

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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Transmission of Knowledge to and between Women in 15th-Century France:

Agnès de Bourgogne's Education and Library

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of

Philosophy in French

by

S. C. Kaplan

Committee in charge:

Professor Cynthia J. Brown, Chair

Professor Jody Enders

Professor Sharon Farmer

Professor Anne-Marie Legaré, Université Lille-III

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The dissertation of S. C. Kaplan is approved.

Anne-Marie Legaré

Sharon Farmer

Jody Enders

Cynthia J. Brown, Committee Chair

June 2016

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Curriculum Vitae

S.C. Kaplan

Department of French and Italian, 5216 Phelps Hall

University of California, Santa Barbara

Santa Barbara, CA 93106

(805) 568-8770

sckaplan@umail.ucsb.edu

sckaplan.ucsb@gmail.com

Education

Ph.D., French literature, University of California, Santa Barbara, June 2016

Doctoral Emphasis in Medieval Studies

M.A., French literature, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2011

B.A., French literature, with Distinction, minor in Medieval Studies, University of Virginia, 2008

Teaching Experience

University of California, Santa Barbara

Lead TA, French Language Program, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2015-2016

Responsible for supervision of other TAs teaching Beginning and Intermediate French

Language Instructor, responsible for all classroom instruction, grading

Intermediate French

French 6, Fall 2015

French 5, Winter 2016, Spring 2015, Spring 2012

French 4, Winter 2012

Beginning French

French 3, Fall 2011, Spring 2011

French 2, Summer 2011, Winter 2011

French 1, Summer 2012, Summer 2011, Fall 2010

Literature Instructor, responsible for syllabus design, all classroom instruction, grading

Tales of Love in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: What's Sex Got to Do with It? (French 50AX), Summer 2015

Medieval and Renaissance Tales of Love (French 50AX), Summer 2014

Modern Images of the Middle Ages (French 156C), Summer 2014

Université Paris-VIII

Lecturer, responsible for syllabus organization, all classroom instruction, grading

General English A1, Fall 2012-Spring 2014

Publications

“La Légende dorée, BnF 244-245 (1480 – 1485): Un manuscrit conçu pour Catherine de Coëtivy?” In *Les femmes, la culture et les arts en Europe entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, ed. Cynthia J. Brown and Anne-Marie Legaré, 197-220. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016.

Contributor to “Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge”:

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Works in Progress

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“Couleuvre or Mélusine?: The Illuminated Transformation of the Women of the Sibylle’s Court in Antoine de La Sale’s *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*.”

Translations

Sharon Farmer, “Les Privilèges des métiers, l’intégration verticale et l’organisation de la production des textiles de soie à Paris aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles,” trans. S. C. Kaplan, *Médiévales* 69 (2016): 71-86.

Contributor to Anon., *Petit traitise de nurture*, The Medieval Texts Translations Project trial, <<https://medievaltexttranslations.wordpress.com/trial/>> (2015).

Academic Presentations

“Paperbound, or Why We Need an Online Watermark Database.” Paper presented May 12, 2016 at the 51st International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

“Not Just Books of Hours: Agnes of Burgundy’s Preferences for Religious Literature.” Paper presented May 7, 2016 at the University of California, Santa Barbara Medieval Studies

Program Annual Graduate Student conference, Gender and Religious Practice in the Middle Ages at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

“Paperbound, or Creating an Online Watermark Database.” Paper presented Apr. 1, 2016 at the College English Association’s Annual Conference, Denver, Colorado.

“Couleuvre or Mélusine?: The Imprecisely Illuminated Transformation of the Women of the Sibylle’s Court in the *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*.” Paper presented May 15, 2015 at the 50th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

“Clothes Don’t Make the Man: The Role of Cross-Dressing in the Development of Sexual Identity.” Paper presented April 25, 2015 at the University of California, Santa Barbara Medieval Studies Program Annual Graduate Student conference, Changes in Fashion in the Middle Ages at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

“Puzzling Evidence: The Attribution of Brussels, Royal Library 1411 to Agnes of Burgundy.” Paper presented October 17, 2014 at the Sixteenth Century Society Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana.

“What’s in a Frame?: The Function of the Maps in Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 653, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle*.” Paper presented May 16, 2014 at the University of California, Santa Barbara History of Books and Material Texts Research Focus Group conference, Composition: Making Meaning through Design at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

“Une Étude du destinataire possible du manuscrit BnF fr. 244–245 (1480–1490): La *Légende dorée*.” Paper presented March 28, 2012 at the Partner University Fund/French American Cultural Exchange conference, Les femmes, la culture et les arts en Europe, entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance at the Maison européenne des sciences de l’homme et de la société, Lille, France.

“Sadness, Jealousy, Melancholy: Shifting Sensibilities in Medieval French Literature.” Paper presented May 7, 2011 at the University of California, Santa Barbara Medieval Studies Program Annual Graduate Student Conference, Senses and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

“Divine Providence?: A Study of Oracular Prediction vis-à-vis the Celtic and Christian Supernatural.” Paper presented May 15, 2010 at the French Department Graduate Student Conference, Chance and Destiny at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Grants and Honors

Central Humanities Fellowship, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2014-2015, 2009-2010.

University of California, Santa Barbara Doctoral Student Travel Grant, 2014-2015.

Grace Frank Dissertation Grant from the Medieval Academy of America, 2014.

Albert and Elaine Borchard European Studies Fellowship for Dissertation Research, 2013-2014.

Mellon Summer Institute in French Paleography at the J. Paul Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, July-August 2013.

Participation in the student exchange with the Université de Lille-III as part of a Partner University Fund/French American Cultural Exchange grant on “Women, Arts, and Culture in the Middle Ages and Renaissance” awarded to Cynthia J. Brown (UCSB) and Anne-Marie Legaré (Université de Lille-III), 2009-2012.

ABSTRACT

Transmission of Knowledge to and between Women in 15th-Century France:

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by

S. C. Kaplan

In Late Medieval France, it is generally accepted that women learned from experience and men from reading. Close examination of medieval tracts about and for female education used in the teaching of Agnès de Bourgogne (1405/7-1476), duchess of Bourbon from 1434-1456, and found in her collection of manuscripts reveals otherwise. I demonstrate that the category of experience is differentiated into experience and imitation, and also that by the 15th century, medieval authors were challenging these gendered stereotypes, particularly in works aimed at a female readership. A critical synthesis of writings about women's education from St. Jerome, Vincent de Beauvais, Durand de Champagne, the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, and Giovanni Boccaccio, brings to light the shift in emphasis from preparing women for a cloistered life (Jerome) to readying them to participate in life at the French court (La Tour Landry). I show that Christine de Pizan modifies her predecessors' theories in her privileging of feminine experiential knowledge over abstract male instruction in the *Epistre Othea*, the *Chemin de longue étude*, the *Livre de la cité des Dames*, and the *Livre des trois vertus*, the images adorning various manuscript copies of these works, and letters from the *Querelle du*

Roman de la Rose. A text commissioned by Agnès in 1438-1442, Antoine de La Sale's *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, pushes the boundaries of Christine's position of self-as-model by inviting the reader not to replicate the author's experience but to share it, while at the same time relying heavily on learning in the abstract to teach the female dedicatee. Analyzing the books acquired by Agnès from the middle of the 15th-century until her death that afterward passed to daughter-in-law Jeanne de France foregrounds the changing integration of learning by experience and imitation, and the increasing reliance on women's ability to learn in the abstract and both genders' ability to learn by imitation. This dissertation helps us understand gendered perceptions about the transmission of knowledge and their impact on how and what women taught their children in 15th-century France.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEND – L'Art d'éduquer les nobles damoiselles

Arsenal – Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal

Beinecke – Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

BL – British Library

BnF – Bibliothèque nationale de France

CCLM – Chantilly (Institut de France. Musée Condé). Cabinet des livres: Manuscrits

Chantilly – Musée Condé, Bibliothèque et archives du Château de Chantilly

DLF – Dictionnaire des lettres françaises

DMF – Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)

IRHT – Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes

KBR – Royal Library of Belgium

LDB – Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne

EDITORIAL POLICY

Editorial interventions in the citations from the many manuscripts in this study are minimal. I have distinguished between *i/j* and *u/v*, regularized spacing, and expanded contractions. I have added apostrophes and capitalization following modern French usage, as well as separated clauses via modern punctuation to facilitate comprehension. I have also added the accent aigu to the pronounced final *e* as well as diacritical marks as necessary. Unless a particular modern edition is cited, all transcriptions are my own.

Introduction

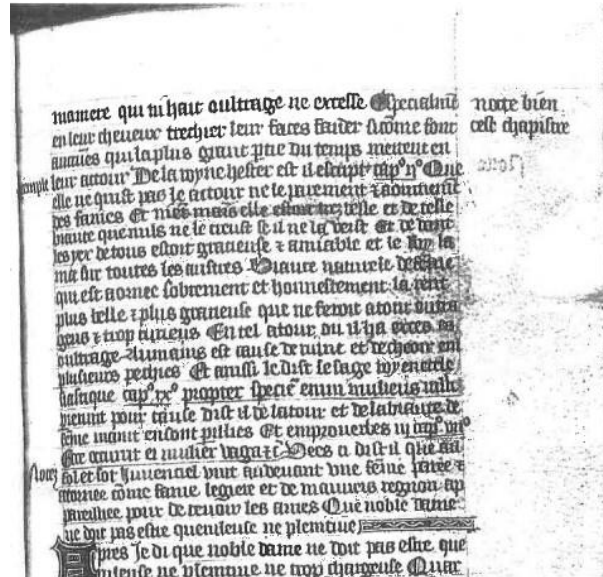


Fig. 1: KBR ms. 11203-204, *Miroer des dames*, by Durand de Champagne, f. 45 detail

maniere qui ni hait oultra ne excesse, especialment
en leur cheueux trechier, leur faces farder si comme font
aucunes qui la plus grant partie du temps mettent en
leur actour. De la royne Hester est il escript cap^o II^o que
elle ne quist pas le actour ne le parement et aournement
des fames. Et nientmains elle estoit trez belle et de telle
biauté que nuls ne le creust se il ne la vëist. Et devant
les yex de tous estoit gracieuse et amiable et le roy l'a-
ma sur toutes les austres. Biauté naturele de femme
qui est aournee sobrement et honnestement la rent
plus belle et plus gracieuse que ne feroit atour outra-
geus et trop curieus. En tel atour ou il ha excès es
oultrage au mains est cause de ruine et de chëoir em
plusieurs pechiés. Et ainssi le dist le sage roy en Eccle-
siastique cap^o XX^o: *Propter speciem enim mulieris vilti.*
Prierunt pour cause, dist il, de l'atour et de la bieauté de
femme. Maint en sont perillies. Et em Proverbes III cap^o VII^o:
Ecce occurrit ei mulier vaga etc. Veès ci, dist il, que au
fol et sot Juvenciel vint au devant une femme paree et
atornee come fame legiere et de mauveis regnon, ap-
pareilliee pour decevoir les ames.¹

[f. 45] nocte bien
cest chapitre

¹ Unless specified otherwise, transcriptions are my own. See p. XVIII for my editorial policies.

Excerpted from Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium (henceforth KBR) ms. 11203-204, a fragmentary copy of Durand de Champagne's *Miroer des dames* belonging to Jean sans Peur, duke of Burgundy (1404-1419), the above passage typifies feminine educational practices in the Middle Ages in its presentation and use of *exempla* and scriptural citations. The Latin, from Ecclesiastes and Proverbs,² is translated and expanded upon so that its meaning and relation to the surrounding text are unmistakable even for those who are not fluent in the language, as most girls of the period were not.³ Not content with the annotation at the top of the page to "Note this chapter well," a scribe or tutor has marked the reference to the story of Esther as an *example* and further indicated that readers and listeners should recognize the *counter-example* of the tawdrily-dressed woman, garbed to deceive. Exemplarity thus works in both a positive and a negative fashion, indicating to the reader-listener what she should and should not do. In this manner, the female student and Jean's youngest daughter, Agnès de Bourgogne (c. 1405-1476), as well as her older sisters, learns that she should avoid the behavior of the latter and replicate the comportment—in this case, the habitual lack of man-made adornment—of the former in order to properly perform her role as a lady of the French aristocracy.⁴ As we shall

² Ecclesiastes 9:9: "propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt et ex hoc concupiscentia quasi ignis exardescit." Proverbs 7:10: "et ecce mulier occurrit illi ornata meretricio prae parata ad capiendas animas garrula et vaga." Latin is from the Vulgate, available online at <www.biblegateway.com> (consulted Apr. 27, 2016).

³ For a discussion of the possible variations in women's Latin literacy, see D. H. Green, *Women Readers in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 84-99; Margaret Franklin, *Boccaccio's Heroines: Power and Virtue in Renaissance Society* (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 28n8; Deborah Youngs, *The Life Cycle in Western Europe, c. 1300 - c. 1500* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 85-86.

⁴ Beyond her own title of duchess of Bourbon, Agnès' ties to the French aristocracy—and particularly to the throne—are numerous. Her paternal grandfather, Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy (1363-1404), was brother to King Charles V of France and worked tirelessly to arrange marriages of his children and grandchildren—including Agnès' oldest sister, Marguerite de Bourgogne, to the dauphin Louis de Guyenne—to strengthen ties to the crown (C.A. Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy in the XVth Century* [London: Hambledon, 1983], Ch. 10: "La Politique matrimoniale des ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois," especially 237-41). Michelle de France (d. 1422), daughter of the royal couple Charles VI and Isabeau de Bavière was the first wife of Agnès' brother, Philippe le Bon. Agnès' oldest son, Jean, married Jeanne de France, daughter of Charles VII and Marie d'Anjou, and her third son Pierre married Anne de France, daughter of Louis XI. Agnès' granddaughter, by way of her daughter Marguerite de Bourbon, was Louise de Savoie.

see, in the Early and High Middle Ages, exemplarity along with experience and reading were gendered practices within medieval didactic thought. The first two were typically female modes of transmitting and acquiring knowledge; the third was a more traditionally male form of learning, especially in the case of theological or philosophical texts. As Anna Dronzek explains in her article, “Gendered Theories of Education in Fifteenth-Century Conduct Books”:

Men’s physical superiority made them capable of greater understanding than women, lifting them to a more rational plane and enabling them to comprehend and absorb abstract thought. Women, in contrast, were creatures of the flesh [...] incapable of understanding abstract thought. This understanding of men’s and women’s intellectual differences explains the different forms of the boys’ and girls’ literature. Authors believed boys could absorb information told to them in abstract absolutes. Consequently, for boys they wrote lists of duties, devoid of examples or illustration.⁵

I argue that during the 15th century, these gendered divisions became markedly less rigid, as authors expected their female readers to be able to acquire knowledge abstractly as well.

Exemplarity forms a cornerstone of female pedagogy in texts from the 4th-century Church Father St. Jerome through his influence on authors of the High Middle Ages to Christine de Pizan in the 15th century and beyond. It works in conjunction with experience as a teaching tool—indeed, the two are often difficult to distinguish, as imitating a model requires (re)production of action by and on the body.⁶ They differ nevertheless, as is clear in Jerome’s letter to Laeta on raising her daughter Paula and in Christine’s *Livre de la cité des dames*.

⁵ Anna Dronzek, “Gendered Theories of Education in Fifteenth-Century Conduct Books,” *Medieval Cultures* 29 (2001): 143.

⁶ This is essentially the same idea of (re)enactment by the female viewer proposed by Kathleen M. Ashley in “Medieval Courtesy Literature and Dramatic Mirrors of Female Conduct,” in *The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on Literature and the History of Sexuality*, ed. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (New York: Methuen, 1987), 25-38. Colette Beaune and Élodie Lequain have also remarked that, “en confrontant les exemples des bonnes femmes et vertueuses du temps passé qu’elle [la lecture] incite à suivre, et les exemples néfastes qu’elle incite à éviter, elle conduit ses lectrices sur le chemin de la vérité et de la droiture” (“Femmes et histoire en France au XV^e s.: Gabrielle de La Tour et ses contemporaines,” *Médiévales* 38 [2000]: 120).

Jerome specifies that Paula should learn to read by playing with alphabet blocks and to write by practicing under guiding hand or by copying on wax tablets, “Fiant ei litterae uel buxae, uel eburneae [...] Cum uero inceperit trementi manu stylum in cera ducere, uel alterius superposita manu teneri regantur articuli, uel in tabella sculpantur elementa, ut per eosdem sulcos inclusa marginibus trahantur uestigia, et foras non queant euagari;”⁷ imitation is referenced when Jerome explains to Laeta that her daughter will learn from her mother’s example, “te rudis *miretur* infantia.”⁸ Similarly, for Christine the sanctity of marriage is “chose clere et prouee *par l’experience*,”⁹ while women gain expertise in prudent behavior “*par l’exemple que ont veu*” (I.XLIII, 196; my emphasis). Instances abound where distinguishing between experience and imitation is more difficult, such as in Christine’s *Livre des trois vertus*, where she explains that older women are wiser because “ilz ont plus grant experience des choses passees, pour ce qu’ilz ont plus veu.”¹⁰ For Anna Dronzek, experience serves to produce models for imitation: “one implication of a mother teaching her daughter is that the mother is passing on knowledge gained through her own life experience.”¹¹ The key difference between experience and exemplarity lies in what Karin Ueltschi has termed the “intention perlocutoire”:¹² in the case of models and imitation, the objective of the authoritative voice is that the reader-listener put into practice counselled behavior. In other words, imitation speaks

⁷ Jerome, *Saint Jérôme: Lettres*, ed. and trans. Jérôme Labourt, 8 vols., Collection des Universités de France (Paris: Société d’édition “Les Belles Lettres,” 1951-1963): Ep. 107:4, V:148 (345-47). Citations in English from Ep. 107 come from *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, ed. G. P. Goold, trans. F. A. Wright, 6 ed. (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1991); pages are given in parentheses to distinguish them from the volume and page information for the Latin.

⁸ Ep. 107:4, V:154 (359); my emphasis.

⁹ Christine de Pizan, *La Citta delle dame*, ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards, 4th ed. (Rome: Carocci editore, 2010), I.II, 48; my emphasis. Further parenthetical in-text citations, given by book, chapter, and page number, are to this edition.

¹⁰ *Le Livre des trois vertus*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1989), III.VI, 19-22 (cited by book, chapter, and line).

¹¹ Dronzek, “Gendered Theories of Education,” 143.

¹² Karin Ueltschi, *La Didactique de la Chair: Approches et enjeux d’un discours en français au Moyen Âge* (Geneva: Droz, 1993), 91.

to actions which (might) have not yet happened, whereas experience is activity already lived and done.

On the other end of the spectrum, we find learning in the abstract, which comprises not simply the act of reading in and of itself but also requires the absence of bodily and concrete elements within the explanation of an idea. We find this type of learning in St. Anselm's *Cur Deus homo*, as when the teacher Anselm explains to his student Boson, "La volenté de Dieu nous doit souffire en lieu de vive raison sans plus oultre enquerre, quant il lui plaist de rien faire, car la volunpté de Dieu ne puet estre irraisonnable; et pourtant sa volenté vault bien raison."¹³ Abstraction also manifests in the preference of an author to explain an idea by way of another citation or reference rather than by providing a concrete representation, as when Guillaume de Vaurouillon explains sin:

Quant a parler a la forme de pechié comme touche saint Augustin sur saint Jehan: *Johanis primo, et sive ipso secum est nichil*. Pechié n'est riens, c'est a dire, pechié aneantist le pecheur et l'aloigne de vray estre et le rend instable, disant le saint prophete Jeremie en ses lamentacions ou premier chappitre: *Peccatum peccavit Jherusalem propterea instabilis facta est Jherusalem*.¹⁴ C'est a dire, le peuple a pechié et par pechié est fait inconstant.¹⁵

Situated opposite experience and example—the worldly, fleshly, and therefore by association feminine modes of transmitting knowledge—learning in the abstract is construed as masculine.¹⁶

¹³ Pierre Crapillet, *Le Cur Deus homo d'Anselme de Canterbury et le De arrha animae d'Hugues de Saint-Victor traduits pour Philippe le Bon*, ed. Robert Bultot and Geneviève Hasenohr (Louvain-la-neuve: Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1984), f. 19v/183.

¹⁴ Lamentations 1:8: "HETH peccatum peccavit Hierusalem propterea instabilis facta est omnes qui glorificabant eam spreverunt illam quia viderunt ignominiam eius ipsa autem gemens et conversa retrorsum."

¹⁵ *Declaracion de la differance entre pechié mortel et veniel selon l'opinion de maistre Guillaume Vorillon*, Bibliothèque et archives du château de Chantilly (hereafter Chantilly) ms. 140, f. 132v. The author is probably Guillaume de Vaurouillon (1390/4-1463), a Franciscan born in Bretagne, who, among other activities, studied in Paris and served as confessor to Jean V de Bretagne (Franciszek Tokarski, "Guillaume de Vaurouillon et son commentaire sur les "Sentences" de Pierre Lombard," *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 29 [1988]: 55-62). My complete transcription of the work has been posted at <https://mftranscriptions.wordpress.com> (Nov. 29-Dec. 6, 2015).

¹⁶ Dronzek, "Gendered Theories of Education," 143.

Yet, the last two “masculine” examples are from manuscripts that belonged to a woman, Agnès de Bourgogne—the first, translations by Pierre Crapillet d’Annoire of Anselm’s *Cur Deus homo* and Hugh of St. Victor’s *De arrha animae* (Chantilly ms. 129), a gift from her brother Philippe le Bon, duke of Burgundy (1419-1467); the second, an anthology including Guillaume de Digulleville’s *Pèlerinage de l’âme en prose* and religious sermons and treatises (Chantilly ms. 140), from a text written specifically at a woman’s (perhaps even Agnès’) request.¹⁷ Similarly, in Agnès’ commissioned *Paradis de la reine Sibylle* by Antoine de La Sale,¹⁸ the author spends as much time referencing authoritative sources like St. Augustine and Isidore of Seville as he does on his experiences in the Apennine mountains. According to the works comprising Agnès’ library, then, gendered perceptions about educational methods were changing by the middle of the 15th century, placing greater trust in the female ability to learn in the abstract.

Who was Agnès de Bourgogne? Born 1405/7 to Jean sans Peur (1371-1419) and Marguerite de Bavière (1363-1423), Agnès was engaged to Charles, son of Jean I de Bourbon (1381-1434), in 1412 and again in 1418, but, ever fickle, he sent her back to her family in 1419 after her father’s assassination. They were re-affianced in 1424 before finally marrying in 1425; they produced eleven children together.¹⁹ Agnès became duchess of Bourbon in 1434, and spent the next twenty years attempting to keep the peace between her brother and her politically fickle husband, who wavered between his proclaimed loyalties to the French crown

¹⁷ The *Declaracion* begins, “Vostre question tresutile qui demande qu’est pechié mortel” (f. 132) and ends, “Madame moult honorable, prenez en pacience ce petit” (f. 135v). This text is treated in more detail in Chapter 4.

¹⁸ See my Chapter 3, especially p. 155 and n. 2 on her commission.

¹⁹ Ten of Agnès’ children survived until adulthood, although four of those predeceased her: Jean II de Bourbon (1426-1488), Marie de Bourbon (1428-1448), Philippe de Beaujeu (1430-1440), Charles, archbishop of Lyon (1434-1488), Isabelle de Bourbon (1436-1465), Pierre II de Bourbon (1438-1503), Louis, bishop of Liège (1438-1482), Marguerite de Bourbon (1439-1483), Catherine de Bourbon (1440-1469), Jeanne de Bourbon (1442-1493), and Jacques, count of Montpensier (1445-1468).

and to the Burgundians.²⁰ Although not always successful (as, for example, when she could not persuade Philippe to renounce his ambitions regarding the Château-Chinon dowry for the marriage of Agnès' daughter Isabelle to Philippe's son Charles),²¹ her important, somewhat atypical political role makes it clear that she had absorbed the oft-repeated lesson that a lady acts as a mediator. After Charles' death, she put her affairs in order, leaving the ruling of the duchy to her son Jean II before travelling to her brother's holdings from 1462-1465, perhaps because of Philippe's illness in 1462. She maintained an active role in French politics until close to her death; for instance, in 1465, Agnès (with daughter-in-law Jeanne de France) attempted to persuade Louis XI to put an end to the War of the Public Weal (*Guerre du Bien public*).²² Agnès also contributed to the cultural life of Souvigny by establishing the "new chapel" there and had a hand in overseeing the construction of her husband's tomb, among other edifices, also at Souvigny.²³

It is clear that Agnès was surrounded by a literate lay culture of bibliophiles and participated in intellectual networking through the transmission of manuscripts she inherited and acquired and, in turn, by exposing her children to bibliophilic *milieux* that they appear to have maintained. Parents Marguerite de Bavière and Jean sans Peur were avid readers and book collectors. In particular, Jean sans Peur was responsible for the acquisition of more than half a dozen explicitly didactic texts, including the *Livre de l'information des princes et des*

²⁰ Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, maître d'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, ed. Henri Beaune and J. D'Arbaumont, 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, Henri Loones, successeur, 1883), 97. It is Leguai who remarks on Agnès' importance in maintaining cordial relations between her husband and her brother (André Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne, duchesse de Bourbon (1405?-1476)," in *Les Ducs de Bourbon, le Bourbonnais et le royaume de France à la fin du Moyen Âge* [Yzeure: Société bourbonnaise des études locales, 2005], 149-50). On the relationship between Bourbon and Burgundy during Agnès' lifetime, see Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy*.

²¹ Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne," 155; Olivier Mattéoni, *Servir le prince: Les officiers des ducs de Bourbon à la fin du Moyen Âge (1356-1523)* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1998), 83.

²² Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne," 157.

²³ I am indebted to Leguai, *ibid.*, for this biographical material.

rois, a fragment of Durand de Champagne's *Miroer des dames*,²⁴ and two illuminated *A b cs* and *Sept Psaumes* for daughters Jeanne and Catherine (although Agnès might well have learned to read from them, too, when her older sisters had finished with them).²⁵ Although Marguerite owned fewer books than her husband,²⁶ she was nevertheless a frequent borrower from her husband's library, as indicated by notes in the 1420 inventory "Presté a Madame";²⁷ among her loans were the *Miroir historial*, the *Testament* of Jean de Meun, and a *Lancelot*, indicating interests beyond the paraliturgical manuscripts that she owned.²⁸ Given that Agnès was constantly in her mother's company during her youth,²⁹ it is entirely plausible that Marguerite had a hand in shaping Agnès' literary tastes, since mothers were often involved in educating their young children.

Agnès' only brother, Philippe le Bon (1396-1467), inherited the lion's share of their parents' books, although Agnès received a few;³⁰ it was also Philippe who presented Agnès

²⁴ Bernard Bousmanne, Frédérique Johan, and Céline Van Hoorebeeck, eds., *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Volume II: Textes didactiques*, 5 vols., vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 115-22, 230-37, 243-50.

²⁵ Georges Doutrepoint, *La Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne: Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire* (Paris: Champion, 1909), 200: "En 1408, il [Jean sans Peur] donne à Martin Porée, qui est devenu son confesseur, 7 francs 17 sols 6 deniers tournois que celui-ci 'avoit pieça paieiz pour deux *A b c* et pour deux *Sepseaulmes* pour mesdemoiselles Jehane et Katherine, à elles apprendre, et enluminer icelles *A b c* et *Septseaulmes*, et pour y mectre deux fermailés d'argent dorez'."

²⁶ Her inventory is published in Joseph Barrois, *Bibliothèque [sic] protypographique, ou Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris: Crapelet, 1830), 114-16.

²⁷ Jehan Bonost and Jacques de Templeuve, *Inventaire de la librairie de Philippe le Bon: 1420*, ed. Georges Doutrepoint ([Paris: diffusion Champion, 1906]; repr., Geneva: Slatkine, 1977), Items 15, 16, 68, 69, 81, 82, 134, 149, 154, 170, 205, 236. See also Delphine Jeannot, *Le Mécénat bibliophilique de Jean sans Peur et de Marguerite de Bavière* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 41-49.

²⁸ *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 19, 28, 32, 41-49.

²⁹ Bertrand Schnerb, *Jean sans Peur: Le prince meurtrier* (Paris: Biographie Payot, 2005), 383.

³⁰ These likely include Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [hereafter BnF] fr. 848), and *Livre de la cité des dames* (BnF fr. 24293). See Chapter 4 and Appendix B for more details. For a general biography on Philippe, see Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London: Harlow: Longmans, Green and Co LTD, 1970). For an edition of the inventory completed after Philippe's death, see Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, 123-226. A thorough documentation of the Burgundian dukes' books still extant in the Royal Library in Brussels is available as well: Bernard Bousmanne and Céline Van Hoorebeeck, eds., *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Volume I: Textes liturgiques, ascétiques, théologiques, philosophiques et moraux*, 5 vols., vol. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); Bousmanne, Johan, and Van Hoorebeeck, *LDB II*; Bernard Bousmanne, Tania Van Hemelryck, and Céline Van Hoorebeeck, eds., *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la*

with at least two manuscripts in the early 1460s, indicating that he conceived of his sister as an active reader.³¹ Agnès' older sisters also had ties to book culture. Marguerite (1390-1442) owned two religious texts as well as multiple copies of Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la cité des dames* and *Livre des trois vertus*, of which she was the dedicatee.³² Marie (1393-1463), duchess of Cleves, owned two prayer books.³³ Anne (1404-1432), the second youngest, possessed four of her own books in addition to marrying prominent bibliophile John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford (d. 1435).³⁴

Many of Agnès' children, including daughters and daughters-in-law, shared the familial love of books. Marie de Bourbon's 1437 marriage to Jean de Calabre, son of René II d'Anjou, situated her in a particularly bibliophilic milieu,³⁵ while Isabelle's marriage to her cousin Charles le Téméraire of course maintained her connections to the Burgundian library. Hanno Wijsman also speculates that Isabelle might have received a copy of the *Mesnagier de Paris* as a wedding present, and confirms that she was the dedicatee of several texts, including

Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Volume III: Textes littéraires, 5 vols., vol. 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Volume IV: Textes historiques*, 5 vols., vol. 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Volume V: Textes historiques*, 5 vols., vol. 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

³¹ Crapillet d'Annoire's translations of Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* and Hugh of St. Victor's *Soliloque* (Chantilly ms. 129), and *Les trois fils de rois* (BnF fr. 92). These manuscripts are discussed in Chapter 4. Hans-Collas and Wijsman speculate that Agnès might also have gifted manuscripts to her brother, including a French translation of Seneca's *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (KBR ms. 9091) (Ilona Hans-Collas and Hanno Wijsman, "Le Livre d'heures et de prières d'Agnès de Bourgogne, duchesse de Bourbon," *Art de l'enluminure* 29 [2009]: 20-47, 41).

³² Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 305. Jeannot indicates that one of Marguerite's books, a *Trois vertus* (KBR ms. 10973), was in Philippe's possession by the time of his death, as denoted by its presence in the 1467/9 inventory (*ibid.*).

³³ *Ibid.*, 306. Marie's Book of Hours is still extant as BnF n.a.l. 3055, but no additional information on its transmission is available in Jeannot's book nor on the BnF website.

³⁴ Anne's books, still extant, are recorded in Jenny Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, 1389-1435* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1993), 120-22, as cited by Jeannot, *ibid.*, 304.

³⁵ It was their marriage that led to the production of La Sale's *Paradis*; see Chapter 3. On René d'Anjou, see the marvelous catalogue produced under the direction of Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, "Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le Roi René et les livres," ed. Ville d'Angers; Centre de monuments nationaux (Ville d'Angers: Actes Sud, 2009).

Amé de Montgesoie's poem, *Le Pas de la Mort*.³⁶ Anne de France (1461-1522), the young wife of Agnès' son Pierre II de Bourbon, augmented the family holdings by means of inheritance, commissions, and purchases.³⁷ Jeanne de France (1435-1482), first wife of Agnès' oldest son Jean II de Bourbon, received a number of manuscripts as gifts as well as inheriting the bulk of Agnès' books.³⁸

To clearly demonstrate the diminished rigidity of gendered pedagogical perceptions within Agnès de Bourgogne's intellectual network, I establish the foundational principles that played a role in her education before transitioning to works and manuscripts contemporary with her lifetime. Thus, Chapter One, "A Traditional Education for Medieval Women (c. 380-c. 1400)," contains critical analysis of writings about women's education covering a thousand years, from St. Jerome's 4th-century letters to the Chevalier de la Tour Landry's instructions for his daughters, as well as Vincent de Beauvais' *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, Durand de Champagne's *Miroer des dames*, and Giovanni Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, of which the *Miroer*, the *Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry*, and the *De claris mulieribus* comprised part of Jean sans Peur's library. Through careful consideration of the authors' explicit instructions concerning what and how girls and women should be taught—principally by imitation and reading devotional literature—and the function of biblical women (the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, Esther, and Dinah) positioned as models in their texts for these female students, I argue that the shift from preparing women for a cloistered life (Jerome)

³⁶ Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400-1550)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 187-89.

³⁷ A. M. Chazaud, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon: Texte original publié d'après le ms. unique de Saint-Pétersbourg* (Moulins: C. Desroziers, 1878).

³⁸ Samuel Gras, "Les Manuscrits enluminés pour Jeanne de France, duchesse de Bourbon," in *Les Femmes, la culture et les arts en Europe entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, ed. Cynthia J. Brown and Anne-Marie Legaré (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 55-71; see also Chapter 4.

to readying them to participate in life at the French court (La Tour Landry) manifests in the choice of virtues promoted by the authors. These theories set the stage for contextualizing Agnès de Bourgogne's status as student, collector, patron, and eventual transmitter of texts (and knowledge) to other women.

In Chapter Two, “‘Apprendre et endoctriner’: Christine de Pizan on Women’s Education,” I show that Christine de Pizan modifies her predecessors’ theories by privileging feminine experiential knowledge over abstract male instruction, a critical shift concerning the methods by which women are to learn and what knowledge is worth acquiring. Drawing on several of her full-length works (the *Epistre Othea*, *Chemin de longue étude*, *Livre de la cité des Dames*, and *Livre des trois vertus*) in addition to letters from the *Querelle du Roman de la Rose*, I demonstrate her positioning of experience as the most important pedagogical tool for women. Examining Christine’s treatment of the same biblical women discussed in Chapter One indicates that she, like Durand de Champagne and the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, concentrates chiefly on preparing women for life outside of the cloister. Analysis of the images that accompany a number of her autograph manuscripts clarifies that Christine attributed to women the right to instruct not only each other, but men, too. Women’s authority to teach was crucial for aristocratic women like Agnès, whose education of her children of both sexes was likely influenced by Christine’s works, which comprised part of her personal and family libraries.

Chapter Three, “*Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle*: An Edifying Commission for Agnès,” delves into Agnès’ library proper with an extended consideration of the didactic elements contained in Antoine de La Sale’s fantastical *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, composed on commission for Agnès between 1438-1442. In the tradition of mental pilgrimage evoked by

the narrator's ascent of the Mount of the Sibylle, La Sale pushes the boundaries of Christine's position of self-as-model by inviting the reader not to replicate the author's experience but to share it. His reliance on authoritative sources, as during his moralization of the classical Sibyls, indicates a greater assumption of women's ability to learn in the abstract than that of even Christine de Pizan.

The final chapter, "Contemporary Components of Agnès de Bourgogne's Collection: Six 15th-Century Manuscripts," offers a closer examination of six 15th-century manuscripts comprising part of Agnès' library in the context of a deliberately curated collection and its relationship to the female intellectual network composed of Agnès' relatives by blood and marriage. These are a *Recueil ascétique* (BnF fr. 1793), a *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe* and *Passion Jhesucrist* (BnF fr. 975), Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme en prose* and other religious texts (Chantilly ms. 140), Pierre Crapillet d'Annoire's translations of St. Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* and Hugh of St. Victor's *De arrha animae* (Chantilly ms. 129), Frère Laurent's *Somme le roi/Mireoir du monde* (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library [hereafter Beinecke] ms. 204), and the *Trois fils de rois* (BnF fr. 92). Faced with numerous instances of male characters' reliance on learning by experience and imitation and female readers being expected to understand information presented without a concretely detailed explanation, I conclude that learning by example, by imitation, and in the abstract were not so starkly gendered in the 15th century as they had been previously.

The two appendices supplement the literary record with pertinent information about manuscripts belonging to Agnès and her family. Appendix A, "*Miroer des dames*, KBR ms. 11203-204 (fols. 1-53v)," contains lexical and codicological analysis of the fragment of Durand de Champagne's *Miroer des dames*, a formative work for women owned by Jean sans

Peur, in addition to a transcription of the last twelve folios, which were annotated by a medieval reader. Appendix B, “Agnès’ Manuscripts and the Ducal Library of Bourbon (1434-1456),” provides codicological information and additional commentary on the complete list of Agnès’ manuscripts, as well as a summary of the contents of the ducal library at Moulins during her tenure as duchess, thus comprising a more complete picture of the texts to which she likely had access during those twenty years overlapping her offspring’s childhood.

Chapter 1: A Traditional Education for Medieval Women (c. 380-c. 1400)

Agnès de Bourgogne (1405/7-1476) came of age in a particularly bibliophilic courtly milieu; her parents, Jean sans Peur and Marguerite de Bavière, and paternal grandparents, Philippe le Hardi and Marguerite de Male, were prominent owners and commissioners of manuscripts.¹ As important as their devotion to literature was their recognition of the influence books could have on the behavior of an individual. Jean and Marguerite, parents to eight children, of whom seven were girls, possessed a substantial collection of texts—any number of which could have served as teaching material—as well as several explicitly didactic works from a variety of authors, including Durand de Champagne and Geoffroi de la Tour Landry. Among the French-speaking aristocracy in the Middle Ages, books as a mode of transmitting cultural values and wisdom were heavily supplemented by real-life exemplarity both within their pages and without. For example, Agnès spent almost her entire life before marriage with her mother and her mother's entourage, allowing us to infer that Marguerite's example was as important as, if not even more important than, Marguerite's or Jean's books. An examination of medieval pedagogical discussions of women teaching and learning, even when those discussions were by and/or between men, is particularly crucial to understanding female participation in educating others at the time, as written feminine contributions to the conversation are limited to notable exceptions like Dhuoda, who composed a conduct manual for her son in the 9th century.² In this chapter, my investigation reveals that imitation is the

¹ On Jean sans Peur's and Marguerite de Bavière's bibliophilia, see Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*. For Jean's parents see Muriel J. Hughes, "The Library of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders, First Valois Duke and Duchess of Burgundy," *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978): 155. The 1404 inventory of Philippe le Hardi's books can be found in Barrois, *Bibliothèque prototypographique*, 105-09. For the 1405 inventory of Marguerite de Male's library, see *ibid.*, 110-13.

² Dhuoda, *Dhuoda, Handbook for Her Warrior Son: Liber manualis*, ed. and trans. Marcelle Thiébaux (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

premier method by which women learn and should teach, followed by reading and then by experience, but that reading, too, remains centered in large part on ideas of imitability and bodily enactment rather than on abstract ideas of more masculine presentation. This balance shifts substantially by the time Agnès acquires her manuscripts in the third quarter of the 15th century.

The five works I analyze in this chapter span the thousand years leading up to the 15th century, from St. Jerome's 4th-century epistles to the 13th-century *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* by Vincent de Beauvais and Durand de Champagne's *Miroer des dames* to the 14th-century *De claris mulieribus* by Giovanni Boccaccio and the *Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry*. All were written by men to, about, and/or for women; at least three comprised part of the library of Jean sans Peur and may well have been consulted by Marguerite de Bavière for use in her daughters' education.³ Most of these authors provide advice on educating young women; while Jerome's and Vincent's suggestions anticipate a cloistered life, Durand writes for a politically active queen, and La Tour Landry aims to ready his daughters for marriage, a scenario that perhaps best anticipates that of Agnès. Boccaccio's collection of portraits, meant to instruct as well as entertain, provides both positive and negative *exempla* in order to inspire his female dedicatee to virtuous behavior.⁴ While the importance of imitation as a way to

³ Based on the inventory of Marguerite's books contained in Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, the works in Marguerite de Bavière's library were primarily religious (though among them we do find a *Des cas des nobles* by Boccaccio, borrowed from her husband), and included none of the pedagogical manuals discussed here (41-48; see also Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, 114-16 and Bonost and de Templeuve, *Inventaire*, Item 82). Religious texts were, of course, crucial to girls' learning how to read, in addition to acquiring cultural literacy; see, among others, Cynthia J. Brown, "Anne de Bretagne: The Patron," in *Die Fibel der Claude de France/The Primer of Claude de France*, ed. Roger S. Wieck, Cynthia J. Brown, and Eberhard König (Lucerne: Quaternio Verlag, 2012), 111-23, and Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, "La Lettre volée. Apprendre à lire à l'enfant au Moyen Age," *Annales ESC* 44 (1989): 953-92. However, Marguerite was also a frequent borrower from her husband's collection (Bonost and de Templeuve, *Inventaire*, Items 15, 16, 68, 69, 81, 82, 134, 149, 154, 170, 205, 236; Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 41-49).

⁴ To clarify, I use the words model, example, and *exemplum* interchangeably, as I am not concerned with defining *exempla*. That ground has been more than adequately covered in the series of thoughtful essays in

transmit knowledge remains consistent in all these works, there exists a shift in focus from preparing girls and women for a religious life to grooming them for a secular one—that is, from counseling constant virginity to instruction about productive maternity—reflected in the ever-changing depiction of biblical heroines as well as the move away from framing the Virgin Mary as the ideal to which all women should aspire in all respects.

From a vast array of materials that include conduct manuals, saints' lives, vernacular poetry, and catalogues of historical figures, certain authors, like Jerome—whose 4th-century writings were cited over the next millennium, including in works treated in later portions of this chapter—could not be omitted. Other works, like Guillaume de Lorris' and Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*, while absolutely important and influential with regards to subsequent allegorical literature, corresponded less well with the genre of conduct and didactic manuals.⁵ The *terminus ad quem* of the 14th century is determined by the prominence of Christine de Pizan; to her many works, which date from the end of the 14th century on into the 15th, I have dedicated the entire second chapter of this dissertation. As for the selection of specific exemplary women, due to the plethora of possibilities in both the *Miroer des dames* and the *Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry*—discussion of which could be a thesis in and of itself—I have limited my attention to those women who appear in at least three of the works examined in this chapter.

There are also a number of more-or-less pedagogical texts contained in Jean sans Peur's library that if included would result in too broad a scope of study. For instance, the *Mireoirs*

Jacques Berlioz' and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu's edited volume, *Les Exempla médiévaux: Nouvelles perspectives* (Paris: Champion, 1998).

⁵ Other scholars would certainly disagree with this distinction, as, for instance, Bousmanne, Johan, and Van Hoorebeeck, who have included the *Rose* in their volume on didactic literature in the Burgundian collection (*LDB II*, 141-44, 210-13).

as *dames* by 14th-century poet Watriquet de Couvin,⁶ does not fit particularly neatly with the other texts discussed in this chapter. More akin to the *Roman de la Rose* than to Durand's *Miroer des dames*, Watriquet's allegorical poem relates the poet-narrator's entry into Biauté's castle, where each level is guarded by a different virtue such as Charité or Largesse. Our narrator is never permitted to approach this most beautiful of women, who functions as a mirror for all others. Although language concerning mirrors abounds, that of exemplarity remains relatively infrequent. Furthermore, Watriquet names neither contemporary nor biblical women in the poem. Finally, although the poet references learning, reading, studying, and schooling, these verbs concern the male narrator's actions, not those of a female audience. So while the *Mireoirs as dames* indicates what a woman should be and which conventional qualities she should possess—*courtoisie*, generosity, humility, and temperance, among others—it provides no advice on how she should go about acquiring said qualities—not to mention the poet's complete disregard for her intellectual education.

Similarly, I have omitted analysis of Jean de Vignay's translation of Théodore Paléologue's *Enseignemens ou ordenances pour un seigneur qui a guerres et grans gouvernemens a faire*,⁷ which was originally written in Greek for Paléologue's father, Andronic II, emperor of the Byzantine Empire, and nephew, Andronic III in 1326.⁸ Given the focus on military practice, it seems likely that this text was intended for Philippe le Bon's

⁶ This manuscript, currently housed as BnF fr. 14968, can be accessed at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90613484.r=14968.langEN>> (consulted June 4, 2016). Jeannot has mistakenly labelled BnF fr. 14968 a translation of Durand's *Miroer* (*Mécénat bibliophilique*, 15).

⁷ Jean sans Peur's copy, KBR ms. 11042, was executed between 1384 and 1404 for his father, Philippe le Hardi. Information on this text comes from Théodore Paleologue, *Les Enseignemens de Théodore Paléologue*, ed. Christine Knowles (London: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 1983); information on the manuscript's production is found in Stephen N. Fliegel *et al.*, "L'Art à la cour de Bourgogne: Le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur (1364-1419): Les princes des fleurs de lis," ed. Musée des beaux-arts de Dijon and Cleveland Museum of Art (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 37.

⁸ Knowles, ed., *Les Enseignemens*, 2. The Latin translation, which dates to 1330, survives only in a fragment of the prologue; for the remaining text, we must rely on Jean de Vignay's translation (*ibid.*, 3-4).

education rather than for Agnès' and her sisters'. Two details about women's education can nevertheless be gleaned from the prologue, where Paléologue recounts how he came to be the marquis of Montferrat. Every day that it was within her power, his mother Yolanda studied Scripture, adding to our evidence of the widespread literacy (in regards to religious texts) of aristocratic women.⁹ Her role in her son's education is unclear, though Paléologue specifies that he studied in Latin (as opposed to Greek) lands, implying that Yolanda may have organized his curriculum.¹⁰

I also forebear to treat Saint Louis' *Enseignemens a sa fille* (c. 1270), which proved a less-than-ideal text for analysis and comparison with the other works addressed in this chapter for two reasons: its brevity (only two and a half folios long) and its lack of *exempla*.¹¹ There are obvious parallels between these precepts and those advocated by the other authors discussed in this chapter; for instance, the first half of the text is devoted to encouraging his daughter Isabel to love the Lord, recognize His hand in her blessings, and understand that her suffering has been a result of her own sins. Other individual instructions indicate that she should be compassionate toward the poor, humbly obey her husband, and be so good as to serve as an example for others. However, the lack of elaboration means that Saint Louis' advice offers limited possibility for expanding our understanding of female exemplarity in medieval French didactic literature.

⁹ “c'est assavoir premierement en voulant obeir affectueusement au commandement de Dieu et ensuir la doctrine de la divine escripture, *en laquelle elle estudioit chascun jour selon son pouoir*” [Primo volendo Dei praecepto affectuose famulari, et doctrinam Divinae Scripturae] (*ibid.*, 30; my emphasis).

¹⁰ “je appris toute m'estude et touz mes enseignemens en la terre des Latins, et toute mon œuvre, et la suy je nourri et acoustumé a estre [...] de l'empire de Rommaine, la ou je sui né et nourri en m'enfance” [(No Latin text for the first part of the citation) Imperii Romaniae, ubi natus fui, et in mea infantia nutritus] (*ibid.*, 36).

¹¹ For the integral text, see Saint Louis IX of France, *The Instructions of Saint Louis: A Critical Text*, ed. David O'Connell (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Department of Romance Languages, 1979), 78-81.

Jerome's Views on Women's Education

Jerome (c. 347-420) is known for his translation of the Bible from Greek to Latin, his many commentaries on various canonical texts, and his book *Against Jovinianus* as well as for his extensive correspondence.¹² Concentrating only on the epistles addressed to women limits the corpus to a manageable size and reflects the focus on the transmission of knowledge to and between women. Many of these letters to women are comprised primarily of biblical commentary or treat political affairs,¹³ however, and do not prescribe subjects of study or treat modes of learning; these are omitted. In addition to the traditionally accepted corpus of Ep. 107, to Laeta on the education of her daughter Paula, Ep. 22, to Eustochium on maintaining her virginity, and Ep. 79, to Salvina on the occasion of her husband Nebridius' death, I analyze portions of Ep. 54, to Furia on leading a chaste widowhood and briefly reference other letters, such as Ep. 128, to Gaudentius on raising his daughter Pacatula. This small corpus provides a very clear idea of Jerome's explicitly articulated educational philosophy as it applied to women.

Analyzing Jerome's presentation of biblical women as examples to his correspondents establishes a clear link with works from the later Middle Ages and amplifies the visibility of learning by imitation.¹⁴ Jerome's preferred models for female comportment are his

¹² See F. A. Wright's introduction to Jerome, *Select Letters*, especially x-xiv.

¹³ Such as Ep. 25, to Marcella, which contains an explanation of the ten names of God, or Ep. 40, to Marcella, wherein Jerome ridicules one of his Roman rivals.

¹⁴ For my analysis, I have relied on the French Belles Lettres editions for the Latin, and on F.A. Wright and Hon. W.H. Fremantle's English translations. There is no recent complete English edition of all of Jerome's letters (Fremantle's volume was originally printed in the 19th century), and F.A. Wright's bilingual *Select Letters* does not contain all of the epistles analyzed here. For consistency, I have therefore chosen to cite the Latin provided in the Belles Lettres: Jerome, *Saint Jérôme: Lettres*, ed. and trans. Jérôme Labourt, 8 vols., Collection des Universités de France (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1951-1963). Citations in English from Ep. 22 (Eustochium), 54 (Furia), 107 (Laeta), and 127 (Principia) come from *Select Letters*. Pages are given in parentheses to distinguish them from the volume and page information for the Latin. English citations for letters not contained in Wright's *Select Letters* are taken from *St. Jerome: Letters and Select Works*, trans. Hon. W.H. Fremantle, Rev. G. Lewis, and Rev. W.G. Martley (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994); pages are also given in parentheses, accompanied by the short title of the volume.

contemporaries, notably Marcella, a wealthy disciple of Jerome's,¹⁵ Eustochium, the grown daughter of the heiress of the Aemilian family,¹⁶ and Paula, Eustochium's young niece.¹⁷ However, these women are mentioned rarely or not at all in didactic treatises from the 13th and 14th centuries. Additionally, classical women are excluded from discussion due to their infrequent appearance in the other texts treated in this chapter. Those exemplary biblical figures who do receive Jerome's attention are Judith, Esther, Mary Magdalene, and the Virgin Mary. Dinah serves regularly as a negative example. The seeming liberality of certain of his ideas—that girls should read extensively and develop their analytical skills, for instance—is substantially undermined by the ignorance related to secular activities, affairs, and people that he deems necessary for them. In other words, Jerome would rather women have no reason to learn from experience.

In Epistle 107 to Laeta, concerning the education of her young daughter, Paula, Jerome suggests that Laeta should raise her daughter in fear and ignorance by way of limiting experience and opportunity for imitation. That is, Laeta should be afraid that her daughter might fall in amongst malevolent (read: un-Christian) influences, even within Paula's own age group and social class: "Let boys with their wanton frolics be kept far from Paula: let even her maids and attendants hold aloof from association with the worldly, lest they render their evil knowledge worse by teaching [*doceant*] it to her;" "Let her not [...] associate with virgins who neglect their vows."¹⁸ Laeta should therefore transmit that fear of frivolity and lasciviousness to her daughter and teach her to isolate herself from everything that is of this world: "Let her

¹⁵ *Select Letters*, VIII.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 338n1.

¹⁸ Ep. 107:4: "Procul sit aetas lasciuia puerorum, ipsae puellae et pedisequae a saecularium consortiis arceantur, ne quod mali didicerint, peius doceant," V:147-48 (345). Ep. 107:11: "Non habeat [...] malarum uirginum contubernia," V:155 (363).

take pattern by Mary whom Gabriel found alone in her chamber, Mary who perchance was terrified because she saw a strange man.”¹⁹ This impression is only reinforced by Jerome’s insistence that Laeta’s daughter should have “no knowledge [*ignoret*] of worldly songs,” that Laeta should “guard her [...] from going out with Dinah to see the daughters of a strange land,” that Paula “must be deaf to all musical instruments, and never even know [*nesciat*] why the flute, the lyre, and the harp came into existence.” Jerome stipulates as well, “Let her not converse with worldlings.”²⁰ Jerome believes that there is greater security to be had in completely avoiding temptation than in testing oneself by its proximity;²¹ thus, he encourages absolute ignorance of all things secular. It is precisely this lack of experience that Christine de Pizan blames for women’s ignorance in the *Livre de la cité des dames* (I:XXVII).²²

Also important in the Epistles is the role imitation plays in teaching the child more generally. Jerome assumes that she will learn in part by imitating others, as we see both in his suggestion that Paula “imitate Mary”²³ and in his encouraging Laeta to be a model for Paula, “*te rudis miretur infantia.*”²⁴ Additionally, he writes that “you can teach her better by example [*magis eam exemplis docere posse*] than by words,” re-emphasizing the significance of modeling in a child’s education.²⁵ He does not, however, gender this type of learning by

¹⁹ Ep. 107:7: “Imitetur Mariam, quam Gabriel solam in cubiculo suo repperit, et ideo forsitan timore perterrita est, quia uirum, quem non solebat, aspexit,” V:152 (355-57).

²⁰ Ep. 107:4: “cantica mundi ignoret,” V:147 (345). Ep. 107:6: “cura prouideas [...] ne egrediatur cum Dina, et uelit uidere filias regionis alienae,” V:151 (353). Ep. 107:8: “Surda sit ad organa. Tibia, lyra et cithara cur facta sint, nesciat,” V:153 (359). Ep. 107:11: “Non habeat conloquia saecularium,” V:155 (363).

²¹ Ep. 107:8: “ego securioris arbitror continentiae, nescire quod quaeras,” V:153 (357).

²² Pizan, *Citta delle dame*. See also my Chapter 2, 98-99.

²³ Ep. 107:7: “Imitetur Mariam,” V:152 (355).

²⁴ V:154 (359). Additional evidence of the importance of modeling is inferred from his discussion in Ep. 107:4 of Gracchi children learning eloquence from their mothers, “Graccorum eloquentiae multum ab infantia sermo matris scribitur contulisse,” V:149 (349); and of the easy imitation of that which is bad, “Procliuis est enim malorum aemulatio” (*ibid.*).

²⁵ Ep. 107:9: “magis eam exemplis docere posse, quam voce,” V:154 (359). Anneke Mulder-Bakker cites Anne Clark Bartlett about the importance of imitation: “Imitation—the fashioning and reconstruction of the self in accordance with the multiple models provided by the holy family, male and female saints, aristocratic ideals, and an assortment of textualized personages—was the chief aim of virtually all forms of medieval (and

implying that it is more relevant in the case of women than men. Gender also goes unmentioned in the extensive religious and literary education he prescribes for Laeta's daughter.

Not only should Laeta's daughter know how to read, which training should begin in infancy by giving her alphabet blocks to play with,²⁶ but she should learn to write as well—that is, acquiring familiarity with letters by experiencing them, by *doing*. “So soon as she begins to use the style upon the wax, and her hand is still faltering, either guide her soft fingers by laying your hand upon hers or else have simple copies cut upon a tablet; so that her efforts confined within these limits may keep to the lines traced out for her and not stray outside of these.”²⁷ Paula should also read a variety of texts. To be sure, Jerome suggests a specific order for Paula's reading program: first the Psalms and Proverbs, then the New and Old Testament, in order to provide her with a thorough grounding in the tenets of the Christian faith. She should not hesitate, however, to read the Song of Songs, once she has enough understanding to interpret this book properly; nor should she confine her readings to saints' writings, though those too are prescribed for her. Laeta's daughter should, by virtue of her education, acquire the necessary discernment to read even apocryphal works “as a critic rather than as a disciple.”²⁸

particularly devotional) discourse” (“Introduction,” in Anneke Mulder-Bakker, ed. *Seeing and Knowing: Women and Learning in Medieval Europe 1200-1550* [Turnhout: Brepols, 2004], 13).

²⁶ Ep. 107:4: “Fiant ei litterae uel buxuae, uel eburneae,” V:148 (345-47). His letter to Gaudentius on the raising of his daughter Pacatula reads similarly, though it is substantially shorter. Ep. 128:1: “in the meantime [Pacatula must] learn her alphabet, spelling, grammar, and syntax” [Interim, modo litterularum elementa cognoscat, iungat syllabas, discat nomina, uerba consociet], VII:148 (447-49).

²⁷ Ep. 107:4: “Cum uero inceperit trementi manu stylum in cera ducere, uel alterius superposita manu teneri regantur articuli, uel in tabella sculpantur elementa, ut per eosdem sulcos inclusa marginibus trahantur uestigia, et foras non queant euagari,” V:148 (347).

²⁸ This entire paragraph is based on Ep. 107:12, where Jerome prescribes, in order: the Psalter, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Job, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and their Epistles, the Prophets, the Heptateuch, Kings, Chronicles, the books of Ezra and Esther, and finally the Song of Songs. She should also read Cyprian, Athanasius and Hilary (365-67), in addition to reading other writers at her discretion: “magis iudicet quam sequatur,” V:157 (367). Jerome encourages other women, both virgins and widows, to read in various letters, including Ep. 130, to Demetrias—130:7: “Love to occupy your mind with the reading of scripture” [animum tuum sacrae lectionis amore occupes], VII:176 (265), and 130:11: “you must keep sufficient

Jerome's letter to Julia Eustochium, written when she was about 16, is a paean to virginity, and so primarily contains counsel for chaste comportment, such as avoiding Epicurean luxuries; he includes, however, a few telling comments as regards women's reading program. "Read often and learn all you can," he writes; "Let sleep steal upon you with a book in your hand, and let the sacred page catch your drooping head."²⁹ If a question arises, "[i]f you feel ignorant or have any doubt about some passage in Scripture," Eustochium should ask for clarification, so as to better her understanding.³⁰ Although Jerome does not specify what she should read, we can surmise that Eustochium, too, read books other than the Bible, since Jerome suggested that Laeta entrust her daughter to Eustochium for a portion of her education, implying that Eustochium would be able to guide Paula as she worked her way through the various prescribed texts. Furthermore, as in the letter to Laeta, not only should women read, but they should also, by their education, have acquired a certain level of discernment: "To know what is good is not enough; when you have chosen it you must guard it with jealous care. The first is a matter of judgment [...] the second calls for labor."³¹ Women are not only capable of critical thinking, but of doing the mental work necessary to put what they have learned into

strength to read scripture" [Sic debes ieiunare [...] ut fracto corporis appetitu, nec in lectione, nec in psalmis], VII:182 (267). These suggestions must also be understood within the context of the debates surrounding the reading of Scripture and of pagan writers like Virgil, as Yves-Marie Duval and Patrick Laurence explain: "Non que Jérôme proscrire en bloc toute la littérature profane: il reconnaît au contraire qu'une partie peut être accessible, mais à condition de la débarrasser de ses oripeaux ou accessoires païens [...] Ces recommandations valent, à peu de chose près, pour Eustochium, car celle-ci a déjà dépassé l'âge de l'apprentissage, et elle s'est trouvée en contact avant sa 'conversion' avec toute cette littérature. Elles seront tout autres avec la petite Paula [...] Jérôme estimera alors que l'initiation à la lecture et la découverte de tous les éléments peuvent se faire, pour cette enfant qui a tout à apprendre, à partir de la seule Écriture" (Jerome, *La Lettre 22 à Eustochium: De uirginitate seruanda*, trans. Yves-Marie Duval and Patrick Laurence [Bégrolles en Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 2011], 26-27). We must remember as well, though, that for Jerome, "il ne suffit pas de lire la Bible pour la comprendre: faute d'un maître qui soit sans cesse à sa disposition pour lui expliquer ce qu'elle ne comprend pas [...] elle aura recours aux commentateurs" (*ibid.*, 44).

²⁹ Ep. 22:17: "Crebrius lege et discis quam plurima. Tenenti codicem somnus obrepat et cadentem faciem pagina sancta suscipiat," II:126 (86).

³⁰ Ep. 22:29: "Si quid ignores, si quid de scripturis dubitas, interroga eum, quem vita commendat, excusat aetas, fama non reprobatur," II:142-43 (120).

³¹ Ep. 22:23: "Nec sufficit scire, quod bonum est, nisi custodiatur adtentius, quod electrum est, quia illud iudicii est, hoc laboris," II:134 (102).

practice. Jerome's faith in women's ability to elevate their critical thinking skills to such a high level—that is, to the point of reading not *à la lettre*, but for the subtler metaphorical sense—has no equivalent, even as late as Christine de Pizan who, despite her own extensively exercised discretion, does not seem to expect other ladies to demonstrate comparable discernment regarding texts.³²

Another letter traditionally referenced in regards to women and education is Ep. 79 to Salvina, consoling her on the death of her husband Nebridius. While the concrete suggestions on education are relatively few, as might be expected given Salvina's more advanced age, they merit discussion nevertheless. Salvina's husband's studies of the classics with his imperial brethren were seen in a negative light, as such literature “makes even strangers intimate.”³³ This would seem to imply that while Jerome encouraged women past a certain stage of their education to read even heretical texts, like the Apocrypha, or those—like the Song of Songs—needing allegorical interpretation, many classical pagan texts would have been off-limits. As with Laeta's daughter and Eustochium, Salvina is encouraged to constantly keep the Scriptures in hand.³⁴ Likewise, Jerome suggests that Salvina cultivate a fear of all men for the sake of her modesty.³⁵

Outside of these usual references, we find Ep. 54, to Furia, which contains advice on leading a chaste widowhood. In addition to the typical exhortations to avoid wine, excessive

³² For instance, in one of her letters to Pierre Col, she indicates that she has read the Quran and, despite its points of concordance with Christian doctrine, recognized its heretical conclusions: “se tu lis l'Alchoran tu y trouveras de tres bons points de nostre foy et de bien devote, et te plairoit moult: may c'est tout honny; tout ensemble ne vault rien; la consequence en est toute gaste [*sic*]” (Christine de Pizan et al., *Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Eric Hicks [Paris: Champion, 1977], 134). Nowhere, however, does she suggest that anyone, let alone fellow women, *should* consult this text. Christine behaves similarly with regards to a number of other texts; cf. Chapter 2 for a more extended discussion.

³³ Ep. 79:5: “res etiam externorum mentes sibi conciliat,” IV:99 (165).

³⁴ Ep. 79:9: “Semper in minibus tuis diuina sit lectio,” IV:104 (167).

³⁵ Ep. 79:8: “ut uiros erubescat,” IV:103 (167).

food, and bad company, all of which promote impure behaviors, Jerome suggests that Furia read after every meal from Scripture and from learned men's texts.³⁶

Jerome's program of unfettered access to religious, even apocryphal, texts, once a certain level of education and discernment is acquired, seems to cast him in a very liberal light. And yet, we cannot trivialize the ignorance (*nesciat*, he insists) and fear of the secular world that he promotes through avoidance of experiences. Furthermore, Jerome does not advocate a literary education so that women can produce their own texts in turn, nor that they might teach their children. In Ep. 127, to Principia, he praises the then-recently-deceased Marcella, who "even when her answers to questions were her own, she said they came not from her but from me or some one [*sic*] else, admitting herself to be a pupil even when she was teaching—for she knew that the apostle said: 'I do not allow a woman to teach [men]'.³⁷ Even women praised for their guidance of other women, such as another of Jerome's contemporaries, Lea, are lauded for teaching by example more than by words: "she showed herself a true mother to the virgins in it [the monastery which she headed], wore coarse sackcloth instead of soft raiment, passed sleepless nights in prayer, and instructed her companions even more by example than by precept [*plus exemplo docuisse quam uerbis*]."³⁸ Women were to be educated and to educate other women, both in terms of spiritual literacy and behavior, principally by reading and modeling, so that they might make a better gift of themselves to God.

³⁶ Ep. 54:11: "Quando comedis, cogita, quod statim tibi orandum, ilico legendum sit [...] Post scripturas sanctas doctorum hominum tractatus lege," III:34 (249).

³⁷ Ep. 127:7: "sic interrogata respondebat, ut etiam sua, non sua diceret, sed uel mea, uel cuius libet alterius, ut et in ipso quod docebat, se discipulam fateretur. Sciebat enim dictum ab Apostolo: 'Docere autem mulieri non permitto'," VII:143 (455).

³⁸ Ep. 23:2: "mater uirginum fieret; post mollitiem uestium sacco membra triuisse; orationibus duxisse noctes, et comites suas plus exemplo docuisse quam uerbis," II:9 (*Principal Works*, 42). In Vincent T.M. Skemp, "Learning by Example: *Exempla* in Jerome's Translations and Revisions of Biblical Books," *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011): 257-84, letters 23 and 127 are discussed as evidence of Jerome's conviction that all people, not just women, learn by example. Skemp also provides an analysis of how this belief shaped Jerome's translation of certain books (*ibid.*, 262-71).

Jerome's Use of Female Exempla

Proffering women—often biblical figures, but even more frequently Jerome's contemporaries—as models of comportment to his female correspondents forms a standard feature in many epistles. Several of these exemplary women appear in the works of later medieval writers such as Vincent de Beauvais and Durand de Champagne, and so merit analysis as foundational models for imitation.

In contrast to the recurrent mentions of Eustochium, Paula, and Marcella in his letters to various women, Jerome references the stories of biblical women rather sparingly, and uses them as *exempla* even less frequently.³⁹ For instance, Judith is alluded to in passing in letters to Eustochium (Ep. 22:21) and to Salvina (Ep. 79:10) as an ideal of chastity in widowhood. Jerome does not go into any great detail about her behavior, expecting that his readers are already quite familiar with her story.⁴⁰ Jerome does, however, note her beheading of Holofernes in Ep. 22⁴¹ and again when Judith's enemy is the incarnation of Lust in the letter to Salvina.⁴² In Ep. 54:16, to Furia, Judith is held up not only as representative of Chastity beheading Lust, but also as a model of sober, even shabby, adornment.⁴³ As we shall see, later

³⁹ Classical women showed up even more infrequently. For instance, in Ep. 123 to Ageruchia, Jerome presents Dido, the wife of Hasdrubal, Lucretia, and the three hundred Teuton matrons as worthy of imitation in their violent defense of their purity (123:7).

⁴⁰ Jerome "translated" (read: paraphrased) the book of Judith in 398AD (Jerome, *Select Letters*, XI; Leslie Abend Callahan, "Ambiguity and Appropriation: The Story of Judith in Medieval Narrative and Iconographic Traditions," in *Telling Tales: Medieval Narratives and the Folk Tradition*, ed. Francesca Canadé Sautman, Diana Conchado, and Giuseppe Carlo Di Scipio [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998], 81). Callahan also observes that, "Whereas the Septuagint text is more direct in telling the story as 'history,' Jerome tends to moralize the tale and to give it a more didactic, exemplary aspect" (*ibid.*).

⁴¹ Ep. 22:21: "Tunc Olofernae caput Iudith continens amputavit," II:132 (100).

⁴² Ep. 79:11 "Iudith de Hebraea historia [...] pudicitiae conseruaba[t]. Unde et altera in typo Ecclesiae, diabolum capite truncavit," IV:107 (168).

⁴³ Ep. 54:16: "Legimus Iudith [...] viduam confectam ieiuniis et habitu lugubri sordidatam [...] Video armatam gladio manum, cruentam dexteram, recognosco caput Holofernae [...] Vincit viros femina et castitas truncate libidinem habituque repente mutata ad victrices sordes redit omnibus saeculi cultibus mundiores," III:39 (261). In Ep. 120, to Hedibia, another widow, Jerome indicates that he has already explained himself fully in his letters to Salvina and Furia, implying that copies are available for Hedibia's consultation. Ep. 120 itself contains no *exempla*.

writers generally preferred to focus on her less violent exemplary aspects of chastity and modest dress. Jerome's repeated reference to Judith's decapitation of Holofernes reflects his larger preoccupation with the power available to spiritual women.

For instance, to the widow Salvina, Esther exemplifies the power of humility and its puissance over pride: "Mordecai also and Esther amid purple and silk and jewels overcame pride with humility; and although captives were so highly esteemed as to be able to impose commands upon their conquerors."⁴⁴ Although Esther's importance is diminished by being paired with her uncle Mordecai, her role as outlined by Jerome's reference remains an active one in that *both* Mordecai and Esther gave orders to their overlords.

Least in accordance with this idea of spiritual power is Mary Magdalene, who serves two purposes in two different epistles. In the first, to Eustochium, Jerome praises the Magdalene for "prefer[ring] the lord's teaching (*doctrinam*) to food."⁴⁵ As in his instructions to Laeta, Jerome encourages the rejection of all things worldly, including physical sustenance, in favor of the spiritual and intellectual. He also presents Mary Magdalene to Furia as an example of proper repentance in the rejection of her former finery: "The harlot in the Gospel found salvation, baptized in her own tears and wiping the Lord's feet with the hair which had before lured many a lover. She wore no waving head-dress, no creaking shoes, nor did she

⁴⁴ Ep. 79:2: "Mardocheus et Esther inter purpuram, sericum, et gemmas, superbiam humilitate uicerunt, tantique fuere meriti, ut captiui uictoribus imperarent," IV:96 (164). Esther also appears in Ep. 130:4, written to Demetrias, a life-long virgin. In that letter, however, Jerome parallels Demetrias' behavior with Esther's, instead of presenting Esther as a model for imitation: "[Demetrias] came to hate all her fine apparel and cried like Esther to the Lord: 'Thou knowest that I abhor the sign of my high estate'—that is to say, the diadem which she wore as a queen—and that I abhor it as a menstuous rag" [Oderat ornatum suum; et cum Hester loquebatur ad Dominum: 'Tu nosti quod oderim insigne capitis mei' (hoc est diadema, quo utebatur quasi regina) 'et tantae ducam inmunditiae, uelut pannum mulieris menstruatae'], VII:169 (262). Interestingly, in one of the early Midrash, Judith used her menstrual cycle as an excuse to avoid sinning with Holofernes before she cut off his head (Callahan, "Ambiguity and Appropriation," 87-89).

⁴⁵ Ep. 22:24: "Esto et tu Maria, cibus praeferto doctrinam," II:136 (106).

darken her eyes with antimony: the more squalid she was, the more lovely she seemed.”⁴⁶ In Furia’s case, the former finery would have been the secular honors accorded to her as a wife.

The Virgin is, of course, the archetype of lifelong virginity.⁴⁷ As mentioned, Jerome suggests that Laeta set the Virgin as an example of a properly sequestered maiden before her daughter Paula, in that Mary was alone in her chamber when the angel Gabriel came to her.⁴⁸ Conversely, while writing in the name of Paula and Eustochium, Jerome presents the Virgin Mary and her travels after the Annunciation as an argument to Marcella to persuade her to abandon Rome for Bethlehem: “Mary, the mother of the Lord, left the lowlands and made her way to the hill country, when, after receiving the angel’s message, she realized that she bore within her womb the Son of God.”⁴⁹ Idealized seclusion rather than travel for spiritual purposes found favor with later medieval writers.

As a negative example, Jerome cites Dinah’s story twice, in the letter to Eustochium as well as in Ep. 107 to Laeta. In the first epistle, he writes, “Dinah went out and was seduced;”⁵⁰ in the second, he asks Laeta, “If you take precautions to save your daughter from the bite of a viper, why are you not equally careful [...] to keep her from going out with Dinah to see the daughters of a strange land?”⁵¹ In contrast to Judith, whose actions protecting her chastity should be emulated, Dinah’s misdeed and its consequences cultivate fear of the outside world and thus, in a sense, of experiential knowledge.

⁴⁶ Ep. 54:7: “Meretrix illa in euangelio baptizata, lacrimis suis et crine quo multos ante deceperat, pedes Domini tergente seruata est. Non habuit crispantes mitras, nec stridentes calceolos, nec orbes stibio fuliginatos; quanto foedior, tanto pulchrior,” VII:30 (241).

⁴⁷ I wish to clarify that I do not discuss here Jerome’s treatise *Against Helveticus*, on the Perpetual Virginity of the Virgin Mary.

⁴⁸ Cf. n. 19.

⁴⁹ Ep. 46:2: “Denique et Maria, mater Domini, postquam ad eam angeli est facta promissio et uterum suum intellexit esse domum filii Dei, derelectis campestribus ad montana perrexit,” II:102 (61).

⁵⁰ Ep. 22:25: “Dina egressa corrumpitur,” II:137 (108).

⁵¹ Ep. 107:6: “Sollicita prouides, ne filia percutiatur a uipera; cur non eadem cura prouideas [...] ne egrediatur cum Dina, et uelit uidere filias regionis alienae,” V:151 (353).

To summarize, Jerome references a wide array of exemplary biblical women in his epistles to female correspondents, although he rarely mentions any one woman more than twice.⁵² Even given such minimal mention, however, Jerome does not restrict himself to one aspect of an exemplary woman's life, as we saw with the different presentations of Judith and Esther. Nevertheless, none of these female figures, including the Virgin, is used as a model of a well-educated woman—at least, not in the literary or intellectual sense.⁵³ The widely-read women whom Jerome finds worthy of emulation are instead his contemporaries Marcella, Paula, and Eustochium, whose names quickly fade into relative obscurity. Judith, Esther, and the other biblical heroines, on the other hand, continue to shape men's advice about women's comportment over the next millennium.

Vincent de Beauvais' Educational Program for Women

Vincent de Beauvais' *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* was written sometime between 1246-1249 at the request of Marguerite de Provence (r. 1234-1270), wife of Louis IX (r. 1226-1270).⁵⁴ While no one in Agnès de Bourgogne's immediate family seems to have owned a

⁵² One of the few exceptions to this rule is Anna (Hannah), whose strictly maintained chastity was rewarded with the gift of prophecy (Ep. 79:10, as well as 79:2 and 127:2); I have omitted her from this discussion because, despite Jerome's interest in her, she disappears from didactic female *exempla* early and completely.

⁵³ It is instead *De virginibus* by St. Ambrose, Jerome's contemporary, that is more often cited by later pedagogues regarding the Virgin Mary's intellectual pursuits (Ambrose, *De virginibus* [Turnhout: Brepols, 2010]).

⁵⁴ In addition to consulting Rosemary Barton Tobin's 1984 monograph on women's education in Vincent's text, *Vincent de Beauvais' De eruditione filiorum nobilium': The Education of Women* (New York: Peter Land, 1984), for the text of the *De eruditione* itself, I have relied on Arpad Steiner's 1938 edition of the Latin: Vincent de Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, ed. Arpad Steiner (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1938). This text is also available online at

<http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.medievalacademy.org/resource/resmgr/maa_books_online/steiner_0032_bkmrkdpdf.pdf?hhSearchTerms=%22steiner%22> (consulted May 24, 2016). I also examined a 15th-century

vernacular translation, BnF fr. 9683. The microfilm is available online at

<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9058296r>> (consulted June 4, 2016). There is a modern edition of the text in a 1993 doctoral thesis by Frédérique Hamm, "La Traduction du '*De eruditione filiorum nobilium*' de Vincent de Beauvais par Jean Daudin" (Ph.D. Diss., École nationale des chartes, 1993), consulted on June 17, 2014.

Hamm does not discuss Vincent's ideas about girls' education, however (*ibid.*, xiiIn28).

copy of this work,⁵⁵ the impact of the author and of this particular text remains considerable. All three volumes of the vernacular translation of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum maius* (in French, the *Miroir historial*), for instance, comprised part of Jean sans Peur's library.⁵⁶ The *De eruditione*, furthermore, indirectly influenced Durand de Champagne's *Miroer des dames*, which also figured in her father's library (see below).⁵⁷ Keeping company with St. Louis' *Enseignemens pour sa fille*, the *De eruditione* is one of the earliest French conduct books to devote a considerable amount of space to the education of girls.

Vincent writes for both genders in the *De eruditione*, devoting the first forty-one chapters to princes' education and only the last ten to princesses' training, of which the latter chapters are relevant here. A comparison of Vincent's and Jerome's ideas on female pedagogy precedes analysis of Vincent's treatment of the same exemplary women we found in Jerome's epistles, with the exception of the Magdalene, whom Vincent omits. Sarah, wife of Abraham, and Rebecca augment the ranks of biblical women because they reappear in Durand's *Miroer* as well as in the *Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry*, examined below, and later in Christine de Pizan's *Cité de dames*, discussed in Chapter 2.⁵⁸ In comparison to Jerome, Vincent encourages far more limited activity and intellectual development in women, with even less

⁵⁵ A copy of De Vignay's French translation of *Le Livre de l'enseignement des enfans* is recorded in the 1467 inventory of Philippe le Bon's books, but it is unclear if this is the same text (Alain Boureau, "Vincent de Beauvais et les légendiers dominicains," in *Lector et compiler: Vincent de Beauvais, frère prêcheur: Un intellectuel et son milieu au XIII^e siècle*, ed. Serge Lusignan, Monique Paulmier-Foucart, and Marie-Christine Duchenne [Grâne: Créaphis, 1997], Item 942; Doutrepoint, *Littérature française*, 280).

⁵⁶ Bonost and de Templeuve, *Inventaire*, Items 149-151.

⁵⁷ In her thesis, "Durand of Champagne and the *Mirror of the Queen*: A Study in Medieval Didactic Literature," Catherine Mastny traces the influence of William Peraldus' *De eruditione principum* on Durand's *Miroer*. Peraldus, in turn, "in the fifth book [...] borrowed Vincent's plan, took over his references and in some cases even copied chapters" (Catherine Louise Mastny, "Durand of Champagne and the *Mirror of the Queen*: A Study in Medieval Didactic Literature" [Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1968], 91).

⁵⁸ Much like Anna the prophetess, Sarah, wife of Tobias, receives a substantial amount of attention from Vincent and other early didactic writers before losing relevance as authors shift their focus to preparing their female audience for marriage rather than the cloister. Despite her importance for Vincent's conception of chastity within marriage, therefore, I have chosen to omit her from discussion.

female engagement on the instructional level envisioned than in the precepts set forth by Jerome despite Vincent's reliance on imitation as the principal method by which the girls are to learn.⁵⁹

Vincent de Beauvais borrowed heavily from Jerome as well as other patristic sources when writing his treatise. Vincent's suggestions, however, reflect very little of Jerome's literary program; he seems to have been more inspired by Jerome's messages about chastity, virginity, and avoidance of secular temptations. Hence, while Vincent maintains the moralistic thread of Jerome's instructions for women, he does not set forth a comprehensive or strictly ordered reading program for women's edification. Vincent stipulates that once parents have assured their daughter's safe-keeping, they should also ensure that she be instructed in letters (and/or literature) and morals (*litteris imbuantur et moribus instruantur*).⁶⁰ If she is occupied with her reading, Vincent reasons, she will avoid both wicked thoughts and carnal desires.⁶¹ In this same chapter, the author cites successively Jerome's letters to Laeta and to Eustochium. From Ep. 107, we find the instructions concerning the creation of letter blocks out of wood or ivory for the child to play with⁶² as well as encouragement to prefer the contents of divine texts to gems, silks, and illuminations;⁶³ from Ep. 22, the exhortation to read frequently, to the point

⁵⁹ Although some few scholars have already devoted works to the question of the education of girls in Vincent's oeuvre, they are, on the whole, insufficient. Astrik L. Gabriel, who proposes that the *De eruditione* be treated as a (perhaps incomplete) fourth part of Vincent's *Speculum maius*, describes rather than analyzes the author's ideas in *The Educational Ideas of Vincent of Beauvais*, 2 ed. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962), especially 20-30, 40-44. Tobin generally contents herself with repeatedly insisting on the behavioral rather than intellectual focus of Vincent's pedagogical ideas (*Education of Women*, 6, 71, 117).

⁶⁰ "Interim autem, dum puella nobiles predicto modo parentum diligencia conseruantur, congruum est, ut litteris imbuantur et moribus instruantur," Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, 176. All further Latin from this edition is cited by page number.

⁶¹ "Litteris quidem eas imbui conuenit, ut huic honeste occupacioni frequenter intente noxias cogitaciones euitent et carnis uoluptates atque uanitates declinent," *ibid.*

⁶² "Fiant ei littere buxee uel eburnee...et ludat in eis, ut etiam ludus eius erudicio sit," 177.

⁶³ "Denique pro gemmis et serico tua diuinos codices amet uirgo, quibus non auri aut pellis babilionie immaculata pictura, sed ad fidem placeat emendata distinctio," *ibid.*

of falling asleep over the Scriptures, is borrowed.⁶⁴ Vincent does not, however, offer any additional details on which texts a girl is to read; his selective citations from Jerome allow him to bypass discussion of apocryphal works, or even difficult canonical texts like the Song of Songs.⁶⁵ His preoccupation seems to be with reading as an activity, a means to avoid idleness rather than to further one's education. He also repeats the injunction from Corinthians 14 that women are to remain silent in church, and that if they have questions, they should ask them of their husbands at home,⁶⁶ effectively minimizing their ability to participate in a public learned community.

Except for Laeta's supervision of Paula's upbringing, referenced in Ep. 107, mothers are afforded a very marginal role in the education of their children, male or female, in the *De eruditione*. Even when Vincent addresses the question of marriage, although allowing that one may marry in order to have children (*liberorum procreacio* [195]), he does not specify whether the mother is to teach her offspring. He rectifies this omission in the next chapter, albeit with a single sentence dedicated as much to the governance of a household as of children: a woman must love and teach her sons and daughters, have servants and maids who are disciplined, and discourage any behaviors in them that are disorderly or unchaste.⁶⁷ Yet again, however, the method of this instruction remains unclear.

One sentence in a later chapter has broader implications for the importance of women's role in education in general, and seems to reflect Agnès de Bourgogne's situation in her later

⁶⁴ "Crebrius [...] lege, quam plurima disce. Tenenti te codicem sompnus obrepat et cadentem faciem pagina sancta suscipiat," *ibid.*

⁶⁵ This is not to say that Vincent ignores the Song of Songs entirely, as the reference to virginity in Chapter 46 would indicate; he simply does not address the question of girls reading this text on their own as Jerome does.

⁶⁶ Citing from Ambrose's *De virginibus* "Nam si mulieres etiam de rebus diuinis iubentur in ecclesia tacere, domi uiros suis interrogare," 192. These lines come from I Cor. 14:34-35.

⁶⁷ "Tercium est familiam regere, sc. ut filios et filias, sicut docet apostolus *ad tytum*, secundum deum diligit et erudiat, famulos et ancillas disciplinatas habeat, nec aliquid inordinatum uel impudicum in eis sustinat," 202.

years: if a widow has sons or nephews, she should teach them first of all how to properly govern her house and reciprocate the care and service given to them, “which thing is accepted and approved by God.”⁶⁸ Although Vincent’s insistence here that widows teach their sons and nephews, with no mention of their daughters and nieces, might seem to diminish the widows’ power by handing responsibilities off to the nearest male relative, he not only acknowledges women’s capacity to instruct their family members, but also assumes that male offspring will raise no objections to learning from a woman. Vincent does, however, find a way to link this educational process with faith, the rightful domain of women. Indeed, in her article on women’s teaching role in the 12th and 13th centuries, Nicole Bériou remarks that “Jacques de Vitry [...] a réservé à ses sermons modèles aux femmes veuves (vers 1230), l’essentiel de ses conseils sur l’éducation religieuse des enfants [...] Une génération après Jacques de Vitry, la cause paraît entendue au point que beaucoup de prédicateurs se contentent, comme lui, d’allusions très brèves à la transmission de la foi par les femmes.”⁶⁹ Thus, for Vincent, if the widow has not taught her son or nephew to appreciate his friends and servants, she has failed to educate him as a proper Christian woman should.⁷⁰

Tobin’s analysis of *De eruditione*, then, appears to me to be right on the mark: “it seems that Vincent is rather more concerned with the effect [of a girl’s education and hence, her behavior] on others, i.e. parents, husbands, men in general, than he is with the effect upon the girl herself.”⁷¹ As such, her intellectual development by whatever means is of negligible

⁶⁸ “si qua [...] uidua filios aut nepotes habet, discat primo domum suam bene regere et mutuam uicem parentibus reddere. Hoc enim acceptum est coram deo,” 211.

⁶⁹ Nicole Bériou, “Femmes et prédicateurs: La transmission de la foi aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles,” in *La Religion de ma mère: Les femmes et la transmission de la foi*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 67-69.

⁷⁰ “Siquis autem suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet, fidem negauit et est infideli deterior,” 211.

⁷¹ Tobin, *Education of Women*, 73. Hamm also remarks that, “Si les idées pédagogiques de Vincent de Beauvais ont été bien étudiées, il reste à démontrer leur impact sur les enfants royaux dont elles guident l’éducation et qui ne semblent pas toujours les mettre à profit!” (Hamm, “Traduction du ‘*De eruditione*’,” LXXIIIn176).

interest to Vincent de Beauvais. Her comportment, however, remains very much a concern. Vincent has made sure, therefore, to provide a number of biblical examples on which a daughter might model her behavior. Juanita Feros Ruys notes that not only does Vincent provide scripture-based behavioral paradigms for girls to follow, but that his doing so marks a radical departure from the section of the treatise devoted to boys, in which “Vincent instructs through *auctoritas* and precept, criticizing the acquisition of knowledge through experience. In the latter part of the treatise [...] [t]he exemplary mode becomes far more explicit.”⁷² It is unclear, however, if Ruys interprets the presence of *exempla* as equivalent to explicit instructions to emulate these models of behavior; Vincent does not always clarify for whom his exemplary women are meant. For instance, where Jerome strongly suggests Mary as a model for Paula, as in Ep. 107, “*imitetur Mariam*,” Vincent gives no indication of how girls are to learn from Rebecca when he employs the passive *habetur exemplum*, “there is an example” (193). A similar discrepancy can be seen between Jerome’s assertion that Laeta “*te rudis miretur infantia*,” which situates teaching and learning in the act of mirroring and imitation,⁷³ while Vincent employs the verbs *docere* (teach, instruct) and *discere* (learn)⁷⁴ without any further nuance or commentary.⁷⁵ These differences reinforce the reader’s impression of Vincent’s text as a theoretical compendium of prescriptive moral behavior rather than a practical manual for teaching young aristocratic girls anything useful to their future lives at court.

⁷² Juanita Feros Ruys, “Didactic ‘I’s and the Voice of Experience in Advice from Medieval and Early-Modern Parents to Their Children,” in *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 129-62, 142.

⁷³ Cf. n. 24.

⁷⁴ *doceo, docere, docui, doctum* <<http://latin.campus.nd.edu/cgi-bin/lookup.pl?stem=doce&ending=>>> (consulted May 25, 2016); *disco, discere, didici*, definition in John F. Collins, *A Primer of Ecclesiastical Latin* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1985).

⁷⁵ See n. 88, for instance.

Vincent's Use of Female Exempla

Vincent de Beauvais relies extensively, though not exclusively, on Jerome's epistles as a source of advice on raising daughters. This means that at times, his *exempla* are in fact the same as Jerome's; on other occasions, he cites directly from Scripture, or from the writings of Ambrose and Augustine. Since his educational concerns differ in focus from Jerome's, directed as they are toward shaping a girl's behavior rather than both conduct and intellect,⁷⁶ it seems pertinent to determine if a different focus is reflected in his presentation of exemplary women as well. In fact, we will see that he severely circumscribes acceptable female movements, leaving ladies little reason to ever leave the domestic sphere.

Judith is first mentioned during Vincent's discussion of women attracting glances from men; she is not exactly the central character, however; Holofernes is. Vincent states only, "sicut holofernes statim captus est in oculis iudith" (186), that Judith's beauty ensnared Holofernes—not that Judith actively beheaded him, or that she took any action at all. While we saw Judith scorning exterior adornment in favor of "outward shabbiness" (*habitu lugubri sordidatam*) in Jerome's Ep. 54 to Furia, here, she takes care with her appearance, though not with an eye toward attracting worldly attention: "we read in Judith [Chapter] 10 that she adorned herself with all her ornaments, and Our Lord imbued her with splendor, *because the whole ensemble depended not on carnality, but on virtue*. For this, Our Lord multiplied her comeliness so that she appeared to all eyes incomparably beautiful."⁷⁷ In contrasting Judith's ornamentation and pure intentions with those of modern-day ladies who paint their faces and dye their hair to

⁷⁶ In Chapter 4 of her monograph, Tobin analyzes Vincent's citation from Ecclesiastes 7:26, "Fili tibi sunt? serva corpus earum et non ostendas hyllarem faciem tuam ad illas," arguing that his educational goals for girls primarily concerned having "their vanity controlled and their bodies guarded" (*Education of Women*, 71).

⁷⁷ "legitur de iudith in libro suo x, videl. quod omnibus ornamentis suis ornauit se, cui et dominus splendorem contulit, quoniam omnis hec conposicio *non ex libidine sed ex uirtute pendeat*. Ideoque dominus hanc in illa pulcritudinem ampliauit, ut incomparabili decore omnium oculis appareret," 202; my emphasis.

disguise their ugliness and attract men's attention, Vincent reaffirms both the gratuitous nature of most ornamentation and the dangers that the outside world poses to women's souls. Furthermore, Vincent's fashioning of Judith into solely an object of visual consumption renders her more passive than the Judith of Jerome's letters. Vincent's Judith is therefore less physically threatening to the male order, since her beheading of Holofernes goes unmentioned. In fact, she embodies virtue, as evidenced by God's augmentation of her beauty, although she is also more dangerous according to Vincent's logic, where being seen (and judged)—especially as a potential temptress—is so crucial to a girl's reputation.

Esther, on the other hand, is described in the *De eruditione* as a woman who dresses modestly out of an appropriate sense of humility.⁷⁸ Vincent even allows her to give voice to her humility in Chapter 14 of the *Book of Esther*: “You [Lord] know my necessity,” Esther says, “that I abhor the sign of my proud position, which is upon my head on the days when I appear in public. I abhor it like a filthy rag, and I do not wear it on the days when I am at leisure.”⁷⁹ This citation does not appear in Jerome's epistles, where Esther was humble *in spite of* her ostentatious garments, not because she actively chose to replace them with plainer garb whenever possible. Furthermore, the power that stemmed from Esther's humility in Jerome's writing has vanished here; Esther's rejection of ornamentation affects only herself and affords

⁷⁸ “muliebrem cultum non quesivit, sed que voluit ab egeo ad ornatum accepti,” 202.

⁷⁹ “Tu scis, domine necessitate meam quod abominer signum superbie et glorie mee quod est super caput meum in diebus ostentacionis meae et detester illud quasi pannum menstruate et non portem in diebus silencij mei,” *ibid.* The text, cited by Vincent as Ch. 13, is in fact from Ch. 14:44. The accepted canon for the Book of Esther ends at Ch. 10. Ch. 14 is part of the Apocrypha, a discussion of which can be found in Martin Goodman, John Barton, and John Muddiman, eds., *The Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 40-41. These pages can also be found online at <http://books.google.fr/books?id=_kce6K9-GZgC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> (consulted June 4, 2016). This English translation is taken from the New Revised Standard with Apocrypha, which can be found online at <<http://www.biblestudytools.com/nrsa/additions-to-esther/4.html>> (consulted June 4, 2016).

her no authority over others. This is quite in keeping with Vincent's opinion that girls should be pious and passive.

