



DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

Tania Van Hemelryck

Christine de Pizan's *Livre de paix* has survived in three manuscripts, two of which are in public collections. The first of these, found in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique in Brussels (MS 10366), is contemporary with the author and was copied and corrected by Christine some time during the period 1412–14.¹ The second, conserved in a collection of works at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (MS fr. 1182), is dated by its watermarks to the second half of the fifteenth century.²

Apart from these two manuscripts, the *Livre de paix* also exists in a third manuscript, apparently now in a private collection. This volume, which was sold at auction by Druout-Rive-Gauche for the Librairie Giraud-Baudin on May 19, 1976, is known to us only by virtue of the information provided in an article by Charity Cannon Willard.³ Having noted the presence of the arms of the Créquy family in the initial on the first folio, Willard established that the manuscript must have belonged to Jean V de Créquy, a counselor for Philip the Good.⁴ Dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, this manuscript of eighty-two folios was written on paper in two columns of thirty-six lines. Like the Paris manuscript it begins with a miniature representing Christine de Pizan dedicating her work to the young dauphin Louis of Guyenne.

1. James Laidlaw, "Christine de Pizan and the Manuscript Tradition," in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah McGrady (New York: Routledge, 2003), 231–49.

2. Willard provides a brief description in her edition of the *Paix* (Willard, 46–48). A complete codicological description of these two manuscripts is forthcoming in volume 5 of *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, ed. B. Bousmanne, T. Van Hemelryck, C. Van Hoorebeeck, and F. Johan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000–2007).

3. Charity Cannon Willard, "An Unknown Manuscript of Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la paix*," *Studi francesi* 64 (1978): 90–97.

4. Marc Gil, "Le mécénat littéraire de Jean V de Créquy, conseiller et chambellan de Philippe le Bon," *Eulalie: Médiathèques, libraires et lecteurs en Nord-Pas-de-Calais* 1 (1998): 69–95.

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke
Bibliotheek van België, MS 10366

The Brussels manuscript is first mentioned in the Burgundian library inventory of 1467, drafted immediately after the death of Philip the Good. Although this posthumous inventory was intended merely to itemize the duke's estate, and not designed for the bibliophile, elements of the description, such as extracts of the texts and their location, permit the identification of the manuscript *B*.⁵ This is despite what may be an error of transcription of the date, introduced by the copyist: "1445. Ung livre de cuir rouge en parchemin, a deux coulomnes, intitulé 'Ung livre de la paix faicte en l'an mil m^{ccc} xxii,' commençant ou second feuillet aprez la table 'hayne qui de toutes pars' et ou dernier 'tousiours en vraye amistié.'" ⁶ The volume was apparently still to be found in the Burgundian collection in 1487 after the death of Charles the Rash: "1910. Item ung autre volume couvert de cuir rouge, a deux cloans et cinq boutons de leton sur chascun costé, historié et intitulé 'ung livre de paix faicte en l'an mil m^{ccc} [sic] et xii,' commençant au second feuillet 'hayne qui de toutes pars' et finissant ou derrenier 'qui en toute grace te parface. Amen.'" ⁷ The emperor Charles V also possessed the volume, and it can be further traced in the inventory drawn up in 1577–79 after the death of Viglius, librarian to Philip II of Spain: "Autre livre en parchemin, escript et illuminé comme dessus, couvert de cuyr rouge, garni de dix cloux et deux clouans de letton, intitulé *Ung livre de la paix faicte en l'an mil m^{ccc} douze*, commenchant . . . haine qui de toute part."⁸ Subsequently the volume remained in Brussels until June 1794, date of the entry of French troops into Belgium and their confiscation of a part of the Burgundian library. The manuscript of the *Livre*

5. See A. Derolez, *Les catalogues de bibliothèques* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979).

6. See *Corpus catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*, vol. 5, *The Booklists of the Dukes of Burgundy*, ed. A. Derolez, T. Falmagne, and B. Van den Abeele (Brussels: Palais der Academiën, forthcoming). This text differs significantly from that published by J. Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique, ou libraires des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1830), 209: "Ung livre de cuir rouge en parchemin, à deux coulompnes, intitulé: *Ung livre de la paix fée en l'an mil quatre cens vingt deux*; comenchant ou second feuillet après la table, *hayne qui de toute pars*, et ou dernier, *tousiours en vraye amistié*."

