

CHRISTINE DE PIZAN — A PUBLISHER'S PROGRESS

In recent years there has been a welcome revival of interest in Christine de Pizan, both as author and as 'publisher', to use a deliberate anachronism. Thanks to the work of a number of scholars, we now have a clearer understanding of the part played by Christine herself in planning and preparing the presentation copies of her works which were intended for patrons in France and abroad. The suggestion made by Charity Cannon Willard in 1965 that Christine might herself have copied the text of the *Epistre a la reine Isabelle* in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 580, has recently been re-examined by Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno who, in an important article, show that three scribes, P, R, and X, were responsible for a large number of the manuscripts thought to have been prepared under Christine's supervision. They argue further that the scribe X is to be identified with Christine herself.¹

The significance of the miniatures which illustrate the manuscripts of Christine's works is now much more clearly appreciated, following the publication of a number of valuable studies, notably by Millard C. Meiss.² The interest of art historians has tended to focus not on the earliest manuscripts which are decorated with pen-and-ink drawings or with relatively undistinguished miniatures but on the more ambitious volumes of high artistic quality in which Christine's works were copied from 1403 or 1404 onwards. In this connexion, as Meiss recognized, the presentation copies of the *Mutacion de fortune* are especially significant, for they mark something of a new departure.³ The two most lavishly illustrated of Christine's manuscripts are the large collection acquired by the Duke of Berry in 1408 (the Duke's MS), and the still larger collection which Christine presented to Queen Isabelle of France in 1410 or 1411 (the Queen's MS). It is not surprising that these two manuscripts, and the latter above all, have attracted most attention from art historians. The Queen's MS was the subject of a detailed study by Sandra Hindman in 1983; her work provides significant new information about the physical composition of the volume and the way in which it was prepared.⁴

Textual studies and critical editions of works by Christine have also cast light on the way in which she wrote her works and prepared them for publication. The very substantial analysis of the manuscript tradition of the *Epistre Othea*, published in 1967 by G. Mombello, includes comprehensive descriptions of all the known

¹ Charity Cannon Willard, 'An Autograph Manuscript of Christine de Pizan', *Studi Francesi*, 27 (1965), 452-57; Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, 'Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan', *Scriptorium*, 34 (1980), 221-38.

This article contains many references to the hands in which the different manuscripts are copied. All the attempts to identify and to differentiate these hands rely too much on the assertions of individual critics, myself included, rather than on very detailed or quantifiable evidence. It is essential that a surer and more systematic method be found to distinguish between scribal hands, a subject to which I hope to return in a future article.

Manuscripts which form part of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français will hereafter be referred to as BN fr., followed by the appropriate number, e.g., BN fr. 580.

² Millard C. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, 2 vols (London, 1974). See also Lucie Schaefer, 'Die Illustrationen zu den Handschriften der Christine de Pizan', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 10 (1937), 119-208.

³ Meiss, I, 8-12, 291-92. See also *Le Livre de la mutacion de fortune par Christine de Pisan*, edited by Suzanne Solente, SATF, 4 vols (Paris, 1959-66), and particularly I, xcix-cxlii, and IV, 97-99.

⁴ Sandra Hindman, 'The Composition of the Manuscript of Christine de Pizan's Collected Works in the British Library: A Reassessment', *British Library Journal*, 9 (1983), 93-123.

manuscripts, among them the two large collections just mentioned.⁵ The Duke's and the Queen's MSS are also examined in detail in the critical edition of the *Livre de la cité des dames* which was completed by Maureen C. Curnow in 1975; she argues that the earliest copy of that treatise which can be dated was included by Christine at the end of the Duke's MS.⁶ In his edition of the *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose*, published in 1977, Eric Hicks gives a full account of the textual tradition of the Debate, paying particular attention to the collected manuscripts.⁷ Mombello had discussed the changes made by Christine in successive 'editions' of the *Epistre Othea*, a process which had also been noted by Meiss in his study of the manuscripts of the *Mutacion de fortune*. That it was a regular practice for Christine to amend her texts before they were recopied or republished was shown by the present writer in 1983.⁸

This article is intended to complement that earlier study by charting Christine de Pizan's progress as a publisher. Particular attention will be paid to her earliest manuscripts, produced between 1399 and the end of 1404. The reasons for selecting the latter date have already been suggested: it coincides with the appearance of the *Mutacion de fortune*, to which Meiss attached particular significance. That 1399 marked the beginning of her literary career is indicated by Christine herself in the *Avision Christine* of 1405 (o.s.) and in the table of contents of her first collection which was begun in 1399 and completed in June 1402; both these references will be discussed in more detail presently (see below, pp. 37, 43). Three copies are known of that first collection, and until recently it was assumed that all three dated from the middle of the fifteenth century and were therefore copies of a lost original. In 1976 James Douglas Farquhar and Eric C. Hicks suggested that one of the three known copies might have been prepared under Christine's supervision.⁹ The question was also touched on briefly by Hicks in his edition of the *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose* a year later, where he indicated that two of the three manuscripts are much earlier than had previously been supposed; moreover, they were both copied by the same scribe, whose hand is also to be found in the Duke's and the Queen's manuscripts.¹⁰ The copies of the first collection have not yet received the detailed attention which they deserve, however; there is still considerable uncertainty about their authenticity and importance.

Before it can be demonstrated that two of the three copies of the first collection were indeed copied under Christine's supervision, they must be compared and contrasted both with earlier presentation copies of individual poems and treatises and with the later Duke's and Queen's MSS. No attempt has been made until now to see how the copies of the first collection or the earlier presentation copies fit into Christine's career as author and publisher. In that connexion it will be important to consider all the available evidence: literary, palaeographical, and artistic. One reason why the importance of the first collection has been underestimated is that the

⁵ G. Mombello, *La Tradizione Manoscritta dell' 'Epistre Othea' di Christine de Pizan* (Turin, 1967).

⁶ Maureen Cheney Curnow, 'The *Livre de la cité des dames* of Christine de Pizan: A Critical Edition' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1975), pp. 353-71, 590-92.

⁷ Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson, Jean de Montreuil, Gontier et Pierre Col: *Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose*, edited by Eric Hicks (Paris, 1977), pp. lv-xcii (hereafter, *Débat*).

⁸ J. C. Laidlaw, 'Christine de Pizan — An Author's Progress', *MLR*, 78 (1983), 532-50 (hereafter, 'An Author's Progress').

⁹ James Douglas Farquhar and Eric C. Hicks, 'Christine de Pizan's *Dit de la pastoure* in Baltimore: *membra disjecta*', *Scriptorium*, 30 (1976), 192-200.

¹⁰ Hicks, *Débat*, pp. lxx, lxxii; see also Ouy and Reno, p. 227.

scholars who have examined it have tended to do so from too exclusive a point of view, being concerned primarily with textual or with artistic problems. Critics have also tended to assume, unconsciously perhaps, that all Christine's manuscripts were of the same high artistic quality as the Duke's and Queen's MSS. In fact, like anyone starting out on a new enterprise, she began hesitantly and had to keep within her limited means; she could not immediately afford to employ the most skilled scribes and artists available.

An examination of the early manuscripts will be followed by a detailed study of the Duke's and Queen's MSS to determine how far Christine's practice evolved in the twelve years between 1399 and 1411, during which her major surviving manuscripts seem to have been produced ('An Author's Progress', p. 532). Particular attention will be paid to the Duke's MS, which has traditionally been thought to survive today in four separate volumes. However, that assumption has recently been questioned in two very different ways: Hicks and Ouy have suggested that the four extant volumes were not originally planned as a collection, even though they may later have been put together, while Curnow has argued that the Duke's MS is now in five parts, not four, the fifth and final part consisting of the *Livre de la cité des dames*.¹¹ Mombello and Hindman have separately raised the possibility that the Queen's MS may be a factitious collection, having been formed from parts which had perhaps been copied for other purposes.¹² Answers will be sought to all these questions.

Scriptorium and Publisher

In the *Avison Christine* which she wrote in 1405 (o.s.) Christine looked back to 1399, when her literary career had begun, and described those six years as a period of intense activity. Her earlier works had been on lighter subjects, but gradually she had begun to treat loftier material and a more demanding range of topics.

Adonc me pris a forgier choses jolies, a mon commencement plus legieres. Et tout ainsi comme l'ouvrier qui de plus en plus en son oeuvre s'asoubtille comme plus il la frequente, ainsi tousjours estudiant diverses matieres, mon sens de plus en plus s'imbuoit de choses estranges, amendant mon stile en plus grant soubtilleté et plus haulte matiere depuis l'an .m.ccc.iiii. .^{xx}.xix. que je commençay jusques a cestui .cccc. et cinq, ouquel encore je ne cesse, compilés en ce tandis .xv. volumes principaulx, sanz les autres particuliers petiz dittiez lesquelx tous ensemble contienent environ .lxx. quayers de grant volume comme l'experience en est manifeste . . .¹³

It is revealing that having indicated how many works she had written, Christine goes on to specify how many quires they occupied in manuscript. There is no means of telling whether the seventy quires to which she alludes are an estimate of the space which would be needed for a complete edition of her works or whether they represent Christine's personal copy of her works, her equivalent of the 'livre ou je mets toutes mes choses', which was kept by Guillaume de Machaut.¹⁴ However, it is safe to

¹¹ Eric C. Hicks (and Gilbert Ouy), 'The Second "Autograph" Edition of Christine de Pizan's Lesser Poetical Works', *Manuscripta*, 20 (1976), 14-15; Curnow, pp. 353-71.

¹² Mombello, pp. 202-03; Hindman, pp. 93-123 (pp. 109-112).

¹³ *Lavisson-Christine*, edited by Mary Louis Towner (Washington, 1932), p. 164. In this and later quotations, capitals and accents have been added, and the punctuation has been modified. Translations of some of the more difficult passages are provided in the notes: *amendant*, 'improving'; *en ce tandis*, 'during this time'; *quayers*, 'quires, gatherings'.

¹⁴ Sarah Jane Williams, 'An Author's Role in Fourteenth-Century Book Production: Guillaume de Machaut's *Livre ou je mets toutes mes choses*', *Romania*, 90 (1969), 433-54.

assume that she did have her own 'file-copies', which she kept up to date and on which she drew when a work had to be copied afresh or a new collection compiled. All the experience which she gained in the preparation of these manuscripts must have led her to see each of her works not just as an artistic creation but also as a physical unit which needed a precise space, measured in lines, folios, and quires, the exact numbers depending on the format chosen. It should be noted that the seventy quires are specifically said to be 'de grant volume': that is, of large dimensions or format.

The preparation of a manuscript required careful planning. The work of transcribing the text or texts had to be allocated: where one scribe might copy a single work or a small collection as a unit, it might be more convenient, in the case of a large collection, to use more than one scribe and to divide the material into sections to be copied separately. The format had to be chosen, a choice which depended on the length of the work or works to be copied, and on the availability and relative cost of parchment of suitable dimensions. Layout had to be considered: not just the number of columns and lines to be ruled, but also how the text was to be set out and illustrated. It was important to make allowance for gaps, where appropriate: for example, between paragraphs or stanzas. The position and size of drawings or miniatures had to be fixed, and care taken to see that, as far as possible, they were not cramped by coming too close to the foot of a column or page. Decisions had to be made about the location and the amount of space to be left for decorated capitals and borders, paragraph marks, and rubrics.

Different capitals might be used for different purposes. In the manuscripts of Christine's works there are two distinct types: introductory and intermediate capitals. The latter generally take up two lines and are found at the beginning of a chapter or a new development in a prose work; in verse they mark the first line of a lyric poem or the start of a new section of a narrative poem. Introductory capitals, on the other hand, are used at the beginning of a work or at the start of an important subsection. They are larger and more elaborate than the intermediate variety; they generally occupy a space of between four and six lines and, with rare exceptions, are combined with a decorated border. These borders are of varying types. The most elaborate full-page borders, extending over all the margins and between the double columns, are reserved for the beginning of a large collection or the start of a particularly significant work. Less ornate borders are used elsewhere, some extending to the length of a full column, others being shorter; their relative size and complexity depend on the importance of the location. To take all these matters into account required careful organization and calculation. Only after these operations had been completed could it be known how many sheets of parchment would be required and in how many quires they should be arranged.

Once the parchment had been ruled and folded, the scribe began to copy the text. To ensure that the folded sheets of each quire were kept in order, signatures were set in an inconspicuous place near the foot of the first four or five recto leaves of the quire. The signatures were often cut off, having fulfilled their purpose, when the leaves were trimmed by the binder, and for that reason cannot always be seen today. Catchwords ensured that the quires were bound in the correct order, being inserted on the verso of the last leaf of the quire, close to the inner margin but generally high enough to escape the binder's knife. Once the texts had been copied, the rubrics were written in, often by the scribe, but sometimes by a specialist rubricator; in large

collections page titles and item numbers were entered as part of the same operation. The quires were then passed to the artist or artists whose task was to insert the decorated capitals, borders, and miniatures. At some stage in the process the text was 'proof-read' and corrected where necessary; ideally this was done after the decoration had been completed, to check that the capitals had been painted in correctly.

In such a complicated operation it was inevitable that things occasionally went wrong, no matter how carefully the manuscript had been planned. The chances of mistakes being made or of inconsistencies being introduced naturally increased as more scribes and artists became involved in the preparation of a manuscript. The ways of correcting errors were, moreover, much more limited than they have become since the invention of movable type or, more particularly, computer type-setting. By studying what went wrong, it is often possible to gain considerable insight into the way in which a particular manuscript was prepared. To illustrate that point it is revealing to look at the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame*, the last item in the Queen's MS, copied under Christine's supervision in 1410 or 1411, by which time her experience of publishing was considerable.¹⁵

The *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* consist of 101 ballades, the first of which is preceded by a miniature and by an introductory capital and border. The layout planned for the remaining poems required that a space of one line be left between one ballade and the next, and also between stanzas. The beginning of each poem was to be marked in two ways: first, by a heading and by the number of the ballade inserted by the rubricator in the line left blank; secondly, by an intermediate capital for which the scribe was to leave space by indenting the first two lines of the poem. Some errors occurred because the scribe departed from the prescribed layout. There is no indentation in the first two lines of Ballade 18 (fols 379c-d) and so, exceptionally, the poem begins with a decorated paragraph mark and not with a capital. The scribe began Ballade 84 on the first ruled line of fol. 393a, leaving no space for a rubric; the poem thus has neither heading nor number. Elsewhere, the transcription of a ballade was interrupted, perhaps because the exemplar was incomplete or unclear, and insufficient space was left to fit in the missing lines. Thus, when copying Ballade 23 (fols 380c-d), the scribe stopped at the end of line 17, leaving five blank lines, enough to complete the third stanza and to leave a blank line before Ballade 24. However, he made no allowance for the envoy, and so, when the last four lines of the third stanza and the two-line envoy came to be added, they had to be crammed in and the rubric of Ballade 24 had to be moved to the right. The case of Ballade 48 (fol. 386a) is not dissimilar, for the scribe copied lines 1-22 and lines 25-31, but left only a single space for lines 23-24 which have had to be squeezed in, in lighter-coloured ink. Sometimes the scribe simply forgot to include part of a poem: in copying Ballade 10, he omitted the third stanza and the envoy, which he added in smaller writing and in lighter ink at the foot of fol. 378a.

