferentially before the young Duke d'Orléans, enthroned in the center of the composition. In a flat-roofed architectural structure, across the top of which extend three arches with bosses, the duke is centered and flanked by elegantly dressed courtiers in long robes and feathered hats. The duke's throne turns three-quarters so that he looks across to his left toward his kneeling admirer on the frontal plane, in the right corner. An arched opening against the wall beyond Christine frames her and suggests recession into the distance by its own foreshortening. Orthogonals where the wall meets the ceiling, beams in the ceiling and tiles on the floor echo this angle into the distance. Tiles on the sloping roof of the building also appear to point toward a single vanishing point beyond.

Inside the room the front drapery of the baldachin above the duke's throne is decorated with five fleurs de lys distributed across it just below the ceiling. He leans forward toward Christine with interest, his right hand on the arm of the throne, his left holding the upright standard of his scepter. One courtier stands to his left with his right hand raised to chest height before him, and pointing at Christine's book with his long left index finger. On the other side of the duke stand two other courtiers, the first of whom turns in profile so that his face is almost hidden. He also looks across the frame at Christine. The figure between him and the throne looks out toward Christine, and is mostly hidden by the broad brim of that first figure's hat. All attention, thus, is focused on the author and her book, which she holds before her with both hands as she looks up into the face of the duke. She kneels in a three-quarter pose, her face elegantly framed by

her white headdress. She is depicted as a confident, slender young woman, wearing a dark, long gown which covers her legs and feet.

The duke wears a brocaded, fur-lined cloak, draped gracefully along his side. The open sleeve of the courtier at the far left repeats the line of the duke's cloak, helping to unify the drawing. His flat hat has extensions on either side and a brooch in its center. The figure at the far left wears a very broad-brimmed hat, hiding the face of the courtier just beyond him. The latter's hat, like the one on the courtier on the other side of the Duke, is high and topped with a tall feather.

The great effort which the artist has expended to create a sense of recession into space in this image is denied by the presence of diapering above the roof on either edge of the frame. Further, the elegantly slim figures lack corporeality and though they overlap one another, they sit frieze-like across the frontal plane rather than appearing to sit within the throne room. Such details evoke a nascent Italian influence, still dominated, though, by the earlier French linear style.

The artist has centered the painting compositionally and figuratively around the duke, properly flattering him without diminishing the importance of the author. The arched opening behind Christine frames her, its height adding stature and elegance to her kneeling presence, without placing her above or depicting her as larger than her hoped-for patron. By placing her with the hem of her dress overlapping the duke's robes, and designing the relatively crowded and intimate space in the throne room, the artist emphasizes the rapprochement between author and patron. Everything suggests the intimate relationship she hoped to develop with him as the source of monies she so desperately needed.

Chapter Illustrations

The detailed descriptions of the presentation miniatures above suggest the quality throughout these three manuscripts. The artistically abbreviated form of BNF fr 848 includes only five line drawings, in dark ink, enhancing the first five chapters of the text. Scholars variously suggest that this minimal number of drawings may demonstrate the author's need to economize,⁵² or the preliminary status of her design. The images that appear, which Mombello describes as "pen drawings hardly colored which pre-announce grisaille," are in a very elegant, flowing, curvilinear style designated by Sherman as "retardataire"⁵³ and "somewhat archaic".⁵⁴ Although all by the same, very talented artist, they are generally assumed to represent the author's lack of funds to engage an artist whose style was more current and who might have created them in the more expensive colored medium she chose for the succeeding copies. However, Charles V had preferred grisaille for the illuminations of his translations, as utilized in the Oresmes' Aristotle manuscripts. Given Christine's attachment to this monarch, perhaps she chose grisaille to follow the choice of the late king. Her dependence in other aspects of the manuscript on Oresmes' manuscripts lends credence to the argument that she chose grisaille because Oresmes had done so. BNF fr 848's images are also reductive in content, lacking landscape or other descriptive detail --possibly another suggestion of the author's economizing. It may have been, on the other hand, that Christine chose the simplified iconography to be certain that her message was not muddled with extraneous detail. A close look at each drawing will clarify these points regarding BNF fr 848, followed by descriptions of the same illustrations in BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431. Along with the

visual imagery, the stories will be briefly recounted, and cases where there are discrepancies among them will be pointed out.

In the first of the stories the goddess Othea introduces herself and verbally explains that she represents Prudence, a virtue Hector must develop. She says that she has written a letter for him containing many stories to guide him, to be presented in this story. If Hector will love her and follow her advice, she states, he can be successful. Othea's comments revolve around the classical concept that the three capacities of Prudence (intelligence for the present, foresight for the future, and memory for the past) are necessary to the ideal ruler. The visual introduction of this story, centered at the top of folio 1 recto in the left section of an oblong double-black-line frame, is the goddess Othea presenting her sealed "letter" to Hector. As it reinforces the text it accompanies, while also glossing it, the drawing shows a half-length Othea on a cloud in the upper right quadrant of the frame. She looks down on her "son," Hector, who is posed just left of center and reaches up to receive the letter. Behind Hector stand four courtiers in elegant attire, all older and bearded, suggesting the wisdom and experience each can bring to the young ruler's aid. Descending diagonally between Hector and Othea, from upper left to lower right, is a double line of enthroned, crowned lions holding swords in their left front paws. The thrones, with low, rounded backs, are turned three-quarters to the right. The lions turn so that their faces are frontal. Mombello has identified the lions as symbols of eight of the *Neuf Preux* (the "Nine Worthies" -- the famous, courageous figures so admired in medieval France, including three ancients: Hector, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar; three Biblical Jews: Joshua, King David, and Judas Maccabeus; and three Christians: King Arthur, Charlemagne and Godefroy de Bouillon). Hector

would represent the ninth.⁵⁵ The overall composition of the drawing, with Hector's head placed directly in the diagonal line of the lower row of enthroned lions, supports Mombello's hypothesis. The artist has used the motif of the lions to elaborate on the verbal content of this story, by glossing Hector's identity as a Trojan prince.

All figures in this image wear long, full robes. Hector's clothing symbolizes his privileged position. His robe has dagged edges on its long, full sleeves, and he wears a flat, fitted turban-like headdress and twisted liripipe or braided collar. The courtiers wear floor-length robes which contribute to their importance by emphasizing their elegant height, as do the unusual tall, pointed hats they all wear. Othea wears long, full sleeves and the headdress and wimple of a nun or widow which suggests the goddess is both spiritual and sexually neutral.⁵⁶ By thus depicting these figures, Christine has assured a register of distinction, as well as reinforcing her verbal and visual message of France's heritage in the Trojans. As for the goddess figure, her association through the headdress with a nun claims additional authority as granted by God. This is, after all, a book about how to become a good *Christian* knight, and Christine states in *l'Avision* that she has been divinely inspired for her writing. (See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the conflation of Christine and Othea pervading this work.)

All the drawings have very low horizon lines and no suggestion even of whether the setting is meant to be interior or exterior. Othea's odd cloud, which by convention identifies her as a deity, is unique among the illustrations. Mombello describes it as "waspnest-like".⁵⁷ Its importance, in addition to its necessary symbolism, is compositional, in that it fills the upper right corner of the image, echoing in reverse that of the lower left occupied by the courtiers, and emphasizes the fact that Hector is

surrounded by supporters. Additional evidence of his support is seen in Othea's posture, leaning toward and looking at Hector, and in the first courtier's encouraging gesture of reaching with both hands toward Hector's back, as though nudging him toward her.

Another courtier, behind him and to the right, leans to see around the figure in front of him, his right hand also raised and extended toward Hector. In his right hand he holds a narrow, vertical curving object which might be a banderole or scroll, or perhaps a bow.⁵⁸ The object, furthermore, repeats the diagonals of the two rows of enthroned lions. At the same time, there is a diagonal in the opposite direction, the two crisscrossing the overall composition at the position of the letter, and formed by the joining arms of Hector and Othea. This opposing diagonal echoes the implied line running from one enthroned lion to the next in their two rows and along the bottom of Othea's cloud. All of these repeated lines weave into a tightly unified composition focusing on Hector and his close relationship with the goddess and the courtiers.

A final element in BNF fr 848 but in no other copy of the *Epître Othéa* under consideration is the presence of labels for each of the most important characters in all five of these scenes. In this drawing "Hector" and "Othea" or "Prudence," are inscribed, respectively, above his head and in the clouds above Othea's back, near the corner of the frame. The importance of such self-conscious lexical guides to understanding the text is discussed in Chapter 1. These elements may have been designed by the author, in addition to the visual guides just observed in the first drawing.

Similar style and symbolic content continue throughout the first five images. For example, adjoining the drawing just described is that of Temperance, within the same broad, rectangular frame. Its significantly narrower shape creates an asymmetry in the

sizes and shapes of the two drawings, inviting special attention as well as speculation regarding the artist's motivation in this design. The other double image (Justice/Fortitude, Stories # 3 and # 4) is more symmetrically composed, their differences reiterating the idea that this is an experimental draft. Perhaps this is simply an overly enthusiastic start by the artist in Story # 1's image, leaving little room in the adjoining section for Story # 2. Perhaps the asymmetry was necessary to the composition, with six figures in # 1, and only one in # 2. The focus of the story lies in the figures of Hector and Othea, who appear repeatedly in the hundred stories. Temperance, while one of the four cardinal virtues, and thus of great significance in the training of the young man, is seen only here. Of far less importance to Christine's message, then, Temperance perhaps needed only this smaller space. At the same time, as the single figure in the image, and with literally nothing else in the drawing except the clock on which she focuses, her message is emphatic.

The second story states that, as Prudence's sister, Temperance should be a friend of Hector as well, and exhorts him to behave always in a measured manner. There is no mention in the story of the clock prominently seen in the drawing accompanying Story # 2. Temperance appears as a young maiden, wearing the same type robes as those in Story # 1, but with a floral chapelet, which Sherman connects with sexual pleasure, and long wavy locks trailing over her shoulders.⁵⁹ In contrast to the widow in the adjoining panel, Temperance's clothing and hairstyle emphasize her status. The elegant Temperance is centered in the image, turned slightly to her left to look at and reach toward her symbol -- the clock. As discussed by Willard the use of the clock as Temperance's symbol is one of Christine's innovations.⁶⁰ Willard also suggests that the author here refers to the

new clock that Charles V had had installed in Paris in 1370, once it was imported into France from Italy where it had only recently been invented by Donde. Willard further indicates that the use of the mechanical clock was a subtle sign of Charles V's independence from dominance by the Church.⁶¹ It could also have been one of Christine's ways of stating that the French ruling house was up-to-date with new inventions and ideas from Italy. It would clearly benefit her, as she sought patronage among the court, to flatter them in such a manner. To emphasize the importance of the clock, the artist has left nearly half of the image empty. A very large and elegant clock mounted on the "wall" dominates the left side of the composition. On the other side, in the Prudence image, the goddess' cloud seems to hang on that wall. An undeniable disjuncture occurs between the clock (which would almost necessarily be read in this drawing as mounted on a wall inside a building) and the goddess' cloud on the other side.⁶² They are united compositionally, though, since Temperance's upraised arm continues the angle of Othea's body to reach an apex at her torso, and to then descend through her extended arm to the letter and on through Hector's body down to the left. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, a diagonal in the adjoining drawing is created by the two triangles in the outside corners. These are formed by Othea and her cloud on the right and the courtiers on the left, with the lions in between. The diagonal is repeated, in a band of almost exactly the same width, by the forms of Temperance's body and the clock – the exterior lines of which continue through Othea's cloud and her own body to the top of the frame of the left drawing. Finally, the groundlines meet almost exactly at the inner frame, suggesting a continuous setting. Thus the compositional "contents" of the two frames become unified visually as they, indeed, are united symbolically. Prudence and

Temperance (sisters and cousins) both represent personifications of virtues necessary to the young ruler.

The clock itself is interesting. It is a simple rectangular box with a high "bonnet" and moulded bracket base. A shelf extends outward from just below the face. Spatially the drawing of the clock is confusing, because it appears both foreshortened and frontal. Although its case looks flush with a back "wall," and therefore its side should be toward the viewer, its base and the shelf below the face are drawn to look foreshortened, suggesting that it sits at an angle toward the viewer. The base bracket seems to be placed to expose both its left side and the front. The artist carefully designed the clock to include a face with three dials and a bracket over its top holding the bell and hammer, which strikes from the right. Three weights on chains descend from the works of the clock through holes in the shelf described above, with the engaging detail of the weights' being at different levels relative to the bottom of the clock.

Like the clock, Temperance herself demonstrates the artist's difficulties with perspective. She stands before a horizon line parallelling the picture plane, turning to her right, toward the clock. Viewers see the left side and some of the right side of her face, and, although her torso looks more-or-less frontal, her left shoulder draws back while her right hand reaches forward and to her left. (She also exhibits the strange quality common at this time of such a pronounced sway to her body that she looks pregnant.) The artist has made every effort to enliven the image, to show the parts and action of the new timepiece, and to unify the composition. The fact that Temperance is almost precisely the same height as Hector, and that an implied line extends from her face to his also serves to unify the two scenes in the double frame. Temperance, who like Prudence has a

label just above her head, will be present and available to advise and inspire Hector in the same way as Prudence, just a frame away.

Despite the artist's effort to describe a sense of space and corporeality in the figures and objects – mostly through his use of three-quarter poses – the image generally flattens out because of its linear nature and because of the interruption by the frame. The form of the frame helps keep it flat on the page: A wide black line, on the right in all three vertical elements, and below on the horizontal ones, is repeated by a narrow one inside it on the bottom and left of the verticals, but above it on the top of the frame. The frame draws attention to itself, as compared with the lighter and narrower line of the rest of the drawing within it. That bold blackness unites with the black of the inside of the clock on the inside of the right scene and with the hats of the outer courtiers in the left scene, as well. Perhaps more importantly for the page as a whole, it also unites with the beautiful gothic text surrounding it. Such visual unification of text with images applies to all five of these drawings in BNF fr 848.

Chapter Three of the *Epître Othéa* is Christine's story depicting Hercules as the quality of Fortitude on folio 2 recto of the manuscript. Curiously, as already mentioned, in BNF fr 848 the images for Chapter Three and Chapter Four (Justice) are inverted within the frame where the two are combined. One might understand this as evidence of the artist's or designer's lack of experience or uncertainty about the format, as they appear in proper chronology in the ensuing copies. However, it may have been created this way for formal reasons, as the two stories are combined within one frame. Were the scenes placed in the order of the stories, they would show the "castle" back-to-back with Minos's courtiers,⁶³ producing a less felicitous arrangement than what is seen. As it is, there is

negative space – breathing room -- in the middle of the scenes, permitting their close placement. In the right section of the frame, one sees a square, crenellated stone building. Its front wall is parallel with the picture plane, occupying half of the frame horizontally and three-quarters vertically. Inside, knights in armor, with helmets and mail and swords raised, attack five furry, devil-like creatures. Three other monsters with prominent horns observe from the crenellated roof above. To the left of the open doorway of the building, Cerberus strides out into the grip of the awaiting Hercules. The monster, from whose neck dangles a chain, stands erect at approximately the height of Hercules' shoulder. The protagonist grasps the monster around the neck with his left hand, steps on its left clawed foot with his right foot, and raises his cudgel (described as a knobby branch) threateningly over his head to strike. Hercules wears mail about his neck and on his arms and legs, and a lion's head and front legs hang at the hem of his jagged-edged tunic -- the pelt of the Nemean lion. As if that detail were not enough to identify the hero, Hercules is labeled with the words "hercules" and "force" in the space above him between his cudgel and the structure from which the monster has come. A low, even groundline, not congruent with that of the other drawing, serves as the only landscape element. Hercules stands in an active position with torso frontal but hips and legs in profile, his left leg and elegant, slender foot rather awkwardly positioned. Cerberus strides to the left in full profile.

The seven figures within the structure essentially form a circle below a broad round arch. On the left, a front opening is also described by a round arch above a narrow, foreshortened doorway. The five beaked, furry monsters inside and those on the roof generally look dismayed.⁶⁴ The artist has emphasized the chaos of the fight by drawing

heads and other body parts of the monsters dismembered from whole bodies, with the whole group tightly squeezed into the building. The two soon-to-be-victorious fighters inside the structure are seen almost full-length. Wearing round, fitted helmets and breastplates and carrying shields and swords, they are Theseus and Pirothous.⁶⁵ Their unmistakable victory is indicated by their position superior to the monsters, literally as well as symbolically. Hercules, also, is obviously in control in this battle – as Hector will be in his future battles if he embraces the values Othea is bringing before him.

Story Four's subject, the quality of Justice (the fourth cardinal virtue), in the person of the upright King Minos whose behavior Hector should emulate, is depicted in BNF fr 848 on the left, within the same frame as the Fortitude image for Story Three. The present image shows King Minos enthroned in the left foreground of a scene otherwise devoid of setting except for a low groundline, delimiting a shallow and nondescript foreground. Behind Minos are the same bearded figures that stood behind Hector in the initial drawing in this manuscript. Crowned and holding a sceptre (the "main de justice" ?) in his left hand, Minos reaches out his right hand toward the more haggard of two dirty and ragtag prisoners led in by two armed guards in short tunics. Their hands tied before their waists, the frazzled, barefooted and bareheaded prisoners approach the king. Each guard has a hand through the arm of his prisoner, and the tone of the scene appears amicable. The second prisoner turns toward his guard to speak in an off-handed way. Likewise, the king leans forward to engage his prisoners, his extended hand open. All these elements would suggest openness and fairness in this court, in congruence with only part of Christine's text. There she mentions "righteous justice" and says that Aristotle advises men to judge themselves first. Later the gloss says that Minos

was a Cretan king of "marvelous pride" who had in him "great severity of justice". Thus we may assume that the artist chose to depict the earlier characterization of the king/judge, perhaps with the goal of instilling confidence in the judges in power at that time. As in the other miniatures, Minos is labeled. Above his head one reads, "Le Roy Minos Justice". Rather than the name's being written "M-i-n-o-s" it appears as "A-y-m-o-s." Mombello and Parussa do not comment on this anomaly, and no other manuscript is labelled to shed light on the issue. One wonders, particularly given the earlier reference to Charlemagne in the context of the *Neuf Preux*, whether this can be an allusion to the story of the *Quatre Fils Aymon* (although the name is not spelled quite the same), "...early 13th century...the most popular epic of the Rebellious Vassal Cycle," in which one of the four brothers (sons of Aymon of Dordogne) kills Charlemagne's nephew Bartolai, somehow manages to marry the daughter of the king of Gascony, is relentlessly pursued by Charlemagne, and then repents and is pardoned by Charlemagne on condition he make pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Ultimately his body is thrown into the Rhine by jealous colleagues who have murdered him, but his body is miraculously saved and returns by itself to be enshrined in Dortmund.⁶⁶ No connection is evident except that of Charlemagne, other than that Minos' prisoners may also be "rebellious vassals". This could also be a scribal error, which occurs in other proper names, such as "Dantheon" instead of "Actaeon" in Story # 69.⁶⁷

Fame is the final virtue for which BNF fr 848 has a visual embellishment. A single image in a square frame on folio 3 recto introduces Chapter Five, depicting a distressed Andromeda threatened by a huge, jagged-toothed fish with a snarling, pointed snout and double dorsal fins. Perseus flies in, above left, on Pegasus to save her.

Andromeda stands, covering her breasts with her arms, on a perfectly centered promontory extending from the left and abutted by the swirling waters in the lower right quadrant of the image. The water reaches above mid-height, actually situating the fish above Andromeda's head. The sloping surface of the water emphasizes the drama of the scene, suggesting that the water and the fish may wash over Andromeda and flood her wedge of dry land. Clumps of grass scatter over the surface of the maiden's promontory, echoing the surface decoration of the waves and swirls adjacent to it. There appears to be some shading (perhaps wash) on the ground as well as on the top of the waves, just under the monster.

The drawing for Story #5 demonstrates more movement than the four preceding images. The draping of Andromeda's long robe, the bend of her right knee and the forward lean of her body all suggest her flight further inland. The horse's wispy tail so trails in the breeze of his fast flight that it extends beyond the left frame of the image. Another detail expressing his speed is seen in the horse's flared nostrils. The looming sea monster looks significantly larger than the horse approaching from the left bearing the rescuer. Although Andromeda hurries toward the left in the drawing, she turns her head to look back over her shoulder at the attacker, and thus apparently does not see Perseus. The urgency of the situation is reinforced by her hair which, though brought close to her face, nevertheless bounces loose at the sides.

Like the sea monster, Perseus is bigger than the winged Pegasus. The hero is, furthermore, fully armed in mail, helmeted with visor up, and he carries an upraised scythe in his right hand while holding the reins in his left. Before him, at torso level, he rests a concave shield on the horse's neck. Perseus appears to stand erect in the stirrups,

in a very active and powerful pose, his pointed boots extending and curving down beyond the stirrups. Both Perseus and Pegasus are drawn in profile, and Pegasus appears to be spotted. Though not caparisoned, he carries a saddle with straps around his rump, their streamers flapping below his belly. Awkward placement of the horse's huge wings demonstrates the artist's difficulty in placing them one on either side of the rider, but not hiding the rider, and still reflecting that there are two wings. The closer wing, sprouting from the horse's right shoulder, arches back and conceals most of Perseus' torso, from whence it curves back almost horizontally. In his usual effort toward completeness, the artist has either suggested the sprouting of the far wing higher up on the horse's body, or twice the size of the closer wing. Both wings demonstrate multiple layers of large bird-like feathers, and even the smaller one is nearly the length of the entire horse. The word "Renomme" (Fame) is inscribed between the tips of Pegasus' wings, against the left section of the frame, and there is a curved line above the "o" which may be an abbreviation symbol, as the word is spelled with only one "m."⁶⁸ Above the head of the hero "perseus" is written, nearly touching the top frame, and "pegasus," in a new twist, is written *on* the flank of the horse. Perhaps the artist, working in concord with instructions by the author, endeavored to place the labels as close as possible to their bodies, and there is not much space in the left half of the scene. To the right, though, nothing is drawn, and Andromeda's label fits comfortably directly above her head. Interestingly, while the scribe spelled the names of all the figures beginning with lower-case letters, that of the virtue, "Renome" begins in fact with a capital "R"—yet another example of the pain to which the designer of this manuscript went to make every meaning as clear as possible.

Because no other illustrations were created in this manuscript, the discussion is redirected to the other two manuscripts which Christine clearly produced herself. Unlike BNF fr 848, which was apparently never bound into a collection, these next two incarnations, BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431, each represent one section in lengthy compilations of her works. BNF fr 606 may have been the next copy of the *Epître Othéa* that Christine prepared.⁶⁹ Like Harley 4431, it is dramatically elaborated to include, in addition to the royal presentation image, which serves as the frontispiece, a full complement of one visual embellishment for each of the one hundred chapters. BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431 are nearly identical in iconography, style and composition. A notable exception lies in their landscape and architectural settings: Instead of the more realistic, Italianate (and thus more up-to-date) style in BNF fr 606, the designer of Harley 4431 chose diapering for the background in nearly every miniature. Elaborate gold-leaf and brilliant colors compose its more expensive decoration, making it the most luxurious copy extant. Christine prepared Harley 4431 as the most complete compilation of her works to that date upon the request of Queen Isabella of Bavaria. Mombello and others have assumed that the British Library copy of the *Epître* postdates BNF fr 606 (1407-1408). However, Hindman has convincingly demonstrated that the *Epître* in the British Library collection had been copied earlier and altered to fit this collection of 1410-11. It may be that BL 4431's diapered backgrounds suggest it predates BNF fr 606, possibly by several years, rather than that Harley 4431's artist decorated it at a later date in a less-than-current style. Another possibility is that the two were created at so nearly the same time that both styles of decoration prevailed, and the Harley artist chose the more luxurious and expensive form for that patron.

Both manuscripts boast full-color illuminations by excellent artists, no doubt representing Christine's increased financial independence. Meiss finds that the so-called Epître Master illuminated most of BNF fr 606, with the assistance of the Egerton Master for its end as well as for the ends of BNF fr 835 and 836 in the same collection.

Specifically, Meiss attributes the *Ara Coeli* image, # 100, to the Egerton Master.⁷⁰

According to that scholar, Christine had engaged the Epître Master in 1403 to illuminate her newly completed *Mutacion de Fortune* and three other unidentified manuscripts.⁷⁰

The Epître Master was a "close student of Lombard painting," whose assistants were the Egerton and Saffron Masters. He never worked for anyone else in Paris, and he disappeared off the scene after approximately ten years. Hindman and Meiss propose the Saffron and Egerton Masters for BNF fr 606 and the *Cité des Dames* and Bedford Trend Masters for the majority of the Harley work.^{71, 72} It is generally assumed, despite the dedication to Louis d'Orléans, that BNF fr 606 was recreated from BNF fr 848 for Duke Jean de Berry. It may rather be that Berry obtained it at some later date, and that Christine had prepared both copies for Orléans. Because nothing is known about the recipient originally intended for the copy now included in the British Library's collection, one can only speculate, because of its great value, that Christine had created it with a specific patron among the highest ranks in mind.

Othea's presentation image of the letter to Hector in BNF fr 606 places the goddess in the upper left, in half-length, and leaning out of her cloud toward Hector, who is precisely centered in the composition. Her cloud is fluffy, with scalloped, undulating edges filling its quadrant of the frame. Immediately below her, on a shallow patch of brown ground tapering off in the middle of the image, sprouts a simplified tree whose

flattened band of foliage, spread umbrella-like across the top of bare branches, touches the bottom of her cloud.⁷³ From the upper branches hangs a blank shield on a leather strap, the ends of which protrude willy-nilly above it. The shield hangs tilted at approximately a 45-degree angle. Hindman writes in her *Painting and Politics* that the blank shield represents the gold one of Louis de Bourbon's Order of the Gold Shield.⁷⁴

Standing in front of and hiding the ground line is a tiny figure of Hector, turned three-quarters to his left, and reaching up to receive the sealed text from Othea. They look at one another, and he touches the bottom of the book, which is white with red straps dividing it into quarters, a bold red seal at their intersection. Behind Hector in the right background of the image stand three tall, elegant courtiers, one in front and two side by side behind him. The third man on the far right is cut off by the frame. All noble figures wear the rarefied courtly robes, long and full-sleeved, of scholars or clerics,⁷⁵ as well as elaborate hats, those of Hector and the first courtier sprouting tall feathers. Hector's sleeves are fur-lined, and a hawk perches on his left wrist. Like the courtiers, Othea wears the same type of clothing as in this manuscript's prototype. As will be true throughout BNF fr 606, there appears a realistic and beautifully designed landscape, the background brilliant blue sky of which lightens at the horizon line and just behind the heads of the courtiers. The low, rolling hills of the bare ground rise at the left but disappear behind the long robes of the figures on the right, who stand at the front plane. All figures appear in a frieze across the front plane, the tree alone set back somewhat from it. Other than the overlapping of the figures and the shallow space in front of the tree, nothing serves to establish any distance into space.

The Harley work contains a similar composition where the major difference is the diapering across the back, from the groundline, at approximately the same height as BNF fr 606, to the top edge of the frame, closing off the shallow, stagelike space where the figures and tree stand. Here the strip of level ground continues behind the figures, contributing to a sense of distance into the background. Temperance's cloud, essentially a triangle whose apex would be at the goddess' mid-chest, is centered against the left edge of the frame from which it protrudes, and it does not extend to the top of the frame. The umbrella-shaped tree below her overlaps the bottom of her cloud, supporting the same blank, crooked shield from the crux of its branches. The isocephalic pose of the three courtiers seconding Hector places them at nearly the same height as Temperance's shoulders on the other side of the frame; in fact, the tall feather on the center figure's hat extends above her head. Hector and his followers wear the same long, elegant robes and elaborate hats as in BNF fr 606, Hector's particularly noteworthy embroidery or brocade and fur lining symbolizing his importance. The same motionless hawk perches on the young man's left wrist. All figures look at Othea/Prudence, who focuses her attention on the book and its young recipient. Extreme attention to precise detail, characterized by realism of design and execution, links this miniature – and all in this manuscript – to the style of Northern realism of the northern France/Lowlands area. Hindman's lengthy study of this manuscript proposes that Christine instructed her artists to incorporate details such as the symbolic patterning on the duke's clothing in order to ingratiate herself with the duke by communicating a certain political agenda for the duke.⁷⁶

Like that of the presentation, the Temperance image in BNF fr 606 shows a three-quarter figure of the goddess on a frilly-edged cloud in the upper left quadrant of the

frame. The cloud's right edge is hidden by a centered, tall, open-sided clock supported on a post at mid-ground, the top of which touches the top frame. Here the goddess appears to be lying prone on the cloud, perhaps leaning on her elbows. She looks straight out and slightly down at the workings of the clock, her head nearly at the height of its top. The clock sits at a three-quarter angle to the picture plane, allowing the viewer to see the works, including a wheel and the bell and hammer, which would strike from the right, on the pyramid-shaped top. Two weights on chains, one on either side of the supporting pole, hang from the base of the clock. At the extreme right of the scene, cut off by the right frame, is an elegant high gothic structure on which appear a pinnacle and steeply-pointed, crocketed gable. Bare, rolling hills in the distance describe a horizon line at mid-height. Before it lounge five elegantly clad young women, grouped and chatting casually, three on the left and two on the right, with a shallow strip of ground separating them from the picture's frontal plane. The long skirts of the figure on the extreme left are cut off at the bottom of the frame, suggesting her position even closer to the viewer. The two outer ladies on the left face inward, as does the one on the far right; between them the two inner figures each turn to the outside, forming two unified clusters of figures flanking the pole of the clock. Although the clock is obviously the focus of the image, with its prominent size, central position, and silhouetting against the sky, no one, including Temperance, looks at it. Instead, the goddess looks down at the young women seated on the lower right and they look at one another, seemingly oblivious to the divinity and her symbol. The women's clothing suggests they are young maidens. Temperance wears what may be described as a chaplet of flowers, and her hair is pulled back to flow down to her mid-back. A tone of quietude and elegance pervades this scene, as created

by the flowing lines of the landscape, the women's poses and Temperance's cloud. They appear to be engaged in interesting conversation, as the author would wish young women to be.⁷⁷ As in the presentation scene, the brilliant blue of the sky lightens slightly at the horizon line. The foreground figures are pushed forward by the higher horizon line, to flatten the scene overall. The blue of the sky provides some sense of recession in the background.

Harley 4431 is also flattened out, the more so because of its diapered background. Here the seated figures are pressed even closer to the frontal plane, their dresses continuously overlapping the bottom of the frame across the front. Being closer to the picture plane, they also appear larger than those in the BNF fr 606, and their poses and groupings are nearly identical. The exception is that the figure on the inside of the group on the left is turned toward the center and looks up at the base of the clock. This detail may represent Christine's intervention in the artistic component of this copy. For reasons discussed more completely in Chapter 1, she may have wanted to draw attention toward the clock by having the woman look at it and appear to be discussing the clock. Another difference is that the two inner figures are closer together than in the Paris copy, where there is some negative space between their bodies. Similar to the arrangement in the presentation image, the top of Temperance's cloud in Harley 4431 recedes further to the left so that only diapering surmounts her head and the top of the clock. In all aspects, detailing of Harley 4431 is more precise than that of BNF fr 606. For example, the works inside the clock are more easily discerned, although all the clock parts appear the same as BNF fr 606. In addition, gold trim edges the garments, especially remarkable on the women's split sleeves in the foreground and on the edges of Temperance's cape, as she

gestures with both hands toward the clock. Although these gold edges lack the lyrical, undulating quality seen in the Italian painter Duccio's earlier work, they suggest his influence at this time in the North.⁷⁸

BNF fr 606 differs dramatically from the original image for Story #3 in BNF fr 848 where Hercules personifies the virtue of Fortitude. In this early version of the *Epître Othéa* with miniatures in tempera, the battle is now set in a semicircular clearing before a thick forest backdrop, where, however, the tree trunks are without leaves except at the canopy, beginning just above the hero's head.⁷⁹ The front tree trunks, at far right and left, mid-ground, form a repoussoir-type frame and continue into a backdrop for the battle. Blue sky above the trees forms a horizontal band across the top of the image and contrasts with the uniform brown of the foliage and tree trunks. Centered at midground, Hercules stands with both feet on the body of one dead serpent lying on its back, legs extended in the air, neck awkwardly twisted to expose the underside of its chin. His left leg extended elegantly toward his attacker, Hercules wears shiny, articulated blue armor covering neck, arms and legs, a helmet from which fly straps, and a brown tunic. The hem is decorated with the dangling head and right front leg of a deer or sheep with a cloven right hoof rather than the Nemean lion pelt of BNF fr 848.⁸⁰ As in BNF fr 848, Hercules raises a weapon above his head with his gloved right hand. In addition he protects himself with a concave shield in his left, lowered to fend off a rampant lion attacking from the right of the composition. Another lion-like creature (this one blue) lurks among the trees, mid-ground right, awaiting his turn in the battle. Fighting without support of other knights in this version of the story, Hercules will obviously emerge victorious from the next battle as well. By isolating the hero among multiple assailants,

the artist reemphasizes the story's focus on Hercules' strength. His power is enhanced by the fact that he is depicted as tall as the trees in the dense forest behind him, as well as by the fact that the defeated serpent is longer than the forest opening is wide. The serpent's tail is long enough to circle back behind the attacking lion and thus mirror the form of the serpent's head in the opposite corner.

The Harley manuscript's painting for Fortitude is very similar, except for the diapering replacing the strip of blue sky. The forest here seems to be a straight backdrop, while in BNF fr 606 it curves more deeply into the background. One other slight alteration is the fact that the second lion is also in a rampant pose, awaiting the first as it attacks the shield central to the composition. Here, the two lions stand in the foreground, in front of the forest and pushed far into the lower right corner, where the outer one is cut off by the frame. With much more detail than those of BNF fr 606, this painting emphasizes texture in the hair of the lions' manes and in that of the animal pelt suspended from Hercules' shoulder. The emphasis on texture suggests a Northern French or Lowlands artist.

A dramatized version of the miniature illustrating Justice, Story # 4, characterizes the twin BNF and Harley manuscripts, although the prisoners in the former are naked. In both manuscripts they kneel before King Minos. Their bound hands extend before their chests in gestures of supplication, while the king looks toward them with his scepter in his right hand at his side. Two guards in armor accompany the prisoners. The guard in profile on the right wears a Phrygian cap, his sword and round shield against his left hip. The other is posed more centrally in the composition and points with his left forefinger toward the center. Two men flank the throne, the front one bearded and old, the other

younger. The older figure wears either a medal on a broad metal chain or a deep collar with a wide, decorative edge. The throne rests on a dais and is surmounted by a baldachin or dark cloth of honor decorated with dots or possibly stars. A sword blade (perhaps two) points upward between the prisoner/guard group and the courtly group on the left.⁸¹ Both courtiers wear long unbelted robes and the younger, a collar with lappets crossed at his chest, suggesting that he is a lawyer. The scene takes place inside a structure with a tiled floor and planked ceiling, and an opening on the back wall is outlined in stone behind the prisoner/guard grouping on the right. In a rather awkward effort at perspective, reminiscent of the late medieval Italian painter Giotto,⁸² the essentially square architectural structure is turned 90 degrees so that its corner juts out at the center of the scene, where two wide arches describing its top join at a central column. In the same way the artist has drawn the corner of the dais at an angle to the picture plane. Although the back wall of the structure appears parallel with the picture plane, the left wall suggests recession by the orthogonals describing its joint to the ceiling and that of the front of the dais where it meets the floor. This throne room completely fills the picture's frame, the outer edges of which cut off both its sides. In addition to the artist's effort to show recession through the composition of the room, he has also carefully placed the prisoners and guards in its mid-ground. However much the centered column and flanking arches may attempt to suggest recession, though, the top of the structure reads as parallel to the picture plane, flattening the overall composition. The artist successfully maximized the space available in the miniature, proclaiming its importance as a judicial setting.

Harley 4431's Justice miniature departs from the Parisian copy in several interesting ways. Its characteristic diapering is present in this image, but the artist attempts a more precise design. For example, in place of a nonspecific architectural setting, the king is enthroned within a cubicular space open on the front and right sides under double and single arches, respectively, and supported at the corner by a column surmounted by a capital. Whereas the cubicle's frontal plane is parallel with and situated at the picture plane, the side walls, though parallel with one another, are set at a diagonal from the front plane. The coffered ceiling suggests another element of perspective, and the top of the structure is situated enough below the top frame to show the orthogonal line receding from the front of the building on its right. The artist's empirical design approximates believable mathematical perspective.

Within the structure the two prisoners, wearing white culottes and with carefully groomed hair, reach out their tied hands toward the king. The wizened old ruler, enthroned under a baldachin decorated with a branch-like motif, wears the crown of the French monarchy, with fleurs de lys along its top, and long, flowing robes decorated on the sleeves, neck, torso, and hem with gold. His feet rest on a cushion on the floor. With his right hand on his lap he holds a scepter as he thoughtfully strokes his long white beard. He appears to be speaking. To the king's right stands a beautifully attired old courtier before the (implied) column supporting that corner of the structure. He looks down at the first kneeling prisoner as he grasps the front of his long dagged robe with his right hand. His collar has a broad, triangular band from the right side of which hang three tassels. The gentle, concerned expression on his profile face is typical of all figures

in this image. His hand's clasp on his robe contributes to the sense of concentration in this throne room.

Three guards attend the prisoners, the two on the left similarly attired, while the one on the right wears a Phrygian cap and articulated armor. The guard in the back holds vertically a large knife with a deep notch in its upper edge. This guard and his companion, perhaps also in armor, both wear high, twisted turbans and stand against the back wall of the structure. The frontal figure on the left wearing a long, unbelted tunic with lappets crossed at the neck corresponds to the figure in BNF fr 606. His companion stands in profile, but turns his head over his left shoulder to look down on the prisoners. The figures fill the architectural space, which in turn fills the frame of the miniature, lending a sense of intimacy and intensity to the scene. The figures on both its sides are cut off by the frame.

The group appears in an open cubicle whose outside walls are set at an angle to the picture plane. A planked ceiling, whose planks are parallel to the picture plane, denies the angle of the structure, as does the back wall which also reads as paralleling the picture plane. Below the planks, two narrow diagonal beams could contribute to a sense of recession but do not follow the orthogonals of the baldachin and are thus confusing. The checkerboard floor, extending from a low stone wall in the extreme foreground, also suggests recession into space in the area in front of the king, but rises so steeply on the right side of the image that it loses credibility as a flat floor. The edges of the tiles are not exactly straight, making the floor seem to billow like a sail in the wind. As in the twin miniature, a generally benevolent atmosphere characterizes this narrative painting. All figures quietly look either at the prisoners or at the thoughtful king, with either

concerned expressions or near smiles. The clean and well-groomed prisoners indicate no apprehension; in fact, the far one seems to be smiling slightly. The design seems to have been meant to instill confidence in the justice system, as would the text for which this image provides illustration.

A much more successful composition than that of BNF fr 848 decorates its twinned descendants in Chapter Five, Fame. In these, Pegasus hovers between the lady and the fanged sea monster. BNF fr 606 depicts a rather small Perseus, wielding his weapon with his gauntleted right hand, at the top of the frame -- which the short, triangular blade also touches. He is fully armed, his face armor closed, and Pegasus likewise wears a chain mail caparaison. In a surprising disjuncture, the miniaturist has placed both of Pegasus' wings on the far side of his body, perhaps to expose the elegant chain mail trappings on his flank.⁸³ These enormous wings extend across the entire miniature, and are cut off by the opposing top corners. The Perseus/Pegasus fighting pair appropriately occupy the center of the image. They are silhouetted against the high horizon line of the rolling waves of the sea as they arrive for battle. The horse's right back leg is hidden behind Andromeda, indicating how close they are to the encounter with the monster. It has clawlike fins, and sharp teeth lining a big, open mouth. The beautiful Andromeda, leaning back from the waist, wears clothing describing her as a young maiden, her waist-length blond hair pulled back, and perhaps a fitted hat. She stands at the edge of a rocky promontory, with no space for retreat or advance. In an imploring pose, she crosses her hands before her chest as she looks across at the sea monster. The image looks crowded, partly because of the substantial waves filling the space behind and above the figures, and across the bottom at the picture plane.

Andromeda is pressed against the left side of the composition, Pegasus' wings hit the top and outsides of the frame, and the high horizon line presses them all forward. The artist darkened the water toward its juncture with the sky, and the sky fades as it approaches the water. In addition, the waves roil across the composition at a diagonal. All of these elements contribute to the tension, compression and flattening of the image.

In Harley 4431, Perseus and Pegasus are further down from the top of the frame than in the Paris example. As Perseus raises his impossibly long-bladed, scythe-shaped weapon,⁸⁴ the blade is so long that it extends beyond the top edge of the miniature. The hero wears full armor, with visor lowered, wielding the weapon with his right hand. The miniaturist has repeated the surprising placement of huge wings which, both on the far side of Pegasus' body, appear parallel with the picture plane, fully extended, almost filling the width of the frame. As he descends into the sea battle, the horse's tail flies upward, repeating the undulating vertical of Andromeda's body on the cliff just to the left. As in BNF fr 606, Andromeda stands or kneels on a tiny, rocky cliff slightly above the water. Her hands, clasped in prayer, increase the sense of desperation she experiences. She is hopelessly pressed against the left edge of the composition, without a chance of escape behind her and she is nearly at the fore edge of the cliff. The bareheaded maiden leans back at the waist, her long blond hair pulled back. The seas roil up to a horizon line three-quarters the height of the composition as the monster rises up out of the water, its head alone as big as the horse and rider combined. Looking not too threatening except for its size and proximity, the sea monster is described with a leering left eye and open, sharp-toothed mouth. Interestingly for this particular manuscript, the sky is designed as blue sky rather than the usual diapering.⁸⁵ Like its twin, the scene is

crowded and pushed forward by the high horizon line of the sea. Also like the Paris manuscript, the artist has darkened the sea in the distance and lightened the sky at the horizon line. Stars (or imperfections in the paint) scatter across the sky, particularly over the left side of the miniature.

Additional Miniatures, absent in BNF fr 848

In order to include in this comparative study two other significant manuscripts (Chantilly and Beauvais) which were produced outside of authorial control and lack images for the stories previously discussed, several other miniatures from BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431 which are present in the later manuscripts will here be discussed. These miniatures were not included in the original, but for reasons to be explained they are significant in later copies to be described in Chapter 3.

In Story # 20, Latona appears as one of the mythological characters who comprise the majority of the *Epître Othéa's* chapters. Little in this story's miniature offers the narrative one might expect. Briefly, the story is that the goddess Latona, while fleeing Juno, stopped at a ford to quench her thirst. Serfs bathing in the water deliberately insulted Latona and muddied the water to disturb her. In anger the goddess turned the unruly men into frogs who would perpetually remain in the swamp. The disjointed gloss concludes that "a good knight should not sully himself in the swamp of villainy," and the unrelated allegory centers around the sin of avarice. Manuscript BNF fr 606 shows a landscape setting where a canopy of umbrella-shaped trees forms an arching backdrop for the scene, in much the same manner as the scene in the Hercules/Fortitude story described earlier. Four nude men, three young and one older, stand in or near a pond in

mid-ground, while Latona kneels in profile at the picture plane on a hill at the right. A triangle of bare land occupies the lower left corner near three frogs in the swirling water. Latona wears the familiar widow or nun's headdress and wimple and long, flowing robes enhanced by a prominent chain dangling from her waist. She supports herself with her left arm, hand on the ground, and looks at something illegible in the palm of her raised right hand. Her head turns slightly toward the front so that one sees both her eyes. She is pushed up so far forward by the hill just beyond her that her dress overlaps the bottom of the frame, and the sense of her proximity to the viewer is enhanced by the fact that she is considerably larger than the male figures in the distance behind her. They form an uneven circle, each in a different pose. That is, the figure on the lower right has his back to and parallel with the picture plane; the next, who is bending over, turns to his right; the third figure, on the left, turns three-quarters to his left at the waist, his hips in profile; and the fourth figure is frontal, his lower body concealed by the man standing in front of him in the water.⁸⁶ All four look down into the water. The two outer men are clean-shaven while the two in the middle of the grouping wear beards. All have athletic-looking, trim male bodies. The front figures in mid-ground are overlapped by the hill on which Latona kneels, while all appear in front of the frieze of tree trunks forming the deep forest in the background. In short, the space with its fore-, mid- and background, is fairly convincing. The image is crowded; the dense foliage of the trees at the top is cut off by the frame, eliminating the space created by the band of blue sky in other miniatures in BNF fr 606.

The Harley manuscript's composition is nearly identical, particularly in the poses of the men. They are comparable in size to Latona, and the trees are dwarfed by their

increased size. Described much more naturalistically, the trees have tall, bare trunks, with more natural-looking foliage. Furthermore, the trees create a solid backdrop in this painting, the left edge of the forest curving further forward. Formally, the pond is a vertical column filling the left half of the frame to mid-ground where it curves toward the right and abuts the shore in front of the trees. A narrow strip of soil at the left widens and continues across the front of the image to expand into the hill or rock upon which Latona kneels and leans into the scene. She sits back somewhat from the picture plane but the immediacy of her presence is indicated by the fact that the hem of her long dress is cut off by the lower and right side of the frame. In this image Latona looks down at something in her right hand and gestures with her left hand as though in curiosity. Four rather large frogs swim in the rolling waters, while one squats on the shore in front of her. The size of all five of these figures makes them look too large for the setting, particularly in comparison with the trees. Diagonals of the landscape and some shading, as well as overlapping, contribute to a sense of recession in the right side of the image, but the water flattens it out on the left. Finally, a narrow band of diapering across the top serves to keep the image on the page.

The next story under consideration is that of Aurora, # 44, with illustrations present in a manuscript at Beauvais (to be discussed in Chapter Three) as well as in the Paris and London manuscripts. The text here says that Aurora was constantly sad but brought joy to others. In the gloss one learns that Cygnus, Aurora's son, had been killed in a Trojan battle and that she had transformed him into a swan. The disjunctive allegory focuses on covetousness and thievery. In the twinned BNF fr 606/Harley 4431 copies' miniatures, a man stands in the foreground before an open-fronted dovecote set at an

angle against, and cut off by, the right frame. The figure and structure fill the lower right quadrant of the composition. Aurora dominates the scene, carrying in the sun from the upper left to occupy the top center of the composition. Below, a path leads from the foreground, where a stream meanders off the left edge of the painting, back to the deep distance at a vague horizon line. A forest of tall trees grows from beyond the left frame directly under the goddess. Rough texture describing the sky makes it look as solid as the ground below. In fact, the "substance" of the goddess disintegrates, as does the sun she carries, into vague contours because of the rough texture. Without a face, and her clothing comprised of mere loose brushstrokes, Aurora is a true apparition.⁸⁷ This miniature is one of those identified with the Saffron Master, because the palette emphasizes that color.

Four blackbirds fly near or stand on the ground, two in front of the dovecote and two by the edge of the forest. An outlined bird stands with the two blackbirds in front of the structure. A duck and another bird roost on a shelf inside, and two swans fly toward the right in the precise middle of the painting. Below and beside them four less distinct birds also fly toward the right. The farmer faces forward, though slightly turned to his right, black-booted feet splayed out. Leaning back, his hands at his chest, he clutches the edge of his open coat and looks up admiringly at the goddess and the sun. With a full beard and dark, short hair, he is nearly as tall as his dovecote. Although the density and texture of the sky push the background forward in this image, it is airy because of the light-colored negative space in the center and across the front, and spatially it reads well. Further, as an illustration of an early morning, it is quite convincing; the farmer seems to

be stretching and pulling on his coat. The blackbirds are just starting to peck at the ground as the swans rise into the sky. The darkness fades as Aurora brings in her light.

Despite the background diapering, Harley 4431's miniature is even more convincing as a narrative illustrating the sunrise. Here the farmer, centered in the foreground, is just pulling on his trousers, tucking in his shirt, as he walks into the building at an angle and cut off on the right edge of the painting. He wears a fitted cap and long jacket with many buttons along its right edge and along the lower-arm section of his left sleeve, suggesting his prosperity. The roof of the building slopes down sharply from the right, a chimney indicating that this is a farmhouse. Two birds, one clearly a crowing rooster, sit on a shelf against the right wall of the structure. Below them a black bird swoops down and another stands on the ground.

Behind the farmer, in the distance at the left three birds take flight, one above another as Aurora appears on a wide, dark expanse of sky filling the entire width of the composition and nearly half of its height. Appropriately, on the left the sky is dark, while on the right, where the goddess holds the sun, it brightens. Aurora is a half-length figure in a flowered dress wearing a circlet over her hair. She extends both her arms to the right to support the sun just above the house. She turns her head back to look at the bearded farmer, who looks up at her.

Great attention to detail describes bits of hay hanging from the eave of the front of the house, as well as sprigs of grass and little bumps on the ground. The poses of the birds are naturalistic, and brushstrokes convincingly describe the dawn sky. The only element that keeps this image from really looking like a panel painting is the band of

diapering across the back, at mid-height of the image to accommodate the presence of the goddess and sun in the sky above.

The miniatures described here are among the most accomplished in the two manuscripts. The information contained in them tells a generic story of a farm at sunrise. Only the swans relate to the mythological story of Aurora's son, and they are so small and de-emphasized as to appear almost as afterthoughts. The images are ambiguous and only peripherally related to the story as Christine wrote it.

Minerva's Story # 13 presents interesting aspects as well.⁸⁸ The versified text states that the young man's mother will deliver him arms and the related gloss says that Minerva had invented armor-making. With such close connections between the text and gloss, this chapter is one of the better integrated ones textually as well as between text and visual image. In BNF fr 606 the full-length armored goddess is centered at the top of the frame, leaning down from a fluffy cloud with scalloped, undulating edges.⁸⁸ She floats below the cloud, her torso frontal but her legs extending to the right as though she is seated. She wears gloves and articulated armor on her arms, and a fitted dress with cap sleeves, her long skirt trailing off the edge of the frame on the right. Her own shield hangs over her left shoulder, its strap around her torso and neck, her sword at her waist with its blade extending far to the right. Pallas hands armor down to soldiers below her who stretch upward to take it. With her left hand she drops down a decorated shield by its strap, while in her right she holds a helmet, upside down with its visor flopped open and chain mail at its base. Eight figures in a frieze across the foreground enthusiastically gather up the prizes, some reaching with one or both hands to receive them from above, others picking up or trying on pieces already on the ground. At the far left a figure,

concealed except for his head, turns to face Pallas and reach up with both gloved hands. To the right stands a proud young knight, sword in his right hand and resting on its point on the ground. In addition to his pose, the young man's high-collared, short jacket and armored legs with pointed boots and his unusual hairstyle may suggest that he is a figure of greater importance. Could he be Hector? The center of the painting is occupied by a figure at the front plane who bends down on his right leg while leaning forward but looking up and back behind him. He holds a long lance with a diamond-shaped blade over his right shoulder. Directly behind him a soldier in mail and a pointed helmet with a squared-off opening for the profile face leans toward the right and looks down. He, too, holds a long lance, with an attached banner floating in the breeze to the right. Behind him another knight in a helmet faces forward and reaches up to take the shield Pallas drops from above. Further to the right, and at the same plane as the one just described, a gloved, bareheaded knight strains hard to reach Pallas, and finally another bareheaded figure arranges an article of clothing to lift over his head.

It is a very active, exciting scene, with figures in various poses, and many diagonals created by the equipment and the angles of their arms and legs. A standard repeats the left edge of the frame in the only real vertical in the image. Despite its activity and its subject matter, the painting does not suggest violence; in fact, the goddess of war smiles gently down upon her subjects below.

The British Museum's miniature, a nearly exact copy of BNF fr 606, shows a seated goddess in profile in a complex pose within her typical undulating-edged cloud. Here the goddess twists at the waist to a frontal position to hand down armor in both gloved hands to eight variously-posed young men below who stretch up to retrieve them.

Her long sword is attached at her waist and pointing to the right. Pallas' feet, covered by her long skirt, extend off the frame to the right. The hem of her skirt flaps open to expose its lighter-colored lining. She tilts her head to her right, her long, wavy tresses flowing to her waist and she wears a distracted expression on her face. With her left hand she lowers by its leather strap a shield decorated with a long-necked, horned dragon with big, clawed bird-like feet. With the other hand she drops down a helmet by its chain mail neck cover. Its visor flops open as a bare-headed figure on the far left with his back turned reaches up with both gloved hands to take it. His pose is very interesting, as the position of his legs exactly matches, in reverse, that of the figure in front of him.

The goddess, like all the young men below her on the shallow ground plane, wears armor – an elegantly decorated cuirass of plate armor, a high, scalloped chain mail neck protection, and articulated arm covers. On the left, facing toward the center at a three-quarters' angle, the most elegant young man, a sword in his right hand resting casually on its point on the ground, looks vaguely into the distance on the right of the scene. His cuirass, like that of Pallas, is elaborately decorated. This figure's special clothing suggests, like BNF fr 606, that he could be Hector. In front of him, to the right, bending down to pick up a pointed helmet, is a bare-headed young man. He rests his right knee on the ground, his lower body facing to the left. Twisting at the waist, he looks back over his left shoulder. He apparently focuses on the same thing that has captured the attention of the young man on the left of the frame.

A second row of men begins on the left, beside and behind the figure in the decorated cuirass, with a figure who is almost invisible except for the back of a huge, brimmed helmet with beading along its joint to its crown. One figure is squeezed in

between these two rows: He bends over toward his left to pick up a shield from the right of the kneeling figure in the front, while his right arm extends to balance him. Thus his spread-eagled arms form an arc around the kneeling man in front of him. This man in between the two rows wears a pointed helmet and chain mail at the neck, as well as arm coverings and gloves. Behind him a bareheaded, frontally-posed man in chain mail looks outward but reaches above his head to receive the decorated shield from Pallas.