The final holdover of positive examples from Jerome's letters is the Virgin Mary, first introduced by way of a citation of Jerome's etymology of "virgin" in Ep. 22 to Eustochium.⁸⁰ Immediately thereafter, citations from Jerome⁸¹ and Ambrose⁸² propose the Virgin as a model of seclusion. Unsurprisingly, the Virgin's travels, which were praised to Marcella in Ep. 46, receive no mention.

Vincent brings both Mary's virginity and humility to the forefront in two different citations—from St. Bernard's exegesis of the Song of Songs and from his homily, *Super missus est*—and concludes that it was as much for her humility as for her virginity that the Lord looked upon her.⁸³ Vincent includes the story of Mary humbling herself before St. Elizabeth, though he offers it as a lesson less in absolute humility than in respecting one's elders.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Mary Magdalene, who was praised by Jerome for her contrition as well as her interest in Christ's teachings, receives no mention by Vincent. Given her traditionally ascribed levels of intellectual and physical activity, her absence is not entirely surprising.

⁸¹ Cf. n. 19.

⁸² "unde ambrosius *super lucam* libro I: 'Ingressus est, inquit, ad eam angelus, quia solam, sc. quam nullus adiret virorum ... repperit in penetralibus...Hinc et turbata est in sermone illius. Trepidare namque uirginum est et ad omnes ingressus pauere uiri, omnesque uirorum afflatus uereri. Discant ergo mulieres propositum pudoris imitari...disce, uirgo, uerborum uitare lasciuiam. Maria eciam uerebatur angeli salutationem...Et post conceptum abiit cum festinatione in montana,...quia nescit tarda molimina spiritus sancti gracia. Hinc etiam discite, uos, sancte mulieres,...non circumcurrere per domos alienas, non in plateis morari, non aliquos in publico miscere sermones. Maria siquidem in domo sera, in publico festina, denique mansit apud helyzabeth...tribus mensibus, non quia domus eam aliena delectaret, sed quia frequenter in public uideri displiceret," 175.

⁸³ "in beata uirgine maria respexit dominus humilitatem potius quam uirginitatem. unde in *cantico canticorum* ii dicitur in persona ipsius, sicut exponit beatus bernardus: 'Cum esset,' inquit, 'rex in accubitu suo, nardus mea dedit odorem suum. Nardus siquidem herba humilis est et pectus purgat. unde manifeste humilitatem designat cuius odor et decor inuenit gratiam apud deum.' Hec bernardu. Hinc etiam idem dicit *super missus est* omelia i: 'Si humilis uirgo maria non fuisset, super eam spiritus sanctus nequaquam requieuisset," 190-91.

⁸⁴ He cites Ambrose's *Super lucam*, book 2: "o uirginis, marie pudorem, discite et humilitatem...Junior ad seniore—maria sc. helyzabeth—uenit...et prior illam salutauit," 191. In Ch. 50, Vincent cites St. Augustine, who compares Mary to Suzanna, indicating that although Suzanna's chastity within marriage was great, the chastity of widows—and above all of virgins—is more praiseworthy: "sicut dicit augustinus in libro *de bono coniugali*, 'bonum quidem susanne in coniugali castitate laudamus, sed tamen ei bonum anne uidue ac multo magis uirginis marie anteponimus," 208.

In addition to those qualities lauded by Jerome, Vincent provides an extended passage on the virtues of the Virgin's silence, including citations from Bede's *De dominica natiuitate* and an extended quote from Bernard's *In Dominica infra Octavam Assumptionis B. V. Mariae*, firmly rounding out the image of the ideal maiden as one who sits quietly in her room avoiding all interaction with others.⁸⁵

However, in a citation from Ambrose's *De virginibus*, Vincent indicates that the Virgin was "grave in speech, prudent in mind [...] studious in reading [...] and] modest in discourse," among other graces.⁸⁶ Evidently, Mary concentrated not simply on works and motherhood, but also on her intellect. So although she remains primarily a figure who shuns worldly institutions and honors and avoids excessive speech, any girl taught according to the principals of the *De eruditione* will take away the lesson that reading falls within the range of a woman's acceptable pastimes.

Among the biblical women referenced by Vincent but not Jerome, we find Sarah, wife of Abraham. Vincent introduces her with both Scriptural and patristic citations: 1 Peter 3 and St. Ambrose's *De Abraham*.⁸⁷ The first reference "sara obediebat abrahe dominum eum uocans" (198) establishes Sarah's status as an obedient wife, acknowledging her husband's authority. In the second, Vincent cites the following passage: "The angel came into Abraham's house and asked him, 'Where is your wife Sarah?' He asked this not because he did not know but in order to teach us what modesty women should have, so that they do not importunately present themselves before the eyes of their guests, but perform their ministrations with safe

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 204-5.

⁸⁶ "corde humilis, uerbis grauis, animo prudens, loquendi pericior, legend studiosior, non in incerto diuiciarum, sed in prece pauperis spem reponens; intenta opera, uerecunda sermoni, arbitrum mentis non hominem sed deum querens," 194.

⁸⁷ This is one of Ambrose's homiletic commentaries on the Old Testament. An e-book edition of *De Abraham* was recently released by Brepols: Ambrose, *De Abraham* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

reverence.”⁸⁸ That is, women should hide themselves away so as not to unexpectedly arouse the lust of any men who might otherwise have to interact with them. Sarah supports the model of shy, retiring femininity embodied by the Virgin Mary, though without any evidence of the intellectual capacities afforded to the Mother of God. Likewise, Rebecca, who appears twice in rapid succession in a single chapter, demonstrates only the degree of modesty to which girls should aspire.⁸⁹

As in Jerome’s epistles, Dinah once again provides a negative example in the *De eruditione*. According to Vincent, Dinah “went out in order to see the foreign women, and on that occasion was corrupted by Sychem, son of Emor.”⁹⁰ There seems to be a slight difference of opinion, however, concerning the degree to which Dinah is at fault. In his letter to Eustochium, Jerome summarized the episode in three words: “Dina egressa corrumpitur.”⁹¹ The Vulgate, on the other hand, reads “[1] egressa est autem Dina filia Liae ut videret mulieres regionis illius [2] quam cum vidisset Sychem filius Emor Evei princeps terrae illius adamavit et rapuit et dormivit cum illa vi opprimens virginem,” firmly placing the blame for her rape on Sychem. Vincent’s phrasing, “a sychem [...] corrupta est,” magnifies Dinah’s role in her downfall compared to the Vulgate, in that he still considers her despoiled, but Vincent has specified the agent of her corruption where Jerome’s epistle had not. Vincent’s phrasing of the

⁸⁸ “Angelus in domum abraham introductus quesivit ab eo, ‘ubi est sara uxor tua?’ nec ignorans hoc quesivit, sed quantus debeat esse pudor feminarem, docere nos uoluit, ne sc. procaci occursu eciam hospitem in se oculos inflectant, sed salua reuerencia ministerium suum exerceant,” 205-06.

⁸⁹ “On the shame of the face and the eyes, there is an example in Genesis 25 on Rebecca: ‘When she saw Isaac, taking up her scarf, she quickly covered herself’ teaching, as Ambrose said in *De sancto Abraham*, that ‘Modesty should precede nuptials [...] since once Rebecca was betrothed, it is believed that she still covered her head when seen by her husband’ [De uerecundia uultus et oculorum habetur exemplum in rebecca *genesis* xxv: ‘Que conspecto ysaac tollens pallium cito operuit se,’ docens, ut dicit ambrosius in libro *de sancto abraham*, ‘debere nupciis uerecundiam preire [...] cum rebecca licet iam desponsata fuerit, maritum tamen operto capite uidendum putauerit’], 193. Rebecca’s story and this citation in particular are currently found in Genesis 24:65.

⁹⁰ “ut uideret mulieres regionis, egressa est et hac occasione a sychem, filio emor, corrupta est,” 174-75. Genesis 34. Vincent also cites Jerome’s Ep. 107 (cf. n. 51).

⁹¹ Jerome, *Select Letters*, Ep. 22:25, 108.

consequences of Dinah's outing partially shifts the blame from her to Sychem, rendering her a victim of circumstance. Dinah's predicament nevertheless proves the wisdom inherent in Vincent's suggestion that young women should eschew experience and remain safely secluded at home.

Despite the greater variety of biblical exempla provided in the *De eruditione*, all of Vincent's positive models, with the exception of the Virgin Mary, wield less power than those in Jerome's epistles. Judith's righteous violence is suppressed in favor of objectifying her for the male gaze, while Esther's humility is no longer a means to an end, but an end in and of itself. Mary Magdalene is conspicuously absent, while Sarah and Rachel confirm the reader's impression that Vincent values primarily passive virtues for women as well as their withdrawal from the world. Nonetheless, Vincent places greater emphasis on the Virgin Mary's literacy than Jerome, even though reading as a method of acquiring knowledge receives substantially less attention overall in the relevant chapters of the *De eruditione*.

Durand de Champagne's Ideas on Women's Education

Composed approximately 15 years after Vincent's *De eruditione*, Durand de Champagne's *Miroer des dames* was originally written in Latin under the title *Speculum dominarum* for Jeanne de Navarre (queen of Navarre 1274-1305, queen of France 1285-1305), wife of Philippe IV le Bel (r. 1285-1314).⁹² This work differs from the other manuals analyzed

⁹² Mastny, "*Mirror of the Queen*," Ch. 2. Although the original text was in Latin, I have based my analysis on the anonymous French translation, a 14th-century partial copy of which figured among the books owned by Agnès' father, still extant today as KBR ms. 11203-04, ff. 1-53v. For information on the various anonymous translations, see Mastny, *ibid.*, 123-29. Based on the coats of arms underneath the dedicatory miniature of the oldest extant manuscript, Corpus Christi Library ms. 324, she indicates that the translation, written for Jeanne d'Evreux, dates to 1324-28, though this date is contested (see n. 112); for more on this manuscript, as well as a digitized copy, see

<http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=324> (consulted June 4, 2016). It is impossible to determine whether or not Durand was its translator (Mastny,

in this chapter in that it was not conceived with the education of young girls in mind. Thus, while the title deliberately evokes the generic tradition of the *miroirs de princes*, guidebooks on the comportment appropriate to the *future* heads of the aristocracy and the realm,⁹³ the *Miroer* was written as a reflection on qualities of the ideal queen.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Durand devotes a great deal of space to the sort of wisdom a queen ought to possess and how she should acquire it, implicitly encouraging the attentive reader to piece together her own educational philosophy for women. Likewise, in comparison to Vincent, Durand's use of exemplary women paints a much expanded picture of the various types of comportment a noble lady was expected to master.

“*Mirror of the Queen*,” 124-27). See also the ARLIMA pages on Durand's *Speculum dominarum* (<http://www.arlima.net/ad/durand_de_champagne.html> [consulted June 4, 2016]) and the anonymous French translation (<http://www.arlima.net/mp/miroir_des_dames1.html> [consulted June 4, 2016], as well as Bousmanne, Johan, and Van Hoorebeeck, *LDB II*, 243-50).

Mastny notes the folios on which the text of the translation in BnF fr. 610 differs notably from the Latin version (128). Given that both Jean sans Peur and Agnès' mother-in-law, Marie de Berry, owned copies in the vernacular, however, I have not addressed these differences.

Jean sans Peur's copy is listed as Item 166 in the 1420 inventory: “ung autre livre nommé le Livre du mirouer aux dames, couvert de cuir vermeil, commençant au I^ee fueillet *Le souverain roy*, et ou derrenier *Les dessus-dites*,” (Bonost and de Templeuve, *Inventaire*, p. 109). Another copy of the French translation, belonging to Marie de Berry, BL Add. 29986, is also only available for limited consultation, and the digital reproduction did not arrive in time to be integrated into this discussion. As there is no modern edition of the *Miroer des dames*, since the Brussels copy is drastically abbreviated, and since I did not discover until too late that the older Corpus Christi manuscript had been digitized, the bulk of my analysis is based on BnF fr. 610. At only 53 folios, which correspond roughly to f. 1-40v of BnF fr. 610, KBR ms. 11203-04 does not contain all three books, as does BnF fr. 610; it therefore cannot support my interpretations of the later portions of the *Miroer*. On the occasion of a significant difference in sense and order between BnF fr. 610 and KBR ms. 11203-04, the relevant passage from KBR ms. 11203-04 will be cited in the text and accompanied by a brief comparative analysis; more extensive analysis of the KBR text can be found in Appendix A. BnF fr. 610 can be consulted at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105090701.r=miroer%20des%20dames>> (consulted June 4, 2016).

⁹³ On the establishment and continuity of the genre, see Jacques Krynen, *L'Empire du roi: Idées et croyances politiques en France XIII^e-XV^e siècle* ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1993), 170-239.

⁹⁴ “Rather than making generalizations from the queen's actual activities, [Durand] set out to discover the role God had ordained her to play in the world order” (Mastny, “*Mirror of the Queen*,” 95). Mastny further observes that “Unlike many previous authors, notably William Peraldus and Vincent of Beauvais, Durand did not deal with questions concerning the upbringing of children. His omissions, however, suggest that rather than underestimating this part of the queenly role, the author of the *Speculum dominarum* took it for granted” (*ibid.*, 106).

One of the queen's primary duties according to the *Miroer des dames* is to present a model from which others may learn, an inspiration to a greater love of God: "Et ainsi en alant par le royaume et par le país *elle ne monstre pas exemple d'orgueil ne de vanité* ne soit cause a aultruy de turbacion [...] Maiz *soient toutes personnes [...] bien edifie[es]* en tel maniere que de sa venue il soient esmeus a Dieu plus amer" (I §10, f. 14).⁹⁵ The queen is warned not to display bad behavior and furthermore *by her exemplary comportment* to edify those around her. In according the queen the responsibility of exemplarity, Durand casts her in the role of teacher, which duty he reminds her of throughout the text: "cil qui la [royne] regardent non mie seulement comme femme mes en li *exxemple* de sainte [13] fourme, de bonnes meurs, mirouer de honnesteté" (I §8, f. 12vb-13),⁹⁶ and "noble dame doit sa maison edifier par bonnes parolles et *par exemples*" (VI §2, f. 125vb). The queen, constantly under observation, must embody behaviors which will benefit any person, whether subject or member of her household, who imitates her. Surely, these recommendations would have left Agnès de Bourgogne quite conscious of her effect on others.

Before a queen may teach her children, however, she herself must learn by reading and reflecting on *exempla*. In Book I, Durand employs the verb "estudier" on several occasions with regards to a queen making herself beloved of her people, keeping her soul pure, and honoring others properly (I §16, f. 21v; §17, f. 22b; and §18, f. 22b, respectively);⁹⁷ let her also "luyse et oÿe paroles et exemples appartenans a bonne [29vb] information et edification et espirituelle consolation a ceste fin que *par livre et par docteur* elle soit enseignee" (III §Prol., f. 29v-29vb).⁹⁸ "Item sapience est acquise par *estudier* et par *lire* lez sains livres et la sainte

⁹⁵ KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 16v.

⁹⁶ KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 16v.

⁹⁷ KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 27v for the first reference, and f. 28v for the latter two.

⁹⁸ KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 37v.

doctrine de la sainte escripture et lez sains ensengnemens des sains docteurs” (V §19, f. 113b). Following tradition, Durand recommends Scripture, theology, and patristic writings as acceptable reading material. Nowhere else does he specify what women should—or, as we will see in certain others’ works, should not—read. He does, however, privilege the visual, written word over oral transmission as a better method for retaining knowledge and for finding new information: “es livres peult on trouver et trouve l’en tel chose que on n’a pas aultre fois ouïe. [...] On est plus certain de ce que l’en voit que de ce que l’en oït dire car la parolle ouïe passe, la lettre escripte demeure.”⁹⁹ The extensive libraries of Burgundy and Moulins to which Agnès would have had access certainly testify to this precept’s popularity with her and her family.

As for the queen herself, Durand suggests that while recalling the various graces of the martyrs, confessors, virgins, and other holy persons, her soul should paint for itself a picture of the saints and their virtues, which, in association with their remembered acts and graces, will inspire her to devote herself to following in their footsteps:

Ame devote doit donc en la maison de sa conscience prendre gracieusement et avoir en vive memore sans oublier *l’image* de la Vierge Marie et dez sains. C’est assavoir leur[s] bontés et leur[s] perfections, la foy dez petriarches, l’esperance dez prophetes, des apostres, la fervent charité dez martirs, la constance et la pacience dez confesseurs, l’auctorité et dez vierges et aultres saintes dames, la purté, la chasteté et la continence. Et est assavoir lors que l’ame devote *lez ymages* dez sains et dez saintes *pains a soy mesmes* quant en recitant lez bontés et les merites s’esforce et *s’estudie* a eulx ensuir et *ressembler*. Et ceste ressemblance fait moult a la beaulté de l’ame.
(VI §12, f. 136vb)

This citation combines multiple sites of intellectual exercise and imitation. The first centers on a mental image of Mary and saints of both sexes, demanding that the queen enter an almost meditative state as she recites the various graces of diverse groups of saints, all of whom should

⁹⁹ V §19, f. 113v. He says essentially the same thing on f. 113r: “moult mieulx vault en sainte doctrine estudier que ne fait oïr. Car nostre memoire oublie [*repeated*] legerement et ce qui est escript es livres y demeure longuement.”

be present in that imagined picture (which might well have accorded with contemporary illuminations of All Saints' Day).¹⁰⁰ In her book, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*, Mary Carruthers examines in depth the various, sometimes contentious roles mental pictures played in personal piety,¹⁰¹ including *enargeia* as described by the *Miroer* passage:

[I]n his commentary on Ezekiel, Jerome spoke of **painting in our hearts** the images that the text caused us to see. Clearly this idiom, (*de*)*pingere in corde nostro*, derived from the common rhetorical trope of *enargeia* and its emphasis upon **experiencing**, '**seeing**' what one is reading. *Painting in corde*, of course, is the emotionally engaged work of making memory images.¹⁰²

The insistence on the visual nature of the queen's memory in the *Miroer* is reinforced by the verb *paindre*, while image, word, and action are inextricably linked: "lez ymages [...] pains [...] quant en recitant [...] l'ame] s'esforce et s'estudie a eulx ensuir et ressembler." For Durand's queen, reading was not just a mental exercise; rather, the saints were to be as real and emulable as any embodied person.¹⁰³

Several additional details from this passage are worthy of note, first among which is the absence of Christ, despite the presence of male saints in the form of Patriarchs, prophets, Apostles, martyrs, and confessors. Rather, it is the Virgin Mary who acts as the focal point for the exercise, perhaps to invite stronger identification by the female reader. Likewise, among

¹⁰⁰ During Agnès' childhood, such an image might look like the one found in BnF fr. 242, f. 245 <<http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=08426005&E=505&I=27841&M=imageseu>> (consulted June 4, 2016).

¹⁰¹ Contentious because of the risk of mental images functioning as idols rather than aids to proper devotion (Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], 134). On the shift in thought on images and lay devotion that accompanied the rise of individual, illuminated prayer books, see Sixten Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotion: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Private Piety," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 73 (1969): 164-66.

¹⁰² Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 133; my emphasis.

¹⁰³ Kimberly A. Rivers devotes a chapter to the theological justifications for the inclusion of images in preaching, including Bonaventura's assertion that the soul is stirred to greater emotion by images seen than by words heard (*Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* [Turnhout: Brepols, 2010], 189 and Ch. 5 more generally).

the traits on which the audience is to meditate is the “authority of the virgins and other saintly ladies,” which accords women an unexpected amount of influence. It is unclear in what sense Durand intends this authority, however—as it relates to virgins, it could be a sort of bodily-based autonomy, in their freedom from societal constraints related to marriage and reproduction. If one calls to mind St. Catherine of Alexandria,¹⁰⁴ on the other hand, it could also evoke intellectual authority founded on God-given knowledge just as much as on the royal lady’s own learning, both of which contribute to the “beauty of the soul” that she is offering up to God. In either case, it is clear that Durand is catering to the female reader with his emphasis on the powerful feminine saints.

In addition to the Christian saints, biblical women of the Old Testament are presented as edifying examples for the noble lady to pattern herself after, as when Durand references Raguel and his wife, who taught their daughter Sarah, wife of Tobias: “Raguel et sa femme enseignerent Sarre leur fille [...] Ilz l’enseignerent [...] sa mesgnie et son hostel gouverner.”¹⁰⁵ Sarah’s mother is jointly responsible for teaching Sarah social and practical skills for governing her household, which skills are necessary for the queen (and Agnès) to know and to pass on to her own daughters. As a general rule, Durand believes that women should know their Old and New Testaments, so that they always have an appropriate example to call to mind: “il appartiend

¹⁰⁴ St. Catherine of Alexandria was martyred after, among other demonstrations of faith, debating so successfully with 50 pagan philosophers as to convert them to Christianity. She is known and celebrated for her intellectual acumen as much as for her gruesome death. See Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis, eds., *St. Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

¹⁰⁵ VI §2, f. 125vb. Since this example is located in the middle of a series of chapters devoted to a woman’s four houses that she needs to establish and keep in good running order—her outer house (which is to say, her actual physical household), her inner spiritual house, the house above (heaven), and the house below (hell)—, there is often some ambiguity as to whether Durand is truly encouraging women to take such an active role in maintaining their earthly households. Sharon Farmer’s assessment of this same example as used by a 13th-century preacher to determine the responsibilities of a wife implies that women were, in fact, expected to play a substantial role in maintaining the moral behavior of members of their earthly households (*Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002], 112).

a bonne dame qu'elle ait souvenance *dez beaulx fais et oeuvres dignes de louenge dez bonnes dames* desquelles parle la sainte Scripture ou Viel et ou Nouvel Testament” (IV §14, f. 77b; my emphasis).

Learning by doing, on the other hand, receives little attention. Durand acknowledges that experience informs our understanding of the world, as indicated by his repeated claim that “nous vëons par experience.”¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, when encouraging the queen to listen to her (ostensibly male) counsellors, Durand’s argument in favor of their advice is based on *their* experience: “elle doit juger qu’elle n’y voit pas plus clerement que lez autres *qui mout ont veu et esprouvé*” (III §Prol., f. 32; my emphasis).¹⁰⁷ Practical acquisition of knowledge serves both sexes equally well. The author does not, however, emphasize practice as a method of acquiring knowledge as Jerome does in the case of Paula’s writing.

Nevertheless, the *Miroer des dames* also contains an extended treatment of *sapience* acquired through experience as well as from texts, and its importance for noble ladies. Durand devotes several chapters to prudence and intelligence, in which he elucidates his idea about which essentials should comprise a woman’s education.¹⁰⁸ He writes, for example, that “la seconde partie de prudence que doit avoir noble et saige dame est memoire des choses passees” (IV §14, f. 75vb)—essentially a re-casting of his earlier advice that ladies must take their

¹⁰⁶ III §9, f. 46vb and IV §32, f. 99vb; III §12, f. 55v, “ceste esperance [de repentir avant la mort de l’esperance d’acquerrir honneurs et richesce] est tres vaine, tres fausse et plaine d’erreur et de deception, car elle est contre Dieu, contre rayson, contre experience si comme il appert par experience clerement et cuidamment a ceulx qui y veulent penser;” IV §32, f. 97v, “vëons nous par experience;” V §8, f. 108vb, “ce appert par experience.” Another particularly interesting example of Durand’s understanding of the difference between words and experience occurs during his discussion of childbirth, where he says, “Dieu luy [à Eve] dit, tu enfenteras tes enfans a doulour. Ceste doulour sentent elles [les femmes] plus par experience *que ne pourroit exprimer nostre loquence*” (I §7, f. 11v; KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 13; my emphasis).

¹⁰⁷ KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 41.

¹⁰⁸ For an excellent discussion of the important distinction between *prudence* and *engin* in late medieval French vernacular texts, see Gretchen V. Angelo, “Creating a Masculine Vernacular: The Strategy of Misogyny in Late Medieval French Texts,” in *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity*, ed. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 85-98.

experienced advisors' counsel into account rather than act solely of their own accord. That is, this *memoire des choses passees* includes events from a lady's own life as well as those from others' lives and *exempla*—these experiences, even if they are others' experiences, expose the likely consequences of various courses of action, reinforcing the importance of examples in teaching appropriate behavior. Nor should aristocrats claim ignorance as an excuse for inaction or to claim they have not sinned; if they become aware of crimes taking place, says Durand, they are obligated to investigate.¹⁰⁹ The exercise of intellect in terms of memory of past events and essential texts, their relationship to her life, and proper application of judgment (such as knowing where and when to inquire further) is essential to a queen's governance of court and self. The importance of *prudence* surfaces repeatedly in the works comprising Agnès' library, such as Christine's *Livre de la cité des dames*¹¹⁰ and Jean Gerson's *Traitié des diverses temptacions*,¹¹¹ indicating that she took this lesson to heart.

Elsewhere, we find evidence that women's education included some Latin:¹¹² "Et pourtant dit et chante sainte esglise a l'onnour de la Vierge Marie *Salve regina. Sequitur et*

¹⁰⁹ IV §18, f. 82, "car ilz doivent de [semblables rapines et extorcions] enquerir."

¹¹⁰ Karen Green explains the influence on Christine de Pizan of the Aristotelian tradition of prudence, or *phronesis*, which includes as its first part remembrance of things past ("*Phronesis* Feminised: Prudence from Christine de Pizan to Elizabeth I," in *Virtue, Liberty, and Toleration. Political Ideas of European Women, 1400-1800*, ed. Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green [Dordrecht: Springer, 2007], 23-38, especially 24-25). For additional discussion of Christine's *prudence* as distinct from the modern moral conception of prudence, see Karen Green, "On Translating Christine as a Philosopher," in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 117-37.

¹¹¹ Found in BnF fr. 1793. See my Chapter 4, 216-17.

¹¹² According to Mastny, the *Miroer des dames* was translated from Latin into French between 1324 and 1328, about a quarter of a century after its initial composition (Mastny, "*Mirror of the Queen*," 127). In personal correspondence with Laurent Brun (webmaster for ARLIMA), however, he has expressed his reservations about pushing the date of the translation back that far; likewise, the *Dictionnaire de lettres françaises* (hereafter *DLF*) entry on Durand asserts that Jeanne de Navarre commissioned the translation (Geneviève Hasenohr and Michel Zink, eds., *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Âge*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 394). All are agreed that the vernacular version was more popular than the Latin original or retranslation from Old French to Latin by Blasius Andernarius in the 14th century; there is also only one extant manuscript of the latter (Mastny, "*Mirror of the Queen*," 129). It is somewhat surprising that Durand presented Jeanne de Navarre with a work in Latin, as the other two works tied to her name (as commissioner of Jean de Joinville's *Vie de saint Louis* and dedicatee of Girart d'Amiens' *Contes de Meliacin*) were in Old French (<<http://www.arlima.net/commdedic.html#lj>> [consulted June 4, 2016]). On the other hand, Durand's second

spes nostra salue” (IV §5, f. 70b). In both of the manuscripts (BnF fr. 610 and KBR ms. 11203-204) consulted, every other instance of Latin—be it a citation from Proverbs or a Church Father—is immediately followed by a literal or expanded translation in French and accompanying explanation of the text. The inclusion of this untranslated prayer incipit implies not only women’s memorization of such liturgical Latin hymns or prayers, but also the assumption on the part of the translator that the female reader understands the prayer’s meaning well enough to relate its contents to the passage she has just read—in this case, a discussion on suffrage and trusting one’s welfare to the saints.

Several further instances in the text demonstrate an expectation on Durand’s part of critical thinking skills and discretion from his audience. Whereas Jerome primarily concentrated on discernment with regards to women’s interactions with texts, Durand anticipates his queen employing good judgment in a variety of courtly circumstances. For instance, in the midst of a discussion on moderation, we read: “Et combien que toutes personnes doivent estre sobres et abstinens, singulierement il appartient a prince, soit homme soit femme, et plus a haulte dame a la fin que ilz puissent tousjours user de raison et a chascun respondre saigement si comme il appartient” (IV §23, f. 85vb). While everyone should exercise temperance, aristocrats are singularly required to be reasonable and measured in their interactions with others of a variety of ranks and political importance, necessitating expeditious, accurate assessment of all factors within every conversation. One of the ways to cultivate this skilled appraisal and *prudence* is by developing the ability to make inferences, understanding the larger picture from details and vice-versa: “Des petites choses il [le prince

known work, the *Summa collectionem pro confessionibus audiendis*, is also in Latin; it is possible that the queen could read or understand Latin, or that Durand composed the *Speculum dominarum* not with the intent that his queen actually read it, but that it be mediated to her through himself or other erudite men.

ou la princesse] vient a congnoistre lez grans et de la congnoissance des parties il vient a congnoistre le tout.”¹¹³ Like Jerome, the author expects his queen to develop insight and discerning judgment: “tu dois savoir quelles choses ont de bonté apparence et toutesvoies ne sont pas bonnes et quieux choses sont bonnes combien qu’elles n’apparent mie estre bonnes” (IV §13, f. 75v).

In her thesis, “Durand of Champagne and the *Mirror of the Queen*: A Study in Medieval Didactic Literature,” Catherine Mastny observes that, “[Durand] recommended reading as an agreeable pastime, but cautioned against excessive reliance upon formal knowledge as a means of self-improvement.”¹¹⁴ While it is true that reading comprises a rather minimal part of Durand’s educational philosophy for women, Durand heartily encouraged self-improvement and edification in both the practical and spiritual spheres, even going so far as to chastise aristocrats if they chose not to make an effort to rectify their ignorance. He also places a great deal of emphasis on the importance of imitation as the method through which a queen both learns and teaches. Although Durand was exposed to Vincent’s precepts in the *De eruditione* through William Peraldus’ *De eruditione principum*,¹¹⁵ his insistence on women’s extensive education (within the limits prescribed by Christian morality, of course) and modeling practices, some of which necessitate worldly interactions, seems more in line with Jerome’s philosophy than that of Durand’s more recent predecessor, Vincent de Beauvais.

¹¹³ IV §13, f. 75b. Durand cites Macrobius, “Prudence [...] n’est aultre chose que toutes choses que tu penses, dis ou suis adrecher selon la rigle de raison. Et que tu ne faces ne ne veulles chose qui ne soit droicte et raisonnable,” (IV §13, f. 75-75b) and Cicero, “Et a prudencia III parties [...] C’est assavoir intelligence, memoire, pourvéance” (IV §13, f. 75b).

¹¹⁴ Mastny, “*Mirror of the Queen*,” 93. The footnote cites BnF, lat. 6784, ff. 33-33v, which reads as follows: “Item sit docilis in susceptione doctrine, sicut apodocet .I. thi .II.º mulier in silencio discat, honesta et salubria est occupacio si domina legat vel audiat verba et exempla ad edificacionem, consolacio^{ez}, et instructionem suam pertinencia ut tam per librum quam per hominem de rebus ad salutem suam utilibus doceatur.” The digitized manuscript at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85295115>> was consulted on June 4, 2016.

¹¹⁵ Cf. n. 57.

Durand de Champagne's Use of Female Exempla

Durand de Champagne resembles Jerome and Vincent in that he requires a firm moral foundation for his queen, or for any lady. He differs, as we have seen, in his omission of instructions regarding the education of children from his *Miroer*, although, like Jerome, he seems to approve of a woman's education covering a rather broad spectrum. This being the case, we might expect Durand's exemplary women to demonstrate a wider variety of traits than Vincent's and even Jerome's. This expanded assortment of qualities is also tied to the change in audience, as Durand is not preparing women for the cloistered life, but the puissant role of a queen at the French court, which necessitates public interactions. Such obligations would have been familiar not only to Agnès, but to her sisters Marguerite, wife of the dauphin Louis de Guyenne (d. 1415), and Anne, wife of John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford and regent of Paris (d. 1435).

Judith and Esther are the clear favorites among the exemplary women promoted in the *Miroer des dames*.¹¹⁶ Like Judith, a queen must be “clere et [...] reluisant en tout bien,”¹¹⁷ illuminating her people with her good example, as well as “ferme, constant et estable;”¹¹⁸ she must also display “fiance et esperance” in God.¹¹⁹ Unlike both Jerome and Vincent, Durand makes no mention of Judith's adornment or lack thereof; in keeping with Jerome, Durand references Judith's beheading of Holofernes on three occasions. Two of these simply relate that she killed him (*occis/t*), the first as an exhortation against drunkenness and the second in

¹¹⁶ Judith is mentioned by name thirteen times. The majority of Durand's references concentrate on her actions or virtues. Those that mention her without substantial commentary are IV §14, f. 77, “Ainsi le disoit bonne dame et devote Judith,” wherein she serves as one of many “bons exemples des bonnes personnes pour les ensuir;” and IV §29, f. 91vb, “Ainsi le tesmongne l'escriture ou livres des Juges, des Roys de Palipomenon, de Judich, de Hester et de Machabees” in reference to humility.

¹¹⁷ I §10, f. 13v; KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 14v.

¹¹⁸ IV §14, f. 77v.

¹¹⁹ IV §31, f. 96v

praise of Judith's faith in God.¹²⁰ In a chapter ostensibly devoted to magnanimity, Durand devotes several lines to her story:

Ceste vertu de grant courage avoit Judich, laquelle Holofernes, prince de la chevalerie de Nabuguodonor le roy de Babilone, treshardiement envahy, qui estoit a toutes gens espoventables; et ou meilleu de tout son ost elle luy coupa la teste et l'enporta en la cité de Betulie.

(IV §29, f. 95b-95v)¹²¹

In addition to acknowledging Judith's active role in Holofernes' death by specifying that she cut off his head, a detail that Vincent chose to omit, Durand attributes to Judith "grant courage" on behalf of her people. The complete citation from IV §14, f. 77v reads: "A l'exemple de Judith doit estre ferme constant et estable. Car Judith pour delivrer son peuple ne se doubta point de peril de mort." Though Durand does not use the word *courage* in this instance, Judith's bravery in "ne se doubta[nt] point de peril de mort" is unquestionably apparent. He also imbues her with the most wisdom in regards to "sens et [...] sapience de bien parler,"¹²² which differentiates her from both Jerome's Judith, who acts without speaking, and from Vincent's Judith, on whom men gaze.

This is not to say that the Judith of the *Miroer des dames* does not possess traditional female qualities. Twice, Judith speaks out against impatience and in favor of suffering calmly the punishment for one's sins.¹²³ While the promotion of Judith's very words might be

¹²⁰ IV §24, f. 88b: "Holofernes, prince de la chevalerie du roy Nabuguodnozoz, en yvresce fu de Judich occis;" and IV §31, f. 96v: "Aussi fut Judich de grant fiance et esperance laquelle par le milieu de l'ost Holofernes ala fiablement et demoura avec luy et après l'occist."

¹²¹ Holofernes is never explicitly equated with Lust in the *Miroer des dames*, perhaps reflective of the diminished emphasis on a woman's (virginal) chastity.

¹²² V §15, f. 111b. This citation concludes an extended discussion of wisdom and folly in speech, especially with regards to those who speak without considering why they are doing so, or whether their speech might harm others.

¹²³ On f. 98, "Ceulx, dit elle, qui lez temptations et lez persecutions que Dieux lez envoie n'ont receu en la crainte de Nostre Seigneur et ont esté par impascience murmurans contre Nostre Seigneur furent occis de l'ange Nostre Seigneur et par lez serpens perirent;" and on f. 100vb, "Ainsi le disoit la sainte Judich [...] Nous dit elle ne devons pas estre troublés ne que par vengeance pour les adversités et persecutions que nous souffrons, mais au regart dez pechés que nous avons fais; et que nous avons a souffrir est moins de chose et de peinne que nous

somewhat unexpected, as earlier only Esther has been given voice by Vincent, the good counsel provided by Judith is not. Durand also praises Judith for secluding herself in her oratory, and for cleansing herself before praying to God.¹²⁴ These latter instances, found toward the end of BnF fr. 610, leave the reader with a mental image of a much gentler Judith than that depicted by her killing of Holofernes thrice in one book. Nevertheless, Durand's Judith covers a substantially wider range of qualities than either Jerome's or Vincent's, and we are left with the impression of a woman who chose to act on her beliefs—underpinned by a strong faith in God—for the sake of her people, rather than passively await male counsel. This lesson would have particularly resonated with Durand's queenly reader.

Esther proves the more popular example in the earlier portion of the *Miroer des dames*.¹²⁵ The first instance where Esther serves as a model to Jeanne de Navarre stands out because of the author's allegorization of her handmaidens, who are interpreted as the sadness and contrition that should accompany a queen when she prays for her sins and as the gentleness that should convey her compassion for the misfortune of others.¹²⁶

Durand's other treatments of Esther are slightly less unusual. For example, we find a citation on humility that echoes the *De eruditione*:

A l'exemple de la saige royne Hester qui en soy humiliant devant Dieu disoit,
Domine tu scis infirmitatem meam et neccessitatem meam etc. Sire, dit il Hester,
tu sces m'enfermeté et ma neccessité et que j'ay abhomination de tout signe

n'avons deservi, car nous aussi comme le sergent que Dieu chastie pour nous amender non pas pour nostre perdicion ne pour nostre dampnement."

¹²⁴ VI §2, f. 126b and VI §21, f. 144v, respectively.

¹²⁵ As with Judith, Durand occasionally mentions Esther by name simply to situate a story and its characters in the mind of the reader. Such is the case in I §14, f. 20 (KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 25v) where Durand introduces a story about Mordechai by explaining that he "estoit oncle a la royne Hester."

¹²⁶ I §7, f. 12-12b (KBR ms. 11203-203, f. 1-15v), "Cest paix et tranquillité en oroison avoit la saige royne Hester de laquelle dit l'escripture. *Cumquis regio fulgeret habitu et invocasset [b] ominum rectorem.* C'est a dire que Hester, vestue noblement de robe royal[e] quant en oroison elle appelloit Dieu son pere createur, prist .ii. damoiselles pour elle acompengner et servir. Quar sans doute dame et royne devote en sa priere et oroison doit estre acompaigne[e] de douleur et contriction quant a ses pechés et de doulceur de compassion quant a aultrui meschef."

d'orgueil. Et que j'ay en despit l'onneur et la gloire qui est sur mon chef quant je suis peree et aournee en jour solempnel, auquel je suis au peuple montree. (I §15, f. 21)

Already, by including “*infirmi- tatem meam,*” compared to Vincent’s simpler “*neccessitatem meam,*” the *Miroer* has undermined Esther’s potential for powerful action on any stage—no longer is her dress determined solely by political obligation, but first and foremost by her weakness.¹²⁷ KBR ms. 11203-204 contains a further small but significant insertion, here in bold: “*Domine tu scis infirmatatem meam et neccessitatem meam etc.* Sire, disoit la royne Hester, tu scez mon enfermeté, ma neccessité **et povre fragilité** et sois que j’ay abhominacion de tout signe d’orguel” (f. 27). The repeated emphasis on Esther’s feebleness, first as infirmity and then as fragility, directs the reader’s focus to her femininity, reinforcing the ties between the female sex and the predilection to pride and encouraging women to recognize these faults in themselves as Esther does.¹²⁸

Unlike Vincent, however, Durand substantially qualifies the original citation by asserting the political necessity of worldly honors due a queen:

Et combien, si comme dit est, lez honneurs mondainnes elle doi[t] pou priser et desprisier de son humilité, non pourquant en considerant la grandeur de son estat royal, lez honneurs qui luy sont faicts [p]event elle recevoir sans mesprendre. Et eu cas que ces honneurs ne li seroient offertes et presentees, elle le peult et *doit* de ses subgés requerir pour cause d’auctorité afin que son estat ne soit vilifié.

(I §16, f. 21-21b; my emphasis)¹²⁹

¹²⁷ University of Notre Dame’s online medieval Latin dictionary also gives “instability, fickleness” as a possibility for *infirmi- tatis*, which really only amplifies the negative connotative possibilities inherent in Esther’s claim (<<http://latin.campus.nd.edu/cgi-bin/lookup.pl?stem=infirmi&ending=>> [consulted May 25, 2016]).

¹²⁸ An earlier passage, present on KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 18 but omitted from BnF fr. 610, also emphasizes the importance of humility precisely because of the queen’s worldly status: “humilité doivent avoir en elles les dames et les roynes par especial et grant poeur avoir et plus doubter que les autres pour cause de leur grant estat.”

¹²⁹ KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 27.

While the queen should not succumb to pride for earthly praise, Durand insists that she receive and even require the privileges of her station as a way of maintaining her authority.¹³⁰ Where Vincent and Jerome would have a woman reject all signs of secular privilege, Durand remains very conscious that he is advising an individual whose overly-pious refusal of her political role would result in wide-ranging ill effects.

On the three other occasions that Durand mentions Esther's disdain for ornamentation, two include comment on her physical and/or spiritual beauty, while the other falls more in line with Vincent's opinions on the frivolous nature of ornamentation: "A l'exemple donc de la royne Hester doivent toutes dames et honnestes femme[s] fuir tout orgueil et tout atour outrageux ce qui peult encliner et traire lez cueurs a peché et a desordonnance."¹³¹

Despite his adoption of the traditional contempt-for-adornment trope—commonly exemplified through Esther—which advocates a form of social reserve, Durand twice casts her in an active light. In the first instance, where she presents a model of compassion toward others, Durand calls her the "moyenesresse" between the king and people, "advocate" of the poor, and "aideresse et douce confortesresse" of others (IV §14, f. 77v).¹³² Similarly, while ostensibly

¹³⁰ Nor is Durand the only cleric to recognize the necessity of worldly ornamentation to maintaining authority. Regarding the clerical hierarchy, 13th-century moralist Peter the Chanter remarked that "if I were to take on a mean habit and conduct myself as if I were lowly and contemptible [...] my subjects would become disobedient and do evil things [...] and thus I would not be able to exercise justice" (*Summa de sacramentis*, as translated in Sharon A. Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991], 200).

¹³¹ III §7, f. 43vb. In reference to her physical and spiritual beauty, II §2, f. 26b: "Ceste beaulté avoit la noble royne Hester qui de la cour et de l'aournement du corps force en faisoit mez l'avoit en despit de laquelle il est escrit [...] Hester estoit tresbelle et si belle que nulz ne le creust et a tous estoit gratieuse et aimable" (KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 33v); and III §3, f. 34v-34vb: "De la royne Hester est il escrit [b] que elle ne quist pas l'atour ne le parement ne aournement dez femmes. Et neant mains elle estoit tres belle et de beaulté que nul ne creust se il ne la vëist; et devant lez yeulx de tous estoit gratieuse et amyable et le roy l'ama sur toutes aultres" (KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 45). The final occasion where Durand mentions her spiritual beauty is in II §3, f. 28b: "Ainsi luisons nous de la belle Hester que devant le roy Assuere grace trouva sur toutes aultres femmes. Aussi saige et noble dame acquiert grace devant Dieu pour cause de beaulté espirituelle" (KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 36).

¹³² Casting women in a mediatory role was not new. Even before the 14th century, popular faith emphasized the Virgin's function as mediator between the people and God; see Sr. Mary Vincentine Gripkey, *The Blessed Virgin Mary as Mediatrix in the Latin and Old French Legend Prior to the Fourteenth Century* (Washington,

an example of Esther's faith in God, Durand depicts Esther boldly taking the initiative and acting as mediator, despite the danger of death, by daring to initiate her encounter with Ahasuerus, without being summoned, for the sake of her people:

De grant fiance et bonne esperance fut la royne Hester. Laquelle se exposa a peril de mort pour delivrer son peuple quant, sans ce qu'elle fust appelee ne mandee, elle ala par devans [96v] le roy Assuere qui avoit fait commandement sur peine de mort que nulle personne ne veüst par devan luy se elle n'estoit apellee et se il ne luy monstroit premierement la verge d'or en signe de douceur, d'amitié et de debonnaireté.
(IV §31, f. 96b-96v)

Once again, her political function takes center stage as Durand encourages the queen to exert a conscientious influence on the king in favor of the people.

On the whole, this emphasis on Esther's potential to influence her kingdom's affairs demonstrates a significant departure from both Jerome's and Vincent's presentations of the biblical heroine, as well as from the Esther we will encounter in the *Livre de la Tour Landry*. While Esther retained some authority in Jerome's depiction of the biblical heroine, her power is nowhere as explicitly defined as in the *Miroer*. Durand's insistence on the political impact of Esther's humility and its role in saving her people especially differentiates her from the Esther of the *De eruditione*, where humility served a private and spiritual rather than public and earthly cause. Esther's exemplary qualities complement Judith's, indicating Durand's belief that a queen needs to be able to act independently for the good of her subjects.

Not all biblical heroines reflect such an obviously political focus; for instance, Mary Magdalene's penitence seems to be offered as a private as well as public virtue for the queen to emulate. In six of her eight appearances in the *Miroer des dames*, her key virtues remain contrition and faith, as in this instance:

DC: The Catholic University of America, 1938; repr., 1969). None of our authors remarks on this aspect of Marian culture, however.

A l'exemple de la Magdalene doit apprendre avoir larmes de compunctio[n] et vraye penitance de ses pechez, la parolle de Dieu ouïr volentiers, et soigneusement le chef Nostre Seigneur oindre d'oingnement de devotion, lez pies Jhesucrist laver, c'est lez povres conforter par eaue de compassion.

(IV §14, f. 77vb-78)¹³³

While her devotion to Christ includes displaying compassion for the poor, a type of action that did not receive much mention in Jerome's letters,¹³⁴ the Magdalene's more unexpected new role is that of teacher: "Et pour ce la glorieuse Magdaleine aprint a l'escolle de vraye sapience, tant qu'elle en fu bonne *maistresse, prescheresse* e[t] *l'ensengneresse* aprint, dis je, quant elle s'esëoit aux piés de son doulx maistre Jhesucrist et oüoit ententivement sa sainte parolle" (V §19, f. 113b). This example of a learned woman who in turn preaches and teaches¹³⁵ is immediately followed by a reference to the necessity of reading "sains livres et la sainte doctrine" (*ibid.*), evincing Durand's support of well-educated, publically active women.

With a continued focus on the needs of his dedicatee, Durand does not present the Virgin Mary as a model of virginity—a state to which Jeanne de Navarre obviously can neither

¹³³ The other citations describing Mary Magdalene's devotion and contrition are as follows, II §4, f. 27b (KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 35): "Car penitance fait l'ame a Dieu apaisier. Si comme il aparut en la Magdalene, en saint Pol, en saint Pierre et en plusieurs aultres"; III §5, f. 38v (KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 50v): "C'est a dire que il feist misericorde aux repentans [...] si tost que il veulent leurs pechés lesser et eulx de bon cueur repentir. Exemple de la Magdalene"; IV §2, f. 68v: "Ceste foy avoit la glorieuse Magdalene de laquelle il est escript moult de pechés luy sont pardonnés car elle a moult amé"; IV §4, f. 69vb: "Item foy a vertu de nous sauver. Et pour ce dit Jhesucrist en la Magdalene [...] Ta foy, dit il, t'a sauvee"; and VI §21, f. 143vb: "De ce avons nous exemple de la Magdaleine qui vint thachee et ordoyee de l'ordure de plusieurs pechés a la fontaine de misericorde Jhesucrist pour ce qu'elle retourna toute nestoye[e]." The Magdalene is also referenced in Durand's discussion of spiritual houses in V §4, f. 128v: "Marie seroit en sa maison [espirituelle]."

¹³⁴ The exception being Ep. 77, where Jerome praises Fabiola, who founded a hospital for the poor.

¹³⁵ In this respect, Durand essentially follows the tradition of the Magdalene found in Jacobus de Voragine's 12th-century collection of saints' lives, the *Légende dorée*: "Et quant la devote Marie Magdaleine vit la gent assemblee en ce temple pour sacrifier aux ydoles, elle se leva paisiblement a lie face, a la langue deserte et bien parlant, et print a *prescher* Jhesucrist et a les retraire du cultivement des ydoles. Et lors furent tous esmerveillez de la beaulté, de la raison, et du beau parler de celle. Et ce n'estoit pas merveille se la bouche qui si debonnairement avoit baisé les piez de Nostre Seigneur espiroit de la parolle de Dieu" (Jacobus de Voragine, *La Légende dorée: Édition critique, dans la révision de 1476 par Jean de Batallier, d'après la traduction de Jean de Vignay (1333-1348) de la Legenda aurea (c. 1261-1266)*, ed. Brenda Dunn-Lardeau [Paris: Champion, 1997], 617; my emphasis). For a comprehensive examination of the Magdalenian tradition especially with regards to Apostolic literature, see Ann Graham Brock, *Mary Magdalene, the First Apostle: The Struggle for Authority* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

return nor aspire in the first place, given her political duty to continue the royal line. Instead, he lauds Mary for her qualities of prudence, measured speech, and studious nature, all relevant to a French medieval queen.¹³⁶ Durand further remarks that, “en ses paroles povoit chacun apprendre,” everyone could learn from her words, implying that if the queen patterns herself after Mary, her speech will also prove edifying.¹³⁷

In addition to the expected humility¹³⁸ and preference for seclusion,¹³⁹ Durand highlights the Virgin’s charity, compassion, discretion, and perseverance (or patient suffering);¹⁴⁰ with the exception of discretion, all are traits traditionally attributed to the Virgin, and ones that we shall rediscover in the *Livre de la Tour Landry*. The inclusion of discretion, explained as “non croire trop legerement. Car la douce dame pensa premierement en son cuer et après enquist saignement de la maniere de concepvoir le filz de Dieu” (IV §14, f. 78),¹⁴¹ is surprising because it indicates an active exercise of intelligence, whereas Vincent’s Virgin was prudent and studious but nonetheless *passively* intellectual. Jerome expected well-read women

¹³⁶ II §2, f. 36 (KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 47): “humble de cuer, en parler pesant et discrete, elle out en son courage prudence, elle parloit petit et a mesure. Estudioit diligemment en luisant l’Escripture.” This is the same citation of Ambrose’s *De virginibus* that Vincent quoted in the *De eruditione*.

¹³⁷ II §2, f. 36b (KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 47). Vincent chose to omit this particular quality, interested as he was in preparing girls for a sheltered life.

¹³⁸ Referenced in IV §II, f. 68v, “Item foy doit estre en humilité parfondee; telle fu la foy de la vierge Marie;” and “Aussi [à la vierge Marie] doit ressembler bonne dame en preste obedience et en parfonde humilité,” IV §14, f. 78.

¹³⁹ “A l’exemple de la vierge Marie repos et cloture,” IV §14, f. 78.

¹⁴⁰ Durand attributes the third and fourth degrees of charity to the Virgin: “Le tiers degré est que charité oste peché mortel en .ii. manieres dessus dites. Et oste aussi peché veniel quant an fait combien que l’inclination demeure. Telle estoit la charité de la glorieuse vierge Marie avant qu’elle conceust le filz de Dieu Jhesucrist. Le quart degré est que charité oste tout peché et mortel et veniel et quant a fait et quant a inclinacion. Et telle estoit la vierge Marie après la conception,” IV §9, f. 72v. Her compassion, though not explicitly named such, receives mention a few folios later: “Cest memoire doit avoir souvent en son cuer noble dame a l’exemple de la Vierge Marie qui a la mort et passion de Jhesucrist estoit presente et luy tint compaignie,” IV §14, f. 76b-76v. As for perseverance, Durand attributes it to not only the Virgin but to many holy women: “ilz estoit perseverens d’un cuer et d’une volenté en oroison avec lez saintes dames et avec la Vierge Marie,” IV §33, f. 104.

¹⁴¹ Likewise, the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (1330-1500) (hereafter *DMF*) defines *discretion* as “discernement, sagesse; prudent réserve.”

<http://atilf.atilf.fr/gsovay/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEM=DISCR%C9TION;ISIS=isis_dmf2010.txt;OUVRIR_MEN U=2;s=s0d282f58;AFFICHAGE=0;MENU=menu_dmf;;XMODE=STELLA;FERMER;;> (consulted May 25, 2016).

to exercise discernment of precisely this type in their interpretation of non-canonical texts, but did not provide any concrete examples of women applying this quality themselves. In contrast to the Virgin Mary in the *De eruditione*, where her virtue was almost entirely defined as the maintenance of her virginity, Durand's presents Mary's royal aspects to reinforce the necessity of critical thinking on the part of the queen.

Although Durand promotes different key characteristics of Sarah, wife of Abraham, than did Vincent, the shift is not particularly radical. As well as serving as a model of chastity, Sarah now exemplifies obedience to one's husband: "Si comme a Sara qui fu femme d'Abraham doit prendre enseignement d'obeir a son seigneur."¹⁴² She receives no other development, however. This depiction is surprising for two reasons. First, because Durand seems to be contradicting the lessons imparted by Judith and Esther about acting autonomously when the need arises. Second, because no mention is made of Sarah's miraculous motherhood, despite progeny being another of the queen's obligations. This omission is further accentuated by the transformation of Rebecca in Durand's work.

No longer the epitome of modesty as she was in the *De eruditione*, Rebecca has become the embodiment of motherhood and foresight in the *Miroer des dames*:

De Rebecque qui fu femme de Ysaac doit noble dame prendre enseignement de bonne pourvëance pour ses enfans. [...] Aussi bonne dame doit as ses enfans pourvëoir la beneisson du souverain pere [...] Et tout aussi que Rebeca ama plus Jacob qui estoit melliour et plus plaisant a Dieu qu'elle ne faisoit Esau [...] Tout aussi chascune mere qui a plusieurs enfans lez doit amer s'ilz sont bons.
(IV §14, f. 77b-77v)

¹⁴² IV §14, f. 77b. Her chastity receives only the briefest mention: "Telle purté et telle vaillantise chasteté doit vaillant et noble dame et avoir diliganment garder a l'exemple dez saintes dames anciennes lez quelles merveillement furent soigneuses de garder chasteté si comme Sarra, Rebeca, Rachael et les aultres de Sarra qui fut femme Tobie le jeune," IV §25, f. 88vb.

By linking *pourvëance*, whose meanings include prudence and the procurement of necessities,¹⁴³ to the blessings of God, we may understand that foresight includes acting in a child’s best interest in a multitude of ways; by, for example, instructing him or her in the Christian faith—that is, properly educating one’s child. It is this thread of motherly devotion, rather than that of modesty, that will be taken up and amplified by La Tour Landry.

Taking her usual station among the negative examples is Dinah, and Durand’s first reference to her story seems to place the blame squarely on her shoulders: “Si comme nous avons de la fille Jacob qui ot non Digne, laquelle yssi de la maison de son pere pour voir lez dames du pais et leur atour [...] Et que leur en advint il d’estre *curieux*: Digne sa virginité et son pucelage en perdi et fu corumpue” (III §1.2, f. 33v).¹⁴⁴ Because of her curiosity, Dinah was corrupted.¹⁴⁵ Much later in the *Miroer*, her story is revisited, albeit from a slightly different angle: “Quant [Sichem] vit Dine la fille Jacob, qui *curieusement* [s]’estoit embatue pour vëoir la feste et l’atour dez femmes du pays, il la convoita mauvairement et l’a ravi. Et de ce il avint que luy et plusieurs aultres en furent occis” (V §26, f. 116). Although the *DMF* does provide a variety of possible definitions for *curieusement*, ranging from the neutral “avec beaucoup d’attention, avec zèle” to the more judgmental “avec un empressement coupable,” I believe that “avec le désir de connaître, de savoir” is the most fitting in this case, as it evokes echoes

¹⁴³ *DMF*

<[¹⁴⁴ KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 43-43v.](http://atilf.atilf.fr/gsouvey/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEM=POURVOYANCE;ISIS=isis_dmf2010.txt;OUVRIR_MENU=2;s=s0d282f58;AFFICHAGE=0;MENU=menu_dmf;;XMODE=STELLA;FERMER;;> (consulted May 25, 2016).</p></div><div data-bbox=)

¹⁴⁵ Interestingly, curiosity is seen as a necessary trait for princes by Théodore Paléologue in his *Enseignements* (cf. n. 7): “[le baron et le seigneur] doivent avoir curieuseté en eulz; c’est assavoir en recevant bien et souffisamment, en leur court et en leur sale, chascun venant, et faire a chascun honneur selonc li” (*Les Enseignements*, ed. Knowles, 69). While Durand counsels his queen to receive everyone with due honors (III §Prol., f. 32v-32vb; KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 42), the word *curieuseté* does not figure in his description of this activity.

of Eve's desire for knowledge and the repercussions suffered by humanity.¹⁴⁶ In this manner, while still pointing out Dinah's error here in the form of her choice to go out, Durand situates the agency of the rape firmly with Sychem (*il la convoita malicieusement et l'a ravi*), in addition to providing a fuller account of the disastrous repercussions for him and his men. While men are not the only ones capable of looking inappropriately at the opposite sex, as Durand makes sure to demonstrate in the same chapter with the example of Potiphar's wife,¹⁴⁷ in the case of Dinah, Durand acknowledges that women are not the only culpable party in sins of the flesh. Durand's depiction of Dinah also bridges Jerome's and Vincent's concerns about the dangers of going out into the world with regards to her virginity and those of La Tour Landry, who, as we will discover, finds the resulting massacre of Sicheu and his men the more problematic consequence.

With the *Miroir des dames'* change in audience has come a change in exemplary women. Durand has restored Judith's virility, in addition to imbuing her with wisdom in place of depicting the virtue of her sober adornment. Esther, too, has acquired a greater degree of initiative than in either Jerome's or Vincent's works. The Virgin's list of attributes—now including speech from which female disciples can learn—continues to grow. Mary Magdalene has also gained credibility as a teacher, as well as maintaining her place as a key figure of repentance. Sarah has not benefitted from the same elaboration—perhaps because Durand preferred examples like Rebecca, whose actions for the benefit of her children might realistically influence the queen of France's behavior, or like Esther and Judith, who acted in

¹⁴⁶

<[http://atilf.atilf.fr/gsouvey/scripts/dmfX.exe?IDF=dmfXeXrmXcbgih;ISIS=isis_dmf2010.txt;MENU=menu_dmf;OUVRIR_MENU=2;s=s0d282f58;FERMER;AFFICHAGE=2;MENU=menu_dmf;;XMODE=STELLA;FERMER;;](http://atilf.atilf.fr/gsouvey/scripts/dmfX.exe?IDF=dmfXeXrmXcbgih;ISIS=isis_dmf2010.txt;MENU=menu_dmf;OUVRIR_MENU=2;s=s0d282f58;FERMER;AFFICHAGE=2;MENU=menu_dmf;;XMODE=STELLA;FERMER;;>)> (consulted May 25, 2016).

¹⁴⁷ V §26, f. 116-116b: "Aussi de la femme Phutiphar en quel maison servoit Joseph le filz Jacob, qui estoit beaulx jouvenceaux, pur et chaste, laquelle femme, embrasee du feu de charnalité, geta ses yeulx sus Joseph en le prenant par le mantel a ceste fin qu'il s'accordaast a sa mauvaise volenté."

the public sphere. Finally, with regards to Dinah, Durand has shifted the focus away from the repercussions of her wayward actions to the problematic motivations that engendered them. All told, Durand has drastically adapted the use of these exemplary women, thereby creating a *miroir* for women with substantially greater real-world application in medieval France, and in the life of Agnès de Bourgogne, future duchess of Bourbon.

The Chevalier de la Tour Landry's Views on Women's Education

Three-quarters of a century later, in 1371-72, a member of the minor nobility, Geoffroi de la Tour Landry, wrote *Le Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles* for his three young daughters.¹⁴⁸ The author's secular status, as well as his parental relationship with his intended audience, differentiate him significantly from Jerome, Vincent, and Durand. La Tour Landry's preference for contemporary rather than biblical women as models of virtue likewise distinguishes him from his 13th-century predecessors. Nevertheless, his conventional adoption of biblical women as *exempla* for certain qualities allows us not only to compare him to earlier authors but to firmly identify and examine traditional precepts of women's education shortly before Christine de Pizan began writing.

¹⁴⁸ Of the two modern editions of the *Livre de la Tour Landry*, for reasons of accessibility I have chosen to make use of the 1854 edition by Anatole De Montaiglon, *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry. Pour l'enseignement de ses filles. Publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris et de Londres* (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles français, 1854). All further references will be to this edition. In the second chapter to her book, *L'Art d'éduquer les nobles damoiselles: Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003) (hereafter *AEND*), Anne Marie de Gendt explains that the 1970 edition by Helen Eckrich is as problematic as Montaiglon's because the editor based her edition on a single manuscript without adequate justification (53). I am indebted to De Gendt's *AEND*, which thoroughly analyzes La Tour Landry's treatise, from the cultural and historic background to the rhetorical tactics employed by the author, what precisely he wished his daughters to take away from his book, and what little responsibility for their education he apportioned to their mother. One of De Gendt's other primary objectives is to identify La Tour Landry's sources, of which the most important is the anonymous 13th-century *Miroir des bonnes femmes* (*ibid.*, 15). Although the *Miroir des bonnes femmes* places a greater emphasis on the mother's role in educating her children (*ibid.*, 231) and would undoubtedly contribute to our understanding of pedagogical trends through the 14th century, it did not constitute part of Jean sans Peur's library, while La Tour Landry's text did (today, KBR ms. 9542; see Bonost and de Templeuve, *Inventaire*, Item 106, p. 66-67).

The prologue to La Tour Landry's book indicates his belief that presenting models for emulation in conjunction with explicit instruction is an efficient way to teach girls, as he declares, "Si les devoit l'en tout au commencement prendre à chastier courtoisement *par bonnes exemples et par doctrines*" (2).¹⁴⁹ In order to do so, he will write a book containing "les bonnes meurs des bonnes dames et leurs biens faiz, à la fin de y prendre bon exemple" as well as the *exempla in malo* of "maulvaises deshonestes femmes, qui de mal usèrent et eurent blasmes, à fin de s'en garder du mal" (3). Although La Tour Landry specifies that he will employ the two different methods, *exemples* and *doctrines*, to educate his daughters, he devotes significantly more space to exemplarity, implying that modeling is the most effective way to transmit knowledge to girls.¹⁵⁰

He does not seem to subscribe to the belief, however, that women are *only* capable of learning by imitation. They can also learn much by reading although the implication is that the characters' behaviors in the books will influence the reader's. "Quant à lire," he writes, "toute femme en vault mieulx de le sçavoir, et cognoist mieulx la foy et les perils de l'ame et son saulvement" (§90, 178). La Tour Landry specifies that his daughters should read "livres des saiges et des bons enseignemens." More interesting are the books they should *not* read: "livres de lecheries et des fables du monde" (*ibid.*). This is the first time in our corpus of works that

¹⁴⁹ The Chevalier takes as his role model in this endeavor Prines, "qui fu royne de Hongrie" (2), who wrote a book for her sons. On the subject of using a woman's writing as an *auctoritas*, De Gendt explains, "En invoquant les écrits d'une reine de Hongrie, l'auteur se situe dans une tradition existante, aussi bien pour ce qui est d'écrire un livre destiné à instruire ses propres enfants—et cela dès la première fois qu'il évoque ce projet et avant même de le préciser—que pour ce qui est du *modus tractandi*: courtoisement, par bonnes exemples et par doctrines" (*AEND*, 67).

¹⁵⁰ Ruys points out that although the book is written primarily in the exemplary mode, the Chevalier's impulse stems from his own experience; however, "it better suits his purpose to offer a tale to his daughters as a 'good example' than as an authoritative text" ("Didactic 'I's,'" 146-47).

we have seen women specifically discouraged from reading *romans*.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, and unlike Jerome,¹⁵² La Tour Landry sees no need to teach women to write (*ibid.*).

La Tour Landry will not be alone in his role as teacher, since both “père et mère selon Dieu et nature doit enseigner ses enfans” (4).¹⁵³ He indirectly praises Deborah’s mother for sending her daughter to school to learn Scripture: “Je vous diray une autre exemple d’une dame qui avoit une fille [...] Delbora, laquelle elle mist à l’escole [...] Et pour ce a cy bon exemple que l’en doit mettre ses filles pour apprendre la clergie et la saint escripture” (§90, p. 176-77). Finally, while praising wives and widows for their devotion to their husbands, he praises a young widow for preferring to properly “nourr[ir] ses enffans” rather than remarry.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, as De Gendt remarks in her analysis of the mother’s role according to La Tour Landry, “Le Chevalier, quant à lui, respecte la responsabilité pédagogique de la mère dans le domaine de l’amour” (228),¹⁵⁵ and hardly anywhere else.

This attitude constitutes a remarkable change from the encouragement extended by Jerome to Laeta regarding her daughter’s education, wherein Paula’s father plays no role. La Tour Landry’s approach, at least in terms of responsibility, is far more in keeping with the

¹⁵¹ Not all secular texts were *romans*, however; furthermore, provided that secular texts were morally edifying, they were perfectly appropriate for women’s consumption—at least according to Jerome. Cf. Ep. 107:12, where he explicitly prescribes the works of Cyprian, Athanasius, and Hilary for Paula.

¹⁵² Ep. 107:4. Cf. p. 22 and n. 27.

¹⁵³ This in spite of the limited number of subjects (love first among them) that are solely the provenance of his wife (see De Gendt, *AEND*, Ch. 10). Jeanne de Rougé (d. 1383-1391), the mother of the three daughters for whom the *Livre de la Tour Landry* is written, seems to have lived long enough that she could have played a role in her daughters’ education; De Gendt does not speculate on what the reality might have been, however (*ibid.*, 23 and n10). Four of Agnès’ children were not fostered at her brother’s court, and possibly had tutors in addition to their mother’s example. On the tutor’s role in a child’s education after the age of 7, see Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990), 171-74.

¹⁵⁴ §114, 222. De Gendt points out that the verb “nourrir” also carries implications of teaching (*AEND*, 227n42).

¹⁵⁵ In her analysis of the debate-form of the presentation of *fin’amors* in the *Livre de la Tour Landry*, De Gendt proposes that one advantage of casting Mme de la Tour Landry in a speaking role on the topic of love relies on “son rôle de dame mariée fréquentant les cercles aristocratiques, pouvant faire **elle-même** l’objet des prières d’un *fin’amant*. Cela lui permet d’abandonner les raisonnements théoriques pour passer à la réalité de l’expérience vitale” (“‘Plusieurs manières d’amours’: Le débat dans *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry* et ses échos dans l’œuvre de Christine de Pizan,” *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 23 [1996]: 121-37, 125 [bold original emphasis; underlining my emphasis]).

advice of Vincent de Beauvais, who does not acknowledge the mother's role in her children's education. While Durand also leaves the mother's role essentially unarticulated, his reference to Raguel's wife teaching her daughter Sarah in multiple domains implies that the mother bears at least part, if not all, of the responsibility for teaching her children.¹⁵⁶ As far as education itself is concerned, however, La Tour Landry seems to agree more with Jerome and Durand than with Vincent in terms of the importance of reading, although he does not go so far as to forbid all knowledge of things worldly, like dance and music, as do Jerome and Vincent. His primary pedagogical tool, however, is exemplarity.

The Chevalier de la Tour Landry's Use of Female Exempla

Rather like Jerome, La Tour Landry preferred to embody various virtues for his daughters through his contemporaries, such as his grandmother, Olive de Belleville.¹⁵⁷ The number of biblical exempla remains substantial nonetheless, although Judith—who has previously represented chaste widowhood and the conscientious rejection of lust and ostentation—is conspicuously absent.¹⁵⁸ We can attribute her omission to La Tour Landry's inclination to adapt his literary models to better fit his pedagogic agenda of preparing his daughters to be obedient wives and mothers, a destiny also intended for Agnès.

¹⁵⁶ Shahar explains that while male children were commonly given over to tutors at age 7, mothers were generally responsible for the continued education of their daughters (*Childhood*, 174-75).

¹⁵⁷ "Par le truchement de l'exemple d'Olive de Belleville [grand-mère du Chevalier] mais aussi par la présentation d'autres femmes contemporaines 'en chair et en os' qui se sont montrées capables de mener une vie exemplaire, le Chevalier signifie qu'une femme (noble) doit tenter d'égaliser la conduite de femmes idéales et idéalisées, certes, mais aussi et surtout qu'elle est réellement en mesure d'atteindre le bien et même d'y atteindre un degré de perfection assez élevé" (De Gendt, *AEND*, 90).

¹⁵⁸ De Gendt briefly mentions the choice to exclude Judith, "On peut s'étonner du fait que le Chevalier ait omis deux chapitres du *Miroir* relatifs à Judith (BF 20) et à sainte Anne (BF 25), où figurent de nombreuses références aux écrits de saint Jérôme. L'omission de ces chapitres nous paraît relever d'un choix conscient, et non d'un oubli" (*ibid.*, 157n39).

Esther emerges three times as a representative of humility and, in line with Vincent de Beauvais' *De eruditione*, what power she has is constrained to the private forum.¹⁵⁹ In her first appearance, she does not respond to her husband's angry words in public, thereby demonstrating political savvy and discretion: "sa bonne dame [Hester] ne lui [le roy de Surie] respondoit riens en son yre; maiz après, quant elle véoit son lieu, elle faisoit tout ce qu'elle vouloit, et c'estoit grant senz de dames" (§18, 41). Elsewhere, La Tour Landry expands upon her behavior: "mais pour riens que il lui deist elle ne lui respondoit aucune parole dont il se deust corroucer devant les gens; mais après, quand elle le trouvoit seul et véoit son lieu, elle se desblamoit et lui monstroit bel et courtoisement sa faulte, et pour ce le roy l'amoit à merveilles" (§97, 189-90). While it is true that in the first example, Esther does as she pleases in private, and that she gently corrects her husband and is loved for it in the second, in neither case does La Tour Landry attribute to her any power outside of her relationship, either to "impose commands upon [her] conquerors" as did Jerome, nor to act as mediator, as did Durand.¹⁶⁰ The third reference to Esther depicts her as an example of exquisite comportment and, of course, humility, as she explains that the greater a lady's rank, the more humble and courteous she must be (§110, 215-16). Note that in none of these three cases does La Tour Landry reference Esther's dress at all, whereas the focus, for Vincent, lay in her rejection of ornamentation. We can attribute this shift to La Tour Landry's position as a secular writer for his own daughters, whom he wishes to see well married. Instead of encouraging them to reject all things worldly, La Tour Landry promotes behavior that will serve them well in the context of life as minor nobility at court.

¹⁵⁹ Esther also appears in §65, but the true subject of that particular example is Haman's wife, who gave him bad counsel.

¹⁶⁰ Ep. 79:2 and p. 55, respectively.

The Magdalene models humble repentance, evinced by the tears that wash her soul clean (§100, 194) and the fear of God (195). She also demonstrates fasting as a recommended form of penitence (*ibid.*). La Tour Landry's omission of any reference to her acquiring knowledge at Christ's feet—unlike Durand—seems inconsistent, given his general enthusiasm for women's (religious) education.

De Gendt points out a similarly shocking difference between La Tour Landry's Virgin Mary and the Virgin as we have seen her in Jerome's epistles and Vincent's *De eruditione*: “Dans les chapitres où sont exaltées les différentes vertus de la Vierge Marie [...] la virginité de la mère de Dieu [...] n'est même pas nommée!”¹⁶¹ In fact, La Tour Landry uses the Virgin to legitimize marriage: “Dieux vouldst que elle espousast le saint homme Joseph [...] car Dieu vouldst naistre soubz umbre de mariage” (§109, 212). The Virgin Mary remains, nevertheless, “si haulte exemplaire que nul ne la puest descripre” (*ibid.*), with four consecutive chapters indicating her continued relevance to young noblewomen. Instead of her virginity, La Tour Landry lauds the Virgin's obedience to her husband, seclusion from and fear of the outside world (§109), her humility (§110), patience in suffering the death of her son (§111), and charity toward the poor (§112). He does not praise Mary for her silence, as Vincent did; nor does he cite Ambrose's *De virginibus* commending her studious nature.¹⁶² Any intellectual acumen on the Virgin's part, endorsed by Vincent and Durand as a female virtue, has vanished. We are left with a figure who, like Esther, embodies the socially acceptable and expected traits of a 14th-century aristocratic wife: humility, charity, and patience in the face of life's trials.

La Tour Landry opens the portion of the book dedicated to good examples with Sarah, wife of Abraham. No longer hidden away from the company of men or lauded for her

¹⁶¹ De Gendt, *AEND*, 158n40.

¹⁶² Cf. n. 86.

obedience to her husband, God guards Sarah when she is kidnapped by Pharaoh; additionally, “pour sa sainte foy et pour la ferme loyaulté et amour qu’elle portoit touzjours à son seigneur, et pour son humilité, Dieu lui donna un filz” (§82, 163). While God ostensibly rewards Sarah for her faith, the newly prominent humility among the list of her attributes, and its position as the virtue most closely associated with her divine recompense, indicates once again La Tour Landry’s belief that humility is the imitable virtue *par excellence*.

Rebecca too receives praise and a similar reward for her humility and for being a loving wife and mother. La Tour Landry insists that “Dieu [...] aime saint et net marriage *et humilité*” (§83, 163; my emphasis), for which He gifted Rebecca, like Sarah, with fertility. No mention is made of her modesty, a central aspect of her character for Vincent. Instead, La Tour Landry compares Rebecca to the lioness and the she-wolf, not only vaunting her devotion but also her actions, born of love, to benefit her son, Jacob: “et [Rebecca] lui [Jacob] fist par son sens avoir la beneyçon de son père” (164). Although Jacob, rather than Rebecca, is attributed the virtue of *pourvëance* (*ibid.*), La Tour Landry celebrates her fierce (motherly) nature, reflecting his own preoccupation with family life. Whether Agnès was exposed to this lesson by her father, Jean sans Peur, her mother, Marguerite de Bavière, or a tutor, she certainly applied it in her own life. In fostering many of her children (including the future Pierre II and Isabelle, wife of Charles le Téméraire) at her brother’s court, Agnès demonstrated foresight by providing the children with access to important political connections.¹⁶³

Given the close relationship between aristocratic families and the politico-social milieu of the court and La Tour Landry’s goal of preparing his daughters for that particularly interconnected sphere, it is perhaps to be expected that he shifts the focus in Dinah’s story from

¹⁶³ Leguai, “Agnès de Bourgogne,” 152, 153 (Pierre), 154 (Louis, Jacques, Marie, Catherine); Marche, *Mémoires*, I:258n2 (Philippe), II:395 (Isabelle).

the personal consequences of her curiosity to the larger social repercussions of her actions (§56, 117). In fact, since La Tour Landry devotes twice as much space to her brothers' violent response to her defilement as to Sychem's actions, it would seem that he finds fault with Dinah's "joliveté de cuer" and "legier courage" more for the extensive killing that resulted from her actions than for the loss of her virginity, which was the primary concern for Jerome, Vincent, and Durand.

In the end, La Tour Landry presents no radical ideas—in fact, he generally supports the status quo for uncloistered, aristocratic women as articulated in Durand's *Miroer*. La Tour Landry's use of biblical *exempla* differs from Durand's only in terms of goal, not application; for instance, the greater emphasis on humility reflects social realities, since La Tour Landry's daughters are members of the minor nobility. Because they are not on a par with the queen, it is less critical that their devotional humility not outweigh public performance of status, as when the queen must receive the honors due her rank or produce offspring for the security of the realm. However, his manual, in conjunction with Durand's, certainly paves the way for Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*, which contains advice for women of all ranks as well as for all stages of life. La Tour Landry's blend of contemporary and biblical models, while not innovative, had not figured prominently in women's pedagogic texts for hundreds of years. This methodology anticipates that of Christine in her *Livre de la cité des dames*.

Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*

Giovanni Boccaccio's slightly earlier, very popular *De claris mulieribus*, or *Famous Women* (c. 1360), departs from the format of the other texts already discussed in that it primarily presents portraits of exemplary women rather than prescriptive instructions on how

to educate them.¹⁶⁴ Not only meant to entertain, the book was intended to have instructional merit, as indicated in the dedication to Andrea Acciaiuoli, countess of Altavilla: “I urge you to read it [*De claris mulieribus*] occasionally [...] you will find delight in the virtues of your sex and in the charm of the stories. Nor will the perusal have been vain, I believe, *if it spurs your noble spirit to emulation [emula] of the deeds of women in the past*” (my emphasis).¹⁶⁵ These women, however, are—with the exception of Eve—entirely drawn from classical, pagan tradition, as Boccaccio felt biblical *exempla* and saints sought “true and everlasting glory” (*eternam et veram gloriam*, [12]) rather than worldly honors, which he claims would have limited the type of examples he gives. Indeed, in the preface Boccaccio writes, “I have decided to insert at various places in these stories some pleasant exhortations to virtue *and* to add incentives for avoiding and detesting wickedness. Thus holy profit will mix with entertainment and so steal insensibly into my readers’ minds.”¹⁶⁶

“Steal insensibly,” as Virginia Brown has translated *subintrabit*, however, is a bit of an exaggeration; on multiple occasions, Boccaccio openly states the lessons he wishes the reader

¹⁶⁴ A copy of this text is found in the Burgundian collection as early as the 1404 inventory of Philippe le Hardi’s library; this is BnF fr. 12420, of which certain folios have been digitized on the BnF’s Mandragore site. See Bonost and de Templeuve, *Inventaire*, Item 97, and Doutrepont, *Littérature française*, 270. The text was enormously popular in the vernacular, as evidenced by the multiple contemporaneous translations (Italian, French, German, Middle English, Spanish...) (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, ed. and trans. Virginia Brown [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001], XXI).

¹⁶⁵ “si michi aliquid creditura es [...] suis quippe suffragiis tuis blandietur ociis, dum feminae virtute et historiarum lepiditate letaberis. Nec incassum, arbitror, agitabitur lectio si, facinorum preteritarum mulierum emula, egregium animum tuum concitabis in melius” (*Famous Women*, 4). All English translations are Virginia Brown’s; page numbers are given for the Latin. Franklin rightly points out that “*Famous Women* was written in Latin for an exceptionally learned readership” (*Boccaccio’s Heroines*, 10). Although Franklin does not gender this “readership,” the implication is male, begging the question as to whether this text was truly meant for women’s edification at all. Stephen D. Kolsky confirms this impression in his commentary on Boccaccio’s claim “that he wrote the text for ‘amicorum solatium’ (‘my friends’ pleasure’ [...]). This implies that it was written primarily for a male audience of humanists” (*The Genealogy of Women: Studies in Boccaccio’s De mulieribus claris* [New York *et al.*: Peter Lang, 2003], 118). Although we understand from this that men were meant to learn from female examples, we must also remember that Boccaccio tends to praise women who act in a manly fashion, discussed further below.

¹⁶⁶ “ratus sum quandoque historiis inserere nonnulla lepida blandimenta virtutis et in fugam atque detestationem scelerum aculeos addere; et sic fiet ut, inmixta hystoriarum delectationi, sacra mentes subintrabit utilitas,” 10; my emphasis.

to take from her reading. For instance, in his praise of Sulpicia, wife of Fulvius Flaccus, known for her chastity, Boccaccio counsels that:

for a woman to be considered completely chaste, she must first curb her wanton and wandering eyes [...] Her words must be not only respectable but brief and uttered at the right moment. She must avoid idleness as a sure and deadly enemy of chastity, and she must abstain from feasting, for Venus is cooled in the absence of food and wine. She must avoid singing and dancing as the weapons of lasciviousness and attend to temperance and sobriety. She must take care of her house, close her ears to shameful conversation, and avoid gadding about. She must reject make-up, useless perfumes, and superfluous ornaments.¹⁶⁷

This list of behaviors (downcast eyes, tightly controlled speech, avoiding idleness, gluttony, and other frivolous physical activities), though undeniably corporeal, are presented as a list absent illustrative examples—a rather masculine approach for advice to women.

In the Sulpicia who abandoned her luxurious lifestyle and joined her husband Truscellio in exile, Boccaccio finds evidence that “women should not always be resplendent with gold and jewels; they should not always be addicted to fashion [...] When changed circumstances demand it, they must, alongside their husbands, endure toil, suffer exile, bear poverty, and face danger bravely: the woman who refuses does not know how to be a wife.”¹⁶⁸ Similarly, in the chapter on Sempronia, the author first talks of her greed before flatly stating that “[f]rugality is a virtue proper to women. It is their task to save faithfully at home what

¹⁶⁷ “Equidem oportet matronam, ut pudica integre dici possit, ante alia cupidos vagoque frenare oculos [...] verba non solum honesta sed pauca et pro tempore effundere, ocium, tanquam certissimum et perniciosissimum pudicitie hostem, effugere, a comensationibus abstinere cum absque Libero et Cerere frigeat Venus, cantus atque saltationes, tanquam luxurie spicula, evitare, parsimonie ac sobrietati vacare, domesticam rem curare, aures obscenis confabulationibus obturatas habere, a circuitationibus abstinere, pigmenta et supervacaneos odores abicere, ornatus superfluos respuere,” 278.

¹⁶⁸ “Non enim semper auro et gemmis splendendum, no semper indulgendum cultui [...] sed cum viris, exigente fatorum serie, subeundi labores, exilia perpeti, pauperiem tolerare, pericula forti ferre animo: que hec renuit, coniugem esse non novit,” 350-52.

their husbands have earned.”¹⁶⁹ Apparently, for Boccaccio, the exemplary woman’s tale must be complemented by a strictly guided interpretation.¹⁷⁰

Nor does Boccaccio limit himself to counsel for grown women, including as he does several opinions on the education of girls. “I consider it highly inadvisable to give maidens too much freedom to stroll about and listen too readily to the words of just anyone,”¹⁷¹ he claims after explaining how Europa was kidnapped “through someone’s flattering words.”¹⁷² His remarks on the different concerns of the Amazons, their leaving aside of the distaff “and other womanly tasks,” indicate which domestic chores he expected girls to master.¹⁷³ Furthermore, Boccaccio:

wish[es] that the girls of [his] time [...] *learn from her [Camilla’s] example* the proper demeanor in their parents’ home, in churches, and in theatres [...] Let them learn also not to listen to less than honorable persons, to keep silent, have a serious look in their eyes, be well-mannered, gesture modestly, and avoid idleness, feasting, excessive luxury, dancing, and consorting with young men. Young women should also realize that it is neither pious nor in keeping with a chaste life to desire everything that is pleasurable and to do everything that is allowed. (my emphasis)¹⁷⁴

Girls should model their behavior, including habits of speech, gesture, physical activity, and pleasure-seeking, on Camilla’s. The few additional comments on young girls’ upbringing

¹⁶⁹ “Mulierum parsimonia est: ad eas spectat intra limen cum fide servare quod quesitum defertur a viris,” 332.

¹⁷⁰ For another example, see Boccaccio’s addendum to the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe where, as Kolsky has pointed out, “[t]he commentary makes every effort to tame the narrative, to justify its pleasurable aspects in the name of Christian morality and social order” (*Genealogy of Women*, 35).

¹⁷¹ “Vagari licentia nimia virginibus et aures faciles cuiuscunque verbis prebere, minime laudandum reor,” 48. Although there seems to be no direct parallel in the Latin, this idea contains secular echoes of the Dinah story.

¹⁷² “Ienocinio verborum cuiusdam,” 46.

¹⁷³ “Nec eis in alendis virginibus fuit ea cura que nostris; nam colo calatisve aliisque muliebribus abiectis offitiis,” 52. He makes a similar remark about Proba and her leaving aside “normal feminine practice, the distaff, the needle, and the loom” (“colus et acus atque textrina [...] more plurium,” 414). Kolsky traces the reference to the Amazons back to Vincent de Beauvais’ *Speculum historiale* (*Genealogy of Women*, 64).

¹⁷⁴ “Hanc intueantur velim puellule hodiernae [...] monite discant quid eas in domo patria, quid in templis, quid in theatris [...] deceat; minus quidem honestis negare aures, os taciturnitate frenare, oculos gravitate compescere, mores componere et gestus omnes suos honestatis mole comprimere, ocia, commesationes, lautitias nimias, choreas et iuvenum vitare consortia; sentiantque quoniam nec optare quod libet, nec quod licet agere sanctum sit aut castati conforme,” 156-58.

follow in a similar vein without specifying who, precisely, is doing the teaching.¹⁷⁵ Overall, although focusing exclusively on secular models, Boccaccio resembles Vincent in that his attention with regards to girls' education rests primarily on their behavior, which remains much the same set of actions as those suggested by Jerome almost a millennium earlier.

Stephen D. Kolsky has postulated that the fragmented nature of the individual lives comprising the *De claris mulieribus* reflects the “fractured, incomplete discourses that declare the impossibility of producing a coherent picture of woman.”¹⁷⁶ We find evidence of this incoherence in the relatively few existent references to women's intellect, where Boccaccio seems conflicted as to their actual capabilities. As Virginia Brown indicates in her introduction, “[s]uch praise as they do merit they do not earn *qua* female; the highest accolade Boccaccio can bestow upon a woman is to describe her as ‘man-like’ or as a woman capable of deeds beyond the powers of most men.”¹⁷⁷ Margaret Franklin likewise claims that, “Boccaccio adheres to the notion that character traits are inherently male or female,”¹⁷⁸ as may be seen in Boccaccio's praise of Andrea Acciaiuoli in the dedication, where he claims “your powers of intellect far [surpass] the endowments of womankind,”¹⁷⁹ this in contrast to most other women, “almost all of whom are endowed by nature with soft, frail bodies and sluggish minds.”¹⁸⁰ On

¹⁷⁵ “they should be well brought up from childhood in their father's home and taught honesty and virtuous behavior” [quin imo persancte ab infantia patria in domo nutrite, honestate et probandis moribus imbute], 188-90; “too much parental indulgence ruins the character of young girls” [Nimia enim [...] in adolescentulas maiorum indulgentia, virginum sepe depravata sunt ingenia], 330.

¹⁷⁶ Kolsky, *Genealogy of Women*, 23. Franklin insists, on the contrary, that “his [Boccaccio's] fundamental stance regarding the nature and role of women proceeds from a consistent and deeply held point of view that accommodates the varying circumstances in which men and women find themselves [...] that women possess limited capacity for the sort of higher achievements that make men great” (*Boccaccio's Heroines* 7).

¹⁷⁷ Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, XVIII-XIX.

¹⁷⁸ Franklin, *Boccaccio's Heroines*, 3.

¹⁷⁹ “tui [...] ingenii vires, quibus longe femineas excedis,” 4.

¹⁸⁰ “quibus fere omnibus a natura rerum mollities insita et corpus debile ac tardum ingenium datum est,” 8. See also §LIX on Irene, of whom Boccaccio says, “I thought that these achievements merited some praise because the art of painting is mostly alien to the feminine mind and cannot be attained without that great intellectual concentration which women, as a rule, are very slow to acquire” [Que, ideo quod officium est a femina, ut

the rare occasion that he can acknowledge a woman's "keenness of intellect," as in the case of the sibyl Almathea, Boccaccio cannot help but ask, "what ought wretched men to think who have a greater aptitude for everything?"¹⁸¹

And yet, there are instances that would seem to indicate that the female reader is perhaps not entirely hopeless: "there is nothing open to investigation that one cannot understand by the careful study of its [the Latin alphabet's] letters"¹⁸²—letters, it bears pointing out, that were invented by Carmenta. Even more provocative, given his attacks on women elsewhere in the text, Boccaccio is inspired by the case of Cornifica to write of the shame attendant on women who devote themselves to motherhood and let their intellect languish:

How glorious it is for a woman to scorn womanish concerns and to turn her mind to the study of the great poets! Shame on slothful women and on those pitiful creatures who lack self-confidence! As if they were born for idleness and for the marriage bed, they convince themselves that they are useful only for the embraces of men, for giving birth, and for raising children. Yet, *if women are willing to apply themselves to study, they share with men the ability to do everything that makes men famous.* (my emphasis)¹⁸³

However, this passage, which recognizes female intellectual capacity, if only women would apply themselves and reject societal conditioning and roles apportioned to them, still manages to blame women for the current state of affairs. "[S]ibi ipsis suadent se," Boccaccio claims, as if men's opinions had not been shaping women's actions for millennia. Such mixed messages

plurimum, alienum nec absque vi maxima ingenii consecutum, quod in eis tardissimum esse consuevit, dignum aliqua celebrari laude ratus sum], 250.

¹⁸¹ "Si ingenio et divinitate pervigiles valent femine, quid hominibus miseris arbitrandum est, quibus ad omnia aptitudo promptior?" 104.

¹⁸² "nec est quod queras possibile quod ab his vigilans non possis percipere," 110.

¹⁸³ "O femineum decus neglexisse muliebria et studiis maximorum vatium applicuisse ingenium! Verecundentur segnes et de se ipsis misere diffidentes; que, quasi in ocium et thalamis nate sint, sibi ipsis suadent se, nisi ad amplexus hominem et filios concipiendos alendosque utiles esse, cum omnia que gloriosos homines faciunt, si studiis insudare velint, habeant cum eis comunia," 354. Franklin writes that Cornifica's biography was one of three, added in a late stage of revision, "whose manifest purpose was to curry favor with the objects of his courtship [of potential patrons] and which did so substantially at the expense of his previous dogma" (*Boccaccio's Heroines*, 54).

make it quite difficult to determine whether or not he sincerely believes that women share men's abilities, although the sheer volume of derogatory remarks seems to imply that he does not.¹⁸⁴

Furthermore, this example from Cornifica's story is the only point in the text of the *De claris mulieribus* at which women are explicitly encouraged to read. The four others whom Boccaccio notes were devoted readers include Sappho,¹⁸⁵ Leontium,¹⁸⁶ Proba,¹⁸⁷ and Zenobia.¹⁸⁸ In these instances, though, it tends to be other qualities of which he suggests his audience take note, whether as a positive or negative model of conduct: the ineffectiveness of Sappho's words,¹⁸⁹ Leontium's licentious behavior,¹⁹⁰ Proba's productivity,¹⁹¹ and Zenobia's vigor, chastity, and greatness.¹⁹² While it is also possible to see in his scorn that Epicharis "lacked any taste for good literature"¹⁹³ the implication that women should be reading unspecified approved texts, we lack any enumeration of what those might be (or who is determining what they are) aside from Scripture and classical poetry. Additionally, unlike La Tour Landry, Boccaccio does not affirm that women should engage with literature to better their souls or more fully understand the Christian faith, although that subtext is undeniable;

¹⁸⁴ Indeed, Brown remarks that late 15th- and early 16th-century French translators and imitators of Boccaccio "consciously adopted less ambiguous attitudes about women, at least in the prologues to their works" (Cynthia J. Brown, *The Queen's Library: Image-Making at the Court of Anne of Britany, 1477-1514* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011], 111).

¹⁸⁵ "studio vigili," 192.

¹⁸⁶ "tantum in studiis literarum valuit," 250.

¹⁸⁷ "inter alia eius studia, adeo pervigili cura virgiliani carminis docta atque familiaris effecta est," 412.

¹⁸⁸ "Quarum suffragio hystorias omnes latinas grecas et barbaras summo cum studio vidit et memorie commendavit," 434.

¹⁸⁹ "adolescentis cor, Sapho canente, mollisse noluerunt," 194.

¹⁹⁰ "hec seposito pudore femineo meretrix, imo meretricula, fuit," 252.

¹⁹¹ "quoniam sedula studiis sacris ab ingenio segniciei rubiginem absterxit omnem, in lumen evasit eternum," 414.

