

PENN STATE ROMANCE STUDIES

THE BOOK OF PEACE

by Christine de Pizan



EDITED BY
KAREN GREEN
CONSTANT J. MEWS
AND
JANICE PINDER

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THE BOOK OF PEACE

by Christine de Pizan



EDITED, TRANSLATED,
AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY BY
KAREN GREEN, CONSTANT J. MEWS, JANICE PINDER,
AND
TANIA VAN HEMELRYCK
WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF ALAN CROSIER

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ABBREVIATIONS



AL	<i>Aristoteles Latinus</i> , ed. L. Minio-Paluello et al., Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi (Brussels: Desclée de Brouwer; Leiden: Brill, 1953–)
<i>B</i>	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 10366
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954–)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1866–)
<i>P</i>	Paris, BNF, MS fr. 1182
PL	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus . . .</i> , ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols., Series Latina (Paris: Garnier, 1844–55)

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE WORKS OF CHRISTINE DE PIZAN

<i>Advision</i>	<i>Le Livre de l'Advision Cristine</i> , ed. Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac (Paris: Champion, 2001); <i>Christine's Vision</i> , trans. Glenda K. McLeod (New York: Garland, 1993)
<i>Cent ballades</i>	<i>Cent ballades d'amant et de dame</i> , ed. Jacqueline Cerquiglini (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1982); <i>Christine de Pisan's Ballades, Rondeaux, and Virelais: An Anthology</i> , ed. Kenneth Varty (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1965)
<i>Chevalerie</i>	<i>The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry</i> , trans. Sumner Willard, ed. Charity Cannon Willard (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999)
<i>Cité des dames</i>	<i>La città delle dame</i> , ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards, trans.

- Patrizia Caraffi (Milan: Luni, 1997); *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (London: Picador, 1983)
- Corps de policie* *Le Livre du corps de policie*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Études christiniennes 1 (Paris: Champion, 1998); *Christine de Pizan: The Book of the Body Politic*, trans. K. L. Forhan, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Débat* *Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson, Jean de Montreuil, Gontier et Pierre Col: Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1977); *La Querelle de la Rose: Letters and Documents*, trans. Joseph L. Baird and John R. Kane (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978)
- Dieu d'amours* *Epistre au dieu d'amours*, in *Poems of Cupid, God of Love*, ed. and trans. Thelma Fenster and Mary Carpenter Erler (Leiden: Brill, 1990)
- Ditié* *Le Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, ed. and trans. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty, Medium Ævum Monographs, n.s., 9 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1977)
- Fais et bonnes meurs* *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1936–40); *Le Livre des faits et bonnes mœurs du roi Charles V le Sage*, trans. Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau (Paris: Stock, 1997)
- Long estude* *Le Chemin de longue étude*, ed. and trans. Andrea Tarnowski (Paris: Librairie générale française, Livre de poche, 2000)
- Mutacion de Fortune* *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*, ed. Suzanne Solente, 4 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1959–66)
- Œuvres poétiques* *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, ed. Maurice Roy, 3 vols. (1886; repr., Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1965)
- Othea* *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa, Textes littéraires français (Geneva: Droz, 1999); *Christine de Pizan's Letter of Othea to Hector*, trans. Jane Chance (Newburyport, Mass.: Focus Information Group, 1990); *The Epistle of Othea to Hector or the Book of Knyghthode*, trans. Stephen Scrope, ed. George Warner (London: J. B. Nicols and Sons, 1904)

- Paix* *The "Livre de la paix" of Christine de Pisan: A Critical Edition*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard (The Hague: Mouton, 1958)
- Prison/Epistre* *The Epistle of the Prison of Human Life, with an Epistle to the Queen of France; and, Lament on the Evils of the Civil War*, ed. and trans. Josette Wisman, Garland Series of Medieval Literature, series A, no. 21 (New York: Garland, 1984)
- Prudence* *Le Livre de la prod'homme de l'homme et/ou Le Livre de Prudence*, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, ms 5698
- Trois vertus* *Le Livre des trois vertus: Édition critique*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks, Bibliothèque du xv^e siècle 50 (Paris: Champion, 1989); *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, trans. Sarah Lawson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985)
- Vrais amans* *Le Livre du duc des vrais amans*, ed. Thelma S. Fenster, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 124 (Binghamton: State University of New York Press, 1995); *The Book of the Duke of True Lovers*, trans. Thelma S. Fenster (New York: Persea Books, 1991)



INTRODUCTION

Karen Green

Christine de Pizan (1364–1430) stands out in the history of women's ideas as a rare example of a late medieval woman—one who mastered the literary and scholarly conventions of her time in order to produce highly valued texts that demonstrate her command of contemporary Latin and vernacular wisdom. Born in Venice, she spent all but her very first years in Paris, where her father was employed as an astrologer and physician by the king, Charles V. After his death in 1380, Christine and her family suffered the impoverishment and death of her father, followed by the death of her husband, Etienne du Castel. Against the background of these misfortunes she took up the challenge of providing for herself and her family by producing works in poetry and prose that she presented to a variety of royal patrons, and for which she was more or less generously rewarded.¹ Best remembered for her works defending women, Christine was also a moralist and political thinker whose works of advice to princesses, princes, and knights were printed in France and England well into the sixteenth century.²

During the past twenty years, modern English translations of most of Christine's major works have appeared, making her thought at last accessible to a wider audience. The earliest of these translations were of those works most relevant to male-female relations and those that most clearly showed Christine writing from a woman's perspective. These included *Le*

1. For Christine's biography, see Marie-Josèphe Pinet, *Christine de Pisan* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), and Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pisan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea, 1984). For her development as an author and "publisher" of her own works, see James Laidlaw, "Christine de Pizan: An Author's Progress," *Modern Language Review* 78 (1983): 532–50, and "Christine de Pizan: A Publisher's Progress," *Modern Language Review* 82 (1987): 35–75.

2. Cynthia Brown, "The Reconstruction of an Author in Print," in *Christine de Pisan and the Categories of Difference*, ed. Marilynn Desmond (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 215–35, and P. G. C. Campbell, "Christine de Pisan en Angleterre," *Revue de littérature comparée* 5 (1925): 659–70.

Livre de la cité des dames (*The Book of the City of Ladies*), *Le Livre des trois vertus* (*The Book of Three Virtues*), *Le Livre du duc des vrais amans* (*The Duke of True Lovers*), *Le Livre de l'Advision Cristine* (*Christine's Vision*), *L'Epistre au dieu d'amours* (*Letter to the God of Love*), and *L'Epistre Othea* (*The Letter of Othea to Hector*).³ Two recent selections from Christine's works have also recently appeared, as well as a series of important new editions, and this will surely result in much broader appreciation of Christine's writing within the academy.⁴ If Descartes with his "I think, therefore I am" deserves to be recognized as the father of modern philosophy, then Christine, with her "I think, therefore I am the spiritual equal of a man," deserves to be recognized as the mother of humanist feminism. Her beautifully argued rebuttal of the Aristotelian charge that women are monsters in nature, her poetic evocation of the trials and dangers of courtly love, and her history of women's achievements provided an unsurpassed model of the defense of women for two hundred years.

Of Christine's works that are relevant to women's status, at least two, *L'Epistre Othea* and *Le Livre de l'Advision Cristine*, are also important as commentaries on the political situation in France and they encapsulate versions of her program of advice to the French princes. In general, however, the overtly political treatises produced by Christine between 1406 and 1414 have been slower to make their way into English, perhaps being seen as less marketable.

The appearance in 1994 and 1999, respectively, of translations of *Le Livre du corps de policie* (*The Book of the Body Politic*) and *Le Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* (*The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*)⁵ is evidence of a welcome broadening of interest in Christine's political thought. In these texts she directed her attention toward principles of good government and the defense of the realm, thus engaging with medieval political theory as traditionally defined. The first is an example of the genre of the "mirror of princes," emphasizing the qualities necessary for princely rule. The second is a practical manual that not only emphasizes the personal virtues required by generals and knights, but also describes effective military organization and devotes considerable space to the practical organization of armies and warfare.⁶

3. See the list of abbreviations for reference details.

4. *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan*, trans. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kevin Brownlee, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997); Charity Cannon Willard, ed., *The Writings of Christine de Pizan* (New York: Persea, 1994).

5. See the list of abbreviations for reference details.

6. See Barry Collet, "The Three Mirrors of Christine de Pizan," in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 1–18.

Our translation of *Le Livre de paix*—which, unlike the preceding works of Christine, has never previously been available in translation—means that of Christine’s prose political writings only her *Livre de prudence* and *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* remain to be translated into English.⁷

While it is anachronistic to reproduce, when dealing with Christine, the modern division between what is public, political, and characteristically associated with the masculine, and what is personal, poetic, and imagined as feminine, it is apparent that this division has structured the reception of her writing.⁸ Her work has attracted the attention of literary theorists, mythographers, and those interested in the representation of women but has received less attention from philosophers and political theorists.⁹ Nevertheless, during the last two decades, a number of important additions have been made to the once slender scholarship on Christine as a political theorist.

In first decades of the nineteenth century, Raimond Thomassy provided an overview of the content of Christine’s political writings and lamented the lack of modern editions of her political works and her unwarranted descent into obscurity.¹⁰ It was not until a century later, with the appearance of pioneering editions by Suzanne Solente, that Christine began to attract the critical attention she deserved. Despite Thomassy’s early enthusiasm and his insistence on Christine’s political importance, some early discussions were rather dismissive, suggesting that her works had little political significance.¹¹ Others stressed her significance as an early nationalist and humanist, and they located her work in a tradition of politically engaged poets associated with

7. Both *Le Livre du corps de police* and *Le Livre des fais d’armes et de chevalerie* were translated into English in the sixteenth century. We should note that we agree with Tania Van Hemelryck that *Le Livre de paix* is the correct title for Christine’s work, not *Le Livre de la paix*, adopted by Willard from the flyleaf of the Brussels manuscript: Tania Van Hemelryck, “Christine de Pizan et la paix,” in *Au champ des écritures: IIIe Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan*, ed. Eric Hicks with the collaboration of Diego Gonzalez and Philippe Simon (Paris: Champion, 2000), 664n5.

8. For a seminal discussion of the way in which this dichotomy has structured modern political thought, see Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

9. See Liliane Dulac, “État present des travaux consacrés à Christine de Pizan,” *Perspectives médiévales*, numéro jubilaire (2005): 167–90, for an overview of the work on Christine during the last thirty years.

10. Raimond Thomassy, *Essai sur les écrits politiques de Christine de Pisan, suivi d’une notice littéraire et de pièces inédites* (Paris: Debécourt, 1838).

11. Claude Gauvard, in “Christine de Pisan a-t-elle eu une pensée politique?” *Revue historique* 250 (1973): 417–29, broached the question of Christine’s engagement in the political turmoil of her times and concluded that she supported no political faction (429); Gianni Mombello, “Quelques aspects de la pensée politique de Christine de Pisan d’après ses œuvres publiées,” in *Culture et politique en France à l’époque de l’Humanisme et de la Renaissance* (Turin: Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, 1971), 43–153, concluded his rich study of Christine’s works with the judgment that she could not be considered a political writer (153).

the royal court.¹² During the 1980s, appreciation of Christine's engagement with contemporary political events was enhanced by Sandra Hindman's study of the political references in the illuminations of her manuscripts.¹³ Soon after this, discussions of Christine as a political thinker began to proliferate as a result of the translation into English of her more feminist works, and a polemic developed over her status as a feminist thinker and her attitudes concerning the common people.¹⁴ More recently the study of Christine as a political thinker has broadened and deepened. Work has progressed on filling in the context of her political interventions and on her sources, and a clearer picture is emerging of her distinctive contribution to medieval political thought.¹⁵

12. Joël Blanchard, "'Vox poetica, vox politica,'" in *Études littéraires sur le xve siècle* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1986), 39–51 (translated as "'Vox poetica, vox politica': The Poet's Entry into the Political Arena in the Fifteenth Century," in Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan*, 362–71); Diane Bornstein, "Humanism in Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre du corps de police*," *Les Bonnes Feuilles* 3 (1975): 100–115; Diane Bornstein, "Political Fact and Political Theory in Fifteenth Century Mirrors for the Prince," in *Medieval Studies in Honor of Lillian H. Homstein*, ed. Robert Raymo and J. B. Bessinger (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 77–85; Josette Wisman, "L'Éveil du sentiment national au Moyen Âge: La pensée politique de Christine de Pizan," *Revue historique* 522 (1977): 289–97.

13. Sandra Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Épître Othea": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986).

14. Sheila Delany, "'Mothers to Think Back Through': Who Are They? The Ambiguous Example of Christine de Pizan," in *Medieval Texts and Contemporary Readers*, ed. Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Schichtman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 177–97. Christine M. Reno's response to Delany, "Christine de Pizan: At Best a Contradictory Figure?" appeared in Margaret Brabant, ed., *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 171–91, which also included papers by Eric Hicks, "The Political Significance of Christine de Pizan," and Kate Forhan, "Polycracy, Obligation, and Revolt: The Body Politic in John of Salisbury and Christine de Pizan," 7–15, 33–52. The debate has continued in Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Christine et les pauvres," in *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan*, ed. Margarete Zimmermann and Dina De Rentiis (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 214–15, and in Susan Dudash, "Christine de Pizan's Views of the Third Estate," and Pierre André Sigal, "Christine de Pizan et le peuple," in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the 17th International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy et al. (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), 315–30, 811–28.

15. See, for instance, Angus Kennedy's edition of the *Livre du corps de police*, and Berenice Carroll, "Christine de Pizan and the Origins of Peace Theory," in *Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition*, ed. Hilda Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 22–39; Berenice Carroll, "On the Causes of War and the Quest for Peace: Christine de Pizan and Early Peace Theory," in Hicks, *Au champ des escriptures*, 337–58; Kate Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Kate Forhan, "Reading Backward: Aristotelianism in the Political Thought of Christine de Pizan," in Hicks, *Au champ des escriptures*, 359–81; Kate Forhan, "Reflecting Heroes: Christine de Pizan and the Mirror Tradition," in Zimmermann and De Rentiis, *City of Scholars*, 189–205; Claude Gauvard, "Christine de Pizan et ses contemporaines: L'engagement politique des écrivains dans le royaume de France aux xive et xve siècles," in *Une femme de lettres au moyen âge: Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 105–28; Lori Walters, "Christine de Pizan, Primat, and the 'noble nation française,'" *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* 9 (2002): 237–46, and the essays in Green and Mews, eds., *Healing the Body Politic*.

We continue this trend with this translation of Christine's last major work, *Le Livre de paix* (*The Book of Peace*).¹⁶ This text contains a mature formulation of her thoughts on good government; Gabriel Naudé hoped to edit it in the seventeenth century; and it was highly praised by Thomassy. Arguably, it is "one of the most important of her prose works."¹⁷ It revisits many ideas she had articulated earlier in *Le Livre du chemin de long estude*, *Le Livre de prudence*, *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, and *Le Livre du corps de police*, expressing them with renewed urgency considering the unstable contemporary political situation.¹⁸ Although the second and third parts of *The Book of Peace* show some evidence of having been written in haste, the first part, in particular, develops at length Christine's thoughts on the nature of prudence and its relationship to the other virtues necessary to the development of princely rule. It is thus a crucial text for understanding the content and development of her political ideas.

Context and Purpose of *Le Livre de Paix*

Christine's political philosophy developed during a period of intense civil disturbance and many of her works are prompted by particular crises. In 1392 the young Charles VI experienced the first of a series of mental breakdowns that rendered him often incapable of governing. In 1402 his wife, Isabeau of Bavaria, was given the authority to govern during his "absences," but her power was soon limited by the need to gain approval from the royal council, which included Charles's brother, Louis of Orléans, and his uncles, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry.¹⁹ Conflicts over royal policy that had simmered between Louis of Orléans and Philip of Burgundy erupted after

16. We know only three texts written by Christine later than the *Livre de paix*: *L'Epistre de la prison de vie humaine* was presented to Mary of Berry at the beginning of 1417. BNF n.a.f. 10059 contains "Les Livres de la contemplation sur la passion de Christine," thought to have been composed between 1418 and 1429. See Willard, *The Writings of Christine de Pizan*, 46–47, 322, and Liliane Dulac, "Littérature et dévotion: À propos des *Heures de Contemplation sur la passion de Nostre Seigneur de Christine de Pizan*," in *Miscellanea Medievalia: Mélanges offerts à Philippe Ménard*, ed. J.-C. Faucon, A. Labbé, and D. Quérueil (Paris: Champion, 1998), 475–85, for a discussion of this late work. Christine's last work was *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, completed in July 1429.

17. As asserted by George Warner in Christine de Pizan, *The Epistle of Othea to Hector or the Book of Knyghthode*, trans. Stephen Scrope, ed. George Warner (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1904), xvii. For Naudé's intentions, see Thomassy, *Essai*, II–III, and for Thomassy's praise, LXVI.

18. See the list of abbreviations for reference details.

19. R. C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI* (New York: AMS Press, 1986), 28–29.

Philip's death in 1404, when John the Fearless succeeded his father as duke of Burgundy. Christine's works during this period often argued for the virtues and capacities of women, thus suggesting that she advocated a greater exercise of power on behalf of Isabeau, who, as regent, might have controlled the conflict between the nobles, as, at an earlier period, Blanche of Castille had done.²⁰ Christine also attempted to intervene directly in political events by writing works intended to promote wise and effective government. The intended recipient of at least two of these works, the *Livre du corps du policie* and *Livre de paix*, was the dauphin, Louis of Guyenne, Isabeau's oldest surviving son, who, as he grew older, was increasingly in a position to step into the chaos and fill the gap created by his father's incompetence. A third work that Christine addressed to him, to which she refers in *Paix* 2.14 and 3.24 as the *Coq* or *L'Advison du Coq*, has been lost.²¹

The earliest of Christine's three books of advice to Louis, the *Livre du corps de policie*, was written only shortly prior to the assassination of Louis of Orléans as he left Isabeau's residence near the Porte Barbette on November 27, 1407.²² This crime, which John the Fearless confessed to having organized, plunged the country into a series of crises, standoffs, slaughters, and broken peace accords which did not finally come to an end until the Peace of Arras signed in 1435 between Charles VII, Isabeau's only surviving son, and John the Fearless's successor as duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good.

The composition of *The Book of Peace*, completed seven years after Louis of Orléans's assassination, spanned two interludes in the subsequent series of civil disturbances, which were punctuated by various thwarted attempts to bring John the Fearless to justice for the murder of his cousin. In the month before Christine sat down to write the first part of her treatise, the dauphin had distinguished himself by helping to negotiate what turned out to be merely a temporary truce between his cousins, John the Fearless and Charles of Orléans. For a time it seemed that Louis might take over the government on behalf of his incompetent father. Christine begins her exhortation to the dauphin with two chapters praising this "miraculous" intervention on behalf of peace and then turns to encouraging him to continue the peace, using as

20. See Karen Green, "Isabeau de Bavière and the Political Philosophy of Christine de Pizan," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 32 (2006): 247–72.

21. K. Sneyders de Vogel, "Une œuvre inconnue de Christine de Pisan," in *Mélanges de philologie romane et de littérature médiévale offerts à Ernest Hoepffner par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris: Société d'Éditions Les Belles Lettres, 1949).

22. Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, trans. and ed. M. L. Bellaguet (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1994), 3:733–41.

her text “*Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur et omnis civitas vel domus divisa contra se non stabit*” (Every kingdom divided in itself will be made desolate, and every city and house divided against itself will not stand).²³ Her use of this text serves to indicate her ties to contemporary public figures involved in the ongoing negotiations to establish peace, negotiations that had been a feature of French life for some years, for this biblical text had become something of a staple for Christine and her contemporaries. She had previously quoted it in French in 1405.²⁴ Some years later, the official royal chronicler, the monk of Saint-Denis, Michel Pintoin, reporting the activities of the Orléanist League of Gien (which had begun to raise troops to oppose the power of John the Fearless in the spring of 1410), lamented that he thought often at this time of the words of the Evangelist: “*omne regnum in se ipso divisum desolabitur*.”²⁵

In August of that year an embassy was sent to the duke of Berry, as leader of the league, the ambassadors of which included Christine’s acquaintances Gontier Col and William of Tignonville. Tignonville, called to speak on behalf of this embassy, also turned to this text for the theme of his oration.²⁶ Christine’s use of it so prominently in *The Book of Peace* suggests a continued interaction with Tignonville, whose message she echoes, and it indicates that in all probability her political alignment was similar to his. He was someone who was acceptable to both sides of the dispute between the Burgundians and Armagnacs, and he was sent on this embassy because he was counted among those whom it was understood “were dear to” the duke of Berry.²⁷

Christine’s earlier interactions with the members of this embassy are well attested and show her positioning herself as a female “clerk” with authority to speak as an equal on moral and political matters. In the first years of the century, she had exchanged letters with Gontier Col over the morality expressed in *The Romance of the Rose*.²⁸ A copy of these letters, which defended the virtue and authority of women, was presented to Tignonville, whose recent translation of *The Sayings of the Philosophers* had been quoted

23. Constant Mews has pointed out that Christine fuses two different passages from Evangelists: Matthew 12:25, “*Iesus autem sciens cogitationes eorum dixit eis omne et omnis civitas vel domus divisa contra se non stabit*,” and Luke 11:17, “*ipse autem ut vidit cogitationes eorum dixit eis omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolatur et domus supra domum cadet*.” See Constant J. Mews, “Latin Learning in Christine de Pizan’s *Livre de Paix*,” in Green and Mews, *Healing the Body Politic*, 61–80.

24. See *Prison/Epistre* 72.

25. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.326–27.

26. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.346–47.

27. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.343.

28. See *Débat* in the list of abbreviations for reference details.

extensively by Christine in her *Epistre Othea*.²⁹ Other recipients of these letters were Isabeau and Louis of Orléans's wife, Valentina Visconti. In 1412, when she gave the text that Tignonville had used in his diplomatic speech a prominent place in her own treatise on peace, Christine very likely hoped to remind her reader of that earlier embassy. By associating her work with that diplomatic intervention, she may also have intended to highlight the role that she too had played in past negotiations designed to bring about the peace.

Christine is quite deliberate in dating her *Livre de paix*, as she had been in dating two earlier political epistles that she had written with the intention of influencing the course of political events and could justly claim to have had some beneficial effect. The first of these, her *Epistre à la reine*, had been written on October 5, 1405, addressing Isabeau at the behest of some unnamed noble involved in last-ditch negotiations to resolve the crisis then dividing the realm and threatening civil war. This crisis had been caused by an attempt, made by the queen and Louis of Orléans, to "kidnap" the young Louis of Guyenne in order to prevent him from being dominated by his father-in-law, John the Fearless. This attempt had gone awry when John turned back the young prince, thus countermanding the queen's order and insulting her dignity.³⁰

In 1405, immediately after Christine's letter was written, the king of Navarre and duke of Bourbon, who had been sent as ambassadors to the queen, were finally successful in getting Isabeau to heed their prayers. On October 8, only three days after the date of Christine's letter, the queen moved to Vincennes and began serious peace negotiations. By October 17 Isabeau and the duke of Berry were publicly thanked for having negotiated the reconciliation of the warring dukes.³¹ These dates strongly suggest that the letter Christine wrote to the queen was presented to her by a member of the embassy and that, indeed, this letter effectively achieved its diplomatic ends.

The second direct political intervention was Christine's *Lamentacion sur les maux de guerre civile*, completed on August 23, 1410, just five days after Tignonville's embassy to the League of Gien.³² The production of both of these political pleas coincided with moments in the ongoing conflict at which

29. *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, trans. Stephen Scrope, William Worcester, and Anon., ed. Curt F. Bühler (1941; repr., London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

30. See *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 3.291–96.

31. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 3.345.

32. See *Prison/Epistre*. The ambassadors arrived in Poitiers on August 18: see *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.342–43.

a resolution appeared to have been brokered, only to collapse again soon afterward. In both cases Isabeau of Bavaria was urged by Christine to use her mediating influence to quell the civil disturbances, and in both cases Isabeau was actively pursuing the mediating role that Christine had urged on her.³³

In her *Lamentacion*, we see Christine again writing a plea for peace during a period of intense political negotiation. Gontier Col and William of Tignonville had been part of the embassy, which also included Jacques de la Marche, the grand-prior of Rhodes, and the aging bishop of Auxerre, and which was closely followed by a counter embassy to Paris and the king, led by the duke of Berry's chancellor, the bishop of Bourges.³⁴ This was succeeded by yet another delegation from the king to the duke of Berry, who was now at Étampes; this time the ambassadors included the count of St. Paul, Pierre de Navarre, and the archbishop of Reims, Simon Cramaut. Now the queen herself became involved in the negotiations and spent five days attempting to wrest concessions from the duke of Berry.³⁵ These negotiations were not immediately successful, but they show the queen endeavoring to act in accordance with the prescriptions that Christine had urged in her public plea. At this stage the duke of Berry remained intransigent, and the king prepared to wage war on the Orléanists; he was only prevented from doing so by a clever intervention by members of the University of Paris. It was not until November 2 that the Peace of Bicêtre, which required all of the dukes to return to their own duchies, was agreed on.³⁶

The political turmoil that necessitated these repeated diplomatic interventions had arisen largely from Charles VI's inability to impose justice. John of Burgundy, having confessed his involvement in the murder of Louis of Orléans to his uncle, the duke of Berry, and to his cousin, Louis, king of Sicily, was allowed to escape. Early in the following year, Charles VI accepted

33. For discussions of Christine's representation of the mediating role of the queen, see Tracy Adams, "*Moyennerresse de traité de paix*: Christine de Pizan's Mediators," and Louise d'Arcens, "*Petit estat vesval*: Christine de Pizan's Grieving Body Politic," in Green and Mews, *Healing the Body Politic*, 177–200, 201–26.

34. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 3.357.

35. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.361; Enguerrand Monstrelet, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the Adjoining Countries*, trans. Thomas Johnes (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), 1:164–65. According to Monstrelet's account, there were two embassies by the queen to the Orléanists during this period.

36. See *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.379–85. R. C. Famiglietti also gives an account in "The French Monarchy in Crisis, 1392–1415, and the Political Role of the Dauphin, Louis of France, Duke of Guyenne" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1982), 213, 217.

a dubious justification of this act, prepared by Jean Petit, and pardoned John. Years later, and not long after Christine's *Livre de paix* was completed, this pardon was withdrawn, and the justification of Jean Petit publicly burned.³⁷ Indeed, the king's pronouncements on the issue of Burgundy's guilt were erratic. Even when not suffering from one of his "absences," he seems to have been highly suggestible and to have vacillated on the issue of John's culpability according to who had his ear. A few months after the presentation of Petit's justification, a moving speech demanding that it be condemned, delivered on behalf of Valentina Visconti, Louis of Orléans's widow, wrested promises from the king that John would suffer a humiliating public exculpation.³⁸ The young dauphin, Louis of Guyenne, was present on this occasion. Significantly, in the introductory prayer that Christine addresses to him in the *Livre de paix*, she chooses to evoke many of the images and texts that had been used in this earlier defense of Louis of Orléans.

Beginning her prayer with the text (Ps. 8:2) that it is from the mouths of babes and sucklings that God is praised, Christine refers to Susanna, unjustly accused of immorality and vindicated by the words of the young David. According to Michel Pintoin, this was one of the texts cited in the address defending the duke of Orléans, presented on behalf of Valentina, which argued for the necessity of justice.³⁹ The debate over the nature of tyranny, and what is required for justice, which had been stirred up by John's assassination of Louis, thus forms the background against which Christine's book needs to be read. Christine's text suggests, however, that it is John the Fearless, rather than Louis, whom she takes to be a tyrant, and who should fear the just punishment that tyrants deserve.⁴⁰

Triangulating on the individuals involved in Christine's previous political interventions, it is possible to get a clearer picture of the milieu in which Christine moved and her intentions in writing the *Livre de paix*. The late Charity Cannon Willard, who prepared the original edition and pioneered Christine studies in the Anglophone world, tended to represent Christine's career as beginning with an allegiance to the court

37. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.249–79.

38. The abbot of St. Fiacre gave this address on September 11, 1408; see *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.93. Soon after this, on December 4, 1408, Valentina Visconti died.

39. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.95. Monstrelet provides a fuller version of the address than does Michel Pintoin, and there is no explicit mention of Susanna in his version. Because Pintoin's account is far closer to being contemporary than Monstrelet's, however, I believe that we can take his summary as evidence that the version reproduced by Monstrelet (*Chronicles*, 1:89–111) is abridged.

40. *Paix* 3.1–5, 3.19.

of Orléans, which was transferred to the Burgundian cause after 1403, when Philip of Burgundy invited her to write the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*.⁴¹

There are, however, reasons to doubt a clear and simple transfer of allegiance by Christine. One is that she continued to cultivate many patrons throughout her career. Very prominent among these was the duke of Berry, who, while he was at different times associated with both of the warring factions, was closer to the Orléanists than to the Burgundians. A second is that the accounts of John the Fearless show that Christine had difficulty obtaining payment for the works she had presented to him.⁴² Another has to do with the iconography of the lavish collected works, now British Library Harley 4431, which Christine offered to Isabeau of Bavaria in 1414, at about the same time that she completed the *Livre de paix* for Louis of Guyenne.⁴³ This collection includes a dedication miniature representing Louis of Orléans, wearing the symbols of his Order of the Porcupine and receiving the *Epistre Othea* from Christine. It also displays prominently a golden shield associated with Louis of Bourbon's chivalric order of this name and so indicates support for the Bourbon and Orléanist families who had united together with the duke of Berry in the League of Gien.⁴⁴ The last and most important set of reasons for thinking that Christine was not a supporter of John the Fearless have to do with the timing of the *Livre de paix*, as well as the timing of her earlier interventions, and the people those interventions can be seen to support.

41. Willard, *Christine de Pisan*, 155–56, 203. This account of Christine's allegiance has been repeated, for instance, by Glenda McLeod in her introduction to *Christine's Vision*, where she follows Willard in surmising that this text was presented to John of Burgundy (see *Advision* xviii). Her claim that none of the manuscripts of this work was owned by John the Fearless's enemies is belied by the fact that BNF fr. 1176 belonged to the duke of Berry and came into the possession of Charles of Orléans, and that Charles d'Albret also owned a copy (*Advision* xlv, xlix).

42. 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): 122–44.

43. James Laidlaw has discussed this manuscript in detail in "Christine de Pizan: A Publisher's Progress," 35–75. For his revised dating of the queen's manuscript, see "Christine de Pizan, le duc de Bourbon et le manuscrit de la reine (Londres, British Library, Harley ms 4431)," in *La Chevalerie du Moyen Âge à nos jours: Mélanges offerts à Michel Stanesco*, ed. Mihaela Voicu and Victor-Dinu Vladulescu (Bucharest: Editura Universitatii din Bucuresti, 2003), 332–44, and "The Date of the Queen's ms (London, British Library, Harley ms 4431)," Salzburg, <http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/harley4431date.pdf> (2005).

44. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Épistre Othea"*, 47–51. Louis of Bourbon was one of the harshest critics of the actions of John the Fearless, both his assassination of Louis of Orléans and his involvement in the execution of Jean de Montaigu; see *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.191 and Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, 1:148.

In order to understand Christine's political position we need to recognize that, like many others, she was caught between the two sides of this conflict and attempted to steer a reconciliatory middle course. One of the nobles similarly committed to reconciliation, and who was involved in both of the diplomatic interventions that drew from Christine epistles promoting the quest for peace, was Charles "the Good," king of Navarre. With Louis of Bourbon, he was one of the leaders of the 1405 embassy to Isabeau. He did not himself negotiate with the duke of Berry in 1410, but his son-in-law, Jacques de la Marche, was part of the first embassy in August 1410, while his brother Pierre, count of Mortain, took part in the second embassy. Charles of Navarre had earlier been instrumental in establishing the Peace of Chartres agreed to on March 9, 1409.⁴⁵ Following the arbitrary arrest and execution of Jean de Montaigu, the grand master of the king's household, in October 1409, this peace failed. The king of Navarre once again played an important role when he proposed the terms that were accepted at the Peace of Bicêtre in November 1410. This resulted in both the Orléanists and the Burgundians leaving Paris for their own estates.⁴⁶ Christine named him in her *Sept psaumes allegorisés*, which date from the latter half of 1409, as the person who commanded her to write them.⁴⁷ At this stage he was officially the ally of John of Burgundy, but faced with Montaigu's execution, he is said to have been disturbed by John's brutality. The *Sept psaumes* are thought to have been ordered partly by way of penance, and in translating them Christine powerfully evoked her desire for the French crown to return to its tradition of Christian kingship, epitomized in Charles's ancestor Louis IX, and revived by Charles V.⁴⁸

45. Famiglietti, "The French Monarchy in Crisis, 1392–1415"; Willard, *The Writings of Christine de Pizan*, 319.

46. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.371–85.

47. Willard, *The Writings of Christine de Pizan*, 333.

48. When, in 1408, William Coussinot had presented a proposal as to what would be just punishment of the duke of Burgundy for the murder of Louis of Orléans, it included the requirement that John should remain on his knees on a scaffold at the place of his crime while a priest recited the seven penitential psalms and said the litany and a burial service for the deceased Orléans (Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, 1:113). This fact strengthens the thought that although Christine prays for God to be kind and favorable to John of Burgundy and his children, the psalms constitute an implicit criticism of his acts. The *Inventaire de la "Librairie" de Philippe le Bon (1420)*, ed. Georges Doutrepoint (Brussels: Kiessling, 1906), no. 8, shows that a copy of the *Sept psaumes* was given to John the Fearless before his death. Given her difficulties in receiving payment from Jean, one might wonder whether he really appreciated this particular gift: Cockshaw, "Mentions d'auteurs, de copistes." See also Lori Walters, "The Royal Vernacular: Poet and Patron in Christine de Pizan's *Charles V* and the *Sept Psaulmes Allégorisés*," in *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson, and Nancy Bradley Warren (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 145–82.

Soon after the production of the allegorized psalms, the power of the Burgundian faction in Paris was curtailed. The outcome of the Peace of Bicêtre was to remove all rival dukes from Paris, with the exception of Pierre, count of Mortain. The Burgundian provost of Paris, Pierre des Essarts, who had been directly responsible for the arrest and execution of Montaigu, was immediately replaced by Bruneau de Saint-Clair, in the first act of the new ministers put in charge of the government as a result of the count of Mortain's initiatives.⁴⁹

It was during this period, in 1410, that Christine wrote *Le Livre des fais d'armes et chevalerie*. It would add immeasurably to our understanding of her political position if we were able to identify the knights whom she acknowledges as having helped her by supplying her with the military information she used in this work and who encouraged her to write it. Willard suggests that "the Duke of Burgundy would surely have been the person most likely to commission such a text" and supposes that he was responsible for Christine receiving two hundred livres from the royal treasury on May 11, 1411.⁵⁰ This last seems unlikely, however, for both Burgundy and Berry had been required to leave Paris in November 1410, by the articles of the Peace of Bicêtre, and Burgundy was not invited to return until September 1411.⁵¹ Moreover, he did not have a copy of this work in his library at his death, and while there is a payment to Christine recorded in his accounts for October 1412, this is for various books that she had given him some time earlier, for which she had not been remunerated.⁵² The tenor of the *Livre des fais d'armes et chevalerie* is implicitly critical of both the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans, because it limits the right to wage war to sovereign princes.⁵³ This echoes edicts published early in 1411 by those then in power in Paris prohibiting any noble from raising an army without the express authorization of the royal council.⁵⁴ So Christine's book was unlikely to have been paid for at the behest of the distant duke of Burgundy and more likely to have been commissioned by one of the people then controlling Charles VI's court.⁵⁵

49. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.385.

50. *Chevalerie* 5.

51. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.461.

52. Cockshaw, "Mentions d'auteurs," no. 81.

53. *Chevalerie* 1.3 15.

54. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.387–89. Christine does concede that a duke may be a sovereign prince, so her criticism is somewhat veiled (see *Chevalerie* 15n6). I do not think that this detracts from the fact that, in accordance with the doctrine she lays down, the duke of Burgundy would not have the right to raise troops within the lands that he held from the king of France.

55. Michel Pinto names some of these: see *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.385.

Thus it appears probable that Christine's position was royalist and associated with a middle group acceptable to both sides of the conflict, though also in danger from both.⁵⁶ One way of understanding her position is to see her as often adopting the role of a spokesperson for Isabeau of Bavaria, who was nominally in charge during the king's "absences," but who had been ineffectual in extinguishing the quarrel between the princes of the blood. This means that Christine was an outright supporter of neither the Orléanists nor the Burgundians; she should be seen instead as primarily an advocate for the authority of Isabeau and her oldest son, Louis of Guyenne.⁵⁷ The clear intention of the *Livre de paix* is to bolster Louis's authority. Its dating and content also show Christine to be sympathetic to the Orléanist perspective, as does—it has been argued above—the illumination of the queen's manuscript, which she presented to Isabeau de Bavaria on the first day of 1414.

Christine tells us that she began her *Livre de paix* on September 1, 1412, after the signing of the Peace of Auxerre. This peace brought to an end the siege of the duke of Berry's town of Bourges and resulted in the restoration of the goods of the executed Jean de Montaigu's brothers, Gerard, the bishop of Paris, and Jean, archbishop of Sens. At Louis of Guyenne's order, Montaigu's body was now taken down from the gibbet, his head retrieved from the pike at Les Halles where it had been displayed, and he was given a Christian burial. His son was also invited back from exile to join Louis's court.⁵⁸ This peace was therefore something of a victory for the Orléanists, and the prayers of thanks and relief that introduce the first part of the *Livre de paix* celebrate their return to Paris, but the peace was soon to collapse once more.

It is, indeed, most unlikely that Christine could have been a supporter of John the Fearless after the execution of Jean de Montaigu, given the views that she had earlier expressed in relation to the latter. In her biography of Charles V she had praised him warmly and called him her friend.⁵⁹ According to Christine he was an excellent administrator, a friend to the poor, wise,

56. For instance, when Jean de Montaigu was arrested in 1409, Tignonville was also made a prisoner for a time but then released on bail: see Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, 1:148–49.

57. See Adams, "*Moyennerresse de traité de paix*," and Green, "Isabeau de Bavière and the Political Philosophy of Christine de Pizan," for recent discussions of Christine's attitude to and relationship with Isabeau de Bavière.

58. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.723–27.