7. Derolez, Falmagne, and Van den Abeele, *Corpus catalogorum Belgii*, vol. 5. There is a similar difference between this and the entry in Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, 273: "Ung autre volume couvert de cuir rouge, à deux cloans et cinq boutons de léton sur chacun costé, historié et intitulé: *Ung livre de la paix fête en l'an mil ccc et xxii*; començant ou second feuillet, *hayne qui de toutes pars*, et finissant ou derrenier, *qui en toute grâce te p. face. Amen*."

8. Viglius, no. 293; cf. J. Marchal, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale des ducs de Bourgogne, publié par ordre du Ministre de l'Intérieur* (Brussels: C. Muquardt, 1842), 1:cclvi.

de paix was taken and deposited in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris; one can still see, beneath the black stamp of the Bibliothèque royale, traces of the red stamp of the Bibliothèque nationale, carefully erased, on folios 1r and 108v.⁹ Following the treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814, which stipulated the restitution of art works confiscated by the French to their countries of origin, the manuscript (KBR) 10366 was returned to Brussels in 1815.¹⁰

It remains difficult to determine how this manuscript of a French work came into the Burgundian collection, as is equally the case for other manuscripts now in the Brussels library.¹¹ The evidence of the inventories suggests that it was probably acquired later than the inventory of 1420 but prior to that of 1467, though it is possible that it found its way into the ducal library of John the Fearless before his death in 1419 but was not recorded.¹² It is also plausible

9. The manuscript is, moreover, mentioned in Barrois's appendix, which pertains to the "ouvrages qui, d'après les Extraits d'Achille Godefroi et les Notices rédigées en 1748 et 1796, ensuite des deux réceptions à Paris, ou suivant leurs textes, faisoient partie des Librairies de Bourgogne, sans néanmoins se retrouver dans les Inventaires" [works which according to the extracts of Achille Godefroi and the Notices drafted in 1748 and 1796 following the two deliveries to Paris, or following their texts, were part of the Burgundian Library, without however being found in the Inventories]. See also Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, 316–17: "*Le Livre de la paix*, relativement aux troubles du règne de Charles VI, adressé au duc de Guyenne, son fils aîné.—In-folio sur vélin, ornemens en or" [*Le Livre de la paix*, relative to the troubles during the reign of Charles VI, addressed to the duke of Guyenne, his oldest son.—In-folio on vellum, decorated in gold].

10. See Claudine Lemaire, "Histoire de la Bibliothèque de Bourgogne," in vol. 1 of *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne*, ed. B. Bousmanne and C. Van Hoorebeeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 13–16, and Claudine Lemaire and Marguerite Debae, "Esquisse historique, 1559–1837," in *Bibliothèque royale: Mémorial 1559–1969* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale Albert I, 1969).

11. Similarly, certain manuscripts executed for Charles V and first present in his library at the Louvre appear in the library of the dukes of Burgundy from the time of the inventory of 1467. For instance, KBR 10319, which contains the French version of the *Liber novem judicum*, can be found there. See Tania Van Hemelryck, "Ms. 10319, *Liber novem judicum*, version française," in vol. 2 of *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne*, ed. B. Bousmanne, C. Van Hoorebeeck, and F. Johan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 170–74.

12. The inventory of 1420, dated July 12, which lists the movable goods inherited by Philip the Good from his father, John the Fearless, does not mention the *Livre de paix*; see Georges Doutrepont, ed., *Inventaire de la "Librairie" de Philippe le Bon (1420)* (Brussels: Kiessling, 1906). The only manuscripts by Christine that appear are the *Livre des sept psaumes moralisés* (no. 8), the *Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune* (no. 98), the *Livre de la cité des dames* (no. 109), the *Livre de l'Advisiion* (no. 117), the *Dit de la Pastoure* (no. 124), and the *Livre du chemin de long estude* (nos. 130, 131). We know, however, that John the Fearless had paid for other books. The general accounts of the Burgundian state (1384–1419) mention a number of payments received by Christine de Pizan, paid on behalf of John the Fearless. The last entry that concerns her is dated October 1412:

A damoiselle Christine du Castel, pour don a elle fait par mon dit seigneur, la somme de l francs monnoye royal en recompensacion de pluseurs notables livrez qu'elle avoit présenté et donné a mon dit seigneur sans en avoir eu aucune remuneracion ou don. Appert par mandement de mon dit seigneur donné a Paris le iiii jour du mois d'octobre mil cccc et xii cy rendu avec quittance. Pour ce l francs.