¹⁹² "Quibus fugata muliebri mollicie adeo eam in virile robur duratam," 428; "Fuit tamen adeo pudicitie severa servatrix ut nedum ab aliis abstineret omnino, sed etiam Odenato viro suo, dum viveret, se nunquam exhibere, preter ad filios procreandos, voluisse legimus," 432; "Tanti profecto fuit hec," 434.

¹⁹³ "nullis delectata bonis artibus," 394.

whether a woman reads is less important than whether she behaves according to Boccaccio's (and medieval society's) morals.

By and large, the *De claris mulieribus* leaves us with the impression that a literary education is unnecessary for, even wasted on, women. While Boccaccio does not deny women's inherent intellectual potential, neither is he concerned with its development; he concentrates instead on advising his female readers on how to behave rather than what to learn—he even blames them for their own uneducated state. A woman's intellect is only remarkable if it equals man's, which feat is nearly impossible to achieve. He prescribes the same sort of modesty, relative silence, and temperate behavior as earlier pedagogues, since most modern women cannot be expected to surpass the boundaries of their sex as has his dedicatee. Boccaccio also fails to differentiate between women and girls in terms of expected comportment, implying a consistently patronizing, unchanging relationship to the (male) world. Durand's *Miroer*, La Tour Landry's *Livre*, and the *De claris mulieribus* were all found in Jean sans Peur's library during Agnès' youth; yet, compared to the *Miroer* and the *Livre de la Tour Landry*, the *De claris* hardly seems to speak to the woman Agnès became—or perhaps it spurred her to a lifelong quest to engage and develop her intellect.

Boccaccio's Angle on Female Exempla

The difficulty of comparing Boccaccio's use of exempla with that of his predecessors' lies primarily in the absence of biblical figures in the *De claris mulieribus*. Their omission, he claims, "seemed advisable, as I want [...] not to mix these women, nearly all of them pagan, with Hebrew and Christian women (except for Eve). The two groups do not harmonize very

well with each other, and they appear to proceed in different ways.”¹⁹⁴ It is evidently impossible, then, to consider his representation of Mary Magdalene, the Virgin, and others. Nevertheless, the women who populate the pages of the *De claris mulieribus*—including, in the final few chapters, several of his contemporaries, such as Camiola and Queen Joanna of Jerusalem and Sicily—embody many of the same virtues, or provide *exempla in malo*, to encourage the reader to embrace chastity, loyalty, and humility. Despite the manifest distinction between biblical and pagan exemplarity, it is clear that the shift away from promoting discernment and humility in favor of increased emphasis on loyalty and chaste widowhood reflects the society in which Boccaccio lived.¹⁹⁵

Among the numerous women whose chastity is inextricably linked to their continued abstinence after the death of their only husband, Dido is one of the most remarkable. Of “exceptional virtue and purity” (*inaudite virtutis atque castimonie*, [172]), when Dido is tricked by Carthage’s elders into promising to remarry, she “decide[s] to die rather than violate her chastity.”¹⁹⁶ Ignoring the dangers that idealizing suicide poses to the Christian soul, Boccaccio proclaims his unbridled admiration for her, in contrast to those who “drift into second, third, and even more marriages”¹⁹⁷ for personal or social reasons. His treatment of

¹⁹⁴ “Attamen visum est, ne omiserim, excepta matre prima, his omnibus fere gentilibus nullas ex sacris mulieribus hebreis christianisque miscuisse; non enim satis bene conveniunt, nec equo incedere videntur gradu,” 12. What Boccaccio means is that pagan women sought worldly renown whereas Hebrew and Christian women sought “true and everlasting glory” [eternam et veram gloriam] (*ibid.*). This distinction did not pose a problem for La Tour Landry, nor will it for Christine.

¹⁹⁵ Franklin explains on several occasions the intersection between Boccaccio’s emphatic promotion of (post)marital fidelity and the practically housebound existence of Florentine women; see *Boccaccio’s Heroines*, especially 63-75. She also acknowledges the sole deviation from an otherwise dogmatic insistence against the practice of remarriage, that of Queen Joanna, who was married to her second husband by the time Boccaccio came to Naples with the *De claris mulieribus* (*ibid.*, 55).

¹⁹⁶ “mori potius quam infringendam fore castimoniam rata,” 174. Boccaccio has not adopted Virgil’s version where Dido commits suicide after being abandoned by Aeneas.

¹⁹⁷ “ad secunda solum dicam, sed ad tertia et ulteriora etiam vota transvolasse levissimum,” 174. It is for this reason that I find untenable Kolsky’s proposal that Ladomia’s story did not make it into the text proper because of “the writer’s unease with the pedagogical lessons to be drawn from the heroine’s suicide” (*Genealogy of Women*, 21).

Dido's death, chastity in widowhood, and the question of remarriage accord extensively with the views Jerome puts forth in Ep. 123 to Geruchia, where he expounds at great length on St. Paul's statement that it is better for those who cannot abandon fornication to remarry rather than risk their souls by performing adulterous acts with multiple people;¹⁹⁸ Jerome also lauds the queen of Carthage "who preferred to burn rather than marry king Iarba."¹⁹⁹ Such forceful action contrasts starkly with the passive, contained chastity prescribed by Vincent; it also seems excessive when compared to the behavioral expectations laid out by Durand and La Tour Landry. In fact, it appears that Jerome's understanding of chastity most heavily informs Boccaccio's, as both here and in the stories of Lucretia, Virginia, and the Teuton matrons, to name only a few others,²⁰⁰ Boccaccio advocates a violent defense of women's purity, much as we saw in Jerome's Judith.²⁰¹

Another remarkable difference between Boccaccio's text and the others lies in the absence of commentary on and promotion of humility. Indeed, the best argument in favor of it is the *exemplum in malo* of Niobe, queen of Thebes. Her pride in her good fortune and numerous children leads her to speak out against the gods; this blasphemy is followed by the sudden and complete loss of her family. According to Boccaccio, this was because:

[f]or the most part, Nature has made men high-spirited, while she has given a meek and submissive character to women, who are more suited to luxury than to power. For this reason, it should not be surprising if God's wrath is swifter and his sentence more harsh against proud women whenever it happens that, like foolish Niobe, they go beyond the boundaries of their weakness [...] Hence Niobe should have been satisfied to give thanks to God—indeed it was her duty to do so—for granting her children, rather than seeking divine honors for herself

¹⁹⁸ 123:3-6, VII:75-81. The only theme that Boccaccio does not take up is that of a widow's liberty, which Jerome treats in 123:5. Kolsky also devotes several pages to the influence of Jerome's *Against Jovinianus*, including the "obsession with widows not marrying a second time," in Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*; see Kolsky, *Genealogy of Women*, 59-62.

¹⁹⁹ 123:7: "reginam Carthaginis, quae magis ardere uoluit, quam Iarbae reginubere," VII:81.

²⁰⁰ Chapters XLVIII, LVIII, and LXXX, respectively.

²⁰¹ Cf. n. 41.

as if the birth of such numerous and marvelous children had been her own accomplishment.²⁰²

In pointing out the direct hand that God has in a woman's fertility, Boccaccio accentuates his belief in the general ineffectiveness of women by implying that even motherhood, which he elsewhere decries as a deliberate choice promoting feminine intellectual sloth,²⁰³ is not actually to ladies' credit at all—or at best, that God grants fecundity as a reflection of virtue.²⁰⁴ Therefore, since they are entirely dependent on outside forces for any and all accomplishments, women must obey their natural inclination to humility. It is Boccaccio's logic, rather than his claim, that distinguishes him from all four of our earlier authors.

Quieter virtues, like humility, do not usually make for the interesting type of tale Boccaccio prefers for his collection. That, in fact, is a key difference between earlier pedagogical texts and the *De claris mulieribus*—Boccaccio would much rather a good story than a good but bland example. Indeed, Kolsky says, “Boccaccio is drawn by the dramatic moment: always scornful of the everyday, mundane activities of women, the *De mulieribus* is founded on the narrative possibilities of the extraordinary.”²⁰⁵ While narrative considerations certainly influenced La Tour Landry's delivery of many moralizing precepts, nowhere beside Boccaccio's compendium do we find such potential for ambiguity in the *exempla* as to necessitate extensive explication at each turn.

²⁰² “cum illos ferventis animi, ut plurimum, natura produxerit; has vero mitis ingenii et remisse virtutis, lautitiis potius quam improclivior ira sit et iudicium seivius, quotiens eas sue debilitatis contingat excedere terminos, ut insipiens Nyobes fecit [...] Satis igitur illi, imo debitum, erat Deo ex concessis egisse gratias, quam sibi divinos qualescunque honores quesisse, tanquam sui fuisset operis tam numerosam prolem atque conspicuam peperisse,” 68-70.

²⁰³ Cf. n. 183.

²⁰⁴ In this case, I can only partially agree with Kolsky, who sees in Boccaccio's representation of motherhood both “a liberation from a role that domesticates and stereotypes women and simultaneously a devaluation of one of the very few roles allowed them in the *real world*” (*Genealogy of Women*, 144; original emphasis).

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 134.

We must also take into account Boccaccio's aim of "honoring [the] glory" (*memoria referet in glorie*, [8]) of women—shaping the behavior of his reader is a secondary effect, in contrast to the works of Jerome, Vincent, and La Tour Landry. There is a partial parallel with Durand's *Miroer* in that both dedicatees are adult, aristocratic women and both texts primarily treat adult behavior rather than children's education; yet Boccaccio's extensive reliance on *exempla in malo* contrasts sharply with Durand's reflection of an ideal queen, as well as further distancing the *De claris mulieribus* from Jerome's letters, Vincent's *De eruditione*, and La Tour Landry's *Livre*.

Much of what Boccaccio finds worthy of praise is when women "have performed acts requiring vigor and courage,"²⁰⁶ while very little, if any, of the other authors' advice is structured to encourage "manly" behavior. Indeed, as Franklin remarks:

A text in which the highest praise falls to women who defy the laws of nature cannot have been intended primarily as a sourcebook of role models for women [...] In the Preface to *Famous Women* Boccaccio turns from dispensing flattery and cautionary advice to his female dedicatee to discourse designed to garner the approval of a male audience and, hence, acceptance into an established realm of male-dominated scholarship [...] his decision to compose *Famous Women* in Latin not only proclaims the work as belonging to a literary tradition endowed with solemnity and authority, but also defines his target readership.²⁰⁷

The latinity of the original text and the viril nature of the exemplary individuals indicate an intended male, not female, readership (in contrast to Durand's *Miroer*, also originally in Latin, where powerful behavior is *not* consistently equated with a masculine nature). Franklin also writes that "he [Boccaccio] expects women to emulate the *virtues* rather than the *deeds* of his heroines."²⁰⁸ Kolsky's interpretation differs slightly, in that he finds the "recurrence of particular types of women [to indicate] that their primary function (queen, military leader etc.)

²⁰⁶ "quasdam tam strenue quam fortiter egisse nonnulla," 8.

²⁰⁷ Franklin, *Boccaccio's Heroines*, 26-28; my emphasis.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 67; my emphasis.

was not unique, but repeatable and imitable across time.”²⁰⁹ Indeed, we find in the chapter on Irene, empress of Constantinople, support for Kolsky’s understanding of imitability, in that Boccaccio does not encourage women to follow Irene’s lead, *per se*, but does acknowledge how a contemporary woman might legitimately exercise power. Boccaccio’s tone is sharply critical of Irene’s actions when he believes that she has usurped her son’s rightful power, but offers genuine praise when her deeds—however horrible—tend to the good of the realm:

After Leo’s death, Irene and the young Constantine governed the empire well for ten years [...] Finally this woman of great spirit, who thirsted for power, quarreled with Constantine. He was confident of his own strength, but with *feminine cunning* Irene seized him, removed him from the throne, and had him imprisoned [...] Irene was an *astute* woman who had maintained her noble spirit despite the fact that she had been compelled to lay down her power. Having witnessed Constantine’s atrocities, she began to hope that she might regain her rule [...] she arranged that the men who had deposed her from the throne should seize her son Constantine and blind him. And so this *courageous* woman recovered the empire which had once been taken from her. (my emphasis)²¹⁰

Likewise, in the following chapter on Gualdrada, a Florentine maiden and another of Boccaccio’s contemporary examples, Gualdrada’s chastity is eminently imitable since, as Boccaccio says, “I decided to write this account as a reproach to the girls of our own day who are so giddy and of such loose morals.”²¹¹ In choosing to end his text with relatively recent *exempla*, Boccaccio’s *De claris mulieribus* encompasses both of the proposed audiences and types of reception as indicated by Franklin and Kolsky, in that the initial impetus for the text stemmed from a prospective male audience, but in the later emendations—including the

²⁰⁹ Kolsky, *Genealogy of Women*, 27.

²¹⁰ “Demum, rebus humanis Leone subtracto, cum Constantino parvulo admodum adolescentulo per decennium egregie imperio presedit [...] Tandem ingentis animi mulier et imperandi avida, cum in discordiam devenisset cum filio, femineo quodam astu iuvenum, fidentem viribus suis, cepit et depositum ab imperio servari iussit in carcere [...] Quibus enormitatibus oculata mulier Yrenes que, esto coacta fortunam deposuisset imperii, egregium tamen servaverat animum, spe sumpta reassumendi principatus [...] egit ut qui illam deposuerant Constanti<n>um filium caperent lumi<n>ibusque privarent; et sic animosa mulier sublatum olim sibi reassumpsit imperium,” 442-44.

²¹¹ “Hec dixisse placuit in dedecus modernarum, quarum tanta animi levitas est et effrenati sunt mores,” 448.

expanded commentaries²¹²—we find clear indications that Boccaccio thought modern-day women might read (and require guidance for understanding) the work as a kind of manual for individual self-improvement as well as an encyclopedic œuvre.

Conclusion

Starting with Jerome's 4th-century ideal of the widely-read woman, preferably a virgin, who remained disengaged from all secular affairs, theories of female pedagogy underwent substantial modifications while retaining morality and imitation as their cornerstone. Vincent de Beauvais considered the reading of sacred texts to be beneficial, but promoted an education and models of comportment that produced a passive, unintellectual vessel, happy to obey any male directives. Durand de Champagne, on the other hand, writing to different ends, acknowledged accordingly the realities of a secular queen's needs by encouraging learning across a broad range of topics, albeit learning of a pointedly religious leaning. Geoffroi de la Tour Landry presented an even more practical manual in terms of behavior; though he believed that women benefited from reading, his support for an extensive biblical/canonical education seems less whole-hearted than Durand's.

While these pedagogues' support for learning from books and through experience varies, Jerome, Durand, and La Tour Landry all acknowledge the significant role that imitation plays in the transmission of knowledge to and among women. This idea is so pervasive as to inform the works of writers like Giovanni Boccaccio, who believe that pleasurable reading

²¹² Regarding the various stages of the text's composition, Franklin and Kolsky refer the reader to Pier Giorgio Ricci, *Studi sulla vita e le opere del Boccaccio* (Milan; Naples: Ricciardi, 1985); "Studi sulle opere latine e volgari del Boccaccio," *Rinascimento* 10 (1959): 3-32; Vittorio Zaccaria, "Le fasi redazionali del *De mulieribus claris*," *Studi sul Boccaccio* 1 (1963): 253-332; and Guglielmo Zappacosta and Vittorio Zaccaria, "Per il testo del *De mulieribus claris*," *Studi sul Boccaccio* 7 (1973): 239-70.

about mythological and historical women will shape female readers' behavior with or without explicit exhortation to emulation. Unlike the other writers, however, for whom the Virgin Mary is the ultimate woman, Boccaccio finds that the best woman is one who acts like a man.

Half a century later, in the *Livre de la cité des dames*, Christine de Pizan takes exception to Boccaccio's opinion, substantially rewriting the stories of a great many of the ladies whose lives are recounted in the *De claris mulieribus*. In fact, as we shall see in the next chapter, the *Cité* effectively establishes the authority of women's experience as a legitimate method of acquiring knowledge, relegating exemplarity to a still-important but secondary position. Christine also demonstrates women's capacity to transmit knowledge in the abstract, including through images of women teaching students of both genders.

Chapter 2: “Apprendre et endoctriner”: Christine de Pizan on Women’s Education

Helas! et se la mere n’estoit toute sage,
quel exemple seroit ce aux filles
et a celles qui n’ont enfans?
Livre des trois vertus, I.XXVII, 190-91

In this citation from the *Livre des trois vertus*, Christine categorizes women simply, as those who are mothers and those who are not. All, however, participate in the transmission of knowledge by imitation, as mothers provide an example to their daughters and to other women who will in turn model behavior for the women in their lives, someday. Christine’s design also provides space for female religious, as their standard forms of address (mother, daughter, sister) situate them in a spiritual family—a family as concerned as any with continual education and with preparing its daughters for a life at court, as we have seen from St. Jerome’s advice to Laeta and Eustochium. Christine’s particular brand of early “feminism” as it applies to the transmission of knowledge among women in 15th-century France lies largely in her emphasis on the validity of experience as an instructional tool and in her insistence on women’s worthiness to teach male and female students. Additionally, for Christine, modeling plays a key role in women learning how to live an active yet devout life, and how to successfully mediate between one’s husband and one’s people, which were concerns pertinent to Agnès de Bourgogne, who owned copies of Christine’s *Livre de la cité des dames* (BnF fr. 24293) and *Epistre Othea* (BnF fr. 848) and had access to almost all of Christine’s corpus in the form of the so-called “Duke’s manuscript,” initially owned by Jean, duke de Berry (today BnF fr. 835, BnF fr. 606, BnF fr. 836, BnF fr. 605, and BnF fr. 607) which came to the library at Moulins through Agnès’ mother-in-law, Marie de Berry.¹

¹ Gilbert Ouy, Christine Reno, and Inès Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 228-92.

Of Christine de Pizan's numerous works, three that explicitly engage with the subject of women's education in a variety of modes and on a number of topics are the *Livre de la cité des dames* (1404-1405), its quasi-sequel the *Livre des trois vertus* (1405), dedicated to Agnès' older sister Marguerite de Bourgogne, wife of Louis de Guyenne (d. 1415), and the *Chemin de longue étude* (1402).² A fourth didactic text addressed to a male subject but which nonetheless refines our understanding of Christine's opinions on the transmission of knowledge by women is the *Epistre Othea* (1401).³

The *Cité* is framed as a dream in which the three Virtues, Raison, Droiture, and Justice come to Christine and, in recounting the examples of famous and infamous women, help Christine to construct the allegorical City in which the exclusively female inhabitants will be

² For the Middle French version of the *Cité*, see Pizan, *Citta delle dame*; a modern French translation is available in *La Cité des dames*, ed. Thérèse Moreau and Eric Hicks (Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée: Stock/Moyen Âge, 1992). References to the Middle French will be given by book, chapter, and page number, and as in-text citations whenever possible. The *Trois vertus*, also commonly referred to as the *Trésor*, is available in Middle French in Willard, ed., *Trois vertus*; citations are given by book, chapter, and line. On the relationship between the *Cité* and the *Trois vertus*, see Xiangyun Zhang, "Du Miroir des princes au miroir des princesses: Rapport intertextuel entre deux livres de Christine de Pizan," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 22 (1996): 55-67. My reference edition for the *Chemin*, containing facing-page Middle and modern French, is Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de longue étude*, ed. Andrea Tarnowski (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2000).

A great many scholarly works on Christine provide biographical information; in addition to the classic biography by Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea Books, 1984), see Gabriella Parussa's introduction to the recent facing-page edition of the Middle French and modern French translation, Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999), 5-12. Andrea Tarnowski rightly cautions, however, that "biographical commentary on Christine deals largely in statements she makes in works of fiction, rather than asking whether legal records or other archival material could verify the information she offers" (Andrea Tarnowski, "Autobiography and Advice in *Le Livre des trois vertus*," in *Une Femme de lettres au Moyen Âge: Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 159n1).

³ In preferring to include more substantial analysis of this text rather than, for instance, Christine's *Enseignemens moraux*, I refer the reader to Parussa's claim that the "mythologie au féminin" created by Christine in the *Epistre* constitutes "une sorte de prélude à la *Cité des Dames*" (*Epistre*, 28). Nancy Freeman Regalado concurs: "although *Othea* is a book of advice addressed to knights, Christine shapes it in three ways to appeal to her women readers: by authorizing her woman speaker; by assertive rewriting and interpretation of the stories she cites; and by subtle adjustments in the illustrations of the Queen's manuscript" (Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Page Layout and Reading Practices in Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea*: Reading with the Ladies in London, BL, MS Harley 4431," in *Founding Feminisms in Medieval Studies: Essays in Honor of E. Jane Burns*, ed. Laine E. Doggett and Daniel E. O'Sullivan [Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2016], 222). For an excellent discussion of Christine's choices and influences regarding the epistolary form, see—in addition to *Epistre*, 17-19—Sandra L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea: Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), 25-33.

forever protected from the sorts of stereotyping and accusations which drove Christine to despair at the beginning of the book. In the *Trois vertus*, Raison, Droiture, and Justice return to scold Christine for having let fall her pen, and offer an extensive series of behavioral directives to all types of women, old and young, rich and poor, virtuous and sinner, to guide them in leading blameless lives. The *Chemin* consists of another dream in which Christine, led by the Sibyl Almathea, travels the road opened to her by her studies before attending a debate organized by Raison in response to Nature's complaint that humanity is ruining the planet, wherein Richece, Noblece, Chevalerie, and Sagece all offer their opinions as to why the principles they personify should guide the choice of ruler over all men. Finally, comprised of 100 short sections of text in verse, each accompanied by a gloss and an allegorical explanation, the *Epistre*'s framing conceit centers around the goddess Othea who offers advice to Hector in the tradition of a *miroir de prince*.

In a mirror image of Christine's recurring themes, I have organized this chapter according to the larger topics under discussion. The first part is divided according to the three main modes of knowledge transmission: learning in the abstract, learning by experience, and learning by imitation. The second portion consists of an extended analysis of Christine's presentation of exemplary women with a special focus on how her choices differ from those of her didactic predecessors, particularly in her tendency to downplay female sexuality and emphasize pragmatic implementation of virtuous behavior. The last section treats the relationship between image, text, and learning in Christine's *œuvre*, revealing that manuscript illuminations strengthen Christine's claims of women's right to educate students of both sexes. Through these complementary approaches, I draw attention not only to the practical education she prescribed for her fellow women and its relation to her own studies, but also contend that

she thought they ought to and might actually acquire knowledge principally through experience and imitation.

While numerous critics have contributed books and articles to the debate on whether Christine was a (proto-)feminist or a traditional thinker with regards to women's place in French society at the turn of the 14th century,⁴ none has yet extensively questioned the importance of imitation, that is, modeling, to Christine's educational program. Likewise, although several scholars have remarked upon the significance of female experience in Christine's *œuvre*,⁵ no one has sufficiently elucidated its relationship to other modes of learning and how together they impacted her role as a conveyor of knowledge in a field dominated by men. Indeed, as Roberta Krueger points out, "In the *Mutacion* and elsewhere, Christine emphasizes the mutability and conflicted nature of the female teacher's gender roles,"⁶ including her worries that wise words unheeded will lead to instability of the social

⁴ Starting from the seminal articles by Susan G. Bell, "Christine de Pizan (1364-1430): Humanism and the Problem of a Studious Woman," *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 3 (1976): 173-84 and Christine Reno, "Feminist Aspects of Christine de Pizan's *Epistre d'Othéa à Hector*," *Studi Francesi* 71 (1980): 270-76, the conversation has included contributions by Liliane Dulac, "Un Mythe didactique chez Christine de Pizan: Sémiramis ou la veuve héroïque," in *Mélanges de philologie romane: offerts à Charles Camproux* (Montpellier: Centre d'Études Occitanes de l'Université Paul Valéry, 1978), 315-43; Diane Bornstein, ed. *Ideals for Women in the Works of Christine de Pizan* (Detroit: Michigan Consortium for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 1981) and *id.*, "The Ideal of the Lady of the Manor as Reflected by Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*," in *Ideals for Women in the Works of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Diane Bornstein (Detroit, MI: Michigan Consortium for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 1981), 117-28; Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Le *Livre des trois vertus* et le *Sermo ad status*," in *Une Femme de lettres au Moyen Age: Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 139-48; and several monographs and articles by Rosalind Brown-Grant including *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defense of Women: Reading Beyond Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and *id.*, "Christine de Pizan as a Defender of Women," in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah L. McGrady (New York; London: Routledge, 2003), 81-100. This is by no means a complete list, simply a representative sampling.

⁵ In addition to Andrea Tarnowski, "The Lessons of Experience and the *Chemin de long estude*," in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah L. McGrady (New York; London: Routledge, 2003), 181-97, see Leslie Abend Callahan, "Filial Filiations: Representations of the Daughter in the Works of Christine de Pizan," in *Au champ des écritures. III^e colloque internationale sur Christine de Pizan (Lausanne, 18-22 juillet 1998)*, ed. Eric Hicks, Diego Gonzalez, and Philippe Simon (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000), 481-91, 491; cf. also notes 29 and 30 below.

⁶ Roberta Krueger, "Christine's Anxious Lessons: Gender, Morality, and the Social Order from the *Enseignemens* to the *Avison*," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, ed. Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 16-40, 25.

order. Krueger rightly highlights Christine's varied strategems of establishing female authority; in the texts aimed at a masculine audience, Christine must flatter the male intellect, leaving the choice to "judge wisely, and [...] enact the chosen principles in their governance" to the reader,⁷ or recast herself as a man. The ideals Christine foregrounds in the *Cité* and *Trois vertus*, on the contrary, are "painful necessity" embodied for the reader's consideration and emulation in the Virtues' "reluctant servant," Christine herself.⁸

The Written Word and Abstract Ideas

Affective literature invites the reader to connect emotionally with a text by, for instance, imagining oneself at the scene of, or even as a participant in the action at events like Christ's Passion.⁹ A degree of affective reading is therefore necessary when choosing to emulate literary models, to translate virtuous action from the page to the body. But there are equally as many instances in a text where the reader is invited to accept and consider the information presented in the abstract, without requiring the reader to identify with another individual.

Although we see many instances of learning in the abstract in Christine's works, the education of *women* through books is inextricably linked with learning by personal experience, in large part because Christine's own experience as a reader so often contradicts the *auctores* she has read, a point developed in more depth in the section on learning by experience. The questions that guide this analysis are therefore the following: What examples demonstrate the difference between Christine's expectations of how women and men acquire knowledge in the

⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁹ Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), "Introduction," 1-21.

abstract? What differences exist between Christine's suggested reading for women and the reading she herself has undertaken? And finally, what do these differences indicate about Christine's understanding of women learning in the abstract? We will find that for Christine the problem lies in women's questionable capacity for discernment. While Christine might believe in theory that women are as capable as men of learning from the written word without an affective element, in practice she does not seem to expect this skill as part of the female repertoire for knowledge transmission and acquisition.

Christine states plainly in the *Cité* that “se coustume estoit de mettres les petites filles a l'escole et que suivamment on les feist apprendre les sciences, comme on fait aux filz, qu'elles apprendroient aussi parfaitement et entendoient les soubtilletéz de toutes les ars et sciences, commes ilz font” (I:XXVII, 150-52; my emphasis). In other words, girls are as intellectually capable as boys, but are limited by social conventions regarding schooling and reading.¹⁰ The *Trois vertus*, concentrated as it is on prescribing how to act, offers no clear instance of men or women reading with affect. The *Epistre*, too, offers much advice pertaining to action and little to abstract learning. The few occasions that explicitly treat reading place no limits on men's ability to acquire information from books (243, l. 31-33; 318, l. 20-21), but counsel that such learning must still be tempered by experience; women's reading goes unremarked. The same is true of the *Chemin*, even though both have a female narrator and/or speaker for much of each text. Most presumed readers tend to be male, such as the “hoirs” of Charles V for whom he had works translated from Latin to French (l. 5016-29), and those with the necessary “clergece / Pour les livres lire et entendre” (l. 4112-13) that Noblece herself lacks.

¹⁰ On girls' schooling, see Youngs, *Life Cycle in Western Europe*, 85-86, and Shahar, *Childhood*, 174-76.

The breadth of Christine's own reading practices is evidenced by the citations and paraphrases contained throughout her works.¹¹ For instance, the prologue to the *Cité* indicates that reading Matheolus' *Liber lamentationum Matheoli* prompted Christine's allegorical dream, while Raison's first speech references Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, St. Augustine's writings, and Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*.¹² Christine's knowledge of, dependence on, and reworking of Boccaccio are also prominently displayed in the *Cité*.¹³ Citations in the *Trois vertus* are rarer, perhaps because of its focus on the "real world,"¹⁴ though still plentiful; St.

¹¹ In addition to Christine's acknowledgment of her sources (e.g. "dit Aristote a Alixandre," *Epistre*, 242, l. 19), the editors of the editions of her works have, where possible, searched out and verified citations and paraphrases as well as the more opaque references such as "dit un sage" (*ibid.*, 245, l. 13-14) and "aucunes escriptures" (*Cité*, II.IV, 230). See *ibid.*, 505-13; *Trois vertus*, 229-47; *Epistre*, 31-70 (especially 53-60 on Christine's use of the *Manipulus florum*) and 384-455. On the underlying structural parallels between Christine's *Cité* and Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, see Xiangyun Zhang, "L'Idée de 'deux cités': L'influence de saint Augustin sur Christine de Pizan," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)* 11, supplementary issue (2004): 121-32.

¹² *Cité*, I.I-II. On Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in Christine's works, see Liliane Dulac and Christine Reno, "L'Humanisme vers 1400, essai d'exploration à partir d'un cas marginal: Christine de Pizan traductrice de Thomas d'Aquin," in *Actes du Colloque "Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XV^e siècle"*, ed. Monique Ornato and Nicole Pons (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1994), 161-78. For the influence of the Oresmian translations of Aristotle on Christine, see Sylvie Lefèvre, "Christine de Pizan et l'Aristote oresmien," in *Au champ des escriptures. III^e colloque international sur Christine de Pizan (Lausanne, 18-22 juillet 1998)*, ed. Eric Hicks, Diego Gonzalez, and Philippe Simon (Paris: Champion, 2000), 231-50. Christine herself demonstrates familiarity with the *Rose* in Pizan et al., *Débat*. Scholarly assessment of its influence on her work includes David F. Hult, "The *Roman de la Rose*, Christine de Pizan and the *querelle des femmes*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing*, ed. Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 184-94; Brown-Grant, *Moral Defense of Women*, 206-08; and Kevin Brownlee, "Discourses of the Self: Christine de Pizan and the *Romance of the Rose*," in *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose: Text, Image, Reception*, ed. Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 234-61.

¹³ Christine openly quotes or paraphrases Boccaccio in upwards of seventy stories in the *Cité*. For a small sampling of the various works analyzing Boccaccio's influence on Christine's writing, see the classic article by Alfred Jeanroy, "Boccace et Christine de Pisan [sic]: Le *De claris mulieribus* principale source du *Livre de la cité des dames*," *Romania* 48 (1922): 93-154; Dulac, "Un Mythe didactique;" Patricia Phillippy, "Establishing Authority: Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* and Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre de la cité des dames*," *Romantic Review* 77 (1986): 167-93; Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, "Problèmes de réécriture: Amour et mort de la princesse de Salerne dans le *Decameron* (IV, 1) et dans la *Cité des dames* (II, 59)," in *Une Femme de lettres au Moyen Âge: Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 209-20; Anna Slerca, "Dante, Boccacce, et *Le Livre de la cité des dames* de Christine de Pizan," in *Une Femme de lettres au Moyen Âge: Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 221-30; Kevin Brownlee, "Christine de Pizan's Canonical Authors: The Special Case of Boccaccio," *Comparative Literature Studies* 32, no. 2 (1995): 244-61; Dulce María González Doreste and Francisca Del Mar Plaza Picón, "À propos de la compilation: Du *De claris mulieribus* de Boccace à *Le Livre de la cité des dames* de Christine de Pizan," *Le moyen français* 51-53 (2003): 327-37.

¹⁴ Krueger, "Christine's Anxious Lessons," 28.

Bernard's sermon *On the Song of Songs*, Scriptures, St. Gregory's *Homilies* and *Moralia*, Chrysostom's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, Seneca's *On Anger*, the *Chroniques de France*, and Christine's own *Cité des dames* are all referenced within the first nine chapters.¹⁵ Likewise, the *Epistre Othea* demonstrates Christine's access to and familiarity with a wide variety of texts; most of the glosses and allegories contain one citation of a patristic writer and pagan philosopher each, with at least one quotation from the Vulgate in each allegory.¹⁶ The *Chemin*, too, evokes, alludes to, and cites (or claims to cite) Boethius' *Consolation*, Dante's *Inferno*, Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris*, and Apuleius' *De deo Socratis*, to name only a few.¹⁷ Deborah McGrady has shown that Christine's "treatment of reading [...] reveals that she played off both a clerical culture and a lay culture to construct a distinctive authoritative self-portrait that straddled the two realms."¹⁸ In other words, Christine foregrounds her own education through these extensive references to establish herself as an authority similar to those (male) *auctores* she cites.

¹⁵ Bernard: *Trois vertus*, I.IV, 106; in the notes, Willard remarks that this particular citation cannot be found in the *florilegium* to which Christine habitually referred (p. 230). Scriptures: I.IV, 161 (Ecclesiastes); I.VI, 43 (saints' lives); I.IX, 62 (Proverbs). Gregory: I.V, 34 and I.VIII, 66. Chrysostom: I.VIII, 10-11. Seneca: I.VIII, 128. *Croniques*: I.IX, 24. *Cité*: I.IX, 73. Karen Pratt explores Christine's "debt to tradition" in "The Context of Christine's *Livre des trois vertus*: Exploiting and Rewriting Tradition," in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow, 21-27 July 2000)*, Published in Honour of Liliane Dulac, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw and Catherine M. Müller (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), 671-84; due to her focus on the *Trois vertus*, however, she neglects to note that Christine's explicit reference to Vincent de Beauvais' *Miroir historial* in the *Cité* (III.IX, 460) suggests the possibility that Christine might have known other of his works—such as the *De eruditione nobilium filiorum*—as well.

¹⁶ To be sure, many of these citations are found in the *Manipulus florum* (cf. n. 11). However, several scholars have convincingly argued that Christine's knowledge of biblical and patriarchal writings extended beyond just the *florilegium*; see especially Earl Jeffrey Richards, "In Search of a Feminist Patrology: Christine de Pizan and 'les glorieux docteurs'," in *Une Femme de lettres au Moyen Âge: Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 281-95 and Lori J. Walters, "La Réécriture de Saint Augustin par Christine de Pizan," in *Au champ des escriptures. III^e Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan (Lausanne, 18-22 juillet 1998)*, ed. Eric Hicks, Digo Gonzalez, and Philippe Simon (Paris: Champion, 2000), 197-215.

¹⁷ *Chemin* l. 206-07, 1128-34, 4237-39, and 4141-42, respectively.

¹⁸ Deborah McGrady, "Reading for Authority: Portraits of Christine de Pizan and Her Readers," in *Author, Reader, Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice*, ed. Stephen Partridge and Erik Kwakkel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 157.

Equally important to keep in mind, however, is McGrady's contention that "rather than encourage the intense study Christine performs, text and image [in BL, Harley ms. 4431, 'the Queen's manuscript,'¹⁹] seek to facilitate quick comprehension, spotlight the materiality of the text, and finally incite group discussion of the work."²⁰ This same push toward rapid assimilation of information rather than prolonged study is evident in the absence of directions guiding women to specific texts, which appear far less frequently than Christine's own references to other works in the *Cité* and the *Trois vertus*, and not at all in the *Epistre*.²¹ Through Christine's eminently empathetic persona in the *Cité*, addressed as *tu* by the three Virtues and thereby inviting identification from the readers as if they personally were part of the discussion,²² women are encouraged to consult various histories: "tu peus toy mesmes veoir par les devis des histoires" (I.XIX, 128); "si que tu peus veoir par les histoires" (I.XX, 132). No other (or even specific) works are explicitly suggested, though a great many are read (and written) by women presented as worthy of imitation. For instance, Nicole "fu parfonde et experte es escriptures" (I.XII, 96), and Sempronia read unspecified but subtle works (I.XLII,

¹⁹ So named because it was originally dedicated to Isabeau de Bavière (r. 1385-1422). The entire manuscript can be viewed at <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_4431_f001r> (accessed May 25, 2016). See also Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 316-43.

²⁰ McGrady, "Reading for Authority," 171.

²¹ Certain illuminations in the *Epistre*, however, such as that of Diana looking down on a group of women reading on f. 107 of BL Harley 4431

(<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_4431_f107r> [accessed May 25, 2016]) definitely imply a literate female public. McGrady interprets this image in particular as inviting women to group reading and discussion ("Reading for Authority," 171).

²² This type of identification is even more plausible if we take into account Janet Coleman's category of "prelecting," wherein a text is read aloud before a group—the speaker would essentially assume the role of Reason with respect to her listeners; see Janet Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Ch. 2. Evidence that Christine assumed her audience would consume her texts both individually and by prelecting further supports this assumption: "Si la [lettre cité du *Livre du Duc des Vrais Amans*] puet passer oultre qui veult, se au lire lui anuye ou se autre foiz l'a veue, quoy qu'elle soit bonne et prouffitabile a ouir et notter a toutes haultes dames et autres" (*Trois vertus*, I.XXVI, 138-41); "Un epistre qui a Hector de Troye / Fu envoyer [...] / Bel a ouyr et meilleur a entendre" (*Epistre*, 196, l. 55-59). McGrady argues, however, that in the *Epistre* especially, Christine privileges "a material reading over an aural reception of the text" ("Reading for Authority," 170).

194).²³ In the *Trois vertus*, certain types of reading, such as saints' lives, are recommended in a general fashion ("de ce treuve l'en assez les Saintes Escriptions pleines, qui plus en voudra veoir," I.VI, 42-44; "Ceste dame lira volentiers livres d'enseignemens de bonnes meurs et aucunes fois de devocion," I.XI, 129-30) while immoral books should not be suffered at court (I.XI, 130-32). Similarly, mothers should teach their daughters to read Books of Hours and the Divine Offices as well as other religious texts and prevent them from even seeing frivolous books (I.XV, 61-65; my emphasis): "Et voudra la princepce que quant sa fille sera en aage qu'elle aprenne a lire, après ce qu'elle saura ses heures et son service, que on lui *admenistre* livres de devocion ou qui parlent de *bonnes meurs*; ne nulz de *choses vaines*, de *folies* ou de *dissolucions* ne souffrira que devant elle soyent portéz." Such seems to have been the attitude of Marguerite de Bavière, whose collection of paraliturgical texts likely served in daughter Agnès de Bourgogne's education.²⁴

Maidens are encouraged, provided they know how, to read saints' lives (II.V, 63-64). Christine even includes a meta-reference to women reading the *Livre des trois vertus*, which she hopes will be "presentee en divers lieux a roynes, a princepces et haultes dames, afin que plust fust honnouree et exaucee, si que elle en est digne, et que par elles peust estre semmee entre les autres femmes" (III.XIV, 14-17). The *Chemin*, by contrast, often names books and even individual chapters ("Et dit Bœce en son tiers *Livre / De Consolacion*" [l. 4125-26]), showing the reader-listener the way to wisdom even if not insisting that they travel it.

²³ Additionally, Cornificia read extensively and wrote poetry (I.XXVIII, 154); Proba used Virgil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid* to rewrite the New and Old Testaments in verse, in addition to using Homer's epics in a similar manner (I.XXIX, 156-58); Sappho's poetry is praised (I.XXX, 158-60); and St. Catherine, of course, was well educated in philosophy (III.III, 436).

²⁴ Marguerite de Bourgogne's library is analyzed in Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 41-49, and *id.*, "Les Bibliothèques de princesses en France au temps de Charles VI: L'exemple de Marguerite de Bavière," in *Livres et lectures de femmes en Europe entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, ed. Anne-Marie Legaré (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 191-210.

Compared with Christine’s own reading program, these two brief lists from the *Cité* and *Trois vertus* come up remarkably short. Evidently, the Scriptures, books of “devocion,” and saints’ lives that Christine prescribes overlap with her own studies. Less clear is what she means by books on good morals—do these encompass the pagan philosophers? Does this include Boccaccio’s *De claris mulieribus*, which Christine so drastically modified when writing the *Cité*? Charity Cannon Willard has remarked that “Although she [Christine] believed in liberal studies for herself and, in her *Livre du corps de policie*, for the ideal prince, for women she limited herself to recommending a moral education which is essentially humanistic *in concept*.”²⁵ Nevertheless, Christine’s general limitations on books for women do not discount their worth. For instance, histories attest to the glory of the Amazons: “Jadis fu commencié le royaume d’Amasonie par l’ordonnance et emprise de plusieurs dames de grant courage qui servitude desprierent, si comme les histoires t’ont *tesmoigné*” (I.IV, 56; my emphasis).

The pairing of books (or their authors) with the verb “tesmoigner” (“to witness, show, attest, reveal”) appears on multiple occasions in the *Cité* and the *Trois vertus*: “ceste choses ne seroit mie creable que elle peust estre vraye se tant de aucteurs auttentiques ne l’eussent en leurs livres *tesmoignié*” (*Cité*, I.XVIII, 120; my emphasis); “peus veoir comment cellui auteur Bocace *tesmongne* ce que je t’ay dit” (*ibid.*, I.XVIII, 156; my emphasis); and “ce mesmes *tesmoingne* saint Gregoire ou .xxii^e. livre de *Moralles*” (*Trois vertus*, I.VIII, 67-68; my emphasis).²⁶ This emphasis on witnessing and revealing, however, does not always dovetail

²⁵ Charity Cannon Willard, “Christine de Pizan’s *Livre des trois vertus*: Feminine Ideal or Practical Advice?” in *Ideals for Women in the Works of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Diane Bornstein (Detroit, MI: Michigan Consortium for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 1981), 101; my emphasis.

²⁶ From the *Cité*, see also: “pour laquelle chose tesmoigner est escript en l’istoire de Ulixes” (I.XXXII, 164); “tant de aucteurs le tesmoignent” (II.XIII, 252). From the *Trois vertus*, see I.XI, 16-17; I.XX, 14-15; II.VIII, 13-14; II.XIII, 66; III.VII, 75-76.

with the very issue of truthful representation of women that drove Christine to write the *Cité* in the first place! The difference is discernable in, even reinforced by Christine’s choice of words—in reference to Matheolus, she complains of “les *paroles* et matieres deshonestes de quoy il *touche*” (*Cité*, I.I, 42; my emphasis) rather than employ a form of *tesmoigner*. Likewise, she wonders that “sollempnelz clercs de tant hault et grant entendement [...] en [des femmes] eussent *parlé* mençongieusement” (*ibid.*; my emphasis). Where *tesmoigner* is inseparable from the idea of truth, descended by way of the noun *témoin* from the Latin *testimonium*, meaning witness, evidence, indication, proof, *parler* and *toucher* are substantially more generic terms. *Parler*, from the Latin *parabolare*, designates signification or expression of thought; *toucher*, from *tocare*, simply indicates contact between two things.²⁷ Neither *parler* nor *toucher* carry the juridical weight of *tesmoigner*. Furthermore, while Christine does fall back on legal language in this same chapter, lamenting “tant de si grandes *accusacions*, voire toutes *jugees*, *determinees* et *concluses* contre elles [les femmes] [...] s’il est ainsi, beau sire Dieux, que ce soit vray que ou sexe femenin tant d’abominacions habondent, si que *tesmoignent* maint, et tu dis toy mesmes que le *tesmoignage* de plusieurs fait a croire [...]” (*Cité*, I.I, 44; my emphasis), these *maint* witnesses do not carry the same credibility as specific *auctores* like Boccaccio and St. Gregory, or even those authors Christine has qualified as *authentic*. Christine’s vocabulary thus indicates to the reader which texts and authors Christine deems trustworthy, as *tesmoigner* is used with authors in whom she places her confidence, while verbs like *parler* and *toucher* are associated with sources with whom she disagrees.

Overall, Christine’s faith that women other than herself will successfully use their discretion with respect to choosing appropriate texts and believing what they read seems

²⁷ Etymologies come from Paul Robert, *Dictionnaire alphabetique et analogique de la langue française: Les mots et les associations d’idées*, 7 vols. (Paris: Société du Nouveau Littré, Le Robert, 1973).

minimal. Indeed, her commentary on the *Roman de la Rose* indicate as much: “entre vous [hommes] qui belles filles avéz et bien les desiréz a entreprendre a vie honneste, bailliéz leur, bailliéz et queréz *Le Rommant de la Rose* pour apprendre a discerner le bien du mal—que dis je! mais le mal du bien!”²⁸ Christine claims that the *Rose* will teach young female readers wickedness hidden in the guise of good morals, intimating that that audience lacks the ability to read at any level other than the literal. Christine agrees with the concept put forth by Durand in the *Miroer des dames* that “tu dois savoir quelles choses ont de bonté apparence et toutesvoies ne sont pas bonnes” (IV §13, f. 75v), but insists that the *Rose* will not teach girls this skill because it is composed of just such immorality disguised as goodness. Yet, early in the *Cité*, Christine implies that this sort of discretion is an inherently female trait, when Raison explains why certain texts forbid men from encouraging women to read: “se elles le [*Du secret des femmes*] lisoient ou ouoyent lire que bien saroient que [les autres particularitez dont il traicte] bourdes sont et le contrediroient et s’en moqueroient” (I.IX, 76). Like Christine, women would know “par [elles] mesmes, sanz nulle autre preuve” that the contents of the text being read to them are false, and they would not hesitate to say so rather than simply believe what is written. How is it, then, that women come by discretion? In part, Christine believes, through experience.

Learning by Personal Discovery and Experience

The Middle French “*experience*” appears nine times in the *Cité*, once in the *Trois vertus*, twice in the *Epistre*, and twice in the *Chemin*;²⁹ however, their respective frequencies

²⁸ Pizan *et al.*, *Débat*, 15.

²⁹ In addition to the citations below, see *Cité*: “l’ordre de mariage, qui est saint estat digne et de Dieu ordené, c’est chose clere et prouee par l’experience” (I.II, 48); “Mais ont [hommes] [...] usé de mauvais droit [...] si que je te monstreray par l’experience” (I.VIII, 66-68); “par l’experience de ce que on les voit moins savoir

of occurrence are not entirely indicative of the relative importance of the concept to each text. For instance, the entirety of the *Cité des dames* grapples with the validity of learning by experience, especially as a female mode of transmission of knowledge contained within the object—the book—the very authority of which it would call into question. As Christine affirms, “le contraire est magnifeste *par preuve de experience* qui appert et est apparue de plusieurs femmes” (I.XI, 94; my emphasis). It is Christine’s experience that drives her to compile the experiences of herself and other women and that allows her to refute the unfounded opinions of clerics like Jean de Meun.³⁰ Indeed, she unequivocally positions her experiences as a defensible position from which to argue the “truth” of women in the *Débat*, 19: “si comme je la sçay *de certaine science* [...] et de tant comme voirement suis femme, plus puis *tesmoingnier* en ceste partie que celui *qui n’en a l’experience*” (19, my emphasis).

The *Livre des trois vertus* does not reiterate the contents of the previous book; rather, it focuses more on quotidian practicalities and prescribes a great many actions and activities—that is, a great many experiences, though they are not couched in that exact language—for women. For instance, in presenting Jeanne d’Evreux (r. 1325-1328) as an example of a woman to whom governance was entrusted because she showed herself to be wise (“a qui soit commis grant gouvernement, *comme plusieurs font et ont fait* a leurs femmes quant les veoyent bonnes et sages” [I.XI, 20-22]), Christine relies on action (“like many *do* and *have done*”) as a witness

communement que les hommes” (I.XXVII, 152); “ce scay je par experience, car pour moy mesmes a ouvré d’aucunes choses” (I.XLI, 192); “Et parce que devant t’ay dit de l’experience que on peut chacun jour veoir de leurs devociions et autres charitables biens [...] est assez prouvé” (II.LIII, 372-74); “Mais selon ce que l’experience se monstra, moult fu plus grande l’amour de Dido vers Eneas que celle de lui vers elle” (II.LV, 380); “auques pareulx ay veus par experience” (II.LXV, 414). Christine’s own experience is also referenced, though not in explicit terms, in *ibid.*, II.XIII, 254; *Trois vertus*, I.IV, 161-63; and *Chemin*, l. 1852-53.

³⁰ She also criticizes his portion of the *Rose* and its demonstration of his lack of experience with women quite thoroughly in her epistolary exchange with Pierre and Gontier Col, making it a natural choice to supplement my argument in this section. The collected letters can be consulted in the Middle French in the *Débat*, and in a modern French translation, Virginie Greene, *Le Débat sur le Roman de la rose* (Paris: Champion, 2006).

to her claim. As Marilynn Desmond writes, “the carefully detailed instructions in the *Trois vertus* are designed to elicit particular female bodily practices from its readership; women who perform their gender according to these precepts will disprove the anti-feminist rhetoric perpetrated by misogynist clerks.”³¹

Experience appears in the *Chemin* far more often than simple word-count indicates, as when Christine allows herself to share what she has *seen* despite her lack of formal education:

1848 Mais de quanque elle [Almathea] devisa
Je ne pense pas a parler
[...]
1852 Car sciënce d’astrologie
N’ay je pas a l’escole apprise;
Si en pourroie estre reprise;
Mais de ce qu’en general vis
1856 Puis compter qu’il m’en fu avis
(my emphasis)

Nevertheless, learning by experience, by imitation, and in the abstract all play substantial roles in this work, whose female protagonists seek to sway the opinions of male reader-listeners. The *Epistre* barely addresses learning by experience at all, which, due to its male protagonist and intended masculine audience, seems to reinforce the feminine nature of the practical mode of education.³² In adducing primacy to living experiences, to the acquisition of knowledge via the body, Christine challenges medieval theories of education that prioritize books as the most authoritative pedagogical tool.

In the *Cité*, Christine’s first instinct when confronted with Matheolus’ vitriol against women is to consult her own comportment, which is to say, experience: “je pris a examiner

³¹ Marilynn Desmond, “Christine de Pizan: Gender, Authorship, and Life-Writing,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 131.

³² Dronzek, “Gendered Theories of Education,” 136: “medieval authors expected boys and girls to learn in different contexts, to absorb information in different ways [...and that] the scientific/medical view of women as more rooted than men in the physical world, as creatures of the flesh rather than the spirit, informs authors’ views on women’s education and conduct.”

moy mesmes *et mes meurs* comme femme naturelle” (I.I, 42). The first definition offered by the *DMF* for *moeurs* is “conduite, comportement, manière de vivre”—conduct, comportment, and way of living all being *actions* performed by the body.³³ Earl Jeffrey Richards explains that Christine’s use of the term *naturelle* complements this centering of bodily experience established by the use of *meurs*:

A phrase such as *mulier* or *femina naturalis* occurs neither in the *Patrologia* nor in the works of Aquinas; thus Christine’s crucial phrase *femme naturelle* [...] is all the more provocative. The term *naturel(le)* implies that Christine wants to recuperate the **real, historical experiences** of women.³⁴

The three Virtues likewise stage their entire discourse with the goal of reinforcing the knowledge Christine has acquired through experience; they have come, they tell Christine: “pour [...] te giter hors de l’ignorance, qui tant avugle ta mesmes congnoissance que *tu deboutes de toy ce que tu ne scez de certaine science, et ajoustes foy a ce que tu ne scez ne vois ne congnois autrement fors par pluralité d’opinions estranges*” (I.II, 46; my emphasis).

One of the most important instances of “experience” in the *Cité* occurs during the discussion of women’s intellectual capacities. In response to Christine’s question as to why men claim that they know more than women ever could, Raison replies:

Scez tu pourquoi ce est que moins scevent?
C: Dame, non, se ne le me dites.
R: Sans faille, ce est pour ce que elles ne frequentent pas tant de diverses choses, ains se tiennent en leurs hostelz et leur souffit de faire leur mainage, et *il n’est rien qui tant appreigne creature raisonnable que fait l’exercice et experience de plusieurs choses et diverses.*

³³ *DMF*

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³⁴ Earl Jeffrey Richards, “Somewhere between Destructive Glosses and Chaos: Christine de Pizan and Medieval Theology,” in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah L. McGrady (New York; London: Routledge, 2003), 49; bold, my emphasis. Mary Ann C. Case analyzes similar references by Christine to authority stemming from experience as a woman in the *Débat* in “Christine de Pizan and the Authority of Experience,” in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, ed. Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 71-87.

(I.XXVII, 152; my emphasis)

That is, women lack experience rather than intellectual ability. By framing women's relative ignorance in terms of absence of *experience* rather than a lack of *education*, and placing this discussion immediately after an assertion that girls would learn the arts and sciences as well as boys if they were sent to school, Christine prioritizes experience and action as legitimate, effective teachers.³⁵ At times, her words even imply that experience (here inextricably conjoined with imitation) is a more efficient instructor than reading:

On voit assez de gens qui ont l'engin moult subtil en sentement et en entendre [...] tant que *par frequenter l'estude acquierent tres grant clergie*, et toutevoies mains en y a, meismes des plus reputez grans clers et plains de science, voit on aucunefoiz assez petite prudence *en meurs* et en gouvernement mondain [...] Si saroie volentiers de vous, Dame, s'il vous plaisoit, se en entendement de femme [...] Est autressi prompt et abile es choses qui prudence enseigne, c'est assavoir qu'elles ayent avis sur ce qui est le meilleur a faire et a ce qui doit estre laissié, *souvenance des choses passees, par quoy plus soient expertes par l'exemple que ont veu.*

(I.XLIII, 194-96; my emphasis)

Though the end of this passage phrases it as an implied question, "si saroie [...] se," Christine sets herself up to once again confirm that women whose knowledge is based on previously lived and *seen* events demonstrate greater understanding than erudite scholars. *Experience* and *veoir* are not semantically identical; *experience* comes from the Latin *experientia*, attempt, trial, practice, and *voir* from *videre*, to perceive by seeing, see in the mind's eye, judge, and determine (among other meanings).³⁶ As far as establishing feminine authority is concerned, though, the two are absolutely related, as we saw in the conflation of sight and experience in Durand's *Miroer*: "vëons nous par experience" (IV §32, f. 77v). Similarly, the use of "veoir"

³⁵ Patricia Ranft comes to the opposite conclusion about this passage because she does not interpret experience as a legitimate mode of education (*Women in Western Intellectual Culture, 600-1500* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 182).

³⁶ Etymologies from Robert, *Dictionnaire*.

as a foundation for experience is found throughout the *Cité*, as in the following example: “Ce seroit choses a croire, amie chere, se on n’y *veoit* ne mais les jeunes et jolies. Mais se tu y prens garde, pour une jeune que tu *verras*, .xx. ou .xxx. vielles de simple abit y voit on converser es lieux de devocion” (I.X, 84; my emphasis).³⁷

The singular occurrence of the word “experience” in the *Trois vertus* also hinges on past events and is also predicated on the act of seeing, though this time equated with wisdom (*entendement*) rather than practical expertise:

[...] dit on que vieilles gens sont communement plus sages que les joennes, et il est vray pour .ii. raisons: l’une, pour ce que leur *entendement* est plus parfait et a plus grant consideracion; et l’autre, que *ilz ont plus grant experience des choses passees, pour ce qu’ilz ont plus veu.*
(III.VI, 19-22; my emphasis)

The more one has lived and seen, the wiser one becomes (or should). However, Christine situates this claim in a chapter on lower-class widows, in a portion of the book whose only acknowledgement of the role books might play in women’s education is a nod to the *Trois vertus*’ own future distribution.³⁸ Experience (including that acquired via imitation, as addressed below) is therefore tacitly acknowledged as the primary viable source of knowledge for non-aristocratic women. Aristocratic women, by contrast, presumably have access to models worthy of imitation.

The noticeable absence of the term “experience” from the *Trois vertus* stems from its divergent approach to women’s education—a different rhetoric for a different audience. In contrast to the *Cité*, practical suggestions on behaviors to adopt and avoid are only minimally

³⁷ See also II.XX, 272; II.XXII, 276; II.XXVIII, 286; II.XLVII, 336; II.XLIX, 342; II.LXII, 408; II.LXVI, 418; III.XVIII, 492(?); III.XIX, 500. One instance of this same usage can be seen in *Trois vertus* as well in I.VI, 58. Several are also found in the *Chemin*, l. 651-53, 3285, 3655, 3676, and 6354-55. See, finally, the list in the *Débat* letters of exemplary women that “en noz aages avons veu,” 19.

³⁸ III.XIV, 14-17, as noted above. According to Roberta Krueger, however, “she also appeals to the industrious ethics of the new bourgeois reader whom she will reach in paper manuscripts and early printed editions of this work” (“Christine’s Anxious Lessons,” 34).

filtered in that they are explicit recommendations rather than bound up in histories and legends. In Krueger's words, "The multiple voices of the *Cité* are actively in *dialogue* [...] The *Trois Vertus* [...] is more uniformly *prescriptive* in tone."³⁹ This difference in presentation is due to the *Trois vertus* being a practical manual for women of all stations rather than a Socratic debate about the inherent value of women and learning. These instructions, therefore, do not require the same type of justification as the claims made by the Virtues in the *Cité*, since their validity is not in question, the stage having been set by the intellectual dialogue of the *Cité*.

The purpose of the *Chemin* differs substantially from that of the *Cité*, but less so from the *Trois vertus*, as it seeks to inform the behavior of the male French aristocracy. The *Chemin* thus offers a more complicated instance, as both Almathéa and Christine learn from doing (living) and, for Christine in particular, from seeing, but the text also seems to place significant emphasis on choosing the appropriate teacher and path by virtue of its structure and the protracted arguments against taking *richece*, *noblece*, or *chevalerie* as one's primary concern.⁴⁰

Similarly, in the *Epistre*, there are only two explicit references to learning by experience, both of which are in paraphrased citations, and one of which actually concerns *texts* based on experience. The first is to Plato, who "se tint a ceulx [livres] de science raisonnable et de experience" (256, l. 19-20); the second, in the allegorical explanation to the verses on Briseyda, where Christine paraphrases St. Augustine: "cellui qui a bien appris et essayé par experience les degrez des vices surmonter est venu a congnoissance" (319, l. 34-35). Neither of these passages actually indicates that the good knight (or the reader) should go about learning by experience, only that he should seek out the company of those who have

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 28; my emphasis.

⁴⁰ As seen in Sagesce's virtual evisceration of Richece's arguments in favor of her candidate's election as king (*Chemin*, l. 4585-4920), for example.

already done so. Instead, Othea's suggestions to the young knight are comprised chiefly of a behavioral directive and a reference to a person who exemplifies that trait, as in the following example counselling against loving someone not of one's own community:

D'amour estrange ne t'assottes;
Le fait Achilés pense et nottes,
Qui follement cuida s'amie
Faire de son ennemie.
(331, l. 2-5)

This gendering of educational methods is further emphasized by the significant overlap between behavioral directives aimed at men and those aimed at women across Christine's various works. Those select qualities that are specific to men concern the risks associated with trusting the wrong people (*Epistre*, 257, l. 16; 292, l. 16-17; 314, l. 19), especially those whose relatives or companions the knight might have killed (*Epistre* 245, l. 11-12; 286, l. 13-15; 320, l. 18-20); military affairs such as not enjoying killing (*Epistre* 258, l. 11-12) and maintaining an appropriate level of physical conditioning (*Epistre* 235-36, l. 37-40; 305, l. 9-10; *Chemin* l. 4453-55); strategy, such as not delivering unpleasant messages to one's liege lord (*Epistre* 268, l. 22-25) and the benefits of playing chess (*Epistre* 317, l. 11-14); and the injunction to defend the Church, women, and children (*Chemin* l. 4273-80).⁴¹ Nevertheless, the vast majority of the virtues extolled (and vices to avoid) in text, gloss, and/or allegory of the *Epistre* and in the prescriptive portions of the *Chemin* are precisely the same as those for women in Christine's *Cité* and *Trois vertus*: the good knight should cultivate in himself prudence, temperance,

⁴¹ The good knight is also reminded that he must not covet his neighbor's wife (261, l. 23-24). I have yet to see a lady reminded not to covet her neighbor's husband; rather, most writers remind her not to covet her neighbor's *parent*. For additional discussion of the parallels between advice addressed to men and women in Christine's various works, see Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, "'Traictier de vertu au prouffit d'ordre de vivre': Relire l'œuvre de Christine de Pizan à la lumière des miroirs de princes," in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow, 21-27 July 2000)*, Published in Honour of Liliane Dulac, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw and Catherine M. Müller (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), 596-600.

constancy, justice, mercy, generosity, and chastity; he should flee pride, anger, drunkenness, laziness, gluttony, and hypocrisy (to name only a few). Thus, the different ways by which men and women are brought to understanding of the vices and virtues reinforce the perception of gendered didactic methods.

Christine's preference for telling the reader what to do in lieu of showing a precept enacted in an example or having a narrator relate what s/he "sees" unites the *Epistre* and the *Trois vertus*, while the *Chemin*, in which every idea is accompanied by an illustrative example,⁴² bridges the gap between them and the *Cité* through its blend of the narrator's observations and the allegorical personifications' behavioral suggestions.⁴³ However, the *Trois vertus* (and the *Chemin*, to a large degree) accompanies its prescriptive virtues with practical details on a level that the *Epistre* does not. For instance, in order to govern wisely, Prudence Mondaine insists that women of lesser nobility make sure they know the rights "des fiefs, des arriers fiefs, des censives, de droictures, de champars, de prises de plusieurs mains, et de toutes telz choses" (II.X, 28-30).⁴⁴ Likewise, part of *prudence* includes a princess seeing to her children's education, which in practical terms requires that "ses diz enfans soient souvent menéz vers elle [pour qu'elle puisse considérer] leurs manieres et faiz et diz, [et] les [reprendre] elle meismes tres fort se ilz mesprennent" (I.XV, 40-43). In contrast to the abstract references to mythological stories in the *Epistre*, the detailed suggestions in the *Trois vertus* apply to and derive from experience.

⁴² This being the case, it is even more interesting that the *Epistre* and the *Chemin* are often extensively illuminated while the *Cité* and *Trois vertus* are not.

⁴³ In Rosalind Brown-Grant's analysis of the rhetorical underpinnings of the *Débat*, she remarks that "for both of them [Christine and Jean Gerson], simply *showing* a certain type of behaviour tends to recommend it to the reader in the absence of an explicit injunction from the author *telling* the reader otherwise" (*Moral Defense of Women*, 36). Even in her non-fictional writing, then, Christine demonstrates her understanding of the power of modelling as well as the division between types of learning.

⁴⁴ For a more extensive discussion of this aspect of manorial women's education, see Bornstein, "Ideal of the Lady."

While experience remains a primarily feminine concern across these four works, even in the two that are specifically aimed at women Christine employs the concept in very different manners: in the *Cité*, experience poses a direct challenge to the textual authority of male authors, whereas in the *Trois vertus* it plays a complementary role, supporting virtues extolled and vices condemned by the books Christine cites. In both cases, however, she insists upon the importance of experience, especially as regards developing sound judgment.

Learning by Imitation

Learning by imitation comprises practices of modelling, with the author both presenting models to the reader as worthy of emulation and encouraging the reader to serve as a model to others. Perhaps as a manifestation of underdeveloped skills of discretion, and because imitation is such a key practice in establishing that expertise, Christine advocates for only positive models at all times—as if women were incapable of *just* seeing, in real life or in mental images, without necessarily replicating the example they have observed. Indeed, Christine inundates her audience with models in the *Cité*—for each claim of feminine vice by male authors, Raison, Droiture, or Justice provide at least two imitable examples to the contrary. Her tactics for the *Trois vertus* differ in that Christine offers far fewer examples, preferring to call on her (royal) readers to act as models for the women around them.⁴⁵ The *Epistre* unexpectedly presents a co-educational mélange of models for its male audience to emulate, while all but two of the *Chemin*'s models are men. Taken all together, Christine's approach to learning by imitation indicates her belief that women *must* learn from each other

⁴⁵ Lorcin offers an interesting breakdown of the various didactic styles Christine employs in the *Trois vertus*; although she does not differentiate between various types of learning, there is a substantial degree of overlap between my methods and her modes (exposé, description of a model, discourse, and stories and portraits) (“*Sermo ad status*,” 145).

and that men *should* learn from women as well as from other men. Significantly, though not surprisingly, Christine omits explicit directives that women should learn from men's actions.⁴⁶

In the *Cité*, exemplary women come from a variety of sources including histories, Scripture, and Christine's own acquaintances; the index of proper names⁴⁷ reads like a Who's Who of the Bible, pagan mythology, and the women of the French aristocracy at the end of the 14th century. Yet despite presenting these women in a laudatory fashion, the first explicit acknowledgement that women might learn by imitation occurs when Christine asks if women are more prudent by virtue of "*l'exemple que ont veu*" (I.XLIII, 196); otherwise, the vast majority of examples are given without explicitly indicating that the reader should emulate them.

Christine (via Justice) finally points out the power of modelling and imitation in Book II, when she explains how important a mother's good example is in raising a well-behaved daughter: "quant est a la doubte qu'elles [les filles] facent folie, il n'y a que de les sagement introduire quant elles sont petites et que *la mere leur donne bon exemple par soy mesmes en honnesteté et doctrine, car se la mere estoit de fole vie, petit exemple seroit a la fille*" (II.VII, 240; my emphasis). A dishonest, irreligious, and otherwise imprudent mother *cannot* raise her child properly.⁴⁸ Similarly, Rebecca "*estoit exemple de toute chasteté a toutes celles qui la veoient*" (II.XXXIX, 320; my emphasis), while Antonia, wife of Drusus the Elder,⁴⁹ maintained her chaste life *in spite of* the "*l'ait exemple qu'elle veist*" in the luxurious life of her

⁴⁶ A rare exception, Saint Louis (Louis IX of France) makes an appearance as an implicit model in the *Trois vertus*, I.VII, l. 57, as pointed out by Mühlethaler, "Traictier de vertu," 594.

⁴⁷ Included in *La Cité des dames*, 291-303, but not in *Citta delle dame*.

⁴⁸ This advice neglects to take into account the numerous saints who turned out well in spite, rather than because, of their parents—but perhaps this falls under the rubric of "better safe than sorry."

⁴⁹ Christine offers "Druse Thibere, frere de Neron l'empereur" as Antonia's husband, but this seems to be a conflation of Drusus the Elder (Nero Claudius Drusus), whose wife was Antonia the Minor, and his brother the emperor, Tiberius Claudius Nero.

father, Marc Anthony (II.XLIII, 326), modeling not only proper comportment but discernment as well. As with experience, seeing and doing are inextricably linked to learning, although Marie-Thérèse Lorcin questions whether such models are actually effective: “le femmes ‘de tous états’ se voient derechef offrir en exemple Thomyris, reine des Amazones [...] Modèles prestigieux que l’on veut croire convaincants (?) s’il s’agit de répondre aux sarcasmes des hommes, mais sans doute peu inspirants face aux difficultés quotidiennes.”⁵⁰ Desmond also remarks that it is not until the hagiographical section of the third book that the *Cité* “has the potential to model an enabling form of *embodiment* for its female readers.”⁵¹ Given the emphasis on *doing* throughout the text, however, I am inclined to insist that all three sections offer examples of “enabling form[s] of embodiement.”

Throughout the *Cité*, Reason, Droiture, and Justice repeatedly *give many examples* in response to Christine’s queries.⁵² The majority of the remaining *exemples* consist of two-sentence summaries of women’s lives and stories rather than the precise details concerning their imitable comportment. For instance, one two-page-long chapter mentions Juno, Europa, Jocasta, Medusa, Helen of Troy, and Polixene (*Cité*, II.LXI, 404-08). One might object, therefore, that simply categorizing these many stories as examples does not indicate that Christine intended all of them as models for her readers rather than simply as an illustrative list of a given quality.⁵³ However, in addition to her statement to her audience that “toutes vous

⁵⁰ “*Sermo ad status*,” 141.

⁵¹ “Gender, Authorship, and Life-Writing,” 130; my emphasis. On male vs. female construction of (religious) women as models for others, see also Catherine M. Mooney, “Voice, Gender, and the Portrayal of Sanctity,” in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 1-15.

⁵² For convenience’s sake, as it is often difficult to distinguish between the two, I refer to the historical person as well as Christine’s narrator-persona as Christine.

⁵³ These definitions, among others, are included in the *DMF*; see the complete entry for “exemple” at <http://atilf.atilf.fr/gsouvey/scripts/dmfX.exe?IDF=dmfXdXpcYebjf;ISIS=isis_dmf2010.txt;MENU=menu_dmf;OUVRIR_MENU=2;s=s0d282f58;FERMER;AFFICHAGE=2;MENU=menu_dmf;;XMODE=STELLa;FERMER;:> (accessed June 4, 2016).

y [dans la matiere de ce livre] povez *mirer*” (III.XIX, 498; my emphasis), Christine’s habit of substantially rewriting her sources in order to present women in a particularly positive light provides support for understanding even the briefest of mentions as exhortations to imitation. Indeed, following on Jody Ender’s argument that the city is a memory palace, these two-sentence summaries, like that of Jocasta who “fu royne de Thebes, renommee pour sa tres grant infortune, car par mesaventure elle ot espouse son filz apres ce que il ot occis son pere, dont elle et lui riens ne savoient, et vit que il se desespera quant il sceut l’aventure, et puis vit entreoccire .ii. filz que elle en avoit eu” (II.LXI, 406), function like those blood- and paint-covered figures in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* whose presence aids a story’s recall (III, 37).⁵⁴ Consider, for instance, Semiramis—normally infamous for marrying her son, Christine instead praises her “fort et vertueux courage es entreprises et excercice du fais des armes” (I.XV, 106).⁵⁵ As to the incestuous marriage, Christine excuses Semiramis:

pour ce que adonc n’estoit ancores point de loy escripte, ains vivoient les gens a loy de Nature ou il loisoit a chacun de faire sans mesprendre tout ce que le cuer lui apportoit. Car n’est pas doubte que se elle pensast que mal fust ou que aucun blasme lui en peust encourir qu’elle avoit bien si grant et si haut courage et tant amoit honneur que jamais ne le feist.
(I.XV, 108-110)

Had she felt her actions to be wrong, or had she and her people been enlightened by written, Christian law, Christine insists, Semiramis would not have committed such an egregious sin. Additionally, her remark on Semiramis’ concern regarding blame and love of honor implies

⁵⁴ Jody Enders, “The Feminist Mnemonics of Christine de Pizan,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1994): 231-48; Pseudo-Cicero, *Rhetorique à Herennius*, ed. Guy Achard (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1989).

⁵⁵ We will see additional instances of this sort of rewriting in the following section on *exempla*. Reno also made this observation with regards to Christine’s source texts for the *Epistre* in her article, “Feminist Aspects.” See also Walters on Christine’s rewriting of Augustine’s conversion and how it “suggère la présence des modèles féminins jusque-ici insoupçonnés dans les récits illustres des réussites masculines” (“Réécriture de Saint Augustin,” 210); as well as González Doreste and Del Mar Plaza Picón, “À propos de la compilation.”

that Semiramis, too, subscribed to the idea that she was a behavioral model for others in her society.⁵⁶

Christine's apologetic tone differs substantially from Boccaccio's judgment in the *De claris mulieribus*, her source text:⁵⁷

Like others of her sex, this unhappy female [Semiramis] was constantly burning with carnal desire, and it is believed that she gave herself to many men. Among her lovers—and this was something more beastly than human—was her own son Ninyas [...] What a heinous crime this was! The pestilence of lust, heedless of time or circumstances, flies about amidst the pressing concerns of kings [...] Imperceptibly it takes possession of unwary minds and drags them to the edge of the abyss, befouling every seemly thing with disgraceful infamy.⁵⁸

Boccaccio attributes the incestuous relationship to Semiramis' inherently feminine lack of morals, her utterly corrupting sexuality.⁵⁹ By rewriting Semiramis' tale to downplay her eroticism—in contrast to Boccaccio's recounting of three separate versions of the depths of Semiramis' sexual depravities—and repeatedly emphasizing that Semiramis “avoit bien si grant et si haut courage et tant amoit honneur,” Christine keeps the reader's focus on Semiramis' exemplary, imitable qualities.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Applying 15th-century *mores* to a pre-Christian society seems to be the textual equivalent of the pictorial conventions of dressing everyone in contemporary garb (as is the case in Fig. 4, 5, and 6 below, for instance).

⁵⁷ Cf. Jeanroy, “Boccace et Christine de Pisan [*sic*],” and Dulac, “Un Mythe didactique.”

⁵⁸ “Nam cum, inter ceteras, quasi assidua libidinis prurigine, ureretur infelix, plurimum miscuisse se concubitu creditum est; et inter mechos, bestiale quid potius quam humanum, filius Ninias numeratur [...] O scelestum facinus! Ut quieta sinam, inter anxias regum curas [...] nulla temporis facta distinctione, hec evolat pestis et sensim incautas mentes occupans et in precipitium trahens, omne decus turpi nota commaculat” (Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, II, 22-23). All further references to this edition of the *De claris mulieribus* will cite chapter and page number, with the Latin in the footnotes. Translations are Virginia Brown's.

⁵⁹ Franklin observes that it is not until Semiramis usurps Ninyas' rightful place (according to Boccaccio's understanding) that “Boccaccio abandons his treatment of her as a worthy man and begins to engage with her as a vice-ridden woman” (*Boccaccio's Heroines*, 33). We cannot overlook, however, that often “Boccaccio offers his reader examples of behaviour which should be shunned” (Brown-Grant, *Moral Defense of Women*, 157; see also my Chapter 1, 76-78).

⁶⁰ As Dulac has noted, in comparing these two works, we are essentially looking at a biography in Boccaccio's presentation vs. a static portrait, “doté de signes définitifs et permanents,” in Christine's (“Un Mythe didactique,” 317). See also Jane Chance, “Illuminated Royal Manuscripts of the Early Fifteenth Century and Christine de Pizan's ‘Remythification’ of Classical Women in the *Cité des dames*,” in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow 21-27 July 2000)*, Published in Honour of Liliane Dulac, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw,

Within the first chapter of the *Trois vertus*, the Virtues raise the question of modelling and its importance to the relationship between ruler and subject, who are also teacher and pupil:

pour ce que estat de majesté royale et de seigneurie est eslevé sur tous estaz mondains, et que il est de necessité que ceulx *et celles, tant femmes comme hommes* que Dieux a establiz es haulz sieges de poissance et dominacion soient mieulz morigenéz que aultre gent afin que la reputacion d'eulx en soit plus venerable et que ilz puissent estre *a leurs subgiéz* et a ceulz qui les frequentent et hantent *si comme mirouer et exemple de toutes bonnes meurs*, s'adrecera nostre leçon premierement a ycelles, c'est assavoir aux roynes, princepces et haultes dames.

(I.I, 59-67; my emphasis)⁶¹

This same philosophy informs the rest of the text, as the Virtues repeatedly urge different types of women to provide an appropriate example to their female companions.⁶² There are a few biblical and historical figures offered up; for instance, Mary Magdalene and Martha represent the contemplative and active life, respectively, while Blanche de Castille was an exemplary peace-keeper.⁶³ Additionally, one can learn from hearing about exemplary deeds and morals.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, the emphasis remains on the necessity that Christine's audience present themselves as models for imitation specifically by other women. Throughout 226 pages in 54 chapters, paternal educational influence is only evoked twice. It is only in the case of a son that

and Catherine M. Müller (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), 219-21, on Christine's adaptation of her source material.

⁶¹ On the role of definite and indefinite pronouns as a deliberate linguistic strategy, see Rosalind Brown-Grant, "Writing Beyond Gender: Christine de Pizan's Linguistic Strategies in the Defence of Women," in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow, 21-27 July 2000)*, Published in Honour of Liliane Dulac, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw and Catherine M. Müller (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), 155-69.

⁶² For additional examples, see I.X, 60-64; I.XI, 50-51 and 114-20; I.XXIII, 58-64; I.XXIV, 38-40; I.XXVII, 187-90; III.II, 6-14; III.VI, 15-18.

⁶³ I.VI, 58-70 and I.IX, 48-55, respectively. Prostitutes are encouraged to take Mary the Egyptian and St. Affre as models so that they might turn their lives around (III.X, 38-43). Whereas I propose that all types and classes of women were offered up on essentially equal footing in terms of imitability, Brown-Grant claims that "the Amazons and the virgin martyrs are presented as 'exemplary', rather than as literally 'imitable'" (*Moral Defense of Women*, 166). As an interesting theological aside on women's physicality bringing them "more frequently than medieval men to literal, bodily *imitatio Christi*," see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), Ch. 6: "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages."

⁶⁴ I.XII, 79-84.

his father should oversee the choice of a tutor while the mother should chastise the child as necessary (I.XV, 7-8, 30-45). In the case of a daughter, by contrast, her father has no apparent role, while her mother must be sure to show her how to behave appropriately:

Ses filles fera gouverner par saiges et bonnes dames [...] afin que elle lui saiche bien *monstrer le bien*, la contenance et maintien qu'il apertient a fille de prince a avoir et savoir [...] Ainsi la sage mere se prendra bien garde du gouvernement et de la doctrine de ses filles [...] Si les aura le plus du temps environ soy, les tendra en crainte, et le sage maintien d'elle sera *exemple aux filles de semblablement eulx gouverner*.
(I.XV, 46-72; my emphasis)⁶⁵

Such was certainly the case with Agnès, whose mother Marguerite kept her nearby throughout Agnès' childhood,⁶⁶ although Agnès sent at least seven of her children to be fostered at the court of her brother, Philippe le Bon.⁶⁷

In the almost complete absence of male action in the *Cité* and the *Trois vertus*,⁶⁸ it is unsurprising that women should play such a crucial role in their own education. Imitation in the *Chemin* shares a layer of complexity with the *Cité* despite its male audience, in that Christine reflects on (and implicitly offers up for emulation) her own personal practices of modelling, from hiding her grief from the public eye as is appropriate (l. 141-41, 168-69, 193-94) to imitating Boethius in her search for consolation (l. 216). Similar motivation drives her commentary on her refusal to honor the trees of the Moon and Sun, "car on ne doit riens honorer / en aourant, fors un seul Dieu" (l. 1526-27). Take note of my behavior, she implies,

⁶⁵ This in contrast to Ribémont's claim that "Le term 'enseignement' est ici à comprendre dans un sens moral: il s'oppose au gouvernement du corps" (Bernard Ribémont, "Christine de Pizan et la figure de la mère," in *Christine de Pizan 2000. Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis [Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000], 155).

⁶⁶ Schnerb, *Prince meurtrier*, 383.

⁶⁷ Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne," 152, 153 (Pierre), 154 (Louis, Jacques, Marie, Catherine); Marche, *Mémoires*, I:258n2 (Philippe), II:395 (Isabelle).

⁶⁸ The male counter-examples Christine provides in the *Cité* serve to refute claims of women's weakness and inconstancy rather than to list actions to be avoided; in the *Trois vertus*, as mentioned, men are charged with organizing part of their sons' education.

because it is good and proper. During the debate that comprises the second half of the text, though, the burden of exemplarity shifts to men. With the exceptions of Jehanne de Naples (l. 3657-72) and Semiramis (l. 3769-76), all models of good and bad behavior are male.⁶⁹

However, in the male-centered *Epistre*, learning by imitation of women continues despite the plethora of male models employed in the text. So, while the good knight should strive to “ressemble[r] [à]” Saturn and follow the good example of Christ, he should also “ressembler [à]” Cassandra, who demonstrates avoidance of foolish and unnecessary speech, as well as “[s]e mire[r] en Medee,” a paragon of education.⁷⁰ Christine thus encourages men to appreciate and engage with women in a way separate from the familial, separate from the virgin/whore dichotomy—Medea’s failure lies in having let her desire override her good sense, rather than being cast in terms of her questionable motherhood or adultery; Cassandra’s sexuality or lack thereof deserves no mention, as the focus is on prudent speech or, as Brown-Grant explains, on “encourag[ing] her reader to look beyond gender for the essential humanity embodied in her female exemplars.”⁷¹ Brown-Grant further explains that in Christine’s preference for “sex-neutral references to ‘les personnes’ (people) who are prone to a specific vice or ‘le bon esperit’ (the good soul) who must adopt a particular moral conduct, [Christine] thereby ensur[es] that her audience grasps the universal meaning of these *exempla* rather than drawing any hasty judgments about the female sex.”⁷² In offering up female mirrors to the male viewer, Christine subtly challenges the domination of the educational field by men, while

⁶⁹ A few wise women appear, as secondary characters, allowing the man in question to demonstrate the behavior under discussion. These include the woman who waited for Philip of Macedonia’s drunkenness to pass so that he would render fair judgment (l. 5557-76), the prince’s wife who gave good counsel (l. 5671-92), and the widow who demanded justice from the emperor Trajan (l. 5777-5806).

⁷⁰ *Epistre*, 214, l. 14 and 215, l. 27; 219, l. 24; 246, l. 14-15; and 281-82, l. 5-9, respectively.

⁷¹ Brown-Grant, *Moral Defense of Women*, 128.

⁷² *Id.*, “Defender of Women,” 86

reinforcing her right to write for women *and* men.⁷³ Margaret Franklin understands Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* to have functioned similarly: "Throughout *Famous Women*, Boccaccio conceptualizes women who merit praise as having been animated by masculine spirits, thereby opening the door to male emulation of their example while effectively closing it to women."⁷⁴ The key difference between Boccaccio's work and Christine's, however, is that Christine does not gender the traits—like prudent speech—modeled by women for men.

While a woman, in her wisdom, might be compared to a sage old man, as in the *Trois vertus*,⁷⁵ Christine feels little compunction to insist that women learn by imitating men. They should not hesitate to snatch up any crumbs of (male) knowledge that come their way, as Christine does in the *Cité* and in the *Epistre*:

“ne te pot ta mere si empescher le sentir des sciences que tu par inclinacion naturelle n'en ayes recueilli *a tout le moins des petites goutelletes*”
(*Cité*, II.XXXVI, 316; my emphasis)

En sens fondé, n'en ce cas ne ressemble
Mon bon pere, fors ainsi com l'en emble
Espis de blé en glenant en moissons
Par mi ces champs et coste les buissons,
Ou *mietes* cheans de hault table
(*Epistre*, 196, l. 37-41; my emphasis).

Nevertheless, women are expected to learn primarily from each other, through doing, by copying the models they observe and about whom they hear. The vast majority of the female *exempla* that Christine proffers in the *Cité* and the *Epistre* as well as several that appear in the

⁷³ Much as she did for her son in the *Enseignemens moraux* (Christine de Pizan, "Enseignemens moraux," in *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan* [sic], ed. Maurice Roy [Paris: Firmin Didot, 1896], 27-44).

⁷⁴ Franklin, *Boccaccio's Heroines*, 28. In her discussion of religious writing in the 12th to 14th centuries, Bynum observes that "Male biographers not only labeled women as weak far more frequently than women described themselves in such terms, they also told women's stories as stories of radical conversion and urged women to become virile, masculine, in rising to God" (*Fragmentation and Redemption*, 166). We can see a similar opposition between Boccaccio's encouraging women to adopt a virile, man's courage vs. the "essential humanity" sought by Christine, who, Brown-Grant notes, "completely avoids the word 'viril' in the *Cité*" ("Writing beyond Gender," 167).

⁷⁵ *Trois vertus*, I.X, 93-94.

Trois vertus are not personal acquaintances of the author. Rather, Christine has found them in men's texts and repeated or adapted their stories as necessary for her female audience. In so presenting these models for imitation, Christine's work provides access to male knowledge by restructuring it specifically for female consumption.

Christine's Use of Female Exempla

In conjunction with Christine's approach to learning by imitation, analysis of her presentation of the same exemplary women we saw in Chapter 1 will further demonstrate the ways in which she maintains tradition and where, and why, she breaks from it.⁷⁶ Generally speaking, we find that Christine—much like Durand de Champagne—adjusted the stories of biblical heroines to emphasize those attributes she considered good and necessary to the worldly life that most of her female readers lived.

The first of these women worthy of imitation is Judith, who saves the Jews from an advancing army by boldly presenting herself before its captain, Holofernes, and decapitating him after being commanded to join him in his tent. Judith primarily represented chastity during widowhood and proper adornment in the earlier, male-authored didactic works.⁷⁷ Christine's only extended evocation of Judith occurs in the *Cité*, II.XXXI; additionally, Judith is referenced briefly in the *Trois vertus*, II.XIII. Christine's modifications of Judith's tale are indicative of her beliefs in traits (such as fear) inherent in women, as well as her convictions about women's potential for powerful action.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ For a reasonably thorough consideration of the historical French women in Christine's *Cité* and *Trois vertus*, see also Glynnis M. Cropp, "Les Personnages féminins tirés de l'histoire de la France dans le *Livre de la cité des dames*," in *Une Femme de lettres au Moyen Âge: Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 195-208.

⁷⁷ See my Chapter 1, p. 26-27, 35-36, and 50-52.

⁷⁸ Tracy Adams presents an interesting interpretation of female mediators. She posits an inherent danger embodied by "liminal" female figures of power, like Queen Isabeau, simultaneously within and without power

Presented by Droiture as one of several women who brought about spiritual good, Judith's first quality in the *Cité* is her nobility, her second, widowhood, and her third, her status as a savior in the tradition of Mary: "Judith, la noble dame, vesve, sauva le peuple d'Israel [...] si comme il volt sauver l'umain lignage par femme, volt Dieux yceulx autresi secourir et sauver par femme" (II.XXXI, 296-98). Christine positions Judith as anticipation of the New Testament in the Old; more importantly, in comparing her to the Virgin Mary, Christine unconditionally validates Judith in all her attributes. That is, whereas Jerome and Vincent staged Judith exclusively in an antagonistic relationship with lust (read: sexuality) and Durand credited her with typically feminine qualities of faith, constancy, patience, and a preference for seclusion in order to temper any impression of unfeminine virility, Christine's Judith—with God's help—overcomes the limitations placed on her sex. She prayed that God "*a son cuer femenin et paoureux* donnast hardement et force de delivrer son peuple" before beheading Holofernes with his own sword, "sanz paour" (II.XXXI, 298-300). Judith's feminine beauty is also outweighed by her chastity (*ibid.*, 300). Importantly, in the context of discussion of the relative benefits of the active vs. contemplative life both in the *Cité* and the *Trois vertus*, Judith comes across as a devout woman who nonetheless understands the necessity of living an active life and making difficult decisions in times of crisis—both critical traits for a Christian princess like Agnès, living through the political instability of the Hundred Years War.

In the *Trois vertus*, Judith principally embodies chastity, though she remains imbued with a man's strength and continues to partake of the active life:

structures such as the French monarchy who thus offer to the French community at large access to and participation in the governing echelon as well as the threat of disunity that accompanies existence as a woman (180, 182). Adams also qualifies this intermediary position as paradoxical, as it trades on a queen's access to power despite not wielding power in her own name (Tracy Adams, "*Moyennerresse de traictié de paix: Christine de Pizan's Mediators*," in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews [Turnhout: Brepols, 2005], 177-200).

chasteté garde l'ame sans corrupcion et tient en netteté et conferme la renommee en bonne odeur. Et pour ce fut dit de la sainte dame Judith, louee de tout son peuple: Tu es la gloire de Jherusalem, tu es la leece d'Israel, tu es l'onneur de nostre peuple, a qui Dieux a donné force d'omme, de laquelle tu as ouvré pour ce que tu as amé chasteté.

(II.XIII, 119-26)

Christine's invocation renders Judith less threatening because less *hardi*, less masculine—her physical force tied specifically to loving chastity rather than beheading an enemy. Unlike the treatment of Judith in the *Cité*, this biblical exemplum in the *Trois vertus* is directed at religious women. As R. Howard Bloch argues in *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*, this was a group whose members had the potential to overcome their sex specifically (exclusively?) through their desexualization: “so long as a woman was willing to renounce sexuality [...] she [was] able to [...] become the equal of man.”⁷⁹ Judith's surmounting of her femininity through chastity would certainly have spoken to women who had taken a vow of celibacy. Christine's phrasing that Judith had used the power gifted to her by God to *work* for love of chastity is nevertheless an unusual choice of words, perhaps referencing yet again the debate concerning an active vs. contemplative life.⁸⁰

Esther, whose story immediately follows Judith's in the *Cité*, undergoes similarly subtle but important modifications concerning her relationship with ornamentation and humility. Whereas both Vincent and Durand quoted from an apocryphal chapter from the Book

⁷⁹ R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), Ch. 4: “The Poetics of Virginity,” 93, and 106: “if chastity implies transcendence of the corporeal, and if the corporeal is inextricably linked to the feminine, then the [Church] fathers' insistent exhortations to feminine chastity can only be seen as a self-contradictory urging of the feminine to be something that it isn't.”

⁸⁰ Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) provides a thorough analysis of the two lifestyles in medieval thought. Lorcin, with whom I am inclined to agree, remarks that “Christine semble n'avoir que peu d'attrait pour la vie contemplative et engage vivement ses consœurs à ne l'embrasser qu'après mûres réflexions” (“*Sermo ad status*,” 143). Brown-Grant contends, to the contrary, that “the *Trois vertus* declares that it is clearly the contemplative life which furnishes the woman with the best possibility of saving both her soul and her reputation” (*Moral Defense of Women*, 198).

of Esther in which she abhors her regal raiment,⁸¹ Christine's Esther recognizes its power. Once Mordechai has pointed out the necessity of Esther's intervention for the sake of her people, she "se vesti et para le plus noblement que elle pot" before passing, as if by chance, before Ahasuerus, "qui a grant plaisance regarda la grant beauté dont elle resplandissoit" (II.XXXII, 302). In highlighting the successful reception of Esther's decision to accentuate her beauty with the aim of attracting male attention ("[le roy] l'appella et lui dist qu'elle demandast quelconques chose qu'elle voudroit et elle l'aroit" [*ibid.*]), Christine presents her as a model of discernment, much like La Tour Landry's Esther, who knew when to speak and when to keep silent. Furthermore, although Esther's "humilité" in abasing herself before Ahasuerus in her fine clothes pleased him, it bears pointing out that that is the sole mention of humility in the entire passage devoted to Esther and that it is, as with her attire, particularly calculated: "Toute estendue sur sa face, le salua, et le roy, a qui moult plut son humilité [...] l'appella [...]" (*ibid.*). Rather than encouraging women to be humble, Christine's Esther models how to be an effective intermediary between one's people and one's husband and liege lord—another key trait for medieval princesses like Agnès, who was important in maintaining cordial relations between her husband, Charles I de Bourbon, and her brother, Philippe.⁸²

In striking contrast, in the *Trois vertus* Esther reverts to conventional behavior epitomizing humility, specifically within her marital relationship. In direct opposition to the *Cité's* very publically-oriented interpretation of Esther as a savior of her people, in the *Trois vertus* she is entirely framed by her position as humble, obedient wife:

toute dame qui aime honneur, et semblablement toute femme estant en ordre de mariage, toutes choses voudra suivre la regle d'onneur [...] *se rendra humble*

⁸¹ Esther 14:44: "Tu scis, domine, necessitate meam quod abominer signum superbie et glorie mee quod est super caput meum in diebus ostentacionis meae et detester illud quasi pannum menstruate et non portem in diebus silencij mei." Cf. also my Chapter 1, n. 71, as well as p. 27, 36-37, 52-55, and 65.