59. "On y trouve encore des hommes de bien, excellents administrateurs, conseillers loyaux de la chose publique comme pour les affaires privées du roi; je citerai parmi eux le seigneur Jean de Montagu, vidame de Laonnais et grand-maître de France, homme sage, loyal, intègre et probe: j'ai en effet des raisons personnelles de l'honorer ici, car c'est le père des pauvres et le secours des malheureux, un homme prudent et discret, généreux en actes et en paroles, plein de bienfaisance. J'ai trouvé en lui, ainsi que beaucoup d'autres, un véritable ami. Puisse Jésus-Christ, le Fils bien-aimé de Dieu, le maintenir dans la félicité!" *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.17 (Solente, 1:149).

loyal, and honest. Indeed, the thumbnail sketch she had given in that work represented him as having all the qualities appropriate to the good counselor and administrator as she later described them in chapters 9 and 10 of the first book of the *Livre de paix*. Unless he had significantly changed for the worse, she must have been among those who saw his arrest and hurried execution in 1409 as evidence of John the Fearless's tyrannical exercise of arbitrary power. Indeed it is almost impossible not to read Christine's description of the damage done by a hypothetical bad lord as, among other things, a commentary on the treatment of Montaigu. What, she says, will the bad lord do in order to finance his wars, given the dangers of burdensome taxation? "In God's name, find out where the rich are, especially what can be got from them; it will be put about that some of them are traitors, others have been party to some bad contracts, still others have deserved death, and there are enough prepared to testify to it. And thus in diverse ways, by representing cruelty, pillage and tyranny under the color of justice, money will be found, no matter who is disinherited or ruined in the process."⁶⁰

Some mystery nevertheless surrounds the date that Christine gives for the time when she broke off writing her book, as she tells us, because of the failure of the peace. She represents herself as doing this on the last day of November 1412. It is not clear what took place at this time to convince her that peace had already failed. Orators speaking in January of the next year, who are quoted by Michel Pintoin, seem still to believe that the peace was holding.⁶¹ But Christine's pessimism may have hinged on the fact that although Montaigu's brothers' lands had been restored, a decision was made around this time to uphold the generality of confiscations of property that had been imposed while the duke of Burgundy was in control. Monstrelet suggests that this caused "much silent bitterness and discontent."⁶² Christine explains in the second chapter of the second part of the *Livre de paix* that she left off writing her book after having come to the end of the first part and explains her failure to complete it thus: "that subject of peace eluded me on account of badly advised people and that rabble and base people by whose conjurations and conspiracies the good of peace has since been disturbed."⁶³ At the end of autumn in 1412 it was decided to call an assembly, which would include the bourgeoisie of Paris, the university, and deputies from the provinces, to discuss the matter of raising money to combat the English, who

60. *Paix* 3.5.

61. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.741.

62. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.741; Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, 1:229.

63. *Paix* 2.2.

had landed in Guyenne, and it may be that Christine foresaw that this would also lead to trouble. It was not until the spring of 1413, however, that Paris was rocked by a wave of civil disturbances, which culminated in the imprisonment of many nobles, including some of Isabeau's ladies in waiting.⁶⁴

Whatever caused her premonition of these events, Christine tells us that she put down her pen on the last day of November 1412 and did not take it up again until September 3, 1413, after the final ratification of a new peace treaty, which had been agreed on at Pontoise some months earlier.⁶⁵ She had turned in the intervening months to writing a now-lost letter that she refers to twice in the third part of the *Livre de paix*. In this *Advison du Coq*, which she had presented to Louis during Lent in 1413, she had warned of the ensuing troubles and pleaded with the dukes to show clemency and avoid greed and the civil war consequent on it.⁶⁶

At the beginning of March 1413, while the assembly that had been called the previous autumn was in session, the duke of Guyenne was clearly attempting to assert himself, and for a short time he seemed to be escaping the influence of his father-in-law, the duke of Burgundy. Louis dismissed the chancellor of Guyenne, Jean de Nielle, who had been recommended for the position by John of Burgundy. Jean de Nielle was thought to have insulted the aged chancellor of France, Arnaud de Corbie, in front of the royal assembly, and Louis is said to have risen from his seat and thrown him out of the council chamber.⁶⁷ Monstrelet says that Louis "now took the whole government into his hands and insisted that everything should be done according to his pleasure."⁶⁸ He names those who were encouraging Louis in this enterprise as Edward, duke of Bar, Louis of Bavaria (the queen's brother), and the count of Vertus (Charles of Orléans's brother). He also observes that John of Burgundy was not happy about these developments, which he saw as attempting to exclude him from the administration, but he did not immediately show his displeasure. A reaction was not long in coming.

During February of the same year, the university had taken the opportunity afforded by the general council to complain that there would be no need of further taxation if those responsible for receiving and distributing the king's dues had not enriched themselves at the king's expense. Raymond Raguier,

64. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.17–47.

65. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.115–23.

66. *Paix* 3.15, 24.

67. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.769; Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, 1:238–39.

68. Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, 1:239.

Charlot Poupart, Guillaume Budé, André Giffart, Bureau de Dammartin, Regnier de Boulligny, and the aged chancellor of France, Arnaud de Corbie, were named and blamed for the deplorable state of the king's finances.⁶⁹ It was soon after this that matters began to turn very nasty. The duke of Guyenne's advisers attempted to exonerate this group of the king's retainers and encouraged him to call back Pierre des Essarts, who they claimed had proof that the duke of Burgundy had been in receipt of a large quantity of gold that was unaccounted for.⁷⁰ Pierre des Essarts in fact agreed to show Louis the receipts for this money, thereby making himself "the mortal enemy" of the duke of Burgundy. He returned to Paris and took refuge, with a group of soldiers he had brought with him, in the Bastille of Saint-Antoine, the Bastille that had become famous by the time of the French Revolution. No sooner had he done so than an armed crowd was stirred up by Denys Chaumont, Simon Caboche, and an old surgeon by the name of Jean de Troyes. The agitators claimed that an attempt was being made to take over Paris. The crowd surrounded the Bastille and did not allow Pierre des Essarts to leave until he was effectively arrested by the duke of Burgundy and taken to prison. Now it was his turn to be accused of corruption and of having used the king's treasure to enrich himself. He was tried and ultimately executed on July 1, 1413. His head was placed on a pike and his body left to hang from the gibbet, just as he had caused Jean de Montaigu's to be, less than four years previously.⁷¹

Following their blockade of the Bastille, the crowd, using as their excuse the dissolute life of the young duke of Guyenne, overran his palace and arrested Edward of Bar, Pierre de Nesson, and a number of the duke's other counselors. Included among them were Jacques de la Rivière and Jean du Mesnil, who were subsequently killed in prison. Philip of Orléans, the count of Vertus, seeing that he was likely to be the next to be arrested, fled Paris in secret.⁷² On May 12, 1413, the duke and queen were again accosted by an armed crowd in their palace of St. Paul. This time the queen's brother, Louis of Bavaria, and a number of her ladies were also arrested and thrown into prison. Christine expresses her horror at these upheavals and uprisings in the second and third parts of the *Livre de paix*, speaking of "the mad government of the low-born and bestial people" and "the diabolical low-born people" who

69. See *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 4.744–69; Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, 1:230–36.

70. Michel Pintoin says "deux millions d'or," but it is not clear what this amounts to: *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 5.7.

71. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 5.77.

72. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 5.21, 33, 55–59.

massacre ladies, maids, and children without thinking of the consequences.⁷³ The body politic rent by civil war is monstrous, like a mad person, flaying its own limbs and eating its own members.

Christine has been severely criticized for showing no sympathy for the instigators of these uprisings and reacting with horror to this assault on France's nobility and to any attempt by ordinary working people to take power.⁷⁴ For those who see the fifteenth-century mobs as a foretaste of the French Revolution, and evidence of the first stirring of a popular democratic consciousness, Christine appears to be depressingly on the wrong side, heavily wedded to a conception of nobility by birth. For, despite her repetition and approval of Seneca's claim, that the nobility that arises from the active pursuit of the virtue of prudence is more to be praised than that which comes from inheritance, she represents the common people as bereft of prudence and as having no legitimate claim to a part in government.

Whether this shows that Christine was "a conservative even for her own time" depends partly on how one interprets the popular uprisings of 1413. There is much to suggest that these uprisings were not in fact ideologically driven, but that the duke of Burgundy was using a handful of agents provocateurs to stir up the crowd against the Orléanist faction, which had, as Monstrelet says, gained the ear of the duke of Guyenne, much to John the Fearless's displeasure. Among the crowd who attacked the Bastille of Saint-Antoine, where Pierre des Essarts was trapped, were a number of nobles who belonged to the duke of Burgundy's household and had served him well in his wars.⁷⁵ Moreover, there is nothing in the speeches that have come down to us from these agitators to suggest that their aspirations were democratic. Their accusations pointed to members of a particular group of nobles who were claimed to be intent on capturing the king or attacking the Parisians. The crowd was not against nobility in general but opposed to certain members of the nobility who were accused of attempting to overstep their authority.

It needs also to be recognized that Christine shows some sympathy for the common people, and that she sees their well-being as included in the common good that it is the prince's office to maintain. She makes it clear

73. "Le fol gouvernement de menu et bestial peuple" and "le diabolique menu gent," *Paix* 2.1, 3.13.

74. Sheila Delany, "Mothers to Think Back Through': Who Are They?" and "History, Politics, and Christine Studies: A Polemical Reply," in Brabant, *Politics, Gender and Genre*, 193–206. For critiques of her interpretation of Christine, see Oexle, "Christine et les pauvres"; Reno, "Christine de Pizan: At Best a Contradictory Figure?"; Dudash, "Christine de Pizan's Views of the Third Estate"; and Sigal, "Christine de Pizan et le peuple."

75. Michel Pintoin identifies these as the lord of Helly, Léon of Jacquenville, and Robert of Mailly; see *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.13.

that a tyrannical prince deserves the punishment that will be the result of his brutality. Nevertheless, it would be a distortion to see anything very radical in Christine's prescriptions for good government. She advocates considered, just, and clement rule in accordance with established customs, and she understands the legitimacy of the French crown as deriving from its historically established position. Like Burke, many years later, she understands law as partly gaining its legitimacy from established custom, and she expects a ruler to govern not merely by abstract principles but in accordance with the established customs of the regions within his or her jurisdiction. Thus, any attempt to overthrow a well-established authority is automatically seditious, and all one can expect from the destruction of the native nobility is that a new and foreign power will take advantage of the vacuum and impose its own form of order, to the rebels' ultimate detriment.

Christine's clear rejection of popular government and of any direct role for low-born people in the administration of public affairs can be taken as further evidence that she was in no way aligned to the court of Burgundy during this period. For it is generally conceded that the leaders of the popular uprisings of 1413 were acting in Burgundy's interests and were more or less under his control. On August 23, only days before September 3, 1413, when Christine returned to singing the praises of peace, John of Burgundy had precipitously left Paris, without taking leave of the Parisians, or waiting to greet his returning cousins. He was not there to see them process through the streets escorted by a cavalcade of knights and squires, led by the chancellor of France at the head of the royal council, and dressed in the violet coats and red and black parti-colored hats that had been sent to them for the occasion by the duke of Guyenne.⁷⁶

Christine's return to celebrating the peace in September 1413 is a renewal of her earlier celebration of the achievements of Louis who, in the preceding two months, had acted decisively to help prevent Denys Chaumont, Simon Caboche, and Henri de Troyes, the son of Jean, from derailing the events leading toward peace that had been initiated in mid-July by the king of Sicily (Louis of Anjou), Charles of Orléans, John of Bourbon, and the counts of Alençon and Eu at Pontoise. Articles of peace having been agreed on between the ambassadors of this group and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy by the end of July, these terms were sent to Paris to be ratified by the university and parliament. At this juncture the whole process was nearly scuttled when Chaumont, Caboche, and Troyes occupied the town hall,

76. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.149–51.

while the rich bourgeoisie, encouraging Louis of Guyenne to put himself at their head, armed themselves in order to impose peace. The threat of bloodshed was avoided partly by the actions of John the Fearless, who had enough leverage with the occupiers of the town hall to convince their leaders to disperse quietly, and partly through a show of strength on the part of Louis of Guyenne. Placing himself fully armed at the head of the bourgeoisie, Louis ordered Berry and Burgundy to accompany him and marched through the city to the Louvre and then to the Palais, from whence he freed Louis of Bavaria, Edward of Bar, and many others who had been imprisoned during the spring. No sooner freed, these two were given control of the castle of the Louvre and the Saint-Antoine gates, respectively, thus benefiting from the dismissal of Henri and Jean de Troyes a few days earlier.⁷⁷

That Christine saw these events as cause for celebration gives one final reason for thinking that her sympathies did not lie with the Burgundians. We should not, however, see her as an unqualified supporter of either Louis of Guyenne or of the Orléanists. Her lost *Advision du Coq* had been written at a point in time when Louis came under the influence of a group of relatively young Orléanists. From what she says about it, we can deduce that it expressed warnings about the direction in which he was being led. Implicit in the *Livre de paix* are a number of criticisms of Louis's youthful self-indulgence, which indicate that, despite the high hopes that she had had for him in 1412, Christine was less sure by 1413 that he would follow in his grandfather Charles V's footsteps and learn to rule himself so as to be able to rule others. She inserts into the discussion of magnanimity, in her second book, a warning against spending too much time in solitude and cautions against all kinds of frivolous behavior, which might lead to his subjects despising him. The nocturnal orgies, debauchery, and other scandalous activities the young duke pursued, despite his mother's prayers and good advice, had provided the pretext for the crowd, which had overrun his palace in May and had arrested Edward of Bar and his other young companions.⁷⁸ Despite Christine's endorsement of his mother's point of view, the dauphin appears not to have mended his ways, and ten months later, during January, when the Orléanists were in control of Paris, the young duke's dissolute lifestyle was being blamed on Moy, Montauban, and Croy, companions who were represented as Burgundians. The chancellor of France complained during secret deliberations held in the Louvre on

77. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.121–31.

78. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.17–21.

January 9 that the queen and various princes saw well that the duke of Guyenne often refused to attend the Royal Council and that he was surrounded by flatterers who encouraged him in libertinage, laziness, and frivolous pleasures such as staying up late and listening to music.⁷⁹ At this juncture the queen attempted to assert her own authority and her right to govern as regent, using Robert le Maçon as her spokesperson.⁸⁰

Christine's Political Ideas

Central to Christine's understanding of the art of government is that it should be directed toward the common good and be guided by wisdom and the virtue she calls "prudence," the word used by French medieval authors to translate Aristotle's *phronesis*.⁸¹ In the French translation of Aristotle's *Politics*, commissioned by Charles V as part of a program of translations that Christine praised, one reads "Et la vertu de prudence seule est propre au prince" (The virtue of prudence only is proper to the prince).⁸² While the exact interpretation of this phrase is contestable, it expresses two ideas: prudence by itself entails all the virtues, and it is the possession of prudence that is definitive of the good prince. Elsewhere Aristotle says more clearly that "if a man have the one moral virtue of prudence he will also have all the moral virtues together with it."⁸³ This Aristotelian framework permeates Christine's political writing, although she fundamentally disagrees with Aristotle over women's capacity for prudence, using against him his own claim that

79. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 5.233–35.

80. *Religieux de Saint-Denys* 5.237.

81. Cicero had used the Latin "prudentia" to translate "phronesis." For a more detailed discussion of Christine's understanding of the virtue of prudence, see Karen Green, "On Translating Christine de Pizan as a Philosopher," in Green and Mews, *Healing the Body Politic*, 117–37.

82. Nicole Oresme, "Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le Livre de politiques d'Aristote; Published from the Text of the Avranches Manuscript 223," with a critical introduction by Albert Douglas Menut, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 60, no. 6 (1970): 123. Christine praises Charles V's commitment to vernacular translations of authoritative texts in *Paix* 3.18 and in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.12 (Solente, 2:42–45). For the importance of this program of translation to the development of French royal ideology, see Walters, "Christine de Pizan, Primat, and the 'noble nation françoise,'" "The Royal Vernacular," and "Christine de Pizan, l'idéologie royale et la traduction," in *D'une écriture à l'autre: Les femmes et la traduction sous l'Ancien Régime*, ed. Jean-Philippe Beaulieu (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004), 31–52.

83. Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* 6.13 1145a1–2, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 373; Nicole Oresme, *Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le Livre de éthiques d'Aristote; Published from the Text of MS 2902, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, ed. Albert Douglas Menut (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1940), 360.

prudence is exercised in household management.⁸⁴ Christine introduces the *Livre de paix* with the following explanation of her intentions in writing it: “The first part exhorts my lord of Guyenne to the preservation of peace, and speaks of the virtue of prudence and of what it requires of princely government.”⁸⁵ The book is thus structured as an account of the nature of political prudence.

It is in the fifth chapter of the first book that Christine elaborates on what she intends by prudence: “This Prudence serves our spiritual welfare just as much as our corporeal for by her man desires to know God, to love and fear him, and to know the things which lead to salvation and to live by them. For without this knowledge all other prudence is nothing but folly.”⁸⁶ In his *Ethics* Aristotle had explained that *phronesis* is a virtue rather than an art and had characterized it as “a truth-attaining rational quality concerned with action in relation to things that are good and bad for human beings.”⁸⁷ Christine’s direct knowledge of Aristotle’s *Ethics*, whether in Latin, or in the French translation prepared by Nicole Oresme for Charles V, has been a matter of some obscurity.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, elements of her representation of prudence in the first part of her book suggest that she modeled it on Aristotle’s discussion of prudence in the sixth book of the *Ethics*. She moves, for instance, as does Aristotle, from discussing the political virtue of prudence to discussing good counselors. At the same time it has to be acknowledged that much of Christine’s material comes from later reformulations of Aristotelian themes. For instance, in the *Livre de paix* she draws a great deal of material from Brunetto Latini’s *Livre du Trésor*, which contains a long paraphrase of the *Ethics*, so her restatement of Aristotle could be largely derived from this source.

In her *Livre de prudence* of 1406 (a version of which is called *Le Livre de la prod’homme de l’homme*), Christine drew on a set of definitions of the

84. Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* 6.8 1141b32–33 (Rackham, 349); Oresme *Éthiques* (Menut, 344). See Karen Green, “*Phronesis* Feminized: Prudence from Christine de Pizan to Elizabeth I,” in *Virtue, Liberty, and Toleration: Political Ideas of European Women, 1400–1800*, ed. Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green (Amsterdam: Springer, 2007), 23–38, for a longer discussion of Christine’s subversion of Aristotle’s views concerning the prudence of women.

85. *Paix* 1.0.

86. *Paix* 1.5.

87. Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* 6.5 1140b4–5 (Rackham, 337–39). Oresme’s translation is “prudence est un habit vray factif avecques raison vers les choses qui sont bonnes ou males a l’homme” (*Éthiques* [Menut, 338]).

88. Two recent papers argue that Christine was influenced by Oresme’s text, which she mentions in her *Fais et bonnes meurs*: Sylvie Lefèvre, “Christine de Pizan et l’Aristote Oresmien,” and Forhan, “Reading Backward,” in Hicks, *Au champ des écritures*, 231–50, 359–61.

virtues translated from Alan of Lille's treatise *De Virtutibus et de vitiis et de donis Spiritus Sancti*.⁸⁹ Reformulating Aristotle's definition, Alan defines prudence as "discepcion de bonnes et mauvaises choses en la fuyte du mal et l'election du bien" (discernment of good and evil things in the flight from evil and pursuit of good).⁹⁰ In the *Livre de paix* this definition is repeated by Christine but applied to discretion: "Discretion . . . is a virtue by which we can distinguish good and evil, and choose the good because it is valuable and spurn the bad because it is harmful."⁹¹ Prudence, or discretion, which derives from reason, is here represented by Christine as the first of the four cardinal virtues and as the mother and guide of all the virtues.

Christine was also influenced by Aquinas's discussion of prudence in his *Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, from which she translated passages inserted into *L'Advision Cristine*, written in late 1405.⁹² Aquinas's fusion of Christianity and Aristotle, which takes over much from the earlier fusion of Platonism and Christianity found in Boethius and Augustine, forms the background to what one might call Christine's political epistemology, her treatment of political wisdom as a branch of theology. For we should take quite seriously her assertion, quoted above, that prudence serves to determine man's spiritual as well as corporeal welfare. For Christine, political theory is a branch of theology, the study of the highest being, which is God. Thus knowledge of how to govern well is inseparable from an understanding of God's nature.⁹³ Her outlook is also very much that of her Italian precursor and model, Dante, who derives from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* the proposition that "since knowledge is the highest perfection of our soul, in which our

89. Rosemund Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963): 296. It is an open question whether this is Christine's own translation. For a discussion of the two versions of the *Livre de prudence*, see Jean-Louis Picherit, "Le Livre de la prod'homme de l'homme et Le Livre de prudence de Christine de Pizan: Chronologie, structure et composition," *Le Moyen Âge* 40 (1985): 380–413, and Christine M. Reno, "Le Livre de prudence/Livre de la prod'homme de l'homme: Nouvelles perspectives," in Dulac and Ribémont, *Une femme de lettres*, 25–38.

