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**Christine de Pizan:
the Scribal Fingerprint**

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DECLARATION

I, Johannes Franciscus Alphonsus Aussems, hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the supervised manuscripts of the works of Christine de Pizan (ca 1364-ca 1430), the first female author who could make a living from the products of her pen. During her long and prolific career as an author, she composed numerous works for noble and royal patrons of France, which were made into manuscripts by Parisian scribes and illuminators. Scholars have argued that Christine supervised the production of these manuscripts. Moreover, on several occasions the hypothesis has been raised that Christine also copied several of them herself, thus acting as scribe X alongside two other scribes, called P and R.

The aim of this thesis is twofold: firstly, to gain a better understanding of the production process of the supervised manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's works and of the role played by the author; secondly, to develop and test a new methodology for distinguishing between scribal hands in medieval manuscripts.

An account of Christine de Pizan's life and a survey of all surviving supervised manuscripts of her works clearly show that she had extensive knowledge of how they were made. Monotextual manuscripts of her works were often produced in series, in an attempt to economise and speed up the production process. The manuscripts of Christine's collected works show a production and editing process that resembles modern-day printing-on-demand.

This thesis further demonstrates the use and success of the Scribal Fingerprint, a new and objective method of distinguishing between scribal hands that consists of three palaeographical core differentiators and two additional differentiators. A Scribal Fingerprint examination of the handwriting in MS Harley 4431, the most recent of the four surviving manuscripts containing Christine's collected works, generates highly heterogeneous differentiator values for the thirteen folios that were analysed. This analysis is combined with an examination executed by GIWIS, an innovative computer application for handwriting analysis. Both strongly suggest that MS Harley 4431, thought by some scholars to have been transcribed entirely by scribe X, was in fact copied by more than one scribe.

PREFACE

This is a thesis on Christine de Pizan and handwriting analysis. Having first come across Christine and her works during my BA studies, I pursued my interest in the manuscript tradition of her works during my studies in Utrecht and Amsterdam. This thesis marks the end of my *Chemin de long estude*. However, I have not gone down this long road of learning alone, which is why I have the pleasure of thanking some dear friends and colleagues who accompanied me on my scientific journey.

Before anyone else, I want to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Jim Laidlaw and Philip Bennett. They have kept me on track, encouraged me to continue whenever I may have felt otherwise, and expertly guided me through the research and writing stages. Above all, they have enriched this thesis with their knowledge, insights, and experience.

René Stuip served as my unofficial ‘Dutch supervisor’. He has had a profound influence on my thinking on Christine de Pizan ever since that day in 2003, when I enrolled in his class on medieval French literature. His unfailing dedication to my doctoral studies has helped me through difficult times. Moreover, he ungrudgingly ploughed through draft after draft of this thesis. For all of this and much more, I am greatly indebted to him.

The advice of Charlie Mansfield and Andrew Grout allowed me to solve many a digital issue. I am grateful to them for sharing their knowledge and resources, as well as for their friendship and kind words.

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Jasmijn, Jessica, Jikke, Jos, Marcella, Marieke, Renee, Ruben, Saskia, and Thomas lightened up my leisure trips to ‘the Continent’ and bore with me whenever I complained about the trials and tribulations of being a PhD student.

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ABBREVIATIONS

PRESS MARK ABBREVIATIONS

Arsenal 2681	= Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2681
Arsenal 2686	= Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2686
Besançon 423	= Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 423
Boston 101	= Boston, Public Library, f.Med. MS 101
Brussels 9393	= Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9393
Brussels 9508	= Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9508
Brussels 10309	= Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10309
Brussels 10366	= Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10366
Brussels 10476	= Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10476
Brussels 10982	= Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10982
Brussels 10983	= Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10983
Brussels 10987	= Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10987
Brussels 11034	= Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11034
Brussels 11065-11073	= Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11065-11073
Chantilly 294	= Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 294
Chantilly 492	= Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 492
Chantilly 493	= Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 493
Chantilly 494	= Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 494
ex-Cockerell, ex-Bérès	= (private collection)
Coulet and Faure MS	= (whereabouts unknown)
The Hague 78 D 42	= The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 78 D 42

Abbreviations

6

Harley 4431	= London, British Library, Harley MS 4431
Leiden 1819	= Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Ltk. 1819
London 31841	= London, British Library, Add. MS 31841
Modena α .N.8.7	= Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α .N.8.7
Munich 11	= Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. gall. 11
Paris 580	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 580
Paris 603	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 603
Paris 604	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 604
Paris 605	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 605
Paris 606	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 606
Paris 607	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 607
Paris 835	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 835
Paris 836	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 836
Paris 848	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 848
Paris 1176	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 1176
Paris 1178	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 1178
Paris 1179	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 1179
Paris 1187	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 1187
Paris 1188	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 1188
Paris 1197	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 1197
Paris 1643	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 1643
Paris 1740	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 1740
Paris 2184	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 2184
Paris 4792	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4792
Paris 5025	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 5025
Paris 10153	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 10153
Paris 12779	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 12779
Paris 14852	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 14852
Paris 24293	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 24293
Paris 24786	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 24786

Paris 24864	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f.fr. 24864
Paris 25636	= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 25636
ex-Phillipps 128	= (private collection, France)
Vatican 920	= Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 920
Vatican 1238	= Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1238

MANUSCRIPT ABBREVIATIONS

f. (ff.)	=	folio(s)
MS(S)	=	manuscript(s)
BnF	=	Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)
KBR	=	Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Bibliothèque Royale (Brussels)

CODICOLOGICAL ABBREVIATIONS

‘r’ and ‘v’ associated with folio numbers refer to the recto and verso side of folios. Examples: f. 123r, f. 46v.

‘abcd’ associated with folio numbers refer to the four columns of written text on a manuscript folio: ‘a’ and ‘b’ are the columns on the recto side, ‘c’ and ‘d’ are the columns on the verso side. Examples: f. 123b, f. 46c.

Codicological formulae: round brackets are used to mark the beginning and end of a quire; square brackets are used to indicate folios that are not (or no longer) present in the quire; a forward slash is used to indicate the place where the binding of the quire is visible; the + sign indicates single leaves that were added to an already existing quire. Examples: (1-4/5-8)+9 and (155-156/[156^{bis}-156^{ter}]).

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

n.st.: new style. During the Middle Ages, the French year began and ended at Easter. The day we now call 22 February 1405 (new style), for instance, would have been called 22 February 1404 (old style). For each date mentioned in this thesis that falls between 1 January and Easter, the new style notation is used

1

INTRODUCTION

When Paulin Paris wrote, in the early 1840s, that a manuscript containing works by Christine de Pizan ‘pourroit bien avoir été écrit par Christine elle-même’, little did he know that his remark would unleash a debate that at present, a century-and-a-half later, still causes controversy.¹ It has to be said, the question whether Christine de Pizan – daughter of the astrologer and physician to King Charles V, widowed mother of three, and professional author – acted as a scribe in the production of manuscripts of her own works is highly intriguing. Evidence suggests that in the late Middle Ages, the professions of author and scribe, although by nature intimately connected, were hardly ever combined in a single person. Writing and composing a text was one thing; transcribing it legibly was quite another.

Over the last five decades, the issue of Christine as author-scribe has been approached from different angles, with varying degrees of success. Palaeographers have analysed handwriting differences; codicologists have looked at the composition and layout of Christine’s manuscripts; art historians have tried to find clues in miniatures and their makers; linguists have examined features of the language used in Christine’s works; literary theorists have scrutinised her texts; finally, in recent years, computer scientists have tried to find new ways to tackle the issue. The question that these scholars have been trying to answer is highly complex. In order

¹ A. Paulin Paris, *Les manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du Roi: leur histoire et celle des textes*

to be able to establish that Christine de Pizan transcribed (parts of) manuscripts of her own works, a four-stage methodology has to be completed:

1. incontrovertibly establish authorship of the texts in question as being Christine de Pizan;
2. define a corpus of manuscripts of Christine's texts that were demonstrably transcribed during her lifetime;
3. objectively distinguish between scribal hands in this corpus of manuscripts;
4. positively identify one of the scribal hands as belonging to Christine de Pizan.

In this 'four-stage rocket', each subsequent stage requires the completion of all prior stages. While stage 1 has been exhaustively described in existing scholarship, stages 2 and 3 have been either somewhat neglected or poorly executed in the 170-year discussion on the possible autographic character of Christine's manuscripts. Conclusions reached in stage 4 but based on poorly developed arguments in stages 2 and/or 3 must therefore be regarded as questionable.

This thesis focuses on stages 2 and 3 of the methodology mentioned above. Two objectives are central to the research presented here. Firstly, in line with stage 2, this thesis will present an overview of the manuscripts of Christine's works that can be shown to have been produced during the author's lifetime. In order to gain insights into the way in which these manuscripts were produced and the part Christine de Pizan could have played, it is essential to construct a complete picture of the circumstances under which this production process was carried out. Furthermore, it is primordial to investigate Christine's connexions with the Parisian book trade on the one hand, and the 'rich and famous' of early fifteenth-century Paris on the other hand. Secondly, connected to stage 3, a set of palaeographical variables will be developed. The values of these variables, taken together, will

provide a characterisation of a scribal hand that is valid only for the hand in question. This set of variables will be called the Scribal Fingerprint.

Following this Introduction (Chapter One), the main argument of this thesis is presented in five Chapters (Two to Six), followed by a Conclusion (Seven); eight Appendices present extra data in support of the central arguments.

Chapter Two presents a biographical account of Christine's life, intertwined with an overview of the works she composed. In order to show the historical relevance of these texts, major events in French politics that influenced Christine's choice of subject will also be discussed. This account will be closely tied into investigations related to Christine's contacts and dealings with the French nobles and royalty who constituted her clientele.

Against this biographical and historical backdrop, Chapter Three presents a detailed overview of Christine's supervised manuscripts, by which are meant manuscripts of Christine's works that were produced during her lifetime and under her supervision. An account of Christine's involvements with the Parisian book trade is followed by a discussion of lost manuscripts and presentation manuscripts. Figuring among the latter category are the four manuscripts containing Christine's collected works. These four anthologies will be analysed extensively, as they paint a fascinating picture of Christine de Pizan as an editor behaving in the modern sense of the word.²

Chapters Four through Six are more palaeographical in nature. Chapter Four presents a discussion of book scripts used around the time of Christine's career as an author as background to a detailed critical analysis of previous scholarship into the scribal hands in the aforementioned supervised manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's works.

² As a result, the term 'edition' and the verb 'to publish', which usually refer to the production of books in the age of printing, will be used in this thesis to emphasise the extent to which the production of manuscripts of Christine's works resembles modern-day printing practices.

In Chapter Five, the notion of the Scribal Fingerprint is introduced and developed by discussing existing handwriting analysis methodologies. Furthermore, Chapters Three and Four are used as input here to create a tailor-made Scribal Fingerprint for Christine's manuscripts. Finally, ways are sought to digitise the Scribal Fingerprint, meaning to use computer-controlled handwriting analysis software to measure and record the palaeographical variables present in the Scribal Fingerprint methodology.

Chapter Six presents a digital hand analysis in which, by means of a *test case*, the digital Scribal Fingerprint methodology is applied to MS Harley 4431, the most recent of the four manuscripts containing Christine's collected works. A conjointly executed analysis with the Groningen Intelligent Writer Identification System (GIWIS), a highly sophisticated 'graphical computer application for writer identification', will provide data for a comparison.³

Chapter Seven concludes the main part of this thesis by reiterating and summarising the main results and conclusions reached in Chapters Two through Six. An answer will be formulated to the most important research question of this thesis: can the Scribal Fingerprint methodology be used to distinguish objectively between scribal hands, and what can be said about the number of scribal hands present in MS Harley 4431?

³ Axel Brink, 'Robust and applicable handwriting biometrics', (Ph.D., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2011), 5.

2

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF CHRISTINE DE PIZAN

2.1 THE EARLY YEARS

The story of Christine's life begins with that of her famous father, Tommaso di Benvenuto da Pizzano.⁴ Tommaso was born in Bologna in the early years of the fourteenth century, and educated as a Doctor of Medicine at the city's famous university, where he obtained a position as lecturer in Astrology.⁵ Around the year 1357, Tommaso was asked by his Venetian friend Tommaso Mondino da Forlì to move to *la Serenissima*, presumably to accept a post within the city's health services.⁶ After his arrival in Venice, Tommaso da Pizzano married the daughter of his friend Mondino da Forlì, and three children were born from their union: first,

⁴ The Pizan family originates from the small village of Pizzano, ten miles southeast of Bologna, and not, as scholars used to think, from the city of Pisa. This misconception has led to the spelling *Pisan*, which is often found in older scholarly works. See Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea, 1984), p. 17.

⁵ Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, 9 vols (Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1789), vol. 7, p. 54, mentions that Tommaso obtained this post in the year 1343, while Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 16 vols (Modena: Molini, 1805-1813), vol. 5, p. 212 thinks this happened in 1345.

⁶ In her *Advison Cristine*, Christine explains that both her father and Mondino were paid councillors ('conseillier salarié') of the city of Venice. See Christine M. Reno and Liliane Dulac (eds), *Le livre de l'advison Cristine* (Paris: Champion, 2001), p. 95. See also Guido Ruggiero, 'The Status of Physicians and Surgeons in Renaissance Venice', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 36:2 (1981), 168-184, Table I, where both Tommasos are mentioned as physicians with a public salary. Fantuzzi, *Notizie*, p. 54, quotes a source, dated 5 July 1359, from the archives of the City of Bologna that still qualifies Tommaso as 'Doctori Medicina Civi Bon.' i.e. 'Doctor of Medicine in the City of Bologna'. Furthermore, it is unknown why Tommaso accepted the offer – had he become weary of having to teach Astrology instead of practising his medical skills?

around 1365, a daughter named Christine, followed by two boys, Aghinolfo and Paolo.⁷

Around the year 1365, Christine's father and his family moved back to Bologna to take care of some personal affairs.⁸ It was there that, in the early months of their stay, messengers came from both King Louis I the Great of Hungary and King Charles V of France in a bid to persuade Tommaso to join their courts.⁹ Both offers must have seemed attractive to Christine's father. Hungary, on the one hand, had become a prosperous state by the middle of the fourteenth century and Louis I would soon found a university in the city of Pécs. Paris, on the other hand, was one of the great scientific and intellectual centres of Europe and its royal library was virtually unequalled. Wanting to see 'les estudes de Paris et la haultesce de la court françoise', Tommaso decided to accept the French offer and left his family and home country for the French capital.¹⁰ It is clear from Christine's writings that her father originally intended to return to Italy after a year's service at the court of Charles V; in her *Advision Cristine*, she notes that he would go to France

(...) l'espace d'un an, puis s'en retourner vers sa femme et famille, laquelle il ordonna demourer sus ses possessions et heritages a Boulongne la Grace. (Reno and Dulac, *Advision Cristine*, p. 96)¹¹

However, Tommaso – whose name had by then been gallicised to Thomas de Pizan – prolonged his stay in Paris by two more years and finally decided to move his family from Bologna. And so it happened that, on a winter's day in early 1368, Christine, her mother, and her two brothers entered the city of Paris for the first time.¹²

⁷ The death of Christine's future husband, Étienne de Castel, which occurred between 29 October and 7 November 1390, permits us to conclude that Christine, who was 25 at the time, was born between 8 November 1364 and 29 October 1365. Christine's original name would probably have been Cristina.

⁸ Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 95: 'pour certaines causes et ses possessions viseter'.

⁹ Willard, *Life and Works*, on p. 20, mistakenly mentions Louis II as the ruler of Hungary. In fact, Louis II was not born until 1506.

¹⁰ Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 96.

¹¹ It even seems Tommaso took indefinite leave of his work in Venice; according to Christine, he went 'avec la licence de la seigneurie de Venise' (Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 96).

¹² Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, pp. 96-97.

It is unclear where Christine and her family lived in Paris. We know that Charles V presented Christine's father with a property in Orsonville and with the *château de Mémorant* in the town of Perthes, both located some forty miles southeast of Paris, directly southwest of Melun.¹³ However, Thomas's post as astrologer and physician to the King must have obliged him to live near the royal residence, and therefore the Pizans' home seems likely to have been in the Hôtel Saint-Pol, or to have been situated in its immediate vicinity.¹⁴ In May 1380, the family received from Charles V the Tour Barbeau, one of forty watchtowers that formed part of the famous fortified wall of King Philip II Augustus and a stone's throw from the Hôtel Saint-Pol. However convenient a location this must have been for the king to house his astrologer-physician, Charles V was not to profit from it very long; on 16 September 1380, at the age of 42, the great and wise king died at his castle of Beauté-sur-Marne.¹⁵

The year 1380 had, until then, brought nothing but good for Christine de Pizan. Earlier that year, she was married to Étienne de Castel, a young and promising notary of some substance from Picardy, born in or around 1356, who, in the same year, was appointed as royal secretary to Charles V.¹⁶ Although Christine's father chose his daughter's husband, their marriage seems to have been one of genuine love. Three children were born from their union: a daughter Marie, a son Jean, and a boy whose name is unknown and who died during infancy.¹⁷

¹³ The exact number and location of the properties owned by Thomas de Pizan is subject of debate. M.-J. Pinet, *Christine de Pisan 1364-1430: étude biographique et littéraire* (Paris: Champion, 1927) only mentions the property at Mémorant ('Mimorant', p. 25, n. 2); Régine Pernoud, *Christine de Pisan* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1982), adds properties in Orsonville, Mémorant, Perthes, and Ételles, but without indicating her sources (pp. 15, 56). Willard, *Life and Works*, only mentions Orsonville and Mémorant (p. 23), while Françoise Autrand, *Christine de Pisan. Une femme en politique* (Paris: Fayard, 2009) adds to that list properties in Perthes and Saint-Sauveur-sur-École (p. 25); again, neither of them indicated their sources.

¹⁴ Patrick M. De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs et ses rapports avec le milieu bourguignon', in *Actes du 104^e Congrès national des sociétés savantes (Bordeaux, 1979). Section d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art: l'Aquitaine, études archéologiques* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1982), pp. 335-376, argues that 'Christine vivait probablement sur la rive droite, non loin de l'hôtel Saint-Pol, comme c'était le cas de la plupart des fonctionnaires de la cour dont avaient fait partie son père et son mari' (p. 345).

¹⁵ Françoise Autrand, *Charles V, le Sage* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), pp. 847-851. See also Georges Bordonove, *Les Rois qui ont fait la France: Charles VI, le roi fol et bien-aimé* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2006), p. 19.

¹⁶ Christine describes her husband as 'ung jeune escolier gradué, bien né et de nobles parens de Picardie, de qui les vertus passoient la richesce'. Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advison Cristine*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁷ Willard, *Life and Works*, p. 35.

The untimely death of Charles V shook the French nation and caused anxiety among its administrators, primarily because the Dauphin was only eleven years of age and too young to govern the country on his own. The king, having been aware of his own precarious health, had tried to anticipate any possible problems concerning the minority of his successor by setting the age of majority of the Dauphin at thirteen. Furthermore, he had installed a system of regency that included his brother Louis d'Anjou as principal regent and governor of the country. The guardianship of the new king would be assumed by the queen, or, in her absence, by Philippe de Bourgogne and Louis de Bourbon, who would also be the administrators of Paris, the bailiwicks of Melun and Senlis, and the duchy of Normandy.¹⁸ By giving each of these *ad interim* rulers a different administrative task and installing a controlling council consisting of his most reliable councillors, Charles V sought to reduce the possibility that one of them might claim possession of the crown. Unfortunately, the king's precautionary measures collided with the individual projects of the royal princes and were duly ignored. Even Charles V, *le roi sage*, could not rule from the other side of the grave.

No sooner had the late king been buried than Louis d'Anjou tried to claim not only government over the country, but also custody over the Dauphin and his brother Louis. A large council consisting of the royal family and some of their closest advisors decided to declare the Dauphin of age and to crown him King Charles VI. Sixteen of them – the four uncles of the new king and twelve councillors – were to form a second assembly which would assist the king in ruling the country.¹⁹ The twelve councillors – some of whom would later be called the *Marmousets* – were included in this council because of their experience in governing and their loyalty to the crown, unfortunately to the great dissatisfaction of the Dukes of Burgundy and Anjou, who could not wait to sideline them.²⁰ Adding to this discord between the

¹⁸ These measures, taken in 1374, were ratified in the Edict of the Bois de Vincennes, which was published on 21 May 1375. See Autrand, *Charles V*, pp. 633-637 and 688.

¹⁹ See Françoise Autrand, *Charles VI. La folie du roi* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), pp. 19-20.

²⁰ *Marmouset*, usually signifying a certain type of monkey or a grotesque figure used as an ornament, gets its meaning of 'favourite of the king' from Jean Froissart, who, in his *Chroniques*, uses the term

members of the assembly were the many disputes that broke out between the royal princes themselves, primarily over allocating functions and the royal revenues. The adage ‘if the head is sick, the whole body is sick’ was certainly illustrated to perfection by the French kingdom after 1380: anarchy and disorder ruled the country, from the Burgundian cities of Ghent and Bruges to Narbonne and Carcassonne in the Languedoc. Who was to know that the suppression of these rebellions and the subsequent system of government would bring about a true civil war in as little as fifteen years?

2.2 HARDSHIP AND SORROW

Following his master’s death, Thomas de Pizan quickly lost his favoured position at the court. The fact that he was a loyal and reliable councillor to the late King may have accelerated his downfall. Although his name figured in the royal accounts in the years after the death of Charles V, his salary was reduced and paid irregularly.²¹ Things went from bad to worse for the family as Thomas suffered a period of infirmity; moreover, he had not anticipated any financial *malaise* and left his wife in a state of uncertainty about the family’s finances. Deprived of his privileges at court, he could no longer turn to his former royal benefactors and in 1387 or 1388 – at the hour he predicted in advance, according to Christine – Thomas de Pizan died, leaving behind his wife, three children, at least three grandchildren, and a son-in-law who was now to become the head of the family.²²

several times to refer to the (often young) confidants of Kings Charles V and Charles VI. See S. Luce, G. Raynaud, Léon Mirot, and others (eds), *Jean Froissart, Chroniques*, 15 vols (Paris: Société de l’histoire de France, 1869-1975), vol. 12, p. 227, and vol. 14, pp. 27, 75.

²¹ Christine mentions these failing payments on several occasions in her *Advison Cristine*: ‘adonc faillirent a mon dit pere ses grans pensions’, ‘Plus n’ot cent frans le moys bien paieez avec ses livrees et dons’ (Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advison Cristine*, p. 98); ‘[Thomas] fu retenu a gaiges malement amendris et mal paieez’ (p. 99).

²² Willard, *Life and Works*, pp. 38-39. See also Christine’s own account in Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advison Cristine*, pp. 98-99.

A second tragedy struck Christine in the autumn of 1390, when her husband Étienne, only 34 years of age, died from an epidemic whilst on a mission with King Charles VI in Beauvais. A widow at 25, Christine now had the responsibility to take care of the family – a task which she would have to face alone as her brothers Paolo and Aghinolfo had returned to Bologna, presumably to manage their father's Italian possessions.²³ What followed was an interminable series of court cases aimed at reclaiming Étienne's possessions, properties, and unpaid salary. It would take Christine thirteen years in court to put to rights the financial harm that had been done to her, and another eight years before she finally received all the money due to her.²⁴ In addition to losing funds over these lawsuits, the family also lost the money they had set aside for their children's future, entrusting it to a fraudulent merchant.²⁵ In order to keep her head above water, Christine was obliged to borrow money; furthermore, some of the family's belongings were distrained.²⁶ In 1392, Christine sold some of the family's properties around Melun to Philippe de Mézières.²⁷ Exhausted and in despair about her family's future, she was taken seriously ill afterwards²⁸.

Despair is also the state in which the government and the royal family found themselves around the turn of the year 1392-93. In early August 1392, Charles VI suffered the first of the attacks of madness that were to torment him for the rest of his life. A second disaster occurred on 28 January 1393, a tragedy which would go

²³ It is unclear just to what extent they succeeded; records from 1394 suggest that Christine's brothers sold off some of the family's Bolognese properties. See Fantuzzi, *Notizie*, vol. 7, pp. 57-58 and n. 15, who also mentions that archival documents in Bologna speak of an inheritance bequeathed to Paolo and Aghinolfo on 11 March of the same year by a certain Guillemin le Roy from Antornac, close to Angoulême ('heredes ex testamento Guilielmini Regis de Torniacio de Francia', n. 15).

²⁴ Willard, *Life and Works*, pp. 39-40, mentions that Christine's cases probably began around 1390 and were settled in 1403. The payments, however, were delayed until 1411. Pernoud, *Christine de Pisan*, p. 49, adds that it is not unlikely that they would not have been made at all if Guillaume de Tignonville, a friend of Christine's and president of the Chamber of Accounts of the city of Paris, had not intervened on her behalf.

²⁵ Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 101: 'Car, comme les deniers de mes petis orphelins fussent (...) bailliez en main de marchant réputé preudomme pour acroistre et mouteplier leur povre avoir, (...) lui tempté de l'Ennemi fist acroire qu'il avoit esté desrobez et si s'absenta et fui. Encore cousta a poursuiivre et fu cela perdu'.

²⁶ 'Mais quant il venoit que je feisse aucun emprumpt (...), le requeroie!', 'execucions par sergens sur moy estoient faictes et mes chosetes m'estoient levees!' (Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 103).

²⁷ This sale, executed on 14 November, is registered in document S 3780 of the Archives nationales de Paris (f. 1, item 1); see Pinet, *Christine de Pisan*, p. 25, n. 2.

²⁸ Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 101: 'me sourdi comme a Job longue maladie'.

down in history as the *Bal des ardents*. During a charivari organised in honour of the marriage of one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, the king and five of his companions dressed up as wild men in costumes made of pitch and feathers to entertain the crowd. When the Duke of Orléans approached the men with a burning torch, their costumes caught fire. Thanks to the quick and cool-headed reaction of the Duchess of Berry, the king was saved, but four of his companions did not survive the incident. It is thought that this drama had a devastating effect on Charles' already fragile mental health.²⁹

Troubled by the recent misfortunes in her life and tired of the lawsuits, Christine began to write poetry in order to distract her mind from her sorrows, as she explains in her *Advision Cristine*:

A cause de ceste poursuite, comme ne trouvasse nulle part grant ne petit charitable, non obstant qu'a plusieurs nobles et grans requesse l'aide de leur parolle, esperant que comme loy de droit les oblige au secours des vesves et orphelins, et je n'y trouvasse en effect riens bon pour moy, ung jour desconfortee sur ces choses, en plourant fis ceste balade. (Reno and Dulac, *Advision Cristine*, p. 105)³⁰

2.3 FIRST WRITINGS

While we do know when Christine de Pizan first started to write – judging from her comments in the *Advision Cristine* and in her early poetry, this must have been around 1394 or 1395 – it is unknown exactly when and why she decided to try to earn money as an author.³¹ One may even question whether the choice of becoming a writer was an obvious one for Christine, given the financial hardship she and her

²⁹ Autrand, *Charles VI*, pp. 299-303.

³⁰ 'Ceste balade' is number six of the *Autres balades* in the edition by Maurice Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, 3 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot [SATF], 1886-96), vol. 1, pp. 213-214.

³¹ See Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 1, pp. xxvi-xxvii. In ballad 9 of her *Cent balades*, Christine explains that five years have passed since the death of her husband in 1390: 'Il a cinq ans que je t'ay regraittée' (Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 1, p. 10). The first of Christine's *rondeaux* mentions the fact that seven years have passed since Étienne's passing: 'Il a sept ans que le perdi, lassette' (Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 1, p. 147).

family were enduring and her desperate need to find a source of income – and, on the other hand, the uncertainties inherent in an artist's life. Christine undoubtedly was a well-read woman by the time she started writing; we know from her writings that her father believed in equal opportunities for men and women and concerned himself with her education.³² Christine further claims that once she had recovered from the initial stage of financial problems, the desire to study took hold of her and led her to read about the history of the world and 'deductions de sciences', followed by the 'livres des pouetes'.³³ That, however, does not explain her choice of *métier*. Another intriguing aspect that needs to be discussed here is Christine's ability to write. It is often said that Christine's husband Étienne, himself a secretary of the king and an experienced scribe, probably taught his wife the calligraphic script that he used himself.³⁴ Possible as that may be, it leaves us with the question why Christine did not choose to become a professional scribe rather than an author.

Nevertheless, Christine began to 'forgier choses jolies', and even at this early stage in her career, she was not unsuccessful: as early as 1398, her poetry was known to at least one English nobleman.³⁵ In that year, Christine met John Montagu, the 3rd Earl of Salisbury, who had come to France to collect the third instalment of the dowry of Queen Isabelle of England, daughter of King Charles VI and wife of King Richard II. Salisbury seems to have been aware of Christine's writings; in the *Advision Cristine*, she mentions: 'après ce qu'il ot **veu** des miens dictiez', which clearly indicates his familiarity with some of Christine's texts in a written form –

³² See for instance Chapter VI of the first Book of Christine's *Mutacion de Fortune*: 'Ci dit comment elle ne cueilli fors des raclures du tresor de son pere' (Suzanne Solente (ed.), *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*, 4 vols (Paris: Picard, 1959-1966), vol. 1, pp. 20-23), and Chapter 36 of the second Book of the *Cité des dames*: 'Contre ceulx qui dient qu'il n'est pas bon que femmes apprennent lettres' (Patrizia Caraffi and Earl Jeffrey Richards (eds), *La città delle dame*. 2nd edn (Milan: Luni, 1998), pp. 314-317).

³³ Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, pp. 107-108, 110.

³⁴ See Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, 'Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan', *Scriptorium*, 34 (1980), 221-238, 226-227: '(...) son mari, Etienne Du Castel, avait été – comme le fut plus tard leur fils Jean – secrétaire du roi: ce 'jeune preudomme', dans les premières années de leur mariage, aurait fort bien pu enseigner à son épouse encore adolescente l'art de la calligraphie; et qui sait si, en contrepartie, elle ne l'aidait pas parfois à terminer quelque copie urgente qu'il rapportait à la maison?' Their evidence merely consists of the observation that the hand which is supposed to be Christine's resembles that of a chancery scribe.

³⁵ Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 111.

perhaps a codex?³⁶ What is more, in the *Advision* Christine mentions on two separate occasions how her works found their way outside France in this early stage of her career. She first explains that because of her reputation at the French court, 'furent en pou d'eure ventillez et portez mes dis livres en plusieurs pars et pays divers'.³⁷ Christine then goes on to say that there was a certain interest in her works abroad:

(...) comme ja m'eussent donné nom mes ditz volumes par les presens qui a mains princes d'estranges païs fais en furent, non mie de par moy envoiez mais par autres comme de choses nouvelles venues de sentiment de femme (...). (Reno and Dulac, *Advision Cristine*, p. 113)

The meeting between Christine and the Earl of Salisbury was to have a profound effect on Christine's life, as she accepted Salisbury's offer to take her son Jean into his household.³⁸ Accused of rebellion against Henry IV, who had usurped the throne, Salisbury would be put to death in January 1400 by the townspeople of Cirencester; King Henry IV subsequently took Jean under his wing and tried to persuade Christine to install herself at his court. Christine cleverly neither refused nor accepted his offer:

Et comme de ce je ne fusse en riens temptee, considerant les choses comme elles estoient, dissimulay tant que mon dit filz peusse avoir, disant grant mercis et que bien a son commandement estoie. (Reno and Dulac, *Advision Cristine*, p. 113)

It took Christine two years to negotiate the release of her son, who returned to France in the early months of 1402. She produced a number of manuscripts of her works and sent them across the Channel in order to persuade Henry IV to let her

³⁶ Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 112; my emphasis. See also James C. Laidlaw, 'Christine de Pizan, the Earl of Salisbury and Henry IV', *French Studies*, 36 (1982), 129-143.

³⁷ Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 111.

³⁸ In her *Advision Cristine*, Christine explains: '[Salisbury] tant me fist prier par plusieurs grans que je consenti – non obstant qu'envis le feisse – que l'ainsné de mes filz, assez abille et bien chantant enfant de l'aage de .xii. ans, alast avec lui oudit païs d'Engleterre pour estre avec ung sien filz aucques de l'aage'. See Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 112.

son go.³⁹ In fact, Jean was not Christine's first child to leave from under her parental wing. In 1397, her daughter Marie entered the royal abbey in nearby Poissy. Although there is no reason to question the fact that this was a deliberate choice of a religious young woman, it must have been very convenient for the family in terms of finance, since there would be no dowry and no additional cost of living to be paid.⁴⁰

The year 1399 marks the beginning of Christine's documented publishing career, as the earliest surviving manuscripts of her works date from around that year. Among Christine's earliest works are the *Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* – in which she presents herself as a secretary at the court of Cupid, the god of Love, and reads out a letter in which Cupid condemns unfaithful lovers – and the *Cent balades*, a collection of one hundred ballads, mostly about courtly love and widowhood.⁴¹ Most notable, however, is her *Epistre Othea*, a work containing one hundred stories, disguised as a letter from the goddess Othéa to prince Hector of Troy.⁴² Each story consists of three parts: a verse text, explained by a gloss, and accompanied by an allegorical and moral application to human life. Given the many copies of the text circulating in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the *Epistre Othea* must have appealed to Christine's audience.⁴³ The work was dedicated to no fewer than four different patrons: King Henry IV of England received a copy of the text, as did the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Orléans.⁴⁴

³⁹ See below, pp. 58-61. See also Laidlaw, 'Christine, Salisbury, Henry IV', 133-135.

⁴⁰ In 1397, Marie de Valois (or Marie de France), daughter of Charles VI and Isabeau de Bavière, took her religious vows and entered the abbey of Poissy. It is generally assumed that Christine's daughter entered the abbey as a member of the Princess's retinue.

⁴¹ See Thelma S. Fenster and Mary C. Erler (eds), *Poems of Cupid, God of Love: Christine de Pizan's "Epistre au dieu d'amours" and "Dit de la rose"; Thomas Hoccleve's "The Letter of Cupid"* (Leyden: Brill, 1990), Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 1, pp. 1-100.

⁴² Gabriella Parussa (ed.), *Christine de Pizan: Epistre Othea* (Geneva: Droz, 1999).

⁴³ Gianni Mombello, *La tradizione manoscritta dell' "Epistre Othea" di Christine de Pizan: prolegomeni all'edizione del testo* (Turin: Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, 1967), lists 46 surviving manuscripts of the *Epistre Othea*; Parussa (ed.), *Epistre Othea*, pp. 87-88, adds two more manuscripts to that list, making a total of 48 surviving manuscript copies.

⁴⁴ See Gianni Mombello, 'Per un'edizione critica dell'*Epistre Othea* di Christine de Pizan', *Studi francesi*, 24-25 (1964-1965), 401-417 and 1-12, as well as Laidlaw, 'Christine, Salisbury, Henry IV', 137-140.

It may at first seem strange to see Christine offering copies of her works to as many as three different members of the French royal family, especially since this happened at such an early stage in her career. Had she, through her father's contacts at the court, become so well acquainted with the royal princes that they were acting as her patrons? On the other hand, however, Christine may be considered to have done everything she could to ensure a large audience and to earn the money she badly needed. As Deborah McGrady illustrates in her 'What is a Patron?', this practice of distributing writings to as large an audience as possible arose from the changing patronage culture in France:

If Charles VI abandoned the artistic agenda promoted by his father, who had supported the arts as a national treasure, the dukes of Berry, Orléans, and Burgundy aggressively sought to enhance their own libraries by obtaining copies of works already in circulation or by commissioning new works. Their increased interest in manuscript acquisition challenged the king's role as patron of the arts. The wider dissemination of texts to multiple patrons, however, had a secondary impact on patronage dynamics, not mentioned by scholars, in that it encouraged noble figures to collect examples of diverse writers, rather than support the literature of a select few. Consequently, many writers, especially Christine, lacked a source of consistent and substantial support from a single patron. As a result, she shifted her fidelities and her literary inclinations according to interest in her poetic endeavors [...]. Instead of remaining exclusively involved with a single patron, she redistributed works to other royal figures for supplemental counter-gifts, as was the case for the compilation offered to Queen Isabeau. Indeed, Christine's literary patronage led to her concurrent association with both the royal court and the antiroyalist factions of Burgundy, Orléans, and Berry. (McGrady, *What is a Patron?*, p. 197)

Already in this early stage of her career Christine was a very prolific author. Around the year 1400, she wrote four other texts: the *Dit de Poissy*, a poem about how Christine – accompanied by some friends – travels to Poissy to visit her daughter and how they, during the return journey, have a debate about love questions; the *Enseignemens moraux*, a didactic text that Christine composed for the education of her son Jean; the *Proverbes moraux*, a collection of moral proverbs based on Cato's *Distichs*; and the *Livre du debat des deux amans*, a – presumably fictitious – debate

between Christine, a knight, and a squire about the nature of love.⁴⁵ This last text was dedicated to Louis d'Orléans, as the characters in the poem agree to ask him to settle the dispute.

In fact, the court of Louis d'Orléans was one of the most important cultural centres in France at the time. The duke and his wife Valentina Visconti were great lovers of literature and poetry and patrons of many French artists. Not surprisingly, Christine figured amongst the writers that frequently visited the Orléans court.⁴⁶ Her familiarity with Valentina undoubtedly played a part in the offer made by Valentina's father, Giangaleazzo Visconti, the first Duke of Milan, to Christine around 1401. Giangaleazzo wanted Christine to come to Milan and install herself at his court. In her *Advision Cristine*, Christine explains the situation:

(...) le premier duc de Milan en Lombardie, qui de ceste chose fut informez et puet estre plus grandement que la cause n'y estoit, desirant me traire en son païs, tres grandement avoit ordonné de mon estat par rentes a tousjours, se aler y vouloie. [...] Mais Fortune, selon ses usaiges et coustumes, ne vult mie que la ruine de mon estat fust reparee. Si me tolli tantost par Mort cil qui bien me vouloit, nom pas que de legier deliberé eusse laissier France pour certaines causes, tout soit de la mon naturel païs. (Reno and Dulac, *Advision Cristine*, pp. 113-114)⁴⁷

Many of the texts that Christine wrote in these early years of her career were inserted in the first edition of her collected works. Judging from the prologue of the two surviving copies of this collection, manuscripts Chantilly 492-493 and Paris 12779, Christine conceived the idea for the anthology shortly before the turn of the fifteenth century and must have started preparations at the same time. This first edition was to include – apart from the aforementioned texts – a great number of *formes fixes*, works that only appear in Christine's collected works and have not

⁴⁵ See Barbara K. Altmann (ed.), *The Love Debate Poems of Christine de Pizan: Le Livre du debat de deux amans, Le Livre des trois jugemens, Le Livre du dit de Poissy* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 3, pp. 27-44, and Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, 'Les Proverbes moraux de Christine de Pizan. Une nouvelle édition critique et quelques problèmes', in "Pour acquerir honneur et pris". *Mélanges de moyen français offerts à Giuseppe Di Stefano*, ed. by Maria Colombo Timelli and Claudio Galderisi (Montreal: CÉRES, 2004), pp. 557-572.

⁴⁶ Willard, *Life and Works*, pp. 41, 51-53.

⁴⁷ The Duke of Milan died in September 1402 and, as Christine explains, the offer was subsequently withdrawn.

survived in separate, monotextual manuscripts.⁴⁸ Other texts in this volume are two religious poems: the *Oraison Nostre Dame* and the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame*.⁴⁹ Also part of the collection is the *Dit de la Rose*, a description of a lavish banquet and the creation of the fictitious Order of the Rose, as well as Christine's account of the famous Quarrel of the Rose, in which she, aided by Jean Gerson, the Chancellor of the University of Paris, polemicised against Jean de Montreuil, the Provost of Lille and a leading humanist of the time, and the brothers Gontier and Pierre Col, the former a royal secretary to Jean de Berry and Charles VI, the latter Canon of Paris.⁵⁰ The subject of the debate is Jean de Meun's continuation of the *Roman de la Rose*, apparently left unfinished by Guillaume de Lorris around 1236. Christine reacted against Jean de Meun's frequent misogynous and misogynous statements by denouncing and condemning them sharply while she tried to stay polite – which cannot be said of her opponents, who sometimes expressed their irritation before the young woman's obstinacy.⁵¹ Furthermore, Christine inserted the *Livre des trois jugemens* in the edition, a verse text written around 1401-1402 in which three love-related problems are put before Jean de Werchin, the seneschal of Hainault, to whom the text is dedicated.⁵²

Alongside the *Oraison Nostre Seigneur*, two of Christine's most famous texts were also added to the Chantilly MS probably around 1403 or 1404: the *Livre du chemin de long estude*, a long verse text in which Christine – after a long journey around the world and into the heavens – tries to find the perfect ruler for Earth, and the *Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*, a description of the allegorical Lady Fortune,

⁴⁸ The texts include Christine's *Virelais*, *Balades d'estrage façon*, *Autres balades*, *Complaintes amoureuses*, *Lais*, *Rondeaux*, and *Jeux à vendre*. The question is whether these manuscripts have not survived or whether they have quite simply never existed at all. See below, Sections 3.2.4, 3.2.6, and 3.2.8, for more information regarding Christine's collections.

⁴⁹ See Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 3, pp. 1-26.

⁵⁰ See Fenster and Erler (eds), *Poems of Cupid, God of Love*, and both Eric Hicks (ed.), *Le Livre des épistres sur le Roman de la Rose* (Paris: Champion, 1977) and Eric Hicks (ed.), *Le Débat sur le "Roman de la Rose"*. Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson, Jean de Montreuil, Gontier et Pierre Col (Geneva: Slatkine, 1996). The *Dit de la Rose* is dated 14 February 1402, St. Valentine's Day.

⁵¹ See Willard, *Life and Works*, pp. 74-89, as well as the aforementioned editions. See also Margarete Zimmermann, *Christine de Pizan* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002), pp. 55-65.

⁵² See Altmann (ed.), *Love Debate Poems*. The seneschal's answer to Christine's questions was written in 1404: *Le Songe de la barge*. See A. Piaget, 'Le Songe de la Barge de Jean de Werchin, Sénéchal de Hainaut (1404)', *Romania*, 38 (1909), 7-110.

her dwellings and Christine's and the world's experience of Fortune's power.⁵³ Both texts were composed in 1402 or 1403 and both are works of a substantial length. The *Dit de la pastoure*, which was also added to the manuscript, tells the tale of the shepherdess Marotelle, who falls in love with a young nobleman and is haunted by the thought that he might leave her (as he does in the end). Christine's *Epistre à la reine*, written on 5 October 1405 following hostilities between the Dukes of Orléans and Burgundy, and in which Christine urges Queen Isabeau to intervene, constituted the final addition to the collection.⁵⁴ Whether Christine's epistle helped resolve the issues between the brother of the king and his cousin is unclear, but it can be questioned whether Queen Isabeau was the right person to try to act as peacemaker; in 1405, rumours persisted of a romantic liaison between Louis d'Orléans and Isabeau, thus undermining her objective and impartial status.⁵⁵

Christine's rather bold move in 1405 to appeal for peace between the warring Dukes may have been inspired by her earlier contacts with the Duke of Burgundy. Early in 1404, Christine was summoned to the Louvre by the Duke:

Voirs est que cest present an de grace mil IIII^c et III, (...) me fu dit et raporté par la bouche de Monbertaut, tresorier du dit seigneur, que il lui [the Duke of Burgundy] plairoit que je compillasse un traittié, touchant certaine matiere, laquelle entierement ne me declairoit, si que sceusse entendre la pure volenté du dit prince ; et, pour ce, moy, meue de desir d'acomplir son bon vouloir selon l'estendue de mon petit enging, me transportay avec mes gens où il estoit lors, à Paris, ou chastel du Louvre (...). (Solente, *Charles V*, vol. 1, pp. 7-8)

Impressed by her earlier works, Philippe de Bourgogne asked Christine to write a biography of his brother, the late King Charles V. Christine eagerly accepted the

⁵³ See Andrea Tarnowski (ed.), *Le chemin de longue étude* (Paris: Librairie générale française, 2000). For an earlier edition, see Robert Püschel (ed.),

sept manuscrits de Paris, de Bruxelles et de Berlin (Berlin: A. Hettler, 1887). For the *Mutacion de Fortune*, see Solente (ed.), *Mutacion de Fortune*.

⁵⁴ See Mary Virginia Reese, 'A Critical Edition of Christine de Pizan's "Dit de la Pastoure"', (Ph.D., University of Alabama, 1992) as well as Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 2, pp. 223-294, and Angus J. Kennedy, 'Christine de Pizan's *Épistre à la reine* (1405)', *Revue des langues romanes*, 92 (1988), 253-264.

⁵⁵ See among others Willard, *Life and Works*, p. 50, and Raimond Thomassy, *Essai sur les écrits politiques de Christine de Pisan, suivi d'un notice littéraire et de pièces inédites* (Paris: Debécourt, 1838), p. xviii. It is unclear whether the rumours are to be believed.

task and embarked on the project: as early as 28 April of the same year, she finished the first part of the work, and on 30 November, the two remaining parts of the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* had been composed as well, making a total of a little over 100 folios.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the Duke of Burgundy did not live to see the result: he died on 27 April 1404, aged 62. The work was subsequently offered to the Duke of Berry as a New Year's gift in January 1405 (n.st.).

Prolific an author as Christine was, she found time to write a second work in February 1404, her *Epistre à Eustace Morel*, a short verse text in honour of the poet Eustache Deschamps. She also began work on yet another large text: the *Livre du duc des vrais amans*, a text written in a combination of prose and verse dealing with the subject of illegitimate love affairs and adultery.⁵⁷ And it was no different in 1405, when – apart from writing the aforementioned *Epistre à la reine* and finishing work on the *Duc des vrais amans* – Christine also composed what was to become her most famous work, the *Livre de la cité des dames*, a description of how Christine (allegorically) builds a city for women and of the illustrious ladies that are invited to inhabit it.⁵⁸ She furthermore wrote a sequel to the latter, entitled *Livre des trois vertus* (and sometimes called *Le trésor de la cité des dames*), dedicated and presented to Marguerite de Nevers.⁵⁹ In between these tasks of writing, creating, inventing, and composing, a second edition of her collected works was prepared, one that was to be rather larger than the previous edition.

As we have seen in the previous paragraphs, the period between 1399 and 1405 is one of high, and perhaps even extreme, activity for Christine. In the space of seven years, she composes no less than twenty works, not including the large collection of verse works that appear in the editions of her collected works. These twenty works

⁵⁶ See Suzanne Solente (ed.), *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* (Paris: Champion, 1936-1940).

⁵⁷ See Jean-François Kosta-Théfaine, 'L'Epistre a Eustache Morel de Christine de Pizan', *Le moyen français*, 38 (1997), 79-92, as well as Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 2, pp. 295-301, and Thelma S. Fenster (ed.), *Le Livre du duc des vrais amans: A Critical Edition* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995). The letter to Eustache Deschamps is dated 10 February 1404 (n.st.).

⁵⁸ See Caraffi and Richards (eds), *La città delle dame*.

⁵⁹ See Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (eds), *Le livre des trois vertus* (Paris: Champion, 1989). Marguerite de Nevers was the oldest daughter of Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy.

include some of Christine's longest and richest texts like the *Chemin de long estude*, the *Mutacion de Fortune*, the *Charles V*, and the *Cité des dames*.

2.4 A SECOND LIFE

Although it may seem arbitrary to divide an author's active writing career into different periods or stages, Christine de Pizan's 'Life and Works' make an excellent case for actually distinguishing between three distinct phases, each marked by one or more defining transitional events. For several reasons, the first of these transitions in Christine's life occurred in 1406. Firstly, there is a noticeable change in the subject of Christine's texts: from didactic, philosophical, and poetical works, she turned her attention towards writing contemplative, religious, and political texts. The *Livre du corps de policie*, in which Christine compares the different layers in a hierarchical society to the different limbs that constitute a human body and discusses the roles of each of these parts, is one of them.⁶⁰ Written in 1406-1407 and dedicated to the Dauphin, Louis de Guyenne, it marks the very beginning of this new influence on Christine's writings, as does a text written in 1405-1406, the *Livre de la prod'hommie de l'homme*, also known in a slightly different version as the *Livre de prudence* (1406-1407).⁶¹ In this work, Christine focuses on the vices and virtues that are described in Martin of Braga's *De quattuor virtutibus* and intersperses them with her own personal reflections.

Secondly, the years after 1406 are different from the early years of Christine's career in that there are traces of gifts bestowed upon her regularly by members of

⁶⁰ See Angus J. Kennedy (ed.), *Le Livre du corps de policie* (Paris: Champion, 1998). The work was undoubtedly finished before the assassination of the Duke of Orléans on 23 November 1407, since it contains a reference to the Duke being alive.

⁶¹ As there is no critical edition of either of these works, I refer to Christine M. Reno, 'Le Livre de prudence/Livre de la prod'hommie de l'homme: nouvelles perspectives', in *Une femme de lettres au Moyen Âge. Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orleans: Paradigme, 1995), pp. 25-37, as well as the web site of the Edinburgh-based research project *Christine de Pizan: the Making of the Queen's Manuscript*, where a transcription of the *Livre de prudence* has been made available (<http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/trans.html>).

the royal family in exchange for her writings.⁶² On 20 February 1406 (n.st.), for example, Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy paid Christine 100 *écus* for having produced both the biography of his uncle, King Charles V, and a second, unspecified work. Further payments to Christine by the Duke of Burgundy included 50 francs on 17 November 1407 in exchange for ‘pluseurs livres en parchemin contenant pluseurs notables et beaux ensengnemens qu’elle a donnéz et presentéz puis peu de temps en ça a ycelli seigneur’, which probably included a copy of the *Advision Cristine* (Brussels 10309), and another 100 francs divided into two payments of 25 and 75 francs on respectively 17 June 1408 and 17 March 1409 (n.st.) in exchange for ‘certains livres (...) et pour certaines autres causes et consideracions a ce le mouvans’. Finally, Christine received 50 francs on 3 October 1412, again for having presented ‘pluseurs notables livres qu’elle avoit présenté et donné a mon dit seigneur sans en avoir eu aucune remuneracion ou don’, which may very well have included a copy of the *Sept psaumes allégorisés* which belonged to Jean sans Peur (Brussels 10987).⁶³ Christine also received a gift from the Dauphin, Louis de Guyenne, somewhere between 1408 and 1410.⁶⁴ Large gifts like these had in all probability not occurred frequently before 1406, and may be understood to signify the increasing popularity and reputation of Christine de Pizan, whose major works must have established her as an author.⁶⁵

⁶² The absence of evidence of similar gifts in the period before 1406 cannot be a result of lacking sources. The royal accounts for the period before 1406 are by no means less detailed than those after 1406, nor did they sustain more damage or are they less complete.

⁶³ See Georges Doutrepoint, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Champion, 1909), pp. 277-278, and the very detailed accounts 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), 122-144, notably items 52, 64, 68, 72, 76 and 81, where it is also stated that the 1406 payments by Jean sans Peur included money that was to be used as a dowry for Christine’s niece. Willard, *Life and Works*, p. 171, adds that other payments were made by Antoine, Duke of Brabant and Philippe de Nevers, both brothers of the Duke of Burgundy.

⁶⁴ This gift may have been a compensation for Christine’s *Livre de prudence*. See Willard, *Life and Works*, p. 176, and Solente (ed.), *Charles V*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

⁶⁵ The only royal gift to Christine in that period of which evidence exists consisted of a gilded silver bowl and a carafe, worth 50 francs, presented to Christine by Philippe de Bourgogne between March and September 1403, perhaps in exchange for his copy of the *Mutacion de Fortune* (Brussels 10982). See Cockshaw, ‘Mentions d’auteurs’, item 52. Christine herself explains in the *Advision Cristine* about the grave difficulties she encountered in trying to get remunerated by the French royals: see Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 115, as well as De Winter, ‘Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs’ 339-340.