The other craftsmen could also make mistakes: Ballades 51 and 52 were both numbered 'lij.' by the rubricator, who also omitted the item number in the page title on fol. 381r; the intermediate capital at the beginning of Ballade 70 was wrongly

¹⁵ London, British Library, Harley 4431, fols 376a-398b, the only surviving copy of the work. See also *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, edited by Maurice Roy, SATF, 3 vols (Paris, 1886-96), III, 209-317, and *Cent ballades d'amant et de dame par Christine de Pizan*, edited by Jacqueline Cerquiglini, Bibliothèque médiévale 10/18 (Paris, 1982).

painted as *A* rather than *S*. An intriguing question, to which the manuscript as it is laid out does not provide an answer, is whether or not the *Lay de dame*, which follows directly on the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame*, is to be considered a separate work. The explicit at the end of Ballade 101, the rubric at the beginning of the lay, and the page titles 'Lay de dame' all suggest that it is a distinct work; on the other hand, the page titles contain no item number and the lay is not included in the table of contents at the beginning of the manuscript.

The Early Manuscripts

In the early stages of her career Christine prepared many copies of her works for presentation to noble patrons. It was not long before they became widely known:

Il est voir que, comme la voix courust ja, et meismes entre les princes, de l'ordre et maniere de mon vivre, c'est a savoir a l'estude — pour ce que revelé leur estoit, non obstant le quel celer voulsisse — leur fis present comme de nouvelles choses, quelque petiz et foibles que ilz soient, de mes volumes de pluseurs matieres. . . . Et ainsi furent en peu de heure ventilez et portez mes diz livres en pluseurs pars et pays divers.¹⁶

While Christine does not name those princes in France who received copies of her works, she does describe how she sent books to England on at least two occasions. The Earl of Salisbury, in whose household Christine's son was being brought up, received a number of works and those copies were later seen by Henry IV, almost certainly after Salisbury had been executed in January 1400:

. . . le roy Henry qui encores est, qui s'attribua la couronne, vit des dittiez et livres que je avoye ja plusieurs envoyez comme desireuse de lui faire plaisir au dit conte (*sc.* de Salisbury); si lui vint a cognoissance tout ce que il en estoit. Adonc tres joyusement prist mon enfant vers lui et tint chierement et en tres bon estat. (*Avision*, p. 165)

In order to secure the release of her son from England at the end of 1401 or early in 1402, Christine had to resort to a subterfuge in which further copies of her works played their part: '. . . a brief parler, tant fis a grant peine — et de mes livres me cousta — que congié ot mon dit filx de me venir querir par de ça pour mener la, qui encore n'y vois. . .'.¹⁷

Taken together, these three quotations describe how Christine published her first works over a period of about three years from 1399 until the end of 1401 or the beginning of 1402. The *livres* or *volumes* mentioned were copies of individual poems or treatises.¹⁸ Almost all Christine's earliest works were dedicated to a particular patron, most frequently a member of the French royal house. Thus the *Dit de la rose* begins with a flattering reference to the Duke of Orleans in whose house the debate is said to have taken place, and the concluding lines of the *Debat des deux amans* indicate that the debate was referred to the Duke of Orleans so that he might decide which of the two lovers was the more to be pitied (*Œuvres poétiques*, II, 29–109). The first of Christine's works on 'loftier material', the *Epistre Othea*, is exceptional in that copies of the treatise were dedicated to no fewer than four different patrons, to the Dukes of

¹⁶ *Avision*, pp. 164–65. *Comme la voix courust ja*, 'since word was already going about'; *non obstant le quel celer voulsisse*, 'even though I wished to conceal it'.

¹⁷ *Avision*, p. 166. *Congié ot. . .*, 'my son aforesaid had leave to come and seek me on this side of the Channel, in order to take me over there, and still I have not gone'.

¹⁸ On the difficulty of distinguishing between these terms, see my article, 'Christine de Pizan, the Earl of Salisbury and Henry IV', *French Studies*, 36 (1982), 129–43 (pp. 134–35). Hindman (pp. 111–12) takes a slightly different view.

Orleans, Berry, and Burgundy, and to Henry IV of England; in the extant copies the dedication found most frequently is that to the Duke of Orleans.¹⁹ The full title of the *Livre des trois jugemens qui s'adrece au seneschal de Haynault* shows that, while royal patrons were most numerous even at this early stage of her career, Christine dedicated at least one poem to a nobleman prominent at court (*Œuvres poétiques*, II, 111–57).

Miniatures painted at the beginning of extant copies of the *Debat des deux amans*, the *Livre des trois jugemens*, and the *Epistre Othea* show Christine presenting her work to her patron. Thus the dedication of a work to a patron can be taken to imply the preparation of a presentation copy. While the passages just cited from the *Avision Christine* make it clear that the initial copy was quickly followed by others, there are very few of the surviving copies of Christine's works which contain only a single work by her and are early enough to have been copied between 1399 and 1404, the period under consideration here. Thus of the many manuscripts of the *Epistre Othea* described so comprehensively by Mombello, only one, BN fr. 848, comes into question. It is, however, of great importance, for Mombello has shown that it is one of the earliest copies, if not the earliest copy, made of that treatise (Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*, pp. 23–31). Two very early copies survive of the *Debat des deux amans*, BN fr. 1740 and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 11034 (hereafter, Brussels MS 11034). Ouy and Reno consider that all three manuscripts are in the X hand, identified by them as that of Christine.²⁰

The *Epistre Othea* is made up of 100 Texts, each accompanied by a Gloss and an Allegory. The copy in BN fr. 848 is illustrated with six uncoloured drawings in pen and ink. The first precedes the Prologue and depicts Christine kneeling to present her work to the Duke of Orleans while members of his court look on (fol. 1r); the arms of Orleans are incorporated in an armorial hanging behind the Duke's chair. The next two drawings illustrate Texts 1 and 2 and show Othea presenting her book to the young Hector, and *Attemprance* studying a clock. These drawings are set side by side immediately above the beginning of Text 1 (fol. 2r).²¹ There is a further double drawing inspired by Texts 3 and 4 (fol. 2v): on the left King Amos dispensing justice (Text 4), and on the right Hercules representing force (Text 3). Not only have the two illustrations been transposed but they are also misplaced, being set above a portion of Text 1. The final drawing depicts Perseus, Pegasus, and Andromeda (Text 5), but is drawn above part of Texts 1 and 2 (fol. 3r). While the drawings are pleasing and have been executed with some skill, they have less effect than they deserve because they are badly positioned and are grouped in the first three folios of the volume. The three introductory capitals, each with a short border, which mark the beginning of the Prologue and Texts 1 and 2 are likewise clustered in the opening folios.

The manuscript contains other examples of poor planning or inexperience. The layout chosen for the text is modelled on the standard biblical or theological manuscripts of the period, the Text being copied in the centre of the leaf, and the Gloss

¹⁹ Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*; see also G. Mombello, 'Per un'edizione critica dell' *Epistre Othea* di Christine de Pizan', *Studi Francesi*, 8 (1964), 401–17; 9 (1965), 1–12.

On the reasons why the unnamed king in the fourth dedication is to be identified as Henry IV, see my 'Christine, Salisbury and Henry IV', pp. 138–40.

²⁰ Ouy and Reno, p. 227. An early presentation copy not discussed here is BN fr. 2184, which contains the *Dit de la pastoure* and cannot therefore be earlier than the latter part of 1403 (o.s.). It is a much plainer text than the three manuscripts just discussed, for it is of smaller format and contains no illustrations; it was probably copied by R.

²¹ The drawings are reproduced in Meiss, II, no. 129.

and Allegory in the margins. However, the relative proportions of the constituent parts made it difficult to create a clear and tidy page. Fol. 11v, included as an illustration in Mombello, provides a good example: the Text, Gloss, and Allegory are in handwriting of different sizes and it has proved impossible to confine the Gloss and Allegory within a regularly-shaped column.²²

By contrast the design of a narrative poem presented fewer pitfalls. Both the early manuscripts of the *Debat des deux amans* are of relatively small format, the text being neatly written in a single column. Although Ouy and Reno considered that both manuscripts were copied by X, there are differences between the two hands, the most consistent being in the shape of the letter *g*: in the Paris MS the tail generally moves to the left, whereas in the Brussels MS it is almost always taken strongly to the right. The manuscripts each contain a single relatively unsophisticated pen-and-ink drawing which shows the poem being presented to the Duke of Orleans; the composition is similar to that of the first illustration in the *Epistre Othea*. The drawings have been coloured in grisaille, with additional flesh tints and a light green foreground. The introductory capital in BN fr. 1740 is in gold and blue with decorative pen-work in red and blue; there are in addition four intermediate capitals, alternately in red and blue. The capitals in the Brussels MS are more elaborate: the introductory capital is in gold, set on a blue-and-white base, the interior of the letter being in maroon and white; a border of ivy and vine-leaves extends upwards and downwards from the letter. The four intermediate capitals are similar in style, but smaller and without a border. The Brussels MS was intended for the Sire d'Albret, which perhaps explains the higher quality of the decoration: the ballade presenting the poem to him is copied in a separate preliminary quire. There is nothing to indicate for whom BN fr. 1740 was prepared.

These three manuscripts are neither elaborate nor luxurious. In preparing and planning each of them, Christine's main concern was to present her work clearly, pleasingly, and economically; at this early stage in her career her means were limited. That she learned by experience can be seen from the improved presentation of the *Epistre Othea* in later copies of the work, including the first collected manuscript of June 1402, to which I now turn.

Le Livre de Christine

The first collected manuscript of Christine's works is extant in three copies, Chantilly, Musée Condé 492–93 (L1), BN fr. 604 (L3) and 12779 (L2).²³ L1 and L2 are copied in the same hand and resemble one another very closely in layout and decoration; both manuscripts date from very soon after 1400. Since L3 was probably copied in the middle of the fifteenth century, and certainly after 1407, from L1 or from a manuscript virtually identical with it, it will be given only limited consideration here.²⁴

²² Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*, fig. 2; a reproduction of fol. 1r is also included (fig. 1). On the borders in MS 848, see also p. 56.

²³ For descriptions of these manuscripts, see *Œuvres poétiques*, 1, lxx–lxxiv; Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*, pp. 9–13, 63–70, 106–16; Hicks, *Débat*, pp. lxx–lxxiv.

²⁴ Part of L3 was cut from the volume and was 'reset' in the nineteenth century to create what purported to be a separate manuscript of the *Dit de la pastoure*, now Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS 316 (see Farquhar and Hicks, pp. 192–200). In the process the end of the *Enseignemens moraux*, all of the *Oroison Nostre Dame* and the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame*, parts of the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur*, and the beginning of the *Livre du chemin de long estude* were destroyed. Once allowance has been made for these losses, it is clear that L3 originally contained the same works as L1, copied in the same order.

A table of contents found in L₁, but not in L₂, shows that preparation of the collection was begun in 1399 and was completed on 23 June 1402:

Cy commencent les rebriches de la table de ce present volume fait et compilé par Christine de Pizan, demoiselle. Commencié l'an de grace mil.ccc.iiij^{xx}.xix. Eschevé et escript en l'an mil.Quatre cens et deux, la veille la nativité Saint Jehan Baptiste. (L₁, fol. 1v; L₃, fol. 1v)

The first work listed in the table is the *Cent balades* and the last the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame*. A comparison of the contents of the manuscripts shows that, allowance having been made for the loss of certain leaves in L₂, the contents were originally identical up to and including the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame*.²⁵ Immediately after that work L₂ reads as follows:

Explicit le livre de Cristine.
Deo gracias.
(fol. 156c)

A similar explicit was probably copied at the equivalent point in L₁ but was later erased, no doubt because L₁ contains five further works by Christine (Hicks, *Débat*, p. lix). There is one additional work in L₂ also.

Did Christine supervise the preparation of L₁, as the first sentence of the table of contents seems to suggest? If so, was she also involved in the preparation of L₂? Was she responsible for the additions to the Book, as the 'livre de Cristine' will be called here? These questions would have seemed inappropriate to some earlier scholars. The first editor of Christine's poetical works, Maurice Roy, drew attention to the close relationship between the manuscripts of the L family, but considered that they represented an inferior tradition which was of little textual importance; since they dated from the second half of the fifteenth century, they lacked the authenticity of the collections owned by the Duke of Berry and Queen Isabelle (*Œuvres poétiques*, 1, xviii). Although Roy was clearly wrong as far as the date of the L manuscripts is concerned, it should be noted that nothing is known about their early provenance.

The possibility that Christine might herself have supervised the preparation of the three L manuscripts was examined by Mombello in his study of the textual tradition of the *Epistre Othea*. He decided that Christine almost certainly had no direct involvement in the preparation of any of them:

L'origine dei tre manoscritti . . . è tutt'altro che chiara . . . la lezione dei nostre testimone [L₂], come pure quella degli altri due [L₁, L₃], è tutt'altro che sodisfacente e lascia pensare che la loro confezione sia sfuggita alla diretta sorveglianza della poetessa. D'altronde, eccetto forse per il ms. 492-493 di Chantilly [L₁], è difficile sostenere che il nostro ed il ms. fr. 604

The layout and, probably, the rubrics show that L₃ was copied from L₁. In L₃ spaces have been left for the same number of miniatures as in L₁, and in exactly equivalent positions. In both L₁ and L₃ the *Autres balades* (item 4) have no rubric and the ballades are numbered i-xxix in red; in L₂ they are unnumbered. In L₁ item 6 has the incorrect rubric 'Lay de l.xij. vers leonimes' (fol. 37a), not 'ii^c.lxij' as in the table of contents, and L₃ reproduces that error (fol. 28d); in the table of contents L₃ has 'ii^c.lxx'. The *Rondeaux* (item 8) have no numbers in L₂; in both L₁ and L₃ the first sixty are numbered i-lx in red, and the last five are unnumbered. The long and distinctive title of the *Epistre a la reine Isabelle* (item 24) in L₁ (fol. 427c) is reproduced almost exactly in L₃ (fol. 314a).