to ascribe responsibility for the acquisition of Christine's work to Philip the Good, either as a purchase, confiscation, gift, or even inheritance.¹³

Nevertheless, the manuscript offers up certain indications as to its origin. First, following the observations of Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno, which were based on the initial research of Charity Cannon Willard, I agree with their assessment that *B* is an autograph manuscript by Christine de Pizan.¹⁴ To be precise, the text and rubrics of the manuscript have been transcribed by hand X, which is to say, according to Ouy and Reno's hypothesis, by Christine. The manuscript includes certain corrections that are characteristic of the author, as well as evidence of her revisions and of the different stages of the copying process.¹⁵ Beyond the correction of details, which one can call stylistic and syntactic, some specific aspects of the presentation of *B* indicate the significance of the text. One of these concerns the fourth chapter of the third part, beginning "Cy parle du mal qui advient par mauvais homme puissant et qui ait seigneurie" on folios 54r to 55v. While the beginning of the fourth chapter on folio 54, like the rest of the codex, has twenty-nine lines per column, on the recto of folio 55 (which is to say the second to last leaf of the seventh quire) the number of lines rises suddenly to thirty-three in column *a* and thirty-six in column *b*, the writing is condensed and shrinks markedly.¹⁶ The end of the chapter continues on the verso of 55 with

[To damoiselle Christine du Castel, as a gift to her made by my said lord, the sum of fifty francs of royal money in compensation for many notable books which she had presented and given to my said lord without receiving thereby any remuneration or gift. Agreed by the order of my said lord, given at Paris the third day of October one thousand four hundred and twelve, given with receipt. For this fifty francs.]

Cited in Pierre Cockshaw, "Mentions d'auteurs, de copistes, d'enlumineurs et de libraires dans les comptes généraux de l'état Bourguignon (1384–1419)," *Scriptorium* 23 (1969): 142 (no. 81). This was just one month after she commenced writing the *Livre de paix*.

13. For example, by way of Marguerite of Burgundy, widow of the dauphin Louis, duke of Guyenne. She had married Charles VI's son in 1409. Following his death in 1415, on October 3, 1423, she married Arthur, count of Richmond, brother of the duke of Brittany. This marriage resulted from Richmond's visit to Philip the Good in 1422, a visit intended to promote peace between Philip and Charles VII. See Guillaume Gruel, *Chronique d'Arthur de Richemont Connétable de France, Duc de Bretagne* (1393–1458), ed. Achille le Vasseur (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1890), 25–30. A gift of a copy of Christine's *Livre de paix* may therefore have occurred at this time.

14. Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, "Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan," *Scriptorium* 34 (1980): 221–38; Charity Cannon Willard, "An Autograph Manuscript of Christine de Pizan?" *Studi francesi* 27 (1965): 452–57.

15. Tania Van Hemelryck, "Christine de Pizan à livre ouvert: Pour une lecture codico-littéraire des œuvres médiévales," in *Les Lettres romanes* (forthcoming); Tania Van Hemelryck, "Manuscripts autographes et corrections d'auteur: Le cas controversé de Christine de Pizan," in *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique* (forthcoming); Tania Van Hemelryck, ed., *Les manuscrits autographes français à la fin du Moyen Âge: Histoire et critique* (forthcoming).

16. It is noteworthy that the verso of folio 54 shows an erasure (apparently of an indication of correction) in the inner margin.

the same cramped writing, accompanied by a marginal addition introduced with a cross in the text.

Additionally, this passage shows quite different characteristics from those present in *P*. In her edition Charity Willard added a note signaling the long extra passage present in *P*, which can be schematized as follows; the divergences appear in italics:

PARIS, BNF FR. 1182

BRUXELLES, KBR 10366

[72v] Et neantmoins de sa puissance se vouldra employer à usurper ou chalengier les droiz d'*autruy*. Cestuy pour ce que fort se sentira de païs, de gens, ou d'aliéz, ou d'argent en quoy se fierà, fera mainte exortacion à ses voisins ou prendra debat à autres princes particuliers ou a aucun ou aucuns de ses subgetz, à son grant tort vouldra usurper le leur et pour ces choses faire mouvera grant guerre affin de tout espouenter.