A third reason for considering the year 1406 as a turning point in Christine's life, is the publication of her semi-autobiography entitled *Le livre de l'advision Cristine*.⁶⁶ Although Christine had inserted details of her life in the *Mutacion de Fortune*, she had not given so detailed an account of her life before. The fact that Christine decided to write and publish an autobiography at this moment in her life, raises several questions, the most pertinent of which being: why then? Perhaps she finally had the time to reflect upon her life and to put it in writing? Maybe she did indeed feel as if her life had come to a new stage? The answers to these questions remain unknown, but it does seem plausible that the timing of this publication is meaningful rather than arbitrary. One of the copies of the *Advision Cristine* was offered to Jean sans Peur, which, taken together with his aforementioned gifts, leaves us with the impression that the Duke's patronage was important to Christine and that at this stage in her career, she may have relied on him as her principal maecenas and benefactor.⁶⁷

While Christine's literary output seems to decrease in the years following 1406, the political situation in France worsened. On 23 November 1407, Louis d'Orléans was assassinated on orders of his cousin, Jean sans Peur. The Duke of Burgundy subsequently fled the capital. Although the assassination was defended by Jean Petit, Master of the University of Paris, in his famous oration *Justification du duc de Bourgogne* before the royal court on 8 March of the following year, the murder further alienated the already hostile houses of Orléans and Burgundy and would have a profound influence on the years to come.

The years following 1407 are characterised by the publication of three new works and the finishing and publication of a second edition of Christine's collected works. In 1409, Christine composed her *Sept psaumes allégorisés*, an allegory of seven penitential psalms, and she completed her *Lamentacion sur les maux de la*

⁶⁶ See Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*.

⁶⁷ See Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, pp. XLV-XLVI. A similar argument is found in Willard, *Life and Works*, p. 171, and De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs', 339-344.

France on 23 August 1410.⁶⁸ In this letter to Jean de Berry, Christine urged the Duke to act as peacemaker between the houses of Burgundy and Orléans, which had become more and more opposed since the murder of the Duke of Orléans. Ten days later, the two parties signed the peace treaty of Bicêtre, engineered by the Duke of Berry. It remains unclear whether Christine's letter inspired Jean to attempt to reconcile the two parties, or to what extent it actually contributed to the peace of Bicêtre.

Around the same time – the exact year is unknown – Christine composed the *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie*, a manual for military education dedicated to the Dauphin, Louis de Guyenne, who was around thirteen years old at the time.⁶⁹ The work examines among others the principles of a just war, the qualities of a good leader and commander, different strategies for warfare, and the relation between a commanding officer and his soldiers. Furthermore, in these times of political instability, Christine found the time – and, perhaps even more surprising, the resources – to publish the second edition of her collected works. The collection, comprising twenty-seven works and 348 folios, was acquired by Jean de Berry in 1408 or 1409.⁷⁰

The peace of Bicêtre, like most peace treaties between the *Bourguignons* and the *Armagnacs*, did not last long.⁷¹ The hostilities soon resumed and it took yet another peace treaty for the parties to cease fighting once again. On 22 August of

⁶⁸ See Ruth Ringland Rains (ed.), *'Les Sept Psaumes allégorisés' of Christine de Pisan: a Critical Edition from the Brussels and Paris Manuscripts* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1965), and Angus 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 Monsieur Charles Foulon* (Rennes: Institut de français, Université de Haute-Bretagne, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 177-185. The seven penitential psalms in the *Sept psaumes* correspond with psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143 in the King James Version of the Bible. On a separate note, the text was commissioned by Charles III le Noble, King of Navarre. This work is 'the only example of his literary patronage of Christine' (Charity Cannon Willard, '[Review of Rains (ed.), *Les Sept Psaumes allégorisés of Christine de Pisan*]', *Romance Philology*, 21:1 (1967), 129-133, 130).

⁶⁹ There is no modern critical edition of this text: Christine Moneera Laennec, 'Christine Antygrafe: Authorship and Self in the Prose Works of Christine de Pisan, with an Edition of B.N. Ms. 603 "Le Livre des Fais d'Armes et de Chevalerie"', (Ph.D., Yale University, 1988) is an edition based on a single manuscript. See Charity Cannon Willard (ed.), *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, trans. by Sumner Willard (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999).

⁷⁰ Manuscripts Paris 835, 606, 836, 605, and 607. See below, pp. 86-91, for a more detailed account of the production and contents of this edition and its manuscripts.

⁷¹ The *Orléanistes* became known as the *Armagnacs* as of 1410, because of the involvement of Bernard VII, Count of Armagnac and father-in-law to the young Duke Charles d'Orléans.

the year 1412, the treaty of Auxerre was signed, obliging the warring dukes to exchange a kiss of reconciliation and to renounce any military alliance with the English. Overjoyed by the treaty and presumably looking forward to a period of peace and tranquillity, Christine, approaching her fifties by then, began work on what was to become her *Livre de paix*.⁷² However, her writing was interrupted by recurring conflicts, which caused her to stop writing on 30 November.⁷³ Having recommenced in September 1413, Christine finished the work the same year, dedicated it to Louis de Guyenne and offered a copy to the Duke of Berry as a New Year's gift on 1 January 1414 (n.st.).⁷⁴ Early in 1413, Christine completed a work entitled *L'advison du coq*, which has not survived and is only known through a reference in the *Livre de paix*.⁷⁵ Also, Christine and the craftsmen who worked for her must have been working very hard in order to prepare a third edition of Christine's collected works. Commissioned by Queen Isabeau and published only six or seven years after the previous one, this third and last edition was to become the most lavishly illustrated manuscript of Christine's works, and it may be considered among the most beautiful codices of its time. Comprising 398 folios, the so-called *Queen's Manuscript* represents Christine's last word for many of the thirty works contained in the manuscript and is therefore of great value and interest to editors of

⁷² See Charity Cannon Willard (ed.), *The 'Livre de la Paix' of Christine de Pisan: a critical edition with introduction and notes* ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1958), as well as the more recent Karen Green, Constant J. Mews and Janice Pinder (eds), *The book of peace by Christine de Pizan* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

⁷³ Among these acts of war was the Cabochian Revolt of 1412-1413 in Paris, instigated by Jean de Bourgogne, but soon out of his control. Subsequently, the Armagnacs arrived in Paris to put down the insurrection. See also Willard (ed.), *Livre de la Paix*, pp. 23-25.

⁷⁴ See Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'Christine de Pizan and the Political Life in Late Medieval France', in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. by Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah L. McGrady (New York / London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 9-24, notably pp. 18-19.

⁷⁵ Willard (ed.), *Livre de la Paix*, p. 152: '(...) aucune chose en escrips assez au plain, selon mon povre advis, en un petit traictié nomme *l'Advison du Coq*, lequel nom puet interpreter l'ancien nom de cestui royaume que presentay à toy meismes, Loys de France, seant en ta chambre à Saint Pol cestui present an ou temps de Karesme'. 'Karesme' being Lent, the work must have been offered to Louis de Guyenne between Ash Wednesday (8 March) and Easter (23 April) of 1413 (n.st.); it was undoubtedly composed not long before that time.

Christine's texts.⁷⁶ Upon completion, the work was dedicated to Queen Isabeau and offered to her in early 1414.⁷⁷

The making of the Queen's Manuscript marks the end of the second stage of Christine's active career as a writer. As we have seen, her creative writing seems to slow down after 1405-1406; Christine no longer created new texts as frequently as she had done before and seems to focus on re-editing her older works. The fact that her collected works have gone through at least two consecutive editions over a period of six or seven years is significant of both this change of focus and continuing demand from patrons.⁷⁸

On numerous occasions, Christine found inspiration for her works in contemporary events, and while she continued to do so at this stage of her career – which, to say the least, was quite eventful in terms of political and personal incidents – her creative output did seem to decrease. Was it because of the fact that she was in her fifties by the end of 1414? Could it perhaps be explained by the shifting focus from writing to editing and publishing? And, if so, was she not affected by the difficult living standard in times of war, and the shortage of supplies that usually disrupts life in a city torn by civil war?⁷⁹

2.5 RETREAT

The year 1415 marks not just a change in Christine's career, but also a decisive moment in the history of France. Following the invasion of King Henry V of

⁷⁶ See James C. Laidlaw, 'Christine de Pizan: An Author's Progress', *Modern Language Review*, 78 (1983), 532-550, notably 550.

⁷⁷ See James C. Laidlaw, *The Date of the Queen's MS (London, British Library, Harley 4431)*, (2005) <<http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/harley4431date.pdf>> [Accessed 3 March 2010]. The frontispiece of the manuscript (f. 3r), depicts Christine offering the manuscript to the Queen.

⁷⁸ There is evidence to suggest that Christine either commissioned more than one copy of the second or third editions of her collected works, or produced yet another edition of these works. See below, pp. 63-65, for a detailed discussion.

⁷⁹ See, for instance, the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*: Colette Beaune (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, de 1405 à 1449*, Lettres gothiques (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1990).

England at Harfleur and his subsequent march on Calais, the French tried to block their path towards Calais between the villages of Tramecourt and Azincourt. There, the two armies met in the early hours of 25 October. Although outnumbering the English soldiers from the start, the French suffered a catastrophic defeat.⁸⁰

The Duke of Berry, the last survivor of the sons of the late King Jean II le Bon, was not involved in the battle of Azincourt. He died in Paris on 15 June 1416, aged 75, in possession of one of the greatest collections of illuminated manuscripts of his time, and leaving his surviving relatives with an equally great sum of debts. Although we know that Christine offered a great many of her manuscripts to him, there are no records of payments from Berry to Christine. This leaves three possible explanations: either the payments were not recorded, or the records were lost, or there were no payments at all. The last explanation seems unlikely, given the number of manuscripts with which Christine presented the Duke of Berry and the level of their illumination, even though the Duke was ‘notorious for not paying his debts’.⁸¹ Christine undoubtedly would not have produced manuscripts of such a high standard if she was unsure whether she would be remunerated.⁸²

The year 1418 can be considered the end of Christine de Pizan’s active writing career. As civil war broke out in the capital, many were forced to flee Paris and seek refuge elsewhere. On the night of 28 May 1418, the gates of Armagnac-controlled Paris were secretly opened to the Burgundians, who took control of the capital and massacred partisans of the Armagnacs, among whom Bernard d’Armagnac himself. Queen Isabeau and the future King Charles VII were taken to the Bastille by Tanneguy du Chastel, Provost of Paris, and quickly led away to the city of Melun. Many others however, were not so lucky.

⁸⁰ See Autrand, *Charles VI*, for a fascinating account of the Battle of Azincourt.

⁸¹ Willard, *Life and Works*, p. 163.

⁸² Although one can imagine this to be a strategy for authors who are in the early years of their career – impressing potential clients by giving them a high-quality piece of work for free – Christine had already successfully embarked upon a career as a writer at the time, and the Duke of Berry probably did not need to be convinced about the standard of manuscripts of Christine’s works.

As Jean sans Peur was now again in control of the city, there was a risk of him entering negotiations with the English again, something which the Armagnacs wanted to prevent at all costs. Following numerous attempts to reconcile the two parties – the Armagnacs wanted to avoid an alliance between the Burgundians and the English, and Jean sans Peur hoped to extort a favourable peace – the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy arranged a meeting in the afternoon of 10 September 1419 on a bridge near the village of Montereau. When the two men met, Jean sans Peur supposedly knelt before his adversary and used the support of his sword to get to his feet again. This was enough reason for Tanneguy du Chastel, who had become one of the Dauphin's most loyal councillors by then, to draw his sword and attack the Duke. In the subsequent clash, Jean de Bourgogne, aged 47, died, supposedly after having his right hand severed from his arm. The assassination of the Duke proved catastrophic to the French kingdom. The alliance between Philippe le Bon, the new Duke of Burgundy, and the English party culminated in the Treaty of Troyes, which disinherited the Dauphin and passed the right of succession to the French crown to the English King Henry V as husband of Cathérine de Valois, daughter of King Charles VI.⁸³

This period of insurgency, terror, and violence is reflected in Christine's work *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine*, a short letter addressed and dedicated to Marie de Berry, daughter of the late Duke of Berry. In his 1984 edition of the text, Angus Kennedy explains that this letter

[...] belongs to a sequence of Christine de Pizan's works that chronicles her reactions to and reflections on the social and political upheavals afflicting France in the first third of the fifteenth century. It occupies a rather unique place within this sequence, in that it is neither a work of political propaganda (like the *Epistre à la reine* 1405 or the *Lamentacion sur les maux de la France* 1410) nor a work of political analysis (like the *Livre du corps de policie* 1407 or the *Livre de la paix* 1413): it is a consolatory treatise, designed to comfort women

⁸³ According to a well-known legend, when King François I^{er} visited Dijon in 1521, he was shown the skull of Jean de Bourgogne, while a monk remarked: 'Sire, voilà le trou par où les Anglais passèrent en France'. See Michel Caffin de Mérouville, *Le Beau Dunois et son temps. Chroniques de Charles VI, Charles VII, Louis XI* (Paris: Les Sept Couleurs, 1960), p. 117.

afflicted by the calamities of war. (Kennedy, *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine*, p. 1)

Around 1418, Christine left Paris and sought refuge in an abbey.⁸⁴ While it is unknown which abbey she entered, it is assumed that Christine joined her daughter in the Dominican abbey of Poissy, about 25 kilometres northwest of the French capital. It is there that she composed the *Heures de contemplacion sur la Passion de Nostre Seigneur*, a deeply religious and spiritual text in which Christine, again, expresses her compassion for the French women who lost their husbands and sons in the Hundred Years' War.⁸⁵

While the war raged on, there is no evidence of Christine having responded in writing to any of the tragic events that occurred between 1418 and 1429: neither the death of Charles VI in October 1422, nor that of Christine's son Jean in 1425-1426 seems to have evoked a reaction from her. The very last time we hear of Christine de Pizan is in 1429, after eleven years in the abbey. On 31 July of that year, Christine picked up her quill once more to sing the praise of Jeanne d'Arc, who, on 8 May, had saved Orléans from the English and then accompanied the Dauphin to Reims to have him crowned as Charles VII on 17 July. Her *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc* begins with the famous words:

Je, Christine, qui ay plouré
 XI ans en abbaye close,
 Où j'ay tousjours puis demouré
 Que Charles (c'est estrange chose!),
 Le filz du roy, se dire l'ose,
 S'en fouy de Paris de tire,
 Par la traïson là enclose,
 Ore à prime me prens à rire.
 (Kennedy and Varty, *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, p. 28, vv. 1-8)

The *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc* demonstrates that Christine was not only well aware of the political circumstances in France, but also very much familiar with the most

⁸⁴ The year 1418 can be deduced from the opening lines of Christine's *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, written in 1429, where she states that she spent eleven years in the abbey: 'Je, Christine, qui ay plouré / XI ans en abbaye close' (Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty (eds), *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1977), p. 28, vv. 1-2).

⁸⁵ An edition of this text is being prepared by Liliane Dulac and René Stuij and will be published by Champion (Paris).

recent developments at the time.⁸⁶ Christine dates her *Ditié* to 31 July 1429, two weeks after the coronation of Charles VII, in which she reveres the French heroine as the female saviour of the French kingdom. As such the *Ditié* is the first of many texts and poems about the *pucelle d'Orléans*, and one of only two surviving texts that were composed during Jeanne's lifetime.

It is unclear whether Christine heard of Jeanne's downfall and her execution at the stake in Rouen on 30 May 1431. From 31 July 1429 onwards, Christine's voice falls silent. It is through a small but significant passage in the past tense in Guillebert de Mets' *Description de la ville de Paris au XV^e siècle* that we know that she must have died before the production of the work in 1434:

[...] Item damoiselle Christine de Pizan, qui **dictoit** toutes manières de doctrines et divers traitiés en latin et en françois. (Le Roux de Lincy, *Description de la ville de Paris*, p. 95; my emphasis)

Marie-Josèphe Pinet, in her biography of Christine de Pizan dating from 1927, argues that Christine might have died by the end of the year 1431. Pinet bases her argument on an official document about Christine's son Jean, dated December 1431, in which it is explained that Jean's widow, Jehanne Coton, who had left Paris with her husband in 1418, is only then – in 1431 – allowed to return to the capital. Pinet hypothesises that Jehanne's request was granted because Christine had died:

Ne serait-ce [the permission for Jehanne Coton to return to Paris] pas parce qu'alors sa [Jean's] mère avait cessé d'être en état de nuire au parti anglais? La mort de Christine est donc survenue avant la fin de l'année 1431, très probablement l'année même de la mort de Jeanne d'Arc. Ce peut être Christine qu'on redoutait, dans Paris, derrière sa belle-fille et ses petits-enfants. (Pinet, *Christine de Pisan*, p. 192)

In the absence of incontrovertible evidence, the conclusion must be that Christine de Pizan died between August 1429 and December 1434, aged somewhere between 63

⁸⁶ See Kennedy and Varty (eds), *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*.

and 70 years.⁸⁷ Save for the first four years of her life, she spent her entire lifetime in France, reading and writing about various aspects of French history, culture, and society. The present thesis, as well as the great many studies that have appeared in the past and those that will be published in the future, have borne out Lady Opinion's prophecy to Christine, as recounted in the *Advision Cristine*:

Mais, après ta mort, venra le prince plain de valeur et sagesce
qui par la relacion de tes volumes desirera tes jours avoir esté
de son temps et par grant desir souhaidera t'avoir veue. (Reno
and Dulac, *Advision Cristine*, pp. 89-90)

⁸⁷ See above, p. 16, n. 7 for Christine's possible birthdays.

3

CHRISTINE'S SUPERVISED MANUSCRIPTS

3.1 CHRISTINE DE PIZAN AND THE BOOK TRADE IN PARIS

3.1.1 General Overview of the Parisian Book Trade

The making of a medieval manuscript was a highly complex procedure that required careful planning and constant supervision. The world of secular book production was divided into different trades, each performing their own task. Parchmenters produced the writing surface, scribes transcribed the texts, decorators inserted illustrations, illuminators took care of the miniatures, and binders assembled the quires in a durable cover.

In late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Paris, members of the book trade lived in two adjacent districts, which facilitated cooperation between the various craftspeople:

members of the booktrade [were] concentrated in two adjacent neighbourhoods joined by the Petit-Pont. The principal one was on the île de la Cité, on the rue Neuve Notre-Dame (...). The other neighbourhood was just across the bridge (...) especially along the street known as the rue des Ecrivains. (Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, vol. 1, p. 19)

The parties involved in the preparation and production of manuscripts were often connected through a *libraire*. The *libraire* was hired by the commissioner of the manuscript and had to ensure that the latter's wishes were being executed properly. *Libraires* were responsible for ordering the parchment and having the leaves prepared, ruled, and gathered into unbound quires according to the author's wishes (or those of the commissioner). They also planned the general layout of the work: dimensions of the margins, number of columns, place and size of miniatures, distribution of the text or texts over the quires, insertion of titles, initials, paragraph marks, and rubrics. What is more, they divided the workload of the transcription and illumination among several artisans if speed was essential, and – on a managerial level – would hire the scribes and illuminators and oversee the general production process once it was underway. In their interesting study of the book trade in medieval Paris, Richard and Mary Rouse found evidence that a *libraire* would serve 'as his own scribe or illuminator as often as he could, to save money, and would work for another *libraire* when he lacked a commission of his own'.⁸⁸

Although it has sometimes been assumed that scribes shared a workplace with illuminators, parchmenters, and binders, this was usually not the case. Every trade had its own street or block within either of the two neighbourhoods. In fact, the notion of a scriptorium, whilst perfectly acceptable in a monastic context, is somewhat problematic in the largely secular book trade in late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century Paris. In their 1989 survey of the medieval terminology relating to illuminators and their work, Patricia Stirnemann and Marie-Thérèse Gousset concluded that

[n]ulle part nous n'avons trouvé mention d'un lieu de travail organisé avec plusieurs personnes, à part des noms de rues telles la rue Erembouc-de-Brie, l'actuelle rue Boutebrie. Les statuts des corporations parlent des niveaux de compétence, mais pas d'un lieu. Les contrats font mention uniquement des

⁸⁸ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Illiterati et uxorati. Manuscripts and Their Makers. Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000), vol. 1, p. 14.

personnages. Des rôles de la taille et comptes parlent de *renc*, *meson*, *domus*. [...] Quant au mot atelier, son usage médiéval est réservé strictement à l'atelier du charpentier et à l'artisan qui travaille le bois. (Stirnemann and Gousset, *Marques, mots, pratiques*, p. 39)⁸⁹

It has to be noted, however, that the absence of the word 'scriptorium' or any of its derivatives does not necessarily mean that scriptoria did not exist in late medieval Paris. The fact that tax rolls mention words like 'meson' and 'domus' means that taxable activities must have been conducted there.

The dispersal of the various trades involved in the production of a manuscript caused a soon-to-be codex to travel from scribe to illuminator to binder as a set of loose quires. This is illustrated by a quotation from the *Bible historial* preserved in The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, where, in the explicit, the scribe informs the reader of the tiresome and elaborate production process of the codex:

C'onques je ne vi en ma vie
 Bible d'ystoires si garnie,
 D'une main pourtraites et faites,
 Pour lesquelles il en a faites
 Pluseurs alées et venues,
 Soir et matin, par my les rues,
 Et mainte pluye sus son chief
 Ains qu'il en soit venu à chief.
 (The Hague, MMW, 10 B 23, f. 580; see also Delisle, *Charles V*, vol. 1, p. 76)

What is referred to here is the fact that in order to have the 'ystoires', the miniatures, completed, the person who is referred to as 'il' (perhaps the *libraire*?) had to go to the illuminator's workshop several times. There is no reason to assume that the different trades involved in the production process of a manuscript were under one roof. This, however, does not mean that an illuminator's or a binder's workshop necessarily employed only one worker. Thus, rather than speaking of a

⁸⁹ The name 'Erembouc-de-Brie', despite an allusion to *bouc* > *bouquin/book*, is in itself not connected to the book trade. A. Béraud and P. Dufey (eds), *Dictionnaire historique de Paris*. 2nd edn, 2 vols (Paris: Barba, 1828), vol. 2, p. 250, explains that this street was named after Erembourg de Brie, 'un particulier qui y demeurait au 13^e siècle'. Other names of this street include *Bourg-de-Brie*, *Boutebrie* (the actual name), as well as the nickname *rue des Enlumineurs*.

scriptorium where ‘book producers’ formed a collective and co-operated under one roof to produce manuscripts, the present study must refer to every trade individually.

3.1.2 *Christine’s Situation*

Unfortunately, very little is known about Christine’s contacts with the book-producing world in Paris. Only a handful of indications are to be found in her writings that connect her to scribes and artists of the time or to their activities. These remarks show that Christine was at home in the technical nature of manuscript production. Her reference to a certain Anastaise, a highly skilled painter, in the *Cité des dames* is the best-known:

[...] je congnois aujourd’uy une femme que on appelle Anastaise qui tant est experte et apprise a faire vigneteurs d’enlumineure en livres et champagnes d’istoires qu’il n’est mencion d’ouvrier en la ville de Paris ou sont les souverains du monde qui point l’en passe ne qui aussi doucement face fleureteure et menu ouvrage qu’elle fait ne de qui on ait plus chier la besongne, tout soit le livre riche ou chier, que on a d’elle qui finer en peut. Et ce scay je par experience, car pour moy mesmes a ouvré d’aucunes choses qui sont tenues singulieres entre les vignetes des autres grans ouvriers. (Caraffi and Richards, *La città delle dame*, p. 192)

Attempts to identify Anastaise with any of the known illuminators have so far proved unsuccessful because of a lack of information about Christine’s illuminators in general and Anastaise in particular. Another reason for this failing identification could be that Anastaise was not a master illuminator, but rather a painter who specialised in decorated borders and miniature *backgrounds*, as Christine indicates. Judging from the quotation, it must be assumed that Anastaise did not work exclusively for Christine.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ See Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: the Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, 2 vols (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 13-14, and Dorothy Eugenia Miner, *Anastaise and her Sisters: Women Artists of the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1974).

Studies of the miniatures in Christine's supervised manuscripts have revealed that only a limited number of illuminators were employed. These masters and their workshops sometimes worked together to create lavishly decorated collections of Christine's works, while at other times they received individual commissions to provide a cycle of illuminations for one of the works. In his 1982 article 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs et ses rapports avec le milieu bourguignon', Patrick De Winter paints a fascinating picture of the way in which illuminators are hired in different periods of Christine's career and worked both individually and collectively on miniatures in her manuscripts.⁹¹

The *Epistre Othea* offers another intriguing insight into Christine's involvement in the production of miniatures in her works. In manuscripts Harley 4431 and Paris 606, the text of chapters 1, 2, 6-12, and 14-18 is preceded by a short note explaining the scene depicted in the adjacent miniature.⁹² The note preceding chapter 1 reads:

Affin que ceulz qui ne sont mie clers poetes puissent entendre en brief la significacion des histoires de ce livre, est a savoir que, par tout ou les ymages sont en nues, c'est a entendre que ce sont les figures des dieux ou deesses de quoy la letre ensuivant ou livre parle, selon la maniere de parler des ancians poetes. Et pour ce que deÿté est chose espirituelle et esleeve de terre, sont les ymages figurez en nues; et ceste premiere est la deesse de sapience. (Parussa, *Epistre Othea*, p. 197)

This note – and indeed the other notes as well – demonstrates that Christine was intimately involved in the production of the illustration cycle of the *Othea*. She inserts a concise explanation of the miniatures that accompany the fourteen

⁹¹ See Chapter XI of Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, vol. 1, pp. 363-368 for the Master of the Bedford Trend; pp. 377-382 for the Master of the Cité des Dames; pp. 384-388 for the Master of Egerton 1070; and pp. 388-389 for the Master of the Epître d'Othéa. See also De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs' 374-375, and the slightly outdated but still very interesting Lucie Schaefer, 'Die Illustrationen zu den Handschriften der Christine de Pizan', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 10 (1937), 119-209.

⁹² See Parussa (ed.), *Epistre Othea*, pp. 72-73 and nn. 111-112, as well as the relevant chapters in the text of the *Othea*.

aforementioned chapters, thereby showing that at the time of composition of the text, she was already well aware of the layout and presentation of the illustrations.⁹³

Patrick De Winter has hypothesised that the Raondi (or Raponde) brothers, descendants of an Italian family of book producers and financiers, may have been involved in the production of Christine's manuscripts:

Sans doute a-t-elle [Christine] bien connu les frères Raondi et leur résidence proche de l'hôtel d'Artois, que mentionne Guillebert de Mets dans sa *Description de la ville de Paris*, et dans laquelle travaillaient peut être [sic] quelques-uns de ces enlumineurs. (De Winter, *Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs*, 345)

While this scenario is plausible – and perhaps even more so by taking into account the Raondi brothers' and Christine's shared Italian background – it must remain a matter of speculation to what extent they were involved in the production process of Christine's manuscripts.

A further indication of Christine's familiarity with the world of manuscript production can be found in the *Advison Cristine*, where she speaks of the manuscripts that were produced in the early days of her career:

(...) depuis l'an mil ·III^C·III^{XX}· et ·XIX· que je ne commençay jusques a cestui ·III^C· et ·V· ouquel encore je ne cesse, compillés en ce tendis ·XV· volumes principaux sans les autres particuliers petis dictiez, lesquels tout ensemble contiennent environ ·LXX· quaiers de grant volume, comme l'experience en est manifeste. (Reno and Dulac, *Advison Cristine*, p. 111)

To Christine, a work is not just a textual creation, but also a material product or, as James Laidlaw puts it, 'a physical unit which needed a precise space, measured in lines, folios, and quires'.⁹⁴

⁹³ I agree with Gabriella Parussa when she says that 'la conception [of the cycle of illustrations] précède la transcription du texte lui-même' (Parussa (ed.), *Epistre Othea*, p. 73).

⁹⁴ James C. Laidlaw, 'Christine de Pizan: A Publisher's Progress', *Modern Language Review*, 82 (1987), 35-75, notably 38. A note scribbled in the lower margin of f. 26r of manuscript Brussels 9508 (*Mutacion*

As the quote from the *Advision* indicates, Christine calculated the extent of her works not in words or in texts; she uses *quaiier* (quire) to express their size. As she was able in 1406 to count the number of quires that her texts took up, Christine undoubtedly kept track of the volume of her texts by keeping copies of her works on file. These file-copies are often referred to by scholars as Christine's version of the *Livre ou je met toutes mes choses* in which Guillaume de Machaut kept personal copies of all his works.⁹⁵ This *Livre* would not only have enabled Christine to keep track of the physical volume of her works, but also have provided her with a copy in which she could make corrections, try out alterations, and incorporate notes concerning the layout of the text, in preparation for upcoming presentation copies. As such, Christine's personal file-copies could very well have served as *exemplaria* from which the manuscripts were made.⁹⁶

Besides evidence about Christine's familiarity with the technical production of manuscripts, there is other evidence to be found in her works that demonstrates the extent of her connections with scribes. An oft-cited *rondeau* at the end of a manuscript of the *Epistre à la reine* demonstrates the involvement – or in this case rather the absence – of a scribe. In the *rondeau*, Christine asks the addressee to accept the copy, despite several shortcomings:

de Fortune), often cited and attributed to Christine herself, lends weight to this argument. The note reads 'Ci commence .i. quayer escript en un jour trestout'.

⁹⁵ See Sarah Jane Williams, 'An author's role in fourteenth century book production: Guillaume de Machaut's 'Livre ou je met toutes mes choses'', *Romania*, 90 (1969), 432-454.

⁹⁶ It might also be concluded from Christine's use of the expression 'quaiers de grant volume' that she worked with folios of a standard size. This would allow her (or her *libraire*) to quickly assess the amount of text that could be transcribed into the quires of a presentation copy.

Prenez en gré, s'il vous plaist, cet escript
 De ma main fait apres mienuit une heure.
 Noble seigneur, pour qui je l'ay escript
 Prenez en gré.

[Q]uand vous plaira, mieulz vous sera rescript,
 Mais n'avoye nul autre clerc à l'eure.
 Prenez en gré, s'il v...
 (Kennedy, *Épistre à la reine*, p. 258)⁹⁷

Attention is usually paid to the first stanza, where the remark 'de ma main fait' alludes to the autograph character of the manuscript. Charity Cannon Willard, Gilbert Ouy, and Christine Reno, amongst others, have used this remark as an important argument in their claims that the scribe who copied this particular manuscript is none other than Christine de Pizan herself.⁹⁸

An equally interesting comment can be found in the second part of the poem, where Christine states that no other scribe was available at the time: 'Mais n'avoye nul autre clerc à l'eure'.⁹⁹ A possible interpretation of this remark is that Christine normally had at least one at her disposal. Studies by Ouy and Reno and others have identified as few as three different scribal hands in the entire corpus of manuscripts that were produced under Christine's supervision. If this identification is correct – a matter to which we will return in Chapter 4 – it must be assumed that Christine made regular use of a very limited group of scribes, entrusting them with the production of all her supervised manuscripts. Moreover, the extent to which the three scribes cooperate indicates that they were highly skilled at working together on large projects, a cooperation which could have been facilitated by the fact that they

⁹⁷ The *Épistre à la reine* has come down to us in three manuscripts; Paris 580 is the only one to give this rondeau.

⁹⁸ See Charity Cannon Willard, 'An Autograph Manuscript of Christine de Pizan?', *Studi francesi*, 27 (1965), 452-457 and Ouy and Reno, 'Identification', 223-224. This *rondeau* will be examined in more detail below; see pp. 125-127, where additional evidence will be given in support of the interpretation discussed here. On a separate note, it is interesting to see that Christine addresses a 'noble seigneur' in this poem. Since the *Épistre à la reine* was obviously produced to be presented to Queen Isabeau de Bavière, it remains a mystery for whom this copy was intended. Thomassy, *Essai*, p. xxii, assumes that the 'noble seigneur' is to be identified with Louis d'Orléans, but he does not provide any evidence in support of this hypothesis.

⁹⁹ Another example of an author informing the recipient of a text of difficulties involved in creating a copy of it is Pierre Col. He writes to Christine apologising for a rather hasty copy of a text; Col blames the scribe, saying that he did not understand the text very well, adding that he himself did not have the time to correct the scribe's work. See Hicks (ed.), *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose*, pp. 10-11, and R.E.V. Stuij, 'Christine, kennis en boeken', in *Christine de Pizan, een bijzondere vrouw*, ed. by R.E.V. Stuij (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), pp. 141-159, notably p. 150.

either shared a work space, or were intimately connected to each other through a *libraire*.

The *rondeau* discussed above is not the only example of Christine painting a picture of her daily life and her occupation. A second reference to her working late at night can be found in the *Chemin de long estude*, where she is reading in her study when she asks for some light:

Ainsi fus la enserree,
Et ja estoit nuit serrée;
Si huchay de la lumiere
Pour le dueil qui ennuy m'iere
(Tarnowski, *Le chemin de longue étude*, vv. 195-198; my emphasis)

A further reference occurs in vv. 304-305 of the same text ('Mais il fu temps d'aler coucher, / Car ja estoit mi nuit passee'). Interestingly, these lines are as indicative of the hours at which Christine works, as they are revealing of the different rooms she had at her disposal. Since she is woken up by her mother at the very end of the poem ('fus huchee / De la mere qui me porta, / Qu'a l'uys de ma chambre hurta'), it seems likely that she had some kind of study room in her own house.¹⁰⁰ The first chapter of Christine's *Cité des dames* contains a similar reference:

(...) un jour comme je feusse **seant en ma cele, environnee de plusieurs volumes de diverses matieres**, mon entendement a celle heure auques traveillié de recueillir la pesanteur des sentences de divers aucteurs par moy longue piece estudiez (...). (Caraffi and Richards, *La città delle dame*, p. 40; my emphasis)

Another conclusion that can be drawn from the short *Chemin* passage is that Christine had servants who helped her run the home. Support for this conclusion can be found in the *Charles V*, where she explains how she was invited and welcomed at

¹⁰⁰ Tarnowski (ed.), *Le chemin de longue étude*, vv. 6394-6396. See also vv. 170-177, where Christine talks about 'une estude petite' where she studies and likes to 'regarder escriptures / de diverses aventures', or the *Epistre à Eustace Morel*, which was 'escript seulette en m'estude' (Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 2, p. 301).

the Louvre by the Duke of Burgundy, who was about to commission the biography of his brother: ‘me transportay **avec mes gens** où il estoit lors’.¹⁰¹

These personal remarks made by Christine are difficult to assess. Both the *Cité* and the *Chemin* quotes occur in the very first chapters of the respective texts, where the story leads up to Christine falling into a deep sleep. It seems plausible to assume that – just as with the rondeau in the *Epistre à la reine* – poetic licence may be involved to create storylines. Indeed, the use of a dream to embed the description of a journey, vision, or revelation is a literary tradition in its own right, a tradition in which Christine is preceded by texts such as Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis*, Boethius’ *De consolacione philosophiae*, the *Visio Tnugdali*, the *Roman de la Rose*, Dante’s *Divina Commedia*, and many more.¹⁰² On the other hand, Christine seems keen to paint a detailed picture of her day-to-day life, as she does on other occasions; thus, the passages quoted from the *Chemin*, *Cité*, and *Charles V* may be taken to have a similar purpose and as such they may be assumed to be factual rather than purely fictitious.

After having been copied, decorated, and illuminated, the loose quires needed to be trimmed and bound in order to form a codex. There is only circumstantial evidence about this final stage of the production process. Accounts of payments made to Christine by her patrons do not specify any money being paid towards having works bound. However, this absence of information cannot in itself be taken to imply that Christine’s works were not bound before they were presented. Similarly, the fact that all but one of the miniatures of Christine presenting her work to a patron depict her handing over a codex does not prove that they were always bound.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Solente (ed.), *Charles V*, pp. 7-8; my emphasis. Years earlier, in the *Mutacion*, Christine speaks of having at her disposal ‘.IIII. escuiers, .III. damoiselles’ when she was married (see Solente (ed.), *Mutacion de Fortune*, vol. 1, v. 987).

¹⁰² During Christine’s life, Chaucer’s *Parlement of Foules*, Philippe de Mézières’s *Songe du vieil pèlerin*, Jean de Werchin’s *Songe de la barge*, and Alain Chartier’s *Quadrilogue invectif* saw the light of day.

¹⁰³ The pen-and-ink drawing on f. 2r of manuscript Brussels 11034 (*Deux amans*) shows Christine presenting a scroll to one of her patrons.

Gilbert Ouy, writing in 1985, argued that it is not self-evident that Christine had her texts bound before presenting them:

On pourrait, certes, penser que le relieur attiré de Christine de Pizan avait fini par s'habituer à ne plus tenir compte des signatures et à se guider seulement d'après les réclames. Mais c'est poser en préalable que Christine faisait toujours relier les ouvrages dont elle faisait hommage aux grands du royaume. A première vue, cela semble évident; ce l'est moins quand on y réfléchit. Comment pouvons-nous être sûrs qu'un exemplaire de présentation n'était pas, bien souvent, constitué par un paquet de cahiers contenu dans une layette? (Ouy, *Une énigme codicologique*, 122)

Ingenious though this theory may be, there is, to my knowledge, no evidence for the use of a *layette*, a small box, to present loose gatherings to a patron. It is difficult to imagine Christine offering a bundle of unbound quires *en étrennes* to the royal Dukes in order to assure herself of their patronage for the forthcoming year; in a time when the codex was by far the most used form for the transmission of written texts, a set of quires would not have been accepted as an end product, but rather regarded as incomplete or unfinished.¹⁰⁴ Thus, although it may be more probable that Christine herself ordered her *libraire* to have a work bound, this hypothesis cannot be proven beyond reasonable doubt.

A careful examination of the entire corpus of evidence surrounding the production process of Christine's manuscripts leads to the following conclusions. There is no evidence that Christine ran a scriptorium *proprement dit*: as we have seen, that would have been highly unusual in fifteenth-century Paris. Instead, she probably was a regular customer of the scribes who produced her manuscripts. It may be assumed that these scribes worked in the book trade quarter of Paris; they could be hired individually or asked to cooperate on one project. The scribes made copies of

¹⁰⁴ In this light, a difference may have existed between works that were offered by Christine as a gift, and works that were commissioned by patrons. In the first case, it seems logical that Christine would have the work bound, whereas in the second case it is conceivable that the patrons wanted to have the work bound themselves, to their own specifications and for their own libraries.

Christine's texts, but at least one of them did take on another transcription job.¹⁰⁵ Christine contacted the scribes either directly or through her *libraire*, while it was probably the latter who also ensured that artists were hired to illuminate and decorate the manuscripts and that the books were trimmed and bound. The *libraire* probably also assessed the progress the workshop was making.

Composing and creating new texts was done at home by Christine, possibly on wax tablets or, more likely, scrap parchment.¹⁰⁶ In conjunction with the *libraire*, who was an experienced manuscript planner and publisher, Christine turned drafts into a template manuscript that left space and/or notes for illumination and decoration. This first copy could be used as an *exemplar* in terms of both the text and the proposed layout.¹⁰⁷

As we have seen, Christine is an author-publisher who had extensive knowledge of the processes behind the production of a medieval manuscript. As such, she could have assumed the role of *libraire* for the production of her own manuscripts, managing its intricate processes and coordinating the work of the artists and artisans who were involved. Whether she served as her own scribe, is a question to which we will return in due course.

Having taken a close look at the way in which manuscripts of Christine's works were produced by assessing the evidence found in these works, we now turn our attention to the manuscripts themselves. An introduction to the surviving manuscripts will be followed by a survey of lost manuscripts. Furthermore, a

¹⁰⁵ See below, p. 134.

¹⁰⁶ Wax tablets were used throughout the Middle Ages, but had the disadvantage of being able to record only a limited amount of texts before having to be erased. See Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 12-14. Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to manuscript studies* (Ithaca / London: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 22, state that authors would 'prepare a draft on wax tablets or scrap parchment'.

¹⁰⁷ Not many *exemplars* have come down to us that are laid out with blank space for inserting miniatures. However, in this setting – which can almost be described by the modern-day term *printing-on-demand* – where manuscripts were copied quickly in order to be presented to multiple patrons, it is likely that any *exemplar* would include detailed information about the layout and the decorative programme, for the sole reason that it speeds up the process. Having the *exemplar* show the exact places where the miniatures were to be inserted would save the planner and the scribe considerable time, as there was no need to plan the layout of every single copy separately. See Gilbert Ouy, 'Une maquette de manuscrit à peintures (Paris, B. N. lat. 14643, ff. 269-283v, Honoré Bouvet, *Somnium prioris de Sallono super materia Scismatis*, 1394)', in *Mélanges d'histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offerts à Monsieur Frantz Calot* (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1960), pp. 43-51 and planche IV for an example of a so-called *maquette*.

chronological description of the production process of Christine's manuscripts between 1399 and 1418 will shed some light on the practices adopted by the scribes, the illuminators, and those responsible for the planning and layout of the manuscripts. Special attention will be paid to the conception, planning, and production of the manuscripts containing Christine's collected works.

3.2 THE SUPERVISED MANUSCRIPTS OF CHRISTINE'S WORKS

3.2.1 Existing Manuscripts

The œuvre of Christine de Pizan as we know it – composed, as we have seen in Chapter Two, between *ca* 1394-95 and 1430 – consists of 45 works, which includes the early poetic cycles and the aforementioned *Advison du coq*, of which only the title is known. To date, fifty manuscripts of Christine's works have been identified and shown to have been produced during Christine's active career as an author-publisher.¹⁰⁸ In the past, scholars have used different terms to refer to this corpus of fifty manuscripts. Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno use the expressions 'manuscrits autographes' and 'manuscrits originaux', whereas James Laidlaw prefers the term 'presentation copies'. These definitions are listed in Denis Muzerelle's *Vocabulaire codicologique*; together with the notion 'dedication copy', they reflect the various levels of authority and execution of a manuscript (see Table 3.1).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Additional manuscripts may remain undiscovered. However, given the continuously increasing speed with which libraries catalogue and describe their collections, the chance of new supervised manuscripts being discovered is ever-decreasing.

¹⁰⁹ Denis Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique: répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits avec leurs équivalents en anglais, italien, espagnol*, Comité International de Paléographie Latine, (2002-2003) <<http://vocabulary.irht.cnrs.fr/vocab.htm>>.

Reference	Term	Definition
441.02	Autographe (Autograph)	Qui est écrit de la propre main de l'auteur ou du personnage en question.
441.03	Original (Original)	Première mise par écrit d'un texte, ou, plus généralement, mise par écrit réalisée par l'auteur lui-même ou sous sa direction.
441.16	Exemplaire de dédicace (Dedication copy)	Exemplaire offert au dédicataire d'une œuvre.
441.17	Exemplaire de présentation (Presentation copy)	Exemplaire particulièrement soigné, destiné à être offert en hommage par l'auteur à un personnage de haut rang (qui n'est pas nécessairement le dédicataire du texte).

Table 3.1: Terms and definitions used in Muzerelle's *Vocabulaire codicologique*.

For a number of reasons, however, none of these definitions can accurately describe the fifty manuscripts in question. Firstly, not all of them are autographs, which precludes the use of the term 'autograph manuscript'. Secondly, not all manuscripts contain a dedication; thus, the term 'dedication copy' cannot be used to describe the entire corpus of codices. Furthermore, the definition of 'presentation copy' is equally inappropriate in this case, as it does not discriminate between presentation copies made during an author's career and those made after their active career, a distinction that is crucial in this case. What is more, at least one of the fifty manuscripts was not conceived as a presentation copy: codex Paris 24864, the only known manuscript containing Christine's *Lamentacion sur les maux de la France*, is not 'particulièrement soigné' at all and lacks the careful and lavish execution shown by the other manuscripts.¹¹⁰

The term 'original manuscript', finally, is too ambiguous to be used here, because it can be interpreted in three different ways: (1) the first manuscript version of a text; (2) a copy of a text executed by the author; (3) a copy of a text executed under the author's supervision. The first definition is, in my view, too vague to be of any use at all; moreover, it is at odds with definitions two and three, which may not necessarily refer to a **first** copy and seem to confuse 'original' and 'authentic'. The second definition is equally vague, its main problem being that it resembles that of the 'autograph'. The third definition is useful both for inclusion in the *Vocabulaire*

¹¹⁰ See below, pp. 95-96, for a detailed analysis of this codex.

codicologique and for application to Christine's fifty manuscripts. However, the meaning of the term 'original manuscript' is corrupted by its two other definitions and therefore in danger of being misinterpreted.¹¹¹

When discussing the fifty manuscripts that were made during Christine's active career as an author-publisher and under her supervision, I shall use the term *supervised manuscript* instead. A supervised manuscript is to be defined as a handwritten copy of a text produced under the author's supervision.

The fifty aforementioned supervised manuscripts can be divided into four categories (see Table 3.2). The vast majority, 43 manuscripts, can be classified as containing a single work by Christine de Pizan. A further subdivision is possible within that category between 38 manuscripts containing a single text – these manuscripts will henceforth be called *monotextual manuscripts* – and five miscellanies in which other, non-Christine texts are present in the same codex.¹¹² A further four manuscripts contain different versions of Christine's collected works. All but one of these collections are now made up of multiple codices; however, since the corresponding codicological units were intended to be assembled into one *recueil*, it is preferable to speak of four manuscripts rather than to treat each of its constituent codices separately. Thirdly, Paris 603 can be classified as the only manuscript that contains two texts by Christine de Pizan (the *Mutacion de Fortune* and the *Fais d'armes et de chevalerie*). Finally, the library of Leiden University holds one of two known contemporary fragments of one of Christine's texts, the *Cité des dames* (Leiden

¹¹¹ Ouy and Reno have tried to sidestep this ambiguity by using both 'autograph' and 'original', a rather awkward solution, as this suggests that a manuscript is either an autograph or an original. In reality, however, the one does not exclude the other.

¹¹² The miscellanies are: Brussels 11065-73, containing the *Livre de prudence* and various religious and moral texts; Paris 1187, containing the *Epistre Othea* and Laurent de Premierfait's French translation of Cicero's *De Senectute*; Paris 24786, containing the *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine*, preceded by an anonymous dialogue between a knight and the allegory Reason; Paris 24864, containing the *Lamentacion sur les maux de la France* and various other texts; Paris 580, finally, contains Christine's *Epistre à la reine* and various other texts, including the *Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry* and Renaud de Louens's 1336 translation of Albertanus of Brescia's 1246 work *Liber consolationis et consilii*, entitled *Le livre de Melibee et de Dame Prudence*. It must be assumed that these copies of Christine's texts were not intended to be inserted in these miscellanies – that is, at least not when the copies were being produced. The *recueils* were indubitably put together some time after the completion of their individual parts.

1819); the other fragment, Paris 14852, contains two folios of Christine's *Mutacion de Fortune*.¹¹³

Category	Number of MSS
1. [Single work]	[43]
a. in monotextual MS	38
b. in miscellany with non-Christine texts	5
2. Collection	4
3. Two works	1
4. Fragment	2
TOTAL	50

Table 3.2: Categorisation of supervised manuscripts.

The four manuscripts that contain Christine's collected works bring together a large number of her texts – as we will see below, the exact number varies – and they are presented as coherent, homogeneous collections. These large assemblages must have undergone a complicated production process involving many stages, from preparing the parchment via calculating the space needed for texts and illuminations to transcribing and illustrating the works. In analysing the codicological composition of these manuscripts, it is possible to pinpoint the problems that the *libraire*, the scribes, and the illuminators faced during their production and the solutions that were subsequently sought. Moreover, an examination of both the texts included in the collections and the order in which they are presented within the manuscripts can yield a better understanding of the editorial decisions that were made in selecting the texts that were included.

The earliest collection dates from 1399-1405 and is often referred to as the *Livre de Cristine* (and abbreviated as L). It survived in two editions, which are represented by manuscripts Chantilly 492-493 (L₁) and Paris 12779 (L₂).¹¹⁴ A second collection was acquired by Jean de Berry in 1408 and currently consists of

¹¹³ This fragment, V in Solente's edition of the *Mutacion*, is part of a miscellany: Paris 14852 contains various documents dated between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, including several letters and 'mandements', a 'cahier de dépenses', and a testament. Because of the heterogeneous contents and the fragmentary state of the *Mutacion* of Paris 14852, this codex has been categorised as a fragment rather than a miscellany.

¹¹⁴ For the sake of clarity, the abbreviation L₁ will only be used when reference is made to the entire compilation; in all other cases, L_{1a} refers to MS 492, and L_{1b} refers to MS 493.

manuscripts Paris 835, 606, 836, 605, and 607; the siglum D will be used to refer to this set of codices, while D₁ to D₅ will be used to refer to each of the manuscripts separately.¹¹⁵ The last collection of works prepared under Christine's supervision was completed early in 1414 and presented to Queen Isabeau de Bavière; it is now manuscript Harley 4431 and will be referred to as R. A fourth manuscript of Christine's collected works has survived and is kept in Paris 604 (L₃). An analysis of the manuscript by James Laidlaw has proved that, when allowance is made for some lost parts, it originally was a copy of L₁, produced around the middle of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁶ Since this means that the production of L₃ cannot possibly have been supervised by Christine, it will be referred to only sporadically.

Providing a description of all fifty supervised manuscripts falls beyond the scope of the present study. A comprehensive examination of these manuscripts is being undertaken by †Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno, whose *Album Christine de Pizan* will be published in early 2012. Instead, Appendix A contains basic data for each of the fifty supervised manuscripts: press mark, contents, year(s) of production, dimensions, and justification.¹¹⁷ The manuscripts in Appendix A are listed in chronological order. This timeline is not set in stone, as the majority of the supervised manuscripts can only be dated to a period rather than to a specific year or date. Evidence from the illuminations, inventories of Christine's patrons, in-text remarks, and differences in the various versions of the texts have been used to provide as accurate a dating as possible.

While Appendix A provides separate information about each manuscript, it seems useful to elaborate on the production process of all supervised manuscripts together. In the following section, attention will be paid to the way in which Christine de Pizan and the scribes and artists who worked for her produced the fifty

¹¹⁵ The order of the manuscripts given here is the original order of the different parts at the time of the production of the collection. See below, pp. 86-91, for a detailed description of D, and Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 52-59, notably 53.

¹¹⁶ Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 42, as well as n. 24.

¹¹⁷ A more extensive data set has been constructed in XML format and is available on the CD-ROM accompanying this Thesis, as well as on-line at <http://www.markaussems.nl/phd>.

supervised manuscripts, to what extent these different artisans collaborated, and whether evidence of a certain progress or evolution can be discerned in this production process between 1399 and 1418.