That L₃ dates from after 1407 is shown by the fact that two of the letters from the *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose* are incorrectly dated 1407 and not 1401 (fols 112b and 113c; see Hicks, *Débat*, pp. 6, 11). The hand of L₃ is more characteristic of the middle of the fifteenth century than of the early 1400s. The scribe of L₃ was not uninfluenced by his exemplar, for he imitates, particularly at the top of columns, the flourishes which are to be found in that position in L₁ and in other manuscripts of Christine's works.

See also Hicks (and Ouy), pp. 14-15, and my 'An Author's Progress', p. 533.

²⁵ The present contents of L₁ and L₂ are discussed below; see pp. 46-48.

[L3] siano anteriori al 1405. Se questi codici sono posteriori a tale data è quasi certo che essi (oppure il testimone sul quale sono direttamente copiati) sono sfuggiti al controllo dell'autrice la quale, dopo il 1405, non avrebbe più lasciato trascrivere la prima versione dell'*Epistre* quando già esisteva una seconda più corretta e modificata.²⁶

The second redaction had been prepared for inclusion in the Duke's MS in 1405 or 1406. The basis for Mombello's conclusion was seriously weakened, however, when Meiss demonstrated that the Duke's MS dates not from 1405 or 1406 but from 1407 or 1408 (see below, pp. 52–53).

In a study of that part of L3 which is now in Baltimore, Farquhar and Hicks cast doubt on the traditional view according to which the L manuscripts were 'copies of a lost original'; taking the Duke's and the Queen's MSS as their points of reference, they argued instead that the L manuscripts 'represent an earlier, and not necessarily inferior text' of Christine's works. They were more circumspect about the origins of the manuscripts: while on the one hand they pointed out that 'the hand of the scribe in the Chantilly volume (L1) is identical with one of the hands appearing in the later "autograph" volumes' of Christine's works, on the other hand they found it difficult to consider L1 'as an original, despite firm indications that the copy may have been prepared under the supervision of the author' (Farquhar and Hicks, pp. 199–200). Hicks has subsequently drawn attention to the presence of the same hand in L2, as have Ouy and Reno (Hicks, *Débat*, p. lxx; Ouy and Reno, p. 227).

The contents and the physical composition of L1 and L2 must be examined before taking further the question of how far Christine herself was involved in their preparation. Table 1 (pp. 68–69) gives details of the works which are included in the manuscripts as they exist today; the qualification is important, for L2 has been damaged and is now incomplete. The table is divided into two: the first part is concerned with the Book, and the titles of the works which the Book contains are taken from the table of contents in L1; the second part lists the additional work(s) included in the two manuscripts. Details are also given of how the works are laid out and of the way in which the decoration and the illumination was planned and executed. The table indicates how many miniatures, introductory and intermediate capitals, rubrics, and so on an item contains; where the number is exceptionally large, a plus sign is used. 'X' shows that the items or sections within a work are individually numbered.

The format of the Book is identical in L1 and L2, the size of the written area being 210–215mm × 185mm, arranged in double columns of 80mm, ruled generally with 32 lines.²⁷ L2 is copied in one regular cursive hand and is included by Ouy and Reno in their list of manuscripts copied by X, the scribe whom they have identified with Christine herself (Ouy and Reno, p. 227). The copy of the Book in L1 is also in the X hand, together with the rubrics and the table of contents. (The additions in L1, which are not all in the X hand, will be discussed later.) In both manuscripts the quires have catchwords but no signatures, and the collation was originally identical. The Book was prepared in two parts, the first of which consists of nine quires (L1, fols 1–73; L2, fols 1–71) and contains items 1–11. In L1 the quires are all regular

²⁶ Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*, p. 66 (see also pp. 111–12); the sigla of the L manuscripts have been added for clarity.

²⁷ Because of the way in which the manuscripts were subsequently bound the external measurements are rather different: L1, 290mm × 240mm; L2, 325mm × 250mm. Some of the numbers in the margins of L1 have been cropped by the binder.

quaternions, with the exception of the first, which further includes a single leaf containing the table of contents. It becomes clear that quires 1–9 in L2 were all originally quaternions when account is taken of the irregular foliation, which includes fol. 21^{bis}, and of the loss of fols 35–36 and 49 which occurred after the leaves were numbered. The second section of each manuscript is made up of 12 quires, containing items 12–19 (L1, fols 74–165; L2, fols 72–156). The quires in L1 are all of eight leaves, except for the last, quire 21, which contains four. In L2 five leaves are missing from the *Epistre Othea* (item 15), as will be shown later. When account is taken of these gaps, it can be seen that quires 10–20 were all originally quaternions, as in L1²⁸. Quire 21, the final quire of the Book, now consists of two separate leaves in L2. It is impossible to tell whether the quire was always of that format or whether it was once made up of four leaves like its counterpart in L1.²⁹

A study of the decoration in L2, and in the part of L1 containing the Book, shows how closely the two manuscripts resemble one another. The majority of items begin with a large introductory capital for which a space of between four and six lines has been left; a smaller capital of the same type is found in the *Epistre Othea*, being associated with the miniatures painted at the beginning of Texts 1–5. In both manuscripts the introductory capitals are identical in size and style; they are of gold, the vertical members being set off by an outer edge of plain blue and the interior and exterior being decorated with pen-work in red and blue. A gold tail turns downwards from the bottom left-hand corner of each letter, becoming in effect a long border; it is sometimes detached from the letter, particularly in L1. In L1 the tails are decorated with half fleurs-de-lis alternately in gold and in blue; the same pattern is used also in L2, where it alternates with a second pattern incorporating ‘crochet-hooks’ alternately in gold and in blue. These capitals and borders were executed after the paragraph marks had been painted, for in several cases a border either runs over a mark or is shaped to avoid it. Very similar capitals, but without the extended tails, are associated with illustrations in BN fr. 1740 (fol. 1r), the early copy of the *Debat des deux amans* which was discussed earlier, and in Brussels MS 10983 (fols 13r and 24v), an early presentation copy of the *Livre du chemin de long estude*.

Smaller capitals, with no tail or border and each occupying a space of two (or, exceptionally, three) lines, are used in both L1 and L2 to indicate where individual lyrics begin and to mark the start of new sections in longer works. In both manuscripts these intermediate capitals are alternately in plain red or blue, and are

²⁸ In L2 the leaves are numbered almost continuously in fols 1–106 in a hand which is contemporary with the manuscript. A more modern hand then takes over, running from fol. 107 to fol. 174. The same hand has also supplied some folio numbers in the earlier section, which either had been omitted or were cropped when the manuscript was bound. There is no obvious reason why the change in foliation takes place within a quire and coincides with a lacuna.

²⁹ Hicks takes a very different view of quire 21, arguing that it once contained eight leaves (*Débat*, p. lxx and n. 4), that L2 has been mutilated at this point and in particular the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame* (p. lix and n. 9), and that the six leaves now missing ‘correspondent à la totalité de l’*Oroison Nostre Seigneur* (miniature: Christ de pitié)’ (p. lxxi, n. 6). The copy of the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame* in L2 is in fact complete. It should also be noted that the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* contains only 240 lines and that any copy of the prayer which L2 might originally have contained need have occupied no more than eight columns or two folios, as is the case in L1. Hicks no doubt took the stubs visible between fols 156 and 157 as evidence for the mutilation of L2 at this point; there are, however, only two stubs, not six. Moreover, stubs of that type are frequently found in other manuscripts of Christine’s works and indicate that a leaf has been cancelled. In the absence of further evidence the two stubs are best interpreted simply as cancels.

set off with decorative pen-work in the contrasting colour. In L₁, a larger version of this type of capital is occasionally found in place of a gold-and-blue introductory capital at the beginning of the *Epistre au dieu d'Amours* (item 11) and of Texts 3 and 5 of the *Epistre Othea* (item 15).

Neither L₁ nor L₂ contains any page titles, and the items making up the Book are not numbered. The rubrics in both manuscripts are identical in style. In L₁ the ballades, rondeaux, virelais, and so on which make up the collections of lyrics are all individually numbered. It was intended that they should be similarly numbered in L₂ but there the rubricator, having worked through quires 1 and 2 (fols 1–16), broke off; he resumed at the beginning of quire 14 (fol. 104) and continued to the end of the Book. In consequence the transitions between the different collections of lyrics in L₂ are for the most part unmarked. (Instructions for the rubricator can be seen in the margins in quires 3–13, however.)

The contents of the Book are arranged in three parts. The opening section is devoted to lyric poetry and consists of nine items. The first of these, the *Cent balades*, is preceded by a miniature and an introductory capital in both L₁ and L₂, but the two miniatures have rather different subjects. In L₁ Christine is seated on a high-backed chair and is pointing towards a revolving book-stand; in L₂ the high-backed chair has a canopy and Christine is sitting reading a book placed on a lectern, with a tree to her right beyond a low fence. The miniature in L₂, although now badly worn, is better planned and contains more detail than its counterpart in L₁.³⁰ The way in which the other collections of lyrics are presented shows that they are to be regarded as a single unit, despite being listed as separate items in the table of contents: the beginnings of items 2–9 are not marked by an introductory capital but simply by a rubric, and an intermediate capital is used to indicate the opening of each lyric, including the first of each collection.

There is a lacuna in L₂ following the loss of fols 35–36, the middle sheet of quire 5. As a result the first 244 lines of the *Lay lionime*, virtually the entire poem, have been lost. That number of lines, distributed 32 per column, the average in L₂, and allowing for a blank line between the stanzas, would exactly fill a bifolium but would leave no room for a miniature. It can safely be concluded, therefore, that the ornamentation of this section of L₂ was identical with that in L₁. The likelihood is that the bifolium worked loose and was lost; there is no obvious reason why it should have been deliberately removed.

The second part of the Book consists of five courtly narrative poems, three of which are introduced by miniatures. The first shows Christine kneeling to present the *Debat des deux amans* to the Duke of Orleans, whose arms are displayed on the canopy of his chair; in its subject-matter the miniature echoes the drawings in the two early manuscripts of the poem discussed earlier.³¹ Fol. 49 in L₂, which must have contained the last of the *Jeux a vendre* and the opening lines of the *Debat*, was no doubt abstracted from the manuscript because of the miniature which it contained (see Table 1, pp. 68–69). A second presentation miniature precedes the *Livre des trois jugemens*, the recipient on this occasion being the Seneschal of Hainault; the picture

³⁰ The miniatures in L₁ and L₂ are not 'inachevées', as is stated by Hicks (*Debat*, pp. lxxi, lxxii–lxxiii). In both manuscripts the drawings of human figures were deliberately left in grisaille when the other parts of the miniatures were coloured.

³¹ See p. 41. It should be noted that both L₁ and L₂ contain intermediate capitals at lines 425, 909, 1005, and 1913, and thus at exactly the same points as do BN fr. 1740 and Brussels MS 11034.

in L2 has a more elaborate canopy and the figures are more detailed than in the equivalent in L1. The third miniature, which introduces the *Dit de Poissy*, shows a cavalcade setting out for the Abbey of Poissy; the version in L2 is again more elaborate and more successful than that in L1, for it contains more riders and bystanders, the horses are better drawn, and there is a clearer sense of movement. No miniatures were planned to accompany the *Epistre au dieu d'Amours* or the *Dit de la Rose* in either manuscript.

The third and last part is made up of moralizing and didactic works, five items in all. The *Epistre Othea*, which in L1 contains six miniatures, is the most lavishly illustrated item in the Book. The first miniature precedes the Prologue and depicts Christine presenting her treatise to the Duke of Orleans, whose arms can again be seen on the blue canopy of his chair. Thereafter the first five of the hundred Texts are each preceded by a miniature, but the remaining Texts are unillustrated. In L1 the subjects of the five miniatures are as follows: Prudence (Othea) presents her book to the young Hector of Troy before onlookers (Text 1); from a window in Heaven *Attemprance* addresses four maidens seated in a room furnished with a clock on a stand (Text 2);³² *Force*, embodied here by Hercules, attacks a hellish beast emerging from a building, while two other knights tackle a dragon (Text 3); King Amos dispenses justice (Text 4); Perseus and Pegasus fly to the rescue of Andromeda (Text 5).

The miniatures in L1 thus have exactly the same subjects as the six drawings in BN fr. 848, which was discussed earlier (see p. 41). There, as in the manuscripts of the Book, the illustrations cluster at the beginning of the work. In planning the Book, however, the opportunity has been taken to set the illustrations in order and in a more appropriate position; each now precedes the Text to which it relates. The layout of the text has also been much improved, for each Gloss and Allegory now follows the Text to which it relates, rather than being copied in the margin.

There are only three miniatures extant in the copy in L2: the first depicts the presentation of the work, and the other two illustrate Texts 2 and 3. However, it is virtually certain that there were six originally and that the other three were removed, as was the miniature introducing the *Debat des deux amans*: the leaf lost between fols 106 and 107 must have contained the illustration to Text 1, while the absence of four leaves between fols 108 and 109 must be associated with the loss of the illustrations to Texts 4 and 5 (see Table 1).

The second work in the final part of the Book, the *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose*, is unillustrated. The *Enseignemens moraux*, the work which follows, is introduced by a miniature depicting Christine reading from the work to her son Jehan de Castel; in L2 the introductory capital has an unusually elaborate border which runs upwards as well as downwards and thus extends over the whole column. The picture of Christine offering a book to the Virgin and Child which precedes the *Oraison Nostre Dame* should perhaps be seen as also introducing the next and final item in the Book, the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame*, for the two works are closely related both in theme and in layout.³³ Exceptionally, the version of that miniature in L2 is adorned on three sides

³² The illustration is reproduced in Meiss, II, no. 128.

³³ In the Duke's MS, similarly, the *Oraison Nostre Dame*, but not the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame* which follows it directly, is preceded by a miniature; in that manuscript there is not even an introductory capital at the beginning of the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame*.

by a border of gold ivy-leaves on slender black stalks; no such border is found in any of the other miniatures of the Book.

This examination of L₁ and L₂ has shown that the Book was carefully planned, attention being given both to the presentation of the works in three separate sections and to the way in which they were ornamented and illustrated. Of the two manuscripts, L₂ has a rather more finished appearance: the miniatures are more detailed and of higher quality than in L₁ and two of them are set off by unusually elaborate borders; the introductory capitals follow a consistent pattern in L₂, whereas there are variations in L₁. The artistic evidence is too insubstantial in itself to allow conclusions to be drawn about the order in which the two manuscripts were completed. That question will be resolved only by a detailed comparison of the texts as they are copied in L₁ and L₂.