90. *Prudence* 268r.

91. *Paix* 1.5. In the *Livre de paix* Christine introduces this passage with the phrase "Dist l'Ecclesiaste," but this does not refer as one might initially think to Ecclesiastes but rather to her earlier citation of Alanus, which she introduces thus: "cy s'ensuivent les diffinitiones des quatres vertues cardinales et de leurs parties selon l'opinion des hommes ecclesiastiques" (*Prudence* 259v).

92. Liliane Dulac and Christine M. Reno, "L'humanisme vers 1400, essai d'exploration à partir d'un cas marginal: Christine de Pizan traductrice de Thomas d'Aquin," in *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au xve siècle: Actes du colloque international du CNRS, Paris, 16–18 mai 1992, organisé en l'honneur de Gilbert Ouy par l'unité de recherche "Culture écrite du Moyen Âge tardif,"* ed. Monique Ornato and Nicole Pons (Louvain-la-Neuve: FIDEM, 1995), 161–78.

93. See Glynis M. Cropp, "Philosophy, the Liberal Arts, and Theology in *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune* and *Le Livre de L'advision Cristine*," in Green and Mews, *Healing the Body Politic*, 129–54.

supreme happiness is found, we are all driven by our very nature by the desire to attain this.”⁹⁴ So practical knowledge of how to bring about the good contributes to spiritual perfection. The Bible as the word of God is therefore read by Christine as a repository of political wisdom in which it is demonstrated how immorality leads to the destruction of kingdoms.⁹⁵ Christine’s method in the *Livre de paix*, which is to expand on and gloss Latin passages that she has gleaned from the Bible and from ancient authors, can thus be seen as both synthesizing classical and Christian wisdom and continuing Charles V’s program of vernacular translation.

In the *Livre de paix* Christine offers a utopian vision of an intelligent, just ruler, able to take the advice of those who are older and wiser, hard working, peace loving, clement, and at the same time firm in dispensing justice. Despite the lamentable political situation of her time, she never gives up her optimism that peace and justice are possible on earth as well as in heaven. Here one can detect the influence of Dante on her political thought. Christine’s debt to Dante is clearest in her poem *Le Chemin de long estude* from 1402–3. In this dream allegory she is guided on her adventure, as was Vergil in the *Aeneid*, by the Cumean sibyl. But she is not led through the underworld, as Vergil had been, but into the realm of the celestial spheres that Dante had described in both the *Paradiso* and *Convivio*. Passing by the long path of learning, she is taken into the celestial firmament, where she witnesses a debate between Wealth, Nobility, Chivalry, and Wisdom over the qualities required in the monarch who, as ruler of a single Christian empire, would bring peace to earth. We can deduce from this, given that Vergil took the place of the Cumean sibyl in Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, that Christine

94. Dante, *The Banquet*, trans. Christopher Ryan (Saratoga, Calif.: Anna Libri, 1989), 13. For the influence of Dante on Christine, see Arturo Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia dall’età media al secolo di Voltaire*, 2 vols. (Milan: Hoepli, 1908), where he mentions the passage from the *Convivio* (at 1:154), and also Arturo Farinelli, “Dante nell’opere di Christine de Pisan,” in *Aus romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen: Festschrift Heinrich Morf* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1905). The influence has also been discussed by Kevin Brownlee, “Literary Genealogy and the Problem of the Father: Christine and Dante,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23 (1993): 365–88; M. Merkle, “Le chemin de longue estude: Primo tentativo di imitazione dantesca in Francia,” *Rassegna Nazionale*, April 1, 16, 1921; Earl Jeffrey Richards, “Christine de Pizan and Dante: A Reexamination,” *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 222 (1985): 100–111; Anna Slerca, “Le Livre du chemin de long estude (1402–1403): Christine au pays des merveilles,” in *Sur le chemin de longue étude: Actes du colloque d’Orléans, juillet 1995*, ed. Bernard Ribémont (Paris: Champion, 1998), 179–90; and Maud Temple, “Paraphrasing in the *Livre de la paix* of Christine de Pisan of the *Paradiso* iii–v,” *PMLA* 37 (1922): 182–86.

95. In this she was typical of her age. The monk of Saint-Denis, Michel Pintoin, structures much of his chronicle of Charles VI around the motif of history as the development of God’s retribution for sin.

intends to suggest that the Cumean sibyl stands in place of Dante, who is Christine's inspiration. Passing by the fountain of the muses, as she is guided by the sibyl, she evokes Dante:⁹⁶

Mais le nom du plaisant pourpris
 Oncque mais ne me fu appris,
 Fors en tant que bien me recorde
 Que Dant de Flourence recorde
 En son livre qu'il composa
 Ou il moult beau stile posa,
 Quant en la sive fu entrez
 Ou tout de paour ert outrez,
 Lors que Virgile s'aparū
 A lui dont il fu secouru,
 Adont lui dist par grand estude
 Ce mot: "Vaille moy lonc estude
 Qui m'a fait cercher tes volumes
 Par qui ensemble accointance eumes."

[The name of that pleasant grove
 Was no sooner learnt by me
 Than straight away I remembered
 That Dante of Florence recorded
 In his book which he composed
 Where a beautiful style he showed
 That when he entered the wood
 And was overcome with dread
 Vergil appeared to him, then
 Offering help to him, when
 He said to him by great study
 "Blessed be my long study
 Which made me seek out your books
 And brought us into acquaintance".]

Her knowledge of this author's works is manifest throughout the poem, particularly in verses 3040–66 where she paraphrases Dante's argument that

96. *Long estude* 1125–38.

in order to put an end to the greed that causes war and dissension, the world needs a single universal monarch who will reign in justice.

In *Monarchia*, arguing that the best possible world order is one in which justice is strongest, Dante quotes a famous line from Vergil's fourth *Eclogue*: "Now the Virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns."⁹⁷ He tells us that the virgin is also called "justice" or "Astrea" and reads these lines as stating that with the coming of justice there will be a new golden age, repeating the supposed era in which Christ was born and Augustus ruled, and showing in his optimism the influence of the prophetic view of history developed by Joachim of Fiore.⁹⁸ In the *Livre du chemin de long estude* Christine also alludes to prophecies of the coming of the Antichrist and the predictions of Merlin and the sibyls, which had become associated with the Joachimist corpus.⁹⁹ She shows her familiarity with this prophetic tradition in *L'Advision* as well, where she mentions Joachim and attempts to read Biblical history as providing the pattern of historical events.¹⁰⁰

In the *Livre du chemin de long estude*, Christine assumes the possibility of justice being brought to earth by a single monarch and stages a debate as to the qualities that would be necessary in such a universal ruler. In the *Livre de paix* her aim is more limited and realistic. It is simply to urge the young Louis to take on the character of the just ruler and to maintain peace in France. Yet even here, the optimistic outlook found in Dante can be detected. Christine inscribes at the head of her chapter in praise of Louis: "Fiat pax in virtute tua" (Let there be peace in your strength)—a line from the Psalms that encapsulates the hope that temporal power can be both governed by and impose peace.¹⁰¹ Later in her work, and echoing Dante, she quotes a version of lines from Boethius that had been used by Dante to show that, because the sphere of heaven is guided by a single source of motion,

97. Dante, *Monarchia*, trans. Prue Shaw, Cambridge Medieval Classics 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), I.11 (22–23).

98. See Frances Yates, *Astraea* (London: Routledge, 1975), 29–38, for a discussion of the sources of this image, a more general discussion of Dante and his optimistic political views, and for the origins of this worldview in Joachim. See also Marjorie Reeves, "Dante and the Prophetic View of History," and "The Third Age: Dante's Debt to Gioacchino da Fiore," in Reeves, *The Prophetic Sense of History in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

99. *Long estude* 1467–76, 2197–202. See Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Late Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), for a detailed discussion of the tradition alluded to by Christine and its association with the prophecies of Merlin and the sibyls.

100. *Advision* 10, I.23, 41 (McLeod, 34).

101. Maud Temple finds echoes of Dante's *Paradiso* 3.85, "Et la sua voluntate è nostra pace," in Christine's use of this phrase. Maud Temple, "Paraphrasing in the *Livre de la paix*," 184.

God—monarchy, or undivided rule, which he calls empire—is needed for the well-being of the world.¹⁰² In Christine's hands Boethius's claim, that men would be happy, if only the love by which the heavens is ruled were to rule their minds, is applied to Frenchmen: "oh, you men of France, you will be so blessed if you desire it: that is, if you are governed by the love that holds up the heavens and without which nothing is stable."¹⁰³

By 1417, when Christine sent her *Prison de la vie humaine* to Mary of Berry, she had apparently given up her optimism that peace could be found on earth. There she developed the theme that the soul is trapped in the body and imprisoned below, only to be released into happiness at death. But she returned to her optimistic and prophetic voice in *Le Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, her last known work, completed a few days after the coronation of Charles VII in 1429. In this poem she represents Joan as the fulfillment of the prophecies of Merlin, the sibyls, and Bede, and as having been sent to earth to help Charles VII fulfill the predictions of the Charlemagne prophecy. This prophecy was also part of the pseudo-Joachimist corpus and proposed that a son of Charles would conquer Rome and rule as a new Augustus.¹⁰⁴ Of course, Christine's optimism was, once again, unjustified, but Joan at least provided striking proof of Christine's belief that women had a part to play in history and could demonstrate all the capacities and excellences available to humanity.

Christine's prescription for stable government is a well-educated and prudent prince who listens carefully to older and wiser counsel and acts only after the best advice has been taken. Because her political works are responses to specific events and have a primarily didactic purpose, Christine does not explicitly engage in argument in order to justify monarchy, and she skirts around the issue of the monarch's duty to accept advice. One does not find in her writings a clear statement either of absolutism or of the existence of "bridles" on the king's power, as we see one hundred years later in Claude de Seyssel's *The Monarchy of France*.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, although she insists on the importance of taking advice, she is also very aware of the danger of corrupt or incompetent counselors. These must be avoided. Christine advises that the king will need the counsel provided by experienced individuals from all estates who are experts in their fields and have shown themselves to be

102. Dante *Monarchia* 1.9 (20–21).

103. *Paix* 3.6.

104. *Ditié* 1.9, 1.16.

105. Claude de Seyssel, *The Monarchy of France*, trans. J. H. Hexter, ed. Donald R. Kelley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 49–57.

honest and intelligent.¹⁰⁶ He has a moral obligation to heed such counselors, but she never invokes the right of parliament or even the Royal Council to impose its advice on the king.

Christine is very aware of the importance of the appearance of majesty and the dangers of defamatory loose talk that undermines royal authority. In her earlier portrait of Charles V, she had excused herself for having only praised the virtues of this king and his relations, without mentioning their vices, suggesting that it was dangerous to publicly undermine rulers' authority and that they should be criticized only in private.¹⁰⁷ In the *Livre de paix* also, she works to encourage respect for the monarchy and encourages the dauphin to deserve that respect. He should administer justice promptly and with firmness, make himself a worthy example of the dignity of his office, avoid anger and cruelty, be liberal, clement, and truthful. He should make himself available to his subjects and always dress in a manner appropriate to his station.

From a modern point of view this image appears as something of a cliché. If monarchies could only guarantee themselves such monarchs, they might well offer good government, but monarchs are human, and humans, placed in a position of excessive power, are rarely capable of living up to any such ideal. Soon Christine's insistence that a king should heed good counsel will develop into the demand that the monarch's power be constrained by counsel. But Christine never discusses such formal constraints on the power of the monarch. Nevertheless, we should not judge Christine's originality by what came after but in relation to the images and texts available to her, and in this work one can see her stamping her own quite original mark on the tradition of the virtuous Christian prince. Often this emerges as much in the imagery that she uses as in the content of her advice.

At the time Christine was writing, the observation that discretion, or alternatively prudence, was the mother of the virtues was already a well-worn phrase, found, in the first version, in St. Benedict's rule and, in the second, in Abelard, as well as in Cicero and many others.¹⁰⁸ Yet Christine manages to make the idea graphic and takes almost literally the feminine character of the virtue of prudence. In her *Epistre Othea*, she had made Othea the "goddess of prudence" who offered the young Hector

106. *Paix* 1.10.

107. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.18 (Solente, 1:182–83).

108. *The Rule of Benedict: A Guide to Christian Living*, trans. the monks of Glenstal Abbey (Blackrock: Four Courts Press, 1994), chap. 64; *Peter Abelard's Ethics*, ed. and trans. D. E. Luscombe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 129: "Prudentia, id est boni malique discretio, mater est virtutum potius quam virtus."

advice on how to attain chivalric virtue.¹⁰⁹ In *Livre de paix* prudence is called “an excellent daughter of discretion” capable of organizing everything well, and once again, Christine’s language underscores the feminine character of the virtue. Though she does not point out here that prudence pertains to household management as well as to the running of kingdoms—she had done so elsewhere—Christine’s language conveys an image of the prince as a careful and circumspect manager who differs from the good housekeeper only in the size and importance of the domain for which he must care.¹¹⁰

She is particularly aware of the importance of what we would now call “good governance” for the economic prosperity of the realm. Magistrates must not be corrupt, they should be elected to their offices by merit, and the practice of allowing positions to be bought should cease. The consequence will be increased economic activity and the encouragement of trade by foreign merchants, who will know that their commercial activities and property rights are secure.

The definition of justice as giving each person what is due to them is also well-known, being at least as old as Plato’s *Republic*. Christine feminizes the trope and justice becomes “a faithful housekeeper who distributes and shares out for each person that part and portion which is due for their acts, whether they be good or bad.”¹¹¹ Evoking language appropriate to the relationship between husband and wife, Christine asserts that the king who loves justice will be protected and shielded from misfortune and will grow in prosperity. Thus, in her hands, the feminine gender of the abstract nouns develops into a full-blown feminization of the political virtues, which gives her writing a flavor quite different from other medieval and early modern political writers. One sees this same tendency in other works by Christine. In the opening passages of her *Livre du corps de policie*, she had introduced an image of human happiness as a queen seated on a throne served by the virtues.¹¹² It is not until one looks at the original source of the passage from Augustine’s *City of God*, which Christine has adapted to extract this image, that one recognizes that she has transformed a well-known misogynist trope that derives from Cicero, and which assumes the arbitrariness of female rule, into an allegorical evocation of the nobility and benefits of a feminine ruler.¹¹³

109. *Othea* 199 (Chance, 35).

110. *Cité des dames* 1.43; Green, “Phronesis Feminized.”

111. *Paix* 2.5.

112. *Corps de policie* 2–3 (Forhan, 4–5).

113. For a more detailed discussion of this passage, see Karen Green, “Philosophy and Metaphor: The Significance of Christine’s ‘Blunders,’” *Parergon* 22 (2005): 119–36.

The feminine personification of the virtues in Christine's political thought complements her explicit arguments to the effect that women are capable of exercising all the virtues and hence of attaining the highest levels of human excellence. Her extended argument in the *Livre de la cité des dames*, illustrated by ancient, early Christian, and contemporary examples, that women are not defective men but capable of all the same kinds of excellence thus builds on a general conception of human nature, which is motivated by a desire for knowledge of the good. In the *Livre des trois vertus*, Christine represents herself as a bird catcher attempting to populate her city of ladies with virtuous women, and she offers her teaching to women under the guise of the teachings of prudence.¹¹⁴ Reading her teachings through the modern connotations of this word, one is inclined to hear Christine's injunctions as small-minded, self-interested, and cautious. While there is an element of intelligent caution, however, and even craftiness, in the advice that she offers to princesses, it is important to realize that the prudence she is advocating for women is the same Aristotelian *phronesis* that forms the basis of a prince's practical activity.

When one takes into account the totality of Christine's oeuvre, one sees that she has painted a portrait of an ideal Christian monarch who is a wise and prudent ruler, and she has outlined a role that could be filled by a woman as well as by a man. It was, indeed, perhaps filled as well by Elizabeth I of England as by any other monarch of the early modern period. Moreover, the imagery of Elizabeth's rule drew on the same sources that we have seen Christine deriving from Dante. Elizabethan eulogists returned to the image of Astrea, the virgin justice, to depict Elizabeth's rule, reworking the feminine personification of the virtues to women's benefit, as Christine had done.¹¹⁵ The extent of Christine's influence on this iconography is a subject that has not been fully investigated.¹¹⁶ Certainly, English translations of the *Livre de la cité des dames* and the *Livre du corps de policie* had been printed in London in 1521, without their author being acknowledged, and there is some evidence that the *Livre du chemin de long estude* was also available.¹¹⁷ Elizabeth also had in her possession a set of tapestries depicting scenes inspired by Christine's

114. *Trois vertus* 8–9 (Lawson, 31–32).

115. Yates, *Astraea*, 29–87.

116. See, however, Green, "Phronesis Feminized."

117. Campbell, "Christine de Pisan en Angleterre," 659–70; Glenda K. McLeod, ed., *The Reception of Christine de Pisan from the Fifteenth Through the Nineteenth Centuries: Visitors to the City* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Mellen, 1991). A prose version by Jan Chaperon of Christine's poem *Le chemin de longue étude* was printed in Paris in 1549.

Livre de la cité des dames, and among the volumes in the royal library there were copies of this work as well as the *Epistre Othea* and the *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie*. Elizabeth is unlikely to have known Christine's *Livre de paix*, which did not have a wide circulation, and of which only three manuscripts have survived. Yet her actions and the imagery that she used to represent herself have much in common with that developed by Christine. By emphasizing the foundation of good government in prudence, and by demonstrating women's exercise of prudence in many spheres of life, Christine developed what might be called an image of an androgynous ideal of monarchy capable of being exemplified as much by a woman as by a man. Her hopes for Louis of Guyenne were not realized; he died soon after the battle of Agincourt, without ever having justified the aspirations that Christine had held for him. But Christine has left us in her *Livre de paix* a passionate and timely call for the adherence to the princely virtues that are necessary for peace.



LITERARY SOURCES OF *LE LIVRE DE PAIX*

Constant J. Mews

Among the writings of Christine de Pizan, the *Livre de paix* is unusual for its use of Latin texts cited at the opening of every chapter, as well as for its quotation and paraphrase of these sources within the French text. The extent of these Latin quotations, mostly from the Bible and from a range of classical texts, presented without grammatical error in the Brussels manuscript, and translated by Christine with great accuracy, leaves us in no doubt about her capacity to read Latin.¹ In this respect, our research confirms the conclusions reached by Gabrielle Parussa from her study of the literary sources of the *Epistre Othea*, and by Liliane Dulac and Christine Reno in relation to *Le Livre de l'Advison Cristine* of 1405.² What is not clear, however, is whether the quotations in the *Livre de paix* came from Christine's perusal of complete works or from her reading of anthologies of classical texts.

Some idea of the extensive resources to which Christine had access can be gained from her description of the library established by Charles V at the Louvre in 1368.³ Both in the *Livre de paix* (3.18) and in her earlier

1. For further detail, see Constant J. Mews, "The Latin Learning of Christine de Pizan in the *Livre de paix*," in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 61–80.