Further to the right, in the back row of men, another stretches his right arm up to help with the shield, his head in profile, tilted to the left, and his body posed frontally. Finally, on the far right, a young man, who has placed his halberd on the ground just behind him, slips a chain mail sheath over his armor. He wears light-colored, striped tights or boots, while all other knights wear dark slippers or low boots. In short, this is a very complicated and crowded scene, created in this way to emphasize the excitement of the story. To increase the movement in the scene, the artist has also painted two standards with insignia flapping loosely over toward the right edge of the frame. These standards have no visible support, and seem to sprout from mid-air among the figures. Their angles contribute to the general sense of chaos in the scene. The figures form a dense frieze as they stand on an unsettlingly awkward ground area which merges with the wall behind them. The narrow two-line frame supports the feet of the first young man, who literally appears to stand on the inner line of the frame at the lower front plane. On the far left the elegantly clad young man's right foot, like the left foot of the young man immediately behind him, pushes on beyond the corner of the frame. Even the diapering contributes to the movement in this scene: Unusually elaborate blue and red squares make up an overall grid. Superimposed on the squares is a pattern of delicate gold

diagonal lines forming diamonds, and in the midst of each are four-petaled flowers. This type of diapering is unusual in the manuscript, and it may suggest the hand of a different decorator for this image.

Conclusion

The detailed descriptions in this chapter offer insight into the development of the iconography and style through the three manuscripts. With each succeeding copy the illumination becomes increasingly detailed, a trend that is particularly noticeable in the British Library's copy. Although she changed the illustrations, Christine did not appreciably change the texts. (Differences among them appear to be minimal, and are often assumed to be scribal error. Parussa has extensively studied and described the textual changes in her edition of 1999.) All three copies in this chapter carry the author's dedication to Louis d'Orléans, despite the fact that at least BNF fr 606, and possibly also Harley 4431, were destined for different patrons. Christine changed the dedication in the copies she had her scribes prepare for Henry IV of England in approximately 1402, for Philip the Bold in 1404, and a second one for Jean de Berry at an unknown date. Without illumination, however, they do not fall within the scope of the present study. The next chapter considers other manuscripts created outside Christine's control, most of which appear after her death in ca 1431. Detailed descriptions there anticipate Chapter 5 where all are compared.

Notes

Chapter 2 Manuscripts Created under the Author's Control

1. Hindman, and Parussa have both produced outstanding scholarship regarding Christine's oeuvre. However, they and others take differing positions in the discussion regarding the author's role in the preparation of the manuscripts. Particularly concerning Hindman's reading of the rubrication added in Harley 4431 and her contention that certain changes from BNF fr 606 demonstrate a political agenda, Parussa disagrees, finding that the text does not support the conclusions Hindman has drawn regarding the illuminations. Parussa, "Instruire les Chevaliers et conseiller les princes: 'L'Épître Othéa' de Christine de Pizan," in *Studi di Storia delle Civiltà Letteraria Francese: Mélanges Offerts à Lionello Sozzi* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996), 133.

2. Sandra Hindman, "The Composition of the Manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's Collected Works in the British Library: A Reassessment," *British Library Journal*, v. 9, #2, Autumn, 1983), 55.

3. George H. Bumgardner, "Christine de Pizan and the Atelier of the Master of the Coronation," in *Seconda Miscellanea di Studi e Ricerche sul Quattrocento Francese: Etudes réunies par Franco Simone* publiées par Jonathan Beck and Gianni Mombello (Chambery-Torino: Centre d'Etudes Franco-Italien, 1981), 43.

4. Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Illiterati and Uxorati: Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, Belgium: Harvey Miller Publications, 2000), 217. It should be pointed out that the Rouses' documentation begins in the tax records of 1292, and that they do not address when or whether practices changed over time.

5. Christine is described as editor of her works by Gianni Mombello, *Memoria di G. Mombello, dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, "La Tradizioni Manoscritto dell'Épître Othéa de Christine de Pizan: Prolegomini all'Edizione del testo" (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1967) 28.

6. Mombello, 105.

7. Gabriella Parussa, *Christine de Pizan's "Épître Othéa": Edition Critique* (Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 1999) 87. The additional manuscripts are ms 8, Waddesdon Manor; ms IV. 1114, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1st in Brussels; and the fragmentary BNF fr 6524, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (hereafter cited as Parussa, *Épître Othéa*).

8. J. C. Laidlaw questions that Christine herself copied all of Harley 4431, which Hindman maintains, proposing instead that two to three scribes copied, corrected and compiled it. Parussa, *Épître Othéa*, 103.

9. Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno, "Identification des autographes de Christine de Pisan," *Scriptorium* 34 (1980): 221-238. Parussa disagrees. Parussa, *Épître Othéa*, 103, as Note 8 above.

10. Parussa questions this, because of dissimilarities in the script at various places in Harley 4431. Parussa, *Épître Othéa*, 91.

11. (Parussa, *Epître Othéa*, 104.
12. Halina D. Loukopoulis, "Classical mythology in the works of Christine de Pisan, with an edition of the *Epître d'Othéa* from the Manuscript Harley 4431." (PhD diss., Wayne State, 1977), 69.
13. Desmond and Sheingorn, 3.
14. Loukopoulis, 69.
15. Claire Richter Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1995) 60.
16. Sherman, 72.
17. Loukopoulis, 18-19.
18. Dureau, 160.
19. Loukopoulis, 61.
20. Sherman, 5.
21. Sandra Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epître Othéa" Painting and Politics in the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto and Ontario, Canada: Institute of Pontifical Studies, 1986) 34.
22. The Trojan stories were also extremely popular in the Burgundian court, perhaps in part leading to her later dedication of a copy of the *Epître* to Philip the Bold.
23. Loukopoulis, 81.
24. Loukopoulis, 110.
25. Parussa, *Epître Othéa*, 455.
26. Desmond and Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage and Visuality in Late Medieval Culture: Christine de Pizan's "Epître d'Othéa"* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 212.
27. Desmond and Sheingorn, 36.
28. The information in this paragraph comes from Desmond and Sheingorn, 3-6.
29. Book VIII of the *Ethics* in Sherman, p. 47
30. Sherman, 171.
31. Sherman, 325.
32. Sherman, 72.
33. Sherman, 75.
34. Desmond and Sheingorn, in Preface, n p.
35. The central premise of the *Mutacion de Fortune*, according to Desmond and Scheingorn, p. 2, is that "cultural memory is primarily visual".
36. Suzanne Lewis. *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the 13th Century Apocalypse*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3.
37. Hélène Toubert, "Forme et Fonction de l'Enluminure," in *Histoire de l'Édition française: Tome 1 Le Livre Conquérant*, eds Henri-Jean Martin and Rogier Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1983), 87.
38. Toubert, 99.
39. Toubert, 103.
40. Toubert, 102.
41. *ibid.*
42. *ibid.*

43. Sherman, 292. Artists may deliberately create ambiguous visual images in order to economize, as their general nature allows their reuse. As will be seen in Chapter 4, this is particularly true in printed codices, where woodcuts are frequently reused. No miniatures in any of these manuscripts of the *Epître Othéa* are repeated, but several, particularly among the battle scenes, are nonspecific. These could easily serve as prototypes for artists in other contexts.

44. Toubert, 129.

45. For a reason which to me is unclear, Mombello (Gianni Mombello. "La Tradizione manoscritto dell 'Epître d'Othéa' de Christine de Pisan" *Prolegomena all'edizione del testo. In memorie dell' Accademia delle scienze di Torino: Classe di Scienze Morali, storiche e filologiche*, Série VI, No. 15. Torino, 1967): 28, had described these drawings as "pre-announc(ing) grisaille," a term which I have not found elsewhere in the literature. Earlier works had been already created in grisaille – for example the Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux decorated in grisaille with wash by Pucelle. (hereafter cited as Mombello)

46. Toubert, 100.

47. *ibid.*

48. The image is so detailed that one can see the ties! See appendix B #1a and 1b for the comparison of these images that follows.

49. This could be pentimenti or an effort to show movement.

50. Mombello, 23-24.

51. Pizan, *Epître Othéa*, trans. and ed. Jane Chance (Newburyport, MA: Focus Information Group, Inc., 1990), 34. Prologue lines 50-52. See Appendix B #2 and #3.

52. She is still struggling with recuperating her family monies, which took her thirteen years. Both the abbreviated number of images and their medium may represent her lack of funds.

53. Sherman, 221.

54. Sherman, 204.

55. Mombello, 23-4. See Appendix B, #2.

56. Sherman, 90.

57. Mombello, 24.

58. Later incarnations have a military figure in this position.

59. Sherman, 135. See Appendix B, #3.

60. Charity Cannon Willard. *Christine de Pisan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea Books, 1984), 29.

61. It is important to remember in this context the consternation Petrarch's criticism of the Parisian court had caused. As discussed elsewhere, the new French humanism may in part have developed in response to the Italian's denigration of the Parisian intelligentsia after he had served there as envoy from the Visconti court.

62. Charles V's may have been mounted outside on a city building, as was the one Phillip the Bold siezed from the city of Strasbourg and placed in Dijon as punishment for their rebellion. Bert Hall, "Clocks and Timekeeping" in *Medieval France, An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York and London: Garland Publ., 1995) 235. (hereafter cited as Hall.)

63. The structure represents hell, according to Mombello, 25.

64. The facial expressions seen occasionally in these manuscripts anticipate the

International Gothic style which, according to Sherman, will become current within the following twenty years. Sherman, 119. See Appendix B, #4.

65. Mombello, 25.

66. *Medieval France, An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York and London: Garland Publ., 1995) 774.

67. That bizarre spelling will be carried into other manuscripts and the incunable.

68. This may confirm that it was the scribe who wrote these labels, as one might expect, rather than the artist. It does look like the same hand. See Appendix B, #5.

69. Meiss finds that the Harley miniatures are copies derived from those of the Paris manuscript, and they are more closely followed than other texts in those collections. Millard Meiss. *French Painting in the Time of the Duke of Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and Patronage of the Duke*. London: Phaidon, 1968. with assistance of Kathleen Morand and Edith W. Kirsh. (New York: Phaidon Publ., Inc., 1968), 292. (hereafter cited as Meiss, *French Painting*)

70. Meiss, *French Painting*, 36.

71. Hindman, *Painting and Politics*, 15.

72. Meiss, *French Painting*, 36.

73. The tree's shape reminds one of the earlier work of the Maître aux Bouqueteaux. See Appendix B, # 6a and 6b.

74. Hindman, *Painting and Politics*, 47.

75. They dress the same, as usually lawyers knew both canon and civil law. Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold* (London and New York: Longman, 1969; Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2002), 209.

76. Hindman. The essential topic of *Painting and Politics* is this issue of political content added by the author in Harley 4431.

77. A theme throughout Christine's writing is that women should be allowed to be educated, and to participate in activities outside the home. See Appendix B, #7a and 7b.

78. The International Gothic, largely descended from Duccio's style, will dominate art beginning around the 1420's.

79. These seem to be the same as the tree in the BNF fr 606 Othea/Hector presentation, as well as forming the forest backdrop in the miniature for the Fortitude story, suggesting that they are by the same artist. See Appendix B, #6a and 8a.

80. This may be the whole animal hanging from Hercules' right shoulder; it is difficult to read.

81. It is impossible to see who is holding it. It may be the younger courtier toward the back of the image, which is the case in Harley 4431. See Appendix B, #9a and 9b.

82. Many of the panels in the Arena Chapel, for example, demonstrate such a composition where Giotto was experimenting with representing recession into space.

83. Could this be the artist's effort to correct the problems seen in BNF fr 848? I believe that he is working directly from that prototype, and that this could represent his trying to correct that awkward drawing. Here is another error on Christine's part: It is not Perseus in classical mythology who rides Pegasus! See Appendix B, #10a and 10b.

84. The weapon is difficult to read in the painting, and could be read as a scimitar. The gloss uses the terms *fauchon* and *faulx*, both of which are terms related to harvesting, and translate into English as "scythe".

85. That naturalistic background in the several miniatures without diapering could

suggest that they are all by a different artist.

86. These figures' poses may well be a reference to Italian Renaissance images of the nude male body in varying poses. One thinks, for example, of the Pollaiuolo print, which, though later, demonstrates the same artistic impulse. This could point to his being an Italian or to Italian influence on him. Although not nudes, the Lille watercolor's first miniature shows the same variety of poses. The Lille artist may just be showing that he is capable of drawing them. See Appendix B, #11a and 11b.

87. The sun and surrounding sky are so rough and vigorously painted that they recall Van Gogh's *Starry Night*. The Saffron Master's work is considered "modern" because of the textured effect in this and other miniatures. See Appendix B, #12.

88. See Appendix B, #12a and 12b.

Chapter Three

The Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts: Chantilly, Beauvais, Cologne, Lille

Four manuscripts created outside Christine de Pizan's control constitute the remainder of the copies to be compared in this study of the *Epître Othéa*. These include Condé 492 at the Musée Condé, Chantilly, of 1402; Beauvais 9, of undetermined date, at the Médiathèque Municipale de Beauvais; Bodmer 49, of ca 1460 in Cologne, Switzerland; and Lille 175, a paper manuscript dated approximately 1460 in the Médiathèque Jean-Lévy in Lille. Because the Chantilly and Beauvais works have only a limited number of illustrations, and they essentially lack color, this chapter describes only the Cologne and Lille manuscripts in detail. The final chapter in this study makes the specific comparisons which are the culmination of the research.

Historical Setting

France had begun to restabilize under the rule of Charles VII, between Christine's death in 1431 and the 1450's, when the Beauvais manuscript was probably copied. Louis XI succeeded Charles VII (1461), followed by Charles VIII (1483) and then Louis XII (1498). At the same time that France was recovering, the Burgundian dukes were attempting with considerable success to consolidate power in their divided territories. These included Burgundy and the unruly northern lands, essentially modern-day northern France and Belgium, where the Cologne and Lille manuscripts were created in approximately 1460. Thus, this paper turns its focus from Paris to the activity among the Burgundian lands, after considering the Chantilly and Beauvais works.

John the Good had given his son Philip the Bold the Duchy and County of Burgundy in 1363, and he and his descendants, particularly Philip III the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419 – 1467), had continued efforts to increase their territories. The latter's son, Antoine, Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne, who probably commissioned the Coligny manuscript in approximately 1460, was so named because he was the oldest of Philip's surviving illegitimate sons. Antoine's mother was Jeanne de Presles, one of his father's twenty-four official mistresses (and apparently countless unofficial ones). The first Grand Bâtard had been Cornelis (also spelled "Cornille"), but upon his death in 1452 Philip's next oldest illegitimate son assumed the title. Antoine grew up in close contact with his half-brother, the Duke inheritor, Charles of Charolais, (later "the Bold,") who was his father's only legitimate son. The two spent much time in battle at their father's side. The bastard half-brother worked faithfully for Charles the Bold, early serving as his first chamberlain and receiving huge salaries throughout his life,¹ supporting him multiple times against revolts in Ghent, Liège and elsewhere.² The internal struggles with these northern towns were particularly trying to the duke, typically giving rise to drastic punishment on the battlefield and worse retribution afterwards. Philip the Good and Charles the Bold both demonstrated hot tempers; whereas Philip overcame his pique after some time, Charles seems to have never stopped being angry.³ In 1467 Antoine showed aspects of the cruelty for which Charles was known, when the former burned Beringen to the ground as punishment for the Battle of Liège. There is no record of who decided the punishment, but it appears that Antoine's was a more conciliatory personality. He does not seem to have contradicted his half-brother's desires on the battleground or the punishments meted out.

A noted jousting, Antoine journeyed to England under a safe conduct in 1466 to compete with the brother of the Queen of England. As this was still during the Hundred Years' War, Antoine's role was no doubt diplomatic as well as athletic. It was during this absence that his father, Phillip the Good, died.⁴ Antoine traveled immediately to Burgundy and then returned to England shortly thereafter to complete his good-will mission. He suffered a broken leg in a jousting accident in 1468,⁵ but conducted himself stoically during his recovery. He was taken prisoner in 1475 at Nancy, later to be ransomed at a very great price which Charles raised to free him. The Burgundians fought repeatedly with the French kings over territories both wished to claim, the Burgundian Duke rivalling and at times surpassing the French king's holdings. Antoine played an important and courageous role in the many military encounters against France and within the Burgundian and Northern territories, supporting his father and half-brother. In 1456 Philip the Bold knighted his thirty-five-year-old son into his Order of the Golden Fleece. Antoine embarked in 1464 on the failed crusade against the Turks organized by his father and the English and French kings upon proclamation by Pope Pious II, but bad weather and an outbreak of the plague sent them back to northern France without having ever left Marseille.

The Burgundians, like the French, repeatedly had to suppress uprisings among outlying towns, such as Liège in 1457, 1467 and 1468, where problems had begun in the early 1390's. Specifically, in return for Philip's commitment to help promote a crusade, Pope Calixtus III had appointed the eighteen-year-old Louis de Bourbon, nephew of Philip, as bishop of Liège in 1456. A favorite of Philip, the young man was weak, had no leadership experience and was immediately unpopular with the Liégeois. Within a year

Philip had to mobilize troops to defend his position in Liège. Although the revolt died down, Philip's control there was weakened. Eventually the people of Liège sided with Burgundy's enemies, Charles VII (1460) and then with Louis XI (1461) of France.⁶

Brabant and Burgundy both suffered continually under Philip the Good because of economic difficulties and job losses, particularly in 1451 and 1462, and the citizens' acrimony periodically aroused them to revolt.⁷ In 1452-53 the Ghent bourgeois openly revolted against the Duke because he tried to reduce their enormous power in their city.⁸ Cornille was the only Burgundian casualty in the June 16, 1452, battle with Ghent.⁹ From 1457 Philip the Bold's estrangement from his son, Charles of Charolais, also reflected badly on all of his territories, and may have further compromised their willingness to obey their Duke. In addition to all the internal problems Philip faced in his headstrong northern territories, fears of French aggression against Burgundy created even more. In 1457, in a lengthy dispute with his own father, the French dauphin Louis de Guyenne sought refuge in Burgundy, and the French king threatened retaliation against the Burgundians.¹⁰ Anger at the Duke increased again in the North when, also in 1458-60, the *vauderie* or witch-hunt he condoned in Arras burned approximately a dozen people at the stake.¹¹ The height of Philip's problems with Dijon also occurred in 1460 when the Dijonnais presented a list of grievances largely revolving around competition between the aristocracy and craftsmen and the Duke's perceived need to control the craftsmen more tightly. The powerful ruler conceded little in this encounter and the many other social disturbances that occurred repeatedly when artisans arose against the urban oligarchies throughout the North. Antoine struggled at his father's side throughout these difficulties.

In 1478 Louis XI knighted Antoine into the French Order of Saint Michael, a transgression against the Burgundian nobility for which he nearly forfeited his membership in the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece.¹² Through the intervention of Archduke Maximilian, who argued that Antoine had been unwilling, Antoine was allowed to retain his Burgundian membership.¹³ Antoine's father had founded the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1431, as a way both to honor its members and to motivate the knights toward increased loyalty to their ruler. Louis XI had founded the Order of Saint Michael only in 1469, possibly motivated in part by competition with the Burgundians.¹⁴

Like his father, Antoine became a great patron of the Church and of the arts in his later life. Twice the unofficial prince received Erasmus of Rotterdam in his chateau, and he commissioned both Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling to paint portraits of him. Antoine was renowned at court particularly as a collector of illuminated manuscripts, already during his father's lifetime.¹⁶ Duke Philip the Good, described as "by far the most munificent and enlightened ruler north of the Alps"¹⁷ served as patron to music, painting, jewelrymaking and goldsmithery, and for authors, as well as for craftsmen in many of the minor crafts. Jan Van Eyck served as his *valet de chambre*, Gilles Binchois his chaplain, and Michault Taillevent his *joueur de farces*. Philip owned one of the finest libraries of illuminated manuscripts ever assembled. (These books later formed most of the Royal Library of Belgium's collection.) Because Antoine appears to have commissioned work from the same craftsmen as his father, it is worthwhile to list those recorded in the Duke's official documents. Phillip the Bold supported authors Jehan Germain, Guillaume Fillastre, Anthoine de la Salle, Bertrandon de la Broquière, and one of the first court-appointed chroniclers, George Chastellain. The Duke's

patronage from 1445 stimulated formation of groups of scribes and illuminators at Mons, Hesdin, Valenciennes, Lille, Oudenaarde, Bruges, Brussels, and Ghent.¹⁸ Such is the court in which Antoine lived. He, as well as others, including Jehan of Bourgogne, Count of Etampes; Jehan de Wavrin, the Chronicler; Jehan, Lord of Crequy; and Jehan de Croy also commissioned works from the Duke's artists, possibly including the manuscript at issue in this paper.¹⁹ Antoine is known to have commissioned a copy of a Valerius Maximus in 1450 with some ninety miniatures. Phillip the Bold commissioned most of his manuscripts from Jehan Wauquelin of Mons in Hainault, who engaged both Guillaume Vrelant and Loyset Liédet to decorate them. The Duke also bought manuscripts from Jehan Miélot at Lille (who employed Jehan le Tavernier of Oudenaarde) and David Aubert at Bruges and Brussels.²⁰

Antoine continued actively fighting battles alongside his father and step-brother for nearly seventy years. Burgundy concluded a peace with Louis XI of France in 1477, and Antoine's military and political activities decreased. Perhaps in the early 1480's, Antoine retired to his castle at Tournehem-sur-la-Hem in Artois, near Bruges, where he turned his attention toward support of the Church and its local monuments. Devoted to his Christian faith, Antoine committed large sums to build for the Church. Having restored the parish church at Saint-Médard, he financed and oversaw the construction of a chapel on Mount Saint Louis in nearby Guémy. In 1502 he added a collegiate chapel administered by six canons to the church at Tournehem. He gave his estate of Nielles-les-Blequin to the Tournehem church in 1502, and participated in 1503 in founding a new church at Ardres, Notre-Dame de Grâce. He may have also redoubled his collecting of manuscripts at this time. He died at Tournehem at the age of eighty-three, and although

his body was interred in Brussels, his heart was buried at Tournehem near his mother, Jeanne de Presles.

Condé 492, Chantilly Musée Condé

The incomplete work at Chantilly's Musée Condé, Condé 492, appeared during Christine's lifetime but seemingly without her involvement. Mombello, seconded by Parussa, describes it as a copy from one of Christine's own manuscripts.²¹ He identifies Condé 492 as directly descended from BNF fr 848. Despite its only partially illustrated state, this compilation is important because it is dated approximately 1402.²² Condé 492 is bound with Condé 493, and like BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431, they make up a collection of manuscripts including the *Querelle du Roman de la Rose* and an *Oeuvres Poétiques*. Comprised of 429 vellum folia (492 takes up 182 of them) measuring 290 x 242 mm, the two-volume, in-quarto collection is embellished with fourteen drawings "en camaïeu".²³ Six of these monochrome drawings, in simple black frames, are in the *Epître Othéa*. Like BNF fr 848, the illustrations accompany only the first five stories, preceded by the textual dedication and the miniature of Christine presenting the codex to Louis d'Orléans. The various sections of text are labeled and numbered, as in the original manuscript. The double columns are 32 lines long, and red and blue initials embellish the first folia on which are also found the illustrations.²⁴ Smaller decorated capitals, lacking a colored ground, commence each story after the first five. Condé 492's dedication and five stories' miniatures are described in detail within the comparisons in the last chapter of this study.

Beauvais 9, Bibliothèque Municipale

The parchment manuscript at the Municipal Library at Beauvais, entitled "*Roman d'Othéa à Hector* ou *Epître d'Othéa à Hector*" poses dating issues. The library dates it as late fourteenth century; Mombello conjectures a broad 1400-1450. Beauvais 9 contains 81 folia measuring 380 x 230 mm, and is described by that library as a "tale of courtly love."²⁵ This copy is bound with a *Mélibée* and a *Prudence* of Albertan de Brescia, translated by one Renaud de Louens. The *Epître Othéa* section, with no dedication or numbering, is composed of 52 folia. Unlike any copy in this study except the incunable, Beauvais 9 shares the page layout of BNF fr 848's first five stories. Here, though most of the illustrations were never even sketched in, the copyist has completed his/her work. The plan was to have a miniature centered at the top of each page, with the quatrain just below it and versified text following. Glosses were written on the left, and allegories on the right, and each was labeled, but not numbered. In most cases the "texte" is not labeled in this incarnation. Black and red pen-flourished initials alternate with red and blue ones to introduce the various sections of the text. Thirty-eight of the hundred stories have preparatory sketches; only one is completed, on folio 13. These are very obviously related to an earlier *Epître Othéa* manuscript, either one Christine oversaw, or a copy in between hers and the Beauvais manuscript. The last chapter of this study considers in detail selected individual drawings, in the context of the comparison with the other manuscripts and the incunable.

Bodmer 49

The fascinating Burgundian manuscript at the Fondation Bodmer demonstrates

so many divergences in its visual imagery that it merits its own, lengthy section. It, like only BNF fr 606, Harley 4431 and Beauvais 9, is created on vellum. 151 folia measuring 280 x 200 mm contain the full complement of one hundred miniatures, in a mix of grisaille and tempera. The text is written in a gothic bastard script, typical (as are the miniatures) of Flanders. Possibly the product of a Bruges workshop, the manuscript was created for Antoine, Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne. Its designer demonstrated great originality in his embellishment for this valuable manuscript, where figures change gender; pitched battles moderate into parleys. Far more women populate the visual images, often completely replacing men in earlier incarnations; violence of every kind is dramatically reduced; and generally, there is a more "enlightened" or refined aspect to the visual representations of the stories. One might anticipate these latter qualities in a work as late as 1460, particularly in the Burgundian Court, which outshone all others in its elegant and sophisticated lifestyle. The addition of so many women may be simple happenstance; perhaps the artist sought variety in his images. Other issues, such as the dramatic reduction in violence, may be more difficult to explain. The following examples demonstrate specifics in these general categories.

Increased Number of Women

Many of the Bodmer illustrations include more women than are seen elsewhere. Story #96, "Minerva's Temple," for example, in earlier manuscripts shows several male figures leading the Trojan Horse into Troy, often with a small architectural structure on its back.²⁷ The men cooperate to break down the gateway of the city with hammers, as described in the text. Bodmer 49 focuses on a monumental barebacked horse on a low,

wheeled cart (also mentioned in the text) flanked by two women in front of a castle. The artist has emphasized the horse by its size, central placement, and its bold, brown opaque color (a hue not seen commonly in this manuscript). No men appear anywhere in the scene, and nothing suggests a forced entry into the city.

Interestingly, more nuns appear in the Bodmer manuscript images than elsewhere. The dead figure in the Atropos story, # 34, is a veiled nun.²⁸ Spying through the window on the back wall of the Mars and Venus story, #56, is a veiled nun – replacing the fiery-faced Phoebus depicted in earlier copies. Among the three women looking up at Jupiter, Story # 6, kneels a nun.²⁹ In each of these examples the nuns replace male figures in earlier manuscripts. No nuns are depicted in these stories in any of the other manuscripts. Elsewhere, only Story #71, Achilles hidden in the convent, is populated by nuns.³⁰ This appropriate depiction appears in all the manuscripts and the incunable. Five nuns surround the disguised young man in the earlier copies, while Ulysses alone displays the jewelry and weapons he has brought. The Bodmer copy shows Ulysses and a courtier along with three nuns and Achilles. Speculation about the reasons for these phenomena appears later in the present chapter.

Other stories where more women, or exclusively women, appear include Story # 6, Jupiter,³¹ where three men and three women replace the all-male group in BNF fr 606. Story #10, Phoebe, the Moon, shows six men and four women in Bodmer 49 but seven men in BNF fr 606.³² The "Achilles and Polyxena" image (# 93) includes a nun and a young woman (Polyxena?) at Hector's funeral, where no women appear in the other copies.³³ While the Atropos figure, discussed earlier, appears as a bare-breasted old hag in the earlier manuscripts, only men stand in the structure below. In the Bodmer

incarnation, a ghostly wraith of unidentifiable gender lingers outside the doorway, while a woman and four men look down at the dead nun sprawled across the foreground.

Gender Changes

Among the most interesting of these phenomena are the stories in which the artist has reversed figures' genders. The first of these occurs in Story # 6, that of Jove, or Jupiter, where the Bodmer manuscript's protagonist appearing in front of the orb is a young woman.³⁴ Seated frontally, she raises her right hand, while her left rests on her lap. Although she appears not to notice them from her mid-ground location in a deep landscape framed by rocks and bushes, "Jupiter" is flanked below by two groups of kneeling figures. On the left are three women (two damsels and a nun); facing them are three young men, the far right of whom wears a short tunic while the other two wear long robes. All look attentively up at the god/dess. This figure wears the same type of loop on her forehead as seen in the stories of Andromeda, Jupiter, Cupid, Juno, and Actaeon. In earlier copies a group of only men look up to receive the "dewdrops" the god is casting down upon them (missing in this image).

Story # 8's protagonist, Saturn, has also been transformed into a young woman.³⁵ In this image the god/dess sits in front of the arc centered above and behind two high-backed paneled benches. Low, rolling hills describe a deep vista into the background, while tufts of grass scatter haphazardly between the benches angling into the scene from each lower corner. On the left sit a bishop and a tonsured cleric; across from them sit a cardinal and a male in secular dress. The bishop and the secular figure raise their right

hands, and all look at the deity above them. This image is an obvious disjuncture from the text which specifically discusses Jupiter's cutting off his father's genitals.

In Story # 47 Cupid appears as a female, seated on the familiar arc, centered above a male figure reaching up toward Cupid's hand.³⁶ In all earlier examples of the Cupid scene, one male figure stands in the deep landscape and reaches up to shake hands with Cupid, universally a male. With his left hand, the god holds a bow and arrows against his left shoulder in earlier copies, but the Bodmer Cupid has no arrows.

In contrast to the stories just described, the goddesses Pallas and Minerva in Story # 14 have become one man.³⁷ In most earlier manuscripts the goddesses appear as two separate figures on a cloud. Minerva holds armor on the left and Pallas holds a book on the right. Below, armed and armored figures reach up from the left, toward Minerva. The clothing on those on the right, below Pallas holding her book, identifies them as clerics or scholars. In the Bodmer manuscript the Pallas/Minerva pair appear as a single helmeted man leaning out from a cloud on upper right. Two groups of men in full armor with lances upright flank two men in the center below the deity, approaching one another and reaching out to shake hands. The figure on the right has lowered his visor, while that on the left appears, face bared. Each holds his left hand near the hilt of his sword against his left hip. All followers have visors raised and stand casually observing the scene in center stage. They appear in the foreground of a landscape characterized by gently rolling hills.

Reduced Violence

Other figures retain the genders established in the original manuscripts, but differ in equally interesting ways. The commonality among them suggests a less violent, more civilized lifestyle. Battle scenes are the most dramatic of these. In three of the stories in earlier copies, endless numbers of knights and/or footsoldiers strike at one another with weapons of every kind. Most often dead bodies and equipment are strewn across the foreground. In Harley 4431's Story # 11, Mars sits on his arc with sword and shield, observing an enormous battle below.³⁸ Mounted knights strike with lances, and bits of armor and a dead knight face-down in the foreground relate the horror of the battle. Bodmer 49 depicts a young Mars on the arc with his sword against his shoulder, as before.³⁹ By contrast, however, below are two groups of knights at the outsides of the scene, mounted on the right and on foot on the left. Although all carry weapons, they appear in relaxed poses. One figure on the right raises his right hand, palm out, perhaps as a sign of peace, or to quiet them so he can speak. In another case, the pitched battle depicted in most other manuscripts to accompany the story of Pyrrhus (# 31) in the Coligny manuscript shows two large groups of knights on horseback, facing one another, but separated and clearly not engaged in battle.⁴⁰ Rather, two leaders face one another, apparently speaking, while their horses both prance or paw the ground. The figure on the right extends his right hand toward his counterpart, his left on the hilt of his sword at his side. The knight on the left leans his sword against his right shoulder while holding his reins with his left. Both leaders, like their retinue, have visors raised to observe the figures across from them. The scene occurs before the familiar rolling hills, where tufts of grass and small stones are strewn, without suggestion of violence or even antagonism.

Story # 91, "Hector's Arms" demonstrates another case where earlier manuscripts

depicted pitched battles but in Bodmer 49 Hector and his fellow mounted knights stand quietly, looking at Othea (?) on her cloud.⁴¹ The goddess holds a flower and speaks to them; the text says that she intends to "make him (Hector) wise" so that he will not allow himself to be caught unawares and unarmed. BNF fr 606 shows a particularly ugly battle where a horse and its rider are down in the foreground, and a knight's lance hits his opponent in the face, forcing his head backward.⁴² No deity appears in this earlier image which is completely taken up by the battle. Finally, several of the Bodmer images show knights shaking hands or talking, while in other manuscripts other activities, albeit not battles, are depicted. These include the illustration for Pallas/Minerva, Story # 14, discussed above.

Other visual representations of stories in the Bodmer manuscript also show a reduction in violence or negative qualities. The miniature of Apollo and Daphne, Story # 87, is one example.⁴³ Whereas in earlier copies the unfortunate young woman is already largely transformed into a tree, the Bodmer image suggests a happier outcome. Apollo awkwardly half-sits, half-leans against a rocky hill on the left, holding out toward the damsel a laurel wreath. Seated across from him under a tree, the elegant young woman in a tall Flemish, veiled hat reaches for it with both hands, suggesting not a trace of anxiety in the presence of this deity. Towers of a tall castle rise in the distance, upper left, beyond the usual rolling hills. The associated *texte* advises, "If you want to have the laurel crown, pursue Daphne," while the gloss identifies the laurel crown/Daphne with honor. Might Daphne have just presented the laurel crown to Apollo in this image? Whatever is depicted, it lacks the threatening element of Apollo's chase.

More subtle details contribute to the overall "civilizing" of the imagery in this manuscript. The Thamaris story, # 57, is a case in point.⁴⁴ In all the copies, the queen and her retinue observe the king's beheading or its aftermath by a male executioner who has already done away with one or more men. Several men have been already executed in BNF fr 606's version, their necks spewing blood across the foreground.⁴⁵ Only one victim has already met his fate in the Bodmer work, and the upper part of his body is concealed by the executioner. Furthermore, although in all cases the tub contains red blood, a crowned, dismembered head floating there dramatizes the effect in the Paris copy. That the Bodmer manuscript's king has not yet been executed already ameliorates the horrific scene. Most significant is the fact that, in the only example among the manuscripts, the Bodmer's kneeling king wears a blindfold – surely an allusion to an increasingly humane and enlightened court.

A similar diminution of violence characterizes the image associated with the story of Adonis, # 65.⁴⁶ Typically this image presents one of the most gruesome events, where the young hunter bleeds, sometimes profusely, from the the wild boar's goring. The Lille paper manuscript even shows the beast's teeth chomping into his face, with blood trailing down across the foreground.⁴⁷ Bodmer 49, on the other hand, shows an empowered Adonis. The young man is not only not injured by the animal, but he kicks against its chest while his dog attacks it from behind. The denouement of this perilous situation is not depicted. Other situations suggesting a gentler world include that of the Hermaphrodite image, where in earlier manuscripts the two figures are nude but in the Bodmer copy, the nymph is fully dressed, and the male wears underwear. In Story # 17, where Athamas earlier held his children in thin air by their necks, strangling them, the

Bodmer children stand in front of their father, his hands on their shoulders.⁴⁸ Pasiphaë, (# 45) who kisses and embraces the bull in BNF fr 606, simply pets it in Bodmer 49.⁴⁹ The Bacchus story (# 16) and that of Fortune (# 74) both exempt royal figures from their scenes. Rather than the drunken courtly scene in BNF fr 606, (where the author cautions against overindulgence with alcohol) one sees only shepherds misbehaving in a landscape in the Cologne manuscript.⁵⁰ And whereas figures from every social stratum, including the prominent king, sit on Fortune's wheel in the original manuscript, Bodmer 49 shows only knaves and courtiers clinging for dear life to the huge wheel.⁵¹ Their future may be brighter, as well, as Bodmer 49's young figure of Fortune is not blindfolded. The "Juno, goddess of riches" scene (# 49) in other cases shows the goddess on her cloud watching men count and fondle money, with the text admonishing them to prefer honor to wealth.⁵² In a curiously vapid image, the Bodmer scene is simply a deep, empty landscape with the goddess looking down from her arc.⁵³ It would be surprising for this painting to be unfinished, but no other explanation is immediately apparent. The Bodmer's Ulysses figure (Story # 83) merely follows the one-eyed giant, while in earlier images he plucks out its eye.⁵⁴ Similarly, despite the textual and earlier visual images describing an "enraged giant," the Bodmer Galatea image (# 59) shows no giant. Instead, a human-sized figure threatens to fight an Acis of equal size.⁵⁵ For a final example of the heightened refinement described by these images, the Bodmer Cupid story, # 47, shows a young man who has removed his hat in a gesture of respect to the god/dess.⁵⁶ Likewise, Caesar Augustus kneels before the Virgin and Child in Story #100, his imperial crown on the ground beside him.⁵⁷ In earlier copies he kneels, but does not deign to remove the crown.⁵⁸

Antoine, Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne

Antoine de Bourgogne apparently commissioned this manuscript when he was approximately thirty-nine years old.⁵⁹ Boinet states that most of his codices were executed for him, personally. This one bears his device on the frontispiece, which could have been added to a manuscript already painted. Additional evidence that he commissioned the work, however, lies in the miniature, itself, where Fondation Bodmer scholars identify the four figures behind Hector as Antoine, David (another bastard son), Philip the Good and Charles the Bold.⁶⁰ An explicit, "Nul ne sy frote" (Let no one rub or scrape here) found in most of Antoine's manuscripts, is believed to be a later entry, added during the ownership of Antoine's son, Philip.⁶¹ Antoine appears to have collected manuscripts, prizing the elaborately decorated ones, from an early age, and held them in the libraries at his Château de la Roche and Tournehem-sur-la-Hem. As one of the wealthiest men in the Burgundian court, Antoine easily had at his disposal the money to purchase or commission codices from the same scriptoria his father patronized. In his 1906 inventory of Antoine de Bourgogne's library, Boinet had identified at least thirty-two volumes, including the *Epître Othéa* and a copy of Christine's *Faits d'Armes*, as well as a *Destruction de Troye* in Antoine's collections. (Although the Burgundians were interested in the Trojan stories, they considered themselves descended from Hercules.)

A Personalized Manuscript?

Threads of Antoine's later preoccupations appear already in the 1460 Bodmer 49. The presence of the additional nuns, for example, may relate to Antoine's apparent devotion to the Church. Although he readily went on crusade against the Turks at the behest of Pope Pius II in 1464, it is not certain whether he did so because his father asked him to do so, or whether it was his personal commitment to the pope's vision of retaking Constantinople. Evidence that Antoine was early a devout believer is his pilgrimage, vowed during the Battle of Monthéry, 1465, to walk in full armor and carrying arms from Brussels to Notre-Dame de Hal (Halles), a distance of approximately 115 km.⁶²

The depictions of nuns increase the number of women in the Bodmer images, and the increased number of women in general is already quite unusual. One might speculate that Antoine was a "ladies' man" like his father⁶³ and that he requested that additional women be included in the images. Their presence may be as simple as the artist's desire for variety in his miniatures.

The reduction in violence in the battle scenes is also of interest. It seems that Antoine was less hot-headed than his father or half-brother.⁶⁴ Calmette writes that Phillip quickly overcame his anger, but that Charles never did. By contrast, Antoine often served as ambassador for Duke Philip and then for Duke Charles, negotiating treaties for both. He seems also to have been less cruel. For example, after his defeat of the rebellious city of Dinant, Philip exacted enormous retribution from the citizens, in money and in lives. Antoine intervened with his father for clemency for Dinant, but to no avail. He also worked, at the request of her citizens, to save the city of Liège from the vicious reprisal by Charles after their uprising. Even though their punishment was horrific, these facts suggest that the Dinantais and Liégeois perceived Antoine as a

peacemaker. His ancestor, Philip the Bold, had followed French King Charles V's model of preferring diplomacy to battle.⁶⁵ Duke Philip the Good has been described as "the most beneficent and enlightened ruler north of the Alps".⁶⁶ Might the Bodmer manuscript images suggest such qualities in Antoine?

Isabel, Antoine's step-mother, withdrew from the court in 1457, when Antoine was 45 years old. Her son, Charles of Charolais, and Duke Philip had disagreed dramatically over the latter's loyalty to the De Croy family. Charles felt the De Croys had become too powerful, and the two had had a falling out. Both the young man and his mother left the Duke, Isabel partly in support of her son. Chancellor Rolin and Bishop Jehan Chevrot also retired from the court at this time.⁶⁷ In addition, Vaughan states that the Duchess' reasons for her departure included her wish to pursue a "more devout and peaceful" lifestyle, a sentiment already suggested in 1456.⁶⁸ Might the Queen's decision have influenced Antoine toward the same action? Perhaps already at the time he commissioned the *Epître Othéa* the young man longed for less violence, which if he could not effect in his life, he could instruct his artists to depict in his manuscript. Late in his life he retired to Tournehem-sur-la-Hem for that more devout and peaceful lifestyle.

There remain the most perplexing divergences in Bodmer ms 49, the changed genders of the deities. Had all of this manuscript's stories shown females on the orb, one might conjecture that the artist had visually described the goddess Othea as the narrator throughout the manuscript. He could have followed Christine's model of verbally maintaining the readers' awareness of her presence by having Othea speak repeatedly in first person. However, with the exception of the examples considered earlier, males are depicted where the figures in the text are males, and vice versa. It would not be

surprising for the artists to be illiterate, making it understandable for there to be disparities between the text and the illustrations. If the artist or designer was literate but did not know the mythology, mistakes might be expected to occur. It is clear, though, that the Bodmer manuscript ultimately descends artistically as well as textually from the earliest exemplars. In spite of some minor innovations in the imagery, such as the personalization of the first scene where Othea presents her book to Hector, it appears that it has been copied from BNF fr 606 or its twin, or a copy faithful to one of them. Thus the artist or designer would have had the miniatures from which to work. It would be unthinkable that the artist could not discern the sex of the figures in his model, and it seems unlikely that the artist simply miscopied the images. As for the text, the pronouns and adjectives are appropriate to the nouns to which they refer. One possible explanation lies in the text of Story # 6; when Christine speaks of Jupiter, she frequently refers to him as a planet – a feminine noun. "Jovis ou Jupiter est planette de douce condicion, aimable et joyeuse, et est figuree a la compleccion sanguine."⁶⁹ ("Jove or Jupiter is a planet of sweet condition, lovable and joyous, and appears with a sanguine complexion." translation Chance.)⁷⁰ If the artist had just glanced through the text, and could barely read, he might have mistaken the feminine forms of the adjectives as modifying the deity's name, rather than the word "planet".

None of these explanations seems satisfactory. One has to conclude that in this manuscript or its model, transformations of gender were deliberate. Jupiter is described as "amiable," "joyful," "of sweet condition," feminine qualities which could conceivably have led the artist to think of a female. Further on, the Jupiter allegory explains that Jupiter's qualities mean mercy and compassion in the good knight – but the artist would

have had to ignore or be ignorant of the part about the castration. Cupid is similarly associated with feminine qualities. However, Othea describes him as "young and gallant," saying young knights should be in love with wise *ladies*. The text advises that young knights should "become acquainted" with Cupid, and the artist shows the anonymous young man reaching up to shake hands with the god/dess Cupid.

The fact that Pallas/Minerva has become one figure is less difficult to understand than their sex change. The rubrication preceding this story reads, "The goddess Minerva and the goddess Pallas together." The text actually states, "Pallas and Minerva is a similar thing" and "The lady who had the name Minerva was also surnamed Pallas." Further on it continues, "So she is named Minerva in that which appertains to chivalry, and Pallas in all things which appertain to wisdom."⁷¹ To read these phrases would require literacy on the part of the artist; thus one may suppose that the artist/designer who combined them was literate. As for the gender, the figures below in the scene are all men in armor, as the unified Pallas/Minerva is, also. Very like this scene formally, the preceding image (# 13) depicted Minerva by herself on a cloud, handing down armor to groups of men similarly arranged.⁷² Perhaps the artist, seeking variety, did not want to closely repeat the Pallas image, and thus painted a man. There is no way to know for sure what motivated the artist to design this manuscript with the changes under consideration. It is an elegant example of a later fifteenth-century mixed grisaille manuscript with fascinating innovations in its imagery which will be a continued subject of study.

The Art

Scholars always describe the Bodmer manuscript images as grisaille, sometimes adding that there are "touches" of green, blue, red and gold⁷³ but a more precise description seems appropriate. The frontispiece is actually a full-color miniature illumination, including brilliant blues, greens, and reds and some pink in the foliate border as well as in the interior scene and deep landscape. On the mid-right in the vinescroll climbs a hybrid, a man wearing a hat and rising out of the tail of a serpent-type creature. In the upper and lower right corners are green serpents. Figures in the corners opposite them aim across at them with bow and arrow or spear. Centered on the bottom is Antoine's crest, a shield divided into quarters, with a rampant lion in the upper right quadrant, and three gold fleurs de lys on upper left and lower right. A small shield appears at the intersection of the red and green (blue?) bars dividing the shield into quarters. Another element (illegible) appears on the lower left, center, inside a striped panel which is repeated in the center, above. Most interesting is the fact that the shield is surrounded by the collar of the Order of Saint Michael – not that of the Golden Fleece. This collar had also appeared randomly in the margin of two folia in the Boetius *Consolation of Philosophy*. There the shield is supported by two lions and the whole is accompanied by banderoles bearing Antoine's device, "Nul ne s'y frote," none of which is present in this elaborate frontispiece. The paint in this miniature is almost certainly water-based tempera.

The Collar of the Order of Saint Michael

The presence of the collar of the Order of Saint Michael is intriguing, particularly since it is seen in other manuscripts, as mentioned above. The collar is prominently

displayed on the frontispiece of the Bodmer manuscript, however, while it categorizes merely as marginalia in the other two examples cited. The discussion at the beginning of this chapter related the fact that King Louis XI of France had "forced" Antoine to join the Order of Saint Michael in 1478 and the Burgundian had risked paying dearly for it. As the story went, the Archduke Maximilian barely persuaded the rest of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece to not expel him from the Burgundian order. However, Vaughan had found that Antoine had accepted monies from Louis XI (he offers no dates). Moreover, Clement writes that, once Antoine had been ransomed and freed from imprisonment in 1475, he "belonged to the king of France." He had been legitimized by the pope, in the fear that Charles the Bold would not have a male heir. That event, combined with his bravery during the battle at Nancy and the ensuing imprisonment, had provided Antoine a new identity. Louis took him to Arras (French territory) and offered him a "sumptuous reception" to show the citizens there that he would do his best to treat this man, one of the most highly esteemed of Burgundy, with the highest respect and honor.⁷⁴ One wonders, then, whether Antoine had been "forced" to take the collar of the French order. If one supposes that Antoine had, instead, embraced his invitation into the French king's privileged circle, the presence of the collar of the Order of Saint Michael on this manuscript makes much more sense. The Archduke could easily have fabricated the story to protect Antoine's membership in the Order of the Golden Fleece.

The issue then becomes the dates; the manuscript is tentatively dated 1460, but the foray into the French order occurred in 1478. The latter date can be verified by the date of Antoine's liberation from his imprisonment – the aftermath of the battle during which Charles the Bold was killed, in 1475. Nothing in the present research has

suggested Antoine's close involvement with the French King prior to the events described. And, in fact, Louis XI did not found the Order of Saint Michael until 1469. It is granted that without inscribed dates in incipits, explicits, title pages or elsewhere, manuscripts are exceedingly difficult to date. It still seems appropriate to move the date of this one forward by a decade or more. Such a date would lend support to the idea that Antoine, closer to his retirement, had requested the changes discussed above. On the other hand, it could also be that the folio with the frontispiece was added to a work already copied circa 1460. That would help explain the dramatic difference between the elaborate, full-color decoration on that first page and the "mixed grisaille" work in the remainder of the codex.

The Story Illustrations

The ensuing paintings are grisaille, in keeping with the term's original meaning of shades of gray, but in every case the image is enlivened with elements painted in a gouache-like medium, somewhat thickened and rendered opaque. This may have been accomplished with the addition of finely ground chalk or gypsum; both were used.⁷⁵ The result is to emphasize those colored elements as compared with the translucence of all other parts of the images in a way which seems somewhat incongruent. Most commonly the opaque areas are the blue clouds or orbs on which the deities appear. In addition, blue or brownish-red altar cloths, young women's blue hats, the brown Trojan horse and various other details appear in this opaque paint. The same blue paint creates the grounds for many of the the decorated capital letters, or the capitals themselves, throughout the manuscript. Moreover, the delicate white flourishing on the capitals also decorates the

orbs, usually in the form of wavy lines. These facts suggest that rather than the miniaturist, it may have been the decorator who did the foliate border of the frontispiece, the capitals and the areas of opaque color in the translucent grisaille paintings. This conjecture could explain why the opaque areas seem somewhat incongruent with the grisaille elements among which they are juxtaposed. Even more, if the frontispiece was added after the manuscript had been decorated with purely grisaille images, the artist might have gone back through the whole codex and added the opaque touches to unify it with the frontispiece, which does share the blue and red.

It seems reasonable to assume that the owner had commissioned the work, perhaps from one of the scriptoria his father patronized. Vaughan states that from 1455 Philip steadily commissioned manuscripts from groups of scribes and illuminators at Mons, Hesdin, Valenciennes, Lille, Oudenaarde, Bruges, Brussels, and Ghent.⁷⁶ In addition, Antoine, Jehan of Bourgogne, Count of Estampes, Jehan of Wavrin "the chronicler," Jehan, Lord of Créquy, and Jehan de Croy also commissioned from that group of scribes and artists. Philippe obtained most of his manuscripts from Jehan Wauquelin at Mons, Jehan Miélot at Lille, and David Aubert at Bruges and Brussels. Wauquelin's artists included Guillaume Vrelant and Loyset Liédet. The latter artist is mentioned in the catalog description of the present manuscript as being its stylistic source. At present no further information offers a better suggestion for the creator of this late edition of the *Epître Othéa*,⁷⁷ but a slight alteration in dates might be in order.

Lille 175

Little is known to date about the paper manuscript at the Médiathèque Jean-Lévy in Lille. During the period of its creation, the city, like others in the North, struggled against the Burgundian rule, having earlier gained a certain independence. One does not read of the grave difficulties in Lille such as occurred repeatedly with Ghent or Liège. The duke may have had special attachments to Lille, since he chose to celebrate the first meeting of his newly-created Order of the Golden Fleece in that city in 1431.⁷⁸ Philip the Good often stayed in Lille for long periods, in his Hôtel de la Salle. From 1452-1463, he made his residence there at Place Rihour. It is clear that the growing bourgeois middle class were financially capable of purchasing manuscripts. Lille 175's first recorded owner was a bourgeois.

This charming manuscript demonstrates many unique elements. First of all, it is on paper. Then, the artist concentrated on greens, blues, and browns for the translucent, thin watercolor paintings consistent throughout the manuscript. These are framed by yellowish bands inside brown ones, where the brown ruling is often visible, particularly on the corners of the frames. The miniatures' content and tone exhibit even more changes from the originals than the grisaille work probably created in nearby Bruges.⁷⁹ This paper manuscript was probably created by someone in or associated with the workshop of the Maître de Wavrin in Lille. Lemaire comments that the Maître de Wavrin's artists and those influenced by them demonstrated a strong motivation to innovate, in response to a desire for novelty among their buyers.⁸⁰ Many of the innovations reflect trends opposite those in the Cologne work, such as a dramatically heightened level of violence in the Lille images. Among the most striking of these is that depicting the "wild pig boar" attacking Adonis (Story # 65).⁸¹ Where the Cologne manuscript showed Adonis down on

his back but kicking against the chest of the boar,⁸² the Lille Adonis is probably already dead. The boar, larger than its victim, straddles Adonis' chest and bites into his face. Blood streams down and across the foreground of the scene, while the dead man's horse rears up in fear in the background. The protagonist and his attacker are located close to the foreground, multiplying the drama of the gory scene. BNF fr 606 also showed the boar attacking Adonis, but its artist had minimized the violence.⁸³ In another example, Mercury (Story # 30) has beheaded the eye-covered Argus who lies on his back inside a fenced field.⁸⁴ Blood gushes from the stub of the neck as Mercury shakes his sword menacingly toward the victim. In no other manuscript is Argus even depicted as threatened, though the text states that Mercury cuts off his head.⁸⁵ Where in BNF fr 606 Atropos (# 34)⁸⁶ hovers above, terrifying the several figures below with her huge arrows, the Lille Death figure plunges his long lance into the back of a Pope standing with a bishop and a courtier or bourgeois on the right of the scene. An open coffin, lid ajar, sits behind the skeletal Atropos.⁸⁷ The identities of the two religious are emphasized by the fact that the papal tiara and mitre both extend significantly above the frame of the image.