In so arranging her Book Christine was following the example of earlier poets who had also collected their works in a *livre* or Book. The table of contents of one of the best collected manuscripts of Machaut's works begins: 'Vesci l'ordenance que G. de Machau vuet qu'il ait en son livre' (BN fr. 1584, fol. Ac). The poetical works of Froissart were arranged by their author in a similar way: '. . . dedens ce livre sont contenu pluisours trettiés amouros et de moralité, les quels ont esté fais, ditté, trettié et ordené par venerable et discrete personne sire Jehan Froissart . . .' (BN fr. 830, fol. 1v; there is a similar rubric in BN fr. 831, fol. 1v). A generation later than Christine, the early poetry of Charles d'Orléans was collected and copied under the rubric: 'Cy commence le livre que Monseigneur Charles duc d'Orleans a faict estant Prisonnier en Angleterre' (BN fr. 19139, p. 1; the explicit on page 117 is in similar terms). Later in that century and also in England, Sir John Paston was to compile his 'Grete Booke'.³⁴

For whom did Christine prepare her Book? The answer is probably to be found in the catalogue of the library at Blois made for Charles d'Orléans by P. Renoul in May 1417, in which item 29 reads: 'Le livre de Cristine fait pour feue madame d'Orléans, couvert de rouge marqueté'.³⁵ There is no way of telling whether the Book was prepared as a present for the Duchess or whether it had been commissioned by her: *fait pour* could be interpreted in either sense. Although Pierre Champion identified that item with a copy of the *Livre de Prudence*, basing his conclusion on the similarities between Renoul's description and entries in later catalogues of the Orleans library which clearly refer to the *Livre de Prudence*, it should be noted that Renoul's entry corresponds exactly to the explicit in L₂. It would not be surprising that the Book should have been prepared for Valentina, Duchess of Orleans, for the inventory of her possessions drawn up after her death in 1408 includes two other manuscripts of Christine's works.³⁶ Examples of works which Christine had previously addressed to the Duke of Orleans are *Autres Balades* 19 and 29, poems in praise of the Duke, and *Autre Balade* 22, in which Christine recommends her son Jean to him (*Œuvres poétiques*, 1, 228–29, 240–41, 232–33). It should be noted that in the manuscripts of the L family, the *Épistre Othea* contains the dedication to Orleans rather than one of the other three dedications available. Christine had no doubt also given to the Duke of Orleans copies of the *Dit de la Rose*, which is set in his house in Paris, and of the

³⁴ Curt F. Bühler, 'Sir John Paston's *Grete Booke*: A Fifteenth-Century "Best-Seller"', *MLN*, 56 (1941), 345–51.

³⁵ L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, 3 vols (Paris, 1868–81), 1, 105–08 (p. 106).

³⁶ Pierre Champion, *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris, 1910), pp. 31–32.

Debat des deux amans, which he was asked to arbitrate (see pp. 40–42, also *Œuvres poétiques*, II, 29–109, and note 19 of the present article). While there is no evidence that either L1 or L2 ever belonged to the Duchess of Orleans, the way in which half fleurs-de-lis are incorporated in the ‘tails’ or borders which are associated with the introductory capitals in both manuscripts can perhaps be interpreted as a discreet allusion to royal patronage.

Additions to the Book

L2, as it exists today, contains one additional work by Christine. The *Dit de la pastoure* is copied in two quaternions and a third quire of two separate leaves. That the third quire is incomplete is shown by the fact that the last twelve lines of the poem are missing. Since the original length of that third quire is as problematical as that of the final quire of the Book, it is impossible to tell whether L2, in its original state, contained any other works by Christine preceding or following the *Dit de la pastoure*.³⁷ The decoration of the poem in L2 is indistinguishable from that which is found elsewhere in the manuscript. There are two gold-and-blue introductory capitals which mark the beginning of the Prologue and the Text; they both have tails, also in gold and blue, incorporating half fleurs-de-lis, and are thus of exactly the same type as the introductory capitals used in the illustration of the Book. The miniature painted between the Prologue and the Text shows the shepherdess sitting with her sheep by a fountain; it is by the same artist as the earlier illustrations, which it echoes in its composition and in the colours in which it is painted. Since the poem is in the same hand as the preceding works, all the evidence indicates that the *Dit de la pastoure* was copied either at the same time as the Book or very soon afterwards. As the decoration shows, it is intended to form an integral part of the collection in L2.

Five additional works by Christine are copied at the end of the Book in L1; taken together, they represent a substantial enlargement of the original collection. The works are in at least three different hands, one of them being that of the scribe responsible for the Book. The first, the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* (item 20), has been transcribed on the two leaves (fols 164–65) which had been left blank at the end of quire 21, the final quire of the Book. The other works (items 21–24) are in three separate sequences of quires: the *Dit de la pastoure* (two quires, the second of nine leaves), the *Livre du chemin de long estude* (six quaternions), and the *Mutacion de fortune* (twenty-six quires, almost all of eight leaves). The *Epistre a la reine Isabelle* has been added in space left blank at the end of the *Mutacion de fortune*.

As has already been seen, there was only limited space available for the first addition, the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur*. The prayer has a distinctly cramped appearance, for no blank lines have been left between the stanzas. The hand in which it is copied is less neat and less regular than that of the Book and could well be that of P, the scribe who copied certain sections of the Duke’s MS (Ouy and Reno, p. 225; see also p. 56 of the present article). The style of decoration differs considerably from that used in earlier items. Where the paragraph marks had been alternately in blue and in red, they are now in blue and orange-red, and of a slightly different shape. The introductory capital is also different, for only the upper half of the capital S is in

³⁷ Hicks has argued that L2 must originally have contained a copy of the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* between the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame* and the *Dit de la pastoure*, basing his argument on the resemblance between L2 and L1 (*Débat*, p. lix). See also note 29.

gold and not the whole letter, as in previous examples; moreover, there is no tail or border. The *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* is illustrated by a single miniature which portrays the Man of Sorrows. By its position on fol. 163d, it seems something of an afterthought, for there would have been enough space on fols 164–65 for both miniature and prayer. The painting, although probably by the same artist as the illustrations in the Book, is more confident and shows a clearer sense of perspective.

The decoration of the next three additional works in L1 (items 21–23) follows a very similar but not identical pattern to that which had been used in the Book. The introductory capitals are not quite the same, for the tail of the capital is now almost always detached and so has effectively been transformed into a border. That border is also much longer: where in the Book it had been composed of three (occasionally two) half fleurs-de-lis, the number of elements now ranges from three to nine, and is most frequently five or six. A further difference to be noted is that the initial letter of each line is now highlighted in yellow. The miniatures which illustrate these three items are well composed and show quite a developed sense of perspective; in those respects they are clearly superior to the illustrations in the Book, and a little better than the Man of Sorrows just discussed. All these later miniatures, with one possible exception which will be examined presently, are the work of a second artist. One consistent difference between the second series and the first is that the plain gold frame in which the later miniatures are set is thicker than that surrounding the illustrations in the Book and the miniature depicting the Man of Sorrows.

The *Dit de la pastoure* is illustrated by a single miniature with the same subject as that in L2 and set, like it, between the Prologue and the body of the text. Although the poem is in a less finished and more hurried cursive hand than the items in the Book, it was almost certainly copied by the same scribe: letters with descenders have the same characteristic tails and there are the same flourishes at the tops of columns.

The *Livre du chemin de long estude* is copied in a careful, quite angular cursive which is slightly larger than that of the Book. The script includes a characteristic *g* with the tail taken strongly to the right. The same hand copied other manuscripts of Christine's works: for example, Brussels MS 11034, containing the *Debat des deux amans*, which was discussed earlier (see pp. 41–42). The first of the four miniatures illustrating the *Livre du chemin de long estude* shows Christine presenting her book to Charles VI. The other three paintings are concentrated near the beginning of the work and show the poetess asleep being visited by Sebille, then being taken by her to see the nine Muses bathing in their pool, and finally being shown the nine orders of angels. The miniatures, the last excepted, are similar in style and subject to those in Brussels MS 10983, one of the earliest presentation copies of the poem.³⁸

The hand in which the first five parts of the *Mutacion de fortune* (fols 232a–345d; quires 31–45), are copied is almost certainly the same as that of the preceding item; the writing is smaller, however, and more cramped. The last two parts are in the

³⁸ The first three miniatures in L1 and in Brussels MS 10983 precede lines 1, 451, and 787; in L1 the fourth miniature is painted before line 2045 and in MS 10983 before line 1569. These two series are combined and extended in another presentation copy, Brussels MS 10982, which contains six miniatures before lines 1, 61, 451, 787, 1569, and 2045. All ten illustrations from the two Brussels MSS are reproduced in Schaefer, *Die Illustrationen zu den Handschriften der Christine de Pizan*. However, Schaefer made no reference either to L1 or to BN fr. 1188, the copy of the poem presented to the Duke of Berry on 20 March 1403. See François Avril, 'La Peinture française au temps de Jean de Berry', *Revue de l'Art*, 28 (1975), 40–52 (p. 52, n. 23), and *Christine de Pizan: Le Livre du chemin de long estude*, edited by Robert Püschel (Berlin, 1887; reprinted Geneva, 1974).

same careful hand as the Book. The *Mutacion de fortune* is illustrated by seven miniatures, of which the first differs somewhat in style, composition, and colouring from the other illustrations in the second series; therefore it may be by a different artist. The first six parts of the *Mutacion*, but not the seventh and last, are each introduced by a miniature. The remaining illustration shows Fortune and her two brothers, and is thus associated with Part 4 of the work. L₁ contains one more miniature than the four earliest known presentation copies, Brussels MS 9508, Chantilly, Musée Condé 494, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 78 D 42, and the Bérés MS. The first six miniatures are painted in the same position in L₁ and in the presentation copies, but L₁ contains a further illustration at the beginning of Part 6. The effect of the plan adopted for the presentation copies was to place all the illustrations in the first half of the text; in L₁ the balance has been redressed, albeit slightly.³⁹

The final item, the *Epistre a la reine Isabelle*, has been added in a rapid cursive hand which bears considerable resemblance to that which copied item 21, the *Dit de la pastoure*; the date at the end of the letter and Christine's name are, moreover, very similar to examples of dates and signatures found in the copy of the *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose* which is included in the Book. The letter contains scarcely any decoration. There is no miniature and no introductory capital; instead there are three intermediate capitals, all in plain red and without the flourished pen-work which is associated with such capitals elsewhere.

This examination of L₁ has shown that although the collection presents a less homogeneous appearance than L₂, it was none the less prepared under the supervision of Christine. The different hands in which L₁ is copied are all associated with other manuscripts of her works. The decoration of the additional works in L₁, and particularly items 21–23, continues and develops the pattern adopted for the book and thus ensures that the collection has artistic as well as literary coherence. There is thus no reason to take other than literally the rubric of the final item, 'Une Epistre que Christine de Pizan qui fist ce livre envoia a la royne de France. . . '.

The enlarged manuscript consists of five parts, the two sequences of quires which make up the Book, plus the three parts in which items 21–23 are copied separately. The way in which items 20 and 24, the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* and the *Epistre a la reine*, have been transcribed suggests that the collection may have been enlarged in stages. Both these works are short and have been inserted in space which had been left blank at the end of a quire; moreover, the decoration of these two items contains features which are not found elsewhere.

The additional works seem to follow a largely chronological order. In the prologue to the *Dit de la pastoure* Christine tells us that she wrote the poem 'En ce desrain moys de may | L'An Mil Quatre Cens et troys', thereby implying that the prologue was composed some time later (*Œuvres poétiques*, II, 224.) The *Livre du chemin de long estude* was completed a little earlier, on 20 March 1403, and the *Mutacion de fortune* eight months later on 10 November. These three additional works, together with the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* which cannot be dated, represent Christine's most recent works, completed during the period between June 1402 (the date of the Book) and November 1403. If allowance is made for the fact that the decoration of the *Mutacion*

³⁹ For a table of the illustrations in the presentation copies of the *Mutacion de fortune*, see Meiss, I, 291–92; many of the miniatures are reproduced in Volume II of the same work.

de fortune was changed in the light of experience with the first presentation copies, then the earliest possible date for the enlarged Book is sometime in 1404, or even 1405. The *Epistre a la reine* which was written on 5 October 1405, must have been added to the collection after it was completed.

The Second Collection or Duke's Manuscript

Soon after 1405 Christine began to prepare a new collection of her works. The four manuscripts which are generally considered to make up that collection are BN fr. 835, 606, 836, and 605. However, Curnow has recently argued that there was a fifth and final part, now BN fr. 607 (see note 6 above). The manuscripts are more lavishly decorated than the copies of the Book and are of a larger format, for the size of the written area is on average 240mm × 180mm, divided into double columns and ruled with 40–42 lines.⁴⁰ The presentation copies of the *Mutacion de fortune* and the later Queen's MS have similar dimensions; it is to be presumed that they are all made up of the 'quayers de grant volume' to which Christine referred in the *Avision Christine*.

The similarities between MSS 835, 836, and 605 were pointed out in 1845 by Paulin Paris, who concluded that the three had once formed part of the same volume; his view was largely supported by L. Delisle in 1876.⁴¹ MS 606 was identified ten years later; in his edition of the poetical works Roy showed that it was the second part of an original collected manuscript and that the collection had belonged to the Duke of Berry. As Roy indicated, the four manuscripts contain a continuous series of page titles in which the items are numbered 1 to 25; he also drew attention to similarities in hand, layout, and decoration (*Œuvres poétiques*, 1, v–xii).

In 1925 the conclusions reached by Roy were challenged by P. G. C. Campbell in his study of the sources of the *Epistre Othea*. Campbell based his case above all on the fact that MS 606 is in a hand which is different from that which copied MS 836.⁴² The force of his argument is much reduced, however, when it is realized that such a situation is not unusual as far as the manuscripts of Christine's works are concerned. More recently Roy's view was supported by Meiss, who demonstrated in 1971 that the collection had been acquired by Berry in 1408 or 1409. In a later study of the miniatures, Meiss argued that 'the masters who illuminated fr. 606 also produced 835 and 836'. (There are no miniatures in MS 605.) The presence of a number of works individually dedicated to the Duke of Orleans suggested that the collection was originally planned for him and that it had been acquired by Berry after Orleans had been murdered on 23 November 1407. Since the latest-dated text in the collection, the *Epistre a la reine*, dates from 5 October 1405, the manuscript must have been prepared between then and 1408 or 1409, when it became part of Berry's

⁴⁰ The external dimensions of the five manuscripts are respectively: 350mm × 260mm (MS 835); 350mm × 255mm (MSS 606 and 836); 355mm × 250mm (MS 605); 348mm × 257mm (MS 607). See also Meiss, 1, 290–96, for details of the copies of the *Mutacion de fortune* and for a list of the miniatures in the Duke's MS; many of the miniatures are reproduced in Volume II of the same work.