⁸² Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne," 149-50.

vers lui [son seigneur] en fait, en reverence et en parole, l'obeira sans murmuracion et gardera sa paix a son pouoir soingneusement, par la maniere que tenoit la sage et bonne royne Hester [...] et pour ce estoit tant amee et honnouree de son seigneur qu'il n'estoit chose que elle voulsist, qu'il lui veast.
(I.XIII, 17-33; my emphasis)

Despite her heartfelt humility, Christine's reading of Esther remains slightly subversive because, as a direct result of Esther's wifely obedience, *she always gets her way*.⁸³ For Christine's audience, this directive must have served as a reminder of wives' subtler but nonetheless very real political power vis-à-vis their husbands (and others?).

In contrast to Judith's and Esther's comparatively minor rewritings, Mary Magdalene—referenced earlier in the context of the contemplative life in the *Trois vertus*—otherwise exemplifies none of the traits for which she was praised by previous writers. Christine mentions the Magdalene's repentance as one of several beneficial results of her tears: “Il [Dieux] ne desprisa mie celles [les larmes] de la dicte Marie Magdelaine, ains les accepta tant que il lui en pardonna ses pechez” (*Cité*, I.X, 86)—what exactly comprises her *pechez* remaining deliberately vague, which was not the case in Jerome's, Durand's, and La Tour Landry's works. Jerome had specified that Mary Magdalene repented of her former finery, whereas Durand and La Tour Landry remarked on her time as a prostitute.⁸⁴ Rather, Mary Magdalene's role in the *Cité* as the herald of Christ Resurrected provides Christine with an irrefutable justification for women's speech, which was considered by many male writers to be excessive and frivolous:

se lengage de femme eust esté tant reprouvable et de si petite auctorité comme aucuns veulent dire, Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist n'eust jamais daigné vouloir que si digne mistere que fu cellui de sa tres glorieuse Ressurreccion fust

⁸³ As Brown-Grant has observed, “the originality of Christine's text [...] resides in its stress on women's skillful mastery and even manipulation of those codes within which their reputations will be defined.” This is part of what Brown-Grant calls Christine's calculated “politics of visibility” (*Moral Defense of Women*, 193-206, especially 200).

⁸⁴ See my Chapter 1, p. 27, 55-56, and 66, respectively.

premierement anoncié [*sic*] par femme, si comme il meismes le commanda a la benoite Magdelaine, a qui premierement s'apparu le jour de Pasques, que elle le deïst et nonçast aux Appostres et a Pierre.

(I.X, 88)

Since women are therefore capable of communicating sacred truths, the Magdalene's authoritative words not only validate women's right to speak, but also later female mystics' (and Christine's) right to write and speak and thereby create female intellectual networks. In attributing this verbal power to the Magdalene, however, Christine still does not go as far as Durand, who called her "maïstresse, prescheresse [...et] ensengneresse" (V §19, f. 113 b), though the idea of teaching remains implicit in Mary Magdalene's sharing her knowledge with the Apostles.

The final characteristic attributed to the Magdalene is loyalty in love, demonstrated by her remaining at Christ's side during his death even after his Apostles had gone. Although Christine does not provide specific names, she positions Mary Magdalene's faithfulness in direct contrast to the stereotype perpetrated by male writers of the woman fickle in love: "Et parut bien que Dieux ne reprouvoit mie tant amour de femme, si que se ce fust chose fraisle comme aucuns font et que ilz veulent dire, quant ou cuer de la benoite Magdelaine et des autres dames mist estincelle de si fervant amour, comme il y paru" (III.II, 434). Instead of perpetuating any of the negative traits commonly attributed to women, such as a predilection for sumptuous apparel and lustful behavior, Christine teases out the elements of Mary Magdalene's story that not only redeem her but offer the reassurance that feminine sexuality as postulated by men need *not* be the defining characteristic of woman.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ On the perceived danger of education resulting in diminished female sexuality by placing women outside of the public male/domestic female binary, see Heather Arden, "Her Mother's Daughter: Empowerment and Maternity in the Works of Christine de Pizan," in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow, 21-27 July 2000)*, Published in Honour of Liliane

Sexuality, or lack thereof, does not define the Virgin Mary either, at least in the *Cité*. Much like Durand's and La Tour Landry's versions of the Virgin,⁸⁶ Christine's Mary exemplifies a surprising range of traits, none of which is virginity. Instead, she is cast in a seigneurial light that emphasizes her authority as Holy Mother: "celle qui est non pas seulement leur royne, mais qui a dominacion et seigneurie sur toutes puissances créés [sic] apres un seul filz que elle porta et conceut du Saint Esperit" (III.I, 430).⁸⁷ Her maternity, a state ostensibly shared by a sizeable portion of Christine's readers (albeit achieved through a manner no other woman can imitate), positions her as "deffenderresse, protectarresse et garde contre tous assaulx d'ennemis et du monde" (*ibid.*, 432)—a public, intermediary, almost militaristic position, quite removed from her former secluded and silent self.⁸⁸ In fact, this aspect of the Virgin Mary is visually emphasized by her position at the head of the crowd of ladies coming to inhabit Christine's city in the illuminations accompanying certain manuscript copies of the text, including the famous copy owned by Queen Isabeau de Bavière, BL, Harley ms. 4431 (Fig. 2).⁸⁹ The miniature in both the Queen's and the Duke's manuscripts (Fig. 2 and 3, respectively) places the crowned Virgin as primary intercessor among the female saints, a leader receiving her due reverence from the earthly aristocratic women who in the Queen's

Dulac, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw and Catherine M. Müller (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), 33-34.

⁸⁶ See my Chapter 1, p. 56-58 and 66.

⁸⁷ Brown-Grant posits that "Christine's bid for literary authority is based not simply on inserting her text into the pre-existing catalogue genre but also on attacking the anti-feminist tradition [...replacing it with] theology. This recourse to theology has [...] important implications for Christine: [...] it offers her a new female model of authority for herself as author, that of the Virgin Mary in the Annunciation" (*Moral Defense of Women*, 141); see also 146-47 for a more elaborated analysis of the parallels between Christine's visit by the Virtues and the Annunciation.

⁸⁸ See my Chapter 1, p. 28, 38, 57, and 66.

⁸⁹ Of the autograph manuscripts, see BnF fr. 607, f. 67v; BnF fr. 1178, f. 135; BL Harley ms. 4431, f. 361; and KBR ms. 9393, f. 74v; there are no illuminations in Agnès' manuscript of the *Cité*.

manuscript (Fig. 2) have downcast eyes in response to Mary’s straight-forward gaze. The artists have also tucked a book into the crook of her left arm, denoting her status as a reader,



Fig. 2: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Livre de la cité des dames*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 361 detail, Virgin Mary Leading Female Saints into the City of Ladies



Fig. 3: BnF fr. 607, *Livre de la cité des dames*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 67v detail, Virgin Mary Leading Female Saints into the City of Ladies

while her right hand holds a golden scepter. Behind her, St. Barbara holds a miniature tower, while (in the Queen’s manuscript, Fig. 2) St. Catherine of Alexandria holds a book in her right hand and the palm of martyrdom in the left. Textual emphasis on these active, pragmatic aspects of the Virgin would likely have appealed to that portion of Christine’s audience, like Agnès, who were not cloistered, for whom a devout life necessarily included interacting with the wider world.

The same goal does not hold true in the *Trois vertus*, where Christine instead accentuates the humility so praised by Vincent, Durand, and La Tour Landry: “Et que ceste vertu soit a Dieu agreable, tesmoingne la Saincte Escripiture que l’umilité de la Vierge Marie fut plus agreable a Nostre Seigneur que meismes sa virginité” (II.XIII, 65-68). As before, however, Christine draws out the example in such a way as to subtly remind women of their right to speak: “et que elle lui fust agreable le tesmoigne elle meismes en sa chançon de

Magnificat ou elle dist: Il regarda l'umilité de son ancelle" (II.XIII, 68-70; my emphasis). Thus, while the Virgin exemplifies the typically feminine attribute of humility, she nonetheless champions women as speaking agents and as beings worthy of praise for their active supporting role—including praising themselves, if necessary, as Anthonia does to Emperor Justinian ("Beau doulx ami, je vous ay moult amé et aime [...] Si n'est mie raison que amant bien amé de s'amie lui doye riens refuser" [*Cité*, II.VI, 236]). This difference between representations of Mary in the *Cité* and the *Trois vertus* can be located in Christine's attempt to provide a universally appropriate model for many types of women in the *Trois vertus* rather than one who speaks primarily to women of authority.

At first glance, Christine's presentation of Sarah, wife of Abraham (*Cité*, II.XXXVIII, 320), also conforms to traditional expectations through its emphasis on Sarah's chastity.⁹⁰ However, since Christine consciously wrote for socially active women, she deliberately offers Sarah's maintenance of chastity outside the home—even, or especially, during her captivity by the Pharaoh—for emulation by women for whom seclusion is not a reality. Indeed, it is Sarah's goodness (based in her chastity) that merits the Lord's protection, implying that such protection will be afforded to all women who model themselves after her.

Given the emphasis on maternity elsewhere in the *Cité*, it is surprising that Christine makes no mention of Sarah's miraculous pregnancy with Isaac.⁹¹ Similarly, motherhood is not crucial to the story of Rebecca (*Cité*, II.XXXIX, 320), despite its central role to Durand's and La Tour Landry's presentation of her.⁹² Although Christine makes mention of Rebecca's conception of Esau and Jacob as a reward for her chastity and goodness, the primary focus of

⁹⁰ My Chapter 1, p. 38-39, 58, and 66-67.

⁹¹ Then again, neither Vincent, Durand, nor La Tour Landry mentions Sarah's role as mother, either. Was Christine thus following convention?

⁹² My Chapter 1, p. 39, 58-59, and 67.

the admittedly little space devoted to her remains on Rebecca's life before her pregnancy. Rebecca is perhaps the least politicized of Christine's modified *exempla*, for she is an example to the devout and childless who might continue to hope that their prayers will be rewarded, rather than reflective of the tensions tied to differing expectations in private and public life.

Given the rewriting of such problematic figures as Semiramis, discussed above, it should come as no surprise that Christine effectively downplays any feminine counter-examples in both the *Cité* and the *Trois vertus*.⁹³ Dinah, who appeared as a warning to girls about the dangers of public life in the works of Jerome, Vincent, Durand, and La Tour Landry,⁹⁴ goes entirely unmentioned. In the *Cité*, while Christine does reference Jezebel once, she glosses over her, neglecting to elaborate on why she was one of "les plus mauvaises femmes" (II.XLIX, 344); Christine remains silent on Medea's vengeful murder of her children (I.XXXII, 162-64; II.LVI, 380-82); and Mary Magdalene's prostitution becomes simply undifferentiated "pechez" (I.X, 86). While Rosalind Brown-Grant rightly points out that Christine "encourage[d] them [her audience...] to guard against the transient pleasures of unchastity by heeding the *exempla in malo* of women such as Dido and Medea who loved 'par amor',"⁹⁵ we must nevertheless remember that the greater portion of those women's stories were devoted to their achievements and embodiment of virtues—Dido's prudence (I.XLVI, 204), honor, and valor (II.LIV, 378), and Medea's knowledge (I.XXXII, 162-64; II.LVI, 380). Indeed, in the *Cité*, Christine's outright counter-examples are all men, Roman emperors whose atrocities were unmatched and who demonstrate the absurdity of judging an entire sex based

⁹³ Lorcin correctly points out, however, that Christine does present negative generic models in the *Trois vertus*, such as the extravagant merchant's wife (III.III) or chambermaids who cheat their mistresses (III.IX) ("*Sermo ad status*," 148).

⁹⁴ My Chapter 1, p. 28, 39-40, 59-60, 67-78.

⁹⁵ Brown-Grant, *Moral Defense of Women*, 172.

on one person's actions (II.XLVII-II.XLIX). One might also see in these men the implication that not everyone imitates all models of their sex all the time. It is here that the issue of discernment, *discrecion*, one aspect of the Middle French *prudence*, comes into play—and discernment, Christine says, shows, and implies, can and should be taught to all women, by as many means as possible.

While advocating and demonstrating the kind of prudence necessary when consulting certain texts, like the *Roman de la Rose* (*Cité*, I.II, 48) and Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris* (I.IX, 74), Christine also implicitly establishes a comprehensive reading program for women, despite her hesitation to explicitly suggest consultation of non-devotional works. They should avoid Matheolus, given the anguish it has caused Christine (I.I, 40-42), but they can see that reading historical chronicles (I.IV, 56; II.V, 234; II.XLIX, 342), the *Acts of the Romans* (II.LXVII, 418), and Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* (III.IX, 460) have clearly benefitted her; Christine also names her own *Livre de la mutacion de Fortune* (I.XVII, 114), *Epistre Othea* (I.XVII, 114; I.XXXVI, 176), *Epistre du dieu d'amours* (II.XLVII, 336), and *Epistres sus le Rommant de la Rose* (II.LIV, 376). And, for those with the necessary *subtil engin*, Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (I.II, 48), works by Cicero (I.IX, 78), Cato (I.IX-X, 80), Horace (I.XXX, 160), Theophrastus (II.XIII, 252-56; II.XIV, 258; II.XIX, 268), Valerius (II.XIII, 252; II.XLIII, 326), Bartholomeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum* (I.XI, 92), Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*⁹⁶ and *Decameron* (II.LII, 360; II.LIX, 388), Virgil's *Aeneid* (I.XXIV, 148; I.XXXVIII, 184; II.III, 228), Homer's *Illiad* (I.XXXII, 164; II.I, 220), Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (II.I, 220; II.LVII, 382), and Petrarch's poetry (II.VII, 240) are all named in the *Cité*—providing tacit permission to consult them. The *Trois vertus* reinforces some of this reading

⁹⁶ For the complete list, see Jeanroy, "Boccace et Christine de Pisan [*sic*]."

program, as it also references French chronicles (I.IX, 24) and an unspecified work by Valerius (I.XVII, 63) in addition to Seneca's *De ira* (I.VIII, 128) and other unspecified texts (I.I, 20), John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (I.XX, 15), and Christine's own *Cité* (I.I, 7, 34; I.IX, 73) and *Livre du duc des vrais amans* (I.XXVII, 135-36).

In demonstrating how to read properly, and in a stark departure from the earlier male-authored didactic texts examined in Chapter 1, the unacknowledged exemplary person undergirding the *Cité* is, of course, Christine herself.⁹⁷ As Walters puts it, "Sa défense de la dignité féminine débute par son propre portrait [...] C'est cette érudite qui obéit aux ordres de Dame Raison: creuser les fondations de la cité avec 'la pioche' de son intelligence."⁹⁸ This difference is contingent on Christine's sex, but also relies on her emphasizing and valorizing feminine modes of knowledge acquisition, including her self-portrait as a daughter eagerly attending her (often spiritual or intellectual rather than biological) mother's example.⁹⁹

Participation in familiar familial networks of information transmission to which the female reader can easily relate her own experiences coexists with the fact that Christine differs from the "typical" women of her social class, as she makes clear. In the prologues to both works, Christine differentiates herself from other women and justifies herself to any male readers by highlighting her persona's in-depth engagement with authorship; she points out her

⁹⁷ The same holds true for the first half of the *Chemin*, where Christine discusses hiding her grief, as is appropriate (l. 141-42, 168-69, 193-94); explains her sensible choice of clothing as she prepares to accompany Almathéa ("Touret de nez je mis et guimpe, / Pour le vent qui plus grieve a l'ueil / En octobre que grand souleil." l. 702-04); insists to the reader that she was not idle even in delightful surroundings (l. 1497-99); and deliberately avoids worship of idols (l. 1524-27).

⁹⁸ Walters, "Réécriture de Saint Augustin," 208.

⁹⁹ Callahan analyzes instances in which Christine is addressed by her various characters as "daughter;" in such cases, Christine is not simply an unaffiliated model for other women, but participates directly in mother-daughter relationships, solidifying her link to her female audience ("Filial Filiations," 484). She further specifies that, in "drawing on her experience and her hard-earned wisdom, Christine reproduces herself and creates other mothers not for herself, but for her readers: mothers who nurture not the body, but the intellect and the spirit" (*ibid.*, 491).

habit of “estude des lettres” (*Cité*, I.I, 40) and emphasizes her history of authoring works when the Virtues ask her why she has “delaissé en secheresse encre, plume et le labour de [s]a main dextre” (*Trois vertus*, I.I, 16-17). Despite perhaps distancing herself from her female audience through specific references to study and writing, however, Christine also takes pains to render her narrator empathetic—at least in the *Cité*. For instance, she complains of her “foible corps féminin” (I.VII, 64), she repeatedly doubts her own experience in the face of what “men say” is the truth (“je voy infinis biens au monde venus par femmes, et toutevoyes ces hommes dient qu’il n’est mal qui par elles ne viengne” [II.XXX, 294]),¹⁰⁰ and she evokes the difficult realities of family life when Droiture comments on Christine’s brothers having left their mother to travel whereas she, Christine, remained to keep her mother company and care for her (II.VII, 242). These sympathetic moments implicitly invite Christine’s female readers to identify with her. This identification, in turn, also positions Christine’s more unusual habits, such as her extensive reading practices, as imitable, in contrast to her male predecessors, who did not offer their own education and actions up as models to the women for and about whom they wrote.¹⁰¹

In codifying her experiences and thus positioning herself as an authority while denying the possibility of infallibility to *any* human *auctoritas*,¹⁰² Christine also seems to reject the

¹⁰⁰ See also *Cité*, I.I, 42; I.VIII, 66; II.XIII, 252; II.XIX, 268-72; II.XXXVI, 314; II.XXXVII, 318; II.XLIV, 328; II.XLVII, 334.

¹⁰¹ Jerome is perhaps the exception to this statement, though not in the letters analyzed in Chapter 1. La Tour Landry does ruminate on his choice not to pursue a woman who was too desirous of his love, and then encourages his daughters to avoid being like that woman—that is, their behavior is not to be a direct reflection of his own. As far as a literary education is concerned, Jerome does not suggest that Paula should push the accepted boundaries of feminine intellectual capacity by promoting any masculine models, intellectual or otherwise (Ep. 107:9, F.A. Wright, Jerome, *Select Letters*). Likewise, Paula’s participation in the book-learning culture is to very specific, limited ends, which do not include literary production or instructing other women. Vincent encouraged girls’ reading of Scripture primarily to keep them from sinful thoughts and activities rather than as an intellectual pursuit (Chapter 1, 31-32); Durand recommended reading of Scripture, theology, and patristic writings with the aim of self-improvement and edification but not literary creation (42-43); and La Tour Landry affirms that women should read, though not lecherous works—perhaps because of their bad examples—but do not need to learn to write (62-63).

¹⁰² On how Christine establishes the authority of her text (and self?) through association with St. Augustine’s *Cité de Dieu*, see Walters, “Réécriture de Saint Augustin.”

inherently hierarchical relationship between author and reader, thus opening her author-persona up to a more personal example for her female audience. Indeed, Brown-Grant affirms that “[Christine’s] self-representation here [in the *Cité*] as protagonist also determines the role she expects her reader to play in her text [...] Christine functions as a model for her female readers in order to encourage them to pursue virtue and to refute misogynist slander by their own worthy actions.”¹⁰³

Due to the shift from the heavily framed, Socratic dialogue form of the *Cité* to the series of *sermones ad status* in the *Trois vertus*,¹⁰⁴ Christine’s author-persona plays a less central role in the *Trois vertus* and as a result, receives substantially less development than in the *Cité*. While she establishes herself as “je” in the first chapter (I.I, 5, 8), the advice that follows the introductory chapter is addressed directly to “vous,” all women, by the Virtues (I.II, 13: “sommes meues a vous declairier et dire paroles de doctrine. Venez doncques toutes a l’escole de Sapience”; II.II, 6), or presented in the third person (“Par tel voye [...] la bonne princepe sera tousjours moyenne de paix [...]” [I.IX, 47-48]). The use of “tu” in the first book typically comes in the form of seductive speeches by Temptation (I.III, 12-47: “est il en ce monde plus grant maistresse de toy, ne plus auctorisiee? De qui dois tu tenir compte? [...] Qui seroit ce doncques qui t’oserait faire queleconques desplaisir? [...]”) or harangues delivered to oneself against such luxury (I.IV, 9-171: “Ne sces tu que tu es une miserable creature [...] que te vaudront lors honneurs n’avoirs, ne ton grant parenté, desquelles choses en ce monde tant tu t’aloses? [...]”), though the Virtues do shift to using “tu” more frequently when speaking to

¹⁰³ Brown-Grant, *Moral Defense of Women*, 152. In a similar vein, Brown-Grant argues that in the *Querelle*, Christine based her criticism in large part on the perceived immorality of the author, since “for Christine and Gerson, the distance between Jean [de Meun] and his characters is practically non-existent, hence the difficulty of ascribing a moral intention to him” (*ibid.*, 39).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Lorcin, “*Sermo ad status*.”

women of lower rank as in Book II. Similarly, the “je” that appears between Chapters I.II and the conclusion belong to whichever Virtue is presently speaking, or to the lady as she speaks to herself. Tarnowski interprets these shifts as allowing for greater “autobiographicity” in the *Trois vertus*, and that “reducing the substance of the allegory in the *Trois Vertus* serves to strengthen the bond between author, narrator and character; it confirms the identity of the ‘I.’”¹⁰⁵ While it is certainly easy to confuse the Virtues’ “je” for that of Christine, I do not agree with the idea of an “autobiographicity” inherent in this text. In fact, its affective nature is markedly less pronounced because Christine’s narrator is so invisible—she hardly invites identification and sympathy from the reader, and as such, her role as a model in the *Trois vertus* is negligible, especially when compared to her counterpart in the *Cité*, who highlights personal experiences like being left alone to care for her mother.

Overall, Christine’s understated presentation of herself as worthy of emulation comprises the most radical departure from previous use of female *exempla* in that it essentially eliminates the distance between herself and traditional models such as Judith and Esther, because she, too, is being *read* by her audience. Furthermore, certain modifications made by Christine to the tales of these exemplary women—such as Judith’s overcoming the limitations of her sex—also reject the notion of an inherently hierarchical relationship between men and women.¹⁰⁶ Christine’s larger goal, however, tends to parallel Durand’s, in that her *Cité* and

¹⁰⁵ Tarnowski, “Autobiography and Advice,” 158.

¹⁰⁶ This is not to say, however, that Christine believed in complete equality of men and women. Indeed, she felt that the two sexes’ physical differences made them fit for different occupations: “se pourroit demander pourquoi n’ordena Dieux aussi bien que les hommes feissent les offices des femmes que elles font et les femmes ceulx des hommes [...] Dieux a establi homme et femme pour le servir en divers offices [...] et a chacun sexe a donné tele nature et inclinacion, comme a faire son office lui appartient et compette” (*Cité*, I.XI, 92). Or, as Maureen Quilligan puts it, “While she managed to look with suspicion on much official discourse about women, she did not mount a critique of the notion of god-granted essences” (*The Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan’s Cité des dames* [Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 1991], 6). That said, however, “Christine in fact uses these collocative constructions to show that recognising intrinsic

Trois vertus were aimed primarily at uncloistered, often politically active women like Agnès de Bourgogne; hence, her emphasis on Esther's political power, the Magdalene's services for Christ in justification of women's right to speak, and the Virgin Mary's authority stemming from her role as mother. While Christine does not reject traditional feminine traits outright, and even endorses a good many of them—such as *prudence* and religious devotion—her breaks with tradition tend toward a subtly subversive claim for intellectual and moral parity between the sexes.

Images of Women Transmitting Knowledge in Christine's Works

The illuminations that accompany Christine's autograph manuscripts tend to grant authority to whoever is playing the instructional role, no matter their sex nor the sex of their student(s). In so doing, they place male and female instructors on essentially equal footing. These images, produced under Christine's direction, are not always straightforward representations of the contents of the texts, nor do the same images always reappear in different copies of the same works.¹⁰⁷ For instance, in contrast to the extensively illuminated compilations belonging to Isabeau de Bavière (Harley ms. 4431) and Jean, duke de Berry (BnF fr. 835, BnF fr. 606, BnF fr. 836, BnF fr. 605, and BnF fr. 607), Agnès de Bourgogne's two personal manuscripts of Christine's works contain very few illuminations: her copy of the *Cité* (BnF fr. 24293) has no miniatures and her *Epistre* (BnF fr. 848) contains only four, clustered at the beginning of the text¹⁰⁸—an organization of images unmatched by any of the other later

differences between the sexes is not the same thing as using these differences to justify either male supremacy or the denigration of women" (Brown-Grant, "Writing beyond Gender," 163).

¹⁰⁷ For the complete record of the autograph manuscripts, see Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*.

¹⁰⁸ The illuminations are: Dedication miniature, f. 1; Othea offering her letter to Hector, Temperance's Clock, f. 2; Minos dispensing justice, Hercules symbolizing force, f. 2v; Perseus rescuing Andromeda, f. 3.

manuscripts.¹⁰⁹ The limited number of images and their illogical distribution can perhaps be tied to the complex *mise en page* (which mirrors that of exegetical biblical commentaries), wherein sufficient space was not always allotted for each element (*texte, glose, allegorie*).¹¹⁰ Not all of Jean sans Peur's manuscripts, to which Agnès would likely have been exposed as a child, were composed under Christine's direct supervision, and only some bear miniatures.¹¹¹ Thus, while I do indicate which images Agnès might have seen and by which she might have been influenced—particularly as an adult—,¹¹² I base my analysis primarily on the richly illuminated autograph manuscripts, the “Duke's manuscript” and “the Queen's manuscript.” We know that Christine supervised the confection of the Duke's and Queen's manuscripts,¹¹³ and treating the extensive sample of images in these volumes offers additional insight into Christine's depiction of female intellectual networking. We find that the miniatures of a woman teaching another woman or women place comparatively less emphasis on the hierarchy of tutor and tutee through elements like higher or lower placement than illuminations in which teacher and student(s) are of differing sexes, thus reinforcing the suitability of women to teach their equals and their right to instruct those who are considered to be their social superiors.

¹⁰⁹ Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 351. These volumes have all been digitized and are freely accessible through <<http://www.gallica.bnf.fr>> (consulted May 27, 2016).

¹¹⁰ Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 345-46.

¹¹¹ Not all of these have been digitized, either. Illuminated manuscripts of limited accessibility include KBR ms. 9393, *Le livre de la cité des dames*, containing the typical three images at the head of each book (*ibid.*, 556-56); KBR ms. 10309, *L'avisio Christine*, which contains only an author portrait (*ibid.*, 602); KBR ms. 10982 and 10983, both copies of the *Chemin de longue étude*. KBR ms. 10983 contains four miniatures, including three of Christine and the Sibyl (*ibid.*, 391-92), while ms. 10982 also includes an image of Christine in her study and one miniature of Raison's court (*ibid.*, 398-99). All four of these were composed under Christine's supervision.

¹¹² As mentioned earlier, the Duke's manuscript came into the possession of the House of Bourbon through Marie de Berry, Agnès' mother-in-law (cf. n. 1), though not as part of her inheritance (Colette Beaune and Elodie Lequain, “Marie de Berry et les livres,” in *Livres et lectures de femmes en Europe entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, ed. Anne-Marie Legaré (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 53 and n70).

¹¹³ Both are thoroughly analyzed in Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, which focuses specifically on Christine's autograph manuscripts.

Additionally, text and image work in conjunction to reinforce the authority of women, and especially Christine in the case of the *Chemin*, to educate students of both sexes.

The goddess Othea provides an obvious point of departure, since she is both textually and visually present as a female transmitter of knowledge to a male youth in the illuminated copies of the *Epistre Othea*. In the text, Othea assumes an authoritative position toward Hector, to whom she addresses her letter, providing him with a variety of instructions on how to conduct himself as the ideal prince and whom to imitate, explaining that she will

amonnester [...] et dire et ennorter
Les choses qui sont necessaires
[...]
Affin que [s]on bon cuer s'adrece
D'acquerir, par bonne escole,
Le cheval qui par l'air s'en vole.
(198, l. 32-39)

The flying horse, Pegasus, was equated with *bonne renommee*, good renown;¹¹⁴ thus, Othea makes it clear that her admonitions will teach Hector to act in a manner that will bring him acclaim. Othea also explains that to those “qui m’aiment et tiennent chiere” that “Je leur lis leçons” (ibid., l. 56-57). In Agnès’ copy of the *Epistre*, BnF fr. 848 (Fig. 4), as well as the Queen’s (Fig. 5) and Duke’s (Fig. 6) manuscripts, the miniature of Othea presenting her letter, and therefore her advice, to Hector depicts her with her mouth firmly closed.¹¹⁵ Her hands, too, seem to have little to “say,” if indeed they are speaking at all—her right hand passes the letter,

¹¹⁴ Parussa, ed., *Epistre*, 384n[1]b.

¹¹⁵ While Othea’s lack of visible speech in the images may seem to be a deviation from the textual description of her actions, we can account for its absence. Of the twenty human figures depicted in BnF fr. 848 and the hundreds depicted in both the Queen’s and the Duke’s manuscripts, no person’s mouth is completely and unambiguously open. Thus, Othea’s verbal (visual?) silence can be explained by the artists’ habits. Those miniatures where the openness of certain human mouths is debatable include BnF fr. 848, f. 1, Dedicatory Miniature; BL Harley 4431, f. 96v, Temperance’s Clock; f. 101, People under the Influence of Phoebe; f. 102v, Men Receiving Armor from Minerva; f. 107, Women Reading under Diane’s Influence; f. 111, People Being Killed by Atropos. Comparatively more mouths in the Duke’s manuscript seem open (see, for instance, Fig. 6, where one of the counsellors might be sporting an open-mouthed smile), but none belonging to the images’ principle characters.

while her left remains flat and open, suspended mid-air.¹¹⁶ Talking hands, especially those of professors and prophets, often take the form of a closed fist with the index and sometimes the middle finger pointing, be it at an object, a person, or at nothing in particular.¹¹⁷ In the case of Othea, her left hand seems to be reflected in the open left hand of Hector, indicating a mutual recognition of the service she is rendering him. Her position above the prince implies a decided



Fig. 4: BnF fr. 848, *Epistre Othea*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 2 detail, Othea Presenting Her Letter to Hector; Temperance's Clock

¹¹⁶ On the various positions and significations of hands in miniatures, see François Garnier, *Le Langage de l'image au Moyen Âge: Signification et symbolique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1982), I:159-213, especially 165-170 on closed fists with one or two fingers extended.

Hindman observes that Othea's headdress is the same as that worn by sibyls in other illuminated manuscripts of Christine's works (*Painting and Politics*, 43); cf. Fig. 12, 13, and 14. A similar type of veil is also worn by Io in Fig. 7 and 9, implying a functional connection between the three.

¹¹⁷ "L'index pointé horizontalement lorsqu'il ne désigne pas une direction, un objet ou une personne [...] est très fréquent. Il caractérise l'orateur, le professeur, le prophète, et d'une manière générale tous ceux que leur fonction ou leur activité du moment mettent en relation de communication d'idées et d'enseignement" (Garnier, *Langage de l'image*, I:170).

level of authority, although Othea is outnumbered by Hector's male counsellors (not mentioned in the text), who are also physically closer to him; their gaze rests on their prince or on the viewer, oblivious to the goddess, who is entirely focused on her pupil. While Othea and Hector are linked by the letter passing between them, and she is visually more powerful than he, their relationship—her role as author—is not entirely clear without the accompanying text.¹¹⁸ Hindman interprets “the fiction of letter-giving” as being equated with the “actuality of book-giving” based on the visual resemblances between Hector and Othea in the letter miniatures and Louis d'Orléans and Christine in the presentation miniatures.¹¹⁹ This idea does seem to be borne out by Othea's insistence on the text she is presenting (“par mon esprit amonnester / te veuil,” 198, l. 32-33; “Cent auctoritez t'ay escriptes,” 340, l. 1), though does not address the inversion of power represented by the superior position of the distributor of knowledge and her relationship to the recipient as opposed to the typical presentation miniature in which the book and its creator are lower than the person to whom they are being given (e.g. Fig. 23).

The same miniature from the later, sumptuously decorated Queen's manuscript (Fig. 5) and Duke's manuscript (Fig. 6) differs in several ways, affecting our reading of the teacher's importance. Othea is on the left while Hector and his coterie occupy the right half of the scene, such that the direction in which French is read, from left to right, projects onto the gesture of passing the letter. The various male gazes have been redirected—Hector no longer looks directly at Othea, while the counsellor at the far right seems to glare fiercely at or beyond her.

¹¹⁸ According to the introduction to the section on the *Epistre* in *Album Christine de Pizan*, several manuscripts had difficulties reconciling text and/or rubrics with the images: “On constate, par l'absence de certaines rubriques dans ces deux exemplaires d'*Othea* [BnF fr. 606 et Harley ms. 4431], et de nombreuses rubriques, en particulier, dans le recueil Harley, toute la difficulté qu'on a eue à concilier texte et images” (347).

¹¹⁹ Hindman, *Painting and Politics*, 42. Hindman also notes the presence in this miniature of the arms of Orléans decorating the background (43).



Fig. 5: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Epistre Othea*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 95v detail, Othea Presenting Her Letter to Hector



Fig. 6: BnF fr. 606, *Epistre Othea*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 1v detail, Othea Presenting Her Letter to Hector

Othea is still surrounded by the clouds that indicate a celestial being, but in the Queen’s manuscript (Fig. 5), she is almost of a level with the men (and certainly is of a level with their hats) standing behind Hector and closer to Hector himself, slightly reducing her superior position. In both later illuminations, the hands, too, have changed—Othea’s right hand in the Queen’s manuscript (Fig. 5) clasps the letter in such a way that her first two fingers are separate from the ring finger and pinky, strikingly reminiscent of the pointing fingers involved in instruction as noted by Garnier.¹²⁰ Hector’s left hand, too, assumes a discursive posture, albeit one that is perhaps not directed at the goddess, as it might instead be linked to the falcon’s tie wrapped around his fingers. In the illumination from the Duke’s manuscript (Fig. 6), by contrast, the artist seems to have had difficulties with hands, as all five visible hands are curled into claws and offer no insight into the communications between the scene’s protagonists. In both cases, and despite Othea’s evident authority, Hector’s posture and gaze indicate a

¹²⁰ Cf. n. 117.

greater—perhaps even realistic—reluctance to engage with this woman than that conveyed by the miniature in Agnès’ manuscript (Fig. 4).¹²¹

The same is not true of other miniatures where women are instructing male students. For instance, Io’s pupils diligently study their letters as one presents his work for her consideration (Fig. 7).¹²² Her right hand, with the first and second fingers pointing, clearly indicates that she is communicating, that is, conveying knowledge, despite her closed books (Fig. 7 detail).¹²³ The two students seated in the foreground hold their right hands in the same manner, which Garnier posits can be read as their imitation of their female teacher.¹²⁴



Fig. 7: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Epistre Othea*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 109 detail, Io Teaching



Detail: Io Teaching

¹²¹ On the other hand, their blue robes do establish a visual connection between the two, and scholars including Regalado have previously remarked on the resemblance of Othea’s costume to Christine’s habitual dress (Regalado, “Reading with the Ladies,” 224; Hindman, *Painting and Politics*, 44). On other important deviations in details between the illuminations in the Duke’s and Queen’s manuscripts, see *ibid.*, 42 *et passim*.

¹²² This and all subsequent images do not exist in Agnès’ early copy of the *Epistre*. For a brief but interesting discussion of the significance in illuminations of scrolls vs. books, and of scrolls as representative of oral communication, see Barbara K. Altmann, “Hearing the Text, Reading the Image: Christine de Pizan’s *Livre du debat de deux amans*,” in *Au champ des escriptures. III^e colloque internationale sur Christine de Pizan (Lausanne, 18-22 juillet 1998)*, ed. Eric Hicks, Diego Gonzalez, and Philippe Simon (Paris: Champion, 2000), 702-03.

¹²³ “Dieu, le pape, l’évêque ou le maître font souvent le geste de l’enseignement et de l’ordre avec deux doigts au lieu d’un” (Garnier, *Langage de l’image*, I:165; my emphasis). See also the quotation in n. 117.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, I:165: “La supériorité, l’égalité ou l’infériorité des personnages en présence modifie profondément le sens de leurs gestes, dans le cas de l’imitation par exemple, où le même geste exprime l’ordre, la contradiction ou l’obéissance, selon qu’il est fait par un supérieur, répété par un égal, ou imité par un inférieur.”

Including Io as the instructor was a deliberate choice on the part of Christine and her workshop. While Othea encourages Hector, “moult te delittes ou savoir / Yo” (242, l. 1-2), it is not until the gloss that we discover precisely what type of knowledge she possessed: “maintes manieres de lettres qui devant n’avoient esté veues” (243, l. 8-9). No indication is given, though, that she personally taught her alphabets to others; the gloss is primarily devoted to allegorizing the myth of her transformation into a cow, making her presence in human form in the illumination a calculated statement in favor of women’s capacity to teach any audience, including men, subjects centered in writing and relating to book knowledge. As Sylvie Jeanneret points out, normally, “il faut interpréter l’image [de l’*Epistre*] de manière allégorique.”¹²⁵ Thus, the decision to omit Io’s bovine form, as in the text, in favor of her human one, to *forego* the allegory in favor of showing her passing on her knowledge, clearly demonstrates the importance of her role as an educator—and the necessity that readers of the *Epistre* grasp that significance.¹²⁶ Jeanneret’s observes that the *mise en page* (Fig. 8) collocates “Cadmus, homme de science, que le chevalier doit honorer et imiter” and “Io, femme savante et lettrée [...] Ce parallèle permet à l’auteur de situer homme et femme sur un même plan, et d’établir une équivalence entre savoirs masculin et féminin.”¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Sylvie Jeanneret, “Texte et enluminures dans *L’Epistre Othea* de Christine de Pizan: Une lecture politique?” in *Au champ des escriptures. III^e Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan (Lausanne, 18-22 juillet 1998)*, ed. Eric Hicks, Digo Gonzalez, and Philippe Simon (Paris: Champion, 2000), 726.

¹²⁶ Additionally, see Reno on Christine’s drastic adaptation of the Io story as transmitted by the *Ovide moralisé* (“Feminist Aspects,” 273-74); and Hindman’s table of concordance between the *Epistre* and the *Ovide moralisé*, which indicates that this miniature could not have been copied from that particular source (*Painting and Politics*, 196-97).

¹²⁷ Jeanneret, “Texte et enluminures dans *L’Epistre Othea*,” 733-34.



Fig. 8: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Epistre Othea*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 109

In fact, the *mise en page* establishes Io far more explicitly as a transmitter of knowledge, due to the books at hand and the student offering his work up for assessment.

The illumination from the Duke's manuscript, which Agnès would certainly have seen in her early 30s as duchess of Bourbon, further disambiguates Io's function as a producer of information (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9: BnF fr. 606, *Epistre Othea*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 15 detail, Io Writing

Here, Io's book is open as she creates her alphabets, plume in the right hand and knife in the left. All three of the men at her feet are writing as well, while the now substantially smaller cleric standing to the right presents for her consideration a scroll left blank in the Queen's manuscript. Furthermore, Othea's position, seated above at a table while the men sit on the ground, and her obviously more luxurious copy of the text, which boasts red ink while everyone else writes only in black, confirm Io's role as dominant character of this group. Such an image likely reassured Agnès of the importance of her role in her sons' education.

Not all male students are quite as receptive to knowledge imparted by a female instructor. Consider the illumination heading the *Enseignemens moraux* in the Queen's manuscript (Fig. 10). Here, Christine's open book is coupled with the same professorial pointing finger we saw in the detail of Io Teaching (Fig. 7) which, in conjunction with her open left hand, reinforces our impression that information is being conveyed.



Fig. 10: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Enseignemens moraux*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 261v detail, Christine Giving Instructions to Her Son



Detail: Christine Giving Instructions

The resentful look on her son's face accompanied by his defensive posture suggests a certain resistance to what Christine is attempting to teach him from her authoritative seat behind the desk.¹²⁸ The corresponding image from the Duke's manuscript in the Bourbon library (Fig. 11) shows Jean, Christine's son, with a respectful, engaged right hand lifted in front of his chest suggesting discussion—a more encouraging image for Agnès, who appears to have kept her oldest son, the future Jean II, with her rather than fostering him at her brother's court.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Liana de Girolami Cheney discusses the hands' gestures in this miniature as well as that heading the *Proverbes moraux* in the same manuscript, remarking that Christine's hands in Fig. 10 assume a didactic pose as she explains to her son, whereas in the illumination of the *Proverbes moraux* (BL, Harley ms. 4431, f. 259v), the open hand oriented toward her chest is a scholastic pose indicating the transmission or discussion of her own opinion ("Christine de Pizan's Collection of Art and Knowledge," in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow 21-27 July 2000)*, Published in Honour of Liliane Dulac, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw and Catherine M. Müller [Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002], 263-64). Mary Weitzel Gibbons has also remarked upon Jean's defensive posture ("Christine's Mirror: Self in Word and Image," in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow 21-27 July 2000)*, Published in Honour of Liliane Dulac, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw and Catherine M. Müller [Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002], 374).

¹²⁹ Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne," 153, 156, 158.



Fig. 11: BnF fr. 836, *Enseignemens moraux*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 42 detail, Christine Giving Instructions to Her Son

In the Queen's and Duke's manuscripts, the *Epistre*'s final illumination, depicting a woman transmitting knowledge to a male audience, consists of the Cumaean Sibyl¹³⁰ instructing Emperor Augustus in the Christian faith (Fig. 12 and 13).¹³¹ He kneels while she stands, placing her in a position of power over him. Her right hand rests on his back as if encouraging and guiding him, while her left hand takes on the classic pointing gesture as she directs his attention to the Virgin and Child appearing as a vision in the sky. His ornate crown and skillfully decorated mantle demonstrate his wealth in contrast to the Sibyl's plain headdress and robe. Augustus' hands are folded in prayer, his gaze following the Sibyl's finger toward the Christ child. The subject of this miniature is critical to the transmission of

¹³⁰ This is an error on Christine's part; elsewhere, she correctly identifies her as the Tiburtine Sibyl.

¹³¹ An almost identical illumination of this same event concludes the *Paradis de la reine Sibylle* by Antoine de La Sale in Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 653 (Fig. 28).



Fig. 12: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Epistre Othea*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 141 detail, Sibyl Teaching Augustus



Fig. 13: BnF fr. 606, *Epistre Othea*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 46 detail, Sibyl Teaching Augustus

knowledge by women with respect to its acknowledgement of female authority.¹³² That is, teaching devotion is the woman's domain;¹³³ Sibyls, furthermore, are not simply women but are, as their name (*sio*, God, *bellen*, thought) indicates, inherently imbued with religious authority.¹³⁴ As such, the Sibyl has the necessary authority to instruct even a bearded emperor, the pinnacle of the terrestrial masculine hierarchy.

In addition to corresponding exactly to the gloss, which briefly develops the story of Augustus and the Sibyl (340-41), this particular image also reinforces the final four lines of Othea's letter:

Cent auctoritez t'ay escriptes,
Si ne soient de toy despites,

¹³² Unacknowledged is the problematic relationship between this fairly typical image of the Sibyl and Augustus and the prohibition against women teaching in I Cor. 14.

¹³³ See Nicole Bériou, "The Right of Women to Give Religious Instruction in the Thirteenth Century," in *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1998), 134-41; Joni M. Hand, *Women, Manuscripts and Identity in Northern Europe, 1350-1550* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), Ch. 4; and Alexandre-Bidon, "La Lettre volée," 953-61.

¹³⁴ On the etymology of the word *sibyl*, see Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore de Seville*, ed. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Olivier Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 181; see also the related discussion here in Chapter 3, 159-60.

Car Augustus de femme apprist
Qui d'estre aouré le reprist.
(340, l. 2-5)

As in the beginning of the *Epistre*, Othea again asserts herself as an instructor, whose authority is situated in the written work she has just produced. Hindman also observes a particularly interesting bit of verbal trickery in these final verses: “She [Christine] uses the word ‘authority’ to refer to the entire textual structure she has created, thereby departing from the medieval notion of *auctoritas* as a supporting quotation from another source.”¹³⁵ Within her now-authoritarian epistolary fiction, Christine effectively cements her intellectual capacity and right, and women’s right in general, to transmit knowledge to male students.

Another Sibyl, Almathea, also plays a considerable instructional role in both text and images in the *Chemin de longue étude* in the Queen’s manuscript and the Duke’s manuscript (BnF fr. 836).¹³⁶ In this case, however, the recipient of the Sibyl’s teaching is Christine, who thus positions herself as an intermediary in this network of women sharing what they have learned—the Sibyl, and, later, Sagesce—with those who are perhaps only beginning their journey—Christine’s readers, among them Agnès. One major difference between the set of six miniatures in Harley ms. 4431, the seven in BnF fr. 836, and those from the *Epistre* discussed above requires commentary: whereas the illuminations from the *Epistre* figure a variety of female teachers and students, those from the *Chemin* feature only Almathea as tutor and Christine as tutee. Almathea’s instruction of Christine serves a similar purpose to the moments in the *Cité* when Christine (through the voice of the personified Virtues) invites her readers to empathize with her and take her as a model, as discussed above.¹³⁷ The series of images of

¹³⁵ Hindman, *Painting and Politics*, 59.

¹³⁶ Almathea is also mentioned by name in the *Cité*, II.III, 224-28. For additional information on the autograph manuscripts of the *Chemin*, see Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 379-412.

¹³⁷ See also the images from the *Cité*: Fig. 2, 3, 24, 25, 26, and 27.

Christine's lessons in the *Chemin* depict Christine's transition from novice to experienced student; juxtaposed with the text, they authorize Christine, in turn, to teach.

Take, for instance, the first image from the *Chemin* in the Queen's manuscript, in which the Sibyl and Christine stand facing the Fountain of Wisdom (Fig. 14).¹³⁸ Bathing in



Fig. 14: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Chemin de longue étude*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 183 detail, Pegasus and the Fountain of Wisdom



Fig. 15: BnF fr. 836, *Chemin de longue étude*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 5v detail, Pegasus and the Fountain of Wisdom

the fountain are the nine Muses, while Pegasus flies overhead. Almathea might have a hold of Christine's wrist with her right hand (Fig. 14), guiding her as a mother would her daughter, while indicating the bathing women with her left. Christine's free hand rests demurely on her stomach as she looks in the direction of the Sibyl's pointing finger. Even without consulting the text, the viewer understands this image to represent Christine's education as informed by classical mythology (Pegasus) and the various arts (the Muses). In both Fig. 14 and 15, the relationship between Christine's and the Muses' headdresses, in contrast to Almathea's veil,

¹³⁸ In the Duke's manuscript, this miniature is preceded by one in which the Sibyl addresses the sleeping Christine (Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 275).

implies a similarity of purpose between them and Christine—an implication that she, too, might well inspire others.¹³⁹ Indeed, the narrator writes that the bathing women

818 Mout sembloient d’octorité
Et de grant valour et savoir
Mout voulsisse apprendre et savoir
De leur estat.

Christine immediately qualifies them as an authority—thus coopting patriarchal writers’ language—about and from whom she wishes to learn.¹⁴⁰ She also reminds us of her current, uneducated status; Christine is very much the student at this point in the narrative.

In the text, although not depicted in the illumination, the fountain is situated between two potential routes to the heavens, one of which is restricted to those who are “lettrez” (l. 934) and who “se delitent en apprendre” (l. 942).¹⁴¹ Additionally, the Sibyl remarks to Christine,

1004 Si peus l’effait du lieu comprendre,
Car a soubtil qui scet entendre
Ne couvient grant exposeur
Pour du tout declairier l’auteur.

As Tarnowski points out, “la vague que Christine maintient ici suggère qu’elle parle elle-même à son lecteur [...] Christine, l’apprentie de son guide sibyllin, est à son tour le guide de ceux qui la suivent en lisant.”¹⁴² In this same section, the reader also finds further validation for women’s speech, which contributes to their worthiness as teachers. As Almathea explains, “a celles / Dames jadis parler aloyent / Les philosophes” (l. 1010-12)—that is, earthly *auctores* like Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, and Virgil would converse with the Muses in their search for

¹³⁹ On the erotic potential of the nude Muses and the narcissistic implications of the fountain, see Julia Simms Holderness, “Christine voyeuse: Le narcissisme philosophique,” in *Christine de Pizan: Une femme de science, une femme de lettres*, ed. Juliette Dor, Marie-Élisabeth Henneau, and Bernard Ribémont (Paris: Champion, 2008), especially 182, 185-89.

¹⁴⁰ Based on the multiple extended descriptions of the beauty of the surrounding mountain and fields (l. 795-810, 824-52, 871-82, 959-66), the space surrounding the fountain could be interpreted as a type of Eden, where the Muses represent the pure, comprehensive nature of human knowledge before the Fall.

¹⁴¹ The second route also leads to heaven, but is more direct and therefore more difficult to manage.

¹⁴² Tarnowski, ed., *Chemin*, 146-47n1.

inspiration. Thus, text and image work together to establish Christine-the-pupil's qualifications to transition to Christine-the-teacher, that is, to pass along to others the knowledge she has received from the Sibyl.



Fig. 16: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Chemin de longue étude*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 189v detail, The Beautiful Things Christine Saw in the Heavens



Fig. 17: BnF fr. 836, *Chemin de longue étude*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 12 detail, The Beautiful Things Christine Saw in the Heavens

Although Almathea is not pointing, per se, in the miniature from the Queen's manuscript where she and Christine stand surrounded by the heavenly sphere (Fig. 16), her role instructing Christine remains evident: her open right hand gestures toward the firmament surrounding them that she is currently explaining, while her left executes the classically feminine lifting of the skirts to facilitate movement; in the Duke's manuscript (Fig. 17), her left hand also assumes the instructional position with the first two fingers extended. Like the image of the fountain, this illumination demonstrates Christine's continued education, as her hands reveal her acceptance of the information being presented to her.¹⁴³ The Sibyl no longer guides Christine by the hand, indicative of Christine's progression in the educational process.

¹⁴³ Garnier, *Langage de l'image*, I:186-87, illustration C and rubric.

Christine's desire to "aviser les belles maisons / Des planettes" (l. 1819-20) and to see "comment [les estoiles] furent ordenees / Et par le tour du ciel menees" (l. 1825-26) followed by the Sibyl's explanation of the heavens (l. 1828-46) confirms the impression that the starry sky recalls broader fields of knowledge, but the simplicity of the sky in which they stand is striking primarily for its omissions that the circular shape nevertheless evokes—absent are angels and zodiac signs. Medieval heavens were often heavily populated with various ranks of cherubim and seraphim in stratified, concentric circles, much like those surrounding the Earth centered behind the two women.¹⁴⁴ Also typically represented in a circular layout were maps of the Zodiac (Fig. 18), which are implicitly evoked by the sun, moon, and stars populating the sky in the image above.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Circular ranks of cherubim can be seen in a 15th-century *Cité de Dieu*, trad. Raoule de Presles, BnF fr. 22, f. 8v <<http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=08012071&E=1&I=15763&M=imageseule>> (accessed June 4, 2016), as well as in a 15th-century *Mirouer historial*, trad. Jean de Vignay, BnF fr. 50, f. 14v <<http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=8100039&E=12&I=16462&M=imageseule>> (accessed June 4, 2016), and in an early 14th-century *Life of St. Dionysis*, BnF fr. 2090, f. 107v <<http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=08447296&E=220&I=40793&M=imageseule>> (accessed June 4, 2016). In fact, the Sibyl does not tell Christine of the various celestial beings who inhabit the higher spheres until quite a bit later, in l. 2039-48.

¹⁴⁵ See, in addition to the example from Agnès' 14th-century *Livre de Sydrac* (Fig. 18), a mid-15th-century translation of Barthélemy l'Anglais' *De proprietatibus rerum*, BnF fr. 135, f. 285

<<http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=7826018&E=1&I=22532&M=imageseule>> (accessed June 4, 2016).



Fig. 18: BnF fr. 762, *Livre de Sydrac*, f. 217v detail, Zodiac Wheel

Both theology and astronomy pertain particularly to Christine's education: the first, because she is a woman, and thus already charged with her children's religious upbringing; and the second, because of her father, astrologer to Charles V, who encouraged her curiosity and pursuit of learning as a young girl.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ "Ton pere qui fu grant naturien et philosophe n'oppinoit pas que femmes vaulsissent pis par science, ains de ce que encline te veoit aux letres, si que tu scez, y prenoit grant plaisir" (*Cité*, II.XXXVI, 316). See also Charity Cannon Willard, "Christine de Pizan: The Astrologer's Daughter," in *Mélanges à la mémoire de Franco Simone. France et Italie dans la culture européenne. Tome I: Moyen Âge et Renaissance* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1980), 95-111.

As the subject matter of the text transitions from summary of already existing information (for instance, about the heavens) to Christine's newly created matter of the allegorical personifications Sagece, Noblece, Chevalerie, and Richece about to engage in debate as to whose scion should be elected to rule the earth, so too Almathea's role in Christine's acquisition of knowledge shifts.¹⁴⁷ Whereas initially, everything Christine observed required explanation by the Sibyl, by the time the debate ends, Christine is ready to return to the earth and share the information she has acquired. The subsequent illuminations substantially qualify Christine's authority, however.



Fig. 19: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Chemin de longue étude*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 192v detail, The Five Thrones and Women Christine Saw in the Heavens



Fig. 20: BnF fr. 836, *Chemin de longue étude*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 15 detail, The Five Thrones and Women Christine Saw in the Heavens

On her arrival with Almathea before Reason's throne, which stands empty, Christine still requires guidance, as the Sibyl holds her hand (Fig. 19) while she points with one finger toward the center of the court in response to Christine's questioning left hand which, as in Fig. 16, suggests an active involvement in the learning process. Christine's hands in the Duke's

¹⁴⁷ On the potential readings of the allegorical personifications as contemporary political figures, see Hindman, *Painting and Politics*, 173-76.

manuscript (Fig. 20) reveal a greater degree of autonomy as she uses both to conduct a discussion with the Sibyl.



Fig. 21: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Chemin de longue étude*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 218v detail, Raison Appoints Christine Messenger to the French Princes



Fig. 22: BnF fr. 836, *Chemin de longue étude*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 40v detail, Raison Appoints Christine Messenger to the French Princes

In Fig. 21 and 22, which illustrate the end of the debate, Almathea is no longer pointing with the prophetic index finger, but seems to be requesting Raison's attention and agreement with regard to Christine, whom she touches with her left hand, much like the Sibyl does with Augustus in the final *Epistre* illumination (Fig. 12 and 13), only now looking toward Reason instead of Virgin and child. The Sibyl also maintains her position as intermediary between Christine and knowledge, physically placed as she is between Christine and Raison. Christine, kneeling almost in the center of the miniature and the circle formed by the thrones, is essentially equidistant from Raison, Sagece, Richece, Chevalerie, and Noblece. In effect, she is perfectly poised to draw on her knowledge of all of these qualities in transmitting her tale to its intended recipients as well as any others who may read her work—including those patrons, like Queen Isabeau de Bavière, to whom Christine dedicated her manuscripts, or to Agnès de Bourgogne, reading the manuscripts in the library at Moulins. Nevertheless, this image does

not seem to accord Christine the authority to undertake instructional action. Her lowly position and joined hands indicate her recognition of her inferior status; while her body and hands are oriented toward Sagece, the privileged speaker among the debaters and obvious favorite of the author,¹⁴⁸ Christine's gaze is directed at Raison, as it is Raison who must approve Christine to convey the debate to earth. This last miniature from the *Chemin* depicts Christine at her most humble despite her having completed such a long didactic journey—a humility reminiscent of that typical of dedication miniatures in a secular context (e.g., Fig. 23).



Fig. 23: BnF fr. 836, “Duke’s Manuscript, vol. 3,” by Christine de Pizan, f. 1 detail, Dedication Miniature

Christine’s kneeling posture at the end of the *Chemin* (Fig. 22) thus simultaneously reminds the viewer that there is always more to learn and that Christine in particular and women on the whole are capable of transmitting knowledge.

¹⁴⁸ Sagece speaks for 2,104 lines, as compared to Chevalerie (245), Noblece (333), and Richece (321).



Fig. 24: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Livre de la cité des dames*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 290 detail, Christine and the Three Virtues; Christine and Droiture Build the City

The introductory image from the *Cité* takes a different approach to the didactic process, showing reception and production within the same frame (Fig. 24 and 25).¹⁴⁹ Christine is receptive to what the Virtues have to show her—her gaze tends more toward them than toward the book before her, and her left hand rests quiescent on her stomach while the three Virtues present their attributes to be seen and considered, perhaps even adopted. Christine’s portrayal also firmly establishes her as a reader; the first two fingers of her right hand lie marking a line in the open book before her (Fig. 24), while we see several other closed tomes around her. That the right half of the frame depicts Christine engaged in the labor of building—that is, Christine *doing*—seems to suggest that Christine has read enough for the time being, that she needs to leave her books aside in favor of producing the city, in part through her own experience.

¹⁴⁹ The *Cité* comprises the last volume of the Duke’s manuscript, today BnF fr. 607, and has the three typical miniatures. Agnès’ inherited copy, BnF fr. 24293, is not illuminated.



Fig. 25: BnF fr. 607, *Livre de la cité des dames*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 2 detail, Christine and the Three Virtues; Christine and Droiture Build the City

It also challenges the idea that women are physically frail—Christine’s model thus encourages women to *act*.

Many additional, complementary interpretations of this image have been proposed over the years. Liana de Girolami Cheney, for instance, reads Christine as personifying Wisdom on the left, and that both halves together portray “the cardinal virtues, Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Fortitude.”¹⁵⁰ Reading the figures in this way also invites the reader to imitate before they have even interacted with the text. McGrady interprets the left half of the miniature as “the move from *lectio* and *meditatio* to *oratio*,” while Christine’s activity on the right half represents “*operatio* and *contemplatio* [...] and] insist[s] on the dynamic aspects of reading.”¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Cheney, “Christine de Pizan’s Collection,” 264-65.

¹⁵¹ McGrady, “Reading for Authority,” 162-63.

Her “dynamic aspects of reading” seem to me to translate into *doing*, blurring the line between learning in the abstract and from experience.

At the beginning of the second book of the *Cité*, we see Droiture leading women into the allegorical city still under construction. In Fig. 26, Droiture’s right hand is folded into the classic pointing pose, directing her audience, while her open left hand indicates discourse.



Fig. 26: BL, Harley ms. 4431, *Livre de la cité des dames*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 323 detail, Entry of the Women into the City



Detail: Droiture Leading



Fig. 27: BnF fr. 607, *Livre de la cité des dames*, by Christine de Pizan, f. 31v detail, Entry of the Women into the City

The woman immediately behind the Virtue grabs at her wrist, as if to hold her back or demand her attention;¹⁵² the rest of her listeners quietly accept Droiture's instruction. The remainder of the crowd draw the viewer's attention because they are of a variety of ranks, according to their headdresses—reflecting some, if not all (there are, for instance, no warriors among them), of those women presented to the reader as exemplary, but also seeming to reflect the diverse female audience Christine anticipated for her work.¹⁵³ The crowd in the Queen's manuscript (Fig. 26) seems slightly more economically diverse than that in the Duke's (Fig. 27), where Christine (on the left) is one of the plainest dressed. These images' diverse social representations allow the reader-viewer—Agnès, her daughters, or other women of various positions in her household—to project herself into the miniature as one of the crowd coming to populate the feminine intellectual stronghold that Christine has created.

Women in Christine's texts teach for audiences of variable size, rank, age, and sex. For instance, in the images from the *Epistre*, Io has a clerical audience for her alphabets; the Sibyl instructs the bearded Emperor Augustus concerning a matter of faith. While the reader understands that Christine's education under Almathea's tutelage in the *Chemin* will benefit others, the illuminations only suggest, never confirm, Christine's future role as female educator. Nevertheless, by including explicit images of women as teachers of diverse

¹⁵² Garnier, *Langage de l'image*, I:199: "La tenue du poignet [...] [il] ne s'agit pas d'une quelconque marque d'amitié de sympathie. La nature de cette véritable possession dépend de la condition de chacun des personnages en relation, et des gestes complémentaires." Although it is tempting to read this figure as Christine, the woman in blue further to the left more closely resembles the author-narrator as she was depicted at the beginning of the *Cité* (Fig. 24 and 25).

¹⁵³ With regards to the miniaturist's choice of a crowd of women, Roman Reisinger remarks, "Il semble important, aux yeux de Christine, de peupler sa Cité non seulement de dames illustres de haut rang mais aussi, au fil des pages et sur la voie de la démocratisation, de femmes singulières et de groupes de femmes en effaçant toute notion de couche sociale" ("La Rhétorique de la (pseudo)fiction dans *Le Livre de la cité des dames*," in *Au champ des escriptures. III^e colloque international sur Christine de Pizan (Lausanne, 18-22 juillet 1998)*, ed. Eric Hicks, Diego Gonzalez, and Philippe Simon [Paris: Champion, 2000], 633).

audiences, Christine reaffirms women's intellectual capacity and their right to transmit knowledge to others, men as well as women, as Agnès did for her children, male and female.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to provide a clearer understanding of the various types of learning—by imitation, by experience, and in the abstract—as conceptualized by Christine de Pizan in a small portion of her many works. Christine's reliance on a prescriptive approach to cultivating virtue and implicit positioning of herself through text and image as a model for her readers indicate her conviction that women can benefit from an extensive education but that they need equally extensive guidance during the process. Her revision of the biblical *exempla* continues the trend of preparing women more for secular than cloistered life, while acknowledging that a variety of social classes participate in women's mutual education. The illuminations whose creation Christine supervised complement these textual claims of women's right and responsibility to teach through various methods.

These modes of transmission continue to be manifest in works influenced by Christine, particularly in a reader who happened to produce a text on commission for Agnès de Bourgogne. As we will see in Chapter 3, Antoine de La Sale's *Paradis de la reine Sibylle* further shifts the role of experiential learning as he invites his principal reader not to replicate his experience, but to actually share in it. He also demonstrates a greater faith than Christine in women's capacity to read discerningly.

Chapter 3: *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle*: An Edifying Commission for Agnès

“L’écriture, condition apparente de la *mimèsis* du voyage, pourrait en devenir le lieu même.”¹

Introduction

In 1437, Antoine de La Sale was present at Moulins for the marriage of nine-year-old Marie de Bourbon, eldest daughter of Agnès de Bourgogne and Charles I de Bourbon, to La Sale’s eleven-year-old tutee, Jean, duke of Calabre, son of Isabelle de Lorraine and René II, duke of Anjou. It was there that La Sale discovered Agnès’ tapestry of the Apennine mountains and remarked upon its inaccuracies, leading to her commission of the volume housed today as Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 653, a beautiful vellum manuscript that contains two works, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle* and *L’Excursion aux îles Lipari*.² Through La Sale’s consistent underscoring of the didactic function of his tale in Agnès’ manuscript, it is reasonable to reconstruct a pedagogy that departs from his predecessors’ in La Sale’s greater reliance on women’s capacity to learn in the abstract, followed in importance by experience and imitation.

¹ Pierre Brunel, “Préface,” in *Métamorphoses du récit de voyage. Actes du colloque de la Sorbonne et du Sénat (2 mars 1985)*, ed. François Moureau (Paris: Champion; Geneva: Slatkine, 1986), 11.

² Antoine de La Sale, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 653, f. 1v: “Et car toute promesse se doit loyaulment acquiter, pour ce, ma tresredoubtee dame, vous envoie par escript et pourtrait les mons du lac de Pilate et de la Sibille, qui autrement sont que en vostre tapisserie ne sont faiz” (my emphasis). As in manuscripts cited in previous chapters, I have kept my editorial interventions on the text of Chantilly ms. 653 to a minimum. I started from Fernand Desonay’s transcription in Antoine de La Sale, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle: Édition et commentaire critique par Fernand Desonay*, ed. Fernand Desonay (Paris: Droz, 1930), which I carefully compared to the manuscript itself; his edition needed little correction, though I do occasionally differ in opinion on the placement and necessity of some punctuation. All parenthetical in-text citations are to this manuscript, not the edition. I chose to use Desonay as my point of reference rather than the transcription of the text in Antoine de La Sale and Francine Mora-Lebrun, *Voyages en Sibyllie: Les hommes, le paradis et l’enfer* (Paris: Riveneuve éd., 2010), as a comparison of the two indicates that Mora-Lebrun’s “transcription” is a whole-sale reprinting of Desonay’s 1930 edition of the text. See also Antoine de La Sale, *Œuvres complètes. Tome I: La Salade*, ed. Fernand Desonay (Paris: Droz, 1936), xviii for the biographical information in this paragraph. In addition, there is a modern French translation of the text: Antoine de La Sale, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, trans. Francine Mora-Lebrun (Paris: Stock, 1983).

To sum up both works briefly:³ the *Paradis* recounts La Sale's ascent of Italy's Mount of the Sibyl and the adventures of those who previously braved the descent through its cave to the Queen Sibylle's court and came out the worse for indulging in the worldly delights offered there, as related to La Sale by various local oral sources. After an introductory letter from the author La Sale to his dedicatee, Agnès, the outermost frame-narrative is recounted in the first person by a character who calls himself Antoine de La Sale. This initial portion tells of La Sale-the-narrator's journey to the Apennine mountains in Italy. His travels provide a fluid transition to the second and third stories, wherein he recounts what he has heard second- and third-hand about two different sets of men searching for adventure and attempting to gain access to the Queen Sibylle and her court found deep within one of the peaks. The most important of those men are the German knight and his squire, who actually access her hedonistic underworld realm. The following section returns the reader to the above-ground entrance to the Queen Sibylle's cave and details a miraculous vision experienced by the brother of a man thought lost to the Queen Sibylle's court. Concluding the *Paradis*, the fifth section is composed of a list of the ten true Sibyls; the so-called "Queen Sibylle" from the cave is not included therein. The text closes with a second short letter from La Sale-the-author to Agnès de Bourgogne, confirming that the manuscript was dedicated to her.

The *Excursion* comprises a short description of earthly Paradise followed by La Sale's exploits on the isle of Boulcan (Vulcano), including his run-in with a demon who almost caused the ships in his company to be lost in a storm. The *Excursion* is linked with the *Paradis* since the two are found together not only in Agnès' manuscript but also in the only other extant manuscript copy, that of her son-in-law, Jean de Calabre, today KBR ms. 18210-215, titled *La*

³ Both texts can be found in Desonay, ed., *Œuvres complètes*, I:63-163.

Salade. This copy post-dates Agnès' by some 5 years.⁴ I have not included any substantial treatment of the *Excursion* in this chapter—despite its thematic links to the *Paradis*—due in part to its more straightforward nature, which has already lent itself to close consideration by a number of scholars. In fact, both texts have been the subject of extensive analysis, especially over the past twenty years,⁵ with the last decade seeing the release of two full-length monographs on La Sale and his œuvre. Sylvie Lefèvre's volume, *Antoine de La Sale: La fabrique de l'œuvre et de l'écrivain* (2006), delves into the myriad details in La Sale's manuscripts which had, until her work, remained opaque or otherwise indecipherable (such as the identification of La Sale's arms and emblems in the presentation miniature of Chantilly ms. 653), and provides an edited text of La Sale's *Traité des anciens et nouveaux tournois*.⁶ Francine Mora-Lebrun's *Voyages en Sibillie* (2010) concentrates specifically on the *Paradis*, providing a deft analysis of the numerous layers of reliability and doubt employed by La Sale in his narrative as well as scrutinizing the various potential legends from which his story might have been drawn.⁷ Neither considers the *Paradis* to be a particularly didactic text, however. Two doctoral dissertations from the 1990s address La Sale's pedagogy across his œuvre in a more concerted fashion, but again, the *Paradis* is not the sole text under consideration in these

⁴ *Ibid.*, I: XVIII.

⁵ See, for instance, Madeleine Jeay, "La *Salade* d'Antoine de La Sale: Les leçons d'un loyal serviteur à un 'futur roi'," in *Quant l'ung amy pour l'autre veille: Mélanges de moyen français offerts à Claude Thiry*, ed. Claude Thiry, Tania Van Hemelryck, and Maria Colombo Timelli (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 123-32; Catherine Léglu, "Between Hell and a Fiery Mountain: Antoine de La Sale's Ascent of Vulcano," *Studies in Travel Writing* 11 (2007): 109-26; Patrice Uhl, "L'*Excursion aux îles Lipari* d'Antoine de La Sale (*La Salade*, IV): Anecdote récréative, *exemplum* ou nouvelle fantastique?" in *L'Imaginaire du volcan*, ed. M.F. Bosquet and F. Sylvos (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005), 21-37; Karen G. Casebier, "History or Fiction? The Role of Doubt in Antoine de La Sale's *Le Paradis de la royne Sibille*," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 28 (2003): 37-50; Martijn Rus, "Un Récit fantastique de la fin du Moyen Âge: L'*Excursion aux îles Lipari* d'Antoine de La Sale," *Poétique* 30 (1999): 157-67; Simonetta Cochis, "The Sailor Demon of Vulcano in Antoine de La Sale's Geography of the Demonic, L'*Excursion aux îles Lipari*," in *Demons: Mediators between this World and the Other. Essays on Demonic Beings from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Ruth Petzoldt and Paul Neubauer (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 1998), 65-73.

⁶ Sylvie Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale: La fabrique de l'œuvre et de l'écrivain* (Geneva: Droz, 2006).

⁷ Mora-Lebrun, *Voyages en Sibyllie*.

studies.⁸ Furthermore, Luca Pierdominici's assessment of the *Paradis* and *Excursion* as "histoires, très peu éducatives"⁹ merits reconsideration, at least as far as the *Paradis* is concerned.

Rather than rehash the popular questions concerning truth and doubt in La Sale's work and especially in the *Paradis* (that is, whether La Sale was actually present at both the Lake of Pilate and the Mount of the Sibyl itself or if, for instance, the figures he provides for miles and distances are all simply to "faire vrai"¹⁰), here the focus rests on La Sale's sharing of knowledge about Christian truths and the necessity of discretion by presenting readers with abstract information, knowledge acquired from his own experiences which he invites the reader to share, and by models (primarily bad). A non-linear approach to the text of the *Paradis*, addressing the roles of Sibyls, Christianity, guided travel and mental pilgrimage, and framing devices best illuminates La Sale's educational intent and preference for the more "masculine" abstract method of instruction even as he seamlessly integrates it with experience and imitation. Rather than study the images from Agnès' manuscript in isolation, I discuss them with regards to these specific themes, since these illustrations were undoubtedly inspired by the text itself.¹¹

The choice of themes is, of course, guided by the contents of the *Paradis*. However, they demonstrate intertextual connections between this work and the other volumes in Agnès'

⁸ Simonetta Cochis, "Antoine de La Sale's Delightful Teachings: Literature and Learning in His Late Medieval Books for Princes" (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1998); Luca Pierdominici, "Du Pédagogique au narratif. Écriture fragmentaire et poétique de la nouvelle dans l'œuvre d'Antoine de La Sale" (Lille, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1996).

⁹ "Du Pédagogique au narratif," 155.

¹⁰ Jeanne Demers, "La Quête de l'anti-Graal ou un récit fantastique: *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle*," *Le Moyen Âge* 83 (1977): 477.

¹¹ On the involvement of Antoine de La Sale in, at the very least, overseeing the illuminations in the manuscript, I refer to Desonay, who, in speaking of the two-page map on f. 5v-6 (Fig. 29), says that it "n'a pu être dressée que par Antoine ou sous sa direction personnelle" (Desonay, ed., *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, xxvn1).

library, revealing hints of the interests that come to dominate her collection. The Sibyls, for instance, establish a clear link to Christine de Pizan's texts, especially the *Chemin de longue étude*.¹² Indeed, we see that both La Sale's and Christine's use of the Sibyl(s) is related to the question of authority. The authors' approaches differ, however. Although both are concerned with establishing and maintaining their authority—Christine in the face of traditional *auctores* and La Sale with regards to his own experiences and this oral tale he is transcribing—, La Sale's male sex inherently imbues him with the influence that Christine sought to co-opt via her relationship with the Sibyl Almathéa in the *Chemin*.¹³ The Christian elements in the *Paradis* provide an obvious connection with the religious works discussed in depth in Chapter 4; one of those, Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme* (in Chantilly ms. 140) has structural similarities to the mental pilgrimage invoked by La Sale's ascent of the Apennine mountains. In analyzing the framing devices, I look outside Agnès' library to the *Salade* manuscript dedicated to her son-in-law (KBR ms. 18210-15) to better determine the orientation of the reader particular to Agnès' manuscript through La Sale's insistence on the instructive nature of her copy in comparison to the emphasis on pleasure in Jean's.

The Sibyl(s)

Late in the text of the *Paradis*, La Sale cites Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* on the definition of *Sibyl*: “*sio* en grec eolique, qui est un des languaiges de Grece, est a dire dieu en

¹² Agnès' inherited a *Livre de la cité des dames* (BnF fr. 24293) and an *Epistre Othea* (BnF fr. 848) in addition to having access to most of Christine's collected works through the ducal library at Moulins (see my Chapter 2, n. 1).

¹³ Comparison of the two authors is merited, as several scholars have convincingly demonstrated the influence of Christine de Pizan's works, including the *Epistre Othea*, on Antoine de La Sale. See, for instance, Charity Cannon Willard, “Antoine de La Sale, Reader of Christine de Pizan,” in *Visitors to the City: Readers of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Glenda K. McLeod (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellen, 1991), 1-8, and Allison Kelly, “Christine de Pizan and Antoine de la Sale: The Dangers of Love in Theory and Fiction,” in *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan*, ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards (Athens; London: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 173-86.

latin ou, plus proprement dire, en françois, et *bellen* est a dire pensee. Et pour ce doncques que telles femmes interpretoyent et disoient aux hommes la divine voulenté ou pensee, pour ce furent elles dictes Sibilles” (f. 25v).¹⁴ This etymology clarifies the intersection of religion and the transmission of knowledge that Sibyls as a character type inherently evoke, but seems also to obscure La Sale’s intentions regarding the function(s) of his story for Agnès and her family. Why call the titular character a Sibyl only to later assert her demonic origins and objectives? What effect do these educational and religious undertones have on his patron’s understanding of the text? In the following section, we find that the idea of the Sibyl as the mouthpiece of God informs La Sale’s narrator persona as well as the presentation of the Christian history that bookends the central narrative, particularly in La Sale’s manipulation of these elements to call into question the demonic “Sibylle”’s identity. Key throughout is La Sale’s reliance on Agnès’ *subtil engin* and ability to learn in the abstract.

La-Sale-the-narrator makes no overt claim to privileged knowledge of God, nor does he explicitly identify himself as a teacher with regards to his reader(s), whom he addresses directly in the introduction, the conclusion, and once within the body text of the *Paradis*.¹⁵ Nevertheless, at various points in the first and fifth portions of the text (that treat explicitly Christological subjects by providing a partial history of Pontius Pilate at the time of Christ’s Crucifixion and discussing the Christian nature of sibylline prophecies, respectively), the narrator cites two patristic sources, St. Augustine and Orosius,¹⁶ firmly situating himself within

¹⁴ “1. In the Greek language all female seers are generally called Sibyls (*sibylla*), for in the Aeolian dialect the Greeks called God *σιός*, and mind *βουλή*; the mind of God, as it were. Hence, because these seers would interpret the divine will for humans, they were named Sibyls. 2. And just as every man who prophesies is called either a seer (*vates*) or a prophet (*propheta*), so every woman who prophesies is called a Sibyl, because it is the name of a function, not a proper noun” (Seville, *Etymologies*, 181).

¹⁵ Fols. 1v (dedication to Agnès), 4v (“Ce lac est, en mon semblant, du tour de vostre ville de Moulins”), and f. 27-27v (final address to Agnès). I discuss the introduction and conclusion in greater depth below.

¹⁶ Regarding Augustine, fol. 26v: “Mais monseigneur saint Augustin dit autrement en son livre de la *Cité de Dieu* ou XXV^e chappitre” and “si comme il appert par saint Augustin ou lieu devantdit.” The citations of

a clerical tradition of transmitting Christian knowledge. And while the narrator never attempts to speak for God or predict events to come, he still very clearly knows more than his reader; his insistence on the dangers of “ydoles [...] fantosmes et [...] deableries [...] de quoy les deables decevoient les gens” (f. 25) thus sets him up as physical and metaphorical guide for the reader’s Apennine adventures—much like Christine’s Almathéa in the *Chemin de longue étude*.

Although La Sale never presumes to speak for God, he does explicitly articulate Christian beliefs at several points throughout the text, including, in a passage following his narration of the story of the Tiburtine Sibyl, “de la virginal nativité, de la passion et de la resurrection de nostredit Seigneur Jhesuscrist” (f. 27). The Tiburtine Sibyl’s is the final illumination of the *Paradis* (Fig. 28), and the only one that is overtly religious, as she points to the Virgin and Child while she deters Octavian Augustus from his desire to be worshipped as a god and converts him to Christianity.

Orosius are found on fols. 2v, “Si comme dit Orose ou second chappiltre de son VIII^e livre,” and 3v, “selon Orose ou livre et chappiltre dessusdis.” Desonay has determined that La Sale mistakenly cited from which book and chapter his information actually came; see *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, LXXV-LXXVI.



Fig. 28: Chantilly ms. 653, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle* and *L'Excursion aux îles Lipari*, by Antoine de La Sale, f. 26 detail, Tiburtine Sibyl Instructing Octavian Augustus
 Cliché CNRS-IRHT © Bibliothèque et archives du château de Chantilly

By including this image in the *Paradis* and especially by positioning it as the work's last illumination in Agnès' manuscript, thereby ensuring it would linger in the reader-viewer's mind, La Sale emphasizes both the conventional Sibyl's role of transmitting knowledge to (famous) men and women and the religious functions of the Sibyls as a classifiable type. That is, this miniature portrays their traditional role as teacher as well as the prophetic nature inherent in and necessary to Sibyls, reminding us of similar images in Christine's *Chemin* and of almost identical images in her *Epistre Othea*.¹⁷ Moreover, such a representation serves, by contrast, to lend support to La Sale's oft-stated opinion of the diabolic origins of the so-called Queen Sibylle located deep within the Apennine mountains.

¹⁷ See the images in Chapter 2, especially Fig. 12 and 13.

On f. 25v of Agnès de Bourgogne’s manuscript of the *Paradis*, La Sale asserts that the Queen Sibylle is falsely named, since “de toutes les escriptures saintes qui sont, soient grecques ou latines, ne se tiennent que X femmes prophetisans qui nommees furent les sibilles.”¹⁸ In almost stereotypical abstract fashion, he cites Gratian¹⁹ and Isidore de Seville among his sources for the list of the ten women whose names and places of birth follow. Although he expounds only on the Tiburtine Sibyl for any length of time, La Sale asserts that “il est vrai que toutes ces sibilles ou la plus partie prophetisoient plusieurs choses de l’advenement Nostre Seigneur [...] plusieurs des paroles des sibilles [...] font expresse mention de la virginal nativité, de la passion et de la resurrection de Nostredit Seigneur Jhesuscris” (f. 26v-27).²⁰ La Sale thus places the “true” Sibyls discussed on the last two folios of the *Paradis de la reine Sibylle* in stark opposition to the Queen Sibylle of his narrative by emphasizing the true Sibyls’ links to Christ through their prophecies.

Evidence of the inaccuracy of the Queen Sibylle’s name abounds in earlier parts of the text, however. For instance, when the knight and his squire gain access to the underground court, they are first required to wait until their presence is made known to the queen: “La fut prié et requis tresgracieusement de soy vouloir un pou souffrir jusques ad ce qu’il soit fait

¹⁸ La Sale’s insistence on the existence of only ten known Sibyls is not entirely accurate, as the accepted number grew first to twelve, then to thirteen during the Middle Ages; see Winfried Frey, “Sibylla Led Astray: Sibyls in Medieval Literature,” in *Demons: Mediators between this World and the Other. Essays on Demonic Beings from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Ruth Petzoldt and Paul Neubauer (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 1998), 54, and William L. Kinter and Joseph R. Keller, *The Sibyl: Prophetess of Antiquity and Medieval Fay* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1967), 40. Kinter and Keller also mention one tradition that has the Cumaean Sibyl “entombed within the Monte della Sibylla forever” (*ibid.*, 24). Mora-Lebrun identifies this as one element of the *Guerino Meschino* by Andrea dei Mangabotti de Barberino (†1431), which might have inspired La Sale’s tale or might simply have stemmed from the same oral tradition on which he based the *Paradis* (*Voyages en Sibyllie*, 87-89). If the latter explanation is valid, it is possible that La Sale avoided mentioning the Cumaean link so as to support his contention that the Queen Sibylle was no Sibyl at all.

¹⁹ Desonay proposes that “Gracius” be read as “Gratianus”/“Gratian” (*Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, LXXVII).

²⁰ In fact, much of La Sale’s list is a word-for-word translation of Isidore’s (cf. n. 14), with a few minor expansions until the major additions about the Tiburtine Sibyl, where he also relies on Martin de Troppau, St. Augustine, and Lactance as sources (*ibid.*, LXXIX).

assavoir a la royne” (f. 13v). Shortly thereafter, she graciously welcomes them, asking the knight his name, his state, and the nature of his affairs: “lui demenda de son nom, de son estat et de ses affaires, et aussi desquelz marches il estoit des parties d’Allemaigne” (f. 14v). Both of these examples instantly establish the queen’s limited knowledge, thereby calling into question her sibylline nature *if* the reader is sufficiently attentive, as La Sale does not explicitly call attention to these discrepancies.

La Sale likewise frequently insists on the worldliness of the Queen Sibylle, remarking especially on the material sensuality surrounding her. When the knight and his squire are first called before the throne, for instance, the narrator remarks that she “estoit en son tribunal assise et acompaignee ainsi que [s]’elle²¹ feust dame de tout le monde,²² tant avoit de gens en toutes les beautez c’om sçauroit deviser; estoient et des richesses ce que on pourroit souhaitier” (f. 14). Ringed by beauty and riches, the Queen Sibylle is iconic of earthly desires; *as if she were everyone’s lady* perhaps intended to evoke a queen’s obligations to her people, but equally and not so subtly undermining her authority through the subjunctive hypothetical. Almathéa in the *Chemin de longue étude*, on the contrary, is introduced as a virtuous woman:

[...] de grant corsage,
 460 Qui moult avoit honneste et sage
 Semblant, et pesante maniere.
 Ne jeune ne jolie n’yere,
 Mais ancianne et moult rassise;
 464 N’ot pas couronne ou chef assise,
 Car roÿne n’yert couronnee
 [...]
 Par semblant si fort et durable,
 472 Si sembla bien femme honorable;

²¹ In the manuscript on this and at least one other occasion, we find a *c’* or *ce* where conventional spelling of the pronoun has *s’* or *se*. To avoid confusion, I have followed Desonay’s example and substituted the conventional spelling in square brackets.

²² This is perhaps to say, glorifying herself as if she were Mary, mother of God, since this precise phrasing is also found in a religious text in Agnès’ library: “En tant que je [Marie] suis nommee dame de tout le monde” (BnF fr. 1793, f. 141).

Quoye, attrempee et de grant sens,
Et maistrece de tous ses sens.

Christine focuses on the Sibyl's knowledgeable and reassuring bearing, imbuing her with authority through age rather than basing it in control of a worldly realm, as would be the case were she crowned. Almathéa is furthermore mistress of herself and her senses, rather than of others, as the Queen Sibylle would be.

Later in the *Paradis* during this same audience, when the queen explains the perpetual beauty of her court, the knight asks, “‘Et quant ce monde diffinera madame, que devendrez vous?’ Alors elle respondit, ‘Nous devendrons ce que est ordonné et n’en vueillez plus savoir’” (f. 14v). While her response seems to fit within the traditional Christian framework of the Last Judgment, it nonetheless reinforces the ambiguous position of the Queen Sibylle and her court. She makes no mention of God, leading the reader to wonder whether her statement is a sincere acceptance of God's will or a demon's aversion to speaking His name.²³ Similarly, in her desire to keep the knight “en son pardurable service” (f. 14v), *pardurable* is likely a deliberate reference to God's infinity and the eternity of punishment awaiting those who serve the Devil in whatever incarnation. The modern title of Antoine de La Sale's *Paradis de la reine Sibylle* is, therefore, deeply ironic, as the Queen Sibylle is not sibylline and her paradisiacal court is in fact a garden of earthly, sinful delights that Agnès—if she is, as La Sale expects, sufficiently prudent—now knows to avoid.

²³ Interestingly, the Queen Sibylle does not share the feminine faults of loquacity or the propensity to lie commonly criticized by Christian clerics.

Christianity in *Paradise*

In her analysis of the *Paradis*, Lefèvre states that “l’ensemble de l’histoire de la fausse Sibylle se trouve-t-il enchâssé dans un discours historique et religieux qui le met en perspective.”²⁴ Similarly, Mora-Lebrun sees the text as “encadré par deux brefs morceaux qui se font écho: une dédicace et un épilogue,”²⁵ but makes no mention of the reinforcement of this structuration with Christian elements. I submit that La Sale presents in the abstract the Christian-historical elements that bookend the tale of the Queen Sibylle to contain and neutralize its potentially dangerous contents, where *exempla in malo* reign supreme.

La Sale’s ostensible purpose in the first extensive portion of the *Paradis* is to “[dire] du mont du lac de la royne Sibille, que aucuns appellent le mont du lac de Pillate” (f. 2). In fact, he is more concerned with presenting his reader a history lesson on Pilate than on the mountain where the lake is found. Before giving his audience the truth of the matter, though, La Sale first explains the beliefs commonly associated with the geographical names in the area:

en icelles parties se compte que, quant Titus de Vaspasien, empereur de Romme, eut destruite la cité de Jherusalem, laquelle aucuns dient que ce fut pour la vengeance de la mort Nostre Seigneur Dieu Jhesucrist, et puis, pour ce que Nostredit Seigneur fut vendu xxx deniers, dient que Titus fist vendre xxx juifs pour un denier, et, au retour qu’il fist a Romme, mena avecques soy Pillate, qui pour ce temps estoit officier en ladicte cité de Jherusalem, et, voiant tout le peuple, il le fist mourir, supposé que Pillate ne vouldist oncques condampner Nostredit vray Sauveur Jhesucrist, mais pour ce qu’il ne fist son devoir a le garentir de mort.

(f. 2)

Immediately afterward, La Sale asserts the inaccuracy of these claims: “[l]aquelle chose je trouve faulse, en tant qu’ilz dient que Titus eust fait mourir Pilate. Car Titus fut grant espace après Pillate” (f. 2v). The explanation that follows allows La Sale to cast doubt on the reliability

²⁴ Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 128.

²⁵ Mora-Lebrun, *Voyages en Sibyllie*, 34.

of wide-spread beliefs of the local populace as well as to establish himself as an erudite authority, elements critical to his later refutation of the validity of the Queen Sibylle's name.²⁶ The more important aim of La Sale's discourse on Pilate's death, however, is to clearly outline Christ's indirect (and somewhat tenuous) connection to a place that will prove to be a hotbed of sin. Although this association does not diminish the danger of the Queen Sibylle's court, it reminds the reader that even the darkest corners of the Earth are not completely isolated from Christianity.

A similarly circuitous route leading into the final substantial passage—that containing the list of the ten true Sibyls—and the transition to the epilogue guide the reader back from any remaining doubts about the false Queen Sibylle to consider Christ's connections to all that is, was, or will be. While La Sale is dining at the Abbey St. Liz in Rome, some time after his sojourn in the Apennine mountains, his dinner-mate, Gaucher de Ruppes, asks for news of his uncle, mistakenly believing (like many others) that La Sale had descended all the way to the Queen Sibylle's court, where Ruppes' uncle was thought to be. La Sale insists for the third time that everyone is falsely informed:

et que ce n'estoit que faulce foy et creance a tous ceulx qui foy y adjoustoient et qui foy y adjoste se partoient du chemin de la verité. Et en ce je vueil vivre et finer mes jours. Car nous [s]avons par les Saintes Escriptions que depuis la passion Nostre Seigneur Dieu Jhesucrist, toutes ydoles, toutes fantosmes et toutes deableries perdirent incontinant leurs mauvaistiez, faulcetez et tricheries, de quoy les deables decevoient les gens. Dont Nostre Seigneur nous gecta par la mort, qu'il souffrit sur l'arbre de la Sainte Croix, par quoy nous sommes tous sauvez si a nous ne tient.

(f. 25-25v)

²⁶ La Sale demonstrates his scholarly formation in part through his citations of Orosius on f. 2v as well as by referencing "les croniques" (f. 3v), though without any identifying information as to which precise chronicle. For an extended discussion of La Sale as narrator and the role of doubt in the *Paradis*, see Mora-Lebrun, *ibid.*, Ch. 1; Casebier, "History or Fiction?"; and Demers, "La Quête de l'anti-Graal."

La Sale's knowledge, which he reproduces for Agnès, was acquired not by experience or imitation, but by reading of things both corporeal and incorporeal. It is through this issue of "faulce foy et creance" that La Sale shifts to enumerating the true Sibyls, since, having discarded one possibility, he is obligated to provide the correct information to take its place, which he does in a completely abstract fashion.²⁷ Similarly, it is through the question of "nostre foible creance" (f. 27) that he transitions from discussion of the true Sibyls into the epilogue:

Si prie a Dieu qu'[il] gart chascun bon crestien de celle faulse creance et de soy
mectre en ce peril. Lesquelles choses, pour rire et passer temps, pour monstrier
a chascun que le contraire j'ay mis tout en escript.

(*ibid.*)

La Sale closes by reiterating yet again the dangers of erroneous beliefs as well as God's role in protecting Christians from them. This parallel structure leads the discerning reader to recognize the Queen Sibylle and pursuit of adventures of that sort as a danger not only to body, but to soul. La Sale thus employs the Christian God as a spiritual and written barrier, effectively containing the threat posed by the Queen Sibylle.

Indeed, we might even see in La Sale's desire to "monstrier a chascun que le contraire" the "*via negativa* or 'negative way' of contemplative ascent, i.e. the idea that it is more appropriate to describe God [or, in the case of the *Paradis*, Christian beliefs and behaviors] in terms which do not signify what He is but rather what He is *not*" as Alastair Minnis writes in "Medieval Imagination and Memory."²⁸ That is, La Sale offers unannounced *exempla in malo* for the reader's consideration through his criticism of un-Christian behavior. For instance, the first group of young men that La Sale mentions as having attempted the Queen Sibylle's court

²⁷ Despite twice mentioning the Passion (a common element in the manuscripts treated in Chapter 4), La Sale refrains from inviting affective reading by offering no concrete details of Christ's suffering.

²⁸ Alastair Minnis, "Medieval Imagination and Memory," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism: The Middle Ages*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 258.

lost valuable supplies, including 6,000 *toises* (approximately 36,000 ft) of rope; “et ceste chose avoient ilz entreprins comme jeunesse fait souventeffois entreprendre les gens oyseux” (f. 10v). The reader concludes that idleness leads to folly and waste, and knows that she should avoid falling into a similar trap.