In a scene of violence surpassing that of Adonis, a lion bites into the neck of Bellerophon, Story #35, while the hapless victim flails his arms and legs in pain.⁸⁸ Here, too, a stream of blood flows across the foreground. This story has normally been described with Bellerophon and his stepmother talking, a lion depicted in the far background, although the text specifies that the young man was condemned to be devoured by wild beasts because he spurned his stepmother's advances.⁸⁹

Each of the earlier manuscripts depicts Pyramus dead and Thisbe (# 38) falling on her lover's sword, but in an antiseptic scene.⁹⁰ A long gash in Lille 175's Pyramus' left

chest area gushes bright red blood onto the ground where he lies. His head is bent back at an excruciating angle. Thisbe struggles to press her body onto the blade of the sword, upright against the ground so that she can fall on it. Blood trails from her wound as she looks one last time at her beloved. The lion looks down benignly on the pitiable scene.⁹¹ Like the lovers' illustration just described, that for Story # 40, the Death of Achilles, demonstrates increased violence and gore.⁹² Normally Achilles appears in a chapel where knights prepare to kill him as Hecuba looks on.⁹³ The Lille artist depicts the murder graphically, with two knights jabbing their swords repeatedly into the torso of the young man literally under their feet. The knight on the right may be holding the body down with his foot to pull his sword back out. Hecuba encourages them, gesturing with her right hand outstretched.

All images of Busiris (Story # 41) show that king in a temple surrounded by dismembered heads on the altar and bodies strewn on the floor.⁹⁴ In Lille 175, he holds the head, dripping with blood from its base, toward the idol on the altar, ribbons flapping behind him in his rapid motion. Behind him another sacrificial victim enters, hands tied behind his back. A pool of blood flows from the neck of the body on the floor to the front plane and pours out over the frame in a particularly gruesome touch.⁹⁵ In the Lille Coronis illustration (# 48), too, Phoebus shoots her with an arrow causing a stream of blood down her body and onto the floor.⁹⁶ In other manuscripts' representations of this story, the arrow is depicted but Coronis is not yet affected by it.⁹⁷ Blood gushes down the chest of Ganymede as he is struck by Phoebus' bar, Story # 53,⁹⁸ and from the chest of the monster in the #55 Gorgon scene.⁹⁹ The executioner holds the king's head by its hair above the tub of blood for Thamaris to see in Image # 57.¹⁰⁰ While Galathea looks

on in Story #58,¹⁰¹ the giant crushes her lover between huge stones in this manuscript, whereas in others he just looks threatening to the couple. Battle scenes for Stories # 91 and # 92, respectively Hector's Arms¹⁰² and Polyboetes,¹⁰³ both show knights dead, bleeding, and dismembered in a more graphic style than in earlier copies. In short, the Lille artist seizes every opportunity to depict blood and violence. Outside the Thamaris image and a few battles, blood is rarely seen in the other copies.

Several other noteworthy divergences occur in Lille 175. One of the most charming appears in Story # 62, Semele, where in a continuous narrative, Juno disguised as an old hag and the naïve young woman stand talking on the left.¹⁰⁴ To the right Jupiter carries out his promise to his lover, embracing her, and causing her to catch fire. Flames shoot from every contour of his body, including the soles of his feet. Flames appear in the Theseus and Pirothous (# 27) image, as well, sprouting up like tufts of grass from the barren grounds of hell.¹⁰⁵

Whereas Actaeon (# 69) in other copies happens onto Diana bathing in the woods, in the Lille manuscript the goddess has already carried out her punishment on the unfortunate hunter.¹⁰⁶ Here, he appears fully dressed but with a stag's head, looking at the three naked but unembarrassed bathing ladies. In other copies, only Diana is undressed, and one of her assistants tries to hide her mistress with her robes. In a particularly pathetic image, the Lille Daphne, Story # 87,¹⁰⁷ appears with a grimacing face among the branches of the anthropomorphized tree she has become. Apollo plucks leaves off the branches which extend from a trunk suggesting legs and arms trapped within its bark. Other manuscripts show Daphne only to the torso, with no hints of arms or legs.

Of interest, finally, for the connections among the generations of manuscripts, is the Lille image for Cupid, Story #47, because Cupid is once again depicted as a female.¹⁰⁸ In this case the god/dess is blindfolded, has great wings, and holds an arrow in her left hand. Without the wings she would resemble Fortune. Also like the Coligny manuscript, the young man below takes off his hat in respect for the deity.

The changes in the Lille manuscript's level of violence may relate to its owners, but it is generally unclear who bought paper manuscripts. Lille was a northern center for the Burgundian court. Records of frequent power issues between the aristocracy and the bourgeois or craftsmen in that city demonstrate that large groups of both lived there. As less expensive copies, paper manuscripts may have been accessible to the less wealthy buyers, but aristocratic and royal buyers also owned paper manuscripts. The only stratum of society obviously not purchasing manuscripts of any kind was the poor. If Lille 175 was created for a specific buyer, whoever it was may have determined its style and decoration.¹⁰⁹ One might suggest that the bourgeois class sought more dramatic illustrations – more blood, more scandal – than the aristocracy, but it is known that the Court and courtiers revelled in gore and earthy humor as much as those of other classes.

Early owners of the Lille manuscript, whose marks of ownership appear on its last leaves, all lived in Lille or nearby.¹¹⁰ In his seminal work on the *Epître d'Othéa* Mombello describes these men as bourgeois figures.¹¹¹ Given the fact that the main scriptorium in Lille, that of the Maître de Wavrin, traditionally filled the images they copied with innovations, it may perhaps be assumed that the changes are due to that workshop rather than to an earlier one from which this workshop then copied the

watercolor paintings. In any case, the result offers a unique and charming cycle of images filled with action and vivacious characters.

Conclusion

The manuscripts in this chapter represent later generations of the *Epître Othéa*, all of which bear obvious resemblances to the originals. Particularly in the later copies, artists added details or changed many elements in their miniatures, still preserving the essential messages of Christine's exemplars. In a few cases the miniatures diverge so dramatically as to suggest that the artist had no exemplar from which to work. Other innovations may relate to the diverse social classes for which the works were created. Specifically, the Lille watercolor manuscript's increase in violence and other sensationalistic qualities may link it to its bourgeois audience. Conversely, the elegance of the Burgundian court may have determined the lack of violence, among other changes, which characterize the work for Antoine de Bourgogne. These four manuscripts are compared more specifically with their predecessors and the woodcut-decorated incunable in the following chapter.

Notes

Chapter 3 Chantilly, Beauvais, Cognoy, Lille Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts

1. Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (London: Longman Group, Ltd., 1973), 7.
2. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 135.
3. Joseph Calmette, *Les Grands Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1949), 239.
4. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 45-46.
5. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 48.
6. Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London and New York: Longman, 1970; Woodbridge, MA: Boydell Press, 2002), 223-4.
7. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 265.
8. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 284.
9. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 321.
10. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 353.
11. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 237.
12. Jose Clément, Magistrat honoraire. "Antoine de Bourgogne, dit le Grand Bâtard" *Publication du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes (XIV – XVI siècles)* #30, 1990. *Rencontres de Luxembourg: La Justice dans les états bourguignons... et les régions voisines aux XIV – XVI siècles: institutions, procédure, mentalités.* 178.
13. Clément, 179.
14. Amédée Boinet, "Un Bibliophile du XV^e siècle: Le Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne" *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, vol. 67, 1906), 260. A fascinating aside, given the difficulty Antoine experienced as a result of his knighthood in the Order of Saint Michael, is described in passing in Boinet's article. In his copy of Boetius' *Consolation de la Philosophie*, translated by Jean de Meung and dated in the early fifteenth century, Antoine's arms appear surrounded by the collar of that French order. As will be seen in this study, the Cognoy manuscript has the same decoration!
15. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 237.
16. Vaughan, *Phillip the Good*, 150.
17. *ibid.*
18. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 155.
19. The Fondation Bodmer comments, based on a description from Sotheby's, state that the miniatures are by a contemporary of Loyset Liédet, who was influenced by him. Françoise Vielliard, *Manuscrits français du Moyen Age. Catalogue établi par Françoise Vielliard, attachée à l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes.* (Cognoy-Genève: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1975.), 1.
20. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 156.
21. Gianni Mombello. *La Tradizione Manoscritto dell'"Epistre Othea" di Christine de Pizan. Prolegomeni all'Edizione del testo* (Torino: Accademia delle scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, storiche e filologiche, 1967), Series VI, No. 15, 106.
22. The Librairie Plon museum catalog from the Musée Condé contains the following entry: "Le scribe a eu le soin de nous informer que les pièces qui précèdent ont été

écrites en 1402." (The scribe took the trouble to inform us that the works which precede were written in 1402.) Folio f1v begins as follows: 'Cy commencent les rebriches de la table de ce present volume, fait et compile par Christine de Pisan, demoiselle commencié l'an de grace mil ccc iii^{xx} xix, eschevé et escrit en l'an mil quatre cens et deux la veille de la nativité de Saint Jehan Baptiste.' ("Here begin the rubrications of the table of this volume, made and compiled by Christine de Pisan, demoiselle, begun in the year of grace one thousand three hundred ninety-nine, completed and written in the year one thousand four hundred and two, the eve of the nativity of Saint John the Baptist." 84.

23. Mombello records fourteen miniatures, but the museum catalogue, from 1900, indicates that there are twenty-five of them. The discrepancy may be explained by the possibility that Mombello is describing only the *Epître* section of the collection. See Appendix B, #13.

24. Again, there is a discrepancy between the museum catalog's and Mombello's descriptions. The Italian scholar describes large gold initials on gold and blue fields with white flourishing. *La Tradizione*, 106.

25. The library's description reads, "un roman d'amour courtois". See Appendix B, #14.

26. Mombello, *La Tradizione*, 125. The one-page library document is one I obtained from them with the microfilm of the manuscript. It, unfortunately, offers no author or other information; it is not even labeled. It does include the fact that there are many rubrications, written in cursive in the margins or bas-de-page areas. These would instruct the artists and were intended to be overpainted or, more likely, erased at the time of the artist's intervention.

27. See Appendix B, #15.

28. See Appendix B, #16.

29. See Appendix B, #17a, 17b.

30. See Appendix B, #18

31. See Appendix B, #16.

32. See Appendix B, #19.

33. See Appendix B, #20.

34. See Appendix B, #17.

35. See Appendix B, #21.

36. See Appendix B, #22.

37. See Appendix B, #23a, b, c.

38. See Appendix B, #24.

39. See Appendix B, #25.

40. See Appendix B, #26a, b, c.

41. See Appendix B, #27.

42. See Appendix B, #28.

43. See Appendix B, #29a, b, c.

44. See Appendix B, #30.

45. See Appendix B, #31.

46. See Appendix B, #32.

47. See Appendix B, #33.

48. See Appendix B, #33a, b.

49. See Appendix B, #34a, b.

50. See Appendix B, #35a, b.
51. See Appendix B, #36a, b.
52. See Appendix B, #37a.
53. See Appendix B, #37b.
54. See Appendix B, #38.
55. See Appendix B, #39.
56. See Appendix B, #22.
57. See Appendix B, #40.
58. See Appendix B, #41.
59. Amédée Boinet, "Un bibliophile du XV^e siècle: Le Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Vol. 67 (Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1906) 256.
60. Fondation Bodmer, 2.
61. Boinet in 1906 believed that the handwriting was that of Antoine, himself. 267.
62. Clement, 174.
63. This aspect of his father's character is corroborated by the records of his numerous mistresses and illegitimate children.
64. Joseph Calmette, *Les Grands ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Ed. Albin Michel, 1949), 239.
65. Richard Vaughan, *Phillip the Bold*, (London and New York: Longman, 1962; Woodbridge, MA: Boydell Press, 2002), 10.
66. Vaughan, *Phillip the Good*, 150.
67. Vaughan, *Phillip the Good*, 339.
68. *ibid.*
69. Parussa, 211.
70. Chance, 44. See Appendix B, #16.
71. Chance, 76. See Appendix B, #22.
72. See Appendix B, #42b.
73. Fondation Bodmer, 2. See Appendix B, #48.
74. Clement, 177.
75. Jonathan Stephenson, *The Materials and Techniques of Painting* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 33 and 63.
76. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 155.
77. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 136.
78. *ibid.*
79. Fondation Bodmer, 2.
80. Jacques Lemaire, "Les Manuscrits lillois de Christine de Pizan: Comparaison matérielle entre les copies Lille BM 175 et Oxford Bodley 421" in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow 21-27 July 2000)* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), 543. "Ce que l'on peut en revanche tenir pour assuré, c'est l'engouement de l'époque pour un style original de composition picturale, qui a dépassé le cadre étroit de l'école lilloise du Maître de Wavrin pour se répandre dans la même région à la fin du XV^e siècle." (What, on the other hand, one can take for certain is the period's passion for an original style of pictorial composition, which passed beyond the narrow frame of the Lille school of the Wavrin Master to spread in that region at the end of the fifteenth century.)
81. Chance, 91, See Appendix B, #33.

82. See Appendix B, #32.
83. See Appendix B, #43.
84. See Appendix B, #44.
85. Chance, 64. See Appendix B, #45a, b.
86. See Appendix B, #46a, b.
87. Chance, 66. See Appendix B, #47.
88. Chance, 67. See Appendix B, #48.
89. See Appendix B, #49a, b.
90. Chance, 69. See Appendix B, #50.
91. See Appendix B, #51.
92. Chance, 71. See Appendix B, #52.
93. See Appendix B, #53a, b.
94. Chance, 72.
95. See Appendix B, #54a, b, c.
96. Chance, 77. See Appendix B, #55.
97. See Appendix B, #56a, b.
98. Chance, 81. See Appendix B, #57.
99. Chance, 83. See Appendix B, #58.
100. Chance, 85. See Appendix B, #59.
101. Chance, 88. See Appendix B, #60.
102. Chance, 113. See Appendix B, #61.
103. Chance, 113. See Appendix B, #62.
104. Chance, 88. See Appendix B, #63.
105. Chance, 61. See Appendix B, #64.
106. Chance, 94. See Appendix B, #65.
107. Chance, 109. See Appendix B, #66.
108. Chance, 76. See Appendix B, #67.
109. We know so little about these workshops' working methods, that it is difficult to know whether the bourgeois buyers might have had any input, such as earlier wealthy patrons who commissioned their works.
110. Lemaire, 540. They are Jacques Maes, Charles Fratisart, Philippe Cuvillon, Walleran Picavet in Lille and Philippe de Le Sauch of Lannoy.
111. Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritto*, 131-133.

Chapter Four

The Woodcuts

The final incarnation in this study of the *Epître d'Othéa à Hector* is the 1499-1500 incunable edition printed in Paris by Philippe Pigouchet. One of several very successful printers of this early period, Pigouchet made his reputation with his many books of hours, in particular for the excellence of their frames and figures.¹ His various popular codices in the vernacular, such as the *Epître Othéa*, have historically commanded less attention in the literature, in part because they are less finely produced than the illustrated manuscripts. As popular codices, they also simply survived in far smaller numbers than the prayerbooks. Pigouchet probably printed fewer of them, and owners prized them less and therefore cared for them less well. Little information has emerged with respect to Pigouchet's biography; his dates of printing activity are approximately 1484 to 1515, and, unlike Jean Dupré, "a new kind of bookseller"² who had workshops in several towns, Pigouchet is known only to have printed in Paris and, possibly, Rouen.³ He printed a Sarum Hours for Jean Richard of Rouen in 1494⁴ but he may have done so in his home city. Scholars have identified 184 editions of Books of Hours Pigouchet produced there between 1488 and 1515.⁵ The British Library Catalog notes the existence of a partnership between Pigouchet and Antoine Caillot beginning shortly after 1482 and apparently still in function in the mid-1490's.⁶ The first mention of Pigouchet occurs in an undated *Mirouer de lame pecheress*, of perhaps as early as 1483. An acrostic then suggests his association with Antoine Caillaut or perhaps Martineau, and Caillaut used Pigouchet's device in a *Manipulus Curatorum* in 1489.⁷ Until 1491 Pigouchet produced

mostly small books for Vostre and the De Marnefs, but he made his name with the Books of Hours he began printing for Vostre in approximately the early 1490's.⁸ He did not work regularly until 1491, but then addressed himself at rue de la Harpe, in premises rented from the Collège de Dainville. By the late 1490's he was printing other types of books, and in 1499 he described himself as "almae universertatis (sic) Parisiensis librarius". Pigouchet and others also financed production of codices in Philippi and Wolf's workshops.⁹ A master printer, whose work might also include working as publisher, bookseller, indexer, abridger, translator, lexicographer and chronicler,¹⁰ Pigouchet also printed some works for his own book-sale trade. It appears that early on he printed more editions for other booksellers, the most important of whom was Simon Vostre. Pigouchet printed under Vostre's name and address a *Château de Labour* in 1499-1500,¹¹ and also two editions (1499 and 1500 – 1501) of the *Château d'Amour*.¹² The phrase "pour Simon Vostre" on the title pages of many of the books of hours demonstrates the important Vostre/Pigouchet collaboration which may have supported the printer in lean times. Despite their success, Hind finds that Vostre and Pigouchet's work was of lesser quality than that of Dupré.¹³ The current codex by Christine proclaims Pigouchet's independent activity with the phrase "Nouvellement imprimé par PP" with no suggestion of a connection to any outside publisher.

Early French Printing

The dramatic impact of printing merits a discussion of its French beginnings before specific consideration of the *Epître Othéa*.¹⁴ The earliest known French block, from Burgundy, and of approximately 1400, was designed and cut for printing on fabric.¹⁵

Designers were probably never directly associated with cutters.¹⁶ However, they likely worked with one group of printers in a particular town, and thus, could logically be associated with specific printers, if their names were known.¹⁷ The earliest prints on paper postdate the Burgundian textile block by only a few decades. These included playing cards and single sheet pictures of religious figures sold as souvenirs for middle-class pilgrims.¹⁸ Blockbooks appeared mid-century, with lettering and image cut on the same wooden block. The 1455 *Neuf Preux* is the earliest known French book of this sort.¹⁹ The so-called "Nine Worthies," probably a French subject, originating in France, included Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus, King Arthur, Charlemagne, Godefroi de Bouillon, and, most importantly for this paper, Hector of Troy. A sizeable number of books were printed on the subject of Hector and the Trojans.²⁰ Book printing had progressed quickly, in France as well as in Italy and the Lowlands, once Fust and Schoeffer had created movable type in Germany. While printing began in Paris in 1470 with scholarly books in Latin, Jean Bonhomme printed the first French-language incunable, a *Chroniques de France*, only seven years later, in 1477.²¹ Parisian printers published the first books of hours in 1488,²² Pigouchet's for Vostre among them. Illustrated books became popular earlier in Paris (by 1485)²³ than, for example, in Italy where they rarely used woodcuts until about 1490.²⁴ In 1481 Jules Dupré produced a missal of Paris usage with full-page illustrations. The first identified popular book printed with images in France is the 1483-84 Paris edition of Boccaccio's *Cas et Ruynes des Nobles Hommes et Femmes*, containing nine woodcuts.²⁵ Ultimately the most common use of woodblock prints in France was for the embellishment of books.

Printing had begun in Paris when the Prior of the Sorbonne, Jean Heynlin, and its librarian, Guillaume Fichet, brought Ulrich Gehring, Michael Friburger and Martin Crantz from Basle to print scholarly texts in Latin for use at the Sorbonne.²⁶ In fact, they literally printed their first book there, *Les Epistolae de Gasparino Barzizza* by a Pavian professor of rhetoric, in the library of the Sorbonne from a manuscript copy which Fichet owned.^{27, 28} Fichet was at this time under the protection of Cardinal Nicholas Rolin and Guillaume Chartier, Bishop of Paris.²⁹ Both Fichet and Heynlin may have received financial support from Rolin and, even more so, from Louis, Duke of Bourbon.³⁰ Fichet and Heynlin, along with Guillaume Tardif (from the Collège de Navarre) and Robert Gaguin (a friend and disciple of Fichet), became "veritable publication directors".³¹ Acting as their own scientific editors and literary directors, they exercised enormous influence on their readers by adding their personal interpretations to their editions.³² These might be additional commentaries. As compositors working from a manuscript, they might space the text to make it fit, or manipulate it by changing vocabulary or spelling, or even by adding or omitting text.³³ Without the rubrication and other guides typical in manuscripts, book producers' punctuation was formative in readers' understanding of the text.³⁴

At this early period printing was considered only "un gadget d'intellectuels d'avant-garde".³⁵ According to Coq, at least until approximately 1490-1495, printed texts were too limited in subject matter to appeal to readers outside the university.³⁶ Among the middle class, though, printing soon showed itself to be the universal medium for production of books in the vernacular. The aristocracy for some time continued to prefer manuscripts, as demonstrated by the fact that, until 1495, scriptoria produced most of the

liturgical books, including books of hours.³⁷ In the 1480's printers began the march toward creating a monopoly over the production of missals and breviaries, of all usages, particularly Jean Larcher (called "Jean Dupré").³⁸ Nobles' attachment to manuscript editions of their texts even motivated the commissioning of handwritten copies of printed codices. A case in point was that of Ivon du Fou, *grand veneur du Roi*, who had the printed *Proprietaires des Choses*, by Barthelemy l'Anglais, copied, including the colophon, and had miniatures painted in direct imitation of the woodcut prints.³⁹

Fichet left the Sorbonne, ending the Germans' university support, when Louis XI sent him to Milan and then to Rome.⁴⁰ The three remaining printers moved in 1473 to the Rue Saint-Jacques, naming their first printshop "Au Soleil d'Or," and later to the Saint-Séverin area.⁴¹ These first Parisian typographers had printed Cicero, Terence, and Virgil in Latin, using Roman type developed in Italy.⁴² In their new, independent shop they printed law, theology, and scholastic works in both Roman and the newer, gothic minuscule types, following the taste of a broader, developing bourgeois public.⁴³ This workshop produced no codices, either in connection with the Sorbonne or during its independence, containing any woodblock prints. In some designs, however, rubricators added capital letters or red and blue highlights and illuminators may have also helped to decorate them.⁴⁴ After approximately 1480, few publishers embellished their codices with decorated capitals or other additional elements, leading to increased "blackening of the page".⁴⁵ One reason for the appearance of foliation after 1500 was this lack of color markers to help readers find their way.

The Court wished to own illuminated manuscripts or editions printed on vellum and decorated with miniatures as objects to be prized, rather than as sources of

information. The public increasingly bought printed copies, mostly without woodcuts at first, with the goal of obtaining knowledge previously unavailable to them.⁴⁶ This new community of readers included particularly Churchmen, the legal community, and those performing administrative and literary roles for the Court.⁴⁷ Their needs demanded correct and legible texts influencing publishers to work more rigorously at editing and accurately reproducing their texts.⁴⁸ Later, especially printed books with woodcuts emulating manuscripts became most popular among the less privileged classes seeking to identify with their wealthier models. Martin has characterized the end of the Middle Ages as obsessed with visual images in books. These, like stained glass or frescos in churches, functioned as simple explanations for their readers.⁴⁹

If Jean Dupré posed the first competition to Fichet and Heynlen with his Paris Missal of 1481 among other works,⁵⁰ ninety-four Parisian editors had produced 1500 editions by 1484.⁵¹ More than eighty-five printers worked in Paris by 1500, the high point of printing spanning the 1480's to 1500.⁵² Half of all books printed during the fifteenth century were liturgical or theological in nature, but secular books appeared as early as the religious ones. Together, Paris and Lyon produced eighty per cent of the French books, and Paris was three times as active as Lyon.⁵³ From the beginning of printing Lyon printers specialized in popular and literary texts while Paris was the center of learned works in Latin and French.⁵⁴ Sales proved sufficient to allow Paris printers to specialize in particular genre: Michel le Noir in chevalric literature, Guy Marchant in popular literature such as the *Danse Macabre* or the *Calendrier des Bergers*, Jean Trepperel in popular texts.⁵⁵ Parisian printers in addition to these included Jean Higman, Georges Wolf, Rembolt, Stoll, Caesarius, Pasquier and Jean Bonhomme, who are also

identified as booksellers for the university.⁵⁶ Coq's research adds to this list of Paris printers Pierre Levet, Jean Lambert, Le Petit Laurens, Jean Driart,⁵⁷ and Antoine Chappiel, Jean de Coulonge, Wolfgang Hopyl, Etienne Jehannot, Pierre Le Dru, Denis Meslier, Jean Philippe, and Jean Poitevin.⁵⁸ Because printers used one another's blocks, this list is as complete as possible. It is significant for the present study that Philippe Pigouchet, though contemporary with these printers, is not included in any of these lists. Further research may explain this phenomenon.

As Pigouchet is still not well studied, observations must be based on those regarding his contemporaries who are currently better known. Sandra Hindman has published an extensive study of Parisian printer Guy Marchant whose dates of activity, if not necessarily his output, coincide roughly with those of Pigouchet.⁵⁹ Marchant began printing in 1483 and printed for V  rard in the 1480's,⁶⁰ but also published on his own. Whereas Pigouchet's major production was books of hours, Marchant specialized in theological and humanist tracts, wherein he published short works and combined them in different ways for different purposes. He produced between six and thirteen mostly in-quarto codices per year, printing short runs, and apparently selling out of them before commencing another. His primary clientele was from the Coll  ge de Navarre. He occasionally printed a deluxe copy on vellum to help finance an edition whose ensuing paper copies would bring in less revenue. Also like Pigouchet, Marchant printed at least one work by Christine de Pizan: a *Fais d'Armes*, in 1488, for V  rard.⁶¹ Hindman finds that nearly half of Marchant's tracts are sparsely illustrated with woodcuts of mediocre quality, often reused. Apparently like most of the publishers of the era, and certainly like Pigouchet, Marchant engaged others in the trade to sell his books.

Mary Beth Winn has had similar success in researching Antoine Vérard, who dominated the trade 1485 – 1512 and was also contemporary with Pigouchet.⁶² As "bookseller to the king"⁶³ and the "father of the French illustrated book,"⁶⁴ Vérard held a unique position among Paris publishers. He began printing in 1485 with the assistance of Nicole Gilles, notary and secretary to King Charles VI. He may have come from Tours,⁶⁵ working there as an illuminator and then as head of a workshop before taking up printing".⁶⁶ Hiring the best typographers available, including Pierre Levet, Jean Dupré, Pierre le Rouge, Guy Marchant, and Pierre le Caron, Vérard produced multiple deluxe editions. He published as many as three hundred works, mostly in the vernacular, including fifty books of hours. Of this publisher's nearly two hundred secular works, virtually none was a new work. For his deluxe editions as well as the less expensive variety, Vérard chose works that had already proven popular as manuscripts.⁶⁷ Some had already been printed, among them some printed earlier by the very printers Vérard then hired to produce them for his own publishing business.⁶⁸ This publisher is known to have changed prologues in some more expensive editions, eliminating authors' names.⁶⁹ Unlike Pigouchet, Vérard may have never printed works himself,⁷⁰ but he did employ many printers and block cutters at one time for his busy workshop. Producing an average of just over eleven books per year, he often used others' blocks or reused his own stock blocks within the same or other works. Moreover, in an apparent search for speed and economy, Vérard sometimes utilized pre-cut blocks in contexts where they did not fit.⁷¹ This, too, he shares with Pigouchet and most of his other contemporaries.

The 1499-1500 Edition printed by Pigouchet

Facture

The *Epître Othéa* is an in-quarto edition of 52 paper leaves each containing 39 lines of text, 48 lines of gloss, its type page being 194-95 x 125 mm.⁷² The codex commences with Pigouchet's elaborate printer's block, described in detail elsewhere, surmounted by the words "Les cent histoires de troye." The following text appears below the block on the recto of the first folio: "Lepistre de Othea deesse de prudence envoyee a lesperit chevalereux hector de troye/avec cent hystoires. Nouvellement imprimee a Paris." The author's original two-column dedicatory poem follows on the verso of this first folio, where often a presentation miniature appeared in manuscript as well as printed versions.⁷³ The woodcut of Othea's presentation to Hector, flanked by gloss and allegory in the pattern that characterizes the whole codex, commences on folio 2 recto. Several codicological variations among the four copies in this study arise in discussion elsewhere in this paper. Suffice it here to say that an explicit of "Finis" occurs in the Paris and London copies, but not in the Washington, D.C., nor Berlin ones. (The section on codicology considers these variations in greater detail.)

The oblong woodcuts measure 50 x 70 mm. Since the beginning, blocks had been carved of hard wood, such as pear, cherry or apple, and cut with the grain of the wood.⁷⁴ By the late fifteenth century, boxwood was commonly imported from Turkey, as well, so Pigouchet's blocks may have been boxwood.⁷⁵ Blocks typically measured approximately 7/8" thick, to accommodate the thickness of the type.⁷⁶ Although earlier inks had been made from oak gall, by 1499 it may be assumed that the ink would be thicker oil- or carbon-based type and that the book was printed with a press rather than hand-rubbed.⁷⁷ The master printer might have cast off (marked a copy with points at which he had

calculated the type page would begin) so that multiple printers could print in nonsequential order. The compositor, usually a former scribe, made the final decisions about such issues.⁷⁸ The block would have been inked by dabbing or rolling the ink onto the block, resting cut-side up on a chase. Earlier a *frotton* (a leather ball stuffed with wool or hair), would have tamped a dampened folio of paper against the inked block to create the desired impression.⁷⁹ By the time this codex appeared, printers commonly used the press. Printers could produce as many as two to three thousand folia per normal fourteen-hour day, pulling the press every ten to fifteen seconds.⁸⁰ Movable type printers were not members of guilds, and thus were probably itinerants who faced stiff competition.⁸¹ No watermarks were detected on the folia of the codices studied first-hand. It is likely, though, that Pigouchet printed them on French-made paper. France grew to dominate European production of paper, having begun in Avignon during the fourteenth century and excelling later in the Champagne region.⁸² French paper producers not only met French demand but also sold to English and Lowlands publishers.⁸³

No examples of the present codex retain their original bindings. However, two editions by Pigouchet, an *Isidorus Hispaliensis* and a *Maillardus* still have their original calfskin covers with the "ornement à froid" typical of the period.⁸⁴ Books might have been bound in the same atelier with the printers, or sent out to binders. *Réclames* (the first word of the following page printed at the edge of the preceding folio – to be cut off after printing), first used in Germany, guided Parisian binders on compilation of folia beginning in 1476.⁸⁵ These do not appear in the *Epître Othéa*, (assuming they had been present), as they would have been cut off after compilation. Letters of the alphabet

combined with numbers were printed toward the lower right corner of the recto of each folio in each quire's first half. Called signatures, these compilation guides came into use in Paris at an unclear date; Martin states they began around 1500,⁸⁶ but Labarre disagrees, finding that they appear about 1476-77 and were rare in Paris by the time of the *Epître*.⁸⁷ Pigouchet printed signatures in the *Epître Othéa*, but any role his atelier may have played the books' binding remains at this time undiscovered.

Pigouchet's edition of the *Epître Othéa* represents in every way a significant investment of time and finances. By virtue of its one hundred woodcuts, it is already a deluxe product. Moreover, in the same way that he followed the original manuscript formula with an image for every story, Pigouchet varied the type size in an obvious effort to emulate the appearance of its model. Such a process was typical; throughout the fifteenth century the French book remained essentially modelled on manuscripts.⁸⁸ The edition is in-quarto, the most important format in France up until the octavo eclipsed it after 1485.⁸⁹ The less expensive, smaller size of the in-quarto probably appealed more to the buying public whom Pigouchet sought to reach with this codex. He printed a *Lunettes des Princes* by Meschinot, in octavo 1495 and 1499 no doubt for a wealthier audience.⁹⁰

The *Epître Othéa*'s pages are black text type; the letters are gothic.⁹¹ The *texte* uses the largest size letters (Book type 98[100]B),⁹² while the glosses and allegories are slightly smaller (81B).⁹³ The philosophical, patristic, or scriptural quotations are tiny (55G). Ultimately Pigouchet used four different sizes of letters, as the first two lines of the title page are printed in size 180G. This pattern of varying type size characterized texts with long commentaries, as well as emulating the manuscript models. Although

Pigouchet did not vary the typeface, often printers did so at this time for differing type sizes.⁹⁴

Paraphs (hand-drawn or printed symbols indicating the beginning of a new paragraph or section of text) introduce both the scriptural/patristic/philosophical citations and any new sections within the versified text, of which elegant capitals begin each line. As in earlier printed books (but fewer as late as 1499) Pigouchet left space at the beginning of each section for a decorated capital, the choice of which he printed as a guide letter (*lettre d'attente*) a few spaces to the left of the first printed letters of each occurrence. Also like many of them, the capitals were never added here. This left a space two lines high (which ultimately becomes paragraph indentation). So frequently did rubricators or artists fail to fill in those spaces that eventually printers just proceeded with printing capital letters, which would likely have been woodblocks.^{95, 96}

Following the model of the original complete manuscript BNF fr 606 Pigouchet labelled and numbered each section of each story.⁹⁷ Page layout is consistent and "aerated" suggesting no concern for conservation of paper. Although frequently printers even reduced the size of the print and tightened the lines of their codices to economize,⁹⁸ Pigouchet apparently did not. The in-quarto size may, on the other hand, suggest a motivation involving production cost. Early typographers had typically continued from one chapter or story right into the next, leaving no empty space at the bottom of a page.⁹⁹ This could have been driven by the "horreur vacui" aesthetic inherited from their predecessors or by a desire to conserve paper. Besides this, the scribes who had copied BNF fr 606 had created continuing double column pages, where column-width miniatures

intervened to introduce each new story. Pigouchet's edition, though, contains many, many pages less than half-filled with text, just as BNF fr 848 and Beauvais 9 had been.

It would seem that the *Epître Othéa's* continued popularity in Paris (and elsewhere) motivated this investment in the work more than one hundred years after its creation. An unknown printer had already produced Christine's work in Lyons in the 1480's.¹⁰⁰ After Pigouchet, other printers followed in the sixteenth century: the Veuve Trepperel printed it twice in Paris, in 1518 and 1521, as did an unidentified Lyons printer in approximately 1519.¹⁰¹ Philippe le Noir (whose edition will be considered in depth a bit further on) printed it again in Paris in 1522. Raolin Gaultier printed it in 1534 in Rouen, Stephen Scrope printed an English translation in 1440-59, and Anthony Babyngton repeated it in England shortly after 1450.¹⁰²

The Woodblock Prints

By comparison with similar contemporary codices, the number of prints in Pigouchet's edition is astonishing. The overwhelming majority of books printed during this period, in fact, contain no images at all. Usually, if there are any prints, they occur as title pages and/or printers' devices, and in a minority of cases these may be followed by half a dozen cuts, at most. Inclusion of woodcut prints increased production costs, although specific information regarding expenses associated with cutting blocks or who cut them is unknown. Cutters remained for the most part anonymous, due to lack of respect for their trade. Moreover, confusion results from the terms for the trade: "woodblock cutter" (French: *tailleur d'images*, or *tailleur de molles*; German: *formschneider*) is the same term as that for cathedral stall sculptor, who formed part of

the carpenters' guilds.^{103, 104} In addition, these craftsmen were often also cutters of textile blocks, playing cards, and even forgers of money.¹⁰⁵ Records from painters' guilds' attempts to control them, to keep them from copying paintings, also do not disclose names.¹⁰⁶ Designers of the blocks, from corporations of copyists and illuminators, also mostly remain anonymous.¹⁰⁷ It appears probable, though, that designers of blocks might often have been former, or concurrently, illuminators.¹⁰⁸

Printers could reuse their own blocks in other works to economize or, as occurred commonly, in different contexts within the same work. Vérard, for example, embellished his *Prophecies of Merlin*, 1498, with multiple cuts, among which one battle scene is reprinted twelve times.¹⁰⁹ Printers might also cut blocks on both sides.¹¹⁰ Alternatively, printers could offer their blocks to others for some kind of revenue, or simply trade them among themselves. Although woodblocks' ownership at this time remains undiscovered, the reuse of blocks seems the most common practice. There may have existed a "pool" of stock blocks available for some unidentified community of printers. French printers were more likely than those of other countries to lend or share their woodblocks.¹¹¹ For example, Jean Bonhomme printed an *Histoire de la Destruction de Troie* in 1484, using multiple battle scenes. Robert Gaguin reused many of them for a *Commentaires de Jules César* in 1485, and Vérard published an *Art des Chevaliers* in 1488 using the same blocks.¹¹² Gillet and Germain Hardouin used many of Pigouchet's woodblocks.¹¹³ Pigouchet may have used stock blocks in his *Cent Histoires de Troye*, but no information has surfaced as yet regarding his sources. No matter his source, this edition seems extravagant in that it only repeats one block one time.

Research on Pigouchet's working history suggests that this printer may have had the majority of the blocks for the *Cent Histoires de Troye* cut for this specific work, rather than borrowing them from a common pool. Certainly many – most, perhaps – of the plates are sufficiently generic to be used in other contexts, and perhaps Pigouchet maximized his return by reusing them in other publications, or by allowing others to use them. The *Epître Othéa* had been extremely successful as a manuscript, both as produced by its author and later in the fifteenth century. Pigouchet must have recognized that he could make money by printing this popular literary work. He appears to have been a successful businessman, given how many printers went bankrupt,¹¹⁴ and no scholar has suggested that his business failed. The British Library Catalog actually suggests that Pigouchet was involved in financing the work of at least one other publisher during the latter part of his career.¹¹⁵ Most of his output is finely produced books of hours, and he also printed many liturgical and other religious works. Among Pigouchet's fewer secular ones, the *Cent Histoires de Troye* is the only work by Christine. While Pigouchet printed for other publishers, he printed for his own profit many of the codices studied for this dissertation or listed in other inventories. (The two prayerbooks out of ten in the Lincoln microfilm collection he printed for anyone besides himself were both for Vostre.) He printed the *Cent Histoires de Troye* in his own name. He could have printed it completely without woodcuts, as did other printers later (and many manuscripts before him appear with text only, as well). He could also have saved by using column-width blocks instead of the full size he used. He took the risk of publishing at least one edition of the *Cent Histoires de Troye* in this completely illustrated form with frontispiece-size prints. The fact that four copies have survived, popular works on paper

as they are, suggests that he may have produced more than the typical 400 – 1100 copies in an edition, or at least that he printed near that maximum.¹¹⁶ Pigouchet's great success with printing his books of hours, which most often had illustrations on every page, may have influenced him to do the same in his version of the *Epître Othéa*. Of course the manuscript from which he may have worked was also illuminated with all hundred images. Perhaps he first printed copies on vellum, as did his successful fellows, to boost his revenues early on and help finance the continuation of the publication, but none is extant (or identified) at this time.

To properly appreciate the quality of Pigouchet's facture of the *Cent Histoires de Troye*, it may be helpful to compare it with Philippe le Noir's edition of the same work from approximately twenty years later.¹¹⁷ As this postdates Pigouchet's known working career, le Noir may have obtained the blocks after the earlier printer's death. Le Noir did not use nearly the full complement of his predecessor's blocks, and he added only seven new images. A mere twenty-four of Pigouchet's blocks, repeated as many as six times in the codex, decorate sixty-two of the stories. In only forty-two of the hundred stories did le Noir use the same block as Pigouchet had used in the same context.¹¹⁸ One might suppose that the others were damaged or lost. Two examples, however, may contradict the supposition that the later publisher would have necessarily used them in the same places as his predecessor if he had had them. In addition to printing it in three other places, Le Noir used the block Pigouchet had printed for the story of Penthesilia (# 15) to accompany instead the story of Patrocles and Achilles.¹¹⁹ He used Pigouchet's Penthesilia block elsewhere five times, but not in the Penthesilia story. One cannot suppose that Le Noir lacked a Pigouchet model from which to work, since he used

Pigouchet's blocks in the same places as Pigouchet on forty-two occasions. In many of the instances where Le Noir repeated cuts, the images lack congruence with the literary text. In Martin's opinion, however, printers at this later period were making great effort to replace stock blocks with images which closely linked text with illustration.¹²⁰ It may be that the reuse of blocks and the frequent loose connection between the stories and the blocks represent a general disinterest in the publication of this later codex, even though Le Noir here identifies himself and his business location on the title page below his printer's device. Beginning with a bold paraph, it reads as follows: "Lepistre de Othea deesse de prudence envoyee a lesperit chevalereux hector de troye / avec cent hystoires. Nouvellement imprimee a paris p Philippe le noir libriere (sic) demourant a la rue saint Jacques a lenseigne dela (sic) Rose blanche couronne."¹²¹ Even in the spelling at this signally important location there are errors.

The Le Noir edition also exhibits general carelessness in the typesetting and numbering (in which there are seven errors) in the various sections of the text.¹²² In addition, the replacement blocks le Noir used are quite crudely cut. The whole codex is often unevenly inked, and there are numerous block breaks. Le Noir did not undertake the added expense of varying the typesize for the scriptural quotations after the allegory sections, but printed them the same size as both commentaries. The quatrains lack the evenness of margins prevalent in the Pigouchet edition. Finally, Le Noir did not even always make the effort to spread the repeated blocks out in the text; in two cases (images associated in Pigouchet with Athamas, # 17 and Diana, # 23) woodcuts repeat immediately after they have already appeared. Conversely, there seems to be a repair, in the form of a plug, on the eyes of the Discord figure in Story #21,¹²³ which could be

understood as careful work on this printer's part. Nothing guarantees that Le Noir made this repair, however; it could have been already repaired before Le Noir obtained Pigouchet's blocks. In short, Le Noir's publication seems a rapid and slipshod effort when compared with Pigouchet's.

Codicology

Pigouchet printed his codices with great care, as demonstrated first by the consistency of their arrangement throughout the stories. Typically the page layout is as follows: at the top on the left is the number of the story followed on the same line by the word "Glose". In the middle, on that same line, is the top of the frame of the woodcut, and, on the right, top, is found the number of the story again, with the word "Allegorie" to its right. Below, as a general rule, is a blank line, and the next line commences on the left with the lower-case first letter of the gloss and with a similar arrangement on the right for the allegory. The oblong frame of the woodcut is equivalent to thirteen lines of text. Below it, centered, is the number of the story followed on the same line by the word "Texte". Usually one line is left blank before the quatrain commences on the next line, the guide letter separated from it six spaces (The number of spaces depends on the size of the capital letters.) to the left. The second line of the quatrain is similarly indented seven spaces, and its final two lines begin at the left margin of the central text block.

The gloss and allegory are usually displayed as narrow (2 ½ cm) columns flanking the long-line centered quatrain. With the exception of the chapters where gloss or allegory is too lengthy to fit, causing extension into the center of the page below the quatrain, the pages are consistently designed throughout the codex. Where the gloss or

allegory is too long, it may form an "L" or inverted "L" to continue in long lines across the bottom of the page.¹²⁴

The pattern of capitalization likewise demonstrates consistency. For example, with few exceptions, it is as follows: titles (*Glose*, *Texte*, *Allegorie*) are capitalized. The first letter of the initial word of each gloss and allegory, on the second line, is separated from the text block, and is universally a lower-case letter two spaces in from the left margin – a guide letter to instruct the rubricator or artist who was intended to decorate the codex, but never did. The second letter of the first word, consistently indented six spaces, is generally a capitalized letter. Thus one usually sees something like "s I comme dist Othea". The second line is also indented, its first letter usually being also lower case, making space for a capital two lines high and six spaces wide. The third line of the gloss or allegory is not indented, and neither do there occur other capital letters along the left edge. The "Texte," on the other hand, begins each line with a capital letter, the first line also having been introduced by a separated guide letter printed in lower case and indented three spaces. The second letter of the first word in the *Texte* is capitalized and indented seven spaces. The same is true of the second line of the quatrain, after which the last two lines are justified to the left margin of the text block. The scriptural or other concluding passages are nearly always introduced by a paraph, and paraphs introduce various parts of the Prologue dedication to the Duke, but appear nowhere else in the *Texte* or other sections of the codex.

Pigouchet's careful editing is another sign of his engagement of this publication. A printing curiosity in two of these four codices, suggesting editorial intervention, is found on the bottom of story # 39, about Aesculapius and Circe.¹²⁵ The end of the last

line of the gloss and the entire scriptural passage on the right are missing in the Paris and London copies, but are present and undisturbed in the Berlin and Washington copies. As the letters seem to angle off from lower left upward, it may be that there was a folio lying between the forme and the folio being printed, or perhaps the plate did not press the complete length of the page. Alternatively, the block may simply have been incompletely inked. This fact is not helpful in determining printing order, as it could have happened either before or after the printing of the Berlin and Washington codices.

No doubt mimicking the exemplar, the numbers for each story are repeated three times, to identify the gloss, the story, and the allegory. In another editing intervention, Pigouchet (or his workshop) discovered and corrected a numbering error that had occurred in the London and Berlin copies. That is, although the texts and their woodcuts are sequentially placed, the numbering goes from 29 to 38, then 29 again, and then 32, 33, and continues, including 38 again, correctly to the end. The Paris and Washington, D.C., incunables are numbered correctly throughout. Apparently the editor, (Pigouchet, himself, perhaps) as the first reader of the work realized that there was a numbering problem and had it corrected before the others were printed. From this one may conclude that the Paris and Washington copies were the last of the four to be produced. This would fit, also, with the "Finis" present in these two copies but not the other two. Other numbering errors occur in stories # 3 and # 65, where in all copies the allegories are numbered "iiii" and "lxiiii", respectively, although the text and gloss are correctly numbered as "iii" and "lxv".¹²⁶

Other numbering in this publication comes in the signatures. Placed on the lower right corner of the first half of the quires, the signatures are the typical letters (in this

case *a* through *g*, representing seven quires) and numbers (which go from *i* through *iiii*). A numbering error occurs in all four copies: The "a" group goes from "ai" to "aiii", skipping the anticipated "aii". Elsewhere all is consistent and correct. A possible explanation for this omission is found in the fact that there are also only three folia in this quire, rather than the four found in each succeeding one. One possible explanation is that the intended second folio in the first quire, which would have been identified a "aii," was removed and not replaced. Whether this could relate to the absence of the presentation image is unclear at this time, but it seems unlikely. Perhaps some problem or change of plan occurred to cause its absence. However, the printing finishes on the verso of the last folio, fitting appropriately into the thirty-one folia used with this organization and not leaving a folio printed on only one side.

A curious element is a maltese cross printed in the blank space, lower right, of the *texte* area of Story #79 (Ceyx and Alcyone) on all four of the codices.¹²⁷ The only other such cross is found on Pigouchet's printer's device, and there it is more elaborate with split, curved ends and streamers at the top. It seems unlikely that the two are related, but no ready explanation for the presence of the cross in association with the story about Alcyone presents itself.¹²⁸

In a few chapters no line is skipped between the titles and the texts they introduce, or between the frames and the text titles, such that the titles come immediately below the frames. Generally in that situation at least the frame line above the "T" is broken, and sometimes the break is as long as the whole word "*Texte*". One may presume that the capital "T" was an area in the woodblock enough thicker than the others to keep the paper

from being pressed against the frame line. There is ample room for the quatrain below the frame, suggesting this demonstrates a simple composition/printing error on the page.

Finally, there are numerous line breaks in the pictures' frames. These may be in only one of the frame's double lines, or both. Because they are almost universally on the right side of the image, but in no particular place along its height, it may be that the blocks were particularly vulnerable to damage in that location. There could also have been a problem with the press on that side.

Function of the woodcuts

The functions of illuminations, as decoration or elaboration on a text, formed part of the introduction to Chapter Two. Here the study considers the changing role of the visual imagery resulting from the change to print. In his article on the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, Camille describes an earlier illumination as a "quick and continuous visual equivalent for the written narrative" in long cycles of explanatory illustrations and sub illustrations spread throughout the manuscripts.¹²⁹ Woodcuts, he feels, must serve differently, as "introduction summaries of the succeeding sequence of action" and must be presented in reduced numbers, eliminating the sub illustrations.¹³⁰ The reduction of the cycle of images works as "part of the rationalization and paring down that typify the printed page as opposed to the painted narrative".¹³¹ The problem Camille sees is that the paring down in printed works may render their reductive images incomprehensible without meaning learned from the text. This is significant for a buying public which may not have been good readers. Camille's observation applies specifically to the *Epître Othéa*, no matter the literacy level of the readers, because this codex is a loosely organized compilation of stories, in an a-chronologic order. Even when the topics relate

closely, which often they do not, the organization of the text offers no consistent story line. Buyers could understand little from the codex, despite their possible familiarity with mythology and especially the Trojan story, without the text. Camille observes that woodcuts depict the *dramatis personae*, typically also named in rubrication, but do not include the action of the narrative. Pigouchet's edition includes compositions depicting both (as discussed below).

Goodman asserts that the fact that woodcuts are black and white like the text makes them read "in space and time," flowing like the linear pattern of the lines of type. Miniatures are located "outside the text," requiring the reader to stop and consider them separately. A reader of print can read more quickly, not slowed by details which must necessarily be absent from woodcut prints.¹³² Goodman understands the reading of print as a mental exercise, less performative than reading manuscripts, because publishers included punctuation and commentaries provided by readers of manuscripts. Until page headings and indices came later, woodblock prints served as "signposts" for readers, and as memory aids.¹³³ Goodman's observation that rather than a specific incident, woodcuts illustrated typical ones, applies almost universally to Pigouchet's *Cent Histoires de Troye*.¹³⁴ Virtually all of the battle scenes are generic, for example. Their generalized content made them easier to reuse.

A quotation from the Widow Trepperel's 1533 colophon demonstrates what the early printers understood as woodcuts' function:

Heures de la Vierge a l'usage de Rome recemment decoree de figures nouvelles, car cette intelligence que les lettres procurent aux doctes, les images l'assurent sans doute aux ignorants et aux simples, selon la sentence repandue: la peinture est l'écriture des laics; c'est en effet par

elle que ceux qui ne connaissent pas leurs lettres peuvent lire et comprendre le secret des choses.¹³⁵

Title Page

Title pages had evolved from colophons in manuscripts and in their earliest form of simple initials they followed the text. Over time these rudimentary title pages evolved into elaborate blocks usually printed on the recto of folio #1 in the codex. At first the initials were enclosed in a centered shield, such as that of Pigouchet.¹³⁶ They might include a brief book title above an illustration in either wood- or metal cut. These are often difficult to distinguish but it appears, because of the intricacy of Pigouchet's device, that he printed it from a metal plate.¹³⁷ The form for title pages had not yet stabilized at the time of Pigouchet's printing. However, by the 1490's usually the bookseller's and printer's marks were both included. By 1500 title pages reliably included booksellers' and printers' marks, addresses, titles, and authors' names.¹³⁸ If the printer and publisher were not one and the same, the name of the printer often appeared at the end of the codex. Pigouchet used only the simple text "Nouvellement imprime a Paris." under the title of the *Cent Histoires*, and even identified himself only in the initials in his device. The absence of other names suggests that Pigouchet published the present codex for himself. Elaborate or simple, title pages worked as advertisement for their producers, in addition to decorating them.

Pigouchet's books of hours were characterized by dense line and, often, *criblé* decoration.¹³⁹ The present work, though, has neither, with the exception of the rather elaborate and densely decorated title page bearing Pigouchet's 7.8 X 11.3 mm. device. In it one sees two figures identified as a "wodewase" (a wild man) "and his mate" by the

British Museum Catalog in a thicket of forest, looking toward one another in three-quarter pose.¹⁴⁰ In heraldic style, they flank and clasp the edge of a shield bearing the printer's initials below a maltese cross and streamer hanging on a buckled double strap from a centered tree. This is much like Vostre's title page, which has confronted felines in similar poses, and a half-dozen other printers' plates also characterized by such paired, confronted figures.¹⁴¹ Vines entwine and extend from the top of the tree trunk to fill the upper area and be cut off by the architectural frame. Foliage vaguely reminiscent of palm fronds sprout strange, large, bulbous fruit – described as "like pineapples" – possibly a reference to some exotic, tropical Eden.¹⁴² Each figure holds in his outer hand another vining branch, his with only leaves, hers with leaves and two flowers. Flowers also sprout from the low groundline behind the figures. The nearly solid design completely closes off any distance into the background and the linear quality also flattens out the image. Both figures have clumpy hair growing from their extremities, and tight hatching designates the details of their torsos. He is bearded and has shoulder-length hair, while an immense mane of hair trails to well below the woman's waist. Each wears a crown of leaves. His does not clearly connect to any branch, but hers emanates from the vine she carries. These figures appear nude, but their genital areas are concealed by tight vines braided across their bodies.¹⁴³ The figures stand realistically, each with one foot extended toward the tree. The male's weight falls on his left foot, as he stands on tiptoe with the other foot. The female firmly plants her weight on her right foot.

Pigouchet's wild people are typical for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century imagery, in which similar figures wore leafy vines over their groins, intertwined branches at their waists and flower garlands around their heads.¹⁴³ Their "universal attribute" was a large

club, often an uprooted tree, which is completely lacking in these printer's plates. Husband explains that such wild figures represented "free and enlightened creature(s) living in complete harmony with nature".¹⁴⁴ Their proximity to nature saved them from society's ills. Their life was idyllic; a wild man could not know God, so he could not sin.¹⁴⁵ Why Pigouchet would have chosen such wild people for his own printer's device is not clear. It may have more to do with the tradition of the plates than with his personal understanding of himself relative to his society. As leaders into this new age of book production, printers may have originally chosen the wild men because of their symbolic association with "enlightenment".¹⁴⁶

Pigouchet's whole printer's device is framed by double lines, the outer of which is wider and quite black.¹⁴⁷ A flattened arch supported by columns covered with large leaves sits on smooth, round bases. These are surmounted by foliated, round capitals. Foliate motifs occupy the area between the arch and the frame of the print, as well, and the arch is decorated with roundels alternating with vertical lines. The roundels hold clusters of smaller circles – perhaps some sort of berry or fruit – corresponding to the rest of the generally florid decoration. A scroll across the bottom of the device contains the printer's name. The name, printed in a mix of capital and lower-case (the h's) gothic letters, extends unevenly to the right side of the image, leaving no room for the mirror end of the scroll.¹⁴⁸

Many of these devices are similar; already Fust and Schoeffer's device had included a double shield with their initials.¹⁴⁹ The nearly ubiquitous shield hung on a tree must suggest heraldic use associated with family lineage. Beyond such similarities, printers' plates may also share exact details. For example, the plate of Michiel Tholoze, a

Parisian contemporary of Pigouchet (1498-99) identified only as *libraire*,¹⁵⁰ shows a similar couple standing on a shallow stage, flanking a centered tree where a shield hangs. With the same density of linear decoration and architectural frame, the arch is decorated with lozenges and circles and there is nothing in the corners of the frame above the arch. These figures' legs are covered with coarse hair or fur, and their bare torsos are more densely hatched. Each holds a branch twining over his/her head, and from the tree dangles the same round fruit as that in the Pigouchet device. The bottom of the print is hatched similarly to Pigouchet's, but the name above it is centered.