⁴¹ Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 7 vols (Paris, 1836–48), VI (1845), 399–403, and V (1842), 180–81; L. Delisle, *Inventaire général et méthodique de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols (Paris, 1876–78), I, 74. It should be noted that Delisle also associates BN fr. 604 (L3) and 12779 (L2) with MSS 605, 835, and 836.

⁴² P. G. C. Campbell, *L'Épître d'Othéa: Étude sur les sources de Christine de Pisan* (Paris, 1925), pp. 22–23. For a fuller account of earlier views on the question, see Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*, pp. 13–23 (pp. 16–21).

library.⁴³ It should be noted furthermore that the *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose* contain a copy of a letter to Guillaume de Tignonville, Provost of Paris, who fell into disgrace in 1408; that letter was not to be included by Christine in the Queen's MS.

More recently, doubts have been expressed as to whether the four volumes were originally planned as a single collection. In a paper read in 1975, Hicks and Ouy stated that 'the page titles numbering the works in the series are not contemporary with the execution of the manuscript text', adding that 'the [page] titles are, however, in a hand associated with the author's scriptorium'. While they considered that MS 835 is at least as late as 1407, they argued that the same date cannot necessarily be applied to the other three volumes. Their conclusion was that 'codicological evidence belies Roy's conclusion that the second "corpus" was originally intended as a single volume'.⁴⁴

A close study of the five volumes has revealed new evidence which corroborates the already strong case made by Roy and then by Meiss for the first four having originally formed a single collection. Additional reasons will be adduced which support Curnow's view that MS 607 constitutes the last part of the volume.

That the five manuscripts were originally bound together can be shown by setting them in the order 835, 606, 836, 605, 607. MS 606 contains a single work, the *Epistre Othea*, which begins on fol. 1r. A miniature and an introductory capital are painted at the top of column *a*, and there is a page title in red, *lepistre* being written over column *a* and *Othea xiiij* over column *b*. At the top of MS 835, fol. 103v, there can be seen a mirror image of the initial *l* and beside it other marks in red; other traces of red correspond to *Othea*. The length and the relative position of the marks match exactly the page title in MS 606. In addition fol. 103v shows a trace of blue from the introductory capital in MS 606, fol. 1a, and a very faint outline of the right-hand vertical gold margin and border of the miniature, particularly the top corner. Similar tests show that MS 836 was once directly followed by MS 605, and MS 605 by MS 607. The positions of faint marks on the verso of the final leaf of MS 836 have been compared with the recto of the opening leaf of MS 605; eight marks which can be seen close to the margin in the top right-hand corner of MS 836, fol. 98v, exactly match eight of the leaves which form part of the decorated border on MS 605, fol. 1r.⁴⁵ There are furthermore offsets on fol. 22v, the closing leaf of MS 605, of parts of the second, sixth, and seventh paragraph marks on MS 607, fol. 1b. Four small stains, three close to the spine and the fourth near the outer margin, can also be seen in corresponding positions in the two manuscripts.

The collation and the signatures of the five manuscripts provide evidence about the way in which the collection was prepared and assembled before being bound; the signatures in particular show that MS 836 was intended to follow immediately after MS 606. Two series of signatures must be distinguished. The first is now fragmentary, having to a large extent been cropped when the manuscripts were bound. Occasional traces, often very slight, can be seen at the bottom right-hand corner of recto leaves in MSS 835, 606, 836, and 607, but not in MS 605; where they survive

⁴³ Meiss, I, 37-38; see also M. Meiss, with S. Off, 'The Bookkeeping of Robinet d'Estampes and the Chronology of Jean de Berry's Manuscripts', *Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), 225-35.

⁴⁴ Hicks (and Ouy), pp. 14-15.

⁴⁵ If the leaves are considered to be in two columns, the marks correspond to the first, second, and seventh leaves in the left-hand column and to the first five leaves in the right-hand column. These leaves all show signs of wear.

entire, these signatures consist of a capital or small letter and a Roman numeral. The second series is virtually complete in all five manuscripts, each quire being signed in the same hand with a small letter and an Arabic numeral; the signatures are to be found close to the left-hand margin, and either on a level with the foot of the column or slightly below. Table 2 (p. 70) sets out the collation and the signatures, as far as they can be ascertained; it also indicates which works are copied at the beginning and end of each of the five manuscripts.⁴⁶

The first series of signatures has some surprising features. Although the quires in MS 835 were almost certainly signed in alphabetical order, the sequence probably began with *e* and not with *a*. By contrast the order is not alphabetical in MS 606 where there is apparently a jump from *l* to *v*, or in MS 836 where the sequence, having no doubt begun with *a*, then runs to *f* before returning to *e*. Examination of earlier manuscripts known to have been copied under Christine's supervision shows that they also contain very similar series of signatures. Thus, in Brussels MS 9508, the copy of the *Mutacion de fortune* which Christine presented to the Duke of Burgundy on 1 January 1403(4), the signatures are in a largely random order, beginning with *c* and ending with *z*, and including two further quires (7 and 13), signed *c*; the longest sequence in alphabetical order runs from *a* to *c* (quires 5–7). The signatures in Brussels MSS 10309 and 10983, presentation copies of the *Avision Christine* and the *Livre du chemin de long estude*, show a similar disorder.⁴⁷

This first series of signatures is to be associated above all with the copying of the works in the scriptorium. At that stage the individual quire was the most important unit. The primary purpose of these signatures was doubtless to ensure that the sheets making up a particular quire were kept in the correct sequence; setting the quires themselves in order was at the most a secondary aim. The function of the second series of signatures was to put the finished quires (and their constituent sheets) in the correct order. Taken together, the evidence provided by the collation and the second series of signatures shows that the collection was prepared in four parts, represented today by MS 835, by MSS 606 and 836, by MS 605, and by MS 607; the alphabetical sequences running from *a* to *n*, *a* to *s*, *a* to *c*, and *a* to *k* point to that conclusion, as do the short unsigned quires at the end of MSS 835, 836, and 607. (The second part was itself copied in two sections, which are today MSS 606 and 836.) A further indication that the collection was prepared in parts is provided by two notes copied faintly at the foot of the last folio of MSS 606 and 605 respectively: the first reads simply 'Finis' (fol. 47v), and the second 'troy quaers [i.e. cahiers] pour cest livre' (fol. 22v).

Although the signatures and the physical evidence cited earlier show that MSS 835, 606, 836, 605, and 607 were once bound together in that order, it can still be objected, as Hicks and Ouy have done, that the resulting volume was not originally conceived as a collection. That view might seem to be supported by the fact that the page titles in the first four manuscripts, of which 'l'epistre Othea xiiij', already quoted, is a typical example, were prepared in two stages. The title was

⁴⁶ Quires 1 and 3 in MS 835, although now misbound, have been treated as if they were bound correctly. There are errors in the collation and the description of the signatures given by Hicks (*Débat*, pp. lxxviii–lxxix, especially notes 4–5).

⁴⁷ MS 10309 is copied in ten quaternions, signed (?), *f*, *g*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *e*, *a*, *f*, (?); there is also an unsigned preliminary quire containing the table of contents. Quires 2–5 of MS 10983 are signed *d*, *e*, *h*, and *j*, and quire 8 is signed *c*.

inserted first, and the item number added later, as is shown by alterations in the colour of the red ink or the sharpness of the pen, or by slight changes in alignment. None of the stages in the operation was entirely free from error; certain leaves contain no page titles, on others the item number was later corrected or was never even inserted.⁴⁸ There are furthermore no page titles in the *Livre de la cité des dames*, the last work in the collection. No evidence has been found to support the view of Hicks and Ouy that the 'page titles numbering the works in series are not contemporary with the execution of the manuscript text'. On the contrary, everything suggests that the numbering was carried out 'in a hand associated with the author's scriptorium', as Hicks and Ouy also argue, but at a very late stage in the preparation of the manuscript (Hicks (and Ouy), pp. 14-15). Christine was displaying the same prudence as any modern writer who delays numbering footnotes until the last possible moment.

That the five manuscripts which exist today were originally planned as a single collection can be seen from the way in which the works are arranged and decorated (see Table 3, pp. 71-72). The first section of MS 835, items 1-7, is devoted to lyric poetry, as was also the case in the Book. Although the section consists of seven items numbered separately, it is also to be seen as a single unit, as had been the case in the Book. Only the first item, the *Cent balades*, is preceded by a miniature and an introductory capital; associated with that miniature is a full-page decorated border. Items 2-7 have no introductory capital and, item 2 excepted, the rubrics are in black, not in red as they are elsewhere in the manuscript. Two of the collections of lyrics are larger than they were in the Book. There are 67 rondeaux, not 65; four new poems have been included and two have been deleted. The *Autres balades* now number 50 rather than 29 and also incorporate a rondeau; if account is taken of the poems which have been transferred, deleted, or remodelled, the collection in fact contains 25 new poems.⁴⁹ Five narrative poems (items 8-12) make up the second section of MS 835, and each poem is preceded by a miniature, an introductory capital, and a decorated border. The *Complainte amoureuse*, which in the Book had

⁴⁸ There are no page titles in MS 836, fols 43v-44r and 44v-45r, while on fols 45v-46r the title is incomplete. The item number is omitted in MS 835, fols 27r, 41r, 71r, and 72r, and in MS 836 fols 4r and 56r. In MS 835 the item number of the *Rondeaux* is now 'v' (fols 25r, 26r, and 28r), now 'iiij' (fols 29r, 30r, and 31r); the *Complainte amoureuse* is item 'ix' on fols 50r and 51r, but 'viii' on fol. 51v; the *Debat des deux amans*, generally item 'x', is numbered 'ix' on fols 57r and 59r, while 'ix' has been altered to 'x' on fols 58r and 64r. In MS 836, fol. 3r 'xiiij' has been corrected to 'xv'. See also note 56.

⁴⁹ The numbers given to the rondeaux and to the *Autres balades* in Roy's edition (*Œuvres poétiques*, I, 147-85, 207-69) are used here for ease of reference, even though they obscure the stages which the two collections went through, and are thus extremely misleading.

The sixty-five rondeaux in the Book are made up of nos 1-58, 60-61, and 65-69; there is an explicit after no. 61 and a second explicit after no. 69, which suggests that the last five poems were an addition. (On the numbering of the rondeaux in L1 and L2, see note 24.) When the collection was prepared for the Duke's MS, nos 54 and 69 were deleted and nos 59 and 62-64 added; the new collection thus comprises nos 1-53 and 55-68.

The collection of *Autres balades* in the Book is made up of nos 1, 3, 2, 4-7, 9-20, 22, the fourth of the *Balades d'estrangle façon* (*Œuvres poétiques*, I, 122-24), 24-25, 27-31, and 33, a total of twenty-nine poems. When the collection was rearranged and expanded before being included in the Duke's MS, one ballade was transferred to become part of the *Balades d'estrangle façon*, the new title given to what had been item 3 in the Book. A second poem, no. 16, was deleted and replaced by no. 21, and a third poem, no. 28, was remodelled to become no. 25. Ballades 8, 26, 32, 34-43, and 45-53 and a rondeau are additions to the collection. The *Autres balades* in the Duke's MS are therefore made up of nos 1-15, 17-27, 29-43, and 45-53, that is fifty ballades and a rondeau.

See also Félix Lecoy, 'Note sur quelques ballades de Christine de Pisan', in *Fin de moyen âge et renaissance: Mélanges de philologie française offerts à Robert Guiette* (Antwerp, 1961), pp. 107-14.

been copied among the lyric poetry, has been postponed to a more appropriate position in this section. The *Dit de la Rose* is omitted, perhaps because Christine had presented the Duke of Orleans with a copy of the poem when it was first written. There is physical evidence which indicates either that some material was inserted at a late stage or that miscalculations occurred when the layout and the quiring of the present MS 835 were being planned. Item 7, the *Autres balades* (fols 34b–44d), is copied in quires 5 and 6, and another hand takes over on fol. 41d, the fourth column of quire 6, and copies the remaining 14 ballades before the first hand resumes on fol. 45a, at the beginning of the *Epistre au dieu d'Amours* (item 8). These 14 ballades are among the new poems which were added when the collection was enlarged. It appears that too much space was left for additional poems in quire 6 and that the third leaf had then to be cancelled. A similar miscalculation can perhaps be detected at the end of quire 8, where the catchword has had to be altered to accommodate a stanza of four lines, omitted in copying the *Debat des deux amans* (item 10); these alterations are probably also in the second hand, which has been identified as P by Ouy and Reno. The other occasion when that second hand has been found in the Duke's MS is at the very beginning of MS 606, and in MS 607, which is entirely copied by P.⁵⁰

The *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose* (item 13) are copied last in MS 835. The item is laid out differently from the narrative poems immediately preceding, for there is no provision for a miniature or an introductory capital, but only for a heading in red; this item had contained relatively little decoration in the Book also. These *Epistres* form a suitable bridge to the next part of the collection, represented by MSS 606 and 836. Included in this third section are all the moralizing and devotional works which made up the final part of Christine's Book, together with some of the works which were added to it subsequently. In that way not only has the scope of the section been enlarged but it now clearly reflects the increasing interest which Christine was taking in loftier and more subtle subjects (see p. 37).

The *Epistre Othea* (item 14) contains a great many more miniatures than the rest of the collection put together, reflecting both the importance which the work had for Christine and the extent to which the subject-matter of the treatise lent itself to representation. Whereas BN fr. 848, the earliest-known manuscript, and the copies of the Book had each contained only six illustrations, depicting the Prologue and the first five Texts, all hundred Texts and the Prologue are now preceded by a miniature of high quality and an introductory capital. These capitals are, moreover, accompanied by a distinctive border, in which the leaves, fruit, and flowers grow on tendrils of red and white between outer lines of black; elsewhere in the Duke's MS the tendrils consist simply of a slender line traced in black ink. The more elaborate borders are found only in the *Epistre Othea* and in the *Dit de la pastoure* (item 19); that type of border had also previously been used in MS 848. The Texts and the associated Glosses and Allegories are all numbered and rubricated in red; Latin quotations and their sources are copied in the same colour. Although it is exceptionally well illustrated by comparison with the other works, the *Epistre Othea* was none the less designed to fit within the collection. That can be seen from the fact that the miniature, the introductory capital, and the associated borders which precede

⁵⁰ Ouy and Reno, p. 225. See also page 49 of the present article. For some other evidence of haste in the preparation of the Duke's MS, see 'An Author's Progress', pp. 535, 542.

the Prologue are similar in size and style to those which introduce earlier items. It is noteworthy that there is no full-page border of the sort which introduces the *Cent balades* (item 1).