Likewise, even before the German knight and his squire enter the cave, La Sale’s emphasis on Germans’ reputations as “querans les aventurez du monde” (f. 13) and the fact that the German knight in particular was looking to “acquerir honneur et *mondaine* gloire” (f. 13v, my emphasis) implies to the reader that danger accompanies excessive concern with this world rather than with the world to come. And, indeed, the German knight serves, in the end, as the ultimate bad example. Our impression of the tempting “deliz mondains” of the Queen Sibylle’s court receives reinforcement from the knight’s realization that “[c]es grans deliz mondains [...] tant estoient desplaisans a Jhesucrist Nostre Sauveur” (f. 16). So, while the knight quits the court for a time in search of absolution from the Pope, because the Pope had hoped to make an example of the knight for others, “ad ce que tous autres y prenissent exemple pour eulx chastier” (f. 18v), the knight eventually commits the ultimate sin “comme homme desesperé [...] puis que n’[a] peu avoir la vie de l’ame [...] ne vueil[t] perdre celle du corps” (f. 19v-20).²⁹ It is also possible to see in the Pope’s behavior and its role in the knight’s spiritual suicide an exhortation to forgiveness of human sin and a reminder of the repercussions of hubris.

Exemplarity, particularly *in malo*, thus infuses the most fantastic aspects of La Sale’s tale, firmly situating the text within the medieval parameters of providing pleasure and

²⁹ The lamentations made by the Sire de Pacs ou de Pacques for the mother and father, brothers and sisters, indeed, all blood relations of the spiritual suicide (f. 23), indicate the existence of a socially communicable shame that further amplifies the significance of the knight’s bad example.

instruction. Of course, arriving at this middle section of the *Paradis* involves its own contemplation as the reader is led up toward the Apennine peaks.

A Guided Mountain Journey

“The Jerusalem pilgrimage was the pilgrimage of pilgrimages,” Donald R. Howard explains in *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity*. “At the furthest remove, it was possible to make a substitute pilgrimage by crawling about a cathedral labyrinth; and it was possible to make a pilgrimage by proxy, hiring a pilgrim to travel in one’s place. Implicit in the institution itself was the conception of a vicarious pilgrimage.”³⁰ It is this latter idea of a vicarious pilgrimage that the second substantial portion of La Sale’s *Paradis* exemplifies; indeed, Desonay refers to La Sale as “notre pelèrin”.³¹ As La Sale wends his way toward the heart of his tale, he takes the reader on a journey up the Mount of the Sibyl, peppering his account with by-now-typical tangents. These digressions may be a manifestation of “‘fragmentary and fragmenting’ narratives of travel” which, as Catherine Léglu explains, “emphasise the extraordinary and the anecdotal at the expense of linear progression, and echo the visual freedom of perusing a map rather than the obedient eye or ear of those who encounter a romance.”³² That is, in stopping to smell the flowers, as it were, the narrator offers his readers an illusory freedom of action, which enhances their identification with him as an actual pilgrim whose way is determined by the dirt path under his

³⁰ Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1980), 12. See also Alan Kendall, *Medieval Pilgrims* (London: Wayland Publishers, 1970), 20. Victor and Edith Turner seem to neglect this possibility when they claim that “monastic contemplatives and mystics could daily make interior salvific journeys, [while] those in the world had to exteriorize theirs in the infrequent adventure of pilgrimage” (*Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1978], 6-7).

³¹ Desonay, ed., *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, LXIII.

³² Léglu, “Between Hell and a Fiery Mountain,” 112.

feet rather than Dame Fortune. Seemingly fanciful and fantastic, these asides obscure the serious theological and educational function of the climb. In this section, I argue that La Sale-the-author draws on the Christian traditions of mountainous ascents and actual and mental pilgrimages to encourage Agnès to undertake her own spiritual pilgrimage through his work.

The ability to differentiate between author and narrator as well as to understand when they work in tandem proves especially key here. Much like the difference between “Dante the pilgrim [who] does not know what will happen next” and “Dante the poet, on the other hand, [who] always knows what will happen next, because he has completed the journey,”³³ La Sale-the-pilgrim is focused on the physical nature of the arduous climb and his immediate goal of information gathering, whereas La Sale-the-author has already organized his information and chosen the most gripping way of presenting it. The narrator especially speaks in the present tense (“De cedit chastel jusques au plust hault du mont, ou l’entree de la cave est, on y compte IX milles” [f. 6v-7]) and occasionally in the past (“Une autre herbe y a que oncques je ne vis” [f. 7]), while we may understand the use of the future tense (“dont après deviseray de ce que j’ay veu” [f. 6v]) to indicate the voice of the author. So, when La-Sale-the-narrator’s discourse on the history of Lake Pilate ends (“Les autres l’appellent le lac de la Sibille, pour ce que le mont de la Sibille est devant et joignant a cestui, fors d’un petit ruisseau qui court entre deux, en la maniere que cy après et pou[r]trait” [f. 4-4v]), his recital of his own experiences of the mountain itself begins—experience that he anticipates being read affectively, even if not inviting actual imitation *per se*. In indicating the image of the mountains that accompanies his tale, narrator and author are elided as La Sale alerts the reader to his attempt to provide a

³³ Robert McMahon, *Understanding the Medieval Meditative Ascent: Augustine, Anselm, Boethius, & Dante* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 44.

particularly accurate, replicable, visualizable experience for his audience.³⁴ Indeed, Margaret Goehring observes that, “Continuous narrative landscapes may have [...] been used [...] to support mental pilgrimage. Found in both large-scale paintings and manuscript illuminations produced at the end of the 15th century in Flanders, such images reflect the kinds of empathetic devotional practices that were promulgated by popular contemporary texts such as Ludolf of Saxony’s *Vitae Christi* and the Pseudo-Bonaventura’s *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.”³⁵ The map (Fig. 29) is reflected in the first ten lines of description, which seem to be relatively objective, including repeated use of the pronoun *on* (“A toutes saisons de l’an, la naige y est. Il [le mont] est moult maigres et secz, car jusques a bien bas on y trouveroit a peine un seul arbre ne une seule verdure” [f. 4v]), although La Sale soon reaffirms his first-person narrative voice,³⁶ subtly confirming that he can (and is) personally vouch(ing) for the accuracy of his information and, drawing Agnès into a mental pilgrimage, directly relating details to her own familiar surroundings: “Ce lac est, en mon semblant, du tour de vostre ville de Moulins” (*ibid.*).³⁷

³⁴ In fact, of the scholars who have extensively studied the *Paradis*, three of the earliest—Gaston Paris (June 1897), Pio Rajna (June-July 1897), and Fernand Desonay (August 1929)—were all so intrigued by La Sale’s adventure that they actually traveled to the Apennine mountains in an attempt to verify his tale. See Desonay, ed., *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, XXXV-LXI. At an unknown point before the 2010 publication of her book, Mora-Lebrun visited the Mount of the Sibyl as well (*Voyages en Sibyllie*, 11), as did Casebier (personal conversation). In my paper, “What’s in a Frame?: The Function of the Maps in Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 653, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle*,” presented at the University of California, Santa Barbara History of Books and Material Texts Research Focus Group conference, “Composition: Making Meaning through Design,” on May 16, 2014, I also attempted (via GoogleEarth) to confirm (or deny, as the case may be) certain geographical information as presented in the *Paradis*. Lefèvre, although not prey to that same instinct, nevertheless remarks, “Antoine écrit pourtant d’évidence comme s’il rédigeait un guide. Il retrace avec toute sorte de précisions [...] son itinéraire afin que le lecteur puisse se muer en visiteur” (*Antoine de La Sale*, 92).

³⁵ Margaret Goehring, *Space, Place and Ornament: The Function of Landscape in Medieval Manuscript Illumination* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 32-33.

³⁶ On the importance of the first-person eye-witness in medieval travel writing, see Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 27-32, and Linda Kay Davidson and David M. Gitlitz, “Pilgrimage Narration as a Genre,” *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 36, no. 2 (2008): 17.

³⁷ This despite Desonay’s insistence that the short duration of La Sale’s stay meant that he could only have climbed one or the other of the mountains, not both—meaning that his assertion about the size of Lake Pilate is baseless (*Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, XXXIX). Desonay specifies that “la traite [entre *Fougia* et Montemonaco] est longue (sept heures environ) du ‘chastel’ aux rives inhospitalières. Impossible de faire, le même jour, les deux excursions” (*ibid.*, XXXVII). Desonay sees in this “en mon semblant” an “imprécision [...] qui] contraste



Fig. 29: Chantilly ms. 653, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle* and *L'Excursion aux îles Lipari*, by Antoine de La Sale, f. 5v-6, Map of Mount Pilate and the Mount of the Sibyl
 Cliché CNRS-IRHT © Bibliothèque et archives du château de Chantilly

This lake, which serves as the point of origin for La Sale's meandering tale, also functions, despite its location on an adjoining mountain, as a point of physical departure for his ascent of the Mount of the Sibyl—an ascent that faintly echoes the Christian theological concept made famous by such works as St. Augustine's *Confessions* and St. Anselm's *Proslogion*.³⁸ In parallel fashion, having achieved the mountaintop, the only way to access the Queen Sibylle's diabolical court is to descend.

From the lake on the adjoining mountain, we start downward—"Au pié du mont, devers celui de la royne Sibyle, a un villaige que l'on appelle Fougia. Il y a une fontaine, que l'en dit

étrangement avec le luxe de détails dont s'entoure la description de la chambre carrée, par exemple" (*ibid.*, LXIII).

³⁸ See McMahon, *Medieval Meditative Ascent*, especially Ch. 1 for a brief overview of how the idea of a meditative ascent structures these two works without the authors explicitly framing it as such.

qui vient du lac” (f. 5)—before following a road painted in yellow on the right-hand side of the map (Fig. 29) as we begin our climb in earnest: “Le mont est [...] ou terrouer d’un chastel nommé Montemoynaco [...] Et au partir dudit chastel pour aler au dit mont, voit on par un villaige nommé Colino” (f. 6v). After an aside on the local fauna, La Sale arrives at the most pertinent details for those wishing to attain the peak, providing a choice of routes for the pilgrim:

On vait ou hault de ce mont par deux chemins, l’un a dextre et l’autre a senestre. Cestui a senestre est assez plus brief que l’autre, et pour ce j’en descendiz, mais il est assez plus travaillant au monter car il est tresroidez et pierreux, et n’y pourroit monter cheval nul. [...] L’autre chemin a dextre est assez plus long, mais est beaucoup plus aisié car il prent beaucoup de tours. Et par cestui chemin dextre pourroit on bien aler a cheval combien que encores aux chevaulx est il moult penibles. Et pour ce je y montay a pié et feis mener mes chevaulx en main. Par ce chemin ne treuve l’en point d’eau, mais tant y vait on par ces tours, puis ça puis la, que l’en monte a l’autre bout du mont, a l’opposite du rochier que l’en dit la couronne du mont, ou l’entrée de la cave est, si comme cy devant es pou[r]trait. Puis fault aler par la creste de ce mont environ deux milles qui sont deux tiers du lieue.

(f. 8)

La Sale lays out the possibilities for the climb: to the left, a short, steep, and rocky path, hardly accessible to humans, let alone the horses that the wealthy might ride. To the right, the reader-pilgrim finds a meandering path that provides a substantially easier ascent, though it is lacking in water, meaning that she will need to bring her own. In this, as in his specifications that the Asno is “une des plus perilleuses du monde pour boire, soit a gens, a chevaulx et a toutes autres bestes” (f. 5), La Sale’s text resembles the *Pilgrim’s Guide to St. James of Compostella*, which lists the rivers that will kill men and horses as well as those that are “sweet and good for drinking.”³⁹

³⁹ Brett Edward Whalen, ed. *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 252.

Even after reaching this point on the mountain, there is still further to climb, and the way becomes so perilous that the reader-pilgrim cannot help but think of God and His role in keeping her safe in the face of physical and spiritual perils:

Si vous certiffie que ne fault point qu'il face vent car on seroit en tresgrant danger, et sans vent fait il grant hideur a veoir la vallee de tous costez et souverainement a la main dextre. Car elle est si treshideuse de roideur et de parfondeur que c'est forte chose a croire [...] Ceste couronne de ce mont est un rochier de lui mesmes entaillé tout autour a la haulteur le moins de trois lances. C'est du costé de la montaigne ou l'en vient et par ou l'en y monte [...] En ceste couronne a deux passaiges pour monter au dessus⁴⁰ ou est l'entrée de la cave. Et si vous certiffie que le meilleur de ces deux passaiges est souffisant a mettre paour au cuer qui peut avoir paour pour nulle doubte mortelle, et souverainement au descendre, car si par meschief le pié eschappoit, *autre puissance que celle de Dieu ne le pourroit garentir.*

(f. 8v; my emphasis)

La Sale's role as guide does not entirely cease although he and his reader have attained the mountain's peak, since the narrator's ultimate goal is not the mountaintop but rather obtaining information pertaining to the cave of the Queen Sibylle. However, it is at this point that the narrator becomes reliant on second- and third-hand tales of adventures in the mountain, even as he continues to accentuate his first-person, eyewitness status despite his insistence on the fact that he did not proceed beyond the first room:

A la saillie de ceste [première] chambre retourne l'en a main droite qui veult aler plus avant; mais il lui convient descendre les piez premiers, car autrement nul aler n'y pourroit, tant est la cave estroite et petite en descendant fort contre bas. [f. 9v] Des autres choses et merveilles qui y sont ne sarroie plus que dire *car je ne fus mie plus avant [...] Et nulle autre chose je ne vis ne ne sçay fors seulement ce que les gens du païs et de la dicte ville m'en ont dit.*

[...]

Toutteffoiz [...] est l'entree [de la cave] ouverte ainsi que j'ay dit. Et tant y a que a l'entree de la cave et dedans la premiere chambre ou est le pertuis qui donne le jour, ilz y sont plusieurs gens en escript, qui a tresmale peine se pevent lire. Mais entre ceulx j'ay trouvé le nom d'un Alemant [...] Et semblablement je escrips mon mot et ma devise, mais a tresgrant peine, tant est le rocher dur. Si pourront dire les autres que je, Antoine de La Sale, ay esté dedens, ce que [f. 21] a Dieu ne plaise ne ne vouldroie avoir fait.

⁴⁰ *au dessus* repeated.

(my emphasis)

La Sale's act of inscribing his name at the entrance to the cave further reinforces the resemblance of the *Paradis* to a pilgrim's tale, as Howard explains: "[pilgrims] were not averse to [...] (so it was often complained) carving their initials or coats of arms on them [shrines]."⁴¹ Furthermore, the narrator's precise directions for moving about within the minutely described, cramped, dark cavern allow the reader to imagine her descent into the first chamber of the cave as accurately as the climb up the outside;⁴² twice, though, La Sale states that he went no farther than that entry room. His increasingly infrequent acknowledgement of the sources of his tale ("les gens du païs") as the story winds on thus casts the narrator's familiarity with the goings-on at the Queen Sibylle's court in an almost sibylline, omniscient light.

The final indication that La Sale intended Agnès to imagine herself following in his footsteps comes in the concluding letter to the *Paradis*, when the author addresses his patron's hoped-for use of the completed manuscript:

Lesquelles choses pour rire et passer le temps, pour monstrier a chascun que le contraire, j'ay mis tout en escript, duquel, ma tresredoubtee dame, je vous mande le double affin que de ma promesse ne puisse estre reprins. *Et aussi que, si le plaisir de mondit seigneur et le vostre feust d'y aler, ainsi que souventeffois*

⁴¹ Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 14.

⁴² For the less imaginatively inclined, both Desonay and Lefèvre drew up schematics of the interior of the cave per La Sale's description; see Desonay, ed., *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, LIX, and Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, Plate XIII. By contrast, the landscape markers provided in the second text in the Chantilly manuscript, the *Excursion aux îles Lipari* (also titled the *Paradis terrestre*), are so vague as to be almost useless. Earthly paradise is "le chief du corps de toute la terre" but is also simultaneously located at the most eastern point in Asia; this combination invites the reader at the most literal level to picture the three continents forming a body-like shape (this despite the conventional depiction of the three continents in the T-O maps common to the 14th century; cf. P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* [Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1991], 19 and Fig. 15; Evelyn Edson, *The World Map, 1300-1492: The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007], 13-15 and Fig. 1.1). Paradise is also extremely high, filled as it is with the four elements of the seven planets and twelve astrological signs (but no indication as to how any of those are incorporated). In fact, the only easily visualized components of Paradise are its inhabitants (dragons, serpents, and other venomous beasts) and the Tree of Life, from the foot of which issue the four rivers, Pishon, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates (Gen. 2:8-14). From these four stem the three great rivers of Asia, Africa, and Europe. As a final descriptive element, La Sale mentions that Paradise is completely enclosed by mountains. All of these descriptive elements are found on f. 28 of the Chantilly manuscript. Compare this to the clarity and specificity of his portrayal of the Apennine Mountains, which is a deliberately constructed visualization aid for the reader.

après disner ou soupper avez acoustumé de vous esbatre tout a pié disant voz heures, en actendant l'eure du soupper ou après soupper de vous recontraire, ce vous seroit un grant plaisir. Et y acquerriés grandisme pardon qui vous mettroit toute vestue en paradis. Et la pourriez mectre [f. 27v] en escript ses poz de feu grezoys, vos plumes et viouettes, et les noms et devises et de ceulx et de celles qui en vos compaignies seroient. Si prie aux dames premierement et puis a messeigneurs de vos compaignies que quant ilz yront et m'y verront, que entre les autres obliez leur plaise a souvenir de moy quant autre part ne penseront [...] Et ce scet le tressouverain Dieu des dieux, des deesses et de toutes les Sibilles qui, par sa tressaincte grace vous esliesse tous deux et tous ceulz qui bien veulent.

(my emphasis)

Should it be your pleasure to go there, La Sale says, as if the distance from Moulins to the Mount of the Sibyl were an easy afternoon jaunt; it is not, however, the actual distance being over 400 miles as the crow flies. Furthermore, the invitation is linked with the recitation of Hours (the italicized portion of the passage), another exercise in Christian devotion; we must read this passage as inviting Agnès and her fellow reader-listeners, be they her children, her ladies-in-waiting, or others, to undertake a mental pilgrimage, retreading La Sale's path.

La Sale's concluding letter is not as straightforward as it seems, however, especially when considered in the context of the other extant manuscript copy of the *Paradis*, KBR ms. 18210-215, *La Salade*, ff. 84-135. The concluding letters of both versions are, in large part, very similar; most of the differences lie in slight re-orderings of the various clauses rather than any substantial changes. Yet, of the passage cited immediately above, the final lines from "Et la pourriez mettre" to "souvenir de moy" are not found in Jean de Calabre's manuscript. Their absence is indicative both of the specificity of Agnès' commission—the "poz de feu grezoys" being her husbands' symbol, the violets and plumes (as seen on the dedicatory miniature [Fig. 30]) hers—and of La Sale's insistence that Agnès read his text as a guidebook for herself as pilgrim. Indeed, as Lefèvre writes, "Cette invitation à la promenade est en fait une invite à la lecture: celle de l'œuvre envoyée, à la place du livre d'heures, pour s'acquérir un pardon et un

paradis paradoxaux.”⁴³ By classing himself with “the other forgotten people” in a phrase begun with the verb *prier*, La Sale is not so subtly requesting prayers from those who will read or hear the *Paradis*, reminding Agnès that despite his claim, the book is not simply meant for “rire et passer le temps.” It is also a genuine invitation to reflect on the spiritual peril that accompanies the desire for worldly adventure, and the physical dangers and discomfort incurred during penitential journeys in this lifetime.

The Introductions, and La Sale’s Pedagogical Intent

The emphasis on the instructive aspects of Agnès’ *Paradis* is most easily appreciated when we compare the introductory framework of her copy of the work with that of her son-in-law’s. Careful analysis of the seemingly slight lexical differences between the two introductions reveals a significantly different positioning of the texts with regard to their readers: despite the essentially identical contents of the text, La Sale presents Jean de Calabre with a little light entertainment, whereas Agnès receives a carefully researched narrative designed to fill in the gaps in her knowledge of the Apennine mountains and their false Queen Sibylle.

The introduction to Agnès’ manuscript, following a dedicatory letter of ten lines that contains her various titles and the obligatory self-denigrating protests by the author (“tant et si treshumblement que je sçay et puis” [l. 9-10]), consists of eleven lines explaining the edifying impetus behind the book’s creation. La Sale informs his reader that he is fulfilling a promise to Agnès, who commissioned the work;⁴⁴ he therefore sends to her “par escript et pourtrait les mons du lac de Pilate et de la Sibille, qui autrement ne sont que en vostre tapisserie ne sont

⁴³ Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 104.

⁴⁴ Cf. n. 2.

faiz” (l. 12-15).⁴⁵ La Sale offers up Mount Lake Pilate and the Mount of the Sibyl both in words and in images; the absence of any qualifier such as “the story of” the Apennine mountains gives the impression that La Sale is sending the lake and mountain themselves to Agnès via a fully-immersive visual and verbal/auditory construction—that is, a way for her to *experience* the mountains herself. This sentence also orients the reader to La Sale’s corrective, instructional purpose, since he justifies his offering by insisting that these two mountains “are otherwise than they are portrayed in your [Agnès’] tapestry.”

The dedicatory miniature from Agnès’ manuscript (Fig. 30) frames the commission in an equally unusual manner. Comprised not of patron and writer in person, but represented rather by their respective arms, the miniature is already unique, “saturée d’éléments emblématiques,” and has received attention for this aspect.⁴⁶ Lefèvre points out, for instance, that these emblems “font retour au sein même du *Paradis*,” where La Sale includes a facsimile of the legible mottos painstakingly carved into the wall at the mouth of the entry to the cave.⁴⁷ She also remarks that, while the recipient of a late-medieval work is often representationally “doubled” by the inclusion of a portrait of the person as well as their arms, such is not usually the case for the author or scribe presenting the work.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ “Par escript et pourtrait” seems to have been, or at least, to have become, a clichéd phrase, as it surfaces some 100 years later in André Thevet’s *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique* (1557): “Thevet calls this [printing] technology [...] one that enables travelers to depict other places ‘non seulement par écrit, mais aussi par vrai portrait’” (Lisa Voigt and Elio Brancaforte, “The Traveling Illustrations of Sixteenth-Century Travel Narratives,” *PMLA* 129, no. 3 [2014]: 365).

⁴⁶ Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 38. See primarily *ibid.*, Ch. 1 for a dissection of the arms, La Sale’s emblems papering the background, and an identification of the winged woman on the helm as Fortune. See also Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 128; contrary to Lefèvre, Jeannot claims the arms on this page have been repainted with Rochechouart arms (*ibid.*), perhaps a misreading on her part of Lefèvre’s analysis of the similarity between the arms of La Sale and the Rochechouarts. Except for an inversion of the top and bottom panels on the right-hand side of the shield, it is identical to Agnès’ arms as found in Chantilly, Musée Condé ms. 129, f. IIIv, 46v, and 106v. Furthermore, Agnès’ violets and plumes decorate the hanging cloth behind her shield.

⁴⁷ Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 38 and Plate IV.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

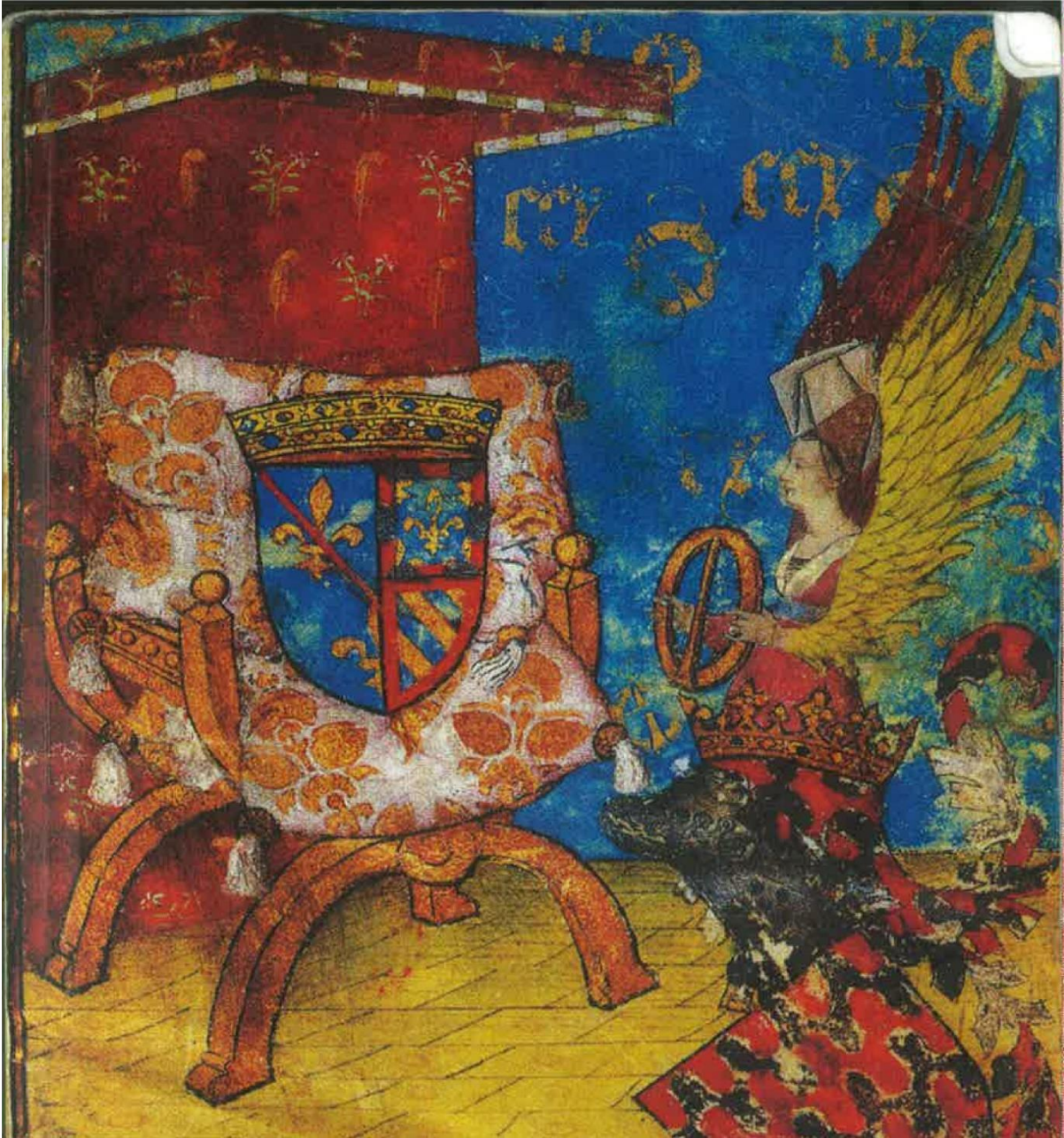


Fig. 30: Chantilly ms. 653, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle* and *L'Excursion aux îles Lipari*, by Antoine de La Sale, f. 2 detail, Dedication Miniature

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Image reproduced from the cover of Antoine de La Sale and Francine Mora-Lebrun, *Voyages en Sibyllie: Les hommes, le paradis et l'enfer* (Paris: Riveneuve éd., 2010)

However, where Lefèvre sees the miniature as reflective of both parties' absence,⁴⁹ I see instead a shared presence—indeed, a shared experience, much like that staged for Agnès during

⁴⁹ “ni Agès de Bourbon, ni La Sale n’ont disparu au moment de la réalisation du volume de Chantilly. Mais ils sont absents l’un à l’autre” (*ibid.*, 60).

the ascent of the Mount of the Sibyl. As the words of the dedicatory letter literally indicate, La Sale does not offer Agnès a text but rather the Italian landscape itself. This miniature, placed as it is after the map that opens the manuscript and preceding the second illustration (Fig. 29), leaves the representations of author and patron within the valley between the very mountains they climb together.

Pertinent to this discussion, too, is the absence of the book or any act of dedication in the ostensibly dedicatory miniature. The position of Agnès' arms on the cushioned seat places her clearly above La Sale, who adopts the traditionally humble position of the author seeking favorable reception of his work,⁵⁰ although his lower placement here does not preclude him from enlightening his patron or establishing his heritage. Despite the fact that the patron's sex is clearly indicated by her arms, which, in accordance with the division of a married woman's arms between those of her house and those of her husband, display on the left half the barred fleur-de-lys on blue of the House of Bourbon, and on the right, the arms of contemporary Burgundy (gold fleur-de-lys on blue bordered by alternating red and silver bands) and ancient Burgundy (stripes of gold and blue bordered in red),⁵¹ her representation as a shield nevertheless desexualizes her by omission of her explicitly female form (though it is worth remarking that La Sale's iconography is notably masculine in that the form of the helmet references combat). We might further see in the replacement of bodies with heraldic arms an allusion to the individuals' importance not in and of themselves, but rather with respect to the lineage that they represent.⁵²

⁵⁰ Indeed, we might think of the miniature portraying Christine de Pizan offering her compilation to the French queen Isabeau de Bavière in BL, Harley ms. 4431, or that from the Duke's manuscript (Fig. 23).

⁵¹ Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, 22.

⁵² Another miniature in Agnès' manuscript, that illuminating the female courtiers' weekly transformation into serpents, also references her illustrious heritage through its depiction of multiple melusines. See S.C. Kaplan, "Couleuvre or Mélusine? The Illuminated Transformation of the Women of the Sibylle's Court in Antoine de

The introduction to the duke of Calabre’s version, by contrast, positions the tale as one of “les merveilles choses que sont es mons de la Sibille et de son lac” (I:63), meant “pour rire et passer le temps” (*ibid.*), which phrase we recognize from the conclusion, but not the dedicatory letter, to Agnès’ copy.⁵³ *Merveilleuses* implies that which is “extraordinaire,” “miraculeux,” and even “effrayant;”⁵⁴ in conjunction with the proposed goal of provoking laughter and amusement, it encourages the reader to understand that what follows is somewhat fantastic and implies that the narrative is not to be taken too seriously.

Next in Agnès’ introduction, La Sale says that he included in his tale “tout ce que je ay peu vëoir et moy informer par les gens du païs, le XVIII^e jour de may, l’an mil CCCC XX que je y fus” (l. 15-18). After seeing (that is, experiencing in person) Agnès’ tapestry, La Sale recounts his personal experience (“what I was able to see”) of the Apennine mountains as well as what he took pains to learn from the locals while he was there. The repeated emphasis on his actual presence during the acquisition of this information serves not only to reinforce the validity of his tale, as Mora-Lebrun would have it,⁵⁵ but also the way in which he acquired it, through experience, which, as we saw in Chapters 1 and 2, is a particularly—though not exclusively—feminine method of learning.⁵⁶ Here again, Calabre’s manuscript differs, as those

La Sale’s *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*” (forthcoming). Such visual figuration is completely absent from the Calabre copy of the *Paradis*.

⁵³ All citations of Jean de Calabre’s manuscript are to Fernand Desonay’s edition, *Œuvres complètes*, t.I. Parenthetical in-text citations refer to the page numbers of this edition.

⁵⁴ The definition of “merveilleux” in the *DMF* is available at <[http://atilf.atilf.fr/gsouway/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEM=merveilleux;ISIS=isis_dmf2010.txt;OUVRIR_MENU=2;s=s0d282f58;AFFICHAGE=0;MENU=menu_dmf;;XMODE=STELLa;FERMER;;](http://atilf.atilf.fr/gsouway/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEM=merveilleux;ISIS=isis_dmf2010.txt;OUVRIR_MENU=2;s=s0d282f58;AFFICHAGE=0;MENU=menu_dmf;;XMODE=STELLa;FERMER;;>)> (consulted May 28, 2016).

⁵⁵ See Mora-Lebrun, *Voyages en Sibyllie*, Ch. 1, where she discusses the various framing methods used with each additional layer of story to indicate the narrator’s increasing distrust of his sources, since their claims cannot be verified or traced to any one person.

⁵⁶ See, too, Heather Arden’s discussion of La Vieille in “Women as Readers, Women as Text in the *Roman de la Rose*,” in *Women, the Book and the Worldly*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane Taylor (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993), 111-17, where La Vieille’s “‘authority’ comes, it would seem, from her lived experience, *the only kind of authority one would expect an old woman to have*” (114; my emphasis). Later in Agnès’ *Paradis*, too, La Sale re-asserts that what he relates about the Mount of the Sibyl is that about which “j’ay ouÿ deviser en plusieurs

marvelous things of which La Sale speaks are primarily repeated “si comme les gens du païs me ont dit,” with some modifications provided by “ce que j’en ay peu vëoir” (I:63).⁵⁷ La Sale’s initial reliance on a general, oral source casts doubt on the veracity of his story, making it more akin to a folktale than a reputable history. Likewise, the lack of any specific time-frame for his sojourn in the Apennine mountains in Calabre’s text renders the tale less immediate and more vague, contributing to its marvelous nature.

Finally, it bears pointing out that unlike in Agnes’ manuscript, the introduction in the Calabre copy is subordinate to the longer introduction that prefaces the complete *Salade* collection.⁵⁸ In offering the compilation, La Sale harkens back to his role as the educator of Jean’s youth:

en ce livret j’ay mis une partie de bonnes et plaisantes choses que j’ay veues et leues au plaisir de Dieu [...] en poursievant, tant loings de vous comme bien près, ce pou de bien que Dieu, par le don de grace, m’a presté, ainssy que a mon povoir j’ay tresloyaument fait en l’office que mondit souverain seigneur le roy vostre pere me ordonna et commanda, ou temps de vostre enfance.

(I:3)

In accordance with the *office* and its accompanying duties commanded of La Sale by René II, *La Salade* is primarily composed of texts that instruct in or inspire chivalric behavior, as well as a genealogy and chronicle pertaining to lands of interest to Jean de Calabre and works on how to properly wage war—that is, writings of a sort that contribute in a practical, albeit often abstract, manner to a young male aristocrat’s education. The *Paradis* and *Excursion* look remarkably frivolous in such company. The German knight’s turn as a chivalric role model is limited to his search for worldly honor and adventure, the fact that he had treated his squire

manieres dont après deviseray de *ce que j’ay veu* et le surplus selon le dit des gens du païs” (f. 6v; my emphasis).

⁵⁷ Desonay also finds the primacy given to “tout ce que je ay peu vëoir” significant (*Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, LXII).

⁵⁸ Desonay, ed., *Œuvres complètes*, I:3-6.

well enough that the squire abandoned his pleasures to follow his master to Rome, and his courtly behavior on arriving at and taking leave of the Queen Sibylle's court. While these are unarguably important facets of knightly comportment and their inclusion can be understood within the context of learning by imitation, they are diminished by the lack of detailed representations of these behaviors as well as by the knight's sorry rather than heroic end.

Further differentiating the nature of Agnès' relationship to her text from that of Jean de Calabre's copy of the *Paradis* is the almost total absence of illumination from his manuscript. The sole exception to this rule is the sketch of the three sets of names and devices etched into the rock outside the entrance to the Sibyl's cave, found on Chantilly ms. 653, f. 21 and KBR ms. 18210-215, f. 109v, respectively.⁵⁹ It could be argued that the absence of miniatures points to a more sober intended use of the KBR manuscript, as in the numerous undecorated extant copies of texts like the *Legenda aurea*.⁶⁰ On the other hand, La Sale's expressions of desire that his reader "see" and "experience" his wanderings are still present in the Calabre copy, despite the lack of accompanying illuminations as in Agnès' manuscript.⁶¹ The continued inclusion of these phrases seems to indicate a relatively straight-forward duplication of Agnès' text rather than a significant re-working of it for her son-in-law. This is not to say that the duke's version was mindlessly copied, as the contents underwent correction

⁵⁹ These sketches are reproduced in Desonay, ed., *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, 40; Mora-Lebrun, *Voyages en Sibyllie*, 284; and Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, Pl. IV.

⁶⁰ Barbara Fleith, "Le Classement de quelque 1 000 manuscrits de la *Legenda aurea* latine en vue de l'établissement d'une histoire de la tradition," in *Legenda aurea: Sept siècles de diffusion: Actes du colloque international sur la Legenda aurea: Texte latine et branches vernaculaires*, ed. Brenda Dunn-Lardeau (Montréal: Editions Bellarmin, 1986), 19-24.

⁶¹ "Ceste derraine montaigne sy avant pourtrait" (f. 6v); "ainsi que cy dessous est pourtrait" (f. 7); "si comme cy est pourtrait" (f. 7v); "si comme cy devant est pou[r]trait" (f. 8); and "comme cy dessous est" (f. 20v) are all present, with insignificant alterations, in KBR ms. 18210-215. Only the last is accompanied by an image, that of the signatures carved in the wall of the cave. The passages "[E]n la maniere que cy après est pou[r]trait" (f. 4v) and "ainsi que pourtrait est" (f. 7) are omitted from the Calabre copy, suggesting some editing of the text to reflect the absence of illustrations.

and certain details, such as the referent for the size of Lake Pilate, were changed.⁶² The contextual presentation of the work cannot be ignored, however. I find the contrast between the tale of the Queen Sibylle and the historical works that comprise the rest of *La Salade* significant enough to overcome objections based on the essentially identical content of the work as a whole. That is, the unadorned *Paradis* is clearly situated as lighter mental fare “pour rire et passer le temps” (I:63) with regards to the equally unadorned but “prouffitables” duplicitous wartime strategies and the chronicle of Sicily that bookend it.⁶³ Lacking such “historical” context, Agnès’ copy of the text can and should therefore be taken more seriously, as per La Sale’s introduction.

La Sale’s edifying intentions are also manifest elsewhere in Agnès’ *Paradis*, and are comprised of his erudite tangents, which constitute a significant portion of the text, as well as his emphasis on evidence and witnessing, indicating a preoccupation with the transmission of knowledge for which the story of the Queen Sibylle is simply a convenient vehicle. For instance, the substantial section on the history of Pontius Pilate, discussed above, is the first of many asides; its position is nevertheless critical, as it begins a paltry five lines post-introduction: “Et premierement diray du mont du lac de la royne Sibille, que aucuns appellent le mont du lac de Pillate, pour ce que es parties de la duchié d’Espolit et ou terrouer de la cité de Norse, ou ledit mont est, *en icelles parties se compte que, quant Titus de Vaspasien, empereur de Romme [...]*” (f. 2v, my emphasis). La Sale seems less interested in discussing the Mount of the Sibyl than in giving a history lesson. Furthermore, it is in this same first tangent that La Sale presents his evidence-based critical approach to information-gathering and history, which was hinted at, though not expounded upon, in the introduction (“qui autrement

⁶² See Desonay, ed., *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, xviii-xxxi.

⁶³ For the complete list of the other texts in *La Salade*, see Desonay, ed., *Œuvres complètes*, I:4-6.

sont que en vostre tapisserie ne sont faiz” [f. 1v]). Here, in relating the details of Pilate’s death, La Sale affirms: “Et c’est la forme du parler des gens d’iceluy pays. Laquelle chose je trouve faulse, en tant qu’ilz dient que Titus eust fait mourir Pilate. Car Titus fut grant espace après Pillate [...] Si comme dit Orose [...]” (f. 2v). La Sale specifies which detail it is he disagrees with, why, and the source providing what he believes to be the correct information; in doing so, he demonstrates his erudition as well as his critical method. La Sale also presents material by means of the Socratic method, though without necessarily naming his approach as such, showing Agnès proper techniques of argumentation (dependent, as we would expect in scholarly debate, on the abstract mode of information transmission): “Mais pour ce que aucuns pourroient dire: puis que Thibere aida si fort aux amis de Jhesucrist, pourquoy furent ses apostres depuis mors et persecutz? Ad ce je di que, selon Orose [...]” (f. 3-3v). He thereby lays out the steps for critical assessment of information, so that Agnès can replicate them elsewhere.⁶⁴ At a later point in the text, when the German knight is attempting to gain pardon for the sins committed in the Queen Sibylle’s court, La Sale offers three possibilities as to which Pope he might have been petitioning: “Si vint au Pape Innocent de l’an mil III^e LIJ, autres disans que ce fut au Pape Urbain, dit Grimouault, de l’an mil III^e LXII; et disent encores que fut le Pape Urbain de Limozin de l’an mil III^e LXXVII” (f. 17v). Unlike in the case of Pilate’s death, though, La Sale is unable to provide any authority on whose word he might rely and so chooses instead not to choose—demonstrating that one cannot always arrive at *the* correct answer, and that the discerning reader should be aware of this potentiality as well.

These same methods are also employed even where the narration veers strongly into the fantastic. La Sale’s source, one Anthon Fumato, is of questionable reliability, given his

⁶⁴ Desonay took the time to verify La Sale’s sources and assertions, concluding: “Il est rare que La Sale se trompe” (*Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, LXX).

recurrent madness. However, Fumato maintains his assertions during his lucid periods; in addition, other witnesses, not prone to insanity, provide further validation of Fumato's claims in the form of corresponding details of the depths of the mountain:

en icellui chastel de Monte moynaco, avoit un prestre que on appelloit don Anthon Fumato [...] lequel par lunoisons n'estoit mie en son bon [f. 11] sens. [...] *Cestui prestre a par plusieurs fois dit et acertenné sans varier* qu'il a esté dedans ceste cave jusques es portes de metal [...] Mais pource que aucuneffoiz estoit hors de son bon sens, comme dessus est dit, peu de gens y adjoustoient foy. [...]f. 12v] Des autres merveilles qui outre la porte sont, comme dessus est dit, n'est nul au moins que j'aye peu trouver qui de nostre temps en saiche plus au cler que ce que le prestre a dit. De laquelle chose plusieurs n'y adjoustent nulle foy, pour la foiblesse de teste qu'il a souvent a cause de son mal, comme j'ay ci devant compté. Par laquelle aucuns veulent dire que celle maladie lui fait veoir ces advisions. Toutefois l'affermoit il quant il estoit en son bon sens [...]f. 13] Lesquelles choses sont que jadis fut ung autre chevalier des parties d'Alemaigne [...] Cestui chevalier ouyt parler des merveilles qui s'ensuivent; si conclut d'y aler et ainsi le fist. Par ce chevalier sceut l'en plus nouvellement des choses et merveilles de cedit royaume de la royne Sibille. *Lequel conta [...des] autres choses, ainsi que dit est par le rapport du prestre; et ce donne au dit du prestre plus de foy.*

(my emphasis)

Once again, La Sale's lesson in reasoning implicitly encourages Agnès to think discerningly about her own sources of information and their trustworthiness—especially when they are not based on her own experiences.

Indeed, La Sale goes so far as to model for Agnès the sort of close reading appropriate to an intellectual. In an aside following the German knight's return to the Queen Sibylle's court, while discussing the devices, or mottos, inscribed at the entrance to the cave,⁶⁵ La Sale comments that the inscription "Her Hans Wan Banborg intravit" "ne dit mie qu'il saillist, dont, si la chose est vraie, je croy que soit le chevalier dessusdit [qui est sorti de la cour de la Sibylle, puis y est rentré]" (f. 21). That is, the term *intravit* is significant in the absence of any indication of the knight's permanent exit. Of the next inscription, that of Thomin de Pons or de Pous (the

⁶⁵ Cf. Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, Pl. IV.

inscription of his name being somewhat ambiguous, La Sale refers to him as “de Pons ou de Pous” instead of choosing one or the other), La Sale remarks that “cestui ne dist mie qu’il entrast ne saillist, si ne scet nul si ce fut l’escuier dessusdit ou autre” (*ibid.*). Lacking any further evidence, La Sale can offer no more than vague conjecture about Thomin’s egress from the cave and forebears to speculate. He reinforces this series of conclusions with a reflection on his own device of “CCR / Il Convient / La Sale.”⁶⁶ Despite its inscription at the mouth of the cave alongside those of people believed to have entered (and perhaps never have returned), he insists: “De moy je requier a chascun, comme dit est, que nul ne die que j’aye esté plus avant que ce que j’ay devisé” (*ibid.*). Since his inscription includes no directional indication (like that of Thomin de Pons or de Pous), let no one dare say that La Sale went any further into the mountain than he actually did—and let Agnès beware of making presumptions based on insufficient proof.

This same warning is evoked again in the final section of the text on the Sibyls. Again, La Sale insists almost dogmatically on the falsity of the oral legend as revealed by “toutes les escriptures saintes qui sont, soient grecques ou latines, [qui] ne se tiennent que X femmes prophetisans qui nommees furent les Sibilles” (f. 25v). The overweening lesson provided to Agnès by this text is that sources—and engaging one’s discretion with regards to choosing them, especially when they are not founded in experience—matter. While these lessons are also contained in Jean de Calabre’s text, they were clearly initially directed at his mother-in-law, Agnès.

Other tangents offer La Sale the opportunity to expound upon the local flora in what is almost a botany lesson; in fact, his descriptions and the accompanying illuminations of two

⁶⁶ In reading the letters as CCR, rather than CCX, I follow Lefèvre, *ibid.*, 50-55.

plants, the *pollibastro* (Fig. 31) and the *chentofollie* (Fig. 32), effectively echo medieval herbals such as the *Macer Floridus*. Among the astonishingly beautiful meadows atop the Mount of the Sibyl are many strange herbs and flowers,

Dont, entre les autres y est le polliot le plus bel que oncques je vis et le mieulz odorant. Les fueilles en sont aussi larges que seroit l'ongle du pouce d'une main, mais la fleur n'en est pas comme les aultres, car elle est de la propre maniere et couleur que est la violette de janvier; mais [f. 7] tant y a qu'elle est encore plus grande et grosse que n'en seroient trois ensemble, ainsi que cy dessoubs est pourtrait. Et les gens du païs l'appellent pollibastro, et en mettent les communes gens de la contree en leurs viandes et es coffres de leurs linges, et en font seicher et puis pouldre pour mettre en leurs viandes en lieu d'espices.

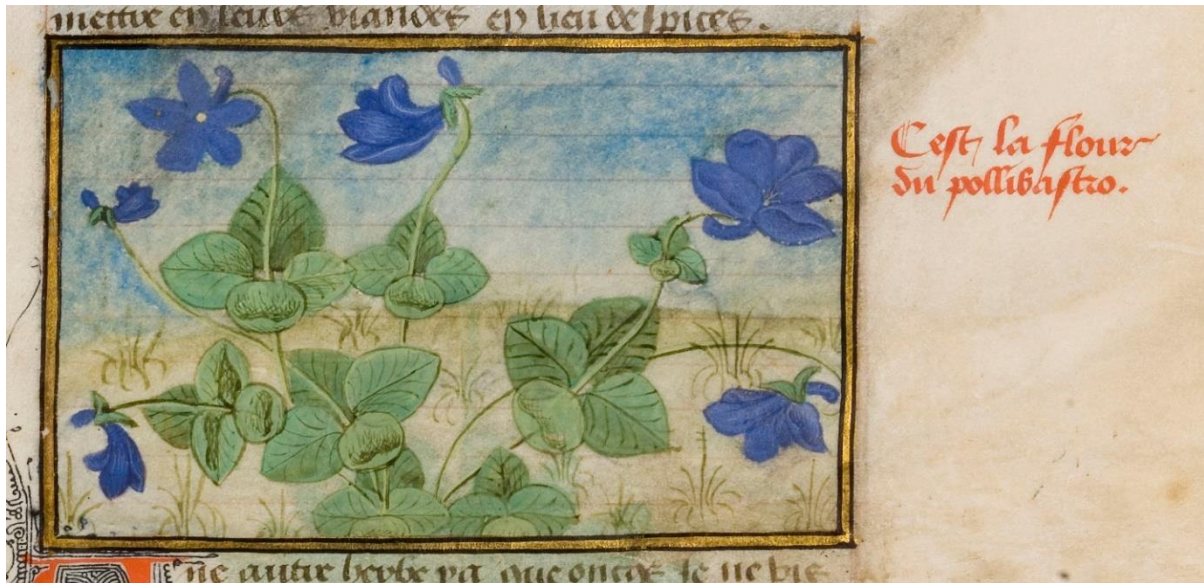


Fig. 31: Chantilly ms. 653, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle* and *L'Excursion aux îles Lipari*, by Antoine de La Sale, f. 7 detail, *The Pollibastro*

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Une autre herbe y a que oncques je ne vis, laquelle ilz appellent la chentofollie, c'est a dire les cent fueilles. Et vraiment ceste herbe n'est point surnommee, car elle a cent fueilles, ne plus ne moins, qui sont toutes a la façon d'un long doigt de main. Du milieu sault une fleur tresfinement asuree, de la façon d'une campanete carree, et a dedens un fleuret qui sault ainsi que pourtrait est, mais semble estre tout d'or qui ne fut oncques bruny. Et tout entour ceste fleur sont les cent fueilles, toutes partans d'une [f. 7v] rais languette, si comme cy est pourtrait. [...] Les gens du païs dient que elle a maintes vertuz.



Fig. 32: Chantilly ms. 653, *Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle* and *L'Excursion aux îles Lipari*, by Antoine de La Sale, f. 7v detail, *The Chentofollie*
 Cliché CNRS-IRHT © Bibliothèque et archives du château de Chantilly
 Image reproduced from Antoine de La Sale and Francine Mora-Lebrun, *Voyages en Sibyllie: Les hommes, le paradis et l'enfer* (Paris: Riveneuve éd., 2010), 163

In his article on medieval Iberian herbals, Thomas M. Capuano remarks that the *Macer Floridus* mentions etymologies of plant names, much as La Sale does for the *chentofollie*; the *Macer* likewise names virtues of each plant, such as those given by La Sale for the *pollibastro*.⁶⁷ Similarly, Tom de Schepper's research into late Middle English herbals defines the herbal as "a text listing per plant its name, its possible synonyms, its description, and its medicinal uses."⁶⁸ Here the *Paradis* comes up short, since La Sale does not offer any medicinal

⁶⁷ Thomas M. Capuano, "Medieval Iberian Vernacular Versions of the Herbal Called *Macer Floridus*," *Manuscripta* 35, no. 3 (1991): 182-202.

⁶⁸ Tom de Schepper, "The Several Sages: The Late Middle English Herbal in Its Genre, Manuscript and Printed Context" (Utrecht University), 6.

uses of either plant.⁶⁹ However, De Schepper also claims that, “[i]n humanist hands, the herbal moved away from being a medicinal manual and started to belong more to botany and natural history.”⁷⁰ Although La Sale’s text is a bit early to be labelled humanist, it may not be entirely inappropriate, since—as we saw with Christine de Pizan—literature associated with the Burgundian court was already headed in that direction in the 15th century.⁷¹ Whatever the degree to which La Sale was influenced by the herbal tradition, these two folios of the *Paradis*—folios that have no bearing on any other portion of the story—comprise an aside that educates as much as it delights with information about the novelties of an unknown land, as the author shapes his work to appeal to Agnès, whose personal symbols included the violet, prominently decorating the dais behind her arms in the dedication miniature.

⁶⁹ While the *DMF* entry for *pouliot* is in fact based on the reference in La Sale’s *La Salle*, a compilation composed for the sons of Louis III de Luxembourg in the late 1440s, Godefroy’s *Dictionary* proves slightly more fruitful. Under the entry *pouliel*, *puliel*, *pouliot*, one finds *pulegium*, which is in fact *mentha pulegium*, a Eurasian perennial mint with small lilac-blue flowers and ovate leaves, which yields an aromatic oil. The common modern-day name for this plant is pennyroyal—a plant with numerous medicinal uses. Aemilius Macer, *Virtue of Herbs*, trans. Daniel Patrick O’Hanlon (New Delhi: Hemkunt Press, 1981) lists pennyroyal’s uses as an abortifacient, labor inducer (74), muscle relaxant, expectorant, chest and stomach pain cure (75), swelling and itch reliever, diuretic, and venom counter-agent (76), as well as its uses in various plasters placed on the skin according to the location of the pain. As such, La Sale’s explanation of the local use in food of the *pollibastro*, which is the name for the version found in the Apennine mountains, becomes substantially more interesting.

Choosing January violets rather than European pennyroyal as the model for the *pollibastro* flower might have been predicated on Agnès’ preference for violets; however, it is uncertain whether this flower exists (or existed) at all. According to Desonay’s introduction to *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, Gaston Paris was unable to find any local botanists who knew of the “*poliastro*” at the end of the 19th century, but he was working with the image from the 16th century edition of the *Paradis*—an engraving of stylized lilies(?) which look nothing like the illumination in Chantilly ms. 653 (XLIX-L; see also Lefèvre, *Antoine de La Sale*, Pl. VII or <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k52148r/f52.image>> [consulted May 28, 2016]). Desonay does not mention whether or not he found anyone who could confirm its existence, though he also came to the conclusion that the *pollibastro* belongs to the mint family (L).

⁷⁰ De Schepper, “The Several Sages,” 20.

⁷¹ De Schepper follows the herbal tradition through the 13th century, then all but neglects the 14th and 15th centuries, skipping almost directly from a late 14th-century English translation of *De herbis* (book XII of Bartholomy Anglicus’ *De proprietatibus rerum*) to late 15th-century incunabula (*ibid.*, 19).

Conclusion

As easy as it is for the analytical reader to get caught up in one of La Sale's many marginally-related tangents, or to lose herself in the otherworldly mystery and quest for the truth of the interior of the Mount of the Sibyl, the scholarly habits of mind backgrounding the *Paradis* make its educational potential impossible to ignore. Relying on information acquired in the abstract, the almost-omniscient La Sale has structured his text so as to clearly demonstrate the dangers of popular beliefs, while enclosing them in a Christian framework to physically and textually limit the damage the demonic Queen Sibylle and her court of earthly delights can inflict. He extends the Christian underpinnings of his text to encompass the ostensibly geographic, experiential portion of the tale, turning it from a pleasant outing into a meditational exercise and mental pilgrimage, linking these teachings in turn to other exertions of the mind, such as a lady's employ of discretionary reasoning and analytical reading habits. The images adorning Chantilly ms. 653 further contribute to the instructional value of the manuscript, serving to correct Agnès' mental image of the Apennine mountains, to remind her of her lineage, and to prompt her to revere God above all others. Antoine de La Sale thus demonstrates to Agnès of Burgundy that even in the most pleasurable of occupations, be it the perusal of a tapestry or the more sustained contemplation of a beautifully illuminated text, there are always lessons to be learned.

The transition from sinful, worldly delights to concerns of a more spiritual nature find echoes in the other 15th-century manuscripts comprising Agnès' library. Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme* (in Chantilly ms. 140) recounts a soul's pilgrimage from Purgatory to the lowest heavens; the *Trois fils de rois* (BnF fr. 92), also set mainly in Italy, tells of valiant efforts to quell a threat to Christianity; Frère Laurent's *Somme le roi/Mireoir*

du monde (Beinecke ms. 204) invites the reader to exercise her mind's eye in meditating on the virtues and vices. These manuscripts, produced after the *Paradis*, contain many texts written earlier, from the 13th century to the first quarter of the 15th. The works reflect Agnès' growing preoccupation with preparing herself and others for the afterlife with information learned by a variety of means.

Chapter 4: The Contemporary Components of Agnès de Bourgogne's Collection: Six 15th-Century Manuscripts

Introduction

Antoine de La Sale's *Paradis de la reine Sibylle* is by far Agnès' most thoroughly illuminated manuscript of 15th-century production; for this reason, as well as for its unusual narrative composition, it has received a proportionally high percentage of the scholarly attention paid to her and her library to date. Similarly, since Christine de Pizan and her works are so well-known, her *Livre de la cité des dames* and *Epistre Othea* have been singled out from among Agnès' manuscripts for discussion. The codices remaining in what we know of Agnès' library are, however, eminently worthy of further consideration. Indeed, closer inspection of Agnès' less-studied 15th-century manuscripts reveals her multifaceted participation in the culture of knowledge transmission among women through her functions as patron, collector, and distributor of texts that directly implicate women's education and their use of books.

Agnès' library of fifteen manuscripts¹ does not approach the scale of some contemporary women's collections like that of her cousin and sister-in-law Gabrielle de La Tour, whose post-mortem 1474 inventory numbered over 200 books (at least forty of which

¹ The count differs from scholar to scholar. Léopold Delisle attributes eight to her (Léopold Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale*, 3 vols. [Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868-81], I:167); Marie-Pierre Laffitte names two and calls the rest "plus d'une demi-douzaine" (Marie-Pierre Laffitte, "Les Ducs de Bourbon et leurs livres d'après les inventaires," in *Le Duché de Bourbon des origines au Connétable: Actes du colloque des 5 et 6 octobre 2000 organisé par le Musée Anne-de-Beaujeu de Moulins* [Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule: Bleu autour, 2001], 177). Jeannot identifies sixteen codices, including KBR ms. 1411, incorrectly labelled ms. 270, with which I disagree (see Appendix B for my complete analysis), and La Sale's *Paradis* listed twice, once under its current shelfmark and once under the former shelfmark; but she omits BnF fr. 167 (*Mécénat bibliophilique*, 302-03), which I have included.

had certainly belonged to her husband through inheritance).² A comparison of Agnès' collection to those of her mother Marguerite de Bavière and mother-in-law Marie de Berry, both of which comprise more than double the number of the books in Agnès' library,³ uncovers a number of overlapping texts, including Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme*⁴ as well as the obligatory Bibles and Books of Hours (of which Agnès owned one and Marguerite many).⁵ We can conclude that the women shared similar literary tastes, since none of Marguerite's, Marie's, and Agnès' manuscripts are the same ones. The few books known to have belonged to Agnès' sisters were principally religious in nature, though the eldest, Marguerite de Bourgogne, widow of Louis de Guyenne, also owned several works by Christine de Pizan.⁶ Like her contemporaries, then, Agnès possessed mostly devotional and didactic literature; even the few ostensible outliers, like the *Trois fils de rois* and *Tristan en prose*, find parallels in other women's libraries.⁷

² Beaune and Lequain, "Gabrielle de La Tour," 127.

³ For Marguerite de Bavière, see Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 41-49; on Marie de Berry, see Beaune and Lequain, "Marie de Berry."

⁴ A poem some 11,000 lines long, the *Pèlerinage de l'âme* was written 1355-1358 by Guillaume de Digulleville, a Cisterican monk born at the end of the 13th century (*DLF*, 614; see also the introduction to Marie Bassano, Esther Dehoux, and Catherine Vincent, eds., *Le Pèlerinage de l'âme de Guillaume de Digulleville (1355-1358): Regards croisés. Actes du colloque "Regards croisés sur le Pèlerinage de l'âme de Guillaume de Digulleville (1355-1358)" (Paris-Nanterre, 29-30 mars 2012)* [Turnhout: Brepols, 2014]; and Guillaume de Digulleville, *Trois Romans-Poèmes du XIV^e siècle. Les Pèlerinages et La Divine comédie*, ed. Abbé Joseph Delacotte [Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et cie, 1932], 11).

⁵ Marguerite de Bavière's own holdings only dovetail with her youngest daughter's in that they both owned at least one Book of Hours (and in fact, Marguerite had several); however, she also borrowed from her husband's collection books with themes that might have appealed to Agnès, such as Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*. See Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 245-51 and my analysis below. Marie de Berry's copy of the *Pèlerinage de l'âme* is extant today as BnF fr. 829 (Beaune and Lequain, "Marie de Berry," n29). Marie is also responsible for the entry of "the Duke's manuscript" (which include copies of both the *Livre de la cité des dames* and the *Epistre Othea*; today five volumes: BnF fr. 835, BnF fr. 606, BnF fr. 836, BnF fr. 605, and BnF fr. 607) into the Moulins library. There also exists a modicum of overlap between the libraries of Marguerite and Marie—for instance, both possessed a French translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum* (KBR ms. 9094 and no longer extant, respectively; see Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 250 and Beaune and Lequain, "Marie de Berry," 51).

⁶ For Marguerite's books, see Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 305.

⁷ Gabrielle de La Tour's copy of the *Trois fils de rois* does not seem to be extant. Beaune and Lequain mention it ("Marie de Berry," 135), but Giovanni Palumbo only references the copy belonging to Gabrielle's sister, Louise (Giovanni Palumbo, ed. *Les trois fils de rois* [Paris: Champion, 2001], 13-15). Although none of the women just mentioned owned their own copies of any *Tristan* texts that we know of, chivalric literature is not in

A number of Agnès' older manuscripts—the *Livre de Sydrac* (BnF fr. 762), which dates to 1340, or the compendium containing Gautier de Coinsi's verse *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (BnF fr. 1533) that was made in the 13th century—were almost certainly used to teach her children, but offer us no information about when and how she acquired them. Many works that we might originally have thought served in the early education of Agnès' children were acquired too late in life for this to have been the case, like the *Somme le roi/Mireoir du monde* (Beinecke ms. 204) that dates to the 1460s or 1470s, for instance. The implication, therefore, is that the manuscripts created during Agnès' lifetime are indicative of her personal agency and tastes, not necessarily tied to her role as a mother.⁸ Indeed, ten of Agnès' manuscripts date from the 15th century, with at least two if not more of these dating to the last fifteen years of her life, between 1461 and 1476, indicating that she maintained her interest in acquiring and learning from books up until her death. She might also have procured them with the intention of passing them on, though we cannot be certain of this due to the lack of a testament.

Since the two 15th-century manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's works, *L'Epistre Othea* (BnF fr. 848), and *Le Livre de la cité des dames* (BnF fr. 24293), were discussed in some detail in Chapter 2, I do not revisit them in depth. Likewise, Chantilly ms. 653, Antoine de La Sale's *Paradis de la reine Sibylle*, discussed at length in Chapter 3, is only referenced here as needed. Finally, Ilona Hans-Collas and Hanno Wijsman recently published an article on a Book of Hours, BnF lat. 1183, wherein they argue that the transcription—which can be attributed to David Aubert, scribe to Agnès' brother, Philippe le Bon—, particular details in the calendar

short supply—for instance, Marguerite de Bavière borrowed a *Livre de Lancelot* from her husband and had a second copy in her possession (Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 250-51).

⁸ It is currently not possible to determine when and how Agnès acquired a number of older manuscripts, like Adenet le Roi's *Cléomadès* (BnF fr. 1456) or the collected Gautier de Coinci verse and songs in praise of the Virgin Mary (BnF fr. 1533). Appendix B contains the complete list of the books in her library, including codicological details and discussion which, while relevant, do not fit within the scope of this chapter.

and the choice of suffrages, and the inclusion of a miniature depicting an aristocratic lady kneeling in prayer before St. Agnes all support the likelihood that Agnès was the person for whom these Hours were crafted, despite the lack of an ex-libris definitively identifying the manuscript as hers.⁹ Given their thorough analysis, the Book of Hours also receives limited mention here.

Analysis of the six remaining 15th-century manuscripts is divided along two axes. The first focuses specifically on the literary and intellectual female networks Agnès created and nurtured—where, when, and from whom she acquired her books, to whom they were bequeathed after her death, and why it matters. In the second portion of the chapter, I return to the gendered modes of learning—from information presented in an abstract fashion, from experience, from imitation—discussed above and shed light on their function in these texts chosen by and for this 15th-century duchess. We find that the expectations established in Chapter 1, particularly in terms of which sex learns in what manner, are overly simplistic in the face of the varied recombinations that appear in Agnès’ collection, especially in the works of more contemporary authors whose works she appears to have sought out on her own.

Agnès de Bourgoigne and Her Female Intellectual Networks

It is difficult to assign a definite chronology to Agnès’ book acquisition due to the paucity of surviving records. Of the fifteen extant manuscripts comprising Agnès’ library, eleven contain her ex-libris, inscribed after her death, suggesting the creation of some type of inventory at that time:¹⁰ “Ce livre fut a feu ma dame Agnes de Bourgoigne, en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d’Auvergne” (Fig. 33).

⁹ Hans-Collas and Wijsman, “Le Livre d’heures.”

¹⁰ To date, there is no known extant inventory of her possessions at the time of her death.

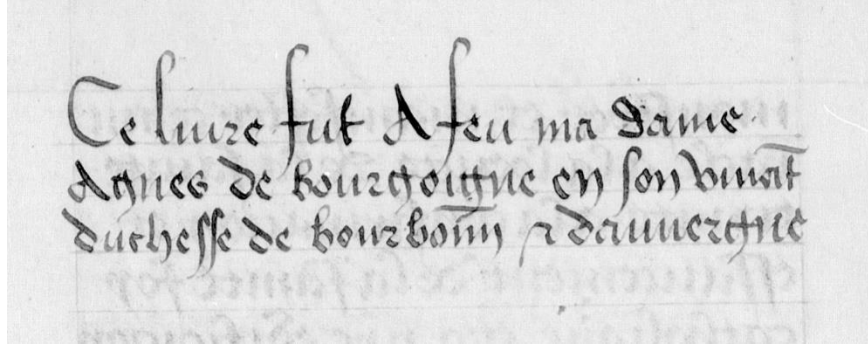


Fig. 33: BnF fr. 1793, *Recueil ascétique*, f. 165v detail, Agnès de Bourgogne's ex-libris

These marked manuscripts include:

- BnF fr. 334, Luce de Gast's *Tristan en prose*, 14th century, date of acquisition unknown
- BnF fr. 762, the *Livre de Sydrac*, created 1340, date of acquisition unknown
- BnF fr. 848, Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea*, created c. 1400, date of acquisition unknown
- BnF fr. 1456, Adenet le Roi's *Cléomadès*, created c. 1320, date of acquisition unknown
- BnF fr. 24293, Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la cité des Dames*, created c. 1405, date of acquisition unknown
- BnF fr. 1533, anonymous *Vie de Nostre Dame*, Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, created 13th century, date of acquisition unknown
- Chantilly ms. 653, Antoine de La Sale's *Paradis de la reine Sibylle* and *Excursion aux îles Lipari*, created and acquired c. 1438-1442¹¹
- BnF fr. 1793, *Recueil ascétique*, created 1450-1475?, acquired 1450-1475?
- Chantilly ms. 129, Pierre Crapillet d'Annoire's translations of St. Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* and Hugh of St. Victor's *De arrha animae*, finished c. 1460, acquired 1463-1465

¹¹ Desonay, ed., *Œuvres complètes*, xviii. At this time, Agnès would have been in her early 30s.

- Beinecke ms. 204, Frère Laurent's *Somme le Roi/Miroir du Monde*, created and acquired in the 1460s-1470s¹²
- BnF fr. 92, *Les trois fils de rois ou les Croniques de Naples*, completed 1463, acquired 1463-1465

Four codices were almost certainly acquired by Agnès from family members:

- BnF fr. 167, a *Bible moralisee*¹³
- BnF fr. 334, the *Tristan en prose*¹⁴
- BnF fr. 848, the *Epistre Othea*¹⁵
- BnF fr. 24293, the *Cité des dames*¹⁶

Hans-Collas and Wijsman estimate the production for Agnès of her Book of Hours, BnF lat. 1183, to have taken place in the first half of the 1460s as well.¹⁷ We can also establish with relative certainty that Pierre Crapillet d'Annoire's translations of St. Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* and Hugh of St. Victor's *De arrha animae* (Chantilly ms. 129)¹⁸ and *Les trois fils de rois* (BnF fr. 92) both came into her possession during her stay in Philippe le Bon's lands between 1462

¹² The date of creation and acquisition are based on analysis of the watermarks, discussed in detail in Appendix B. For a modern edition of the *Somme*, written by Dominican Frère Laurent, confessor of Philippe III of France in 1279, see Frère Laurent, *La Somme le roi*, ed. Edith Brayer and Anne-Françoise Leurquin-Labie (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 2008).

¹³ Laffitte, "Les Ducs de Bourbon et leurs livres," 177 and n89; Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, I:167. Delisle believes that this manuscript became a Bourbonnais possession on the occasion of Agnès' and Charles' marriage in 1425. Wijsman, on the contrary, asserts that it cannot have come into her possession before 1467/69 due to its presence in the 1467/69 Burgundian inventory (*Luxury Bound*, 190), which does seem to be the case.

¹⁴ Agnès' ex-libris is inscribed in this manuscript, but no one has identified its provenance. It is a 13th-century manuscript, hence my assumption that it was inherited, although it could just have easily been bought.

¹⁵ Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 349.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 532.

¹⁷ Hans-Collas and Wijsman, "Le Livre d'heures," 22.

¹⁸ On this pairing in particular, see Crapillet, *Traduits pour Philippe le Bon*. Further in-text parenthetical references provide both folio number from Agnès' manuscript and relevant page from this edition. I have amended the spelling of certain transcriptions cited from this edition (e.g. "moult" instead of "monlt") for consistency's sake. For information on the translator, see especially 17-86. For a modern edition of the Latin *Cur Deus homo*, see St. Anselm, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi liber Cur deus homo*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt (Bonnae: Hanstein, 1929). A modern Latin edition of the *De arrha animae* is Hugh of St. Victor, *Soliloquium de arrha animae und De vanitate mundi*, ed. Karl Müller (Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Weber, 1913).

and 1465.¹⁹ Intriguingly, both appear to have been gifts, indicating that Philippe conceived of his sister as a reader interested in more than simple devotional literature.²⁰

The complex narrative of the *Trois fils de rois* weaves together the stories of the princes of France, England, and Scotland, who by various means quit their homelands for Sicily, where the king, Alphonse, is losing his war against the Turks. After everyone has had a near-brush with death, the disguised princes find themselves in the service of the duke Ferrant, where they prove themselves both eminently worthy of knighthood and the most humble of men. Once the war is won, thanks to their prowess, the king of Sicily declares that a tournament will be held, the winner of which will earn his daughter's hand in marriage. The princes' identities are all revealed over the course of the three-day tournament, which Philippe, prince of France, dominates, securing his marriage with Yolente. The other princes, including the converted Turkish prince, Orkais, all have marriages between themselves and each others' sisters arranged, and peace lasts until Orkais' death. The *Trois fils de rois* manuscript (BnF fr. 92) was copied for Philippe le Bon himself as part of his propaganda strategy to re-establish the ancient holdings of Burgundy as an autonomous polity, but, evidently (given the short span of time between its completion [1463] and absence from Philippe's post-mortem inventory [1467/9]), the codex was quickly entrusted to Agnes' care, after which it passed to daughter-in-law Jeanne de France and her husband, Jean II, and then to Pierre II and Anne de Beaujeu (Fig. 34), before arriving in the possession of Louise de Savoie, Agnès' granddaughter, as confirmed by Louise's signature on a flyleaf in the book.²¹

¹⁹ Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne," 157. Chantilly ms. 129, intended by Crapillet d'Annoire for himself, was completed c. 1460 and appropriated by Philippe after the translator's death (Crapillet, *Traduits pour Philippe le Bon*, 100-06), and BnF fr. 92 in 1463, according to the colophon; neither figured in the 1467/9 inventory of the ducal library of Burgundy (Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, 123-226).

²⁰ The other gifts of which we have records mostly seem to be financial in nature (Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne," 153, 157n64).

²¹ See Palumbo, ed., *Les trois fils de rois*, 11-12; Laffitte, "Les Ducs de Bourbon et leurs livres," 177.

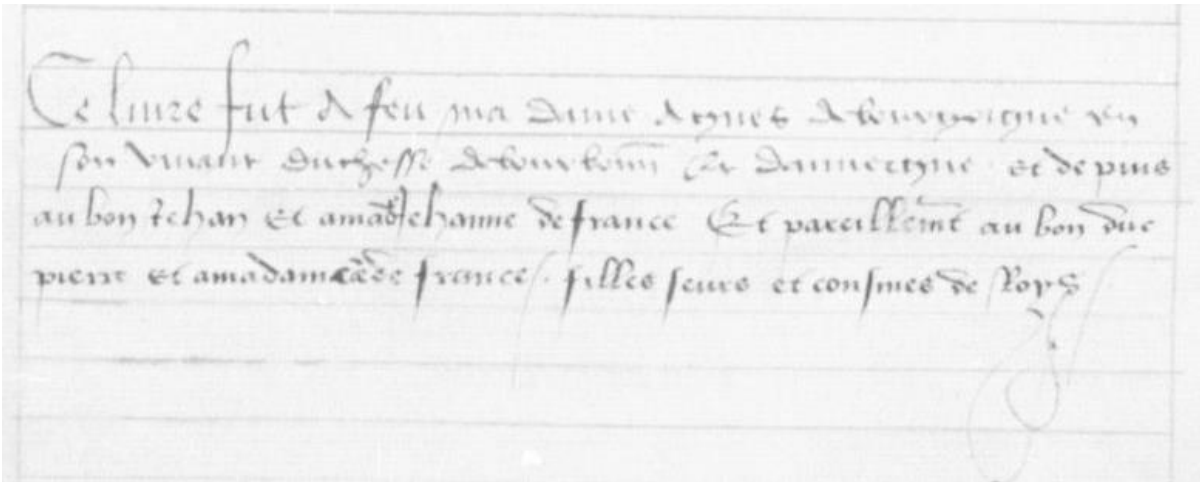


Fig. 34: BnF fr. 92, *Les trois fils de rois*, f. 235 detail

“Ce livre fut a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne, en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d’Auvergne, et depuis au bon Jehan [II de Bourbon] et a madame Jehanne de France. Et pareillement au bon duc Pierre [II de Bourbon] et a madame Anne de France, filles, seurs et cousines de roys”

Even though this is primarily a tale about men (the beautiful princesses serving first and foremost as motivation and reward to the heroes, despite their occasional manifestations of personality) that came into Agnès’ possession when she was in her mid- to late 50s, the work evidently appealed to a female as well as male readership. It is possible that the combination of the Crusades, coming-of-age stories, and romance called to her in the same way that her *Tristan en prose* (BnF fr. 334) and her copy of Adenet le Roi’s *Cléomadès* (BnF fr. 1456) did. While Prince Philippe’s religious devotion and the idea of crusading for Christianity in Turkish lands in the *Trois fils de rois* were likely more in keeping with the interests of Duke Philippe, the book’s first owner,²² it is probable that Agnès’ participation in French politics²³ intimated to her brother that such a tale, combining heroics, morality, history,

²² Palumbo, ed., *Les trois fils de rois*, 75. See also Jean Devaux on Philippe le Bon’s promise in October of 1463 and subsequent activities to raise a crusading army and lead it himself (“Le Saint Voyage de Turquie: Croisade et propagande à la cour de Philippe le Bon (1463-1464),” in “A l’heure encore de mon écrire”: *Aspects de la littérature de Bourgogne sous Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, ed. Claude Thiry [Louvain-la-Neuve: Les Lettres Romanes, 1997], 53-70) and Palumbo’s article in the same volume (“Le Livre et histoire royal (ou Livre des trois fils de roys): Politique, histoire et fiction à la cour de Bourgogne,” in “A l’heure encore de mon écrire”: *Aspects de la littérature de Bourgogne sous Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, ed. Claude Thiry [Louvain-la-Neuve: Les Lettres Romanes, 1997], 137-46).

²³ She was instrumental in keeping the peace between her brother Philippe and politically fickle husband Charles (Marche, *Mémoires*, I:97; Leguai, “Agnès de Bourgogne,” 149-50).

and the legitimization of the Burgundian line, might well please such a discerning female reader. But what about the female owners that followed?

Agnès appears to have had a close relationship with her daughter-in-law Jeanne de France, as it was Jeanne who accompanied Agnès and Agnès' daughter, Isabelle de Bourbon, to Nevers in 1454 to negotiate Isabelle's marriage to the future Charles le Téméraire.²⁴ In addition, Jeanne attempted, with Agnès, to persuade Louis XI to put an end to the War of the Public Weal (*Guerre du Bien public*) in 1465.²⁵ We know that Jeanne acquired copies of the *Croniques de France* (BnF fr. 2611-2612) at some point after assuming the title of countess of Isle-Jourdain²⁶ and an account titled *Relations de la France et d'Angleterre* (BnF fr. 5056) in 1469.²⁷ Thus, Agnès' passage to Jeanne and her husband of the *Trois fils de rois* (BnF fr. 92), with its focus on international relations and history during the first half of the 15th century, is consistent with both women's participation and evident interest in French politics. Nor is Agnès the only woman to own a copy of this text. Another early manuscript of the *Trois fils de rois* (BnF fr. 1498) was created between 1446 and 1469 for Louise de La Tour, sister of Agnès' sister-in-law Gabrielle de La Tour,²⁸ while Charlotte de Savoie (r. 1461–1483), mother of Agnès' eventual daughter-in-law, Anne de Beaujeu, also owned a copy of the work (no longer extant) that passed to her daughter.²⁹ The combination of history and religion in *Trois*

²⁴ "Agnès de Bourgogne," 155.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 157.

²⁶ Gras has remarked on the various iterations of her ex-libris ("Manuscrits enluminés," 56n8).

²⁷ Jeanne's ex-libris specifies the date of completion and acquisition: "Ce livre est a Jehanne, fille et seur de roy de France, duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, contesse de Clermont, de Forez et de l'Isle en Jordan, et dame de Beaujeu. Escript et perachevé en la ville d'Amboise, le septiesme jour de fevrier, l'an de grace mil CCCC soixante et neuf" (f. 67v).

²⁸ Palumbo, ed., *Les trois fils de rois*, 15. Gabrielle was married to Charles I's younger brother, Louis I de Montpensier.

²⁹ Anne-Marie Legaré, "Charlotte de Savoie's Library and Illuminators," *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History* 4 (2001): 75; Antoine le Roux de Lincy, "Catalogue de la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourbon," *Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire recueillis et publiés pour la Société des bibliophiles françois* 25 (1850): 1-102, Item 57, p. 41.

fils de rois—after all, it relates the adventures of the three princes as they attempt to rescue Sicily from the invading Muslim threat—seems to have appealed particularly to women (as well as their husbands) with close ties to the French monarchy.

Nor is this the only link between Agnès' library and those of her contemporaries. We have already examined the works by Christine de Pizan that figured in Agnès' library, the *Cité des dames* and *Epistre d'Othea*. Agnès' oldest sister, Marguerite de Bourgogne, was the dedicatee of Christine's *Livre des trois vertus*³⁰ and possessed two copies of the *Cité des dames* as well.³¹ Charlotte de Savoie owned copies of Christine de Pizan's *Cité* and *Epistre Othea*, the first *Pèlerinage* of Guillaume de Digulleville's trilogy, multiple *Passion* texts, a work by Robert Ciboule, sermons by Jean Gerson, and a *Somme le Roi*.³² An excerpt from the *Somme le Roi* is also found in the compilation of advisory texts for women, BL Add. 29986, belonging to Marie de Berry, Agnès' mother-in-law.³³ That same manuscript also contains a copy of Durand de Champagne's *Miroer des dames* (f. 1-146v), the formative educational work for women discussed above in Chapter 1. Additionally, Agnès' older sister Anne likely had access to a copy of the *Somme le Roi* in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 870, which was acquired by her husband, John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, in 1424.³⁴ Furthermore, the prose *Pèlerinage de l'âme* in Agnès' possession was translated from the original verse by Jean Galopes sometime between 1422 and August 1427, during his time in the service of Anne's husband.³⁵

³⁰ Pizan, *Trois vertus*, "Dedicace a Marguerite de Guyenne," 3-4.

³¹ Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 305.

³² Legaré, "Charlotte de Savoie's Library," 69-79; *id.*, *Le Pèlerinage de vie humaine en prose de la reine Charlotte de Savoie* (Ramsen/Schweiz: Heribert Tenschert, 2004).

³³ f. 166v-167vb.

³⁴ Laurent, *Somme le roi*, 67.

³⁵ Although the copy of the text in Chantilly ms. 140 does not contain the first prologue indicating the identities of both translator and dedicatee, the *DLF* names Galopes as responsible for the translation (*DLF*, 777). See also the IRHT's site specific to the prose version <<http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/10620>> (consulted June 4, 2016) as

Crapillet d'Annoire's translations of Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* and Hugh's *De arrha animae* in Chantilly ms. 129 were not undertaken with a female reader in mind,³⁶ but Philippe le Bon's assessment of their appeal to his sister Agnès is nevertheless understandable in light of the other religious literature comprising her collection, including the *Somme le roi/Miroir du monde* mentioned above as well as the collected texts in BnF fr. 1793 (1450-1475?),³⁷ the *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe* and *Passion Jhesucrist* in BnF fr. 975 (post-1445?),³⁸ and the collection of sermons following the *Pèlerinage* in Chantilly ms. 140 (probably post-1456).³⁹

well as Frédéric F. Duval, "La Mise en prose du *Pèlerinage de l'âme* de Guillaume de Digulleville par Jean Galopes," *Romania* 128, no. 3 (2010): 394-427, especially p. 399 for the date of the prose translation.

³⁶ In addition to the fact that Crapillet d'Annoire was translating for another man, Philippe le Bon, the original prologue to Hugh of St. Victor's *Soliloque* specifies that Hugh sent the work to the brothers of the monastery at Hamersleben (*Soliloquy on the Earnest Money of the Soul*, ed. and trans. Kevin Herbert [Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1956], 13). In the French translation, the *Soliloque* prologue is replaced by a paragraph transitioning between Anselm's and Hugh's texts (Crapillet, *Traduits pour Philippe le Bon*, 257-258).

³⁷ See Appendix B and the section devoted to this manuscript below for the complete list of contents.

³⁸ On the last flyleaf is a paragraph pertaining to book- and miniature-related expenses of a duchess of Burgundy—possibly Agnès. The transcription given by Paulin Paris is as follows:
 ma dicte dame la duchesse a fourni le parchemin.... [this line is cut off by the joining of the quires; the only word I am confident confirming is *p[ar]chem[in]*]
 reaulx d'or à Jehanne Fourniere pour avoir....
 plusieurs vignetes d'or et d'asur six reaulx et dem....
 peintre pour avoir fait xii ystoires d'or et
 d'or neufz qui font en somme xi reaulx et....
 courant; pour ce paie au dessus diz comme appert... [cannot confirm *courant*]
 dame. Donné à Molins, le iii. jour d'aoust...
 cens quarente cinq, et quietance d'iceulx.

A Giles le tailleur argentier et receveur gener....
 de mondit seigneur le duc païé, baillé, et delivré par...
 ordonnance de madicte dame la duchesse la som..." (Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits français de la bibliothèque du roi, leur histoire et celle des textes allemands, anglais, hollandais, italiens, espagnols de la même collection*, 7 vols. [Paris: Techener, 1836-1848], VII:373). The flyleaf preceding f. 1 remains to be transcribed, as the quality of the microfilm is too poor to be read apart from scattered words like "duchesse" and "le xxiiii jour de mars."

³⁹ Composed of Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme en prose*, two of Jean Gerson's sermons, a treatise based on Robert le Ciboule's sermon, *Qui manducat me*, and Guillaume de Vaurouillon's *Declaracion de la differance entre pechié mortel et veniel*. The date of completion and acquisition posited is based on the watermark, neatly traced on f. ivv and v, which corresponds quite precisely to Briquet 1809, dated to 1471 (Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, Reprod. en fac-sim. ed., 4 vols., Vol. 1 [1907; New York: Hacker Art Books, 1985]). Allowing for 15 years on either end of that date (see Briquet's explanation for this figure below in Appendix B, n. 11), this manuscript is, at best, a late acquisition by or gift to Agnès. Duval believes that Agnès commissioned the manuscript, noting the similarities between her copy and two Angevin manuscripts of the *Pèlerinage en prose*, and postulating that the connection lies in her daughter Marie's marriage to Jean de Calabre (Duval, "La Mise en prose du *Pèlerinage*," 411; *id.*, "La Mise en prose du *Pèlerinage de l'âme* de Guillaume de Digulleville par Jean Galopes (suite)," *Romania* 129 [2011]: 123-24).

The themes that link the many texts found in these manuscripts—such as giving unto God what He is owed, the importance of Christ’s humanity to man’s redemption, sin and reparation in the form of penance, and the necessity of preparing one’s soul adequately for death (Fig. 35)—suggest that Agnès deliberately curated her collection to address devotional topics of particular interest to her.

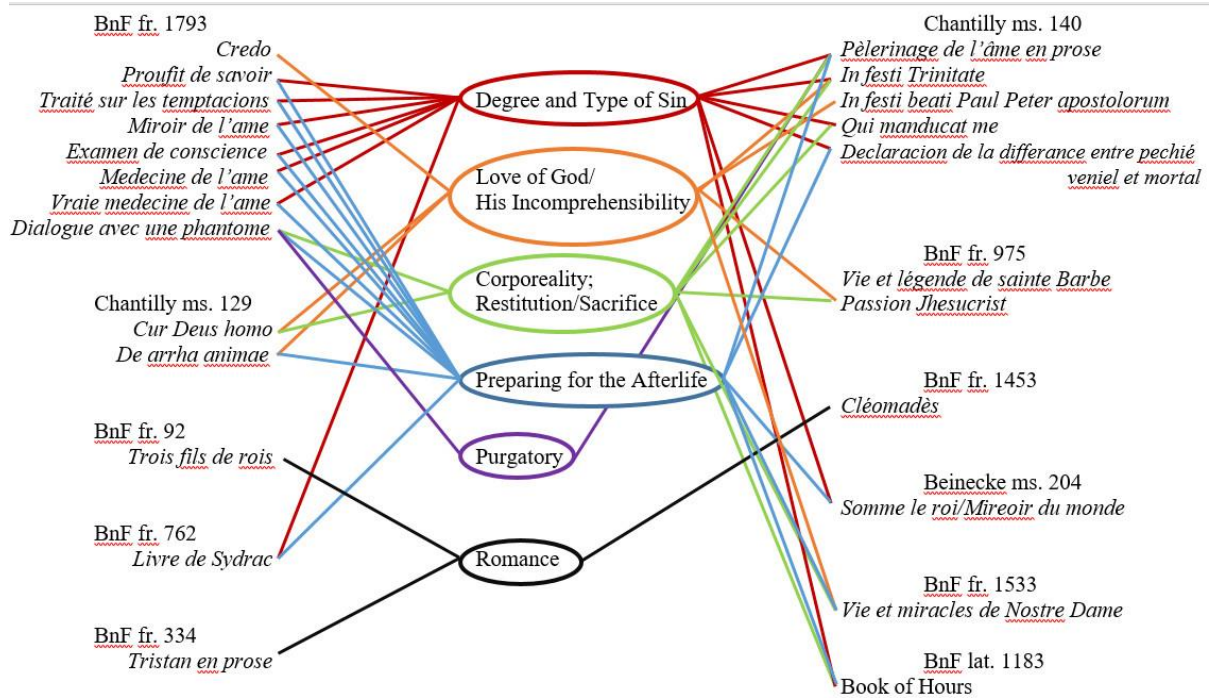


Fig. 35: Visual Representation of Themes Connecting Agnès de Bourgogne's Manuscripts

For instance, in Anselm’s *Pourquoi Dieu s’est fait homme*, posed as a dialogue between the student, Boson, and his teacher, Anselm, the first book clarifies that man could not have been saved without Christ, while the second treats the necessity of Christ’s humanity for the eventual salvation of man—both body and soul. These subjects appear as well in Digulleville’s *Pèlerinage de l’âme en prose*, the first of the five works contained in Chantilly ms. 140.⁴⁰ In short, the *Pèlerinage de l’âme* is the second half of the story begun in the *Pèlerinage de vie*

⁴⁰ As there exists no modern edition of the prose translation of this work, all transcriptions are my own; this transcription is posted at <https://mftranscriptions.wordpress.com>, with an anticipated completion date of June 2016. My editorial policies are explained on p. XVIII.

humaine. In the narrator's dream, the Pilgrim, having been found wanting by St. Michael's court, is sent to Purgatory, where, accompanied and guided by his guardian angel, he learns of the various punishments meted out to sinners and non-Christians and of the nature of Original Sin as he completes his penance before being welcomed to heaven, where he views with pleasure the marvelous company of the saints before awakening to write down his dream.⁴¹ A passage in the *Pèlerinage de l'âme* is devoted to a debate between two trees, one dry, the other verdant, over whether the green tree should return the apple it has so carefully nourished to the dry tree—an allegorized discussion of the nature of Christ's sacrifice for man's redemption, which concludes with Dame Justice citing a conversation between the members of the Trinity:

Certes, dist le Saint Esperit, bien raison est que celui soit proprement homme qui telle amande payera [...] Si fault que celui soit innocent et que pouoir ait aussi grant comme nous trois avons ensemble. Mais ne sçay ou nous le trouverons se l'un de nous ne devient homme [...] Certes, dist Dieu le Pere, je croy bien qu'il fault que l'un de nous compare ceste folie, ou que tous les hommes perissent.

(f. 59)

The attendant question in Anselm's text, as to whether the sacrifice was Christ's will or that of God the Father, which is to say, voluntary or required, is also figured in these Trinitarian voices in the *Pèlerinage de l'âme*.

Justice's decision that the apple must be given to the dry tree as restitution does not sit well with the verdant tree/Virgin Mary, however, who gives voice to protracted lamentations, crying out to God, the Holy Spirit, the angel Gabriel, her cousin Elizabeth, John the Baptist,

⁴¹ The dream framework evinces the extensive influence of the *Roman de la Rose*. Delacotte has also noted that numerous passages, particularly of the *Vie Humaine*, were heavily modeled on the *Rose* (Digulleville, *Trois Romans-Poèmes*, 36-37). The impact of the Divine Comedy is somewhat subtler, though as Delacotte remarks, "Si la topographie du Purgatoire des Pèlerinages est différente de celle de la Divine Comédie, il est singulier toutefois de trouver sous la plume des deux écrivains les mêmes expressions de sphères et de cercles pour désigner les diverses enceintes du Purgatoire et de l'Enfer. Quant aux souffrances elles-mêmes des coupables, si elles sont décrites différemment, elles se ressemblent en ce sens que les vices reçoivent toujours une punition adaptée à leur malice propre" (*ibid.*, 159n1). He finds it unlikely, however, that Digulleville knew Dante's works (*ibid.*, 265).

Simeon, Joseph... (f. 59-62). In the *Passion*, the 2nd work contained in BnF fr. 975, she raises similar complaints: “O ange Gabriel, ou est la salutacion de quoy tu me saluas quant tu me dis que je concepvoies cest enfant? Tu me diz que je estoie plaine de grace et je voy que je suys plaine de amertume et de desplaisance” (f. 139).⁴² The simile of the dry and verdant trees is also mentioned in the *Passion*, though only in passing (f. 129), while the general subject of the Passion and Crucifixion surfaces in other works, such as the illuminations in Agnès’ Book of Hours (BnF lat. 1183)⁴³ and the *Dialogue avec un fantôme* by Jean Gobi le Jeune, final text of BnF fr. 1793.⁴⁴ The ghost of Guy de Tournon, the titular phantom, explains to the friar questioning him that by thinking of the fine paid for man’s sins by Christ’s suffering during the Crucifixion, one is comforted on the occasion of death and while enduring the pains of Purgatory (f. 140-140v), a sequence that brings us back to the purgatorial focus of the *Pèlerinage de l’âme* as well. The question of Christ making restitution, since man cannot do so, is also raised in Anselm’s text, where the author asserts that man must give unto God what he owes (“Je croy que tu ne diras point Dieu devoir souffrir ce que injustement on seuffre, c’est assavoir que la creature ne rende a son createur ce qu’i lui doit et que il lui a osté” [f. 25v-26/184]). The repeated occurrence of these themes indicates Agnès’ concern with questions of penance in this life and the next.