3.2.2 *Lost Manuscripts*

The fifty aforementioned manuscripts represent the number of manuscripts that still exist and of which we know the current whereabouts.¹¹⁸ There is evidence in Christine's texts that shows the existence of other supervised manuscripts, codices that are now considered lost.¹¹⁹ For instance, when recounting in her *Advision Cristine* how her works became known in foreign countries and how her son Jean's stay in England was arranged, Christine mentions sending books to the Earl of Salisbury and King Henry IV:

Mais qu'avint il ? Le roy Henri, qui encores est, qui s'atribua la couronne, vid desditz livres et dictiez que j'avoie ja plusieurs envoieez, comme desireuse de lui faire plaisir, audit conte [Salisbury]. Si lui vint a congnoissance tout ce qu'il en estoit. [...] Et a brief parler, tant fis a grant peine et par le moien de mes livres que congïé ot mon dit filz de me venir querir par de ça pour mener la, qui encore n'y vois.¹²⁰ (Reno and Dulac, *Advision Cristine*, pp. 112-113)

It is impossible to know whether the *livres* and *dictiez* to which Christine refers here are to be understood as texts (i.e. individual works) or as manuscripts. James

¹¹⁸ The Coulet & Faure MS is the only exception: it belonged to the library of Joseph Barrois (MS 203), who sold it to the Earl of Ashburnham in 1849, and it was put up for auction at Sotheby's London on 15 October, 1945. The manuscript, which contains a version of Christine's *Sept psaumes allégorisés*, resurfaced in the Parisian Librairie Coulet et Faure some twenty years later, where it was sold to a French private collector in or after 1970. To an extent, the same applies to MS ex-Phillipps 128, which was bought from Sotheby's by a French collector in 1972; to date, only a few people know its actual whereabouts. See Willard, '[Review of Rains, *Sept Psaumes*]', as well as Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, p. 13, n. 32. On a separate note: the name of the bookshop is 'Coulet et Faure' and not 'Coulet et Faire', as mentioned in James C. Laidlaw, 'Christine and the Manuscript Tradition', in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. by Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah L. McGrady (New York / London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 231-249.

¹¹⁹ This section describes lost manuscripts of Christine's early texts; the existence of these codices can be deduced from remarks and indications in Christine's texts. The existence of many more lost manuscripts can be deduced from library and auction catalogues; these copies will be mentioned below, in the discussion of the manuscript tradition of the text they contained.

¹²⁰ An alternative reading for 'par le moien de mes livres' found in the two other known copies of the *Advision Cristine* reads 'de mes livres me cousta', which aptly illustrates Christine's attitude towards her works; see Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 113.

Laidlaw convincingly argued that *dictiez* in Christine's language 'does not simply mean a work in verse, as might perhaps have been expected, but rather a literary composition in either prose or verse', but the exact definition of the word *livre* is unclear, as is that of *volume*, another word used frequently in different contexts by Christine. An analysis of the entries *livre*, *dité*, and *volume* provided in the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)* has revealed that the most commonly used definitions of these words seem to be 'literary work' or '(physical) book' for *livre*, 'literary composition' for *dité*, and 'manuscript' or 'codex' for *volume*.¹²¹ If we, then, are to understand the *livres* and *dictiez* as individual literary works, there is no information about the physical state of these works. As it appears, Christine sent not just one work, but many ('plusieurs') of her *dictiez* to the Earl of Salisbury. Given the fact that the events described here took place between 1398 (the meeting between Christine and Salisbury) and January 1400 (the latter's execution), these *dictiez* may include several of Christine's *Cent balades*, as well as a copy of her *Epistre Othea* which – as we will see – did at the time circulate with a dedication to King Henry IV. Unfortunately, it remains unclear whether these works were sent to England at the same time or on different occasions, thus making it impossible to gauge the size of the manuscripts concerned, and indeed their number, if there was more than one. The same goes for the works that Christine sent to Henry IV to secure her son's return to France. They have not been identified by Christine, but may have included works that preceded the production of collection L₁, such as the *Cent balades*, the *Deux amans*, the *Trois jugemens*, the *Epistre au Dieu d'Amours*, and the *Dit de la rose*. Whether or not these works could have been contained in a single volume must therefore remain a matter of speculation.¹²²

¹²¹ See <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/>; for similar views, see Laidlaw, 'Christine, Salisbury, Henry IV', 134-135, and Sandra Hindman, 'The Composition of the Manuscript of Christine de Pizan's Collected Works in the British Library: A Reassessment', *The British Library Journal*, 9 (1983), 93-123, notably 111-112. See also Monique Léonard, *Le 'dit' et sa technique littéraire des origines à 1340* (Paris: Champion, 1996), pp. 32-50.

¹²² See Laidlaw, 'Christine, Salisbury, Henry IV', 135. It should be noted that around 1400-1401, Christine's craftsmen were busy preparing the first large collection of her works (L₁), as well as several other early manuscripts, among them Paris 848, Paris 1187 (both containing the *Epistre Othea*), Paris 1740, and Brussels 11034 (both containing the *Deux amans*); see below, pp. 66-74.

Similarly, Christine mentions in her *Advisio Cristine* that Giangaleazzo Visconti, the Duke of Milan and father-in-law to Louis d'Orléans, had heard of her works from others:

(...) comme ja m'eussent donné nom mes ditz volumes par les presens qui a mains princes d'estranges païs fais en furent, non mie de par moy envoiez mais par autres comme de choses nouvelles venues de sentement de femme (...), le premier duc de Milan en Lombardie, qui de ceste chose fut informez et puet estre plus grandement que la cause n'y estoit, desirant me traire en son païs, tres grandement avoit ordonné de mon estat par rentes a tousjours, se aler y vouloie. (Reno and Dulac, *Advisio Cristine*, pp. 113-114)

If we are to believe Christine's words here, her reputation preceded her outside France and this was caused by other people sending her works abroad. Does this mean that Christine's works were being copied and distributed even as early as 1402? If so, these manuscripts should be easy to identify, as they are contemporary with Christine but were not copied by one of her regular scribes.¹²³

The manuscript tradition of the *Epistre Othea* provides further evidence for lost manuscripts. Gianni Mombello and James Laidlaw have demonstrated the existence of four different prologues to the *Othea* in which the work is dedicated to Louis d'Orléans, Philippe de Bourgogne, Jean de Berry, and the English King Henry IV. The surviving supervised copies of the *Othea* all contain the dedication to Louis d'Orléans, which means that at least three supervised (monotextual?) manuscripts – those containing the other dedications – have been lost.¹²⁴

Similarly, the *Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* may have been sent to King Henry IV, but no monotextual manuscript of this text has survived. In all probability, this manuscript was produced and either sent or presented to the king, but subsequently

¹²³ A manuscript that meets these criteria is Paris 1643, a copy of the *Chemin de long estude* executed by Nicole Garbet, secretary to Louis d'Orléans. See Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, 'Où mène le *Chemin de long estude*? Christine de Pizan, Ambrogio Migli, et les ambitions impériales de Louis d'Orléans (A propos du ms. BNF fr. 1643).', in *Christine de Pizan 2000: Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. by John Campbell and Nadia Margolis (Amsterdam / Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 177-195, and below, pp. 74-75.

¹²⁴ See Mombello, *La tradizione manoscritta*, and Laidlaw, 'Christine, Salisbury, Henry IV', 138-140.

lost.¹²⁵ The same line of reasoning applies to Christine's early lyrical works. The *Trois jugemens*, for instance, contains a dedication to Jean de Werchin, Seneschal of Hainault, but none of the surviving manuscripts of this text can be traced to his library, and no monotextual manuscript of the *Trois jugemens* has survived. Furthermore, the *Dit de la Rose* was dedicated to Louis d'Orléans, but has not survived as a separate, monotextual manuscript. In addition, a number of poems in Christine's *Cent balades* and *Autres balades* were dedicated to patrons, but have not survived as separate copies. This may, however, be explained by the fragility of a single sheet of parchment, which is evidently more prone to being lost, damaged, or used for other purposes than a codex.¹²⁶

In his edition of Christine's *Œuvres poétiques*, Maurice Roy alludes to the existence of two other (possibly supervised) manuscripts of the *Dit de la pastoure*, but they have not resurfaced since.¹²⁷ It is equally unclear whether the entry in several inventories of the Burgundian library clearly referring to a copy of *Pastoure* may be identified with the two aforementioned lost codices, or whether it is a trace of a fourth monotextual copy of the text.¹²⁸

Other information about surviving and lost manuscripts can be gathered from inventories of the libraries of King Charles VI, and the Dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Orléans.¹²⁹ On the one hand, they permit us to identify currently known

¹²⁵ See Laidlaw, 'Christine, Salisbury, Henry IV', 135-137. A monotextual codex of this work does appear in the 1467 inventory of the Burgundian library (Jean Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique, ou Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1830), entry 1402), but it cannot be positively identified as a supervised manuscript.

¹²⁶ *Autres balades* 19 and 22, for instance, were dedicated to Louis d'Orléans; the former is a *poème d'étrennes*, the latter a poem in which Christine recommends her son to the Duke. See James C. Laidlaw, 'L'actualité dans les premières *Autres balades*', in *Au champ des écritures (III^e Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan, Lausanne, 18-22 juillet 1998)*, ed. by Eric Hicks, Diego Gonzales and Philippe Simon (Paris: Champion, 2000), pp. 771-780 (778-779).

¹²⁷ Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 2, pp. xix-xx.

¹²⁸ Doutrepoint 124 = Barrois 1368 = Barrois 2128; see below, n. 129, for this style of notation.

¹²⁹ Léopold Victor Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 3 vols (Paris: Champion, 1907); Léopold Victor Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale (puis nationale)*, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868-1881); Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*; Gabriel Peignot, *Catalogue d'une partie des livres composant la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne, au XV^e siècle*. 2nd edn (Dijon: Victor Lagier, 1841); Georges Doutrepoint, *Inventaire de la "Librairie" de Philippe le Bon, 1420* (Brussels: Kiessling, 1906); Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry (1401-1416)*, 2 vols (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894-1896); Patrick M. De Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404): étude sur les manuscrits à peintures d'une collection princière à l'époque du style gothique international* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1985). References to these inventories in the course of this

manuscripts from the description in these inventories. This can yield positive identifications – meaning the discovery that certain manuscripts belonged to a certain patron at a certain moment in time – as well as negative identifications.¹³⁰ The opposite occurs quite frequently as well; there are various existing manuscripts that cannot be related to a single entry in the royal or ducal libraries. For instance, of the four currently known manuscripts of Christine’s *Charles V*, only one can be connected to an inventory description. It is possible that two other manuscripts belonged to the royal library and that of the Duke of Orléans, but there is no evidence to back up this claim.¹³¹

Similarly, in the inventory of the library of Charles d’Albret, drawn up on 19 December 1409, we find the following description:

Item ung autre romans en lettre de court, couvert de vermeil,
ferré de cloux de leton, contenant la *Vision de Cristine*. (Stein,
Bibliothèque d’Albret, pp. 91-92)

This manuscript of the *Advision Cristine*, assuming that it is a supervised copy, might be identified as MS ex-Phillipps 128, but, as Reno and Dulac correctly observe, ‘rien ne permet de le prouver ou de le nier’.¹³²

As we have seen above, there are three texts by Christine of which no supervised manuscripts have survived: the *Heures de contemplacion*, the *Advision du coq*, and the *Ditié de Jehanne d’Arc*.¹³³

chapter will include the name of the author and the item number rather than page numbers. As Barrois and Guiffrey have included several medieval inventories in their works, some manuscripts correspond to more than one entry.

¹³⁰ For example, the (supervised?) copies of the *Livre de paix* listed in the inventory of the libraries of Berry (Guiffrey 1239 = Guiffrey 1139 = Delisle 288 = Barrois 534) and Burgundy (Barrois 2232) do not correspond to any surviving manuscript of this text.

¹³¹ The manuscripts are Paris 10153, Paris 5025, Modena α .N.8.7, and Vatican 920. The *Charles V* listed in Barrois 984 = 1949 is Paris 10153, while the description of Berry’s copy (Guiffrey 943 = 1109 = Delisle 246 = Barrois 518) does not match any of the other manuscripts.

¹³² Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. XLIX.

¹³³ In the inventory of the library of Charles le Téméraire drawn up in March 1478, the following entry is to be found: “698. Ung livret de l’**Imaige du coq**, couvert de parchemin” (Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*; my emphasis). Could this be Christine’s *Advision du coq*? Although the entry is not contemporary with the composition of the text, both texts mentioned are unknown, have not survived, and have very similar titles.

In the 1467 and 1487 inventories of the Burgundian library, we find a further reference to a lost manuscript. The inventories describe a collection of Christine's works that cannot be identified as one of the four aforementioned collections:

1665. Ung autre grant volume couvert de cuir rouge, à tout deux cloans et cinq boutons de léton, hystorié et intitulé: *Le livre des cent Balades et plusieurs laiz, l'Epistre Othea, la Cité des Dames, Longue Estude*, et comenchant au second feuillet, 'De tous mes [boni où se mêle chose moult dur, / biens et de ma noruiture,]', ou dernier finissant, 'me fora tourner en cendre'. (*Barrois, Bibliothèque protypographique*, n° 1665, p. 238)¹³⁴

Since the last quotation of this entry refers to Christine's *Cent balades d'amant et de dame*, a text of which the only known version occupies the very last folios of R, it has been suggested that this manuscript – aptly dubbed 'the Burgundy MS' – may be identified as MS Harley 4431.¹³⁵ A number of facts speak against this identification. Firstly, as James Laidlaw has pointed out, the order of the texts in the description of the manuscript differs from that in R.¹³⁶ Secondly, there is some discrepancy between the words cited in the Burgundian catalogue and those in Harley 4431. While the words 'Tous mes bons jours ce m'est chose moult dure' do appear in Harley 4431, they are to be found on the second line of folio 5r. The phrase 'Me fera tourner en cendre' also appears in Harley 4431, on line 22 of folio 398r, making it the penultimate line of the manuscript. When allowance is made for the presence of the *Prologue* in Harley 4431 (ff. 3r-3v), the first line cited does appear 'au second feuillet', as the Burgundian inventory mentions. This, however, does not positively identify the Burgundy MS as Harley 4431; according to Patrick De Winter, the striking similarity between the *incipit* mentioned here and that in Harley 4431 (f. 5r) and in D₁ (Paris 835, f. 2r):

¹³⁴ A comparison of the quote given by Barrois with the actual source (Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B 3501, document 123744, fol. 39) has revealed a number of misreadings: *noruiture* should read *nourriture*, *ou dernier finissant* should read *et finissant*, *fora* should read *fera*, and – more importantly – the phrase *boni où se mêle chose moult dur* has been completely misread by Barrois: it should read *bons jours ce mest chose moult dur*. The two phrases between square brackets are both present in the original document, the first phrase in superscript and the second in subscript.

¹³⁵ Mombello, *La tradizione manoscritta*, pp. 329-332.

¹³⁶ Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 59. The *Cité des dames* and the *Chemin de long estude* have been transposed in R.

(...) confirmerait la probabilité d'une mise en page quasi identique de ces volumes. (...) En raison des liens qui unissaient Christine de Pizan à la cour de Bourgogne à partir de 1403-1404, on peut aisément concevoir que le recueil de ses œuvres de la collection bourguignonne (1405-1406) fut probablement un modèle pour le manuscrit exécuté, en bonne partie, après 1407 et acquis par Jean de Berry juste avant 1410 [i.e. D]. (De Winter, *Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs*, p. 374).

Although De Winter's datings have been corrected in recent times, it is beyond doubt that the manuscripts of Christine's collected works are intimately linked in terms of their codicological and textual structure.

The most powerful evidence against the identification of the Burgundy MS as Harley 4431 can be found in their respective provenance. While the Burgundy MS appears in the inventories of the Burgundian library until 1731 (after which the collection is untraceable), the provenance of Harley 4431 is established and clear from the seventeenth century onwards.¹³⁷ It is therefore not surprising that Harley 4431 contains no possessors' marks or other evidence suggesting that it once formed part of the Burgundian library.

To add to the confusion, the Burgundy MS seems to make its first appearance in the 1467 catalogue, meaning that it probably entered the library between 1420 (the date of the previous inventory) and 1467 – mentions of a *Livre de Cent Ballades* in earlier accounts are either too vague to be positively identified as this volume, or incorrect.¹³⁸ Given this information, and the fact that by 1420 Christine was no longer in Paris, it seems uncertain that the Burgundy MS is a supervised manuscript, let alone that it is to be identified as Harley 4431.

A similar problem of identification exists around the Leiden fragment of the *Cité des dames*. Evidence of its history as part of a collection can be found in the only running title of the fragment, which reads 'Le Livre de la ci[.] des dames xxvii'. The Roman numeral 27 undoubtedly refers to the number of the work in the original collection, as we know from similar numerations in D and R. Unfortunately, the one

¹³⁷ Barrois 679, 940, and 1665. See also Laidlaw, 'Christine and the Manuscript Tradition', notably p. 232 and n. 8.

¹³⁸ References to 'Cent Bal(l)ades' in earlier inventories include Doutrepont 172 and 192, as well as Peignot 61, 66, and 68.

and a half folios of the Leiden fragment do not provide any further indications as to its origins or history. Therefore, we cannot be sure whether the Leiden fragment was once part of the Burgundy MS, as it has been suggested by Maureen Curnow in her edition of the *Livre de la cité des dames*.¹³⁹

The aforementioned cases of surviving and lost manuscripts lead to the intriguing question how the number of fifty supervised presentation manuscripts relates to the total amount of supervised manuscripts of Christine's texts. An analysis of the 1380 inventory of the possessions of King Charles V of France enables Bozzolo and Ornato to conclude that, of the 116 manuscripts present in that inventory (i.e. excluding those kept in the Louvre), only 10.3 percent has survived. Referring specifically to Christine's case, Gilbert Ouy and Eric Hicks have expressed the belief that the fifty currently known supervised manuscripts may constitute as little as 50 percent of the original amount of codices created under Christine's supervision.¹⁴⁰ There is of course no way of checking the accuracy of these estimates.

In the next section, an attempt will be made to describe the production process behind each of the aforementioned surviving manuscripts individually and in chronological order. Special attention will be paid to the manuscripts of Christine's collected works and the ever-changing order in which texts were incorporated in these manuscripts.

¹³⁹ Maureen Cheney Curnow, 'The *Livre de la cité des dames* of Christine de Pisan: a Critical Edition', 2 vols (Ph.D., Vanderbilt University, 1975), pp. 534-536. Curnow based her assumption on resemblances in layout and decoration between the Leiden fragment and early copies of the *Cité des dames* that were produced around 1405.

¹⁴⁰ Ouy assumes that '[s]i le nombre de ses manuscrits autographes et originaux paraît considérable, sans doute ne représentent-ils cependant qu'une fraction (la moitié?) de la production du petit atelier'; see James C. Laidlaw, 'Christine de Pizan: the Making of the Queen's Manuscript (London, British Library, Harley 4431)', in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, ed. by Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Louvain / Paris / Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006), pp. 297-310 (297, n. 2). Eric Hicks mentions that 'Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno speak of some forty original manuscripts, and judging from the introductions of critical editions, probably just as great a number have not survived'; see Eric Hicks, 'Le Livre des Trois Vertus of Christine de Pizan: Beinecke MS. 427', *Yale French Studies*, 80 (1991), 57-71 (59).

3.2.3 Early Supervised Manuscripts: 1399-1400

As we have seen in Chapter 2, the earliest surviving traces of Christine's career as a publisher can be dated to just before the turn of the fifteenth century, when she initiated the production of the first of four editions of her collected works (Chantilly 492-493, L₁).¹⁴¹ In that early period between 1399 and 1403, every text known to have been written by Christine was inserted into this edition; only two have come down to us in monotextual manuscripts as well. The earliest of these two texts is the *Epistre Othea*, written around 1399 and preserved as an individual text in manuscripts Paris 848 and Paris 1187. The *Livre du debat des deux amans*, composed in 1399, has survived as an individual text in manuscripts Brussels 11034 and Paris 1740.¹⁴² These earliest manuscripts containing an individual work are executed in a very restrained style, as they contain little or no decoration and their layout shows a certain unfamiliarity with book production.¹⁴³ This unfamiliarity is most obvious in MS Paris 848, in which each of the one hundred main texts of the *Epistre Othea* is centred on the page and surrounded by a gloss and a corresponding allegory. In later manuscripts, the *Othea* is laid out in a single column. The layout in Paris 848 imitates that of contemporary biblical or theological texts, but is both confusing and inefficient in terms of parchment use. The reasons behind the relative plainness of these manuscripts may be financial. Christine, having just embarked upon a career as a writer, did not perhaps have the financial means to employ an artist to produce painted miniatures.

¹⁴¹ As we have seen, it is conceivable that copies of some of Christine's early lyrical works circulated as early as 1394-95; however, none of these early copies have survived the ravages of time.

¹⁴² In terms of recipients, Paris 848 and Paris 1740 were probably presented to Louis d'Orléans; the version of the *Epistre Othea* in the former bears a prologue addressed to him, while the latter contains an opening miniature showing the duke accepting the book. Brussels 11034 was probably presented to Charles d'Albret, the future *connétable de France*; an accompanying ballad (number 21 of the *Autres Balades*) dedicates the text to him. See Laidlaw, '*Autres Balades*'n. 12. This manuscript may be the one mentioned in the 1467 inventory of the Burgundian library (Barrois 1353) since its description shows that it, too, contained the prefatory ballad. It is unknown to whom the *Epistre Othea* in Paris 1187 was presented.

¹⁴³ The two *Deux amans* manuscripts contain a single uncoloured pen-and-ink drawing; Paris 1187 is not illuminated, and Paris 848 contains pen-and-ink drawings in *grisaille*.

3.2.4 *The Livre de Cristine*

In contrast with the late 1390s, when she saw herself as a novice writer, the early years of the fifteenth century turned Christine into an established and well-known author. Having apparently written only lyric works before the turn of the century, she now starts to compose works in prose as well and she does so at an unbelievable pace. Between *ca* 1399 and *ca* 1402, no fewer than 20 works see the light of day. The fruits of hard intellectual and scribal labour, they constitute an œuvre in themselves. Around the turn of the century, Christine's craftsmen began preparations for what was to become the first edition of her collected works: the *Livre de Cristine*, surviving in manuscripts Chantilly 492-493 (L₁) and Paris 12779 (L₂).¹⁴⁴ The prologue of L₁ provides a first impression of its production process:

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. (L_{1a}, f. 1^v)¹⁴⁵

Although this preamble contains references to the years 1399 and 1402, the latter even accompanied by a date (23 June), it is not entirely clear to which parts of the production process of the manuscript they refer. When Christine says that the book was 'commencié' (begun) in 1399, is she implying that her atelier began transcribing the actual manuscript in 1399 from *exemplaria* that had already been made, or merely that she began thinking about the contents of the book? As it is known that some of Christine's *balades* were composed as early as 1394-1395, 'commencié' is unlikely to refer to the process of composing all the texts that were to go into the *Livre*. The same problem occurs with the verb 'eschevé' (completed), which can refer to either finishing the literary creation of the texts (which, as in the quotation, is followed by the process of *escripre*), or completing the writing process. The only safe

¹⁴⁴ See Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 42-52 for a detailed description of L₁.

¹⁴⁵ The prologue is present in L₁ and L₃, but lacks in L₂. The reason for this (deliberate?) omission is unclear.

conclusion that can be drawn from the prologue, if any, is that the collection was prepared and written between 1399 and June 1402.

Thus, judging from the prologue, L₁ must have been completed towards the middle of the year 1402. This, however, conflicts with the information we have about the five final texts in the manuscript, four of which, as we have seen, can all be securely dated to after 1402.¹⁴⁶ Since the table of contents following the prologue in L₁ covers the first nineteen works (from the *Cent balades* to the *Quinze joyes Nostre Dame*, ff. 2a-163c), one can safely assume that this first part was finished, 'eschevé', in June 1402. An explicit added to L₂ immediately after the *Quinze joyes*, lends further weight to this theory.¹⁴⁷ It reads:

Explicit le livre de Cristine.
Deo gracias. (Paris 12779, f. 156c)

In both L₁ and L₂, the codicological structure of the so-called *Livre de Cristine*, this first part of the collection, consists of two units.¹⁴⁸ The first codicological unit, consisting of items 1 to 11, was copied in nine regular quaternions (2a-73d in L₁, 1a-71c in L₂). The second unit contains items 12-19 (74a-165d in L₁, 72a-156c in L₂), copied in eleven regular quaternions and an irregular last quire, which proves to be problematic for at least two reasons.¹⁴⁹ In L₁, this last quire is a binion (162-163/164-165), containing the end of the *Oroison Nostre Dame* and the complete texts of the *Quinze joyes* and the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur*; in L₂, however, quire 21 now consists of two single leaves (155 and 156), comprising the end of the *Oroison Nostre Dame* and a complete version of the *Quinze joyes*. While Eric Hicks assumed that the original quire 21 in both L₁ and L₂ had to be a quaternion, James Laidlaw pointed out that this is unlikely and that the original constitution of quire 21 is unknown.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ The *Chemin de long estude* was completed on 20 March 1403, the *Dit de la pastoure* in May of the same year, the *Mutacion de Fortune* on 10 November 1403, and the *Epistre à la reine* on 5 October 1405.

¹⁴⁷ There is no such explicit in L₁. In all likelihood, it was erased from the manuscript when the additions were incorporated.

¹⁴⁸ See Appendix C for a schematic overview of the contents of L₁ and L₂, as well as the other collections.

¹⁴⁹ L₂ was severely damaged after its execution and as a result, several folios have gone missing. As this happened before the foliation was added, the loss of these folios does not show in the foliation.

¹⁵⁰ Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 48-50.

A codicological examination of L₂ has revealed the presence of two stubs between folios 156 and 157, which indicate two cancels. The absence of any stubs at the corresponding place in L₁ and the aforementioned similarities between the two manuscripts in terms of codicological structure point towards the theory that quire 21 was originally conceived as a binion. It is preserved in this state in L₁, but has sustained severe damage in L₂.¹⁵¹

This leads to the second problematic aspect of quire 21: what is the status of the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur*? It is absent from L₂ – probably due to the aforementioned damage sustained by quire 21 – and copied in the blank space of L₁'s quire 21 immediately after the *Quinze joyes*, which should have been the final text of the *Livre de Cristine* according to the explicit in L₂ as well as the table of contents in L₁. As a result, it is unlikely that the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* was present in the collection upon completion of the *Livre*. Furthermore, as James Laidlaw argues too, it should be noted that the scribal hand of the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* in L₁ is different from that of the *Livre*, as are its decoration and illumination.¹⁵² Due to its layout – there are no blank lines between the prayer's stanzas – the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* seems to have been squeezed into the last two folios of quire 21. A rather ill-placed opening miniature on folio 163d only confirms this 'distinctly cramped appearance'.¹⁵³ Therefore, the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* has to be considered the first of the texts that were added to the *Livre* in a separate production process after 1402.

The additions to the *Livre* in L₁ were undoubtedly added to the compilation at a later stage, and in at least two stages. The *Chemin de long estude*, the *Dit de la pastoure*, and the *Mutacion de Fortune* all having been completed in 1403, it is reasonable to assume that they were added to L₁ in 1404. It is unlikely that Christine would have waited until the completion of her *Epistre à la reine* in early October 1405 to insert all five texts in the manuscript together: in 1404 she did not

¹⁵¹ In this hypothesis, the original structure of quire 21 in L₂ would have been: (155-156/[156^{bis}-156^{ter}])

¹⁵² Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 49-50.

¹⁵³ Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 50.

know that she would be writing the *Epistre* in 1405. Furthermore, at a time when her career was still at an early stage and she was in more or less constant need of money, it seems improbable that Christine would have postponed the production of these additions to L₁, thus depriving herself of a possible reimbursement from the patron for whom the manuscript was intended.

In terms of the codicological structure of these additions, they were added as separate units.¹⁵⁴ The *Dit de la pastoure* was copied in two quaternions, the latter being enlarged with a single leaf.¹⁵⁵ The *Chemin de long estude* occupies six quaternions, the first being enlarged with a single leaf.¹⁵⁶ The *Mutacion de Fortune* was copied in 26 quires, 23 of which are regular quaternions. The third quire is a ternion (248-250/251-253), the fifteenth a binion (342-343/344-345), as is also the last (26th) quire (426-427/428-429). Finally, the *Epistre à la reine* was added in the blank space following the *Mutacion* (427c-429d).

This examination of the quire structure of the additions to the *Livre* in L₁ reveals a number of interesting facts about the production process of the added texts. First, both the *Dit de la pastoure* and the *Chemin de long estude* occupy a separate codicological unit. That this was done intentionally is proved by folio 182, which was added at the end of the last quire of the *Dit de la pastoure*. In doing so, the planner made sure that the *Dit de la pastoure* stayed well within its unit and would not have to be continued in a new quire. A similar strategy was adopted for some parts of the *Mutacion de Fortune*: the use of a binion for quire 15, for example, coincides with the end of Part 5 of the text. If one assumes that these texts (and indeed all parts of them) were copied into their respective quires one after the other in the order in which they were to appear in L₁, by a single scribe and in one single and continuous workflow, there would have been no need to use abnormal quires and extra leaves.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the fact that quires other than quaternions were used

¹⁵⁴ As we have seen, this does not apply to the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur*.

¹⁵⁵ Codicological structure in L₁: (174-177/178-181)+182.

¹⁵⁶ Codicological structure: 183+(184-187/188-191). Folio 183 is blank.

¹⁵⁷ By 'abnormal quire' is meant a regular quire of a size that differs from the size of the other quires; in this case, quaternions are regularly used throughout the manuscript, which makes the occurrence of a binion or a ternion 'abnormal'.

deliberately in these cases can only point to one conclusion: a disruption of some kind occurred during the production process.¹⁵⁸ In the case of the *Dit de la pastoure* and the *Chemin*, that disruption can be explained by their respective production dates: the texts were not completed at the same time and therefore copied at different times. The disruptions in the *Mutacion*, however, are more difficult to understand, as there seems to be no need whatsoever to ensure that the end of certain parts of the text coincides with the end of a quire if the copy of the text is produced in a continuous workflow. In all probability, therefore, this was not the case for the *Mutacion* in L₁. One plausible explanation for the occurrence of these binions and ternions could be the state and availability of the exemplar. Perhaps the codicological structure of L₁ mimicked the structure of Christine's file-copy of the *Mutacion*, which just happened to have a number of abnormal quires. Maybe, too, Christine decided to remove a certain quire or leaf from the *exemplar* because she wanted to make changes to the original text. Scenarios like these could explain why it was decided to use abnormal quires.

However, there may be other issues underlying the disruptions in the production process of the *Mutacion*. In fact, a rather distinct change in handwriting can be observed between folios 253 and 254, and between folios 345 and 346.¹⁵⁹ Although these different hands could belong to a single scribe, perhaps to be explained by a lengthy break from transcribing enjoyed by the scribe in question, this scenario does not account for the use of quires of abnormal size in this case. Therefore, the task of transcribing the L₁ copy of the *Mutacion de Fortune* must have been distributed amongst more than one scribe. Following this scenario, scribe 1 began transcribing Part 1 of the text, scribe 2 started his contribution on folio 254 simultaneously, while scribe 3 transcribed Parts 6 and 7. In using a ternion at the end of his part of the transcription, scribe 1 made sure his work linked up perfectly with that of scribe 2, who, for his part, was instructed to use a binion at the end of

¹⁵⁸ Abnormal quires are used quite often in those instances where late additions, deletions, changes, or corrections had to be made to a text, or when works by several scribes had to be joined to each other seamlessly.

¹⁵⁹ See Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', pp. 50-51.

his Part 5 to ensure a seamless connection with the work of scribe 3. Thus, two or more scribes could be employed to work on the same transcription, undoubtedly to speed up the production process.

Work distribution of this kind requires extensive and careful planning. The use of an *exemplar* consisting of loose gatherings is, of course, essential: only a text in unbound quires can be distributed amongst several scribes. This explains why three out of the five added texts begin in a new quire and form a separate codicological unit: they each had their own, separate *exemplar*. The insertion of the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* in the blank space following the *Quinze joyes* is also understandable: if folios 164 and 165 were left blank, there would have been no seamless connection between the original *Livre de Cristine* and the additional texts. Because the text of the *Oroison* was too small to be given its own, separate quire, it was the ideal text to bridge the gap.

This leaves a final question: why, when, and how was the original *Livre* enlarged? Firstly, we must assume that the original *Livre*, finished on 23 June 1402, was presented to its intended patron as a finished work: an illuminated and almost certainly bound codex. As the current binding was produced by the Parisian bookbinder Belz-Niédrée in the nineteenth century, it does not provide any information as to previous bindings.¹⁶⁰

When the first addition took place – probably around 1404 – the *Livre* must have been reclaimed and, assuming that the copy was bound, stripped of its cover; inserting the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur*, let alone adding the miniature on f. 163v, would have been impossible without unbinding the codex. The *Dit de la pastoure*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Mutacion de Fortune* were then added to the *Livre*, each as a separate codicological unit. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether these texts ended up with the *Livre* in one binding. The fact that the collection is presently divided into two codices cannot be used in itself to

¹⁶⁰ See Léopold Victor Delisle and Gustave Maçon, *Chantilly. Le cabinet des livres. Manuscrits*, 3 vols (Paris: Plon, 1900-1911), vol. 2, pp. 84-86.

conclude that this was also the case in the fifteenth century. The presence of an original ninth leaf (folio 183) added before the very first quire of the *Chemin*, however, does lead to the hypothesis that, indeed, the *Chemin* was the first text in a new codex. Three arguments support this theory. Firstly, the fact that folio 183 was inserted but left blank, means that its presence is deliberate, especially given the fact that elsewhere in the collection, Christine's craftsmen went to great lengths to conceal or re-use this kind of blank leaf. Secondly, the insertion of an extra blank folio at the very beginning of the first quire of a codex is quite common, for such a folio acts as a guard-leaf between the text and the cover or pastedown of the codex. Finally, the fact that the enlarged *Livre*, if not separated into two codices, would have consisted of a single book containing no less than 429 folios is, although not impossible, at least unusual. Thus, in all probability, the *Chemin* and the *Mutacion* were added to the *Livre* as a separate codex. When, late in 1405 or early in 1406, the *Epistre à la reine* was added to the collection, it was only this second volume that had to be temporarily reclaimed by Christine; the *Epistre* was then copied in the three final folios of the last original quire of the *Mutacion* (ff. 427c-429d).

It remains unclear for whom L_1 and L_2 were produced. It is beyond dispute that the noble or royal patrons commissioned these anthologies: Christine would not have had them produced unless she had reason to expect that the substantial costs involved in making these manuscripts would be reimbursed. The codices themselves do not contain any clues as to their original possessor and much of the later history of the books is equally unknown. The 1417 catalogue of the library of Charles d'Orléans does list a codex that could be L_1 :

Le livre de Cristine fait pour feue madame d'Orléans, couvert
de rouge marqueté. (Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. I, p. 106)

The title of the inventory matches the description of L_2 given in the explicit, and an unfinished miniature on folio 51v, at the beginning of the *Deux amans*, shows the presentation of a book to the Duke of Orléans, whose arms are visible on the

canopy.¹⁶¹ However, this is too insubstantial a relationship to identify positively L₂ (or L₁ for that matter) with Valentina Visconti's book: the textual similarities between explicit and inventory are inconclusive, the *Livre de Cristine* being a rather vague description, and the presence of the Orléans arms in the opening miniature of the *Deux amans* can mean that not the entire manuscript, but simply this text was dedicated to him.

3.2.5 *Christine's Heyday: 1403-1407*

Having produced the first part of L₁ and L₂, Christine continued her career as a writer. The period between 1403 and 1407 turns out to be a highly productive time for Christine and her craftsmen: with an output of at least thirty manuscripts in this period, everyone involved in the production process must have been working at full stretch.

The first of Christine's texts to be published upon completion of the *Livre de Cristine* was the *Chemin de long estude*. Soon after composing this work – a process which she began on 5 October 1402, according to an in-text remark – Christine ordered monotextual copies to be made.¹⁶² Manuscript Brussels 10983 seems to be the earliest surviving copy of the *Chemin*, quickly followed by a second version in Brussels 10982.¹⁶³ A third copy, Paris 1188, was presented to Jean de Berry on 20 March of the year 1403 (n.st.) and is assumed to represent the last version of the text.¹⁶⁴

A fourth contemporary copy of the text is contained in Paris 1643. This manuscript was transcribed not by Christine's scribes, but by Nicole Garbet,

¹⁶¹ The explicit (fol. 156v) reads 'Explicit le livre de Cristine. / Deo gracias.' According to Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 533, an 'erasure at the equivalent point in the Chantilly MS suggests that it may have contained a similar explicit; if so, it was doubtless removed when the manuscript was subsequently enlarged (...)'.
¹⁶² See Tarnowski (ed.), *Le chemin de longue étude*, p. 98, ll. 185-187.

¹⁶³ Peignot 49 (both) = Doutrepoint 131 and 130 = Barrois 1573 and 1574 = Barrois 1825 and 1826

¹⁶⁴ James C. Laidlaw, 'How Long is the *Livre du chemin de long estude*?', in *The Editor and the Text*, ed. by Philip E. Bennett and Graham A. Runnalls (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 83-95, notably 84.

secretary of Louis d'Orléans. It is an important codex in that it is the only known contemporary manuscript of a text by Christine de Pizan whose scribe is known by name and is not a regular scribe hired by Christine.¹⁶⁵ In all probability, this manuscript was commissioned by the Duke of Orléans as a present for his uncle, Jean de Berry.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, there is evidence that at least one, but possibly two, other monotextual copies of the *Chemin* had been completed by March 1403.¹⁶⁷ The *Chemin de long estude* was also added to L₁, as mentioned above; this copy seems closely connected to that in Brussels 10983. Further copies were inserted in the Duke's Manuscript (D₃, Paris 836) and the Queen's Manuscript (R).¹⁶⁸

Shortly after May 1403, the *Dit de la pastoure* is published by Christine. This text survives in a single, plain monotextual manuscript of 45 folios: Paris 2184.

The monotextual copies of the *Epistre Othea*, the *Deux amans*, and *Pastoure* discussed above are all similar in execution. They are fair but simple copies, written in a single column and containing a limited number of pen-and-ink drawings or *grisaille* miniatures. The same largely applies to the monotextual copies of the *Chemin de long estude*, with the exception that they show an evolution in the quality and style of the miniatures, brought about by commissioning different illuminators. According to Patrick De Winter:

A partir de 1402, avec les manuscrits de présentation de son *Chemin de longue estude*, sa première grande œuvre, les miniatures que Christine fera exécuter seront de plus grande qualité. (De Winter, *Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs*, p. 349)

In the absence of sources, we can only speculate about Christine's reasons for enlisting a different group of illuminators for the *Chemin* cycle. Perhaps she was so

¹⁶⁵ Three manuscripts of Christine's *Trois Vertus* – Boston 101, London 31841, and Paris 25636 – have also been identified by some scholars as not having been copied by scribes P, R, and X, but we do not know the name of their scribe(s). See below, pp. 82-84, and Appendix E.

¹⁶⁶ Ouy and Reno, 'Où mène le *Chemin*', pp. 185-186.

¹⁶⁷ See Laidlaw, 'How Long is...!', p. 84.

¹⁶⁸ It is not unlikely that copies of the text were also present in L₂ (Paris 12779), in the lost Burgundy MS, and in the anthology of which the Leiden fragment originally formed part.

pleased with the work carried out in Brussels 11034 by a student of the Master of the Valencia *Roman de la Rose* that she hired the Master himself to illuminate Brussels 10983 and Paris 1188.¹⁶⁹ Maybe she did indeed realise, as De Winter suggests, that if she wanted her books to sell – or rather, if she wanted to receive gifts from her *mécènes* in return for a manuscript – it was not just the text that needed to be immaculate and appealing.¹⁷⁰ We can assume that money must have become available to enlist the services of the aforementioned artists. It is not impossible that one or more patrons paid a part of the costs in advance, but there is no evidence to back up this hypothesis.¹⁷¹ A more likely hypothesis is that the production of the two copies of the *Livre de Cristine* and the early monotextual manuscripts had provided Christine with some money to ‘re-invest’ in her business.

In or soon after 1403, Christine started work on what was to become her *Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*. In the early months of 1404, this work was published in at least four monotextual manuscripts in two different cycles. Brussels 9508, offered to Philippe de Bourgogne in January 1404, and The Hague 78 D 42, presented to Jean de Berry in March of the same year, were the first copies to be made.¹⁷² Interestingly, Millard Meiss observed that, although Philippe received his copy earlier than his brother did,

[a]pparently Berry's copy, which reached him only in March, was nevertheless illustrated first, or at the very least followed correctly a faithful model. (Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, vol. I, p. 11)

The second production cycle included manuscripts Chantilly 494 and ex-Bérès. The miniatures in the codices of both the first and second cycle were executed by the Master of the *Epître d'Othéa*. According to Meiss, this illuminator's career was

¹⁶⁹ See De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs', 349 (n. 27), 351.

¹⁷⁰ De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs', 374-375.

¹⁷¹ Even when a work was commissioned by a patron, Christine did not receive payment in advance: Philippe le Hardi commissioned the *Charles V*, which was produced in the early months of 1405, but Christine did not receive payment until 20 February 1406 (Doutrepont, *La littérature française*, pp. 277, 408).

¹⁷² See Solente (ed.), *Charles V*, vol. I, pp. 6-7, and Solente (ed.), *Mutacion de Fortune*, vol. I, p. civ for the dating of Burgundy's copy; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. III, p. 193 (*notice* 287) mentions the presentation date for Berry's copy.

remarkably short. The workshop of the *Epître* Master collaborated with the Master of the *Cité des Dames* on the illumination of codex Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2028, a copy of the *Grandes chroniques de France*. Furthermore, the *Epître* Master's hand appears throughout the second edition of Christine's collected works (D), and his workshop seems to have been involved in the illumination of codices Paris 2681 (*Corps de policie*) and Paris 1176 (*Advision Cristine*).¹⁷³ To my knowledge, no other miniatures have since been attributed to this illuminator, characterised as 'one of the original and imaginative illuminators in cosmopolitan France'.¹⁷⁴ Curiously, the description of manuscript ex-Bérès in a 1977 Sotheby's auction catalogue mentions that

[i]t seems to us very possible that the Epître Master (? Epître Mistress) was Christine de Pisan herself – born in North Italy but brought up in France, an able scribe, a very versatile genius of wild imagination, short of money and (until copies of the *Mutacion* had been presented and patrons found) unable to employ a professional painter. As soon as Christine's writings found acceptance, the Epître Master vanished and conventional professional painters made her manuscripts. (*Auction Catalogue 1977*, p. 39)

This bold statement must be interpreted as an attempt to talk up the manuscript, for there is absolutely no evidence that supports this theory. Similar assertions, for instance by Léon Gilissen, who talks of a 'Christine de Pisan, auteur, scribe-éditeur et miniaturiste', and Patrick De Winter, who sees in the name of Anastaise an anagram of Christine, must also be relegated to the realm of myth and fantasy.¹⁷⁵

A fifth supervised manuscript of the *Mutacion* has survived as a fragment of two folios in Paris 14852. It is unclear which place this copy would have occupied in the illumination cycle, but Solente points out that it is textually very close to two other supervised copies of the *Mutacion* that have survived and take up an interesting position within the work's manuscript tradition: Paris 603 and Munich

¹⁷³ See Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, vol. I, pp. 388-389, as well as p. 440 n. 167.

¹⁷⁴ Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, vol. I, p. 9.

¹⁷⁵ See Léon Gilissen, *La librairie de Bourgogne et quelques acquisitions récentes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier: cinquante miniatures* (Brussels: Cultura, 1970), p. 10, and De Winter, 'Christine de Pisan, ses enlumineurs', 348 n. 25.

11.¹⁷⁶ Paris 14852 consists of two folios (ff. 2-3) that, interestingly, do not present a continuous part of the *Mutacion*. Folio 2 contains part of chapters 25 through 27 of Book VI – lines 17175-17327 in Solente’s edition – while folio 3 contains the table of contents of Book VII, the text of which does not start until line 18245. Thus, several parts of the text are missing between the last line of folio 2d and the first line of folio 3a: 917 text lines (ll. 17328-18244), eight two-line titles (rubrics) to chapters 28-35 of Book VI, and the two-line *explicit* of Book VI. Added together, 935 lines of text are missing, which – in the layout of Paris 14852, that contains 39 lines per column – amounts to almost exactly 24 columns of text, equalling precisely six folios. We can conclude from this calculation that, before their inclusion in Paris 14852, the two *Mutacion* folios formed the outer bifolio of a regular quaternion; the three inner bifolios of that quire contained the parts of the work that are mentioned above.

Shortly after receiving Brussels 9508 in January 1404, the old Duke summoned Christine and commissioned a biography of his brother, the late King Charles V. Christine must have begun working on this text immediately, because on 28 April 1404 the first part of the biography was ready.¹⁷⁷ Unfortunately, Philippe de Bourgogne had died the previous day in the Flemish town of Halle. The second part of what was to become the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* was completed on 20 September of the same year, followed by the third and last part on 30 November.¹⁷⁸ As early as January 1405 (n.st.), Christine offered a copy of the text to Jean de Berry, which is listed in the inventories of his library but has not survived.¹⁷⁹ Four other supervised copies of the *Charles V* did survive and have been extensively studied in an important article by Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno. An analysis of the manuscripts in question – Paris 10153, Modena α .N.8.7, Paris 5025, and Vatican 920 – allowed them to draw the conclusion that all four copies were

¹⁷⁶ Solente (ed.), *Mutacion de Fortune*, vol. IV, pp. 97-99.

¹⁷⁷ Solente (ed.), *Charles V*, vol. I, pp. xxix, 104.

¹⁷⁸ Solente (ed.), *Charles V*, vol. I, pp. 244, 1.

¹⁷⁹ See above, p. 62.

made from a single *exemplar* that was in constant evolution.¹⁸⁰ Variants, additions, lacunae, and the layout of the rubrics provided clues which allowed Ouy and Reno to determine the chronological order of production. Paris 10153 contains the earliest version of the text and was possibly offered to Jean sans Peur.¹⁸¹ The second manuscript to be copied was Modena α .N.8.7, followed by Paris 5025, and finally Vatican 920.

These surviving manuscripts of the *Charles V* are relatively plain: they contain identical marginal decoration, but no miniatures or drawings.¹⁸² Moreover, their layout is roughly the same: all manuscripts have a justification of 196 x 133-134 mm and a layout in two columns with between 32 and 34 lines per column. This identical layout was undoubtedly meant to speed up the production process: the four copies could all be laid out following a single *exemplar*, which meant that the number of quires, folios, columns, and lines had to be calculated only once. The absence of miniatures – a very time-consuming stage in the production process – seems to corroborate this ‘need for speed’. Interestingly, however, in this case the distribution of work among the scribes that worked for Christine seems to have been inefficient in terms of transcription speed. According to Ouy and Reno, three of the four known manuscripts were copied by scribe R, while only Paris 5025 is the work of scribe X.¹⁸³ With one scribe carrying out so much of the writing process, it would seem that some of the time saved by having similar layouts and no miniatures in the

¹⁸⁰ Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno, ‘Manuscrits copiés en série. Les quatre témoins contemporains du *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* d’icelluy nom’, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales*, 16 (2008), 239-252, notably 252.

¹⁸¹ Ouy and Reno, ‘Manuscrits copiés en série’, 240, are less circumspect in their association of this manuscript with Jean sans Peur. Their assumption, though not explained, is based on the knowledge that Christine received a gift of 100 *écus* from John on 20 February 1406 (see Cockshaw, ‘Mentions d’auteurs’, 137, item 64). However, the work is not listed in the Burgundian libraries until 1467 (Barrois 984), which casts considerable doubt over this assumption.

¹⁸² The decoration is described by Ouy and Reno as: ‘[e]ncadrement d’une double baguette végétalisée avec entrecolonne et rinceaux de feuilles au début de la première partie; bordure de double baguette prolongée de rinceaux de feuilles au début de la deuxième et troisième parties; trois grandes initiales ornées (241-243).

¹⁸³ According to Ouy and Reno, scribe P’s contribution to the production process of these manuscripts is only marginal: in MS Paris 10153, P executed a rubric on f. 2a, and added two notes on ff. 28a and 62a. See Ouy and Reno, ‘Manuscrits copiés en série’, 246.

codices was subsequently lost by having a single scribe copy three of the four manuscripts.¹⁸⁴

Very soon after composing and publishing her biography of Charles V, Christine started the creation of what has become her best-known work: the *Livre de la cité des dames*. It can be deduced from several passages in the text that the *Cité* was composed between the end of 1404 and the summer of 1405.¹⁸⁵ The text has come down to us in five monotextual manuscripts, one fragment, and two collected works, a total of eight supervised presentation copies. Although Christine Reno established the chronological order of these manuscripts by assessing the various additions and lacunae in the eight text versions, this leaves us with little to go by as to their date of production.¹⁸⁶ Unlike the cases discussed previously, none of the *Cité* manuscripts can be dated with certainty to a specific month, or even a year. It is probable that the first four versions of the text were produced shortly after composition of the work, as the same strategy can be observed elsewhere in the production process of Christine's manuscripts. These four copies are, in chronological order, Paris 24293, Arsenal 2686, Paris 1179, and Brussels 9393. The copy in Brussels is rather different from the three earlier manuscripts, especially in terms of layout. Whereas the three Parisian manuscripts have a written area that measures 180-190 x 128-130 mm and contain 31 to 33 lines per column, Brussels 9393 has a justification of 242 x 182 mm and contains 41 lines per column, a layout that is very similar to the large *Cité* copies in the Duke's and Queen's manuscripts. Not surprisingly, this manuscript is the first known copy of the *Cité des dames* which contains illuminations, three in all; Paris 24293 and Arsenal 2686 contain only marginal decoration, and Paris 1179

¹⁸⁴ It has to be noted here, however, that other, now lost, manuscripts of the *Charles V* may have been produced alongside the four codices mentioned here, which may obscure our understanding of the distribution of scribes in this production process.

¹⁸⁵ See Mathilde Laigle, *Le Livre des trois vertus de Christine de Pisan et son milieu historique et littéraire* (Paris: Champion, 1912), pp. 16-17. Curnow, 'Cité des dames', pp. 1-13, proposed a *terminus ante quem* of 23 November 1407 (the murder of Louis d'Orléans, who is not listed as having died in the text), but forgot to take into account that the *Trois vertus*, completed surely before 7 November 1405, refers to the *Cité des dames* as 'nostre dit euvre, precedant ceste, de la Cité des dames'.

¹⁸⁶ Christine M. Reno, 'Les manuscrits originaux de la *Cité des dames* de Christine de Pisan', in *L'écrit et le manuscrit à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Tania Van Hemelryck and Céline Van Hoorebeeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 267-276.

incorporates a single miniature. Perhaps the insertion of these miniatures called for a new, more generously laid out arrangement of the text?

The workshop that carried out these illuminations takes its name from this commission and was dubbed the Workshop of the Master of the *Cité des Dames* by Millard Meiss.¹⁸⁷ This master and his workshop illustrated all known illuminated copies of the *Cité des dames* and would later also be enlisted to illuminate late copies of the *Mutacion* and the *Fais d'armes* (Munich 11, Paris 603, and Brussels 10476) and to provide most of the miniatures for Harley 4431.¹⁸⁸ Besides working for Christine, the *Cité des Dames* workshop also provided miniatures for copies of the *Cité de Dieu*, the *Chevalier errant*, the *Dialogues de Pierre Salmon*, and several French translations of works by Boccaccio, thus making them

one of the largest and most prolific associations of illuminators
in Paris during the first two decades of the fifteenth century.
(Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, p. 377)

Interestingly, Brussels 9393 is also the only one to appear in a contemporary library: the codex is to be identified as the book listed in the inventories of the Burgundian library from 1420 onwards.¹⁸⁹ In all probability, it was offered to Jean sans Peur soon after its production.