The *Livre du chemin de long estude* (item 15) incorporates eight miniatures and is here more copiously illustrated than in earlier copies, including that in L1 (see note 38). The relatively lavish presentation of the *Enseignemens moraux* (item 16), which includes many intermediate capitals, no doubt reflects maternal concern and the special pride which Christine took in that work; in the copies of the Book the work contains a similarly large number of paragraph marks in equivalent positions. In the Duke's MS the work has a distinctive title which is very different from that in the Book and in the later Queen's MS. The layout of items 17 and 18, both devoted to the Virgin Mary, suggests that here, as in the Book, the single miniature is designed to introduce both works; their close association is emphasized visually by the repetition of *Ave Maria* at the end of each stanza in both works and by the absence of an introductory capital at the beginning of the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame*.

The order in which items 19–21 are copied is intriguing. It might have been thought that since the *Dit de la pastoure* and the *Livre du duc des vrais amans* both involve a love-affair, albeit an ill-starred affair, they might more appropriately have been included among the courtly narrative poems. Instead they are copied in the third section and are moreover separated by the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur*. It would seem that for Christine both these works had a predominantly moral purpose; she had herself described the *Dit de la pastoure* as a 'parabole couverte. . . Ou sentence gist notable' (*Œuvres poétiques*, II, 224). By positioning them at some distance from her earlier and 'lighter' works, to use her own term, she no doubt wished to emphasize the extent to which her writing had evolved. The *Dit de la pastoure* and the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* are each preceded by a miniature and introductory capital, as in the Book. Although the *Livre du duc des vrais amans* was completed two or three years before the Duke's MS was prepared, it was not included among the additions to the Book. The work is illustrated by six miniatures, a measure of its importance; the miniatures cluster at the beginning of the work, as was also the case in the earliest copies of the *Epistre Othea* and the *Livre du chemin de long estude*. The only work added to the Book and not included in the Duke's MS is the *Mutacion de fortune*, perhaps because Christine had presented a copy of the poem to the Duke of Berry in March 1403(4).⁵¹ The size of the work may also have been a consideration: to include it would have involved the addition of at least 150 folios and would have made the collection almost half as large again.

The present MS 605 contains four rather heterogeneous works, the *Epistre a la reine*, the *Epistre a Eustache Mourel* (*Deschamps*), the *Proverbes moraux*, and the *Livre de Prudence* (items 22–25), copied in quires of varying length and with no space left for miniatures. Only the first and the last of these works contain introductory capitals and borders. It is not certain that Christine intended to link the two *Epistres* and the *Proverbes moraux* in that way, since it is also possible that the decoration of this section was not planned with sufficient care and that the scribe was not instructed to leave the necessary spaces. The beginning of the *Livre de Prudence* (item 25) is marked both by an introductory capital and by an unusually elaborate border which extends the full length of the column. Its style echoes that of the upright dividing the two

⁵¹ Now The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 78 D 42. See *Mutacion de fortune*, I, xi, cxxii–cxxvii.

columns in the full-page border which precedes the *Cent balades* (item 1); the intervening items include no border of similar design. Although the use of a more elaborate border here compensates for the rather surprising absence of a miniature, it should also be noted that identical borders are also found in the following item, which is also the last work in the collection.

The *Livre de Prudence* does not include the dedication to the Duke of Orleans which is found in two other copies of the text, BN fr. 5037 and Vatican, Regina lat. 1238. The absence of that dedication can be interpreted as further evidence to support the view of Meiss that the Duke's MS, although originally intended for the Duke of Orleans, was then offered to the Duke of Berry; it may also cast some light on the date of the collection. Had the Duke of Orleans still been alive when the *Livre de Prudence* was being copied, it would have been natural to have the text begin with the dedication to him. Its absence from the Duke's MS suggests that this part of the collection, the present MS 605, was copied after his murder on 23 November 1407; as Meiss has shown, the Duke of Berry acquired the finished collection in 1408 or 1409.⁵²

The *Livre de la cité des dames* (item 26), now MS 607, is divided into three parts, all laid out in the same way. Before each part there is a table of contents and the first chapter of text is then preceded by a miniature, introductory capital, and border. The borders at the beginning of Parts 2 and 3 are identical with that in the *Livre de Prudence*, save only that in Part 3 the upright is not independent of the frame surrounding the miniature but extends downwards from it. The miniature which introduces Part 1 extends over both columns and is the only illustration of that size in the collection. Associated with it is a border similar in style to those just described but enlarged to take in the whole page. Thus the first and the last works in the Duke's MS are the only items which have a full-page border, and that which introduces the *Cent balades* is much the more elaborate of the two. The *Livre de la cité des dames* contains page titles but no item number; it is partly for that reason that the fifth part of the Duke's MS was identified only recently.

Only the first of the five works in MSS 605 and 607 had been included in the additions to the Book. It would appear that, having decided to include copies of her most recent works, Christine grouped them at the end of the collection. Certainly, when these five works are included in the Queen's MS, the opportunity will be taken to integrate them better. Ouy and Reno consider that MS 605, like MS 835, was the work of two scribes; as before, P was responsible for only a very small section, the first three items and the very beginning of the *Livre de Prudence*. The rest of MS 605 is in the R hand which copied the whole of MSS 606 and 836, as well as the greater part of MS 835. By contrast, MS 607 was copied by P in its entirety.⁵³

The foregoing discussion has shown that the Duke's MS was planned as a single large collection. Having been copied in parts, it was then assembled before being presented to the Duke of Berry. It was bound as a single volume: that conclusion, suggested by the physical evidence and by the signatures discussed earlier, is confirmed by an autograph inscription at the end of MS 607 (fol. 79d): 'Ce livre est au duc de Berry. Jehan.' When the collection was subsequently rebound, it was

⁵² I am very grateful to Dr A. J. Kennedy for information about the manuscripts of the *Livre de Prudence* which contain the prologue. See also pp. 52–53.

⁵³ Ouy and Reno, p. 225. See also pp. 49, 56 of the present article.

divided into its constituent parts. However, four parts became five, for the way in which the second section had been copied allowed it to be subdivided. Although MSS 606 and 836 have continuous signatures running from *a* to *s* in the second series, the quires had been prepared in two separate sequences: the note, 'Finis', to which reference has already been made, occurs at the end of MS 606, and the first series in MS 836 probably began with *a*.

The Burgundy Manuscript and the Leiden Fragment

A collection of Christine's works owned by the Duke of Burgundy is described in the inventory of his library drawn up at Brussels in 1487:

1665. Ung autre grant volume couvert de cuir rouge, à tout deux cloans et cincq boutons de léton, hystorié et intitulé: *Le livre des cent Balades et plusieurs laiz, l'Epistre Othea, la Cité des Dames, Longue Estude*, et commenchant au second feuillet, 'De tous mes boni ou se mêle chose moult dur**u**biens et de ma noruiture [*sic*]', ou dernier finissant, 'me fora torner en cendre'.⁵⁴

The lines quoted from fol. 2 are lines 10 and 12 of the fifth of the *Cent balades*, and the words cited from the final folio make up the last line of the *Lay de dame* which marks the conclusion of the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame*. The entries in the catalogue and in other inventories of the Burgundy library are the only information available about the manuscript, which seems to have disappeared during the eighteenth century.

The Queen's MS, which will be discussed presently, contains the only copy of the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* which is known to survive. The presence of that work in the Burgundy MS, where it was copied as the final work in the collection, suggests that these two manuscripts were very similar in content. However, the order of the *Livre de la cité des dames* and the *Livre du chemin de long estude* given in the catalogue is not that in which they are copied in the Queen's MS. Mombello has suggested that in giving a selection of the contents, the cataloguer may simply have put them in the wrong order. Another possibility is that those two works, which are copied as separate sections of the Queen's MS, were transposed in the Burgundy MS.

A fragment of a large collection of Christine's works is today preserved in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Ltk. 1819. It consists of part of a single folio, and contains, on both recto and verso, one and a third columns of text which have been identified by Curnow as part of Chapters 18 and 19 of Part 2 of the *Livre de la cité des dames* (Curnow, pp. 534–36). Since the layout and the decoration of the fragment resemble those of the earliest copies of the *Livre de la cité des dames* prepared under Christine's supervision, Curnow suggested that the leaf may have formed part of the Burgundy MS.

That the fragment once formed part of a large collection is shown by the page title

Le Livre de la ci . . . des dames xxvij
La .ij. partie

which can be reconstructed from the recto and verso. Since both the Duke's and the Queen's MSS contain page titles laid out in the same way, 'xxvij' must refer to the number of the item in the collection as a whole; the number is in a slightly different

⁵⁴ (J. Barrois), *Bibliothèque [sic] prototypographique*. . . (Paris, 1830), nos 940 and 1665. See also *Œuvres poétiques*, III, xvi–xix, and Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*, pp. 329–32. The Burgundy library seems also to have included a separate copy of the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* (Barrois, no. 679).

colour of ink from the title of the work, which suggests that it was added later. The fragment is to be associated with a collection of Christine's works which was differently arranged from either the Duke's or the Queen's MSS: the *Livre de la cité des dames*, item 29 in the Queen's MS, is item 26 in the Duke's MS, although, as will be remembered, the page titles there contain no item number. The decoration of the fragment, an intermediate capital of two lines, two paragraph marks of one line, and a chapter rubric, is very similar in style to that in the Duke's and Queen's MSS. Whether the Leiden fragment formed part of the Burgundy MS must remain a matter of speculation.

The Queen's Manuscript

The Queen's MS, the last surviving collection prepared by Christine, is today Harley MS 4431 in the British Library in London; the manuscript is bound in two volumes. That the collection was commissioned by Queen Isabelle is made clear in the *Prologue adreçant a la royne*, which has no counterpart in the two earlier collections:

49 Si l'ay fait, ma dame, ordener. . .
54 Des que vo command en receu.⁵⁵

The preparation of a new collection once again provided Christine with the opportunity to introduce a number of new poems and to rearrange her works. The Queen's MS is prefaced by a table of contents which lists 30 numbered items; the item numbers are also included in the page titles in red which are to be found at the top of virtually every folio.⁵⁶ Details of the contents and of the way in which the decoration has been planned are given in a table which follows; the miniatures and borders are of extremely high quality.⁵⁷

The most detailed descriptions of the Queen's MS which have yet been published are those of Mombello and Hindman.⁵⁸ Mombello noted that the manuscript can be divided into parts and drew tentative conclusions about the way in which it had been put together. The question has recently been re-examined by Hindman:

Because of its irregular collation and signature notations, Mombello went on to conclude that the volume was made up from pre-existing segments which 'perhaps originally were not destined to be gathered together in a single presentation volume for the queen of France'. He further proposed that the various segments were executed at different times by different scribes, perhaps working in the same scriptorium. . . . On the basis of additional irregularities perceived in the construction of the Harley manuscript, [this article] demonstrates that the manuscript, now known to be an autograph, was reconstituted from independent sections between 1410 and 1415. (Hindman, p. 99)

⁵⁵ London, British Library, Harley 4431, fols 3a–d (fol. 3c). There is a single foliation in ink from the beginning of the manuscript until fol. 50. Thereafter there are two: the ink foliation continues, numbering two blank ruled leaves which form part of quire 6 (discussed below) as fols 51 and 52, and continuing to the end of the manuscript; a pencil foliation discounts the two blank ruled leaves and thus renumbers 53 as 51 and so on. The pencil foliation is used here from fol. 51 onwards.

⁵⁶ There are many fewer irregularities in the page titles than in the Duke's MS. The item numbers are sometimes inconsistent: the *Cent balades* (item 2) is numbered 'iij' on fol. 9r; the *Debat des deux amans* (item 14) generally has that number but is numbered 'xiiij' on fols 59r–61r; item 25 (*Enseignemens moraux*) is numbered 'xxiiij' on fol. 264r. On fols 163r, 381r, 397r, and 398r the item number is omitted. See also p. 40 and note 48.

⁵⁷ For details of the illustrations in the Queen's MS, see Meiss, I, 292–96; reproductions of many of the miniatures can be found in the second volume.

⁵⁸ Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*, pp. 189–99; Hindman, pp. 93–123. Both Mombello and Hindman use the older ink foliation throughout.

Hindman's detailed examination of the Queen's MS shows that the format of the second part, which comprises the *Epistre Othea*, has been altered:

Strips of vellum have consistently extended the fore-edge and tail margin only of those folios in the *Epistre*. The adjoining edges of the added vellum strips and those of the original fore- and lower edges were each bevelled or 'scarfed' to produce a joint of comparable breadth to a single sheet of vellum instead of a double thickness. A thin layer of glue fastened the pieces to each other. The bevelled and pasted joints are not now perceptible to the touch, although they are visible to the naked eye through transmitted light . . . the alteration indicates that considerable effort was expended to incorporate this one version into the Collected Works. (Hindman, pp. 99–100)

The part containing the *Epistre Othea* is the only section of the manuscript to have been treated in that way.

While the leaves have clearly been altered in the way just described, it is striking that in the second part the size of the written area and the number of ruled lines are exactly the same as in the rest of the collection. Precisely why that part should have been extended must remain a matter of conjecture, though a number of material reasons could readily be suggested: for example, misunderstandings between author and scribe or binder about the final external format required. It must also be remembered that there is no indication when the extension took place and that nothing is known about the earlier binding(s) of the collection. Several pieces of evidence show that the part containing the *Epistre Othea* was intended from the beginning to form part of the collection to be presented to the Queen. The case does not rest simply on the fact that the hand and layout are identical with those found in other parts of the collection. Equally important, as will be seen, are the position which the *Epistre* occupies within the collection and the way in which the decoration of the work was planned; in both these respects the copy of the *Epistre Othea* resembles its counterpart in the Duke's MS which was likewise intended to form part of a collection and not to be an independent manuscript.

Table 4 (p. 73) gives particulars of the collation and signatures of the Queen's MS.

The signatures were discussed by Mombello, who drew attention to the way in which they return to the beginning of the alphabet at the start of the *Epistre Othea*, having reached as far as *k*, but in an irregular sequence, in the preceding section of the manuscript. Hindman found the change in signatures puzzling 'since Christine transcribed all of the Harley book herself', thus emphasizing her view that the 'manuscript [is] now known to be an autograph' (Hindman, p. 99; Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*, pp. 199–205). As the table indicates, the Queen's MS contains only one series of signatures and they are similar in character to the first series in the Duke's MS; the order is not rigidly alphabetical, and a part of the manuscript may contain more than one quire with the same signature. Their primary function was almost certainly the same as that of their counterparts in the Duke's MS: that is, to keep the sheets in each quire in the correct order. In themselves the signatures provide no information about the hand or hands in which the collection is copied.