2. Gabriella Parussa, *Epistre Othea* (Geneva: Droz, 1999), 53n89, rejects the claim by Joël Blanchard ("Christine de Pizan: Tradition, expérience et traduction," *Romania* 111 [1990]): 200–35, esp. 206) that Christine knew little if any Latin, and thus agrees with the argument put by Liliane Dulac and Christine Reno in their "L'humanisme vers 1400, essai d'exploration à partir d'un cas marginal: Christine de Pizan traductrice de Thomas d'Aquin," in *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au xve siècle: Actes du colloque international du CNRS, Paris, 16–18 mai 1992, organisé en l'honneur de Gilbert Ouy par l'unité de recherche "Culture écrite du Moyen Âge tardif,"* ed. Monique Ornato and Nicole Pons (Louvain-la-Neuve: FIDEM, 1995), 161–78, and "Traduction et adaptation dans *L'Advison Cristine* de Christine de Pizan," in *Traduction et adaptation en France à la fin du Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: Actes du colloque organisé par l'université de Nancy II (23–25 mars 1995)*, ed. Charles Brucker (Paris: Champion, 1997), 121–31, as well as in their critical edition, *Advison xxxii–xxxiii*.

3. Edition of the catalog in Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868–81) [vols. 2 and 3 as *Le Cabinet . . . de la Bibliothèque nationale*], 1:18–31, and in more detail in Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1907).

Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V, she eulogized the king's commitment to making available to a wider audience not just Augustine but also classical authors like Valerius Maximus (translated by Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse) and above all Aristotle, whose *Ethics* and *Politics* were translated by Nicole Oresme. While she was certainly familiar with these translations, Christine seems particularly determined in the *Livre de paix* to demonstrate her knowledge of the Latin texts on which these translations were based. Gilles Malet, guardian of the royal library from 1369 until his death in 1411, was well-known to her,⁴ and the fact that she offered so many of her works (including the *Livre de paix*, on January 1, 1414) to the brother of Charles V, Jean, duke of Berry, suggests that she may also have had access to his library, which was stronger in classical texts than that of the king.⁵ The references in the *Livre de paix* are a strong indication, therefore, that Christine may have been able to explore the texts in the original Latin in both of these libraries, as well as the increasing number of French translations to be found there. More than any other of her writings, the *Livre de paix* suggests that—at least by 1413—she was very much at home in translating useful sayings of both classical and Christian writers.

Perhaps the single most important source of quotations in the *Livre de paix* is the Latin Bible.⁶ Christine begins her book with a quotation from Psalm 8:2 about drawing praise from the least of God's creatures—"Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, you have made praise"—perhaps as a way of legitimizing her own voice in the call for peace. She writes of God opening the lips of Daniel, who spoke out on behalf of the unjustly condemned Susanna, and was himself thrown into the lions' den—as violent a place as the present situation in France. She effectively likens herself to Daniel, prophesying in a situation of political danger. Only in her second chapter does she praise the new dauphin, who has to carry out the divine will. Her third chapter begins with a saying attributed to Jesus that combines the wording of Matthew 12:25 and Luke 11:17 (suggesting that she is here quoting the Vulgate from memory): "every kingdom divided in itself will be in mourning, and every city and house divided against itself will not stand." There is otherwise relatively little allusion to the New Testament, except in the margins of the opening six chapters, where she started to supply (as recorded in both manuscripts) the Latin

4. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.21 (Solente, 2:63); Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, 1:21, and *Recherches*, 1:10–22.

5. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, 1:19.

6. This confirms what Liliane Dulac and Christine Reno have to say in their introduction to *Advision* xxxiv–xxxv.

quotations she translates within her text. More than in her earlier writings, Christine may have initially wanted to present herself as fully at ease with learned Latin texts, and thus to impress upon the young dauphin that she was giving authoritative advice. These early chapters give a valuable clue as to the extent of her familiarity with the Latin originals of the texts she was quoting in translation. Pressure of time, however, may well have forced her to discontinue this practice and rush the work to conclusion.

Christine quotes particularly frequently from the Psalter in the first part of the *Livre de paix*, transposing the concern for peace in Jerusalem onto her own longing for peace in France. On the other hand, she steers away from explicit quotation of the biblical prophets, at least in her chapter headings.⁷ While she is certainly familiar with the prophetic books in the Bible and compares the situation of France to that of Israel (as in 3.19–21), she prefers to cite the Wisdom books of the Hebrew Scriptures, above all the Book of Proverbs, which she presents as fully compatible with the values of classical antiquity as taught by Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca. The model of the wise leader that she offers to the young dauphin is Solomon, presumed author of the Wisdom books, from which she draws extensively, both for her Latin quotations in the first part of her treatise and for her own discussion. The fact that she quotes Proverbs 28–29 in chapters 10–12 of Part 1 suggests that she was here deliberately looking for texts that supported her theme that a ruler needs wise counsel, and that one should always distrust false friends who give deceitful advice. She reads passages like “he who corrects a man shall subsequently find favor with him more than he who deceives through smoothness of the tongue” (1.10; Prov. 28:23) as being of direct relevance to the need for honesty in public life. Some of the texts she assigns to Proverbs are remembered texts from elsewhere, as “the tongue kills more than the sword” (1.15; perhaps false recall of Psalms 56:5, “and their tongue is a sharp sword”). Although she identifies the final quotation in the *Livre de paix* (3.48: “Semper in finem determinatur res”: An affair is always determined in its end) as coming from Proverbs 7, the phrase may in fact have been picked up from some nonbiblical source, if she did not invent it herself.

As is evident from the attached table of literary sources for the *Livre de paix*, there is a striking absence of quotation from the Church Fathers in this work. While the table is far from being a definitive list, it is evident that the proportion of quotations from classical as against patristic authors is quite different from the

7. See Christine Moneera Laennec, “Prophétie, interprétation et écriture dans l’Avison–Christine,” in *Une femme de lettres au moyen âge: Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), 131–38.

earlier *Epistre Othea*, in which Christine quotes extensively from Augustine, Gregory the Great, and other fathers. On the very few occasions that she gives a quotation from Augustine or St. Bernard in the *Livre de paix*, she has found these texts in Brunetto Latini's *Livres du Trésor*. She has a particular fondness for Cassiodorus (to whom the *De amicitia Christiana* of Peter of Blois was often attributed in the fifteenth century) but never identifies Augustine as the source of a Latin quotation at the beginning of a chapter. Parussa has observed that many of Christine's patristic quotations in the *Epistre Othea* seem to have been drawn from the comprehensive compilation the *Manipulus florum*, compiled by Thomas of Ireland in the late thirteenth century (although her quotations are not always in any of the known versions of the text).⁸ Christine's Latin was quite sufficient to draw both from this work and from other texts (like the commentary on the *Metaphysics* of Aquinas). Yet by the time she composed the *Livre de paix*, she was moving toward more classically focused sources of inspiration. Only one Latin quotation in the book (I.3) also occurs in the *Manipulus florum*, a passage from the *Variae* of Cassiodorus listed under *Pax*.⁹ The fact that she initially attributed it not to Cassiodorus (as in the *Manipulus florum*), but to Scripture, suggests that she was working here from memory, rather than by looking up an anthology, and only subsequently checked (and corrected with a marginal note) her identification of the source. As there are many other Latin quotations from Cassiodorus (including some attributed to Seneca, and some in fact by Valerius Maximus) included within the *Livre de paix*, it may be that she had access to a more classically oriented anthology of Latin texts than the *Manipulus florum*.

This is also suggested by the fact that she includes a number of wrongly identified classical quotations in the *Livre de paix*. Passages from Cicero's *De inventione* are attributed to Seneca, and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is attributed to Aristotle. A small text from the *De provinciis consulariis* of Cicero, whom she identifies as "grand prince romain," rather than as Tullius (suggesting that she does not realize that Cicero is the Tully she mentions elsewhere), is most likely to come from such an anthology, as are texts from various Roman poets, notably Juvenal and Claudian. More research into classical

8. Parussa (*Othea* 53–56) reports that certain quotations in that work correspond only to certain manuscripts of the *Manipulus florum* (notably, Paris, BNF n.a.l. 708), while others do not match exactly any known manuscript of the anthology.

9. A complete text of the *Manipulus florum*, edited by Chris L. Nighman from the Venice 1493–95 edition, is available online at <http://info.wlu.ca/~wwwhist/faculty/cnighman>. There were multiple versions as well as florilegia, however, of this influential text: see Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia, and Sermons: Studies on the "Manipulus florum" of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), 197–207.

anthologies in circulation in the early fifteenth century may well throw more light on how many of her quotations, both those in Latin and those given in French, are likely to come from such a source.¹⁰

Christine includes one Latin quotation from Giles of Rome that cannot be identified as occurring in the *De regimine principum* (2.14: “Principis est omnia cognoscere quod non potest fieri in solitario”) but could have come from an anthology. That she is very interested in both the *Ethics* and *Politics* of Aristotle is evident, not just from her obvious familiarity with Oresme’s translation of these works, but from her citation of Latin phrases found in them. She also frequently quotes and comments on the *Ethics* in her text. Yet, while she was also evidently familiar with the *Politics* (not a work known to Brunetto Latini), only some of the Latin quotations that she identifies as coming from this work actually occur in it. This suggests that she was using an anthology like the *Auctoritates Aristotelis* as the source of her quotations.¹¹ She is nonetheless fully capable of reading, digesting, and commenting on the significance of extracts from such compilations that strike her as particularly important.

A literary text she is fond of quoting in Latin is Walter of Châtillon’s didactic epic, the *Alexandreis*, which has the form of moral advice given by Aristotle to his charge, Alexander the Great.¹² Whether she is reading it in an abridgment or as the complete work, it is evident that she is fully able to comment on its sophisticated Latin imagery. Another Latin text for which she has a particular attachment she introduces as *in Exordiis Summe sue*, by Guido Faba. The half dozen different extracts that she quotes, however, cannot be traced in any of the edited writings of this great theorist of prose composition from the thirteenth century.¹³ This could have been a text

10. Evencio Beltran argues that, for the *Livre du chemin de long estude*, Christine used the *Communiloquium* of John of Wales, a thirteenth-century compilation: see “Christine de Pizan, Jacques Legrand et le *Communiloquium* de Jean de Galles,” *Romania* 104 (1983): 208–28; on this anthology, see Jenny Swanson, *John of Wales: A Study of the Works and Ideas of a Thirteenth-Century Friar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). On Jacques Legrand (d. 1425), an Augustinian friar and direct contemporary of Christine, see his *Archiloge Sophie: Livre de bonnes meurs*, ed. Evencio Beltran (Geneva: Slatkine, 1986).

11. *Les “Auctoritates Aristotelis”: Un florilège médiéval; Étude historique et édition critique*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1974).

12. *Galeri de Castellione: Alexandreis*, ed. Marvin L. Colker (Padua: Antenore, 1978); *The Alexandreis*, trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986).

13. They do not occur in his *Summa de Vitiis et Virtutibus*, ed. Virgilio Pini, “La *Summa de Vitiis et Virtutibus* de Guido Faba,” *Quadrivium* 1 (1956): 41–152, or in his *Dictamina rhetorica epistole*, ed. A. Gaudenzi, *Medium aevum: Artes triviales* 7, 3 (Bologna: Forni Editore, 1971). I have not been able to consult the unpublished *Exordia vel proverbia ad commune bonum et ad utilitatem omnium scoliarum tam Bononiae quam alibi commorantium*, preserved in several manuscripts of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Clm 639, fols. 54–68va; Clm 16124, fols. 43–55; Clm 21565, fols. 47va–64ra; Clm22293, fols. 92–103va, 105.

that she herself had obtained from her father, from his own earlier career in Italy. That she was fully aware of Italian literature is demonstrated by her familiarity with Dante.¹⁴ She also provides an excerpt (3.41) from the Latin text of Boccaccio's *Liber de casibus virorum illustrium*, further evidence of her debt to the Italian tradition.

One compilation to which Christine certainly did have access was the *Livre du Trésor* of Brunetto Latini.¹⁵ Latini (ca. 1220–94) began work on this great anthology during a period of exile from Florence, between 1260 and 1266, but completed it only after his return to Italy. Christine does not draw at all on the first of its three books, concerned with what Brunetto calls Theory, covering sacred and secular history and natural science (astronomy in particular). However, she quotes extensively from its second book, however, which deals with the vices and the virtues. She does not make direct use of the extensive paraphrase of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* that opens the second book (apart from a section on lordship, in 3.19) but adapts Brunetto's discussion of the virtues (Latini 2.52–132) and reproduces his citation of classical sources. Brunetto himself based much of this part of the second book on the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, a widely diffused anthology of classical texts from the twelfth century, sometimes associated with William of Conches,¹⁶ as well as on the *Summa de virtutibus* of William of Peyraut OP (Guillelmus Peraldus, ca. 1200–1271?).¹⁷

14. See n94 in the Introduction.

15. In her edition of *Paix*, Charity Cannon Willard identified Christine's debt to Latini but only had access to the edition of P. Chabaille, *Li Livres dou Tresor* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1863). This used a different system of numbering from that employed by Francis J. Carmody in his edition, *Li Livres dou Trésor de Brunetto Latini* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948), and retained in a subsequent edition, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. Spurgeon Baldwin and Paul Barrette (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003). Barrette and Baldwin had earlier translated the work as Brunetto Latini, *The Book of the Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)* (New York: Garland, 1993). Unfortunately, neither their translation nor their edition identifies the sources used by Latini or provides a detailed index, making the Carmody edition still invaluable for research into Latini's sources and Christine's dependence on them.

16. This anthology, printed as *Moralis philosophia de honesto et utili* among the works of Hildebert of Lavardin (PL 171, 1003–56), was attributed to William of Conches in *Das Moraliū dogma philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches: Lateinisch, altfranzösisch und mittelniederfränkisch*, ed. J. Holmberg (Paris: Champion, 1929), but this was questioned by R. A. Gauthier, "Pour l'attribution à Gauthier de Châtillon du *Moraliū dogma philosophorum*," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 7 (1951): 19–64, a debate summarized by J. R. Williams, "The Quest for the Author of the *Moraliū dogma philosophorum* (1931–1956)," *Speculum* 32 (1957): 736–47. R. A. Gauthier, "Les deux recensions du *Moraliū dogma philosophorum*," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 9 (1953): 171–260, argued that the *Moraliū* was dependent on Alan of Lille (and thus could not be by William of Conches). The issue still needs to be resolved.

17. Guillelmus Peraldus, *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* (Paris, 1669).

Christine seems to have drawn only very slightly on the third book of the *Livre du Trésor*, which deals with rhetoric (taken from the *De inventione* of Cicero) and the government of the urban republic. She does not limit herself to quoting and adapting (sometimes quite significantly) excerpts from the second book of the *Livre du Trésor* in her discussion. Nonetheless, it is clear that this anthology, several copies of which were preserved in the libraries of Charles VI (including one sent to the Louvre by the duke of Guyenne in 1409), was a major stimulus for Christine.¹⁸ While her knowledge of Cicero and Seneca was very much influenced by her familiarity with Brunetto Latini, not all of her reading of these authors comes from this anthology. Brunetto would not have provided her with any of her extensive Latin quotations.

Another anthology on which she may have drawn (although no firm proof of this has yet been found) is the *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum*, again more classically oriented than the *Manipulus florum*. This was originally an Arab anthology of classical Greek texts, translated into Latin in the second half of the fourteenth century from a Castilian version of an Arab anthology from the eleventh century, and put into French by Guillaume de Tignonville (d. 1414), provost of Paris from 1401 and a close friend of Christine in the debate about *Le Roman de la rose*.¹⁹ Like Christine, Tignonville also offered a number of his writings to the duke of Berry.²⁰ Given this friendship, Tignonville may well have assisted Christine in her scholarly endeavors. Such compilations were

18. Multiple copies of the *Livres dou Trésor* in the library of Charles VI are recorded by Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, 3:136, nos. 451–56; in Delisle, *Recherches*, 2:77–78, no. 456 (2:78) is identified as sent to the Louvre by the duke of Guyenne in January 1409. Pierre Champion, *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Champion, 1910), identifies three copies (Paris, BNF fr. 571 [early fourteenth century], 191 [fifteenth century], and 1110 [early fourteenth century]) as belonging to the library of Charles d'Orléans in 1440.

19. The complex story of the transmission of this text is summarized by Curt F. Bühler in his introduction to the translation made into English from the French by Stephen Scrope (who also translated Christine de Pizan), William Worcester, and an anonymous translator, *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* (1941; repr., London: Oxford University Press, 1961), x–xiii. The Latin text was edited by Ezio Franceschini, “Il *Liber Philosophorum Moraliū Antiquorum*,” in *Memorie della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, anno 327, ser. 6, vol. 3.5 (1930): 354–99, and *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, anno academico, 91.2 (1931–32): 393–597. Bühler (xiii–xv) notes a large number of manuscripts of Tignonville’s translation, as well as a number of early printed editions of the French version, edited by Robert Eder: “Tignonvillana inedita,” *Romanische Forschungen* 33 (1915): 851–1091.

20. Delisle, *Recherches*, 2:246 (nos. 136–37), notes his gift of two volumes of translation of laws into French, offered in May 1412, and 2:250–51, *Un livre des Dis moraulx des philosophes*, bought from Maistre Regnault de Montet in January 1404, may be Tignonville’s work. An early copy, from around 1400, is now held at the Beinecke Library, Yale University, MS 285. See <http://webtext.library.yale.edu/beinfla/pre1600.MS285.htm>. A copy was held at the library of Charles d'Orléans at Blois, where it was shelved next to Christine’s *Epistre Othea* (Champion, *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans*).

popular in the period, and it is always difficult to pin down any particular one used by Christine. Another, which could have been used by Christine in earlier writings, is the *Chapelet des vertus*, translated in the late fourteenth century from the *Fiori di virtù*, but again no firm certainty can be reached.²¹

Another influential text to which she was exposed, either directly or indirectly, was the *Formula honestae vitae*, widely attributed to Seneca but in fact by a sixth-century Christian writer, Martin of Braga. Christine had glossed this work in her *Livre de prudence* and *Livre de la prod'homme de l'homme*, while an independent translation into French of this work was produced by Jean Courtecuisse in 1403.²² Much more work still needs to be done on the influence of classical texts like the *Formula honestae vitae* on Christine. Another text she could well have encountered in the library of Charles V was a French translation of the *Speculum dominarum*, composed by Durand de Champagne, the Franciscan confessor of Jeanne de Navarre (d. 1305), wife of Philip IV. Christine's discussion of the tripartite division of prudence could possibly have been mediated through this work, though its original inspiration was certainly in comments made by Martin of Braga.²³ Again much more research is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

Compared to writings like the *Epistre Othea*, the *Livre de paix* demonstrates profound familiarity with a wide range of both classical and Christian authors. Christine shared the taste of her generation for adapting nuggets of ethical wisdom from ancient authors and presenting them as fully consistent with the ethical precepts preserved in the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament. In moving away in the *Livre de paix* from the more frequent reference to the Church Fathers that she had displayed in some of her earlier writings, she was moving in accord with the growing interest in classical authors that defined her age.

21. Curt F. Bühler, "The *Fleurs de toutes vertus* and Christine de Pisan's *L'Épître d'Othéa*," *PMLA* 62 (1947): 32–44; and by the same author, "The *Fleurs de toutes vertus*," *PMLA* 64 (1949): 600–601. Parussa discusses Christine's possible use of this work in *Othea* 46–53 but observes that Bühler did not observe that Christine cites many passages more accurately and fully than in the *Chapelet des vertus*.

22. *Sénèque des IIII vertus: La Formula honestae vitae de Martin de Braga (pseudo-Sénèque), traduite et glosée par Jean Courtecuisse* (1403), ed. Hans Haselbach (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1975). A comparison of Christine's work and that by Courtecuisse is offered in Jean-Louis Picherit, "Le *Livre de la Prod'homme de l'homme* et Le *Livre de Prudence* de Christine de Pizan: Chronologie, structure et composition," *Le Moyen Âge* 40 (1985).