The fifth version of the *Cité des dames* survives in the fifth and final part of the Duke's Manuscript (Paris 607, D₅), which will be discussed at length below. In terms of its layout, this copy bears a striking resemblance to the previous version, Brussels 9393, as well as to copies six and seven, preserved in the fragment Leiden 1819 and Harley 4431.¹⁹⁰ The eighth and final copy of the *Cité*, Paris 1178, takes up a rather interesting position in the manuscript tradition of this text: while it preserves the illumination cycle of three miniatures of the newer versions, its justification (190 x 120 mm) and the number of ruled lines (33-34) are similar to

¹⁸⁷ Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, vol. I, pp. 377-382.

¹⁸⁸ See Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, pp. 9, 13 (nn. 31 and 32); see also De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs', 365.

¹⁸⁹ Doutrepoint 109 = Barrois 1012 = Peignot 90 = Barrois 1889.

¹⁹⁰ Justification: D₅ 240 x 180 mm, Leiden 230 x 177 mm, R 245 x 180 mm; number of lines for writing: D₅ 40-42, Leiden 38, R 36-40.

those of the earlier copies. What is more, if we are to follow Christine Reno's analysis of the text, Paris 1178 is the only known supervised manuscript containing a text in a later version than its counterpart in the Queen's manuscript: according to Reno,

(...) c'est le manuscrit BnF, fr. 1178 qui est le dernier témoin survivant copié dans l'atelier de Christine. (Reno, *Cité des dames*, p. 273)

This chronological overview gives us little to go by when it comes to dating the manuscripts. As mentioned above, it is conceivable that the four early copies of the *Cité* were produced shortly after completion of the work, in the second half of 1405. Paris 607 was probably produced between *ca* 1406 and *ca* 1408-1409, as we will see below, and the production of Harley 4431 took place around 1412-1413. Interestingly, this means that the version of the *Cité* contained in the fragment Leiden 1819 can be securely dated to between *ca* 1406 and *ca* 1412. It stands to reason that the anthology of which Leiden 1819 once formed a part was, therefore, also completed around that period, and thus between the production of the Duke's and the Queen's manuscripts.¹⁹¹

Christine's next undertaking was a sequel to the popular *Cité des dames*, composed very soon after completion of the *Cité*. This new work, the *Livre des trois vertus*, written in or after the summer months of 1405, has come down to us in three monotextual manuscripts.¹⁹² They provide us with perhaps the most puzzling manuscript tradition of all of Christine's works, if only because the handwriting in at least two of the codices cannot be identified as that of one of Christine's regular

¹⁹¹ For a different opinion, see Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, pp. 377-382, who believes that all monotextual copies, including Paris 1178, were copied 'shortly after completion of the work in 1405'.

¹⁹² A fourth manuscript of the *Trois vertus* dated around 1415-1420, Brussels, KBR 10973, was produced during Christine's lifetime, but shows some distinctive Picard influences. It is unsure whether this manuscript was produced under Christine's supervision but transcribed by a scribe that did not belong to the usual group of scribes employed by Christine's *libraire*, or whether it is a copy produced by someone else and/or outside Paris. See Bernard Bousmanne, Tania Van Hemelryck and Céline Van Hoorebeek (eds), *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne. Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Volume III: Textes littéraires* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), p. 196.

scribes, according to two different assessments.¹⁹³ Two codices, Boston 101 and London 31841, are mentioned by Charity Willard and Eric Hicks among the sources used in their 1989 edition of the work.¹⁹⁴ The third manuscript, Paris 25636, was unknown to the editors and was acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France only in 1995. No attention has yet been paid to the chronological order in which these manuscripts have been produced; in fact, Paris 25636 has received no scholarly attention at all since its arrival in Paris. Thus, it is impossible to date the codices. The little information that is available in different sources mentions that the manuscripts each contain a single miniature showing Christine lying in bed with the personified Three Virtues at the foot. Given the facts that Millard Meiss attributed the miniature in Boston 101 to the workshop of the *Cité des Dames* Master, and that Willard and Hicks describe the miniature in London 31841 as a '[m]iniature qui rappelle celle du ms. de Boston', it seems plausible that both codices were illuminated by the workshop, quite possibly shortly after completion of the work in the second half of 1405.¹⁹⁵ In his 1995 article on London 31841, James Laidlaw compared the text of this manuscript to the version in Boston 101 and noted that

[l]e texte de *L* [London 31841] est non seulement plus ample que *M* [Boston 101], mais il se caractérise par un recours beaucoup plus fréquent à l'inversion, et une relative absence de pronoms personnels. Comment expliquer ces différences syntactiques ? Il s'agirait peut-être d'archaïsmes que Christine de Pizan aurait remaniés en préparant une nouvelle rédaction du *Livre des Trois Vertus*. (Laidlaw, *Un manuscrit original*, p. 407)

A possible conclusion could be that London 31841 contains an older version of the text and would thus have been produced before Boston 101. However, this is far from sure, as various other reasons may underlie the differences mentioned by

¹⁹³ Willard and Hicks (eds), *Le livre des trois vertus*, p. xix; James C. Laidlaw, 'Un manuscrit original du *Livre des trois vertus* : Londres, British Library, Ms Additional 31841', in *Une femme de lettres au Moyen Âge: études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), pp. 399-409 (400). Christine Reno believes that one of them, Boston 101, is copied by R (see Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. XL n. 108).

¹⁹⁴ Boston 101 is listed in scholarly articles up to the year 2000 as Boston 1528, its previous shelfmark.

¹⁹⁵ Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, p. 378; Willard and Hicks (eds), *Le livre des trois vertus*, p. xxiv. An analysis of manuscript Paris 25636 by Marie-Thérèse Gousset has established that the miniature in this codex, too, was produced by the workshop of the *Cité des Dames* Master (e-mail of 16 July 2009).

Laidlaw.¹⁹⁶ For instance, Christine may have used archaisms for literary effect and then decided that they obstructed the understanding of the text; alternatively, the archaisms may have been introduced specifically in London 31841 for a certain aesthetic effect. Until a more thorough textual analysis of the three existing supervised manuscripts has been carried out, any attempt to date these manuscripts more precisely would be premature.

Around the beginning of the year 1406, Christine composed her *Advision Cristine*, of which three supervised manuscripts have survived. These codices have been extensively studied by Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac in their 2001 edition of the text. The two scholars conclude that manuscript Paris 1176 contains the earliest version of the text of the *Advision*, followed by a second edition in Brussels 10309 and a third version in manuscript ex-Phillipps 128.¹⁹⁷ The manuscripts are almost identical in justification and layout, and each contains a single miniature executed by a student of the Master of the *Épître d'Othéa*. This means that they were probably produced in serial order soon after Christine finished composition of the work; references to Louis d'Orléans still being alive indicate that the codices were produced before his death on 23 November 1407.¹⁹⁸

Although Paris 1176 contains a note in the binding, identifying the copy as 'L'Avision de Christine du duc de Berry', there is no mention of any such manuscript in the inventories of the library of the Duke of Berry. Brussels 10309, on the other hand, can be identified as the copy listed in the inventories of the Burgundian library from 1420 onwards; it must be assumed that this copy was presented to Jean sans Peur soon after its production.¹⁹⁹ The original addressee of ex-Phillipps 128 is unknown.

¹⁹⁶ In fact, Christine Reno has expressed doubt over whether London 31841 is truly a supervised presentation manuscript (e-mail of 12 July 2009).

¹⁹⁷ Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, pp. XL-XLIX.

¹⁹⁸ De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs', 369. It is interesting to see these miniatures attributed to the workshop of the *Épître* Master, which had not been enlisted since its production of the *Mutacion* miniatures early in 1404. Moreover, the workshop was not just commissioned to carry out the illuminations for the *Advision* manuscripts, but also for a large number of miniatures in the Duke's Manuscript.

¹⁹⁹ Doutrepont 117 = Barrois 970 = Barrois 1823.

Composed around 1406-1407, Christine's *Livre du corps de policie* has come down to us in four supervised manuscripts: Chantilly 494, Paris 1179, Arsenal 2681, and Besançon 423. The manuscripts have been executed in a similar, rather basic style. Apart from Arsenal 2681, which contains a single miniature depicting Christine at work in her study (executed by the *Epître* Master), the codices contain only simple marginal decoration. These similarities, paired with the fact that both the dimensions of the written area (approximately 190 x 120 mm) and the codicological composition are identical in the four manuscripts, point to the conclusion that the four copies were produced in serial order and shortly after each other. As for their date of production, there is no evidence at all to enable accurate dating. In all probability, Christine adopted the same publishing strategy here as she did elsewhere, meaning that the codices are likely to have been produced not long after the composition of the text. A dating of 1406-1407 is therefore as accurate as we can possibly be.

A similar dating problem surrounds the two supervised copies of two of Christine's lesser-known texts, the *Livre de prudence* and the *Livre de la prod'homme de l'homme*. These two texts are generally bracketed together because the former is a textually revised version of the latter, a version to which Christine deemed it necessary to attribute a new title. A reference in the *Corps de policie* to the *Prod'homme* clarifies its place in the chronological overviews of manuscripts: the only known supervised copy of the *Prod'homme*, Vatican 1238, was produced before the composition of the *Corps de policie*, probably some time in 1405 or 1406.²⁰⁰ Given the fact that Christine uses the first title *Prod'homme*, it may be assumed that the *Livre de prudence*, the revised version of the text, was composed after the *Livre du corps de policie*. The supervised copy of this text, Brussels 11065-11073,

²⁰⁰ Suzanne Solente, 'Date de deux ouvrages de Christine de Pisan', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 94 (1933), 422, gives the quote from the *Corps de policie*: '(...) mais, pour ce que aultrefois touchant ceste matiere en ay parlé par especial ou *Livre de la description de la Preud'omme de l'omme*, je m'en passe brièvement à present (...)'.

was therefore produced in 1406 or 1407, assuming that, as before, this copy was made upon completion of the text.

3.2.6 *The Duke's Manuscript*

The second half of the first decade of the fifteenth century was for Christine not just dominated by the production of the monotextual copies discussed above. From 1406 onwards, she was also involved in the production of a third copy of her collected works. Originally planned to be presented to Louis d'Orléans, who was perhaps also the commissioner of the collection – a number of works in the collection carry a specific dedication to the Duke – it was acquired by his uncle, Jean de Berry, after Orléans was murdered on 23 November 1407. The work entered Berry's library in 1408 and is named the *Duke's Manuscript* after him.²⁰¹

The collection has been exhaustively analysed by James Laidlaw in an important article dating from 1987.²⁰² Laidlaw shows that the Duke's Manuscript, although now in five separate codices, was originally bound in a single volume in the following order: Paris 835 (D₁), Paris 606 (D₂), Paris 836 (D₃), Paris 605 (D₄), and Paris 607 (D₅). The justification of the five parts (235-240 x 180 mm) and their layout in folios of two columns with 38-42 lines per column are strong evidence of this, as is the fact that the works in these parts contain running titles in which the works are numbered *i* to *xxv*.

The contents of D differ in more than one way from those of L₁ and L₂. Firstly, D contains a number of works which were not present in L₁₂. For the *Livre de prudence* (D₄, 5d-22a), the *Cité des dames* (D₅), and the *Duc des vrais amans* (D₃, 65a-98a) that is not surprising, as they were composed after the production of the *Livre de Cristine* and were most probably not finished by the time the additions to L₁ were completed. However, the *Epistre à Eustace Morel*, dated 10 February 1404,

²⁰¹ See Millard Meiss and Susan Off, 'The Bookkeeping of Robinet d'Estampes and the Chronology of Jean de Berry's Manuscripts', *Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), 225-235, notably 227, 228, 233.

²⁰² Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 52-59.

also appears for the first time in the Duke's Manuscript (D₄, 2c-3a), as do the *Proverbes moraux*, dated as early as 1400 (D₄, 3d-5d).²⁰³

Secondly, the order of the works in D is different from that in L₁₂, as is demonstrated by the schematic overview in Appendix C.²⁰⁴ While the various independent works may have been rearranged, Christine nevertheless seems to have kept certain sections of the manuscript together. For instance, works sharing the same subject, sentiment, or form are still put together in the manuscript, even though in several instances their internal order did change. This is the case, for example, for items 1-10 in D, a collection of lyric poetry, followed by two narrative poems. In L₁ (2a-73d) and L₂ (1a-71c) these works made up their own section of the manuscript, which even consisted of a separate codicological unit. Although the *Autres balades* and the *Complainte amoureuse* have dropped three places in favour of the *Lays*, the *Rondeaux*, and the *Jeux*, and even have to tolerate the insertion of the *Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* in their midst, the items still form a section of their own in D. Similarly, the copies of Christine's most recent works are all grouped at the end of the collection, in manuscripts D₄ and D₅.²⁰⁵

Furthermore, many – if not all – of the texts in D have been changed, updated, and revised. Laidlaw noted 25 changes (including deletions, rearrangements, and remodellings) in the lyrical poems alone, and the various modern editors of the other works conclude without exception that the texts in D present updated, revised versions of their counterparts in L₁₂.²⁰⁶ For Christine, therefore,

(...) the preparation of a new collection provided her with an opportunity to correct and revise what she had written, a process which is so extensive on occasion that certain works can be said to have gone through successive editions. (Laidlaw, *An Author's Progress*, 532)

²⁰³ The *Duc des vrais amans*, the *Epistre à Eustace Morel*, and the *Proverbes moraux* have only survived in collections D and R.

²⁰⁴ The acronyms in Appendix C were first used by James Laidlaw in his *Christine de Pizan Database* (<http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/french/christine/cpstart.htm>). Appendix B lists the acronyms for the thirty texts present in MS Harley 4431.

²⁰⁵ See Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 55-59 for a detailed overview of the contents of the Duke's Manuscript and the order in which the works appear.

²⁰⁶ Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 55.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, two texts that were present in L_1 (and possibly in L_2 before it was mutilated), the *Mutacion de Fortune* and the *Dit de la Rose*, have not been included in the Duke's Manuscript. Their absence can be explained in two ways: either the texts were included in D but subsequently removed upon the death of Louis d'Orléans, or the texts were never present in this collection at all. In the first case, the *Mutacion* may have been removed because the Duke of Berry already possessed a copy of the text (The Hague 78 D 42), while Christine may have found it inappropriate to leave the *Dit de la Rose* in this collection because of its dedication to Louis d'Orléans. However, since the running titles of D_{1-5} do not show an interruption, any such deletion must have occurred before the running titles were inserted. Another possibility, albeit unlikely, might be that the texts were, by pure chance, the two final texts in D_5 – meaning that their deletion would not have interrupted the continuous item numbering in the running titles.

The two final quires of D_1 require closer attention. Quires 13 and 14 contain the last eight folios of the *Epistres sur le Rommant de la Rose*, a text that is present in L_{12} as well as in R . These two quires are different from the preceding quires in that they are not normal quaternions, but respectively a ternion and a single bifolio (or *singulion*): 13 (96-98/99-101), 14 (102/103). The question here is why the decision was made to insert a quire of six leaves, followed by a second quire of two leaves. After all, six plus two is eight, which equals a standard quaternion: would that not have been an easier way of inserting eight leaves?

As shown above, generally singulions, binions, ternions, and quinions are inserted instead of regular quaternions to make sure that a specific part of a text (usually the end) coincides with the end of a quire; in other words, to create a codicological break. Reasons underlying this phenomenon might be that the text (part) which was to follow, was already produced, or in the process of being executed. In that case, work on D_2 may already have been begun, leaving the person who was in charge of the layout with the task of having to make sure that D_1 and

D₂ would fit seamlessly, without blank leaves. *À la limite*, one could argue that the planner was very cautious and decided to use a ternion first; when six leaves proved to be insufficient, another two leaves were added. However, given the amount of text on these last two folios, it seems very unlikely that the planner initially thought that these 290 lines of text could be copied in the ternion.

A different explanation that accounts for the presence of the ternion and the singulion involves the aforementioned possibility that the *Dit de la Rose* was deleted from the Duke's Manuscript. Let us assume that Christine did initially plan to insert the *Rose* in this collection for Louis d'Orléans, but decided to leave out the text when Jean de Berry became a possible addressee. As we have seen, Christine rearranged the text order in D but did keep certain sections close together. In this light, it can be assumed that if the *Dit de la Rose* had been present in D at a certain point during its production, it would most likely have been inserted near the end of what is now D₁. Thus, it is entirely possible that the text was originally placed at the exact location in the manuscript where quires 13 and 14 are now.

The explanation I am proposing is that the final quire of D₁ was originally planned not as a single bifolio, but as a ternion. This ternion would have contained the latter part of the *Epistres sur le Rommant de la Rose* on its folios 102a-103d, followed by the *Dit de la Rose* on folios 104a-107d. In L₁₂, the *Rose* had occupied 21 columns of the manuscript: *ca* 660 lines of verse text divided by 32 lines per column equals a little over 20 columns, which makes five folios of text. Because the Duke's Manuscript allows for 38-42 lines of text to be copied in each column, the 660 lines of the *Dit de la Rose* only require 16 columns, or four folios, in D.²⁰⁷ This matches exactly our calculations of the space available in the *proto-quire* 14.

The scenario surrounding this hypothesis can be summarised as follows: in the original planning, the part of the collection that we now call D₁ ended with two ternions containing the end of the *Epistres sur le Rommant de la Rose*, as well as

²⁰⁷ The fact that the current bifolio contains only 39 lines, whereas 41 or 42 would have been required in order for the *Dit de la Rose* to be copied on four folios, is not relevant to the argument made here. The insertion of a new quire 14 meant that the number of lines per column could have been anywhere between 38 and 42, equal to the average number throughout the quires of D.

the complete text of the *Dit de la Rose*.²⁰⁸ When it was decided to remove the latter from the manuscript, quire 14 was taken out and replaced with a newly written bifolio containing only the end of the *Epistres*. This operation successfully masked the fact that a text had been taken out and ensured that the end of the *Epistres* could be joined seamlessly to the *Epistre Othea* in (now) D₂.²⁰⁹

The illumination of the Duke's Manuscript clearly shows the extent to which the different Masters and their workshops could collaborate on a single project. According to Meiss, four different workshops can be distinguished throughout the collection. With Paris 605 (D₄) bearing no illumination, it might be logical to assume that the four remaining codices were distributed among the four Masters. Nothing is further from the truth. While the Master of the *Cité des Dames* does appear to have illuminated Paris 607 (D₅) singlehandedly, the three other parts of D show constant changes of artists. In D₁, the *Epître* Master executed five miniatures – at the beginning of the *Cent balades* (f. 1a), the *Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* (45a), the first *Complainte amoureuse* (50b), the *Deux amans* (52a), and the *Trois jugemens* (64a) – while the sixth and last miniature is executed by the Egerton Master (74a, the opening miniature of the *Dit de Poissy*). The *Epître* workshop then takes over again and completes the illumination of codex D₂, with the exception of the third quire (ff. 17-24), which is almost entirely illuminated by the Saffron Master, who received his name 'because of the abundance of a yellow of this kind in his work'.²¹⁰ Interestingly, Meiss observes the presence of two assistant-illuminators in this part of the collection, both connected to the *Epître* workshop. The first

²⁰⁸ The decision to use two ternions (6+6 ff.) rather than a regular quaternion and a binion (8+4 ff.) may seem unusual, but, in this specific case, prevented the *Dit de la Rose* from becoming a codicological unit on its own (i.e. in a binion), a sensible precaution when dealing with a production process as complex as D's. With its 'head' firmly embedded in the previous quire 13, the *Dit de la Rose* was less likely to be lost or to be misplaced within the manuscript during the rubrication, illumination, or binding processes.

²⁰⁹ One matter of lesser importance: the ink and paint traces observed on f. 103v of D₁ by James Laidlaw (Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 53) and belonging to the illumination and rubrication on f. 1r of D₂ do not undermine our argument. These stages in the production of D were carried out when the text of D had already been copied and arranged in the right order, meaning that f. 103v in D₁ did indeed immediately precede f. 1r in D₂ in the new arrangement. The presence of the stains only serves to demonstrate that the removal of the *Rose* happened early in the production of D, at least before the running titles were carried out.

²¹⁰ Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, vol. I, p. 36.

assistant's hand appears at the very beginning of the codex and executes the first and second quire, while a second assistant apparently began his work in the fourth quire.²¹¹ This division of labour between both assistants and the Saffron Master coincides with the division of quires in the manuscript. It must therefore be concluded that the quire, not the codex seems to have been the principal *production unit* of the illumination process: this part of the Duke's Manuscript was illuminated by three illuminators working independently in three different quires.

In codex Paris 836 (D₃), again, the *Epître* workshop (in this case the Master himself) starts the illumination and finishes the first ten miniatures (ff. 1a, 3d, 5d, 10d, 12b, 14b, 19a, 40d (all *Chemin*), 42a (*Enseignemens moraux*), and 45d (*Oraison Nostre Dame*)). From the beginning of the *Pastoure* onwards (f. 48b), the Egerton Master takes over and completes the eight remaining miniatures. This division of labour, interestingly, does not coincide with a quire break, as the sixth quire of the codex (41-44/45-48) contains two miniatures by the *Epître* Master and one by the Egerton Master. While it is clear that the *Epître* Master illuminated quires 1 to 5 and the Egerton Master took care of quires 8 to 10 (quire 7 does not contain any miniatures), it must remain a matter of speculation why the opening miniature of the *Pastoure* on folio 48b was to be executed specifically by the Egerton Master, in a quire of which the remaining miniatures were executed by his colleague.²¹²

3.2.7 Late Presentation Copies: 1408-1413

Having completed the production of the lavish Duke's Manuscript, Christine turned her attention to other matters. Between 26 June 1409 and 1 January 1410, she composed the *Sept psaumes allégorisés*, a text that has survived in three supervised monotextual manuscripts: Paris 4792, Brussels 10987, and the Coulet & Faure MS, a codex which, as we have seen, found its way into a French private collection in or

²¹¹ Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, vol. I, p. 36, n. 140. As in D₁, the last miniature – in this case of the *Epistre Othea* (f. 46) – was executed by the Egerton Master.

²¹² De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs', 369, takes a different view, stating that D₁ is illuminated entirely by the Egerton Master (the opening miniature on f. 1a having been executed 'sur le modèle du Maître de l'Epître dans les volumes de présentation de la *Mutacion de fortune*'), while the illumination of D₂ and D₃ was controlled by the *Epître* Master.

soon after 1970.²¹³ These three supervised manuscripts of Christine's *Sept psaumes allégorisés* present yet another intriguing case. Brussels 10987 has been identified as belonging to the Duke of Burgundy; it is listed in various inventories.²¹⁴ The other copies, however, cannot be linked to the description in the Duke of Berry's accounts: the words '[quo]niam infirmus' quoted there as the first words of the second folio, do not match those of the Coulet & Faure MS ('car tous mes os sont conturbez') or Paris 4792 ('me met en voye'). Thus, at least one other presentation copy of the *Sept psaumes* must have existed.²¹⁵ In that light, interestingly, both the Burgundy and the Berry inventories speak of a *Sept psaumes* manuscript that has two clasps which bear the name 'Jhesus', as well as a *chemise* or *baldequin* in green and black.²¹⁶ Are these descriptions, despite their divergent quotes from the text, referring to the same manuscript, which, in that case, was acquired by the Burgundian library after the death of Jean de Berry?²¹⁷ Or did Christine deliberately order both manuscripts to be bound in exactly the same way so as not to discriminate between one Duke and the other?

The opening miniature in the three manuscripts was, according to both Meiss and De Winter, produced by the Master of Egerton 1070.²¹⁸ This illuminator, whom we have already encountered in the Duke's Manuscript, seems to have worked for Christine as well as for other patrons or *libraires*.²¹⁹ The similarity in the opening miniatures, combined with the fact that the three codices have identical

²¹³ See above, p. 58, n. 119.

²¹⁴ Doutrepoint 8 = Barrois 1141 = Barrois 2032; see also Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, pp. 181-182, entry 129.

²¹⁵ Léopold Victor Delisle, 'Notice sur *Les sept psaumes allégorisés* de Christine de Pisan', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 35, second part (1896), 551-559.

²¹⁶ The Burgundy manuscript is Doutrepoint 8 = Barrois 1141 = Barrois 2032; the Berry manuscript is Guiffrey 977 = Guiffrey 1124 = Barrois 530 = Delisle 129.

²¹⁷ Although perhaps unlikely, this is certainly not impossible; much of the library of Jean de Berry was dispersed among his family and high-ranking friends both during his lifetime and upon his death, including Jean sans Peur, who received at least one of Berry's manuscripts (a copy of the *Miroir historial* by Vincent de Beauvais, given to him on 9 February 1413). See Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, vol. 1, pp. CXLVI-CXLVII and inventory 972. Furthermore, mentions are made in Burgundy's 1405 catalogue of a 'Sept psalmes' manuscript which bears the arms of Valentina Visconti (Peignot 56 = Barrois 634), but this cannot possibly be Christine's *Sept psaumes*, which, as we have seen, was only composed in the closing months of 1409.

²¹⁸ Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, vol. I, p. 13, n. 32; De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs', 366, n. 46.

²¹⁹ See Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, vol. I, pp. 384-388.

justifications and layout, must mean that, again, the three copies were transcribed and illuminated in serial order. According to Delisle, this happened late in 1409 or early in 1410, meaning:

(...) aussitôt après la rédaction de l'ouvrage, pour être alors mis en vente ou pour être offerts comme cadeaux d'étrennes à d'autres personnages que le duc de Berri. (Delisle, *Sept psaumes allégorisés*, 559)

Around the same time, Christine's scribes and artists prepared three copies of the *Mutacion de Fortune*, surviving in manuscripts Munich 11, Paris 14852 (of which only a fragment survives), and Paris 603, which also contains a copy of a new text by Christine, the *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie*.²²⁰ A monotextual copy of this work is preserved in manuscript Brussels 10476. Although these manuscripts contain two texts composed in different periods of Christine's career, they do have a common denominator: the illuminations in the codices were all executed by the Master of the *Cité des dames* and his workshop around 1410-1411.²²¹ This very prolific workshop had already provided miniatures for a large number of Christine's works and would in the near future be enlisted to lead the illumination of the most lavishly decorated manuscript of Christine's collected works, the Queen's Manuscript.

The presence of the *Mutacion*, composed around 1404, in three manuscripts dating around 1410 raises the question why, six years after composing the text, Christine's scribes and artists produced another three copies of the *Mutacion*. As we have seen, Christine usually published monotextual copies of her works very shortly after composing them.²²² Taking into account Suzanne Solente's *stemma codicum* which shows that the two manuscripts – that share the same layout – 'doivent donc dériver d'une même source', Munich 11 and Paris 603 can only be late copies of the *Mutacion*, copied somewhere between 1404 and 1410-1411, at which date they were

²²⁰ Manuscript Munich 11 is incomplete; it lacks the final (seventh) part of the *Mutacion*.

²²¹ Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, vol. I, pp. 9, 291.

²²² We know that this rule does not apply to her collected works in the Duke's and Queen's Manuscripts, which date from 1405-1407 and 1412-1413 respectively but do contain works that were composed well before these respective production periods.

illuminated.²²³ Solente's further conclusion that the fragment in Paris 14852 is textually very close to Paris 603 could mean that this copy was also transcribed around the same time, using the same 'late' exemplar.

Manuscript Paris 603 requires closer inspection here – more, in fact, than it has received so far in research into Christine's manuscripts. Paris 603 is unique in the fact that it combines supervised copies of two works by Christine in a single binding. Moreover, this codex – illuminated, as mentioned above, around 1410 – combines a recent text with a work composed six years earlier. The current binding of the codex is not medieval, an observation that unfortunately leaves us in the dark as to whether the two works had previously been bound together. Indeed, that is one of two questions that need answering: were the *Mutacion* and the *Fais d'armes* in Paris 603 originally intended to be kept together? The inevitable second question, then, is: if so, were they planned to form a small two-text anthology, or were they meant to be inserted in a larger collection?

The first question yields a relatively straightforward answer. Firstly, it must be noted that an accidental binding cannot be entirely ruled out. The texts each form a separate codicological unit in Paris 603 and could therefore have been produced for the same patron (or commissioner?), who subsequently had the two works bound. An analysis of the layout and dimensions of the written area in the codex sheds further light on the matter. The justification in Paris 603 measures 240 x 180 mm throughout the codex and the ruling (in two columns with 39-42 lines per column) is identical everywhere in the manuscript. An analogous level of similarity can be observed in the execution of the rubrication and the illumination. Moreover, a comparison of the justification of Paris 603 with that of the other codices produced around the same time has revealed that the written area of those manuscripts is different (Brussels 10476: 188 x 128 mm, Munich 11: 222 x 168 mm, with between 31 and 38 lines per column). These striking similarities and differences lead to the conclusion that the copies of the *Mutacion* and the *Fais d'armes* in Paris 603 must

²²³ Solente (ed.), *Mutacion de Fortune*, vol. I, pp. cxl-cxli.

have been laid out for a specific reason: as texts with an identical layout, they were undoubtedly produced conjointly with the intention to be kept together.²²⁴

The second question, however, is more difficult to answer. As mentioned above, the *Mutacion* and the *Fais d'armes* in Paris 603 each make up an independent codicological unit; what is more, there are no textual elements in the codex that link the two works together: no prologue for the collection, no table of contents spanning the contents of the entire codex. Thus, it seems unlikely that Paris 603 was conceived as a collection of works in its own right. There is evidence that suggests a connexion between Paris 603 and a collection of some kind. The large dimensions of the justification in the manuscript are, within the scope of the supervised manuscripts of Christine's works, almost exclusively used for the later manuscripts of the collected works: manuscripts L₁₂, D₁₋₅, the Leiden fragment, and R all have identical justifications of *ca* 240 x *ca* 180 mm. This, in my view, can lead to only one conclusion: the texts in Paris 603 were produced simultaneously with the intention that they be kept together and be joined as a sort of appendix to an already existing collection of Christine's works – or as part of an entirely new collection. It is impossible to know whether the two copies were to be added to the Duke's Manuscript, the lost Burgundy manuscript, the anthology of which the Leiden fragment once formed a part, or even a collection that has not survived the ravages of time.²²⁵ It seems, however, that Christine had not forgotten her practice of adding texts to already existing manuscripts: she added new texts to the *Livre de Cristine* between 1402 and 1405, and she adopted the same strategy again around 1410.

Composed in August 1410, the *Lamentacion sur les maux de la France* has come down to us in a single manuscript: Paris 24864. As the manuscript is an anthology of different works by different authors and from different periods, the *Lamentacion*

²²⁴ Circumstantial evidence for this hypothesis can be found in the fact that the two texts have shared the same binding ever since the eighteenth century. Although not decisive, this observation is at least indicative of a possible past spent together.

²²⁵ There is even a possibility that this lost collection was owned by the Dauphin, Louis de Guyenne, to whom the *Fais d'armes* is dedicated.

was originally not intended to form part of it. The manuscript consists of texts on paper and parchment; the *Lamentacion* is on paper and is a very basic copy. The text takes up ff. 14-18 in the codex, written in a single column and observing a small but very irregular justification. There is no decoration or illumination at all in this copy. Given the poor execution of this work, it is almost unimaginable that this copy would have met Christine's high standards of presentation. Moreover, the text is addressed to the royal princes and Queen Isabeau in general, and to Jean de Berry in particular.²²⁶ Being a true bibliophile, the old Duke would hardly have been impressed by the execution of Paris 24864. Therefore, it is safe to assume that at least one other manuscript of the *Lamentacion* – Berry's copy – must have existed; in all probability, however, the other Dukes and the Queen also received a personal copy.

Do folios 14-18 of Paris 24864, then, really constitute a presentation copy of Christine's *Lamentacion*? Or are we in the presence of the only surviving *exemplar* of one of her works? The copy does certainly meet the requirements for *exemplaria*: a cheap surface (hence the use of paper instead of parchment), no time-consuming decoration and illumination, as well as a rapidly but legibly written text. Until a more detailed examination of this codex is undertaken, this hypothesis must remain a matter of speculation.²²⁷

3.2.8 *The Queen's Manuscript*

Early in 1414 – probably on New Year's Day, following the *étrennes* tradition – Christine presented Queen Isabeau of France with a lavishly decorated and illuminated copy of her collected works. Produced in 1412-1413, manuscript Harley 4431 marks the culmination of Christine's career as a publisher; the Queen's Manuscript is the last, most comprehensive, and most beautifully illuminated

²²⁶ See Kennedy, 'Lamentacion sur les maux de la France', pp. 182, 183, 184 for mentions of the 'noble duc de Berry'.

²²⁷ From the concise information about this manuscript in the BnF inventories, it is impossible to say whether folios 14-18 constitute a separate codicological unit. If this is not the case, and the *Lamentacion* in Paris 24864 shares a unit with other texts, it is unlikely that folios 14-18 are Christine's *exemplar*.

manuscript of her collected works.²²⁸ Harley 4431 contains a collection of thirty works in verse and prose. The contents of the anthology reach back to the works in L₁₂ and D: of the thirty texts, twenty-five had previously appeared in D, and twenty in L₁. However, in line with her revisions in D, Christine again used the opportunity to make some considerable changes to her texts. As James Laidlaw has demonstrated, this process of revision and rewriting was to Christine not just a simple way of correcting mistakes and did not necessarily involve renewing:

Christine might sometimes try out an alteration in D and then, having decided that her first thoughts had been best after all, go back to the reading in L and incorporate it into R. (Laidlaw, *A Publisher's Progress*, 550)

Besides rewriting and editing older texts, Christine also inserted five new texts into the Queen's Manuscript. The first of these new texts is the *Prologue adreçant a la royne* (folios 3a-3d), a general prologue to the collection in which Christine dedicated the work to Queen Isabeau and explains what happened after the Queen's commission:

Si l'ay fait, ma dame, ordener
 Depuis que je sceus que assener
 Le devoie à vous, si que ay sceu
 Tout au mieulx, et le parfiner
 D'escripre et bien enluminer,
 Dès que vo command en receu
 Selon qu'en mon cuer j'ay conceu
 Qu'il faloit des choses finer
 Pour bien richement l'affiner,
 Affin que fust apperceü
 Que je mets pover force et sceu
 Pour vo bon vueil enteriner.
 (Harley 4431, f. 3r)

Other new texts include a second *Complainte amoureuse* and the *Encore autres balades* – two texts to which we will return shortly – as well as a cycle of *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* (376a-396b) followed by a *Lay de dame* (396b-398b, also called *Lay mortel*). While most of these new texts were perhaps composed for

²²⁸ On the date of Harley 4431, see Laidlaw, *The Date of the Queen's Manuscript*.

inclusion in this collection, there is evidence to suggest that the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* were composed as early as 1405-1406 and might have been published earlier in the lost Burgundy manuscript.²²⁹

A comparison between the order of texts in D and R has revealed that Christine, again, carried out significant rearrangements, this time in the second part of the collection. From the *Epistre Othea* (95a-141c) onwards, only the section containing the *Enseignemens moraux*, the *Oroison Nostre Dame*, and the *Quinze joyes* has been kept intact; the other texts between folios 95a and 398b have been given a different place in the manuscript.²³⁰ This means that the texts that were newly inserted and served as an appendix of new works in D₄ and D₅ (Paris 605 and 607), have now been integrated into the collection.²³¹

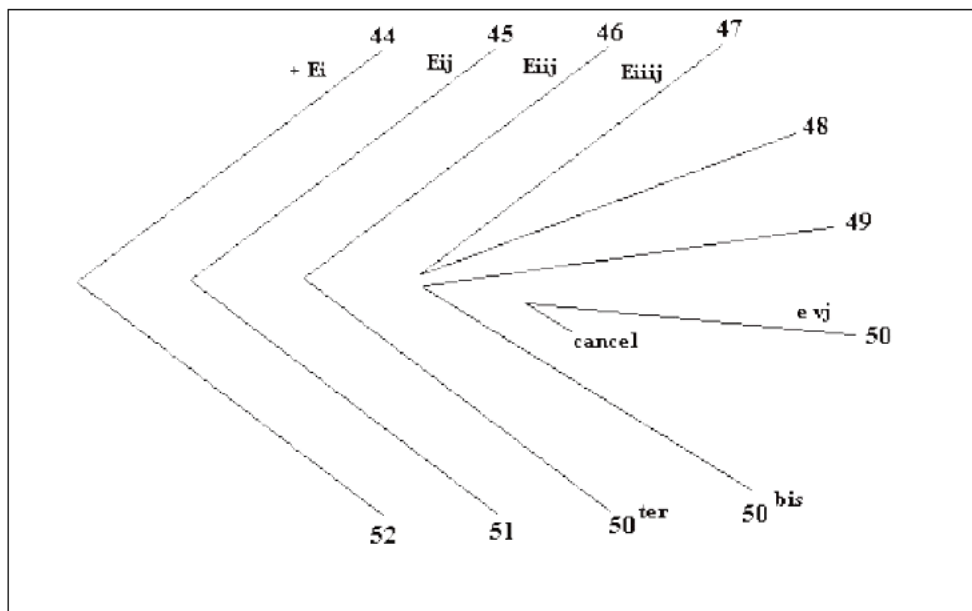


Figure 3.1: Diagram of quire 6 of MS Harley 4431.

²²⁹ See Reno and Dulac (eds), *Advision Cristine*, p. 179 n. VII/ 21, and above, pp. 63-64.

²³⁰ The only exception to this rule is the *Cité des dames*, which is no longer the last text in the codex but – as in D – still forms a codicological unit of its own directly following the *Livre de prudence*.

²³¹ See Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 60-66.

The production process of the Queen's Manuscript produced several hiccups for Christine and her team of scribes and artists, mainly due to last-minute changes in the contents of the collection. Quire 6 of the manuscript is an oft-discussed example of Christine's attempts to update and remodel her works (see Figure 3.1).²³² The quire originally consisted of a regular quaternion (now leaves 44-47/48, 50^{ter}, 51-52); it was subsequently enlarged by a binion of which the third leaf was cancelled (49-50/[stub]-50^{bis}). The insertion of extra leaves in this quire coincides with the insertion of two new texts: the second *Complainte amoureuse* (48b-49c) and the *Encore autres balades* (49c-50b, 51a) were largely copied into the added binion. This, however, does not explain the insertion of the binion after folio 48 rather than, more logically, in the heart of the quire between folios 47 and 48, nor does it account for the cancellation of one of the added leaves or explain the observation that folios 50^{bis} and 50^{ter} have been left blank.

It is safe to say that a serious miscalculation occurred when the decision was made to add the *Complainte amoureuse* and the *Encore autres balades* directly after the *Autres balades* (37c-48a). Given the many alterations made to the codicological structure of the quire, it is evident that this insertion must have happened at a late stage in the production of Harley 4431 and had not been anticipated in the original planning of the manuscript. In all probability, the end of the *Autres balades* had already been copied on folio 48a when it was decided to add extra material here, which explains why it was impossible to insert the extra leaves in the heart of the quire. The scribe was thus instructed to leave a gap of eight columns (48bcd, 50^{ter}abcd, 51a) in the original quire and to start transcribing the planned *Epistre au dieu d'amours* on folio 51b. When the two extra bifolios were added after folio 48, the planner of the collection had created 24 blank columns, which amounts to six empty folios.

The texts that were to be added in this blank space would have needed around 410 lines of writing (including the blank lines between stanzas and poems),

²³² See Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 63-64, Hindman, 'Reassessment', 108-109, and J.F.A. Aussems, 'Christine de Pizan and The Scribal Fingerprint – A Quantitative Approach to Manuscript Studies', (Master's Thesis, Utrecht University, 2006), 83-86 for discussions of this quire.

which amounts to only 11 columns of text.²³³ This means that, taking into account the eight columns already available in the original non-enlarged quire, only a single folio would have had to be inserted in order to accommodate both the *Complainte* and the *Encore autres balades*. What caused this miscalculation? Was it a simple misunderstanding that led to the insertion of four leaves rather than one? Moreover, why was the subsequent decision taken to cancel only a single blank folio and keep the empty folios 50^{bis} and 50^{ter} intact?

A possible answer to the first question would be that Christine initially planned to add more texts than just the *Complainte* and the *Encore autres balades* in the gap created between folios 48a and 51b. The *Dit de la Rose* immediately jumps to mind as a possible candidate for insertion – as we have seen above, this text may have been copied in, and then removed from, the Duke's Manuscript – but the 660 lines of the *Dit* would have required an additional 16 columns, whereas only 13 (24 minus 11) were available. Possibly Christine had planned to insert some other poems at this point in the collection, an intention which was never executed. Given the fact that the *Encore autres balades* constitute a new text, there is no way of knowing how many ballads it may originally have contained. Perhaps Christine intended to add some poems to the five ballads and four *rondeaux* that did make their way into the collection.

As for the decision to cancel only one of the three blank folios, three possible explanations come to mind. It is possible that the cancellation of the folio between folios 50 and 50^{bis} took place at a rather early stage in the rearrangements of quire 6 and that, as work on Harley 4431 continued, the scribes and/or the planner forgot to take out the empty folios. Alternatively, the cancelled leaf may actually be indicative of the length of the texts that were never added. If Christine had planned to add eight columns of new text alongside the two already inserted works, only two extra folios would be needed, at which point the pendant of folio 50 was cancelled.²³⁴

²³³ The *Complainte amoureuse* takes up 210 lines, the *Encore autres balades* contain 200 lines of text. The calculation of 11 columns is based on an average number of 39 lines per column.

²³⁴ An explanation of the cancellation of f. 50 rather than ff. 50^{bis} or 50^{ter} may be found in the position which it occupies within the quire, as a cancelled folio close to the binding strings (i.e. near the heart of the quire) would be less likely to come loose.

Finally, folios 50^{bis} and 50^{ter} may have been left in because removing them might have structurally damaged quire 6. Due to the insertion of the binion at a rather awkward point in the quire and the subsequent necessity to add a second set of binding strings between f. 50 and the now cancelled folio, quire 6 had already become structurally unsound. The cancellation of a further two folios would leave their pendants (folios 49 and 46) at risk of coming apart.

A second large alteration to the contents and the codicological structure of the Queen's Manuscript occurred at the end of the *Epistres sur le Rommant de la Rose*. The *Epistres* begin on folio 237a, the first folio of quire 31 and as such the beginning of a new codicological unit. Quire 33, now consisting of the separate folios 253-254, contains the end of the *Epistres* (253a-254a), followed by three blank columns. However, the next item in the collection, the *Epistre à Eustace Morel*, does not begin until folio 255d. The three columns directly preceding the start of the *Epistre à Eustace Morel*, folios 255abc, contain 117 lines of an erased text which is to be identified as the second half of Christine's *Epistre à la reine*. The text – beginning 'et entre ses bras' on the first line of folio 255a – has been erased but is still visibly present and legible under ultra-violet light.²³⁵

A reconstruction of the original state of this part of the codex has revealed that during the production process of this part of Harley 4431, quires 33 (253/254) and 34 (255-256/[stub]-257) were in all likelihood conceived as a single regular quaternion.²³⁶ This *proto*-quire 33 (see Table 3.3) would have consisted of the present folios 253 to 256 before the stitching, followed by the now cancelled leaf (256^{bis}), folio 257, and two other folios which are no longer present (253-256/[256^{bis}], 257, [258-259]). When the decision was made to delete the *Epistre à la reine* – which by that time had already been included in the quire on folios 254b-255c – folios 253 and 254 were cut loose from their pendants [258] and [259]; folio 254 was then

²³⁵ See Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 65-66, and Hindman, 'Reassessment', 109, 111 for an analysis of this deletion.

²³⁶ As there is no indication that a codicological break was to be formed here, the normal assumption would be that a regular quaternion was used here.

replaced by a new leaf that only contained the end to the *Epistres sur le Rommant de la Rose* in its column a.²³⁷ The current quire 33 was subsequently formed by joining folio 254 to the stub of folio 253. The last part of the *Epistre à la reine* on folios 255a-255c was erased, as well as its running titles; this folio then became the first leaf of the newly constructed quire 34 (255-256/[256^{bis}]-257).²³⁸

Folios	Text
253a-254a	end of the <i>Epistres sur le Rommant de la Rose</i>
254b-255c	<i>Epistre à la reine</i>
255d-256d; 256 ^{bis} a-257a	<i>Epistre à Eustace Morel</i>
257b-259b	<i>Oraison Nostre Seigneur</i>
259c-259d	beginning of the <i>Proverbes moraux</i>

Table 3.3: Structure of proto-quire 33 of MS Harley 4431.

The codicological structure of Harley 4431 has received a lot of scholarly attention over the years. The main focus of this attention are the many codicological units in the manuscript: whereas the contents of L₁ and D are divided into five codicological units, R must have consisted of no fewer than ten separate units, some as small as 16 folios (ff. 221a-236d), others as large as 91 folios (4a-94d). In a study dating from 1967, Gianni Mombello puts forward the theory that Harley 4431 was put together from pre-existing sections that might not have been intended to form a single presentation manuscript.²³⁹ Sandra Hindman, writing in 1983, largely agrees with Mombello's views and argues that

the works now included in the Harleian codex, made up after 1410, do not all date from that time. The *Epistre Othéa* certainly pre-dates the dedication, as do parts of the poetry, the letters, and possibly some other texts. [...] However Christine made up this volume, she did so on a commission, at the express command of the Queen, as the dedication indicates. [...] These few hints from the author, coupled with

²³⁷ The absence of running titles on this folio, as well as the use of a slightly paler ink corroborate the view that this leaf was produced and inserted at a later stage.

²³⁸ It must remain a mystery why the third folio of this quire 34 has been cancelled. Was it used to create the new f. 254? Did something go astray during its transcription? Was it the victim of yet another miscalculation by the planner?

²³⁹ Mombello, *La tradizione manoscritta*, p. 203 n. 1.

the more telling physical evidence, appear to sustain the hypothesis that the Queen had asked Christine to make a book which consisted of her complete works and which was formed by joining those books already owned by the Queen with others, newly written, that the Queen did not yet possess. Of necessity, such a commission would have required certain alterations to existing materials in order to unify the diverse parts. For aesthetic reasons, Christine probably would have wanted to mask these alterations. (Hindman, *Reassessment*, 111)

The arguments of both Mombello and Hindman seem reasonable in the light of the many codicological anomalies that were created during the production process. The deletion of the *Epistre à la reine*, in particular, ties in with Hindman's views:

By 1410-15 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 designs of the volume itself 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, *Reassessment*, 111)

In a 1987 article, James Laidlaw disagrees with Mombello and Hindman and stresses that Harley 4431 does indeed consist of independent sections, but that these units were nevertheless always intended to be put together in a large presentation manuscript:

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 thus 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. (Laidlaw, *A Publisher's Progress*, 66)

3.2.9 *The Final Stage: 1413-1418*

From the period between 1413 and 1418, only three supervised manuscripts have come down to us. The first, produced around the closing months of 1413, is a copy of Christine's *Livre de paix*. This codex, Brussels 10366, has been identified by Tania Van Hemelryck as the one mentioned in the 1467 and 1487 inventories of the Burgundian library.²⁴⁰ Brussels 10366 is the only surviving supervised manuscript of the *Livre de paix* and contains a single miniature. Worth noting is further that Van Hemelryck disagrees with both Charity Willard and James Laidlaw on the age of the binding. Whereas the two latter scholars concluded that the current binding of Brussels 10366 is original, Van Hemelryck concludes that it dates to the beginning of the sixteenth century.²⁴¹

The second manuscript is the aforementioned Paris 1178, a late copy of Christine's *Cité des dames* that is identified by Christine Reno as the last known *Cité* copy to have been produced under Christine's supervision.²⁴²

The third manuscript from this period is Paris 24786, a copy of Christine's *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine* that Christine had finished composing on 20 January 1418 (n.st.). Angus Kennedy argues that this codex was perhaps commissioned by Jean de Berry; upon his death on 15 June 1416, it was subsequently dedicated to his daughter, Marie.²⁴³ Paris 24786 does not contain any miniatures. Intriguingly, the text of the *Epistre* (36r-97r) is preceded by a dialogue between a knight and an allegorical *Dame Raison* (5r-35v) written by an anonymous author. According to Angus Kennedy, 'there are no clear grounds for ascribing authorship of the dialogue to Christine de Pizan'.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁰ Tania Van Hemelryck, 'Description of the manuscripts', in *The book of peace by Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Karen Green, Constant J. Mews and Janice Pinder (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), pp. 41-52, notably 42. The Burgundian copy is Barrois 1445 = Barrois 1990.

²⁴¹ Van Hemelryck, 'Description', p. 48.

²⁴² See above, pp. 81-82.

²⁴³ Angus J. Kennedy (ed.), *Christine de Pizan's Epistre de la prison de vie humaine* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1984), pp. 3-4.

²⁴⁴ Kennedy (ed.), *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine*, pp. 1-2.

3.3 CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, we will pay specific attention to an aspect of Christine's supervised manuscripts that has been somewhat neglected in previous scholarship: the dimensions of the written area.

Appendix D contains a chart showing the height and width of the written area (i.e. the justification) of Christine's supervised manuscripts, insofar as data is available.²⁴⁵ It can be concluded from the chart that the manuscripts can be roughly divided into two clusters: cluster I contains manuscripts that have a justification below 200 x 150 mm, and cluster II contains manuscripts with a justification above 200 x 150 mm. Cluster I can be divided into three groups. The first group, Ia, contains four manuscripts with a relatively small written area: Brussels 10987 and Paris 4972 (both *Sept psaumes*), Paris 24786 (*Prison de vie humaine*), and Vatican 1238 (*Prod'hommie*). The Brussels and Paris manuscripts were all produced late in Christine's career, as was the Paris 24864 copy of the *Lamentacion*, which is part of group Ib with five monotextual manuscripts: three copies of the *Chemin* (Brussels 10982 and 10983, and Paris 1188), the *Deux amans* in Brussels 11034 and the *Pastoure* in Paris 2184.²⁴⁶ Cluster Ic contains the bulk of normal-sized monotextual manuscripts of Christine's works. Interestingly, groups Ia and Ib almost exclusively contain early and late monotextual manuscripts. This supports the theory discussed above, that Christine's manuscripts increase in both size and style of illustration during her heyday as an author, and decrease soon afterwards.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ This chart is based on the data in Appendix A. Sincere thanks to Christine Reno for providing the justification of a large number of manuscripts.

²⁴⁶ The presence of three monotextual *Chemin* manuscripts in cluster Ib goes to show that the fourth surviving copy, Paris 1643, which was produced around the same time as the three aforementioned codices but boasts very different dimensions for its written area, was in all probability not a result of the same production process.

²⁴⁷ A notable exception to this theory, alongside the already mentioned MS Vatican 1238, is the *Othea* in Paris 848, which has the largest height and width of all supervised manuscripts because of its abnormal layout. Paris 848 is represented by the dot in the upper right hand corner of the chart in Appendix D.

Cluster II is made up of a very interesting selection of Christine's manuscripts. Firstly, and perhaps not surprisingly, this cluster includes all known manuscripts of collected works or fragments thereof: the two known copies of the *Livre de Cristine*, the Duke's Manuscript, and the Queen's Manuscript, as well as the Leiden fragment. Size must have been very important for these lavish anthologies.

Secondly, the four early copies as well as the three late copies of the *Mutacion* are present in this cluster: Brussels 9508, Chantilly 494, ex-Cockerell, and The Hague 78 D 42; the fragment in Paris 14852, Munich 11, and Paris 603 (which also contains the *Fais d'armes*). Interestingly, the *Mutacion* does not appear in any of the collected works manuscripts after L₁; both the early and late copies were possibly meant as supplements or precursors to the anthologies.