⁴² Transcriptions mine. On the difficulties of identifying this text, see n. 84.

⁴³ Hans-Collas and Wijsman, “Le Livre d’heures,” Fig. 1, 3, 8, and 17.

⁴⁴ Titled in the manuscript, *Disputation entre l’esprit d’ung homme trespassé [Guy de Tournon] et ung pryeur des freres prescheurs*. This is the next work slated for transcription at <http://mftranscriptions.wordpress.com>. A modern French translation from the original Latin has been published as Jean Gobi le Jeune, *Dialogue avec un fantôme*, trans. Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994). Polo de Beaulieu notes that the version in BnF fr. 1793 follows the Latin, although often in a simplified fashion (*ibid.*, 166); she furthermore doubts the identity of Jean Gobi as the author of the extended version which forms the basis of our translation (*ibid.*, 12, 15). On Jean Gobi le Jeune, see Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, ed. *Éducation, prédication et cultures au Moyen Âge: Essais sur Jean Gobi le jeune d.1350* (Lyon: Centre interuniversitaire d’histoire et d’archéologie médiévales; Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1999).

The state of one's soul, how to know what type and degree of sin one has committed, and how best to begin the processes of penance in anticipation of the inevitable death of the body link the five works by Jean Gerson⁴⁵ found in BnF fr. 1793: *Le Profit de savoir quel est pechié mortel ou veniel* (f. 11-47v),⁴⁶ *Traité des diverses tentations de l'ennemi* (f. 48-77v),⁴⁷ *Le Miroir de l'ame* (f. 78-105),⁴⁸ *L'Examen de conscience* (f. 106-16),⁴⁹ and *La Medecine de l'ame* (f. 116v-21v).⁵⁰ The last text in that compendium, the *Dialogue avec un fantôme*, also reflects this theme of preparing for the death of the body. The question of degree and type of sin is raised in other works in Agnès' collection, including Guillaume de Vaurouillon's *Declaracion de la differance entre pechié mortel et veniel*, the last text in Chantilly ms. 140;⁵¹

⁴⁵ Jean Gerson (1363-1429) was a prominent theologian and prolific writer who took part in debates on events including the Papal Schism (resolved in 1417) and on problematic figures like Joan of Arc. For a brief but reasonably complete bibliography situating Gerson's extant works in the context of his life and the political goings-on at the time, see Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes: Introduction, texte et notes par Mgr Glorieux*, ed. Palemon Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris *et al.*: Desclée & Cie, 1960), I:105-39. See also *DLF*, 782-85. More recently, a collection of articles on Gerson has been published as Brian Patrick McGuire, ed. *A Companion to Jean Gerson* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006).

Despite his siding against Jean sans Peur, Agnès' father, in the matter of Jean's justification of Louis d'Orléans assassination in 1407 (Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, I:123-24, 127), Gerson's proto-feminist leanings and didactic preoccupations make his works an understandable, even expected, element in Agnès' library. Indeed, as demonstrated by Yelena Mazour-Matusevich in her article on Gerson's attitude toward women, Gerson exhibited a "souci sincère de la 'situation et dignité' des femmes" and found that "ce sont souvent les femmes plus que les hommes qui s'intéressent à la vie spirituelle" ("La Position de Jean Gerson (1363-1429) envers les femmes," *Le Moyen Âge* 112, no. 2 [2006]: 347-48). In spite of the undeniably misogynistic elements in his work as pointed out by scholars like Mazour-Matusevich (*ibid.*, 337) and Nancy McLoughlin, *Jean Gerson and Gender: Rhetoric and Politics in Fifteenth-Century France* (Houndmills, Basingstoke Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), Gerson's particular dedication to his sisters' general and spiritual education is well documented, as he wrote many letters in addition to a few longer works, in French, specifically for them. Of the items meant for Gerson's sisters, Glorieux lists Gerson's letters, his *Montagne de contemplation*, perhaps the *Onze ordonnances*, and his *Dialogue spirituel* (Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, I:110, 113, 115, 122). See also Brian Patrick McGuire, "Late Medieval Care and Control of Women: Jean Gerson and His Sisters," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 92 (1997): 5-37, and Wendy Love Anderson, "Gerson's Stance on Women," in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 293-315.

⁴⁶ Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, VIIa:370-89.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, VIIa:343-60.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, VIIa:193-206.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, VIIa:393-400. Missing from Agnès' manuscript (f. 113) is the line found on p. 398 that "Ce sont les cas reservez au souverain."

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, VIIa:404-07.

⁵¹ Probably Guillaume de Vaurouillon (1390/4-1463), a Franciscan born in Brittany, who, among other activities, studied in Paris and served as confessor to Jean V de Bretagne (Tokarski, "Guillaume de Vaurouillon," 55-62). My complete transcription of the work has been posted at <https://mftranscriptions.wordpress.com> (Nov. 29-Dec. 6, 2015).

the *Somme le roi/Mireoir du monde* (Beinecke ms. 204)—indeed, one of the alternate titles is *The Book of Vices and Virtues*—; and even in certain questions in her inherited medieval encyclopedia, the *Livre de Sidrac* (BnF fr. 762), betraying a profound concern on Agnès’ part for the afterlife of her soul (and perhaps those of others).⁵² Robert Ciboule’s treatise on Communion, *Qui manducat me*,⁵³ in Chantilly ms. 140, might have been prepared specifically for Agnès, as Nicole Marzac proposes,⁵⁴ given the attention devoted throughout to the trope of Christ-as-lamb, *aignel*, a common association with the name Agnès. Ciboule also allots significant space to the recommended state of the soul when taking Communion, but also focuses on Communion’s nourishment of the soul and the way that meat nourishes the body, an idea treated in the *Passion* in BnF fr. 975. Indeed, we find Agnès and St. Agnes depicted in the miniature of the Adoration of the Host in Agnès’ Book of Hours (Fig. 36).

Hugh of St. Victor’s *Soliloque*, the second text in Chantilly ms. 129, expands on the theme of preparing for the afterlife by reminding the reader that because all worldly things will pass away in time, one should move toward a more devout love of God. The difficulties that the Soul has understanding the infinite capabilities of God are also developed in another text, Jean Gerson’s sermon on the Trinity in Chantilly ms. 140, wherein Reason must bring the Soul

⁵² In addition to the early death in 1440 of her second son, Philippe, age 10, Agnès lost her first daughter, Marie, in 1448 at age 20, her husband Charles in 1456, and her daughter Isabelle in 1465, age 29, not to mention the older siblings, including Philippe le Bon, who died before her.

⁵³ Ciboule (1403-1458) was born in Breteuil, studied at the University in Paris, and was one of the diplomats first for the Université, then for Charles VII during the Papal Schism. Like Gerson, he wrote in both Latin and French (*DLF*, 1282-83). On this particular *traité*, see Nicole A. D. Marzac, “Le *Traité du saint sacrement de l’autel* par Robert Ciboule,” *Romania* 86 (1965): 360-74; pages 366-74 contain a transcription of the text, and it is to this article that page numbers, given parenthetically in the text, refer. For the text of the sermon, as opposed to the treatise, see Robert Ciboule, *Édition critique du sermon Qui manducat me de Robert Ciboule (1403-1458)*, ed. Nicole A. D. Marzac (Cambridge: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 1971).

⁵⁴ Marzac can find no more likely explanation for the treatise’s existence than that it “ait été prepare, prononcé et rédigé pour le bénéfice d’Agnès de Bourgogne” (“*Traité du saint sacrement*,” 365).



Fig. 36: BnF lat. 1183, Book of Hours, f. 55 detail, Adoration of the Host

to knowledge of God by explanation of what He is not,⁵⁵ while love of God figures centrally in Gerson's other sermon in the same manuscript, on Apostles Peter and Paul.⁵⁶ Thus, we find myriad religious and theological connections among the texts acquired by Agnès in the latter half of her life that explain why Philippe chose his sister as the recipient of his extra copy of Crapillet d'Annoire's translations.

Agnès' decision to transmit many if not all of these manuscripts to Jeanne, whose signature is found in BnF fr. 975 (Fig. 37), and whose secretary Chanteau seems to have been responsible for the inscription of several of Agnès' ex-libris,⁵⁷ accords with what we know of

⁵⁵ A modern edition of this sermon exists in Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, VIIb:1123-37. All transcriptions come from the Chantilly manuscript copy due to sometimes significant differences between Agnès' version and the edition.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, VIIb:720-39.

⁵⁷ This conclusion is based on a comparison of the signed inscription in BnF fr. 1165, *Le Livre de Melibee et Prudence*, f. 105, and the inscriptions in Agnès' books.

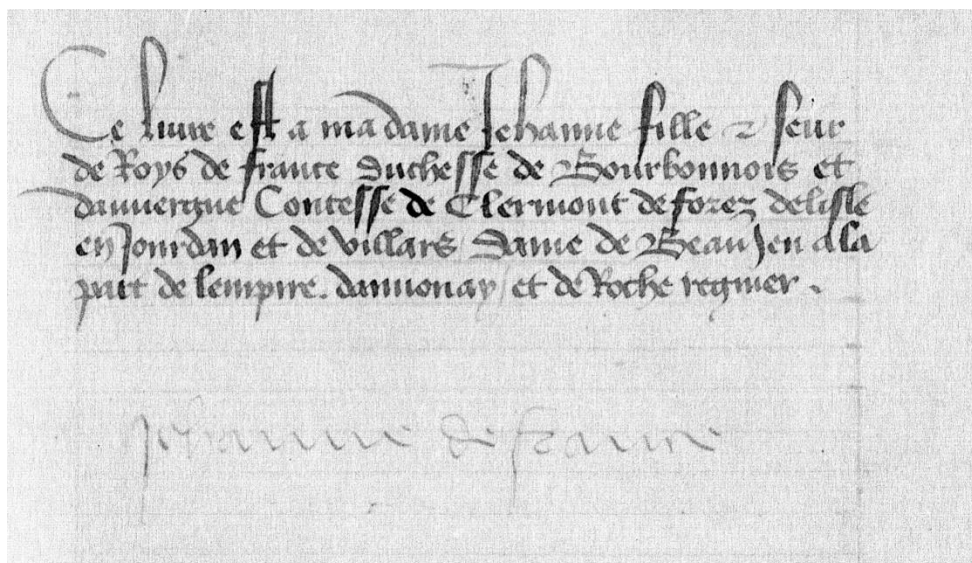


Fig. 37: BnF fr. 975, *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe; Passion Jhesucrist*, f. 149 detail
 “Ce livre est a madame Jehanne, fille et seur de roys de France, duchesse de Bourbonnois et d’Auvergne, contesse de Clermont, de Forez, de l’Isle en Jourdan et de Villars, dame de Beaujeu a la part de l’empire, d’Annonay et de Roche regnier. Jehanne de France”⁵⁸

Jeanne’s taste in devotional texts as well. Indeed, Jeanne is the dedicatee of *Le Deffenseur de l’Immaculée Conception de la glorieuse vierge Marie* (BnF fr. 989), a copy of Pierre Thome’s text as translated into French by Antoine de Levis, count of Villars; Jeanne also owned a *Vita Christi* (BnF fr. 29).⁵⁹ The Virgin’s insistence in Agnès’ *Passion* (BnF fr. 975) that “je l’ [Christ] ay eu, vierge conceu, vierge porté, vierge enfanté” (f. 98),⁶⁰ instantly speaks to the contents of Jeanne’s *Vita Christi* and *Deffenseur de l’Immaculée Conception*. Jeanne also inscribed her name in a copy of the *Aguillon d’amour divine* (BnF fr. 926) originally composed for Marie de Berry (Agnès’ mother-in-law, through whom the manuscript came into the ducal library of Bourbon), and Jeanne is the dedicatee of a *Gesine Nostre Dame* (BnF fr. 1866) as well as the commissioner of a copy of Gerson’s *Livre de mendicité spirituelle* (BnF fr. 1847).⁶¹ Finally, many of Jeanne’s books that had previously belonged to Agnès

⁵⁸ The contrast of this image has been increased so as to better visibility of both ex-libris and signature.

⁵⁹ Laffitte, “Les Ducs de Bourbon et leurs livres,” 177.

⁶⁰ See also ff. 135v, 139.

⁶¹ Gras, “Manuscrits enluminés,” 58 (*Gesine Nostre Dame*), 64-65 (*Mendicité spirituelle*).

subsequently passed to the ducal library and Anne de Beaujeu,⁶² presumably when she assumed the mantle of Duchess of Bourbon in 1488.⁶³ The transmission of these books to these duchesses of the House of Bourbon testifies to a sustained intellectual culture, linking them not only by marriage, but by shared devotional interests through Agnès' and then Jeanne's intention to impart spiritual teachings to their female heirs through their bequests.

Determining to what degree Agnès' daughters—Marie (1428-1448), Isabelle (1436-1465), Marguerite (1439-1483), Catherine (1440-1469), and Jeanne (1442-1493)—benefitted from these same sorts of intellectual exchanges with their mother is somewhat more difficult. Marie married Jean de Calabre in 1437, after Agnès had become duchess (in 1434) and thereby gained complete access to the library at Moulins but before we can confirm any of her book acquisitions. Isabelle was fostered at her uncle Philippe's court from a young age,⁶⁴ although she was likely a bibliophile and literary patron—several works were dedicated to her both pre- and post-mortem.⁶⁵ Marguerite, who married Philippe de Savoie in 1472, might have been under her mother's direct tutelage, as Leguai does not include her among the children fostered at the Burgundian court. Catherine and Jeanne travelled with Agnès to Burgundy in 1462⁶⁶—it is entirely possible that the three women read Agnès' newly-acquired *Trois fils de rois* and translations of the *Cur Deus homo* and *De arrha animae* together before Catherine's marriage to Adolphe d'Egmont in 1463⁶⁷ and Jeanne's to Jean de Chalon in 1467.⁶⁸

⁶² An Anne (possibly de Beaujeu?) appears to have written her name at the bottom of f. 350v in the BnF fr. 334 copy of *Tristan en prose* originally owned by Agnès', which Agnès perhaps inherited from her parents.

⁶³ For a biography, see Jean Cluzel, *Anne de France: Fille de Louis XI, duchesse de Bourbon* ([Paris]: Fayard, 2002).

⁶⁴ Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne," 154.

⁶⁵ Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 187-89.

⁶⁶ Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne," 156.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 156.

Agnès, Student and Teacher

At least five of Agnès' manuscripts—Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme* and the religious sermons and treatises (Chantilly ms. 140); Crapillet d'Annoire's translations of Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* and Hugh's *De arrha animae* (Chantilly ms. 129); Frère Laurent's *Somme le roi/Miroir du monde* (Beinecke ms. 204); the *Trois fils de rois* (BnF fr. 92); and Agnès' Book of Hours (BnF lat. 1183)—were acquired during the last fifteen (or so) years of her life, when she was in her mid-fifties and no longer bearing children. Her role instructing other women had not yet come to a close, however, as her two youngest daughters, Catherine, age 22, and Jeanne, age 20, both unmarried, accompanied her during her stay in Philippe le Bon's territory in 1462-1465.⁶⁹ Those manuscripts that were probably produced and acquired earlier were likely also put to use in the education of several of the youngest of Agnès' offspring; they include her inherited *Livre de Sidrac* (BnF fr. 762), *Cité des dames* (BnF fr. 24293), and *Epistre Othea* (BnF fr. 848), as well as the *Paradis de la reine Sibylle* (Chantilly ms 653), the *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe* and the *Passion* (BnF fr. 975), the collection of ascetic works (BnF fr. 1793), and perhaps the *Bible moralisée* (BnF fr. 167), not to mention the collection housed in the ducal library at Moulins.⁷⁰ An assessment of the gendered didactic modes—learning in the abstract, by experience, and by imitation—in Agnès' 15th-century codices will serve to demonstrate the pervasive nature of these pedagogic methods and nuance our understanding of their mutability over time.

BnF fr. 1793 (completed 1450-1475?; acquired 1450-1475?): Collection of Ascetic Works

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 156. She seems to have gone in response to Philippe falling ill (Marche, *Mémoires*, II:421).

⁷⁰ See Appendix B.

BnF fr. 1793 is perhaps the earliest of Agnès' acquisitions, as Gerson is the latest of the authors contained therein, and the latest of his works, the *Médecine de l'âme*, dates to c. 1403.⁷¹ Aside from Agnès' ex-libris in this manuscript, which provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1476, the codicological elements—the *batarde* script and marginalia—do not help narrow down time of production beyond (probably) the second half of the 15th century. Gerson's works do not open the manuscript, however; that honor goes to the French translation of the Credo “pour les gens lays” attributed by the manuscript to Jean Sarrasin (f. 6).⁷² The intended audience is clear: people who have not learned Latin, but who wish to participate fully and sincerely in the Catholic faith. Such a fundamental text is entirely based in the abstract, a simple recitation of Christian truths: “[je] croy en la personne du Saint Esprit et ainsi je croy la Trinité, Pere, Filz et Saint Esperit” (f. 6v), etc. It could certainly have served to explain the Credo to young children (or grandchildren?) who might be learning to recite it in Latin. The final text, the *Dialogue avec un fantôme*, takes a different approach to learning in the abstract as it attempts to convince the reader that she cannot and should not wish to learn exclusively from experience. The same is not true of all the other texts comprising this compendium, though, as Gerson's works depend heavily on promoting learning through a combination of experience and exemplarity.

Like the Credo, Gerson's *Profit de savoir quel est pechié mortel ou veniel* presumes an audience of good intentions but little formal education, as he offers “enseignemens en general par lesquelz on puet mieulx jugier des especiaux” (f. 11v-12/VIIa:370). Tellingly, the introduction to the treatise is centered in experience, immediately inviting affective reading

⁷¹ According to the table of contents in Glorieux's edition, the other four Gerson works date to 1400-1401 (Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, VIIa:XVI-XVIII).

⁷² Jean Sarrasin was chamberlain to Louis IX (*DLF*, 850). The passage devoted to Sarrasin makes no mention of his having authored a translation of the Credo, however.

(“Si est necessité de savoir quelz sont ces commandemens [...] Car autrement ou *nous* les trespassons legierement par ignorance ou en les voulant garder *nous* avons tousjours trop grande doutance de les trespasser [...] par quoy *nous* perdrions toute paix de conscience” [f. 11v/VIIa:370, my emphasis]),⁷³ while also acknowledging the limits of the written word as a means of communicating knowledge (“Si vuel que en ce que vous n’entendrez, vous enquerez diligemment” [f. 12/VIIa:370]). Likewise, to illustrate the distinction between mortal and venial sin, Gerson calls on the reader’s experience with laws laid down by the king (“Ainsi que vous veez que le roy fait aucuns commandemens sur paine de mort et de la teste, et autres sur paine temporelle comme d’argent ou de prison a temps” [f. 12v/VIIa:370]), while he illustrates greed by recalling the sort of behavior that “nous vëons entre les chiens” (f. 20v/VIIa:375). The concrete details and situations that Gerson presents—such as getting a new dress, or believing that one’s intelligence or strength is one’s own doing rather than God’s—to help the reader understand his various points are grounded in everyday experiences, and it is these that make up the bulk of his prescriptions in the *Profit de savoir*. Indeed, he warns of the everlasting presence of temptation as “nous le vëons aux yeulx chacun jour” (f. 42v/VIIa:387).

The function of imitation and exemplarity is complicated in Gerson’s work, as the distinction between *exempla* and experience is blurred. There are a few instances where Gerson offers clear *exempla in malo* in the form of specific models: the Pharisee and St. Peter (f. 17-17v/VIIa:373) regarding pride, false merchants lying about quality out of avarice (26v/VIIa:378), those who murmur jealously about what God has granted one person and not another (39v/VIIa:385) or individuals who, like St. Anthony, attempt to question God’s judgments (f. 40/VIIa:385). Gerson also mentions that one must correct a neighbor’s sins (“on

⁷³ On affective meditation in the Late Middle Ages, see Maureen Boulton, “Le Langage de la dévotion affective en moyen français,” *Le moyen français* 39/41 (1997): 53-63, and McNamer, *Affective Meditation*.

est tenu sur paine de pechié mortel corriger par bonnes parolles ou autrement son proisme” [f. 32v-33/VIIa:381]), but the subject of modelling good behavior for others is absent. The same is true of the allegorical *exemple* that comprises the end of his text, where God is represented by the French king, and the soul is symbolized by the French queen propositioned by the devil (a messenger from the English king), which includes in the various possibilities of how the queen might receive the English messenger both good and bad behavior to be imitated or rejected by the reader. Much of the time, however, Gerson is more inclined to present a list of actions to be avoided than to contextualize them within a specific person. Such a text, with easily visualized details, would be ideal for teaching a child of the age of reason but not yet an adolescent ready for more complex reasoning, such as Marguerite, Catherine, and Jeanne would have been in the 1450s.

The next work in the same manuscript, the *Traitié des diverses temptacions*, like the *Profit*, begins with the author inviting the reader to identify with him: “Pour nous humilier dessoubz la main de Dieu et pour congnoistre en general *nostre* grant ignorance ou chemin de verts et pour savoir *nostre* fragilité” (f. 48/VIIa:343; my emphasis). And again, Gerson presents experiences which the reader has likely lived through, like envying aspects of different lifestyles than her own (“Aucunesfoiz envoye en chacun estat consideracion des deffaulx qui sont en celluy [...] pour tresbuchier en impacience et monstre que autre estat ou autre maniere de vivre vouldroit mieulx a la personne” [f. 57v/VIIa:348]), and multiple types of risky behavior and its consequences so that “par ainsy veez vous que de humilité vient orgueil et de vertu pechié qui ne s’en garde” (f. 49v/VIIa:344).⁷⁴ Concrete explanations are also offered for

⁷⁴ Surprisingly, the negative examples remain very general throughout, even when, for instance, Gerson cautions against a person’s being “curieuse et ententive de tout oÿr et de tout regarder et de tout essayer” (f. 65), where we might expect him to evoke Dinah like his predecessors (see my Chapter 1, p. 28, 39-40, 59-60, and 67-68).

concepts initially presented as generalizations and abstractions, such as Gerson's advice that loving one's neighbor like oneself is to desire to do unto him as one would have done *within the limits of reason and justice*: "lui vouloir faire ce que raisonnablement et selon justice on voudroit qu'il luy fut fait en cas semblable. Pourquoy appert que je ne doy mie vouloir delivrer ung murdrier de mort ou de prison se je suis juge, combien que par aventure je voudroie bien ou cas semblable estre delivré, mais non mie selon raison" (f. 72v-73/VIIa:357). The end goal of each individual warning against pride is one of Christine de Pizan's favored virtues: discretion.

The question of teaching does arise, albeit in the unexpected context that it might lead to errors of pride and judgment: "Aucunesfoiz l'ennemy ennorte la creature a entreprendre haultz et tresfors ouvrages de vertus [...affin que] par vouloir bien enseigner les autres vient ung grant orgueil ou grant erreur ou excessive grevance" (f. 50/VIIa:344). Gerson also acknowledges the practice of modelling for others—or at least, that anything the reader does is seen by someone, as the devil might persuade her to perform certain actions publicly "non mie [...] pour ta loenge, mais pour monstrier bon exemple aux gens" (f. 67v/VIIa:354), tricking the reader into activity out of pride rather than charity or humility. He concludes, however, that "n'est rien qui tant enseigne [...] comme la grace de Dieu" (f. 77v/VIIa:360), a method of learning more abstract than any book.

A separate preface has been addended to Gerson's *Miroir de l'ame*, indicating its usefulness to "les jones escoliers soient filz ou filles qui doivent estre introduis des leurs enfances es poins generaulx de nostre religion" (f. 78/n.p.)—doubtless young pupils, such as Agnès' last four children, as the text clarifies that the work is also designed for "les peres et

meres pour leurs enfans” (f. 78v/n.p.).⁷⁵ The first three sections essentially comprise an expanded version of the Credo at the beginning of the manuscript, and are equally as dependent on learning in the abstract through outright memorization of the necessary facts, such as the seven sacraments. Gerson’s explanations of the Ten Commandments, which comprise the bulk of the work and offer much of the same information found in his *Profit*, again straddle the line between experience and exemplarity. For instance, people whose behavior breaks the First Commandment include “ceulx [...] qui se gettent en desespoir et souhaitent morir par impacience, ou qui en leurs maladies et necessitez recourent a sorciers ou sorcieres et devins en usant de pommes escriptes ou de brevez pendus ou de telles foles creances” because “il advient souvent que tribulacion et maladie, povreté ou guerre *nous* est plus prouffitable que trop grande prosperité” (f. 84v/VIIa:196; my emphasis). Those who despair and turn to witchcraft are in the wrong, Gerson reminds his reader—and potential tutor—, because *we* often benefit more from hardships than unending prosperity. And indeed, he makes it clear that his presentation of these ideas is fundamentally experiential, as the reader should take her new knowledge and “regarder comme a ung miroir petit de son ame et de sa vie et de la religion crestienne [...pour] vëoir ce qui est en soy bel ou lait. C’est a dire comment elle vit et s’elle garde les commandemens ou non” (f. 99v/VIIa:203). That is, the reader must identify in her own life the actions she has been counselled to undertake or avoid as described in this text. And, again as in the *Profit*, Gerson recognizes the limits of the written word: “Et qui n’entent bien tout, il en pourra enquerir a part aux bons et saiges et devotes personnes” (*ibid.*), the latter presumably including one’s parent-educators. Aside from this instance, however, abstract

⁷⁵ A certain level of literacy is expected amongst the populace, however, as the author insists that “telle doctrine en tout ou en partie [devrait être] escripte, publiee et atachee es paroisses et escoles et es religions et hospitaux par livres ou tableaux en lieux publiques” (f. 79).

literary learning of the type we have seen in other works (like those of Christine or Guillaume de Vaurouillon, below), such as explicit references to other authors and texts, is practically non-existent.

Although Gerson insists that children and all those under the reader's governance must be taught ("doit on enseigner ses filz et ses filles, serviteurs et autres que on a en gouvernement" [f. 88/VIIa:197]),⁷⁶ he offers no specific details of how—with one notable exception. When discussing sins of the flesh, Gerson clarifies that no more precise explanation than "inappropriate touching" ("atouchant soy ou autruy personne [...] par vilaine et honteuse plaisance") is necessary for what he terms "molesse ou polucion [...] afin que les oreilles chastes et les innocens ne soient mal edifiez et mal aprins" (f. 94v/VIIa:201). Evidently, he believes that children learn well by listening (little pitchers have always had big ears, he suggests). On a similar note, when elaborating on the dangers of lust, Gerson remarks that young innocents may be misguided "par mauvaise doctrine que pere ou mere ou servans ou chamberiers ou maistres baillent aux enfans qui sont nourriz entre eulx" (f. 95-95v/VIIa:201), implying that regardless of adults' intentions, young people learn from observing those around them,⁷⁷ reminding Agnès to surround her children with good examples.

Gerson's *Examen de conscience* complements his *Profit de savoir quel est pechié mortel ou veniel*, in that once one knows all the various types and degrees of sins, having read the latter text, one can put that knowledge to use in the service of properly confessing as

⁷⁶ The other instance of "enseigner" in the edition by Glorieux ("Si vueille chescun enhorter et enseigner aultruy a bien faire" [VIIa:206]) is "conseiller" in Agnès' copy ("Si vueille chacun ennorter et conseilier autruy a bien faire" [f. 102v]). While the two are related, as *conseiller* can mean "indiquer qqc. (à qqn) qu'il devrait faire," I believe it to be less authoritative than *enseigner* in this context (*DMF* <http://atilf.atilf.fr/gsouvey/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEM=conseiller2;ISIS=isis_dmf2010.txt;OUVRIR_MENU=2;s=s0d282f58;AFFICHAGE=0;MENU=menu_dmf;;XMODE=STELLA;FERMER;;> [consulted May 28, 2016]).

⁷⁷ Likewise, he elsewhere insists that people must "fuir estre cause de autruy faire pecher par mauvaiz conseil ou exemple [...] et en especial jeunes gens" (f. 102/VIIa:205; my emphasis).

directed by the former. Again, Gerson combines the experiential and the exemplary through his use of the familiar second person address in encouraging the reader (or her children, if read directly to them) to examine her (their) own actions and attempt to avoid any future missteps: “Tu demanderas dont du pechié d’orgueil a toy mesmes si tu as quis vaine loenge et excellence de toy mesmes ou pour les biens de fortune comme richesses, possessions, or et argent,” etc., etc. (f. 106v/VIIa:394). The issue of modelling both properly and improperly for others is, once again, brought up as Gerson tells the sinner to recall “se tu as fait aucune chose pour estre loé du monde [...] plus que pour eschiver que tu donnasses mauvaiz exemple aux autres” (*ibid.*). Especially in conjunction with the pitfalls of pride outlined in the *Temptacions*, this citation indicates that Gerson deliberately chooses not to engage with exemplarity in the fashion that Christine did because the risks of imitating negative models are greater than the rewards of following positive examples.

Gerson’s final text in this compendium, the *Medecine de l’ame*, is also an odd mélange of experiential and imitation teachings, as most of it is comprised of “scripts” for the reader to use when counselling an ailing companion. For example, one begins, “Mon amy ou amie, ainse que tu as fait plusieurs pechiez en ta vie par lesquelz tu as deservy estre puny, si doiz bien prendre la paine de ta maladie [...] en bonne pacience en priant Dieu que tout soit tourné en la purgacion de ton ame” (f. 117/VIIa:405). The reader is likely intended to put these suggestions into practice on herself as much as to encourage whomever she is consoling to concentrate on their lived experiences. She is also taught that, if time allows, she might read to her suffering companion prayers or “hystoires” (probably saints’ lives) that have historically brought the

dying person to greater devotion. This text might have served Agnès in consoling her husband Charles, who grew increasingly ill before his death in 1456.⁷⁸

Like Gerson's *Medecine de l'ame*, the subsequent text, Jean de Varennes' brief treatise, *Une vraye medecine a l'ame en l'article de la mort* (f. 122-124v),⁷⁹ presents instructions on aiding a dying person by ensuring that their spiritual affairs are in order. And, like Gerson's, Varennes' instructions are predicated on a combination of experience and exemplarity; abstract ideas nevertheless play their part, since his directives concern the same articles of faith as in the Credo that opens the entire compendium. Varennes exhorts the reader to believe firmly in the articles outlined in questions in the body of the text, offering a kind of catechism. The text begins with a series of generalized, impersonal constructions (e.g. "il ne souffist point de croire en son cuer la foy catholique qui autrement de bouche la puet exprimer" [f. 122]). In other words, Varennes lists actions that he expects the reader to later imitate and implement and perhaps to teach others. Upon arriving at the "script" for counselling the dying person, Varennes switches to the more personal and experiential *tu* ("Treschier frere, as tu en ton cuer..." [f. 123]), just as we saw in the Gerson text immediately preceding this one.

Jean Gobi le Jeune's *Dialogue avec un fantôme*, the final text in BnF fr. 1793, begins by privileging the book as the preferred source of knowledge before conceding the necessity of experience:

Toutes choses qui sont escriptes sont a nostre doctrine afin que par la vertu de pacience et de consolacion des Saintes Escriptions nous ayons vraye et seure esperance en Nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist. Ce vueillant Dieu Nostre Createur comme de toutes choses secretes et obscures pour plus grant certaineté et

⁷⁸ Leguai, "Agnès de Bourgogne," 154, 156.

⁷⁹ Jean de Varennes was a French preacher of the second half of the 14th century. See Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 90-91, and André Vauchez, "Un Réformateur religieux dans la France de Charles VI: Jean de Varennes (d. 1396?)," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 4* (1998): 1111-28. Transcriptions are mine.

apparence de la vie future sa sainte foy efforcier et essaucier plus seurement entre les crestiens, voutl et daigna par sa sainte, incomparable et ineffable disposicion *tel miracle demonstrer*.

(f. 126v; my emphasis)

Gobi references St. Paul on the value of the written word for the faithful, but undermines its authority through God's recognition that *secret and obscure things* must sometimes be *shown* to be understood. Indeed, much of his *Dialogue* can be read as the tension between knowing in these two different manners. For instance, to assure the crowd interrogating him that he is good, the phantom (the ghost of Guy de Tournon) explains, "je suis ung bon esprit pour tant que je suis creature de Dieu, et que toute creature en tant qu'elle est creature de Dieu est bonne" (f. 130v). But when the spirit continues, "mais tant que au regard de la paine dure et griefve que je sueffre, je suis maintenant mauvais," the friar leading the questioning insists that because all suffering imposed by God is good, the spirit's experience of the pain of Purgatory as bad cannot be objectively true (f. 131). In a similar fashion, when the spirit claims that he cannot testify as to the status of other inhabitants of Heaven and Purgatory, having not yet earned access to the latter, the friar accuses him of lying "car la Sainte Escripature nous dit et tesmoingne" to the contrary (f. 135).⁸⁰

This is not to imply that Guy de Tournon's ghost is unlettered. In fact, he demonstrates his familiarity with clerical practices and ideas about authority on multiple occasions. For instance, he advises the friar that, in order to prevent any demonic impediments to Church services, priests can begin their masses with "ceste devote oroison qui se commence, *Summe sacerdos*, que monseigneur saint Jerosme fit et composa" (f. 153). He also argues with the friar about which prayers most benefit the souls of the dead, where the relative holiness (and thus, authority) of a prayer's author is pitted against the prayer's intended use, such that the Seven

⁸⁰ Nor does the friar appear to have believed him, since the spirit is obligated to repeat himself on f. 147v.

Penitential Psalms and the Litany are deemed more effective than the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria (f. 148v). Yet, it is the spirit whose answers are consistently born out as truth, so that the reader is left understanding that experience trumps knowledge acquired from books. Agnès (and her children) would also have been reassured of the benefits of their prayers for the souls of the dead.

Learning by imitation seems, initially, to receive little attention in this text. Certain actions of the characters can be read as providing a model of what to do should the reader ever find herself in a comparable position. For instance, the men who go to interrogate the spirit prepare themselves by being “devotement confessez et repentans de leurs pechiez” (f. 128). Elsewhere, the friar asks that the spirit reveal the sin for which he and his wife suffer punishment “affin que les autres en puissent estre pourveus et qu’ilz s’en puissent garder” (f. 155); although the spirit refuses, he insists that “pour certain, affin que aucuns soient pourveus du peril ou ilz sont, Dieu a permis et volu que j’aye parlé a toy” (f. 156). Over the course of the text, it becomes clear that the entire *Dialogue*, and especially the experiences of the spirit of Guy de Tournon, are meant to inspire the reader to action, as the author thanks God “qui par sa grace nous a voulu monstrer et manifester ce miracle [...] a nostre edificacion” (f. 164v-165).

The *Dialogue* differs substantially from the other texts in the compendium, in that while experience plays a major role and is vaunted over books for the acquisition of knowledge, the reader’s own experiences are not presumed as the point of departure. Indeed, the *Dialogue* purports to help the reader *avoid* Guy de Tournon’s experiences, whereas Gerson’s treatises constantly encourage the reader to ask herself (or ask those she might be teaching), “Have you committed this or that sin? What actions of these listed have you performed?” The compilation

thus discourages attempts at generalization regarding implementation of the methods of learning: while all three modes are undeniably critical, they are only clearly distinguishable in the *Dialogue*, a 14th-century composition, whereas in the 15th-century exhortatory works by Gerson, the line between experience and imitation all but disappears, suggesting that education—for people in all stages of life—should involve both dimensions of learning.

BnF fr. 975 (completed and acquired post-1445?): The *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe* and Christ's *Passion*

Containing a long prose *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe*⁸¹ and an even longer rendering of Christ's *Passion*, BnF fr. 975 immediately differentiates itself from the rest of Agnès' collection as this is the only saint's life found in her personal library, even as elements of the *Passion* narrative in her other manuscript books—the *Pèlerinage de l'âme* (Chantilly ms. 140), her Book of Hours (BnF lat. 1183)—establish clear links to this version. Furthermore, genre, rather than gender, seems to be the organizing principle behind the implementation of learning in the abstract, by experience, or by imitation in this anthology. That is, much information about the holy person in question is offered abstractly and explained abstractly. The affective components that invite imitation make up the rest of the lessons for both men and women, and experience goes essentially ignored. The *Vie*, accompanying miracles, and substantial portions of the *Passion* are engaging stories—it is easy to envision Agnès pausing to explain the lessons of the texts to her children as they listen to them read aloud.

The *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe* commences with an etymology of Barbara's name before moving on to her story: after the death of her mother (whose lineage is clearly

⁸¹ St. Barbara's vernacular literary history in the West seems more firmly situated in mystery plays than in other genres (Harry F. Williams, "Old French Lives of Saint Barbara," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119, no. 2 [1975]: 156, and *DLF*, 1352-53). Williams' article contains an edition of Barbara's *Life* transcribed from this manuscript ("Saint Barbara," 166-83); parenthetical in-text references refer to this edition.

Christian), Barbara is given over by her father to the study of the seven liberal arts, in which she excels to the point of finding the Truth (Christianity) and disputing with pagan philosophers, much like St. Catherine of Alexandria. After being locked in a tower for her own protection, destroying her father's idols, and enduring a variety of tortures, she is eventually beheaded by her father for her refusal to renounce Christianity. The second half of the work (f. 15v-25) is devoted to her various miracles.

This format echoes that of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, which is unsurprising, as Harry F. Williams claims that the author essentially translated Jacobus's 13th-century work "in the usual medieval manner."⁸² Knowing that Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* is our source material significantly impacts the didactic modes that surface in this text, as Jacobus' collection of saints' lives was intended as an aid to fellow preachers, not lay people.⁸³ Expectations of a more masculine and abstract educational model are borne out, at least in the etymology of the saint's name:

Barbara, selon autres expositions, vault autant a dire comme fille du pur froment. Duquel froment parle saint Jehan evangeliste disant: *Nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit; ipsum solum manet. C'est a dire que: si le grain du pur froment cheant sur terre n'est mortifié, il ne peut nullement fructifier ne multiplier. Auquel grain est signifié Jhesu Crist et duquel grain est fille, et fille et espouse, madame sainte Barbe. Dont dit mon seigneur saint Augustin, declarant les parolles dessus dictes de nostre sauveur Jhesu Crist, dist qu'Il estoit le grain qui devoit estre mortifié et vivifié: mortifié en la desloyaulté des Juifz felons et vivifié en la foy des bons Crestiens.*
(166)

The straightforward translation of St. John is followed not by direct explanation, but by metaphor and allegory.

⁸² "Saint Barbara," 158. On the other hand, although a version of her life and miracles appears in the *Legenda aurea* (1261-1266), it does not seem to have been included in Jean de Vignay's popular French translation, the *Légende dorée* (1333-1348) (*ibid.*, 156, and Voragine, *Légende dorée*, I-VII).

⁸³ Martha Easton, "The Making of the Huntington Library *Legenda Aurea* and the Meaning of Martyrdom" (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 2001), 21.

Diverging from predominantly female methods of education, however, St. Barbara herself learned by reading and shared her knowledge in a fashion equally free of experience and imitation: young and motherless, she “fu baillee de par son pere a l’estude des sept ars liberaulx ou estudioit diligenment” (167), and in the initial stages of her conversion, she started arguing with pagan philosophers “par vraies raisons et proposicions sillogistiques” (*ibid.*). Furthermore, in response to a letter from Barbara requesting instruction about the Christian God, Origen’s information on the nature of God and the Trinity is equally divorced from the experiential, and he sends texts (Gospels and Psalms) for her to consult at will. There is no mistaking that St. Barbara is unlike other women and that her experiences, from visions to torture to miraculous healing, are essentially beyond imitation by the female reader—indeed, the only aspect of Barbara that laywomen can hope to replicate is the steadfast nature of her faith.

In the miracles ascribed to the saint, on the other hand, we find models in the form of humble and not-so-humble petitioners—the particularly devoted knight whose yearly fasts on Barbara’s feast-day saved him from dying unconfessed (177); the sinful wretch who nonetheless served the saint as best he could “d’aucunes devotes oroisons selon son petit entendement” (*ibid.*) and was sustained through numerous tortures so that he could confess before death; the monk saved from drowning thanks to his constant prayers to Barbara (178)—as well as the occasional example *in malo*, like the merchants who were drowned at sea for not observing the Sabbath (179). Agnès’ children had already lost a 10-year-old brother in 1440, and life was full of unexpected injuries and ailments. Agnès might have used these stories as both cautionary tale and reassurance of the power of the saints to intervene if invited to do so by constant, humble service.

The *Passion*⁸⁴ that comprises the rest of BnF fr. 975 provides an unusual combination of the academic and the affective, as it relies on a blend of abstract and imitative methods of knowledge acquisition. The text consists of a relatively regular alternation between the actual events leading up to the Passion and the Passion itself, labelled *Texte*; an exegesis or other commentary by Church Fathers and scholars,⁸⁵ headed by said commentator's name; Old Testament prefigurations of people or episodes in the New Testament, labelled *Figure*; questions concerning details of the Passion, labelled *Question*; allegorical explanations of events that often lead to citations of Church authorities, generally labelled *Moralité*; and exemplary tales that complement the commentaries of scholars, labelled either *Exemple* or *histoire*.

These *exemples* are critical to the text's teaching function, as they clearly designate models and who, in particular, should be imitating said models. For instance, Christ's judgment in the case of the adulteress brought before him by the Pharisees reminds judges that they must take the time necessary to deliberate carefully, show compassion, and deliver righteous justice (f. 36-36v). Moses demonstrates humility from a position of power, a virtue toward which all who oversee others should strive:

Exemple [de humilité garder avecques honneur mondaine] nous en avons [...] ou nous lisons que non obstant que Moïse fust institué de Dieu prince et ducteur du peuple de Israel, toutesvoyes il pria Ahap le filz de Raguel moult humblement [...] Selon verité, par Moïse est entendu quelque creature qui a autrui a gouverner soit temporellement ou espirituellement, laquelle pour celle cause est en honneur et en dignité, elle ne doit pas estre si orgueilleuse que par son ymaginacion elle vueillent tout gouverner.

⁸⁴ It is possible that this is a French translation or redaction of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, but I have yet to confirm the text's identity beyond simply being a Passion text. This is not surprising, given Boulton's findings that "il est difficile, à cause de la multiplicité de versions, de calculer exactement cette production [de 'vies du Christ'], mais je compte actuellement vingt-six textes distincts [...] Malgré que le chiffre soit approximatif, je trouve ces récits conservés en 290 manuscrits" ("Le Langage de la dévotion," 53). The date of composition of this version is equally unclear, though the other two copies of the text that I know of were transcribed in the 15th century, with one dated 1477 (BnF fr. 968).

⁸⁵ These range from Ovid, Virgil, Aristotle, and Cato to Philippe de Vitry (d. 1361) as the most contemporary.

(f. 55)

Such advice was pertinent to Agnès' children, who would go on to occupy temporal and spiritual positions of power.⁸⁶

Exemplary women show up occasionally, too, though typically with regards to domestic and private—though not necessarily passive—aspects of life. Sarah, who in the works treated in Chapters 1 and 2 embodied such values as chastity, obedience, humility, and a preference for seclusion,⁸⁷ here demonstrates a mother's justified concern for her child's religious education and the influence of peers in her decision to insist that Abraham expel Hagar from their household (f. 32). Sarah has not left the home, but determinedly acts to protect Isaac. Furthermore, the author reads her allegorically as Mother Church expelling the Jews (Hagar and Ishmael) for their erroneous beliefs, imputing substantial importance to women for their role in properly raising their children and thereby protecting the Church.

Judith, earlier a representative of many qualities including chaste widowhood, the violent antithesis of lust, demure adornment, and unwavering faith,⁸⁸ demonstrates the power of prayer by a truly pure and chaste creature, when her words first convince the lords of Bethulia not to turn the city over to Holofernes and later grant her victory over him. The author forebears to mention the intermediary actions of seduction and decapitation, as Judith here “vault autant a dire comme glorifiant ou confesseant [...] devote creature qui en tous temps glorifie et loue Dieu son Createur [...] Ou se par aucun pechié elle la courrouce, humblement le veult recongnoistre” (f. 65). While the admonition that the person who would hold the city of Betulie (the body) against Holofernes (sin) must constantly abstain from physical pleasures

⁸⁶ Her sons Charles and Louis became archbishop of Lyon and bishop of Liège, respectively.

⁸⁷ My Chapter 1, p. 38-39, 58, 66-67; Chapter 2, p. 121.

⁸⁸ My Chapter 1, p. 39, 58-59, 67; Chapter 2, p. 121-22.

like food and be sequestered in prayer could be directed at both sexes, the repetition of “la creature” (f. 65v) to signify the recipient of this advice in conjunction with the repeated appellation of “creature” for Judith may well imply that this model is particularly meant for imitation by women, including Agnès’ daughters Marguerite, Catherine, and Jeanne.

While St. Jerome and Christine de Pizan referenced Mary Magdalene as demonstrative of the contemplative life, she also embodied contrition and faith for earlier medieval authors.⁸⁹ Here, she serves only one function—to figure the contemplative life—for a broader audience. The *Passion* first explains that on the way to Bethany, John followed Christ closely and Peter a little further off, as those who choose “la vie contemplative [...] sont pres de Dieu, les autres qui sont un petit plus eslongnez pourtant qu’ilz sont occupés es choses mondaines et terriennes” (f. 99). And indeed, we find in the subsequent citation from St. Bernard that Mary Magdalene “se repositoit aux piez de Jhesucrist” while Martha “s’entremectoit des besongnes de l’ostel” (f. 99v). Mary Magdalene and Martha are thus mentioned in such a way as to establish an equivalency between them and Apostles Peter and John and invite both sexes to imitate the sisters’ contemplative or active life.⁹⁰

The Virgin Mary, on the other hand, seems to invite affective and imitative reading particularly by mothers, although her perfect virginity and humility also receive frequent attention.⁹¹ Such physicality, especially the emphasis on the milk, blood, and flesh that Mary contributed to Christ’s formation (“tu veez ycy le ventre qui t’a porté. Voyez cy les mammelles qui te ont alaicté” [f. 38v]), contrasts starkly with her representation in earlier didactic texts, where such details go entirely unmentioned; even her maternity in Christine’s *Livre de la cité*

⁸⁹ My Chapter 1, p. 27, 55-56, 66; Chapter 2, p. 117-18.

⁹⁰ Constable confirms that the sisters served as models for men as well as women (*Three Studies*, 4).

⁹¹ As they did in the works analyzed earlier. See my Chapter 1, p. 28, 37-38, 56-58, 66; Chapter 2, p. 119-21.

des dames omits these visceral aspects. It is difficult to know how to read Mary's response to the Crucifixion, however, as the overwhelming wholeness of her love for her son ("nulle plaisance mon cuer ne povoit avoir si n'estoit en sa presence, ne nulle desplaisance si ce n'estoit de son absence [...] pancer a lui estoit la parfaicte joye de mon cuer, parler de lui estoit tout mon solas [...] [f. 135v]) may surpass the sort of love that any person is encouraged to have for any other. As Gerson states in the *Miroir de l'ame* in BnF fr. 1793, "a ce [premier] commandement est souvent contraire l'onneur qu'on baille aux seigneurs pour flaterie et mauvaise fin, et aussy toute faintise et ypocrisie pour avoir la vaine loenge du monde ou pour autruy decevoir, et aussi trop aimer ses enfans" (85v/VIIa:196). It could be, then, that this passage implicitly encourages female readers and listeners to recognize in it the sort of love they have for their children and turn it to Christ as well or instead—especially when Mary laments the impending loss of her child (f. 136), which event would be all too likely a concern in the 15th century.⁹² Indeed, many of the passages devoted to Mary's complaints focus on the issue of her having carried and given birth to Christ and the injustice of her child's death. This is almost certainly an invitation to the reader-listener to engage in deeper reflection on the physical and emotional relationships between mother and child as well as on the humanity of Christ, just as the invocation of the five senses as part of Christ's suffering on f. 143 invites physical identification with the events contained in the text.⁹³

⁹² Youngs writes, "estimates from written records suggest an infant mortality rate (infant usually meaning the under-sevens) in the region of twenty to thirty per cent [...] Higher standards of living and better access to nursing care may have saved some children, but the wealthy were not immune to infant deaths" (*Life Cycle in Western Europe*, 24). And in fact, Agnès lost at least one child, Philippe, at the age of 10 (cf. n. 52). As concerns the emotional ties between mother and child in the Middle Ages, Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh provide an excellent list of sources countering the previously common conception put forth by Philippe Ariès that "medieval mothers and fathers deliberately sought to avoid affective ties" to their children ("Introduction: Early Modern Children as Subjects: Gender Matters," in *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood*, ed. Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh [Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011], 3-7).

⁹³ Although this text does not contain explicit invitations like those found in the *Meditatione vitae Christi* to "imagine what pain that was" that Christ endured (McNameer, *Affective Meditation*, 110), the descriptions of

Nor are biblical figures the only models available—the author also recognizes the social nature of exemplarity in a quote of Augustine on deciding between public and private correction based on where the sin took place: “les pechez qui sont faiz en publicque on le doit corriger publiquement, ad ce que ceulx qui avoient prins mauvais exemple en son pechié puissent prendre bon exemple en sa corre[x]ion” (f. 53v). Elsewhere, we are warned of the possibility of scandal as a direct result of “cellui ou celle [...] qui par son pechié et son mauvais exemple ou par sa mauvaise parole donne a aultruy occasion de faire mal” (f. 94v)—warnings pertinent to aristocratic children being raised for a life in the public eye.

An equally preponderant portion of the *Passion* is given over to the almost recursive references that comprise learning in the abstract, such as when the author asserts that he will prove the voluntary nature of Christ’s sacrifice (“par le texte du Saint Evvangile. Nous devons savoir que selon ce que Adrian le pape escript a Charlemaigne un roy de France et le racompte en Sebins...” [f. 28]), or explains the mystical properties of the transubstantiated host by a citation of Ambrose on God’s ability to create as He wills (f. 50v-51). Learning from experience, on the contrary, plays almost no part—the only instances of “nous vëons” refer to texts that are to be read.

The two saintly narratives in BnF fr. 975 conform to expectation in that we can distinguish at least two of the gendered modes in the texts, unlike the combination of experience and imitation that characterizes Gerson’s early 15th-century treatises in BnF fr. 1793. There is, likewise, a clear association between mysterious items of faith and the abstract method of knowledge transmission that typify issues discussed in the two saints’ lives. That learning by experience should be all but absent from them can perhaps be explained by St.

events (like Christ’s shoulder being wrenched out of the socket) and direct dialogue are obviously meant to evoke an emotional response from the reader.

Barbara's virginal (sexless) state⁹⁴ in the *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe* and the focus on Christ as ultimate answer and behavioral model in the *Passion*—because what would Christ need to learn by experience? And what could experience teach the medieval reader—Agnès and her children, Jeanne de France—that Christ cannot?

Chantilly ms. 140 (completed and acquired post-1456?): Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme en prose*, two sermons by Jean Gerson, a sermon by Robert Ciboule, and Guillaume de Vaurouillon's *Declaracion de la differance entre pechié mortel et veniel*

We find a high degree of overlap in terms of authors and subjects of the five texts in Chantilly ms. 140 and those in the compendium containing Gerson's five treatises (BnF fr. 1793), but relatively little with the *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe* and *Passion* just examined in BnF fr. 975 except as concerns the importance of various articles of faith. In terms of didactic modes, Gerson's two sermons in this manuscript mirror the combination of exemplarity and imitation found in his works in BnF fr. 1793, as does the treatise on Communion by Robert Ciboule. However, the compositions that bookend these works, Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme en prose* at the beginning, and especially the last, Guillaume de Vaurouillon's *Declaracion de la differance entre pechié mortel et veniel*, maintain clearer distinctions among the three modes of learning. Moreover, they demonstrate the expectation on the part of the authors that women can learn other than primarily by experience.

The narrator of the *Pèlerinage de l'âme en prose*, in recounting the dream Pilgrim's progress from judgment in St. Michael's court to the fires of Purgatory to the lowest of the heavens, presents primarily an *exemplum in malo*. It becomes clear, over the course of the

⁹⁴ Cf. Bloch's claim that rigorously-guarded virginity allowed women the possibility of overcoming their sex (in my Chapter 2, n. 79).

narrative, that the Pilgrim indulged in all of the mortal sins and did insufficient penance, for which he suffers so extensively that language is incapable of expressing his anguish: “Doulx Dieu Jhesus! Qui penseroit ne qui croiroit les peines que je y [en purgatoire] souffri [...] aux autres dire ne le auroit langue ne escrivain escrire” (f. 31-31v). It becomes equally clear that the Pilgrim is quite well read,⁹⁵ but that this abstract knowledge has not taught him effectively, as he has not lived as he should, even though he made an occasional effort to set a good example to others (“si [s]’est retrait d’aucun mal [...] affin que aucun ne print exemple d’erreur” [f. 20v]).⁹⁶ The lesson for the reader, as was the case in Gobi le Jeune’s *Dialogue*, is that she should make every effort to learn these lessons *without* the benefit of experience, lest she suffer as the Pilgrim does. The gruesome details of the punishments—liars and perjurers are hung from gallows by their tongues, for example—would have given even Agnès’ teenage children pause.

We find ample proof that the Pilgrim learns insufficiently *except* by experience—and the corresponding implication that the reader of the *Pèlerinage* must make an effort to do better. For instance, the Pilgrim fears that he will have no advocate in court “pour ce que quant je abandoyé de biens du monde, je n’avoie riens donné et *si n’avoie pas acompli ce qui est escript ou v^e chappitre de Job*, que on se doit convertir et tourner par devers aucun saint affin

⁹⁵ Specific references, with and without precise chapter and book information, include Job, Jerome, John the Apostle, Matthew, Aristotle, Ezekiel, the book of Genesis, Daniel, St. Bernard, Paul, Augustine, Constantine, the book of Judges, Revelations, the Song of Songs, Isidore of Seville, David, Ptolemy, and Ecclesiastes. Duval provides a list of the various scholars referenced in “La Mise en prose du *Pèlerinage*,” 426.

⁹⁶ Additional instances reiterating the ubiquitous understanding that everyone modelled positive and negative behavior for whoever might be watching are found throughout the text. For instance, the Pilgrim’s former neighbor explains, “ja soit ce que je fusse exemple a tous de mauvaise vie” (f. 39v); the king Cambyses “fist escorcher devant lui ung juge qui avoit faulusement jugé et fist la pel estandre sur la charre ou les juges s’esoient en faisant jugement, afin que leur souvenir de sentencier justement et que la preissent exemple” (f. 49-49v); Nebuchadnezzar built his dream statue “affin que empereurs, roys et princes ayans gouvernemens y preissent exemple pour bien faire” (f. 68) and had that of the good knight created “affin aussi que chacun roy qui par cy passeroit print exemple de soy bien gouverner et garder de faulx conseil” (f. 79v). Even the birds singing God’s praises are exemplary (f. 80)!

que en temps et ou lieu il soit bon advocat” (f. 10v; my emphasis). Elsewhere Dame Doctrine loses patience with his questions: “Je te respondray, dist elle, mais il convient que tu mettes peine de moy entendre!” (f. 66v). On another occasion, the Guardian Angel chastises the Pilgrim because “combien que Grace Dieu ou temps passé t’enseignant bien et sermonnant, toutesfois elle [Grace Dieu] te vit si tanné et remis de l’ouïr qu’elle se veult cesser de toy sermonner” (f. 64v)—the Pilgrim was so heedless of aural instruction (which might or might not have appealed to imitation) that even Grace Dieu wanted to give up on teaching him! With several adolescent children, Agnès might well have shared Grace Dieu’s exasperation.

In statements by the Pilgrim and others, we see the author’s understanding that learning occurs in more than one way, although the categories of knowledge acquisition seem to be hearing, seeing, reading, which are clustered under the rubric of *science*, and experience, rather than learning in the abstract, by experience, and by imitation. For instance, on more than one occasion, the Pilgrim affirms, “jamais n’eusse creu telles choses comme j’ay cy dessus recitees se je ne les eusse vëues” (f. 5v).⁹⁷ Likewise, multiple characters distinguish between different methods of learning, as when the Pilgrim prays desperately for an advocate since “experience et science me defaillent” (f. 10v), indicating his understanding of the two as distinct types of knowledge, or when, in St. Michael’s court, Justice summarizes her case against the Pilgrim’s soul by claiming that “il a veu, leu et sceu comme il se devoit gouverner” (f. 19). He saw, he read, he learned—two different methods to arrive at the concluding verb of *knowing how*. Elsewhere, the Guardian Angel insists to the Pilgrim: “Regarder ung peu paradis et considerer entour toy, et quand tu auras ce fait, tu entendras mieulx ce que je te diray” (f. 92v)—look

⁹⁷ Indeed, this idea resurfaces at the end of the *Pèlerinage* when the Guardian Angel remarks, not incorrectly, that “riens n’en croiroit l’entendement humain s’il ne le vëoit a l’ueil” (f. 94v), which is why humans have such trouble understanding the three-in-one nature of the Trinity.

around, that you might see (that is, know) and then better understand what information I will impart to you (orally).

Gerson's sermon *En la fête de la sainte Trinité* (1402) specifies, on the contrary, that to learn of God, one must abandon the use of the five corporeal senses, which would seem to preclude any of the methods of learning under discussion except by abstract idea. Indeed, Gerson doubts the intellectual capacity of his audience to understand ideas outside of their experience ("Si je vous dy choses terriennes dedans vous et vous point ne les entendez, qui vous dira choses celestiennes, choses dessus vous que ne veez, comment les comprendrez vous?" [f. 99/VIIb:1125]), such that the dialogue between Reason and the Soul that follows the introduction is almost painfully pedantic in its demonstration that nothing that can be experienced directly (color, light, sound, the sky, the sea...) is God. As in his treatises in the other compendium (BnF fr. 1793), much of the text is presented in the familiar *tu* form, and, since Reason and the Soul are sisters, adjectives appear in the feminine form; this combination allows the female listener-reader to insert her own experiences and perhaps even identify with the speakers: "Tu es si franche en voullenté que tu peuz les choses qui sont subgettes a toy perdre ou garder a ton plaisir [...] Si est droit que Nostre Seigneur puisse faire de nous toutes ses creatures a sa franche voullenté" (f. 103/VIIb:1130). Gerson thus integrates knowledge acquisition by experience as the *via negativa*:⁹⁸ "n'est mie a entendre [...] comme nous vëons es choses corporelles. Ce seroit trop rude et faulx entendement" (f. 106/VIIb:1135).

The sermon *In festo beati Petri et Pauli apostolorum* (1392) once again demonstrates Gerson's tendency to combine learning by experience and by imitation, as when he calls explicitly on his audience's experience to teach them not to blame Peter for having denied

⁹⁸ Minnis, "Medieval Imagination and Memory," 258. See also my Chapter 3, p. 168 for the *via negativa* in La Sale's *Paradis*.

Christ but rather to emulate him in repenting his sins: “a ung tout seul regard de Jhesucrist il [Pierre] se converti soudainement a repentance tresamere [...] Et nous, après noz pechez par lesquelz nous renions Dieu de fait, que faisons nous?” (f. 111/VIIb:723-24). Elsewhere, Gerson exclaims that he cannot believe anyone who has not experienced true humility could understand the model offered by St. Paul: “Je confesse bien que ycy sont miracles merueilleux [...] incomprenables par ceulx qui [...] ne veulent croire a autruy riens fors en tant que ilz le sentent” (f. 117v/VIIb:732). And here, as in the *Pèlerinage de l’âme*, we find medieval thought distinguishing between *science* and *experience*, as Gerson praises Paul’s ordinances for married life based on “ceste science qu’il ot” while having just lauded Paul’s virginal state (f. 121/VIIb:736). Pure imitation plays a notable role, nevertheless, as in the cases of Saints Augustine and Gregory, “en quoy aussi nous est monsté que nous devons plus desirer, plus priser et plus louer de faire diligence, de ramener gens pecheurs a voye de salut et de bonne vie que faire miracles” (f. 114/VIIb:727), or in the models of the Church Fathers, and especially Paul, in whose lives “les exemples de ceste chose [humilité] sont a grant nombre” (f. 116v/VIIb:730).⁹⁹ Gerson’s overarching argument, however, again rests on the principle that one cannot know God or the Christian faith through “principes ou veritez evidens par nature” (f. 118v/VIIb:733), but rather through experience of the Holy Spirit.

Robert Ciboule’s approach seems, at least initially, to be completely the opposite of Gerson’s, as his treatise—based on his sermon on the benefits of Communion, *Qui manducat me*—begins, “Experience nous enseigne” (f. 124/366). It becomes apparent, however, that he

⁹⁹ Not that Gerson seems to actually expect anyone to be able to live up to Paul’s example. For instance, Paul is considered to be a more diligent and protective mother than any earthly woman could ever be: “Qui est la mere, je vous demande, qui voudroit soustenir les perilz et travaux pour nourrir ses enfans lesquelz soustint saint Pol pour les hommes sauver, pour les tirer a l’amour de Dieu par mer, par terre, par froit, par chault, en fain, en soif, en prison, en chaynne, en batures, en reprouches, jusques a la mort soustenir? On trouveroit peu mere qui pour son enfant qui telle peine soustenist” (f. 120v-121/VIIb:735-36). I would like to thank Nancy McLoughlin for bringing this comparison to my attention.

shares Gerson's tendency to blend the experiential with the exemplary, as his conditions for receiving Communion are given in the third person ("Avant que l'homme arrive a ce saint sacrement, il se doit ..." [f. 124v/367]), but he also explains that "en ce saint sacrement dignement prins et receu, *nous* sommes joings" (f. 125/367; my emphasis)—reinforcing the participation of the audience in that *nous*. He attempts to explain abstract concepts like the diminished efficacy of Communion when taken by a distracted or venially sinful soul through this combination of experience and exemplarity. Equally clear is the deliberate nature of Ciboule's choice to blend the two. For him, taking Communion as a sacrament is a "refection spirituelle et union a JhesuCrist par devote dilection *et imitacion*" (f. 126v/368, my emphasis)¹⁰⁰—an imitation in which the reader-listener is explicitly invited to engage: "Ce saint sacrement nous est donné pour force, pour medicine et pour remede. Pour force afin que *tu* soies plus fort contre les temptacions et adversités ou tribulacions que le monde donne" (*ibid.*/369, my emphasis). Nonetheless, he repeats Gerson's admonition that Christians must believe because of the virtues of the Holy Spirit "et non pas le vouloir comprendre par science ou entendement humain" (f. 128v/371), implying that we might see in Ciboule an extension of Gersonian thought more than differently developed uses of the gendered modes of knowledge acquisition. These sermons present more complexities of the Catholic faith than the treatises in the first compendium (BnF fr. 1793), and would have been an apt tool for Agnès to teach her now mostly-grown children.

Guillaume de Vaurouillon's *Declaracion de la differance entre pechié mortel et veniel* relies more extensively on learning in the abstract than any of the other texts in this compendium. Unlike Gerson and Ciboule, however, he does not direct the reader to the Holy

¹⁰⁰ Imitation of Christ is mentioned again on f. 128/371, as well.

Spirit for illumination. Rather, his explanations of difficult theological concepts, such as mortal and venial sins, tend toward the more masculine, abstract mode of referring the reader to relevant texts and scholarly ideas before an experiential representation. For instance, he defines sin as:

ung fait incident. C'est a dire, ung accident par deffaulte de bien, laquelle deffaulte se appelle difformité. Ainsi le determine Jehan Damascene, qui dit: *Peccatum est ab eo, quod est secundum naturam, in id, quod est preter naturam, conversio*. Pechié, dist il, est quant homme ou femme lesquelz Dieu fist et ordonna a bonne operacion selon nature soy convertissent ou pervertissent a ce qui n'est point de nature que dit raison, et obëissent a l'apetit de la sensualité.
(f. 132-132v)¹⁰¹

Sin is an accidental state, rather than a deliberately created one, but casting this idea in concrete terms is not Vaurouillon's first inclination.

This preference for the abstract has, in large part, to do with the author's conceptualization of his work and its intended recipient, as revealed by the incipit and the colophon. He begins, "Vostre question tresutile qui demande qu'est pechié mortel a bien le comprendre pressupose devant soy la congnoissance de trois petis articles" (f. 132), thereby acknowledging that the *Declaracion* is a response to an individual's question, rather than sermons to a mixed-sex audience of unknown intellectual capacities, as were the preceding three texts. The colophon specifies that this individual is an unnamed woman, who may well have commissioned the work: "Madame moult honorable, prenez en pacience ce petit."¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ As far as I have been able to determine, much of this section seems to have been taken from Bonaventura's *De diffinitione peccati* <<https://books.google.com/books?id=xmeOKm0wFsIC&pg=PA347&lpg=PA347&dq=%22praeter+naturam+conversio%22&source=bl&ots=VWw7xCPA9A&sig=4g08qvCqQwE8yd-oMuktDayguik&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwju--CU4PjLAhUrvIMKHQdiAksQ6AEIHTAA#v=onepage&q=%22praeter%20naturam%20conversio%22&f=false>> (consulted May 28, 2016), from the section beginning on p. 347: "Prima ex Augustine haec est: 'Peccatum est absentia boni, ut debet esse.' [...] Prima est Damasceni: 'Peccatum est ab eo, quod est secundum naturam, in id, quod est praeter naturam, conversio.'"

¹⁰² The scribe probably meant to include a substantive here, likely *traité*.

Vous ne pouez avoir de peu de sens grande doctrine, mais le grant docteur Jhesus qui est la lumiere du ciel et du monde tellement vueille enluminer vostre ame que le puissez vëoir en sa gloire. Amen” (f. 135v). The writer recognizes the lady’s potential and does his best to help her realize it by answering her question as fully as possible, providing a work replete with biblical citations,¹⁰³ direct translations or paraphrases of all Latin passages, and precise locational information for the citations—indications that the recipient is someone whose Latin is middling at best, but who is nevertheless of a scholarly mind *for a laywoman*.¹⁰⁴

Vaurouillon’s *Declaracion* offers clear proof that, at least among some mid-15th-century thinkers, learning from texts was conceptualized differently from learning by experience, and that, although women were more often expected to adopt the latter method, this work all but confirms that a woman could be instructed in abstract concepts through explanations drawn from books rather than experience. Similarly, while Digulleville’s *Pèlerinage de l’âme* consists primarily of behaviors to be avoided, he insists on the necessity that the reader learn other than by doing. Gerson’s and Ciboule’s combination of exemplarity and experience seems to be partially attributable, then, to the genre of their work (sermons and a treatise closely related to a sermon, respectively) and the obligation to reach the lowest common denominator of their audience—above which the lady who owned this manuscript clearly rose.

¹⁰³ Vaurouillon cites Augustine, John Damascene, the prophet Jeremiah, David’s Psalms, Anselm, John the Apostle, Ambrose, St. Paul, St. Luke, Isaac, Bonaventure, and St. James, some of whom Agnès would have known from paraliturgical texts or sermons.

¹⁰⁴ We find further proof that this is the case in the few experiential explanations Vaurouillon offers, such as for venial sin, or excessively loving something other than God, “comme quant une personne ayme trop son mary ou ses enfans ou telles chosettes” (f. 133).

Chantilly ms. 129 (completed c. 1460; acquired 1462-1465): Pierre Crapillet d'Annoire's translations of St. Anselm, *Cur Deus homo*, and Hugh of St. Victor, *De arrha animae*

In Philippe's gift to his sister, Pierre Crapillet d'Annoire's translations of St. Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* (*Pourquoi Dieu s'est fait homme*) and Hugh of St. Victor's *De arrha animae* (*Soliloque touchant le gage de l'âme*) employ all three gendered didactic modes to invite Agnès (and adult daughters Catherine and Jeanne) to a profound meditation on Christ's humanity and her (their) relationship to Him. Anselm's text treats such abstract ideas that learning about them through experience is out of the question, while the *Soliloque* guides the reader toward a deeper love of God by extensively referencing the experientiality of Soul's lived past. Comprising two parts of the same manuscript, these texts reinforce the association of learning in the abstract with male students and learning by experience with female students.

The dialogic form of *Pourquoi Dieu s'est fait homme?*, ideal for reading aloud and inviting discussion between Agnès and her children, draws on the idea of the *exemplum in malo* as part of its underlying structure. Boso plays the devil's advocate by posing questions based on "pagan" assumptions, which are then thoroughly refuted by the learned doctor, to the evident benefit of the reader-listener. As Karin Ueltschi remarks in the *Didactique de la chair*, "il est plus efficace de formuler une doctrine en tant que réponse à une fausse attitude que de l'enseigner comme une vérité incontestée."¹⁰⁵ In *Pourquoi Dieu s'est fait homme*, the only positive example explicitly positioned as such is Christ, who "soy meisme se bailloit et livroit en exemple" (f. 70/227) and "exemple donna [...] que nous souffrons tous tourmens pasciaument pour l'amour de justice et pour l'amour et l'onneur de Dieu" (f. 89/247). As for

¹⁰⁵ Ueltschi, *Didactique de la chair*, 128.

experience, Anselm occasionally offers explanations based in concrete, quotidian details, such as his comparison of God's inability to be unjust with a fire's inability to be wet: "comme nous disons des deulx chouses impossibles que, se l'une est, l'autre aussi est, car ne l'une ne l'autre ne peuvent estre; comme se nous disons: se l'eaue est seche, le feu est humide: ne l'une ne l'autre n'est vraie" (f. 20-20v/183).¹⁰⁶ The reader—be (s)he a monk in a monastery or a duchess in a castle—would have plenty of exposure to such basic elements. Agnès herself could thus begin to conflate such a small, commonplace memory with the larger concept of God's infallible justice. Such explanations barely fall under the rubric of learning by experience, however. Actual acquisition of knowledge by doing does not pertain to Anselm's discussion of these aspects of Christian beliefs.

Throughout *Pourquoi Dieu s'est fait homme*, Anselm relies in large part on abstract reasoning, guiding Boson by both hypothetical and disjunctive syllogisms, since the subjects under discussion are to be debated and understood, but not actually experienced—for instance, regarding the number of angels and the role of humans raising that number back up to perfection (f. 30-35/189-93). Learning other than by *raison* is only referenced once, though, when Anselm indicates that medieval readers are presumed to shape their life according to what they learn in the Scriptures: "il [les hommes] tiennent la fourme de vivre selon que la Sainte Escripiture nous enseigne" (f. 96/253). What we find, in the near-total absence of the gendered modes of education, indeed, even in the relatively infrequent occurrence of the concrete, is a reflection of Anselm's preoccupation with abstract matters almost beyond the human ability of expression in whatever form.

¹⁰⁶ Bultot and Hasenohr note that Crapillet's translation tends, in fact, "à s'écarter du plan purement abstrait des enchaînements déductifs en faveur d'un recours à la raison en appui direct des réalités concrètes" (Crapillet, *Traduits pour Philippe le Bon*, 147).

Hugh of St. Victor's *Soliloque*, by contrast, relies heavily on experiential learning and imitation.¹⁰⁷ Maistre Hugue¹⁰⁸ begins the conversation with the ill-educated Soul by stating that there is no need for him to enumerate the list of beautiful worldly things “car tu [Ame] les congnois mieulx que moy, comme tu les vois pluseurs—dont tu en as bonne experience—et des chouses passees il te souvient, pour le plus, et souvent te reviennent a memoire” (f. 108/258-59). You see material things, he says, you have plenty of experience with them, just as you remember past experiences. The Soul confirms its reliance on sight to mediate its ability to relate to (to love) worldly beauty (“amer je ne puis chouses que onques ne viz ne vëoir ne puis” [f. 108v/259]), to which Maistre Hugue responds, “tu as ton espoux, mais tu ne le congnois” (f. 112v/263) because, we understand, of the Soul's need to experience a thing to know it. And as Maistre Hugue brings the Soul to comprehend Christ as the beloved, the explanations are couched in terms of the myriad experiences the Soul has of Christ's bounty, as seen in the ways the world is made to serve the Soul's every need: “Regarde universalement le monde. Et considere se en lui est aucune chouse qui ne soit pour toy servir” (f. 113v-114/264). Look around, Maistre Hugue insists, and consider if there is anything in it that is not made to serve you. That is, think about the information you have gathered through your past interactions with the world.

These include emulation, as when the Soul affirms, “j'ay ung aultre [Christ] avec moy le quel je desire estre conformé a moy; et a celui tressouvant je regarde, et tant que je puis, de plus en plus je me mectray a sa similitude” (f. 144-144v/288-89). Even though the action is taking place on an entirely metaphysical plane, the imitation principal remains the same: the

¹⁰⁷ Bultot and Hasenohr remark that, “la traduction en elle-même est franchement mauvaise” (*ibid.*, 102), perhaps in part due to the “style mouvant et essentiellement imagé” of Hugh's writing.

¹⁰⁸ This name, found in the rubrics preceding his portions of the dialogue, allows us to easily distinguish the speaker, Maistre Hugue, from the historical author, Hugh of St. Victor.

Soul actively watches Christ, and then models its behavior after what it has observed. Maistre Hugue also exhorts the Soul to take note of various *exempla in malo*, including a reference to the story of Esther: “Souviengne toy de ce que le roy Assuerus fit a son espouse nommee Vasti, royne moult excellent, laquelle il degecta de son trosne pour cause de son orgueil qui fut ung grant fait de grant noblesse, exemple [de] grant utilité et, quant a la femme, ung peril tresgrant et moult grief” (f. 133v/280).¹⁰⁹ What we find in the *Soliloque* comprises, evidently, the very sort of learning by experience and imitation that played such a substantial role in the works of Christine de Pizan and earlier pedagogues.

Kevin Herbert, editor of the most recent English edition of the *Soliloque*, remarks that the work offers “three kinds of meditation: that of creatures inspired by positive knowledge, that of Holy Scripture, and lastly that of conduct.”¹¹⁰ While this is true, what Herbert does not mention is the unfailingly feminine nature of the soul metaphor, including questions of desire and adornment. The soul is not only Vashti in her pride, but the pure and virginal soon-to-be bride of Christ adorned with the “belles pierres precieuses resplendissant” of the five senses (f. 126v/274), a withered whore with “mamelles [...] extendues, [s]a face ridee, [s]es joes macerees [...] [s]es vertus corrupues” (f. 127v/275), and the restored, repentant Magdalenian sinner in whom we can discern the chaste widow: “tu t’es mise, vile et orde par ta iniquité. Mais après tu es faicte necte et formeuse par sa pitié” (f. 129/276; f. 133/279-80), especially since the Soul has cleansed itself with “larmes” (f. 139/284). It is this femininity that shapes Hugh of St. Victor’s choice of methods by which to teach the Soul. Similarly, it is the abstract subject matter of *Pourquoi Dieu s’est fait homme*, the first text in Chantilly ms. 129, that

¹⁰⁹ See also “la vie des tres mauvais t’est donnee en excercitacion” (f. 121/270).

¹¹⁰ Saint-Victor, *Soliloquy*, 14n2. For a brief overview of the function of meditation across Hugh of St. Victor’s œuvre, see Matthew R. McWhorter, “Hugh of St. Victor on Contemplative Meditation,” *The Heythrop Journal* 55 (2014): 110-22.

determines Anselm's avoidance of the experiential, and Boson's presumed lack of discretion that precludes Anselm from explicitly referring him to books other than Scripture.

Beinecke ms. 204 (acquired during the 1460s-1470s): Frère Laurent's *Somme le roi/Miroir du monde*

Frère Laurent's *Somme le roi/Miroir du monde* begins with the basic components of Catholic beliefs—the Ten Commandments and the Twelve Articles of Faith—before expounding at great length on the Seven Deadly Sins and remedies against them, followed by explanations of various virtues and the Pater Noster.¹¹¹ Thus, the work contains everything necessary for a lay person to lead a good Christian life. Although this manuscript seems to have come into Agnès' life too late to have been used in the education of her children, it could have been acquired with an eye toward the family members who would inherit it—and their children. Despite Frère Laurent issuing plenty of behavioral directives and depending heavily on affective reading in the first half, the Book of Vices, the text as a whole contains relatively few exemplary individuals. And while the author calls on his reader's experiences to illustrate his occasional claim, these instances are far outweighed by explanations consisting of citations of other texts. In this fashion, this 15th-century copy of a 13th-century text originally intended

¹¹¹ Frère Laurent borrowed a great deal of his subject matter from the slightly earlier *Miroir du monde* but composed the chapters on the Ten Commandments and the Articles of Faith. Agnès' copy fits into what Edith Brayer has classed as the "amalgamations," which combine the *Somme le roi* with the *Miroir* from which it descended, as indicated by the incipit, "Cy commence le miroir du monde" (f. 6). Brayer also clarifies in an earlier article that, "Il n'y a pas un *Miroir*, une *Somme* et une combinaison des deux; il y a des rédactions du *Miroir*, des rédactions de la *Somme*, et plusieurs combinaisons différentes des deux textes" (Edith Brayer, "Contenu, structure et combinaisons du *Miroir du Monde* et de la *Somme le Roi*," *Romania* 79 [1958]: 7). Thus, due to the composition of Agnès' manuscript, there are substantial passages that do not correspond at all to Brayer's and Leurquin-Labie's edition, such as the introduction to the Book of Vices, which omits any mention of the St. John's vision of the seven-headed devil embodying the mortal sins (Laurent, *Somme le roi*, 113-15), offering instead an introduction to the branches of the two trees which stem from good and bad love, respectively, as well as to the required actions of a good king (f. 13-16), before matching up with the edited text at "Car orgueil si brisa premierement compaignie" (*ibid.*, p. 115 and Beinecke ms. 204, f. 16). All in-text citations of folio numbers refer to Beinecke ms. 204.

for a male dedicatee¹¹² reinforces the theoretical link between learning in the abstract and the male student.

The Ten Commandments and the Articles of Faith, as in the versions by Gerson and Jean Sarrasin, are presented as items to be carefully memorized and hopefully understood by the young. The explanations, although centered on quotidian events, are not phrased such that experience does the teaching, however: “Encontre cest commandement [tu ne diras nul faulx tesmoingnage] font cil qui mesdient des preudommes par derriere [...] et ceulx aussi qui loent les mauvais et les folz de leur mauvaistiez et de leurs folies sceues, veues et oyes” (f. 9-9v). In fact, it is primarily at the beginning of the text, when Frère Laurent establishes a frame of reference for the information he is about to impart, that he acknowledges that his reader’s experiences have taught the reader: “Et *tu* [Philippe] s[c]es bien que ung grant roy qui veult que ses royaumes soit bien gardez et en paix et en joye a trois choses penser lui convient. Premièrement, a ses anemis desconfire et mectre soubz piez les mauvaises loiz,” etc. (f. 14v). You, a king, know what a king must do to keep peace in his realm. In another significant instance during his explanation of the Pater Noster, Laurent adds a heavy dose of affectivity: “Quant tu [homme] l’apelles pere, tu congnois qu’il est sire del hostel [...] Après, puis que il est pere, il est ordeneur, gouverneur et pourveur de sa maisnie” (f. 172-172v). The reader’s experiences of their earthly father are essential to Laurent’s explication of the Our Father prayer. Although there are additional scattered references to experience in the ever common *nous vèons*, those things seen confirm lessons learned in other ways rather than functioning as the primary method by which the reader arrives at knowing. Such is the case with hypocrisy: “Comment aura ja vraie confession qui son mesfait ne congnoist point ne ne voit quant on li

¹¹² Philippe III of France (*Somme le roi*, 20).

dist? Car ce vèons nous toute jour que une personne qui tout son avoir et son corps et son pouoir mect en beuban et en vaine gloire acquerre—je sui li homs, fera il, du monde—ou il a mains d’orgueil” (f. 18). We see, daily, the prideful, oblivious person obsessed with vainglory who cannot recognize the extent of his sin.

Somewhat more frequently, Frère Laurent presents his reader with an example drawn from the Bible, like David, who constantly thanks God for his gifts (f. 23) and has God in his sights (f. 29), or *exempla in malo* of the queen, once loyal, eventually seduced by her husband’s treacherous vavasour—“Or garde pour Dieu que celle royne ne soit la tienne ame” (f. 43v)¹¹³—or Lot’s wife, who:

regarda derriere soy la cité qui ardoit dont elle estoit yssue et pour ce fut elle muee en ung ymage de sel. La femme Loth signifie ceulx qui puis qu’ilz sont yssus du siecle et sont entrés en religion retournent arriere par voullenté et par desirier [...] Celle ymaige doncques de seel doit donner sens et entendement et exemple a ceulx de religion qui ont laissié le ciecle qu’ilz ne retournent a ce qu’ilz ont laissié.

(f. 296v-297)

Not that all women are bad nor that all men are good, but first among models is, of course, Christ.

Both experience and imitation are substantially overshadowed by the sheer volume of textual allusions, citations, and even mentions of reading this text: “ce est ci m’entencion de parler des vertus plus especiaument si que chascuns qui voudra en cest livre estudier puisse sa vie ordener” (f. 167). Indeed, most folios contain between one and three references each to other sources. On f. 88, for instance, Frère Laurent cites the prophet Jeremiah, the Gospels, Cicero, and Cypion li Aufriquans (Scipio the African) “qui fu ung des plus sages paiens qui oncques fust.” It is principally through the consultation of texts that Frère Laurent believes his

¹¹³ Although the staging of it differs somewhat, this is the same metaphor as that posed by Gerson in the *Profit de savoir* (see p. 216 above).

readers will acquire not only knowledge but the understanding of how to apply it to their life. By the time this manuscript came into Agnès' possession, when she was around 60, she may well have developed the degree of discernment necessary to consult works by certain of the highly regarded pagan authors like Cicero and Scipio.

It is perhaps in this reliance on the text above all else that someone in the course of producing Beinecke ms. 204 decided that if the illuminations were to be left out of the codex, the instructions to the illuminator, at least, merited inclusion. The size of the blank spaces left in Beinecke ms. 204 indicate that miniatures were probably intended for the manuscript. The placement of the instructions (in red) is not consistent, however, as it can range from thirteen lines of text on one page, as in Fig. 38, to eighteen lines spilling from the verso of one page to the recto of the following, as on f. 146v-147, to ten lines spanning verso and recto without the subsequent blank space in which the image would have been drawn, as on f. 166v-167.

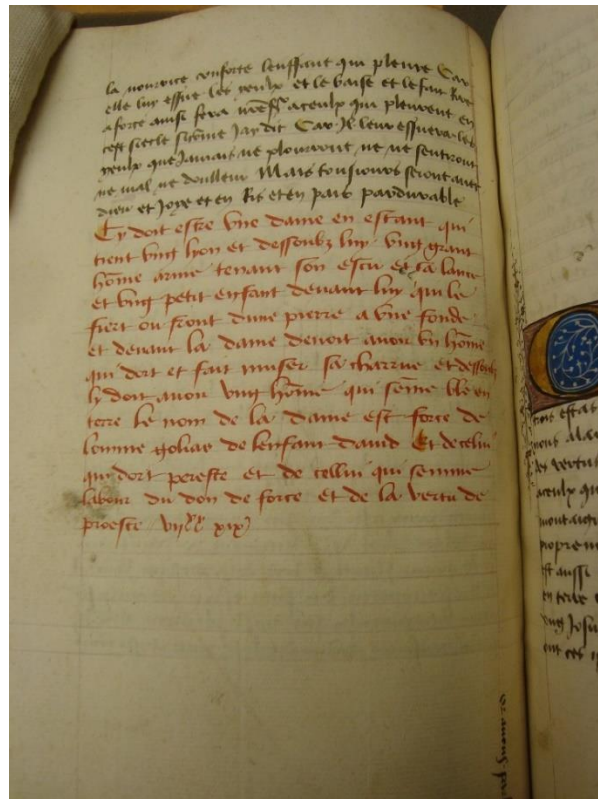


Fig. 38: Beinecke ms. 204, *Somme le roi/Miroir du monde*, by Frère Laurent, f. 226v

The rubricated text reads:

Cy doit estre une dame en estant qui tient un lyon et dessoubz luy, un grant homme armé tenant son escu et sa lance, et un petit enfant devant luy qui le fiert ou front d'une pierre a une fonde. Et devant la dame devoit avoir un homme qui dort et fait muser sa charrue, et dessoubz ly doit avoir un homme qui semme blé en terre. Le nom de la dame est Force, de l'omme Goliath, de l'enfant David, et de celui qui dort, Peresce, et de celui qui semme, Labour. Du don de Force et de la vertu de proesce // vii^{xx} xix¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Such directions to the illuminators are not unheard of (see, for instance, the brief remarks in Hindman, *Painting and Politics*, 65, and Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992], 54-63), but neither are they particularly common; nor, when they do occur, are they typically within the bounds of the text proper and written in the same legible script as the surrounding text. According to Brayer, of the 100+ manuscripts of the *Somme le roi*, only seventeen contain some or all of the planned fifteen miniatures, and seven of those include descriptions of the images/instructions for the illuminators ("Contenu, structure et combinaisons," 29n1). Such substitutions occur ten times in Agnès' manuscript: at the end of the Book of Vices, f. 146v-147, "Judgment;" f. 154-154v, "The Garden of Virtues;" f. 171, "Christ Preaching about the *Pater noster*;" f. 188, "Our Lord Sending the Holy Spirit to the Apostles;" f. 199v-200, "Humility, Pride, the Sinner, the Hypocrite;" f. 216v-217, "Equality, Felony, Noah's Ark, Moses;" f. 226v, "Force/Bravery, Laziness, David and Goliath, Labor;" f. 244, "Charity, Greed, Lot Receiving the Angels, the Good Woman Sharing Oil;" f. 266-266v, "Chastity, Lust, Esther [Judith]*, Joseph;" and f. 299, "Sobriety, Gluttony, the Man Measuring His Bread, the Greedy Rich Man." Two of the rubrics are by Scribe 2, the rest by Scribe 1. * "une dame qui tient une espee et occist un homme dormant en son lit qui a nom Hester" is obviously a description of Judith killing Holofernes.

In the introduction to the edition of the *Somme*, Brayer and Leurquin-Labie explain that for the oldest manuscripts, the models for the illuminations were distributed to workshops at the same time as the text was distributed to copyists, and furthermore, that "elles portaient des instructions, sous la forme 'Cy doit estre paint...' et définissaient ainsi le sujet et l'emplacement des images. Parfois ces instructions ont été incorporées au texte" (Laurent, *Somme le roi*, 34). Thus, the instructions may well have been included in the model for Agnès' manuscript, but the blank space was likely meant for images. As Brayer and Leurquin-Labie also note, "l'analyse et la comparaison de l'ensemble de ces instructions pour les enlumineurs jusque dans ces copies du XV^e siècle restent à faire et mériteraient, comme le signalent M. et R. Rouse, une étude approfondie. Elles pourraient apporter des renseignements sur la transmission de la *Somme* et les liens entre les exemplaires" (*ibid.*, 34n65). The other manuscripts of the *Somme* (though not the *Somme/Mireoir* amalgamations) containing instructions to the illuminator are Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, fr. 123 (space left for images); Geneva, Bibliothèque publique, fr. 163 (seven images and instructions); Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek I 082 (instructions in body text and/or margin, in cursive, in addition to fifteen clumsy miniatures); Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, H 106 supra (S. P. 2) (miniatures and instructions); Modena, Biblioteca Estense e universitaria, etr. 34 (α.P.8.6) (illuminations preceded by instructions); BnF fr. 1895 (miniatures and instructions); and Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria ms. 863 (miniatures and instructions) (*ibid.*, 484-512). The pattern of "missing miniatures" in Agnès' manuscript does not mirror any of the seven illuminated manuscripts listed on the table in *ibid.* (35), nor do the descriptions exactly match all of the miniatures of any one of the digitized manuscripts of those listed above consulted for comparison.



Fig. 39: Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal ms. 6329, *Somme le roi*, by Frère Laurent, f. 128v

This passage anticipates what would likely have resembled the corresponding illumination from Arsenal ms. 6329 (Fig. 39).¹¹⁵ The inclusion of the instructions in Agnès' manuscript bears intriguing witness to the visual literacy expected of the reader as well as to the function of the illuminations. The text is perfectly comprehensible without the instructions; in fact, reference to the figure *Force* does not occur until f. 228, two full folios after the space left for the miniature. This implies that painted images were “read” differently—perhaps they offered greater freedom for meditation and interpretation than the words on the page.¹¹⁶ In the case of Agnès' manuscript, where the illustration is missing, imagining the scenes may have required

¹¹⁵ Almost identical in composition to the illumination from Mazarine 870, f. 111v (see *ibid.*, Pl. XII), which is the oldest of the manuscripts of the *Somme le roi*, Arsenal 6329 lacks the names marking each image, one of which identifies the woman in the upper left not as *Force*, but as *Prouesce*. This is likely the result of the resemblance between the lady described here and as she appears in an earlier illumination also holding a roundel (though with a lion on it rather than a man), where she is named *Force* (*ibid.*, Pl. VIII).

¹¹⁶ See Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, especially the first half of Ch. 3: Cognitive Images, Meditation, and Ornament.

the same sort of mental engagement as recalling events lived in the past.¹¹⁷ That is to say, the figures populating these remembered images are explicitly exemplary, serving as models in the case of David and Labour, and cautionary tales in the case of Peresce, even when imitation plays only a marginal role in the text that follows.

The instructions to the illuminator in Agnès' manuscript provide an additional avenue for Agnès to both apply past experiences and reproduce behaviors as directed by the text. Nevertheless, these absent images' appeal to experience and imitation ultimately do not outweigh the importance of learning in the abstract in the *Somme/Miroir*.

BnF fr. 92 (completed 1463; acquired 1463-1465?): *Les trois fils de rois*

Giovanni Palumbo describes the *Trois fils de rois* in the following way: “œuvre récréative [...] mais, par-dessus tout, roman de propagande politique, *Les trois fils* visent aussi un objectif didactique, comme on peut le lire dès le prologue: instruire les jeunes nobles” (75). Indeed, obedience, loyalty, bravery, courtliness, good governance, and even strategy are all aptly modeled by the three princes and the men around them, while the caricaturized enemy, the Turk, often provides an *exemplum in malo*. Although certain points of instruction in this text are occasionally derived from books and learning by experience is evoked at least once, the male characters learn overwhelmingly through imitation, in contrast to gendered expectations.

Learning through the written word functions in two manners in the *Trois fils*: there is one moment where the main protagonist reads and then puts his knowledge to use, and, in a somewhat less explicit fashion, there are times where the very reader of the *Trois fils* seems expected to grasp (new?) concepts without additional explanation. The former occurs early on,

¹¹⁷ Cf. the discussion of *enargeia* in Durand's *Miroir* (my Chapter 1, p. 43).

when Philippe is inspired to run away to help the king of Sicily after retiring to his room where he “fist lire plusieurs histoires et vies de sains” (93) before reflecting on how he, too, might best serve God. Even within this act of prelecting and contemplation, imitation plays a part, as Philippe bases his actions on those in the *histoires* and *vies*. Instructions aimed at the actual reader comprise a marginally more implicit style of instruction, as when one of the king of Scotland’s advisors reminds us of a king’s duties in his dialogue with his liege-lord: “Nous congnoissons, nostre souverain seigneur, que vous estes roy cree, vous et tous autres, pour la defense et regime de la chose publicque et consequamment pour garder et maintenir la foy et a ceste cause estes enoint et sacré” (124). The call to defend the Catholic faith and the public good reminds the supposed princely reader of the actions he should be undertaking if he has not already done so.