Although there is no name associated with the designer of these printer/bookseller blocks, their similarities suggest that they are the work of one individual. Others have less precise similarities but share commonalities suggesting that they, too, are the work of that designer. Some of these have the same composition of confronted figures and architecture. One is the device of Pierre le Caron, "libraire et imprimeur à Paris, 1489 – 1500" where the confronted figures become an eagle (left) and a lion (right) facing outward.¹⁵¹ They sit in three-quarter poses holding a shield bearing the monogram "PC" before a centered tree. Trees behind these figures push them to the front plane, where they perch upon a stone or brick crenellated wall. The trees in this plate have no fruit, and they are more stiffly vertical and heavier than those in the Pigouchet device.

Framing the image is the same architectural structure. Diagonal lines alternating with triple or quadruple dots spiral upward along the columns from round bases to undecorated, round capitals. The shallow arch above is decorated only with hatching lines and feathery fronds occupy the upper corners. Flat, broad-leafed plants are interspersed across the shallow ground in front of the wall at the bottom. There a

geometric motif of unidentified meaning introduces a wide scroll bearing the gothic letters "frauboy". Another contemporary plate of similar composition is that of "Antoyne Baquelier, libraire à Paris, 1495," where the familiar architectural structure like that of Pigouchet supports a shallow arch.¹⁵² Under this is a narrower line of widely-placed hatchmarks. Within the frame are paired, confronted birds. Their wings extend above and behind them and touch the inner edges of the framing columns. These birds cling to the perimeter of a double circle containing a broad horizontal "X" surmounted by a Latin cross, the base of which grows from the crossing of the lines of the "X". Between the two circles is the gothic Latin text: "__(illegible)____cium, sapience, timor, domini". Across the base, uneven gothic majuscules spell "Antoynes Baquelier". A flourish fills out the space on the right, but the left is empty. The centered tree, with a wide trunk marked with cut-off branches and exposed roots recalls those in the other devices. Branches at the top spread to fill the upper area under the arch. A new type of flowering plant fills the area below the birds in the lower half of the composition, and the foliage of the tree is unlike that of the other printers' devices. The foliage closely resembles that of many of the woodcuts in the *Cent Histoires*.

An additional printer's device, that of Richard de la Novaille, "imprimeur à Limoges", 1509 – 1522, may be the work of this same designer.¹⁵³ Here phoenixes crouch on a shallow, flattened hill, flanking a central tree supporting a blank shield on a buckled strap. Profile birds' bodies and heads contrast with wings in a three-quarter pose. This device has no architectural frame, and it is much more "aerated" in its design. The top third of the image is nearly filled with the same foliage and round fruit (with, in addition, two birds among the leaves) as the Pigouchet device. Two flattened, broad-

leafed plants decorate the ground, and the same uneven gothic majuscules and lower-case "h" spell the name of the printer. Once again, the designer has not left adequate room on the right side of the scroll for the end of La Novaille's name.

Finally Felix Baligault's device appears also to be the work of this designer.¹⁵⁴ A simple frame within the rectangular lines of the outer frame replaces the architectural structure. On all three of the frame's perimeters the leaf pattern seen in the other plates spirals upward. Instead of the foliage in the other blocks there is a double lozenge with a circle in its midst. Hatching on the inside of the left spiral of leaves decorates both the Baligault and Pigouchet devices. An uncarved area on the outside right of the Baligault frame, possibly suggesting recession into space, does not appear in the Pigouchet device. Within this foliate rectangular frame the familiar confronted figures (in this case monkeys seated on the shallow ground) flank the central tree. Its lower branches are cut off, and its roots are exposed, like the La Novaille device. A shield imprinted with gothic lower-case letters spelling "Felix" hangs on a strap from the tree. Foliage fills out the upper third of the block. Flowering plants like those in the Baquelier device fill in the area between the monkeys' heads and the tree's foliage. This is a new tree, closely resembling the clumps of broad-leafed plants seen on the ground in the other devices. The Baligault, Baquelier, and La Novaille devices are all less densely decorated than those of Pigouchet and Tholoze, but they share enough linear motifs to suggest a common designer. The confronted figures, hailing from heraldry and ultimately from the Ancient Near East, as well as the shields hanging from trees, appear almost ubiquitous. These repeated stylistic motifs and specific details of design and composition in the devices strongly suggest a common origin – or at least a shared, third source. It would not be surprising to find

blocks by one designer advertising printers/booksellers from both Paris and Limoges, as there appears to have been much movement within the early book trade.

Comparison with the devices of two other Paris printers is instructive. Pigouchet's contemporary and sometimes employer, Simon Vostre, also had a printer's device with confronted animals (a canine and a feline, both spotted) flanking a tree from which hangs a shield.¹⁵⁵ The *libraire's* name spreads across the bottom in gothic capitals, and the empty space in the composition is sparsely filled with vines and foliage at the top of the tree. The shield carries the initials "SV" and a notch is cut out of it on the upper left. Some of the flattened, broad-leafed plants on the ground resemble those of the Pigouchet device. Other elements differ significantly. The tree is of the "bouqueteaux" type, with the foliage clustered in a kind of umbrella at the top. The groundline is nearly at mid-height, and the more tightly-curved vines, flowers and leaves are different. Furthermore, there is more hatching on the treetrunk and animals' right contours and on the ground, suggesting recession into the distance. A similar device, of slightly later date, is that of Estienne Anffray, "libraire et imprimeur à Paris, 1522 – 1526".¹⁵⁶ The same composition shows even greater stylistic differences. The most dramatic is *criblé* design filling the background. This Anffray device could easily be read as the work of the same designer who did the Vostre device, so similar are the vines, shield shape, animals, ground line and hatching elements. Finally, these two compositions demonstrate the same flattened-out, broad-leafed plants strewn along the ground in the Pigouchet device. It seems probable that all these printers/booksellers' devices could have been designed by the same artist.

The remainder of the codex decoration is never dense, and although there is no *criblé* design, each print has some hatching. The cutting is much coarser within the text; the printed lines are darker and thicker. Most importantly for the narrative, the detail is dramatically reduced. These woodblocks may have been less carefully, perhaps hurriedly, cut by a *tailleur* of less experience or talent than the creator of the printer's device. In the final analysis, one could naturally expect Pigouchet's device to be the finest possible product, and thus to demonstrate higher quality and more detail than the prints within the codex.

The *Cent Histoires de Troye* 's Woodcut Prints

The one hundred woodcut prints in the *Cent Histoires* are uniformly oblong, framed in a simple double black line. Whereas the printer's device is quite elaborately conceived, these images throughout the codex are simplified, coarse in cut, and reductive in design in comparison with the manuscript tradition from which they come – and the subject matter of which they, for the most part, closely approximate. A few more general statements can be made before detailed observation of the specific images. For example, whether in landscape or architectural settings, extraneous but descriptive elements are essentially absent from the woodcuts, although great care was expended to describe flowers, trees, and room décor in the illuminations. In general one episode or action is depicted in the prints, focusing specifically on the text immediately at hand, all mimicking the illuminations.

The prints are all approximately 50 x 70 mm. Their double-line frames, sometimes a bit wavy or of uneven width, usually contain an elongated trefoil motif in the upper corners above a flattened arch.¹⁵⁷ The trefoils remotely repeat the design of

the printer's device, where a foliate design occupies the same area. Several of the images specifically depict the stories they accompany, although many (to be specified below) may have been stock blocks. Only one block is repeated: the scenes of Laomedon (#37) and Adrastus (#46) are definitely the same block, the only difference being that it is printed significantly darker in the latter case.¹⁵⁸

On the verso of his title page Pigouchet printed the original dedication to "*d'Orle~ns duc Loys, fils de charles roy quint*". The wording is precisely as it was in the 1399 exemplar from Christine's hand. It is puzzling that designers included the text dedication but not the image representing it. This occurs in all books examined except Condé 492 and those Christine produced, BNF fr 848 and BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431. One might think of Vérard's habit of removing the authors' names and claiming the works for himself,¹⁵⁹ but Christine identifies herself in the prologue, which Pigouchet printed in its entirety. Pigouchet could have chosen to eliminate the textual dedication as well as the image. One wonders whether, as he was printing for a newly wealthy audience, the mention of the duke might have increased the book's attractiveness to buyers.

The printer's title page has taken the place of honor formerly held by the ducal dedication miniature. Although paper was not particularly expensive, it may be that the dedication image was omitted in an effort to economize. Another folio in this in-quarto codex, multiplied by the 400 to 1,100 copies in a typical edition of the period, would have significantly increased the producer's expenses. An additional folio of vellum, moreover, would have greatly added to the cost; perhaps Pigouchet actually printed one or more of the deluxe first runs of this incunable for a special patron, and organized the collation to accommodate that use. Unfortunately, since only the four paper copies

described in this study have been identified to date, this remains but speculation. In any case, another woodblock print would have resulted either in Pigouchet's having had to place two woodcuts back to back with a full page of text facing on folio 2 recto and the presentation of Othea to Hector on the verso of the second folio, or running a folio printed on only one side. As it is, Pigouchet's device is on the first recto, and the presentation image of Othea to Hector is on the next. This felicitous arrangement may in itself explain the designer's choice.

In page layout the incunable follows very closely that of BNF fr 848 and its (apparent) close relative, Beauvais 9. Both center the miniature at the top of the page on which the next story begins, text immediately underneath the miniature, and gloss and allegory (followed by the scriptural passage) in smaller script flanking these. In addition, with the woodcut print centered at the top of each page, and the quatrain (excepting, as usual, the first five stories), centered below it, the codex demonstrates larger type for the text and smaller for the flanking allegory, and gloss, and even smaller letters for the scriptural passage – all directly reflecting the formats of BNF fr 848 and Beauvais 9.

In Othea's presentation of her letter to her son on the recto of the second folio, Hector poses on the mid-right.¹⁶⁰ He reaches toward the letter which Othea, half-length and in three-quarter pose on a billowy cloud, hands down to him with her left hand. Below the letter, from which hang a ribbon and seal, is situated a shield, essentially parallel with the picture plane and extending to nearly one-half of the height of the frame. There is no visible support for the shield, no hook, loop, or vertical object behind it. In the manuscript versions of the *Epître*, the shield hangs from a strap on a tree, and here it just floats illogically. For those reasons it would appear that the incunable is an example

of an artist's copying from an earlier work and essentially losing the meaning of the earlier example.¹⁶¹

A geometric design decorates the shield in the London incunable only. It may have been added by hand for/by an owner after its purchase, rather than its representing a change in the design at a later imprinting.¹⁶² Clearly the space available on the blank shield would invite personalization by purchasers of codices throughout the era under consideration.

The shield seems to stand on the same frontal plane as the tipped-up, wavy parallel lines representing the landscape whose horizon line is approximately one-third of the height of the frame. No other indication of landscape is indicated above or beyond this horizon line. Behind Hector stand the usual three male figures, wearing the hats and short robes of late Gothic courtiers. Hector, in profile, may be either kneeling or wearing a long robe which hides his legs and feet. Hatching suggests three-dimensionality on the figures, while the landscape indications are simple parallel, wavy lines extending to the left from Hector's gown to the left margin. Four leafy clusters complete the coarse and sketchy landscape.

The curving lines beautifully repeated on the tall hat of the middle figure on the right, on the back of Hector's head, and on Othea's face, contribute to the quiet dignity of this harmonious woodcut image. The designer has focused the viewers' attention precisely on the protagonist and his reception of the letter, framed to the top of the rectangle by Othea on her cloud on the left and the heads of the three followers on the right. No extraneous detail detracts our attention from this focus. The three figure/figure

groupings tightly unify the image, reminding one of the intimate relationship between the young man and his divine and earthly supporters.

This composition illustrates the reductive quality which dominates the images throughout the incunables. Five figures divide the frame in half, with Hector kneeling before Othea in the middle on a shallow, stage-like ground plane, the horizon line of which is at approximately one quarter of the height of the frame. Othea, encircled by her cloud on upper left and above the shield, occupies approximately the left third of the frame, and is separated from Hector. Their physical separation is diminished, however, by the extension of Hector's arms toward her to accept the letter. Hector is connected to the three figures in the right third of the frame, as the back of his robes overlap those of the innermost figure. An inverted triangle of blank background descends from the top lines of the frame to its apex, precisely centered, at the bend of Hector's elbows, his head alone being silhouetted against that blank background. Heightening the focus on Hector, all figures look at him, Othea's right hand points to him, and her left, with the letter, directs the viewer's gaze toward him as well. All three men behind him roll their eyes toward him (though their faces are frontal) and the man in front gestures toward Hector with both hands. Moreover, diagonals of a clear, flattened "X" crisscross from the corners to intersect on the protagonist's torso, emphasizing the focus on him. Finally, the frame contributes to the viewer's focus on Hector, as an implied line from the lozenges in the upper corners would extend into a point directly above the prince's head.

Hector, being a mortal, is associated physically and figuratively with the three advisors on his right. His relationship with the goddess is different. Her elevated position in the composition underlines her figurative importance, as does her separation

from the other figures and her placement on the cloud. In addition to explicating the text of story # 1 (as recipient of the letter), Hector stands in profile looking up at Othea as the text describes the scene. Othea captures Hector's focus, as well as that of the viewer. The essential elements of the presentation chapter, then, are clearly shown in this print, without the potential distraction of extraneous elements. The three flattened, broad-leafed plants lack internal detail, and the landscape is minimally designated by the use of hatchlines. The blankness of the shield below Othea serves as a neutral, and the generic dress of the three men on the right distracts but little. As observed elsewhere, these figures may represent the three ages of man; the two in front appear to be scholars, as suggested by their long robes, collars and tall hats. The third figure may wear some sort of military helmet.¹⁶³ If so these three could represent the clerical/university community, the legal community and the military, all of whom would be important adherents to the young leader.

Similarities among the four surviving copies of the *Cent Histoires de Troye* suggest that they come from one single edition.¹⁶⁴ The variations in their present condition suggest elements of their printing process or later wear, rather than printing from different blocks. For example, the smear on the back contour of Hector's robe in the London incunable may be a function of overinking. Furthermore, the tracking on the surface of the London image is almost certainly offsetting (transfer of ink from one page to the one facing it, caused by long-term pressure on the closed codex). What could be interpreted as a smile on the face of the furthest figure in the upper right corner (and which differs from the rather surly expression of that figure in the Berlin, Washington, and Paris incunables) is probably either offsetting from the facing page or smeared ink.

Finally, the geometric decoration on the London shield was likely added by hand for/by an owner after its purchase, so that it does not represent a different printing.

The woodcut print of "Temperance" is the second of the images upon which this paper focuses.¹⁶⁵ There, a crowned goddess sits on a cloud at the level of the groundline in the previous image. (There is no groundline in this image.) She turns three-quarters to her left, looks at and reaches toward a clock equal in size to her whole body. The clock is mounted against the right side of the frame, the bracket supporting its hammer nearly reaching the top of the frame. Three weights hang from the clock's works toward the bottom frame. The front of Temperance's cloud extends forward to overlap the inner line of the bottom of the frame and an apparent projection of the cloud on the far left is cut off by the left frame. Nothing else enters into this composition to distract the viewer's attention from the clearcut identification of the goddess and the clock. The goddess wears a simplified gown and cape open to reveal her feminine torso. While Temperance gestures toward the clock with her left hand, its upper bracket points in turn toward her. The clock itself is dramatically simplified, depicted as a vertical, rectangular flat panel on which are seen three wheels in the arrangement of a human face. From the right of the upper two wheels hangs a single weight. Two other weights hang, one on either end of a rope or chain looping over the top of the larger, central wheel. Behind the bell on the top is a bale-shaped loop supporting the bell. The shapes of the bale and the hammer's bracket echo that of the lozenge in the upper right corner of the frame, contributing not only to the unity of the composition, but also to focusing attention toward its center. An imperfection in the imprints of the Temperance image is found on the upper left side of the left small wheel, where a break in its outer circle suggests a bit of damage to the

woodblock at about the eleven o'clock position. The offsetting observed in the London presentation plate is also present in the Temperance image, or perhaps the tracking is due to overinking on the verso. It does not come from the facing page as in the presentation page just discussed. The apparent bleeding through from the verso may suggest poor quality paper, particularly thin ink, or lack of care in production.

Following Temperance are the stories of Fortitude, Justice, and Fame,¹⁶⁶ and all demonstrate the economy of visual representation and unity of composition already described in the previous two images. In a brutal scene, the male figure personifying fortitude or strength, Hercules, draws back above his head a mace to strike an exhausted lion, downed on the left, whose tongue hangs from its breathless mouth. Further to the right of the image lies another soundly defeated opponent: a serpent on its back in utter defeat splays diagonally from the right frame up toward the center of the image. A hilly landscape, bereft of any trees, rises to a horizon line higher than half the height of the frame and three of the typical flattened, broad-leafed plants are strewn across the foreground. Hercules and his two vanquished opponents fill the frame horizontally, and he fills it vertically, standing with his feet on the lower frame and the handle of the mace touching the upper frame. Though bare-headed, Hercules wears boots, armor on his legs and arms, and a belted tunic. He, too, looks quite tired. He holds the prostrate lion by its mane, ready to strike it with the mace. To enliven the composition, and perhaps to underline the utter exhaustion of the animals, the artist has designed them both with tails in the air. Furthermore all four of the serpent's feet stick up in mid-air, in a pose of complete submission. There appear to be either two tails on the serpent or perhaps a burst of flame emanating from near its tail. Line in this design is more expressive and

energetic than the earlier ones. In addition, considerably more hatching shades the various figures and landscape elements in this print, perhaps suggesting (along with the higher horizon line and greater detail in clothing, figures, and landscape) a change in designer/cutter, or a shift in the style of the same artist. Other woodcuts so far have demonstrated such hatching only to describe hair.

Justice, personified by Midas, is the subject of the fourth story.¹⁶⁷ Here one prisoner in a long robe with a cowl collar and bare head, kneels before an enthroned figure on the right, wearing a tall hat like those of Hector's backers in the presentation miniature. The baldachined, architectural throne, turned three-quarters against the right frame of the image, sits on a dais and fills the frame vertically. Its downward-curving canopy is lined with a decorated fabric, and the side of the seat toward the viewer is paneled. A narrow, arched window, centered between the heads of Midas and the prisoner, on the far wall, cuts off space into the background as well as reinforcing the idea of distance beyond the wall. The wall's thickness shows at the right side of the window opening. The tiled floor suggests a rather-too-steep recession into the distance toward the back wall. A vertical line, just to the left of Midas' face, and ending at his outstretched right arm may be a misreading by the cutter of the artist's design, or by the artist of an image he was copying. Extending from the front right corner of the baldachin, the front panel of which is drawn to suggest foreshortening, it could be understood as the corner of the room, but then the throne and king would be outside that wall. Conversely, the line cannot represent the edge of the far side of the baldachin, because it has no sides. Rather, the line appears simply to be an error.

The ceiling is beamed and there is a straight molding where the wall joins it. At the left of the room is an opening through which the prisoner and his companions have entered. Interestingly, the figure who stands behind the prisoner and encourages him, resting her right hand on his elbow, resembles Othea. She wears a higher-necked dress than in the introductory print, but she has the same coiffure, parted in the middle and pulled back at the sides, with a topknot in the middle just beyond her forehead. Behind the prisoner, in the doorway, are two tall men in long, high-necked, belted robes. The man in front wears a purse prominently suspended on long cords from his belt. He wears a squared-off hood and holds before him with both hands a vertical object, possibly whips. Further back a younger man peers into the room as well; his body is mostly concealed by the first figure. He wears a broad, flat collar divided in the front. These two figures may be bourgeois.

The enthroned Midas presents an authoritative-looking figure, with his crown, long hair and beard, and ermine-collared long robes. He leans with apparent interest in the direction of the prisoner, gesturing toward him with right hand extended as though speaking animatedly. In his left hand the king holds a scepter. The room is overcrowded with these five figures, contributing to the viewer's sense of their importance. Like Hector in the introductory image, but in reverse, this man kneels before and is separated from his superior, but is physically and figuratively linked to the individuals who accompany him. One figure looks directly at him from just behind, but all other figures, Midas included, face and focus upon him as he occupies the center of the frame. Kind, concerned expressions on each face, and particularly the king's pose, leaning down toward the prisoner, reassure the viewer that justice will be done in this courtroom for the

prisoner who kneels and entreats King Midas, gesturing with his hand as though speaking.

Facing the Justice story in the incunable is that of Fame,¹⁶⁸ personified as Perseus rescuing Andromeda from the sea monster. So reductive is this image that Andromeda is not even included. A sea monster emerges from the water while Perseus and his carousel-like horse Pegasus leap left to right, nearly occupying the entire central space. Rocky promontories form parentheses on either side of the frame, halting any possibility of forward movement. Nor do Pegasus' wings, though extended back behind Perseus, communicate any movement. Barely able to fit into the space above the sea monster, Perseus raises his right arm. Although his weapon is cut off by the upper frame, one can see the pommel of his sword there. The hill to the right sprouts a cluster of trees, and one flattened, broad-leafed plant suggests the remainder of the landscape. A benign sea is designated by gently undulating, widely-spaced hatchmarks. In short, the generalized scene fits the present story but would easily work in other contexts.

The stories of Latona, Aurora, Daphne and the Ara Coeli demonstrate noteworthy iconography, style, or changes from earlier generations. The image illustrating the story of Latona and her frogs, # 20, is dramatically simplified¹⁶⁹ showing Latona, veiled and in long robes and a surcoat split on the side. In the typical landscape setting of these woodcuts, she leans toward center from the right, standing next to a pond. Three male figures stand chest-deep in the water. Three frogs seem to sit on its surface, designated rather than described by essentially straight hatch lines. Latona leans and gestures benevolently with both hands toward the figures and frogs in the water, and wears a neutral facial expression. The two figures toward the back of the pond pose frontally

while the man on the left turns three-quarters toward Latona. Their poses and facial expressions are casual. Nothing in this composition reflects Latona's anger or her aggressive response to the taunting serfs communicated by the text it accompanies.

Aurora's story, #44, demonstrates a more complicated narrative, suggesting the work of a different designer.¹⁷⁰ In a crowded image a female figure sits on a cloud in the upper right, next to the sun. A male figure strides in from the left surrounded by more elaborate architectural and landscape details than before. A cluster of trees, with the same kind of foliage as the low plants, appears in the distance on the left. The sun, centered near the top of the frame, emanates chaotic, zig-zag rays. A tall building with an arched doorway sits behind a dovecote opened onto the central space at a slight angle. Inside the lower room stand three large, stiff-legged birds in profile. Another bird, hovering in flight, appears below Aurora, and a fifth balances precariously on the roof of the building.

Aurora, half-length on her cloud, extends both her arms toward the figure entering on the left, and speaks to him. He strides resolutely forward, not looking at the goddess, his arms firmly crossed over his chest. The crowded composition, dominated by angular elements, communicates the energy of early morning activities. It demonstrates Camille's description of prints where *dramatis personae*, rather than action, are depicted.

The woodcut for Daphne, (# 87) is of particular interest, as explored in the final chapter of this study.¹⁷¹ In it, the unfortunate young woman, on the right, has already experienced most of her metamorphosis into a tree. Many branches, covered with parallel leaves, sprout from her waist, leaving nothing of her body except her lower trunk and legs. She strides to the left in a profile pose. Across from her, Apollo, also in

profile, extends both hands toward her, bearing a laurel wreath. He wears a short, belted tunic, and he is bareheaded. Behind him, at the left of the scene, grows the only bush, and several broad-leafed, low plants scatter about the foreground.

The final image of interest here, the Ara Coeli, depicts the sibyl and Augustus Caesar looking at the Virgin and Child in a mandorla/cloud on upper left.¹⁷² The simplified, sloping hill with one low plant represents the landscape. This is not the typical plant observed in the rest of the codex, nor does the cloud appear the same as earlier ones. The sibyl wears a low-necked dress composed of a long skirt and square-necked bodice and a coarse net covering her hair or rounded hat with a topknot. She leans back in wonder, a graceful sway to her pose, pointing toward the Virgin and Child. To her immediate left stands a shorter, bearded, older Caesar Augustus, wearing an emperor's tall, arched crown and long, full robes surmounted by a wide ermine collar. His silhouette echoes that of the sibyl as he gestures with both his hands toward the holy figures, palms outward to demonstrate his wonder.

The half-figure Virgin holds the Child on her right arm, her left extended across his tightly bent knees, to stabilize him on her right arm. The curve of the full draping of her sleeve emphasizes her maternal, protective relationship with her Child. The Christ child is chubby and older than one might expect. His knees and hips look uncomfortably tightly bent. With his right arm he gestures toward the mortals before him, his left forearm resting on his knees. The Virgin is crowned, and both figures have halos. The cloud formation on which they appear differs from those depicted elsewhere: now a mandorla for the holy pair, it is scalloped on the outer edge, and on the inside edge a

"cushion" formed of rows of curving hatchmarks, suggests its roundness. Beyond the scalloped outer edge of the circle is a regular series of jagged lines forming the short rays.

A typically reductive image, then, concludes the codex. The Virgin and Child in their cloud nearly fill the left half of the image. The sibyl and emperor appear in the center, with nothing at all behind them except the narrow expanse of blank sky and ground.

Several elements in this final image suggest that it is the work of a new cutter or designer. The frame's two lines are further separated than in the others, the new type of plant and different style of sun rays, and cloud formation suggest a different hand. Nor have we seen a female figure with this type hairdo. At the same time, the Christ child's face and haircut have appeared in other images in this codex. The great importance of the story may have influenced the artist to make the changes.

The Incunable's Exemplar

Several aspects of the present codex give rise to questions regarding earlier assertions that this codex is copied from Christine's first and/or second fully illuminated manuscripts (BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431).¹⁷³ First, the prints are oriented the same as the miniatures in those copies Christine produced. Commonly artists drew directly from an earlier pattern onto their blocks, and these woodcuts contain in most cases the same iconography as the miniatures, oriented in the same direction, as in BNF fr 606/Harley 4431. But the printing process reverses an image. The original manuscript, BNF fr 848, is oriented in the direction *opposite* the woodcuts, representing the possibility that the

artist was drawing from these earliest five images. That leaves the question of the source for the other ninety-five cuts.

More support for the suggestion that the woodcuts descend from BNF fr 848 is page layout. Whereas BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431 use a continuous, two-column organization with column-width miniatures throughout, the printed codices are arranged with frontispiece-positioned prints introducing long-line text flanked by narrow columns of gloss and allegory, like BNF fr 848. Although the first five stories do not fit this mold in either the manuscripts or the codex, one quatrain of text, introduced by the centered woodcut above, and flanked by the gloss and allegory, occupies each succeeding page of the printed work. This is precisely the page layout of BNF fr 848 and of the unfinished Beauvais 9. Mombello hypothesized the existence of at least one copy of BNF fr 848 (now lost) created under Christine's control between BNF fr 848 and BNF fr 606, that is, between 1399 and 1405, contending as well that Condé 492 is the product of approximately 1402, copied from one of those lost copies. Of the same page layout, the artwork of the Beauvais manuscript is not only incomplete but also quite different in style and iconography from the woodcuts. Thus far, no example of Pigouchet's other printed works with any page layout like this has been discovered during this study; of nine incunables in the United States, five have long lines and the rest have two columns – with the exception of the *Epître*.¹⁷⁴ One might therefore argue that either Pigouchet had available to him one of those missing copies or that he was somehow inspired to use the original page layout in combination with the iconography of images from Story # 6 through # 100 in BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431. It seems more likely to the present writer that he used one in its entirety which had the page layout he produced in his incunable.

Comparisons among the Visual Images

A fascinating aspect of this study is comparing the content of the visual images with the imagery in the texts. Even granting that by their nature woodcut images must be more simple than drawings or paintings, these as a whole are exceptionally generalized. The woodcuts fall roughly into three categories, tending to directly depict the text at hand (in a few cases quite specifically), to depict a scene vaguely connected, but not in detail, to the the story they are meant to illustrate, or to focus on an idea related to some aspect of the story which is not verbally stated in the *Cent Histoires de Troie*. The *texte* or principal section of the stories is almost always the source of the visual imagery, but as a quatrain, it is so short that it lacks detail. The glosses and allegories contain ideas which could be presented in visual form, but most often they are not used. The typical, simplified form depicts a minimum of details to convey one chosen moment of the story being illustrated or simply to represent the figures in the stories.

The images illustrate the stories, elaborating on them little and interpreting even less. For example, the first print shows Othea handing down her letter to Hector. In the *texte* she describes herself as a goddess, but she offers no other information about herself that could be articulated visually. The artist has amplified this, depicting her as a woman with long hair falling over her back, the only suggestion of her deified status being that she is shown elevated above Hector, according to convention, on a cloud. The text describes the letter she has prepared for him, and in the drawing, the goddess holds it out toward him and points to it with her right index finger. She is posed near him, possibly to depict "making salutation with true love." Shortly he will take it from her hands.

The artist has also designed an elaborate costume for Hector, "powerful, noble prince," who is smaller than the men behind him to describe him, as also indicated in the text, at "fifteen years of age". He shows his attentiveness to Othea by his profile pose, leaning slightly forward and reaching out both hands toward her. The three figures on the right, "noble Trojans," suggest Hector's importance to the realm; in an elaboration of that idea, the artist depicts them as representing the clerical/scholarly/legal community, the bourgeois community, and the military, all of whom are dependent on their sovereign for their well-being. The three stand frontally, the man in front gesturing with both hands toward Hector to re-emphasize the visual and verbal focus on him.

On the lower left the shield, although not mentioned directly in the text, presents the idea of heraldry or knighthood. Othea's text mentions these in the terms of arms and battle when stating Hector's parentage in Mars and Minerva and describing him as "flourishing in battle". The shield is shorthand for Hector's role as a military man and his followers suggest not only the presence of support from his courtiers but also the fact that he will be the leader of many people of varying status, represented by these three men.

Story # 3's woodcut depicts a moment of stasis just preceding an action. Here Hercules has raised his mace above his head, and will momentarily swing it back to strike the lion, but at this moment all is still. The lion and serpent are down, and Hercules even looks over into the distance on the right, perhaps catching his breath before the final blow. In the extensive text which this woodcut accompanies, many possible visual elements are reduced to this scene of the hero's battle with only the lion and the serpent; "rampaging boars" and "other serpentine things" might likewise have been included by the artist. The *texte* also mentions Cerberus and his chains, "disloyal mastiffs," Pluto,

Proserpina, Ceres, the sea of Greece, a valley, Pirotheus and Theseus – all of which appear in the manuscript illuminations. The text ends by predicting victory for Hector as he defends his body, a future which can be anticipated from the reading of the woodcut.

A very reductive image, completely lacking in action, is that of Temperance, "Attrempance" or Story #2, where the goddess is depicted on her cloud, gesturing toward a large clock opposite her. As discussed elsewhere, this is Christine's own pairing of the clock with the virtue of temperance, and the two ideas could hardly be further simplified. In fact, in the text Othea describes Temperance as her beloved cousin and (later) sister, (see text in footnote) so the two females might easily have both been depicted. A knight is also mentioned, totaling three other figures which might have been presented.

Although the goddess is nearly centered in the image, it is the clock to which she turns and gestures. The image is so completely simplified that the viewer's attention is not diverted from the clock and its symbolic meaning of the importance of moderation in all things.

Other prints, such as that illustrating Story #44 of Aurora "who weeps," relate far less to the text of the *Epître Othéa*. The verbal content for this story describes a sad lady in mourning for a son who has been killed, or some representation of the battle of Troy, or at least the swan into which she transformed his body. Instead, the artist has chosen the "sunrise" aspect of the lady's myth, which is barely mentioned in the gloss, and not at all in the *texte*. Aurora here is a smiling lady on a cloud looking and gesturing toward a man striding outward from the left. The sun is centered in the sky above, and two birds are either in flight or about to fly (or to land?). Inside a dovecote three birds stand in profile. Thus it is neither substantially related to the *Cent Histoires'* verbal content nor

specifically identifiable as being Aurora at all. This may be one of the generic stock blocks commonly exchanged among Paris printers. Although it does not fit directly with this narrative about the goddess, it could be related enough to her story in general to be interchangeable among printing projects or among printers for many forms of narrative regarding her. It clearly depicts a sunrise, and the birds may be understood as cocks crowing in the morning. Conversely it is also sufficiently vague to be useful, perhaps, for stories not related to Aurora at all.

The group of woodcuts most distantly related to their stories are among the battle scenes. For example, the *texte* of Story #85, of Patroclus and Achilles, warns Hector to beware of Achilles after he has killed Patroclus, because the two Greeks love one another so much. It also mentions that they share their possessions because of that great love. There is so little in the verbal content that virtually any battle scene would work to illustrate the story. The gloss for this story includes the additional facts that Achilles was afraid of Hector's strength so he tried to watch for his adversary and catch him off-guard. The woodcut, though, just shows two confronted mounted knights, the right of which has just run through with his lance the figure on the left. The dead knight's sword and shield are on the ground below him. The heads of two other knights are visible just beyond each of the fighters. On the right the middle knight has drawn his bow, but no arrow is depicted anywhere. Thus, the artist has either elaborated to some extent on the story, supplying details about a generic battle, or the printer has used a stock battle block with no specific connection to the story. The latter is more likely the case.

In an example even more remotely connected verbally and visually, the *texte* of Story # 92 names Polyboetus whom Hector had killed and whose armor Hector coveted.

Othea predicts the victor's death following the despoiling. The woodcut depicts three mounted knights being pursued by three others with lances pointed toward their backs. A shield and glove lie on the ground between the two groups of riders, and a knight lies on his back in the foreground, his sword beside him. No reference to the most important theme of the myth, the hero's inattentiveness which leaves him vulnerable to his death, appears.

Because 1499 is mid-career for Philippe Pigouchet, perhaps one may assume that many of these blocks were designed and cut to illustrate this particular literary work, but that they were intended to be sufficiently generic to be useful in other contexts. One example of a block clearly cut for this particular *texte* is that illustrating Story #76, about Cephalus. There Othea advises:

"Do not preoccupy yourself with spying on anyone
 But always go on your path
 Cephalus, or his javelin
 Will teach it to you, and the wife of Lot"¹⁷⁵

Thus, with the ideas of spying, Cephalus, javelin, wife of Lot, the artist has designed one of the busiest of the scenes in the *Cent Histoires de Troye*, in which are depicted a city being burned and collapsing on the right; a woman behind a tree on the upper right, a javelin in her chest; a woman centered in the foreground looking back behind her at the burning city, her body literally a pillar which allows only her hands to protrude from it; and two male figures on the lower left talking. The frame is completely filled with leaves on trees and bushes; flames and tumbling buildings; stones, rocks and flames falling from above them; figures; and hatching designating shading on clothing, ground contours and

shadow below the trees. In addition to being precisely illustrative of this story, and thus almost an anomaly in the *Cent Histoires*, the woodcut differs stylistically from the others. It is busier, more filled with narrative and visual detail, and with more hatching – and longer hatchlines – than the others. It appears that a different artist designed this one block.

Fully sixty per cent of the woodcuts in this codex are sufficiently generic to have been used to illustrate other literary works as well. Many, particularly the battle scenes, could illustrate any military topic. Because of the mythological subject of many of the battle scenes, other mythological works could also have been illustrated by them. For example, there could have been several printed editions with vignettes involving Saturn or Venus or the three graces, or Pygmalion or Narcissus or a dozen others whose cuts would be sufficiently generalized here to have been used.¹⁷⁶ Scenes with couples embracing, such as Paris the Warrior (# 75), could stand in for any generic loving couple.¹⁷⁷ In Image # 97, Ilium, generic knights set fire to a nondescript castle.¹⁷⁸

Conversely, the introductory presentation by Othea and the Temperance/clock image probably had to be created for this specific publication, an unlikely choice for any other work. With only these two prints being specific enough to preclude reuse, the *Cent Histoires de Troye* must have been a relatively inexpensive publication for Pigouchet, in the busiest (and, thus, most lucrative) decade of his career. It would be wonderful to know how many copies he printed and sold. At this time all that can be said is that it appears that he only printed one edition, probably of 1,000 copies or fewer.

Notes

Chapter 4 The Woodcuts

1. From the of Lincoln, Nebraska, microfilm collection "French Books before 1601," the description of the collection of microfilms describes Pigouchet in the following glowing terms: "The collection includes many significant items such as:...the Livre d'Heures printed in Paris by Philippe Pigouchet in 1498, which equals the most magnificent examples of French calligraphy and miniature painting." n.p.

2. Jeanne-Marie Dureau, "Les Premiers Ateliers français" in *Histoire de l'Édition française: Le Livre Conquérant* vol. 1, ed. Henri-Jean Martin and Rogier Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1983), 169. (volume hereafter cited as Martin/Chartier)

3. *ibid.* One printer, Jean le Bourgeois, printed in Rouen, Angoulême, and Nantes.

4. Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to the History of Woodcut*, vol. 2, (Boston and New York: Houghton and Mifflin, 1935), 694. (hereafter cited as Hind, vol. 1 or 2)

5. Albert Labarre, "Les Incunables: La présentation du livre" in *Histoire de l'Édition Française, Le Livre Conquérant* in Martin/Chartier, 212.

6. *Catalog of Books Printed in the XV^e Century now in the British Museum* Vol. VIII, (London: British Museum, 1924), XXIX. (hereafter cited as *British Library*)

7. *ibid.*

8. *British Library*, 111.

9. These included Gerlier, the De Marnefs, Kerver, and Petit. *British Library*, XXXII.

10. Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. (1983; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 66.

11. Cynthia J. Brown, "Text, Image, and Authorial Self-Consciousness in Late Medieval Paris" in Sandra Hindman, ed. *Printing and the Written Word: The Social History of Books, 1450-1520*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 38, 132.

12. Hind, vol. 2, 674.

13. Hind, vol. 2, 692.

14. Dominique Coq, "Les Incunables: textes anciens, textes nouveaux" in Martin/Chartier, 177, finds that the beginning of printing overturned neither readers' habits nor booksellers' practices.

15. Leila Avrin, *Scribes, Scripts and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago and London: American Library Association and the British Library, 1991), 331.

16. Hind, vol. 1, 92.

17. Hind, vol. 1, 279.

18. Avrin, 334.

19. Avrin, 317.

20. Hind, vol. 1, 154.

22. The Grolier Club, *Early Printed Books owned by the Grolier Club with a Brief Account in their Printers and the History of Typography in the 15th Century* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1895), 65.
23. Levarie, 135.
24. Levarie, 111.
25. Hind, vol. 2, 629.
26. Norma Levarie, *The Art and History of Books* (Newcastle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1995), 135.
27. Dureau in Martin/Chartier, 166.
28. Dominique Coq, "Les Incunables: textes anciens, textes nouveaux" in Martin/Chartier, 178.
29. Henri-Jean Martin, *La naissance du livre moderne: Mise en page et mise en texte du livre français* (Paris: Editions du Cercle de la Librairie, 2000), 119-20. (hereafter cited as *Naissance*)
30. Henri-Jean Martin, *Histoire et Pouvoirs de l'Ecrit* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1988), 224. (hereafter cited as *Histoire et Pouvoirs*)
31. Coq, 178.
32. *ibid.*
33. J. B. Trapp, ed. *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing: Some Papers Read at a Colloquium at the Warburg Institute on 12-13 March, 1982* (London: Warburg Institute and University of London, 1983), 5.
34. Paul Saenger and Michael Heinlen, "Incunable Description and its Implication for the Analysis of 15th Century Reading Habits," in Hindman, *Printing and the Written Word*, 252.
35. Coq, 179.
36. Coq, 184.
37. Coq, 185.
38. Coq, 186.
39. Coq, 185.
40. He died there in 1471.
41. It remains unknown whether they were on the bridges leading to Notre Dame de Paris or at the Chatelet. Martin, *Histoire et Pouvoir*, 224-5.
42. *ibid.* Martin calls the characters "lettres gothico-humanistiques, reflecting the French influence as well as the Italian. *Naissance*, 118.
43. Coq, 179.
44. Levarie, 135.
45. Saenger, 252.
46. Martin, *Naissance*, 27.
47. Coq, 185.
48. Martin, *Naissance*, 27.
49. Martin, *Histoire et Pouvoirs*, 218.
50. Levarie, 135.
51. Dureau, 163.
52. Grolier Club, 65.
53. Dureau, 165.
54. Hind, vol. 1, 59.

55. Dureau, 169.
56. Dureau, 167.
57. Coq, 212.
58. Coq, 214.
59. Hindman, "The Career of Guy Marchant (1483-1504): High Culture and Low Culture in Paris" in *Printing and the Written Word*, 70. (hereafter cited as Hindman, Guy Marchant)
60. Hindman, Guy Marchant, 71.
61. Hindman, Guy Marchant, 94.
62. Mary Beth Winn, "Antoine Vérard's Presentation Manuscripts and Printed Books," in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing: Some Papers Read at a Colloquium at the Warburg Institute on 12-13 March, 1982*, ed. J. B. Trapp (London: Warburg Institute and University of London, 1983), 66.
63. Levarie, 138.
64. *British Library*, XXV.
65. Coq, 191.
66. Levarie, 138.
67. Martin, *Naissance*, 150.
68. Coq, 191.
69. Coq, 191. This was not a rare occurrence, as expressed in the context of Christine's works in Chapter 1.
70. Dureau, p. 169, states that he *was* a printer as well as hirer of printers.
71. Coq, 212.
72. *British Library*, 123.
73. Brown in Hindman, *Printing*, footnote 47, 137.
74. Albert Labarre, "Les Incunables: La Presentation du livre," in Dureau/Chartier, 208.
75. Hind, vol. 1, 8.
76. Hind, vol. 1, 12. In cases where only an image was printed, the block was thicker, particularly if it was to be rubbed by hand.
77. This is also evident from lack of pressure marks on versos, and from the fact that the folia are printed on both sides. Furthermore, the ink is quite black, while oak-gall ink would probably have a brownish tint at this point.
78. Trapp, *Manuscripts in the First 50 Years*, 5.
79. Avrin, 331.
80. Martin, *Histoire et Pouvoirs*, 233. Martin indicates no date in this context, but he may be discussing a few years after 1500.
81. George E. Woodberry, *History of Wood Engraving* (New York: Harper and Sons, 1883), 45.
82. Martin, *Histoire et Pouvoirs*, 202.
83. Hind, vol. 1, 79.
84. *Incunable Typography: Descriptive Catalog of Books Printed*, 261. (See Appendix B, # 135 for a photograph of a similar cover.)
85. Martin, *Naissance*, 32.
86. Martin, *Histoire et Pouvoirs*, 284.
87. Labarre, 202.

88. Levarie, 150.
89. Labarre, 200.
90. Gustave Brunet, *La France Littéraire au XV^e siècle ou Catalogue Raisoné des Ouvrages en Tout Genre Imprimés en Langue Française jusqu'a l'an 1500* (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1865), 133-135.
91. Marie L. Pellechet, *Catalogue Général des Incunables des Bibliothèques Publiques de France* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1897-1909) describes them as Types 1, 3, 7, and 8, under # 3563, n p.
92. All type designations taken from the *British Library Catalog #VIII*, 448.
93. The British Library Catalog actually lists them as being 81B for "verse and gloss" but the gloss and allegories are 81B, the same size letters, while the versified *texte* is the same size as the text of the title page.
94. Labarre, 200.
95. *ibid.*
96. Labarre, 202.
97. I discuss elsewhere the models Pigouchet may have used.
98. Martin, *Histoire et Pouvoirs*, 284.
99. Martin, *Naissance*, 35.
100. P. G. C. Campbell, *Etude sur les sources de Christine de Pizan* (Paris: Libraire Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1924), 17.
101. Campbell, 17.
102. *ibid.*
103. Avrin, 332.
104. Coq, 209.
105. Levarie, 69.
106. National Gallery, *15th Century Woodcuts and Metal Cuts*. Catalog prepared by Richard S. Field (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery, n.d.), "2" of introduction, n p.
107. Labarre, 210.
108. The German Desire Huym probably produced some of the first Parisian illustrations, and Pierre Le Rouge and his family played an important role, as well, between 1486 and 1493. Coq, 210.
109. University of Nebraska at Lincoln's Love Library owns a microfilm collection of books printed before 1601. An ongoing production, the collection contains codices from the British Museum's holdings. As of June, 2002, it contained 2,582 titles on 549 reels of microfilmed codices printed in French (mostly in Paris and Lyon). Of 286 of those titles, Pigouchet printed thirteen – eight out of ten books of hours for himself, and the other two for Vostre; and three other religious works (a *Sermones* for Petit, 1500; a *Saturae*, 15___, and an *Imitatio Christi*, 1492) for himself. No secular codex by Pigouchet is present. I anticipated finding blocks borrowed from Pigouchet's version of the *Epître Othéa*, but found not one example of a woodcut from that work in any of these codices, by Pigouchet or any other printer.
110. Hind, vol. 1, 124.
111. Hind, vol. 2, 597.
112. Hind, vol. 2, 640.
113. Hind, vol. 2, 694.

114. Martha Tedeschi. "Publish and Perish: The Career of Leinhert Halle of Ulm" in Hindman, *Printing the Written Word: A Social History of Books, 1450-1520* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 41-67.

115. *British Library, Catalog VIII*, 448.

116. The number of copies may be related to the duration of a woodblock, which Hind describes as lasting through a "moderate" edition, as blocks could split or fray. vol. 1, 16.

117. This edition comes from the collection of the Ohio State University, Rare Book Collection.

118. Desmond and Sheingorn say that Le Noir used 39 of Pigouchet's blocks, 221.

119. See Appendix B, #75.

120. Martin, *Naissance*, 154. Martin describes in this context a *Mer des Histoires* produced by Pierre le Rouge for Charles VIII in 1488 on vellum with woodcuts mostly copied from German ones. They were all overpainted, but showed very little relationship to the text.

121. "The Epistle of Othea, Goddess of Prudence, sent to the chivalrous spirit Hector of Troy with One Hundred Stories. Newly printed in Paris by Philippe le Noir, bookseller, living on rue Saint Jacques at the sign of the white crowned rose." ("Pink white crown?" He would have been using a masculine adjective [couronne] for a feminine noun [rose] or two color adjectives [one clearly feminine, the other suitable for both genders] for the feminine noun "couronne". However, the fact that he capitalized "rose" suggests that it is the noun.)

122. As demonstrated in the discussion of Pigouchet's codex, errors occur there as well, and they are corrected in the later copies. As I do not have access to other copies of this Le Noir codex, it is perhaps unfair to presume that Le Noir and his workshop did not correct them after printing the present copy. It is probably worth mentioning that Le Noir added a colophon – without errors. It reads as follows, again commencing with a bold paraph:

"Cy finissent les cent hystoires de troye nouvellement Imprimees a Paris par Philippe le noir Libraire et Relieur jure en luniversite de Paris. Lan mil cinq cens vingtet* deux le dernier jour de novembre." "Here end the Hundred Stories of Troy, newly printed in Paris by Philippe le Noir, Bookseller and Binder, licensed by the University of Paris. The year one thousand five hundred twenty-two, the last day of November." *I cannot tell whether he put a space between "vingt" and "et".)

123. See Appendix B, #69.

124. See Appendix B, #70.

125. See Appendix B, #71.

126. It is interesting that these were not found and corrected—but I had missed them after several careful studies, also.

127. See Appendix B, #72.

128. It would make sense, for emphasis, if it had been in Christine's copies, as this is a story about problems occurring when a woman's advice goes unheeded!

129. Michael Camille, "Reading the Printed Image: Illuminations and woodcuts of the 'Pèlerinage de la vie humaine' in the 15th Century", in Hindman, *Printing the Written*

Word: The Social History of Books, 1450-1520 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 259.

130. Camille, "Reading the Printed Image," 264.

131. *ibid.* I quote this passage to demonstrate what I perceive to be a prejudice on Camille's part in favor of painted miniatures.

132. Kenneth Goodman: "The Psycholinguistic Nature of the Reading Process" in Hindman, *Printing the Written Word*, 281.

133. Hind, vol. 2, 465.

134. Goodman, 281.

135. I am grateful to Professor Marilyn Stokstad for reminding me that this type justification for visual imagery had a long history within Church teaching.

136. Labarre, "Les Incunables: La Presentation du livre," 198.

137. Labarre, "Les Incunables: La Presentation du livre," 209.

138. Martin, *Histoire et Pouvoirs*, 284.

139. *Criblé* is a delicate-looking form of decoration in which a black field is pierced with holes so that it looks spotted. The use of *criblé* usually suggests a metal plate, although Hind and others mention that it is also possible with woodcut. See Appendix B, #73.

140. *British Library*

141. See Appendix B, #81.

142. *British Library*

143. Timothy Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1980), 2.

144. Husband, 13.

145. Husband, 13-15.

146. These figures appear on other printers' devices, as described below. In very similar form they also decorate a codex Marchant printed for Gerson. See Appendix B, #74.

147. The copy in the British Library Catalog has a single line frame. See Appendix B, #75 and 75a.

148. I find it curious that it should be poorly centered, but such is the case in every copy of Pigouchet's device I have seen, as well as in other printers' devices. One would expect that, as advertisements for the printers, these would be as free of flaws as possible.

149. Levarie, 82.

150. *Marques Typographiques* (Paris, 1853; repr. Brussels: Impression Anastaltique Culture et Civilisation, 1966), #21, n p. See Appendix B, #76. (hereafter cited as *Marques*)

151. *Marques*, #44. See Appendix B, #77.

152. *Marques*, # 650. See Appendix B, #78.

153. *Marques*, # See Appendix B, #79.

154. *Marques*, # See Appendix B, #80.

155. *Marques*, # 769. See Appendix B, #81.

156. *Marques*, # 770. See Appendix B, #82.

157. Levarie, 89. Double lines for frames were already seen by 1473 in a *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* produced in Germany by Gunther Zainer.

158. See Appendix B, #83.

159. This common practice, particularly among printers, seems to have occurred because they did not believe a woman could have written these works.
160. See Appendix B, #84.
161. Is it not strange that with the common occurrence in woodcuts [see, for example, the discussion of printers' devices] of a shield hanging from a strap on a tree, this element has been lost in the present woodcut? See Appendix B, #84.
162. This is one of those details which are impossible to comprehend without first-hand study. I'm indebted to Professor Ann Rudloff Stanton at University of Missouri at Columbia for this idea.
163. He is cut off by the frame and hidden behind the other men.
164. I am indebted to Intern Rob Fucci at Spencer Printroom, KU.
165. See Appendix B, #85.
166. See Appendix B, #86.
167. See Appendix B, #87.
168. See Appendix B, #88.
169. See Appendix B, #89.
170. See Appendix B, #90.
171. See Appendix B, #91.
172. See Appendix B, #92.
173. Mombello, 17.
174. I do not see a pattern; some are religious, some secular with long lines, and some books of hours are two columns, some long lines.
175. Chance, 100. See Appendix B, #93.
176. See Appendix B, #94a, b, c.
177. See Appendix B, #95.
178. See Appendix B, #96.

Chapter Five

Comparison of the Visual Images

This final chapter focuses on the relationship between the text and the visual images in the *Epître d'Othéa à Hector* as Christine designed them and then as they change from one generation of redactions to the next. Comments on changes in the text must necessarily be limited, their being for the most part beyond the scope of this study.¹ The present chapter is organized to consider first the changes the author made between her original form of the manuscript, with its line drawings, and the next two, fully illuminated copies. Changes in later copies demonstrate relationships suggesting possible families of copies. Some alterations may result from different political climates or social classes. Many of the changes, particularly in the latest copies, appear to result from artistic efforts toward innovation simply for the purpose of innovation. It is important to note that this study does not posit a direct lineage from one copy to another after the first three; although comparison among them suggests certain groupings, it is impossible at this time to even suggest specific direct lines from the visual imagery under consideration. So many copies of this literary work are lost that a clearcut ancestry is unlikely to ever be possible.

A detailed discussion of the dedicatory images will first establish the author's working method in the original three manuscripts created under her direction. The Coligny manuscript, the watercolor, and the woodcuts all lack this dedication image to Duke Louis d'Orléans. The following comparisons will necessarily include much less detail, suggesting links among other generations of the manuscript. Many of the most

interesting changes appear to be isolated artistic innovations, additions or deletions, unrelated to other copies but nonetheless significant for this comparative study.