Highly interesting, too, is the presence of two other manuscripts in this cluster: Paris 580 and Brussels 9393. As we will see in Chapter Four of this thesis, Paris 580 plays a pivotal role in scholarship surrounding the supposed autographic character of a number of Christine's supervised manuscripts. It will be argued there in more detail that the *Epistre à la reine* is fully integrated in MS Paris 580, which limits the significance of the size of the written area for our investigation here.²⁴⁸ MS Brussels 9393, on the other hand, is very interesting for the present analysis, as it is the only *Cité* manuscript, apart from the copies in D and R, to form part of this cluster. In the production process of the monotextual *Cité* copies, as described above, Brussels 9393 takes up an interesting place: it is the only early manuscript of the *Cité* to contain a cycle of illuminations. Its presence in this cluster, among the manuscripts of collected works, may point to the conclusion that this manuscript, too, was originally intended to serve as a supplement to a collected works manuscript that was either being prepared or had already been completed.

The discussion of Christine's supervised manuscripts and the survey of justifications in this Chapter serve to illustrate to what extent these manuscripts are diverse when

²⁴⁸ See below, pp. 119-120 and 125-127.

it comes to their sizes and levels of execution, but at the same time uniform with regards to their production process. We have seen that whenever multiple monotextual manuscripts were produced, they all received similar justifications. The same applies to the production of the manuscripts containing Christine's collected works. In terms of the production process, a similar layout and justification meant that an already existing exemplar could be used, which facilitated the calculations that had to be carried out to determine the number of leaves or quires that were needed, and the number of lines that had to be ruled on each folio. This production process must have been so efficiently organised and streamlined that it is almost comparable to our modern-day practice of printing-on-demand, Christine being the author who orders a number of copies of a text to be made and receives almost identical manuscripts. In the case of her collected works, the identical layout of the manuscripts meant that it was easier for Christine to use an *exemplar* as base text that could be edited and re-published in a slightly altered way. Once the *exemplar* was ready (or altered), the scribe or scribes started the production of the manuscript(s).²⁴⁹

In the next Chapter, we will focus on the palaeographical side of this issue and investigate the production process of Christine's manuscripts not from the author's standpoint, but from the side of the scribes and illuminators. Who were they, how many were they, and how did they cooperate in producing Christine's supervised manuscripts?

²⁴⁹ These *exemplaria* could very well have been the 'environ ·LXX· quaiers de grant volume' to which Christine refers in her *Advison*. See above, pp. 46-47.

4

LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Palaeography as a scientific discipline was first practised in the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. It was there that, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Jean Mabillon wrote his *De re diplomatica*, a groundbreaking study of medieval scripts and manuscripts.²⁵⁰ Originally born from the desire to disprove conclusions reached by the Bollandist, Daniel Papebroch, that documents granting papal and royal privileges to the abbey of Saint-Denis were forgeries, Mabillon's *magnum opus* classifies types of script in nineteen categories, based on geographical, ideological, and chronological criteria.²⁵¹ Mabillon's interest in handwritten sources inspired fellow-Benedictine Bernard de Montfaucon, who, in 1708, coined the term Palaeography in his work *Palaeographia Græca*.²⁵² Half a century later, the Benedictines Charles François Toustain and René Prosper Tassin published their

²⁵⁰ Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica libri VI in quibus quidquid ad veterum instrumentorum antiquitatem, materiam, scripturam et stilum, quidquid ad sigilla, monogrammata, subscriptiones ac notas chronologicas [...] pertinet, explicatur et illustratur* (Paris: Billaine, 1681).

²⁵¹ Jacques Stiennon, *Paléographie du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1973), pp. 27-28.

²⁵² Bernard de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Græca, sive De ortu et progressu literarum Græcarum, et de variis omnium sæculorum scriptionis Græcæ generibus* (Paris: Guerin, 1708).

Nouveau traité de diplomatique in which they used Mabillon's theories to analyse a large corpus of manuscript specimens.²⁵³

In the 250 years that have passed since then, new and innovative methodologies on handwriting analysis have been developed. Palaeography, which according to Montfaucon included the study of the manuscript as a material object, has been separated from the discipline of Diplomatics and defined as the scientific study of ancient handwriting, its main objective being to decipher, date, and locate scripts. To that definition, Léopold Delisle and Ludwig Traube added the importance of studying the history and evolution of scripts.²⁵⁴ The evolution and importance of the so-called national scripts, first outlined by Scipione Maffei in 1727, was given further shape by eminent scholars such as G.I. Lieftinck, his pupil and successor J.P. Gumbert, E.A. Lowe, and G. Battelli.²⁵⁵

In the 1940s, the discipline of Codicology was created more or less simultaneously by Charles Samaran and Alphonse Dain in an attempt to promote the study of the manuscript book as a material object by analysing its composition and production.²⁵⁶ Around the same time, the creation of the scientific journal *Scriptorium* in 1947 encouraged the study of manuscripts as cultural objects. Combined in the term Archaeology of the Book, coined by Léon Delaissé, the cultural and material aspects of medieval manuscripts have since been extensively explored in an important study by Jacques Lemaire and in the *Litterae textuales* series edited by Albert Gruys and Peter Gumbert.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ C.F. Toustain and R.P. Tassin, *Nouveau traité de diplomatique, où l'on examine les fondemens de cet art: on établit des règles sur le discernement des titres, et l'on expose historiquement les caractères des bulles pontificales et des diplomes donnés en chaque siècle* (Paris: Desprez, 1750-1765).

²⁵⁴ Léopold Victor Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie* (Paris: Champion, 1880); Ludwig Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* (Munich: Beck, 1909-1920).

²⁵⁵ Scipione Maffei, *Istoria diplomatica che serve d'introduzione all'arte critica in tal materia [...]* (Mantua: Albertus Tumermanus, 1727); G.I. Lieftinck, *Paleografie en handschriftenkunde* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1963); J.P. Gumbert, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser und ihre Bücher im frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leyden: Brill, 1974); E.A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores. A palaeographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934-1966); Giulio Battelli, *Lezioni di paleografia*. 3rd edn (Vatican City: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1949).

²⁵⁶ Alphonse Dain, *Les manuscrits* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1949); Samaran discussed the possibilities of analysing material aspects of medieval codices in his lectures at the École des Chartes.

²⁵⁷ Léon M.J. Delaissé, 'Towards a history of the medieval book', in *Codicologica 1: Théories et principes*, ed. by A. Gruys and J.P. Gumbert (Leyden: Brill, 1976), pp. 75-83; Jacques Lemaire, *Introduction à la codicologie* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales, 1989); *Codicologica*, ed. by A. Gruys, J.P. Gumbert and M.J.M. de Haan, 5 vols, *Litterae textuales* (Leyden: Brill, 1976-80).

In recent years, Palaeography and Codicology have been extended to include new lines of investigation. In Palaeography, the notion of the scribal hand and its characteristics has received an increasing amount of scholarly attention ever since Léon Gilissen's 1973 work *L'expertise des écritures médiévales*.²⁵⁸ Besides trying to distinguish between scripts, palaeographers have become more and more interested in discerning different scribal hands, as well as in gaining a better understanding of the principles behind a scribe's specific execution of scripts.²⁵⁹ Codicologists, for their part, have expressed an increasing interest in the processes that underly the production of medieval manuscripts. Specific attention has been paid to the extent and nature of cooperation between craftsmen involved in the book-producing and book-trading world. Similarly, research is being carried out into the various factors that influence the production of a manuscript; they include the availability of basic supplies and the specific location of book producers in a city.²⁶⁰

However, no development has had a more profound effect on Palaeography and Codicology than the advent of the computer. High-resolution digital images of manuscripts have greatly facilitated the study of handwriting and illumination, and manuscript descriptions made available online have generated scholarly interest in codicological research, while optical character recognition software and similar computer programs are only just being deployed to solve palaeographical puzzles and codicological conundrums. The end is nowhere near for the digital age of Manuscript Studies.²⁶¹ Providing digital transcriptions and editions of manuscripts by means of XML-tagging and digitally charting the manuscript tradition of a

²⁵⁸ Léon Gilissen, *L'expertise des écritures médiévales: recherche d'une méthode avec application à un manuscrit du XI^{ème} siècle: le lectionnaire de Lobbes (Codex Bruxellensis 18018)* (Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1973).

²⁵⁹ Recent articles on this subject are included in the anthology by Malte Rehbein, Patrick Sahle and Torsten Schassan (eds), *Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age*, Schriften des Instituts für Dokumentologie und Editorik 2 (Norderstedt: BoD, 2009).

²⁶⁰ See for instance Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, and Godfried Croenen, 'Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400', in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops. Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, ed. by Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Louvain / Paris / Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006), pp. 1-19.

²⁶¹ Exciting new avenues for digital research have been explored by Rehbein, Sahle and Schassan (eds), *Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age*.

medieval text are just two examples of the future that lies ahead for Palaeography and Codicology.²⁶²

The focus of this Chapter will be on these recent developments in Palaeography and Codicology. A survey of the various book hands that were used in Paris c. 1350-1450 and their history and evolution is followed by a critical overview of scholarly literature on the different hands in Christine de Pizan's supervised manuscripts. Attention will be paid to both the distribution of the main and ancillary scribal hands in these manuscripts, and the possible identification of one of them as Christine de Pizan herself. Concluding this Chapter is a detailed discussion of the existing methods for distinguishing between scribal hands. The notion of the Scribal Fingerprint will be introduced and its viability and practicability will be analysed.

4.2 BOOK SCRIPTS IN PARIS, C. 1350-1450

The study of medieval script types is fundamental to the discipline of Palaeography. The exact definition of a script type has been the subject of debate ever since the creation of the discipline, and palaeographers have tried to classify medieval scripts mainly by analysing the shape and dimensions of letter forms. The majority of scripts in use in Paris at the time when Christine de Pizan's manuscripts were produced, belong to the family of Gothic scripts.²⁶³ This *littera gothica* developed from the eleventh century onwards from the then-prevalent Carolingian minuscule. First in Belgium and northern France, and later in the rest of the Low Countries, Germany, and the south of France as well, the Carolingian letter forms were given a

²⁶² See for instance the Christine de Pizan (<http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk>), Charrette (<http://www.princeton.edu/~lancelot/ss>), and St Albans Psalter (<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/~lib399>) projects.

²⁶³ See Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, pp. 127-145; Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

more compressed and elongated appearance. Ascenders and descenders were extended, minims were decorated by means of fine attack strokes, and an increasing number of letter forms were written on rather than below the base line.²⁶⁴

Although palaeographers agree that there are different types of Gothic script, their number varies from one study to another. Lieftinck's 1954 classification of Gothic scripts – best studied in the expanded version published in 1974 by J.P. Gumbert – presents a useful system of distinguishing between Gothic scripts.²⁶⁵ Lieftinck observed three major Gothic script types. The first, now called Textualis, was the most widely used variant in the early days of the Gothic script.²⁶⁶ Its very formal appearance was the result of both the general characteristics of Gothic script mentioned above, and a number of other qualities, including a remarkable uniformity in the execution of letter forms, from the thirteenth century onwards created by means of biting; a distinctly vertical and compressed appearance; finally, a complicated *ductus* for many letter forms.²⁶⁷ Textualis passed into disuse in the fifteenth century, mainly because of the creation of other script types that were easier to use, and the increasing use of paper as a writing surface, for which Textualis was not the ideal script.

The second type of Gothic script defined by Lieftinck is Cursiva, a much less formal script which, from the end of the twelfth century, evolved from a documentary script into a proper book script.²⁶⁸ The influence of chancery scripts on book scripts was mainly 'born of the desire to produce books more rapidly', as

²⁶⁴ Although Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique*, def. 324.02 and 324.04, distinguishes between the ruled line ('line for writing') and the virtual line that connects the base of letter forms without ascenders ('writing base-line'), base line is used here to refer to the ruled line.

²⁶⁵ G.I. Lieftinck, 'Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique', in *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IX^e au XVI^e siècle*, ed. by Bernhard Bischoff, Gerard Isaac Lieftinck and Giulio Battelli (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1954), pp. 15-34; Gumbert, *Utrechter Kartäuser*, pp. 199-214.

²⁶⁶ Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, pp. 127-136; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 72-101.

²⁶⁷ Biting (or fusion) is 'a coalescence of two successive letters, which end and begin with contrary curves' (Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. xx). See further Wilhelm Meyer, *Die Buchstaben-Verbindungen der sogenannten gotischen Schrift*, Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse; N.F. 1/6 (Berlin, 1897) and Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 72-101.

²⁶⁸ Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, pp. 136-142; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 123-162.

Derolez put it.²⁶⁹ The scripts that were used in royal and papal chanceries possessed certain characteristics that made them easy-to-use, quick scripts, a quality that was very useful, given the desire to streamline the production process of manuscript books. By the end of the fourteenth century, *Cursiva* was widely used. It adopted some elements from *Textualis* in order to increase its status above that of a chancery script: biting, shorter ascenders and descenders, a reduced number of ligatures and loops. *Cursiva* remained a widespread script in France well into the fifteenth century.

The third type of script was originally named *Bastarda* by Liefertinck, but was later renamed *Hybrida* to avoid ambiguity.²⁷⁰ The Dutch palaeographer assumed that *Hybrida* was a type of script, limited to the Low Countries and the Rhineland, that evolved in the fifteenth century; Bischoff, for his part, observed that the script evolved from a notarial script used for literary works in fourteenth-century Italy and Germany.²⁷¹ This script may have spread towards France, where it influenced *Cursiva* and led to the creation of *Hybrida*, an intermediate form between the rapid *Cursiva* and the formal *Textualis*. *Hybrida*, like *Cursiva*, was used frequently in manuscripts all over continental Europe, thus making it one of the most popular types of script in the fifteenth century.

Liefertinck's nomenclature is based on the execution of three groups of letter forms: *a*; long *s* and *f*; *b*, *h*, *k*, and *l*. The discriminating factors for each of these groups are: *a* executed in one or in two compartments; long *s* and *f* standing on the base line or extending below the base line; *b*, *h*, *k*, and *l* with or without loops. *Textualis*, the most formal of Gothic scripts, is characterised by a two-compartment *a*, by long *s* and *f* finishing on the base line, and by loopless ascenders. *Cursiva*, on the other hand, has a single-compartment *a*, long *s* and *f* extending below the base line, and ascenders with loops. *Hybrida*, true to its name, has *Cursiva*'s single-compartment *a* and extending *f* and long *s*, and *Textualis*'s loopless ascenders.

²⁶⁹ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 123.

²⁷⁰ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 163-175.

²⁷¹ Liefertinck, 'Nomenclature', pp. 24-31; Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 143.

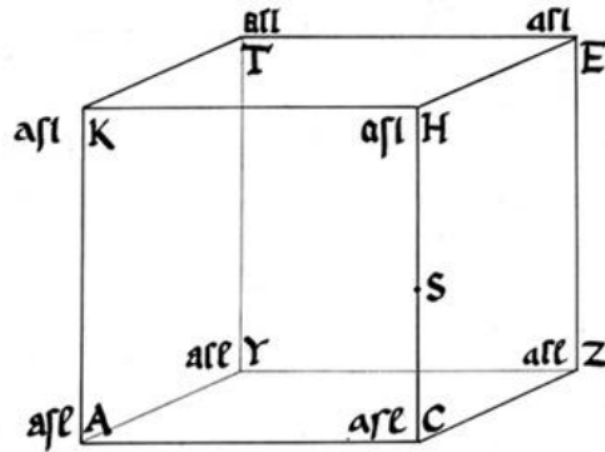


Figure 4.1: Schematic overview of all possible variants of Gothic script. Source: Gumbert, *Cartesian Nomenclature*, p. 47, fig. 2.

Given the fact that three discriminating factors containing two options each allow for eight possible combinations rather than Lieftinck's three, Gumbert expanded the nomenclature by using the vertices of a cube to provide insight into the eight combinations and their interrelations (see Figure 4.1). Alongside Textualis (T in Figure 4.1), Cursiva (C), and Hybrida (H), Gumbert added the names Semitextualis (E) to describe a script based on Textualis but with a single-compartment *a*, and a-Cursiva (A; renamed Cursiva Antiquior by Derolez) to denote a Cursiva script with a two-compartment *a*.²⁷²

A third script added to Lieftinck's nomenclature by Gumbert is Semihybrida (S), an intermediate form between Cursiva and Hybrida which has looped as well as loopless ascenders.²⁷³ This category is of particular interest here, as it includes one of the most famous scripts to be used in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Paris: Bastarda. This script, dubbed 'a calligraphic version of the Cursiva book script' by Derolez, was indeed heavily influenced by the cursive script used by the French

²⁷² See Gumbert, *Utrechter Kartäuser*, pp. 242-263, and Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 118-122 and 133-141. The former type is characteristic of books made in Italy, while the latter had all but disappeared in northern France by the fourteenth century.

²⁷³ See Gumbert, *Utrechter Kartäuser*, p. 210, and Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 163-175.

royal chancery.²⁷⁴ Bastarda's most defining features are the forms of *f* and long *s*, inclined towards the right with descenders that broaden around the base line and taper downwards.²⁷⁵ The shape of these letter forms contrasts sharply with the other characteristics of Bastarda, which include angularity and roundness as well as a plethora of hairlines, and a pronounced difference between hairlines and thicker, broader strokes, for which the technical term is *shading*. Bastarda was used as a deluxe script for high-quality, expensive manuscripts and gained a notable popularity at the court of Burgundy, especially during the reigns of Dukes Philippe le Bon (1419-1467) and Charles le Téméraire (1467-1477).²⁷⁶

There has been some debate as to which specific category of Gothic script Bastarda belongs to. Although it has Cursiva's one-compartment *a* and its *f* and long *s* do extend below the base line, the use of loops on ascenders is not always uniform. While some scribes only use loopless ascenders, others always attach loops to their letters *b*, *h*, *k*, and *l*; to complicate matters even further, a third variant of Bastarda exists in which both loopless and looped ascenders occur. In an attempt to fit Bastarda into Gumbert's cube, Derolez proposed two types of Bastarda: the 'normal', looped variant, classified as a sub-type of Cursiva, and the loopless Bastarda, a variant of Hybrida.²⁷⁷ If this line of reasoning is pursued, the third type of Bastarda, existing alongside Cursiva Bastarda and Hybrida Bastarda, would be Semihybrida Bastarda, the variant containing both looped and loopless ascenders.

Besides a nomenclature based on letter forms, Lieftinck proposed a distinction within each of the three types of Gothic script, based on the level of execution of the writing. He introduced the adjectives Formata, Libraria, and Currens – when combined with any of the three (or, in Gumbert's cube, eight) script types, they can convey subtle differences in the quality of the writing, ranging from a very formal, high-quality execution (Formata), via a medium level of writing (Libraria), to a low

²⁷⁴ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 158.

²⁷⁵ These characteristic forms of *f* and long *s* are often colloquially referred to as 'birds on a wire'.

²⁷⁶ In line with this popularity, Bastarda is often called *lettre bourguignonne* or *bâtarde bourguignonne*.

²⁷⁷ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 157-160 and 165-166.

and rapid execution (Currens).²⁷⁸ Thus, Textualis Formata is the highest, most formal script, and Cursiva Currens is the lowest, least formal script. As Derolez rightly points out, any differentiation of scripts based on levels of execution is dangerous and subjective,

as it is difficult to find criteria for defining levels of execution and as the numerous, subtle gradations between each level for the most part preclude categorization. (Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 21)

There is a certain amount of discrepancy between the script names used in Liefertinck's methodology and those in use in the Middle Ages. Specimen sheets that have come down to us – for instance the one produced by Hermann Strepel in Münster around 1447 – use names like *separatus*, *nottula*, and *textus rotundus*. Liefertinck deliberately chose to invent an altogether new set of names, stating that it would be 'impossible de faire usage des termes de l'époque'.²⁷⁹ Although this decision was criticised at the time, most palaeographers now agree with J.P. Gumbert that it is inadvisable to use the old names, mainly because it is impossible to tell on which distinguishing criteria the old names were based; furthermore, it is not always clear to which type of script these names refer.²⁸⁰

The surviving supervised manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's works were produced in Paris between 1399 and 1418. By that time, the use of Textualis was generally restricted to school books and liturgical texts. Cursiva and (Semi-)Hybrida were by far the most widely used script types in early fifteenth-century Paris, generally executed in Formata level in order to introduce some formality to the cursive

²⁷⁸ More elaborate systems, like that proposed by Michelle Brown, allow for intermediate levels of execution such as 'Libraria/Currens' and 'Libraria/Formata'. See Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 21, and Michelle Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 2. For reasons of clarity, Liefertinck's ill-chosen term Libraria is often replaced with the adjective Media.

²⁷⁹ See Hermann Strepel's specimen sheet in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. 2^o, f. 384v, printed in Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (London / Toronto: British Museum Press / University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 38, Fig. 30; Liefertinck, 'Nomenclature', p. 15.

²⁸⁰ Gumbert, *Utrechter Kartäuser*, pp. 206-209.

script.²⁸¹ Another way for a commissioner to boost a manuscript's status was by requesting the use of the different Bastarda types, which were also regarded as high-quality, deluxe scripts.

The script used without exception for both the text and the rubrics in each of Christine de Pizan's supervised manuscripts – from the earliest codices up to the very late copies, from the monotextual manuscripts to the collections – is Cursiva Bastarda. It boasts the unmistakably Bastardic features of fat, sloping *f* and long *s*, a great many hairlines, and pronounced shading; the omnipresent loops on the ascenders of *b*, *h*, *k*, and *l* set the script among the variants of Cursiva. Even in codices (or parts thereof) where speed of production seemed more important than quality, the script retains all the defining features of Cursiva Bastarda.

Based on the many examples given by Lieftinck, Gumbert, and Derolez, the level of execution of this Cursiva Bastarda can be defined as Libraria/Formata (or Media/Formata) for MS Paris 24864 – a draft version of Christine's *Lamentacion sur les maux de la France* – and Formata for the other codices. Many of the 101 *textes* of Christine's *Epistre Othea* in manuscripts Paris 1187, Chantilly 492, Paris 12779, Paris 606, and Harley 4431 are written in a slightly larger modulus, but the level of execution is not always more careful than that of the surrounding glosses and allegories. The same applies to some incipits and explicits, as well as to the first line of text in a number of manuscripts. As for the marginal and interlinear corrections, preparations, and catchwords present in Christine's manuscripts: they are executed in Cursiva. While most of the preparations and catchwords are written in Currens, the corrections are generally executed with more care, and can thus be characterised as Libraria.

The preceding discussion of the scripts used in Christine de Pizan's supervised manuscripts serves as a starting point for a closer examination of the handwriting that can be discerned in them. An overview of existing literature on this subject will

²⁸¹ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 155.

be followed by a critical evaluation of the methods that were used to distinguish between scribal hands in Christine de Pizan's supervised manuscripts.

4.3 SCRIBAL HANDS IN CHRISTINE'S WORKS

4.3.1 Existing Research

Early interest in the possible autograph character of some of Christine de Pizan's supervised manuscripts was expressed by Paulin Paris. In his description of Paris 604 (then known as MS 7087² of the Ancien fonds of the Bibliothèque Impériale), Paris notes that the volume

(...) pourroit bien avoir été écrit par Christine elle-même, et, dans tous les cas, on ne peut douter que la première partie n'ait été exécutée sous ses yeux et que chacune des pièces qui le composent n'ait été relue par elle. (Paris, *Manuscrits françois*, vol. 5, p. 148)

Although it is not entirely clear what led Paris to this conclusion, he does quote the very first rubric of the codex, which speaks of the manuscript as having been 'fait, compilé par Cristine de Pisan demoiselle'. Some fifty years later, Maurice Roy remarks on the first four volumes of the Duke's Manuscript: 'l'exécution en fut préparée et surveillée par Christine elle-même (...)'. Roy quotes Léopold Delisle's edition of the inventory of the Duke of Berry's library, where the manuscript is described as having been 'fait et compilé par demoiselle Cristine de Pizan'.²⁸²

It was another remark in one of Christine's supervised manuscripts that led Charity Cannon Willard to believe, in 1965, that some of these manuscripts are in fact autographs. Willard quotes the *rondeau* which appears at the end of Christine's *Epistre à la reine* in MS Paris 580 – discussed in the previous Chapter – and draws

²⁸² Roy (ed.), *Œuvres poétiques*, vol. 1, p. v-vi ; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, p. 193, item 291.

attention to the expression ‘cest escript de ma main fait’. Having explained that similar expressions occur in other fifteenth-century documents and that ‘such a phrase was intended to mean exactly what it said’, Willard concludes that the *Epistre à la reine* in Paris 580 is copied by Christine de Pizan herself and goes on to identify the hand of Paris 580 in other manuscripts: Appendix E lists these manuscripts.²⁸³ Interestingly, besides eight manuscripts of works by Christine de Pizan, they also include two copies of the *Réponses de Pierre Salmon à Charles VI*: Paris, BnF, f.fr. 23279 and Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS 165. As we will see below, this attribution has been contested on two levels.

Willard’s observations inspired a new scholarly approach to Christine de Pizan’s manuscripts, notably, the search for and identification of autograph manuscripts. Léon Gilissen alluded to the possibility that MS Brussels 9508 is an autograph manuscript in his 1970 work *La librairie de Bourgogne et quelques acquisitions récentes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*. While noticing that the second part of the manuscript (as of folio 50) was copied by an assistant – thereby corroborating Willard’s observations concerning this codex – Gilissen considered the possibility that the first 49 folios of MS Brussels 9508 were copied by Christine de Pizan herself. In passing, he even put forward the idea that she may have been a publisher and, interestingly, an illuminator as well.²⁸⁴

In 1976, Eric Hicks presented a paper at the Second Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies, outlining research carried out on Christine’s supervised manuscripts in collaboration with Gilbert Ouy. The paper’s abstract, published in *Manuscripta*, is the first publication to mention the three hands that appear in later studies on the subject.²⁸⁵ Hicks and Ouy were able to distinguish three different hands in MS Paris 835, volume 1 of the Duke’s Manuscript (D₁): the titles in this manuscript are written in a hand which they call P (short for *pointue*; pointed), the

²⁸³ See Willard, ‘An Autograph Manuscript’, 453. Appendix E contains a schematic overview of attributions of hands to manuscripts made in the major contributions to this discussion.

²⁸⁴ Gilissen, *La librairie de Bourgogne*, p. 10.

²⁸⁵ Eric Hicks (and Gilbert Ouy), ‘The “Second Autograph” Edition of Christine de Pizan’s Lesser Poetical Works’, *Manuscripta*, 20 (1976), 14-15. Allusion to the three hands is also made in the 1973-1974 *Annuaire* of the École Pratique des Hautes Études (IV^e section: sciences historiques et philologiques, p. 427).

text itself is written by scribe R (*raide*; steep, rigid), while a third hand, *main X*, transcribed the text on a patch attached to folio 100 of the manuscript. Hicks and Ouy argued that this hand X is to be identified as the hand dubbed ‘Christine’ by Willard; besides having copied Paris 12779, Harley 4431, and Paris 580, X also ‘appears in many other original Christine manuscripts (...), often indicating corrections to be made in copy’.²⁸⁶

Christine M. Reno was the first scholar to describe the handwriting in Christine de Pizan’s manuscripts from a palaeographical point of view. In her 1978 article ‘The cursive and calligraphic scripts of Christine de Pizan’, Reno analyses the handwriting in three copies of the *Advison Cristine*: Brussels 10309, Paris 1176, and the then recently resurfaced MS ex-Phillipps 128.²⁸⁷ She concludes that three hands can be distinguished in these manuscripts: Paris 1176 and ex-Phillipps 128 are written by scribe X, who is also responsible for the rubrics and some additions in Brussels 10309, in which R is the main scribe. A third hand, dubbed Z by Reno, is present in all three manuscripts, taking care of additions, corrections, marginal notes, and catchwords.

Reno’s descriptions of hands R, X, and Z include some general features and mention characteristic letter forms. Hand R, she says, writes an *e* with an angular shape and a large, ungainly pocket; its *g* is very bold and has an almost horizontal tail. Hand X, on the other hand, has a much more fluid and round *e* which often boasts an ornamented top, while this hand’s *g* ends in a sinuous stroke with a downward curve to the right. Hand Z, finally, appears to have a very distinctive *e*, beginning with an angular stroke, followed by an almost vertical stroke which forms the (often open) pocket. Other characteristic letter forms for this hand, according to Reno, are the pointed *m* and *n*, the final *s* resembling a Greek sigma, and a *t* with a very long cross stroke.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Hicks (and Gilbert Ouy), ‘The “Second Autograph” Edition’, 15.

²⁸⁷ Christine M. Reno, ‘The cursive and calligraphic scripts of Christine de Pizan’, *Ball State University Forum*, 19:3 (1978), 3-20.

²⁸⁸ Reno, ‘The cursive and calligraphic scripts’, 7-8.

After a lengthy comparison of sixteen marginal notes in MS ex-Phillipps 128, written in hand Z, Reno concludes that these notes

(...) appear to be the jottings made by the author of the preface who was recalling to mind the gist of each chapter before composing the glosses. (Reno, *The cursive and calligraphic scripts*, 10)

Having said that hand Z belongs to the author, Reno adds that hand X, too, can be identified as Christine de Pizan herself. According to Reno, the authority that both hands have in the three *Advisio* manuscripts, the haste with which MS ex-Phillipps 128 was produced – ‘one of the most notable characteristics of Christine’s literary career’ – and the unlikelihood that Christine, having written the marginal notes herself by means of a preparation, would then leave the actual writing of the preface of the *Advisio* to another scribe, lend ‘strong support to the evidence that X is indeed Christine’s calligraphic hand’.²⁸⁹

The interpretation given by Christine Reno in 1978 is further postulated in the most important contribution to the discussion concerning the scribal hands in Christine de Pizan’s manuscripts: the 1980 article ‘Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan’ by Reno and Gilbert Ouy.²⁹⁰ Having analysed a large number of Christine’s original manuscripts, the two scholars conclude that ‘trois mains bien reconnaissables’ (224) are to be distinguished. In line with previous scholarship, they are referred to as P, R, and X. Hand P, described here as the least able and active of the three scribes, is recognised by Ouy and Reno by the form and *ductus* of the letter *p*, which has a ‘hampe curieusement retournée et parfois même bouclée vers la gauche’.²⁹¹ Hand R, elegant but relatively *raide*, according to Ouy and Reno, is characterised by its *g* with a long horizontal tail, and its *j* which has a large, closed loop in its descender that resembles our modern cursive *j*. Hand X, finally, is thought to be the most elegant but also the most inconsistent of the three hands. It

²⁸⁹ Reno, ‘The cursive and calligraphic scripts’, 11; 12.

²⁹⁰ Ouy and Reno, ‘Identification’, 221-238.

²⁹¹ Ouy and Reno, ‘Identification’, 225.

is known for its *d* and initial *a* with pointy or looped lobes, its characteristic *x* with a downward stroke that ends in a very fine curve, and its *e cornu*, which is a letter *e* with a tiny horn attached to its topmost part. Ouy and Reno also come across Reno's hand Z, which they dubbed X' because of its resemblance to hand X. This hand X' is characterised by a very acute *r*, a final *s* resembling the number 6, and a final *t* with a very long cross bar. A third manifestation of the same hand X is recognised by the two scholars; this hand, left without a name in their study but referred to here as X², is an intermediate form that is not quite as formal as X and not quite as quickly executed as X'. Having put forward the theory that X' and X² are in fact rapid versions of hand X, Ouy and Reno go on to identify X' with Christine de Pizan because of this hand's omnipresent interventions, preparations, and corrections. Logic then permits them to conclude:

Ouy and Reno's efforts did not go unnoticed in the world of the *études christiniennes* and their conclusions were quickly picked up by fellow-researchers. The notion that Christine de Pizan herself may have been involved as a scribe in the production of her own manuscripts must have been particularly appealing to students of the literary circles in fifteenth-century Paris. In an article dating from 1983, Sandra Hindman commented on the scribal hands of MS Harley 4431. She noted that, contrary to conclusions reached by Gianni Mombello in 1967, she believed that Harley 4431 was in fact written by a single scribe, which she identifies as Christine de Pizan herself.²⁹² While Hindman did note a certain difference in the execution of letter forms in certain parts of the manuscript, most notably *d*, *v*, *r*, and *g*, a further examination of the matter enabled her to conclude that these differences

²⁹² See Mombello, *La tradizione manoscritta*, p. 200.

are part of the changing handwriting of Christine ‘who, according to Gilbert Ouy, formed her letters differently as her calligraphy evolved’.²⁹³

Hindman is the first scholar to focus on codicological and textual aspects of Christine’s supervised manuscripts in order to gain a better understanding of their production process. As a result, less attention is paid to a palaeographical examination of the codices in question. Published in the same year, James Laidlaw’s ‘Christine de Pizan – An Author’s Progress’ investigates the various textual differences in the verse works included in Christine’s Collected Works. Laidlaw paints a fascinating picture of Christine as an author who continuously carried out revisions to the texts that were to be included in subsequent versions of her Collected Works, claiming that she ‘could never be entirely satisfied with anything that she had written’ (532). Laidlaw further concludes that, in order to carry out these revisions,

(...) Christine doubtless had available her own personal copy of her works, the equivalent of the ‘livre ou je met toutes mes choses’, which had been kept earlier by Guillaume de Machaut. (Laidlaw, *An Author's Progress*, 550)

Laidlaw explored codicological and textual aspects of Christine’s supervised manuscripts in an important study dating from 1987, thereby focusing on the early manuscripts and the four editions of Christine’s collected works. His detailed analysis of the production process of these manuscripts includes a number of palaeographical observations, most of which go against conclusions reached by Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno. For instance, Laidlaw identified ‘at least three different hands’ in the five texts added to the *Livre de Cristine* in L₁: the scribe of the *Livre* itself, who transcribed the *Dit de la pastoure*, the *Epistre à la reine*, and Parts VI-VII of the *Mutacion de Fortune*; a second scribe who worked on the *Oraison Nostre Seigneur*; and a third and final scribe who transcribed the *Chemin de long estude* and Parts I-V of the *Mutacion de Fortune*.²⁹⁴ Laidlaw hypothesised

²⁹³ Hindman, ‘Reassessment’, 109.

²⁹⁴ Laidlaw, ‘A Publisher’s Progress’, 49.

that the scribe of the *Oroison Nostre Seigneur* may be Ouy and Reno's scribe P and further identified the third scribe as the one who transcribed the copy of the *Deux amans* in MS Brussels 11034. He used this latter scribe's letter form *g* as differentiator: the scribe of Brussels 11034 writes a *g* with a tail 'taken strongly to the right', a feature that also appears in L₁'s *Chemin* and the first parts of its *Mutacion*.²⁹⁵ The shape of the letter *g* also led Laidlaw to conclude that, unlike Ouy and Reno, he believes that the two early copies of Christine's *Deux amans* are transcribed by different scribes.²⁹⁶ The same applies to the transcription process of the Queen's Manuscript: Laidlaw observed two different hands in the text of Harley 4431, alongside a possible third scribe who took care of the corrections; Ouy and Reno concluded that scribe X copied the entire manuscript.²⁹⁷ Although Laidlaw's palaeographical observations, like those made by previous scholars, only take into account letter forms, his arguments are corroborated by an in-depth analysis of the codicological and textual peculiarities present in the supervised manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's collected works.

The most recent instalment in the palaeographical discussion surrounding Christine's supervised manuscripts is a 2002 article by Christine Reno and Gilbert Ouy in which the two scholars set out to provide definitive proof that hands X and X' belong to the same scribe: Christine de Pizan herself.²⁹⁸

4.3.2 Evaluation

The overview of existing research in the previous section calls for some remarks on the hand descriptions and lines of reasoning. Let us first take a closer look at Charity Willard's examination of the *rondeau* in MS Paris 580. Although her reasoning is sound – if the hand of the *Epistre à la reine* in Paris 580 is Christine's

²⁹⁵ Ouy and Reno believe that L₁ was written 'entirely, or almost entirely' by scribe X. See Christine M. Reno and Gilbert Ouy, 'X + X' = 1. Response to James C. Laidlaw', in *Contexts and Continuities. Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow 21-27 July 2000)*, published in honour of Liliane Dulac, ed. by Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw and Catherine M. Müller (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), vol. III, pp. 723-730, notably p. 723, n. 2.

²⁹⁶ Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 42.

²⁹⁷ Laidlaw, 'A Publisher's Progress', 61-62; Reno and Ouy, 'X + X' = 1', p. 724, n. 7.

²⁹⁸ Reno and Ouy, 'X + X' = 1', pp. 723-730.

hand, it is not unlikely that it can be found in other contemporaneous manuscripts of her works too – Willard’s initial assumption is flawed for a number of reasons. Firstly, the presence of the *rondeau* in Paris 580 is not sufficient proof that the text was written by the author herself: the text may simply have been a diligent copy of the *exemplar*. Secondly, Paris 580, according to Angus Kennedy’s 1988 edition and 1990 study of the *Épistre à la reine*, contains some errors and corrections that ‘could be seen to argue against the view that [Paris 580] was copied by Christine herself’.²⁹⁹ These mistakes centre around one particular sentence in the *Épistre*, corresponding with lines 53-56 of Kennedy’s edition. The reading in Paris 580 is given here; the variants from the two other supervised copies, Chantilly 493 and Paris 605, are added between brackets:

Et ma redoubtée dame, à regarder aux raisons de vostre droit,
posons qu’il soit ou feust ainsi que la dignité de vostre
haultesse se tenist de l’une des partiez avoir [esté *added*]
aucunement blecée, par quoy vostre hault cuer feust mains
evolu [*replaced by* enclin] que par [vous *added*] ceste paix feust
traictiée. (Kennedy, *Épistre à la reine*, p. 255, ll. 53-56)³⁰⁰

It is clear that this sentence as it is incorporated in Paris 580 is grammatically unsound and difficult to understand. It may be possible for a scribe who was not very familiar with this text to make mistakes of this gravity, but it seems inconceivable that Christine herself copied this version of the text in Paris 580 without noticing the blatantly obvious errors in this sentence.

There is further evidence casting doubt over the attribution of the *Épistre à la reine* in Paris 580 to Christine de Pizan. Patrick De Winter analysed the codicological structure of Paris 580 and concluded that the *Épistre* does not occupy a codicological unit of its own in the manuscript. The quire in which it is contained on folios 53-54 – quire 7, which has the codicological structure (49-52/53-56) – further includes the last four folios of the *Livre de Melibee et de Dame Prudence* on

²⁹⁹ Angus J. Kennedy, ‘Editing Christine de Pizan’s *Épistre à la reine*’, in *The Editor and the Text*, ed. by Philip E. Bennett and Graham A. Runnalls (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 70-82, notably p. 73. See also Kennedy, ‘*Épistre à la reine*’, 254.

³⁰⁰ Kennedy points out a second mistake of this kind: the reading ‘tresse’ in Paris 580 (l. 24) instead of ‘tristesse’ in the other supervised manuscripts.

folios 49-52, as well as the table of contents to the *Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry* on folios 55-56.³⁰¹ De Winter concluded that

(...) les fol. 53-54 semblent avoir dès l'origine fait partie du recueil. L'*Epître* qu'ils comprennent n'en représente qu'une copie. (De Winter, *Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs*, 336-337, n. 4)

Taken singly, none of the aforementioned arguments can disprove Willard's hypothesis that the *Epître à la reine* in Paris 580 was transcribed by Christine herself. However, combined, they constitute a significant body of evidence, large and convincing enough to conclude that Willard was wrong. No argument based on the *rondeau* of Paris 580, not even writing by candlelight at one o'clock in the morning, can justify the assumption that the scribe of the *Epître à la reine* in this manuscript is Christine de Pizan. In all probability, there was a copy behind (or: before) Paris 580; a possibly supervised version of the *Epître*, perhaps even Christine's own file-copy? It was in this version that the *rondeau* was added at the end of the text.³⁰² Sometime later, when the miscellany we now know as Paris 580 was produced, its scribe copied the *rondeau* onto folios 53-54 before starting work on the table of contents to the *Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry*.

Christine Reno's 1978 survey of the three *Advision* manuscripts, though very thorough, requires a number of comments. Firstly, Reno uses a number of adjectives and adverbs in her descriptions of hands R, X, and Z that are subjective in nature and therefore difficult to assess. They include 'elegant quality', 'graceful', 'artful', 'remarkable', 'rigid', and 'fluid'. Whether or not a person finds a hand graceful or artful depends greatly on their experience with manuscript texts dating from the Middle Ages, the amount and the quality of manuscript specimens which they have analysed in the past and with which they can compare the hand (or hands) under

³⁰¹ De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs', 336-337, n. 4.

³⁰² Although it is impossible to prove any scenario concerning the production of this copy beyond reasonable doubt, it seems likely that Christine did not compose the *rondeau* 'off the cuff' as she was writing the *Epître* late at night, in October 1405, by candlelight. In all probability, she inserted the poem in her *exemplar* as a *captatio benevolentiae* of some kind, a way of showing (off) her dedication to the addressee of the text.

examination, not to mention their own personal taste, which is entirely unquantifiable. As a result, any such remarks must be used and interpreted with caution.

Secondly, Reno's descriptions of hands R, X, and Z, apart from scattered remarks about angularity, only include characteristic letter forms. Although a valid differentiator in their own right, variant letter forms are just one of a whole range of possible elements that can be used to distinguish between scribal hands. By limiting her palaeographical analysis to letter forms, Reno does not acknowledge the diversity that is part and parcel of handwriting. Characteristic letter forms alone cannot provide enough evidence to make a palaeographically sound distinction between scribal hands.

Finally, Reno compares hands R and X – mainly involved in writing the text of a manuscript – to hand Z, a 'rapid cursive' whose main task is to add marginal notes and make corrections.³⁰³ Since hand Z is executed very rapidly according to Reno, the question is to what extent it can be proved that these manifestations of a rapid cursive hand do, in fact, belong to a single scribe. A rapid hand contains fewer characteristic features, which complicates any identification of this scribe with other ancillary scribes, not to mention with one of the main scribes. It is as yet unknown exactly how a scribe's handwriting behaves when its speed of execution increases and the dimensions of its letter forms decrease.³⁰⁴ Does it still boast the same characteristic letter forms? Does it retain its angularity and its roundness? Moreover, does each hand react in the same way to changes in speed and size? The answer to all these questions is: we simply do not know. As long as that is the case, it would seem unjustifiable to compare a rapidly executed marginal hand to more careful handwriting. Reno's identification of hand Z as hand X should therefore be treated with reserve.

³⁰³ Reno, 'The cursive and calligraphic scripts', 6.

³⁰⁴ The fact that marginal notes are often of a temporary nature and meant to be deleted, influences their execution too: in order to make them easy to delete, less pressure must have been exerted on the quill, which in itself already changes the appearance of the handwritten text.

The resulting identification of hands Z and X as those of Christine de Pizan herself relies heavily on Reno's interpretation of the marginal notes in MS ex-Phillipps 128 and her analysis of their handwriting. The marginal notes, interpreted in the 1972 Sotheby's auction catalogue as additions by an early owner, are compared to marginal and interlinear additions in the other *Advision* manuscripts by Reno, who then concludes that they were all written by the same hand.³⁰⁵ The difficulty of comparing rapid cursive hands, as explained above, seriously undermines this line of reasoning. From a palaeographical perspective, there is not enough evidence in Reno's argumentation to prove beyond reasonable doubt that all marginal notes, corrections, additions, preparations, and catchwords attributed to hand Z are in fact the work of a single scribe. As a result, scribe Z loses the authority that permitted Reno to connect it to Christine de Pizan, and later to hand X.

This lack of evidence also allows us to take a fresh look at the marginal notes. Firstly, it should be noted that they were added not to the preface of MS ex-Phillipps 128 (ff. 1r-6v), but in the margins of the text itself, parallel to the chapters. If the purpose of these notes was for Christine to 'recall to mind the gist of each chapter before composing the glosses', their place in the manuscript is awkward. There was no need for Christine to consult the text of the *Advision Cristine* in MS ex-Phillipps 128 itself: she had at her disposal the *Livre ou je met toutes mes choses* – in other words, the *exemplar* for ex-Phillipps 128 and for the other *Advision* manuscripts. Secondly, it would surely not have been necessary for Christine to add notes into the margins of what was to be a presentation copy of the text, because an *exemplar* of the text existed. Thirdly, adding notes in the margin of the actual text of the *Advision* would only have complicated the writing of the preface: logic dictates that if Christine had made notes of this kind, she would have jotted them down on the folios of the quire that was to become the preface or, *à la limite*, on a separate piece of parchment or paper. Adding the notes to the manuscript itself meant that she unnecessarily 'damaged' the codex, that she had to

³⁰⁵ *Bibliotheca Philippica: Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Sotheby's and Co., New Series: Part VII (London: Sotheby's, 1972), pp. 61-62, lot 551, and Plate 19.

rely on the presence of this particular manuscript to be able to write the preface, and that she had to leaf back and forth between folios 7v and 17r in order to trace her explanatory notes to a text which, too, was right in front of her.

The only connexions that exist between the preface and the marginal notes in MS ex-Phillipps 128 are the facts that both stop at approximately the same point and that both use similar wording. While it is not surprising that the language of the notes resembles that of the preface rather than that of the text – both the notes and the preface seem to convey or explain the often vague allegories used by Christine in the text – the fact that both the preface and the notes ‘leave off at roughly the same point’ points to their close interrelation. However, Reno’s conclusion that the notes ‘played a role in the composition of the preface’ is flawed: there is evidence that connects the notes to the preface, but there is no proof that they were already connected during the production of the manuscript or the preface.³⁰⁶ What is more, there is direct codicological evidence which suggests that the notes and the preface were cut short because of a lack of space. The preface to the *Advison Cristine* in MS ex-Phillipps 128 is a codicological unit, occupying a separate quire of six folios at the very beginning of the codex. The text of the preface occupies ff. 1a-6c, which amounts to 705 out of a possible 768 lines of text.³⁰⁷ If the notes were added to the manuscript *before* the preface was written, there is no clear reason why they suddenly leave off after chapter 16. If, on the other hand, the notes were added *after* the composition of the preface, the size of the preliminary quire dictated the amount of explanations that Christine could include in the preface, and thus the number of notes that could be added into the margins of the chapters. It is conceivable that Christine became aware of the fact that she was running out of space during the composition of the preface and subsequently limited her glosses to some general remarks for the final chapters of Part I of the text.

Having analysed the evidence found in MS ex-Phillipps 128, we can present a new hypothesis. Christine oversaw the production of the manuscripts of her *Advison*

³⁰⁶ Reno, 'The cursive and calligraphic scripts', 9; 10.

³⁰⁷ The text is laid out over four columns of 32 lines for each of the six folios.

Cristine. At some point, either she was asked to write an explanatory preface, or she did so of her own accord. Whether or not she made notes must remain a matter of speculation, but she managed to finish the preface, which was probably added as a separate codicological unit to one of the *Advision* manuscripts – not necessarily ex-Phillipps 128. At a certain point in time, probably not long after the manuscripts were completed, the preface was used to add explanatory notes into the margin of MS ex-Phillipps 128, either by the owner or on his/her request. Possible explanations for adding the notes may be the inconvenience of having to refer to the preface continually to look up the meaning of a certain allegory, or the fact that the preface originally did not belong to ex-Phillipps 128, which meant that the explanations somehow had to be recorded in the manuscript itself. Given the fact that the preface only included explanations for chapters 1 to ‘13 and further’, the notes could only be added as far as that chapter. The person who added the notes subsequently made sure that the contents of the preface’s final remarks were added at the right place in the margins of chapters 13 to 16 of MS ex-Phillipps 128.

Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno’s 1980 article is commendable for analysing a great many supervised manuscripts of Christine’s work. A re-evaluation of some of its interpretations and lines of reasoning, however, may prove to be beneficial to the present study. Ouy and Reno argue, for instance, that of all authors who were active during the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth century, Christine is most likely to have produced autograph manuscripts.³⁰⁸ The fact that ‘il existe un certain nombre de manuscrits originaux de plusieurs de ses œuvres’ (222) is combined with the well-known passages about Anastaise in the *Cité des dames* and the ‘.lxx. quaiers de grant volume’ in the *Advision Cristine* to support this hypothesis. In fact, neither of these arguments can be used to prove Ouy and Reno’s proposition that Christine’s supervised manuscripts are likely to be autographs. The assumption that there is a good chance of finding autograph manuscripts simply because a relatively large number of original manuscripts have survived is valid only when there is

³⁰⁸ Ouy and Reno, ‘Identification’, 222.

incontrovertible *a priori* evidence that Christine was involved as a scribe in the production process of these original manuscripts. Exactly that is what Ouy and Reno set out to prove with their second argument. The ‘.lxx. quaiers’ as well as the Anataise passage do show Christine’s familiarity with the book trade, but not necessarily in the role of a scribe. What these quotations demonstrate is that Christine was acquainted with the division of manuscripts into quires of a certain size, and that she had knowledge of manuscript illumination and the artists who were hired to decorate manuscripts of her works. Ouy and Reno do not seem to provide convincing evidence for attributing to Christine de Pizan a role greater than that of a committed author who wanted to oversee the production process of manuscripts of her works. As a result, there would be no reason to assume from their arguments that Christine’s original manuscripts are more likely to be autographs than those of contemporary fellow-authors.

A second objection concerns the comparison of hand X to the fifteenth-century chancery script, especially in terms of its *jeux de plume*. The two scholars attribute these similarities to the fact that Christine may have learnt the art of writing from her husband, Étienne, a secretary to King Charles VI:

(...) ce ‘jeune pseudomme’, dans les premières années de leur mariage, aurait fort bien pu enseigner à son épouse encore adolescente l’art de la calligraphie; et qui sait si, en contrepartie, elle ne l’aidait pas parfois à terminer quelque copie urgente qu’il rapportait à la maison? (Ouy and Reno, *Identification*, 226-7)

This romantic notion of a husband teaching his wife how to write has no basis in fact and should on those grounds be dismissed. The handwriting of scribe X resembles that of French chancery scribes not because Christine was taught by her husband, but because the Bastarda script was ‘styled from the French chancery cursive’.³⁰⁹

Furthermore, Ouy and Reno compare a carefully executed hand that writes text to that of hastily added marginal and interlinear notes. As noted above, there is

³⁰⁹ Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 143.

no method that allows for a sound comparison between hands that are clearly executed on completely different levels. Given the fact that Ouy and Reno decide to disregard spelling differences between hands X and X' in favour of – highly debatable – palaeographical similarities, their conclusion that X and X' can be attributed to a single scribe loses credibility. An example of attributions of catchwords to Christine's scribes will serve to demonstrate the difficulties involved in matching rapidly executed scribal hands to their alleged formal counterparts. In a discussion of MS Paris 606 – the second volume of the Duke's Manuscript (D₂), containing Christine's *Epistre Othea* – Ouy and Reno analyse the catchwords at the end of the first four quires of the codex. Their conclusion is as follows:

(...) les réclames sont de plusieurs mains: par exemple, celle du f. 8^r est de P, celle du f. 16^v de R, celle du f. 24^v de X et celle du f. 31^v de X' (...). (Ouy and Reno, *Identification*, 230)

Without being impossible, this attribution of four catchwords to three different scribes seems to be implausible, especially given the fact that only one scribe (R) is responsible for writing the text in this manuscript. There is no logical reason why two additional scribes should have been involved in so minor a task of copying a catchword onto the last folio of a quire. Ouy and Reno's identification, if true, also raises some serious questions as to the efficiency of the cooperation between scribes P, R, and X, whose method of working seems to be productive and efficient elsewhere.