ou couvertement par divers agaiz; fera faire divers mures et detestables maux. Et neantmoins quelque mauvaistié qui par luy soit perpetrée, vouldra par son grant orgueil, outrecuidance et arrogant presompcion porter et soustenir tort ou mauvais cause et querelle contre celui ou ceulx à qui ara offencé, et par puissance, que d'armes, que d'agaiz et diverses cautelles, s'efforcera de soustenir son faulx principe, et mesmement par couleur de droit taschera à la destruction

[54d] Et neantmoins de sa puissance se vouldra emploierà usurper ou chalengier les droiz de ses voisins¹⁷ [correction over erasure and evidence of indication of correction in the inner margin]. Cestui pour ce que fort se sentira de pays, de gens, ou d'aliéz, ou d'argent en quoy se fierà, fera mainte extorcion [~~a-ses voisins~~; barré]¹⁸ ou prendra debat à autres princes particuliers ou a aucun ou aucuns de ses subgiéz, à son grant tort vouldra usurper le leur et pour ces choses faire [55a] mouvra grant guerre afin de tout espouenter.

Si troublera toute sa gent en diverses manieres ne vouldra croire conseil de sages, ains fera de sa teste, à sa grant tort, par vengeance ou autrement, grevera un chascun par maintes exortacions en cas particuliers ou universelz, pour lesquelz causes et divers tors fais à estranges et privéz, et par ses folles emprises, guerres et maux fais seront ses nobles hommes mors et

17. In her edition, Willard gives "ses voisins" (*Paix*; Willard, 120).

18. *Paix* (Willard, 120) includes the two crossed-out words in her text and does not mention this feature of the manuscript.

de la partie ou des parties, pour ce que à cause de son tort sara bien que ilz sont ses ennemys ne amer ne le doivent. Et pour actaindre à ses conclusions trouvera voies obliques [73r], malicieusement, par mauvais moyens de gens pervers comme luy, flatteurs à cause de salaire ou divers benefices que de luy recevront pour espandre renommée par tout par escript ou de bouche que justement et à bonne cause fait ce qu'il fait, et par iceulx moiennant diverses fraudes, c'est assavoir les ungs par paour, autres par promesses, autres par dons pervertira moult de gens, dont grant cedicion sourdra en mains lieux par quoy maulx infiniz vendront à la contrée, tant en occisions comme en diverses destructions. Mais neantmoins le detestable tirant ou detestables tirans qui ce font, ont fait ou pourroient faire par leur tresgrant cruaulté ameroient mieulx que tout le monde fust periz et eulx ceulz demourassent que eulx desister de leurs oultrages ne humilier leurs courages à reconnoistre leur tort, n'à eulx amender ne faire satisfaction à ceulx qu'ilz avoient offencé n'en faire paix. Ains tousjours maintendront leur tort de pis en pis.

fouléz, leurs terres destruites et desertes, villes et chastiaux trebuchiez par divers ennemis, ne vouldra estre repris ne de nul contredit sur peine de mort. Et, à brief dire, ne craindra Dieu ne sa pugnicion pour chose que il face. O! mes de telz et de leur trebuchement parla bien Salemon es Proverbes en la personne de Notre Seigneur quant il dit: Vous avez desprisié conseil et n'avez voulu estre repris; si me riray de votre destruction [55b] et ne tendray compte de vous quant soubdaine misere vous vendra. Et ainsi sera cruel en toutes choses le mauvais prince, dont de telz Dieu nous gart, plain de sang et de vengeance, pour lesqueles orribles taches mectre à effect sourdront et courront maulx infiniz à lui et à sa contrée, mais neantmoins, tant sera obstiné et affichiéz en mal que ses meismes maulx ne les autrui ne pesera. O! comment un tel est bien contraire le sentence de Brutus le Constant qui dist que un prince doit congnoistre que la vie est ainsi comme ou milieu du monde, et qu'il n'est pas néz ne ordonné à estre seigneur pour lui, mais est establi pour le bien d'un chascun. Et comme de rechief, dist Saluste, au propos de marins, que homme qui est eslevée en puissance, si que seigneurs sont, se doit par vertu tousjours monstrier digne de plus grant dignité qu'il n'a, qui est à entendre que les vertus de prince doivent surmonter toute puissance. Mais au propos contre le mauvais prince ou princes, n'est pas doubte que ainsi comme [55c] les vertus tiennent le roy aimié ou pais en longue durée

et le corage du seigneur en seureté; les vices, par crainte, tourmentent le courage du mauvais prince, auquel propos dist Orace: Comment pourra mengier aise les chieres et delicatives viandes à sa table le mauvais à qui le glaive pent sur la teste à un petit filet, qui est à entendre que la pugnicion de Nostre Seigneur puet venir soubdainement sur le mauvais. [marginal addition introduced into the text by a cross; erasure]