For Mombello the signatures formed only part of the evidence which led him to conclude that the Queen's MS was copied in two hands. A detailed examination of fols 48 and 51, part of quire 6 which will be discussed later, allowed him to distinguish between two scribes whose hands he also identified elsewhere in the

volume. Hindman has taken a different view: 'Careful examination of the shapes of the letters reveals, however, that both folios [48 and 51] were written by Christine who, according to Gilbert Ouy, formed her letters differently as her calligraphy evolved' (Hindman, p. 109; Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*, p. 200. The two hands are clearly contrasted on fol. 46 as well as on fols 48 and 51). Among the letters which are thought by Hindman to have evolved in this way are *d*, *v*, *r*, and *g*. Further light on the question is provided by a study of the initial letters, which in the poetical works are slightly detached from the rest of the line of verse. Different sections of the manuscript contain initials which differ in style and ductus. The first hand is crisper and lighter than the second, which is more cursive and more exuberant; particularly characteristic of the second hand are the long flourishes associated with initials such as *A*. Although that new evidence might seem to support Mombello's contention that the Queen's MS was the work of two scribes, it can still be argued that these further differences are also to be explained as part of a process of evolution. It will therefore be important to discuss in detail the reasons which led Hindman to conclude that the Queen's MS was prepared over the period 1410–15. Before that can be done, the way in which the collection is arranged must first be examined.

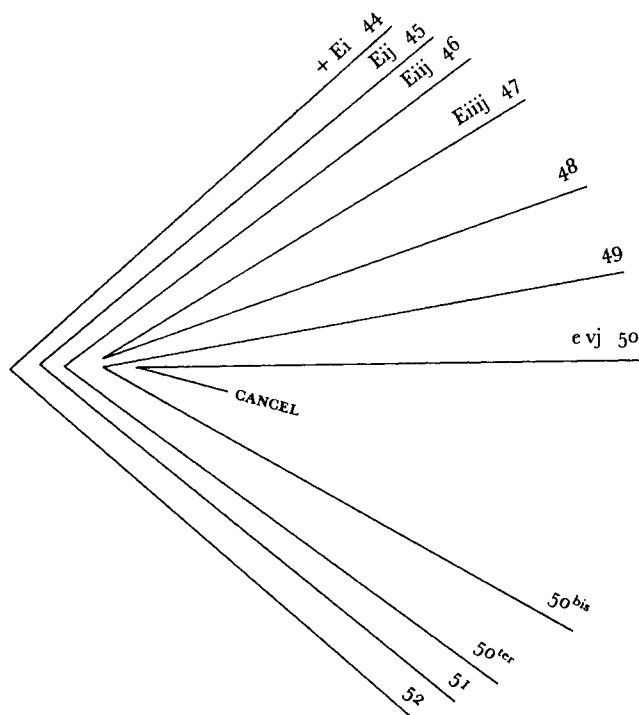
The different parts of the collection are linked by catchwords written in a rapid cursive hand and different in style from the catchwords used to set the quires in the correct order. The presence of these distinctive catchwords at the foot of the final leaf of quires 12, 18, 23, 29, 30, 38, and 49 shows that the collection was prepared in eight separate parts (subsections can be distinguished on occasion: for example, the end of Part 1 of the *Livre de la cité des dames* coincides with the end of quire 42). While the collation suggests that item 21 forms a separate section, there is other evidence which points to a different conclusion. (The unusual composition of quires 33 and 34 will be discussed below, as will the make-up of quires 6 and 19.) The existence of these sections does not allow one to conclude, as Mombello and Hindman have done, that the present volume 'was made up from pre-existing segments' or that it 'was reconstituted from independent sections between 1410 and 1415'. In preparing her new collection in parts, Christine was following exactly the same practice which she had adopted in putting together the enlarged Book and the Duke's MS.

The first two parts of the Queen's MS contain the Prologue followed by the collections of lyrics and the narrative poems (items 1–16). The importance of the Prologue is emphasized both by a full-page border and by a large miniature which extends over two columns. The decoration and the layout of items 2–16 recall the two earlier collections. The first of the *Cent balades* is illustrated with a miniature and a full-page border as in the Duke's MS. The collections of lyrics which follow (items 3–9), although included in the table of contents, are not treated as separate items as far as the decoration is concerned, for none of them is preceded either by a miniature or by an introductory capital; a very similar layout had been used both in the Book and in the Duke's MS. There has been a slight rearrangement of the rondeaux, and one of the *Autres balades* has been replaced by a new poem.⁵⁹ The *Complainte amoureuse*, included among the narrative poems in the Duke's MS, has resumed its place among the lyric poetry and is copied after the *Autres balades*, as it

⁵⁹ The sixty-seven rondeaux in the Queen's MS are in the following order: 1–26, 29–46, 27–28, 47–53, and 55–68. The collection of fifty *Autres balades* comprises nos 1–15, 17–27, 29–44, and 46–53, plus a rondeau copied between nos 36 and 37; no. 45 has been deleted and replaced by no. 44. See also note 49 and Lecoy, p. 113.

had been in the Book. It is followed by a new item, *Encore autres balades*, which in fact consists of five ballades and four rondeaux. The courtly narrative poems (items 12–16) are copied in substantially the same order as in the Duke's MS, the only change being the insertion of a new poem, the *Autre complainte amoureuse*. The decoration likewise follows an almost identical scheme, save only that the Queen's MS contains slightly more intermediate capitals than its predecessor.

THE QUEEN'S MANUSCRIPT: DIAGRAM OF QUIRE 6



NOTES

- a. 'V', i.e. 5 is written at the foot of fol. 48v, close to the binding, and 'No' is written in a fifteenth-century hand in the equivalent position on fol. 49r. Both these marks were probably instructions to the binder.
- b. Binding strings are visible between fols 47 and 48, and between fol. 50 and the cancel.

Some miscalculation occurred during the preparation of the first part, or there was a late change of plan. Quire 6 was originally planned as a quaternion but now contains eleven leaves, some of them unnumbered, plus a cancel. The diagram shows how the quire is now made up.

Initially quire 6 consisted of fols 44–48, (50^{ter}) and 51–52, and was then enlarged by the insertion between fols 48 and (50^{ter}) of two sheets, or four leaves, the third leaf being subsequently cancelled; the new leaves are now numbered 49, 50, and

(50^{bis}).⁶⁰ The *Autres balades* end on fol. 48a and the *Epistre au dieu d'Amours* begins on fol. 51b, leaving eight blank columns between the two items in the original quire. The two new items are copied in different ink, the *Complainte amoureuse* on fols 48b-49c and *Encore autres balades* on fols 49c-51a. However, between the eighth poem on fol. 50d and the ninth and last on fol. 51a are two ruled leaves (50^{bis}) and (50^{ter}), which are unnumbered and blank. The most likely explanation of this curious state of affairs is that a gap was left by the scribe so that additional material could be inserted between the *Autres balades* and the *Epistre au dieu d'Amours*, and the gap then proved to be too small; too many additional leaves were then added. That the gap was left deliberately is shown by the absence of page titles on fols 47r-48v and 50v-51r; elsewhere in the collection the sequence of page titles is almost unbroken (see note 56 above).

At the very end of *Encore autres balades* are two rondeaux and a ballade addressed to John, Duke of Bourbon, who succeeded his father on 17 August 1410. The position of the poems within the item and the unusual arrangement of quire 6, in which they are copied, show that they were added to the collection at a late stage. The alterations to *Autre Balade* 49, which reflect the worsening political situation, point to the same year, for Christine had expressed similar concern in the *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile*, which she sent to the Duke of Berry on 23 August 1410.⁶¹ All these alterations indicate that this part of the Queen's MS was completed late in 1410, or perhaps in 1411.

Among the works which follow the lyric and narrative poems there has been some rearrangement to accommodate those items which had been copied at the very end of the Duke's MS. The new order is largely thematic, but not completely so: the didactic and moralizing works (items 17-25) are followed by two religious poems (items 26-27) and then by two long treatises in prose (items 28-29). The decoration of all these works follows a plan which is very similar to that in the Duke's MS. The miniatures painted at the beginning of the *Epistre Othea* (item 17) and the *Livre du chemin de long estude* (item 19) are both set off by a border which extends the full length of the column and is thus longer and more elaborate than the borders associated with other miniatures in the collection. However, neither is as ornate as the full-page borders associated with the Prologue and the *Cent balades* (item 1). Although the *Livre de Prudence* (item 28) again has no miniature, the decoration of the work has been modified to integrate it better into the overall scheme: the introductory capital is now combined with a short border, rather than the elaborate border extending over a full column, which had been used in the Duke's MS. The *Livre de la cité des dames* (item 29) is introduced by a large miniature, extending over both columns, as had also been the case in the earlier collection. Whereas a full-page border was associated with the miniature in the Duke's MS, here the border is similar to those in items 17 and 19, and does not frame the full page. The borders at the beginning of Parts 2 and 3 of the *Livre de la cité des dames* are likewise less elaborate than their counterparts in the Duke's MS.

⁶⁰ The diagram does not include the modern sheets of paper inserted to protect the miniature. For other discussions of quire 6, see Mombello, *Tradizione Manoscritta*, p. 200, and Hindman, pp. 108-09. For other evidence of haste in the preparation of the Queen's MS, see 'An Author's Progress', pp. 535, 539.

⁶¹ See 'An Author's Progress', pp. 542-43, and A. J. Kennedy, 'La Lamentacion sur les maux de la France de Christine de Pisan', in *Mélanges de langue et littérature françaises du moyen âge et de la renaissance offerts à Charles Foulon*, 2 vols (Rennes, 1980), 1, 177-85.

Items 17–20 each constitute a separate part of the collection. It is not surprising to find that long works such as the *Epistre Othea*, the *Livre du duc des vrais amans*, and the *Livre du chemin de long estude* have been prepared in that way. However, there is evidence of some miscalculation or of a change of plan at the beginning of the *Livre du duc des vrais amans*, for the first leaf of quire 19 has been cancelled and the work begins on fol. 143b, the second column of what is now a quire of seven leaves. The format of item 20, the *Dit de la pastoure*, is also unusual: not because it is copied as a separate part, for that had also been the case in the enlarged Book, but because it is copied in a single quire of sixteen leaves, twice the usual size.

The collation of the *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose* (item 21) suggests that it, too, was copied as a separate section. However, the unusual format of quires 33 and 34 points to a quite different explanation, and indicates that there had been a change of plan at a late stage in the preparation of the collection. The *Epistres* end on fol. 254a, leaving three blank columns at the end of quire 33. The first three columns of quire 34 are also blank, for the next item, the *Epistre a Eustache Morel*, does not begin until fol. 255d, the fourth column of the quire. Christine's original intention, as Hindman has demonstrated, was to include the *Epistre a la reine* in this section. The second half of that short letter was copied on fols 255a–c, but was subsequently erased; parts of the text can still be read under ultra-violet light. The original folio 254, containing the end of the *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose* and the first half of the letter to the Queen, was replaced by a new leaf and the concluding lines of the *Epistres* were then rewritten (Hindman, p. 109).

The reasons why the *Epistre a la reine* was deleted must remain a matter of speculation. The letter was harsh in its criticism of those in power and of their inability or unwillingness to put an end to the civil war. Hindman has suggested that, when the Queen's MS was prepared,

Christine perhaps feared that such open criticism of the government was too censorious for inclusion in a book offered to Isabeau, or perhaps Isabeau asked that it be omitted. Still, if the Collected Works had been newly transcribed in response to a commission from the Queen, it would not have been necessary to erase or delete the texts, for the design of the volume could have been appropriately modified. This supposition supports further the hypothesis that at least some pre-existing texts were united for assembly in a single volume. (Hindman, p. 111)

But Christine had not lacked courage when she sent the original letter to the Queen in 1405, and her continued concern about the worsening political situation in 1410 found expression both in the *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile*, sent to the Duke of Berry on 23 August, and in the alterations which she made to the text of *Autre Balade* 49 in the Queen's MS.

Another possible explanation is that the scribe, not necessarily Christine, copied the new collection from Christine's 'livre ou elle mectoit toutes ses choses' and that, after transcribing the *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose*, he continued with the *Epistre a la reine*, not realizing or not having been told that it was inappropriate to include the letter since the Queen had already received her copy some years before; in the Duke's MS the *Epistre a la reine* immediately precedes the *Epistre a Eustache Morel*.

Whatever the reasons for the deletion of the letter to the Queen, it is clear that items 21–28 were originally intended to form one part of the collection, not two as they are today. Whether the *Livre de la cité des dames* (item 29) should be considered to be part of that section is less clear. Whereas the table of contents forms part of quire 38, the text proper begins in the following quire and six blank columns

separate the end of the table and the beginning of the work itself. The layout is thus very different from that in the Duke's MS, where table and text together make up BN fr. 607, the last part of the collection. On the other hand there is no doubt that the final work, the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* (item 30), constitutes a separate part. As was seen earlier, the loss of the Burgundy MS means that the only copy of this work known to survive is that in the Queen's MS (see p. 59). Christine has once again added her latest work at the very end of the collection, just as she had done in the enlarged Book and in the Duke's MS.

The thirty items which make up the Queen's MS were numbered at a very late stage in the preparation of the collection. The table of contents, on a single leaf inserted before quire 1, was no doubt copied at much the same time. The page titles were inserted by the rubricator after the individual items had been transcribed, but the item numbers were added later in a separate operation, as can be seen from differences in the colour of the ink and in the sharpness of the pen, and also from the fact that the page titles and item numbers are not always neatly aligned. There are, moreover, a number of pages on which the rubricator omitted to include the item number, and others on which the number is entered wrongly (see note 56 above).

Conclusion

The preceding account has shown that the Queen's MS was prepared in very much the same way as its predecessors, the enlarged Book and the Duke's MS. The collection comprises eight parts which were copied separately before being assembled and bound together. The decoration was planned as a whole: the only two full-page borders are associated with the Prologue and with the *Cent balades*, the first item; three other unusually elaborate borders which extend the full length of the column occur at the beginning of items 17, 19, and 29 and are thus set at intervals through the collection. The Queen's MS was copied by two scribes; a third hand may, however, be responsible for some of the corrections which were made when the texts were being 'proof-read'. The collection was almost certainly completed in 1410 or 1411. The unusual format of quire 6 and the presentation of items 10 and 11 show that the *Complainte amoureuse* and *Encore autres balades*, which include poems addressed to John, Duke of Bourbon, were added at a late stage. The enlargement of that quire was only one of several adjustments made before the collection was assembled. Other examples include the deletion of the *Epistre a la reine*, and the cancelling of the first leaf of quire 19; none the less the *Livre du duc des vrais amans* still begins in the second column of the quire. The earlier examination of the Duke's MS revealed similar examples of miscalculation or of last minute changes of plan.