Ouy and Reno's descriptions of hands P, R, and X focuses entirely on letter forms and exuberant ascenders and descenders. The two scholars use descriptive terms like 'élégant', 'raide', 'qui détonne quelque peu', 'habile', 'changeant', 'exubérance', 'gracieux', and 'spontané'. They can be added to the list of subjective, unquantifiable, and indefinable descriptions found in Reno's 1978 article. As any identification of scribal hands based solely on letter forms is dubious at least, this use of adjectives seems to cast doubts over Ouy and Reno's palaeographical analyses, their distinction between the three principal scribal hands (for instance in

the aforementioned catchwords in MS Paris 606), and the subsequent authority they attribute to one of these hands.

The most important aspect of Ouy and Reno's 1980 study, which is to be applauded for its data collection and has made identifiable elements of progress in the study of Christine's manuscripts, is the inventory of manuscripts and their attribution to one of the three hands. Appendix E gives a schematic overview of these identifications. It has to be noted here that the data presented by the two scholars seems to be incomplete. In the case of scribes R and X, for instance, they note that the manuscripts mentioned were copied 'en totalité ou en majeure partie' (225-6; 227) by the scribe in question. They then add terms like 'notamment' (227), and 'entre autres' (226) to their listings, which further obscures the exact attribution of manuscripts to the three scribes. Interestingly, they dismiss Willard's claim that MSS Paris 23279 and Geneva 165, both copies of Pierre Salmon's *Réponses (...) à Charles VI*, were written by scribe X. They note that the Salmon hand is 'nettement plus habile et surtout plus régulière' (224).³¹⁰ Ouy and Reno further mention that a manuscript of Jacques Legrand's *Archiloge Sophie*, Paris 24232, is copied by scribe R and that this identification was 'reconnu par Mme Willard' (225-6).³¹¹ Their attribution raises the question whether Christine's scribes worked exclusively for Christine or her *libraire*, or whether they also carried out scribal tasks for other *libraires* or on other projects. As we have seen in the previous Chapter, the book trade in fifteenth-century Paris was a *commerce* in the true sense of the word. Following the hypothesis that a *libraire* was involved in the production of Christine's manuscripts and that this person hired the scribes and artists that were needed to produce them, it is logical to assume that the scribes who were employed to transcribe Christine's manuscripts would take on other work when they were not

³¹⁰ De Winter, 'Christine de Pizan, ses enlumineurs', agrees with Ouy and Reno. He suggests that MSS Turin, Biblioteca nazionale, L.V. 6 and Paris, BnF, f.fr. 12559, both copies of the *Livre du chevalier errant* by Thomas de Saluces, may have been written by scribe X. This interesting suggestion has never been verified.

³¹¹ There is no indication in Willard's writings that she ever identified the scribe of MS Paris 24232 as R. Therefore, this remark must refer to a personal and/or verbal attribution. Interestingly, Patrick De Winter, in his aforementioned 1982 article, argues that the writing in Paris 24232 is similar not to that of hand R, but to the writing in Paris 580, attributed to hand X.

needed for Christine's manuscripts. Also, they may have been active as scribes before they were first hired to transcribe Christine's texts and after she left Paris in 1418. In this light, and in the absence of incontrovertible evidence, we can only conclude that there is a chance that other manuscripts exist that were copied by scribes P, R, and X. How great that chance is, or whether it is more or less likely than in other cases, is impossible to say.

Unfortunately, subsequent articles by Ouy and Reno repeat the arguments used in their 1980 article. The doubt that has been cast on the assumptions made in 1980 by both previous scholarship and the discussion above cannot be removed by, for instance, their 2002 study. As in earlier articles, Ouy and Reno's method of identifying scribes seems to lack detail; when they talk about hand X', it is unsure whether 'their' hand X' belongs to a single scribe. After all, the changes described by Ouy and Reno when hand X transforms into hand X' are logical in the sense that one would expect them to happen when scribes increase their writing speed and aesthetics are no longer vital. A less complicated *ductus*, longer attack strokes and crossbars, longer flourishes; these changes are not characteristic just of scribe X, they are general traits of a more quickly executed handwriting. Thus, the identification of X' as X seems by no means secure; not in 1980, not in 2002, and not today.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The discussion surrounding the autograph character of Christine de Pizan's supervised manuscripts has exercised many minds ever since the publication of Charity Willard's seminal article in 1965. However, no truly palaeographical analysis has been carried out into the hands in these manuscripts since Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno's study in 1980. In this Chapter, their methodology, assumptions, and hypotheses have been revisited and checked against the progress that the

disciplines of Palaeography and Codicology have undergone in the past three decades. We have exposed a weakness in Ouy and Reno's methodology: in the light of new evidence, presented here, the distinction between scribes P, R, and X is unconvincing. Furthermore, both the relation between hands X and X' and their identification with Christine de Pizan are questionable.

Also worth noting is the large number of manuscripts that have been attributed to hand X; Appendix E lists them all. According to Ouy and Reno, the transcription and correction of the monotextual manuscripts of the *Chemin* and the *Mutacion*, for instance, relied heavily on Christine's copying skills (i.e. those of hands X and X'). If, indeed, hands X and X' are to be attributed to one single person, the *Chemin* and *Mutacion* cases raise the question whether that person could have carried out all the work of hands X and X' within the relatively short time that was available for the production process.³¹² What is more, if that person is to be identified as Christine de Pizan, she also had to execute the additional tasks of composing the texts and preparing a draft version of them.

A calculation of the time needed to compose a text, prepare a draft, transcribe it, and correct the transcription was undertaken in my 'Christine de Pizan et la main X: quelques question', where the *Mutacion* and the *Chemin* cases were studied in detail.³¹³ The calculations strongly support the questions raised in this Chapter: based on the workload and the available time for the *Mutacion* and *Chemin* cases, hands X and X' cannot possibly belong to one person.

What becomes clear from the discussion concerning Christine's supervised manuscripts is that, in essence, letter forms have been the only discriminating factor

³¹² As mentioned above, we know from in-text remarks and catalogue entries that Christine started composing the *Chemin* in October of 1402 and presented the *Mutacion* copy in The Hague 78 D 42 to Jean de Berry in March of 1404; in the meantime, Christine composed and drafted the *Chemin* and the *Mutacion*, hand X transcribed the *Mutacion* in Brussels 9508 and The Hague 78 D 42 and the *Chemin* in Chantilly 493, and hand X' corrected one *Mutacion* copy and five *Chemin* copies.

³¹³ J.F.A. Aussems, 'Christine de Pizan et la main X: quelques questions', in *Desireuse de plus avant enquerre... Actes du VI Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan (Paris, 20-24 juillet 2006)*, ed. by Liliane Dulac, Anne Paupert, Christine Reno and Bernard Ribémont (Paris: Champion, 2008), pp. 209-219.

in distinguishing between scribes. By taking into account only a single aspect of handwriting and by attaching so much importance to it, the scholars involved in the discussion failed to acknowledge the progress that has been made and the insights that have been reached in the discipline of Palaeography in the last couple of decades. In the next Chapter, a short overview of existing methodologies on handwriting analysis is followed by the creation of the so-called Scribal Fingerprint, a detailed method for distinguishing between scribal hands.

5

THE SCRIBAL FINGERPRINT

5.1 EXISTING HANDWRITING ANALYSIS METHODOLOGIES

The early theories on how to distinguish between scribal hands are derived from Jean Mallon's 1952 work *Paléographie romaine*.³¹⁴ Mallon's methodology consists of seven differentiators that have to be taken into account 'pour étudier les écritures de monuments paléographiques déterminés'.³¹⁵ The first of these differentiators, form, describes the morphology of letter forms. The writing angle, second on Mallon's list, is defined as the position of the quill in relation to the base line, followed by ductus, the way and order in which strokes that make up letter forms are executed. Fourth is modulus, the dimensions of the letter forms; fifth is contrast (in Mallon's words: *poïds*), the difference between thick strokes and hairlines. Mallon further proposes to analyse the writing support, and concludes his list with the differentiator internal characteristics, meaning the nature of the text, the composition of codicological units, and historical and philological data regarding the work.³¹⁶ By focusing on specific criteria for distinguishing between scripts, Mallon single-handedly transformed Palaeography from a discipline that allowed script identification based on unclear, immeasurable, and often subjective arguments, into a more objective

³¹⁴ Jean Mallon, *Paléographie romaine* (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1952).

³¹⁵ Mallon, *Paléographie romaine*, p. 22.

³¹⁶ Mallon, *Paléographie romaine*, pp. 22-23.

science where a set of differentiators is used to study the phenomenon as accurately and as objectively as possible.

Mallon's approach was acclaimed by fellow-palaeographers such as Charles Higounet, François Masai, and Robert Marichal; their tribute, however, is focused on the outcomes rather than the methodology of Mallon's study.³¹⁷ Although Higounet rightly observed that a list of this kind had never before been included in manuals of Palaeography, the reviewers did not seem to grasp entirely the need for a coherent method of describing, identifying, and distinguishing scripts. Mallon's ideas were not pursued until 1973, when Léon Gilissen published his seminal work *L'expertise des écritures médiévales*. The Belgian palaeographer observed a number of flaws and inaccuracies in Mallon's definitions, to which we will return below. He further discarded Mallon's categories writing support and internal characteristics on the basis that they are 'parfaitement communs' to the scribal hands in his study and replaced them with a new differentiator: style.³¹⁸ Gilissen then embarked upon a lengthy and remarkably vague description of this category in which he talks about 'stylising' writing:

Styliser une écriture c'est couler dans un même moule et soumettre à un effort d'uniformisation la forme extérieure des signes, tout en sauvegardant suffisamment les caractères propres qui permettent de les reconnaître sans risque de les confondre. (Gilissen, *L'expertise des écritures médiévales*, p. 50)

In other words, style is a technique applied by scribes to their handwriting in order to make its external appearance uniform. According to Gilissen, '[l]a répétition et la symétrie sont certainement les deux grands principes générateurs du style d'une écriture'.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ See Charles Higounet, '[Review of Mallon, *Paléographie romaine*]', *Revue des études anciennes*, 56 (1954), 235-241, Robert Marichal, '[Review of Mallon, *Paléographie romaine*]', *Scriptorium*, 9 (1955), 141-144, and the detailed analysis of François Masai, 'La paléographie gréco-latine, ses tâches, ses méthodes', *Scriptorium*, 10 (1956), 281-302.

³¹⁸ Gilissen, *L'expertise des écritures médiévales*, p. 11.

³¹⁹ Gilissen, *L'expertise des écritures médiévales*, p. 51.

Coinciding with this palaeographical interest in hand identification is the exponential development of what is now called Forensic (or Questioned) Document Examination, the discipline within forensic science that analyses all aspects of documents to answer questions that are of importance in a legal context. In 1982, Lothar Michel, then Professor of Psychology at the University of Mannheim, published his *Gerichtliche Schriftvergleichung*, which has become the standard work on forensic handwriting analysis.³²⁰ Michel's model for judicial hand analysis consists of ten differentiators, several of which correspond with categories in Gilissen's and Mallon's palaeographical approaches. Two notable differentiators in Michel's theory are writing speed and form and direction of the base line.

In his 1995 work *De paleografie van de documentaire bronnen in Holland en Zeeland in de dertiende eeuw*, Jan Burgers examined the existing theories and combined them into one methodology, adjusted to the purpose of his study: discerning chancery hands in thirteenth-century Dutch charters. Burgers further includes new differentiators that take into account the width of the margins and the degree and type of cursivation of letter forms.³²¹ Table 5.1 represents in diagram form the similarities and differences of the four aforementioned methodologies.

³²⁰ Lothar Michel, *Gerichtliche Schriftvergleichung: eine Einführung in Grundlagen, Methoden und Praxis* (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 1982).

³²¹ J.W.J. Burgers, *De paleografie van de documentaire bronnen in Holland en Zeeland in de dertiende eeuw* (Louvain: Peeters, 1995).

Mallon (1952)	Gilissen (1973)	Michel (1982)	Burgers (1995)
<i>Poids</i>	Contrast	Change of pen pressure	Contrast of strokes
<i>Forme</i>	Morphology	Movement and form	(Characteristic letter forms)
Ductus	Ductus Angle of inclination	Direction of movement: - Ductus - Angle of inclination - Form and direction of base line	Angle of inclination Ruling and course of base line
Modulus	<i>Rapport modulaire</i>	Vertical proportions Horizontal proportions Vertical division Horizontal division	Modulus
Internal characteristics		Other characteristics	(Decoration) (Abbreviations)
Angle of writing	Angle of writing		Angle of writing
Writing support			Size of charters
	<i>Style</i>		
		Quality of strokes	Quality of strokes
		Writing speed	
			Width of margins
			Degree and type of cursivation of connected letter forms
			Cursivation of letter forms

Table 5.1: Schematic overview of four handwriting analysis methodologies.

5.2 POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS OF THE SCRIBAL FINGERPRINT

The purpose of every hand analysis method is to describe a scribal hand by means of a set of criteria. The underlying assumption is that each hand is unique, no matter how hard scribes try to match their writing with that of their colleagues. The ultimate goal is to find a set of variables whose values, taken together, will provide a characterisation of a scribal hand that is valid only for the hand in question. This set of variables will henceforth be called the Scribal Fingerprint.

The Scribal Fingerprint has to meet six important requirements. Firstly, the Scribal Fingerprint being a palaeographical method, the variables must apply to the handwriting rather than to the writing support. Secondly, the variables must be

expressed in numerical values in order to facilitate comparison between Scribal Fingerprints. If that is impossible for whatever reason, a numerical gradation should be used. This gradation must be pre-defined and, for instance, range from 1 to 10. Thirdly, any measurements will have to be carried out with the highest possible degree of accuracy. Rulers, protractors, and setsquares lack the precision that is required when measurements are taken of extremely small elements such as letter forms or angles within letter forms. Only computer-assisted measurements, carried out by computer software on digital images of a manuscript, can guarantee the necessary accuracy. Fourthly, to improve the accuracy of measured values, it is advisable to use the average value of as many measurements as possible. Fifthly, all individual measurements have to be registered in a way that enables verifying and double-checking. This registration must include the exact location in the manuscript where the measurements are carried out. Finally, a requirement of any such registration is that it must enable easy sharing and databasing. Only by cataloguing and comparing Scribal Fingerprints can we hope to shed light on, for instance, the way in which scribes were hired and ‘shared’ by *libraires* in the book-producing world.

As we have seen in the analysis of the existing methodologies, scholars have divergent opinions as to the differentiators that are to be included in the Scribal Fingerprint. Whereas the methodologies of Mallon and Gilissen define aspects of a hand that are consciously executed by the scribe (e.g. *ductus* and morphology), Michel and Burgers tend to set store by automatic and involuntary elements of handwriting (e.g. the form and direction of the base line). It has to be noted that scribes are copyists in at least two senses of the word: they do not just copy the text from an *exemplar* onto the folios in front of them, they also copy – or imitate – a certain script. This *imitatio scripturae* is the basis for the distinction between a script and a hand. A script is an abstract concept of how to execute the writing of letter forms. It cannot be visualised, since it only exists in a scribe’s mind. The moment scribes start writing, they turn this concept script into a hand: a personal

interpretation of the script. This interpretation on the part of the scribe creates a certain amount of freedom in the execution of a script, as can be observed in many specimens of medieval handwriting. Two scribes can transcribe texts with the same concept script in mind (e.g. *Cursiva Libraria*), but in a completely different hand. Thus, a hand consists of copied elements – which derive directly from the script – as well as personal elements, characteristics of the scribes and of their way of writing that have no place in the concept script; characteristics that precisely distinguish a hand from a script. Given this intricate interrelation between script and hand, it is very difficult to gauge the extent to which handwriting is a conscious operation and where this consciousness gives way to automatic writing.

A second aspect of hand identification methods on which scholars disagree is the extent to which numerical values should be used and whether they are useful in subsequent calculations. Léon Gilissen's *rapport modulaire* is a good example.³²² Gilissen proposed to determine a scribe's modulus by calculating averages of several measurements involving the height of minims (abbreviated as H), the line spacing (S), and the width of regular letter forms (W), and then combining them into a single value – the *rapport modulaire* (RM) – by means of the formula:

$$RM = \frac{H \times W}{S}$$

While using an average of multiple measurements is an oft-used method of increasing accuracy, Gilissen subsequently makes the mistake of combining these three averages, thinking that it results in an even more precise value. In fact, calculating a value by dividing and multiplying individual averages can result in obtaining identical values with very different averages. In the following example, the *rapport modulaire* for each of the fractions is 3, while the values of H, W, and S vary considerably:

³²² See Ezio Ornato, 'Statistique et paléographie: peut-on utiliser le rapport modulaire dans l'expertise des écritures médiévales?', *Scriptorium*, 29 (1975), 198-234, and Albert D'Haenens, 'Pour une sémiologie paléographique et une histoire de l'écriture', *Scriptorium*, 29 (1975), 175-198, as well as Aussems, 'The Scribal Fingerprint', 61-63.

$$RM = \frac{H \times W}{S} = \frac{6 \times 4}{8} = \frac{4 \times 6}{8} = \frac{2 \times 6}{4} = \frac{3 \times 5}{5} (= 3)$$

It is therefore essential to refrain from combining numerical values. Expressing measurements (and their averages) in numbers is very useful, even more so when their accuracy can be increased by means of computer-aided measuring. Combining them into a single value, however, is best avoided.

A final remark about hand identification methods concerns the use of insights from forensic hand analysis methods. It is very tempting to borrow elements from the scientific approach to handwriting used by forensic experts and apply them to hands in medieval manuscripts and charters. However, two major differences between modern hands and medieval hands must be taken into account. Firstly, modern handwriting cannot be compared one-to-one to medieval handwriting. Medieval scribes received a demanding, professional education in the art of writing. Transcribing texts was their (often lifelong) occupation. The ‘scribes’ for whom forensic hand identification methods were designed are non-professional writers whose handwriting just happens to be under legal investigation. Their writing education generally consists of being taught writing skills in Primary School according to a specific writing system. Although originally derived from this ‘school script’, modern handwriting quickly becomes very personal, developing individual characteristics based on a very broad range of factors, including the writer’s dexterity, education, profession, and personal tastes, as well as their interest in (hand)writing, and the extent to which they are confronted with – and tempted to imitate – other types of handwriting.³²³ Moreover, modern writing tools cannot be compared one-to-one with a medieval scribe’s equipment. Besides the obvious difference in writing support (medieval parchment and paper were much more rigid compared to our modern-day paper), the use of a quill entails certain limitations as to its movement. For instance, a quill cannot be ‘pushed’, as J.P. Gumbert has

³²³ In most countries, personal handwriting is usually encouraged near the end of Primary or Elementary School, when pupils are generally between 10-12 years old.

called it, meaning that its nib only supports strokes that ‘pull’ the quill towards the writer’s hand.³²⁴ Modern writing equipment like the ballpoint, the felt tip pen, and the lead pencil do not have these limitations, which results in modern writers being much more free: the medieval rigidity has disappeared from their handwriting.

There are a number of factors that exert influence on a medieval scribe’s handwriting but which cannot be measured or quantified. Temperature is one of them. Lacking the modern conveniences of central heating, scribes often complained of very cold hands or fingers and frozen ink. While the latter could probably be resolved by delicately heating the ink pot, near-frozen hands or fingers must have seriously affected a scribe’s production.³²⁵ As yet, no research has been carried out into the effects of low temperatures on manuscript production in a given period of time. It is not difficult to understand why: any such research would require detailed information about both the weather situation and the production of manuscripts in a given place during that period. More often than not, both datasets are unknown, or at least incomplete. While it stands to reason that outside temperature is related to manuscript production (very low and very high temperatures mean little production, normal temperatures mean optimal production), any conclusions on this subject must, for now, remain a matter of speculation.

Another natural influence on the writing process of a medieval scribe – but one that is easier to quantify at least partially – is daylight. In general, a medieval scribe had to rely on daylight to be able to carry out his task. This means that in the summer months, when the days are longer, scribes could potentially work longer hours than during the winter months. It may be assumed that the production of medieval

³²⁴ J.P. Gumbert, 'The pen and its movement: some general and less general remarks', *Gazette du livre médiéval*, 40 (2002), 14-24.

³²⁵ Orderic Vitalis, for instance, wrote in the fourth book of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*: ‘But now, numbed by the winter cold, I turn to other pursuits [...]. When the warmth of sweet spring returns I will relate in the following books everything that I have only briefly touched upon, or omitted altogether [...].’ Marjorie Chibnall (ed.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*. Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 361.

manuscripts benefited from both the favourable temperatures and the longer period of daylight in the summer.

The only artificial light sources available in the Middle Ages were candles, fires, and oil lamps. There are several accounts of scribes or authors working by candlelight; Christine de Pizan, for instance, describes how she called for a light in the middle of the night:

Ainsi fus la enserree,
Et ja estoit nuit serree;
Si huchay de la lumiere
Pour le dueil qui ennuy m'iere
(Tarnowski, *Le chemin de longue étude*, p. 98, vv. 195-198)³²⁶

It is unclear whether such accounts have to be taken literally or whether they are merely expressions of poetic licence similar to the ones discussed in the previous chapter. However, what can be stated with certainty is that writing by candlelight is more difficult than writing by daylight. In the case of a medieval scribe, for instance, several candles or oil lamps would be needed to light both the exemplar and the parchment or paper leaves onto which the text was copied. The wavering light was not the ideal source of illumination for a concentrated reading and writing exercise.

Two further unquantifiable influences on a scribe's handwriting are the intimately linked factors of ageing and illness. With regards to the latter, one might see how diseases of the hand or its muscles or nerves, as well as general illnesses such as Parkinson's disease and even deteriorating eyesight can have a profound negative effect on a scribe's ability to write. These illnesses are often associated with advancing age, although not exclusively. Ageing is one of the most important mystery factors for scribal hand analysis. Thanks to the professional training scribes had to undergo, this factor may perhaps be less prominent in a medieval scribe's hand than in modern handwriting. However, it may be assumed that every person's

³²⁶ Other examples include François Villon, who remarks at the end of his *Lais*: 'Mais mon ancrë estoit gelé / Et mon cierge trouvoy soufflé'. Jean Rychner and Albert Henry (eds), *Le Lais Villon et les Poèmes variés*, 2 vols, Textes littéraires français (Geneva: Droz, 1977), vol. 1, p. 30.

handwriting changes as time progresses. The effects of ageing on a medieval scribal hand are little studied, mainly because it is difficult to find a corpus of handwriting that demonstrably belongs to a single scribe and is written over a sufficiently large period of time to allow for influences of ageing. Furthermore, it may very well prove impossible to distinguish changes related to ageing from other factors.

5.3 THE SCRIBAL FINGERPRINT FOR CHRISTINE DE PIZAN'S SUPERVISED MANUSCRIPTS

One of the important features of the Scribal Fingerprint is that there is a standard set of core-elements, while the choice of additional differentiators may vary from one corpus to another. Therefore, the selection of differentiators that follows is geared towards Christine de Pizan's supervised manuscripts only; other corpora will justify the use of other differentiators.

It has to be emphasised here that the Scribal Fingerprint is a method for hand analysis; it is used to distinguish between scribal hands in a given corpus of manuscript texts, not to record and catalogue as many features of a manuscript as possible. As a result, a number of differentiators used by Mallon, Gilissen, Michel, and Burgers which do not provide useful information on handwriting will be disregarded here.

In the production process of Christine's manuscripts, the writing support was in all probability supplied (or ordered) by the *libraire* – at the very least, it was not prepared by the scribes themselves. Therefore, differences in the size and preparation of the parchment leaves cannot be attributed to scribal actions. The same goes for the dimensions of the margins of the parchment folios: they were generally dictated by the *libraire* and do not show individual characteristics. Furthermore, a great many medieval manuscripts were rebound several times, a process that generally involved trimming off parts of the margins. As a result, the current size of the folios

of a medieval manuscript is usually different from their original size. Like the preparation of parchment folios, ruling, too, was often executed before the folios were handed over to the scribes. Since the writing support and the ruling do not contain scribe-specific information, they will not be considered here.

In terms of decoration, the miniatures, illuminated initials, and decorated borders in a medieval manuscript were generally executed by specialised artists rather than by the scribes themselves. However, the ‘decorated’ letter forms (or *cadeaux*) which appear frequently in Christine’s supervised manuscripts and contain exuberant ascenders (for characters on the top line) or descenders (for letter forms on the bottom line) are indeed the work of the scribes and may provide valuable information to distinguish between scribal hands in Christine’s manuscripts: different scribes may use different forms of pen decoration, some more frequently than others. Thus, while we will disregard miniatures, decorated initials, and border decoration, exuberant letter forms will be taken into account for use in the Scribal Fingerprint. The name *cadeaux* will be used henceforth to refer to this type of letter form.

The language and orthography used in Christine de Pizan’s manuscripts has been studied in recent years. Scribes generally make use of an *exemplar* of the text they are transcribing. This *exemplar* is written in a specific idiolect, in this case a dialect of the French language. Its features influence the linguistic output of the scribes, who, for their part, bring their own idiolect to the table, either consciously or unconsciously.³²⁷ The scribe’s idiolect exerts influence on the language used in the *exemplar*, which results in a mix of linguistic features. Thus, it is difficult to determine which characteristics are to be attributed to the scribe and which are copied directly from the *exemplar*.

Gabriella Parussa and others have extensively studied Christine de Pizan’s language.³²⁸ Their conclusions are remarkably different from those reached by

³²⁷ These features may include elements such as morphological preferences, regional spelling, and specific punctuation.

³²⁸ See, among others, Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, ‘Les hésitations de Christine: étude des variantes de graphies dans trois manuscrits autographes de Christine de Pizan’, *Revue des langues romanes*, 92 (1988), 265-286; Gabriella Parussa, ‘Autographes et orthographe: quelques considérations

palaeographers studying the same manuscripts of Christine's works, as we will see below. While linguistic analysis can be a useful tool to distinguish between scribes of different dialect origins who may have contributed to a copy, the focus of the present study is primarily on Palaeography. In that respect, linguistic peculiarities will be referred to only insofar as they have been studied or indicated in analyses of MS Harley 4431 by Parussa and others; an examination of language in Christine's supervised manuscripts falls outside the scope of this study and will not be undertaken here. We will, however, make use of an innovative tool for measuring spelling differences in text corpora to chart orthographical preferences in MS Harley 4431. This tool, *Locis*, was developed by Charles Mansfield for the Edinburgh-based Christine de Pizan research team and enables a digital examination of spelling differences in an XML-tagged text corpus.³²⁹ The output of *Locis* is a horizontal bar that represents the corpus in question, in which coloured vertical strokes indicate spelling variants. *Locis* will be used here to verify and analyse the spelling differences uncovered by previous research.

Closely related to the issue of language is that of abbreviations. As yet, it is impossible to determine whether the abbreviations in a manuscript were diligently copied from the *exemplar* or inserted by the scribe. It is just as difficult to determine whether or not the final text contains words which had been written in abbreviated form in the *exemplar*. Given these unknown factors, abbreviations will not be included as one of the differentiators for the Scribal Fingerprint.

Scribal mistakes may be a fruitful criterion for distinguishing between scribal hands. Reading errors may indicate a scribe's inability to recognise certain letter forms, letter combinations, or abbreviations used in the *exemplar*. Likewise, other mistakes such as a *saut du même au même* (the eyeskip) may reveal tendencies of a

sur l'orthographe de Christine de Pizan', *Romania*, 117 (1999), 143-159; Gabriella Parussa and Richard Trachsler, 'Or sus, alons ou champ des escriptures. Encore sur l'orthographe de Christine de Pizan: l'intérêt des grands corpus', in *Contexts and Continuities. Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow 21-27 July 2000)*, published in honour of Liliane Dulac, ed. by Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw and Catherine M. Müller (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), vol. III, pp. 621-643; Yvonne Cazal, Gabriella Parussa, Cinzia Pignatelli, and others, 'L'orthographe: du manuscrit médiéval à la linguistique moderne', *Médiévales*, 45 (2003), 99-118.

³²⁹ See <http://eserve.org.uk/loceme/loci.htm>.

specific scribe. However, as Christine's manuscripts were usually corrected diligently, mistakes of this kind were generally erased; in those instances, hardly anything remains of the original error. In cases where traces do remain, they can often be visualised only by exposing the manuscript to ultraviolet light. Since the present study is based on digital images of a corpus of Christine's supervised manuscripts, it will be impossible to gather new data pertaining to scribal mistakes. Therefore, scribal mistakes will not be taken into account here.

The most important differentiators to be discussed here are those related to the execution of the handwriting. They will now be evaluated separately.

The angle of inclination, meaning the angle between the base line and the shafts and minims of the letter forms, depends heavily on the script that is used. However, it may safely be assumed that the angle of inclination used by an individual scribe reflects his own particular taste or way of executing a particular script. Therefore, the angle of inclination will be used as a differentiator for the Scribal Fingerprint.

The angle of writing, as we have seen above, was and is a subject of debate: different palaeographers use different definitions of what the angle of writing exactly is, and their definitions generally include a combination of angles of which at least one cannot be measured at all. Strictly speaking, the definition given by Mallon ('la position dans laquelle s'est trouvé placé l'instrument du scribe par rapport à la direction de la ligne'), refers to the upright angle between the quill and the writing support. Gilissen argues that Mallon's definition of the writing angle is only valid when the nib of the scribe's quill is 'taillé en angle droit': only then does the angle between the thick strokes and the base line correspond to the angle between the quill and the base line. Gilissen further states that an obliquely cut nib produces a difference in these angles.³³⁰

³³⁰ Gilissen, *L'expertise des écritures médiévales*, pp. 15-16.

What Gilissen does not realise is that he is comparing two incomparable angles. The angle between the thick strokes and the base line exists in the horizontal plane formed by the writing support; the angle between the quill and the base line, however, exists in the vertical plane that incorporates the quill and meets the horizontal plane at a 90° angle (see Figure 5.1). The figures in Gilissen's study incorrectly present these angles as if they exist in the same plane. Therefore, his conclusion that 'la définition proposée par J. Mallon n'est valable que pour une plume taillée en angle droit' is erroneous; both Mallon's and Gilissen's definitions, calculations, and representations are incorrect.³³¹ Given all these uncertainties, it cannot be concluded that the angle of writing is truly as revealing of a scribe's identity as Mallon and Gilissen assume. Therefore, the angle of writing will not be included in the Scribal Fingerprint.

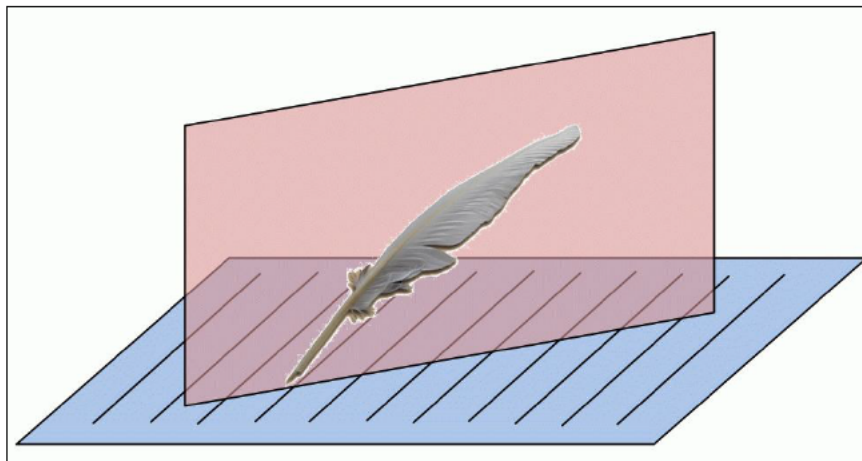


Figure 5.1: Schematic representation of the planes formed by the writing support (blue) and the quill (red).

Other problems surround Gilissen's notion of *style*. His definition, which we have seen above, is vague and does not allow any objective quantification involving either numerical values or a method of numerical or verbal gradation. 'Stylising' a

³³¹ See also Aussems, 'The Scribal Fingerprint', 59. Interestingly, Gilissen immediately corrects his inaccuracies by stating that 'l'angle d'écriture est le résultat d'une projection sur un plan d'une figure qui appartient à l'espace. C'est ramener à deux dimensions une réalité qui en a trois.' (p. 16).

handwriting – in other words, uniformising the external appearance of letter forms – involves making changes to a handwriting’s *ductus*, angle of inclination, modulus, and *poids*. Since each of these factors will be analysed here separately, there is no need to include the much too generalised idea of *style* in our Scribal Fingerprint.

Mallon’s concept of *poids* (contrast or pen pressure), too, is vague. While it is understandable that the French palaeographer observed a variable difference between hairlines and thick strokes, his subsequent remark that this contrast ‘dépend de l’instrument’ is greatly over-simplified.³³² Mallon contrasts two gradations: *lourde*, meaning a pronounced contrast between thick and thin strokes, and *légère*, indicating no contrast (or difference) between hairlines and thick strokes. In his view, a soft instrument (*doux*) is responsible for heavy contrast, while a hard instrument (*dur*) generates little contrast. This hypothesis is only partially correct. It is true that a soft instrument (e.g. a quill or a felt-tip pen) usually creates a more pronounced contrast than a hard instrument (e.g. a lead pencil), but the material property of the writing instrument is but a minor factor in that matter. The main principle behind any such difference in contrast is the pressure exerted on the writing instrument.

Applying more pressure to a hard instrument releases more ink, increases the saturation of the writing support, and deepens the colour of the ink at the contact area; however, because of a lack of flexibility in the instrument, exerting more pressure does not change the shape of the contact area. That does happen with soft instruments, and it is especially true for a medieval quill, where greater pressure results in a widening of the nib and a subsequent increase in both the dimensions of the contact area with the writing support and the amount of ink that flows onto the surface.

The question to which all discussions concerning *poids* lead is the following: can pen pressure be measured? In an ideal world where all factors of influence are known – or at least stable – the answer is affirmative. However, the medieval writing

³³² Mallon, *Paléographie romaine*, p. 23.

environment was by no means stable: changes to that environment that may seem insignificant can have enormous consequences for the external appearance of the handwriting. Trimming a quill, for instance, may cause a better ink flow, which can easily be mistaken for an increase in pen pressure. Similarly, factors such as the (variable) quality of the parchment, the way in which it is prepared, and the viscosity of the ink further complicate the identification of changes in pen pressure. Until a more objective, scientific, and quantifiable way of measuring *poids* is developed, there is too much variance in the different parameters mentioned above; they simply cannot be defined and analysed separately. As a result, pen pressure will not be included in the Scribal Fingerprint.

A similar argument applies to Burgers's notion quality of strokes, a differentiator that he divides into the elements regularity, meaning the extent to which strokes in a similar direction have the same thickness, and rhythmicality, which describes the extent to which the pattern followed by these strokes in a similar direction is identical. Burgers proposes to examine the regularity and the rhythmicality of strokes, expressing the result in the gradations 'very', 'moderately', and 'little'.³³³

The regularity of strokes is largely determined by one of the components of the angle of writing: the thickness of strokes in a similar direction can only vary when the angle between the tip of the quill and the base line is inconsistent. Given the fact that the angle of writing has just been excluded as a possible differentiator because of its vagueness and immeasurability, it would be unwise to then include one of its 'side-effects' in the Scribal Fingerprint. Adding to that the argument that further influence on the quality of strokes is exerted by the unmeasurable aspects of pen pressure and trimming, and parchment quality and preparation, the quality of strokes is disregarded as a possible differentiator.

³³³ Burgers, *Documentaire bronnen*, p. 36. According to Burgers, a close relation exists between regularity and rhythmicality of a handwriting: rhythmical strokes generally only occur in a sufficiently regular handwriting. This raises the question why both differentiators were included in his hand identification method.

Forme, the morphology of letter forms, is one of the least-contested and most-used differentiators. That is not surprising, given the fact that changing letter forms constitute the feature that is most easily recognisable by students of medieval scripts. Characteristic letter forms are a valuable differentiator, provided that they are used carefully and in conjunction with other differentiators. Two important remarks have to be made here. Firstly, the sudden occurrence of specific, unique letter forms in a handwritten text or a corpus of handwritten texts does not necessarily mean that a change of scribe has taken place. Conversely, consistent letter forms do not necessarily mean that no change of scribe has taken place. As always, several differentiators have to be used in an analysis of scribal hands and their results will have to be compared for the analysis to have any degree of validity. Characteristic letter forms can be one of a combination of differentiators; considered by themselves, they are inaccurate at best. Secondly, this category of characteristic letter forms and the differentiator ductus overlap. Logic dictates that if two letters have a different form, they will automatically have a different *ductus* too. This variance may range from more pronounced strokes (e.g. a bigger loop, a longer descender) to entirely differently executed strokes, omitted strokes or additional strokes.³³⁴ Given that *ductus* and *forme* basically register the same phenomenon, it would be needless to include both in the Scribal Fingerprint. The solution adopted here is to use *letter forms* as a differentiator.

Modulus, as we have already seen, is the relation between the height and the width of letter forms. In Gilissen's *rapport modulaire*, valuable measurements are turned into a statistically insignificant value representing all aspects of modulus in a single number. Burgers used Gilissen's values H, W, and S, adding a fourth one of his own, called A: the height of ascending letters. He then expressed each of these factors as a

³³⁴ Each script comes with its own *ductus*, which is learned by the scribe when he masters the script in question. As such, *ductus* is first and foremost dictated by the script. However, as with the angle of inclination, it is conceivable that a scribe does not necessarily execute his writing exactly according to the rules, which may result in a slightly different *ductus*. It would be interesting to determine whether scribes' *ductus* are more likely to differ when executing simple, two- or three-stroke letter forms (i.e. for reasons of speeding up their execution), or more complex letter forms (which may provide more possibilities for a varying *ductus*).

numerical value and converted them to $H = 1$. By doing so, Burgers facilitates comparison of different moduli.³³⁵ Each of Burgers's factors will be analysed separately here.

W, the width of letter forms, is determined by dividing the number of letter forms and blanks on a given line of text by the length of that line in the manuscript. While charters generally contain long lines of text, thus making this an interesting value, Christine de Pizan's manuscripts are usually written in short lines in two columns. What is more, these short lines are rarely fully used in Christine's verse works, which further complicates the determination of W.³³⁶ In her prose works, the small columns usually require a line break every eight or ten words. It is conceivable that scribes wanting to finish (or in modern terms: justify) their lines nicely near the right end of the column would space every line differently in order to achieve this uniformity. This practice would overrule any possible personal spacing they might have had. All in all, W must be considered an unimportant factor in the handwriting in medieval codices laid out in two columns.

The line spacing of a folio, S, is calculated by dividing the number of ruled lines per folio by the height (in millimetres) of the space they occupy. This is an element not of modulus – or of handwriting for that matter – but rather of ruling: the person who prepares the ruling or rules the folio applies a certain layout which the scribes cannot influence by writing differently.

A, the height of the ascending letters, again, is a useful differentiator in charters where there is usually much more space between ruled lines than in Christine's manuscripts. A is controlled or regulated by the interlinear space that is available – in other words, A is subordinate to S in the sense that if S increases, A may increase as well. The opposite seems implausible: A cannot increase without S increasing as well, because the ascenders would then interfere with the writing on the line above, thus hampering the legibility of both lines. Even in instances where

³³⁵ By means of an example: $H : A : W : S = 1.5 : 1.8 : 1.2 : 2.1$ (measured) = $1.0 : 1.2 : 0.8 : 1.4$ (converted).

³³⁶ A possible but highly complex solution would be to measure the **occupied** line length rather than the ruled line length.

this interference between lines happens, it is governed by the amount of interlinear space that is available. In short, scribes have the freedom to vary A only insofar as S allows them to do so.

Finally, H, the height of minims, is the only truly valuable factor included in Gilissen's and Burgers's modulus. Minims are much smaller than S, which means that S does not interfere with H. The minim space may be the only space within a ruled line where scribes can put their own mark on their handwriting, and where they may be inclined – either automatically or consciously – to develop a personal style. Thus, for our purpose H seems to be the only valuable differentiator of those included in modulus. It therefore seems advisable to discontinue the use of modulus and *rapport modulaire*, and to use the term *minim height* in the Scribal Fingerprint. This new differentiator will be given two values: one will be the average height of the minims in mms (e.g. 0.8 mm), the other will be that height expressed as a percentage of the average height of the ruled lines (e.g. 45%).

The notion base line is made up of two distinct elements: the ruling of the base line, and the course of the virtual line that connects the lower parts of a scribe's minims. The first element describes the level of straightness of the ruled lines and, as such, cannot be influenced by the scribes of Christine's manuscripts, who did not rule their own folios.³³⁷ This element will therefore be disregarded here. The second element describes in which way a scribe's handwriting follows the ruled base line. Burgers distinguishes between seven different courses: straight or undulating; ascending or descending; concave or convex; and overlapping.³³⁸ To make this distinction even more accurate, one would have to divide Burgers's seventh category into two separate courses: ascending overlap or descending overlap. Figure 5.2 contains a graphical representation of these courses.

³³⁷ See above, p. 42.

³³⁸ Burgers, *Documentaire bronnen*, pp. 36-37.

straight	wavy
Ta grant valeur en moy a mis	Ta grant valeur en moy a mis
convex	concave
Ta grant valeur en moy a mis	Ta grant valeur en moy a mis
ascending	descending
Ta grant valeur en moy a mis	Ta grant valeur en moy a mis
ascending overlap	descending overlap
Ta grant valeur en moy a mis	Ta grant valeur en moy a mis

Figure 5.2: Graphical representation of Burgers's course of the base line.

The main question that needs answering here is: are scribes consistent in their approach to writing near the base line? The course of their writing is dependent on (or influenced by) the movements of their hand, any changes made to the quill, irregularities in the ruling of the base line, irregularities in the parchment, and perhaps even other factors. Given this large number of possible influences, it is highly unlikely that any consistent pattern (or trend) can be discerned in the course of this virtual base line. Therefore, the Scribal Fingerprint will not include the ruling and course of the base line.

Lothar Michel's notion of writing speed – in his theory part of the *Bewegungsfluß* of a hand and subdivided into the categories *Strichgeschwindigkeit* and *Erfolgsgeschwindigkeit* – is an interesting concept that is, in fact, covered by Lieftinck's execution adjectives *Formata*, *Libraria*, and *Currens*.³³⁹ Writing speed is a term emanating from the discipline of Forensic Science, very useful there because the (modern) corpora studied by forensics often contain hastily written notes, postcards, or diary excerpts. A medieval supervised manuscript, however, had to conform to high standards of execution, legibility, and presentation. As a result, writing speed

³³⁹ Michel defines *Strichgeschwindigkeit* as '[die] Geschwindigkeit, mit der der Schreiber das Schreibgerät über die Schreibfläche führt'; *Erfolgsgeschwindigkeit* is 'die Textmenge, die in einer bestimmten Zeit gefertigt wird'. See Michel, *Gerichtliche Schriftvergleichung*, pp. 240, 249.

as a differentiator is of no relevance to our corpus of Christine de Pizan's supervised manuscripts.³⁴⁰

Connecting letter forms play an important role in Burgers's theory on hand identification. The Dutch palaeographer distinguishes between normal and cursive connexions.³⁴¹ Cursive connexions, according to Burgers, are inherent to cursive scripts executed in a low level of style, like Currens in Liefstinck's system. As such, they only occur in notes and preparations in Christine's supervised manuscripts and not in the main texts – which, as has been demonstrated, are carefully written in Formata. The normal connexions, on the other hand, do occur in the upper levels of execution of a hand. Burgers distinguishes between four types of normal connexions: upper, lower, combined, and curved. Examples of each kind can be seen in Figure 5.3.

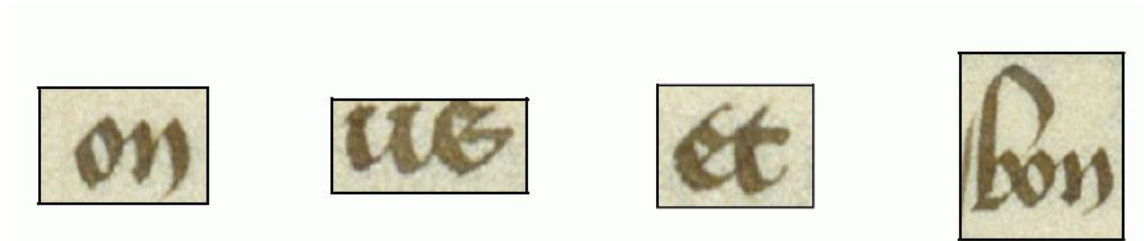


Figure 5.3: Examples of upper, lower, combined, and curved connexions.

Two important questions not addressed by Burgers are the following: what causes these connexions? By which principles are they governed? It seems that the occurrence of lower and curved connexions is mostly dictated by the script that is used. Two characteristics of the *Cursiva Bastarda* script used in Christine's supervised manuscripts are little serifs at the foot of minims (which create lower connexions), and biting (which equals curved connexions) (see Figure 5.3). It therefore seems unlikely that there is a serious discrepancy in the frequency with which these types of connected letter forms occur in the different hands in

³⁴⁰ In this Thesis, the analysis will focus on the 'body text' in the carefully prepared Queen's Manuscript rather than marginalia; see below, p. 168.

³⁴¹ Burgers, *Documentaire bronnen*, pp. 33-34.

Christine's manuscripts. As for the upper connexions, they are to an extent deliberate, consciously put in by the scribe. After all, after having written the first letter form (e.g. the *o* in the *on* connexion in Figure 5.3), the scribe deliberately uses an attack stroke to connect the first letter form to the second. However, the extent to which connexions are deliberate or accidental is highly dependent on the letter forms that are connected. A letter form like *t*, for instance, with a crossbar extending both left and right of the ascender, is very likely to be part of an upper connexion, while it is very difficult to make an upper connexion with a letter form like *a*.

The space available on a ruled line is a further factor which influences the frequency with which letter forms are connected. If space is tight and words have to be crammed in, it is only logical that the number of connexions increases. If, on the other hand, there is more space on a ruled line than is needed, a scribe may be inclined to spread his writing out, thus probably creating fewer connexions. In conclusion, it has to be said that letter form connexions are governed and influenced by many factors, which, at this point in time, cannot be defined or calculated. As a result, connected letter forms cannot provide reliable evidence that a scribe can have a definite hand in their use; they will therefore not be added to our list of differentiators.

Table 5.2, then, represents the differentiators that will be analysed here in order to identify the scribal hand or hands in Christine de Pizan's Queen's Manuscript.

Differentiators
Core elements
- Angle of inclination
- Minim height
- Letter forms
Additional elements
- <i>Cadeaux</i>
- Spelling

Table 5.2: Differentiators to be used in the analysis of MS Harley 4431.

As the enumeration shows, the differentiators can be divided into three core elements of the Scribal Fingerprint which are so intimately connected to a scribe's way of writing that they should be present in every combination of Scribal Fingerprint differentiators, and two additional elements which are of particular interest to the analysis of Christine de Pizan's MS Harley 4431.

5.4 DIGITISING THE SCRIBAL FINGERPRINT

Bridging the gap between the medieval world and the modern era is not an easy task, especially when it comes to connecting something as pre-eminently medieval as a book in the form of a hand-written codex to the most important invention of our times, the computer. The success of this partnership between computer and codex is very much dependent on the questions that are asked of the medieval material and the approaches that are taken. Text and content markup, for instance, works very well: the programming language XML is used very successfully in projects across the globe that aim at converting manuscripts into a digital text.³⁴² Optical character recognition (OCR), however, despite numerous attempts, is scarcely out of the egg as a technique that can be applied to the medieval manuscript. When it comes to something as organic and 'human' as handwriting, trying to analyse medieval hands by using software is as difficult as medieval OCR. It is nevertheless important, because – as shown earlier – computer-controlled measurements are much more accurate than those executed by means of rulers and protractors. The most obvious challenge is the fact that OCR software does not always recognise medieval letter forms correctly. More often than not, biting and horizontally or vertically connected letter forms seriously complicate a recognition program's attempts to find any familiar letter forms. Therefore, measuring angles and dimensions can be a perilous

³⁴² For an overview of projects, see Benjamin Burkhard, Georg Vogeler and Stefan Gruner, 'Informatics for historians: tools for medieval document XML markup, and their impact on the History-Sciences', *Journal of Universal Computer Science*, 14:2 (2008), 193-210

undertaking when OCR data is used as input. Other differentiators, like spelling, scribal mistakes, and *cadeaux*, cannot be measured in the sense that they do not have dimensions or angles. Analysing them will be a matter of recording their occurrence(s) and exact locations, as well as digitally presenting that data in an unequivocal way.

In this section, we will investigate the current possibilities of using digital tools to measure or record the differentiators in the Scribal Fingerprint. Attention will be paid to various analysis tools, each of which measures their ‘own’ differentiator(s). Finally, we will examine the option of digitally measuring the Scribal Fingerprint differentiators by using a range of digital tools.

5.4.1 Existing Digital Tools

A number of tools have been specifically designed for palaeographical analyses. One of the earliest computer programs is SPI, *System for Palaeographical Inspections*, developed in the 1990s at the University of Pisa. SPI’s method of investigating handwriting is based on the notion of a *centroyd*, a letter model that is created by superimposing forms of the same character as they are written by a scribe. Once this ‘alphabet’ of models has been created, SPI can compare different average alphabets and calculate the distance between them – meaning the extent to which the various average characters resemble each other – as well as the distance between a centroyd and a ‘real’ letter form.³⁴³

SPI uses a purely palaeographical approach: it takes into account our differentiators letter forms, angle of inclination, and minim height (as well as others) to create the models. In the training stage, a large number of model letters has to be fed into the system: the more data is presented to SPI in this stage, the more accurate its outcome will be. This is one of the drawbacks of SPI: it depends on the

³⁴³ For a detailed account of the possibilities of SPI, see Arianna Ciula, 'Digital palaeography: using the digital representation of medieval script to support palaeographic analysis', *Digital Medievalist*, 1.1 (2005) <<http://www.digitalmedievalist.org/journal/1.1/ciula/>> [Accessed 12 March 2011], as well as Arianna Ciula, 'The palaeographical method under the light of a digital approach', in *Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age*, ed. by Malte Rehbein, Patrick Sahle and Torsten Schassan (Norderstedt: BoD, 2009), pp. 219-235.

user for input data. Thus, SPI relies heavily on the palaeographer's eye to determine (during this training stage) which set of letter forms have been written demonstrably and undoubtedly by a single scribe or in the same script, while this is just the sort of result that should be generated. Furthermore, the manuscript images in SPI's corpus have to undergo a laborious segmentation process in which letter forms and ligatures are selected and stored individually. By subsequently reducing these letter forms to mere models, SPI merges several differentiators without being capable of analysing each of them separately.

SPI is currently being redesigned and redeveloped at the University of Padua and early reports promise remarkable improvements compared to older versions in both user-friendliness and functionality.³⁴⁴ However, this new version, called JSPI, has not yet been launched. For that reason (and others which have been set out above), SPI will not be used here to analyse MS Harley 4431.

GIWIS, the *Groningen Intelligent Writer Identification System* developed by Axel Brink at the University of Groningen, takes an altogether different approach.³⁴⁵ This writer identification application allows its user to analyse digital images of handwriting by means of a *feature*, a method of analysing a specific aspect of handwriting and representing that aspect in a vector, a list of numbers. GIWIS analyses handwritten documents by allowing its user to apply any combination of nine available features. These aspects of handwriting that are analysed by these features range from letter forms and curve style to pressure and angularity.