Reading these two passages, one can easily sense the difference in tone that results from the two states of the text. While *P* offers a bitter criticism of a cruel and untrustworthy tyrant, by omitting this long digression *B* dilutes these reproaches. The personal attack transforms into a universal condemnation of evil princes, upheld by recourse to classical authorities and the threat of divine vengeance.

In the following chapter, which begins “encore de mauvais seigneur, du grief qu’il fait et du mal qu’en vient,” there is another passage that contributes to this same difference in tone. On folio 74v *P* offers a strong justification for rebelling against and even killing a tyrant, with “je demande si le peuple et toutes gens se rebelloient contre *ung tel seigneur* et le defficient non pas seulement de sa seigneurie mais du siècle, quel merueille?” In *B* there is an erasure after “un tel seigneur” and the rest of the passage is replaced with “veu que tant se sentiroient oppressés et si comme en extreme necessité, se merveilles seroit.”

Unfortunately, this divergence in the manuscripts does not allow us to determine which is closer to the original. In fact, as Gilbert Ouy has underlined, the corrections made to one manuscript were not always registered on the exemplar(s), the base text that was used to copy further examples of the work.¹⁹ In the present case Christine could have introduced these alterations

19. Gilbert Ouy, “Manuscrits autographes d’humanistes en latin et en français,” in *Gli autografi medievali: Problemi paleografici e filologici: Atti del convegno di studio della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, Erice, 25 settembre–2 ottobre 1990*, ed. P. Chiesa and L. Pinelli (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 1994), 269–305.

directly into *B* without importing them into her original copy, which one assumes was kept by authors in their scriptorium. This would explain the absence of the amendment in *P*.

Despite the fact that we are dealing with an autograph manuscript, no details of the heraldry or binding allow us to identify it with the volume that, according to the dedication of the work, was in all probability offered by Christine to Louis of Guyenne. Not only do we not possess any inventory of the library of this prince, who died prematurely in 1415, and which might attest to the provenance of the Brussels manuscript, the binding provides no clues, contrary to what was thought by Willard.²⁰ The presence of the fleur-de-lys on the binding gives no indication as to the origin of the codex, given that this binding is different from, and hence posterior to, the binding described in the inventory of 1467. Furthermore, a close examination of the outer covers suggests that they have been recovered with an old, cold-stamped binding in brown leather, of a geometrical design, during one of the phases of restoration that intervened in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²¹

It is significant, moreover, that Christine offered a copy of the *Livre de paix* to John of Berry. We find a description of it in the inventory of his library drawn up in 1416: "1239. Item, ung autre livre qui est intitulé: le Livre de la paix, escript en françoys, de lettre de court; et au commencement du second fueillet après la première ystoire a escript: et loysibles; couvert de cuir vermeil emprint, à deux fermoiers de latton, de cinq gros boillons de mesmes sur chacune aiz; le quel livre damoiselle Cristine de Pizan donna à mondit Seigneur ausdictes estrainnes mil quatre cens et treize [1414 n. st.]"²² While it is true that, like *B*, John of Berry's manuscript begins with a miniature, *B*'s second page does not begin with "et loysibles" but with "haine qui de toutes pars." Therefore, *B* cannot be identified as having belonged to the duke John of Berry.

In general, *B* shows all the characteristics of the precious volumes conserved in the libraries of nobles of the time and executed for them by Christine de Pizan. To wit, the manuscript is written on parchment, it opens

20. *Paix* (Willard, 47).

21. The binding could be dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century and approaches the Lille bindings of Gohon. See Marc Gil, "Le métier de relieur à Lille (v. 1400–1550), suivi d'une prosopographie des artisans du livre lillois," *Bulletin du bibliophile* (2002): 7–45. We thank Mme Lieve Wateau, restorer and consultant to the manuscript department of the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, for her observations on the binding of the manuscript.