23. *Paix* 1.4. This tripartite division is found in pseudo-Seneca [Martin of Braga], *Formula vitae honestae*, 2, in Martin of Braga, *Opera omnia*, ed. Claude W. Barlow (New Haven: Yale University Press for the American Academy in Rome, 1950), but is also mentioned in the *Miroir des dames* (Corpus Christi College MS 324, fols. 103v–104r) with more specific reference to its sources in Cicero and Seneca (see notes to translation). The copy Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 324, belonged to the library of Charles V (Delisle, *Recherches*, 1:247).



DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

Tania Van Hemelryck

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PARIS, BNF FR. 1182

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

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

BRUXELLES, KBR 10366

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. *Paix* (Willard, 47).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



NOTE ON THE TEXT

Janice Pinder

The French Text

In the French text reproduced here we have attempted to provide as accurate a reading as possible of the manuscript Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België (ms 10366), which is the basis of our English translation.

The critical edition by Charity Cannon Willard, produced before the autograph manuscripts of Christine's works had been identified (see "Description of the Manuscripts"), has a number of problems,¹ which made it necessary to establish a correct text on which to base the English translation. We have chosen to use the Brussels manuscript as the basis of our text, on the grounds of the authority conferred by its autograph status, although, as noted by Tania Van Hemelryck, some readings of the Paris manuscript seem to indicate that Christine modified an earlier state of the text to produce the Brussels version.

What we have provided is not, therefore, a critical edition of the French text, with full discussion of variants. This is a task that must remain for the future. Our purpose has been rather to allow the reader to see the original we have translated and to have access to a text produced by Christine herself. Although we do not systematically record the variant readings of the Paris manuscript, we have followed Willard in noting those occasions where we have used it to supply a word that is missing in the Brussels version or drawn on it to correct an obvious copying error. The passages where the two manuscripts diverge (discussed above in the description of the Brussels manuscript) have also been noted.

At the same time, to allow a modern reader to refer easily to the text, we have made a number of modifications that mean it is not, technically

1. See, for example, the review by Kathleen Chesney, *Medium Aevum* 29 (1958): 44–46.

speaking, a diplomatic edition. The use of *v* and *u*, and *i* and *j*, have been standardized in the usual way, and abbreviations expanded. We have added accents, following the accepted conventions for Old and Middle French texts.² We have used the apostrophe in contractions and provided modern punctuation. While trying to remain as faithful as possible to the clause boundaries represented by punctuation in the manuscript, in some cases extra intra-sentence breaks have been added for ease of reading. The punctuation of Christine's many citations has been a difficult question. The boundary between her words and those of her source is not marked in the manuscript, except in the case of the Latin quotations, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between direct and indirect speech. Many editions of Old and Middle French prose (including Willard's edition of the *Livre de paix*) do not use quotation marks, simply marking the beginning of a citation with a colon. Because we have used modern conventions for representing direct speech in the English translation, however, we have thought it better to reflect the decisions we have made about quotation boundaries in the French text. There are, of course, some instances where for stylistic reasons we have turned what is probably direct speech in the French text into indirect speech in the translation. Capitalization has been another difficult area, particularly in relation to the names of the virtues. In some cases Christine is clearly treating the virtue as a personification, while in others referring to it simply as an attribute. In the former case we have given an initial capital, in the latter not. There are inevitably cases that are not clear-cut and some readers will probably question our choice.

The English Translation

It has been noted that Christine's style in her prose works on matters of good government is characterized by sentences that are long, complex, dense, and sometimes obscure, close to the Latinate style of chancery writing.³ For us as translators, this has posed the question of how far to attempt to reflect that style in our English text. We have tried to steer a middle way between preserving the serious tone that we feel this style is intended to lend to the

2. Alfred Foulet and Mary Blakely Speer, *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1979).

3. Angus J. Kennedy, introduction to *Le Livre du corps de policie*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Champion, 1998), xxxix.

work and making the text accessible to a modern reader. This has generally meant that the first aim has often been pursued through vocabulary choice, which has tended toward the formal and is sometimes a little archaic, while for the second we have worked more through breaking the long, complex periods into shorter units. Our approach overall has been conservative: we have tried to preserve as much of Christine's meaning as we possibly could.



The Book of Peace



PART I



Here begins the table of contents of the *Book of Peace*, which is dedicated to the noble and excellent prince the Duke of Guyenne, eldest son of the King of France. Begun on the first day of September, after peace was sworn between our lords of France at the city of Auxerre, in the year 1412.¹

This book is divided into three parts. The first exhorts my lord of Guyenne to preserve the peace, and speaks of the virtue of prudence and its application in princely government. This first part was finished on the last day of November, but the remainder of the book was put aside because of the failure of the peace.

The second part of the work was taken up again on the third day of September, after the restoration of peace in the town of Pontoise, and after our lords of France had come together in great joy and peace in Paris, in the year 1413.² The second part speaks once again of the benefits of peace, to urge the said lord of Guyenne to maintain love among the princes and the knights, by appeal to three virtues: justice, magnanimity or greatness of heart, and fortitude. Examples are given from his forebear, King Charles V.

The third part speaks of governing the people and the polity well,³ by appeal to three other virtues: clemency, liberality, and truth.

1. August 22, 1412. For a description of the ceremony and the clauses of the agreement, see Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, trans. and ed. M. L. Bellaguet, 6 vols. (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1994), 4.709–19.

2. July 28, 1413. The articles agreed to are published in *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.115–23.

3. Christine's phrase "la chose publique" is clearly a French translation of the Latin *res publica*. Rather than translating this as "republic," we have chosen the more neutral "polity" because "republic" has acquired too many democratic overtones. It is nevertheless significant that, by using this term, Christine demonstrates her recognition of a public political realm.

The chapters of the first part:

1. The first praises God, giving thanks for the present peace.
2. Praise and blessing to my lord of Guyenne, because it is through his efforts that this peace came about.
3. Addresses my lord of Guyenne, urging the preservation of the peace.
4. Exhorts my lord to virtue.
5. Takes up the subject of prudence, and where it comes from.
6. Proof that there is no one to whom diverse knowledge is more advantageous than a prince, and some examples concerning King Charles, fifth of that name.
7. How a prince should let himself be guided by the wise, with examples concerning the said king.
8. More concerning the said king.
9. That a prince should act in accordance with counsel; and which counselors are suitable and which are not.
10. Concerning good counselors: how many should be in the prince's circle, and of what qualities.
11. Concerning bad counselors, and the evil that can result from them.
12. Again concerning bad counselors.
13. Concerning bad officials and the means by which they obtain office.
14. Concerning what court officials and servants should be like.
15. Again concerning good servants.

Here begins the *Book of Peace*, which is addressed to a most noble and excellent prince, my lord the Duke of Guyenne, eldest son of the king, begun on the first day of September, after peace was sworn between our lords of France, in the year 1412.

1**The first chapter praises God for the present peace**

From the mouths of children and babes,
you have made praise. [David, Psalm]⁴

Our Lord God, almighty heavenly King who overcomes and takes away, when you wish to, the suffering of the world, indeed you are pleased

4. *P* adds “David in Psalmo” (Ps. 8:2); the phrase “que en la bouche des enfans et des alaitans Dieux a parfaite sa loenge” is also quoted in *Corps de police* 1.3.

to receive perfect praise out of the mouth of babes and sucklings. This has been seen many times, as when you opened the lips of the young Daniel, to reprieve the chaste and falsely accused Susanna from sentence of death, when he said: “I am clear from the blood of this woman,” etc.,⁵ for which you were blessed by every nation. O glorious trinity, one single indivisible God, whom the angels praise endlessly: he is indeed foolish that has no faith in you. Did we not also see your power when Azarias and his two companions were consigned to a blazing furnace by the king of Babylon, but suffered no ill? They praised you in song: “Blessed is Our Lord!”⁶ Similarly, O Lord God, it pleased you to be blessed from the mouths of children when you entered Jerusalem with great solemnity, and they cried aloud: “Savior! Son of David! Blessed be you, who come in the name of Our Lord.”⁷ And, sweet God full of goodness and infinite mercy, although much more could be told about the many times you revealed your divine grace and boundless virtues through innocent children in the past, we must now offer our *present* gratitude, and praise you with all our hearts. Once more you have chosen to comfort us, and by your mercy to come to our aid in our great affliction. You sent a single child, inspired in word and deed with your Holy Spirit, to minister to us on your behalf, and to bind the mortal wound of bitter hatred—to staunch the fearsome, unremitting bloodshed from which your catholic kingdom of France was dying. For this bounty, most sweet Jesus Christ who with the Holy Spirit sits at the right hand of God the Father in his glory, we praise you, we bless you, we glorify you. We give thanks for this great blessing,⁸ to you who are our true God, our sole creator, our good shepherd, most righteous judge, our wise master, our very powerful helper, our beneficent physician, our brilliant light, and our life. Consent, King of Glory, to hear our honest prayers. On account of our duke Louis’s work we French should “sing unto the Lord a new song, for he has worked wonders!”⁹ Bestow on him, if it please you, the accomplishment of grace, good counsel in conduct, wisdom in government, and enduring glory. Amen.

5. Dan. 13:46: “mundus ego sum a sanguine huius.”

6. Dan. 3:52–90.

7. Matt. 21:9.

8. Ordo missae (Gloria in excelsis Deo . . .): “Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Adoramus te. Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tua.”

9. Ps. 97:1.

Praise and blessing to my lord of Guyenne, to whose mediation and efforts this peace is due

Let there be peace in your strength.

Psalm of David.¹⁰

Glory, honor, and reverence be laid dutifully before you, most excellent and redoubtable Prince Louis, eldest son of the King, in line to the crown by the grace of God, Duke of Guyenne and Dauphin of Viennois. Most high and noble prince, let not your magnificence disdain the writings of your humble servant, moved as she is by a sincere desire for your well-being. Rather, let the liberal clemency of your noble heart consent to receive them. And by leave of your gentle humility, do not take it amiss if I address you plainly and in the singular. For you, already versed and instructed in letters, are surely aware that according to the canons of rhetoric this is the most apt style of writing, even to emperors and kings.¹¹ Most excellent lord, the great joy brimming in my heart on account of the new peace, granted through you by divine providence, impels me now to write in admiration of you. For not only I, a simple and untutored woman writing in a humble rustic way, but also many high-minded and learned intellects—wise orators steeped in rhetoric, law, and argument—celebrate you in verse and prose, so that you will always live in memory. For are you not the one who, at the age of only fifteen, by the grace of God and in spite of the infernal arch-enemy of peace who strives ingeniously to frustrate it, has constantly and tenaciously made peace—between those of your own blood whose relentless war was destroying the realm? How unlike a light unstable youth! More like a grown man, most wise and weighty in your deeds. And you are the one who united them in peace, harmonized and appeased them, bound them in new love with loyal and worthy alliances—yes, even those who had been divided by a terrible hatred, spewing fire and sparks far and wide. You have assembled them, to swear fidelity together in your exalted presence. O, child born in a propitious hour! May you be forever blessed in heaven and on earth, for skillfully achieving so great a work, which everyone thought

10. Ps. 121:7. This phrase has been linked by Maud Temple to the line from Dante's *Paradiso* 3.85, "Et la sua voluntate è nostra pace." Maud Temple, "Paraphrasing in the *Livre de la paix* of Christine de Pisan of the *Paradiso* III–IV," *PMLA* 37 (1922): 184.

11. Here Christine excuses herself for using "tu" rather than the more formal "vous." See J. D. Burnley, "Christine de Pisan and the So-Called *Style Clergial*," *Modern Language Review* 81 (1986): 1–6, for a discussion of Christine's use of this form.

impossible! The initiative, of course, came not from you, but from one without whose protection watching over the city is in vain. On the eve of Saint John the Baptist in this year 1412, as I have been reliably informed, you, on hearing in the mass the passage of the gospel that says of Saint John “and many will rejoice at his birth,”¹² turned with joyful countenance, as if suddenly inspired, and said to your confessor: “O, please God that on this glorious day we might be able to bring together in peace and joy those two Johns who are enemies!”¹³ That is to say, John, Duke of Berry and John, Duke of Burgundy. “But,” you said, “so that henceforth a firm agreement might be negotiated, mediated, and sealed between them with God’s help, it is fitting that a fine solemn mass be said tomorrow in the chapel of Saint John near here, to which they both have great devotion.” O noble prince, the advent of this peace has been a miracle—considering the many impediments and squabbles. You were with the King your father, in the midst of a great army marshaled before Bourges (where peace was only mentioned in order to deride it!) when the idea came to you; and since then you have argued tirelessly for peace, against all resistance. Though all things come from God, praise is nonetheless due to you, since he has made you worthy of receiving such a great boon from him, for which let us be forever thankful. And so you, a vassal of God—are you not by his leave the restorer and the comforter of all France? You have turned war into peace, grief into joy, death into life, hatred into love, bloodshed into healing, dearth into abundance, and every evil into good. O, glorious things are spoken of you!¹⁴ Now and evermore you should be named *Louis the God-given*, provided that you continue virtuously. For these present bounties may you be blessed with a godly nature, and with all the things in heaven and earth which God has endowed with goodness—you who give us cause to sing loudly: “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will.”¹⁵

12. Luke 1:14.

13. See *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.693 for an account by Michel Pintoin, the author of the *Chronique*, of Louis’s intervention on behalf of peace. He, like Christine, attributes Louis’s intercession to divine inspiration. William Tignonville was one of the people deputized to work out the clauses of this peace, and it therefore seems highly likely that he was one of the “people worthy of belief” who relayed to Christine the story of Louis’s prayer to his confessor, here repeated. Louis’s confessor at this time was Jacques Gelu.

14. In quoting this line from the Psalms, Christine evokes St. Augustine’s important influence on French political thinking of the period. See Lori Walters, “Christine de Pizan, Primat, and the ‘noble nation françoise,’” *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* 9 (2002): 237–46, and “The Royal Vernacular: Poet and Patron in Christine de Pizan’s *Charles V* and the *Sept Psaulmes Allégorisés*,” in *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson, and Nancy Bradley Warren (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 145–82.

15. Luke 2:14.

To my lord of Guyenne, urging the preservation of the peace

Every kingdom divided in itself will be made desolate, and every city and house divided against itself will not stand. In the Gospel.¹⁶

Every kingdom divided in itself will be destroyed, and every city or house divided against its own good cannot endure. To this Holy Scripture is witness, supported by several examples that could be given, such as Troy, Rome, and others that I leave out for brevity, which were once so powerful that the whole world in concert could do them no harm—but they were undone by discord.¹⁷ Once again we can glorify, revered prince, this work of yours, this worthy peace. Seeing that it is inevitable that every kingdom perishes in which there is dissension, certainly the converse is true: by peace and love it is preserved and sustained. Therefore you, wise and well counseled as you are, could find no better medicine nor more sovereign remedy to keep this noble kingdom—your inheritance—from ruin than by installing peace in it. Thus you will have saved what is yours, and with it gained much in heaven and on earth: as Scripture tells us, peacemakers are blessed and holy, for they shall be called the sons of God.¹⁸ And to show that you will benefit on earth, Scripture says also that the glory of the governor, which is to say of the lord, is greatly increased when the subjects are not stirred up by war. Therefore, since joy and tranquility are found where there is no such preoccupation, goods will flow to you in abundance. As the psalmist says, completing the verse attached to the beginning of the previous chapter: “and abundance of

16. Matt. 12:25 and Luke 11:17. Matt. 12:25: “Iesus autem sciens cogitationes eorum dixit eis omne regnum divisum contra se desolatur et omnis civitas vel domus divisa contra se non stabit”; Luke 11:17: “ipse autem ut vidit cogitationes eorum dixit eis omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolatur et domus supra domum cadet.” These two texts are fused by Christine. “Omne regnum in se ipso divisum desolabitur” was also used by Michel Pintoin to sum up the contemporary situation in France, while Christine’s friend Guillaume de Tignonville used similar phrasing in a harangue he delivered during an embassy to the royal princes in 1410; *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.347. The French version of this text had also been used by Christine in her “Letter to the Queen”: see *Prison/Epistre* 72.

17. Christine’s *Othea* had used stories from the history of Troy to illustrate the virtues to be attained and vices to be avoided by a young knight. The political relevance of this work is discussed in Sandra Hindman, *Christine de Pizan’s “Épistre Othea”: Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986).

18. Matt. 5:9.

all things shall be in your towers,”¹⁹ which is to say, in that which you shall possess. But David says: “Seek and pursue peace,”²⁰ and certainly you have done this well, for you have sought it so well that you have found it. Indeed, it is incumbent on you to pursue it; to persevere forever according to the maxim of Scripture: “Great praise for that prince who can manage peace so well that it works to the advantage of everyone; nor is it injurious to any, but cherished by all.”²¹ And you must work with tremendous prudence in this way in the future: that is to say, you should wisely manage and maintain all things required for peace, which together with good counsel banish all obstacles. That way no accidental setback can upset the peace. For as a philosopher says: “It is not so great an accomplishment to acquire the thing desired as to look after it well.”²² Fire, once established in a town and grown into a great conflagration, is difficult to extinguish completely: some small flame might linger for a few days, then flare again and bring destruction.²³ Similarly with spitefulness and ill will, which are difficult to abate or placate readily by force of arms: their suppression, as with putting out fire, requires that the water of gentleness and goodwill be poured over them. It must arise in you yourself, as from a veritable fountain of clemency, good cheer, and geniality. All this, in order that you may always be for them a means of following peaceful ways—not just for a month or two, but forever—by such gentleness that you entice and soften their hearts. So let the sting of past rancor, as much for the love of you and your gentleness as for their own good, be altogether smoothed away and turned into love, benevolence, and unity. And so, noble prince, do not doubt that God, by whose aid—praise be to him!—you have achieved the most arduous part, will help you to accomplish what remains by following these and such other good ways as one must, so that henceforth you may live with glory in the love of your people and for their good.

4

Exhorting my lord to virtue

Only virtue is in its own power; all
reasons for living well are to be placed

19. Adapted from Ps. 121:7.

20. Ps. 33:15.

21. Cf. Cassiodorus *Variae* 1.23, ed. A. J. Fridh, CCSL 96 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1973), 31: “Ad laudem regnantis trahit si ab omnibus pax ametur.” Quoted in Thomas of Ireland, *Manipulus florum*, “Pax.”

22. Unidentified.

23. For a previous use by Christine of “mieux vaut prevenir le feu que l'estaindre quant il est pris,” see *Trois vertus* 1.13.

in virtue. For fortune cannot much get in the way of one who has placed himself more strongly in virtue than in chance. Tully, in the second book of Rhetoric which is called the *Ars Nova*.²⁴

As all things here below be fallible, virtue alone, says Tully, has dominion over itself, which means that it has endurance; and because of this one's reasons for living well should be founded in virtue. For surely Fortune will not set herself against anyone holding fast to virtue, rather than to the benefits of Fortune and sheer luck. Although it is clear to me most noble and venerable prince (may God by his grace ever cause your fair youth to flourish), that you have always been from first childhood to the present day, admonished and guided in the way of good conduct and praiseworthy virtues by wise nobles (honest men in your circle, whom your noble nature inclines you to retain), nevertheless I, as your own creature, absorbed as I am in laborious and lonely study, have gathered fine and tender flowers from the fields of literature to make a wreath to grace your youthful brow—in order that the joy that you gave us may endure till we see you in full kingly raiment. That will be the adornment most proper and becoming for your highness!²⁵ These flowers issue from shoots, among other noble plants, from the seven principal roots of virtue, of which the first, being the one from which all the others sprout, is called *prudence*. The other six are called *justice*, *magnanimity* or greatness of heart, *fortitude*, *clemency*, *liberality*, and *truth*. And so that you who await the crown of royalty may desire first of all to possess this coronet—a circlet which in its entirety is known as *virtue*, encompassing the said flowers set well in order—I shall say a few more fine words in commendation of it.