The most recently developed feature for GIWIS is called Quill. In a given set of input data, Quill measures both the width of the ink trace that makes up a letter form, and its direction. These two measurements are then combined in a so-called QPD (Quill Probability Distribution), which lists the frequency with which each possible combination of width and direction occurs in the input corpus. This QPD, once generated for each of the sample folios (or parts thereof), can be automatically

³⁴⁴ Ciula, 'The palaeographical method', pp. 229-231.

³⁴⁵ See Brink, 'Robust and applicable handwriting biometrics', 117-124.

compared to QPDs of other input data. The result can be either a *hit list*, meaning that one query document is compared with the input corpus and that its similarity to each of the documents in the corpus is calculated, or a *cluster*, where Quill is instructed to identify a given number of scribal hands in the corpus.

The most important advantage of Quill (and indeed of GIWIS) is that there is no training stage in which it has to be ‘taught’ how to read or analyse the handwritten input data, since Quill analyses the ink trace rather than the letter forms.³⁴⁶ As a result, the user’s involvement is kept to the strictest minimum of merely selecting the specimens or input folios, a task that in this case does not include having to identify scribal hands beforehand. The only drawback of Quill is that the relevance of its differentiator (the relation between the width of an ink trace and its direction) is not attested in traditional palaeographical literature, even though it is by definition intimately connected to *ductus* and the angle of inclination. The width of an ink trace depends heavily on the way in which the nib of a scribe’s quill has been cut. An obliquely cut nib produces a wider ink trace than a quill with a straightly cut nib. Therefore, it remains to be seen whether Quill is as able to identify medieval scribes as it is modern-day scribes.³⁴⁷

Recent developments in the field of Digital Palaeography include the creation of *Graphoskop*, software developed at the École nationale des chartes and the Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes in Paris.³⁴⁸ *Graphoskop* is a *plug-in* – a piece of software that can be added to an existing computer program to expand its functionality – for the open source digital imaging software *ImageJ*. The plug-in’s main goal is not to be a digital palaeographer’s eye, but rather to serve as an aid for palaeographical analysis, a support of sorts for the palaeographer’s expertise. *Graphoskop*’s functions include the possibility of carrying out various measurements

³⁴⁶ The ink trace is easily recognisable for Quill: it stands out because of the colour of the ink.

³⁴⁷ See Axel Brink, Jinna Smit, Marius Bulacu, and others, ‘Writer identification using directional ink-trace width measurements’, *Pattern Recognition*, 45:1 (2012), 162-171.

³⁴⁸ See Maria Gurrado, ‘Graphoskop’, uno strumento informatico per l’analisi paleografica quantitativa’, in *Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age*, ed. by Malte Rehbein, Patrick Sahle and Torsten Schassan (Norderstedt: BoD, 2009), pp. 251-259.

and calculations. Once a manuscript image is opened with ImageJ, the Graphoskop plug-in allows the user to measure horizontal distances (e.g. the length of ruled lines, the width of letter forms, the distance between words), vertical distances (the length of ascenders and descenders, the width of ruled lines), angles, and surfaces. These measurements are registered in a specific format and, if need be, Graphoskop can calculate average values, standard deviations, and frequencies of occurrence for them. Furthermore, Graphoskop is able to determine the *density*, meaning the relation between the amount of black pixels and white pixels, in a pre-determined area of the image.

As a palaeographer's aid, Graphoskop seems capable of executing the most important of measurements and calculations involved in distinguishing between scribal hands. Users who know what they are looking for will find Graphoskop of great use in their palaeographical investigations. Unfortunately, at the moment of writing, the plug-in is only available in a beta-version that, according to one of the creators of Graphoskop, is almost bound to give false readings for measurements.³⁴⁹ It is to be hoped that palaeographical studies will soon be able to benefit from the availability of a more reliable version of Graphoskop.³⁵⁰

An entirely different approach to using computers to measure aspects of medieval handwriting is the use of standard digital imaging software to measure distances and angles. Software suites like the *GNU Image Manipulation Program* (GIMP) incorporate tools to measure distances and angles. The problem with distance measurements, however, is that their accuracy is dependent not only on the dexterity of the user, but also on the way in which the digital images have been created. That is to say, when photos are taken of manuscripts by using a camera stand to fix the distance between the lens and the object, the images will be more or less equally large. However, this way of photographing manuscripts is not common practice yet; more often than not, there are differences in the distance between

³⁴⁹ Maria Gurrado, personal correspondence, 16 December 2010.

³⁵⁰ See Rehbein, Sahle and Schassan (eds), *Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age*, for other interesting and promising developments in the field of Computer-Aided Palaeography.

camera and manuscript from one photograph to another, which either increases or decreases the size of the image and leads to incorrect measurements. Correcting these measurements is possible by measuring the distance of an element whose exact dimensions are known; usually this is a ruler positioned alongside the manuscript. From these measurements, the pixels-per-millimetre ratio can be calculated, which can subsequently be used to convert other measurements in pixels to millimetres.

5.4.2 *Measuring and Storing the Differentiators*

Having described the variety of computer programs and plug-ins that are available to measure palaeographical phenomena in handwritten sources, we must now turn our attention to defining the exact way in which the set of Scribal Fingerprint differentiators will be measured, as well as to establishing which of the aforementioned digital tools will be used to carry out the measurements. In addition, the issue of storing the measured data will be addressed.

The angle of inclination is generally determined by measuring the angle between the shaft of ascending letter forms (like *b*, *h*, *k*, *l*, and long *s*) and the base line. In the script used in MS Harley 4431, Cursiva Bastarda, long *s* seems ideal to measure the angle of inclination. The other letter forms mentioned more often than not have a curved ascender, often even with a loop at their right-hand side, which complicates (if not prevents) finding a straight stroke where the angle of inclination can be measured. Due to the tapering effect in long *s* – it tends to be wide near the top and narrow towards the bottom – this letter form generally boasts a straight right-hand edge that roughly stretches from its intersection with the base line to the start of its upper curve. The angle between this straight stretch and the base line will be taken as the angle of inclination.³⁵¹

In our measurements, the aforementioned GNU Image Manipulation Program (GIMP) will be used. GIMP's *Measure Tool* incorporates both a ruler and a

³⁵¹ The images of MS Harley 4431 have been carefully pre-processed by Edinburgh University Library in order to compensate for the slight skew that was present in some of the original photographs.

protractor. Starting from the area where long *s* intersects the base line, a straight line will be drawn along the edge until it intersects with the inner curve of the top part of the letter (see Figure 5.4). GIMP's protractor will then automatically calculate the angle between the base line and the electronically drawn line.

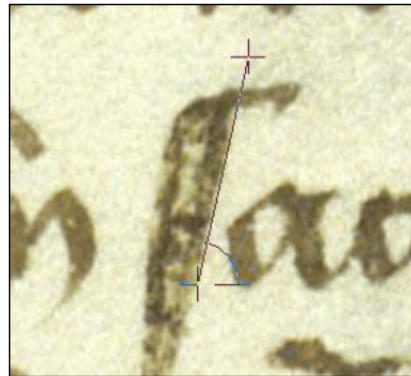


Figure 5.4: Measuring the long *s*.

The height of minims, like the angle of inclination, is usually determined by measuring specific letter forms; in this case the letter *i* is often selected. However, as with the angle of inclination, the minim height in Cursiva Bastarda (and, more generally, in most Gothic scripts) is difficult to measure here, given *i*'s tendency to be slightly higher than the general minim height. The same applies to letter forms *o* and *e* – especially for the *e cornu*, the pointed *e* that occurs frequently in Cursiva Bastarda. Ideal for measuring the minim height in MS Harley 4431 seems to be the letter form *u*. The first, left-hand minim of *u* is often shorter than the other minim strokes and it is usually written above rather than on the base line, in particular when *u* follows ascending letter forms like *l* (e.g. in *cellui*), long *s* (*sus*), or *t* (*tu*). The second minim of *u* does not suffer from this effect, and therefore, it has been decided to measure only the second, right-hand minim of the letter form *u* to calculate the minim height.

Unfortunately – even though quite understandably – there is no reliable digital tool around that has been specifically designed to measure distances in

images of medieval manuscripts. We will therefore have to resort to the more general imaging software described above to find a program suitable to carry out the proposed measurements. Because of its user-friendliness and accuracy, GIMP will be used here. As discussed above, the ruler contained in GIMP's Measure Tool is ideal for measuring distances in digital images. The height of the minims will be measured from bottom to top by using this ruler. Since accuracy is very important when dealing with measurements of very short distances, a zoom factor of 200 percent (ratio 2:1) will be used to measure the minims. The height of the ruled lines is then calculated by dividing the measured height of the ruled area by the total number of lines on the folio in question.

The values of the GIMP measurements are given in pixels and need to be converted into millimetres for reasons set out above. The images of MS Harley 4431 have been taken with a slightly varying distance between camera and object. As a result, it is impossible to calculate a single pixels-per-millimetre ratio and use it for all measurements. The strategy adopted here is to use the ruler that was photographed in the Harley images under investigation to calculate a separate pixels-per-millimetre ratio for each of the images. Although this is a time-consuming operation, it does generate reliable and accurate data.

In the process of selecting words that contained a long *s* or a *u*, glosses and corrections were discarded because of the fact that they may not have been inserted by the scribe of the running text. Furthermore, in a number of the selected images a clear distortion of the folio is visible towards the inner margin. This is because the two volumes that make up Harley 4431 nowadays could not be opened sufficiently for the recto sides to be positioned flat on the surface. As a result, any measurements of angles or distances towards the left-hand side of the left-hand column in these folios may generate corrupt readings. It has therefore been decided to select words near the right-hand side of these columns.

Letter forms is the general title of the third principal differentiator, with which we mean to analyse characters with a variable ductus. As described above, *d*, *g*, and *r*

are the most commonly investigated letter forms in this respect, each of them existing in multiple variants in MS Harley 4431, as well as in other supervised manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's works. It is thought that the frequency with which these variants occur may allow us to pinpoint changes of hands. Figure 5.5 lists the variants of letter forms *d*, *g*, and *r* that will be analysed here: two variants of *d* (d1 with a long, open loop, and d2 with a short, closed loop); two variants of *g* (g1 with an open tail towards the left, and g2 with an added curve towards the right); and four variants of *r* (r1 being a simple, two stroke *r* in the shape of a heart, r2 as r1 but with a third stroke near the base line, r3 being a very exuberant *r* resembling our modern capital *R*, and r4 being a sharp, *v*-shaped *r*).³⁵²

For the Scribal Fingerprint analysis, it has been decided to list the total number of occurrences of letter forms *d*, *g*, and *r* and to record the frequency of occurrence of each of these letters' variant forms. As this is a simple tallying matter, there is no need to use sophisticated software. As a rule, capital letters and exuberant letters *d*, *g*, and *r* on top or bottom lines of the selected folios will be discarded; only small letters will be investigated here.

³⁵² There is a fifth variant of the letter form *r*; it resembles our modern cursive *r* and is only used after letter forms which boast a curve at their right-hand side (like *o*, *b*, or *p*). Because of the specific use of this variant, occurring throughout the manuscript, it has not been included here.

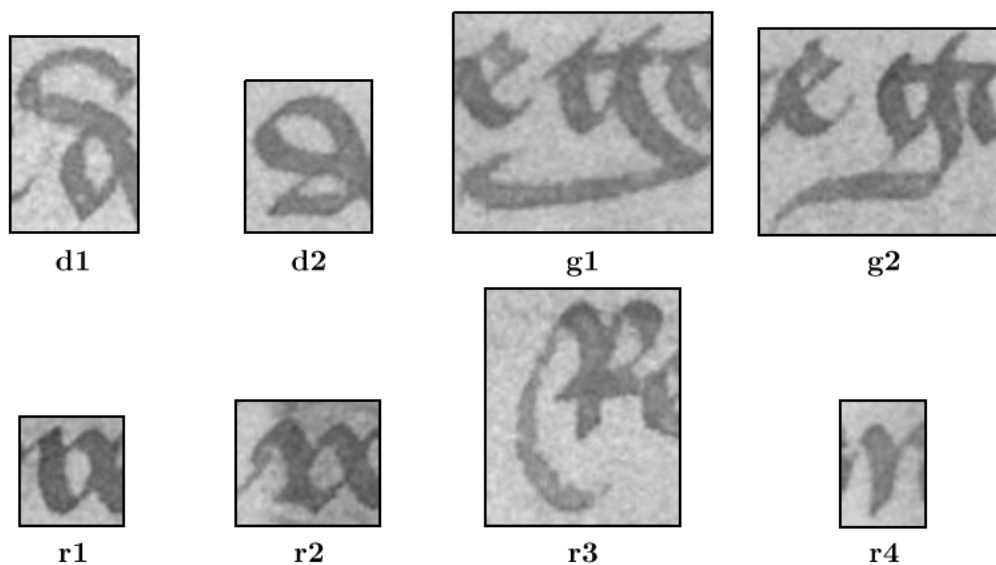


Figure 5.5: Examples of variants of *d*, *g*, and *r* occurring in MS Harley 4431.

An important matter that has to be addressed here, is the statistical relevance of the analysis. The question is how many folios will have to be selected for the test results to be significant. Although this may seem a difficult problem, it is in fact not a problem at all. It is important to note that the Scribal Fingerprint analysis will not draw quantitative conclusions that extrapolate findings to a larger corpus of manuscripts; the results of our examination apply only to MS Harley 4431 and our corpus of folios from the Queen's Manuscript is only a *pars pro toto* for the codex, not for the other supervised manuscripts of works of Christine de Pizan. In this light, the only statistical rule that applies here is: the more, the better. In other words, statistically, the greater the number of measurements, the more accurate the findings will be.

Given the complexity of the measurements and the scope of this study, it has been decided to carry out twenty measurements of the minim height and twenty measurements of the angle of inclination per folio. Given the fact that the folios of MS Harley 4431 generally contain 36 to 40 lines per column, the guideline here will be to carry out ten measurements in each of the two columns of the thirteen folios.

The measurements will be loosely distributed along the lines of the columns with a rough guideline of one measurement every four lines. The third differentiator, letter forms, will be analysed as per the description above and does not require a fixed number of measurements.

While measuring correctly and accurately is of great importance to the significance of the Scribal Fingerprint analysis, it is also vital to store the measured data correctly. As described above, the storing process of Scribal Fingerprint data has to adhere to certain principles. The measurements have to be registered in a way that enables reproduction and verification; this means that the exact location of the measurements has to be included in the data to be stored. In addition, the stored data has to be easy to access and to share, preferably by using a software-independent file type. Finally, the measurements have to be presentable in a clear and unambiguous way.

This combination of *desiderata* rules out a substantial number of computer programs and file types. A Microsoft Word document, for instance, is very orderly and can present the measurements in an aesthetically pleasing way, but it is useless when it comes to processing the actual data. Detailed database software, on the other hand, is very useful for storing and processing data, but it is also generally software-dependent and it often lacks proper presentation tools. Conceived as a data-tagging computer language and software-independent by default, XML – *eXtensible Markup Language* – seems the most logical choice for storing the Scribal Fingerprint data. XML works in much the same way as HTML, its ‘internet brother’, adding a structure to a given corpus of data or texts. In XML, a user-defined set of tags can be inserted before and after important parts of a text or a document to register its content, place, or function within the document.³⁵³ The resulting XML file is completely software-independent, as the tagged data it contains can be fed into any standard data-processing software. Furthermore, it can

³⁵³ HTML tags, on the other hand, register the visual presentation (lay-out) of a document.

easily be transformed into an HTML file that is accessible by any existing operating system or internet browser.³⁵⁴

The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) Consortium has been developing guidelines for digitally encoding Humanities data since 1987.³⁵⁵ In 2007, TEI published their latest set of rules, the so-called P5 Guidelines. Section 10 of these guidelines is entitled *Manuscript Description* and contains descriptive tags that can be used to record a wide range of phenomena in manuscripts of all ages. While the rules stipulated in Section 10 are useful for tagging philological and codicological features of a manuscript, they do not cover palaeographical measurements that generate numerical values. As a result, a new set (or taxonomy) of tags has been developed to register the Scribal Fingerprint measurements. A sample of the XML code is provided in Figure 5.6 below.

³⁵⁴ For a more general description of XML, see the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) website on XML: <http://www.w3.org/XML>.

³⁵⁵ See <http://www.tei-c.org>.

```

<measurements>
  <fol n="003v" ppm="19.6" rul="114.1">
    <inclination>
      <inc n="1" p="003c:05" w="si">78</inc>
      <inc n="2" p="003c:08" w="escorps">79</inc>
      [...]
      <inc n="20" p="003d:25" w="soit">83</inc>
    </inclination>
    <minim>
      <min n="1" p="003c:01" w="autres">43</min>
      <min n="2" p="003c:03" w="qui">44</min>
      [...]
      <min n="20" p="003d:27" w="que">48</min>
    </minim>
    <letter>
      <d>
        <dt>30</dt><d1>21</d1><d2>09</d2>
      </d>
      <g>
        <gt>26</gt><g1>02</g1><g2>24</g2>
      </g>
      <r>
        <rt>80</rt><r1>63</r1><r2>15</r2><r3>02</r3><r4>05</r4>
      </r>
    </letter>
  </fol>

```

Figure 5.6: XML code used to register the Scribal Fingerprint

The file opens and closes with a compulsory root tag, which has been named `<measurements>`. Within the root tag, the `<fol>` tag encompasses all measurements for a single folio of MS Harley 4431; in the present case study, there will be thirteen `<fol>` elements within the `<measurements>` root tag. The `<fol>` tag has three attributes: `n` defines the number and side of the folio, `ppm` contains the pixels-per-millimetre ratio for this specific folio, and `rul` defines the average height of a ruled line in pixels.

Two elements, placed inside the `<fol>` tag, have been designed to hold the inclination and minim measurements. The first element, `<inclination>`, contains twenty `<inc>` tags, each of which represents one measurement. The attributes added to `<inc>` are: `n` for the number of the measurement in question; `p` for its

exact location in the manuscript (e.g. 022a:02, meaning folio 22, column a, line 2); and *w* for the word in which the measurement was carried out. Finally, between the closing chevron of the `<inc>` tag and the closing tag `</inc>`, the actual angle of inclination will be registered. The second element, `<minim>`, works in much the same way. It contains twenty `<min>` tags, each of which holds data for one measurement. The `<min>` element has the same three attributes as the `<inc>` elements: *n*, *p*, and *w*. The actual value of the `<min>` element, listed between the closing chevron of the `<min>` tag and the closing tag `</min>`, represents the minimum height expressed in pixels.

The third element within the `<fol>` tag is called `<letter>`. It holds the three sub-elements `<d>`, `<g>`, and `<r>`, which each encompass data for the letter form after which they are named. The element `<d>`, for instance, holds information about the total number of letter forms *d* in the folio under investigation (between the `<dt>` tags), as well as the frequency of occurrence of variant 1 (`<d1>`) and variant 2 (`<d2>`). The same applies to sub-elements `<g>` and `<r>`; in the case of the letter form *r*, four variants were tallied, which results in the presence of tags `<r1>`, `<r2>`, `<r3>`, and `<r4>`.

The way in which the aforementioned measurements and frequencies have been registered, allows for an easy transformation of the collected data into other file formats. If properly instructed, any database software will be able to read the XML file and process its data. For presentation purposes, an XSLT file has been developed that converts the XML file into a standard HTML file that can be viewed with any internet browser and on any modern operating system.³⁵⁶ The original XML file, the XSLT file and the resulting HTML document have been included in the CD-ROM that accompanies this Thesis.³⁵⁷ Furthermore, the XML data has been fed into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, which generated tables and charts for each of the thirteen folios; they have been included in Appendix F.

³⁵⁶ For more information on XSL(T), short for *eXtensible Stylesheet Language Transformations*, see <http://www.w3.org/TR/xslt>.

³⁵⁷ The XML, XSLT and HTML files are also available online at <http://www.markaussems.nl/phd>.

In the next Chapter, the differentiators included in the Scribal Fingerprint for the supervised manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's works will be analysed digitally. MS Harley 4431 will be subjected to a palaeographical analysis using the Scribal Fingerprint method. Finally, the results of this analysis will be interpreted and evaluated.

6

DIGITAL HAND ANALYSIS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter, the knowledge, insights, and ideas set forth in the previous Chapters will be used to analyse the handwriting in MS Harley 4431. The goal of this investigation is to determine the number of hands that have contributed to the transcription of the text of this manuscript. The choice of MS Harley 4431 as the corpus of this analysis can be justified in several ways. Firstly, MS Harley 4431 is the most important of Christine de Pizan's supervised manuscripts, presenting no fewer than 31 works in a single binding (at the time of production). In addition, its substantial size of 398 folios makes it an ideal manuscript from which to select text specimens. Secondly, the attribution of MS Harley 4431 to one or more scribal hands has been – and indeed still is – fiercely debated, as shown above. A careful choice of text specimens for the analysis should therefore enable us to shed new light on this matter. Thirdly, the Queen's Manuscript is the only one of Christine's supervised manuscripts that is available in digital form by means of high-detail images. This facilitates not only the manual and visual analyses, but also that of GIWIS.

6.2 CHOICE OF FOLIOS

In my MPhil Thesis, written in 2006, four different scribal hands were found in MS Harley 4431 following a visual inspection of the manuscript.³⁵⁸ A detailed quantitative analysis of a selection of folios from the manuscript led to the conclusion that there were, in fact, two hands at work in the Queen's Manuscript, which have been dubbed A and B to avoid confusion with Ouy and Reno's hands P, R, and X.³⁵⁹ Given the fact that MS Harley 4431 is divided into ten codicological units, it would seem logical to select one folio from each unit to form a corpus of ten specimen folios to be examined. However, although nine units may have been written entirely by either hand A or hand B, unit 2 – which contains the aforementioned sixth quire – presents the only case where hands A and B can be seen working together in the same codicological unit in this manuscript. In order to be able to study these apparent changes of hands more closely, it has been decided to select not one but four folios from this unit 2 which, added to the nine other folios, make up a total of thirteen folios in our corpus.³⁶⁰

A random selection of folios from each codicological unit is not useful here because of the significant differences that exist between the amount of text and the legibility of the folios of MS Harley 4431. Miniatures, decorations, smudges, and stamps are not likely to interfere with a manual palaeographical examination (the examiner can work around them), but they are fully capable of negatively influencing the outcomes of the digital analysis carried out by GIWIS. Therefore, a number of criteria have been used to select the most interesting and useful folios from each codicological unit. Firstly, only recto sides have been selected for investigation. Secondly, the selected folios contain as few miniatures and as little decoration as possible. Thirdly, only folios that do not suffer from translucence – due, for instance,

³⁵⁸ See Aussems, 'The Scribal Fingerprint', 83-87.

³⁵⁹ Aussems, 'The Scribal Fingerprint', 88-93.

³⁶⁰ As with the number of digital measurements, the only statistical rule relevant here is: the more folios, the better the results. Given the complexity of the manual and digital measurements included in the Scribal Fingerprint, and the accuracy with which they will have to be executed, it has to be noted that it would be beyond the scope of the present study to attempt to analyse much more than a dozen folios of MS Harley 4431.

to bad parchment or the presence of a very dark miniature on the verso side – have been selected. Fourthly, all folios were selected from the middle of their respective codicological units. Finally, we have selected a specific section of each folio that contains as much text as possible, thereby eliminating folios (or parts thereof) with blank or partly blank columns.

These criteria presented a difficulty: selecting a folio from codicological unit 1. In this unit, which contains the table of contents and the *Prologue*, no folio conforms exactly to the criteria just mentioned. The table of contents contains a plethora of paragraph marks and line-fillers, while the *Prologue* – occupying folios 3r and 3v – consists of a recto side with a large miniature and border decorations, followed by a verso side which boasts not just decorations and a British Museum stamp, but also significant translucence of the miniature on the recto side. However, the *Prologue* is a very interesting part of MS Harley 4431, as there is an obvious connexion between the *Prologue* and Christine de Pizan, it having been specifically composed by her for inclusion in the Queen's Manuscript. Moreover, the function of the *Prologue* is different from that of the other texts in the manuscript. Given these extraordinary circumstances, it seems wise to include folio 3v – the least affected folio of unit 1 which still contains an acceptable amount of text – in our analysis using the Scribal Fingerprint method and GIWIS. As far as GIWIS is concerned, it will be necessary to feed a carefully selected section of folio 3v into GIWIS, for the reasons we have set out above.

The list of the thirteen selected folios is as follows:

Folio	Unit	Text
003v	1	<i>Prologue</i>
008r	2	<i>Cent balades</i>
047r	2	<i>Aultres balades</i>
050r	2	<i>Encore aultres balades</i>
064r	2	<i>Deux amans</i>
113r	3	<i>Epistre Othea</i>
159r	4	<i>Duc des vrais amans</i>
204r	5	<i>Chemin de long estude</i>
225r	6	<i>Dit de la pastoure</i>
245r	7	<i>Epistres sur le Rommant de la Rose</i>
275r	8	<i>Livre de prudence</i>
330r	9	<i>Cité des dames</i>
385r	10	<i>Cent balades d'amant et de dame</i>

Table 6.1: List of thirteen folios under investigation.

In the next sections, we will present the outcomes of our manual examinations, followed by those of the analysis carried out by GIWIS.

6.3 SCRIBAL FINGERPRINT TEST RESULTS

The results of the Scribal Fingerprint analysis have been included in Appendix F. There is one results sheet for each folio, consisting of a histogram of the angles of inclination, a diagram presenting the percentages of occurrence of the various letter forms, and a table that expresses the minim height as a percentage of the height of the ruled line. From the results sheet for folio 3v, given in Figure 6.1 below, it can for instance be concluded that the 78° angle of inclination occurs most frequently (i.e. six times) in the measurements executed in this folio, while the 82° angle has not been registered at all. The average (AVG) angle of inclination on folio 3v (as indicated by the label in the lower right-hand corner of the histogram) is 79.1° . Furthermore, it transpires from the letter forms diagram that forms d1, g2, and r1 are the prevalent letter forms, with frequencies of occurrence of 70%, 92%, and 74%

respectively. Finally, the minim height in folio 3v is calculated to be 39.2% of the height of the ruled line.

In the following sections, the results of the Scribal Fingerprint analysis will be presented separately for the core and the additional differentiators; then, a general conclusion will be drawn which takes into account all test results.

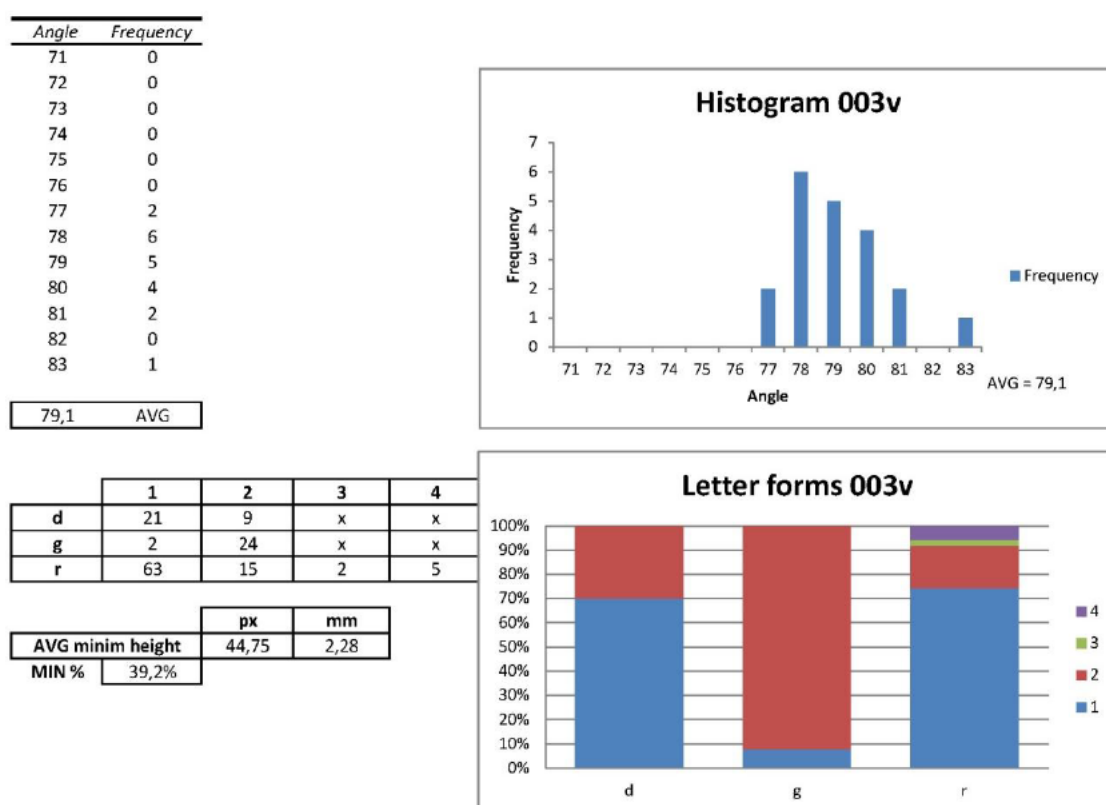


Figure 6.1: Results sheet of folio 3v.

6.3.1 Core Differentiators

The average angle of inclination, calculated from the separate averages of the thirteen folios under investigation, is 77.1° . The majority of average angles fall into the 76° - 78° range; there are, however, a number of interesting deviating values. Folios 50r (80.6°) and 3v (79.1°) have a high average angle, while folios 275r (74.1°) and 385r (75.3°) boast a relatively low angle of inclination.

The average minim height (in a percentage of the height of the ruled line) amounts to 38.4%. Folios 47r (41.2%) and, to a lesser extent, 50r (39.5%), 245r (39.3%), and 003v (39.2%), have a relatively high percentage of minim height. Folios 225r (35.5%), 275r (37.1%), and 113r (37.1%) boast a relatively low percentage of minim height.

As for the letter forms that have been analysed, the two types of *d* are very clearly limited to two different sections of the manuscript. While in folio 3v, *d*1 is by far the prevalent form (70%), it makes up only 42% of *d*'s in folio 8r and has all but disappeared in favour of *d*2 in the eleven subsequent folios under investigation (where *d*1's presence ranges from 1% to 15%). The distribution of the two variants of *g* is less pronounced, in the sense that *g*1 and *g*2 alternate as prevalent forms throughout the manuscript. The first and last folio of MS Harley 4431, 3v (92%) and 385r (100%) show a very strong presence of *g*2, as does folio 225r (73%). Conversely, *g*1 is dominant in folios 159r (100%), 113r (96%), 245r (94%), 330r (83%), 204r (80%), and 50r (73%). As for *r*, *r*1 is by far the most often used variant throughout the manuscript. In folios 3v, 64r, 245r, and 330r, *r*2 occurs relatively frequently compared to the other folios. The presence of *r*3 and *r*4 on folio 385r (respectively ten and 28 times) constitutes 48% (for *r*3) and 50% (for *r*4) of their frequency of occurrence throughout the thirteen investigated folios. Given the fact that their other occurrences are scattered throughout the other folios, their overwhelming presence on folio 385r is striking.

6.3.2 Additional Differentiators

The examination of the core differentiators of the Scribal Fingerprint has pinpointed a number of 'areas' in MS Harley 4431 where substantial palaeographical changes occur. An analysis of the additional differentiators will now be undertaken to see if evidence can be found that fits the analysis of the core differentiators. In this section, the interpretation of each of the secondary differentiators will be discussed separately.

As mentioned above, *cadeaux* are a specific type of letter form, generally defined as unusually long shafts of ascending letter forms. In the case of MS Harley 4431, a list has been drawn up of long shafts of ascending letters that both appear on the top line of the 398 ruled folios, and boast an intertwined white banner (see Figure 6.2 for an example). Table 6.2 below contains an overview of the results of this analysis, presented per codicological unit and per quire.

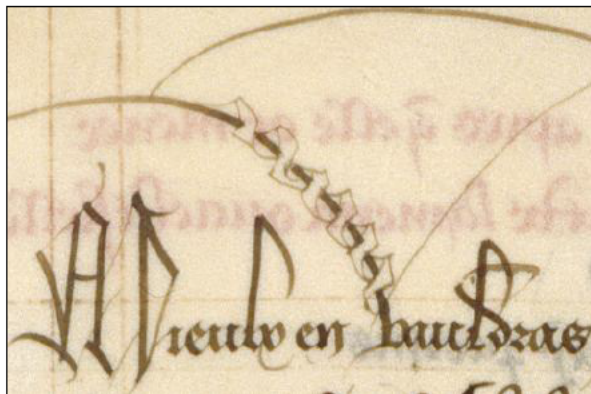


Figure 6.2: A *cadeau* in MS Harley 4431: a long shaft intertwined with a white banner (folio 188v).

Unit	Quire	Cadeaux	Unit	Quire	Cadeaux
1	0		(5)	27	*
2	1			28	
	2	*		29	
	3		6	30	
	4	*	7	31	*
	5	**		32	**
	6	**		33	
	7	*	8	34	
	8			35	*
	9	*		36	
	10			37	
	11			38	
	12		9	39	
3	13			40	
	14			41	
	15			42	
	16			43	
	17	**		44	
	18	*		45	
4	19			46	
	20			47	(*)
	21			48	
	22			49	
	23		10	50	
5	24			51	
	25	***		52	
	26				

Table 6.2: Overview of *cadeaux* in MS Harley 4431.

It is clear from Table 6.2 that of the twenty *cadeaux* present in MS Harley 4431, eight are located in codicological unit 2, between folios 15 and 71. A second concentration of *cadeaux* appears in quires 17 and 18, and a third in quire 25, part of the *Chemin de long estude*, while a fourth group of shafts with banners can be found in quires 31 and 32, which make up the first part of the *Epistres sur le Rommant de la Rose*. Interestingly, although the *cadeaux* seem to be spread out through the entire manuscript, there are no *cadeaux* in unit 4, containing the *Duc*

des vrais amans, in unit 6 (*Pastoure*), in unit 9 (*Cité*), and in unit 10 (*Cent balades d'amant et de dame*).³⁶¹

The spelling variants present in MS Harley 4431 have been analysed by means of Loci, a PHP script developed by Charles Mansfield that allows its user to define up to three search terms of which the occurrences are subsequently registered in up to three different colours in a given text corpus. In the case of MS Harley 4431, these occurrences are presented separately for each of the thirty texts by using a four-letter acronym.³⁶² As mentioned above, the spelling differences and preferences discussed in studies by Gabriella Parussa – who based her research on Christine's *Epistre Othea* – have been taken as a starting point. Parussa analysed spelling differences in versions of the *Othea* in three manuscripts of Christine's collected works and concluded that

le problème de l'autographicité des trois témoins se pose à nouveau et d'une façon plus troublante puisqu'on ne peut conclure que Christine de Pizan manque de méthode et a une orthographe hésitante. Les caractéristiques systématiques que nous avons mises en relief prouvent qu'il existe bien des habitudes de scribe spécifiques à chaque manuscrit, qui nous empêchent de supposer qu'un seul copiste a transcrit les trois manuscrits, sans pour cela nier toute participation de Christine à la transcription d'au moins un de ces témoins. On peut donc dire que, si elle est le scribe du manuscrit Harley, elle n'a pas pu écrire aussi celui de Chantilly (les manuscrits de Londres et de Paris s'opposant d'une façon moins nette). (Parussa, *Autographes et orthographe*, 153-154.)

Variant readings for seven words have been fed into Loci and the results are presented in Appendix G, where each vertical stroke represents one occurrence of a reading and where the colour of the stroke matches the colour of the reading indicated at the top of each Loci analysis.

³⁶¹ The *cadeau* in unit 9, quire 47, has been put between brackets because of its obvious difference in execution from the other *cadeaux*. It not only boasts red decorative strokes, but it also has been drawn much more fluently.

³⁶² Appendix B lists the acronyms for the thirty texts present in MS Harley 4431.

It is clear from the Loci results in Appendix G that there are major spelling differences in MS Harley 4431. These differences are most prominently visible in the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame*, the *Livre de prudence*, and the *Cité des dames*, as will be demonstrated in the next section.

6.3.3 General Interpretation

As stated in Chapter 5, the results of the three core differentiators and the two additional differentiators will have to be put together and looked at conjointly in order to say anything meaningful about the possible distribution of hands in MS Harley 4431. When the evidence of the analyses of the angle of inclination, the minim height, and the occurrence of the various letter forms of *d*, *g*, and *r* is compared to that of the occurrence of *cadeaux* and spelling differences, four observations have to be made.

Firstly, there is a considerable difference between folios 3v (in codicological unit 1) and 8r (in unit 2). Letter forms d1 and g2 are by far the most frequently occurring variants in folio 3v, making up 70% and 92% of their group, while these percentages drop to 42% and 55% in folio 8r. At the same time, both the angle of inclination and the minim height drop from above average values (79.1° and 39.2%) to average values (77.6° and 38.1%). This difference observed between the handwriting of unit 1 (*Prologue*) and that of unit 2 (*Cent balades* and other verse texts) is also registered through the *cadeaux* analysis: unit 1 contains no *cadeaux*, whereas unit 2 contains eight *cadeaux*. The absence of exuberant ascenders in unit 1 may, however, be (partly) explained by the size of unit 1 (1.5 folios of written text) compared to that of unit 2 (91 folios).

A plausible explanation for this sudden visible change in four out of five differentiators might be a change of hands occurring between folios 3v and 8r. Codicologically speaking, the transition between quire 0 (containing the *Prologue* and the *Table of Contents*) and quire 1 (containing the first part of the *Cent*

balades) coincides with the codicological break between units 1 (quire 0) and 2 (quires 1-12). In terms of the production process, the fact that the texts in quire 0 form a codicological unit is not surprising; as the front matter of the manuscript, quire 0 may have been produced separately, perhaps even once the rest of the book had been finished, but probably in a separate production process. The palaeographical evidence from the Scribal Fingerprint analysis seems to support the hypothesis that quires 0 and 1 were transcribed by different scribes.

Secondly, important differences can be observed between folios 330r and 385r. Folio 330r boasts g1 as prevalent variant (83%), r2 as a clear runner-up to r1 (27%), and a fairly average angle of inclination (76.0°); folio 385r, on the other hand, is exclusively the domain of variant g2 (100%), boasts an angle of inclination that is below the average (75.3°), and has remarkably high frequencies of occurrence for variants r3 and r4. The complete change from g1 to g2 and the sudden appearance of r3 and r4 in frequencies that are completely different from the twelve other folios are puzzling in the sense that they represent a clear and unambiguous discontinuity.

The differences found in the handwriting of the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* by the core differentiators are corroborated by an overwhelming body of evidence related to spelling variants. The *doulx-doulz* case demonstrates this most clearly. *Doulx* is by far the most frequently occurring variant in MS Harley 4431; *doulz* is present too, but its occurrences are almost entirely limited to the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* and the accompanying *Lay de dame*. The same line of reasoning applies to the *peut-puet* variants: *peut* is used throughout the manuscript, while the occurrence of *puet* is strictly limited to the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* and the *Lay de dame*. A third example of variant readings in unit 10 of MS Harley 4431 is provided by the variants *ailleurs-aillieurs-alieurs*. *Ailleurs* is used everywhere in the manuscripts, while the presence of *aillieurs* and *alieurs* is limited to unit 10.

Besides the presence of certain variants, the absence of others can also be quite revealing. This is the case, for instance, with the suffixes *-eur* and *-our* (e.g. in

douleur-doulour). Both suffixes are used in MS Harley 4431, but only the *-eur* suffix appears in the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* and the *Lay de dame*. The same applies to variants *sans* and *sanz*; they appear conjointly in most parts of the manuscript, but *sanz* is completely absent from unit 10.

Folio 385r is part of a separate codicological unit containing the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* and the *Lay de dame* (folios 376-398, quires 50-52). It has been argued that the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* were composed as early as 1405-1406, well before work started on MS Harley 4431.³⁶³ However, it would be incorrect to suggest that g2 and r3 represent older variants and that quires 50-52 were copied at the time of composition of the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* and left unused until the production of Harley 4431. There is no other evidence to support this claim: no change in the parchment, no change in decoration or rubrication, not even a change in layout. This leaves only two possible explanations: either the *exemplar* of the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* exerted an overpowering influence on the scribe of Harley 4431, thus changing prevalent variants, or the transcription of folio 385r (and probably that of the entire codicological unit to which it belongs) is the work of a scribe who cannot be identified as the scribe of folio 330r.

Thirdly, attention has to be paid to the folios belonging to codicological units 2 (47r, 50r (both part of quire 6), and 64r) and 3 (113r). In these folios, a clear discontinuity is visible in both the variants of *g* and *r*, and the angle of inclination. The frequencies of occurrence of g1 and g2 change from 38% and 62% in folio 47r to 73% and 27% in folio 50r, and from 33% and 67% in folio 64r to 96% and 4% in folio 113r. Folio 64r is also interesting with regards to the sudden increase in the frequency of occurrence of r2. In folios 47r (12%), 50r (6%), and 113r (11%), r2 is only marginally present, whereas this variant makes up more than a quarter of the total number of *r*'s in folio 64r (28%). As for the angle of inclination, folio 50r (80.6°) has a significantly greater angle than the surrounding folios (76.7°-77.8°).

³⁶³ See above, pp. 97-98.

Interestingly, folios 47r and 50r are part of the famous sixth quire of MS Harley 4431, discussed at length above.³⁶⁴ The codicological conclusion that was reached in Chapter Three – i.e., that late changes in the contents of this part of the manuscript called for a change in the regular production process and may have led to a number of mistakes – seems to be corroborated by the palaeographical evidence found through the Scribal Fingerprint analysis. Even though it is as yet impossible to deduce from these findings the exact number of hands that can be discerned in units 2 and 3, the changes that occur in the differentiators between folios 8r and 113r seem too important and too comprehensive to be interpreted as variations of one and the same scribal hand.

Fourthly and finally, the Scribal Fingerprint results of folios 225r (unit 6), 245r (unit 7), and 275r (unit 8) are ambiguous. That is to say, whereas the differentiator values of folios 8r through 204r are reasonably similar (with the exception of the folios belonging to quire 6), some sudden changes appear in the subsequent sections of the manuscript. This is particularly clearly visible in the shift in prevalence from g2 in 225r (73%) to g1 in 245r (94%) and a sudden marked increase in the occurrence of r2 (from 9% in 225r to 35% in 245r and back to 14% in 275r). Similar changes can be observed in the minim height, which jumps from a low 35.5% in folio 225r to a high 39.3% in folio 245r and back to just below average (37.2%) in folio 275r. Also noticeable is a sudden drop in the angle of inclination, from 76.5° in 245r to 74.1° in 275r. From a palaeographical perspective, folios 225r and 275r have certain characteristics in common that contrast with those shared by folios 245r and 330r. Translated into the textual contents and the codicological structure of MS Harley 4431, this means that the handwriting observed on folios 225r (*Pastoure*, unit 6) and 275r (*Prudence*, unit 8) is clearly different from that of folios 245r (*Epistres*, unit 7) and 330r (*Cité*, unit 9).

The lack of *cadeaux* in unit 6 (*Pastoure*) ties in with the palaeographical analysis of that part of MS Harley 4431: the remarkable differences between the

³⁶⁴ See above, pp 98-101.

handwriting in *Pastoure* and that in the preceding and following texts is paralleled by the absence of *cadeaux* in unit 6, and the presence of *cadeaux* in units 5 and 7.

The *sans-sanz* case discussed above seems to contradict the Scribal Fingerprint results for *Prudence* and *Cité*. While their palaeographical difference is quite clear, the Loci analysis of *sans* and *sanz* seems to suggest otherwise: *sanz* is present throughout the manuscript, but a fair share of its occurrences are located in both *Prudence* and *Cité*. The same applies to the *fust-feust* and *fussent-feussent* cases: *Prudence* and *Cité* share a large number of the occurrences of *feust* and *feussent*.

A second observation to be made related to the *fust-feust* case is the exclusive use of *feust* in the *Duc des vrais amans* (unit 4). Notable, too, is the use of *fust* and *feust* in the *Epistres sur le Rommant de la Rose* (unit 7). *Fust* is used from the beginning of the *Epistres* (folio 237r), while *feust* is used exclusively from folio 245r onwards. Interestingly, folio 245 happens to be the very first folio of quire 32 of MS Harley 4431. This break between quires 31 and 32 seems to coincide with the changes in the handwriting we mentioned above between folios 225r (unit 6) and 245r (unit 7).

6.4 QUILL ANALYSIS

The GIWIS analysis of the thirteen selected folios from MS Harley 4431 has been executed by using the aforementioned Quill feature, developed recently by Axel Brink.³⁶⁵ Quill's good performance on medieval handwriting and relatively limited use of processor and memory capacities makes it the ideal feature for our GIWIS analysis. In order to apply Quill to the thirteen Harley images, a number of steps had to be taken. Firstly, the thirteen images were scaled down and converted into the JPEG file format to allow easy handling by GIWIS. Secondly, the JPEG images

³⁶⁵ See above, pp 163-164, for a description of the Quill feature; see also Brink, 'Robust and applicable handwriting biometrics', 84-92.

were loaded into GIWIS and preprocessed. During this preprocessing stage, the *background separation* and *Otsu thresholding* options were used to filter out interference from the verso sides of the folios (which enhances the performance of the feature) and to binarise the images (i.e. render them in black-and-white).

The actual analysis with Quill consisted of instructing GIWIS to calculate the Quill Probability Distribution for each of the thirteen folios. Then, the *clustering* option was used to compare the folios with each other. GIWIS was instructed to assume that x scribes cooperated in the transcription of the thirteen handwritten samples of MS Harley 4431 and to group the images accordingly in x clusters. This analysis was executed ten times for $x=2$, $x=3$, and $x=4$. The results can be found in the Tables in Appendix H, to which have been added two Tables with the average combined values of both clusters 3 and 4, and clusters 2, 3, and 4. The numbers in these Tables refer to the number of times (of a possible ten times) two folios were grouped in the same cluster. The colour of a square matches the number it contains: high numbers have dark-coloured squares, low numbers have light-coloured squares.

The Quill results are intriguing in the sense that they corroborate some findings of the Scribal Fingerprint analysis, but contradict other Scribal Fingerprint results. The aforementioned distinction between folio 3v on the one hand and folio 8r on the other hand, for instance, does not match the Quill results; Quill exclusively groups the two folios in the same cluster. The same applies to folios 204r, 225r, 245r, and 275r, belonging to units 5 through 8: while the Scribal Fingerprint analysis shows clear differences between them, Quill clusters them together nearly every time.

A notable example of a Quill result that corroborates the Scribal Fingerprint findings is the grouping of folio 50r, which very often constitutes a cluster of its own. This complete isolation of folio 50r (part of the aforementioned quire 6) is a more rigorous result than that of the Scribal Fingerprint analysis, where 50r was contrasted with folios 47r and 64r, but not isolated entirely. The marked difference between folios 330r and 385r is also in line with the Scribal Fingerprint analysis.

A possible explanation for the aforementioned differences between the Scribal Fingerprint results and the GIWIS analysis centres on the fact that the Quill feature was essentially designed to work with samples of modern handwriting. Although Quill's performance on a dataset of medieval Dutch charters dating from the early fourteenth century was good, it does not necessarily follow that this is also the case for our fifteenth-century French codex.³⁶⁶ The circumstances under which, as well as the tools with which the datasets were produced must have been heterogeneous, due to the difference in both time and purpose of writing. The thickness of the writing surface, the colour of the ink, and the presence of decorative elements not only create this heterogeneity, but they also determine the degree of translucency of a folio (and thus the quality of the digital images after preprocessing). This translucency, in turn, generates background noise that may negatively influence the Quill analysis.

As shown above, the results generated by Quill and by the Scribal Fingerprint are not completely homogeneous. This is to be expected when two relatively recent and highly innovative methodologies are applied to samples of a manuscript of which even specialists are in disagreement as to the number of scribal hands that are to be distinguished. It has to be noted here, however, that the combined data of the Quill and Scribal Fingerprint analyses yield a single conclusion. Given the clear and marked differences in handwriting that were picked up by the two methodologies, taking into account the fact that a considerable number of these differences correspond with codicological breaks in the manuscript, and having seen that Quill and the Scribal Fingerprint have registered identical differences, the only plausible conclusion has to be that MS Harley 4431 was in all probability copied by more than one scribe.

³⁶⁶ Brink, 'Robust and applicable handwriting biometrics', 96, Table 5.1.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The aim of this Chapter was to put the Scribal Fingerprint methodology to the test, to compare its results with those reached through an analysis by the Quill feature, and to use both analyses to draw conclusions concerning the handwriting in MS Harley 4431.

The fact that the two methods generate similar results is very promising for both the Scribal Fingerprint and Quill. For the latter, it means that it is accurate in finding scribal differences in a corpus of fifteenth-century manuscripts. As a result, the differentiator used by Quill – the relation between the width of an ink trace and its direction – seems to be a valid palaeographical criterion to distinguish between scribal hands. For the Scribal Fingerprint, it means that the methodology, consisting of the three core differentiators, enhanced by one or more additional differentiators, has proved its worth and may be a valuable method of distinguishing between scribal hands in corpora other than MS Harley 4431 or the supervised manuscripts of Christine de Pizan.

Every newly tested method can be enhanced, and the Scribal Fingerprint and Quill are no exception. As far as the Scribal Fingerprint is concerned, a larger corpus of samples from MS Harley 4431 would undoubtedly generate a better understanding of the differences in handwriting and allow us to pinpoint possible changes of hand more accurately. Similarly, a survey of scribal mistakes and a study into the quantifiability of contact (pen pressure) might allow these criteria to be added to the list of core differentiators, which would further enhance the quality of the Scribal Fingerprint results. The same argument applies to characteristic letter forms; a detailed examination of all letter forms in Christine's supervised manuscripts, including capital letters, might indicate the need for additional measurements related to this differentiator.

Concerning GIWIS, the use of a more powerful computer means that several of the features incorporated in GIWIS can be combined to yield results that are

more accurate. Furthermore, this would enable the use of larger, more detailed images of MS Harley 4431, which would be beneficial to the quality of the outcomes.

These enhancements proved impossible to apply in the time, space, and scope of this study. Nevertheless, this case study of the handwriting in MS Harley 4431 has been extremely useful. To all intents and purposes, it has demonstrated that the transcription of the Queen's Manuscript was not carried out by a single scribe.

7

CONCLUSION

The objectives of this study, as formulated in the introductory Chapter One, are (1) to gain a clearer picture of the way in which the supervised manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's works were produced; and (2) to investigate whether the digital Scribal Fingerprint methodology can accurately and objectively distinguish between scribal hands. These objectives will be discussed here and are preceded by a reiteration of the contents and conclusions reached in Chapters Two through Six.

In Chapter Two, a biographical account of Christine de Pizan's life served as context for a discussion of her works. It has become clear from this survey that Christine was intimately connected to the French nobles and royalty; she dedicated works to them on numerous occasions. Through her father's connexions at the French royal court, she must have been well known to the King and the Dukes of France. We have further seen that Christine's works often addressed current affairs or topical subjects. Even at an advanced age, she was inspired by events of the day in composing the *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*. As shown in Chapter Two, most of these texts were tailored to a specific patron. Given the large number of manuscripts of Christine's works that have come down to us, it may be assumed that during her career as an author, Christine was *à la mode*.