The text likewise demonstrates—repeatedly—that the king who takes counsel is wise and profits, while the king who does not brings his *demesne* to ruin. Somewhat unexpectedly, the Turk fills both of these roles at various points in the narrative. For instance, after a year-long siege “vint le conseil du Turc devers luy et furent tous les cappitaines mandez. Et mist le Turc luy meismes son fait en terme et dist: ‘Beaus seigneurs, il a sur le point d’un an que nous avons miz le siege devant cest place [...] Les dommages que nous y avons euz [...] sont sans nombre [...] Et voeul [...] que vous advisez qu’il est de faire et que me conseilliés a mon honneur” (227-28). Because he implements their suggestions, the Turk succeeds in extricating himself honorably from the unwinnable siege. Eventually, however, the Turk’s inherent villainy shows itself, when he decides that “se je delaissoie ma conqueste, je y auroie grant blasme et *pour ce n’en demande point de conseil*, car je suis du tout fermé d’y aler” (274, my emphasis). His pride leads inevitably to his downfall, as his counsellors remind him: “Vous

sçavez, sire, tant que Dieu vous a donné la grace de faire par conseil, toute prospérité, toute honneur et toute louenge vous est venue; et depuis que vous seul avez uzé de vostre oppinion, les durtez et adversitez quy vous ont couru sus” (306). The beautiful princess Yolente also models ideal behavior and speech for any woman who might be in the audience, such as when she proclaims her intention to abide by her father’s choice of husband, a scenario that concerned all noble women of the medieval period, including Agnès herself: “ne pensez point que pour autre chose j’aye amour a luy [Philippe], car vous ne autre pour puissance ou pour seignourie, je n’euz en coeur n’en plus grant amour l’un que l’autre. Je me attens a monseigneur mon pere de ce qu’il luy plaira faire de moy” (406).

The reader of the *Trois fils* is not the only one educated by the actions of others, however. Philippe learns by imitation, for example, when he tells Ferrant, “J’ay tant de biens, de vertus et de vaillances veues en vous que je ne fais nulle doute que plus n’y puisse aprendre” (130; my emphasis), and when he credits Ferrant’s mastery of arms and worthiness as a model to be emulated before the queen of Sicily: “en sa compaignie [...] l’en poeult aprendre moult de biens” (141). Onffroy/Ector, prince of England, too, learns by example: “il avoit tout son desir de mettre dilligence et paine a ensieuvir le Surnommé [Philippe] et Athis [David, prince d’Ecosse] et prendre exemple a eux” (279; my emphasis). Exemplarity reigns even among the Sarasin nations, as the duke Fierrebras chides his brother, the Turk, who wishes to break the terms of a truce: “*Quel exemple prendroient noz gens en nostre foy et loyauté, quant pour si petite chose elle seroit si legierement faulsee? Certes ilz y pourroient prendre de legier ung tres povre miroir, et en fin en tendroient moins de bien*” (261; my emphasis). The male characters’ frequent acknowledgement that they learn by imitation seems to imply that certain types of learning, like that of a physical nature such as combat, or like learning done

by “simple” people, are predicated on having examples to follow. In other words, learning from the written word is not only a more masculine mode, but it is also the mode of a particular, sedentary class of men—those, like clerics, who *think* rather than knights or lay-folk more generally, who *act*. This impression receives support from the extensive reliance on combined experience and exemplarity by Jean Gerson and Robert Ciboule in the works directed at a mixed audience, as in Bnf fr. 1793 and Chantilly ms. 140.

In this, the only *roman* of the six manuscripts treated in detail in this chapter, we find a different relationship between the two sexes and the acquisition of knowledge in the extensive space devoted to male imitation. This may be attributable, at least in part, to the minor role played by women in the *Trois fils*. However, this same attention to imitation might help explain its attraction for Agnès de Bourgogne and the numerous women who came to own manuscript copies of it—its worthwhile lessons, presented in a familiar fashion, engaging the female reader across generations.

Conclusion

Especially during the last twenty years of her life, Agnès de Bourgogne’s concern for the state of her soul meant that she sought out, by whatever means, texts that she felt would best prepare her to know what to expect in the afterlife were she unable to do adequate penance in this life. This anxiety is manifest in the multiple tracts dealing with Christ’s redemption of man, the types and degrees of sin, the way best to make confession, and the daunting details of Purgatory. These books—the *Recueil ascétique* (BnF fr. 1793); the *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe* and *Passion Jhesucrist* (BnF fr. 975); the *Pèlerinage de l’âme en prose* and other religious treatises (Chantilly ms. 140); the translations of the *Pourquoi Dieu s’est fait homme*

and *Soliloque touchant le gage de l'âme* (Chantilly ms. 129); the *Somme le roi/Mireoir du monde* (Beinecke ms. 204); and the *Trois fils de rois* (BnF fr. 92)—responded to Agnès' personal interests. They also likely served Agnès in the education of her children, preparing them for their powerful roles as princesses, duchesses, and countesses, before passing to Agnès' daughter-in-law Jeanne de France, with whom Agnès shared familial, political, spiritual, and intellectual interests.

Close consideration of Agnès' 15th-century manuscripts also indicates that the strictly gendered modes of transmission established in works of the Early and High Middle Ages are not entirely in accord with Late Medieval thought. Authors like Guillaume de Vaurouillon expect a level of intellectual dexterity of their female audience sufficient to learn information presented in an abstract manner and supported with citations rather than concrete examples. Conversely, in works like the *Trois fils de rois*, men are shown learning by experience and example, sometimes from female models. Furthermore, in sermons like those of Jean Gerson, it appears that the genre and class of the audience rather than its gender are determinative of the preference for a combination of experiential and exemplary instruction.

General Conclusion

In order to demonstrate that medieval conceptions about gendered forms of learning changed significantly in 15th century France, it was first necessary to establish what those conventional ideas were. From precepts of modeling correct behavior and avoiding real-life *exempla in malo* and intensive study of devotional texts to the development of discernment in St. Jerome's letters, we saw that Vincent de Beauvais' *De educatione filiorum nobilium* would even further restrict women's literary education, presenting the activity as a way to avoid idleness rather than a means to intellectual development. Durand de Champagne's *Miroer des dames* begins the move away from preparing women for a cloistered life, offering a renewed insistence on the necessity that women acquire *prudence*, primarily through imitation, as well as on their self-presentation as models for others as they participate in court life. Similarly, Geoffroi de la Tour Landry's *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry* and Giovanni Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* rely primarily on exemplarity to communicate and reinforce lessons of comportment.

In Christine de Pizan's turn-of-the-15th-century texts, including the *Livre de la cité des dames*, *Livre des trois vertus*, *Epistre Othea*, and *Livre du chemin de longue étude* as well as letters from the *Querelle de la Rose*, she institutes experience as *the* preferred mode for feminine education, relegating exemplarity to a secondary, albeit still critically important, role. Additionally, Christine complicates the question of women's ability to learn in the abstract. She herself has obviously done so successfully *and* she offers herself up as a model for her readers to imitate, despite her hesitation to explicitly instruct women to read and learn as she has done.

Writing thirty years later, Antoine de La Sale in his *Paradis de la reine Sibylle* (Chantilly ms. 653) further shifts the role of experiential learning as he invites readers not to replicate his experience, but to share in it by going on a mental pilgrimage. He also demonstrates a greater faith than Christine in women's capacity to read discerningly as he plainly relies upon Agnès' ability to process information about Sibyls presented in an abstract manner. Works in other 15th-century manuscripts in Agnès' library—the *Recueil ascétique* (BnF fr. 1793); the *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe* and *Passion Jhesucrist* (BnF fr. 975); the *Pèlerinage de l'âme en prose* and other religious treatises (Chantilly ms. 140); the translations of the *Pourquoi Dieu s'est fait homme* and *Soliloque touchant le gage de l'âme* (Chantilly ms. 129); the *Somme le roi/Miroir du monde* (Beinecke ms. 204); and the *Trois fils de rois* (BnF fr. 92)—demonstrate less gender-determined standards of who should learn by which means, as authors expect female readers to learn in the abstract and male protagonists willingly learn by experience and imitation.

I do not mean to imply that changing ideas regarding gendered learning herald any sort of disappearance of gender or appearance in Late Medieval France of modern ideas about equality of the sexes. Nonetheless, such demonstrable shifts in didactic thought within an aristocratic woman's library invite further questions—for instance, do the same changes hold true in writings aimed at the bourgeoisie, such as the *Menagier de Paris*, or in sermons delivered in the vernacular? That is, are these changes as much related to class as to gender? In similar vein, if we were to approach this same topic of gendered methods of learning but base our analysis primarily on *romans* like the *Tristan en prose* and *Cléomadès*, would the outcome be the same? Additional research in either of these directions would broaden the

implications of the inquiry undertaken here into the ways in which medieval women acquired and shared their knowledge.

Appendix A: *Miroer des dames*, KBR ms. 11203-204 (fols. 1-53v)

The *Miroer des dames*, by Durand de Champagne, serves as one of the primary texts in Chapter 1 due to its presence in the library of Jean sans Peur, its instructional focus, and the author's remarkable attention to his female audience. The manuscript which I treat in detail here, KBR ms. 11203-204, merits closer attention than space permitted in Chapter 1, as this particular codex was likely directly employed in the education of Agnès de Bourgogne and her older sisters. This appendix offers additional details on the manuscript as a codicological item, the manner in which it links certain powerful French aristocratic families at the turn of the 15th century, the differences (including the more pronounced focus on the female audience) between it and the manuscript of the *Miroer* used as the base text in Chapter 1, and a transcription of the last twelve folios of the *Miroer*, which are annotated in a hand contemporary with the script.

The Manuscript and Its History

KBR ms. 11203-204, which contains a fragment of Durand de Champagne's *Miroer des dames* as well as the oldest French version of Nicole Oresme's *Livre de divinacions*, appeared in the 1420 inventory of the Burgundian ducal library, and remained part of the Burgundian holdings throughout all subsequent inventories:

Item, ung autre livre nommé le Livre du Mirouer aux Dames, couvert de vuir vermeil, commençant ou Iie fueillet *Le souverain roy*, et ou derrenier *Les dessus-dites*.

Inv. 1467: Barrois, n° 949. – Inv. 1487: n° 2131. – Inv. 1536: Michelant, p. 317. – Inv. 1577: Viglius, n° 537, et Inventaires suivants (sauf Gérard [...]).¹

¹ Bonost and de Templeuve, *Inventaire*, Item 166, p. 109.

It is, according to Joseph M. M. Van den Gheyn, a manuscript confected sometime in the 14th century, to which were added the “armes des anciens comtes d’Artois, qui semblent bien avoir été ajoutées postérieurement à la confection du manuscrit.”²

In the recent multi-volume *Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne*, Céline Van Hoorebeek offers additional details on the arms as well as some speculation as to how the manuscript might have come into the Burgundian collection.³ Hoorebeek has identified the arms painted over another set on folio 1 as those of Philippe d’Artois, comte d’Eu, halved with those of the duc de Berry. Philippe became the second husband of Marie de Berry, mother-in-law to Agnès de Bourgogne, in 1392, and died in 1397, providing us with a terminus *ante quem* for both the creation of the manuscript and the date by which it entered Marie’s possession, as she married Jean I de Bourbon in 1400.⁴ Van Hoorebeek posits that the manuscript was actually fashioned shortly beforehand, between 1375 and 1385.⁵ Based on the inclusion of the *Miroer* in this codex containing only the one other work, Oresme’s *Livre de divinacions*, she supposes that the manuscript might have been a gift from Philippe to his bride around 1392. Her suggestion that the manuscript could just as easily have been a commission or gift for Philippe alone is less convincing, given that the partitioned arms are not his, but rather those of his wife Marie de Berry.⁶ Accepting that the manuscript was more likely part of Marie’s collection,⁷ Van

² Joseph M. M. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 13 vols. (Brussels: Henri Lamertin), III:409.

³ Bousmanne, Johan, and Van Hoorebeek, *LDB II*, 243-50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 246. She specifies that Philippe was one of the, though probably not *the*, first to own this manuscript.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 248. We have evidence that Marie changed her arms between her second and third marriages, as the description of the arms in the *Livre des Euvangiles* (today, KBR ms. 9394-96), which she gifted to Jean sans Peur, do not match those found in KBR ms. 11203-204: “Le premier feuillet au recto est orné de fleurs et de cartouches qui contiennent, sur un fond bleu, les initiales *M* et *B* couronnées, et le blason semé de France à une bande de gueules (Bourbon) et semé de France à une bordure (engrêlée) de gueules (Berry)” (Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue*, I: Item 95, p. 45). This manuscript was not inherited from Marie’s father, Jean de Berry (Beaune and Lequain, “Marie de Berry,” 53).

⁷ For a well-researched presentation of the forty-one manuscripts Marie de Berry selected from her father’s library on his death (of which KBR ms. 11203-204 is *not* one), see Beaune and Lequain, “Marie de Berry.”

Hoorebeeck is unable to offer a plausible route of transmission into the Burgundian library, as the most direct connection in the form of Marie's younger daughter by Philippe, Bonne d'Artois, did not marry Philippe le Bon (Agnès' brother), Duke of Burgundy, until 1424, at least four years after the manuscript had already entered the Burgundian collection.⁸ Given the frequency with which Jean, duc de Berry, Marie's father, and Jean sans Peur, Agnès's father, exchanged books⁹ and the close ties (including the extended, interrupted engagement of Agnès and Charles) between the families Berry and Bourgogne,¹⁰ it seems completely within reason to suppose that Marie might have given the book as a gift to her cousin Jean sans Peur directly in the twenty-odd years between the end of her second marriage (1397) and his death (1419). Indeed, Delphine Jeannot has proposed this same transmission channel from Marie de Berry to Jean sans Peur based on the existence in the Burgundian collection of two other manuscripts containing Marie's arms, one of which is recorded in the 1420 inventory as having been a gift: "Item, unes autres *Heures de Nostre Dame*, historiées, que Madame de Berry donna à feu Monseigneur; et y sont les armes de madite dame en plusieurs lieux."¹¹ Although there is no evidence confirming Marie's offering of KBR ms. 11203-204 to Jean sans Peur, the fact that Marie owned two copies of the *Miroer des Dames*¹²—one of which she seems to have kept,

⁸ LDB II, 249.

⁹ Schnerb, *Prince meurtrier*, 454: "L'un des personnages qui offrit le plus de livres à Jean sans Peur fut, sans conteste, son oncle et parrain Jean de Berry [...] il offrit notamment à son filleul des *Heures de Notre Dame*, les *Antiquités judaïques* de Flavius Josèphe, les *Dialogues du pape Grégoire* en français, le *Miroir Historial* de Vincent de Beauvais et le *Livre du chevalier de La Tour-Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*. En retour, Jean sans Peur, après 1406, donna au duc de Berry une superbe Bible enluminée et, à l'occasion des étrennes du 1^{er} janvier 1413, le somptueux manuscrit du *Livre des merveilles*."

¹⁰ Agnès' husband, Charles I de Bourbon, whom she married in 1425, was Marie de Berry's first son by her third husband, Jean I de Bourbon.

¹¹ Bonost and de Templeuve, *Inventaire*, Item 7, p. 5 and Item 114, p. 71-72; Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 98. A consultation of Van den Gheyn reveals that n° 7 (p. 5) in the 1420 inventory contains the arms of Jean de Berry, while no mention is made of Marie's arms (*Catalogue*, I: Item 719, p. 445-46). Furthermore, Beaune and Lequain remark that "[I]es dons de Marie à l'occasion du jour de l'an sont bien attestés entre 1410 et 1416" ("Marie de Berry," 49).

¹² In addition to KBR ms. 11203-204, she owned a copy presentedly housed in the British Library, Add. 29986, which she inherited from her father (Beaune and Lequain, "Marie de Berry," 53). The *Miroer des dames* is

perhaps as a pedagogical tool for her own daughters—makes it all the more possible that she might have gifted the KBR manuscript to her cousin, who, by 1407, had *six* daughters (including Agnès) with his wife Marguerite de Bavière, perhaps on the occasion of one of the daughters' engagements or marriages.¹³

Textual Differences between KBR ms. 11203-204 and BnF fr. 610

There are a number of evident textual differences between the KBR fragment and the complete version of the *Miroer des dames*, a copy of which is housed in the BnF as fr. 610. Some are simply alternative, non-regional-specific spellings (e.g. *paller* vs. *parler*) or word-order based. Many of the deviations are more substantial, however, and merit closer consideration. The most immediately striking of these is the “inclusivity” of KBR ms. 11203-204 as compared to BnF fr. 610. This inclusivity is manifest in two ways, the first of which is in the occasional expansion of the audience to both genders. For example, on f. 10v in the KBR manuscript where the Latin “*Miseros facit populos peccatum*” is rendered as “Pechié fait les hommes **et les femmes** chetifs, povres et maleureus,” the BnF manuscript simply translates

found on fols. 1-146 of the manuscript, which dates from the fourth quarter of the 14th century. It also contains Hugh of St. Victor's *Cloistre de l'ame* and St. Anselm's *Meditations*. These details are found in the British Library's online catalogue,

[http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&oc=IAMS032-002021569&indx=2&recIds=IAMS032-002021569&recIdxs=1&elementId=1&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=1&frbg=&scp.scp=scope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1430869760882&srt=rank&mode=Basic&dum=true&vl\(freeText0\)=19+B.+xvi&vid=IAMS_VU2](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&oc=IAMS032-002021569&indx=2&recIds=IAMS032-002021569&recIdxs=1&elementId=1&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=1&frbg=&scp.scp=scope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1430869760882&srt=rank&mode=Basic&dum=true&vl(freeText0)=19+B.+xvi&vid=IAMS_VU2) (consulted May 29, 2016).

¹³ Marguerite de Bourgogne (1390-1442) initially married Louis de Guyenne, rising to the rank of *dauphine*; after his death, Marguerite refused remarriage for years because her suitors were not of as high a rank as her first husband. Marie de Bourgogne (c. 1393-1463) married Adolphe, count of Clèves; Isabelle de Bourgogne (†1412) became countess of Penthièvre through her marriage to Olivier de Blois; Catherine de Bourgogne (†1414) married Louis d'Anjou, count of Guise; Anne de Bourgogne (1404-1432) became duchess through her marriage to John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford; Agnès' husband Charles held the rank of count of Clermont at the time of their marriage in 1425 before becoming duke of Bourbon at his father's death in 1434, at which point Agnès became duchess of Bourbon and Auvergne as well as countess of Forez and Clermont-en-Beauvaisis (Schnerb, *Prince meurtrier*, 112; Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* [New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966], 245; Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 117). Jean sans Peur's daughter Jeanne was initially to marry Olivier de Blois, but died before the wedding (*John the Fearless*, 247).

populos as “les hommes” (I §5, f. 9b). Although such an addition occurs only a half dozen times all told,¹⁴ and there are substantially more instances where both manuscripts include masculine and feminine nouns or pronouns—meaning that this deviation, while interesting, is not necessarily statistically significant—, even these few modifications relating to both male *and female* sinners suggest a heightened interest in female readers.

More frequent and more relevant is the characteristic incorporation of several ranks of the aristocracy into the intended audience. For instance, at the end of the counsel on heavenly riches being of greater benefit than earthly wealth, BnF fr. 610 reads: “A ce que de noble dame et riche soit acomplie, la parole du saige en proverbes qui dit, Moult de filles ont richesses assemblees. Mes tu les a toutes surmontees” (I §13, f. 16vb).¹⁵ The KBR manuscript, on the other hand, says: “A ce que de noble dame et riche **princesse, royne et autre haute dame** soit acomplie,” etc. (f. 20v). The majority of these occurrences parallel this first instance, expanding the addressees to include queens, princesses, and “other” noble ladies. Although “queen” is the most frequently inserted accompaniment to *noble dame* (18 instances), “princesses” (14) and “other”/“all” (17) appear almost as often, implying a consistent concern to include several strata of aristocratic women.¹⁶ These additions would have been particularly

¹⁴ KBR ms. 11203-204, f. 21, “tant que homme **et fame** se glorefiera et amera este en delices” and “Ceulx, dist il, qui sunt vestus de robes precieuses et vivent en delices teilx demeurent en la maison des roys, des grans segneurs **et des hautes et riches dames** des delices doist on et puest on user pour nature soustenir”; f. 27v, “quer les princes, **princesses, seigneurs et dames** deu monde sont ordenés”; f. 28v, “**celle et celui** qui deshonore l’ame de ly”; f. 52, “De telle maniere de malveis princes **et seigneurs, princesses es dames**, dist le prophete Ozeas.”

¹⁵ Proverbs 31:29, with regards to managing one’s household: “Many women have done well, but you surpass them all.” Translation from the Tanakh.

¹⁶ f. 19v, “princez ou princesses, **roys ou roynes**”; f. 20v, “princeps et princesses, **roys ou royne**”; f. 25v, “noble dame, **royne ou princesses ou austre**”; f. 26, “noble dame **comme princesse ou autre**”; f. 26v, “noble dame, **princesse, royne ou autre dame**”; f. 27, “elle doie peu prisier, **mes les doit toute haute dame, royne ou princesses** despudier”; f. 27v, “ce doist **noble dame ou royne** en teile maniere”; f. 28, “les princes, **les roys et les segneurs** [...] nouvelles doivent oÿr **les roys es les princes et les segneurs**”; f. 28v, “Comment **royne ou autre** noble dame doist autruy honnourer”; f. 30, “noble dame, **royne et princesse**”; f. 30v, “noble dame, **royne et princesse**”; f. 35v, “noble dame, **princesse** ou royne”; f. 37, “que **noble dame, royne ou austre princesse**”; f. 37v, “Noble dame, **royne, princesse ou autre**”; f. 38, “noble dame **comme princesse ou royne et**

appropriate for Jean sans Peur's daughters who went on to hold a variety of titles, although not that of queen.¹⁷

Even more seemingly drastic textual expansions are also present in the KBR manuscript, such as “Comment princes ou princesses, **roys ou roynes et queconques autre personne** doist Dieu honorer” (f. 29v).¹⁸ While the incorporation of the various ranks of the aristocracy into the instructions' addressees is contextualized by the manuscript's owners, *queconques autre personne* goes even further by encompassing all potential readers, no matter their rank or station. From such universal truths we can infer that the scribe for this particular manuscript anticipated that this work might be read to or by entire households rather than to only the noble family members.

Finally, there are occasions where the male ranks swell, such as “nouvelles doient oÿr **les roys es les princes et les segneurs**” (f. 28), indicating that while the text may be focused on ladies, men were also targeted by its lessons, either as readers and listeners themselves or by women now adequately prepared to raise their aristocratic sons.¹⁹

Another noteworthy difference between the texts of the two manuscripts consists in the provision of chapter numbers for almost every Latin quotation. That is, where BnF fr. 610 simply states, “en Proverbes dit” (I §6, f. 17vb), KBR ms. 11203-204 indicates, “em Proverbes

quelconques austre fame”; f. 38v, “noble dame, **royne et autre fame**”; f. 39v, “noble dame **et toute femme**” and “noble **dame**, royne **ou autre femme**”; f. 40, “noble dame, **royne ou autre**”; f. 40v, “noble dame, **royne, princesse ou autre**”; f. 41, “noble dame, **royne ou autre**”; f. 41v, “noble dame, **royne ou autre dame**”; f. 42, “noble dame **et aussi toutes femmes**”; f. 44v, “noble dame, **royne ou austre**”; f. 45v, “en noble **ne en nulle** dame”; f. 47v, “princes et princesse, **roys et roynes**”; f. 48v, “**nobles princes et nobles dames**”; f. 51v, “roys, roynes, princes **et princesses et tous autres seigneurs terriens**”; f. 52, “malveis princes **et seigneurs, princesses es dames**.”

¹⁷ Cf. n. 13.

¹⁸ This is not a lone anomaly; *queconques autre* or *quelconques austre* also occurs on f. 38, *toute femme* appears on f. 39v and f. 42, and *tous autres seigneurs terriens* on f. 51v.

¹⁹ We see a similar implication on f. 50, where the text includes, “et ce doibvent bien noter nos roys et nos princes,” which phrase is absent from BnF fr. 610.

chap. VIII” (f. 22). Similarly detailed citations are found in the earliest Latin manuscript of the *Speculum dominarum*, BnF lat. 6784,²⁰ making it impossible to deduce why exactly they were omitted from the BnF copy. However, they are present, albeit as marginal additions in Library, Corpus Christi ms. 324 (see f. 6v, for example), the oldest extant vernacular translation of the *Miroir des dames*,²¹ implying a continued belief on the part of the scribes that readers, whichever sex they might have been, would find this information useful.

Marginal Annotations in KBR ms. 11203-204

Unlike BnF fr. 610, whose margins contain nothing more than the occasional cross marking a line, the margins of KBR ms. 11203-204 contain a number of annotations such as “Notés” (f. 42), “nocte bien cest chapistre” (f. 44), and “exemple” (f. 45), in at least two hands, one of which appears to be the same as that of the scribe.²² In addition to the fact that this manuscript comprised part of Jean sans Peur’s library rather than that of his daughter, these marginal notations cannot be traced back to Agnès herself based on a comparison of scripts. We have evidence of her handwriting from very near the end of her life, in a letter addressed to Anne de France, which must date sometime between 1474 (when Anne married Agnès’ son Pierre II de Bourbon) and 1476 (Agnès’ death).²³ The body of the letter is in a 15th-century secretarial hand, with the closing sentiments, “Votre humble et bele mere, Agnes,” written in a trembling, unpracticed script (Fig. 40 and detail). The writing above and below the body of the letter, as well as accompanying Agnès’ signature, is in a notably later hand dating to the

²⁰ See Mastny, “*Mirror of the Queen*,” 182.

²¹ <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=324> (consulted May 29, 2016).

²² These notations are in blue and red ink, according to Van Hoorebeeck (*LDB II*, 243), but the difference is indistinguishable on the photocopy in my possession (see Fig. 1, for example). For my editorial practices, see p. XVIII.

²³ The date of 1486 in the upper left corner is evidently incorrect.

16th century; this same hand is found labelling other letters in the same collection, implying that it belongs to whoever assembled the manuscript.

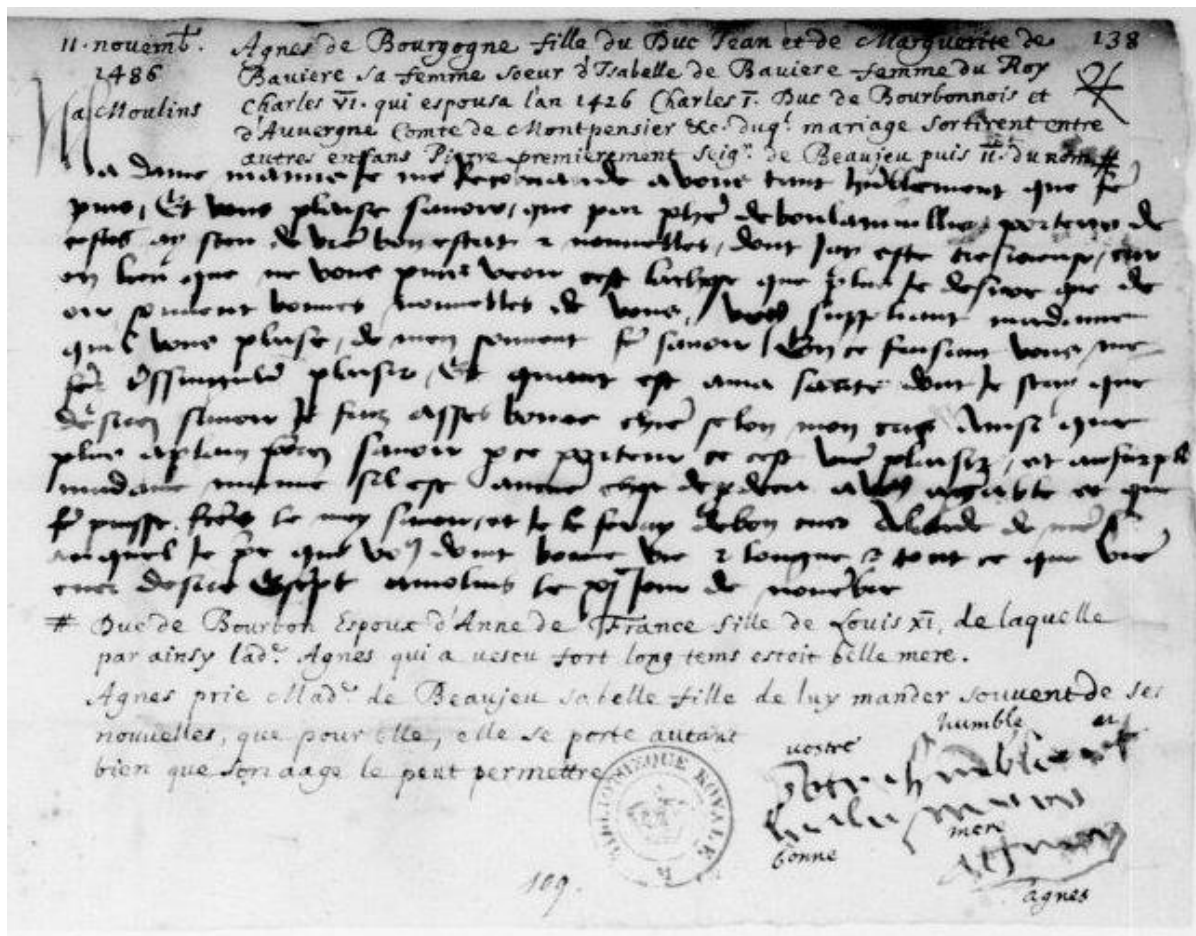
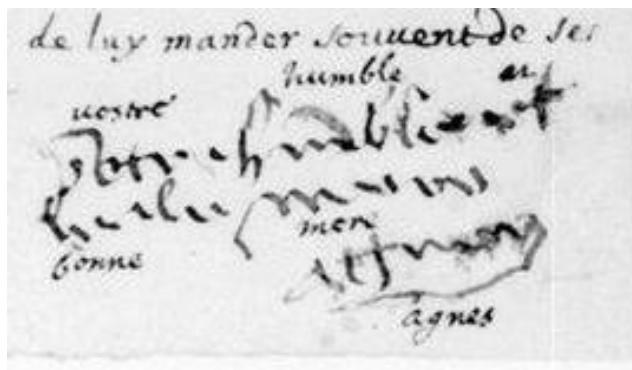


Fig. 40: BnF fr. 15538, *Lettres et pièces*, f. 138, Letter from Agnès de Bourgogne to Anne de France



Detail: Agnès de Bourgogne's Signature

By contrast, those marginal notations in KBR ms. 11203-204, which appear to be in a contemporaneous, if not identical, hand to the body of the text, are small and controlled—all in 14th-century Textualis Formata (Fig. 41 and 42).²⁴

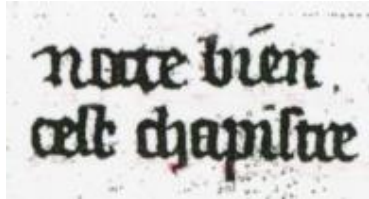


Fig. 41: KBR ms. 11203-204, *Miroer du monde*, by Durand de Champagne, f. 45 detail, “nocte bien cest chapistre”

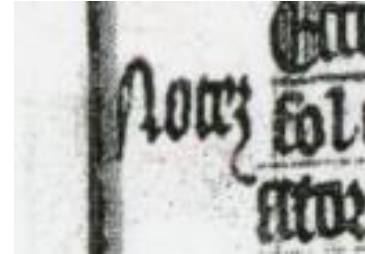


Fig. 42: KBR ms. 11203-204, *Miroer du monde*, by Durand de Champagne, f. 45 detail, “Notez”

From the professional quality of the note-taking hands, we can postulate that the owner of the text indicated to a scribe or tutor, or the writer decided of his own initiative, which portions were worthy of further consideration.²⁵ If the latter were the case, however, we might expect notations throughout the text, rather than on only the last 12 folios of the *Miroer*, as they actually are. Whatever the case may be, readers of the KBR manuscript, presumably including Agnès’ parents, Marguerite de Bavière and Jean sans Peur, and possibly even (a) tutor(s), likely relied on these notes to guide their use of the text for their own edification and for that of the children.

The “Notés” and “nocte bien cest dit” point to portions of the text on idleness (f. 42), resorting to sorcery to acquire knowledge beyond human scope (f. 44), and excessive ornamentation (f. 45)—all sins to which women and girls were particularly prone, according

²⁴ Van Hoorebeeck identifies the hand as a “gothique textuelle” (*LDB II*, 243). It seems probable that the person consistently writing “Notés” (or “Notez” on the one occasion) was a different one than whoever wrote “Nocte bien cest dit/mot/exemple,” as the first never contains the intervening *c* while the second always does. A visual comparison of the two types of marginalia did not allow me to satisfactorily distinguish between them, however, so I am hesitant to make such a claim.

²⁵ It is also conceivable that the notes that seem to be in the same hand as the body of the text might be based on notes in the manuscript from which KBR ms. 11203-204 was copied. Which manuscript that might be, however, is currently unknown.

to medieval thought. The notes on f. 45v both pertain to maintaining a peaceful, well-run household, as women should neither scold their husbands for refusing to live beyond their means nor force them to reside with a constantly irate woman. With seven daughters whose future marriages had to be arranged, this could certainly have been a concern in Jean sans Peur's household. Farther on, we find extra attention paid to exhortations against gossip, to the importance of seeking the good opinion of others and to the virtue of good works, in imitation of the Virgin Mary. This section is signaled in the margins not only by the command *Notés*, but also by *exemple*, reinforcing the necessity of acknowledging a particular precept as well as putting it into action via imitation.

Marginal notations on ff. 50 and 51 also direct attention to explanations of love and hate, in accordance with the proper maintenance of one's soul; on f. 53v, the entire column on temperance is headed by a command to "Nocte bien cest mot;" these references are essentially gender-neutral, as there are no nearby appeals to either men or women of any rank. Other such signposts are found alongside exhortations to defend the common good (f. 49), to prefer honest counsel rather than that of flatterers (f. 51v), and to avoid seeking honor for honor's sake but rather for the benefit of the people (f. 53), implying a readership concerned with its public duties as much as with its private state of grace. The larger implication of this range of noteworthy subjects is that both sexes were to learn from them, further reinforcing the impression given by the inclusion of various ranks of men and women remarked on above.²⁶

²⁶ The sole "Nota" is placed alongside an explanation of Augustine's two cities, the city of God and the city of Hell (f. 48v). It seems likely that the Latinity of the note is specifically tied to Augustine's text. If I were able to consider this manuscript with other didactic texts comprising part of Jean sans Peur's library, I might be able to offer further insights, both as to who was in charge of the notations and their relationship to the ducal family's reading habits on the whole. Unfortunately, some items from his inventory, such as the *Enseignement des enfans* (Bonost and de Templeuve, *Inventaire*, Item 211, p. 143), have been lost over the centuries; a great many of the extant manuscripts are currently held in Brussels' Royal Library, and I have not yet been able to consult them.

Conclusion

From the female coat of arms decorating the first folio to the marginal notations annotating passages directed specifically at women to the deliberate inclusion of ladies of several different aristocratic ranks among the text's addressees, each textual and codicological element comprising the fragmentary copy of the *Miroer des dames* contained in KBR ms. 11203-204 upholds the contention that, although this particular manuscript was part of a man's library, its ultimate intended audience was women.

Transcription of Annotated Folios from KBR ms. 11203-204

The following transcription spans fols. 41-53v, the last 12 of the 53 folio fragment of the *Miroer des dames* text; this particular portion of the manuscript is all that contains marginal notations. The transcription mirrors the page layout of the manuscript as closely as possible, including the actual arrangement of the marginal notations vis-à-vis the lines of the text itself. Rubrics are indicated by the red-colored text. Latin is indicated by italics. To facilitate ease of location, the text corresponding to the marginal notations has been highlighted in blue; text corresponding to citational annotations (e.g. "Saint Pol," which type of annotation can also be found in Corpus Christi ms. 324) has been highlighted in yellow.

[Beginning of Excerpt]

constanté est loés de Jhesucrist. Saint Jehan Baptiste en l'Es- [f. 41]

vangille saint Mathieu XI^o ca^o [VII]: *Quid existis in deserto*

*videre harudinem vento agitantur etc.*²⁷ C'est a dire que Dieu

²⁷ Matthew 11:7: "illis autem abeuntibus coepit Iesus dicere ad turbas de Iohanne quid existis in desertum videre harudinem vento agitatam." All Biblical citations are from the Vulgate, accessed through *BibleGateway.com* (<www.biblegateway.com> [consulted June 4, 2016]).

disoit de mon segnieur saint Johan Baptiste quelle chose estes vous aler vëoir en desert. Est ce un rosel qui se tourne a tous vens. Non aussiz comme se Jhesucrist voussist dire en luy n'a point de muableté. Ce ce est trop laide chose em personne soit muable et variable. Que elle veulle maintenant une chose et maintenant ne la veulle pas, maintenant afferme une chose et promette, et maintenant fache le contraire, maintenant une chose commande et maintenant la descommande et ne la veulle pas faire. **Que noble dame doist croyre volentiers bon conseil et oïr volentiers bons ensengemens.**

Item noble dame doist volentiers croire bon et sain conseil et volentiers oïr bonnes informacions et bons enseingemens. Et ne doist pas soustenir sa sentence contre la sentence des sages qui proufistablement le conseillent. Et ne dist pas fame les choses de sa propre teste et de sa volenté quer elle doist en luy jugier que elle ni voist pas plus clerement que les aultres qui mout ont veu et esprouvé a leur aage. Item noble dame, royne ou autre soist taisans et aussiz poupallans contre aucunes qui sans [c]raint²⁸ es sains avis pallent a la volee et dient, recitent et recordent tout ce qui leur vient a la bouche.

²⁸ Orig. *fraint*.

Le Sage dist en Ecclesiastique ca° XXVI° que ce est dons de Dieu, fame sage et pouillante. Et pour ce que paller en l'esglise et en lieux de Dieu et consacrés est chose a reprochier et a reprendre, que tenir pallement autre part. Pour ce en especial saint Pol dist en la premiere espistre a ceulx de Chorinthe ca° III° XIII°: *Mulieres in ecclesia taceant.*²⁹ **Je veul, dist il, que les fames se taisent en l'esglise quer on ne peust paller en l'esglise et bien entendre le devin office.**

li second **Doncques ceulx qui y pallent fonst a Dieu et auz gens de Paradis et a tous les sains irreverence tres grant. Et sy empeschent les autres de leur devocion a Dieu et a ses sains et leur bon propos, etc.** **Que noble dame doist estre devote a Dieu par oroisons**

[f. 41v]

Item noble dame doist estre devote a Dieu par oroisons en oyant volentiers messes et le service de Dieu.

Quer certes en oroison est nourrie, gardee et engressie ame devote. Engressie dis je en l'eaue de devocion tout aussiz comment est nouris et engressies le poisson en l'eaue. Et pour ce disoit David em Psaltier ainssiz: *Super aquam refectionis educavit me etc.*³¹ Dieu, dist il, seur l'iaue de devocion m'a

²⁹ I Corinthians 14:34: "mulieres in ecclesiis taceant non enim permittitur eis loqui sed subditas esse sicut et lex dicit."

³⁰ The *proufist* are used interchangeably with *conclusions* to divide the text. This note is only surprising in that the first *proufist* is not annotated.

³¹ Psalm 22:2: "in loco pascuae ibi; me conlocavit super aquam refectionis educavit me."

donné ma pature et ma refection et ma ame convertie
a son saint non. En ceste maniere faisoit la devote Ju-
dich, de laquelle il est escript Judith ca° XII° que elle issoit
a la valee de Bethulie et se lavoit en la fonteine de eaue.
Et quant elle estoit bien lavee elle montoit pour prier
Dieu que il voussist sa voie adrechier a la fin que soy et son
pueple de la main de ses anemis voussist delivrer. **Ex-**
emple de devocion mout merveilleuse avons nous en
une bonne et noble dame qui estoit appelee Anne, de
Saint Luc **laquelle dist saint Luc qu'elle ne se partoit point du tem-**
ple, et jour et nuit elle servoit nostre segnieur en
junant et en Dieu priant. Et doist savoir noble da-
me, royne ou autre dame que sainte devocion est .i.
tres precieus onguemens qui est a Dieu mout plaissant
et agréable, duquel dist saint Benart: Il est, dist il, ong-
uement de contricion, onguement de devocion, ongue-
ment de pitié et de compassion. Le premier est poin-
gnant et [cause]³² de douleur. Le second est attrempés³³ et
hoste la douleur. Et le tiers onguement garist par
telle maniere: qui met esboute hors de l'ame toute
maladie. Es³⁴ sont les dis saint Benart. **De bonnes**

³² This is struck out and preceded by a caret, but the marginal correction is too faint to be deciphered. This reading has been substituted in from BnF fr. 610.

³³ Likely a transposition of letters from the original *attempré*, meaning sweet.

³⁴ This scribe regularly substitutes *es* for *et*, as well as using *es* to mean *aux*.

meurs que doivent avoir toutes nobles dames en
mariage et font a noter.

Autres meurs et condicions sont que noble dame [f. 42]
doit avoir, quer s'elle est a mariage, elle doit estre
a son espouz et son segnieur subjecte³⁵ doit venir et naistre d'a-
mour et en amour fondee. Des bonnes meurs saint Pierre
dist en une espistre cap^o:³⁶ *Mulieres enim viris suis subdi-*
cte sint etc. Les fames, dist il, soient subjectes et humilianz
a leurs maris. Aussi ellez doivent estre songneuses de bien
et diliganment nourrir et enseigner leurs enffans en
doctrines de bonnes meurs; entre noblez et puissans soit
de plus grant noblesce; et entre les personnes religieuse[s]
estre meure et honneste. Entre les personnes qui lui sont
privés, soit liee et joieuse; en recevoir bonnes gens doit
estre courtoise; et endonner dons selon sa faculté doit estre
large et liberal[e]. Soit em pugnissant les malveis qui
amender ne se veullent dure, aspre et riguerouse; aus
povres gens piteuse, et a tous amiable es gracieuse. Les
malades doit visiter par douceur de compassion. Et auz
desconfortés faire confort et vraie consolacion. A ceste fin
que de sa plenté et habondance puisse chascuns pinsier

³⁵ BnF fr. 610 includes “et ceste subgecion” at this point, clarifying the sense in conjunction with an additional “estre” which precedes “en amour fondee” in the next line.

³⁶ It seems that this citation actually comes from Ephesians 5:22, “Mulieres viris suis subditae sicut Domino.” Ephesians is generally attributed to Paul rather than Peter.

et havoir et aucun biens largement recevoir.

Le second proufist des nobles dames.³⁷

**Le second chapistre qui palle des mauvaises meurs et con-
dicions que noble dame et aussi toutes femmes doivent
avoir fuir es eslongnier.**

Item doit mout noble dame estudier et fure et eslon-
gnier toutes meurs et condicions malvaises. Pre-
mierement garder soi que elle ne soit oyseuze. Quer de oyseuseté
viennent mout de ma[u]x. Par oyseuseté l’entendement est obscur-
cis et la personne est assotee et de folie raemplie. Salemons dist
em Proverbes cap° XII° que qui ne fuit oyseuseté, il est trop fol;
par oyseuseté l’ame est de vertu despoulliee et desnuee. Et
dist ainsi Salemon em Proverbes cap° XXIII°: **Qui sequatur
ocium replebitur egeztate.**³⁸ **Qui est oyseuz, il sera raemplis
de povreté.** Quar il part le temps en quel lieu doit ac-
querir merite et la grace Dieu empetrer. Item qui est oy- [f. 42v]
seus, il donne voie et entree a tous vices. En Eccliasistique
dist li sages cap° XXX°: *Multa mala docint ociositas.*³⁹ C’est
a dire que oyseuse enseigne a faire maintes mauvesti-
es. Et pour ce dist Ezechiel le prophete cap° XXII° que toute

Notés

³⁷ There is a great deal of redundancy in the rubrics in the *Miroer des dames*, especially when announcing the various conclusions and chapters of each section. This is the only rubric in this excerpt which closes rather than opens a section.

³⁸ Proverbs 28:19: “qui operatur terram suam saturabitur panibus qui sectatur otium replebitur egestate.”

³⁹ Ecclesiastes 33:29: “multam enim malitiam docuit otiositas.”

l'iniquité qui fu ou peuple de Sodome vint pour cause
d'orgeul et d'oyseuseté et de outrage em boire et en menger.

Saint Bernart Et saint Bernart dist que la sentine et l'ordure de toutz
temptacions et de toutes mauveises pensees si est estre oy-
seus. Et la cause si puet estre quer cuer humain ne peut
estre sans aucune occupacion. Et se il n'est occupés en auc-
cune chose de proufist par neccessité, il convient que il se oc-
cupe en chose vaine sans nul proufist, nuysable es da-

S. Anciaul- me Selon ce que saint Anciaulmes nous ensei-
mes gne en un livre qui est appellés *Des Samblances*, ouquel
livre il met exemple du moulin d'un riche homme, le-
quel havoit .I. anemi qui le dit moulin occupoit auc-
cune fois de bouee, aucune fois de poiz, aucune fois il
metoit pierrez, et aucune fois y metoit estrain et paille.

Par cest exemple il nous demonstre que tout ainssi que
le moulin tourne continuellement, ainsi nostre ceur sans
cessier est en aucune chose occupés. Or avient que

Exemple l'anemi et le diable d'enfer qui tous jours s'efforce d'em-
noctable peschier le fruit que nous pouons faire par sa mauveisse
subjection, aucune fois met en nostre ceur boe et ordure.
C'est assavoir pensees leides, ordes et abhominables de
pechiés carnex qui le ceur tache et ordoie et aucune foy
pois; ce sont pensees de temporalité qui le cuer lient, re-

tiennent et engbuent sans departir. Aucune fois l'a-
nemi met en moulin de nostre cuer pierres. Ce sont es-
mouvements de turbacion, de ire et de impacience et de felonnie
qui le cuer maintient en affliction et a meschief et grant
tourment. Et auccune foys il y met paille, estrain et feure
et sont pensees roides et vaines qui a tout le mains le cuer
empeschent, occupent et destourbent de bien vouloir

[f. 43]

Jerosme

et de bien penser. Et pour ce dist saint Jerome: *Semp-
atiquis bonis facito etc.* Fai, dist saint Jerome, tousjours
aucun bien pour ce que l'anemi d'enfer te treuve ocu-
pé. Aussi comme se il vousist dire se il ne treuve ocupé
em bien. Certes il te adminstera occupacion mauvei-
ses. Item noble dame doit mout soy garder qu'elle ne
soit oyseuse car par estre oyseuz l'em pert le louier de la
vie pardurable et ainsi le nous monstre Jhesucrist en
l'Evangille saint Mathieu cap° xx°: Ou il reprent les oy-
seus, et pour ce au soir de la mort aus ouvriers non
pas aus oyseus fu baillie le denier par quoy est enten-
du le louier de paradis. Item par estre oyseus on encourt
le destroit et espouvantable jugement de Dieu. Car selonc
la sentence Jhesucrist ca° XII° de toute parolle oyseuse que
nous aurons dicte, nous rendionz raison au jour du Des-
troit Jugement. Or pense parfondement que se il convi-

ent rendre raison de parolle oyseuse que sera ce des parol-
les damageuses es des grans iniquités et des horriblez
pechiés que nous fasons. **Que noble dame se doit
bien garder de trop grant curiosité.**

Aprés noble dame se doit bien et mout garder que elle
ne soit trop curieuse et qu'elle ne soit fillie de sa mere
Eve, laquelle curieusement la parole du serpent oÿ, trop cu-
rieusement la divine sapience convoita. En desirant
estre si comme Dieu pour savoir le bien et le mal curieu-
sment le fruit de l'arbre deffendu qui estoit bel a vëoir
et dous a gouster regarda et lors y toucha et en menga comme
dist est Genesi cap° III°. Et pour miex entendre quelle
chose est curiosité, il est bon assavoir quer il est une curiosité
qui est vëoir choses secretes, celeez et obscurez ou occultes,
reprooveez et merveilleusez a regarder si comme nous li-
sons de la fille Jacob qui est non Dine, laquelle yssoit de
la maison son pere pour vëoir l'atour des dames du
païs et leur mancion. Et le bon roy David resgarda curi- [f. 43v]
eusement Bethsabee, femme le bon chevalier Urie, qui se baingnoit
et se l'avoit en .I. solier selon ce que dist l'Escripture II Roys
XI°. Et ceulx de la cité de Bethsames curieusement voudrent
vëoir l'arche nostre segnieur contre le commandement de la
loy. Si comme l'en list en premier libre des Roys cap° VI°.

Et que leur avint il d'estre curieus: Digne sa virginité
emperdi et son pucelage et fu corumpue. David avoutire
commist et le bon et loyal chevaler occist. Ceulz de Bethsames en
furent occhis. C'est assavoir sexante et vi des plus grans
et bien, chincquante mille des autres. Et nostre mere
Eve pour sa grant curiosité perdi l'estat de innocence
et fu mise en grant misere et toutes les autres. Une
autre curiosité y a, c'est de savoir chosez soubtives et mes-
conneues si comme dist est de Eve qui voiloit comme Dieu
bien et mal savoir. Et en y a plusieurs qui miex aiment
a savoir choses curieusez fors a entendre de nul ou de pe-
tit proufist que les choses legieres a entendre et prou-
fitables au salut de l'ame. Plusieurs autres dames sont
qui sont negligens de savoir, congnoistre et enchercier
leur propres consciences s'efforcent curieusement en-
querir les fais, les affections, entencions, parolles et
condicions d'autrui. Et de toutes choses font mauveiz
jugement et bien souvent il ha plus ha reprendre et
a blasmer en eulx que en autrui. Contre les quelx
dist saint Pol en l'espistre aux Romainz cap^o XII^o: O dit
il, tu qui autri juges et condempnes et les vices et les pe-
chiés tu reprens et blasmes en autrui, tu fais. Ou par
aventure pis, cuides tu eschaper le jugement de

Dieu. Et Jhesucrist en l'Evangille saint Mathieu cap^o vi^o
palle a tiex manieres de gens en eulx represnant: Tu
vois, dist il, un festu en l'ueil de ton voisin, et le grant
chevron qui est en ton oeuil, tu ne vois pas. Et dist a-
prés: Ypocrite, met hors de toy le chevron premierement
qui t'aveugle et après tu verras et vëoir pourras a host [f. 44]
le festu de l'eul de ton frere. Ces curiosités dictes qui sunt
a vëoir et en savoir deffont le sage en Ecclesiastique cap^o
iii^o qui dist en telle manière: *Alciora te ne quesieris que autem
precepit tibi deus cogna illa semper.*⁴⁰ Garde toy, dist il, que
tu ne quieres pas savoir plus haute chose que tu mes
et ne encherces pas les fors choses et les grans soulti-
vetés mes pensez adez aux choses que Dieu ta comman-
dees. Et ne soies pas trop curieus de savoir ce que a toy
pas n'appartient, quer ce n'est nulle neccessité de vëoir les
choses occultes et repostez. Or sont doncques mout coupables
et a reprendre ceulz et cellez qui par voies et manieres
indevees et desfendues s'estudient et efforcent enquerir
et savoir les secrés qui ne sont pas soubmis a humaine
congnoissance. **Si comme ceulz qui par devins et devines,
par enchantemens et sorceries, par regarder en l'espee, par lire le grec-**

⁴⁰ Ecclesiastes 3:22: "altiora te ne scrutaveris et fortiora te ne exquisieris sed quae praecepit tibi Deus illa cogita semper et in pluribus operibus eius ne fueris curiosus."

mair^e,⁴¹ par songes de vielles, et par invocation de l'anemy
veullent savoir le jour, l'eure et la maniere de leur mort,
l'estat et le lieu de leurs parens et amis, les choses a ave-
nir, et les choses perdues trouver et recouvrer. Et telx
manieres de gens sont a reprouver comme fausse, mal-
veise et soupechonouse et sorciere. Aprés trouvons une
curieuseté d'autre maniere, en avoir beles et precieuses
choses qui ne sont pas de neccessité. Et de ceste curieuse-
té sont mout couxpables dames et damoyseles qui
convoitent a avoir robes et joyauz precieus pour estre
plus comtez et plus plaissans devant les fous et est
a leur tres grant perdicion et dampnement, se cil qui fist
Adam ne ment. Et en ceste curieuse vanité, une chascune
s'efforce les autres sourmonter, combien qu'elle soit po-
vre et de petit estat, pour laquelle chose acomplir il enconvi-
ent vendre meublez et heritages et soy obliger a usuriers
et a foire de champaigne aucune fois. Et convient fina-
blement qu'ils soient povres, mendians et difeteus. Ce-
ste curiosité apert souvent entre les clers qui plus veu-
lent avoir biaux livres, curiex et bien enluminez, que mains
biaux et fussent oré, bon corrigiés etc. **La tierce conclu-**

nocte bien cest
chapistre

[f. 44v]

⁴¹ BnF fr. 610 offers "gramare" which, according to Godefroy, can mean one who is a "savant, astrologue, magicien" (Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, repr. 1982).

sion quant au second proufit qui palle des meurs qui
font a reprouchier. Ambicion de meurs et grant beubans.

Et ne souffit pas que noble dame ne soit pas oyseuse ne curieuse, si comme dist est, mais se doit mout garder de estre ambicieuse et pour ce miex entendre ambicion n'est autre chose que convoitier desmesurement et desordeneement loenge humaine, honneur mondaine, faveur et gloire vaine. Et ce vice reingne em plusieurs fames qui veullent et desirrent seules estre amees, seules estre loees, seules et singulierement estre servies es honorees, seules en seignouries estre haut eslevees, et est grant merveille car l'Escripture dit en Ecclisiastique cap^o XXV^o que quant fame a seigneurie, elle est a son mari contraire. Et est a entendre de commune loy et de femme orgueilleuse es ambicieuse qui quiert principalement honneur a recevoir.

Que noble dame ne doit avoir ambicion d'onneurs
ne querir grans beubans.

Aussi noble dame, royne ou austre ne doit pas estre bobanciere ne en robes trop curieuses et delicieuses, ne en atour outrageus, ne en chartis, ne en chevaucheurs, ne en desirant estre avironnee et acompaignee des grans gens. Car aucunes y a que bien que elles aient plusieurs tres belles condicions, si comme sont chaste, honeste, charité, pitié, devocion et ainssi des autres, tou-

tesvoies ne pevent estre saoulé de desirier l'onneur et le bo-
bant du monde. En chevaucheurs et en grant compa-
gnies de grans personnes pour plus apparoir devant le
monde, saint Pol enseingne en la premiere espistre a un
bon evesque qui avoit nom Thimoteus cap^o ii^o comment
elles se doivent avoir quant a ce cas, et dist ainssi: Je
veul, dist il, les fames estre en habit aourné si qu'elles
soient vergongneusez et sobres en leur atour. **En telle
maniere qui ni hait oultra ne excesse, especialment
en leur cheveux trechier, leur faces farder si comme font
aucunes qui la plus grant partie du temps mettent en
leur actour. De la royne Hester est il escript cap^o ii^o que
elle ne quist pas le actour ne le parement et aournement
des fames. Et nientmains elle estoit trez belle et de telle
biauté que nuls ne le creust se il ne la vëist.** Et devant
les yex de tous estoit gracieuse et amiable et le roy l'a-
ma sur toutes les austres. Biauté naturele de femme
qui est aournee sobrement et honnestement la rent
plus belle et plus gracieuse que ne feroit atour outra-
geus et trop curieus. En tel atour ou il ha exces es
oultrage au mains est cause de ruine et de cheoir em
plusieurs pechiés. Et ainssi le dist le sage roy en Eccle-

[f. 45] nocte bien
cest chapistre

exemple

siastique cap° XX°: *Propter speciem enim mulieris vilti.*⁴²

Prierunt pour cause, dist il, de l'atour et de la bieauté de
femme. Maint en sont perillies. Et em Proverbes III cap° VII°:

*Ecce occurrit ei mulier vaga etc.*⁴³ **Vees ci, dist il, que au**

Notez

fol et sot Juvenciel vint au devant une femme paree et

atornee comme fame legiere et de mauveis regnon, ap-

pareilliee pour decevoir les ames. Que noble dame

ne doit pas estre queruleuse ne pleintive.

Aprés je di que noble dame ne doit pas estre que-

ruleuse ne pleintive ne trop chargeuse, quar

certes trop chargeuse. Car aucunes en y a qui sont si tres

chargeuses et ennuieuses que adés se plainent de leurs ma-

ris et par parolles plaintives les molestent jour et nuit

pour avoir robes, jouyaus et autres choses precieuses main-

tenant pleurent, maintenant gemissent, maintenant

soupirent, maintenant tencent, maintenant mur-

murent et a leur maris mainnent mauveise vie. **Les**

complaintes des males et envieuses fames etc.

Et en elles complegniant usent aucune fois de tel

language: Je sui a douleur, a meschief et a grant

angoisse et le doi bien estre, **dient a leurs maris quer je voy**

[f. 45v]

que tu ne m'aimmes pas ne riens ne me prises ne honeu-

⁴² Ecclesiastes 9:9: "propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt et ex hoc concupiscentia quasi ignis exardescit."

⁴³ Proverbs 7:10: "et ecce mulier occurrit illi ornata meretricio praeparata ad capiendas animas garrula et vaga."

Notés

res et me tiens en grant serviture, si comme je fusse ta
chamberiere. Toutes les autres sont mielx vestues et miex
parees. Je sui entre les autres la plus chetive et la plus
meschante. Et certes telle condicion ne doit pas estre en noble
ne en nulle dame. Que noble dame ne doit pas estre
jalouse et aussi elle ne doit pas estre en nulle mauveise
Aussi ne doit pas elle estre jalouse souspechon.
ne en souspeschon. Quar celle qui est jalouse vit
en grant amertune et grant angoisse de cuer et qui pis
[vault]⁴⁴ elle languist. Telle femme quiert toutes les voies de
son mari tenir. Tout critique il fait ou dist, elle veut vë-
oir, savoir et ouïr. Tout prent et tourne a mal. Elle veil-
le tence et reprouche a son mari pour quoy les autres y
regardent et leur tient compagnie ne pallement. Et
par tiex parolles ou semblables, elle se tourmente. Elle se
trouble et son mari, et en mout de guises le travaille
et le tourmente et moleste. De telle femme palle Psalmon
en Ecclesiastique cap° XXVI°: Douleur de cuer et pleur est
fame jalouse. Et en fame jalouse trouveras que sa lan-
gue est un fleaux qui nulle n'espargne. Comment noble
dame se doit garder de courous et d'ire et aussi d'estre tenche-
resse et aussi toutes femmes se doibvent bien garder.

⁴⁴ Illegible. Reading taken from BnF fr. 610, f. 45v.

Et ne doist pas aussi estre tenceresse ne courouceu-
se, quer selon la douctrine du sage em Proverbes,
miex vaudroit estre etseoir⁴⁵ en l'anglet de la maisson que
converser avecques femme tenceresse, noiseuse ne noteuse.
Item elle ne doit pas estre ireuse, courouceuse, felenesse ne
despiteuse. Car le sage dist en Ecclesiastique que tout aussi
comme le serpent et la couleuvre ha la teste tres venimeuse
et sourmonte autre venun, aussi **le courous et l'ire de la ma-**
le femme tous autres courous sourmonte. Ce seroit, dist
il, choses plus plaissans demourer avecques les lions
et les draglons que il ne seroit converser avecques femmes
felonnesse et plaine d'iniquité. Quer ire de femme et irraveren-
ce est grant confusion. Femme felonnesce n'est autre cho-
se que le coup et la plaie de la mort. Et de mort corpore-
le et aussi de la mort esprituele etc. **Que noble dame**
ne doit pas estre cauteleuse ne malicieuse.
Aussi ne doit noble dame estre maliciuz, quer malisce
de fame est trop perilleuse. Et pour ce quant elle con-
vertit son sens et son engin a malice, elle pense et treuve
voies nouvelles et diverses de venir a sa maluze entente.
Et pour ce dist li sages, Je treuve la malicieuse femme plus
amere que la mort n'est. Laquelle est le las des veneurs⁴⁶

Notés

[f. 46]

⁴⁵ I believe this is an unusual spelling of *asseoir*.

⁴⁶ Extra *e* omitted. Orig. *veneours*

d'enfer. Son cuer est une sagnie et .I. filez a prendre poissons,
c'est a dire homes, ses mains ressemblent. Et cil qui veut

[...]esliens a Dieu plaire, celle femme fuit et eslongne. **Il n'est malice**

[...]e femme **sur malice de fame. Comme noble dame, roygne ou autre femme ne
doit croire trop legierement.**

Noble dame aussi ne doit pas croire trop tost ne trop
legierement, si comme fist Eve nostre premiere mere
qui trop hastivement crust a ce que l'anemi par le serpent
li dist, qui estoit du tout chose non creable. C'est assavoir
qu'elle seroit comme Dieu. De ce dist saint Pol en la pre-
miere espistre a Thimotee cap° II°: Adam, dist il, ne fu
pas decheus, mais Eve fu decheue em prevaricacion
a la verité. Adam ne creoit pas estre vray ce que l'anemi
avoit promis, mais Eve le crust. En Genesi, il est escript
cap° XXXIX°, que .I. sire et .I. prince qui out non Puthifar crust
trop legierement a sa fame, qui fausement et en men-
tant accusoit Joseph, pur et innocent, que il la vouloit
deshonorer en lui faissant oppression de pechié de corps.
Et le roy David crust trop legierement aus parolles
que Sibba l'en dist en accusant fausement son seigneur
Myphiboseth **selon ce que il est escript en second livre**

Notés **des Roys cap° XVI°: qui legierement croist tost est decheus, quar
de mout de choses il est mal enfourmés.** Et de ce viennent

[f. 46v]

trop de mauls si comme sont hames malveises, souspes-
sons, diffamacions de bonnez personnes, condempnacions
des innocens, injustez promocions de personnez non dignes
si comme il appert eus exemples devants mis. Quer Eve trop
legierement crut et pour ce commist le pechié de desobeïssance,
perdist immortalité et innocence; Puthifar injustement
et contre toute droiture Joseph enchartra, et David contre rai-
son et justice contre Miphiboseth sentencia. Et de tant
que celui qui tost croist et de plus grant poissanche et
de grignieur auctorité, de tant croire trop legierement
est chose plus perilleuse. **Que noble dame ne doit pas
estre hastive ne trop impetueuse, mais meure et tardive es**
Item, ne soit pas hastive ne trop im- **attrempee.**
petueuse en ses besoingnes, especialement quant
elles sont grans es de pois si comme en jugier, en sen-
tencier ou en choses semblables. Mais face tout par bon
et seur conseil et par meure et bonne deliberacion. Quar les
choses qui sont faictes trop hastivement souvent avi-
ent que elles viennent a mauveise fin. **Tardiveté.**
Aussi ne doist pas estre trop lente ne trop tardive
en ses besongnez. Toutes fames de loy commune sont
en leurs fais longues, lentes et tardivez. Et tant que leur
longeur tourne a grant ennuy, et pour ce quant

aucune dame est apperte en ses besongnes et brief a mesure sup-
posee suffisant deliberacion, telle dame seroit a tous gra-

cieuse. **Ci palle des bonnes meurs des nobles dames et**

Et aussi ne doit estre noble dame trop **autres.**

pallant ne trop haut quar cest chose trop messeant

en grant personne. **Ne soy vanter, ne mentir, ne fausseté**

affermer que leidement, villainement, sotement es vain-

exemple

nement parler ne trop longuement. De biauté de meurs et

de bonté en toutes les choses dessus dictes hont les dames

tres certain et tres evident en la royne des angres et de

S. Ambroize

tout le monde. **Selon ce que dist saint Ambroise eu *Li-***

[f. 47]

***vre de Virginité*, veus tu savoir, dist il, aucunes des meurs**

a la Vierge Marie? Elle fu tres humble de ceur, em paller

fu pesant et discrete. Elle out en son cuer prudence. Elle

palloit petit et a mesure. Elle estudiait diligamment en li-

sant l'Esriture. Elle mestoit s'esperence nom pas en fau-

ses⁴⁷ richoissces mondain[e]s qui ne sont pas vroies ne certain-

nes mais la metoit em prieres des povres. **Ententive es-**

toit em bien ouvrer, vergongneuse en son paller. De son

Notés

cuer et de sa conscience ne queroit autre juge ne autre ar-

bitre fors que Dieu. Nul ne vouloit grever, a chascun vou-

loit aidier et proufiter, les grans avoit reverence, en ses

⁴⁷ Extra minim removed.

pallers n'avoit envie ne malle volenté. Et si finoist toute presumpcion et toute ventence. En ses [y]eux⁴⁸ et en son regart n'avoit riens a reprendre. En ses parolles povoit chascun apprendre. Es riens ne faisoit ou il eust a reprendre, ne quant a son port ne a sa maniere ne quant a toutes choses fu bien ordonee. Et sembloit que la biauté de son corps estoit ymage et semblance de la bonté de l'ame. A l'ex-

Notés

emple et inmittacion de la haute et digne dame la royne des angres doit toute autre feme, en especialment noble dame et royne, selon son petit pover estudier a lui ressembler. Pour ce puisse estre dit de telle dame ce qui est escript en Ecclesiastique cap° xxvi°: Que tout aussi com[me] li soleil n'est au monde en montant tres hautement, aussi est la bone dame qui en est l'atour et l'aornement de sa maison. Et proprement est telle femme comparee au soleil quar aussi que toutes les estoilles reçoivent clarté du soleil en tele maniere, toutes fames doivent de noble royne prendre biauté et honesté. Soleil est dit aussi com[m]e se il luisist seulement, quar combien que les estoilles haient lumiere et clarté, toutes voiez en la presence du soleil est occursie et amentie, en telle maniere en royne doit estre tele clarté et tele honesté que au regart de lui, la clarté et la bonté des autres da-

⁴⁸ Orig. *ceux*

mes soit nulle ou tres petite. Ce soleil doist nestre au [f. 47v]
monde. C'est a dire que la bonté de la renommee de tele dame
doist estre partout le monde manifestee et monstree, la clarté
d'une personne singuliere se respont en son hostel, mais la clar-
té d'une royne se doist manifester et monstrier partout le mon-
de. Ce soleil ci quant a sa clarté monte jusques a la hautes-
ce de Dieu. Car tout aussi comme le soleil des le point d'orient
ne cesse de monter jusques atant que il soit au point de
midi et adonc il est em plus haut degré em plus grant cha-
leur et em plus grant clarté. **Tout aussi noble et haute**

Notés

**dame dés le point de grace en lui nee et donnee doit adés
sans cesser en montant proufiter jusques atant qu'elle
viengne a la hautesce de perfection. Tierce conclusion quant
ou tiers proufist qui palle des affections et diverses passi-
ons de l'ame de chascune noble dame ou autre fame.**

Puis⁴⁹ que nous avons dist de la tierce conclusion prin-
cipal qui appartient a la premiere partie de cest
livre II proufis, dont le premier est que noble dame doist
estre de grace doee, et le second proufist estoit qu'elle doit
estre en meurs tres bien ordonee, a l'aide de roy de gloire icy
monterrons comment elle doit estre en ses passions et con-
dicions bien attrempee. Et a ce entendre doist personne

⁴⁹ Ornate Q struck out, ornate P in margin.

d'estat savoir que en l'ame de nous ha plusieurs afektions
et passions, sans lesquelles nous ne povons vivre
de commune loy. Et en y a .iiii. principaus ausquelles
les autres sont adjoutés. Et sont esperance, paour, joie
et douloir, ausquelles sont toutes les autres rame-
nees, si comme sont amour, hayne, tristesse, doulour et plusieurs
autres desquielx nous dirons aucune chose. Et premie-
rement dirons d'amour es puis des autres.

Pr[e]mier⁵⁰ chapistre ou il palle des affections de l'ame
es premier palle d'amour.

Et assavoir comment toutes personnes et especialment
princes et princesses, roys et roynes se doivent ha-
voir et gouverner quant a ceste passion qui est apelee
amour. Il est a entendre que il est II manieres d'amours. [f. 48]
L'une si est amour qui est par devers Dieu et ceste amour
si est appelee charité. Et y a autre amour de laquelle
nous hamons creature, et ceste amour si est diversifiee,
quar il en y ha une qui est de nature resemblance, de
laquelle amour se doivent tous entramer pour cause
de conformité de nature qui est a tous commune. Une autre
amour y ha qui est et vient de charnele affinité. Et telle
amour vëonz nous entre les peres et meres et leurs enf-

⁵⁰ Orig. *prumier*

fans. Et au contraire entre les freres et les seurs et entre ceulx qui sont d'un lignage et d'un parenté. Et y a autre amour qui est causee d'un lien esperituel que nous appelons unité de perfection. Et cest amour est et doit estre entre tous les crestiens ensamble pour cause de la foy que il tiennent qui est une selon la doc-

[Sa]int Pol trine saint Pol qui dit: *Unus deus, unus fides, unum baptisma.*⁵¹

Il est, dist il, uns dieux, une foy et uns baptesmez. Et ceste amour est entre les freres et les seurs d'une religion et d'une perfection. Une autre amour y ha qui pout estre appelee de condicion ordenee selon les loys. Et ceste amour est entre les segnieurs et les sergens, et au contraire entre les sergens et les segnieurs. Et entre le mari et la fame et la fame et le mari. Et si est une autre amour d'un acort especial et d'une amistié laquelle nous vëons estre entre .ii. amis. Combien qu'il ne soient appartenans ensemble. Une autre amour est de compagnie si comme est celle de personnes qui ensemble demeurent et habitent. Et telle amour est entre ceulx qui demeurent ensemble en une cité, chastel ou ville ou en messon. Et toutes ces amours pevent estre sans mal et sans pechié. Nul autre amour y ha qui est dicte amour desor-

⁵¹ Ephesians 4:5: "unus Dominus una fides unum baptisma."

denee et de Dieu deffendue, si comme est l'amour des richeis-
ses temporeles et amour de delices corporelles et l'amour
des honneurs mondaines. Et ces .iii. amours sont mout
a resongnier et a refuser. Pourtant la premiere est plaine
de decepcion. La seconde qui est charnele maine a grant
confusion. L'autre si pourchace paine et perdicion : ce est
la paine d'enfer. Ces II. manieres d'amours lesquelles

[f. 48v]

S. Augustin sont bonnes ou mauvaises. **Comprend saint Augustin en somme**

et en general. Et dist en telle maniere: Deux amours

sont desquelx l'une est sainte et l'autre est non sainte. Et

en quatorsenne libre de *La Cité de Dieu* dist mesire saint

Augustin que II. amours edifient II cytés. **L'amour de**

Dieu jusques au despit de soy meismes edifie la cité de Di-

Nota **eu et au contraire l'amour de soy jusques au despit de Di-**

eu edifie une autre cyté: c'est la cité d'enfer. **La tierce con-**

clusion quant au proufist qui est les passions de l'ame

Or vëons dont comment noble dame **gouverner.**

se doit avoir et gouverner quant a amer. Droiture

veut et raisson requiert que uns chascuns premierement

[...] ⁵² **et principalement es de-**

Notés **vant toutes choses Dieu soit amés et le bien qui est en lui**

et le devon pour soy meismes, nom pas pour autre choses

⁵² Om. repeated *Ou d'un chascuns premierement.*

souverainement amer et desnier. Secondement, le bien de nostre ame et de nostre salut: nous nous devons amer et pourchacier plus que nul autre bien après Dieu ou dessous Dieu. En ceste maniere que pour nul autre bien havoir ne acquerir, tu ne dois faire chose, dire ne [p]enser⁵³ qui tourne au damage de l'ame de toy. Ainsi le nous enseigne le Saint Mathi- maistre de verité Jhesucrist en l'Evangille saint Mathieu cap^o [XVI]: *Quid prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur anime vero sue paciatur de trimentum.*⁵⁴ C'est a dire que proufite il a toy. Se tu tout le monde sauvoies et l'ame de toy perdoies, aussi comme Dieu voussist dire: Certes il ne proufite riens etc. Tiercement nobles princes et nobles dames doivent amer le bien commun, le bien de ses subjes et le bien de son païs et de sa terre. Et a ce sont il tenu, quar il sont establi de Dieu et en auctorité mis pour bien gouverner et [f. 49] promouvoir et pourchacier, deffendre et garder le bien commun es le bien de ses subges. Quar tout aussi comme un riche homme qui a fame, ses enffans et sa mesgnie est baillie et commise la cure et le gouvernement de son hostel, aussi le prince doit havoir la cure et le soing de gouverner son païs, sa terre et ses subjes. Et se il est ainssi que

⁵³ Orig. *parenses*

⁵⁴ Matthew 16:26: "quid enim prodest homini si mundum universum lucretur animae vero suae detrimentum patiatur aut quam dabit homo commutationem pro anima sua."

Notés

celui veulle songneusement entent et labeure diligau-
ment pour le bien de sa maïsson et de son hostel, **par plus**
fort raisson le prince doist nom pas estre endormis mes
veillier et traveillier pour pourchacier, pour mouvoir
et deffendre le bien commun. Quar en verité, prince qui
amour ne ha au bien commun et qui pour le bien commun
garder et deffendre de son bien propre garder n'est ne-
gligens et encore outre qui son propre bien ne lesse pour
le bien commun pourchacer, et encore plus qui sa vie
corporele ne mest et expose a peril et a mort pour le bien com-
mun deffendre—tielx princes n'est pas vrais ne bons prin-
ces, mais est tirans. Quar pourtant que on pourchace
son bien propre, il est negligens de garder et deffendre le bien
commun en son royaume, sont fais mout de mauls et de da-
mages si comme sont fraudes, rapines es oppressions,
exactions, impositions, gabeles et male toutes. Et ytel
princez ha toute pitié oubliee qui devrait estre peres
du païs, ses subges greve damageusement pour sati-
fier a sa malvaise convoitize et avarice. **Amour**
que doivent avoir li prince au bien commun.
Or pensent et estudient li princes qui sont en nostre
temps la loyal amour, la pietable douçour, la tres
grant ferveur que les princes anciens avoient a

garde[r]⁵⁵ et a acroistre le bien commun, au deffendre et le mouteplier; et comment tous leurs propres biens, facultés et tresors pour le bien cummun metoient avant et liement l'exposioient; et quans et en quiex perils ils se metoient et a diverses manieres de mourir il s'abandonnoient. Considerer donc doivent maintenant princes qui est crestiens se les princes anciens qui n'estoient pas de grant pris rachetés, c'est du precieux sanc Jhesucrist ne par les sains sacremens de sainte eglise regenerés, ne par la grace du Saint Esperit justifiez, ne ame pardurable ordenés. Tant est de mervillieus choses firent es souffrirent pour le bien commun, pour l'amour charnel que il avoient a leur pais, a leur fames et effans, et leurs amis charniex pour une convoitise d'estre presiés es loués nom pas pour acquerir ou acroistre merite ne pour le salut de leurs ames ne aussi pour le vray Dieu louer. Et createur de tout le monde que devoient donc faire et souffrir les princes crestiens pour le bien commun de l'yglise, et pour le bien du peuple et de la gent qui leur est commise. Comme il soient du precieux sanc Jhesucrist rachetez et a l'ame perdurable se en ne tient ordonnés a l'onneur de Dieu, au sauveur

[f. 49v]

⁵⁵ Orig. *gardee*

des ames accroissement de merite, a acquerir louer pour les membres du corps Jhesucrist qui est l'eglise et a la verité, ce faire commande charité, requiert justice et equité, et a ce doit esmouvoir misericorde et pitié de l'amour des princes anciens que il avoient au bien commun pallé **uns maistres paiens**

Tulles **qui out non Tulles qui dist a ceste manière de toutes compagnies, nulle n'est pluz clere, nulle n'est plus gracieuse que celle qui est avec le bien commun et qui pense dou bien commun et travaille pour le bien commun.** Uns chascun de nous ha chier ses amis se[s]⁵⁶ parens, ses effans, ses prochein, ses familiairez. Mes, dist il, uns país doist embracier, contenir et assembler toutes les chiertés et amistiés pour lequel país em bien commun bonne personne ne doubte point la mort

Tulles avoir en desir. **Item, dist encore Tulles que pour le salut du bien commun, nuls perils ne fait a fuir ne a doubter et ce doibvent bien noter nos roys et nos princes.** **Second chapistre ou l'en palle de hayne, especialment de haïr pechié pour les damages qui en viennent et les maulz.**

[f. 50]

Après ce que havons dist d'amours, dire nous

⁵⁶ Orig. *sed*

convient de haine qui est contraire a amours.

Et est assavoir que nulle chose n'est a haïr se ce n'est pechié ou pour cause de pechié. Donc ainsi que une chose plus doit estre amee ou il a plus de bonté trouvee, tout ainssi doit l'en haïr ce qui est mal. Et l'ou il ha plus de mal, plus doit estre haÿ. Et pourtanst uns chascuns doit premierement et principalement devant toutes choses haïr pechié tant comme il est contraire a la voulenté de Dieu. Et de tant comme par pechié Dieu est desavouré et despité, et contre pecheurs couroucies, esmeus et indignes, et tout aussi que Dieu et son honneur nous devon amer et honorer sur toutes choses, ainssi pechié de tant comme il est contre Dieu et contre son honeur nous le devons eslongier et haïr. Et ce nous amonneste

David David eu Psautier qui dist: *Quid diligitis deum o-*

Notés *dite malum.*⁵⁷ Vous qui nostre segnieur amés, tout mal et tout pechié hayés. Et aussi devons nous fuir [et] haïr tous ceulz qui Dieu heent et deshonneurent.

Et ainssi le faisoit David qui disoit en Psalctier a Dieu: Sire, n'ai je pas tousjours haÿ tous ceulz qui te heent? Certes, je les ay haÿ de parfaite hayne, et ont

⁵⁷ Psalms 96:10: "qui diligitis Dominum odite malum custodit animas sanctorum suorum de manu peccatoris liberabit eos."

esté mes anemis. Parfaicte hayne si est havoir le pe-
chié en hayne et non pas la personne, sy comme nostre segnieur
nous donne exemple qui selon le dist du sage en
Libre de sapience cap° XI°: Aime toutes choses, et ne
he chose que il ait faicte. Et bien est verité que il haït
les pecheurs et tant comme il sont pecheurs. Et ainssy

Salemon le temoigne le sage Salemon en Ecclesiastique: *Altissimus* [f. 50v]

odio habet peccatores cap° XII°.⁵⁸ Et ne het pas Dieu la
nature du pecheur que il ha creé, ne l'ame que il
ha si precieusement rachetee. Et pour ce s'ensient il
Et misertus est penitentib[u]z. C'est a dire que il fait
misericorde aus repantans quar pour cause de la na-
ture que il haimie les repentans, il veut recevoir a mi-
sericorde si tost que il veulent leurs pechiés lessier et
eulx de bon cuer repentir en [exemple de]⁵⁹ la Magdaleine, saint Pierre,
saint Pol, le larron et em plusieurs autres. Item nous
devon pechié haïr pour ce que il est contraire a nostre

David salut. Quer selon la douctrine de David eu Psalctier:

*Quid diligit iniquitatem odit animam suam etc.*⁶⁰

Qui aime pechié et iniquité, il het s'ame. Or devons
nous donc pechié haïr et toutes personnes qui nostre

⁵⁸ This and the subsequent Latin are both from Ecclesiastes 12:3: "non est ei bene qui adsiduus est malis et elemosynam non danti quoniam et Altissimus odio habet peccatores et misertus est paenitentibus."

⁵⁹ Present in BnF fr. 610, omitted from KBR ms. 11203-204.

⁶⁰ Psalms 10:6: "Dominus interrogat iustum et impium qui autem diligit iniquitatem odit animam suam."

salut empeiscent et nous trait a pechié ou a lei faire.

Comment nous devons haïr le mal et le pechié a fai-

Saint Lucas Le sauveeur du monde en l'Evangille saint Lucas cap^o re

XIII^o dist: *Sequid venit ad me et non odit animam*

*autem patrem et matrem etc.*⁶¹ Se aucuns, dist Jhesucrist, vient

a moy et il ne het son pere, sa mere, ses enffans, sa fame

et avec ce, se il ne het l'ame de soy, c'est a dire la vie cor-

porele ou naturele, il ne peut estre de mes disciples,

Saint Gringoire laquelle parolle expose saint Gringoire et dist ainssy:

Peccunctari libet quomodo parentes et carnaliter propin-

quos precipimur odisse qui et jubemur inimicos

diligere etc. Il nous convient, dist saint Gringoire,

bien enquerir et encercier comment a nous qui devons

nos anemis amer et commandes que nous haïons en

hayne nos parens et nos prochains. Et tantost il respont

et dist, se nous regardons la vertu du commandement,

l'un et l'autre nous pouons bien acomplir se nous

ouvrons discretement. Quer nos prochains et nos

parens et ceulx qui sont de nostre lignage, nous

pouons bien amer; mais ceulz que nous sentons con-

[f. 51]

Notés traies es adversaires en la voie de Dieu et de nostre salut nous

devons tous fuir es haïr celui, dist il, qui nous amonne-

⁶¹ Luke 14:26: "si quis venit ad me et non odit patrem suum et matrem et uxorem et filios et fratres et sorores adhuc autem et animam suam non potest esse meus discipulus."

ste a mal faire quant nous ne le voulons ouïr. Il est de nous amés par maniere de haïr. Et devons ainssi haïr nos parens et nos amis comme l'ame de nous, laquelle nous avons lors en haigne quant son mauvés appetist et desir nous brisons, inclinacions carneles nous refrenons, les esmouvemens vicieus nous restregnon. Et les meurs

Jhesucrist deshonestes de nous eslongnon que par telle maniere het l'a-

Saint Johan me de lui. Il l'a gardé en la vie pardurable, dist Jhesucrist en l'Evan-

Saint Augustin gille saint Jehan ca° xxi° et exposant ceste parolle dit saint Augustin:

Grant, dit il,

et merveilleuse sentence amer l'ame de soy et [la]⁶² haïr, amer pour

la perdre es perir, amer pour la dampner et pour

mourir, haïr pour la garder et maintenir, se tu

l'ame de toy aimez malvaisement et desordenee-

ment lors tu l'as en la hayne. Et se tu la hes mal-

vaisement, adonc tu l'aimes. Benoit soit doncques

qui leurs ames heent en gardant et la gardent

en haÿssant a ceste fin que il ne la perdent en amant.

Tiercement nous devons haïr tout ce qui est con-

traire et nuisable au bien commun, a l'exemple du

David bon roy David qui disoit eu psaltier: *Ad judiciis*

⁶² BnF fr. 610 has the direct object pronoun *la* here, which makes sense, whereas *lay*, given by KBR 11203-04, does not.

*tuis domine non declinavi.*⁶³ Sire, disoit il, a vostre
seigneur je n'ay point lessié ne decliné tes juge-
mens, quar tu m'as mis devant moy la loy que
je doy garder. J'ay entendu tes commandemens. Et
pour ce ay je heu en haine toute voie de iniquité.

David Item, David iii psalme eu psaultier dist, j'ai heu en grant
hayne tous ceulz qui font iniquité. Et pour ce
que malveise convoitise qui mout fait a reprop-
ver, jugement pervertist, justice subvertist, destruit
et met au bas par laquelle justice le bien commun
est gardés et deffendus, si comme dist l'Escripture em
premier libre des Roys cap^o VIII^o des effans Samuel:

[f. 51v]

*Declinaverunt post avaritiam acceperunt munera etc.*⁶⁴

Il hont alé et decliné après avarisce. Ils hont dons
prins et recheus, et pour ce hont perverti jugement.

Comment aucuns princes heent le bien commun et les bons.

Contre les princes avers et convoiteus qui sont sans
Mitheas pitié palle le prophete Mitheas cap^o III^o, et dist
ainssi: Oés princes, ne vous appartient il pas assavoir
jugement qui heés le bien et amés le mal, qui par
violence et par force vos subgies de leurz piaux despoulli-

⁶³ Psalms 118:102: "a iudiciis tuis non declinavi quia tu legem posisti mihi."

⁶⁴ I Samuel 8:3: "et non ambulaverunt filii illius in viis eius sed declinaverunt post avaritiam acceperuntque munera et perverterunt iudicium."

és et leurs chars dessus, les os malvaivement leurs
hostes. A la verité ainssy avient il souvent en cest
monde. Et ainssy appert comment toutez personnes,
en especialment roy, roygues, princes et princesses
et tous autres seigneurs terriens se doivent a-
voir et maintenir quant a ceste passion qui est hay-
ne, quar ils doibvent souverainement haïr pe-
chié et toutes choses contraires a l'onneur de Dieu, et
toutes choses qui sont contraires a leur salut et
qui peust empeschier et destourber le bien commun. Mais
il sont aucunes si desloyaulx et se pervers qui ne pevent
amer ceulx qui devroient amer et qui les aiment
ains les heent et font persecucion et au contraire il ai-
ment ceulx qui devroient haïr, si comme il fu mis
sus a David et fausement ou tiers libre des roys
cap° XIX°: Tu aymes ceulx qui te heent et si hes ceulz
qui t'aiment. Car en verité ilz son[t]⁶⁵s aucuns prin-
ces, segnieurs et dames qui aiment, prisent et
nocte bien honeurent flatteurs et menteurs et ceulx qui s'a-
cest dis cordent a leur perverses meurs et volentés. Et qui
a mal faire les conseillent, nourrissent et soustie-
nent, et heent bonnes gens qui les arguent

⁶⁵ Orig. *sons*

et resprennent et qui s'efforcent de eulx retraire de
leur malice et de ce qui leur plect a faire, dont ilz
les heent seulement pour ce que il leur desplet a ouïr
verité. Exemple en avons en tiers libre des Rois cap^o
xxii^o: Adisoit li roys Achab du saint prophete que l'en
Mitheas apeloit Micheas, Je le hé, disoit li roys, car il ne me
dist ne ne propheete fors que mal. Cist roys Achabz
les faus prophetes qui lui nonchoient prosperité a ave-
nir et nulle adversité, il amoit comme celui qui esto-
ient de ceus par leur fausses promesses. Mes le saint
prophete qui veritablement li disoit le mal et le ad-
versité qui lui estoit a avenir, il hëoist. Et de ce rent
Jhesucrist Jhesucrist la raisson en l'Evangille saint Johan cap^o III^o:
*Omnis qui male agit odit lucem etc.*⁶⁶ Chascun
qui mal fait het la clarté et ne vient pas a la lu-
miere pour ce que cez oeuvres ne soient argues ne remplies
de telle maniere de malveis princes et seigneurs,
Ozee princesses et dames, dist le prophete Ozeas, Ozee cap^o v^o:
Il hont haÿ celui qui les reprenoit appertement et
vivement, et hont eue abhominacion de celui qui
parloit appertement et vivement ou veritablement
et parfaitement. Autres princes y ha qui heent les

⁶⁶ I John 3:20: "omnis enim qui mala agit odit lucem et non venit ad lucem ut non arguantur opera eius."

exemple

bons pour ce que tous biens leur despleit, quar
pour ytant qu'ilz sont malveis, il ne peuent les
bons vëoir ne des bons nulz biens ouïr exemple
de Esau qui hëoist son frere Jacob si comme est escript
en Genesis cap° XXVII°. Et exemple de Joseph qui
fu haïs de ses freres, Genesis XXXVIII° VII°. Il le hëoient mal-
vaisement et ne povoient parler a lui paisiblement. Et les
Egeptiens hëoient les effans de Israël selonc ce que il est
escript en Exode. En Exode em premier capistre: Or pense
ci et entent diligamment et sans oublier Jacob a Esau
nul mal ne vouloit, ne Joseph a ses freres, ne les enf-
fans de Israël ad Egypciens, mes les servoient et mout de
bien leur faisoient et toutesvoies il ne les povoient
amer, mes les häoient durement. Et ce n'est pas
merveillez se les malveis heent les bons, car Dieu qui est

[f. 52v]

Jhesucrist

bonté souveraine, il hont en grant hayne si comme il
dit en l'Esvangille saint Johan cap° XV°: se le monde vous
het, sachiés que premierement il m'a hay. Le tiers cha-
pistre ou l'en palle de desir bon et mauveis es de desir
d'estre honnourés.

Quant a la passion que nous appelons desir, il est
assavoir que en general, l'Escripture palle de
double desir. Il est uns desirs qui fait a fuir et a blas-

mer ou a haïr, et l'autre qui fait bien a loër. Desir qui est a blasmer est en maintes manieres car les uns desirent les grans estas, les grans excellences, les grans dignités, et en signe de ce dist le saint prophete

Jheremie *Jheremie cap^o II^o: Onager assuetus insolitudine etc.*⁶⁷

L'asne sauvage, dist il, qui ha de coustume de demou-
rer seul par le desir de sa vie astraït le vent de s'amour.

Par l'asne sauvage qui ne veut estre subges ne servir peut l'en convenablement entendre ceulx qui par ambicion quierent venir et monstrent en grans estas et en grans honneurs les quielx il ne sont pas dignes d'avoir. Tielx agnes sauvages a coustume de mourer soliterres car tielx manieres de gens seulz veullent estre seulz honourés, l[oé]s,⁶⁸ reputés et segnouriés. Il actraïent le vent d'orgeul et vanité car tout aussi comme l'asne sauvage a ce que il puisse actraïre le vent pour son cuer refroidier, bee et euvre la bouche souvent. Aussi tielx gens pour ce que ilz puissent refroidier l'ardeur de leur desir beent et entendent a havoïr honeurs qui sont trop bien entendues par le vent quer les honeurs un petit donnent refrige-

⁶⁷ Jeremiah 2:24: "onager adsuetus in solitudine in desiderio animae suae adtraxit ventum amoris sui nullus avertet eam omnes qui quaerut eam non deficient in menstruis eius invenient eam."