The Dedication Miniatures: Christine to the Duke

Christine's goals in writing the *Epître d'Othéa à Hector* are discussed more fully in Chapter 1, but it is important to remember here that the young woman was working desperately at this early date to place herself professionally in the good graces – and in the pocketbooks – of the royal and aristocratic families of the French court. At the outset, then, the author must have hoped that her identification of the dedicatee with the Trojans (not idle flattery), would carry great weight with those potential patrons. Christine genuinely admired and held in great affection her memory of King Charles V and her childhood life spent in his court. What better way could she have found to express her admiration for the Valois court – and to curry their favor – than to identify the young prince Louis d'Orléans with Hector of Troy? The format offered her a context in which to promulgate her ideas regarding the manner of leadership appropriate to a French prince, and, in addition, to establish herself as a voice to be heard. The layering of Christine with the goddess Othea; of the fifteen-year-old Jean du Castel and his mother, Christine, with the fifteen-year-old Hector and his "mother" Othea; and of the fifteen-year-old Louis d'Orléans with his motherly advisor and counselor, the author Christine, is considered elsewhere in this study, but it is a pervasive idea in the text which merits repetition. One of the principal threads tying together the collection of stories, some of which are only peripherally related to Hector, is the idea that women are advisors whose counsel should be heeded.

The retro elegance and delicacy of the drawing style BNF fr 848 places the first manuscript's decoration at the highest rank of work available within the author's apparent financial constraints, and distinguishes her text as meriting such praiseworthy artwork. Moreover, these drawings visually create from the first visual image the relationship Christine either already enjoyed or hoped to establish with her young patron. The original dedicatory drawing shows Christine as tiny by comparison to the Duke and his courtiers, visually stating to the duke that the author considered him her superior, and reminding readers of the author's self-deprecating remarks in the text:²

D'umble vouloir, moy, povre creature, Femme ignorant de petite estature...	1. 17
Pour ce entrepris ay, d'indigne memoire.... ...car je n'ay sentement	1. 36
En sens fondé, n'en ce cas ne ressemble Mon bon pere, fors ainsi com l'en emble Espis de ble en glenant en moissons Par mi ces champs et coste les buissons Ou mietes cheans de haulte table Que l'en conqueult quant li mes sont notable; Autre chose n'en ay je recueilli...	1. 44
Moi, nommee Christine, femme indigne... ³	1. 52

Ignorant woman of small stature...
For this, I, of unworthy memory, have undertaken,
Because I have no feeling founded in (good) sense
In this case I do not resemble my good father,
Except as one who steals grains of wheat while
Gleaning among the fields and near bushes
Or crumbs falling from a high table
Which one gathers when the food is noteworthy;
I have gathered nothing else...
I, Christine, unworthy woman...⁴

On the other hand, that image visually highlights the author by posing her almost centrally, before a blank background with nothing and no one near her.⁵ She looks up

into the eyes of the duke, surrounded by courtiers, as she hands him her book – which he takes in his left hand, formally linking the two protagonists of the image. The duke leans toward Christine and looks directly at her. Behind him two of the three courtiers also focus their gazes upon her, while the third seems to be speaking to his companion to his right. The courtier on the far left demonstrates the thickness of the codex with his index finger and thumb, suggesting that he is discussing Christine's gift with the other courtiers. Increasing the sense of connection between the donor and the recipient, the hem of Christine's robes touches those of the duke, and the negative space between her and the right frame of the scene pushes her toward the duke visually, as well. The image describes a tightly woven narrative of a close relationship among members of the inner circle of the duke's court.

No longer silhouetted against a blank wall, in BNF fr 606 Christine's importance diminishes doubly as the duke has now become the central figure in the scene. However, an arched opening in the wall above and behind her frames the author, formally drawing attention to her. Furthermore, the white edge of the niche, as it visually continues the top of her white horned headdress, doubles her height, making her seem by far the tallest figure in the scene, since she is actually depicted kneeling. The brown of her dress reinforces this connection between her body and the alcove, where the contrast of the two bright blue shelves draws additional attention. The artist has used the same brown to paint the robes of the duke – another connection between him and Christine, but to no one else in the image. Finally, the brown wooden ceiling draws the viewer's eyes upward to unify the scene pictorially, as do the blue straps on the book which formally repeat the blue shelves in the niche behind Christine. These elements increase her stature to

counterbalance the fact that in this depiction the duke does not reach out to take the codex, nor does he lean toward Christine. He actually leans away from her, his left hand grasping his scepter, his right on the arm of the throne. The courtier on the Duke's left, though, who had stood behind him in the BNF fr 848 version, now holds his left hand outward near the author kneeling before them, visually nearly touching her shoulder. Although he does not appear to gesture toward her with either hand, the incline of his left arm nevertheless carries the viewer's eye down toward the author. In this second representation of the dedication of the *Epître Othéa*, Christine's feet extend beyond and in front of the right corner of the scene's frame. They also cross in front of the column supporting the flattened arch designating the chamber where the presentation takes place. By such a composition the artist makes the author not only a part of that scene but also a "meta-miniature" figure who exists outside that pictorial space.

By having Othea depicted as a widow in wimple and veil, as she will do further on in these manuscripts, Christine conflates her own literal identity as a widow with widow figures in the manuscript's various stories. Through the image of herself/Othea depicted as the same figure as, for example, the sibyl in Story # 100, Christine co-opts the authority the latter figure symbolizes and thus adds weight to her own arguments. Repeated depictions of authority figures as widows throughout the *Epître Othéa* construct Christine/Othea as a "meta-miniature" or "meta-story" figure. This visual concept described in the present work characterizes both Christine's literary career and her actual life. In her various guises in the different literary creations, the author maintains a metatextual identity – as advisor, as widow – but she literally acted as advisor, and she often wrote of her widowhood.

All figures, including the duke, look at Christine, who lowers her eyes respectfully as she raises the book toward its recipient. The two are separated by a narrow expanse of blue carpet repeating the pattern of the baldachin and by the red robe of the courtier beyond them, but their robes just touch between them on the floor. Thus, in several ways, the author is more distanced in this image than in that decorating BNF fr 848 except for the important links created by the repetition of color.

The miniature accompanying the *Epître Othéa* in Harley 4431 shows Christine's status enhanced, as the courtier to the duke's left this time points at the codex with his quite elongated left index finger. The designer thus establishes the codex as the subject of the courtly conversation. Its author holds it upright in her left hand by its spine, fingering the edges of its folia, as if pointing out how thick and fine it is. The courtier who points at it is also measuring its thickness with his right index finger and thumb, in a direct quotation from BNF fr 606's figure on the far left. His gestures are highlighted, as compared to the earlier image, by his more prominent placement in this later composition.

Here Christine is posed closer to the duke, demonstrated both by the fact that her robes touch his on the floor between them, and by the generally increased proximity of figures within this more crowded space. Christine, like each of the figures, is contained within this frame. All eyes are on the author as she locks eyes with the duke. The more intimate relationship between the author and the court is formally suggested, then, in multiple ways: All figures are crowded together in this small chamber; the duke's and Christine's clothing overlap; the author and recipient lock eyes, and all eyes are on her.

Color plays an important role throughout the manuscripts, as demonstrated in this introductory miniature. Unnatural colors, such as pinks and other pastels, dominate BNF fr 606's illuminations, enhanced by elements in a soft brown and light blue, as well as touches of red in many of them. The consistent use of these colors lends an elegant tone and unifies the codex overall. Harley 4431's color scheme features more bold colors, primarily reds and brilliant blues with generous inclusion of gold leaf, especially in the background diapering. Specifics of the artists' clever color choices, such as linking Christine to the Duke by painting them wearing the same brown color, will be pointed out as appropriate in this section of the study.

The images change necessarily in style because of the change from the inked line drawings in BNF fr 848 to the tempera in BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431. While it may be argued that the drawings in BNF fr 848 were somewhat outmoded in style, the paintings are absolutely up to date. In fact, their excellent quality speaks to their having been created by some of the best artists in Paris. From the standpoint of design, use of space, color rhythms, unity and perspective, they are superb. Harley 4431 is of surpassing quality, although its backgrounds almost universally have reverted to geometric patterning which closes them off, rather than the perspective into space suggested by the blue skies or other backgrounds in its immediate predecessor BNF fr 606. At the same time, the figures in BNF fr 606 tend toward the International Gothic elegance of line, while in Harley 4431 they are more corporeal, more set in their environments, and more vivacious – all suggesting Italian influence. The Harley artist may have chosen the anachronistic diapered background because it gave place to increased use of gold leaf. Thus the manuscript would be even more valuable a gift to its intended recipient.⁶

Among those works created outside the author's control, Condé 492 shows only two figures behind the duke's throne, both literally peeking out around him to look at Christine.⁷ The duke, also, looks at her, as he places his left hand on the book – which actually looks round here, unifying it with the circular foliate background of the scene as well as linking the author and recipient. Christine fixes her eyes on her patron as she holds the book close to her more full-figured chest and their fingers nearly meet in the exchange. In this image, like the others, the author kneels respectfully before the enthroned leader, and even more than in BNF fr 848 and Harley 4431, her position visually connects her to the duke. Here she is close enough for her right knee to be hidden behind his legs (she is kneeling on her left knee). The convexity of the background vinescroll's sinuous line behind her visually pushes her toward the Duke even more forcefully than the blank wall in BNF fr 848. The Coligny manuscript, the watercolor, and the woodcuts all lack this dedication image to Duke Louis d'Orléans.

The Mythic Presentations: Othea to Hector

The scene of Othea's presentation of her letter to Hector links the dedication miniature for the duke to the rest of the text by the extreme similarity, both formally and iconographically, between the two images. The miniatures are identified with one another first, by their location on the recto position of two succeeding folia. The parallel compositions depict Othea formally in the position of the duke (the superior being) and Hector where Christine (the inferior being) had appeared in the dedication miniature. Such a "meta-miniature" arrangement formally identifies the duke with the goddess and Christine with Hector. It symbolizes the author's respect for the young man, (not to

mention the subtle self-aggrandizement also constructed) but also serves visually to connect the dedication which is unrelated to the verbal narration it precedes.

Little alteration occurs in the composition of any of the manuscript's first five images when the medium changes from its original or in the succeeding generations on parchment. For example, the mythical presentation image, in every case except Beauvais 9, contains all the same figures in the same visual relationship to one another.⁸ Certain manuscripts show the whole composition reversed, however, such that Othea is on the right in BNF fr 848 and the Condé manuscript, but on the left in BNF fr 606/Harley 4431, the Cologne work and the woodcut image.⁹ The Lille watercolor offers the only real (if slight) innovation by centering the goddess on her cloud between the young prince and his friends, thus changing the focus of the composition from the young man to the goddess.¹⁰ This is logical, since among all the generations of the *Epître Othéa* under consideration, only the Lille work lacks the verbal dedication to the Duke. As there is now no royal or ducal figure to identify with Hector, Othea can supersede him visually in importance.¹¹

There are consistently three figures accompanying the young prince in the dedication image with Christine and the duke as well as in the presentation image with Hector and Othea, except for the Condé manuscript, Bodmer 49, where there are four. As discussed in Chapter Three, scholars believe that these are the patron, Antoine, a half-brother and their ancestors. No scholar has suggested identification for the three courtiers in the original manuscript's dedication to the Duke and or the presentation to Hector, but the three may represent the same individuals in the two drawings. One of the themes running through the group of stories in the *Epître Othéa* is that of respect for elder, wise

counselors. When Charles VI reached his majority in 1388, the young prince took control of the government, ousted his uncles, and recalled his father's trusted advisors, the "Marmousets". Among them three were particularly important; in some accounts no more than three are listed. At least one was a friend of Christine and her father. Thus, because there are three figures depicted accompanying the duke in these original drawings; because the courtiers' supportive role in the image possibly alludes to that same role in their lives; because they look older than the duke (this is admittedly not clear); because the Marmousets opposed the uncles, and Louis d'Orléans had grave disagreements especially with his Burgundian uncle; because the author had a personal relationship with those advisors, and because the the two drawings relate so closely compositionally, the three figures in both may represent the Marmousets.

Another difference demonstrated by the Burgundian work is the fact that all four of Hector's companions look like relatively young men, while in other copies the figures appear to suggest the three ages of man.¹² Whereas in BNF fr 848, BNF fr 606, and Harley 4431 the men wear elaborate hats suggesting their privileged social classes, beginning with the Chantilly copy, the middle-aged figure on the right back wears a military helmet instead. Such a variety of headwear might well suggest that the young ruler will be supported by figures from the clergy, legal, and military classes. Hector, too, wears an elegant, feathered hat in BNF fr 606/Harley 4431, and a stylish one in the Cologne and Lille manuscripts, but he is bareheaded in that from Chantilly and the woodcuts. All figures in the three manuscripts created under Christine's direction show Hector and his followers in long, elegant robes, a reference to their nobility. In the Chantilly incarnation, though, Hector alone wears such elegant garb; there the old man

wears a knee-length belted tunic and the youngest figure wears the high-fashion short tunic. (The third figure in military helmet is hidden by the old man in front of him, so it is not possible to see his clothing.) One other change, as will commonly occur, is that the Lille artist has taken this opportunity to demonstrate his ability to draw figures in varying poses: his three men stand one frontally, one in profile, and one with his back to the viewer, in very active poses almost like a dance. In all other copies the figures strike either profile or frontal static poses.

Truncating space into the distance like the checkerboards of Harley 4431, foliate or geometric backgrounds throughout Condé 492 contrast with the skies in BNF fr 606. For example, in Condé 492's presentation image repeated registers of three lines dividing a row of circles from a continuous horizontal zigzag filled with a circle in each of its triangles prohibits any suggestion of distance further back into space. Like the checkerboard, this type background distracts somewhat from the narrative, but represents a popular style of decoration.

The "book of the letter," in BNF fr 848 a square, flat object with straps or ribbons crossing and sealed in the middle, is another element to consider in this first image. The next three manuscripts and the printed version show no change, except that the letter's shape becomes elongated, and no straps or seal appears on the Chantilly or woodcut ones. Again the Burgundian and Lille incarnations differ; in the Lille watercolor a scroll billows down to Hector and in the former manuscript the goddess hands down an open codex with visible (if not legible) text. Printing was so important at the time of the Burgundian artist's representation (approximately 1460) that this detail could be an allusion to that new medium, or it could simply be the artist's desire to illustrate the book

as a book rather than as a letter. Rare at this late medieval date, the scroll may suggest the Lille artist's desire to co-opt for his manuscript the authority associated with the classics. Parenthetically to this discussion, the scroll appears in the Lille manuscript wherever codices appear in others, as well as occasionally in additional scenes, to elaborate them.

One final element in Othea's presentation miniature in BNF fr 848 is the double diagonal line of enthroned lions, crowned and holding upright swords in their left paws. These float down through the middle of the image, separating the mortals on the left from the goddess on the other side. In BNF fr 606/Harley 4431, the lions are completely absent, the shield element having been perpetuated on the lower left by a tree from which is suspended a blank shield hanging at an angle on a strap. The blank shield reappears in the woodcut where, in the same area of the composition, it floats, bolt upright, with no apparent support.

An utterly fascinating and quite perplexing image in Beauvais 9 replaces this populated presentation image in BNF fr 848. There, a shield suspended on a short strap from a hook (attached to nothing) occupies the lower right of an otherwise blank page (save some later writing which is illegible). Three enthroned lions, crowned and holding upright swords in their right paws, decorate the shield.¹³ These greatly resemble those in BNF fr 848, except for the squared-off form of their thrones and their orientation to their right instead of left. The Burgundian image still contains a shield but it has moved from the miniature itself into the center of the elaborate border at the bottom of the page. It bears the coat of arms of Antoine, Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne, and is circled by the collar of the Order of Saint Michael. Formally, a whippet on the floor in the lower left in

this composition has taken the place of the shield in earlier copies. Finally, the Lille watercolor differs in that it lacks any kind of shield. One might speculate on the presence or absence of the shields on the basis of the role of knighthood in this culture; by the late 15th century when the Lille work was produced, the role of knighthood had dramatically diminished. Furthermore, it is appropriate to consider the potential buyers of these books. Particularly, the Lille watercolor may have omitted the shield element as no longer of interest to its bourgeois buyer. Such a supposition does not help explain the presence of the shield in the even later woodcut, however. The chapter on woodcuts discusses the presence of a shield in the printer's device, which could not have been created much earlier than 1484 when Pigouchet began his known printing career. The printer's device resonated with heraldry for different reasons, though, than whatever connotations might have existed for the woodcut shield. One observation is that printers at this time made every effort to emulate as well as possible the manuscripts they were reproducing as printed editions. Perhaps that impulse could explain the perpetuation of the shield. It could also offer a location for personalizing the codex, as may be the case in the London copy.

Comparisons among the Story Images

All manuscripts and the incunable demonstrate direct and/or indirect descent from the original copies. Multiple alterations in visual content occur, but not necessarily according to the chronology of the copies. This fact results from the different family lines represented among them; there is no suggestion that, after the first three, they follow one from another for the one hundred years under consideration. Increasing, but not

linear, divergences in style also appear. That is, the styles change but do not become increasingly improved or even increasingly updated. The three earliest manuscripts are of the highest artistic quality and latest styles – no doubt because they were destined for royal owners. Bodmer 49 also demonstrates very fine quality and the current style, but is not nearly so valuable as BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431, lacking their full illumination and gold leaf. The decoration of the Chantilly manuscript of 1402, though contemporary with the first copies, was never completed. The images that are even present in it are simply rapid sketches preliminary to paintings that were never made, so neither style nor artistic merit can fairly be judged. The watercolor on paper, Lille 175, is by nature rapidly painted and not of high quality artistically. Like that one, the woodcut copy is reduced in detail by its nature, and its drawing is interesting, if not excellent. The stylistic changes occur commensurate with cultural advances as well as with changes in medium. For example, the development of Northern Realism and the Italian Renaissance use of perspective determine in large part the changes in style as described, and the woodcut and watercolor images differ because of the nature of those media. The more cumbersome medium of woodcut printing generally demands reduction in detail as compared to the tempera illuminations. The rapidity of painting for the watercolor images broadly determines their style and the reductive quality commonly but not universally observed. It is also appropriate to consider audiences for these copies, as the paper copies, whether painted or printed, probably went to less wealthy owners.

A few overall trends can be observed among the many reasons for the changes. Between BNF fr 848 and the two next copies, there is a general amplification of detail and quality. One could speculate that the mid-fifteenth-century Beauvais 9 would have

been close artistically or at least in the elements included in the images, to BNF fr 848 or to BNF fr 606, had it been illuminated. The sketches do generally fit those models. The drawings in Condé 492 follow the content of the images in BNF fr 606 closely, but, unfortunately, like BNF fr 848, it was never planned with such artistic elaboration after Story # 5. As one would expect, the two late manuscripts, because of both their temporal distance from the originals and their facture in northern France (Bruges and Lille) rather than Paris, diverge more dramatically from Christine's copies. These two manuscripts sit at opposite poles of patronage: the very wealthy bibliophile Antoine, Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne, commissioned or purchased Bodmer 49, while Lille ms 175 was commissioned or purchased (more likely) by a bourgeois owner, Jacques Maes. The very identity of these audiences determined the courtly and sophisticated quality of the Coligny manuscript and the more sensationalistic Lille paper copy. Finally, the incunable's early date in the development of printing determines much about its style, where the woodblock medium also contributes significantly to its reductive quality. It, too, was no doubt produced for bourgeois buyers, who may likewise have enjoyed the sensationalistic qualities in some of the prints.

More specifically, as this chapter will show, the illustrations for the first five stories (the only ones present in BNF fr 848) in the late fifteenth-century manuscripts and the printed copy may derive more from BNF fr 848 rather than from the slightly later twin BNF fr 606/Harley 4431. Beauvais 9 appears to be the ultimate source of the model for the three late generations, although because of the uncompleted state of Beauvais 9, one must hypothesize an intermediary between the Beauvais manuscript and the Bodmer, Lille, and woodcut copies.

Changes, in the form of elaborations in the visual imagery, occur already between BNF fr 848 and BNF fr 606/ Harley 4431 whose production Christine is thought to have also overseen (and in the very close Chantilly copy assumed to have been made outside her control). These elaborations in the individual illustrations fit with the overall enhancement of the manuscript between BNF fr 848 and the next two copies, including the increased number of visual images; the change from line drawings to full-color miniatures including gold leaf; the addition of rubricated (purplish) explanations – in Christine's hand -- about the planets and other images, and various clarifications in the narratives. An example of the latter appears in Story #2, *Attrempance*, whose original text did not even mention the clock.

Texte: Et a celle fin que tu saches Qu'il te faut faire et que tu saches A toy les vertus plus propices Pour mieulx parvenir aux premisses De vaillance chevalereuse... Pour ce vueil qu'avec moy t'amie Celle soit, ne l'oublies mie, Car c'est deesse tres apprise Qui sages est, moult l'aime et prise. ¹⁴	1. 9 1. 26
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And to this end, that you may know
 What you should do, that you know
 In yourself the virtues more propitious
 The better to reach the premises
 Of chivalrous valor...
 Therefore I would that with me she love you;
 That this may be, let her not be forgotten.
 For this is a very learned goddess,
 Whose wisdom is much loved and valued.¹⁵

Between creation of BNF fr 848 and BNF fr 606, Christine added the following as a

rubrication, located at the beginning of Story #2: ¹⁶

Attrempance estoit aussi appellee deesse; et pour ce que 1. 1
notre corps humain e composé de diverses choses et doit estre
attrempé selon peut estre figuré a l'orloge qui a plusieurs roes
et mesures; et toutefois ne vault rien l'orloge, sil n'est attrempé,
semblablement non fait nostre corps umain se attrempance ne l'ordonne.

Temperance is also called goddess, and because of this our
human body is composed of diverse things and must be tempered;
according to reason, it can be symbolized as a clock, which has
several wheels and weights, and always the clock is worth nothing
if not regulated; similarly our human body does not work if
temperance does not regulate it. ¹⁷

BNF fr 848's visual image shows nothing but the lady and her attribute in an
indeterminate setting. ¹⁸ Congruent with the addition of the descriptions elaborating on
the text (above), the succeeding three copies also add narrative visual elements. Two
groups of young women seated on the ground below the clock and an elaborate Gothic
structure in the distance, in the two manuscripts created under Christine's control, amplify
the image by describing it as a populated outdoor setting. They do not directly depict
anything in the text, which does not offer concrete elements to depict. The young women
on the left point at the clock, the direction of their pointing fingers more clearly
designating the clock in BNF fr 606 than Harley 4431, where they just point vaguely
toward the center of the image. (Were there any question as to which of these copies
followed which, details like the one just described – and they occur frequently between
the two manuscripts -- would clarify the issue.) The additional details reinforce the
attention drawn to the clock, but they also serve an overarching message in much of
Christine's writing: common women are capable and worthy of being educated; they

belong in settings where they can be intellectually engaged.¹⁹ Their topics of conversation may be historic or something as current as the new clock, but women and their society can only benefit from opportunities to become educated, just as these young women in animated conversation appear to be. The closely related Condé 492 shows one group of women seated below the clock and the goddess.²⁰ Although engaged similarly in conversation, these do not point at the clock, nor even seem to be aware that it is there.

Another example of narrative detail added in the author's rubricated explanation is the mention of Jupiter's "casting dew against the vale," down onto the knights in Story # 6.²¹ Without this added description, the artist would have had no reason from the original text to include such a detail. BNF fr 606's artist painted the god pouring drops down from a vessel he holds in his hand. However, in an unusual divergence within this pair, Harley 4431 lacks the descriptive detail of the dewdrops. Generally if anything at all changes between BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431, it is additional heraldic decoration on clothing or trappings in the later copy, such as Hindman carefully described in her *Painting and Politics in the Court of Charles VI*.²² No explanation is readily apparent for this omission in the Harley miniature.

Changes in later manuscripts may be as simple as reversal of the composition so that figures on the right in the early copies move to the left. An example of such a reversal occurs in the presentation image, where Othea sits on her cloud on the right in BNF fr 848 and the Chantilly copy, but on the left in BNF fr 606, Harley 4431, Bodmer 49, and in the woodcut image.²³ (She is not depicted in Beauvais 9, and is centered in the watercolor image.) Such a reversal of the composition is quite common, simply suggesting a touch of originality in the hands of the new artist. Reversals are seen

particularly in the woodcuts, where one would expect the images to be reversed simply by virtue of the printing process. The Lille manuscript, too, frequently reverses the compositions, in one of that artist's many efforts at innovation.

Christine's artists tended to illustrate her text in several ways. They may have simply depicted figures (who usually could stand in for any number of characters) without action specific to the stories -- or with no action at all -- as emblems representing the vices and virtues, for example. This is one of the major reasons, along with the page layout and the topics and organization of the text, for which scholars have linked the *Epître Othéa* to emblem books.²⁴ The story of Temperance offers an early example of this in the original manuscript, where the lady Attrempance stands before her clock in a generic representation without setting and essentially without action. Images such as this one function as "portraits" of the characters involved. They may later evolve into narrative images, such as that seen in the BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431 and Condé 492's representations, where groups of women sit on the ground below, perhaps discussing the clock. The image of Justice, Story # 4, is another place where the scene, though representative of the text at hand, is so basic that it is symbolic; its details can be changed without altering its meaning.²⁵ The setting can change from outside to inside; the number of guards can differ; the orientation of the scene can reverse, but the illustration remains a symbol of Justice. An individual figure might, as well, be depicted to represent a character trait the author is recommending. In Story # 32, Cassandra kneels quietly in a generic religious structure before an altar.²⁶ Any number of changes could occur in this depiction and it could still symbolize the character trait of one's religious devotion and

the frequent prayer associated with it. In fact, the Cassandra image does not change appreciably throughout the generations considered in this study.

The original manuscripts frequently illustrate scenes filled with action. Pitched battles sufficiently generic that they could be used for virtually any battle in any context illustrate a large number of the stories. In the illustration of Story # 94, Ajax, footsoldiers and mounted knights fight to the death, filling the frame with violent action.²⁷ The helmets and lances repeat into the background suggesting an endless number of fighters; they cannot be counted, so the number can be altered with essentially no impact on the message. Likewise, details of the battles themselves can change without altering their representation of the story or its moral. This type of depiction becomes generic and, although none repeat in Christine's manuscripts, artists could easily reuse them without distracting from the work's continuity. Generic images number at least thirty per cent of the depictions in BNF fr 606, and even more in later copies. Christine's artists would certainly have had access to pattern books, or to models from other manuscripts. Given the high quality of the artwork, they must have had enough experience to have painted them in other contexts. Furthermore, many of Christine's stories are stock characters in stock situations; Narcissus swooning by his fountain, for example, appeared in many compilations of mythology which were in turn repeatedly copied.

In a limited number of the chapters, the original artist very precisely described the story as the author wrote it. One example is the story of the death of Achilles, # 40:²⁸

Texte: A cil a qui trop as meffait,	l. 1
Qui ne s'en peut venger de fait,	
Ne t'y fyes, car mal en prent;	
La mort Achillés le t'apprent.	

Glose: ...Non obstant ce Achilés se fia en la royne Hecuba, femme Priant, a qui il ot occi en trahison ses enfans, et ala par nuit parler a elle pour traictier du mariage de Polixene, sa fille, et de lui; et la fut occis Achillés par Paris et ses compaignons, par le commandement de la royne, sa mere, au temple Apollin. 1. 9

Texte: Him against whom you have done too much,²⁹
 Who may not thereof avenge it,
 Do not trust, for evil from it may fall.
 The death of Achilles informs you of it.

Glose: ...Achilles trusted in Queen Hecuba, wife of Priam, whose children he had killed in treason, and went in the night to speak to her about contracting marriage between Polyxena, her daughter and himself. And there Achilles was killed by Paris and his companions by commandment of the queen, his mother, in the temple of Apollo...

In the miniature one sees Paris slaying Achilles in the temple of Apollo, where the latter has come to worship before an altar bearing golden idols. Hecuba looks on as Paris' companions aid him in the deed.

Another illustration very close to its text is that of Busiris, where the old man carries decapitated heads to an altar inside a temple similar to that of Apollo in the preceding example. Other heads already sit on the altar in front of the idols, and bleeding, decapitated bodies lie on the floor behind Busiris. The text reads as follows:³⁰

Texte: Ne ressembles mie Busierres, 1. 1
 Qui trop fu plus mauvais que lierres;
 Sa cruauté fait a reprendre
 A tieulx fais ne te vueilles prendre.

Glose: Busierres fu un roy de merveilleuse cruauté et moult se delictoit en occision d'ommes, et de fait lui meismes en ses temples les occioit de coulteaux et en faisoit sacrifice a ses dieux... 1. 6

Texte: Never resemble Busiris,
 Who did greater evil than a thief;
 His cruelty invites criticism.
 By such deeds do not wish to be caught.

Glose: Busiris was a king of marvelous cruelty and greatly he delighted in killing men; and indeed he himself in his temples killed them with knives and by this means made a sacrifice to the gods...³¹

These illustrations are specific to the stories they illustrate, yet in both cases they could eventually be used for other stories of sacrifice in temples or of murders. Such illustrations could also work in other authors' versions of the same or similar stories. In other cases the image is too specific to work for any story except the one at hand. Jupiter's dewdrops are one example. The "wild pig boar" attacking Adonis, Story #65, is another example where the miniature very closely illustrates this particular story, and it is not generalizable to others.³² This type of specificity could be used in stories extremely like these or, conversely, so vague in their verbal content that virtually any similar images could be used.

Typically if the original illustrations are generic, the later copies follow suit. The generic battle scenes in BNF fr 606, for example, appear the same almost without exception, until the Coligny manuscript diverges from them. The closer miniatures do not necessarily maintain any early level of specificity, however. In fact, frequently as the images are increasingly distant from the original temporally, they lose details which relate them to the text. An example where the miniature's original narrative is already somewhat distant from the text is Story #20, Latona, as harrassed by the jealous Juno.³³ In the text, the goddess is thirsty and stops for a drink at a pool where serfs are relaxing.

Texte: Ne prens pas contens au renoules³⁴ 1. 1
 Ne en leur palu ne te soulles;
 Contre Lathona s'assemblerent
 Et l'eaue clere lui troublerent.

Glose: Un jour fu moult traveillee la deesse Lathona et arriva a un gué 1. 10
 et lors se basiia sur l'eaue pour estancher sa grant soif; la avoit
 villains a grans tourbees qui pour la grant chaleur du souleil
 en l'eaue se baignoient et Lathons pristrent a ramposner et a lui
 troubler l'eaue que boire cuidoit...si les maudist et dist que a
 tous jours mais peussent remaindre ou palu, si fussent lais
 et abhominabes et tous jours ne cessassent de brayre et de
 ramposner...Adont devindrent les vilains renoules qui puis
 ne finerent de brayre...

Texte: Do not contest with frogs,³⁵
 Nor soil yourself in their swamp.
 Against Latona they assembled,
 And they troubled the clear water before her.

Glose: One day the goddess Latona was much harrassed, and arrive at a ford
 and then she stooped down to the water to quench her great thirst, where
 there were gathered a great crowd of serfs, bathing in the water...they
 tried to insult Latona and troubled the water...Then she cursed them
 and said that all their days they might remain in the swamp...Afterwards
 the serfs became frogs, who may not stop from braying...

These unkind serfs insult Latona, muddying the waters so that she cannot drink.

Angered, she threatens them and then turns them into frogs. In Christine's version of the miniature, Latona appears beside a pool where men and frogs frolic in the water – without allusion to insults or dissension -- making it already something of a generic scene. The men strike several poses suggestive more of the artist's ability to depict varying poses than of anything related in the text. The frogs link to the story to the extent that they are in the water, but no detail suggests that they had formerly been men. (This might seem difficult to depict, but if one considers the Daphne image, one can see

possibilities. There was obviously precedent for the Daphne image, though, and probably not for Latona's story.) Succeeding depictions include fewer and fewer of the details in the text. The Lille image shows the men and frogs together in the pool, like the earlier copies, but with fewer of each, and Latona just sits beside the pool, appearing to smile. The woodcut Latona gestures toward the men and frogs in a non-specific way, and there are no frogs at all in the Bodmer image. The sibyl-like Latona looks away from the men relaxing there, and save one who swims on his back, the men do not look at her, either. These images, finally, just decorate the pages, adding nothing to the verbal sections, and not even illustrating them.

Another example where details from the textual narrative are depicted in the original image but lost in ensuing generations appears in Story # 12. In it, Christine says in her rubricated description placed just before the miniature that Mercury holds a flower as representative of the beauty of words and a full purse because those who write well will eventually become wealthy.³⁶ The flower disappears after the four early fifteenth-century copies, but the rubricated explanation disappears as well. That fact might suggest either that the later artists omitted the flower because they found it unimportant, or that the exemplars for these later copies lacked the clues about the flower in the rubrications the author added between BNF fr 848 and BNF fr 606. Unless the artist knew the Mercury story from some other source which included the flower, he would have had no motivation to paint it.

An interesting alteration occurs in the Mars and Venus story, # 56, where the text says that Phoebus sees Mars and Venus together in bed and reports this to her husband, Vulcan.³⁷ The angry god of forging comes into the bedroom and chains the lovers

together in the bed. The image very specifically represents this verbal narrative, showing the couple in bed while Vulcan clamps a big chain around them and the bed. Phoebus' glowing "sun face," surrounded with curvy rays, peers into the window on the back wall, and two or three observers stand to the side. In the Bodmer copy, a veiled nun has replaced Phoebus spying through the window, though the god is directly named in the text.³⁸ The detail is lost entirely in the Lille manuscript, where there is not even a window.³⁹ In both these latter images the anonymous observers remain in the scene, but figures mentioned in the text disappear.

Another example of the loss of detail as the manuscript is recopied occurs in the story of Arachne, # 64.⁴⁰ The original image very closely represents Christine's text, depicting the two goddesses before a loom. The left figure wears a crown, and a spider sits on a web in the upper right corner. No sketch was drawn for the Beauvais copy. Both the spider and the loom disappear in the Cologne copy, where the two uncrowned women talk in a room furnished with only a round table.⁴¹ The woodcut print includes both the loom and the spider on her web, but only one woman.⁴² In its most reductive among many generally reductive images, the watercolor copy shows a huge spider on her web and a tree separating it from a woman on the far side. The three elements are visually separate enough to deny any narrative at all, and without the narrative they make no sense.⁴³ A second example of the reductive quality frequently observed in the Lille manuscript occurs in the Echo story, # 86.⁴⁴ The original image, as well as all others (except Chantilly, which has no image) shows Echo and Narcissus in a landscape setting. The Bodmer copy adds a hound in the foreground, and the woodcut includes a fountain symbolizing Narcissus.⁴⁵ The Lille description of the story is simply the female Echo

The earliest miniatures depict the same pitched battle seen throughout the series of copies, but under Christine's oversight there is no visual reference to Hector's careless and greedy behavior. Bodmer 49's scene, though, shows Hector leaning down off his horse, exposing his lower back, in a representation that very specifically depicts the text.⁵⁰ In a slight variation, but obviously depicting the plundering, Lille 175 shows Hector on his knees beside the fallen Polyboetes, reaching toward the latter's body.⁵¹

Almost without exception references to the earlier images occur in all of the later representations. At least one example occurs in each of the later manuscripts and in the incunable where this is not the case, however. These may result from errors on the parts of the later producers, or possibly from lacunae in the models from which the artists were working. For example, Bodmer 49 shows Story # 49's illustration with Juno sitting on her orb in a completely empty landscape.⁵² All earlier copies showed figures counting money, and/or handling bags of coins near a large coffer filled with containers of money. The text warns against prizing riches rather than prowess. There is nothing in the Bodmer illustration to link it to the text – nothing to identify the deity, and nothing at all referring to the money. Many of the Bodmer (and other) manuscript's images show deities on orbs or "spheres" (as Christine calls them in her BNF 606 rubrication) so the artist may have invented an image related to those and then not completed it for this story. Other possible explanations for such a strange image are posited elsewhere.

Lille 175 demonstrates a painting completely unrelated either to the earlier illustrations or to the text: In its Story # 85, Patroclus and Achilles, a man and woman stand talking inside a building; several men outside the doorway on the right look on.⁵³ The text tells of the profound friendship between Patroclus and Achilles, and warns that

if one is killed, the other will seek vengeance in his friend's behalf. All other manuscripts and the incunable depict either a large battle or at least two figures fighting. The hair and other elements in the Lille painting are so different from the rest of the images that this may be by a different artist. Perhaps the miniature was missing in the exemplar, and a different artist later completed it in this incongruous way. Finally, the Paris story, #68, elsewhere always depicts the young man with the three goddesses among whom he must judge. The Lille image depicts a totally unrelated seascape, with ships on the water and generic buildings on the shore.⁵⁴ There are no figures in the scene, which must have been a substitute chosen by an illiterate designer or artist just to fill in the space at the top of the page.

In the case of the incunables, divergences may result from the printer's choosing to use a stock block perhaps only distantly related to the subject, in order to economize on time or money. This is evidently the case in many of the generic battle scenes. A different example occurs in Story # 22, Pygmalion, where typically the artist kneels or stands adoringly before the statue he has created. For no apparent reason the protagonist in the printed version approaches the lady, extending a laurel wreath toward her.⁵⁵ The figures are sufficiently nonspecific to work in this context, but the wreath has no connection with the story as it is written. The "Saturn the Saturnine" story, # 51, offers a different example, where the figures elsewhere either point at or touch their tongues in illustration of Christine's warning against too much talking. The woodcut image just shows a group of men making no gestures, below the god on his cloud.⁵⁶ Thus the thrust of the story is lost. There is one example in the woodcut edition where a block is reused unjustifiably. The story of Adrastus, # 46, appropriately uses a block with a king in bed

while two knights joust outside his window.⁵⁷ But the block repeats for the story of Laomedon, # 37, where it does not fit, while elsewhere the city of Troy is depicted under attack by an huge army.

In at least one case, artists or designers after the three earliest copies made a correction in their predecessors' illustrations. Christine had apparently confused the story of Potiphar's wife and Joseph with that of Bellerophon, Story # 35.⁵⁸ Her artist painted Bellerophon and his mother-in-law together in a building where the young man appears to resist the advances of the woman.⁵⁹

Texte: Bellerophon soit exemplaire
 En tous les fais que tu veulx faire
 Qui mieulx ama vouloir mourir
 Que desloyauté encourir.

1. 1

1. 6

Glose: Bellerophon fu un chevalier de moult grant beauté et plain de loyauté. Sa marrastre fu si esprise de s'amour que elle le requist; et pour ce que il ne se volt consentir a sa voulenté elle fist tant que il fu condampnez a estre devourez des fieres bestes; et il mieulx ama eslire la mort que faire desloyauté...⁶⁰

Texte: Bellerophon is exemplary
 In all the deeds that you would like to perform
 Who prefers to desire to die
 Than to encourage disloyalty.

Glose: Bellerophon was a knight of very great beauty and full of loyalty. His stepmother was so seized by love for him that she required it of him and, because he would not consent to her will, she did so much that he was condemned to be devoured by fierce beasts; and he preferred to choose death than to express disloyalty...⁶¹

In all other manuscripts, as in the incunable, the image has been corrected to reflect the traditional story of Bellerophon, who is threatened by wild animals of all kinds, but not by the inappropriate advances of a woman. A reference to the threatening animals

appears in a lion on a mountain in the distance in BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431, beyond the room described above. However, the young man appears alone in a landscape threatened by serpents and other monsters in all other cases. Whether the designer or artist knew the story of Bellerophon or learned it in the context of decorating this story, he succeeded in eliminating the textual details which were actually unrelated to the traditional story.

A final, curious example demonstrates a relationship among certain of the generations of the *Epître Othéa* after the earliest copies. Story # 17, Athamas, describes the horrific tale of a wicked step-mother, Juno, who forces her husband to kill his two children from his previous wife Queen Ino. In one of the more convoluted tales in this collection, Christine describes the fact that Juno causes the "goddess of madness" to come from the underworld with her "hair full of serpents" to force Athamas to (variously) disinherit or kill his children. In the visual narrative of BNF fr 606/Harley 4431, a wild-looking, snaky-haired woman stands in the foreground as Athamas strangles his two children, his dead wife sprawled on the ground in front of the castle.⁶² In later copies, the Medusa figure stands, holding a snake in each hand.⁶³ The fascinating thing is that in the Beauvais, Bodmer, and woodcut copies, the wicked woman with snakes in her hands migrates into the next story, that of Aglauros, # 18.⁶⁴⁻⁶⁶ The latter narrative relates that Herse, the protagonist's sister, is so beautiful as to cause Aglauros to suffer from envy, and to turn green. Mercury tries to enter a castle to see Herse, but the envious woman blocks his way. In retribution he turns her to stone. There is nothing in the narrative to suggest the presence of the woman with the snakes, but she appears in the three copies mentioned above – apparently a copying error in the Beauvais' manuscript's facture that

was perpetuated in the later copies. Not only is this a curious mistake, but it offers additional clues to possible families of copies not heretofore noted from the artistic standpoint.

Chapter Four considers in detail the many variations in the visual imagery found in the Coligny and Lille manuscripts. Suffice it to say here that the changes principally involve the media and the target audiences' preferences. In both cases the number of gods is reduced, the deities tending especially in the Lille watercolor to become just humans walking on the earth. The likelihood, also, is that the content of the images may be altered to more precisely fit with the cultural, political, or economic realities of the period in which each successive generation was created. An example appears in the Justice scenes, Story #4, where Minos represents the just and honest, if severe, king/judge.⁶⁷ Christine's artists had first depicted two barefoot, frazzled-looking figures in ragged tunics being brought before an apparently benevolent king. Their hands are tied before their torsos, but they look without fear at their judge in BNF fr 848. BNF fr 606/Harley 4431's prisoners are naked, though, and the guard on the left, near the king, is the turban-wearing executioner holding the huge knife in the Thamaris story. This represents one of several examples in the *Épître Othéa* where the author's personal life may have influenced the depictions. It is clear that for some time Christine was battling before magistrates or whoever else would hear her complaints and lawsuits (discussed in Chapter One) against those who were robbing her of her inheritance. This image may reflect her struggles before a judge, either as plaintiff, or possibly as defendant in cases where she was unable to meet her own debts because of these losses. Perhaps the

differences in the potential outcome of the trials reflects the ups and downs Christine was experiencing with her own judicial contacts.

The contemporary Chantilly manuscript shows one prisoner being brought before a friendly judge who reaches out welcomingly toward the prisoner. Again, there is no suggestion of anxiety, and this figure's clothing is unremarkable. Its nonspecific qualities may suggest its distance from the author's personal situation. The Bodmer manuscript shows three young, well-dressed prisoners kneeling before an enthroned king/judge, in an outside setting. The hypothesis that the majority of the Bodmer manuscript is a sanitized version, suggested in Chapter Four, could explain this depiction of the prisoners.

Moreover, their higher social class seems suited to the context of this copy. The incunable version, like the Chantilly one, shows a friendly judge, here leaning out from his canopied throne to speak to the single prisoner. The "guards" in this scene appear to be a cleric, and possibly Othea, herself, beyond the fortunate middle-class prisoner. (This figure, although the neckline is different from that of Othea, wears the same curious topknot above her forehead as Othea wears in the presentation image.) The single man before the judge would appear to be entitled to expect a good result. The Lille watercolor suggests, perhaps, a less favorable outcome for its jaunty prisoners.⁶⁸ The king/judge, as in the woodcut, leans forward and gestures reassuringly toward the two bourgeois figures. But looming in the far distance, framed by an archway of the throne room, is a gallows, perhaps a portent of their future.

Links among Bodmer 49, Lille 175 and the Pigouchet Edition

Similarities among the *Epître Othéa's* depictions in the last three incarnations are too numerous and too close to ignore. In fact, it appears that at least some of the imagery may come from a common source. One example appears in Story #4, where Hercules and his followers battle Cerberus along with other diabolical creatures. The Bodmer, woodcut, and Lille copies lack the architectural structure representing hell in the earlier manuscripts. As already mentioned, Temperance in Story # 2 appears alone in these three copies, but is accompanied by groups of young women in the earlier copies. It seems logical that the Bodmer and Lille copies, both from the North, could have common ancestry; the woodcut is more difficult to explain. Examples in the two late manuscripts are even more numerous, and could be related either to common sources or to cultural phenomena in the North. For example, in at least two of the scenes where a god or goddess addresses human figures standing on the ground, the Bodmer and Lille copies place the humans on high-backed benches. The Saturn image in Bodmer 49 shows four figures on such benches, roughly facing each other, below Saturn's orb. In the Lille watercolor, six figures sit on benches placed to splay outward toward the front, with the god above on his cloud. Story # 51's Saturn also appears above figures on benches in the Lille manuscript, but not in that from Cologne. In a different example, the judgment of Paris image, # 75, in BNF fr 606 shows Paris, holding the golden apple, standing on the right of the composition with the three ladies. Curiously, the fountain and the figure's pose (leaning or lying against it), associated more readily with Narcissus, appear in both the Bodmer and Lille copies. No narrative detail justifies the addition of the fountain, which may simply be the source artist's elaboration on the landscape. Another element shared by the two northern copies is depicted in Story #9, where Apollo, on his orb,

normally looks down on as many as eight male figures; the Bodmer and Lille images display an empty landscape. Chapter Three discussed the repeated presence of parleys rather than all-out battles in the Bodmer manuscript. Demonstrating another commonality between these two, the Lille manuscript, like the Bodmer, shows a conversation but no fight in Story # 31, Pyrrhus. Finally, a funeral scene identified by a coffin illustrates the story of Achilles and Polyxena, # 93,⁶⁹ in all copies of the *Epître Othéa* except the Lille and Bodmer manuscripts. In the Bodmer manuscript, Achilles and Polyxena appear in a temple with an altar, and Hecuba joins them in the Lille image in an open-walled room.^{70,71} The associated gloss relates the fact that Achilles had seen Polyxena at her brother's funeral and had fallen madly in love with her. Many lines further on it also describes his having been executed when he met Hecuba in the temple to arrange his marriage to her daughter. Thus it is evident that either the later artists knew the story or read the text far enough to glean the idea of the temple they depicted. It is interesting to note that although this should have provided another opportunity for a gory scene, the Lille artist left it bloodless – not even referring to the murder.

In a different pairing, the woodcut and Bodmer copies both include two men roughhousing beside the tent in front of which Ulysses and his opponent play chess, Story # 83.⁷² The text mentions only "games," and in all other copies, the two seated men flanking the chessboard are the only figures depicted. Another case appears in the story of Briseis/Chryseide (# 84), where in only these two incarnations, male figures appear on horseback before the young woman, in a scene devoid of action or other figures.⁷³ In the entirely different scene of the original copy, the standing Troilus reaches up to offer his

heart to Cupid as Briseis looks on.⁷⁴ In yet another example of imagery shared between the Coligny and woodcut copies, Apollo approaches Daphne with a laurel wreath, Story # 87.^{75, 76} All other copies, including the original, show the young woman in transformation into the tree while Apollo plucks leaves from her branches.⁷⁷ Both the transformation and the wreath appear in the text, and the woodcut cleverly has combined them so that Apollo presents a laurel wreath to the tree-form Daphne. It is possible that both artists arrived at the idea independently. However, the number of commonalities between these two manuscripts makes it seem less probable that each artist, himself, took that particular aspect of the text to depict. Moreover, another anomaly occurs in the woodcut imagery which may connect to the Bodmer. A surprising representation of the Pygmalion story, # 22, unique to the woodcuts, depicts Pygmalion presenting his creation with a laurel wreath!⁷⁸ The composition is precisely that in the Bodmer manuscript's Daphne story. The typical representation of the Pygmalion story shows the bedazzled artist standing before his statue enthroned or looming above him. Perhaps this is an example where Pigouchet found himself in possession of two different stock blocks for the Daphne story and chose to use both of them in his production. The idea of the victory wreath is not incongruous with the Pygmalion story, so it works acceptably, but it is unusual.

When elements appear only after the original copies and repeat in other generations, a familial connection may be assumed in the later copies. In the story of Jason, # 54 for example, a female observer is added to the castle, observing the fight between the protagonist and his monsters, in all copies later than the original BNF fr 606/Harley 4431. Because there is no textual justification for this figure, the

logical explanation for her appearance in these copies – but not the originals – is that an artist's addition perpetuates into other copies taken directly or indirectly from it.

Support for the hypothesis of the Beauvais manuscript, alluded to in the introduction of this chapter, as an ancestor of the Bodmer copy lies partially in common compositional or pose elements. For example, in the Memnon miniature for Story # 36, (where, incidentally, another parley instead of a battle occurs in these two copies and no others) the figures' poses as well as the composition are shared in the two manuscripts.^{79, 80} Likewise, Story # 42, Leander and Hero, describes the elements of the composition as well as the figures' poses in the same way. The composition of Story # 50, Amphiarus, is also shared by these two copies, but not others.

Conclusions

Christine may well have overseen the illumination of her manuscripts; her involvement in their facture is, finally, impossible to determine at the present time. What can be said with certainty is that many of BNF fr 606 and Harley 4431's images are sufficiently generic that she would not necessarily have had great input into their design. Certain of them have virtually no connection with the text. Multiple images in BNF fr 606 could have been essentially "stock" representations the artists supplied themselves, even when they relate more closely to the text, since the stories were, for all intents and purposes, "stock" stories. This concept would apply particularly to images where the figures are basic "portraits" and little or no action is seen. Certain details in these, such as Jupiter's dewdrops, limit their use to particular stories, but do not limit the textual details other authors might add to what Christine had written. Such images basically

reduce the stories to their essential qualities. For example, figures hand their hearts to Diana, the fickle one, where the text describes the risks involved with such behavior, warning against it in Story # 10. Where images relate more specifically to the stories, more authorial intervention can be postulated. The curious narrative error in the Bellerophon story is a case in point. Perhaps the artist did not know the traditional story any better than the author, or perhaps he decided (or was instructed) to illustrate the text as Christine had written it. It is easy enough to think of the author's instructing the artist to follow the story as it was; it was, after all, too late to change the text.

The multiple textual disjunctures that occur between the versified texts and the associated gloss and allegory sections for the most part have no impact on the artistic elements, which are based on the texts and their glosses almost exclusively. No example of an illumination following a gloss or allegory but incongruent with its versified text was apparent in this study.

Changes occurring from BNF fr 848 to BNF fr 606 and then to Harley 4431 were disclosed in only minor elements, as demonstrated in the detailed description of the dedicatory images in the three manuscripts. Elaborations on BNF fr 606 in Harley 4431 have been carefully described by Hindman and do not enter significantly into this study. The truncated 1402 Chantilly copy directly relates to BNF fr 606 in many of its images, but demonstrates certain innovations, as described above. Intermittent changes in the other manuscripts and the incunable suggest no particular cultural or historical themes, but do demonstrate stylistic departures. These are due to the artists' efforts to reflect the most current styles in their locales, as well as to address their probable audiences. Thus, the Cologne work, destined for a prince, is more refined both in its artistic style and in

the visual narratives, themselves. And, whereas one might expect so wealthy a patron to commission a manuscript in the more expensive medium of illumination, this manuscript is designed mostly as a grisaille work. Although the artist elaborated on the grisaille with his addition of tempera elements in many of the paintings, he nevertheless worked in the medium originally created, or at least preferred, in the North. Particular creativity is evident in the artwork of the Lille watercolor copy, where more changes occur than in any other of the copies under consideration. Not only does that artist usually reverse his compositions (if they relate that much to the originals), but he often adds or subtracts elements from his models. In several cases his illustrations are entirely new, yet clearly related to the text. As it is beyond the scope of this study, no exploration has been conducted of the possible impact of changes in the text, whether deliberate or accidental. Indeed, such textual changes might explain changes in the illustrations.

It is possible to conclude with reasonable certainty that the Bodmer and Lille manuscripts share a common artistic source, both because of the multiplicity of commonalities in the imagery and because of their common origins in the North. It is less clear why the woodcut copy would also demonstrate so many shared artistic elements. There is no reason to assume that, this being a late example, Pigouchet could not have used an exemplar from the North as readily as one from Paris. Just as likely, the three might have shared a common exemplar which was moved from Paris to Lille or Bruges and even back, for that matter. The Beauvais manuscript may be one key to sorting out the connections, because of its apparent link to Bodmer 49. Again, there are simply too many shared elements, compositions, and poses to discount ancestry in the Beauvais work, despite its incomplete illustration. Review of Mombello's textually-

based family lines shows that his conclusions correspond with the artistic findings in this study. Further research, based on the other thirty-eight copies of the *Epître Othéa*, may eventually clarify these familial lines in the illustrations, as well as the text.

Notes

Chapter 5 The Visual Images Compared

1. References to the text and all quotations of the text in Middle French are taken from Professor Gabriella Parussa's invaluable and exhaustive work on editing the text of Christine's copies of the *Epître Othéa* in the original language. English translations come from Professor Jane Chance's version of the same text where appropriate. In some cases the translations are mine, as indicated. Dr. Parussa teaches French literature at Université de France, Tours, and Dr. Chance, at Rice University.

2. Simone Roux, *Christine de Pizan: Femme de Tête, Femme de Coeur* (Paris: Editions Payot et Rivages, 2007), 173. This type of self-deprecation was more or less obligatory among dedicating authors in this era. Parussa finds it essentially meaningless, it is so common.

3. Christine de Pizan. *Epître Othéa*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999), 195-196.

4. Jane Chance *Christine de Pizan's Letter of Othea to Hector: Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Interpretative Essay* (Newburyport, MA: Boydell and Brewer, Ltd., 1990), 33-34.

5. See Appendix B, #1a, b, c.

6. Let us not forget that Christine is working to earn her living. Because the patrons' "gifts" provided in return for these "gift" creations were typically of roughly the same value, the author effectively raised her income for the book. This is not to mention the renown she would enjoy, and the concomitant increase in commissions, because of the great value of the works she produced.

7. I cannot resist commenting on the fact that the figure peeking around the throne on the left really reads like a female; unfortunately the image is too indistinct to be sure. Could this manuscript have been copied for a female patron? It is enticing to posit a limited model here for the Coligny manuscript's clear increase in female characters.