22. Jules Guiffrey, ed., *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry (1401–1416)* (Paris: Leroux, 1894–96), 1:332, no. 1238.

with a miniature (fol. 3r) depicting Christine wearing a blue dress, occupied in writing her *Livre de paix* in her study.²³ It is decorated with colored initials, some of which have long marginal extensions decorated with vine leaves; and as well as the rubrics that signal the commencement of the parts and each chapter, the text is also divided by colored and gold paragraphs. Apart from the decoration and despite the silence of the inventories, the textual alterations outlined above offer some paths for reflection. We know for certain that Christine revised some of her texts in the light of historical events and made modifications that took into account the contemporary reestablishment of alliances and the particular people for whom a copy was destined.²⁴ In the case of *B*, her desire to suppress the personal references to tyrannical acts leaves one to suppose that she intended this copy for an influential person involved with the incessant conflicts that punctuated contemporary political life—someone, perhaps, who had in the past committed violent acts, such as the assassination of Louis of Orléans? While the copies destined for Louis of Guyenne and John of Berry could contain a diatribe against the execrable acts of a detestable tyrant, a copy destined for John the Fearless (or for that matter his son) would have to be more evasive and moralistic.²⁵

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1182 (ff. 3r–128v)

Unlike the manuscript in Brussels, the text of the *Livre de paix* in the Bibliothèque nationale de France is not contemporary with Christine de Pizan and survives with three other texts with which it probably shares some relationship of provenance and ownership. The three other texts are: ff. 136r–169r: Jacques le Grand, *Livres des bonnes meurs*;²⁶ ff. 169v–170v: Bernard of

23. According to the observations of Millard Meiss, this miniature should in all likelihood be attributed to the “Master of Christine de Pizan” who executed the miniatures in the greater part of the manuscripts offered by Christine to Jean, duke of Berry; see Millard Meiss, “The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII–XVI Centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale,” *Art Bulletin* 38 (1956): 193.

24. As she did, for instance, in the Harley manuscript; see James Laidlaw, “The Date of the Queen’s MS (London, British Library, Harley MS 4431),” Salzburg, <http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/harley4431date.pdf> (2005).

25. It goes without saying that the opportunity of examining the copy currently in a private collection would enable us to obtain a better understanding of the development of the text.

26. Jacques Legrand, *L’Archiloge Sophie: Livre de bonnes meurs*, ed. Evencio Beltran (Geneva: Slatkine, 1986), 287–99. Many princes and nobles of the period possessed a copy of the *Livre de bonnes meurs*, such as Philip the Good, Antoine, the grand bastard of Burgundy, Marguerite of Austria, and so forth.

Clairvaux, *Letter to Raymond of Amboise*:²⁷ ff. 173r–254r: Christine de Pizan, *Livre de la cité des dames*. It is not, however, copied by the same scribe who transcribed the other texts in the Paris codex. Furthermore, these three other texts share similar marginal decoration, which is absent in the *Livre de paix*. Christine's text is bare of any decoration other than a small half-page miniature on folio 6r and some plain letters alternating in red and blue.

The four texts found in the manuscript fr. 1182 all carry traces of a coat of arms (five lozenges in gules in the shape of a cross on a silver background), which tends to imply the same provenance, or at least a desire to unify two initially distinct entities under one ownership. It appears indeed that during the eighteenth century the two parts—the *Livre de paix* and the three other works—were joined together in an artificial unity: the conscious unification of the two parts can be corroborated by a number of indicative features. For instance, each text (except the letter of St. Bernard) is preceded by a bilingual Latin-French introduction.²⁸ These descriptions have been recopied, in the same hand, in the detailed table of contents with which the codex begins.²⁹ This same hand has also numbered the folios of the manuscript in ink from 1 to 254. The coat of arms (five lozenges in gules in the shape of a cross on a silver background) is that of the family d'Arletan, originally from Arles in the south of France. An analysis of the paper confirms this identification, for it is attested in the region of Bouches-du-Rhône (Draguignan, Perpignan, etc.).

Despite the fact that the coat of arms appears throughout the manuscript and is identical each time (fols. 5v, 136r, 163r, 169v, 204v), its history suggests that its eighteenth-century owner united two volumes that derived from the same library. More specifically, two shelf marks, “Codex Colbert 1742” and “Regius 7398 2-2” on folio 2r of the *Livre de paix* suggest that the codex was initially acquired by Colbert and became part of the Cabinet des Manuscrits at the Bibliothèque Royale in 1732 at the time of the acquisition of his library.³⁰ We know that Colbert set out to collect manuscripts from across

27. Letter 456 to Raymond of Amboise, among the letters of Bernard of Clairvaux in the Mabilon edition, reprinted in PL 182, 647–541, but Jean Leclercq does not include it in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, 8 vols. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–80), claiming it is attributed to Bernard Sylvester.