During the heyday of her career, between 1399 and 1407, Christine seems to have made full use of her capabilities as an author; no fewer than twenty-four works

were composed during this period. It can be concluded that Christine must have been a highly successful author, quite possibly thanks to her contacts at the French courts, and a hard worker who struck while the iron was hot.

In Chapter Three, the overview of supervised manuscripts showed a similar heyday concerning the production of manuscripts of Christine's works. At least thirty manuscripts saw the light of day in the period between 1403 and 1407, which was to an extent concluded by the production of the Duke's Manuscript in 1406-1407.

Because of Christine's connexions with the royal court of France and the popularity that she enjoyed there, she can be said to have had a large potential market for her works. It can be deduced from the distribution of manuscripts of her works among the most prominent patrons of her time that she made full use of this market. As a result, Christine may have been relatively sure of receiving remuneration for her unremitting labour.

Christine worked upon her potential market by producing multiple manuscripts of a single work. These monotextual manuscripts were produced in serial order by one or more scribes and each manuscript was dedicated to a different patron. This practice influenced the production process, turning it into a highly organised assembly line where work was distributed among scribes and illuminators and directed by an experienced *libraire*. The four surviving supervised manuscripts of Christine's collected works were, again, dedicated and presented to royal patrons. In accordance with Christine's popularity and her habit of writing about topical subjects, additions to several of these collected works manuscripts were produced with the intention of being added to the already existing codices. These additions were made with attention to detail: the layout of the additional parts is often exactly similar to that of the original codex.

As time went on, Christine's manuscripts became more and more lavish. This increase in the level and extent of decorations can be registered from 1402 onwards, culminating, around 1414, in the beautiful MS Harley 4431. In a way, the surviving

manuscripts of Christine's early works resemble those of her late works in that their execution is marked by a certain plainness.

A number of questions have remained unanswered in Chapter Three, as it proved impossible to see all supervised manuscripts *in situ*. It is to be hoped that the *Album Christine* – edited by Christine Reno and Gilbert Ouy, scheduled to appear in early 2012, and resulting from thirty years of scholarship – will provide the necessary answers to these questions.

Chapter Four contained a survey of existing scholarship concerning the palaeographical aspect of Christine's supervised manuscripts. We have seen that when it comes to descriptions and definitions of scribal hands, the scholars in question have not always been careful. More often than not, the arguments used to distinguish between scribal hands are questionable. What is more, the attribution of hand X to Christine de Pizan is, as we have seen, purely hypothetical in the sense that there is insufficient evidence to back up this claim of autography.

Three major issues concerning the question of autography were discussed in this Chapter. Firstly, there is the issue of time and volume. Given the information we have about medieval writing speeds, it would have been impossible for Christine to compose and draft her texts, transcribe all the copies that were attributed to hand X, and correct all the copies that were corrected by hand X'. No one person could have carried out these tasks in the production processes of the monotextual manuscripts of, for instance, the *Mutacion* and the *Chemin* within the available time.

Secondly, there is the issue of language: as we have seen in Chapter Four, profound spelling differences in copies attributed to hand X preclude the theory that hand X is a single person.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the issue of handwriting itself presents objections that prohibit the theory that scribe X is Christine de Pizan. We have seen that there is disagreement among scholars concerning both the occurrence

of hands P, R, and X in Christine's manuscripts, and the characteristic features of these hands. Furthermore, an overview of descriptions of gothic script types in palaeographical studies, also present in Chapter Four, has demonstrated that there is little to go by concerning characteristic features of *Cursiva Bastarda*, the script used in Christine's supervised manuscripts. The available descriptions usually highlight general aspects of *Cursiva Bastarda*. Being the most characteristic elements of this script, they will be executed very similarly by every scribe using this particular script.

In order to create a more objective and substantive way of distinguishing between scribal hands, the notion of a Scribal Fingerprint was introduced and developed in Chapter Five. The Scribal Fingerprint methodology is based on a combination of criteria that are attested in traditional palaeography. These criteria – or differentiators, as they are called here – are divided into core differentiators and additional differentiators. The core differentiators register vital aspects of medieval handwriting and should be present in every analysis using the Scribal Fingerprint methodology: angle of inclination, minim height, and presence of characteristic letter forms. Additional differentiators can be selected depending on the handwriting that is to be analysed; in this Thesis, the Scribal Fingerprint was tailored to the case of Christine de Pizan's supervised manuscripts by using the presence of *cadeaux* and spelling variants as additional differentiators.

Important characteristics of the Scribal Fingerprint methodology include its registration of differentiators in numerical values, and its use of computer software to perform the measurements and register the values obtained. In line with the latter characteristic, we have sought ways to record the core and additional differentiators digitally. The GNU Image Manipulation Program (GIMP) offers the possibility to measure the angle of inclination and the minim height, whereas a simple spreadsheet is perfect for registering the occurrence of characteristic letter forms and *cadeaux*. The PHP script *Loci* was developed within the Edinburgh-based Christine de Pizan

research team as a way of searching the text of MS Harley 4431, but proved very useful for detecting and tracing spelling differences.

In Chapter Six, the Scribal Fingerprint methodology was put to the test. A selection of thirteen folios of MS Harley 4431 served as the corpus of investigation. The goals of the analysis were (1) to evaluate the use of the Scribal Fingerprint; and (2) to analyse the handwriting of MS Harley 4431 in order to determine whether the transcription of this manuscript was indeed, as Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno concluded, the work of a single scribe. The results of the measurements of the core differentiators were stored in an XML file to allow easy handling and sharing. The outcomes of the additional differentiators were presented in Table 6.2 and Appendix G. A conjointly executed analysis with the Quill feature of the Groningen Intelligent Writer Identification System (GIWIS) provided data for a comparison.

It can be concluded from the analysis of the Scribal Fingerprint results that there are locations in MS Harley 4431 where changes in the core differentiators occur alongside changes in one or both additional differentiators. The Scribal Fingerprint registered notable differences at the beginning and end of the manuscript – contrasting the *Prologue* and the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* with the rest of MS Harley 4431 – as well as in quire 6, which is discussed at length in Chapter Three. Additional peculiarities, registered by the additional differentiators only, include the occurrence of identical spelling variants in the *Livre de prudence* and the *Cité des dames*, and a sudden absence of *cadeaux* in the *Duc des vrais amans*. While it is impossible to deduce from these results the exact number of scribes that worked on the transcription of the manuscript and the exact distribution of work among them, the Scribal Fingerprint analysis does strongly suggest that more than one scribe was involved in transcribing the Queen's Manuscript.

This conclusion is supported by the outcomes of the Quill analysis, which, too, registered substantial differences between various parts of MS Harley 4431. Taken together, the Quill and Scribal Fingerprint analyses form a significant body of

evidence that, as said above, argues against the hypothesis that MS Harley 4431 is copied entirely by a single scribe.

Given the Scribal Fingerprint's success with MS Harley 4431, its application to a larger corpus of Christine's supervised manuscripts is highly recommended in order to shed new light on the extent to which scribes cooperated in the transcription process. An analysis of this scale may provide data that enables a clear identification of hands currently ascribed to scribes P and R – and, perhaps, some others too.

More importantly, however, the case study in Chapter Six demonstrated that the methodology behind the Scribal Fingerprint is capable of pinpointing specific locations in a manuscript text where a change of hand might occur. As a result, the Scribal Fingerprint has proved its capability of objectively analysing medieval handwriting. As a palaeographer's aid, a tool that can be used to verify hand identifications, it has the potential to assist the 'palaeographer's eye' in formulating objective, quantitative descriptions of scribal hands.

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APPENDICES

**APPENDIX A – GENERAL INFORMATION ON SUPERVISED
MANUSCRIPTS**

Press mark	Contents	Year of production	Dimensions	Justification	ff/col:lines
Paris 848	<i>Othea</i>	1400	355x265	275x228	20/? :40-70
Paris 1187	<i>Othea</i>	1400	275x200	-	49/1:29-42
Brussels 11034	<i>Deux amans</i>	1400-1402	280x190	165x105	39/1:27
Paris 1740	<i>Deux amans</i>	1400-1402	284x206	187x114	32/1:32
Brussels 10983	<i>Chemin</i>	1403	282x193	185x84	96/1:34
Brussels 10982	<i>Chemin</i>	1403	292x204	185x93	100/1:32-33
Paris 1188	<i>Chemin</i>	1403	270x200	167x90	101/1:?
Paris 2184	<i>Pastoure</i>	1403-1404	236x164	163x105	45/ ? :?
Brussels 9508	<i>Mutacion</i>	1404	345x255	206x173	190/2:32-36
The Hague 78 D 42	<i>Mutacion</i>	1404	330x260	210x170	171/2:36-40
Chantilly 494	<i>Mutacion</i>	1404	325x255	210x168	177/2:36
ex-Bérés	<i>Mutacion</i>	1404	342x250	209x173	178/2:36
Paris 10153	<i>Charles V</i>	1404-1405	298x215	196x133	107/2:32-33
Modena α.N.8.7	<i>Charles V</i>	1404-1405	295x217	196x134	108/2:32-33
Paris 5025	<i>Charles V</i>	1404-1405	286x210	196x134	100/2:32-34
Vatican 920	<i>Charles V</i>	1404-1405	291x213	196x133	112/2:33-34
Paris 24293	<i>Cité</i>	1405	285x200	190x130	154/2:31-33
Arsenal 2686	<i>Cité</i>	1405	275x200	180x128	147/2:31-33
Paris 1179	<i>Cité</i>	1405	305x215	190x130	134/2:31-33
Brussels 9393	<i>Cité</i>	1405	365x265	242x182	86/2:41
London 31841	<i>Trois vertus</i>	1405-1406	245x180	182x122	69/2:31
Boston 101	<i>Trois vertus</i>	1405-1406	290x195	186x124	98/2:??
Paris 25636	<i>Trois vertus</i>	1405-1406	303x215	187x126	104/?:?
Paris 580	<i>Epistre à la reine</i>	1405-1406	320x262	213x191	1½/2:39-40
Vatican 1238	<i>Prod'homme</i>	1405-1406	229x155	94x53	46/?:?
Paris 1176	<i>Advision</i>	1406-1407	290x208	189x130	84/2:31
Brussels 10309	<i>Advision</i>	1406-1407	290x205	180x125	79/2:31
ex-Phillipps 128	<i>Advision</i>	1406-1407	290x200	190x127	82/2:32
Besançon 423	<i>Corps de policie</i>	1406-1407	320x230	188x117	81/2:33
Chantilly 294	<i>Corps de policie</i>	1406-1407	297x204	183x120	100/2:?
Arsenal 2681	<i>Corps de policie</i>	1406-1407	301x208	189x112	94/2:?
Paris 1197	<i>Corps de policie</i>	1406-1407	300x210	178x129	106/2:?
Brussels 11065-11073	<i>Prudence</i>	1406-1407	-	-	35/?:?
Leiden 1819	<i>Cité (fragment)</i>	1407-1412	350x280	230x177	[½]/[2]:[38]
Brussels 10987	<i>Sept psaumes</i>	1409-1410	220x158	113x69	87/1:16
Paris 4792	<i>Sept psaumes</i>	1409-1410	180x135	90x62	88/1:15
Coulet & Faure MS	<i>Sept psaumes</i>	1409-1410	200x140	-	88/1:15
Munich 11	<i>Mutacion</i>	1409-1411	350x255	222x168	140/2:31-38
Paris 14852	<i>Mutacion (fragment)</i>	1409-1411	355x270	220x190	[2]/2:39
Paris 10476	<i>Fais d'armes</i>	1409-1411	290x210	188x128	134/?:?

Appendix A

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Paris 603	<i>Fais d'armes and Mutacion</i>	1409-1411	370x275	240x180	242/2:39-40
Paris 24864	<i>Lamentacion</i>	1410-1411	215x140	153x95	5/1:27
Brussels 10366	<i>Paix</i>	1413-1414	286x206	176x117	108/2:29
Paris 1178	<i>Cité</i>	1414-1415	300x215	190x120	160/2:33-34
Paris 24786	<i>Prison de vie humaine</i>	1418	170x125	106x77	61/1:18-19

Press mark	Contents	Year of production	Dimensions	Justification	ff/col:lines
Chantilly 492-493	L_1	1399-1405	290x240	205x185	429/2:32-35
Paris 12779	L_2	1399-1405	325x255	215x185	176/2:32
Paris 835	D_1	1406-1407	352x261	240x180	103/2:40-42
Paris 606	D_2	1406-1407	350x255	235x180	47/2:38-42
Paris 836	D_3	1406-1407	350x255	240x180	98/2:40-42
Paris 605	D_4	1406-1407	355x250	240x180	22/2:40-42
Paris 607	D_5	1406-1407	348x257	240x180	79/2:40-42
Harley 4431	R	1412-1414	375x280	245x180	398/2:36-40

APPENDIX B – ACRONYMS OF WORKS IN MS HARLEY 4431

Folio	Unit	Acronym	Work
001r	1	PREL	[Preliminary Leaves]
002c-002d	1	TABL	<i>Table des Dictiez en general...</i>
003a-003d	1	PROL	<i>Prologue</i>
004a-021b	2	CEBA	<i>Cent balades</i>
021b-024b	2	VIRL	<i>Virelais</i>
024b-025a	2	BAEF	<i>Balades d'estrange façon</i>
025b-027a	2	LAY1	<i>Lay léonime</i>
027a-028d	2	LAY2	<i>Autre lay</i>
028d-034b	2	ROND	<i>Rondeaux</i>
034c-037c	2	JEUX	<i>Jeux à vendre</i>
037c-048a	2	AUBA	<i>Autres balades (Plusieurs balades de divers propos)</i>
048b-049c	2	CMP2	<i>Complainte amoureuse</i>
049c-051a	2	EABA	<i>Encore autres balades</i>
051b-056c	2	DAMO	<i>Epistre au dieu d'Amours</i>
056d-058b	2	CMP1	<i>Autre complainte amoureuse</i>
058c-071b	2	2AMA	<i>Debat de deux amans</i>
071c-081a	2	3JUG	<i>Livre des trois jugemens</i>
081a-094a	2	POIS	<i>Livre de Poissy</i>
095a-141c	3	OTEA	<i>Epistre Othea</i>
143b-177d	4	DVA*	<i>Livre du duc des vrais amans</i>
178a-219c	5	CHLE	<i>Livre du Chemin de long estude</i>
221a-236c	6	PAST	<i>Dit de la pastoure</i>
237a-254a	7	EROS	<i>Epistres sur le Rommant de la Rose</i>
[255a-255c]		[ISAB]	[<i>Epistre à la reine</i>]
255d-257a	8	EUST	<i>Epistre à Eustace Morel</i>
257b-259b	8	ORNS	<i>Oroison Nostre Seigneur</i>
259c-261c	8	PMOR	<i>Proverbes moraulx</i>
261c-265b	8	EMOR	<i>Enseignemens moraux</i>
265b-266d	8	ORND	<i>Oroison Nostre Dame</i>
267a-267c	8	15JO	<i>Quinze joyes Nostre Dame rimées</i>
268a-287c	8	PRUD	<i>Livre de prudence</i>
288c-374a	8-9	CDAM	<i>Livre de la Cité des Dames</i>
376a-396b	10	CBAD	<i>Cent balades d'amant et de dame</i>
396b-398b	10	LAYD	<i>Lay de dame (Lay mortel)</i>

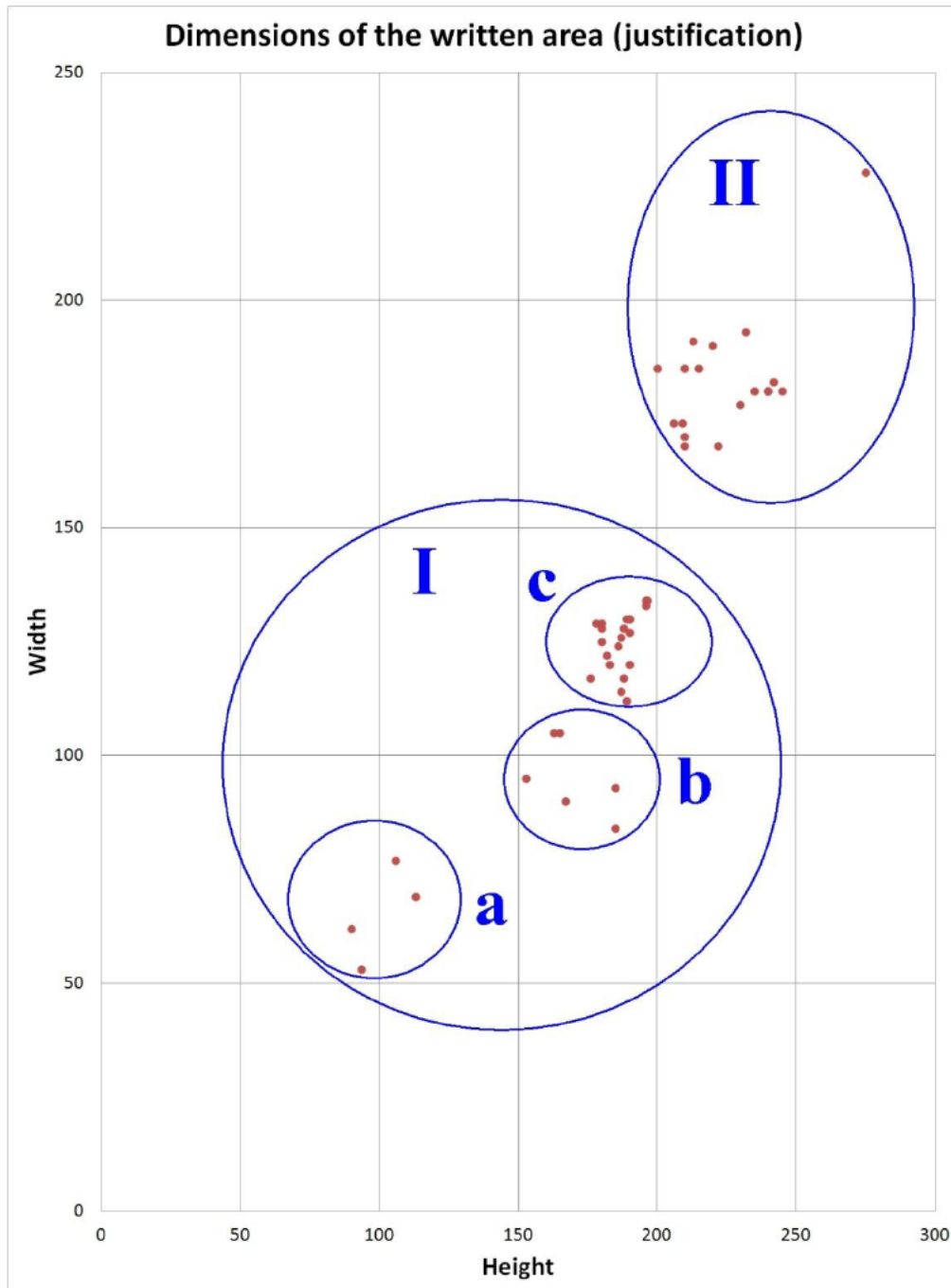
Acronyms for texts not included in MS Harley 4431MFOR: *Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*ROSE: *Dit de la rose*

APPENDIX C – OVERVIEW OF MANUSCRIPTS OF COLLECTED WORKS

Chantilly 492-493	Paris 12779	Paris 835-606-836-605-607	Harley 4431
492		835	PROL (003a-003d)
CEBA (2a-22d)	CEBA (1a-21d)	CEBA (1a-16d, 18a-d)	====
VIRL (23a-26c)	VIRL (21bis-a-24c)	VIRL (17a-d, 19a-20d)	CEBA (004a-021b)
BAEF (26c-27b)	BAEF (24c-25b)	BAEF (21a-d)	VIRL (021b-024b)
AUBA (27b-34d)	AUBA (25b-32d)	LAY1 (21d-22d, 24a-c,...+)	BAEF (024b-025a)
CMP1 (35a-36d)	CMP1 (33a-34d)	LAY2 ...24c-d, 23a-d, 25a-b)	LAY1 (025b-027a)+
LAY1 (37a-39a)+	LAY1 (37a)+	ROND (25b-31a)	LAY2 (027a-028c)
LAY2 (39a-41a)	LAY2 (37a-39a)	JEUX (31b-34a)	ROND (028d-034b)
ROND (41b-47b)	ROND (39b-45b)	AUBA (34b-44d)	JEUX (034c-037c)
JEUX (47c-51a)	JEUX (45c-48d)	DAMO (45a-50a)	AUBA (037c-048a)
2AMA (51c-67b)	2AMA (50a-65b)	CMP1 (50b-51d)	CMP2 (048b-049c)
DAMO (67c-73d)	DAMO (65c-71c)	2AMA (52a-64a)	EABA (049c-051a)
====	====	3JUG (64b-73c)	DAMO (051b-056c)
ROSE (74a-79a)	ROSE (72a-77a)	POIS (74a-86d)	CMP1 (056d-058b)
3JUG (79c-91c)	3JUG (77c-89c)	EROS (87a-103d)	2AMA (058c-071b)
POIS (92a-108b)	POIS (90a-106b)		3JUG (071c-081a)
OTEA (108c-148b)	OTEA (106c-141b)	606	POIS (081b-094a)
EROS (148c-156a)	EROS (141c-149a)	OTEA (1a-46c)	====
EMOR (156c-160d)	EMOR (149c-153d)		OTEA (095a-141c)
ORND (161a-162d)	ORND (154a-155d)	836	====
15JO (163a-163c)	15JO (156a-156c)	CHLE (1a-41c)	DVA* (143b-177d)
ORNS (164a-165d)	====	EMOR (42a-45c)	====
====	PAST (157a-174d)	ORND (45d-47b)	CHLE (178a-219c)
PAST (166a-182c)		15JO (47b-48a)	====
		PAST (48b-62d)	PAST (221a-236c)
493		ORNS (63a-65a)	====
CHLE (184a-231c)		DVA* (65a-98a)	EROS (237a-254a)
====			====
MFOR (232a-427a)		605	EUST (255d-257a)
ISAB (427c-429d)		ISAB (1a-2c)	ORNS (257b-259b)
		EUST (2c-3d)	PMOR (259c-261c)
		PMOR (3d-5d)	EMOR (261c-265b)
		PRUD (5d-22a)	ORND (265b-266d)
			15JO (267a-267c)
		607	PRUD (268a-287a)
		CDAM (1a-79d)	====
			CDAM (288c-374a)
			====
			CBAD (376a-396b)
			LAYD (396b-398b)

underlined: new text; *italics*: returning text; ===: codicological break

APPENDIX D – JUSTIFICATION



APPENDIX E – OVERVIEW OF HAND ATTRIBUTIONS

Press mark	Contents	Scribe(s)				
		<i>Willard 1965</i>	<i>Ouy & Reno 1980</i>	<i>Ouy 1985</i>	<i>Reno & Ouy 2002</i>	<i>Other</i>
Paris 848	<i>Othea</i>		X		X	
Paris 1187	<i>Othea</i>					
Brussels 11034	<i>Deux amans</i>		X		X	
Paris 1740	<i>Deux amans</i>		X	?	X	
Brussels 10983	<i>Chemin</i>	X		P + X		p ⁽⁷⁾ cor: X ⁽³⁾
Brussels 10982	<i>Chemin</i>				R, cor: X'	
Paris 1188	<i>Chemin</i>		R	R + X	? + X'	R ⁽⁸⁾ cor: X ⁽³⁾
Paris 2184	<i>Pastoure</i>		R, cor: X'	R + X		R ⁽⁸⁺³⁾
Brussels 9508	<i>Mutacion</i>	X	X, cor: X'	X	X	
The Hague 78 D 42	<i>Mutacion</i>				X	R(135 ff.) ⁽⁶⁾
Chantilly 494	<i>Mutacion</i>				R, cor: X'	
ex-Bérès	<i>Mutacion</i>	X				R+P+X ⁽⁶⁾
Paris 10153	<i>Charles V</i>		R, cor: X'	R + X		R ⁽⁸⁺¹⁰⁾
Modena α.N.8.7	<i>Charles V</i>	X				R ⁽⁸⁺¹⁰⁾
Paris 5025	<i>Charles V</i>	X		X	X, cor: X'	
Vatican 920	<i>Charles V</i>		R	R + X		
Paris 24293	<i>Cité</i>			P		p ⁽⁹⁾
Arsenal 2686	<i>Cité</i>			?		p ⁽⁹⁾
Paris 1179	<i>Cité</i>		P	P + X		p ⁽⁹⁾
Brussels 9393	<i>Cité</i>					p ⁽⁹⁾
London 31841	<i>Trois vertus</i>					O ⁽⁴⁾
Boston 101	<i>Trois vertus</i>					R ⁽⁸⁾ , O ⁽²⁾
Paris 25636	<i>Trois vertus</i>					
Paris 580	<i>Epistre à la reine</i>	X	X		X	
Vatican 1238	<i>Prod'homme</i>					
Paris 1176	<i>Advision</i>		X, cor: X'	X	X	
Brussels 10309	<i>Advision</i>		R, cor: X'	R + X	R + X	
ex-Phillipps 128	<i>Advision</i>		X, cor: X'		X, cor: X'	
Besançon 423	<i>Corps de policie</i>					R ⁽⁵⁾ cor: X ⁽⁵⁾
Chantilly 294	<i>Corps de policie</i>			X	X	X ⁽⁵⁾
Arsenal 2681	<i>Corps de policie</i>			R		R ⁽⁵⁺⁸⁾ cor: X ⁽⁵⁾
Paris 1197	<i>Corps de policie</i>					p ⁽⁵⁾ cor: X ⁽⁵⁾
Brussels 11065- 11073	<i>Prudence</i>					
Leiden 1819	<i>Cité (fragment)</i>					p ⁽⁹⁾
Brussels 10987	<i>Sept psaumes</i>					
Paris 4792	<i>Sept psaumes</i>		X	X	X	

Coulet & Faure MS	<i>Sept psaumes</i>					
Munich 11	<i>Mutacion</i>					
Paris 14852	<i>Mutacion</i>		P			
Brussels 10476	<i>Fais d'armes</i>				X	
Paris 603	<i>Fais d'armes and Mutacion</i>			P		
Paris 24864	<i>Lamentacion</i>		X		X	
Brussels 10366	<i>Paix</i>		X	X	X	
Paris 1178	<i>Cité</i>					P ⁽⁹⁾
Paris 24786	<i>Prison de vie humaine</i>	X	X		X	

Press mark	Contents	Scribe(s)				
		Willard 1965	Ouy & Reno 1980	Ouy 1985	Reno & Ouy 2002	Other
Chantilly 492-493	L_1				X	P + O ⁽¹⁾ cor: X' ⁽³⁾
Paris 12779	L_2		X		X	
Paris 835	D_1		R + P, cor: X'	P + R	R	
Paris 606	D_2		R + P, cor: X'	R + X		
Paris 836	D_3		R	R		R ⁽⁷⁾ cor: X' ⁽³⁾
Paris 605	D_4		R + P	P + R		
Paris 607	D_5		P			
Harley 4431	R	X	X		X	cor: X' ⁽³⁾

Abbreviations and Sources

O: Scribe(s) other than P, R, X, or X'.

cor: scribe responsible for corrections in the manuscript

⁽¹⁾ Laidlaw (1987)

⁽²⁾ Willard & Hicks (1989)

⁽³⁾ Laidlaw (1990)

⁽⁴⁾ Laidlaw (1995)

⁽⁵⁾ Kennedy (1998)

⁽⁶⁾ Reno (2000)

⁽⁷⁾ Tarnowski (2000)

⁽⁸⁾ Reno & Dulac (2001)

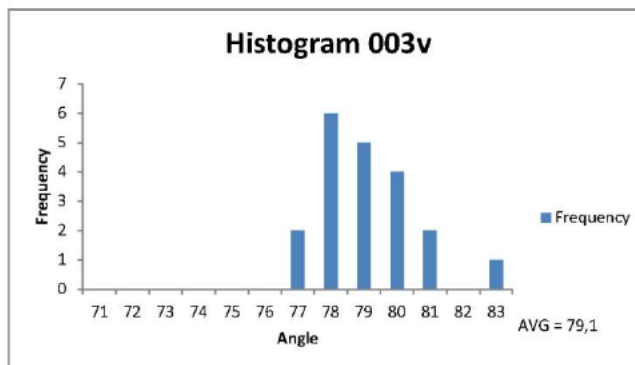
⁽⁹⁾ Reno (2006)

⁽¹⁰⁾ Ouy & Reno (2008)

APPENDIX F – RESULTS SHEETS SCRIBAL FINGERPRINT

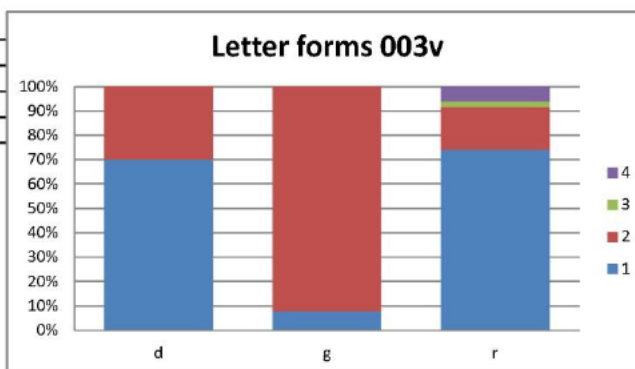
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74	0
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76	0
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78	6
79	5
80	4
81	2
82	0
83	1

79,1	AVG
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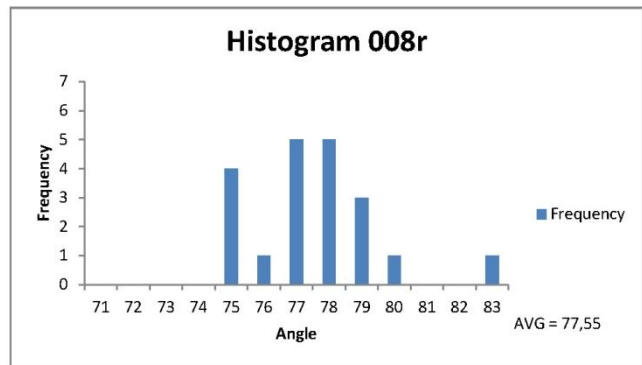
	1	2	3	4
d	21	9	x	x
g	2	24	x	x
r	63	15	2	5

	px	mm
AVG minim height	44,75	2,28
MIN %	39,2%	



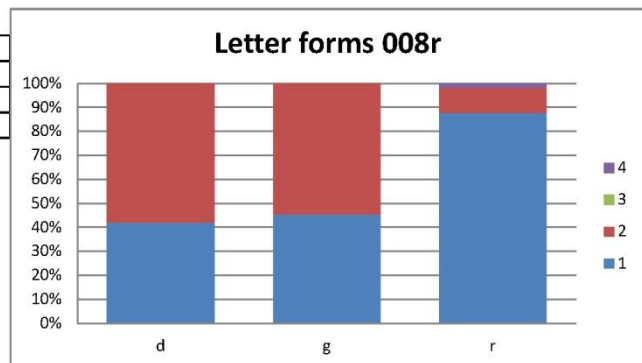
Angle	Frequency
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77	5
78	5
79	3
80	1
81	0
82	0
83	1

77,55	AVG
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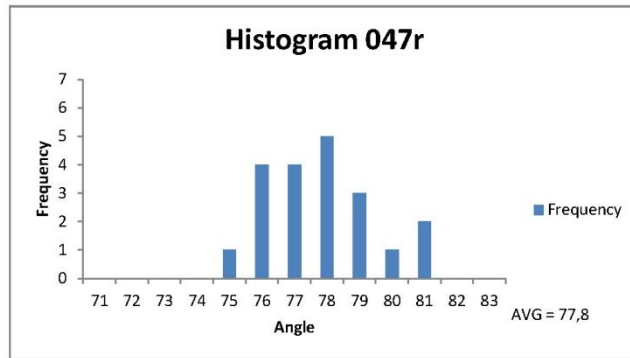
	1	2	3	4
d	16	22	x	x
g	5	6	x	x
r	106	13	0	2

	px	mm
AVG minim height	45,70	2,32
MIN %	38,1%	



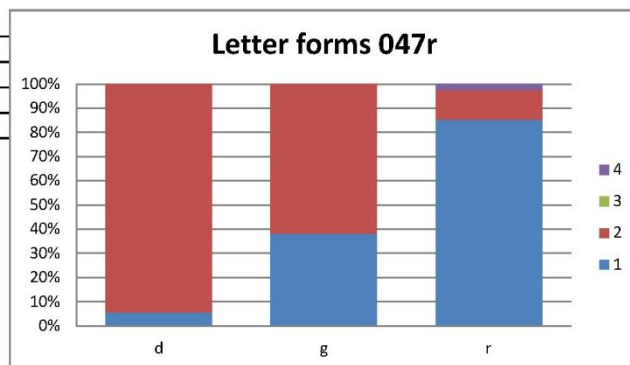
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74	0
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76	4
77	4
78	5
79	3
80	1
81	2
82	0
83	0

77,8	AVG
------	-----



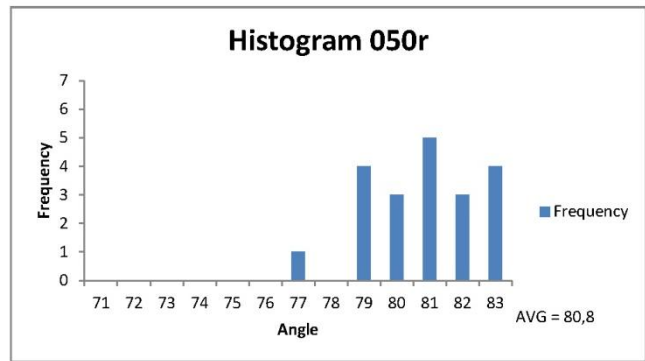
	1	2	3	4
d	3	50	x	x
g	8	13	x	x
r	145	21	0	4

	px	mm
AVG minim height	47,65	2,48
MIN %	41,3%	



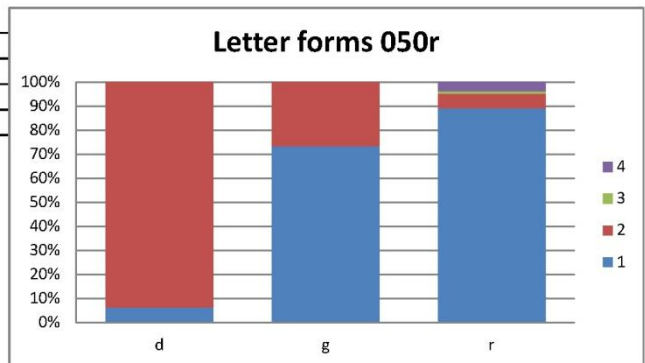
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74	0
75	0
76	0
77	1
78	0
79	4
80	3
81	5
82	3
83	4

80,8	AVG
------	-----



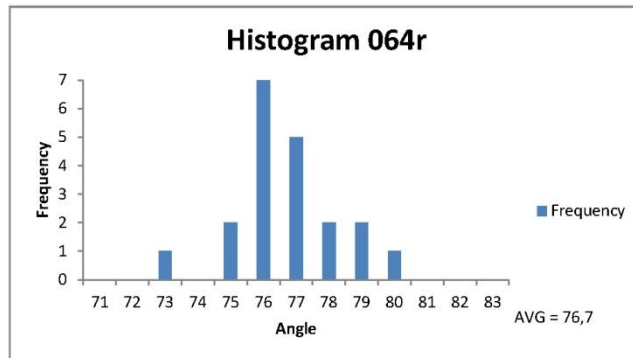
	1	2	3	4
d	3	45	x	x
g	11	4	x	x
r	91	6	1	4

	px	mm
AVG minim height	44,35	2,37
MIN %	39,5%	



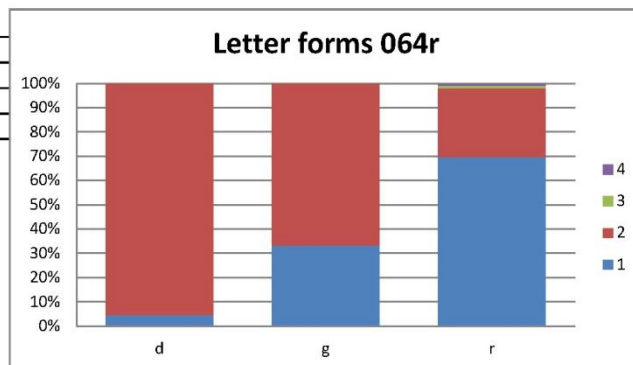
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78	2
79	2
80	1
81	0
82	0
83	0

76,7	AVG
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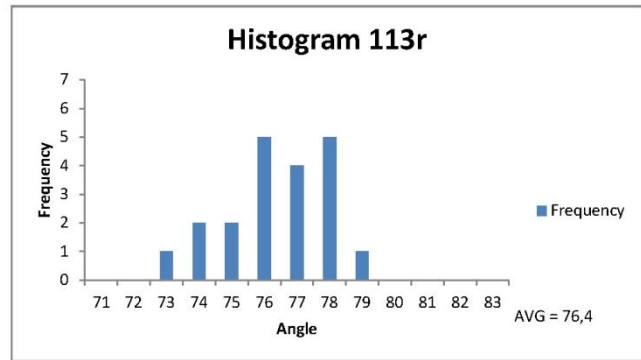
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d	2	41	x	x
g	5	10	x	x
r	71	29	1	1

	px	mm
AVG minim height	45,25	2,33
MIN %	38,4%	



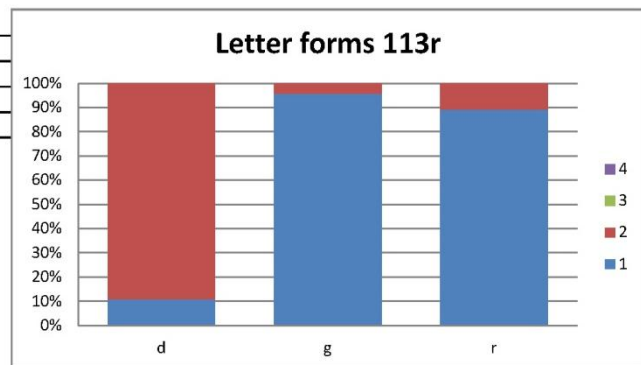
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77	4
78	5
79	1
80	0
81	0
82	0
83	0

76,4	AVG
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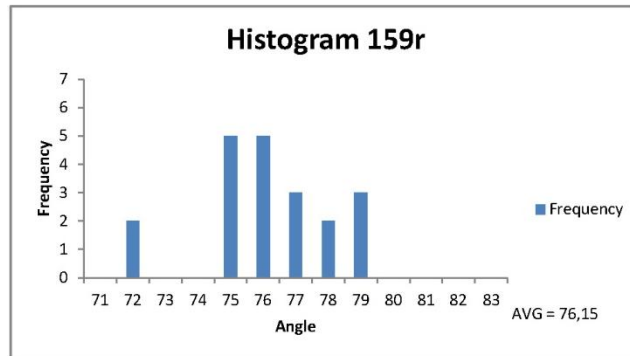
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r	107	13	0	0

	px	mm
AVG minim height	44,55	2,28
MIN %	37,1%	



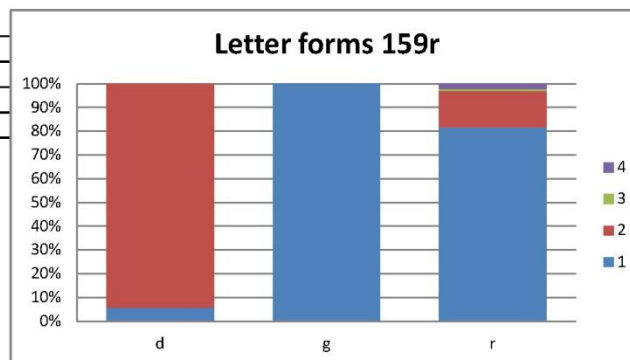
Angle	Frequency
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76	5
77	3
78	2
79	3
80	0
81	0
82	0
83	0

76,15	AVG
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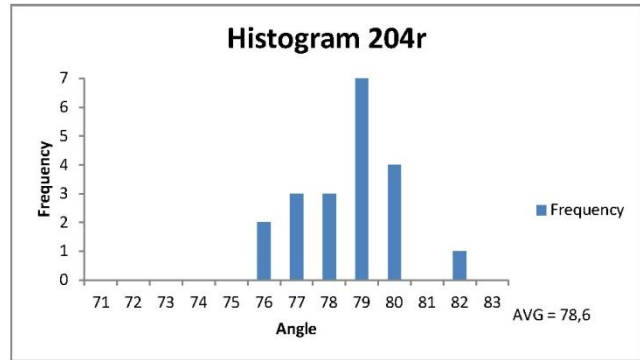
	1	2	3	4
d	4	67	x	x
g	12	0	x	x
r	106	20	1	3

	px	mm
AVG minim height	46,15	2,34
MIN %	38,5%	



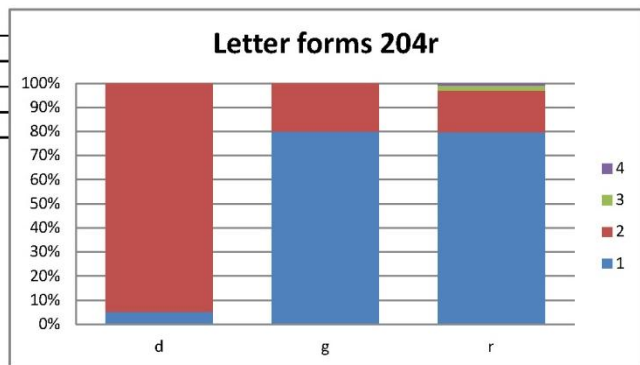
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77	3
78	3
79	7
80	4
81	0
82	1
83	0

78,6	AVG
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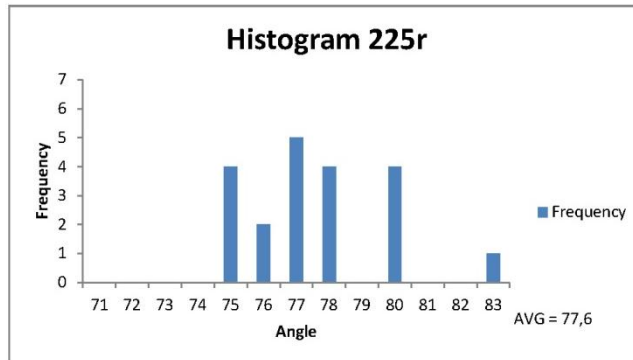
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d	2	36	x	x
g	20	5	x	x
r	103	22	3	1

	px	mm
AVG minim height	43,30	2,30
MIN %	37,7%	



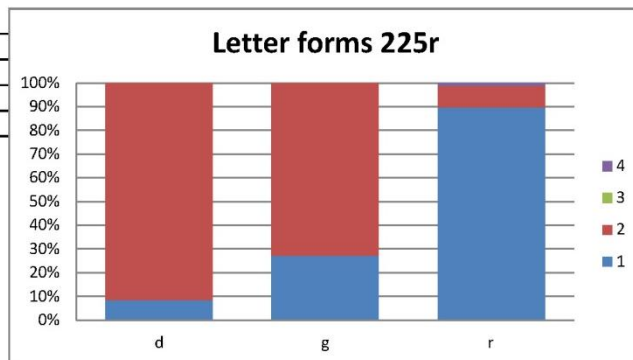
Angle	Frequency
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74	0
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77	5
78	4
79	0
80	4
81	0
82	0
83	1

77,6	AVG
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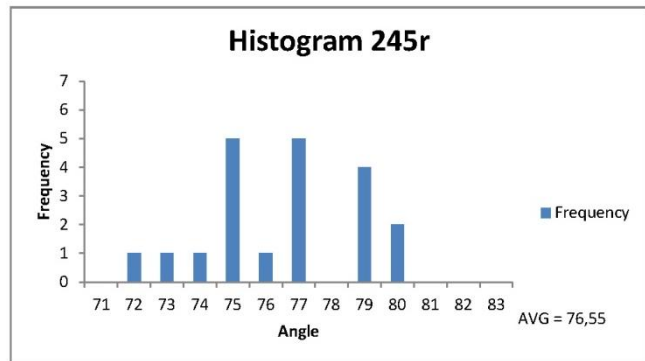
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d	3	32	x	x
g	3	8	x	x
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	px	mm
AVG minim height	42,20	2,22
MIN %	35,5%	



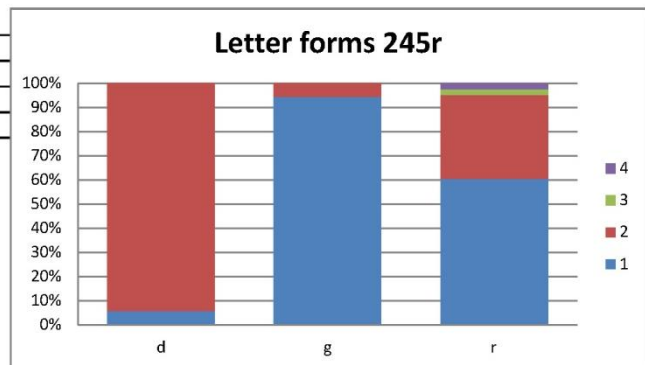
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73	1
74	1
75	5
76	1
77	5
78	0
79	4
80	2
81	0
82	0
83	0

76,55	AVG
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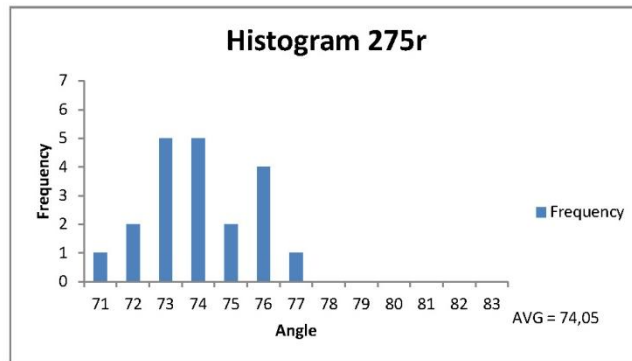
	1	2	3	4
d	4	65	x	x
g	17	1	x	x
r	75	43	3	3

	px	mm
AVG minim height	44,10	2,36
MIN %	39,3%	



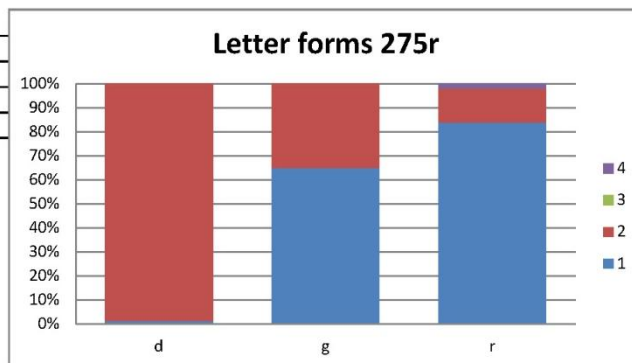
Angle	Frequency
71	1
72	2
73	5
74	5
75	2
76	4
77	1
78	0
79	0
80	0
81	0
82	0
83	0

74,05	AVG
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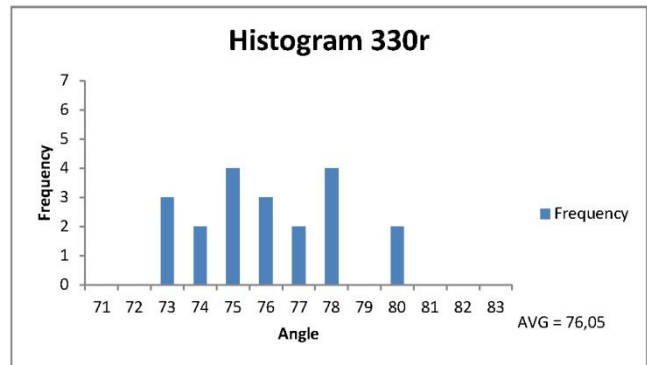
	1	2	3	4
d	1	72	x	x
g	13	7	x	x
r	124	21	0	3

	px	mm
AVG minim height	43,10	2,32
MIN %	37,1%	



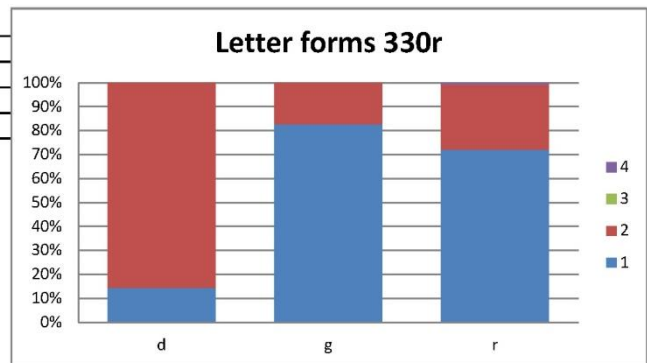
Angle	Frequency
71	0
72	0
73	3
74	2
75	4
76	3
77	2
78	4
79	0
80	2
81	0
82	0
83	0

76,05	AVG
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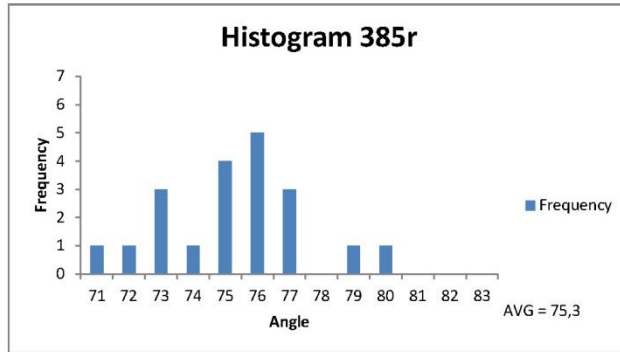
	1	2	3	4
d	8	47	x	x
g	19	4	x	x
r	98	37	0	1

	px	mm
AVG minim height	45,20	2,32
MIN %	38,7%	



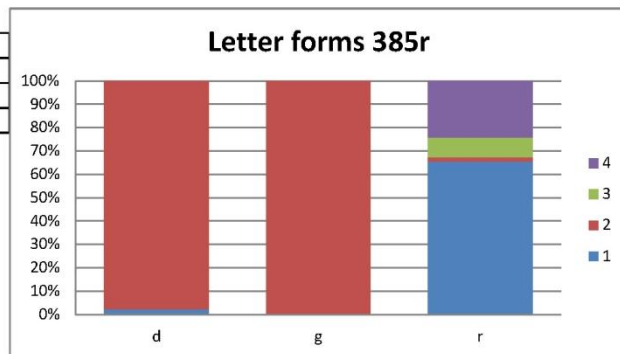
Angle	Frequency
71	1
72	1
73	3
74	1
75	4
76	5
77	3
78	0
79	1
80	1
81	0
82	0
83	0

75,3	AVG
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	1	2	3	4
d	1	41	x	x
g	0	30	x	x
r	76	2	10	28

	px	mm
AVG minim height	45,15	2,36
MIN %	38,4%	



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Note

Rather than listing the Loci search results for the suffixes *-eur* and *-our*, it was decided to carry out a Loci query based on *-uleur* and *-ulour*, which limits the 'noise' that would have been generated by words like *leur*, *seigneur*, *labour*, and *pour*.

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