8. See Appendix B, #2, 6a, 6b, 13, 14.

9. See Appendix B, #97a.

10. See Appendix B, #97b.

11. It is of special interest that the verbal dedication to the Duke repeats in all other manuscripts, and even in the incunable edition, but not here. Early printers' efforts to emulate as closely as possible their exemplars probably explains the presence of the dedication in the incunable. The Lille manuscript's lacuna is not so easy to explain. I would speculate that there may be some connection with the dissension occurring at this time between the Burgundian dukes and the French crown, which had become practically interminable by 1460. The memory of Jean sans Peur's engineering of the Louis d'Orleans' assassination fifty-three years earlier could still have engendered animosities, but there were many current issues which could have made the designer or buyer or both resistant to the inclusion of the ducal dedication. It may be just as likely that the reason for its lack is that the exemplar from which the copyist worked had simply somehow lost the verbal dedication passage! In its position at the beginning of the manuscript, it could easily have been destroyed.

12. It is difficult to tell in BNF fr 848. If these figures do represent the three ages of man, their presence in this situation could be read as co-opting the dignity and power of the three wise men in biblical imagery.

13. Gianni Mombello, *La Tradizione Manoscritti*, 24. These also occur in Beauvais 9 (as discussed herein), Oxford Bodley 421, and in Laud Misc. 570, Bodley. Mombello reads the weapon in the hand of the last lion in the Laud manuscript image as an ax.

14. Parussa, 202.

15. Chance, 38.

16. Parussa, 202.

17. Chance, 38.

18. See Appendix B, #3.

19. Story # 29, Io, states that knowledge should be available to "commoners," to "common women".

20. See Appendix B, #134.

21. See Appendix B, #17a, b.

22. Sandra Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epître d'Othéa": Painting and politics at the court of Charles VI* (Toronto and Ontario, Canada: Institute of Pontifical Studies, 1986).

23. See Appendix B, #2, 6a, 6b, 13, 14.

24. Alison Saunders, *The 16th Century French Emblem Book: A Decorative and Useful Genre* Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1988. Saunders has made the most extensive study on the use of emblems.

25. See Appendix B, #9a.

26. See Appendix B, #98.

27. See Appendix B, #99.

28. Parussa, 257.

29. Chance, 71.

30. Parussa, 258.

31. Chance, 72.

32. See Appendix B, #100.

33. See Appendix B, #101a, b, c.

34. Parussa, 232.

35. Chance, 56-57.

36. See Appendix B, #102.

37. See Appendix B, #103.

38. See Appendix B, #104.

39. See Appendix B, #105.

40. See Appendix B, #106.

41. See Appendix B, #107.

42. See Appendix B, #108.

43. This brings us back to Camille's comment that woodcuts can become so reductive that they lose meaning. It reminds that rather than the medium, it is the style which determines this problem. Both the watercolor and woodcut images tend to be reduced in detail. See Appendix B, #109.

44. See Appendix B, #110.

45. See Appendix B, #111.

46. See Appendix B, #112.
47. See Appendix B, #113.
48. Parussa, 329.
49. Chance, 113.
50. See Appendix B, #114.
51. See Appendix B, #115.
52. See Appendix B, #37b.
53. See Appendix B, #116.
54. See Appendix B, #117.
55. See Appendix B, #94c.
56. See Appendix B, #118.
57. See Appendix B, #49a.
58. Chance mentions the possibility of Hippolytus and his stepmother, Phaedra, instead in her footnote. Chance, 67.
59. Parussa, 249.
60. *ibid.*
61. Chance, 67.
62. See Appendix B, #33a.
63. See Appendix B, #119.
64. See Appendix B, #120.
65. See Appendix B, #121.
66. See Appendix B, #122.
67. See Appendix B, #4, 9a.
68. See Appendix B, #135.
69. See Appendix B, #123.
70. See Appendix B, #124.
71. See Appendix B, #125.
72. See Appendix B, #126a, b, c.
73. See Appendix B, #127.
74. See Appendix B, #128.
75. See Appendix B, #129.
76. See Appendix B, #130.
77. See Appendix B, #29c.
78. See Appendix B, #131.
79. See Appendix B, #132.
80. See Appendix B, #133.

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Appendix A.

Le Livre d'Epître d'Othéa à Hector: The Stories

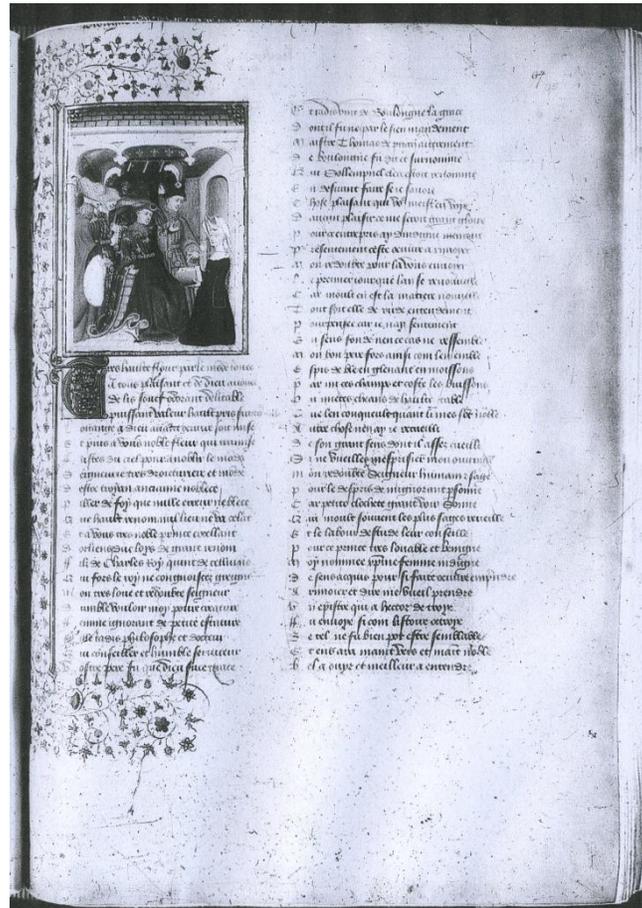
- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Othea – Prudence | 47. Cupid |
| 2. Temperance | 48. Coronis |
| 3. Fortitude/Courage | 49. Juno |
| 4. Justice | 50. Amphiarius |
| 5. Fame | 51. Saturn the Saturnine |
| 6. Jupiter | 52. Apollo's Crow |
| 7. Venus | 53. Ganymede |
| 8. Saturn | 54. Jason |
| 9. Apollo | 55. Gorgon |
| 10. Phoebe (The Moon) | 56. Mars and Venus |
| 11. Mars | 57. Thamaris |
| 12. Mercury | 58. Medea |
| 13. Minerva | 59. Galathea |
| 14. Pallas and Minerva | 60. Peleus |
| 15. Penthesilea | 61. Death of Laomedon |
| 16. Narcissus | 62. Semele |
| 17. Athamas | 63. Diana |
| 18. Aglauros | 64. Arachne |
| 19. Ulysses and Polyphemos | 65. Adonis |
| 20. Latona | 66. First Troy |
| 21. Bacchus | 67. Orpheus |
| 22. Pygmalion | 68. Paris |
| 23. Diana (The Moon) | 69. Actaeon |
| 24. Ceres | 70. Orpheus and Eurydice |
| 25. Isis | 71. Achilles |
| 26. Midas | 72. Atalanta |
| 27. Pirothous and Theseus | 73. Judgment of Paris |
| 28. Cadmus | 74. Fortune |
| 29. Io | 75. Paris the Warrior |
| 30. Mercury and Argus | 76. Cephalus |
| 31. Pyrrhus | 77. Helenus |
| 32. Cassandra | 78. Morpheus |
| 33. Neptune | 79. Ceyx and Alcyone |
| 34. Atropos | 80. Troilus |
| 35. Bellerophon | 81. Calchas |
| 36. Memnon | 82. Hermaphroditis |
| 37. Laomedon | 83. Ulysses |
| 38. Pyramus and Thisbe | 84. Briseis (Criseyde) |
| 39. Aesculapius and Circe | 85. Patroclus and Achilles |
| 40. Death of Achilles | 86. Echo |

41. Busiris
42. Leander and Hero
43. Helen
44. Aurora
45. Pasiphae
46. Adrastus

87. Daphne
88. Andromache
89. Nimrod
90. Hector
91. Hector's Arms
92. Polyboetes
93. Achilles and Polyxena
94. Ajax
95. Antenor
96. Minerva's Temple
97. Ilium
98. Circe
99. Ino
100. Caesar Augustus and the Sibyl

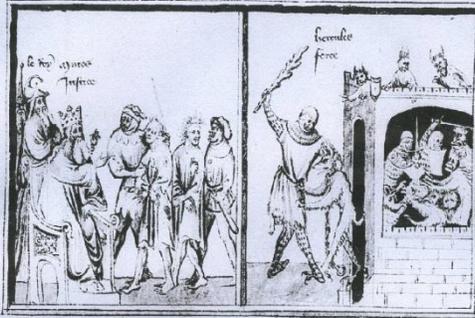
Appendix B.
The Visual Images

1c Harley 4431 Christine's Presentation to Louis



4 BNF fr 848

Fortitude/Justice



Afin que tout bon cuer s'edre
 A d'aqueur par bonie escole
 Le cheval qui par lui s'en dille
 C'est pechieus le renomme
 Si tu de tous vailans es ame
 Pours ce que tu en condicion
 Say par bonie melacion
 Si tu fais chose leuey habille
 Plus que nont aueres de male
 Et comme deesse se fait
 Par science non par aphy
 Dont ce qui est a tuem
 Ne soit il de toy souuam
 Car se fait que tous houis seus
 Le plus plus de peus et ans
 Enu tous les aies renomme
 Mais que de toy se fait amee
 Amee de pousuier ne seore
 Je sui cille que tous arde
 C'est qui mament : uenmet ehere
 Je leu ho leono en elaire
 Qui les fait mouer sus plus esle
 De te plus que s'ed de c'el

6a BNF fr 606

Othea's Presentation to Hector



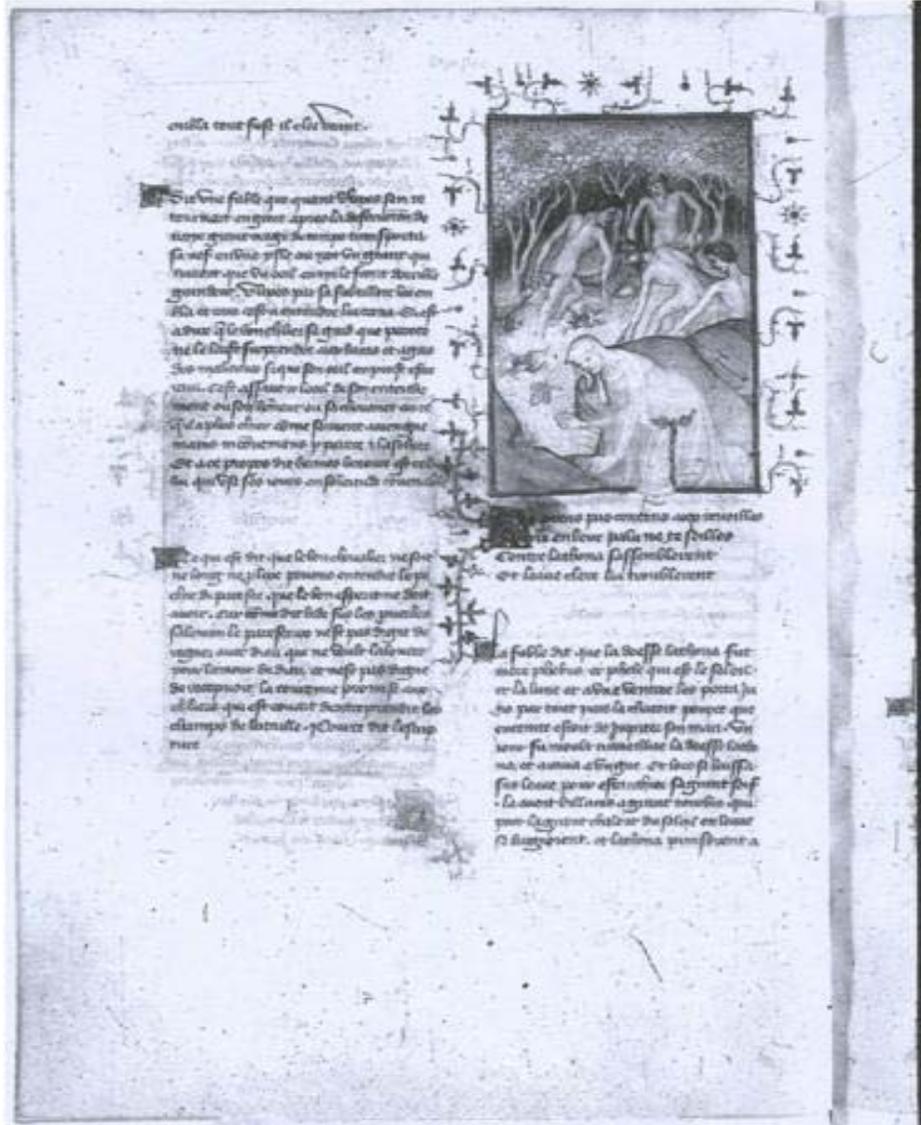
8a BNF fr 606 Fortitude



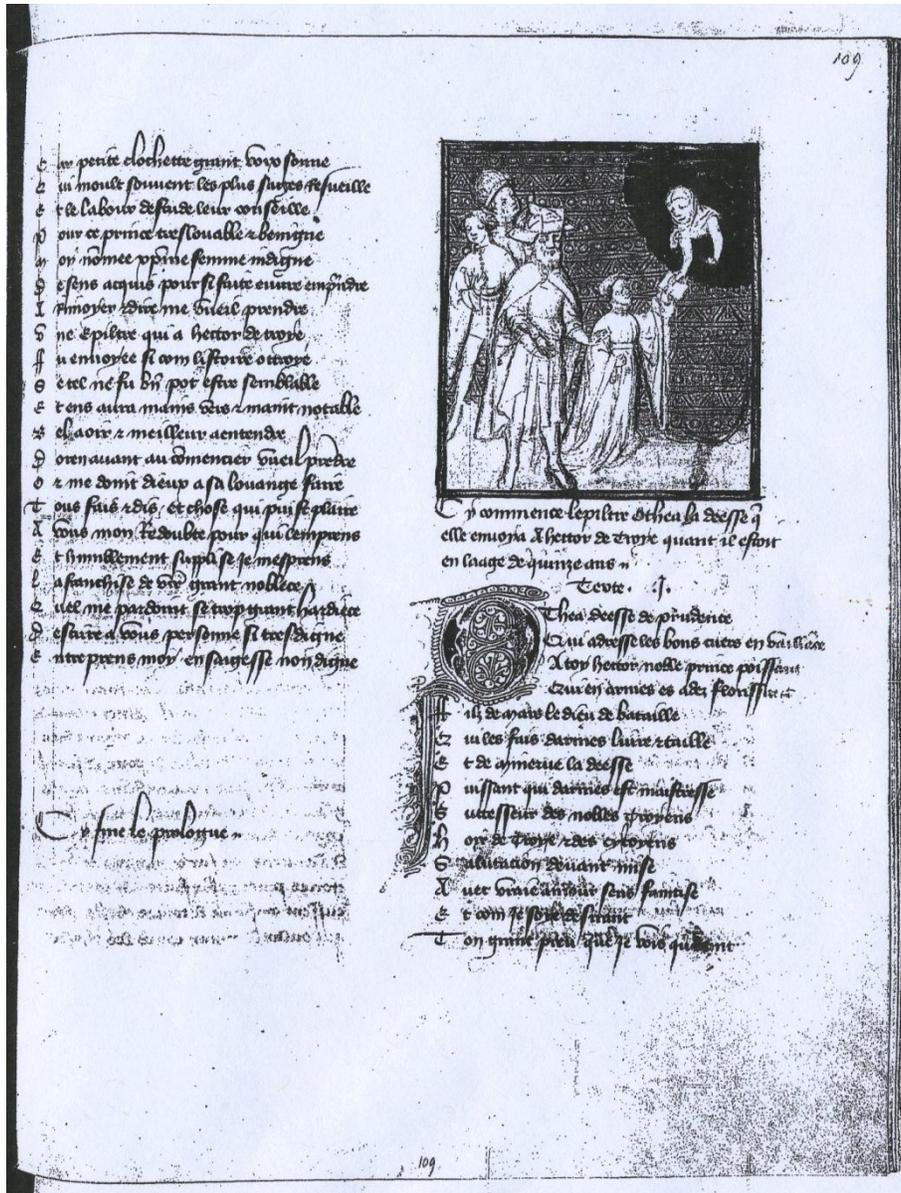
9a BNF fr 606 Justice



11b Harley 4431 Latona

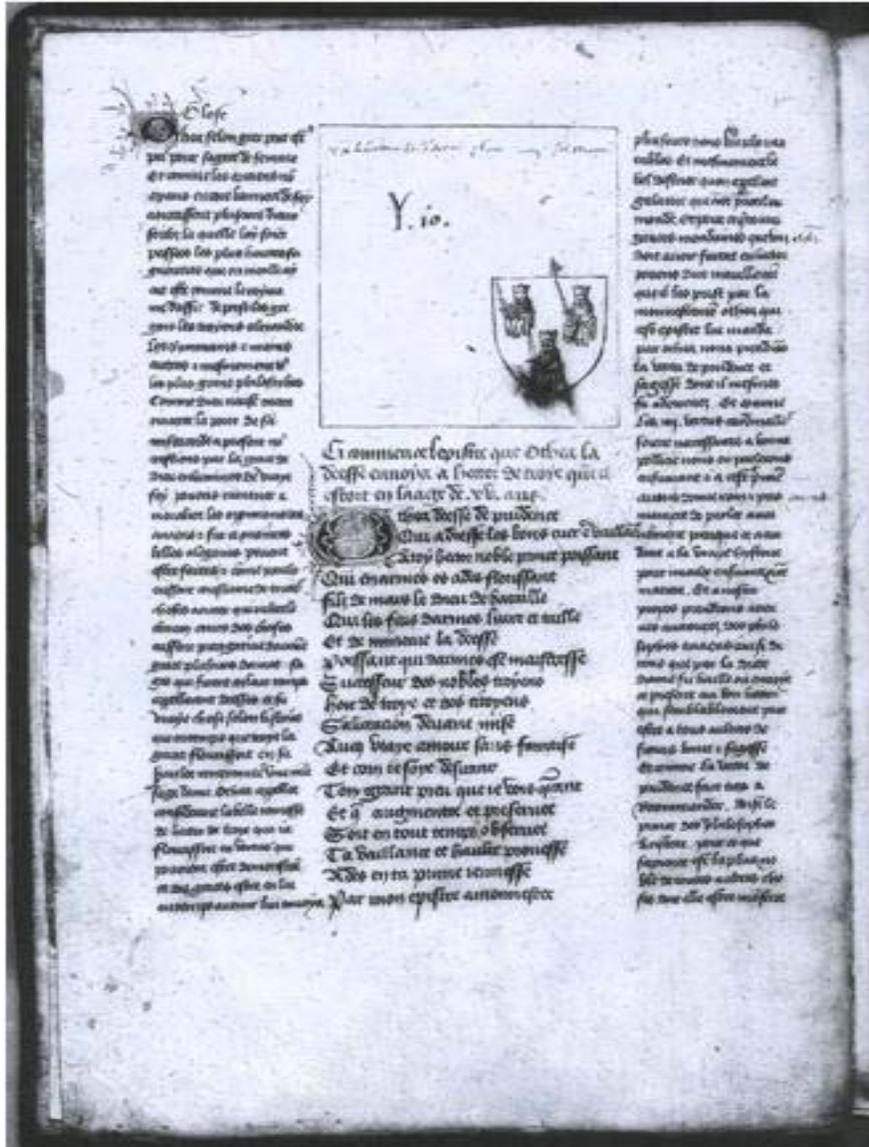


13 Condé 492 Othea's Presentation to Hector



14 Beauvais 9

“Othea’s Presentation to Hector”



15 Bodmer 49 Minerva's Temple

adue. Fuy de la vie des mauuaise af
fu que tu ne misse par welle.



Le m^{or}z v^{or}ie teyie
Hu temple minerve souffrir
 De doit tes ennemis offrir
 adue t^{or} ou cheual de fust
 Encor fust avy sil ne fust.

Glose

Que givés eurent fait par fait
 tise avy troiens par la trahisonan

16 Bodmer 49

Atropos

De ses pechiez. et soit troppe lactuel
 que soit sainte. **Auctorite** de
 missionem peccatorum. **¶** C'est adu
 re en la remission des pechiez.



Le vovim^e teyte

Hes a toute heure regard
 A atropos: a son gard
 eum fieri et ne refuse nulant
 Et ce fera vensez se lame.

Glose

¶ Les pechiez lanxelle rent la mort.

17a Bodmer 49

Jupiter

bon nom. Car il te serouira plus lo-
quement que mille precieux tresors.



Le vers texte

E avec tes inclinations
De tous les conditions
Quelles auon. menty en vaudra
Quant tu en voit vint les tendras

Glose

Comme dist est. les payens au-
roient plusieurs dieux les planetes
au ciel vint especiaully dieux tenoit

18 Bodmer 49

Achilles



S E d'ois chis vnez c'apnoistve
 Et fuisse ilz endoz en cloistre
 Zessay quon fist a achilles
 c'ayrendem a esprouuer les.

Glose

Achilles ce dist vne fable fut filz
 a la deesse thetis et vint ce quelle
 sauoit comme deesse que se son filz
 hantoit armes quil y morroit. cel
 le qui trop apnoit de grande amo^r

19 Bodmer 49

Phoebe

sancte escripture ou second liure de
hebreu ou iij chapitre. **Aut.** Sup
oia vniuersaliter. C'est adire. vniuersaliter
vniuersaliter sur toutes choses.



Le ve trote

Hoebe ne ressemble mie
trop est inviable & ennemie
à constance et à fort courage
à vniuersaliter et image.

Glose

Hoebe est appelée la lune & ont leu?

20 Bodmer 49 Achilles and Polyxena



DAmour estrange ne t'assotee
 Ne fait achilles pest e morte
 En folement aida l'ame
 Faire de son ennemie.

Exote

Achilles se assota de l'amour de
 Polyxene sœur de hector et come il
 cust faire a l'annuier faire des olse
 ques hector en temps de troyes au

21 Bodmer 49

Saturn

otroyce. Vanité est meix de tous ma:
 La fontaine de tous mauly & Vanie
 de inquite qui loime met hors de la
 grace de dieu et le met en sa hayne
Et a ce propos. Dist David en so
 psaultier en la 100^e psalme en par
 lant a dieu. **Aucto:** Edisti observa
 tes iniquitates superuacue. Cest
 a dire toy dieu as hay ceulx gardat
 leurs vanes inquitez



Le huitiesme texte ensuit.

22 Bodmer 49 Cupid

Les souffrent plus en mediant : en
 vrayz ouz ne font en lisant ne en
 oiant. Douz et dist dauid en son psal-
 tier. **Auante** et **aditabur** in mada-
 tie tuis ouz d'ieu. **Et** est adue
 Je pense a tes commandemens lesal:
 Jay arue.



Le vln^e teute
De cupido se joue et comtee
 Et assez me vlaist a raconter

23a Bodmer 49 Pallas and Minerva

en la composition de la croce que foy est la
meue de lame . la porte de paradys . la
fenestre de vie et le fondement de salut
irraduable . Et au fays foy ne puet nul
a dieu complaire . **Et** ace propos
parle saint yoi l'apostre en son euytre
auy hebreuy en le vii^e chap. **Auct^r** .
Et me fide impossible est pla
cece sco . Et adire n'est impossible
que fane foy nul puisse a dieu plaire .



le viii^e teste

25 Bodmer 49 Mars

Dun courage Il ne apertice ne ne croist
 vni imitation de chose. Il ne flo
 te vni en diuerses opinions. mais
 demeure en Resuscite fonde en cha
 rite etance en soy. **Et** a ce
 propos est la summe escripture ou liure
 de ecclesiastique ou vni chapitre. **A**
Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut
 sol. nam stultus sicut luna mutatur.
Et est adire. l'homme saint demeure
 en sapience comme le soleil. car le fol
 est muable comme le lune.



le v^e ceste

26a Harley 4431 Pyrrhus



26b Bodmer 49 Pyrrhus



Cor que virius ressembla
son pere = encoz troubla
ses ennemis par greuer les
la mort venger achilles.

Glose

Pirius fut filz achilles = bien res
sembla son pere de force = de hardenit
et apres la mort du pere vit sur teor
e et asprement venger son pere et
morta = omniage les troiens. Do^s

26c Woodcut Pyrrhus

ppp. **Expte.**

p. **P**irrus fut
 filz achil-
 les et bien ceffe
 bla son pere de
 force et de hardes-
 ment. Et apres
 la mort de son pe-
 re vint sur troye
 et moult aspre-
 ment Dengage le pe-
 re et moult bõna-
 ga les troyens.
 pour ce dit au dõ
 eschaher que se
 il a meffait au
 pere que il se gar-
 de du filz quant
 en aage sera car
 se le pere a este
 vaillant sembla
 blement douueta
 estre le filz. A ce
 propos dit Deng-
 sage La mort du
 pere attrait la
 Dengage du filz.



ppp.

Expte.

**Roy que pirrus ressemblera
 Son pere et encoi troublera
 Ses ennemis par greuer les
 La mort vengera dachiles**

ppp. **Allegorie**

t. **N**ou sedit
 q pirrus
 ressemblera son
 pere pouons en-
 tendre le saint
 esprit lequel pro-
 cede du pere en q
 doit croire le bon
 esprit sicome dit
 saint iaquez se-
 nymeur.

Credo in spiritus
 sanctum.

27 Bodmer 49 Hector's Arms



Encor te vuent je faire sage
 Ench bataille n'avez v'sage
 De tes armes toy descouvrir
 Car ce fera ta mort ouvrir.

Glose

Hector fut evoiné en la bataille des
 couert de ses armes et lors fut occis
 Et pour ce dit que de ses armes en la
 taille ne se doit decouvrir. Et dist
 l'armes: la mort est aussi come le

29a BNF fr 606 Daphne



29b Harley 4431 Daphne



29c Woodcut Daphne

lxxxviii **Exose**

D Et Dne
sable q
dampne fut Dne
damoiselle q pse
bus ayma par ar
mour & moult
la pourchuyuit
mais elle accor
der ne sy Vouloit
Adoine Dng iour
que il Veit la bel
le aller par Dne
Doye & quant el
le se Veit Venir
elle prit a fuyr &
se dieu apies et
quait il fut sy pres
que elle Veit bien
que eschapper ne
pouoit sa priere



lxxxviii

Tepte

E de laurier couronne auoir
Deulz q mieulx hault q nul auoir
Dampne te conuient pourchuyuit
Et tu lauras par bien suyuit

fist a dyane la deesse que sa Virginité luy Voulsist sauuer / & a
donc fut le corps de la pucelle mué en Dng Vex laurier / & quant
psefus fut appoche il print des branches de larchie & chappeau
sen fist en signe d'Victoire. Et depuis lors enca chappeau de lau
rier signifie Victoire / & mesmes au temps de la grant felicité auy
edonnans couronnoit de laurier les Victorieux. Plusieurs en
tendemens peult auoir la sable / & peult aduenir q Dng puissant
homme pourchuyuit a long travail Dne dame & tant q sous Dng
laurier il l'ataignit a sa Voullente / & pour celle cause depuis lors
enca ayma le laurier & le porta en deuse en signe de Victoire que
il auoit eue de ses amours sous le laurier. Et peult estre aussi
le laurier prins pour or qui signifie noblesse / & pour ce que le
laurier signifie honneur dit au bon cheualier que il luy conuient
Dampne pourchuyuit se couronne de laurier Deult auoir. C'est a
entendre peine & travail se a honneur Deult auenir. A ce propos
dit Dmer. Par grant diligence Vient on a perfection.

Allegorie

lxxxviii
E de laur
ier Deult
couronne auoir
dampne luy con
uient pourchuyuit
pouons entendre
que se le boy espe
rit Deult Victoire
glorieuse quoir
luy conuient pse
uerance q se ma
neger a la Victoi
re de paradis. Des
les royes sont in
finies comme dit
saint gregoire.
Qui est dit il la
sangle q souffre
se racompter et q
est sentendement

qui puisse cōprendre quā
tes sont les royes de ce
ste souverain cite de pa
radis estre to' iours pre
sent auy ordres des an
gels avec les benoictz ef
preitz assister a la gloire
du conditeur regarder le
present Disage de dieu
Deoit la lumiere incircū
scriptible estre assise de
nd auoir iamais paour
de la mort soy esiouyr
du dō de pardurable in
corruption. A ce propos
dit dauid au psaultier.

¶ Estotio la dicta sūt de re: ci
uitas dei.

29d Bodmer 49

Daphne



E de laurier couronne auoir
 duelt q' me' vault q' ml' auoir
 comme te content pour fuir
 Et tu lauras un bien fuir.

Stofe

Que une fable q' donne fut vne ca
 mouille que p'hebus ama par amou
 et moult la pourfuir. mais celle
 accorder ne si vouloit. aut un jour

30 Bodmer 49 Thamaris



Damario ne se fuzist xos
 Pourtant se fene est du xos
 de souuerainie ou que se fuzist
 trop chier com mout se se fuzist.

Oise

Damario fut royne d'ama fone mit
 d'antant saine plaine de grande xos
 se de dunt l'adement et mout sub
 tit en armes en doucement et
 us le dunt roy de xos qui conque

32 Bodmer 49 Adonis

Adonis est vici et lame vici qui
 apne la loyge humaine et se lyre
 la vraye rehoignance de sa propre
 conscience. A ce vici est le sage
 ou v^e chap. du liure de sapience.
 Quid profuit nobis supbia aut di
 uitiarum iactantia quid conitulu nob^{is}.
¶ Cest adice q nous a prouffice or
 que il ou q nous a appore vuitice
 de vices.



Le liure de vici

33 Lille 175
Adonis



33b Bodmer 49

Athamas

Il ne cesse de parler de sa cruauté
 les conduits de son corps. **¶** Et a ce
 propos dit la sainte escripture ou v.
 chapitre du liure de Job. **Autoute**
¶ Si ascenderit ad caelum superbia
 eius. et cauius eius nubes. et tingerit
 quasi scequulum in fine reddetur.
¶ Et est adire. se l'ormiel de luy
 monte au ciel et que son chief touche
 les nuées. Il sear en la fin redit come
 fumier



Le viij^e texte

34a BNF fr 606 Pasiphaë



34b Bodmer 49

Pasiphaë



Dur tant le pasiphe fut sole
 de vneilles sur en totescole
 que telles foiet toutes femes
 car il est maintes nullans dunes

Glose

Pasiphe fut vne roine et dyent
 aucunes faibles quelle fut femme
 de grande dissolution et mesme
 quelle ama vñ thoreau et que mere
 fut semicauris qui fut moitie

35b Bodmer 49

Bacchus



Au dieu Inuus point ne encorder
 ses conditions sont orde
 e donnable est ses exorde
 ses gens fait transmyes en poice.

Glose

Inuus fut homme qui premierement
 planta vignes en grece. et quant ceulx
 de la contree sentirent la force de vin
 les en vint de. vint que Inuus estoit
 un dieu qui telle force auoit donnee a

36b Bodmer 49

Fortune



Ec fortune la grande deesse
 de ce fier nen fa promesse
 car en son dixur elle la change
 Et plus hault souuent tene en fange
 Glose

Fortune selon la maniere de water
 des rotes bien vint estax appellee
 la grande deesse car par elle nous
 avons les choses mondaines gouver-
 nez. Et pour ce quelle promet a

37a Harley 4431 Juno



37b Bodmer 49

Juno



Juno in toy ne te chaste
 Se le noel mient q' testaille
 Et romieu s'axe a auoir
 Car mieu s'axult p'esse qu'auoir

Close

Juno est la deesse dauoir se lo tes
 fables des poetes. et vouue q' auoir
 = r'esse conuenit acquerir a dire
 s'omg = trauent et que tel s'omg p'ut

38 Bodmer 49 Ulysses

Le viii^e texte

Ne soyes ne long ne violive
 A roy gaudier de la malice
 Ulysses qui loel au garant
 Embia. tout fust il chev vorant.

Glose

Ist vne fable que quant Ulysses se
 retourna en grece apres la destruction
 de troie qu'ilz orage de tempe. trais
 vorta sa nef en vne yste ou auoit un
 geant qui nauoit fors un oeil cunmy

39 Bodmer 49 Galathea



S Et a cupido es fuit
 Etude toy du geant enuigies
 Que la roche ne soit bouree
 Sur atis & sur galathee.

Elofe

Galathee fut vne mureux ou vne
 deesse qui auoit yn iouenceau no
 me atis. yn geant de larde estatu
 re estoit en amour de galathee
 qui amer ne le saignoit. Et

40 Bodmer 49 Ara Coeli

celle ignorance na nulle excuse
¶ Pour ce dist saint pol ou 11^e
 d'ay de sa premiere epistre. au co
 m'chiens. **Autorite.** Si quis igno
 rit ignorabitur. **¶** C'est adire.
 Saurin ignore le bien. il seau ignore;



Le Centiesme vers

Ent autoritez say escripte.
 Si ne soient de toy despitte.
 Car augustus de seine apust.
 Qui destre aouve le refus.

41 BNF fr 606 Ara Coeli



42 Bodmer 49 Pallas

dement. **E**t ait uox uale me
 sequenti a se apostolo. **A**it. Qui
 uos audit me audit et qui uos spernit
 me spernit. **E**t est ad uos celi qui uos
 ait me ait. et celi qui uos respicit me
 respicit.



de viii^e texte

Armures de toutes forces
 Pour toy armer bonnes forces
 Et lueras assez ta mere
 Armeur qui ne rest amere.

44 Lille 175
Adonis



45a Harley 4431 Mercury and Argus



45b Bodmer 49

Argus

Uo qui est notee par lettres z escriptu
res. nous pouons entendre que le bo
esperit se doit zehiter a lire les saintes
escriptures. et auoir escriptes en sa pen
see. et par ce pourra apprendre a moter
ou ciel avec ihu crist par homies en
iure z sainte conteplation. et soit con
ve l'article q' est fait par belinus. **Auc**
descendit ad celos sedet ad dextera dei
patis omnipotentis. Et est adice. **Quimo**
ta auo cients et fiet a la dextre dieu le
dix tout puissant.



le vove teyte

46b Bodmer 49

Atropos



47 Lille 175

Atropos



Aies atoute hene regard
 A atropos et a son sard
 Qui fiet et nespantue nul ame
 Et te fera penser a lame

glose

Les poetes appellerent la mort atropos
 pource vent dire au bon chli qui doit
 penser que tousiours ne vivra mie en cestru
 monde / mais tost sen partira / et doit plus
 user des vertus de lame que soy delirey es
 vices du corps / Et ace doit tout bon vrien
 penser adfin qui ait amemorie la produf
 sion de lame qui durera sans fin / Et ace
 propos dist pitagoras que ainsi come me
 comementement vient de Dieu comment que
 nostre fin soit

48 Lille 175 Bellerophon



49b Bodmer 49

Bellerophon

deuzies article que dist saint mathy
 as. **L**uctonice et arme resurrectione
 vitam eternam. **Q**est adue en
 la resurrection de la chavz en la vie
 eternelle.

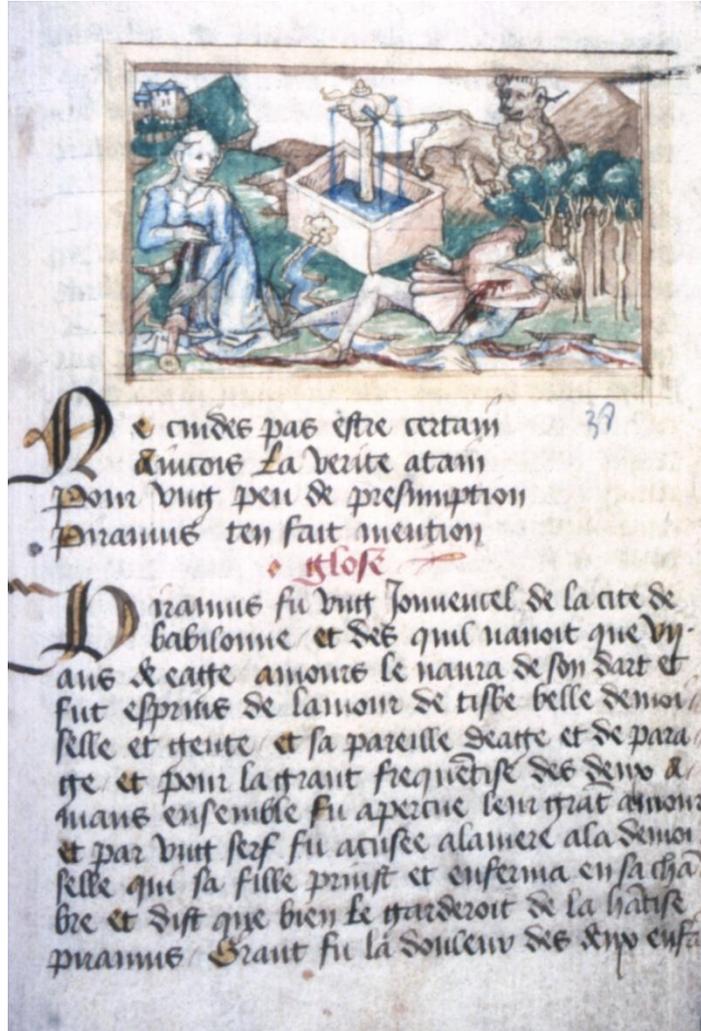


le vvv^e terte

Bellerophon soit exemplaire
 en to^s les fais a tu deuto fait
 par meuly ama volou meur
 Que desloraulte encouru.
 Glose

51 Lille 175

Pyramus and Thisbe

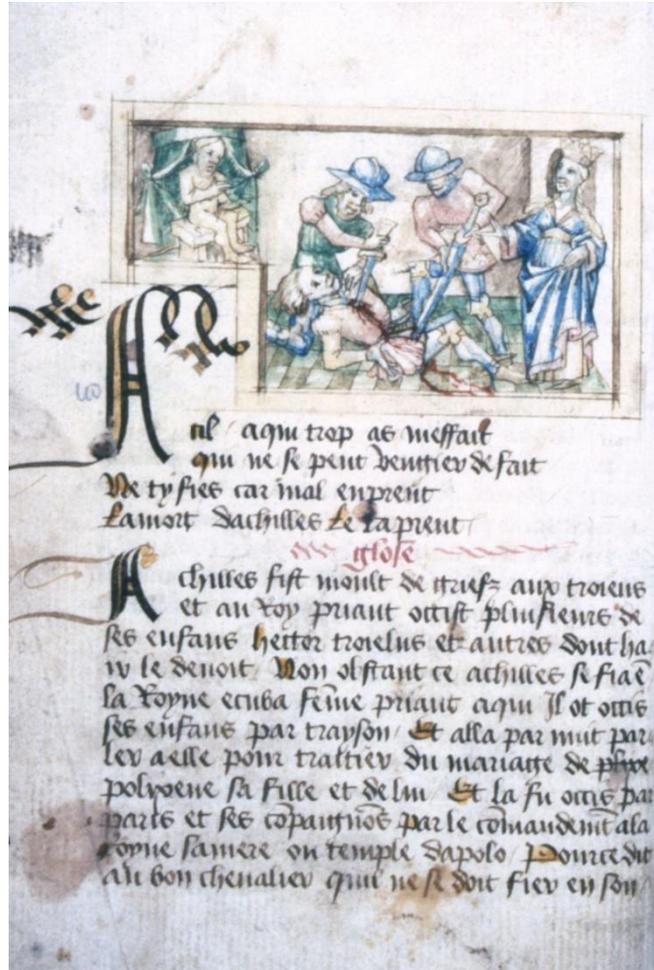


No cundes pas estre certain
 Amours La verite atam
 Pour vint peu de presumption
 Pyramus ten fait mention

Glose

Pyrannus fu vint Jouvencel de la cite de
 babilonne et des qui navoit que vy-
 ans & cette amours le navra de son dart &
 fut espris de lamour de tisbe belle demoi-
 selle et gente & sa pareille deatte et de para-
 te & pour la grant frequente des deux &
 nuans ensemble fu aperceue leur grant amour
 & par vint seif fu acusee alamece ala demoi-
 selle qui sa fille prinist et enferma en sa cha-
 bre & dist que bien le garderoit de la hatise
 pyramus Grant fu la souleuv des deux enfans

52 Lille 175 Death of Achilles



53a BNF fr 606 Death of Achilles (on left)



53b Bodmer 49 Death of Achilles



Eu a qui trop as me fait
 esu ne son unet venier de fut
 De tyher car mal en vent
 l'umort achilles le faurent.

Stofe

Achilles fist moult de chief au
 roys et au roy priant occist plu
 sieurs de ses enfans hato: troilus
 autres dont hax le deuot. non ob
 stant ce achille se fin en la royne

54a BNF fr 606 Busiris (on right)



54b Bodmer 49

Busiris

se marade : tout se fodoime d'acte
 des manibee. gencairee. A ce 2000e
 est la loy ou vol chapitre = u tunc
 des leitez **Autome** a vete moiant
 meue = aduitem. **Et** est adux
 dieurent se moit le formateur et le
 aduitem.



le vne tevre

Et ressemble me d'adultere
 et fut trop mauvais a lier
 sa mauuaise fait a reuere

54c Woodcut Busiris

ps. **Busiris**

6. **Busiris**
fut un
roy d'egypte
se cruaulte et
induit se devoit
en occision des
hommes et de fait
luy mesmes en
ses temples les
occisoit de conte
autz et en faisoit
sacrifice a ses die
ux. Pour ce dit
un bon cheualier
que nullement ne
se doit delecter en
l'occision de hu
maine creature.
Car ceste cru
aulte est contre
dieu contre natu
re et contre toute
donte. A ce propos
dit socrates au
bon conseilier se
cō pise est ceuel
tu le dois amode
rer par bons ex
emples.



ps. **Sept.**
n. **Ressemblez mie Busiris**
Dui trop plus mauvais que hierres
La cruaulte fait a rependie
Et telz faitz ne te duelles prendie

ps. **Allegorie.**

6. **Busiris**
qui fut ho
micide & contrai
re a humaine na
ture pouons nos
ter la defence que
nous fait le com
mandement qui
dit tu ne feras
point sacry et si
est de feda ce que
dit saint augu
stin toute illite
Suspacion des
choies d'austray
tout sacrifice
toute rapine tout
te chose toute p
force & p seigne
rie sur le peuple
sans raison & ce
propos dit saint
paul lapostre.

¶ Qui farobor. Is
non licet. ad eph
1. cor. 11. ca.

54d Lille 175

Busiris

enueuy aqm trop a meffait sans faire alin paye
 ne acme amende / Et acz propos dist vnt sage
 garde toy des ataus & to chemi qui ventrey
 ne se peut / *Allegorie*

Come en cellui aqm a meffait ne se doit
 fier nous prendrons q' come nous doi-
 out doubter les ventances de dieu soit nettes-
 sairement tenu. Le comandemet qui dit tu
 ne feras point de mesfite cest adire de auoul-
 treie ne de fornication et si est deffendue toute
 Illcite conlpe carnelle ce dist Isidore qui nest
 eucaes de maruante & tout desordome vsage
 des mebres gremtalles / Et acz propos dist la
 loy. *Morte moriatur uerius et adulteria
 leuitici pp^o capitulo 24*



55 Lille 175 Coronis

Dieu le pere dist preus mon filz et le baillie
 pour toy / Et le filz dist preus moy et te fa
 chate par moy *Exy l'amentoit saint pier
 re l'apostre en sa plemiere epistre / No tor
 ruptibilibus auro vel argento redempty
 estis sed pretioso sanguine q' arguimus ta
 unuati in maculati Jhu xpi p' petry r'*



Corris pas corinus la belle
 pour le raport et la nouvelle
 du corbel car se loctiones
 apres tu ten repentioies

glose
Corinus fu vne demoiselle come dit vne
 fable que phibus ama par amours le
 corbel qui adout le seruoit lui raporta que il
 auoit veu corinus samie geseir auer vng aut

56a BNF fr 606 Coronis



56b Bodmer 49 Coronis

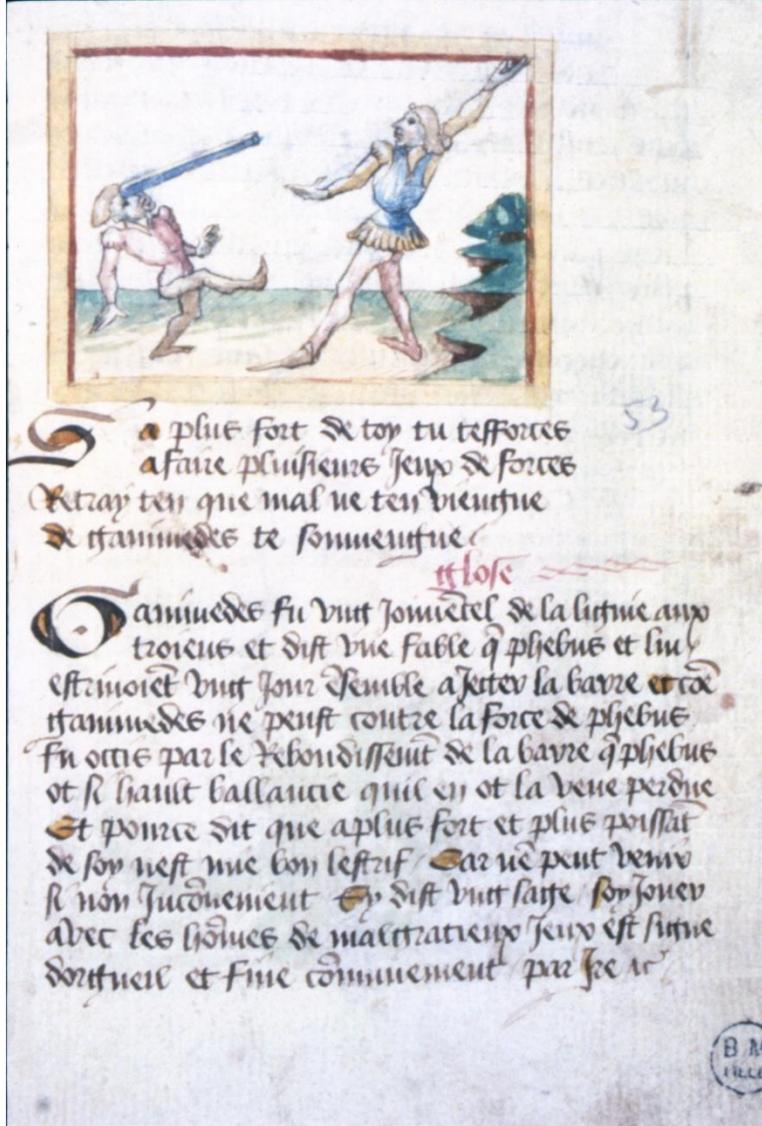


CORONIS VNE CORONNE LA BELLE
 Pour le rapport et la nouvelle
 Du corbeau. car se l'acciores
 Apres tu ten repentivoire.

Glose

CORONIS fut vne samoysele cœ
 dist vne fable que phobus ama p
 amour. le corbeau qui adont l'a
 seruoit l'un rapporta ouit auoit un
 coronis saine gesir auct un autre

57 Lille 175 Ganymede

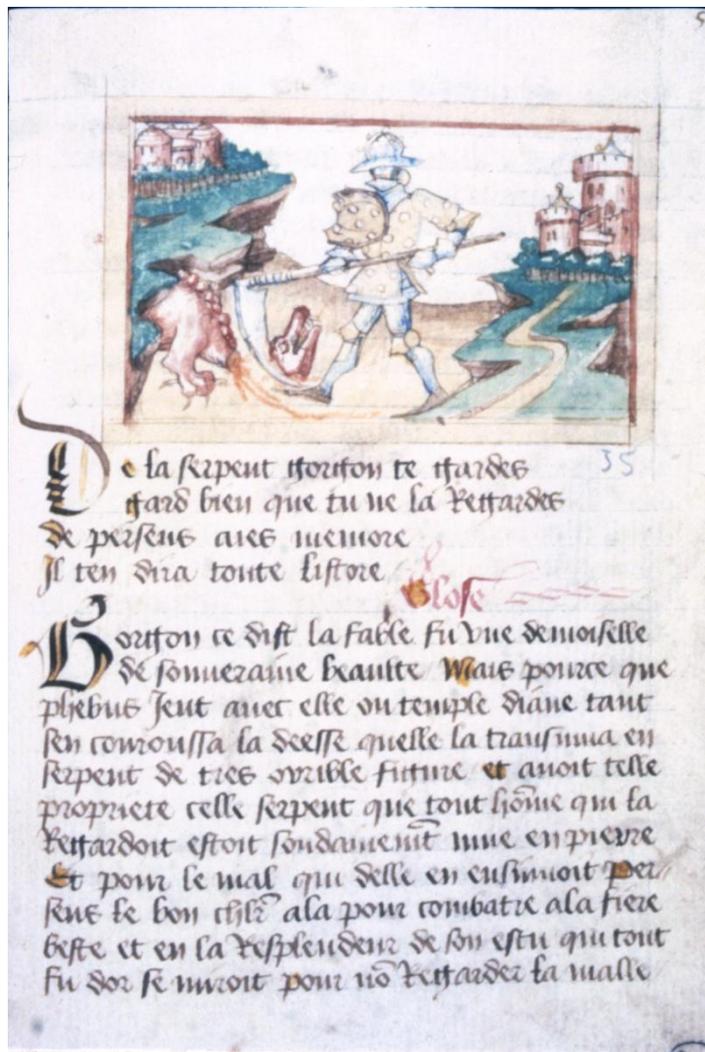


Sa plus fort de toy tu tefforces
 afaire plusieurs Jeyx & forces
 Extray ten que mal ne ten vientue
 & itannedes te soumeufue

glose
Ganymedes fu vint Jomierel de la lignie aux
 troiens et dist vne fable q phelus et liu
 estoient vint Jours Jemle a Jeter la barre et
 itannedes ne peust contre la force de phelus
 fu otte par le rebondissent de la barre q phelus
 ot si haut ballance que il ot la veue perdue
 Et porce dit que a plus fort et plus poissat
 de son nest mie bon lestrif car ne peut venir
 si non Jucouement Et dist vint Jante son Jouv
 avec les homes de maltratiens Jeyx est sime
 dortueil et fine commement par Jee u

58 Lille 175

Gorgon



De la serpent horifon te ifardes
 gard bien que tu ne la Pettardes
 de persens aies memoire
 Il ten dira toute listore

Horifon te dist la faicle fu vne demoiselle
 de souveraine beaulte Mais pource que
 phibus Jent avec elle ou temple diane tant
 sen comoussa la deesse quelle la transmuta en
 serpent de tres orrible figure et avoit telle
 propretete celle serpent que tout home qui la
 Pettardoit estoit soudainement mué en pierre
 Et pour le mal qui delle en envenimoit per
 rus le bon chste ala pour combatre ala fiere
 beste et en la resplendenz de son estu qui tout
 fu dor se muoit pour no Pettarder la malle

59 Lille 175 Thamaris

re ou Il tenue la creature plus d'instamment
enclmee et occupée pour ce dist saint pierre
*Sobri estote et vigilate qz a diversarius
vz diabolus tamqz leo Hungreus arcuit
queret que devoret petri ultimo cao*



Thamaris ne desprise pas
pour tant se femme est du pas
Le sommeil ou cirrus fu pris
Car chiev compara le despris

itose

Thamaris fu Roine Samazone moult val-
lant Same plaine de grant prouesse et de
grant hardiut et moult sarte en armes et en
hommeement. Orus le trait Roy de perse qui
conquis avoit mainte ertion. Sitraut ost les
mut pour aler contre le vertue de femme
dont il moult petit profit la force. Mais elle

60 Lille 175 Galathea



S e Acropido es subitice
 itard du heant erratice
 Que la Roche ne soit bouter
 En apis et sur italathee

glose

Galathee fu une muphe ou une deesse qui
 amoit un homme qui apis estoit no-
 mes un heant de laide estatute estoit canon-
 zes de italatee. Et tant le pria que tous deux
 les aperchut ou creux d'une Roche adont fu
 surpris de soudaine fure de jalousie et tel-
 lement estrouilla la Roche que tout en fu avis
 arcanentes. Mais italatee qui muphe fise
 fucha en la mer et par ce esthapec. Et est acen-
 tendre que le bon chli se itard entel cas de stre
 surpris de tel qui ait pmissate de ce faire.