28. For example, for the *Livre de paix*: “Liber de Pace, etc.” (fol. 2r); for the *Livre des bonnes mœurs*: “Liber des moribus, etc.” (fol. 135r); for the *Livre de la cité des dames*, the French precedes the Latin: “Livre de la cité des dames, etc.” (fol. 172r).

29. Fol. 1r: “Pièces contenues en ce volume, etc.”

30. Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868–81), 1:439. The stamps seen at folios 1 and 254v corroborate this dating, given that

France, and it is not improbable that, the works having been acquired as a result of an expedition to the south of France, two volumes from the library of the d'Arletans were united in an artificial collection by Colbert.

It was perhaps the presence of the *Livre de la cité des dames* that encouraged him to conjoin the first three works with the *Livre de paix* by the same author; added to which, as the table of contents specifies, the *Livre des bonnes meurs* was thought to be translated from Latin by Christine de Pizan.³¹ Furthermore, it is interesting to note that one of the copyists associated with the workshop of Christine de Pizan, the copyist R, also transcribed a copy of the *Archiloge Sophie* by the same Jacques Legrand, which is now Paris, BNF fr. 24232.³² The *Livre de bonne meurs* was, moreover, dedicated to John of Berry.

It is worth adding that in the manuscript London, BL, Royal 17.E.IV, which once belonged to Edward IV, this same letter attributed to St. Bernard is bound with the *Métamorphoses* of Ovid and the *Epistre Othea* by Christine de Pizan. Significantly, in these two manuscripts containing the letter attributed St. Bernard, one in Paris the other in London, intertextualities tie the historico-mythological and ethical works of Christine to the other works collected together with them.

While the Paris manuscript is not contemporary with the author, the divergences between it and the codex in Brussels warrant some explanation. Importantly, while the Brussels manuscript represents Christine at work in her study, the Paris manuscript opens, after the table of contents, with a dedication scene in which one sees Christine offering her work to Louis of Guyenne, as one can judge from the emblematic dolphin on the dais shading the prince. It is interesting to note that, in a similar fashion, the manuscript described by Willard, and now in a private collection, also begins with a miniature of presentation showing the author dedicating her work (fol. 1).³³ This characteristic seems to me to be fairly important, suggesting a common origin for the two manuscripts, which may both have been derived from the base manuscript offered to the dauphin. That is, if one assumes that

these are "Bibliothecae regiae" type B utilized during the first years of the eighteenth century. P. Jossierand and J. Bruno, "Les estampilles du Département des Imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale," in *Mélanges d'histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offerts à M. Frantz Calot* (Paris: D'Argences, 1960), 261–98.

31. "Le livre des bonnes mœurs composé en latin par frere Jacques le Grand Religieux Augustin, et traduit en françois par la mesme Christine" (fol. 1r). This attribution has not been upheld by modern scholarship: Evencio Beltran, "Christine de Pizan, Jacques Legrand et le *Communiloquium* de Jean de Galles," *Romania* 104 (1983): 208–28.

32. Ouy and Reno, "Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan," 225.

33. It should be noted that the manuscript has lost two folios that ought to contain the table of contents for the first part. Willard, "An Unknown Manuscript," 90.

the coat of arms found in the initial of the first folio of the manuscript in a private collection has not been painted over an original (after the acquisition of the volume by the Créquy family), in which case the manuscript could be that offered to Louis of Guyenne. These questions, unhappily, will not be able to be resolved until it is possible to access the manuscript in a private collection.

In conclusion, it is clear that both the volume preserved in Brussels and the one in a private collection as well as the later copy from the second half of the fifteenth century attest to the importance of Christine de Pizan for both the ideological and literary history of her time. And as Charity Cannon Willard has emphasized: “It was Christine’s hope, expressed on a number of occasions, that after her death her writings would continue to be read and her name remembered through them. This desire, of itself, would be sufficient to mark her as at least a precursor of the Renaissance in the North.”³⁴

34. Willard, “An Unknown Manuscript,” 97.