⁶⁸ Orig. *leos*

re. Et toutesvoies point ne saourent si comme le vent
qui le corps enflent et point ne raemplit et pourtant
l'en ne doit pas les honeurs du monde desirier. Nient-
mains, on les peut bien recevoir et sans pechié en
obëissant a la provëance de Dieu et a son commandement, [f. 53]
si comme David a cui il fust dit en secont libre des Roys
in cap° III°: *Imperes omnibus sicut desiderat anima tua etc.*⁶⁹
Soyés roys, commande a tous selon le desir de ta vou-
lenté. Aussi peut l'en honneur bien desirier et recevoir
sans nul pechié quant l'en pourchasse et quiert prin-
cipalment le commun proufist et **ainssi le dist saint**

Saint Pol **Pol en la premiere espistre que il fist a l'evesque Thi-**
[D]esirs **motee cap° III°: *Qui enim episcopatum desiderat bonum***
[...]udetz ? ***opud desiderat.*⁷⁰ Qui desire, dist [il evesché],⁷¹ il desire une bon-**
ne euvre. Et proprement il dist euvre et non pas re-
pos chargés et fais pesant, non pas honneur quar ho-
Notés **neur pour cause d'oneur ne doit pas estre desiree**
mais pour pourfiter a soy, aus subgez et au bien con-
mun. Autres sont qui mectent tout leur cuer et leurz
desirs en richeissez et en facultés temporeles qui ne

⁶⁹ II Samuel 3:21: "et dixit Abner ad David surgam ut congregem ad te dominum meum regem omnem Israhel et ineam tecum foedus et imperes omnibus sicut desiderat anima tua cum ergo deduxisset David Abner et ille isset in pace."

⁷⁰ I Timothy 3:3: "fidelis sermo si quis episcopatum desiderat bonum opus desiderat."

⁷¹ Om. *il*; orig. *evescheve*.

quierent principalement fors que estre riches et habundans en cest monde, contre lesquies dist saint Pol en la premiere espistre a Thimothee: *Qui volunt dicte fueri modiviti in laqueos diaboli et desideria multa.*⁷² Ceulz, dist il, qui veulent estre fait riche, il cheent legierement en maintes temptacions en las de l'animi et en plusieurs desirs qui sont nuisables et sans profit qui trebuchent et plument les convoiteus esmettent a mort et a perdicion. Or faisons donc selon sa doctrine en une epistre que il fait a Tytum cap^o II^o: *Abnegantes impietatem et secularia desideria sobriescaste vivamus.*⁷³ Nous devons, dist il, regnier et refuser tout ce qui est contre pitié. Et aussi devons nous regnier desirs seculiers et vivre sobrement, justement et piteusement en cest monde. Et proprement joint ensemble desirs seculiers et ce qui est contre pitié, quer convoitise, qui est entendue par seculiers desirs et impiété, c'est deffaut de pitié souvent s'entrecompaignent sans

⁷² I Timothy 6:9: "nam qui volunt divites fieri incidunt in temptationem et laqueum et desideria multa inutilia et nociva quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem."

⁷³ Titus 2:12: "erudiens nos ut abnegantes impietatem et saecularia desideria sobrii et iusti et pie vivamus in hoc saeculo."

Nocte bien cest mot

Saint Pol
 departir donc la ou reigne convoitise, il ha deffaut
 de pitié. Et dist saint Pol que nous vivons sobrement
 quant a nous et justement quant a nos procheins
 et piteusement quant a Dieu. Et est assavoir que
 saint Pol n'entent pas seulement que nous soions
 sobres em boire et en mengier, mais em paller et en
 ouvrer et en penser et en toutes autres choses soions
 sobres et atrempés. Donc ne devons estre sobres, quant
 a nous, a l'entendement em pensant de nous selon
 mesure et atrempance que nous ne soions eslevés
 seur nous en nos pensees vainement. C'est a dire que
 nous ne cuidons ne ne tegnonz de nous plus que
 il y a en nous. Ainssi haions sobreité en la voulenté,
 que nous ne veullions ne ne desirrons avoir plus
 que il n'afiert a nostre estat. Contre nostre salut et le
 proufist de nostre ame. Autres en y a qui mectent leurs
 desirs corporeles et charnelez a nous et pour nous retrai-
 re de ces desirs

[End of text]

Appendix B: Agnès' Manuscripts and the Ducal Library of Bourbon (1434-1456)

This in-depth catalogue of Agnès' library as well as a summary catalogue of the contents of the ducal library during the reign of her husband, Charles I de Bourbon, allows for more extensive speculation about which texts Agnès likely had access to while raising her children.¹ Much of the available information on Agnès' library has been collated in Delphine Jeannot's *Le Mécénat bibliophilique de Jean sans Peur et de Marguerite de Bavière*.² However, due to some inaccuracies in her presentation of Agnès' library (including double entries under different shelfmarks), I propose a slightly different list based on earlier and contemporary research, such as Léopold Delisle's *Cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale*, Marie-Pierre Laffitte's article, "Les Ducs de bourbon et leur livres d'après les inventaires," Hanno Wijsmann's *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400-1550)*, and my own research undertaken over the past several years.

Eleven manuscripts contain the posthumous ex-libris, "Ce livre fut a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne." In order of shelfmark, these are:

- Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 129, Pierre Crapillet d'Annoire, trans., St. Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* and Hugh of St. Victor's *De arrha animae*
- Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 653, the *Paradis de la reine Sibylle* and *Excursion aux îles Lipari*

¹ Evidence of women borrowing their husbands' books during this time period has been discussed in Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 41-49, and Legaré, "Charlotte de Savoie's Library," 34, which leads to the logical supposition that Agnès would have accessed her husband's library in addition to reading her own books.

² Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 120-130, 302-303.

- New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library ms. 204, *Somme le Roi/Mireoir du Monde*
- Paris, BnF fr. 92, *Les trois fils de rois ou les Croniques de Naples*
- Paris, BnF fr. 334, Luce de Gast's *Tristan en prose*
- Paris, BnF fr. 762, the *Livre de Sydrac*
- Paris, BnF fr. 848, Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea*
- Paris, BnF fr. 1456, Adenet le Roi's *Cléomadès*
- Paris, BnF fr. 1533, compliation including Gautier de Coinci's *Vie et miracles de Nostre Dame*
- Paris, BnF fr. 1793, *Recueil ascétique*
- Paris, BnF fr. 24293, Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la cité des Dames*

Another manuscript, Chantilly ms. 140, which contains Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme* and other religious texts, also contains an ex-libris of a certain Madame de Bourbon, but it is not the same ex-libris as that found in the eleven manuscripts listed above. Rather, it reads: "Se livre est a madame de Bourbon, quy le trouvera sy le luy rande" (f. vv). Textual elements support this manuscript's continued inclusion in Agnès' library, while the codicological elements (including probable paper date) do not exclude it from her acquisitions, so it remains.

Of the three remaining manuscripts, one, a Book of Hours (BnF lat. 1183), has been thoroughly examined by Iлона Hans-Collas and Hanno Wijsman, who argue that despite the lack of ex-libris, it was made for Agnès. Their evidence comprises the transcription—which can be attributed to David Aubert, scribe to Agnès' brother, Philippe le Bon—, particular details in the calendar and the choice of suffrages, and the inclusion of a miniature depicting

an aristocratic lady kneeling in prayer before St. Agnes (Fig. 36).³ Another, a *Bible moralisee* (BnF fr. 167), appears in several medieval inventories as “La belle bible du duc de Bourgogne, garnye de deux fermaus d’argent doré, couverte de drap d’or.”⁴ Delisle and Wijsman agree that the manuscript came to the Moulins library through Agnès, but disagree on when. Delisle believes that she acquired it as a wedding gift,⁵ while Wijsman asserts that it came into her possession after her brother Philippe’s death in 1467.⁶ The last manuscript, a *Vie et légende de sainte Barbe* and *Passion Jhesucrist* (BnF fr. 975), contains the ex-libris of Agnès’ daughter-in-law, Jeanne de France, as well as a flyleaf with a record of payment for book-related costs at Moulins that dates to 1445, for which reason ownership has been attributed to Agnès. It is probable that the flyleaf was added during a re-binding of the manuscript, since the payment it records (for “plusieurs vignetes d’or et d’asur” and “XII ystoires d’or et”) does not pertain to the unilluminated manuscript in which it is bound. Nevertheless, the textual contents of the manuscript accord with Agnès’ interests.

Each of these manuscripts is treated in turn below. Information on the textual contents and the physical object is accompanied by the date when the book probably entered into Agnès’ collection when known, further commentary, and a bibliography. In the case of editions of medieval works, the page number given in the bibliography is associated with the name of the editor(s) rather than the author.

³ Hans-Collas and Wijsman, “Le Livre d’heures.”

⁴ Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, I:167.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I:69.

⁶ Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 190. Wijsman references Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, items 712 and 1158, where the Bible in question has been inventoried twice.

Agnès' Library

1. Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 129 (formerly ms. 645)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
<i>Pourquoi Dieu s'est fait homme</i>	St. Anselm, trans. Pierre Crapillet d'Annoire	1-105v; TOC f. 2-5, 47v-49v
<i>Soliloque touchant le gage de l'âme</i>	Hugh of St. Victor, trans. Pierre Crapillet d'Annoire	107-147

Dimensions: 287 x 205mm, II + 148ff., 28 lines per page, *batarde* (Scribe 1, f. 1-106; Scribe 2, f. 107-146), manuscript on paper, bound in marbled leather stamped with the Bourbon-Condé arms

Watermarks: f. IIv, 107-42, gothic *dp* similar to Briquet n° 9745 (Marast, 1451; Troyes, 1458-1461; Lille, 1459; Decizes, 1459); f. 1-106, anchor, Briquet n° 378 (Troyes, 1447; Anvers, 1454); f. 143-48, crossbow similar to Briquet n° 711 (Eccloo, 1447; Maestricht, 1452)

Ornamentation: Arms of Agnès de Bourgogne on f. IIv (overpainted arms of uncertain identification), 46v (overpainted arms of Burgundy), and 106v (overpainted arms of Burgundy); arms of uncertain identification painted below Agnès' arms on these same folios. Fanciful ink ascenders and descenders. Latin chapter titles in margins of Anselm's text. Rubrics.

Possessors: Philippe le Bon; Agnès de Bourgogne; ducal library at Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 224; Chazaud n° 250)

Date of Confection: c. 1450-1460

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: 1460-1463/5

Ex-libris: f. 147v, "Ce livre feu [*sic*] a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne."

Commentary: This copy, the twin of Philippe le Bon’s copy, KBR ms. 10500-50, was intended by the translator for himself. As he died before finishing the translation, however, Philippe appropriated the manuscript for himself and then gifted it to Agnès. *Nota bene* on ff 20v (Fig. 43), 40, 43v, 62, 80, 83, 101, 104, 112, 112v, 114, 114v, 120, likely written by the scribe(s); these marginal annotations do not belong to Agnès, whose unpracticed hand could not have written them (see Fig. 40).

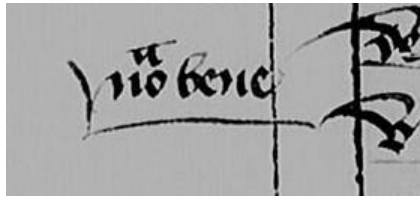


Fig. 43: Chantilly ms. 129, *Pourquoi Dieu s'est fait homme*, by St. Anselm, trans. Pierre Crapillet d'Annoire, f. 20v detail

Bultot and Hasenohr have noted significant differences between the Table of Contents, chapter titles, and contents (139-41).

Bibliography: Bousmanne and Van Hoorebeeck, I:243-48; Briquet, I:38, 50, III:510; Bultot and Hasenohr; *CCLM*, I:117-19; Chazaud, 250; *DLF*, 1169-70; Le Roux de Lincy, 61.

2. Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 140 (formerly ms. 699)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
<i>Le Pèlerinage de l'âme en prose</i>	Guillaume de Digulleville, trans. Jean Galopes	1-96
<i>Sermon de la Trinité – Vidimus nunc per speculum in enigmate</i>	Jean Gerson	97-108v
<i>In festo beati Petri et Pauli apostolorum sermo</i>	Jean Gerson	108-123v
<i>Ung petit et devot traictié du saint sacrement de l'autel</i>	Robert Ciboule	124-131v
<i>Declaracion de la differance entre pechié mortel et veniel</i>	Guillaume de Vaurouillon	132-135v

Dimensions: 285 x 195mm, II + 135ff + VII, 35 lines per page, manuscript on paper, bound in marbled leather stamped with the Bourbon-Condé arms

Watermark(s): Briquet n° 1809 (Paris, 1471; Le Mans 1471-1489; Chartres, 1472; Fresne-l'Archevêque, 1473; Paris, 1488)

Ornamentation: Ornate letters ff 1, 3; colored letters; red rubrics; some red underlining of Latin citations; catchword ff 12v, 24v, 36v, 48v, 60v, 72v, 84v, 108v, 120v.

Possessors: Agnès de Bourgogne?; ducal library at Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 254; Chazaud n° 279)

Date of Confection: post-1456?

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: post-1456?

Ex-libris: f. vv, “se livre est a madame de Bourbon, qui le trouvera sy le luy rande.”

Commentary: Practice of the letter *a*, f. 4. The final flyleaves are covered with phrases and letters in a variety of hands, including (facing the colophon), “An desenbre nostre dame anfant,” as well as mentions of a Madamoyselle de Viella by her friend (and ostensibly the writer of the notice) Loyse (f. II v; Fig. 44).

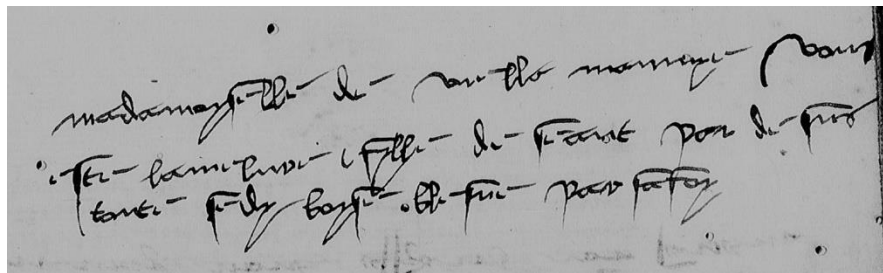


Fig. 44: Chantilly ms. 140, *Pèlerinage de l'âme en prose*, by Guillaume de Digulleville, trans. Jean Galopes, f. IV detail

“Madamoyselle de Viella, m’amyé vous este la melure fylle de seant(?) par desus toute. Se dy Loyse ollesue(?) par sa foy”

None of these notations, however, matches the signature on Agnès’ letter to Anne de France (Fig. 40), nor does Loyse’s signature match that of Louise de Savoie on BnF fr.

92, f. 1. The final flyleaf (formerly a paste-down) contains a largely illegible passage which seems to be a sales receipt.

Jean sans Peur owned a copy of the verse *Pèlerinage* at the time of his death; it was inherited by Philippe le Bon (Bonost and de Templeuve, n° 99), who also acquired another copy, KBR ms. 10176-78. Marie de Berry's copy of the verse *Pèlerinage* is also extant, today BnF fr. 829.

Bibliography: Beaune and Lequain, "Marie de Berry," n29; Bousmanne and Van Hoorebeeck, I:197-207; Briquet, I:133; *CCLM*, I:130-31; Chazaud, 252; *DLF*, 614-17, 777, 782-85, 1282-83; Doutrepoint, *Inventaire*, 58-60; Duval; Glorieux, VIIb:720-39, 1123-37; Le Roux de Lincy, 63; Marzac, *Traité*; Tokarski.

3. Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 653 (formerly ms. 924)

Contents:

Title	Author	Folios
<i>Le Paradis de la reine Sibylle</i>	Antoine de La Sale	1-27v
<i>Le Paradis terrestre et l'Excursion aux îles Lipari</i>	Antoine de La Sale	28v-36

Dimensions: 235 x 167mm, 36ff, 29 lines per page, manuscript on vellum, bound in leather stamped with the Bourbon-Condé arms

Ornamentation: Marginal decoration including violets, ornate letters ff 1v, 28; colored letters throughout; red rubrics; some red underlining of authors and citations, e.g. "Orose ou second chappitre de son VIII^e livre" (f. 2v); occasional ascenders; miniatures framed in gold leaf; catchword ff 16v, 24v, 30v.

Illumination: Maps of Mount Pilate f. 1, Mount Pilate and the Mount of the Sibylle, 5v-6 (Fig. 29). Dedication miniature, f. 1v (Fig. 30). How the oxen carried the deceased body of

Pilate into the Lake of the Sibylle, f. 4. The *Pollibastro*, f. 7 (Fig. 31). The *Chentofollie*, f. 7v (Fig. 32). How the five men entered into the cave, f. 9v. How the five men were astonished by the horrible wind over the perilous bridge, by the noise of the river, and by the dragons, and returned the way they came, f. 10v. How the knight and his squire went through the metal doors and were at the crystal doors speaking to the Sibylle's courtiers, f. 13. How the Queen Sibylle and her ladies are separated from the men at night when in snake-form, f. 15v. How the knight and his squire left their ladies, who gave them lighted candles, f. 16. How the knight and his squire went to ask absolution from the Pope, and how the Pope dissembled about their forgiveness, f. 17. How the knight and his squire entrusted letters to the shepherds and returned to the cave, f. 19v. Inscriptions, f. 21. How the Lord of Pacs or Paques, having found his brother's motto at the entrance to the cave, fell in a faint to the ground after voicing his regrets, f. 21v. How the lord's brother was seated at the table with his two sisters according to the vision the lord had, f. 23v. How Msr Gaulchier de Ruppes, having invited Antoine de La Sale to dinner at the Abbey of Saint Liz, asked about his uncle who was with the Queen Sibylle, f. 24v. How the Tiburtine Sibyl showed the Virgin and her child, who was God and no other, to Octavien Augustus, who wanted to be worshipped as a god, f. 26v (Fig. 28).

Possessors: Agnès de Bourgogne; Étienne Tabourot des Accords (1576)

Date of Confection: 1438-1442

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: 1438-1442

Ex-libris: f. 36v, "Ce livre fut a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne"; "Ce livre fust a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en

son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d’Auvergne, contesse de Clermont, de Fourestz et dame de Beaujeu”

Commentary: Non-contemporary hand has written “nom de l’auteur” in the margin on f. 20v.

Jean de Calabre’s copy of the *Salade*, of which the *Paradis* and *Excursion* comprise sections 3 and 4, respectively, entered into the Burgundian library before Philippe le Bon’s death.

Bibliography: Bousemanne, Johan, and Van Hoorebeeck, 273-76; *CCLM*, II:392-95; Desonay, *Œuvres complètes*, I:63-163; Desonay, *Paradis*; *DLF*, 78-80; Lefèvre, *Fabrique de l’œuvre*; Mora-Lebrun, *Voyages*; Mora-Lebrun, *Paradis*.

4. New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library ms. 240 (formerly ms. Ashburnham-Barrois 569)

Contents:

Title	Author	Folios
<i>La Somme le roi/Miroir du monde</i>	Frère Laurent	6-312; TOC f. 1-5v

Dimensions: 277 x 207mm, II + 315ff + II, 25 lines per page, *batarde* script, manuscript on paper, 18th-c. binding in brown calf leather

Watermarks: There are four different watermarks in this volume, including: a shield (Fig. 45) very close in type, though not identical, to Briquet n° 1876 (Morley, 1468; Foug et Keures, 1469; Pierrefort, Enghien, Arlon, Marcy, Hollande, 1471; Düsseldorf, 1471-1472; Namur, 1471-1473; Bar-le-Duc, Maastricht, 1473; Bruges, 1474; Utrecht, 1479-1480) and Wittek n° 1350-1351 (Eastern France, Barrois, Jean d’Heures, hamlet of Lisle-en-Rigault, near Bar-le-Duc), both of which are dated between 1460-1480; one P (Fig. 46) similar to Briquet n° 8527 (Quiévrain, 1463-1466; Darmstadt, 1464-1468;

Leyde, 1465-1469; Decizes, 1466; Bade-Bade, Eberbach, 1467; Courtray, Osnabrück, Oberlahnstein, Utrecht, 1468; Marbourg, 1469; Colmar, 1469-1470; Breme, 1469/72) and Piccard *P* v.II, III-479 (Freiburg, Löwen, 1466); and a second *P* and third *P* (Fig. 47 and 48) which differ only in form of the tips on top of the vertical components of the letter and resemble Piccard *P* v.II, IV-540 (Niederrhein, 1465) and IV-606 (Hertogenbosch, 1464). The latter two have previously gone unremarked, as Barbara Shailor noted only the first type *P* in her description.



Fig. 45: Beinecke ms. 204, *Somme le roi/ Miroir du Monde*, by Frère Laurent, f. II detail

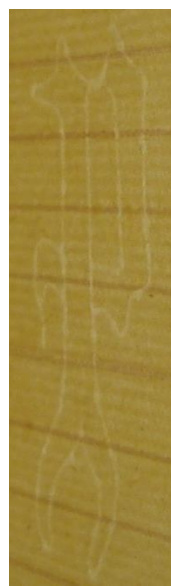


Fig. 46: Beinecke ms. 204, *Somme le roi/ Miroir du monde*, by Frère Laurent, f. 314 detail

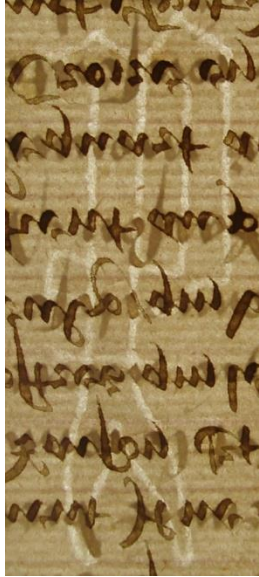


Fig. 47: Beinecke ms. 204, *Somme le roi/Miroir du monde*, by Frère Laurent, f. 10 detail

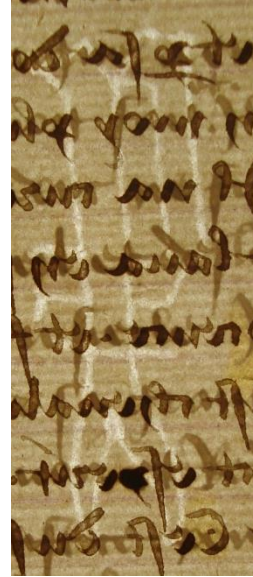


Fig. 48: Beinecke ms. 204, *Somme le roi/Miroir du monde*, by Frère Laurent, f. 19v detail

Ornamentation: Ornate gold-foil and color letters bordered by gold acanthus leaves; colored letters; red rubrics.

Illumination: Space left for miniatures where, on ten occasions, the instructions to the illuminator have been written in red ink: f. 146v-147, “Judgment”; f. 154-154v, “The Garden of Virtues”; f. 171, “Christ Preaching about the *Pater noster*”; f. 188, “Our Lord Sending the Holy Spirit to the Apostles”; f. 199v-200, “Humility, Pride, the Sinner, the Hypocrite”; f. 216v-217, “Equality, Felony, Noah’s Ark, Moses”; f. 226v, “Force/Bravery, Laziness, David and Goliath, Labor” (Fig. 38); f. 244, “Charity, Greed, Loth Receiving the Angels, the Good Woman Sharing Oil”; f. 266-266v, “Chastity, Lust, Esther [Judith], Joseph”; and f. 299, “Sobriety, Gluttony, the Man Measuring His Bread, the Greedy Rich man.”

Possessors: Agnès de Bourgogne

Date of Confection: 1460s-1470s

Date Entered into Agnès’ Collection: 1460s-1470s

Ex-libris: f. 313, “Ce livre fut a feue Madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d’Auvergne”

Commentary: Jean sans Peur owned an unilluminated copy, today KBR ms. 10320, inherited from his mother, Marguerite de Male. A 14th-century manuscript, KBR ms. 11206-207, seems to have been acquired after his death, probably by his son Philippe le Bon. Another manuscript, KBR ms. 11041, dated to 1415 and containing sketches based on the more luxuriously decorated manuscripts, belonged to Philippe. Extracts from the *Somme* are also found in a compilation, KBR ms. 9400, and an amalgamated *Somme/Miroir* accompanies a text on the Trinity in KBR ms. 11208. Evidently, it was a very popular text at the Burgundian court. At least a portion of the Book of Virtues also comprises Marie de Berry’s compilation of advisory texts for women, BL Add. 29986 (f.166v-67vb). Additionally, Agnès’ older sister Anne likely had access to a copy of the *Somme* in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine ms. 870, which was acquired by her husband, the Duke of Bedford, in 1424.

According to the introduction by Brayer and Leurquin-Labie to the modern edition of the *Somme*, readers wanted “un livre maniable, bien écrit, avec ou sans images; un manuel qu’ils consulteraient souvent à la manière de leur livre d’Heures” (32-33). They base this conclusion in part on the numerous copies which include contemporary or marginally later tables of contents at the head of the manuscript: “la *Somme le roi* n’est pas un roman qui se lit en continu; l’utilisateur doit pouvoir retrouver facilement les passages traitant de telle vertu ou de tel vice” (525). Such a table, likely written by the first scribe, comprises f. 1-5v of Agnès’ text, to which it corresponds exactly.⁷ Further

⁷ There are some few rubrics within the text written out slightly differently (e.g. *septiesme* instead of *viii^e*), but by and large they are identical to those in the table of contents.

evidence of use in this copy of the *Somme/Mireoir* are a number of marks in the margins. Sure indications that someone did in fact read the text are present in the form of a few marginal corrections and *nota*. Other marks (Fig. 49, 50, 51, and 52) might have functioned as bookmarks as the reader worked her way through the text, although their type, size and positioning make it difficult to draw any definite conclusions, since many are so unassuming.

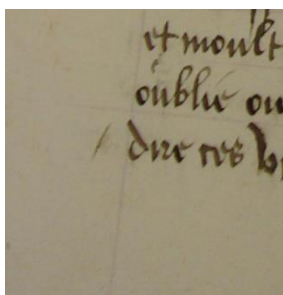


Fig. 49: Beinecke ms. 204, *Somme le roi/ Mireoir du monde*, by Frère Laurent, f. 23v detail

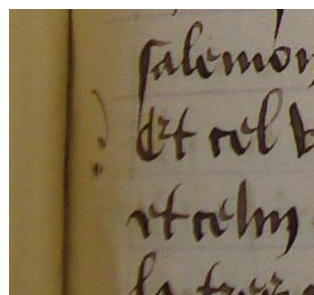


Fig. 50: Beinecke ms. 204, *Somme le roi/ Mireoir du monde*, by Frère Laurent, f. 134 detail

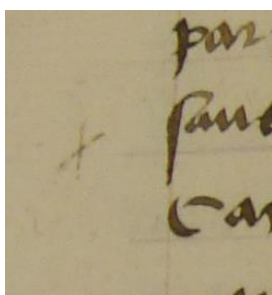


Fig. 51: Beinecke ms. 204, *Somme le roi/ Mireoir du monde*, by Frère Laurent, f. 225v detail

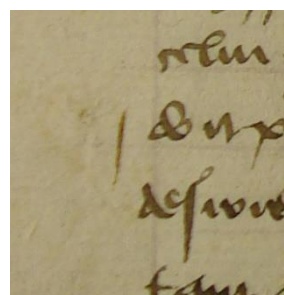


Fig. 52: Beinecke ms. 204, *Somme le roi/ Mireoir du monde*, by Frère Laurent, f. 296v detail

Bibliography: Bousemanne and Van Hoorebeeck, I:131-33, 226, 251-55, 273-76, 305-07; Brayer and Leurquain-Labie; Briquet, I:137-38, III:459; *DLF*, 921-22; Doutrepont, *Inventaire*, 72-73, 96, 116-17; Piccard *P* II:84, 130, 133; Shailor; Wittek, III:60-61, 347.

5. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 92 (formerly ms. 6766)

Contents:

Title	Author	Folios
<i>Les trois fils de rois</i>		1-235; TOC f.A-E

Dimensions: 410 x 320mm, I + 245ff, 29 lines per page, Burgundian *batarde*, manuscript on vellum, bound in leather

Ornamentation: Ornate and gold-leaf letters on colored background; colored pilcrows and line-fills throughout; ornate initial on f. 1 contains the arms of Philippe le Bon; red rubrics; catchword ff 9v, 17v, 65v, 73v, 81v?, 105v, 121v, 145v, 169v, 177v, 185v, 201v, 209v.

Possessors: Philippe le Bon?; Agnès de Bourgogne; Jean II de Bourbon and Jeanne de France; Pierre II de Bourbon and Anne de Beaujeu; ducal library at Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 57; Chazaud n° 62)

Date of Confection: 1463

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: 1463-1465

Ex-libris: f. 235, "Ce livre fut a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne, en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, et depuis au bon Jehan [II de Bourbon] et a madame Jehanne de France. Et pareillement au bon duc Pierre [II de Bourbon] et a madame Anne de France, filles, seurs et cousines de roys" (Fig. 34).

Commentary: Initially copied for Philippe le Bon. Although the colophon claims the manuscript was "grossé" by David Aubert, Palumbo believes that Aubert acted more as editor than primary scribe: "s'il est vrai que ses mss autographes sont signés *David Aubert manu propria*, il est probable que ce travail n'a pas non plus été exécuté de sa main. L'*escripvain* du duc semble être plutôt l'éditeur de la luxueuse copie commandée par Philippe le Bon. Il y a ajouté le prologue dédicatoire en l'honneur de son commanditaire et, peut-être, les rubriques; il a retouché le texte et l'a fait mettre au net.

En ce sens, sa signature est là pour indiquer, plutôt que le nom de l’auteur ou du copiste, une ‘sorte de label ou de marque déposée’ qui garantit le travail de ses collaborateurs” (66).

Bibliography: Bousemanne, Van Hemelryck, and Van Hoorebeeck, III:167; Chazaud, 237; Delisle, I:70; *DLF*, 372-73; Jeannot, 302; Laffitte, 177; Le Roux de Lincy, 41; Palumbo.

6. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 167 (formerly 6829(2))

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
<i>Bible moralisee</i>		

Dimensions: (Dimensions not provided by BnF site), vellum, *littera formata*, four columns, bound in leather

Ornamentation: Unknown

Illumination: Information on specific illuminations unavailable, as neither manuscript nor microfilm is digitized. Delisle writes that the manuscript has 2576 miniatures (I:168).

Possessors: Philippe le Hardi?; Jean sans Peur; Philippe le Bon (Bonost and de Templeuve n° 86; Barrois n° 712 and 1158 [listed twice]); Agnès de Bourgogne; ducal library at Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 26; Chazaud n° 27).

Date of Confection: c. 1349-1352

Date Entered into Agnès’ Collection: 1425 or post-1467/9

Ex-libris: None

Commentary: None

Bibliography: Barrois, 124, 173-74; Chazaud, 234; Delisle, I:167-68, 174; Doutrepont, *Inventaire*, 86; Laffitte, 177; Le Roux de Lincy, 36-37; Wijsman, 190.

7. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 334 (formerly 6956)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
<i>Tristan en prose</i>	Luce de Gast	1-290a (Book I) 290a-351vb (Book II)

Dimensions: (Dimensions not provided by BnF site), I (paper) + 351ff vellum + I (paper), two columns of 50 lines, bound in red leather stamped with the arms of France

Ornamentation: Ornate letters; colored line-fills; gold and colored columns with half-human grotesques in margins, ff 1, 5, 10v, 11, 26v, 31v, 34v, 55v, 58, 85v, 86, 88, 90v, 97v, 112, 115, 117, 129, 135v, 144v, 146, 153, 162v, 168, 168v, 169v, 184, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192v, 195v, 196, 196v, 209, 228v, 243v, 255, 257v, 260, 261v, 263, 270, 275, 278v, 281, 283, 286, 289, 290, 290v, 292v, 321v, 328v, 330v, 331v, 334v, 335v; between text columns ff 4, 5v, 13, 15, 15v, 24v, 27v, 29, 29v, 43, 48v, 62v, 64v, 68, 69, 69v, 71, 72, 77, 84v, 86, 87, 88v, 100, 103, 106v, 107v, 112v, 120, 123, 128, 130, 149v, 150v, 151, 176, 178v, 180v, 182v, 183, 185v, 186v, 200, 203v, 211, 213v, 217v, 220, 229, 233, 248v, 249, 249v, 253v, 256v, 259v, 262, 264, 267, 270v, 275v, 281, 286, 287v, 294, 295v, 297, 301v, 302, 302v, 305, 316, 320v, 328v, 330v, 331v, 336; catchword ff 8v, 16v, 24v, 32v, 40v, 48v, 56v, 64v, 72v, 80v, 88v, 96v, 104v, 112v, 128v, 136v, 144v, 152v, 160v, 168v, 176v, 184v, 192v, 200v, 208v, 216v, 224v, 232v, 240v, 248v, 256v, 264v, 272v, 280v, 287v, 295v, 303v, 311v, 319v, 327v, 335v, 343v.

Historiated Letters: Scribe writing f. 1a; Sadoc thrown in the sea f. 4b; King Thanor, his wife, and child f. 5a; Thanor defenestrated f. 5vb; Sad populace at the king's son being left in danger f. 10va; Pelyas chastising people f. 11a; Giant and Sadoc talking f. 13b; Sadoc leaves the giant f.15b; Apollo the Adventurer f. 15vb; Apollo learns of his brother's burial f. 24vb; Clodorieus' freshly-knighted son approaches a castle f. 26va; A knight

and companion arriving at a castle by boat f. 29b; King Melyadus takes a second wife f. 29vb; Funerary procession of King Loenois f. 31va; Tristan reading letters from Belyde f. 34va; Tristan leaves Yseult, returns to the king and queen f. 43b; King Marc and courtiers? f. 48vb; Two knights arrive before King Marc f. 48vb; The damsel with the shield leaves Tristan f. 55va; Tristan? in armor approaching men in tents f. 58a; Knights approach the Chateau de la Roche f. 62vb; Brunor, his daughter, and Galeholt converse f. 64vb; Tristan arrives at Cornwall by sea f. 68b; Counts leaving Brangayn tied to a tree f. 69b; Counts begging pardon from the king for having lost Brangayn f. 69vb; Lambegues rides after a crying Queen Yseult f. 71b; Palamedes riding toward Cornwall, where the counts are hiding f. 72b; A knight disarming before a servant? and a dwarf with a horse f. 77b; Queen Yseult locked up in her castle while two people talk to King Marc f. 84vb; Queen Guenievre reading a letter from Yseult f. 85va; Tristan and Kahedin riding between castles with the two Yseults? f. 86a; Lancelot and the damsel of Cornwall arrive at the Good Lady's home f. 86b; Supynables crosses the sea in search of adventure f. 87b; After a journey by sea, the Damsel of Cornwall rides (in knight's garb) to court f. 88a; A knight arrives in Great Brittany by sea f. 88vb; Tristan and Yseult of the White Hands leave the castle by the sea f. 90va; L'Amorat rides fully armed to a castle f. 97va; L'Amorat rides to a knight who will lodge him well f. 100b; King Arthur holding court at Camelot f. 103b; Brunor the Black catches up to a pensive damsel on horse f. 106vb; Daguenet sees Brunor the Black and asks about him f. 107vb; The Chateau Orgueilleus, before which Uther Pendragon does battle f. 112a; Mordred and Brunor the Black arrive at the Chateau Orgueilleus f. 112vb; Brangayn rides with Tristan f. 115a; Lamorat finds a knight riding with an angry damsel f. 117va; Tristan

and Kay fight f. 120b; Tristan rejoins Lamorat f. 123b; Tristan plays the harp for the queen f. 128b; Tristan loses his reason f. 129a; Tristan leaves Cornwall f. 130b; Brangayn summoning Kahedin to Yseult f. 135va; Mordret takes leave of the Brunor the Black f. 144va; Brunor the Black parting ways with Lancelot f. 146a; Yseult plays the harp and writes her lament for Tristan f. 149vb; Yseult sings her lament f. 150va; Marc hears Yseult talking aloud to herself f. 151b; Lancelot takes his leave of the damsel sent by Tristan f. 153a; Brunor the Black arrives at the bridge defended by the two brothers f. 162va; Palamedes and Kahedin leave King Marc f. 168a; Kahedin lies beaten, and Palamedes gets off his horse to find out the mystery knight's identity f. 168va; Palamedes and Kahedin arrive at an abbey f. 169va; Lancelot and Blyoberyl take their leave of Palamedes and Kahedin f. 176b; Uther Pendragon falls in lust after hearing of a woman's beauty f. 178vb; Kahedin and Kay approach a guarded bridge f. 180vb; Knights at sea f. 182vb; Harpist plays before a crowd f. 183b; Harpist sings of Kahedin's love f. 184a; Kahedin reads a letter from his love while the harpist looks on f. 185vb; Yseult speaking with a harpist f. 186vb; Witless Tristan found by shepherds f. 187a; Daguenet regaining his senses? f. 188a; Shepherds telling the court about Tristan f. 189a; Marc goes hunting f. 191a; Tristan promises Marc to leave Cornwall forever f. 192va; Sailors return to Cornwall f. 195va; Tristan starts riding f. 196a; Tristan and Dinadan battle with two knights defending a bridge f. 196va; Tristan takes leave of his companions f. 200b; Tristan and Dinadan speak on horseback f. 203vb; Knights riding f. 209a; Tristan and Dinadan at dinner f. 211b; Tristan meets a varlet f. 213vb; Queen Yseult awaits news from Tristan f. 217vb; Sagremors and Kay arrive at the home where Tristan and Gawayn are lodged f. 220b; Lancelot rests next to a spring

f. 228va; Tristan and Persydes sleep f. 229b; Tristan and two other knights in the woods f. 233b; Tristan in bed f. 243va; Lancelot and Tristan do battle f. 248vb; A knight speaking to two men after a tournament f. 249b; Tristan rides off, Palamedes and Gaheryet lie defeated f. 249vb; King Arthur talking with Gawayn and ? f. 253vb; Guenievre speaks with the Damsel of Cornwall f. 255va; Arthur upset at the absence of the Knight of the Black Shield from the tournament festivities f. 256vb; Lancelot and his squire approach a damsel on horse f. 257va; Lancelot attacks a castle f. 259vb; Lucans arrives at the place where Palamedes is abed recovering from his wounds f. 260a; Yvayn follows Tristan on horse f. 261va; Lucans travelling in a litter f. 262b; Tristan and Dinadan rest and recover f. 263a; Knights leave Arthur's court in search of Tristan f. 264b; Yseult speaks with Prince Gaheryet f. 267b; Yvayn of the White Hands asks King Marc's permission to go out f. 270a; Marc has defeated Yvayn of the White Hands f. 270vb; Kay and King Marc go to the Lac Aventureus f. 275a; Squire taking his leave of King Marc f. 275vb; Knights face each other on horseback f. 278va; Dynal rides back home and finds Kay and Gaheryes f. 281a; Kay and Gaheryes leave Dynal f. 281b; Tristan, Palamedes and Dinadan imprisoned by Daras f. 283a; Tristan and Gouvernal part ways with Palamedes and Dinadan f. 286a; Tristan arrives at Norgales f. 286b; Tristan arrives at a vavasour's home f. 287vb; Guenievre and Arthur talk about Tristan's unfamiliar shield f. 289a; Knights fighting in a tournament f. 290va; Tristan and Palamedes talk on horseback f. 292va; Tristan and Palamedes find a damsel mourning her lover f. 294b; A group of knights arrive at a lady's home f. 295vb; Tristan pursues the knight f. 297b; Tristan is received at the round table f. 301v; Marc and Yseult hear news of Tristan's prowess f. 302b; Marc schemes to murder Tristan f.

302vb; Lamorat hears Marc's lament f. 305b; Palamedes talking with fellow knights f. 316b; Marc parts ways with two knights f. 320vb; The two knights meet a damsel on horse f. 321va; Gawayn speaking with his brothers f. 328va; Arthur speaking to Dinadan and Marc f. 328vb; Marc and Arthur in conversation f. 330va; Marc and Tristan are reconciled f. 330vb; Sad knights of Arthur's court f. 331va; Arthur feasting at Camelot f. 331vb; Dinadan leaves his brothers? f. 334va; Knights attacking a castle f. 335va; A damsel arrives at Arthur's court f. 336b.

Illumination: Top left: Joseph Darymatie counselling Broin's twelve sons; Top right: Sadoc sails to find a wife; Bottom left: Sadoc and Celine riding to Nabusardan's, Bottom right: Celine and Nabusardan, f. 1. Queen Helyable visits her father, f. 27vb. Tristan in conversation with the king and counsellors, f. 290a.

Possessors: Agnès de Bourgogne; Anne (de Beaujeu?); ducal library at Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 68 or 174?; Chazaud n° 73 or 186?)

Date of Confection: 14th century

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: Unknown

Ex-libris: f. 351v, "Ce livre fut a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne."

Commentary: A modern hand has made marginal notations, mostly pertaining to the historiated letters. Some crosses and Xs in the margins (see f. 20). In very light ink, Roman numerals for the quires are found on the same folio as the catchword. A later (15th-century?) hand has inserted a sign at the bottom of f. 25vb as well as the explanation: "Querez cest seign au chief du tierz fueil ci après ensuians et la encomenciés a lire." Likewise, at the bottom of 26vb, a different sign and different explanation: "Querez

arriers au chief du tiers fueil le semblable seign et la recommenciez a lire.” On f. 28v, a third sign and explanation: “Querez cest seign au chief du tierz fueil ci après et la encomenciez a lire.” Similarly, on f. 30vb: “Querez cest seign za arriers au chief du tierz fueil. Et la encomenciez a lire,” and on f. 31vb, “Querez za avant au chief du tierz fueil cest seign et la encomenciez a lire.” However, the first sign is found at the top of f. 26a, the second at the top of 27a, the third at the top of 29a, the fourth on f. 31a, and the fifth on f. 32a, indicating that the folios got mixed up in a previous binding. This also happens on f. 81v/82 (“Querez le seign de .b. au chief du vie foillet. Et la commenciez amprès a lire”), 82v/83 (letters C and D), 86v/87 (letters E and F), 87v/88 (letters G and H). Yet another hand has corrected two names (Palamedes and Percides) on f. 242v. The last folio, f. 351/351v, is quite damaged and faded compared to the rest of the manuscript.

Tristan’s song on f. 128-128v and Yseults on f. 150v-151 are visually distinct from the prose text: shorter lines, large colored and filigreed initials beginning each stanza. Other songs, such as the Harpist’s (f. 184, 184v, 185v-186), and another on f. 304b-304vb, and letters, f. 336va-338b and 340b-340va, do not have the ornate initials but each verse is followed by a colored line-fill.

On f. 161v, in the bottom margin, the name Anne is very carefully written in block letters (Fig. 53); the same style is used on the facing page (Fig. 54).

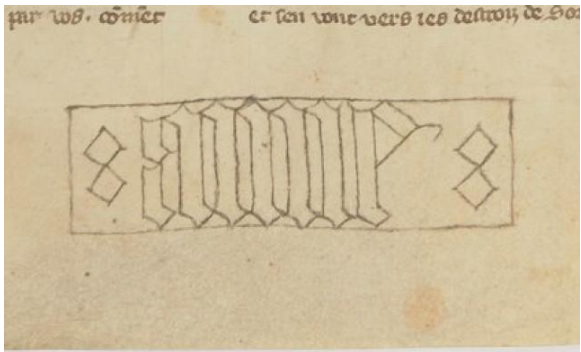


Fig. 53: BnF fr. 334, *Tristan en prose*, by Luce de Gast, f. 161v detail

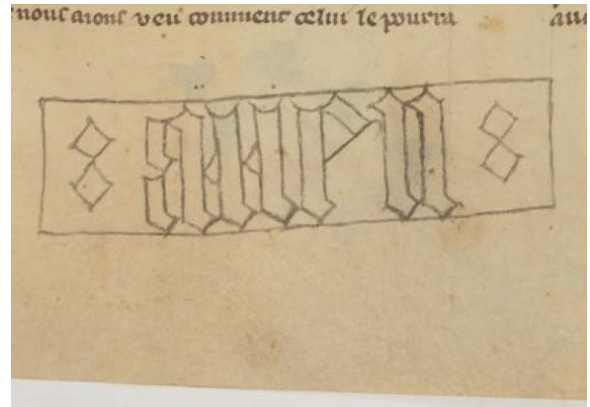


Fig. 54: BnF fr. 334, *Tristan en prose*, by Luce de Gast, f. 162 detail

Anne, done in the same style, can be seen faintly in the bottom margin on f. 165v, 273 and 350v, while elsewhere the writer seems to have been practicing—a ghostly *a* and *n* are discernable on f. 179 and 307, another *a* on f. 213, two *ns* on f. 220v, one on f. 225v and 274. The *amen*(?) is repeated by a slightly shakier hand on f. 276v.

On f. 208v, a Marguerite (?) has written her name between the two columns of text (Fig. 55).

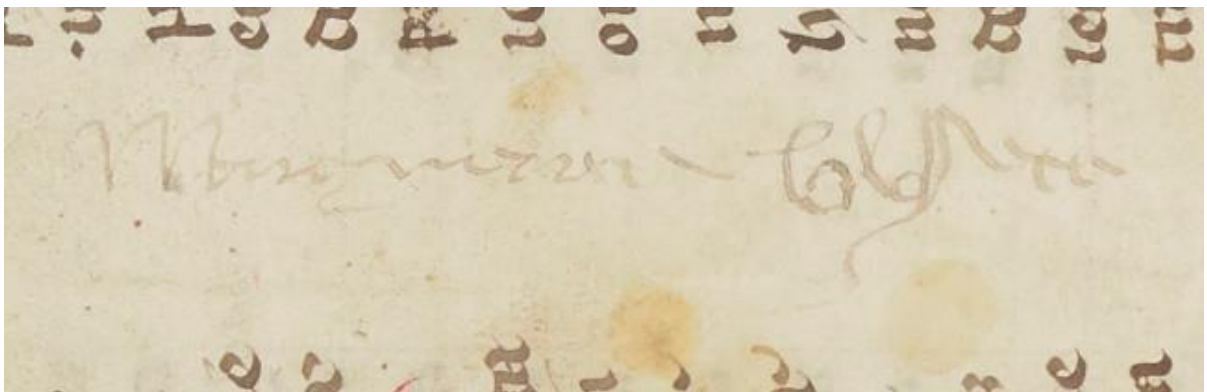


Fig. 55: BnF fr. 334, *Tristan en prose*, by Luce de Gast, f. 208v detail

Bibliography: Chazaud, 238, 246; Delisle I:167n8; *DLF*, 1448-50; Laffitte, 177; Le Roux de Lincy, 42, 54.

8. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 762 (formerly 7181)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
<i>Livre de Sydrac</i>		1-266; TOC 3v-23v

Dimensions: (dimensions not given on BnF website), I (paper) + I + 266ff vellum + I (paper),
two columns of 30 lines

Ornamentation: Ornate letters throughout; red rubrics; catchword ff 8v, 16v, 24v (in later hand), 32v, 40v, 48v, 56v, 64v, 72v, 80v, 88v, 96v, 104v, 112v, 120v, 126v, 134v, 142v, 150v, 158v, 164v, 170v, 178v, 186v, 192v, 198v, 206v, 214v, 222v, 228v, 236v, 244v, 252v, 258v.

Illumination: A man (Sydrac?) with an open book praying in front of an altar, f. 1a. Boctus taking counsel, f. 25a. God creating the earth?, f. 33b. Zodiac wheel, f. 217v (Fig. 18).

Possessors: Agnès de Bourgogne, ducal library of Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 88; Chazaud n° 94), Jehan C...?

Date of Confection: 1340

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: Unknown

Ex-libris: f. 266a, "Ce livre est Jehan C..." (indecipherable); f. 266b, "Ce livre fut a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne."

Commentary: Not either of the copies that belonged to Jean sans Peur (KBR ms. 11110 and ms. 11113). Wearing on the images, as if they have been touched during reading. The list of questions in the table of contents are numbered with Roman numerals, which someone else (perhaps Jehan) has corrected (also in Roman numerals, in a later hand) through 368, after which the 14th century numbering ceases; the later hand stops at 660. A modern hand begins numbering every tenth question starting with 670 (f. 17v), and

finishing at 1023 (f. 23v). Occasional *n.b.* in the form of crosses (as on f. 54), *nō* (such as on f. 60v, next to lines on freeing oneself from jealousy), and a stick figure next to the rubric for q. 422, “Li roys demande: l’esternument, doue vient il” (f. 143v).

Bibliography: Bousmanne, Johan, and Van Hoorebeeck, 226-32; Chazaud, 239; *DLF*, 1385-87; Doutrepoint, *Inventaire*, 82-83, 111-12; Jeannot, 19; Le Roux de Lincy, 45; Ruhe.

9. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 848 (formerly Regius 7223, Rigault II 449)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
<i>Épistre Othea</i>	Christine de Pizan	1-20

Dimensions: 340 x 255mm, III + 20ff + III, parchment, 17th-century binding in brown leather with the arms of France in gold

Ornamentation: Ornate letter and gold foil and painted acanthus leaves, f. 1, 2, 5v; red rubrics and pilcrow.

Illumination: Dedication miniature, f. 1; Othea offering her letter to Hector, Temperance’s Clock, f. 2 (Fig. 4); Minos dispensing justice, Hercules symbolizing force, f. 2v; Perseus rescuing Andromeda, f. 3.

Possessors: Philippe le Hardi?; Agnès de Bourgogne; ducal library at Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 100?; Chazaud n° 106); Nicolas Moreau, lord of Auteuil (d. 1619)

Date of Confection: c. 1400

Date Entered into Agnès’ Collection: Unknown

Ex-libris: f. 20, “Ce livre fut a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d’Auvergne”

Commentary: Layout of the text, with *Glose* on the left, *Allegorie* on the right, and the *Texte* in a small column in the center, evocative of biblical glosses and scholarly apparatus. Unclear how the manuscript came into Agnès' (Philippe le Hardi's) possession, given the mention of Louis d'Orléans in the dedicatory prologue.

Bibliography: Chazaud, 240; *DLF*, 280-87; Jeannot, 126, 302; Le Roux de Lincy, 46; Parussa; Ouy, Reno, Villela-Petit, 345-55.

10. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 975 (formerly 7299)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
<i>Vie et légende de sainte Barbe</i>	Jacobus de Voragine; trans. Anonymous	1-25
<i>Passion Jhesucrist</i>		26-148v

Dimensions: 260 x 160mm, I (paper) + I + 150ff vellum + II, secretary (secretary cursiva media), 32-34 long lines per page

Ornamentation: Three ornate letters decorate the manuscript; on f 1, edged by acanthus leaves, two decorated letters introduce the etymology of St. Barbara's name and begin the *Life* proper, while the last starts the Passion text; ascenders; colored letters throughout; catchword ff 8v, 16v, 24v, 32v, 40v, 48v, 56v, 64v, 71v, 79v, 87v, 95v, 103v, 111v, 119v, 127v, 135v.

Possessors: Agnès de Bourgogne?; Jeanne de France; ducal library at Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 15; Chazaud n° 15)

Date of Confection: 15th century

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: post-1445?

Ex-libris: f. 149, "Ce livre est a madame Jehanne, fille et seur de roys de France, duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, contesse de Clermont, de Forez, de l'Isle en Jourdan et de

Villars, dame de Beaujeu a la part de l'empire, d'Annonay et de Roche regnier. Jehanne de France" (Fig. 37)

Commentary: Le Roux de Lincy writes, "L'un de ces manuscrits qui se trouve à la Bibliothèque nationale, n° 7299 [BnF fr. 975], avoit été exécuté par ordre de Jeanne de France [*sic*, given that the death date is that of Agnès de Bourgogne], duchesse de Bourbon, morte en 1476 (voyez P. Paris, t.VII, p. 372)."

The flyleaf preceding f. 1 remains to be transcribed, as the quality of the microfilm is too poor to be read apart from scattered words:

... baillé et delivré ...
la duchesse ... de sa ...
de ... Gillun de ...
... la ...
... pour ... afin ... qu'il ...
en ... Ainsi que ... pur...
...le XXIIIJ jour de mar ... pour...
...
...

f. 151v: "In nomine domini Amen *Christe* qui." f. 152 has multiple instances of smeared, scratched off, and faded writing, mostly indecipherable. The transcription of f. 152v by Paulin Paris is as follows:

ma dicte dame la duchesse a fourni le parchemin.... [this line is cut off by the joining of the quires; the only word I am confident confirming is *p[ar]chem[in]*]
reaulx d'or à Jehanne Fourniere pour avoir....
plusieurs vignetes d'or et d'asur six reaulx et dem....
peintre pour avoir fait XII ystoires d'or et
d'or neufz qui font en somme XI reaulx et....
courant; pour ce paie au dessus diz comme appert... [cannot confirm *courant*]
dame. Donné à Molins, le III. jour d'aoust...
cens quarente cinq, et quietance d'iceulx.
A Giles le tailleur argentier et receveur gener....
de mondit seigneur le duc paié, baillé, et delivré par...
ordonnance de madicte dame la duchesse la som..."

The “plusieurs vignetes d’or et d’asur” and “XII ystoires d’or” seem like they could pertain to Agnès’ Book of Hours (BnF lat. 1183), which has twelve illuminations decorated with gold and blue; however, Hans-Collas and Wijsman have placed the production of the Book of Hours in the first half of the 1460s—might these *vignetes* have been for another, similar commission?

To the left, perpendicular, is written: In // Tu cum deo coior(?)

This *Passion* text can also be found in BnF fr. 968, completed in 1477, available at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9060651b/f1.item>> (consulted May 30, 2016); and fr. 973, a beautifully illuminated 15th-century copy available at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9060512w/f1.item>> (consulted May 30, 2016).

Philippe le Bon might also have owned a copy of *Sainte Barbe*, but whatever copy was inventoried in 1467 seems to be no longer extant—or at least, no longer in Brussels, as there is no reference to it in the *Librairie* volumes, nor in Paris, according to the BnF’s website.

Bibliography: Boulton, “Langage”; Chazaud, 233; *DLF*, 1353; Jeannot, 125-26; Le Roux de Lincy, 34; Paris, VII:373; Williams, 156n5.

11. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1456 (formerly Rigaud II 847, Dupuy II 1110, Regius 7539)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
<i>Cléomadès</i>	Adenet le Roi	1-150v

Dimensions: 250 x 170mm, I (paper) + I + 151 + I + I (paper), two columns of 32 lines (except songs, where 2nd and 3rd lines following each line of text are blank), gothic book script, 17th or 18th century binding in red leather stamped with the arms of France

Ornamentation: Sketch of an angel? on f. A; red rubrics; colored columns with dragon heads bordering the text and ornate letters ff 1, 7, 12v, 18a, 28vb, 32vb, 40va, 42va, 50vb, 55va, 65a, 70b, 72vb, 82a, 89vb, 92a, 106v, 109vb, 116b, 120a, 127vb, 132b, 140va, 147a; colored letters with ink filigree throughout; catchword ff 24v, 32v, 80v, 88v, 96v, 112v, 120v, 128v, 144v

Historiated Letters: Red fish on gold background f. 1.

Illumination: Marriage of Marcadigas and Ynabelle, and woman in bed with well-wishers at the foot, f. 1. Knights in battle, f. 7b. Three kings being presented to Marcadigas, f. 12va. King Melotandis bringing the men before the queen and her ladies, f. 18a. Cléomadès talking with ladies in the garden while being spied upon by the king and queen, f. 28vb. Cléomadès escapes, f. 32vb. Cléomadès talking with maidens in a garden while being spied upon by the king and queen, f. 40va. Cléomadès escapes with Clarmondine, f. 42va. Angry king and queen, f. 50vb. Cléomadès and Clarmondine are found by King Meniadus, f. 55va. Cléomadès asks permission to leave, f. 65a. Cléomadès speaking to king and barons, f. 70b. Cléomadès in battle, f. 72vb. Durbans surrenders himself to Cléomadès, f. 82a. Durbans and others speak to King Carmant, f. 89vb. Cléomadès battles before the king and others, f. 92a. Cléomadès chastising Meniadus, f. 106va. Cléomadès stealing Clarmondine away, f. 109vb. Cléomadès and Clarmondine at a spring in the woods, f. 116b. Cléomadès and Ynabelle in front of a castle, f. 119vb. Messenger speaking to Queen and barons, f. 127vb. King and ladies arrive at the feast, f. 132b. Crowning of Cléomadès, f. 140va. Leave-taking after the feast, f. 147a.

Possessors: Marguerite de Male?; Agnès de Bourgogne; ducal library at Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 92; Chazaud n° 98)

Date of Confection: c. 1320

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: Unknown

Ex-libris: f. 150v, "Ce livre feu [sic] a feue Madame agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne."

Commentary: Top and bottom margins on f. 1 sport two shields each of a gold fish on a red background. These are the arms of the Feugerolles of Montmort in Forez. Lots of evidence of use—candlewax (or liquid) splashes, dirty spots in the margins, some rubbed spots on the illuminations. Arabic numerals in black ink in the margins next to illuminations. Arabic numerals 1 through 12 in pencil on f. 149v-150v. Faint letters in a later hand(s) next to columns occasionally (see f. 58v, 66v, for example), indicating transposed lines. A later hand (15th-century?) has occasionally corrected the text (e.g. f. 109vb, *celui* written underneath *cel*).

On f. 151 is written:

dudit molins a valuez a la mesure de paris a IIIJ muid IIIJ septiers
yssue de XXXIII muid v septiers de sel mesure dudit Paris a lui
delivrez ou pont de see le XXII^e jour d'octobre derrenier
passe pouree IIIJ muid II septiers

Le XVIII^e jour de decembre mil IIII LIII fut mesuré
audit port d'Aveuldre pour mener en grenier audit Aynay
par Jehan Guespin demourant a la chappelle
blanche le nombre de XIIIJ muid VI septiers de sel mesuré dudit
molins a valuez a la mesure de Paris a XIIIJ muid XI septiers iij,

f. 151v:

... audit
molins le nombre de XXIIJ muid XI^{m*} septiers de sel mesuré dudit

molins a valuez a la mesure de Paris a XXV muid II septiers
de sel yssus de XXVII muid VIII septiers de sel mesure dudit Paris
A lui delivrez ou pont de see le XXVII^e jour d'avril
derrenier passe pouree XXIIII muid XI septiers

Le VIII^e jour d'avril et XV^e jour de may mil III LV fut
mesuré oudit port de Lachieze pour mener en grenier
audit gannat? le nombre de XXV muid VII septiers de sel mesuré
dudit molins a valuez a la mesure de Paris a

*This second superscript *m* does not make sense given that the abbreviation for *septiers* follows immediately after. There also seems to be more (another record of salt?) underneath the paper pastedown on the back board, but it is indecipherable.

Jean sans Peur also inherited a copy of *Cléomadès* from his mother's collection (Barrois n° 1330), inherited in turn by Philippe le Bon, but perhaps no longer extant.

Bibliography: Barrois, 194; Chazaud, 240; *DLF*, 18-20; Doutrepoint, *Inventaire*, 133-34; Henry; Le Roux de Lincy, 46; Postec.

12. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1533 (formerly 7583)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
<i>Vie de Nostre Dame</i>		1-33b
<i>Les XV signes du definement du monde</i>		33b-36a
<i>Les Miracles de Nostre Dame</i>	Gautier de Coinci	37a-135va (Book I) 135va-254vb (Book II)
<i>Les Avez de Nostre Dame</i>	Gautier de Coinci	254vb-262vb
<i>Diverses oraisons a Nostre Dame</i>	Gautier de Coinci	262vb-265va

Dimensions: (Dimensions not given by BnF site), I (paper) + 265ff vellum, 2 columns of 40 lines

Ornamentation: Ornate letters, ff 37a, 135va; gold foil and colored letters; red rubrics; catchword ff 8v, 16v, 24v, 44v, 52v, 60v, 68v, 76v, 84v, 92v, 100v, 108v, 116v, 124v, 132v, 140v, 148v, 156v, 164v, 172v, 180v, 188v, 196v, 204v, 212v, 220v, 228v, 236v, 244v, 252v, 260v.

Historiated Letters: Angel holding roundel f. 1a; Angel announcing Mary's birth? 2va; Joseph riding the ass f. 19a; Christ's Resurrection 28va; Mary's earthly death f. 31; Four seasons? f. 33b; Monk praying? f. 39a; Monk praying to Virgin f. 42; Saint Leocadie and the good Archbishop of Coulete/Colece f. 55a; A Jew? putting a child in the oven f. 68vb; Jew throwing an image of Our Lady in the Privy f. 69va; Virgin Mary appearing to a sleeping priest f. 70b; Dead priest surrounded by mourners? f. 70vb; Priest protected by the Virgin f. 71vb; Virgin and Angel at cleric's deathbed f. 73a; Virgin and a wicked queen? f. 74a; Virgin; angel and priest at a sickbed f. 78vb; Virgin painlessly delivering sleeping abbess of her child f. 82b; Cleric before a statue of the Virgin and Child f. 84vb; Priest? and child f. 86a; Monk reading f. 89a; Devil stealing a monk's soul f. 89va; Pilgrim? and St. James? f. 91a; Virgin saving a nun f. 92b; Two monks f. 93vb; Angel saving a knight's soul f. 94va; Virgin appearing to a nun f. 96va; Virgin saving a hanged thief f. 98a; Virgin appearing to a sleeping monk f. 99a; Muslim praying to image of Virgin and Child f. 100vb; Virgin appearing to a lady in prayer f. 102va; Knights attacking a castle f. 103va; Monks? in a boat f. 105a; Virgin presenting priest with chasuble f. 106b; Monk and villager? f. 108b; Man giving alms f. 113vb; Virgin and angel healing a monk f. 118a; Knight praying to statue of Virgin and Child f. 120a; Virgin resuscitating a monk f. 122a; Virgin appearing to nun f. 126va; Demon stealing a soul? f. 130a; Virgin healing emperor f. 140va; Nun reading f. 165vb;

Emperor Julius arriving at St. Basil's monastery f. 172vb; Virgin protecting a castle against Muslims f. 177va; Woman hitting a child f. 179b; Monks carrying a reliquary f. 184a; Merchant at sea f. 185a; Priest rejecting a reliquary of the Virgin f. 185b; Burning city f. 187b; Man praying before image of Christ Crucified f. 188vb; St. Lorenz? f. 192b; Angel and devil fighting over a soul f. 195b; Jongleur praying to image of Virgin and Child f. 198va; Mother and child praying before image of Virgin and Child f. 200vb; Man cowering before relic? of the Virgin f. 202b; Burn victim praying to image of Virgin and Child f. 204va; Cripple asking monk for help f. 208vb; Three figures f. 212a; Virgin appearing to virgin f. 217a; Virgin saving pilgrims at sea f. 221a; Monk giving image of Virgin to nun f. 225va; Virgin appearing to sleeping monk f. 231vb; People praying before an image f. 236b; Preacher and child with book? f. 238b; Monk writing at lectern f. 239va; Man with banner on a pike f. 254vb; Priest praying before Virgin and Child f. 262vb; Monk praying before statue of Virgin and Child f. 264b; Noble praying to statue of Virgin and Child f. 264vb.

Illumination: At the temple, f. 1. The Virgin banishing a devil?, f. 37a. Annunciation, f. 135va.

Possessors: Agnès de Bourgogne, ducal library at Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 97; Chazaud n° 103)

Date of Confection: 13th century

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: Unknown

Ex-libris: f. 265v, "Ce livre fut a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duch[esse] de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne"

Commentary: A few lines, possibly of the text, probably by the scribe, are written on the right edge of f. 266. The name of an unknown "Jehan" has been rubbed off of f. 266v. The

quality of the digitized microfilm makes it difficult to be sure of the scenes in the miniatures and historiated letters, although descriptions of them and/or instructions for the rubrics that precede them are often written in the bottom margin. Songs are spaced one line of text for every three ruled lines, indicating the possible intention of including musical notation.

Neither Le Roux de Lincy nor Chazaud proposes that BnF fr. 1533 be identified with their “vie Nostre Dame en rythme, et la Passion Nostre Seigneur” (Le Roux de Lincy n° 97; Chazaud n° 103), and it is conceivable that it could instead be identified with the other books of *les miracles Notre Dame* (Le Roux de Lincy n° 43, 78; Chazaud n° 47, 83). The first line of f. 1 in Agnès’ manuscript specifies, however, that what follows is both the “vie nostre dame et la passion de nostre seigneur,” and the two columns of writing reveal at a glance that the text is rhymed, making it the most likely possibility. A later item in the inventory, *Le Livre de plusieurs miracles faitz par la vierge Marie* (Le Roux de Lincy n° 129; Chazaud n° 138), could plausibly be BnF fr. 1533, but has been identified by Legaré as one of the books passed from Charlotte de Savoie to Anne de France. Chazaud’s proposal that BnF fr. 1533 be identified as his n° 276 (Le Roux de Lincy n° 251) cannot be correct, as this manuscript is not on paper.

Bibliography: Chazaud, 237, 239, 240, 242, 252; *DLF*, 489-91; Le Roux de Lincy, 40, 44, 46, 50, 63; Legaré, 73, 75; Switten.

13. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1793 (formerly 7846)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folio and/or chapter number(s)
Le credo qu'on chante en la messe mis en françoiz par	Jean Sarrasin	f. 6

maistre Jehan Sarrasin, docteur en theologie, pour les gens lays		
Ce sont les rubriques des choses contenues cy après en ce present livre selon le nombre des articles		f. 7v-10
<i>Profit de savoir quel est pechié mortel ou veniel</i>	Jean Gerson	f. 11-47v (I-XXV)
<i>Traité des diverses tentations de l'ennemi</i>	Jean Gerson	f. 48 (XXVI)
<i>Le Miroir de l'ame</i>	Jean Gerson	f. 78 (XXVII-XXXVI)
<i>L'Examen de conscience</i>	Jean Gerson	f. 106 (XXXVII-XXXVIII)
<i>La Medecine de l'ame</i>	Jean Gerson	f. 116v (XXXIX)
<i>Une vraye medecine a l'ame en l'article de la mort</i>	Jean de Varennes	f. 122 (XL)
<i>Dialogue avec un fantôme</i>	Jean Gobi le Jeune	f. 126 (no chapter)

Dimensions: Binding 230 x 150mm, vellum 225 x 145mm, *batarde/batarde* secretary, I (paper)

+ 168ff vellum, bound in leather bearing the arms of France in gold.

Ornamentation: Red rubrics; some decorative ascenders; gold foil and color line fills and pilcrows; ornate letters; catchword ff 13v, 21v, 29v, 37v, 45v, 53v, 61v, 69v, 77v, 85v, 93v, 101v, 113v, 121v, 131v, 139v, 147v, 155v, 161v.

Possessors: Agnès de Bourgogne, ducal library at Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 127; Chazaud n° 136)

Date of Confection: 1450-1475?

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: 1450-1475?

Ex-libris: f. 165v, "Ce livre fut a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne" (Fig. 33)

Commentary: The identification of Le Roux de Lincy n° 127 and Chazaud n° 136 with BnF fr. 1793 is my own proposal; the item in question—*Le Livre du Credo, et comment on*

peche mortellement ou veniellement—corresponds precisely to the text on the first few folios of this manuscript.

On f. 105, (possibly two) someone(s) of a rather less-practiced hand have written out in Latin several verses related to the fourteen articles of faith:

Sensus corporos dat tiby quamque vagot
dat su pleni vicia dicio filigia

Bas confirma sacrum penitet
nubit ordinat ungit
visito poto cibo redimo tegit
hospito condo consule coge
doce renitte solare fer ora conceptus
natus passus dessendit ad yma
surgit et ascendit venier
discernere cuncta

The last three lines correspond to a poem on the articles cited by Guido of Monte Rochen in his *Manipulus curatorum*: “Nascitur abluitor patitur descendit ad ima, / Surgit et ascendit, veniet discernere cuncta” (279). The third and fourth lines in the second section correspond to verses covering the actions fulfilling the fourth commandment: “Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora [...] Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo” (301). I have yet to identify the sources of the remaining lines.

Of note as well is the absence of the *Credo* and *Dialogue* from the table of contents, indicating that they were likely late additions to the compilation, since all the other works in BnF fr. 1793 are included in the TOC. Someone has numbered the quires in pencil, indicating that q-14 spans ff. 102-105v, and Q21 ff. 156-161v. “18” is written on f. 126, the first folio of Gobi le Jeune’s *Dialogue*, and again on f. 132, so it is unclear if the *Dialogue* actually begins a new quire.

Philippe le Bon owned a copy of Gerson's *Medecine de l'ame*, today in the compilation KBR ms. 10394-414.

Bibliography: Bousmanne, Johan, and Van Hoorebeeck, II:179-86; Glorieux, VIIa:193-206, 343-60, 370-89, 393-400, 404-07; Guido of Monte Rochen; *DLF*, 782-86, 850; Jeannot, 123, 303; Polo de Beaulieu; Vauchez, "Un Réformateur."

14. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 24293 (formerly Notre-Dame 208)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
<i>Le Livre de la cité des dames</i>	Christine de Pizan	5-63va; TOC 5a-6va (Book I) 64-135a; TOC 64a-65va (Book II) 135-158a; TOC 135a-135b (Book III)

Dimensions: 284 x 200mm, IV (paper) + 154 ff vellum + VI (paper), 16th-century binding in brown leather with gilding and stamped floral pattern, bearing arms of Nicolas Moreau

Ornamentation: Red rubrics; large ornate letters; gold borders and acanthus leaves on ff 7, 66, 135v; small gold and/or colored letters and pilcrows throughout.

Possessors: Jean sans Peur and/or Marguerite de Bavière?; Agnès de Bourgogne; ducal library of Moulins (Le Roux de Lincy n° 72; Chazaud n° 77); Jehan de Poiphylle Taigleure; Nicolas Moreau, lord of Auteuil (d. 1619); Claude Joly, cantor of Notre-Dame (d. 1674).

Date of Confection: c. 1405

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: Unknown

Ex-libris: f. 158, “Ce livre fut a feu madame Agnes de Bourgoigne en son vivant duchesse de Bourbonnois et d’Auvergne.”

Commentary: In the introduction to the section on the *Cité* in the *Album Christine de Pizan*, the editors speculate that this copy might have been presented to Marguerite de Bavière, who is mentioned in ch. II.LXVIII. It could just have easily belonged to Marguerite’s husband and Agnès’ father, Jean sans Peur, who also owned a presentation copy, inherited by Philippe le Bon, still extant as KBR ms. 9393.

Bibliography: Bousemanne, Van Hemelryck, and Van Hoorebeeck, III:92-98; Chazaud, 238; *DLF*, 280-87; Doutrepoint, *Inventaire*, 69; Jeannot, 126, 303; Le Roux de Lincy, 44; Ouy, Reno, Villela-Petit, 517-35.

15. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1183 (formerly Rigault 2522, Dupuy 1008, Regius 4480)

Contents:

Title	Author and/or Translator	Folios
Book of Hours		1-164

Dimensions: 196-199 x 142-145 mm, v + 164ff vellum + III, 14-17 long lines per page, 18th-century binding of red leather with the arms of the king of France, *LIBER PRECUM* on the back

Ornamentation: Red rubrics; marginal flora on illuminated folios; ornate initials; line-fills.

Illumination: Throne of Grace, f. 13. Mass for the Dead, f. 23. Pentecost, f. 35. Assembly of saints around the Virgin and Child, f. 45. Adoration of the Host, f. 55 (Fig. 36). Crucifixion, f. 65. Virgin and Child in the garden, f. 80. Judgment Day, f. 90.

Martyrdom of St. Eutrope, f. 118. Christ carrying the Cross, f. 138. Lamentation of Christ, f. 142. Christ on the shroud, f. 144v.

Possessors: Agnès de Bourgogne; ducal library of Moulins?

Date of Confection: 1460-1465

Date Entered into Agnès' Collection: 1462-1465

Ex-libris: None

Commentary: *Nota* on f. 132 next to the prayer for times of adversity.

Bibliography: Hans-Collas and Wijsman; Jeannot, 121, 303.

Elimination of KBR ms. 1411, Nicolas de Lyre's *Postilles*

KBR ms. 1411 is a 15th-century copy of Nicolas de Lyre's late-13th- or early-14th-century *Postillae perpetuae in universam S. Scripturam*, a multivolume exegetical text that comments on the Bible and, as in the case of this particular manuscript, the Psalms and the Prophets. Based on information on a flyleaf in KBR ms. 1411, Delphine Jeannot suggests that this manuscript constituted part of Agnès de Bourgogne's library.⁸ However, the codicological evidence does not support her conclusion.

As we can see from the list of her manuscripts, Agnès' preferences did include religious literature both old and new. However, with the exception of her Book of Hours—which, it bears pointing out, includes certain prayers in French in addition to the typical Latin—and the *Bible moralisée*—which contains French translations of the Latin Scripture—all of Agnès' texts are primarily in the vernacular, whereas the manuscript in question, Nicolas de Lyre's *Postillae*, most decidedly is not. Already, the question of language casts doubt on Agnès' postulated ownership.

⁸ Jeannot, *Mécénat bibliophilique*, 124. Jeannot incorrectly states the shelf-mark as KBR ms. 270.

If we turn to the issue of thematic content, the *Postillae* is equally ill-fitted to Agnès' tastes. An exegetical text, the *Postillae* is a scholarly exposition of the literal sense of Scripture. The *Bible moralisée* could be said to fulfill a similar function to the *Postillae*, since it provides allegorical explanations of Scriptural passages; the *Bible moralisée* remains, nonetheless, an extensively illuminated vulgarization, in contrast to the sparsely-decorated study-aid that is the *Postillae*. While Agnès' tastes do indicate a preference for a certain level of intellectual rigor, as demonstrated above, it is generally within the context of inspirational, imagistic, and/or affective texts.

On the level of physical evidence, the indications are ambivalent. Two columns of 15th-century script are topped by running titles in Latin; there are elaborate letters painted on six folios, of which the first is by far the largest and most ornate.⁹ The acanthus leaves contained within the body of the letter P on f. 1 are similar in color palate and style though of slightly less skillful execution than the ornate letters in Agnès' Book of Hours, a Flemish production from around 1460-1465.¹⁰ While these similarities could lead us to infer a shared time and area of production, additional research has not served to definitively narrow down the production date of this manuscript beyond pointing, at best, to the last 2 to 6 years of Agnès' life.¹¹ Additionally, other physical evidence pointing specifically to Agnès de Bourgogne is lacking.

⁹ The manuscript measures 280 x 200mm, and is comprised of 22 quires of which the outermost and innermost leaves are parchment and the inner four (except q-8 and 20 [in-11°], 9 [in-14°], and 21 [in-10°]) of paper.

¹⁰ Hans-Collas and Wijsman, "Le Livre d'heures," 22.

¹¹ There are eight different watermarks in this manuscript, which could, theoretically, establish a relatively precise date-range for its composition. In q-8 through 10, the paper is marked with a teapot, which has been positively identified with Briquet 12481 and dates to Paris in 1468, 8 years before Agnès' death and thus within a reasonable amount of time for the manuscript to have come into her possession. (Briquet, in his introduction where he includes examples of dating early editions via their multiple watermarks, cautions that one should extend a given date for a watermark by a span of 15 years on either end. Thus, Briquet 12481 could reasonably date from anytime between 1453 and 1483, while Briquet 7826 spans 1468 [that is, 1483 – 15] to 1489 [1474 + 15].) q-16 is composed of a variant on Briquet 7826, a drinking horn; the dating of this watermark is substantially less certain, spanning the years 1474-1483 and the cities Bruges, Laon, and Utrecht. Were we to accept that it was produced in 1474, it is possible that the *Postillae* could have been completed and delivered sometime in the two years before Agnès' death. The paper in q-17 through 19 is marked with a shield, Briquet

KBR ms. 1411 does not contain Agnès' ex-libris; it does contain the following passage, upside-down, on f. 1, which was originally bound to the cover, if the glue-marks are any indication (Fig. 56). It is on the basis of this passage that this book has been attributed to Agnès de Bourgogne. Although the text is badly faded in places and completely indecipherable, even under UV light, in others, we can still make out the words "Agnès" at the top left (red arrow), "Paris" underlined in red at the bottom right, and an obligation to "paier tous cousts" in line 11 (boxed in red). Most unfortunately, the date, also located at the bottom right, is cut off by the joining of the quire. It also bears pointing out that while this notice is written in a 15th-century notarial hand, it is not by the same scribe as the body of the manuscript, making the link between the contents of the texts tenuous. The presence of the name Agnès in this passage, therefore, is insufficient to assert with any confidence that this manuscript belonged to her. I believe that the evidence argues against such an attribution, and therefore do not include it among the books comprising her library.

1045, dated to Troyes, Hollande, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Hambourg, 1465-1474. We are obligated, at this point, to take as our earliest possible date 1468, based on the certainty of the teapot watermark and uncertainty surrounding the drinking horn.

Regarding the five remaining watermarks, the first, a gothic Y, appears in q-1 through 4 in their entirety, and part of q-11 and 12. It very closely resembles Wittek n° 2306, dated to 1481 (Martin Wittek, *Inventaire des manuscrits de papier au XV^e siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique et de leurs filigranes. Tome 3: Manuscrits datés (1461-1480)*, 2 vols. [Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 2005]), and Briquet n° 9183, dated to Bretagne, 1472; Avallon, 1473; and Utrecht, 1476. The second watermark is a bearded unicorn with a striped horn and single tail, which occurs in q-5 and most of 15, for which I was unable to find any close reference in Briquet, Wittek, or Piccard. The letter P in q-6 and 7 most closely resembles Wittek n° 799, which dates to 1453-1454, but the dimensions differ significantly, leaving us once again lacking a definitive identification. In q-11, we find the first instance of a round watermark which contains in the lower right portion a fleur de lys, but which is otherwise difficult to discern. This same round watermark appears on one page of q-12, one of 17, and throughout q-13, 14, and 20 through 22. I believe it is quite similar, although not identical, again due to a difference in dimensions, to Piccard v. XIII n° 1378 and n° 1379, both of which date to 1472. One lone sheet in q-15 is marked with a bull's head, for which I was also unable to find a satisfactory match in any of the volumes I consulted.

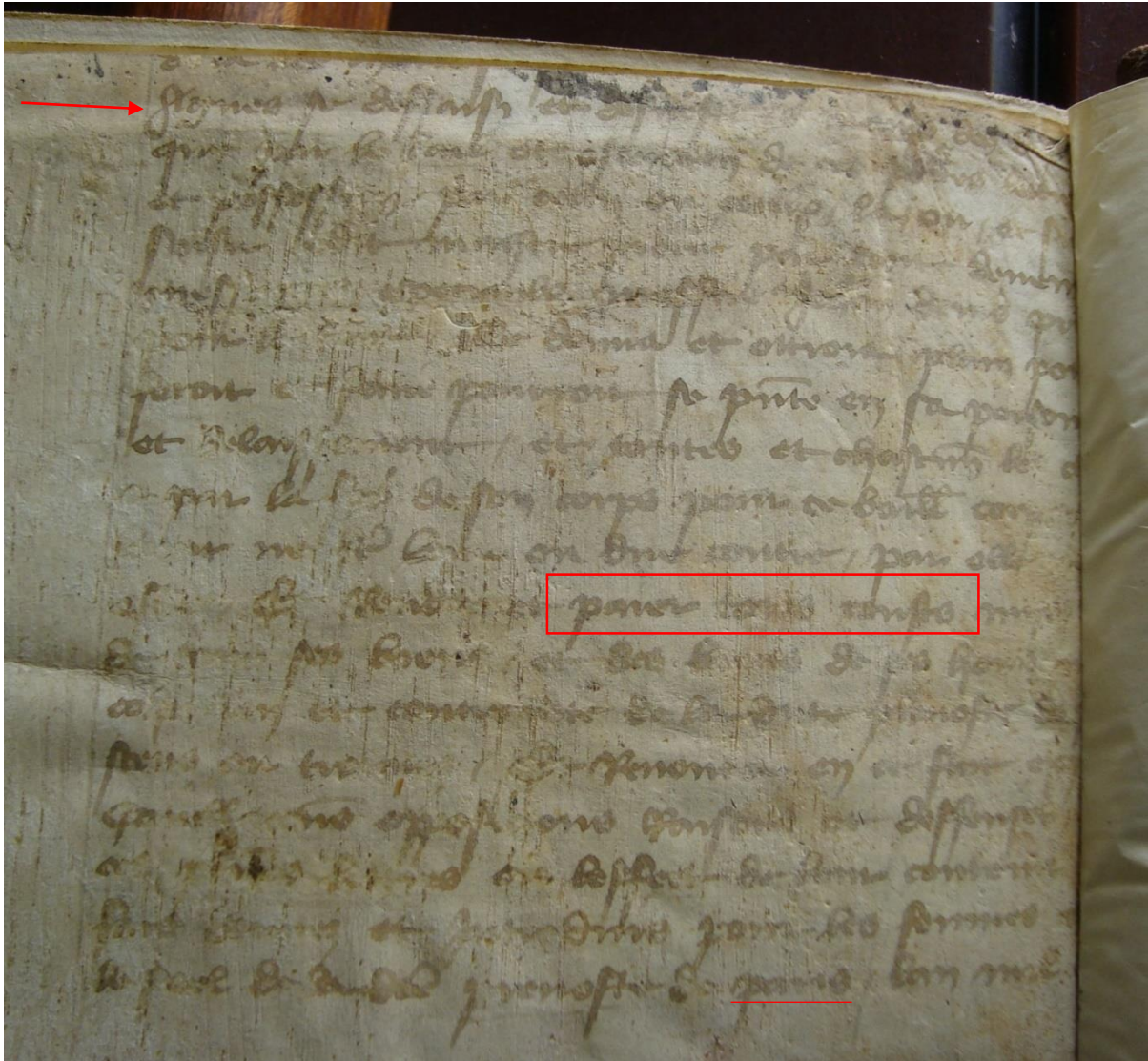


Fig. 56: KBR ms. 1411, *Postillae*, by Nicolas de Lyre, f. 1 detail

Charles I de Bourbon's Library

The list of manuscripts comprising Charles I de Bourbon's library is, for reasons including limited time and access, far more speculative, offering only shelfmark, list of contents, and a brief justification of its inclusion. Beginning with the edited copies of the 1523

inventory at Moulins,¹² I eliminated manuscripts that could not possibly have belonged to Charles based on a) their year of production and/or composition, if known; b) the person who acquired the book (for example, if a manuscript was a gift to Agnès' son, Jean II, or was commissioned for her daughter-in-law, Jeanne de France); and c) the provenance of a book, that is, if it came down through another branch of the family, such as that of Jacques d'Armagnac, some of whose books were confiscated by Pierre II de Bourbon many years after Charles' death.¹³ Sources on the libraries of certain of Charles' relatives, particularly his mother, Marie de Berry,¹⁴ proved helpful in ascertaining which volumes were likely present when he became duke in 1434.

1. No longer extant – *Genesis*, in Latin

- Laffitte speculates that it could have belonged to Louis II de Bourbon (177).
Item n° 24 (Le Roux de Lincy) or 25 (Chazaud).

2. Shelfmark unknown – *La belle Bible du duc de Berry*

- Laffitte says the *belle Bible du duc de Berry* could have come through Marie de Berry. Item n° 25 (Le Roux de Lincy) or n° 26 (Chazaud).

3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 126 – *Le Livre du régime des princes*

¹² Le Roux de Lincy, "Catalogue," 31-69; Chazaud, *Enseignements*, 231-58. As Legaré notes, neither inventory is entirely correct, but taken together, the two provide a reasonably complete picture of the library as it stood in 1523 ("Charlotte de Savoie's Library," 34). Since more of Chazaud's proposed identifications are unsupported by other scholars than Le Roux de Lincy's, I am more hesitant to accept Chazaud's work on its own than Le Roux de Lincy's.

¹³ Legaré's "Charlotte de Savoie's Library" proved particularly helpful in verifying the provenance of a number of manuscripts. On the confiscation of Jacques d'Armagnac's books, see Laffitte, "Les Ducs de Bourbon et leurs livres," 178; Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, I:170-71.

¹⁴ Beaune and Lequain, "Marie de Berry."

- Identified by Le Roux de Lincy (n° 45), who believes this particular manuscript was executed for Louis II de Bourbon. Present without commentary as Chazaud n° 49.
4. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 131 – *Des nobles malheureux*, by Boccaccio
 - Belonged to John, duke of Berry. As identified by Le Roux de Lincy (n° 1). Chazaud identified this item as Paris, BnF fr. 227, which is clearly incorrect, as BnF fr. 227 has Jeanne de France's symbols integrated into the marginalia. Could have come to Moulins via Marie de Berry, according to Laffitte. Not mentioned by Beaune and Lequain.
 5. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 176 – *Rational du divin service et office*
 - Identified speculatively by Laffitte (177n84), via Marie de Berry, and by Le Roux de Lincy (n° 167). Present without commentary as Chazaud n° 178.
 6. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 246 – *Genese, Histoire des faitz des Rommains*
 - Identified by Chazaud (n° 39). Present without commentary as Le Roux de Lincy n° 36. Very little information available on the BnF site, although it's certainly old enough (1364) to have been in the Bourbon library during Charles' tenure.
 7. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 251 – *Le Livre de Josephus, de Geneze et Suetone*
 - Identified by Chazaud (n° 5). Present as Le Roux de Lincy n° 5, but he proposes that this *Livre de Josephus* is BnF fr. 246.

8. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 268 – *Le Mignon* (three decades), by Tite-Live
 - Identified by Le Roux de Lincy (n° 23) and Chazaud (n° 23). Laffitte speculates that it could have belonged to Louis II of Bourbon (177).
9. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 344 – *Lancelot*
 - Identified by Laffitte (176n77), Le Roux de Lincy (n° 64), and Chazaud (n° 69). Belonged to Marie de Hainaut, wife of Louis I de Bourbon.
10. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 345-48? – *Quatre grans volumes de Perceforestz*
 - My own speculation. Present without commentary as Le Roux de Lincy n° 171 and Chazaud n° 183.
11. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 358 – *Le Livre de Giron le Courtoys*
 - Identified by Chazaud (n° 185). Present without commentary as Le Roux de Lincy n° 173. Laffitte also speculates that the original introduction ordered by Louis II de Bourbon could have been made for this particular manuscript (177).
12. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 373? – *Le livre d'Ovide, du duc de Berry*
 - My own speculation based on Beaune and Lequain's supposition that BnF fr. 373 might have been among the two copies Marie inherited (62n34). Laffitte also says that the volume (she does not specify a manuscript) could have come via Marie de Berry (177). Item n° 58 (Le Roux de Lincy) and n° 63 (Chazaud).

13. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 565 – *Le Livre d'espoir, et du ciel et du monde*

- Identified by Beaune and Lequain (62n28), so would have come via Marie de Berry. Laffitte concurs (177n85). Identified by Le Roux de Lincy (n° 12). Present without commentary as Chazaud n° 12. The presence in the 1523 inventory of another *Livre de l'Espere ensemble troys livres du ciel et du monde, translatez de latin en françoys* (Le Roux de Lincy n° 40; Chazaud n° 43) could be the *Du Ciel et du monde* that Beaune and Lequain identify as Marie's, BnF fr. 1082, or it could be that the item was inventoried twice.

14. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 574 – *Le Livre de l'ymage du monde*

- Identified by Beaune and Lequain (63n54), so came via Marie de Berry. Also identified by Le Roux de Lincy (n° 52). Present without commentary as Chazaud n° 56.

15. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 605 – *Le Livre de Prudence, les proverbes moraulx, une epistre à la Royne de France, une autre à Eustace Morel*, by Christine de Pizan

- Identified by Ouy, Reno and Villela-Petit (282n8), via Marie de Berry, and Le Roux de Lincy (n° 290). Present as Chazaud n° 314. Not part of Marie's inheritance from Jean de Berry (Beaune and Lequain).

16. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 606 – *L'Epistre d'Othea*, by Christine de Pizan

- Identified by Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit (248n5), via Marie de Berry, and Le Roux de Lincy (n° 289). Present as Chazaud n° 313. Not part of Marie's inheritance from Jean de Berry (Beaune and Lequain).
17. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 607 – *Le Livre de la cité des dames*, by Christine de Pizan
- Identified by Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit (288), via Marie de Berry, and Le Roux de Lincy (n° 288). Present as Chazaud n° 312. Not part of Marie's inheritance from Jean de Berry (Beaune and Lequain).
18. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 835 – *Ung volume où a cent ballades, plusieurs laiz et virelay, rondeaux, jeux à vendre, l'espitre au dieu d'amours, le debat des deux amans, les troys jugemens, le dit de Poissy, les espitres sur le rommant de la Roze*, by Christine de Pizan
- Identified by Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit (232n22), via Marie de Berry, and Le Roux de Lincy (n° 286). Present as Chazaud n° 310. Not part of Marie's inheritance from Jean de Berry (Beaune and Lequain).
19. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 836 – *Le livre du chemin de longue estude, les ditz de la Pastour, une belle oraison de saint Gregoires, le livre du duc des vraiz amans*, by Christine de Pizan
- Identified by Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit (270n10), via Marie de Berry, and Le Roux de Lincy (n° 287). Present as Chazaud n° 311. Not part of Marie's inheritance from Jean de Berry (Beaune and Lequain).
20. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 926 – *L'Aiguillon d'amor divine*

- Identified by Beaune and Lequain (53), Laffitte, Le Roux de Lincy (n° 11), and Chazaud (n° 11). Originally owned by and/or made for Marie de Berry, after which it entered Charles I de Bourbon's or Agnès de Bourgogne's possession before belonging to Jeanne de France (whose ex-libris is present).
21. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1082 – *Aristote, Du Ciel et du monde, traduction du latin en français par Nicole Oresme*
- See the commentary on Item 13.
22. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1685 – *Le Livre du débat des deux amours*, by Jehan le Prieur
- Identified by Chazaud (n° 122). Present without comment as Le Roux de Lincy n° 114. Dedicated to a certain duke of Bourbon, but it is not yet possible to identify *which* duke of Bourbon. Given that Le Prieur worked for René d'Anjou (1409-1480), it could be either Charles I or Jean II.
23. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2641 – *Les Croniques d'Angleterres*, by Jean Froissart
- Identified by Beaune and Lequain (63n44), via Marie de Berry, Laffitte (177n83), and Chazaud (n° 36). Present without commentary as Le Roux de Lincy n° 33.
24. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 5064 – *Les Croniques du bon duc Loys [II] de Bourbon*, by Jean d'Orronville
- Identified by Laffitte (178), Le Roux de Lincy (n° 119), and Chazaud (n° 127). Dedicated to Charles.

25. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ital. 261 – *Compendio della Storia della città di Milano, e d' altri paesi uniti alla Lombardia Milanese* by Castellano de la Rocha de Sartirana
- Identified by Laffitte (176n66) and Le Roux de Lincy (n° 37). Present without commentary in Chazaud (n° 40).
26. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ital. 1470 – *La Divina Commedia*, by Dante
- Identified by Chazaud (n° 154). Present without commentary as Le Roux de Lincy n° 144. The BnF site indicates possession by a Jean de Bourbon, comte de Clermont, which could be either Jean I or Jean II, given the manuscript's vague date of 1401/1500.
27. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5047 – *Le Livre de Josephus, en latin*
- Identified by Laffitte (176n64). Present without commentary as Le Roux de Lincy n° 6 and Chazaud n° 6.
28. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5285 – *Vita sancti Juliani*
- Identified by Chazaud (n° 113). Present without commentary as Le Roux de Lincy n° 106.
- s.n. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 22297 – *Le Livre des armes des pays de Bourbonnois et d' Auvergne*
- Identified by Laffitte (177n87), Le Roux de Lincy (n° 70), and Chazaud (n° 75). This work was written with Charles I of Bourbon in mind, although he died before it was completed, so it was never officially part of the ducal library during his lifetime.

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