62 Lille 175 Polyboetes



De polyboetes ne connoites
 les armes elles soient maloités
 Car au despoilliev sen sumra
 Sa mort par cil qui te sumra

glose
Polyboetes fu vng roy moult puissant q
 hector ot otis en la bataille apres ma
 nis autres grans fais quil ot fais la pource
 Et pource que moult estoit armés de bel
 les armes et riches hector les connoita et
 sa basse fist le col de son destrier pour le co
 ups despoilliev Et adont achilles qui par
 seruire le scevoit tout de ire pour le prede
 adestonert le fery par dessous la faulte
 de ses armeres et adunt seul coup le gitta
 mort dont fu traunt domange Car plus

63 Lille 175 Semele



64 Lille 175 Theseus and Pirothous



Se as loyaulte copaignons d'armes
 Jusques en enfer ou vont les armes
 Tu dois alev reconno les
 Au besoyn com fist hercules

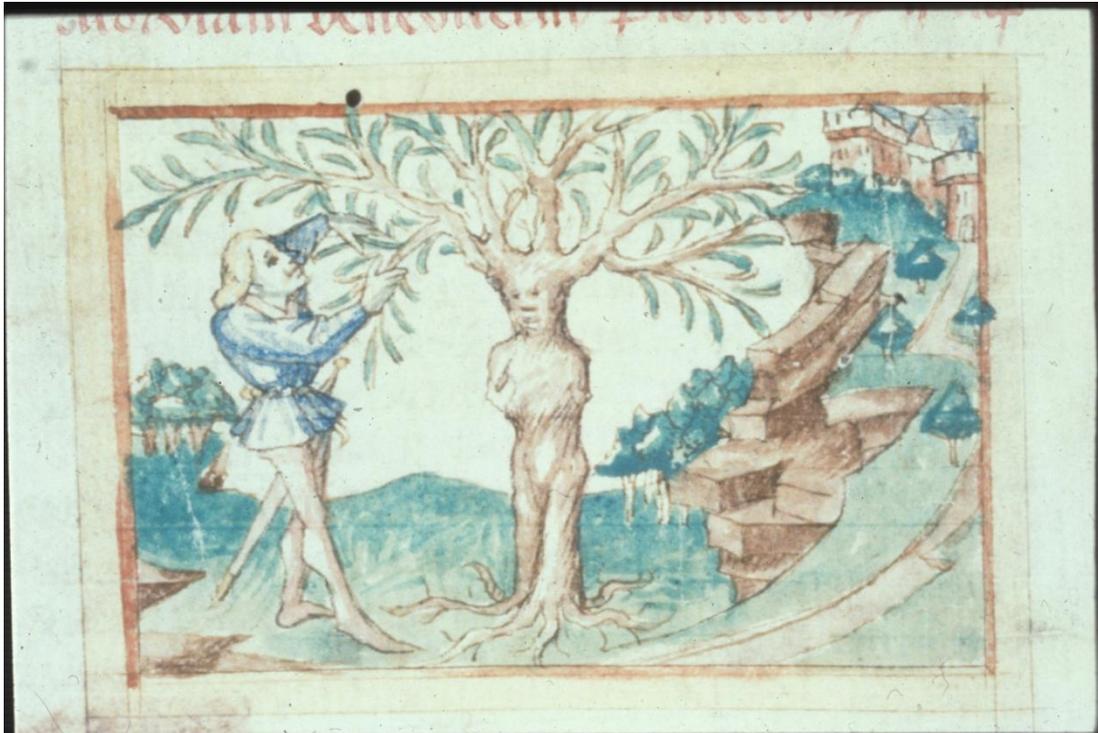
glose
Dist une fable que protheus et theseus
 alerent en enfer pour proserpine Veston
 uve que pluto ot l'ame & mal baillies p
 eurent este se hercules qui leur copaignon
 vait ne les eust reconus qui tant tat l'ist
 d'armes que tous les infernaux mist e' effroy
 Et asherbeus le portier d'enfer coppa les char
 nes. Et vult dire que le bon chile ne doit fail
 li a son loial copaignon pour doute de peul
 quel qui soit. Car loiale copaignie soit est
 come une mesme chose. Et dist pitagoras

65 Lille 175

Actaeon



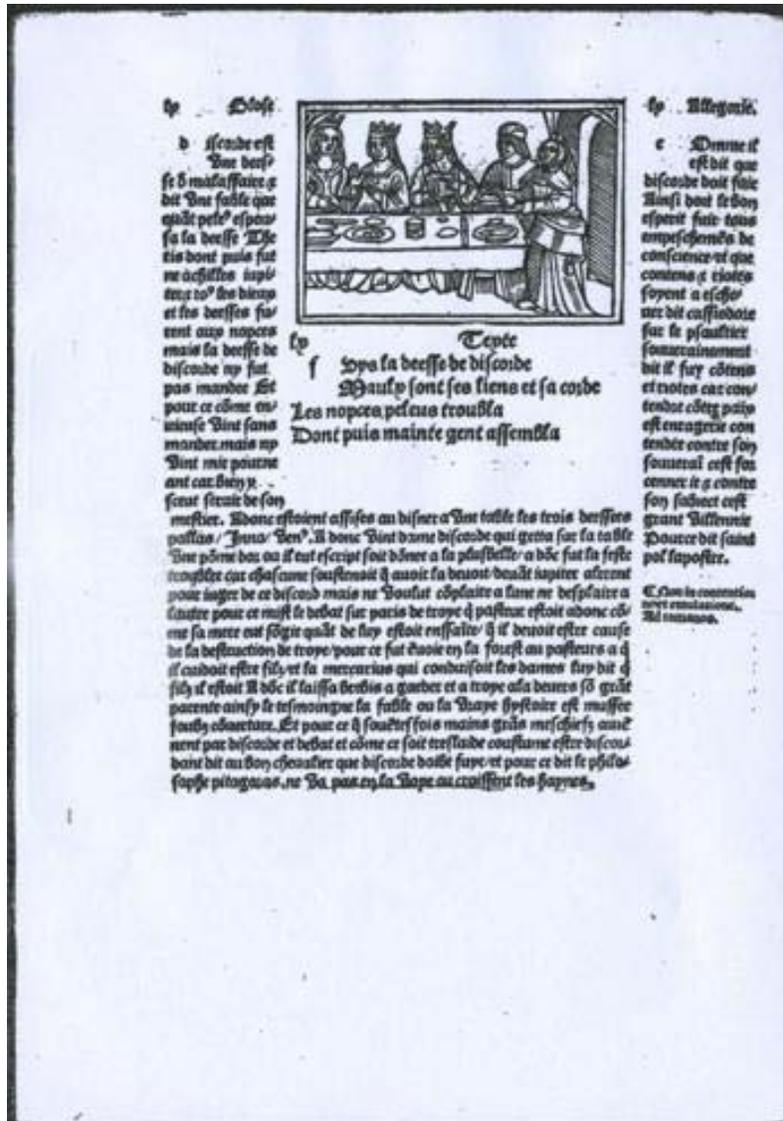
66 Lille 175
Daphne



67 Lille 175
Cupid



69 Woodcut Peleus (Discord)



70 Woodcut Mise-en-Page

ly Villi D'ose

p Doyce
que par
tio anoit fonge q
en grecz yout d'it
pout crelay fonge
fut fait grant or
me & enuoyee de
troye en grecz ou
paris tant seley
ne dom pour cel
lay me fait am
der. Vaudit aye
sur troye tout le
pouoit de grecz q
sy grant pays
estoit less que n'
daroit iusqs au
pays q nous ap
pellons pouille &
calabre au p'teie
& lors estoit appelle la petite grece: & dicit luy
pays sur lesquels & les macedonnois eulle
grande qualitee de gens es fondit & troyee tout
le pays. Doyce dit au bon cheualier que
sur auision ne doist empeschee grant chose
a faire: car grant mal en peult venir a grant
effoie: & que grande empesche ne doye estre
faicte sans grande deliberation de conseil
dit Platon. De say chose que ion s'ens nauit
auant pour au.



ly Villi

Tepce

n Le fondea sur auision
De dessus sole illustion
Grand empesche soit droit ou tort
Et de paris apes recost.

ly ont ch' repustent que ilz se ont de eulx mes
mes. La seconde quans le diex que ilz ont se
ilz se caydant auoir en de diez si se cayd'it ilz
auoir diex dessein & reuoz pour leurs mees
tes. La tierce quans ilz se vourent dauoir le
diex que ilz n'ont mye. La quatre quans ilz
despustent autray a de iurer que on face le
diex qui est en eulx. Contre ce vice poele le
sage es prouetes.

*Ch'rogatill & la p'obill & es billage de l'etio. p'ou
un' b'ouca octre capitale.*

ly Villi Allogone

e De grant
empesche
te doist estre fait
ete pour auision
est il le bon espe
ce ne doist nulle
ment paruenir de
sopre soy este
uer en acrogant
pour qu'on que
grace qui de diez
lay soyz donnee.
Et dit sainte g'ra
g'ra: co mo: oles
q quatre especes
sont esq'elles touz
se se'leure des ac
rogans est dems
sire. La premier
ce quans se b'ien q

ly Villi D'ose

a D'ose
sur d'ug
d'ose: il moult
eueris & de gen
elles emb'it' &
trop ayment che
ens & oyseulz &
de la soelle que
D'ug tout chose
font tout fait par
D'ug foyse espre
se ou ses g'les leu
ent peus. Adde
edme dyne la de
est des bois cost
chasse par la so
est iusqs a fleur
ce de myds si fut
eschauffe & ar
dit pour l'ardeur
du soleil parquoy i'ent h'oy d'ine de l'aillogone en D'ug fontain d'ete &
d'ete qui la estoit: & come toute n'ar fust au' d'one de n'empes & d'esses
qui la seruoient Allogone qui garde ne son p'anoit s'endat sur elle: la de
est. D'ug tout n'ar a qui pour sa grant esostete la face de fonte roage &
moult fut dolente si dist adde: p'ouce que il seoy que les d'omey' d'ou
se d'ourent & g'obent des d'ames & des d'amoiselles: aff'ny que d'antier ne
te pussent par n'apes. D'ug ne t'ast'ray de paicte la p'ouissance. Adone le
moult & tantost Allogone deuint cer' f'euage ne il ne h'oy dem'ata de
sa f'ouze f'arman' sans seurement l'ent'ement d'ont luy p'ain de g'ra
d'olere & de f'au'd'one p'ouce n'ast' f'ap'it p' le l'og'age: & tost fut acc'ual
ly de ses p'opres ch'ens & ch'asse de sa mesme gent qui par la f'ouze l'ay
loyers crech'ent mais ou l'ont trouue mais ne l'ont mye rec'og'ne: la fut
est'ant Allogone qui deuant sa g'ra p'ouca a g'rosses g'outtes & d'ou
t'ens leur c'c'ast' m'ery se par'ce peult & des leas d'om'at'it: les ces s'
p'ouce a la mort: la fut au' h'oy d'ocis & m'at'ice a grant d'olere de sa
mesme mesme q' en peu d'heure deurent tout deuant. Aut' ceste soelle
pouent estre faicte maintes diuerses c'opositions: mais a nostre p'pos
peult estre d'ug iouuenc' qui du tout s'ad'end'ouit a oyseulz: & tout
desp'edit son auoir & sa cheualer au d'elict de son corps: & en d'ebuyt de c'ha
ce & en tenit mesme oyseulz: par ce peult estre dit qui fut h'oy de dyane
qui notte esostete & deuore de sa p'opre g'le. D'ouce d'ent' d'ier au d'is
cheualier que il se garde de l'ite son p'ins en mesmes cas. Et dit D'ug sa
ge. D'ys'ite en g'ra de ignoance & t'ent.



ly Villi

Tepce

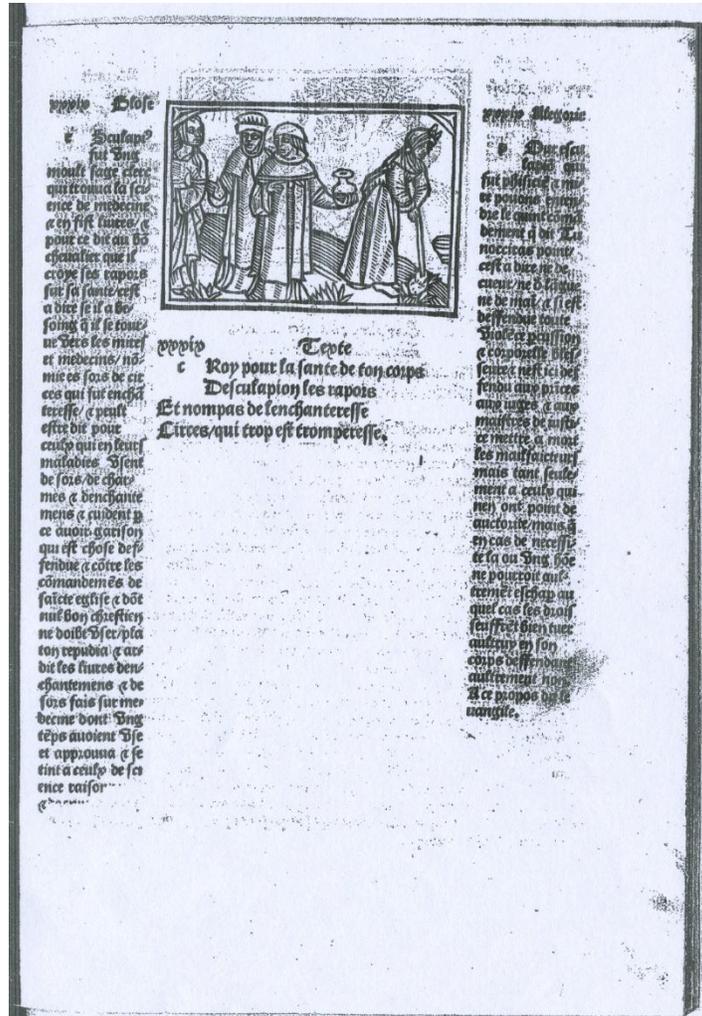
i Et trop ayment ch'ens & oyseulz
D'ant' h'oy le gent d'amoys' d'aulz
Qui s'at' deuint b'ien t'ey souu'enne
Et gard' quantant ne t'ey ad'ul'enne

ly Villi Allogone

p Allogone
en q' s'at'
deuint poude en
t'end' le D'ug je
n'it' qui p'ouce
soufou' estre. Da
a m'ate la p'oc
ch'ore & soite f'ay
ue a l'ep'it & p'is
lestat de p'oude: ce
D'ug f'ouce m'ay
f'oy fut le p'ou
t'ier que p'ouce
est d'ug f'ay d'ier
a l'ise & d'ine c'ha
g'iere: & m' d'ou
estre appelle f'oy
d'ome ne c'ha
mais a l'is d'oy
f'ouce d'olone.
Car c'is comme
les oyseulz par
tent en t'ere la
c'ha g'ie de l'ere
es l'oy d'iers effe
les p'oude au d'is
d'is: se no' p'ou
tons en t'ere la
c'ha g'ie de penit
ce est' nous peute
ta au d'is. Et ce p'
pos dit f'euang'ile

*Ch' p'oude d'ier
ap'ouce m'at'ice
reg'it c'edon. Allog
d'et'at. p'ouce.*

71 Woodcut Aesculapius



ppp
Euse

Aesculap
 fut un
 moult sage et
 qui trouua la sci
 ence de medecine
 a en fist livres
 pour ce dit au ho
 chonalte me
 croye les rapors
 fut sa sante cest
 a dire se il a de
 soins q il se tou
 ur des les mair
 et medecins na
 mie es sois de cir
 ces qui fut encha
 tresse a peult
 estre dit pour
 ceuz qui en heur
 maladies. Hent
 de sois de char
 mes e de charme
 mens e rudent n
 ce auoir garison
 qui est chose des
 fendue a cote les
 comandemens de
 sainte eglise a dot
 au bon chrestien
 ne doit de ce pla
 ton repudia a ce
 dit les livres de
 chantemens a de
 sois fais sur mer
 deus dont. Ing
 eds auoient. De
 et approuua e se
 tint a ceuz de sci
 ence rai for

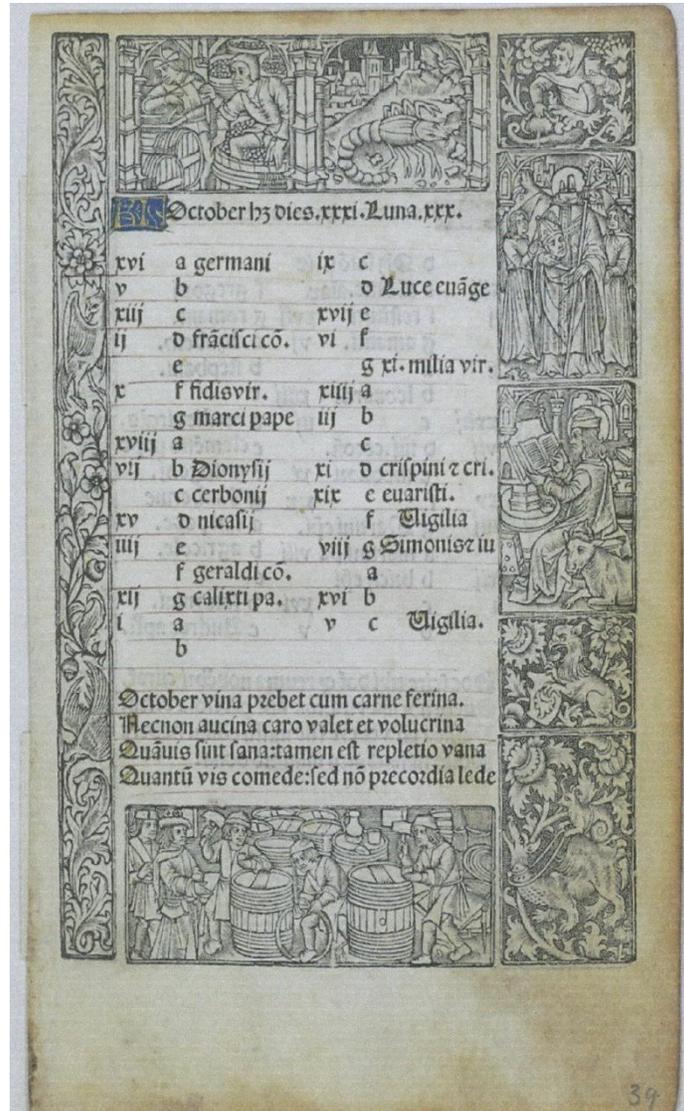


Texte
Roy pour la sante de son corps
Desculapion les rapors
Et nompas de lenchanteresse
Et ces qui trop est tromperesse.

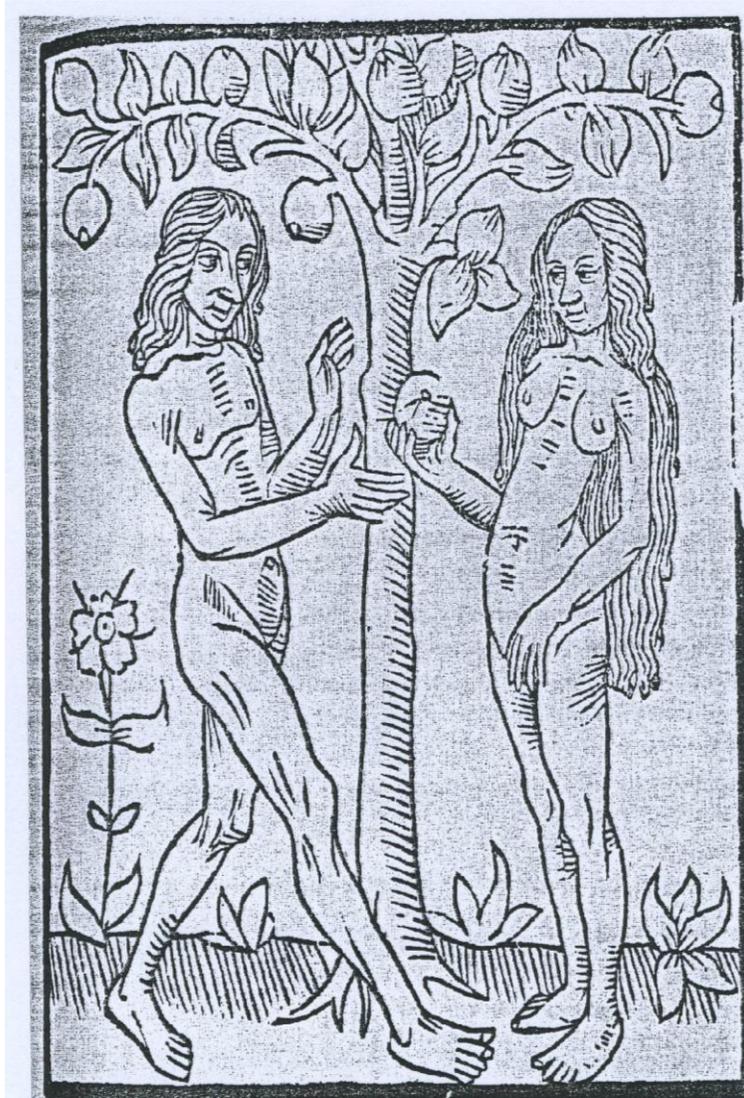
ppp
Allegorie

Que sa
 fons qui
 fut pousse e me
 ce pouons en
 die le quant com
 dement a die. Le
 nocceus point
 cest a dire ne de
 cune ne e. Le
 ne de mal e si est
 de l'homme tant
 que a peult son
 e comente. Dis
 sent e rest ce des
 fendu auo pices
 auo uice a auo
 maniere de auste
 ce metre a maie
 les maistres
 mais tant seule
 ment a ceuz qui
 nen ont point de
 auctorite mais a
 en cas de necessi
 te la ou. Ing. hoc
 ne pouroit auo
 armee eschap au
 que cas les d'au
 fait bien avec
 autray en son
 corps deffendu
 autrement. Ing
 a ce propos de
 uangile.

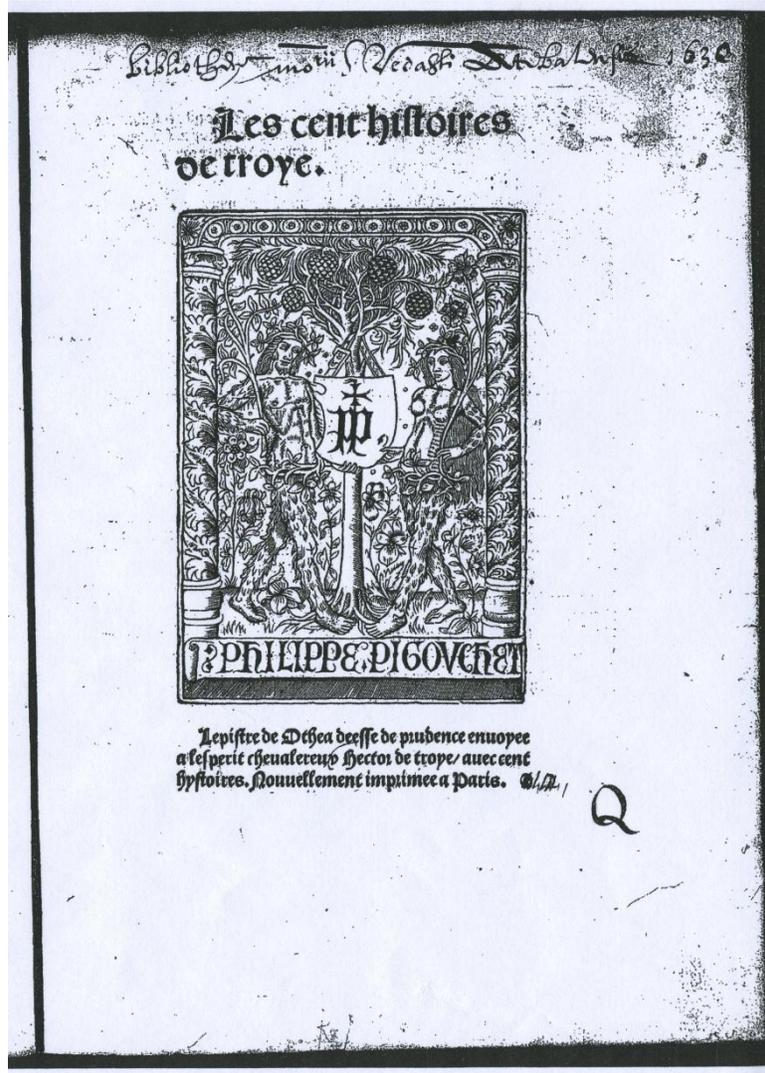
73 Criblé decoration Pigouchet Book of Hours



74 Adam and Eve



75 Pigouchet Printer's Device



75a Pigouchet Printer's Device



76 Tholoze Printer's Device



77 Le Caron Printer's Device



78 Baquelier Printer's Device



79 La Novaille Printer's Device



80 Baligault
Printer's Device



81 Vostre
Printer's Device



82 Anffray
Printer's Device



83 Woodcut Adrastus

psvi. **Chose**

Adraste
fut roy de
thebes & moult
puissant & par
dés deux esneu
tiers errans luy
appelle polmites
& l'autre thebes
se combattoient par
nuyt obscure
sous le portail
de son palais d'at
luy catenoit le
logis de l'autre
pour cause de
four temps & de la
grosse pluye qui
se auoit toute
nuit toinnetes &
la sechoient de
une ombre.

A cette heure le roy se leua & auoit ouy la noise de espées sur les escus &
vint de parter les deux cheualiers polmites estoit filz au roy de thebes
& thebes & d'ing aultre roy de grece mais de leurs terres furent epillez
grandement honora adrastus les deux barons puis leur donna en ma
riage deux moult belles filles & il auoit apes pour mettre polmites au
dix de sa terre & thebes son frere tenoit six grant armee le roy adra
stus & sur thebes alleret a grant off de son filz & mors & prins y furent
tous & les deux yendres du roy morts & les freres dont le descoid estoit
sente occiret en la bataille & ne demura de to^s fors adrastus luy tiers
de cheualiers & pour ce q' a gres epillez remettre en leurs droictz a mors
affaire dit au bon cheualier que en tel cas doit auoir conseil & se doit
mixer en la dicte auenture & come adrastus eut songe Une nuyt que il
dormoit ses deux filles par mariage a d'ing lyon & a d'ing dragon qui
ensemble se combattoient dit leppositeur des songes que songe dient de la
fantaie qui peut estre de monstrance de bonne ou de male auenture qui
doit aduenir aux creatures.



psvi

Epit

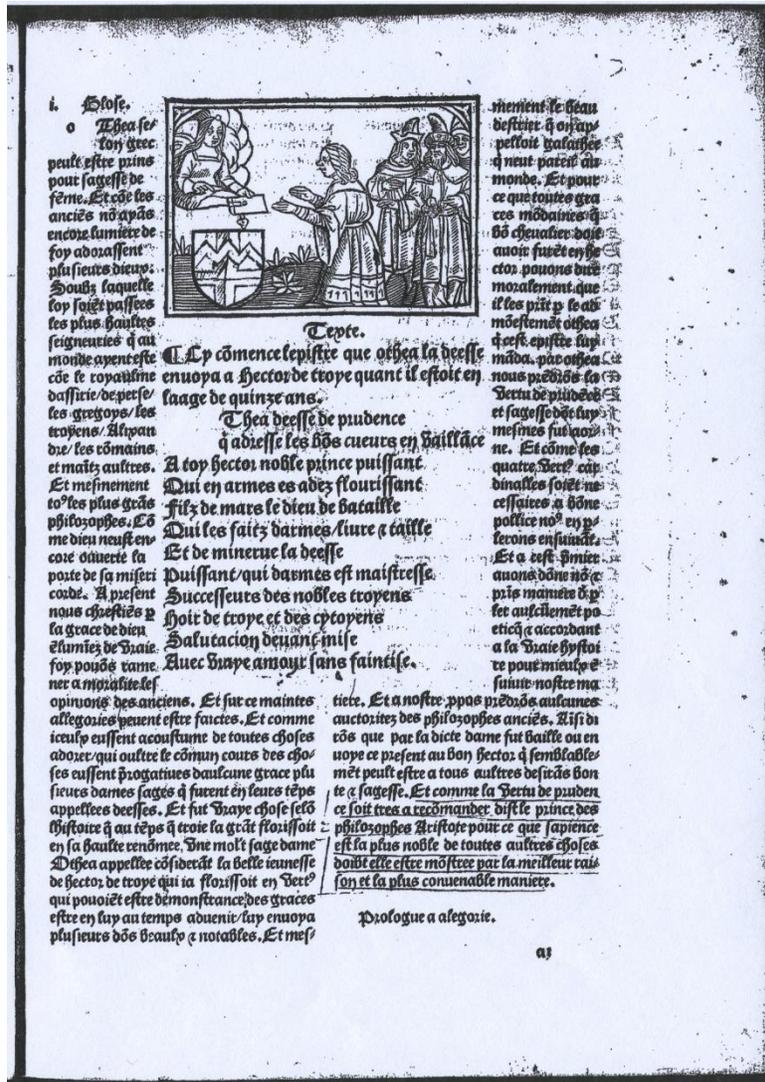
Les filles as a marier
Et tu les veulz aparter
A hommes bonz ne mal te vienne
Du roy adrastus te souuierne

psvi. **Alejoie**

Il est
dit que se
filles a a marier
que il garde a qui
il les donnera no
pouons entendre
que le bon esperit
cheualier a
dieu doit bien se
garder a qui il sa
compaignie sil ad
uient quez copair
grie d'uelle aller
come fist le bon
chobie aussi doit
toutes assigner
ses pecces en sac
ces meditations
& dit saint augu
stin en d'ing epis
tre que ceulz qui
ont apins de no
stre signeur a
estre de bonaire &
hambles proff
tent plus en medi
tant & en priant
que ilz ne font en
lyfant & en opite
pource disoit dai
uid en son psaul
tier.

¶ De l'adon in ma
sais tuis que d'iers

84 Woodcut Othea's Presentation to Hector



85 Woodcut Temperance

Mais la ou pudence est despitée toutes choses contraires ont seigneurie. Et a ce propos dit Salomon en ses puerbes.

Est inrauerit sapientia cor tuum et fecerit anima tue placuerit consilia custodiet te et prudentia seruabit te. Proverbia secundum capitulum.

ii. **Exose.**

d. Il offensa que attrempance est sa fleur la quelle il doit aymer. La Vertu d'attrempance d'aymer peut estre dicte seur et est semblable a pudence. Car attrempance est demonstration de pudence / a de pudence sensuyt attrempance. Pour ce dit il la tiene pour saine. ce q' se deblement doit faire tous bons cheualiers desirans le louyer de ne aux bons. Si come dit le philosophe nomme desmocritus. Attrempance aide dees Dices / et par fait les Vertus.

Texte

Et ie te dis que souuente
Ten doit com silz fussent passees
Saches quilz sont en mes pensees
En esperit de prophete
Di enten et ne te soupre
Car riens ne diray qui nauienne
Sauueu nest / orien souuengne.



Texte.

e. Ta celle fin que tu saches
Quil te fault faire / que tu faces
A toy les Vertus plus propices
Pour mieulx paruenir aux premiffes
De baillance cheualeresuse
Et tout soit elle auentureuse
Encor te diray qui me maine
Jay vne miene seur germaine
Remplie de toute beaulte
Mais sur toute especiaulte
Est douce / cope / a attrempce
Ne iamais dire / nest scapce
A riens fois mesure ne pense
Lest la deesse d'attrempance
Si ne peulx sa par elle nom
Auoir de grant grace le nom
Car selle ney faisoit le pois
Tout ne te vaudroit pas sept pois.

a.iii

Allegorie

La Vertu d'attrempance q' a propice de de limiter les superfluites / doit auoir le bon esperit. Et dit sainte augustin au sur des meurs de leglise q' l'office de attrempance est de fraidre / a appaiser les meurs de concupisence qui nous sont cotraies / a nous desfourner de la loy de dieu. Et aussi despit de delices charnelles / a l'ouenge mondaine. A ce propos parle sainte pierre la postre en sa premiere epistre.

Obsecro vos estis aduersus et peregrini nos abstinere vos a carnalibus desiderijs que militent aduersus animam / primo pernicio capitulo.

86 Woodcut Fortitude

iii **Blase.**

A Vertu
de force
est a entendie nō
mpe force corpore
cette maniere cōtra
ce se ferme que
le bon cheualier
doit auoir en to
ses faits desiderz
par bō sens & for
ce de resister con
tre les contrarie
tez qui luy peult
venir. Bon iher
sime en redolaci
ōs ou forte pais
sant contrage
peult estre vailla
ble a resoulerment
de Daire. Et
pour donner ma
teiel exemple de
force allegue her
cules/ assis que
doublement soit
vaillable. ce fust
sanson en tāt que
toucha ceste vīe.
Esmentement
ce fait de cheua
lerie ou ierluy
fut tres excellent.
& pour sa hautes
se de sector estoit

Tepte.

Pour ce bucil quauoc moy tanye
Lesse soit ne loublies mpe
Lest la deesse tres apprise
Qui sage est/ molut l'ayne & puse.



iii

Tepte

T avec nous se canitent force
Se tu de grand vertu fais force
Ders hercules se fault diree.
Et ses vaillances remiere
En qui il eut trop de bernage
Et pour tant se a ton signage
Fut concaire & eut attaine
Napes mpe pour tant hayne
A ses vertus nobles & fortes

chose comenable
luy donner hault
exemple. hercu
les fut vng che
ualier de grece de
merueilleuse for
ce/ mist a si mal
tes cheualerues
prouesses/ grand
Douageer fut par
le monde. Et pour
les grans & mes
meilleurs voya
ges que il fist es
chofes de grant
force/ les portes
q parterēt soubz
cōuerture & en
maniere de saile
disent que il alla
en enfer cōbatre
aup pules infer
naulz/ & que auy
serpens & fieres
bestes se cōbattoit
qui est a entendue
les fortes empa
ses que il faisoit.
Et pour ce dit au
bon cheualier q
il se doibt mēce
criffaforce en
ses prouesses &
vaillances/ selon
sa possibilite. Et

87 Woodcut Justice

iiii **D**ose

Dit peidre
et au bon
cheualier que si
deult estre da
tenc auz bds sa
bte de iustice lui
conuient auoir.
L'estassant de
tous deniurete
iustice de aristo
te. **L**esoy qui est
de iustice iustice
et doit poeuer
met soy mesmes
iustice car celui
qui faulda a soi
mesmes iustice
serat non digne
d'auoir iustice
Et est a enredre
soy mesmes cor
roger de ses des
foutes si qd soi
ent de tout amoz
tes. **E**t pais ho
me ausi corret
peut bien et doit
estre corregur de
plusieurs autres
hōmes. **E**t a poe
tre moralment di
rons **O**ne fable a
ce propos sels sa
conuient des po
etes. **M**inos come
dist les poetes est

iustice desfer. **E**t come paost ou souverai baillif. **E**t devant lui sont
cumenens toutes les ames descedes en icelle vale. **E**t selon ce qd elles
ont desferai pendre et autat de degres come il deult qdles soient mises
en parfont il touer sa quant en tout soy. **E**t pour ce que en fer est la iu
stice et punicio de dieu de iustice penons a present maniere de parler
a ce propos. **I**l fut bien deite qd **D**ez coy fat en cren appelle minos de
menueste seete qd est en luy greit riguar de iustice. **E**t pour ce dist
les poetes qd apote sa mort fut come a estre iustice desfer. **E**t dit au
sone. **J**ustice est **O**ne mesure que dieu a establie sur terre pour limiter
les hoies.



iiii

Trope.

Nos se beulz estre des nos
Resembler te conuient minos
Tant soit il iustice et maistre
Desfer et de tout son estre
Lar se tu te beulz auancier
Estre te conuient iustice
Austrement de porter heaulme
Nos digne ne tenir ropaulme

iiii **A**llegorie

Et come dist
soit ches de
iustice et de tout
ordre est il neces
saire a les pit che
uaitens pour p
uenir a glozouse
Victore que il ait
celle Vertu. **E**t dit
saint bernard en
Duz sermō qd iu
stice nest aultre
chose que redre a
chacun ce qui est
sper. **M**es donc
qs dit il a troys
paires de ges ce
qui est estre. **A** tō
souverain a ton
partir ou egal et
a tō subget. **A** tō
souverai tu dois
redre enredre et
obessance enredre
ce de cuer, redres
fance de corps **A**
ton paeril tu dois
redre conseil et
ayde conseil en en
seignat ton igno
rance et ayde en
cōsistant sa non
puissance **A** tō sub
get tu dois redre
garde qd discipule
garde en le gar
dit de mal faire,
et discipule en le
chastiant se il a
mal fait. **E**t a ce
propos parle sa
sont es puerles

Cecogit ut iust
dono impo vi beva
bat impo a malor
paulam est nullo fa
ere iustici. **P**roven
dand. **P**roven

88 Woodcut Fame

D Blofe.

Il pource
q cest cho
se courable que
ou bon cheualier
soit dit honneur &
euerce en tous
figure sels la ma
niere des poetes.
Perseus fut un
moult vaillant
cheualier & un
seul euyne
acist a deus fut
la ynde de p
se nome a dirent
les poetes q il che
uochoit le che
ual q par fait do
se q ilz nomment
pesag. Et est a
entende rendree
qui par fait doit
a da en to^s pays
il portoit en sa
mai dng fauchā
ou dne fauch q
est dit pour la
grāt sois de ges
qui par luy furent
des cōfites en mai
tes batailles. Il
deliura androme
da de la delue. ce
fut dne pucelle q
il deliura de dng
monstre de mer q



Texte

Dies te mire en perseus
De qui le hault nom est sceus

Darmy le monde en toutes pars
Des agus ly cheualy appars
Cheuaucha par lair en volant
Et andromeda en alant
Deliura il de la delue
Si luy a a force tollue
Comme bon cheualier errans
Si la rendue a ses parens
Lestuy fait buellez retenit
Car bon cheualier doit tenir
Celle boye sil heult auoir
Honneur qui trop mieulx vault quauoir.
Si ce mires en son escu
Luyant qui plusieurs a vaincu
De son fauchon sopes arme
Si seras soit a afferme.

D

Alegorie.

Entendee doit desirer le perit cheualereuy entre la noble cōpai
gme des benoictz saictz de paradis acqse par ses bones merites
Le cheual pesagus q le portera sera sō bon ange q sera bō raport de lui

au iour du iuge
mēt. Andromeda
qui sera deliuree
cest sō ame q de
liuerra de lenemi
de fer p d'aire pe
che. Et q on doit
oultre ce d'aire ce
est bōne rendree
auoir en ce mōde
affin de dieu non
par daine glorie
auoir. Dit saint
augustin au liure
de correction que
deux choses sont
necessaires a bō
dure cest assu
uoir bōne conscie
ence & bōne rend
mee. Conscience
pour soy & rend
mee pour son pro
chain & qui se fie
en cōscience & de
spite rendmee il
est cruel. Car cest
sime d noble cau
rage de aymer le
bien de rendmee.
Et a ce ppos dit
le saige.

Carā habe de bo
no note magis enim
permanebit tibi quā
mille thesauri preci
osi. Ecclesiastici. xii.
capitulo.

89 Woodcut Latona

pp. **Stose.**

Il sabbé
dit que
la deesse latona
fut mere phebée
et phebée qui est le
soleil & la lune et
a une deesse les
poues Jumo par
ro' pays les chas
soit pour ce q' en
saint estoit de in
piter son mari.

Drog' sont fut
renouit renouillee
la deesse latona
et arrus a Drog
que & sous sabbé
sa sue leue pour
estancher sa gréit.

soit la auoit d'ains a grés tourbes qui pour la grant chaleur du so-
leil en leue se baignoient & latona p'ndit a r'posner & a luy trou-
bler leue que elle cuidoit boire ne pour poier q' elle leur fist ne la Dou-
lurent souffrir ne auoit pitié de son meschies si les maudist & dist que
a tousiours mais ils peussent demeuer au pain & s'uffir sans & adormi
nables & tousiours ne cessassent de boire & de r'posner. Adonc brin-
du: ut les d'ains renouilles qui depuis ne s'incert de boire e'ome il ap-
peut au temps de se en ces r'ages. Si peut estre que aucuns paysans
suerent de plaisir a aucune grant maistrise qui les fist genter en la t'ue
te & noyer. Ainsi deuidrent renouilles. Le est a entendre que le boy est
noier ne se doit nullement souiller au pain de d'ainie. Mais doit
suyr toutes d'aines taches qui sont c'itatives a gentillesse car e'ome
d'ainie ne peut souffrir en soy gentillesse aussi ne doit gentillesse souff-
rir en soy d'ainie ne mesmemet contondre ne p'ndre de'bat a personne
d'ainie de d'iers & de paier d'ainie. Et dit platon. Celui qui abouste
a sa gentillesse noble se de bones meurs est a louer. Et celui a q' souf-
frit sa gentillesse qui vient de ses parents sans acquerir bonnes condi-
tions ne doit pas estre tenu pour noble.



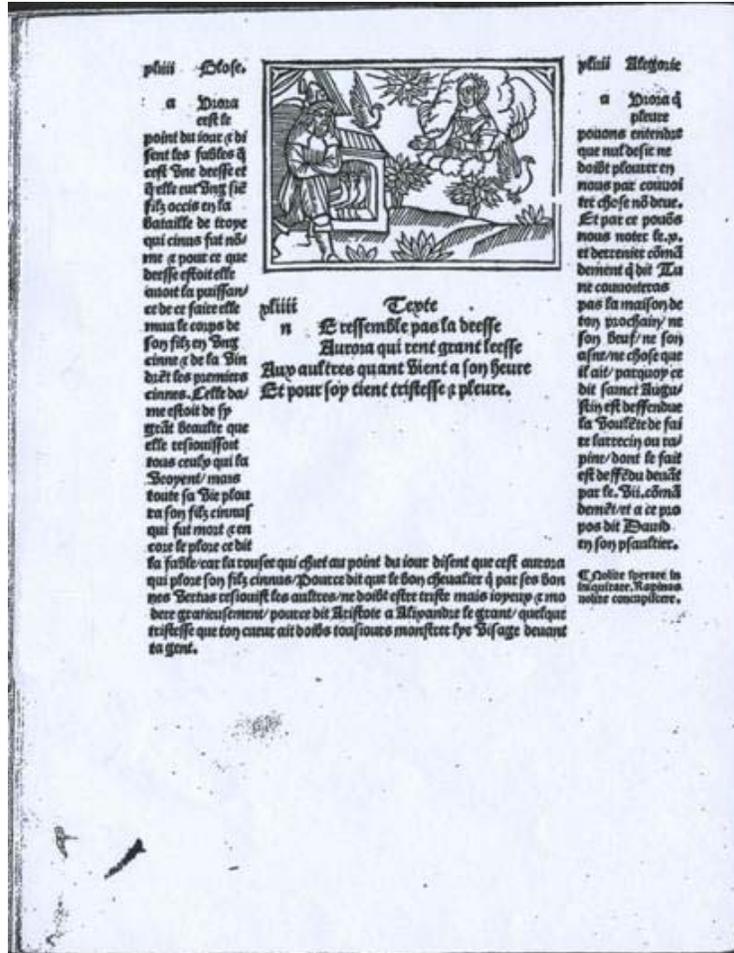
pp. **Algois.**

Le d'is
sains qui
deuident renouit
les pouons enté-
due le p'esse d'aua-
tice qui est c'itai-
te au bon esprit.
Et dit saint au-
gustin que d'ome
annoncié est se
stable a enfer.

Car enfer ne fait
tant engloie de
ames q' die cest
assez. Et se tou-
tes t'res du m'd
de estoient amas-
ses en la possessio-
de s'ouuerain il
ne seroit pas ras-
satis. Et a ce pro-
pos dit le scriptu-
re.

Instabilis est
omnis caro. In parte
morsuaria no' facta
bitur. Ecclesiasticus.
xiii. capitulo.

90 Woodcut Aurora



91 Woodcut Daphne

lxxxviii Holo

Et Dne
sable q
dampne fut Dne
damoiselle q pse
bus ayma par ar
mour & moult
la pour suyuit
mais elle acco
der ne sy Vouloit
Admirer Dng iour
que il Veit la bel
le aller par Dne
Doye & quant el
le se Veit Venir
elle prit a fuyr &
se dieu apies et
quait il fut sy pres
que elle Veit bien
que eschapper ne
pouoit sa priere



lxxxviii

Tepte

De laurier couronne auoir
Deulz q mieulx hault q nul auoir
Dampne te conuient pour suyuit
Et tu lauras par bien suyuit

fist a dyane la deesse que sa Virginité luy Vouloit sauuer & a
donc fut le corps de la pucelle enue en Dng Vex laurier & quant
psefus fut appoche il print des branches de l'arbre & chappeau
seu fist en signe d'Victoire. Et depuis lors enca chappeau de lau
rier signifie Victoire & mesmes au temps de la grant felicité au
edemais couronoiet de laurier les Victorieux. Plusieurs en
tendemens peult auoir la sable & peult aduenir q Dng puissant
homme pour suyuit a long travail Dne dame & tant q sous Dng
laurier il l'attaignit a sa Douleure & pour celle cause depuis lors
enca ayma le laurier & le porta en deuse en signe de Victoire que
il auoit eue de ses amours sous le laurier. Et peult estre aussi
le laurier prins pour or qui signifie noblesse & pour ce que le
laurier signifie honneur dit au bon cheualier que il luy conuient
Dampne pour suyuit se courone de laurier Deult auoir. C'est a
entendre peine & travail se a honneur Deult auenir. A ce propos
dit Dmer. Par grant diligence Vient on a perfection.

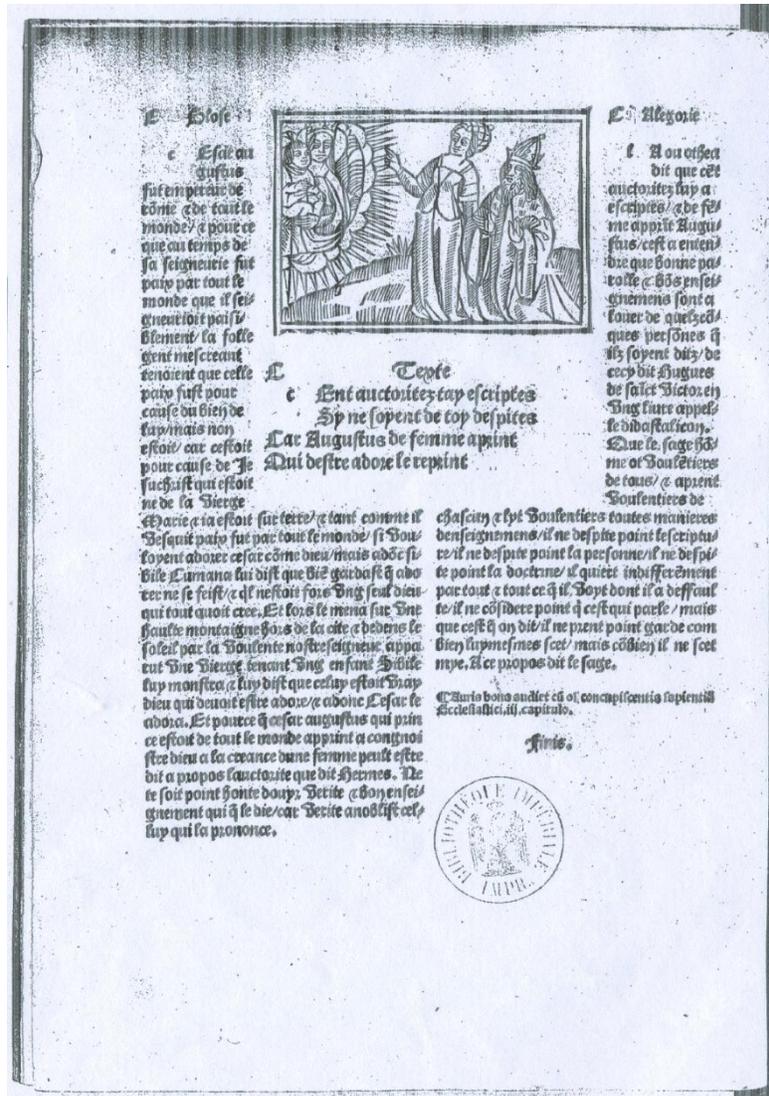
Allegorie

lxxxviii
De laurier
est Deult
couronne auoir
dampne luy con
uient pour suyuit
pouons entendre
que se le boy espe
rit Deult Victoire
glorieuse quait
luy conuient p
uerance q se ma
nira a la Victoi
re de paradis. Des
les royes sont in
finies comme dit
saint gregoire.
Qui est dit il la
sangle q souffre
se racompter et q
est sentendement

qui puisse cōprendre quā
tes sont les royes de ce
ste souverain cite de pa
radis estre to' iours pre
sent aux ordres des an
gels avec les benoictz ef
prez assister a la gloire
du conditeur regarder le
present Disage de dieu
Deoit la lumiere incircū
scriptible estre assise de
nd auoir iamais paour
de la mort soy esiouyr
du dō de pardurable in
corruption. A ce propos
dit dauid au psaultier.

¶ Estotio la dicta sūt de re: ci
uitas dei.

92 Woodcut Ara Coeli



93 Woodcut Cephalus

l'oy di chose

Cephalus fut un
ancien cheualier
dit une fable que
toute sa vie se
estoit moult delecte
ce en deuyt de
chace & a merueil
les scauoit bien
guetter un gaine
lot quil auoit qui
auoit telle poye
te q'ia ne fust get
te en l'air & tout
accioyt unist
attaingnoit. Et
pour ce q'acoustu
me auoit de soy
leuer au matin &
aller a la forest

la sauuaigine guetter sa femme en fut en grant inousie que luy daultre
que delecte fust amoureux & pour la Verite scauoit alla ays pour le guet
ter Cephalus qui au doys estoit quat il ouyt la saulce huire ou sa se
me se muisoit cuida que sauuaigine fust atant la sa son glauelet & sa
femme ataint si l'occist dolent fut de la mesauenture cephalus/ mais ce
mede ny peut estre mys. La femme loth come tesmoigne la sainte escri
pture se retout na arriere contre le commandement de l'ange quant elle
ouyt de l'ere soy fondre les cinq citez & pour ce fut tantost touzue en
une masse de sel. Et comme toutes choses soyent figurees y peult estre
mys assez de entendemens/ mais a la prendre a la Verite pour exemple/
nul boy ne se doit delecter a guetter aultrey en chose qui ne luy doit ap
partenir et comme nul ne Douloir estre guette/ dit Hermes/ ne say a
ton compaignon n'plus q' tu Douloir oyes q' il te fait & ne Dueilles ten
dre les las pour prendre les hommes ne pourchasser leurs domages ne
deffoneur par a guet ou y cautele/ car au derrenier tourneroit sur toy.



l'oy di

Teple

Et de chaille de nul guettier.
Mais ten ba toujours ton sentier.
Cephalus o son glauelet
Le tappient a la femme loth

l'oy di Alkyon

De il ne
luy doit
cha soit de nul
guetter peult estre
entendu que le dō
esperit ne se doit
donner peine de
scauoir fait doul
trai ne denquerie
daultrey nouuel
les. Et dit saint
iesus crisostome
sur leuigile saint
mathieu/ coment
dit il/ es faitz dou
truy Doye tu rāt
de petites deffaul
tes & en tes pro
pres faitz tu loiss
ses passer tant
grāds deffaultes/
se tu saymes mi
cuis que ton pro
chay pour quoy
tempesches tu de
ses faitz & laisses
les tiens/ soyes
premierement di
sigent de conside
rer tes faitz/ &
puis cōsidere les
fa tz daultrey. Et
ce propos dit no
stre seigneur en le
uangile.

¶ Quid autē vides
felicam in oculo fra
tris tui arāben autē
in oculo tuo nō vides
¶ Dan̄tel. vii. cap. 6.

94a Woodcut Narcissus

¶ *De* Olose.

n Narcissus
fut un
dameyfel q pour
sa grant beaulte
fut fleur en si
grant orgueil que
il avoit en de puis
tous ses costes.
Et pour ce que il
ne pavoit si nay
fut est il dit q fut
si amoureux q as
fote de luy mes
mes q il en mou
cut apres ce q il
se fut mise en la
fontaine. ce est a
entendre loulte
candance de luy
mesmes ou il se
mira. Pour ce
deffend au hō che
valier que il ne se
mirer ses biens
faut parquoy il
en soit outrecu
de. Et a ce propos
dit Socrates.
Fils grande q tu
ne soyen deceu en
la beaulte de ta
image. car ce
nest mie chose du
raill.



¶ *De*

Texte

n Narcissus ne vueilles sembler
Par trop grant orgueil a ffuler
Car cheualier outrecuide
Est de mainte grace vuide.

¶ *De* Alogau.

o Alogau
a nostre propos en
applicat au
sept pechez mortels.
Par narcis
sus enredons le
peche d'orgueil
dōt le bon esprit
se doit garder.
Et dit origenes
es omelies.
A quoy se en or
gueilist terre et
cendre. ne hōme
cōment se ote il
estner en arro
gance/ quāt il p
se dōt il est dem
et que il deuidra
q en cōbien fesse
Dauffel est sa die
conterme q en hō
les ordres il est
plunge q quelles
netayeres il ne
cisse de geter de
sa chair par tous
les cōdits de son
cōps. Et a ce p
pos dit la sainte
escripture.

¶ *De* Alogau.
ad
ceterum superbia eius
et caput eius nobis
revertit quasi heris
lud in fine perdetur
Job 3. capitulo.

94b Woodcut Venus

Vii **Exose.**

S Enus est
planette
du ciel dōt le iour
du Vēdredi est nō
me. Et le metal
que nous appel-
lons estai ou es-
peautre est a icel
le attribue. Ven-
dome influence
damours: de Va-
guete. a fut Dne
dame aisi nomēe
qui fut royne de
egypte. Et pour ce
q̄ elle epecha tou-
tes en exellant
beaultez iolūete
et tresamoureuse
fut et non cōstāte
en Vng amour/
mais adōdnee
a plusieurs Lap-
pellerēt deesse da-
mours. Et pour
ce q̄lle dōne influ-
ence de supūte dit
Disea au bon
cheualier q̄ il ne
face sa deesse cest
a entendre que en
celluy Vice ne
doit son corps ne
son eniēte aban-
dōner. Et dit her-
mes. Le Vice de su-
pūte estant tou-
tes Vertus.