There is thus no reason to conclude, as Mombello and particularly Hindman have done, that the Queen's MS was 'reconstituted from independent sections between 1410 and 1415'. The sections *are* independent in the sense that they were copied in separate operations, but the intention was always to put these sections together to make a collection. There is no evidence that the collection was 'reconstituted'. On the contrary, everything suggests that, following in the tradition set by the enlarged Book and the Duke's MS, it was planned as a literary and artistic whole. The works were carefully arranged and the decoration was planned accordingly. The finished manuscript, presented to Queen Isabelle in 1410 or 1411, represents the peak of Christine de Pizan's achievement as a publisher, in so far as it can be measured from the surviving copies of her works. All the later manuscripts known today are less

substantial and less ambitious. Thus the Queen's MS amply justifies the confident assertions made by Christine in her *Prologue adreçant a la royne*:

Si l'ay fait, ma dame, ordener
 Depuis que je sceus que assener
 Le devoye a vous, si que ay sceu
 Tout au mieulx et le parfiner
 D'escripre et bien enluminer,
 Des que vo command en receu,
 Selons qu'en mon cuer j'ay conceu
 Qu'il faloit des choses finer
 Pour bien richement l'affiner
 Affin que fust apperceu
 Que je mets pouoir, force et sceu
 Pour vo bon vueil enteriner.⁶²

'Si Christinae monumentum requiris, aspice.'

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⁶² Harley MS 4431, fol. 3c, l. 49. *Assener*, 'to address'; *parfiner*, 'to complete'; *selons que*, 'just as'; *finer* and *affiner*, 'to finish, conclude'; *sceu*, 'knowledge'; *enteriner*, 'to accomplish'.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my wife, and to Dr Angus J. Kennedy, Professor Kenneth Varty, and Professor Charity Cannon Willard for their very helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article.

TABLE I: CONTENTS AND DECORATION OF THE 'LIVRE DE CHRISTINE'

FOLIOS L1 (L2)	L1					L2						
	Miniatures	Introductory capitals	Intermediate capitals	Rubrics (in red)	Items numbered	Explicit with title	Miniatures	Introductory capitals	Intermediate capitals	Rubrics (in red)	Items numbered	Explicit with title
1. 2a-22d, (1a-21d)	1	1	98	1	X	1	1	99	16	1 (X)	X	1
2. 23a-26c, (21 ^{bis} a-24c)	<i>Virelays plusieurs: 16 poems</i>											
3. 26c-27b, (24c-25b)	<i>Balades</i>											
	(a) <i>retrograde</i>											
	(b) <i>a rimes reprises</i>											
	(c) <i>a responses</i>											
4. 27b-34d, (25b-32d)	<i>Autres plusieurs balades de divers propos: 29 poems¹</i>											
5. 35a-36d, (33a-34d)	<i>Complainte amoureuse</i>											
6. 37a-39a, (37a) ²	<i>Lay de tūc.kij.vers leonines</i>											
7. 39a-41a, (37a-39a)	<i>Autre lay</i>											
8. 41b-47b, (39b-45b)	<i>Rondeaux: 60 plus 5 poems, i.e., 65 in all³</i>											
9. 47c-51a, (45c-48d) ⁴	<i>Jeux a vendre: 70 poems</i>											

10.	51c-67b, (50a-65b)	<i>Le Debat des deux amans</i>	1	1	4	1	1	?	?	4	1			
11.	67c-73d, (65c-71c)	<i>L'Epiltre au dieu d'Amours</i>			1	1			1					
12.	74a-79a, (72a-77a)	<i>Le Dit de la Rose</i>		1	5	1	1		1	4	1			
13.	79c-91c, (77c-89c)	<i>Le Dit des trois jugemens</i>	1	1		1	1	1	1		1			
14.	92a-108b, (90a-106b)	<i>Le Dit de Poissy</i>	1	1		1	1	1	1		1			
15.	108c-148b, (106c-141b) ⁵	<i>L'Epiltre Othea</i>	6	4	96	+	×	1	3	2	89	+	×	1
16.	148c-156a, (141c-149a)	<i>Les Epiltres du debat sur le Romant de la Rose</i>			1	1	1				1		1	
17.	156c-160d, (149c-153d)	<i>Les Notables moraulz de Christine de Pizan a son filz (Les Enseignemens moraux)</i>	1	1		1	1	1	1		1		1	
18.	161a-162d, (154a-155d)	<i>Une Oroison de Nostre Dame</i>	1	1		18		1	1		18			
19.	163a-c, (156a-c) ⁶	<i>Les Quinze Joyes de Nostre Dame rimees</i>		1		16			1		16			
<i>Additional Works</i>														
20.	164a-165d,	<i>Une Oroison Nostre Seigneur</i>	1	1										
21.	166a-182c, (157a-174d) ⁷	<i>Le Dit de la pastoure</i>	1	2	16			1	1	2	54		?	
22.	184a-231c,	<i>Le Livre du chemin de long estude</i>	4	5	23			1						
23.	232a-427a,	<i>La Mutacion de Fortune</i>	7	15	+	+	×	1						
24.	427c-429d,	<i>Une Epistre que Christine de Pizan qui fist ce livre envoia a la royne. . .</i>				3								

1. See note 49. 2. Lacuna: fols 35-36. 3. See note 49. 4. Lacuna: fol. 49. 5. Lacunae: fols 106/7 (1 leaf); fols 108/9 (4 leaves). 6. Lacuna (?): fols 156/7. 7. Lacuna: fols 174- .

TABLE 3: CONTENTS AND DECORATION OF THE DUKE'S MANUSCRIPT

Folios		Miniatures	Introductory capitals	Intermediate capitals	Rubrics (in red)	Headings in black	Items numbered	Explicit with title
BN fr. 835								
1.	1a-16d, 18a-d,	<i>Cent balades</i>	1	1	99	1		1
2.	17a-d, 19a-20d, ¹	<i>Virelays: 16 poems</i>			16	1		
3.	21a-d,	<i>Balades d'estrage façon</i>			4	4		
4.	21d-22d, 24a-c, ¹ 24c-d, 23a-d, 25a-b ¹	<i>Lay de cent .lxv. vers leonimes</i> (<i>Autre</i>) <i>lay</i>			1	1		1
5.	25b-31a,	<i>Rondelx: 67 poems</i>			66	1		
6.	31b-34a,	<i>Jeux a vendre: 70 poems</i>			70	1		1
7.	34b-44d,	<i>Plusieurs balades de divers propos (Autres balades):</i> 50 ballades and 1 rondeau			50	1		
8.	45a-50a,	<i>L'Epistre au dieu d'Amours</i>	1	1		1		1
9.	50b-51d,	<i>Complainte amoureuse</i>	1	1		1		1
10.	52a-64a,	<i>Le Debat de deux amans</i>	1	1	5	1		1
11.	64b-73c,	<i>Le Livre des trois jugemens</i>	1	1		1		
12.	74a-86d,	<i>Le Livre du dit de Poissy</i>	1	1		1		1
13.	87a-103d,	<i>Les Epistres du debat sur le Romant de la Rose</i>				1	7	
BN fr. 606								
14.	1a-46c,	<i>L'Epistre Othea</i>	101	101		+	×	1

TABLE 3: continued

Folios	Miniatures	Introductory capitals	Intermediate capitals	Rubrics (in red)	Headings in black	Items numbered	Explicit with title
BN fr. 836							
15. 1a-41c,	8	8	26	12	11		1
16. 42a-45c,	1	1	106	1			
17. 45d-47b,	1	1	17				
18. 47b-48a,	1	1	16	1			
19. 48b-62d,	1	1	18	2	8		1
20. 63a-65a,	1	1		59			
21. 65a-98a,	6	6	57	12	28		1
BN fr. 605							
22. 1a-2c,		1		1			
23. 2c-3d,			1	1			
24. 3d-5d,			1	1			
25. 5d-22a,		1	22	+			
BN fr. 607							
26. 1a-79d,	3	3	135	+		×	1

1. Quire 3 (folios 17-24) is misbound; the order of the leaves should be: 18, 17, 19, 20-22, 24, 23. The two *Lays* are copied as a single item.

TABLE 4: COLLATION AND SIGNATURES OF THE QUEEN'S MANUSCRIPT

British Library, Harley MS 4431, Volume 1

COLLATION	<	1:10 (10th c.)	2:8	3:8	4:8	5:8	6:11 (see Table 6)	7:8	8:8	9:8	10:8	11:8	12:2	>	
FOLIOS	<	3-11	12-19	20-27	28-35	36-43	44-50 (-,-)	51-52	53-60	61-68	69-76	77-84	85-92	93-94	>
SIGNATURE	<	a	?	a	b	d	e		e	f	j	h	k	>	
WORKS	<	Items 1-16											>		

COLLATION	<	13:8	14:8	15:8	16:8	17:8	18:8	>	<	19:8 (1st c.)	20:8	21:8	22:8	23:4	>
FOLIOS	<	95-102	103-10	111-18	119-26	127-34	135-42	>	<	143-49	150-57	158-65	166-73	174-77	>
SIGNATURE	<	?	b	c	e				>	?			?	>	
WORKS	<	Item 17 (<i>Epistre Othea</i>)							>	<	Item 18 (<i>Livre du duc des vrais amans</i>)				>

Volume 2

COLLATION	<	24:8	25:8	26:8	27:8	28:8	29:4 (3rd c.)	>	<	30:16	>	<	31:8	32:8	33:?(2)	>
FOLIOS	<	178-85	186-93	194-201	202-09	210-17	218-20	>	<	221-36	>	<	237-44	245-52	253-54	>
SIGNATURE	<	a	b	c	d	e	f	>	<	a	>	<	k(?)		>	
WORKS	<	Item 19 (<i>Livre du chemin de long estude</i>)							>	<	Item 20 (<i>Dit de la pastoure</i>)	>	<	Item 21 (<i>Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose</i>)		>

COLLATION	<	34:4 (3rd c.)	35:8	36:8	37:8	38:8	>
FOLIOS	<	255-57	258-65	266-73	274-81	282-89	>
SIGNATURE	<						>
WORKS	<	Items 22-28, then Table of 29					>

COLLATION	<	39:8	40:8	41:8	42:8	43:8	44:8	45:8	46:8	47:8	48:8	49:8	>	<	50:8	51:8	52:8	>	
FOLIOS	<	290-97	298-305	306-13	314-21	322-29	330-37	338-45	346-53	354-61	362-69	370-74 (-,-)	375	>	<	376-83	384-91	392-98(-)	>
SIGNATURE	<	a	c	d	b		f	g(?)	h	j	k(?)	l	>	<	?	b	c	>	
WORKS	<	Item 29 (<i>Livre de la cité des dames</i>)											>	<	Item 30 (<i>Cent balades d'amant et de dame</i>)		>		

TABLE 5: CONTENTS AND DECORATION OF THE QUEEN'S MANUSCRIPT

FOLIOS		Miniaures	Introductory capitals	Intermediate capitals	Rubrics (in red)	Headings in black	Items numbered	Explicit with title
0.	2c-d,		1					
		<i>Table des dictiez en general</i>						
1.	3a-d,		1					
		<i>Prologue adreçant a la royne</i>						
2.	4a-21b,		1	98	1			1
		<i>Cent balades</i>						
3.	21b-24b,			16		1		
		<i>Virelays: 16 poems</i>						
4.	24b-25a,			4		4		
		<i>Balades de plusieurs façons: 4 poems</i>						
5.	25b-27a,			1	1			1
		<i>Une Assemblée de plusieurs rimés auques toutes leonimes en façon de lay. . .</i> (<i>Lay de vers leonimes</i>)						
6.	27a-28d,			1		1		1
		<i>Ung Autre Lay</i>						
7.	28d-34b,			67		1		
		<i>Rondelz: 67 poems</i>						
8.	34c-37c,			71		1		1
		<i>Gieux a vendre: 71 poems</i>						
9.	37c-48a,			51		2		
		<i>Plusieurs Balades de divers propos (Autres Balades):</i> 50 ballades and 1 rondeau						
10.	48b-49c,		1		1			1
		<i>Une Complainte amoureuse</i>						
11.	49c-51a,			9		2		
		<i>Encore autres balades: 5 ballades and 4 rondeaux</i>						

12.	51b-56c,	<i>L'Epistre au dieu d'Amours</i>	1	1		1			1
13.	56d-58b,	<i>Une Autre Complainte amoureuse</i>	1	1		1			1
14.	58c-71b,	<i>Le Livre du debat des .ij. amans</i>	1	1	4	1			1
15.	71c-81a,	<i>Le Livre des .iiij. jugemens</i>	1	1	3	1			1
16.	81b-94a,	<i>Le Livre de Poissy</i>	1	1					1
17.	95a-141c,	<i>L'Epistre Othea</i>	101	104		+		×	1
18.	143b-177d,	<i>Le Livre du duc des vrays amans</i>	6	5	58	14	28		1
19.	178a-219c,	<i>Le Livre du chemin de lonc estude</i>	8	8	27	21			1
20.	221a-236c,	<i>Le Livre de la pastoure</i>	1	1	20	2	8		1
21.	237a-254a,	<i>Le Livre des epistres du debat sus le Rommant de la Rose</i>		1	1	2	6		
22.	255d-257a,	<i>Une Epistre a Eustace Morel (Deschamps)</i>			1				
23.	257b-259b,	<i>Une Oroison de la vie et passion de Nostre Seigneur</i>	1	1		61			
24.	259c-261c,	<i>Proverbes moraulx</i>	1	1		1			
25.	261c-265b,	<i>Les Enseignemens (moraux) que Christine donne a son filz</i>	1	1		1			
26.	265b-266d,	<i>Une Oroison de Nostre Dame</i>	1	1		1			
27.	267a-c,	<i>Les .xv. joyes Nostre Dame rimees</i>				1	1		
28.	268a-287a,	<i>Le Livre de Prudence</i>		1	25	+	3		1
29.	288c-374a,	<i>Le Livre de la cité des dames</i>	3	3	+	+		×	1
30.	376a-396b, 396b-398b,	<i>Cent balades d'amant et de dame: 101 ballades Lay de dame (Lay mortel)</i>	1	1	99	101		×	1
					1	1			1