24. Culled from ps.-Cicero *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.17.24, 4.19.27, ed. F. Marx (Leipzig: Teubner, 1964), 132, 135: "omnes bene uiuendi rationes in uirtute sunt conlocandae, propterea quod sola uirtus in sua potestate est, omnia praeterea subiecta sunt sub fortunae dominationem . . . In sententia hoc pacto: ei non multum potest obesse fortuna, qui sibi firmitus in uirtute, quam in casu praesidium conlocauit." Translated by Harry Caplan (29) as "All the rules for noble living should be based on virtue, because virtue alone is within her own control, whereas all else is subject to the sway of fortune."

25. Cf. Jerome *Epistulae* 130.9, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 56/1 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1910–18), 188. This metaphor may have been suggested to Christine by the expanded French translation of an Italian text, *Li Fiori de virtù*, called in French *Le Chapelet des vertus*. Curt F. Bühler, "The *Fleurs de toutes vertus* and Christine de Pisan's *L'Épître d'Othéa*," *PMLA* 62 (1947): 32–44, and by the same author, "The *Fleurs de toutes vertus*," *PMLA* 64 (1949): 600–601. This may have been the source of passages in Christine's *Othea* and *Prudence*, although this has been questioned by Parussa (*Othea*, 53).

Tully says: “Nothing is more pleasing or more apt to be loved than virtue”;²⁶ and Seneca in his epistle to Lucilius: “Virtue alone gives lasting joy.”²⁷ And Aristotle proves the truth that in virtue there is every joy: since glory and unmixed delight could not inhere in anything evanescent or mutable (that is, changeable from one thing into another, such as ordinary delights that decay into sadness), there can be no true felicity (that is, true joy) except in things possessed of such a high degree of goodness and stability that they cannot be corrupted or unsettled by any manner of disturbance.²⁸ And what thing is situated at such a high level? In God’s name, only virtue! Nothing else whatsoever. O noble prince, if only you were to know the good comprised therein, certainly you would desire no other treasure so much as virtue, for it alone can make you great, powerful, rich, renowned, feared, and loved. And do you know what it is, this virtue? Briefly, it is what inclines us to avoid all ugly or reprehensible qualities, to delight in doing and speaking well, and to love and accept good counsel. But Seneca says that he is not virtuous who only seems to be so; it is rather he who performs the works of virtue.²⁹ Indeed, if your actions spring from virtue, you need fear no harm; and consequently you will lack no happiness, as Macrobius points out.³⁰ This is borne out by Saint Luke: “Go surely, so long as the virtues are your guide, for no other wall stands so firm against ill fortune.”³¹ And to this point Tully says: “The wise are girt by a bulwark of virtue which protects them.”³² You might imagine that to follow this direction amounts to giving up all joy and cheerfulness—things youth can hardly do without, of course.

26. Cicero *Laelius de amicitia* 28, ed. K. Simbeck (Leipzig: Teubner, 1938), 57: “nihil est enim virtute amabilius.”

27. Seneca *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 27.3, ed. O. Hense (Leipzig: Teubner, 1938), 90.

28. Aristotle *Ethica* 1.9–10.1099b4–10, trans. Roberti Grossetesti, ed. R. A. Gauthier, AL 26.1.2 (Brussels: Desclée de Brouwer, 1973), 82. Christine has, however, placed a very Stoic reading on Aristotle’s doctrine, which is that happiness consists in rational activity in accordance with virtue.

29. Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Trésor de Brunetto Latini* 2.52.7, ed. Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948), quoting Seneca *Epistulae morales* 9.30 (Hense, 26).

30. Latini *Trésor* 2.52.10, quoting Macrobius *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis* 1.8.2, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990), 37: “solae faciunt virtutes beatum, nulla que alia quisquam via hoc nomen adipiscitur.”

31. Latini *Trésor* 2.52.11, who also combines Luke 24:49 (“et ego mitto promissum Patris mei in vos vos autem sedete in civitate quoadusque induamini virtutem ex alto”) and Seneca *Epistulae morales* 74.19 (Hense, 266).

32. Latini *Trésor* 2.52.11, perhaps quoting Cicero *De finibus bonorum et malorum* 4.14, ed. T. Schiche (Leipzig: Teubner, 1915), 136: “Vos autem, Cato, quia virtus, ut omnes fatemur, altissimum locum in homine et maxime excellentem tenet, et quod eos, qui sapientes sunt, absolutos et perfectos putamus, aciem animorum nostrorum virtutis splendore praestringitis.”

But I answer you like this: Tully says that of all the joys and worldly pleasures none can match that which issues from virtue, for it is like a fountain that can never dry up.³³ Saint Bernard confirms this, saying that to be saved and to do good one need not put aside all delight and pleasure.³⁴ And so, most worthy lord, I tell you again that from childhood and early youth it is necessary that you behave and conform yourself in everything to virtue; for Solomon says that the man grown old or hardened in vice has very great difficulty in returning to virtue.³⁵ To conclude: as Tully says, if you delight in owning the best and finest things, as it is proper that you should, then choose above all as your sovereign good, the best and most beautiful life.³⁶

5

Of prudence and where it comes from

No good thing is without reason.
Virtue is nothing other than right
reason. All virtues are reasons. Reason
follows nature. What is reason other
than the imitation of nature? Seneca.³⁷

No good thing, says Seneca, is without reason. So in line with the quotation above, virtue, which is the highest good, is nothing other than reason itself. And since reason, as he says, follows nature, it follows that all our undertakings should be founded, undertaken, and begun in reason. From this Reason, who is God's daughter, follows Prudence. O Prudence, noble virtue! There is no wealth or genuine nobility except what comes from you. It is as Seneca affirms, in praise of you: "If long-established wealth in families makes men

33. Cicero *Tusculanae disputationes* 5.25.72, ed. M. Pohlenz (Leipzig: Teubner, 1918), 437: "quodsi gaudere talibus bonis animi, id est virtutibus beatum est omnes que sapientes is gaudiis perfruuntur, omnis eos beatos esse confiteri necesse est."

34. Perhaps from Latini *Trésor* 2.52.9; cf. Bernard, *Sermones in quadragésima* 5.6, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–80), 4:375: "Divina enim est, et non carnalis delectatio; et cum in his delectamur, plane delectamur in Domino."

35. Perhaps from Latini *Trésor* 2.54.3, quoting Prov. 5:22.

36. Latini *Trésor* 2.53; cf. Cicero *De oratore* 1.212, ed. K. Kumaniecki (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905), 82.

37. Combined from: Seneca *Epistulae morales* 66.39: "Si ratio divina est, nullum autem bonum sine ratione est, bonum omne divinum est"; 66.32: "Virtus non aliud quam recta ratio <est>. Omnes virtutes rationes sunt"; 66.39: "Et ut quod volo exprimam breviter, materia boni aliquando contra naturam est, bonum numquam, quoniam bonum sine ratione nullum est, sequitur autem ratio naturam. Quid est ergo ratio? Nature imitatio."

noble, certainly greater is the nobility of those who have taken it from the treasuries of prudence.”³⁸ The better to explain what prudence is and where it comes from, let it be known that its beginning is with the understanding—a power and activity of the soul, as Saint Augustine observes, given by God individually to some men more than to others. The role of this understanding is to imagine everything seen and unseen; according to the capacity of this imagination to investigate well, knowledge is engendered. This knowledge brings a closer understanding of practical things; that is to say, of things one wants to achieve, and understanding of how to achieve them. From this knowledge comes Discretion, who is called mother and guide of all the virtues, and also first among them.³⁹ Of this discretion and what it might be for, the Ecclesiast says that it is a virtue by which we can distinguish good and evil, and choose the good because it is valuable and spurn the bad because it is harmful.⁴⁰ And the reason she is called the mother of all virtues is that if ever the virtues were not led by her, they would then not be virtues but vices. So he who scatters the virtue of wisdom among swine will have folly in return, rather than wisdom. Similarly with temperance: if a man striving for temperance and restraint wanted it so much that he allowed his father to be humiliated in front of him, without taking revenge or some such thing, though it was within his power to do so, such “temperance” would be folly. Again, if someone wanted so much to be brave that he held back

38. Not Seneca, but Cassiodorus *Variae* 8.19 (CCSL 96:324–25): “Nam si inueteratae et per genus ductae diuitiae nobiles faciunt multo magis praestantior est, cuius origo thesauris prudentiae locuples inuenitur.” Christine expounds at length on the theme that true nobility derives from virtue in *Long estude* 4101–222.

39. The image of prudence/discretion as the mother and guide of the virtues is a staple of Christine’s thought. In the version that makes prudence the mother of the virtues she quotes it in *Othea* (Parussa, 201–2) where its source may be the *Chapelet des vertus*. The phrase also occurs in various forms in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.22 (Solente, 1:59; Hicks and Moreau, 78), *Prudence* 238r, *Trois vertus* 1.6 (Willard and Hicks, 25; Lawson, 45), and *Prison/Epistre* 35. In the earlier works it is prudence that is deemed mother of the virtues, in *Paix* and *Trois vertus* it is discretion, and in *Prison/Epistre* Christine speaks of “discretion, which some call prudence,” 35.

40. Quoting Alan of Lille, *De virtutibus et de vitiis et de donis Spiritus Sanctus*, quoted by her previously in *Prudence* 268r. On this earlier occasion Christine had introduced the passage thus: “Cy s’ensuivent les diffinitions des quatre vertus cardinales et de leurs parties selon le opinion des homes ecclesiastiques.” Alan’s definition of prudence was translated by Christine as “discepcion de bonnes et mauvaises choses en la fuyte du mal et l’election du bien” (discernment of good and evil things in their flight from evil and pursuit of good); Rosemund Tuve, “Notes on the Virtues and Vices,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963): 296. Alan’s treatise was edited by Odon Lottin in vol. 6 of *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1960), 27–92. Christine’s misrepresentation of her source may be due to carelessness, working from memory, or possibly because “un homme ecclesiaste” carried too little weight so she deliberately encouraged her readers to think that this came from Ecclesiastes. See also Latini *Trésor* 2.57.2.

from complaining about some pain that he felt, and thus went without a remedy, this courage would be nothing. Or if cruelty or vengeance were exercised under the cover of justice; or if prodigality, which taxes some to give excess to others, were cloaked as largesse; or if stupidity and cowardice were disguised as clemency and benevolence—these things and others like them would not be virtues but vices, because of the absence of discretion, which serves to determine the right measure in which they are used: neither too little nor too much.⁴¹ So from Discretion comes Reason, who is called God's daughter; this is because the role of Reason is to distribute all things equally; she wishes that the good be rewarded and the bad punished, and that all the works she accomplishes be in good order. To this end she has brought forth an excellent daughter, particularly adept at keeping everything well organized, namely Prudence. This Prudence serves as much our spiritual as our physical welfare, for through her, man desires to know God and learn the things that lead to salvation and to put them into effect, to love and to fear him. Without this knowledge of God all other prudence is mere folly, and only this good and that which depends on it is called wisdom, which is the principle of all knowledge as the Psalmist says.⁴² In this way the virtues are born and derived one from another; and each one fits well with all of the others. It would be appropriate to treat this very fine subject at greater length, and more subtly by way of Aristotle's proofs, which my poor understanding can hardly represent or describe; but to keep to the theme of this work we shall pass over it for the time being.⁴³ We should understand that for practical affairs in the physical realm we need Prudence. And another virtue arises from her and operates through her: Circumspection. This virtue is necessary before any kind of work is undertaken by man—especially great matters and weighty deeds. The circumspect man gives mature consideration to the reasons and causes motivating him toward certain undertakings, and when he has thought them over scrupulously, if he finds that his motives are good and just, he is happy to act on them. Nevertheless, it is not enough to

41. Christine repeats a version of this explanation of why discretion or prudence is called the mother and guide of the virtues at *Prison/Epistre* 35.

42. Marginal note: "Res principium sapientiae timor domini" (Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom): Ps. 110:10; cf. Prov. 9:10: "principium sapientiae timor domini et scientia sanctorum prudentia."

43. That prudence implies all the virtues is asserted by Aristotle: "if a man have the one moral virtue of prudence he will also have all the moral virtues together with it." Aristotle *Ethica* 6.10.1144b32 (AL 26.3:492); Nicole Oresme, *Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le Livre de éthiques d'Aristote; Published from the Text of MS 2902, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, ed. Albert Douglas Menut (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1940), 360.

have a good reason for doing something; rather one must see how it might be accomplished, before deciding on it. For this, four things are relevant: first, what power one has to achieve it; second, what manner of help, and of what quality, one will be able to get for it; third, what objections, resistances, and impediments might exist to raise doubts concerning it; and fourth, what might be the final outcome. And then three further points are pertinent: the first is to weigh up what has happened in similar cases in the past; the second concerns how to make provision for the future; and the third, how we might make good use of present circumstances.⁴⁴

6

Proof that there is no one to whom diverse knowledge is more advantageous than a prince, and some examples concerning King Charles the Fifth

It does not suit anyone to know either better than or more than the prince, whose teaching can be of benefit to all his subjects. Vegetius, *On Military Affairs*, in the first chapter.⁴⁵

Regarding what has been said in the previous chapter, most noble prince, there is a good reason in the authority cited above for taking so long over the description of prudence, for without doubt there is no man for whom it is more appropriate to know many things—and to know best—than

44. This threefold division of prudence derives from ps.-Seneca [Martin of Braga] *Formula vitae honestae* 2, in Martin of Braga, *Opera omnia*, ed. Claude W. Barlow (New Haven: Yale University Press for the American Academy in Rome, 1950), 240: “Si prudens es, animus tuus tribus temporibus dispensetur: praesentia ordina, futura praevide, praeterita recordare.” It occurs in the *Miroir des dames* by Durand de Champagne (Corpus Christi College ms 324, fols. 103v–104r), with more specific reference to its sources in Cicero and Seneca: “Et a prudence iii parties selon ce que dit Tules. C’est assavoir: intelligence, memoire et pourveance. Intelligence et entendement regarde les choses presentes, memoire les choses passees, et pourveance les choses a venir. Donc dit Seneque, se tu veuz vivre selonc prudence tu dois ta vie et ton gouvernement selonc iii temps bien dispenser: les choses presentes dois ordonner, lez a avenir pourveoir, et les passees remembrer.” The reference to Cicero is unidentified. A similar passage occurs in *Prudence* 250r, in the passage inspired by Martin of Braga.

45. Vegetius *Epitoma rei militaris* 1. Prol., ed. A. Önnertfors (Leipzig: Teubner, 1995), 6. Perhaps quoted from Nicole Oresme, “Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le Livre de politiques d’Aristote; Published from the Text of the Avranches Manuscript 223 with a Critical Introduction,” by Albert Douglas Menut, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 60, no. 6 (1970): 123, and in Durand de Champagne *Miroir des dames* fol. 1v.

a prince. His prudence and the good order of his life can benefit all his subjects, as much by good example as by their being well governed. This virtue of prudence is needed and through it you may act with circumspection—in everything the first care of the wise in any undertaking, as we have seen. Then your authority will shine forth not only because of your great dignity, now and in times to come, but even more for your virtues and wisdom. One could think of many examples of valiant ancients—such as the noble Julius Caesar, Pompey, Scipio, and other nobles—who first strove to be knowledgeable and wise in planning the great enterprises which they later accomplished, better governed by knowledge than by force of arms. But it will suffice to give you the example of your good grandfather, the very wise King Charles, the fifth of that name. May God by his grace let you resemble him, and you will not lack anything that befits a perfect and wise prince. O, who was more prudent than he, or more cultivated and in all good things more perfect? For, by God's grace, even in the flower of youth, realizing with his great prudence that it is noble and necessary for a prince, no matter how young, to have a mature heart and to understand what should be pursued and what abandoned, he gave up all youthful habits, and behaved in every way as wisdom teaches.⁴⁶ And having made this decision, he dismissed any who might tempt him away from his good intentions, and tried to attract wise, cultivated people of integrity. Far and wide he sent out inquiries for such people, and retained them in all manner of offices, honoring and rewarding them.⁴⁷ In order to be well instructed in everything affecting his spiritual well-being (which is the most important), he sought out among solemn theologians of integrity one very wise master called master Jean de la Chaleur,⁴⁸ and others from whom he often, on certain days and at certain hours, wished to hear lessons of wisdom. Through their teaching he prepared himself to serve God, and to fear and love Him before all else; and he pursued this goal for the rest of his life, through acts of charity to the poor, the endowment of churches, prayer, and other devotions. The evidence can still be seen in many places.

And similarly, in order to govern well the implementation of policy in his realm he sought the counsel of learned jurists so that everything should be

46. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.8 (Solente, 1:21–22); *Corps de police* 1.6 (Kennedy, 8).

47. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.14 (Solente, 1:38).

48. Jean de la Chaleur is mentioned in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.42 (Solente, 2:115), where he is described presenting a discourse in the presence of the Emperor Charles IV on the occasion of his visit to Paris. He was chancellor of the University of Paris from October 2, 1370. See Oresme *Éthiques* (Menut, 5).

done by their advice in accordance with law.⁴⁹ It followed that as long as he reigned, in accord with well-regulated royal order, he kept his realm in great magnificence and ever-increasing happiness. He secured this by maintaining perfect justice—by keeping his knights well ordered and busy with their training and other duties, by respecting the clergy’s privileges and rights, by keeping the bourgeois loyal and the merchants (whether foreigners or locals) well regulated, and by keeping peace among the people, not involving them in anything except their labors and trades (as good policy required), nor permitting them any extortion on anyone.

And similarly, so that the realm was well defended and could expand while it was in his hands, he drew into his service the flower of chivalry, from every place where good men could be recommended to him. The best of these he made captains, with all due honors and provisions, as many can still testify.⁵⁰ As a result of his efforts, noble sir, the benefit remains with you; and to his credit and great renown it will remain with the crown, if God pleases.

7

That a prince should let himself be guided by the wise, with examples concerning the said king

A multitude of wise people is health for the whole world and a wise king is a foundation for the people. In chapter 6, the book of Wisdom.⁵¹

In the authority cited above, Solomon means that if the wise are many, all the lands and countries of the world can be preserved. So that none may be misled in hearing this, to be wise is not necessarily to have acquired great learning; although that is very fitting, and those in whom prudence and circumspection are combined with such learning surpass all others in

49. We have translated Christine’s term “clercs legistes” as “learned jurists,” following Earl Jeffrey Richards’s discussion of her knowledge of the legal tradition. See “Christine de Pizan and Medieval Jurisprudence,” in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the 14th International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan*, ed. Angus Kennedy and others (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), 747–66, and “Bartolo da Sassaferrato as a Possible Source for Christine de Pizan’s *Livre de paix*,” in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 75–90.

50. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.14 (Solente, 1:38). The previous examples of Charles V’s prudent government summarize the longer treatment in 1.14–19 of this work.

51. Ws. 6:26.

wisdom. Nevertheless one sometimes sees very great scholars who, as the shrewd saying has it, are not the wisest. They are not the most prudent in acts of government and policy, nor even in words, no matter how much learning they demonstrate. And while it is true that they know how to argue logically, according to bookish learning, many of them find it difficult to act practically, and in worldly things they are not very able. So let us say that the wise are those who know how to *act* wisely and well, and not those who only have knowledge. And while Aristotle says he is not truly wise who does not know everything, nevertheless those who only know by means of books should be called *erudite*, but not wise.⁵² And therefore among the wise may be counted even lay people who have good understanding, and who know how to manage things prudently: such as wise knights and others who have undertaken many deeds and seen many things come to pass, either in arms or in the politics of the country. From cautious reflection on these things they can see the proper remedies to problems that may arise.