Viii

Tepte

D E Venus ne saps ta deesse
Ne te chaille de sa promesse
Le pour suiuir en est trauailleux
Non honorable et perilleux

Vii **Allegorie.**

S Enus
dōt le dō
cheualier ne doit
face sa deesse
cest q̄ le dō espye
ne doit auoir en
foy nulle Vanite
et dit castidore
sur le psaultier/
Vanite fist lāge
deuent dyable.
Et au p̄mier hō-
me dōna la mort
et le Vuda de dō
neurete qui sup
estoit ottroye
Vanite est mete
de tous maulz la
fontaine de tous
Vices. Et la Sei-
ne de iniquite qui
hōme met hors
de la grace de
dieu se met en sa
gayne. Et a ce p-
pos dit dauid en
son psaultier en
parlant a dieu.

¶ Odit observātes
vanitatis linguacae
psal. 177.

94c Woodcut Pygmalion

ppii Dlose.

p ymalion fut un moult subtil ouvrier d faire ymagges. Et dit une fable que pour la grant Dilite que il veit es femmes de cidoie il les despaissas dist q il seroit une ymage ou il nairoit q redit une ymage de femme tailla de souverain beaulte/ quide il eut par faicte/ amour q subtillement fecit



ppii

Tepte

Et assotes par de l'ymage
Dimalion se tu es sage
Car de tel ymage parree
Est la beaulte trop comparee.

curus tant se fist estre amoureux de son ymage/ pour luy fut agenge des mauly damours/ plains de clamours a piteux sospics luy faisoit/ mais l'ymage de pierre ne leuendoit. Au temple de Venus ser assa ymalion q tant luy fist deuote clamour que la deesse en eut pitie/ q en demonstrece de ce le haidon q elle tenoit a par luy se puint q a luma. Adde pour le signe fut ioyeux lamant q vers son ymage ser da q entre ses bras se puint q tait le chausa a sa chair me que l'ymage eut die q a par ser se puint q ainsi ymalion eut ioye recouree. A ceste fable pevent estre mises maintes opposicions q sensiblement a toutes autres fables et pour ce les firet les poetes affin q les entdems des homes se agui fassent/ subtillassent a y trouuer divers propos. Si peult estre entedu que ymalion despaissa la Dilite des femmes folles/ q ser amoua de/ me puelle de tresgrant beaulte/ laquelle ne vouloit ou ne pouoit enten/ dre ses piteux plaings noplus q se de pierre fust. L'ymage avoit faicte/ Cest que par penser a ses belles beaultes seftoit en amour/ mais en la par fin tant la pria/ q tant ser tint pieu que elle layma a sa Douceur/ q feut a mariage q ainsi eut l'ymage dar comme pierre recouree die par la deesse Venus. Si veult dire que le bon cheualier ne doit estre as/ fote de sy fait ymage en telle maniere quil en laisse a suivre le mestier/ d'armes auquel il est obligé par l'ordie de cheualerie. Et a ce propos dit apostolus/ imparimetre chose est a pince de soy assotter de chose qui fait a crependre.

ppii Allegorie

l ymage py malis dot se bo cheua tier ne se doit assotter/ puzions se pes/ che de layure/ dot lesperit cheualer/ tray doit garder son corps d layure/ ce dit salet fiero/ me en die epistre/ D sui denfer de qui la busche cest gloutonie/ la fide/ me cest orgueil/ les flamesches/ sont corrupues/ polles/ la fumee cest maliciaise/ re/ nance/ la cendre cest pourete/ q la fin est le toument/ d'ner. A ce propos dit saint pie/ tte sapostre.

«Ubiq̄ntem erit
mura delicias conu
quiritio/ q macula
delticia affluere cile
uitio suo lauerat
tes. ioh̄ petri. ii. ca.

96 Woodcut Ilium

pe. Di. Blose.

Y Lion fut
le maistre
bonion de troys es
le plus forte le pl
des d'ouques fut
fou des les syfor
tes sacés menés
mais non obstant
ce fut il paré a ces
et d'inc a neau / e
aussi fut la cite de
thune / q'icobis fut
grat chose / e pour
ce que ces cas ad
uient p' la ma
dite de fortune
Beult dire q' le sō
cheualier ne se
doit en orgueil
ne soy tenir seur
pour nulle force.
Pour ce dit p'ho
lome de tant cō
dne seigneurie est
plus haut de tāt
en est la ruine p'
perilleuse.



pe. Di.

Tepte.

n Euides auoir seur chafel
Car plion le fort chafel
fut prins et ars / aussi fut thune
Tout est entre les mains fortune

pe. Di. Allegorie

q' nul ne cuide
auoir seur
chafel / pouds en
esperer que le bon
esperit ne baile
quois regard ne
ceyret a delices q'
cōques / car cōme
delices soient pas
sables non / seures
et mainem a dan
nacion dit saint
hierome que cest
impossible q' d'inc
personne passe de
delices a delices q'
elle saillit des deli
ces de ce monde
cuy delices de pa
radis que l'oy ten
plisse son dence
et y la son ante.
Car la condicio
d'ame sp' est delice
ne este n'ist point
dōne / a ceulz qui
cudent auoir le
monde p'petuel en
delices / A ce p'os
pos est escript en
l'apocal' p'fe.

Quant plouffes a
nie se et l'hele de fuis
santi d'atet romen
tum et l'actu. Apocali
p'ho. viij. ca.

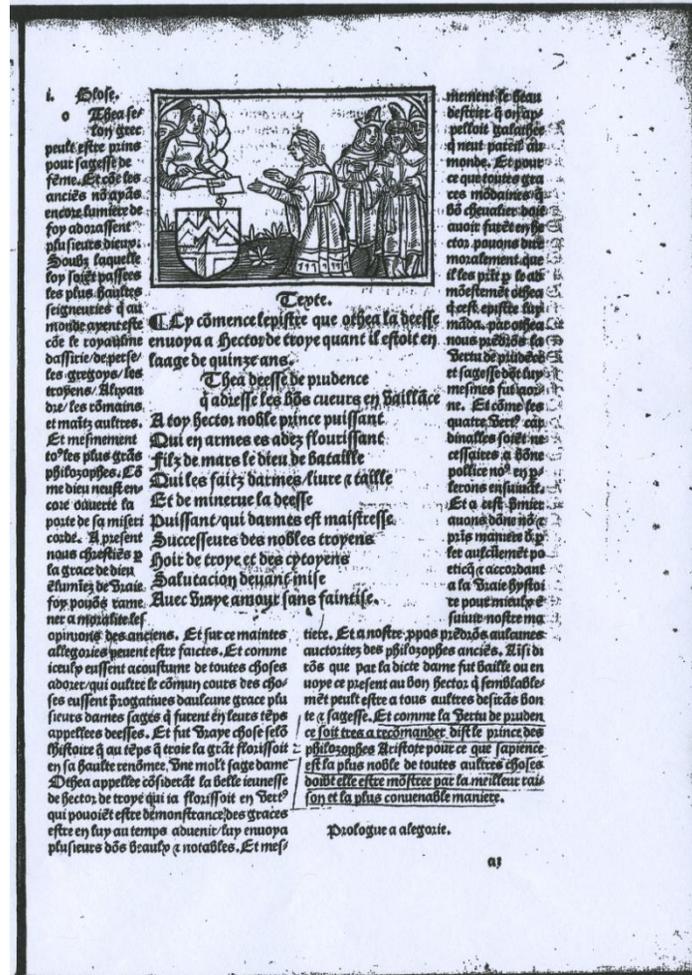
97a Bodmer 49
 Othea's Presentation to Hector



97b Lille 175
 Othea's Presentation to Hector



97c Woodcut Othea's Presentation to Hector



98 Harley 4431 Cassandra (on left)



101a Bodmer 49

Latona

Digne se recevoir la couronne prom
 nise aux chevaliers qui est couronné de
 couronne de se chape de l'airail
 le. **¶** Pour ce il est escript au vif
 chapitre des proverbes salomon
Auton Cogitatio robusti semper
 in sublimitate omnis autem piger i
 egestate erit. **¶** Et est adue. Les co
 gnitions = pense et de celui qui est
 fort et robuste son toujours en ha
 bondance mais tout homme pauvre
 son toujours en misere.



le vif terre

101b Lille 175
Latona

neuv ou sa terre. ou ce quilla plus chr' **C**ome
souvent admeine mains Jdruemens par par
reste et lachete **E**t ace propos dist hiermes
bien heure est cellui qui use ses jours en soli
tude comenable

Le qui est dit que le bon chlr ne soit ne
lont ne prolix **P**onous entendre le pe
chie de paresse que le bon esprit ne doit avoir
Ear come dist Bede sur les proverbes salo
mon le pareceps n'est pas digne de recevoir
avec dieu qui ne veult labourer pour la
mour dieu **E**t n'est pas digne de recevoir
la courone promise aux chevaliers qui ne
sont courars de emprendre les champs de
bataille **P**once dist l'écriture **C**onita
tionet robusti semp in laboraria omis aute
piger in egestate **C**it proverbioz xxxi ca



101c Woodcut Latona

pp. **Exe.**

I La fable dit que la deesse Latona fut en ce pays et que son frere qui est le soleil et la lune et a une deesse ses poins. J'uno par ce pays les choses pour ce qu'en sainte estoit de sa pitee son mari.

Un jour fut moult travaillie la deesse Latona et arriva a un jour que a lors sabail sa sue femme pour estancher sa grant



Texte
N Les piees pas contes aux renouilles
Ne en leur palu ne te souilles
Contre Latona s'assemblerent
Et leue d'ice luy troublerent.

sois/ la auoit Vilains a gras touilles qui pour la grant chaleur du soleil en leue se boignoient/ et Latona p'indiret a r'aposer/ et a luy troublie leue que elle cuidoit boire ne pour p'aire a elle leur fait ne la doulerent souffrir/ ne auoir p'ite de son meschier/ si les maudist/ et dist que a tousiours/ mais ilz peussent demeurer au palu et fustent lais et abhominables et tousiours ne cessassent de haire et de r'aposer. Adont deint d'ice les Vilains renouilles/ qui depuis ne furent de haire come il ap'ert au temps de ce ces r'images. Si peult estre que aucuns paysans furent desplaisis a aucune grant maistrisse qui les fist getter en la tunic et a noyer. Ainsi deuident renouilles. Le est a entendre que le bon cheualier ne se doit nullement souiller au palu de Vilainie. Mais doit fuyr toutes Vilaines taches qui sont contraires a gentillesse/ car come Vilainie ne peult souffrir en soy gentillesse/ aussi ne doit gentillesse souffrir en soy Vilainie/ ne mesmeent contredire ne p'edre debat a personne Vilaine de Vilainie/ et de parler Vilain. Et dit platon. Celui qui adouste a sa gentillesse noblesse de bones meurs est a louer. Et celui a qui souffrit la gentillesse qui vient de ses parens sans acquerir bonnes condicions/ ne doit pas estre tenu pour noble.

pp. **Allegorie.**

L Es Vilains qui deuident renouilles les pouons entredre le peche d'avarice qui est contrair au bon esperit. Et dit saint augustin que homme avaricieux est se desolable a enfer. Car enfer ne s'entant engloutir de ames d'ice cest assez. Et se tous les tresors du monde estoient amassez en la possessio de l'avaricieux/ il ne seroit pas casu fait. Et a ce propos dit le scripteur.

¶ Insuperabilis oculis cupidi. in porte iniquitatis non facit bonum. Ecclesiastici. p'iii. capitulo.

102 Woodcut Mercury

pil. *Prose.*

d Le mer-
curi^{us} est
nôme le iour du
mercure & sargēt
Dis y est arcebaue
Mercuri^{us} est pla-
nette qui dōne in-
fluēce de pontifi-
cal maintien & de
beau langage
aome de rethoriz-
que pour ce dist
au bon chesallier
q̄ il en doibt estre
aome car hono-
rable maintien &
belle loquēce siet
moult a noble de-
sir il se hault puz
d'honneur / mais
quel se garde de
trop parler. Car
dit diogenes que
de toutes Vertus
le plus est le meil-
leur excepte de
parolles.



pil

Texte.

I Dyes aome de faconde
Et de parolle nette & monde
Le capenda mercurius
Qui de bien parler siet les os.

pa^o *Allegorie.*

m Le cur-
rius q̄
est dit dieu de lan-
gage / poons en-
tendre que le che-
ualier resuscit-
doibt estre aome
de bonne predica-
tion / & de parolle
de doctrine / & aus-
si doibt apner et
honorer les an-
cieux dicelles.
Et dit saint gre-
goire es omelies
q̄ on doibt auoir
en grant reuerēce
les prescheurs de
la sainte escriptu-
re / car ce sont les
coureurs q̄ vont
deuant nostre sei-
gneur & nostre sei-
gneur les suyt.
Sainte predica-
cion vont deuant
et lors nostre sei-
gneur / Vint a l'ex-
bitaciō de nostre
curi^{us} / les parol-
les de exortacion
sont la course de-
uant. Et lors de-
cile si est recue
en nostre entende-
ment. Et a ce pro-
pos dit nostre sei-
gneur a ses apos-
tres.

*Et curi^{us} vos adit me
edit et qui vos sper-
at me sperat. Luc
decimo capitulo.*

103 Woodcut Mars and Venus

¶ Bi Elose

¶ Bi Elose
 D'ne
 fable q
 mars a Ven^e seu
 traquoyent par
 amour/auant
 Dne nuyt que les
 deux amas d'ias
 a d'ias furent en
 dormis. Phobus
 qui c'est Doyt les
 surpris & apperent
 a Vulcan le mari
 les accusa adonc
 lui q en ce poit les

¶ Bi
 Dicit. forgea Dne
 chaine & Dng tie
 edme celui q est
 febre des dieux
 et au ciel forge
 les foudres & de

ses chaines d'airain tous deux les lya enfan
 ble si que mouuoit ne se peuent & ainsi les
 surprint & monstra aux autres dieux & tel
 sencrioyt q bien eust Doulu en fable mes
 fait estre es dieu. Ceste fable peut estre no
 tee a plusieurs entenedemens q mesmes aut
 cans points touchans la science d'astrono
 mye & aussi auquame. Pour ce dit au li d'ese
 naces que il se garde en quelque cas que ce
 soit desce surprins par quidy de temps. Et
 dit Dng sage. A peine est il chose si secreete q
 d'aulcun ne soit appereue.



¶ Bi Allegorie

¶ Bi Allegorie
 A ou lant
 ctoute dit
 que se amour tra
 courcist la nuyt
 nous dirons q se
 Bon esperit se doit
 garder des agas
 de lennemy de ce
 cy dit saint leon
 pape que l'ancien
 ennemy q se trefa
 figure en image de
 lumiere ne cesse d
 edre partout les
 las de ses tentati
 ons & de espiere co
 ment il puisse es
 pier la foy des es
 ans. Il regarde q
 il embasera de

¶ Bi
 Cepte
 ¶ Amour ta courcist la nuyt
 Garde que phobus ne te nuyt
 Parquoy tu puisses estre prins.
 Es liens Vulcan q surprins.

feu de couuoitise qui il enflamea d'ardueur
 de honore a qui il proposera les aismans
 de glotonnie il e parme de toutes les cou
 stumes discute les curues/ obiecture les a
 ffections/ & l'a quere il cause de nuyre ou il
 trouue la creature plus diligement encline
 et occupe pource dit saint pierre.

¶ Robit eliore & vigilate quia aduersarius vester
 diabolus tanq leo rugiens circuit querens que deuor
 ret. secunde petri primo capitulo.

104 Bodmer 49 Mars and Venus



Se amoure t'acourist la nuit
 tant que die bus ne te mist
 d'unioy tu yusses estre par
 ce liure Vulcan et souperas.

Chose

Cest vne fable que mars & venus
 furent amourent par amour. auant die
 nure q'les deux amans bras a bras fu
 rent endormis. & se bus qui est droit

105 Lille 175 Mars and Venus

arde en leue / ainsi est ce impossible que copoucton
 de cuer soit entre les delices du monde / & sont
 deux choses contraires et qui destruisent l'un l'autre
 car copoucton est mere de ferme / et les delices en
 gendrent des / Copoucton yestrait le cuer et
 les delices se alargissent / Et ace propos dist le scrip-
 ture / Qui semuait in lacrimis in exul-
 tatione uetent 7c



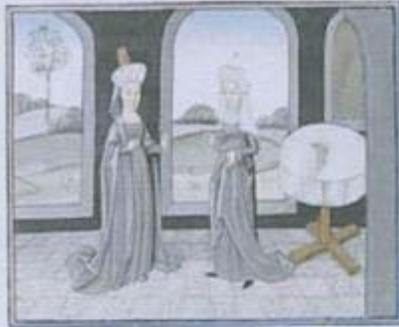
Amour ta comest la nuit
 gardes que phibue uete mit
 Par quoy tu puisses estre prie
 Se lieus vulcaus et surpris

glose

Dist une fable que mars et venus seut amoi-
 ent par amour adint une nuit que les
 deux amans bras abraes furent endormis phibue
 qui elev voit les surprist et apparut / a vulcaus

107 Bodmer 49

Arachne



De te vantes. car mal en prist
 A vantes qui tant mechant
 Et ne contre vllat se vanta
 Cont la deesse lantranta.

Glose

Dvantes ce dist vne fable fut vne
 Damoselle moult subtile en lart
 De cyssir & de filer. mais trop se
 outreanda de son saouir. et se fait
 se vanta contre vllat cont la

108 Woodcut Arachne

lxxviii . *Chose*

y. *raignes ce*
dit que sa
de fut que de /
moistelle moult
subtile en fait de
tisse et de filer /
mais trop se cul
treuda de /
voit et de fait se
hanta cōtre pas
has dōt la deesse
sayea contre elle
q̄ pour ceille dān
taue sa ma en
yeaigne. Et dāit
pour que tant se
deit de tisse q̄
filre a tūsiōns
mais filer et
tristore auuage
de malle. De lue q̄
adde deuit dōt il
les yeaignes qui
encore filer et tū
font si pour tū q̄
aucun se dān
cōtre sa maistr
se done mal sup
en pūte en oucūe
maniere
pour ce dit au dō
chevalier q̄ dān
ter ne se doise / et
moult est lade
coustume a epe /
naier estre dān
trūal trop peult
abaïsser se los de
sa boner / c̄ s̄ dān
blēndū dit plus
quant tu seras
deu chose mēup
q̄ dūg oultre que
de de te dān eoz
ta dān en se /
coit trop moult



lxxviii

Tepte.

n. *E te dantes car mal en print*
A praignes qui trop me print
Que contre passas se danta
Dont la deesse lenoynta

lxxviii *Allegorie*

q. *De il me se*
don dān
ter pepons dān q̄
se dān epeit se
goude de dān se
se cōtre dān /
ce dit saint augu
stin un douxieme
laure de sa epe de
dān que dān
ce nāst pour dān
de lōdige humal
ne mais est dān
de lūne pūte q̄
ayme la lōange
filāne et de pūte
la dān tūsiōns
gūde de sa pū
pur cōscience. Il
er pūte dit se sa
q̄.

C'est il peult
 que dān
 cōtre dān
 que dān
 que dān

109 Lille 175
Arachne



Ne te vantes car mal enrust
 A fraignes qui tant mesrust
 Que contre palas se vanta
 Dont la deesse leuchanta

Glose

Vraignes ce dist vne falle fut vne de
 moïseille moult susfille en lart de tissiv
 et de filleu mais trop se outrecuda de son sa
 uouy Et de fait se vanta contre palas dont
 la deesse se ayza contre elle et pour jelle la
 tance la unia en fraigne et dist Plus q
 tant se vantoit de tissiv et de filleu atone
 joms mais filleroit et tisseroit ouuzage de
 nulle valen et tres sont vndrent les vra
 ignes qui encores fillent et tissent Spent
 estre que aucune se vanta cotre sa maistresse

110 BNF fr 606 Echo (on right)



111 Woodcut Echo

lxxxvi. *Echo*

*E*cho erudit
Une fable
fut Une nymphé
Et pource q trop
grande gongleresse
souloit estre par
sa geneste enusa
tant q d'ung iour
guettoit son mari
par ialousie sa
deesse se courous
sa & dist doies en
auant plus ne par
teras premiere si
se nest apres au
truy. *Echo* fut
amoureuse du bel
narcissus mais
pour nulle pitié
ne pour signe d'au



lxxxvi.

Tepe

g Ardes quecho tu nescondises
De ses piteux plainz ne despiées
De son dueil tu peulz soustenir
Tu ne scez quil cest auentir

mytie que elle luy feist pitié n'en daigna auoir & tant q la belle mouent
pour son amour/ mais en mourant pria aux dieux q'elle peust estre ven
gee de celuy en q tant auoit trouue de cruauté que encois luy donnaissent
sentie lamourette pointure parquoy il peust scauoir la grant douleur
que ont les fins amans q d'amours sont refusez & dont mourir luy con
uenoit tant fina *Echo*/ mais la Vois deesse remaint qui encois dure et
la sient les dieux perpetuelle pour memoire de ceste aduenture & encois
respond aux gens en ses Valtes & sur raires apres Vois d'aultreuy/
mais parler ne peult premiere. *Echo* peult signifier personne q par
grant necessite requiert aultreuy/ la Vois q est denouree/ cest que de ge
souffreteux il est assez deuote/ ne ilz ne peuent parler fors apres ault
reux/ cest que ilz ne se peuent ayder deulx mesmes sans ayde d'aultreux.
Pource Deult dire au bon cheualier que il doibt auoir pitie des souffret
eux qui le requierent. Et dit yaquodiquin. Qui Deult bien garder la loy
doibt ayder a son amy de son auoir/ & parler aux souffreteux/ estre gra
cieux/ non denyer iustice a son ennemy/ & soy garder de tous Dices & de
deshonneur.

lxxxvi. *Allegorie*

*E*cho q ne
doit estre
escandite peult
estre nottee misé
ricorde que le boy
esperit doit auoir
en soy/ & dit saint
augustin au liure
du sermon de no
stre signeur en la
modaigne que bo
nois sont ceulx
qui Doulentiers
secourent aux pre
sers qui sont en
misere/ car ilz des
seruent que la mi
sericorde de dieu
les deliure de
leurs miseres et
est chose iuste que
qui Deult estre ay
de du souverain
plus puiffat que
ainsi il ayde au
moise de soy en
ce en quoy il est
plus puiffat que
luy. Pource dit
le sage es prover
bes.

*Qui peult estre ad
misericordial bene di
citur. Prouerbia
171. capitula.*

112 Lille 175

Echo



113 BNF fr 606 Polyboetes



114 Bodmer 49

Polyboetes



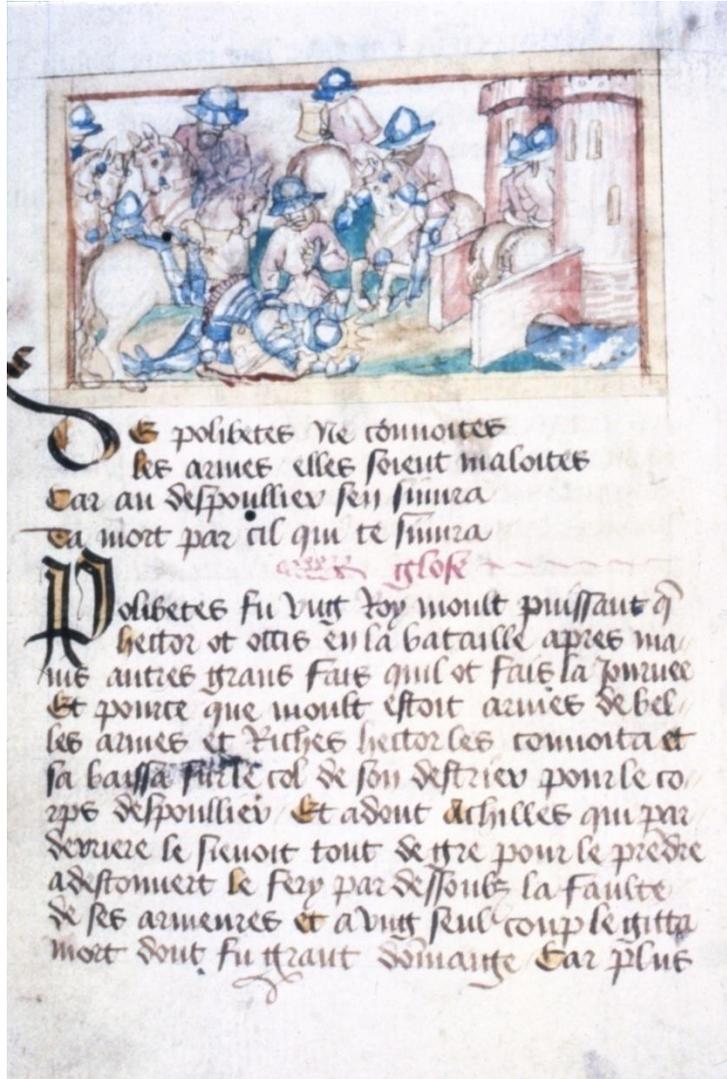
Ne polyboetes ne comioitez
 Ses armes ilz soient malouez
 Car a despoilliez se fuuuz
 La mort par el qui te fuuuz.

Dioste

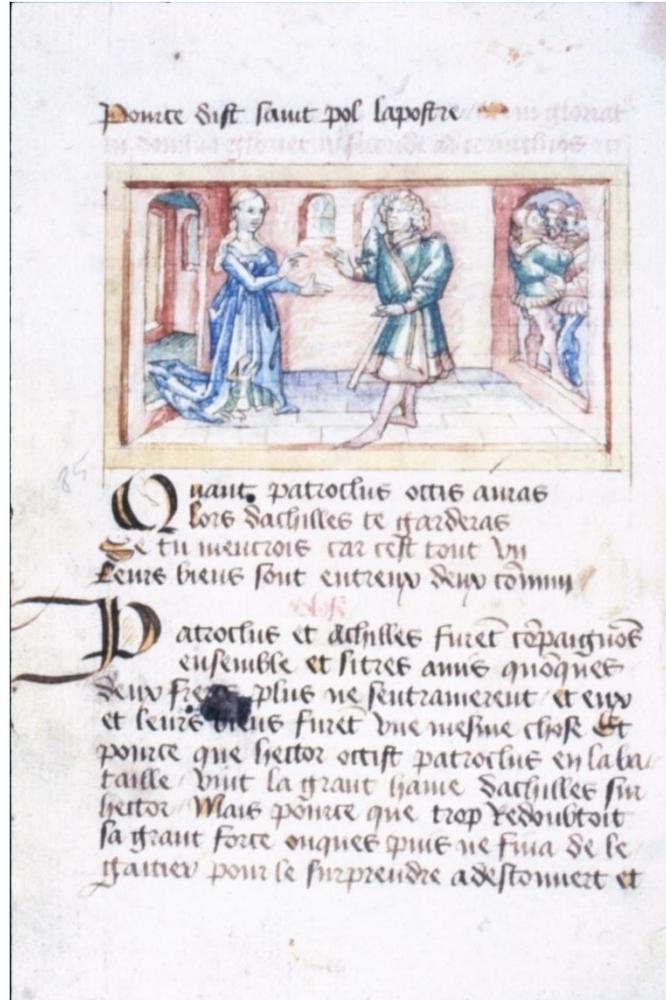
Polyboetes fut un roy moult puissant
 que l'heros eut occis en la bataille a
 pres maints autres grans fais
 qui eut fait la iouissance et pour ce
 que moult estoit arme de belles ar.

115 Lille 175

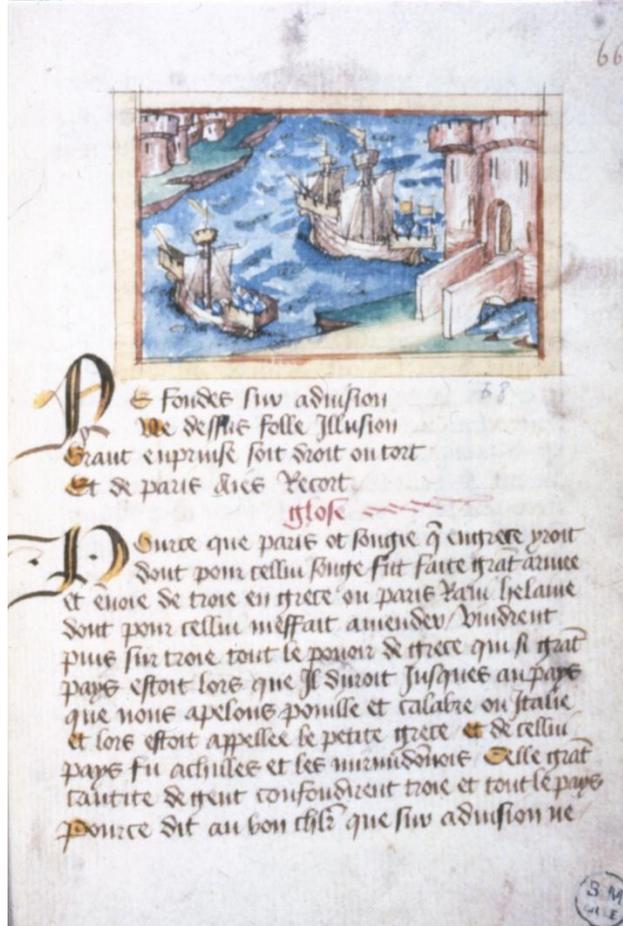
Polyboetes



116 Lille 175 Patroclus and Achilles



117 Lille 175 Paris



118 Woodcut Saturn the Saturnine

Blot.

Saturne est
me ioy dit
beucent est plantet
se lente e tardine
et sage. Pour ce
dit au bon cheua
lier que sa langue
lay doit ressembler
car langue doit
estre tardine en ce
que elle ne parle
trop / et sage q de
nul ne mesdie ne
ne dye chose dont
on sey paist pre
sumer folie / car
dit Dng sage. A
la parolle con
gnost on le sage
ou regard le fol



Sept.
A langue soit saturnine
Ne fait a nul male voisine
Trop parler est laide coustume
Et qui lot folie y presume

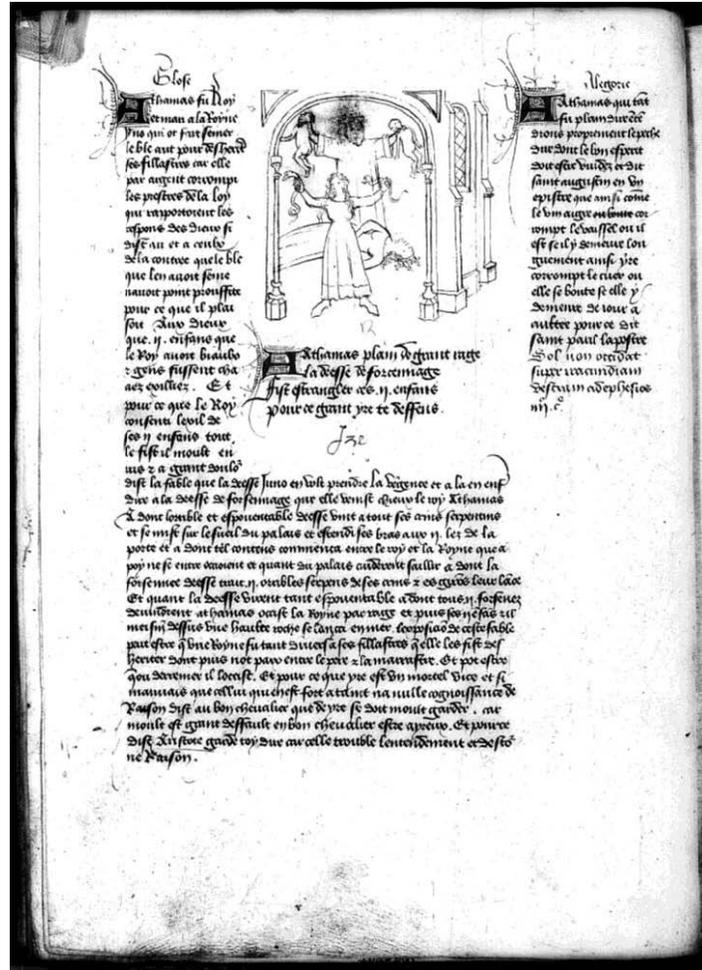
Allegorie.

A langue
qui doit
estre saturnine
cest a dire
de parler a ce
pos fugues de
saint Victor q la
bourse qui na la
garde d discretus
est ainsi come la
eto q est sde man
ede se daisse qna
point de garrure
come se eschiel q
na point de fraich
come la nef q est
sans gouvernail
la langue mal
garde glic. cde
laquelle pecc co
me sayete dote
soit pecc amis et
multiple Enemis
nosybs esmay / e
sene di corde / a
Dng eouy fraige
a tur plusieurs p
sones. Qui gar
de sa langue il gar
de sa ame / car la
mort ou la vie
font en la paiffa
ce de laque. A ce
propos dit dauid
en son psaultier.

Quis est hō dūit
vix vix dūgūvix
re bono prohibe lin
guā suā a malo et la
bia ne loquant dōs

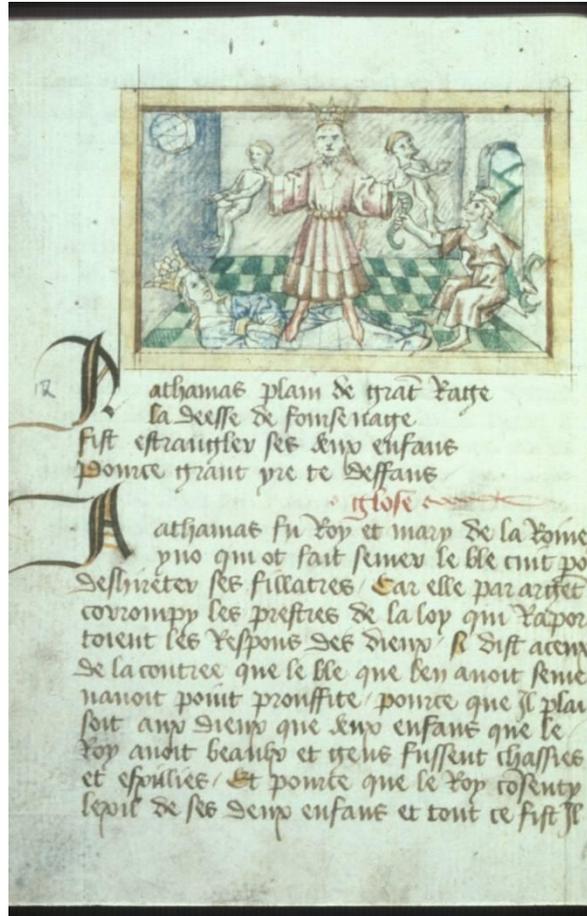
119 Beauvais 9

Athamas



119a Lille 175

Athamas



120 Beauvais 9

Aglauros



121 Bodmer 49

Aglauros



Sur toute rien toute la rue
 Sur la faulße deesse emue
 Qui fist deuant xl'xii' quare
 Aglaure qui nua en viere.

Glose

Aglaure ce dist vne fable fut suez de
 seve qui tant fut belle que vint sa beau
 re leut espouse marcurus le dieu de
 langage. et furent filles cycrops le
 roy d'athenes. mais tant eut aglaure

124 Bodmer 49

Achilles and Polyxena



Amour estrange ne taffoee
 Le fait achilles peise z notes
 Qui solemet aida l'ame
 Faire de son ennemie.

Criose

Achilles se il fote de l'amour de
 Polixene suer de Hector et come il
 eust donne a l'ame de Hector
 que Hector ou temps de tueres au

125 Lille 175 Achilles and Polyxena



126b Bodmer 49

Ulysses

lxviii. **U**lysses. Confortez les
 mains & desherz. et les genouls qui sont
 foibles reforcez.



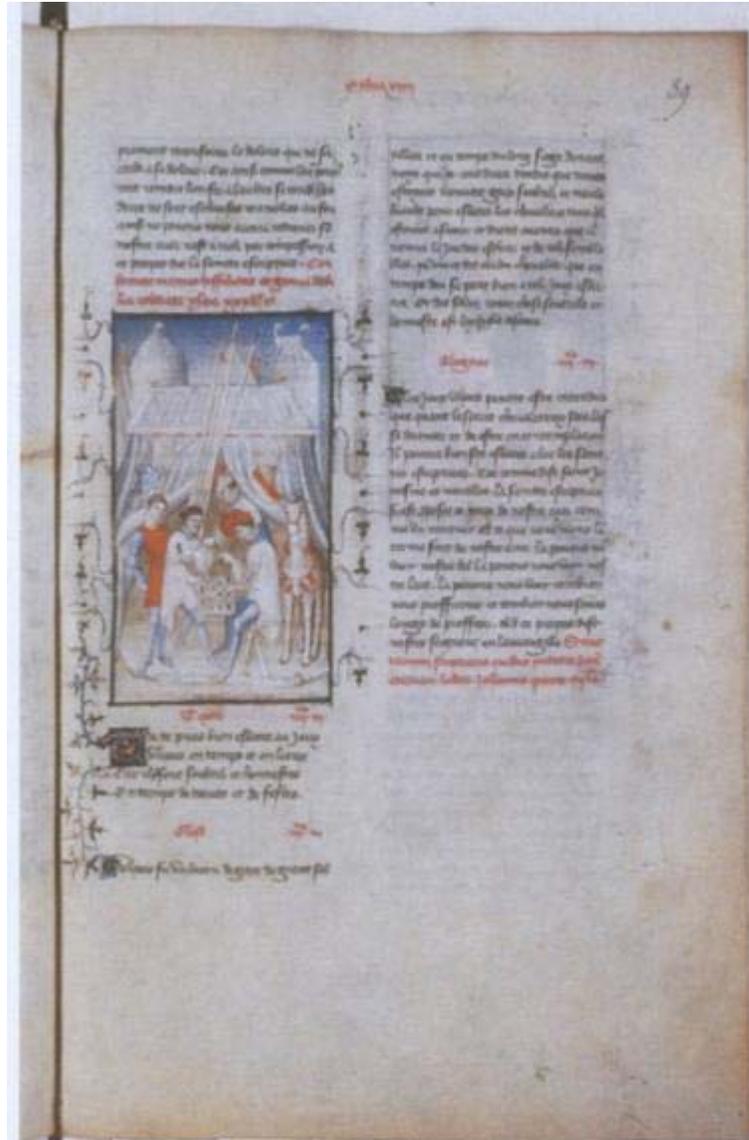
le m^o. et m^e. terre

Ulysses est bien effraye aux lieux
 Ulysses en temps & en lieux
 car ilz sont subtilz et honestes
 en temps & treuez et de festes.

Et ose

Ulysses fut baron de grece & grande

126c BNF fr 606 Ulysses



127 Woodcut Briseis

l'oyviii. Heste.

Ulysses fut
une dame sielle
moult plus de
ce et en ce p'ou
te et de. De que
trout. Mais plus
moins de ses
p'ouls d' trop
p'ouls de grant
p'ouls de de
te et de gentille
royne de grant
donna. Et elle
donna. Et elle
a. Et elle
miff de la n'faut
er. Et elle
a. Et elle
par science
que trop se
faut de si
que sa fille
fut fait



l'oyviii.

Tepe

Et carido tu deus donne
Ton cuer et tout abandonner
Sard huseyda na coince
Lar trop n se cuer d'hoier

ce d'ou et tier hors de sa cite et mener au sieste grant fut la douleur des
deux armys a sa departie n'ant mains dedens l'alec temps d'omede
qui fault d'atoy estout des grecs et n'ant d'ant d'ant d'ant d'ant d'ant
de huseyda etant fut par son portefas que est l'ame a du tout ou l'la
son bon amy troysins. Et pour ce que ainsi me huseyda logie conta
ge dit au bon eschadler que se il deult son cuer donner que il se garde
d'acointer semblable dame que fut huseyda. Et dit herme o garde roy
de la compaignie des m'antais que tu ne soyes comme d'ug deuly.

l'oyviii. Allegorie.

Ulysses dit
il se doit
garder d'acointer
cest femme q'ou
que le bon esprit
ne d'ant d'ant
acointer / mais
soye a son portef
car trop est legie
ce a trop d'ant
d'ant d'ant. Et dit
sa l'ant d'ant
le p'ouls d'ant
sa d'ant d'ant
essaye p' experien
ce les degres des
d'ant d'ant d'ant
est. De ma a con
gnossonce que le
peche de l'ant
g'ider qui tout
faut au plus espo
cialment est a
escheur ou p'ou
faut d'ant d'ant
est entre les pe
ches d'ant d'ant
le plus fait a d'ant
ce. Pour ce dit
saint pol l'ant d'ant

¶ Qui gl'ant in v'ho
gl'ant d'ant d'ant

128 BNF fr 606 Briseis



129 Woodcut Daphne

l'oye Dii **Blaise**

d Je Dne
sable q
dampne fut Dne
damoselle q pse
bus ayra par a
mour & moult
sa pour suyuit
mais elle accor
der ne sy Vouloit
Rouir Dng iour
que il Veit la bel
le aller par Dne
Doye & quant el
le le Veit Venir
elle prit a fuyr &
le dieu apres et
quāt il fut sy pres
que elle Veit bien
que eschapper ne
pouoit sa priere



l'oye Dii

Tepte

E de laurier couronne auoir
Deulx q mieulx bault q nul auoir
Dampne te conuient pour suyuit
Et tu lauras par bien suyuit

fist a dyane la dresse que sa Diteginite luy Voulist sauluer & a
donc fut le corps de la pucelle mure en Dng Vert laurier & quant
psebus fut approche il print des branches de l'arbre & chappeau
sen fist en signe d'Victoire. Et depuis lors enca chappeau de lau
rier signifie Victoire & mesmes au temps de la grant felicitie aux
edemains couronoit de laurier les Victorieux. Plusieurs en
tendemens peult auoir la sable: & peult aduenir q Dng puissant
hōme pour suyuit a long travail Dne dame & tant q sous Dng
laurier il l'ataignit a sa Douleure & pour celle cause depuis lors
enca ayra le laurier & le porta en deuse en signe de Victoire que
il auoit eue de ses amours sous le laurier. Et peult estre aussi
le laurier prins pour or qui signifie noblesse & pour ce que le
laurier signifie honneur dit au bon cheualier que il luy conuēt
Dampne pour suyuit se courōne de laurier Deult auoir. C'est a
entendre peine & travail se a honneur Deult auent. A ce propos
dit Dmet. Par grant diligence Vient on a perfection.

Allegorie:

l'oye Dii

E de lau
rier Deult
couronne auoir
dampne luy con
uient pour suyuit
pouons entendre
que se le bon espe
rit Deult Victoire
gloieuse auoir
luy conuient pse
uerance q se mai
nera a la Victoi
re de paradis dōe
les ioyes sont in
finies comme dit
saint gregoire.
Qui est dit il la
langue q souffri
se racompter et q
est lentement

qui puisse cōprendre quāt
tes sont les ioyes de ce
ste souverain cite de pa
radis estre to' iours pre
sent aux ordres des an
gels avec les benoictz es
peritz assiser a la gloire
du conditeur & egarder se
present Disage de dieu
Deoit la lumiere incicā
scriptible estre assure de
nō auoir iamaiz paour
de la mort soy estour
du dō de pardurable in
corruption. A ce propos
dit dauid au psaultier.

**Blaise dicta sūt de te: d
uira dei.**

130 Bodmer 49

Daphne



Se de laurier couronne auoir
 vult q' me? vult q' ml auoir
 comme te conuient pour fuir
 Et fu iours m' bien finir.

Et se

Que vne fable q' doint fut vne ca
 moiselle que p'ebus ama par amou
 et moult la pourfuir. mais celle
 accorder ne si vouloit. auit un iour

131 Woodcut Pygmalion

ppii *Disce.*

p ymalion fut un moult subtil ouvrier de faire ymagines. Et dit une fable que pour sa grant diligence que il fait es femmes de cidoie il les despoisoit d'ist q' il seroit une ymage ou il naitoit q' ce dit une ymage de femme tailla de souverain beaulte quand il eut par faicte/entour q' subtillement ser



ppii

Tepte

n Et assotes par de l'ymage
Pymalion se tu es sage
L'art de tel ymage parer
Est la beaulte trop comparee.

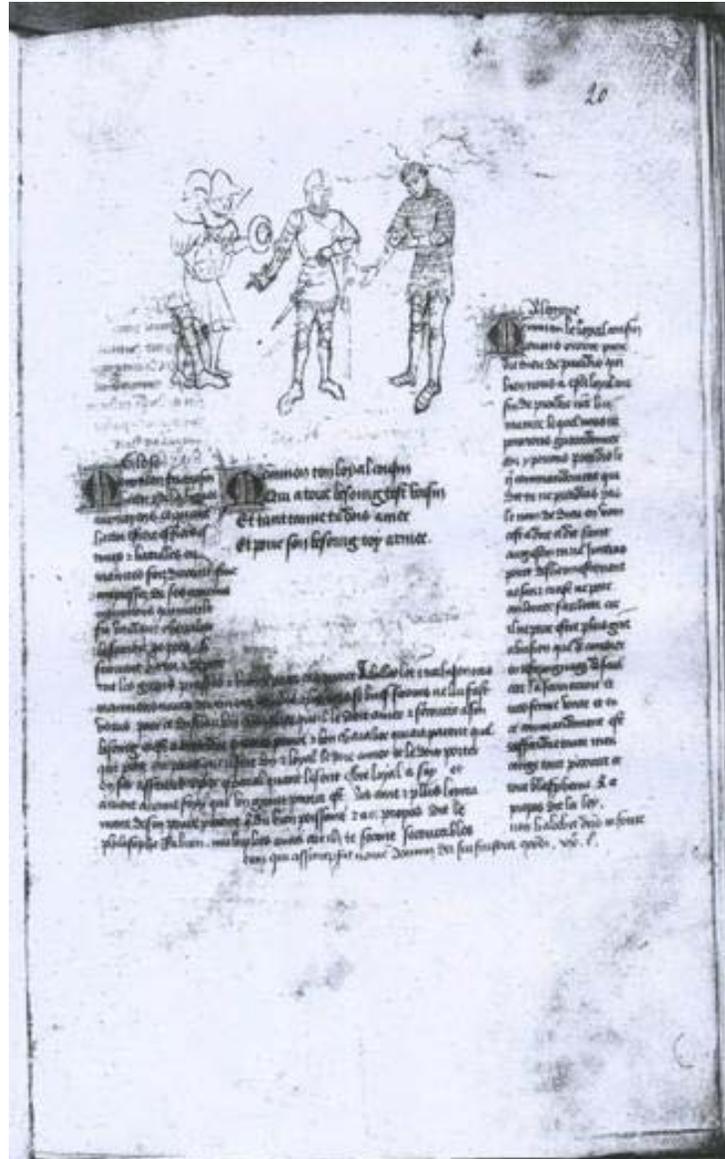
curus tant le fist estre amoureux de son ymage pour luy fut agreste des maux d'amours/ plains & clamours a pitoyz sospites luy faisoit mais l'ymage de pierre ne le tenoit. Au temple de Venus ser alla pymalion & tant luy fist devote clamour que la deesse en eut pitie/ & en de monstrare de ce le baidon q' elle tenoit a par luy se print & alama. Adde pour le signe fat ioyeux l'amant & vers son ymage ser da & entre ses bras se print & tât le chau fa a sa chair que l'ymage eut vie & a par lre se print & ainsi pymalion eut ioye recouurer. A ceste fable pevent estre mises maintes oppositioes & sensiblement a toutes autres fables et pour ce les fait les poetes affin q' les entedmes des homes se agui fassent/ subtillassent a y trouver divers propos. Si peult estre entedu que pymalion despus la dilite des femmes solitaires & ser amouva de ne pucelle de tres grant beaulte/ laquelle ne vouloit ou ne pouoit entre/ dre ses pitoyz plaings n'plus q' se de pierre fust. L'ymage avoit faicte L'ist que par penser a ses belles beaultes festoit en amour/ mais en la par luy tant la pria & tant ser tint pres que elle layma a sa Douceur & feut a mariage & ainsi eut l'ymage dur comme pierre recouurer vie par la deesse Venus. Si Deult dire que le bon chevalier ne doit estre asote de sy fait ymage en telle maniere quil en laisse a suivre le mestier d'armes auquel il est obligé par l'ordre de cheualerie. Et a ce propos dit apertain/ impartin/te chose est a punce de soy assoter de chose qui fait a reprendre.

ppii *Alegorie*

L ymage py malion dot se ho chevalier ne se doit assoter/ prendons se pose de luy/ oide se perit chevalier/ tray doit garder son corps d' luy/ te dit fait fier/ me en une epistre/ D' se denfer de qui la busche cest/ g'outon/ la s'la me cest/ apert/ les flancs/ sont corumpues/ polles/ la fumee cest/ mauvaise/ redonne/ la cerde cest/ pouret/ & la s' est le toument/ denfer. A ce propos dit saint pie/ re & l'apostre.

*Adulgerem enim
malis viciis con-
quiritur/ & macule
viciis affluere cle-
mencia sua largian-
tes. i. cor. i. ca.*

132 Beauvais 9 Memnon



133 Bodmer 49

Memnon

tu ne adores point dieux estranges
 cestadue ce dist saint augustin loie
 qui est appellee latre tu ne la porte
 ne aas ne a ydole ne a ymage ne a
 semblance ne a gloque creature. car
 cest l'omme seue tant seulent a dieu
 En ce commandement est seffendue
 toute ydolatrie. Et ce par le nbs
 en leuauangille. **A.** Dns seü tui ado
 ras z uñ soli serues. Cestadue to
 dieu z se adores z fuites a lu seul.



le xvij^e texte

134 Condé 492 Temperance

Le temps futur qui est sans fin / Et pour
 ce que c'est la souveraineté et par suite divine
 Et toute autre chose de mille ornemens
 Et deit les diuinités sans ornemens en
 ydons / puissons nous de puis de
 de penser cheualeresque / Et a son fait ala
 louange de dieu principalement / et au
 prouit de ouly qui se blaterent adre et
 pou font dire

Allegorie 1.

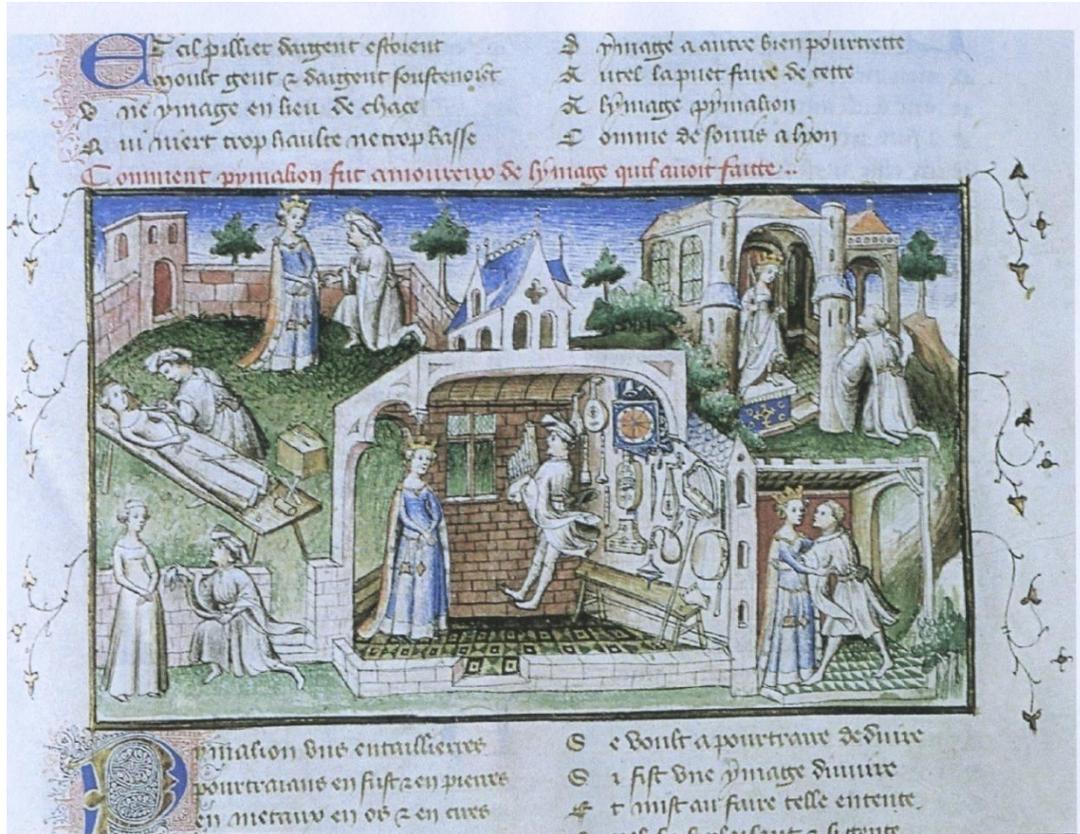
Comme prudence sagesse soit met et
 arduusness de toutes vertus / fin la alle
 les autres ne pourroient estre en ynduence
 Et il n'est point adesperer cheualeresque
 qui de prudence soit aduient / comme de
 d'ant / d'apuis en l'air de la singularité
 de dieu / qui en quelque dieu que prudence
 soit / liement pour en estre / d'antant
 toutes choses ardues / mais l'adieu pri
 d'ant est de puis toutes choses ardues
 ont seigne une / Et de puis de puis
 d'ant en se prouit

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Comme prudence sagesse soit met et
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 toutes choses ardues / mais l'adieu pri
 d'ant est de puis toutes choses ardues
 ont seigne une / Et de puis de puis
 d'ant en se prouit

135 *Romance of the Rose* Pygmalion



136 Sample Book Cover
ornement à froid