But to return to the first matter: our authority goes on to say that wisdom so enhances a king that he becomes a firm support for all of his subjects. And since, most revered prince, the wisdom of a wise king can only be manifest in good action, and giving examples usually makes a greater impression than giving reasons, I can find no better way to show you how to govern with the necessary prudence than to tell you again about your grandfather. Moreover, since you are directly and closely descended in blood, it must please you to hear of him and his noble feats, and to follow his example. In another work devoted to his deeds I have spoken more fully about him; nevertheless it is useful in this present volume, written in your name, to return to him, so let me not be reproached or taken to be repetitive. O sweet God! Most noble lord, contemplate for a moment, if you will, what a marvelous difference is to be seen between the royal estate then and now. O, what great order in all things—what majesty, what sense, what leadership, what a figure of a prince, what fluency, what eloquence! And what a most revered and respected person he was to see, who at every hour was

52. This appears to sum up Aristotle *Ethics* 6.5:8.1140a–1141b, where Aristotle claims that prudence is not just knowledge of how to act in restricted cases. It is translated as “celui est simplement et du tout prudent qui sçet bien conceiller universelment de tout quanque appartient a bien vivre” in Oresme *Éthiques* (Menut, 337). The discussion continues: “Et pour ce dit l’en que Anaxagoras et Tales et telz philosophes furent sages et que il ne furent pas prudent; car l’en voit que il estoient ignorans des choses e eulz utiles et profitables” (343). Christine’s move from a discussion of prudence to a discussion of good and bad counselors also follows Aristotle, since straight after this observation he says: “prudence est vers les choses desquelles l’en seult conseilier” (343).

busy with some good work: whether attending to the good of the public realm, which was closer to his heart than anything else, or to affairs of the church, or to helping foreigners, or to making war, or some other appropriate occupation. Consider his diligence in getting up early in the morning to hear mass, to say his daily office right through and serve God well, then going early to the council. I can assure you: order was kept so well that no member of council would have failed to be there at the right time; nor were there superfluous people, nor anyone unworthy through lack of sense to be at a king's council.⁵³ And whoever spoke best, or made some worthy proposal, did not do so in vain, for he was one who knew well how to listen: to understand and take note. Then the prince sat down at a dinner made ready in good time, after which right up until supper there was space for everyone who had a need to approach him, and he listened to them all most kindly. Similarly, after the siesta, which was never long, and even as he walked up and down taking the air in his well-maintained gardens at Saint-Paul, he expedited anything that needed doing. But do you think that this went on for a tedious long time, as it does nowadays? It wearied him very much to have to spend lengthy periods on anything whatsoever; and furthermore he would not have been able to deal with his many responsibilities if he could not get things done quickly. So he let nothing drag on and he deferred nothing that he could complete straightaway. What a sight it was to see him surrounded by his noble brothers—and other barons, whether or not of his blood—or his valiant knights whom he kept occupied in his wars, or various foreigners who came to visit. How beautifully he was able to receive them all: to speak to them, to put them at their ease and make them welcome! In good order and with dignity, yet with humility also, so that many esteemed him and all felt content. And at his various public ceremonies and feasts, what rich decoration, what sideboards, what rich plate! How well his rooms were hung with tapestries, and how generously people were served! This never happens nowadays. See, noble prince: what wisdom truly is, and what an impression it makes on people!

This king was kind above all the princes of the world, and with joyful demeanor among all people, so that he never spoke or acted harshly against anyone. But still his prudent manner and beautiful eloquence caused him to be regarded with such great respect that no one, no matter how grand, dared cross him in anything—not even his brothers, by whom he was served at great feasts in the presence of eminent foreign lords.

53. The order of the king's day is also described in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.16 (Solente, 1:42–48).

More concerning the said king

And the one who sees bears testimony,
and his testimony is true, and he knows,
because he speaks the truth so that you
may believe. John.⁵⁴

You, Louis, grandson of that King Charles whom I praise with ample justification, might simply listen to the many illustrious knights and others of your household as witnesses to my telling the truth in this matter, if you had any doubts.⁵⁵ But in future times this book will, if it please God, be disseminated and read in many places, since books are as it were *perpetual* in the world, in virtue of the many copies which are commonly made. To those who will succeed you, and to others who hear this, I offer the words cited above, which in relation to my subject mean “the one who saw these things bears witness to them, and this testimony is true, so you who hear should believe it.” Have no doubt: for many, myself included, saw this with their own eyes. O, how well ordered it was when he rode through the town or went abroad! There was no need for any in the crowd to ask: “Which is the King? Which is the King? They are all mixed together!” For truly the good order that was maintained there made it plain to see.⁵⁶ Knights and squires at the front, as is the custom—and God knows how elegantly dressed and mounted they were! No matter what anyone says, have no doubt: as one who maintained a majestic estate—above all other kings, these many years—he would never have suffered his people to be less than richly turned out, and he gave them all that was necessary. There were among his people a number of

⁵⁴. John 19:35.

⁵⁵. Willard in *Paix* (Willard, 189) suggests that these friends were identified by Suzanne Solente in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1:lxiii–lxxx, but few of the people mentioned there were still alive in 1412. An exception is Jean de Châteaumorand, whose chivalry Christine had praised in her *Long estude* 4516–66. Christine may have also had in mind Charles d’Albret and Jean de Meingre (Boucicault), members of the Order of the White Lady on a Green Shield whom she had praised in her poems and who were old enough to have experienced the reign of Charles V in their youth. See *Œuvres poétiques* 1:208–12, 220–21. Charles d’Albret and his brother Louis were mentioned by Christine in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.7 (Solente, 1:125). Charles, who was made constable of France in 1402, was one of Christine’s patrons and was the recipient of a copy of her poem *Le Debat de deux amans* as well as other poems in his praise. See *Œuvres poétiques* 1:25–26, 31–32. He also owned a copy of *Advison*. See Henri Stein, “La bibliothèque du connétable d’Albret à Sully-sur-Loire (1409),” *Le Bibliographe moderne* 6 (1902): 91–93.

⁵⁶. The splendor of Charles’s processions is also described in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.18 (Solente, 1: 49–51).

men-at-arms and crossbowmen, always in front of him, who were kept on wages of twenty francs a month (which I mention because some suggest that he did not pay as much as one does today); and the knights got thirty. The barons went before him, as close as possible with the standard in front of them, and his brothers, if any were there, or others of his blood went behind. But on either side no one came nearer than six feet except the sergeants at arms, who walked all around him. There he was on a tall mount, dressed in royal robes, for he never wore anything else—and I promise you he looked every inch a prince. And then his caparisoned war-horses, with rich saddles, the most beautiful that you could see, came after in great number. So he went, greeting the people who flocked toward him on all sides, as the good people of France are accustomed to do. And when there was a great crowd in a big square, as a sign of love and kindness the King would raise his hat as he received their salute. Thus this lord kept order in all things. O! how well he regulated the affairs of the queen his wife, who was always accompanied by a good number of ladies and maids of honor, and many of her blood.⁵⁷ Certainly her condition was well maintained; and so were his children well cared for, for whom he wished discipline and education.⁵⁸ But their good father left them too early, which was not just a loss for them and the realm, but in general for the whole world. As you have heard, the prudence of this king was demonstrated as much in the act of governing his estate and person as in all other general affairs, as will be shown below.

9

That a prince should act in accordance with counsel; and which counselors are suitable and which are not

Where there are many things, do them
all with foresight. Solomon, Proverbs.⁵⁹

As demonstrated in what has already been said, prince of noble ancestry, and as the authority above says in Latin, he who has many things to do should act on counsel. You have many things to do, so clearly *you* have need of counsel, in order to act with prudence—as you must, if you are to act well. To make this even more appealing to you, the *Book of Proverbs* says, concerning

57. Jeanne de Bourbon (1338–78) married Charles V in 1350. See *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.20 (Solente, 1:76–77) for a description of Jeanne's piety.

58. The education of these children is discussed in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.21 (Solente, 1:77–78).

59. *P* adds “Salomon in Proverbiis.” Perhaps a remembered quotation of Prov. 13:10: “qui autem agunt cuncta consilio reguntur sapientia.”

prudence and counsel: “If wisdom has entered into your heart, counsel will guard you and prudence preserve you.”⁶⁰ And elsewhere says Solomon: “Act on counsel and you will not regret it.” You should understand, in this, that while counsel in *general* is good, not *all* advice is good.⁶¹ Therefore it is well to give some advice as to who should be chosen as counselors and what they should be like, even though we have already touched on this through the example of King Charles the Fifth. To continue on this topic, Aristotle in his book of the *Politics* said that young men are not called on to advise princes.⁶² Their understanding cannot yet be perfect, because their youth has given them too little space to learn, or to see through wide experience how to recognize the good from the bad. On top of this, their nature runs hot: angry and headstrong, quickly stirred for little reason, quickly deciding without consideration, undertaking at will, without circumspection and without regard to reason. Brief of counsel, full of bloody threats, of fickle opinion, quickly moved to battle and all sorts of sudden actions and ill-considered behavior—all of this condemns their counsel, for through them and their advice many ills have often come about.⁶³ This is borne out in many histories and even in the Bible, which speaks of Rehoboam who lost his realm through believing such counselors.⁶⁴ But call the old and wise to counsel, says the philosopher mentioned, for, as the old, that is to say the wise, have had a long time to learn through study as well as experience, they are the ones who should be believed. For, he says, they do not decide doubtful things lightly, but often anticipate the worst outcomes, for they have seen in their life things turn out thus many times, and they are not moved to believe anything on slight evidence but only if they have proven its

60. Cf. Prov. 2:10–11: “si intraverit sapientia cor tuum et scientia animae tuae placuerit consilium custodiet te prudentia servabit te” (If wisdom shall enter into your heart, and knowledge please your soul: counsel shall keep you, prudence shall preserve you). This is one of Christine’s favorite passages: it occurs in Latin in *Othea* (Parussa, 202) and also in the version “Se sapience est entrée en ton courage, conseil te gardera et prudence te conservera” in *Prudence* 236r.

61. Cf. Latini *Trésor* 3.87.2, paraphrasing Prov. 13:16.

62. Cf. Aristotle *Politica* 1.12.1259b, trans. Guilelmi de Moerbeke (AL 29.1:21), ed. F. Susemihl (Leipzig: Teubner, 1872).

63. Possibly inspired by Aristotle *Ethica* 6.10. Oresme’s translation: “Mais il ne sont pas joenes faiz prudens. Et la cause est car prudence est de chose singuliers, lesquelles sont cognueies par experience. Et celui qui est joene n’est pas encore expert, pour ce que la multitude du temps fait experience” (Menut, 347). The reflections on the hot nature of the young, however, appear to be Christine’s additions.

64. Latini *Trésor* 2.54.2, quoting 3 Kings (= 1 Kings) 14:21–31. Rehoboam is mentioned in a number of Christine’s works: for instance, *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.7 (Solente, 1:19). This example is there used by her to establish the importance of providing a proper education in prudent statecraft for the children of kings. She returns to the example of Rehoboam later in *Paix* (see 3.8).

truth—for often, as Seneca says, truth wears the face of falsehood and falsehood that of truth.⁶⁵ The wise remember that they have been often deceived, so they do not give credence readily; nor do they offer great hope on little foundation and for little reason, for they have often seen that through the turns of fortune things come out unexpectedly. This is why they do not offer hasty advice generated on the run, and warn of the perils of rashly undertaking anything important without good advice and mature consideration, by raising many doubts. And the advice of such wise old men—or even of young men endowed with good habits and weighty good sense, as some are by the grace of God—is very praiseworthy, and they should be held in great respect no matter what their estate. For, as Tully says in his *Book of Old Age*, while the old are not so strong in body as the young, nevertheless they have greater discernment and virtue in counsel, which is of more benefit to the polity—and more praiseworthy, since the virtue of understanding is nobler and more profitable than strength of body.⁶⁶ Solomon bears witness to this where he says: “wisdom is worth more than strength, and the prudent man more than the strong.”⁶⁷ For a single good counselor can be of value to the whole realm, unlike a single strong man, no matter how great his strength should be. Because of which, as I have said elsewhere, certainly the loyal, wise, and good counselor can never be rewarded enough, for infinite is the good that can be achieved by him—so long as he is believed. It is written that Scipio Nasica, a very wise and good counselor, did as much good

65. Approximation of Seneca *Epistulae morales* 102.13 (Hense, 489): “Illi placet verum, veritatis una vis, una facies est: apud hos falsa sunt, quibus adsentiantur” (To him, a true thing is pleasing, one force, one face of truth; to them, those things which they follow are falsehoods). Cf. *Corps de police* 1.20: “Dit Aristotle des meurs des vieux et des anciens ou livre de *Rethorique* que ilz ne croient mie de legier pour ce qu’il ont esté en leur vie plusieurs fois fraudé.” Angus Kennedy finds the whole of the discussion of the character of old age in *Corps de police* in the glossed French translation of Valerius Maximus’s *Facta et dicta* produced by Nicolas de Gonesse and Simon de Hesdin in circa 1400, which Christine quoted extensively, as she herself acknowledges. He identifies the passage as coming from fols. 335b–336b of the manuscript BNF f. fr. 282, which once belonged to the duke of Berry.

66. Cf. Cicero *De senectute* 26, ed. K. Simbeck (Leipzig: Teubner, 1917), 13: “ut enim adolescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur levior que fit senectus eorum qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adolescentes senum praeceptis gaudent quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur; nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos.” Once again the original is in the Gonesse and Hesdin passages referred to in the previous footnote.

67. Eccles. 9:16: “et dicabam ego meliorem esse sapientiam fortitudine quomodo ergo sapientia pauperis contempta est et verba eius non sunt audita” (and I said that wisdom is better than strength, yet the poor man’s wisdom is despised and his words are not heeded).

through his counsel concerning the government of the Roman republic as all those other Scipios of his lineage who were so valiant in arms.⁶⁸ The writer of this observes that he had not earned less reward or praise in his civil garb than had the others with all their harnesses and apparel of war.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, although we have praised as counselors wise old men, this does not mean that all the old have sense, or are worthy to have their counsel heeded: for there are some who are quite stupid and mad, and have no virtue or any other value. There is nothing more despicable than a dissolute old age, stupid and lacking virtue. But loyal, prudent, good men, of virtuous conscience, must be listened to. Aristotle says there are two styles of old age: one is that which follows from a well-ordered and temperate youth, and it is this that Tully praises in his *Book of Old Age*. The other is the old age that follows after a youth which is dissolute and frivolous, and this he says is full of misery and open to contempt. Therefore let the man who desires to be virtuous not wait for old age to become so, for the pot always retains the smell that it acquired when new.⁷⁰

10

Concerning good counselors, and how many and which estates should be in the prince's circle

He who corrects a man shall subsequently find favor with him more than he who deceives through smoothness of the tongue. Proverbs, chapter 29.⁷¹

Says Solomon in his proverbs: "He who corrects a man will receive more favor and thanks afterwards than he who deceives him with flattering words." According to the previous chapter, the old and wise should be called to the

68. *Corps de police* 1.19 (Kennedy, 34); according to Kennedy, from BNF f. fr. 282, fols. 222d–223a.

69. Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 5.3.1, ed. I. Briscoe (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1998), 321: "Quis ignorat tantum laudis Scipionem Nasicam toga quantum armis utrumque Africanum meruisse, qui pestifera Ti. Gracchi manu faucibus oppressam rem publicam strangulari passus non est?" Scipio Nاسica is described in this way in the *Corps de police* (Kennedy, 33–34; n67 above).

70. Cicero *De senectute* 29 (Simbeck, 15): "libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti." Latini *Trésor* 2.74.9 credits Tully with "the pot always retains the smell that it acquired when new." The attribution to Tully of two kinds of old age, however, also occurs in *Corps de police* 1.20 (see n68 above).

71. Prov. 28:23.

councils of princes; so now we should see what good will come of their advice if they are believed. Well, in the name of God, *all* good comes of it—not merely in a single thing but in everything, both with regard to the prince himself for whom counselors are appointed, and generally for all the country. This is because, being wise, these counselors will fall short in neither loyalty nor probity, otherwise their wisdom would be nothing. For as Solomon says, wisdom, prudence, or counsel is nothing if God does not come first.⁷² So they will first induce the prince to be good toward God and to keep his commandments, and in no way counsel him to do otherwise. Similarly, as truly loyal men and not false flatterers, they will reproach and censure him out of loyalty if they see him do or say anything dishonest, against conscience or honor, or not becoming for a prince—with humbly and gently phrased admonishment, if there is need. If he is willing to believe them, he may be a very good and virtuous prince, well ordered in life and morals, for there is none so hard that regular good teaching does no good.

Similarly, since governing an empire, realm, or country includes in its scope diverse and difficult things, it is appropriate that the counselors of the prince should come from various estates, not all from the same. Let them have just one thing in common: probity and good conscience, since any who lack these should not be called on (as was said in relation to King Charles), nor any not known to lead a good life and to be expert in the areas in which they claim to be masters. So in particular there should always be available counselors of four kinds of estate.⁷³ That is to say, two kinds of nobles: first, elite knights or squires, well proved in the use of arms, who have spent all their time working with them, to the extent that they know all or most of what it takes to be a leader of others, with the appropriate duties and responsibilities. These will be suitable to advise on matters of war. For the philosopher says that each who is expert in his art should be believed and oversee the execution of his plans, once the prince has approved them. Secondly, wise older knights or other nobles with natural good sense, who have learned from all that they have witnessed, and are able to comprehend differing conditions of time and of person. They are mature and settled, given to wise words and worthy deeds, of good life and well-ordered estate. It is these who properly reside close to the said prince and counsel him concerning the management of everything pertaining to his royal estate,

72. Prov. 21:30.

73. Willard in *Paix* (Willard, 191) points to the similarity between this passage and the *Corps de police* 1.23 (Kennedy, 400). Kennedy (154) identifies this as coming from Valerius Maximus and from that source identifies the Cicero referred to as *Tusc. disp.* 1.2.4.

and these who are appropriate to be made grand master of the household, chamberlains, and other such offices. To tell the truth, the presence of such nobles is a fine and honorable ornament at the court when foreigners of whatever sort are received, and for the governance of the state generally. The other estates comprise clergy and lay people: jurists and other wise men, whether prelates or not, to whom the laws have taught the right way to govern the polity and community of all kinds of people. They can advise on the administration of justice, and caution the prince to see that the offices of justice, as well as others, are put into good hands, and that those employed are recognized as competent, of good life, and loyal and virtuous—so as to avoid making wolves shepherds, or thieves masters.⁷⁴ And so that finances may be well managed, let the receipt and distribution of funds be in good hands, rather than dissipated in needless purchases or excessively lavish gift-giving—spending so much that payment of legal debts and just wages is held back. This would also prevent fraudulent acts among receivers, disbursers, and all others. Let the prince be advised that to carry on his wars well, and to be served more readily by his own and foreign troops, the soldiers must be very well paid. This would also give them less excuse for oppressing the country and troubling the laborers: no appeal to any right would prevent their being punished, if after being justly paid they took anything.⁷⁵ So will his valiant gentlemen counsel the prince, and it is those of this legal estate who are appropriate to be made chancellor, provosts and bailiffs of large jurisdictions, masters of requests, and other such offices.

The lay members of council—from the fourth estate—should be worthy gentlemen of good condition and good life, bourgeois or others, wise and prudent, who have had dealings with people of various estates and offices, both financial and concerned with the writing of royal or legal documents and letters, and therefore versed in finance and accounts, and such matters. These will counsel the prince on the just and advantageous ways to manage his finances and draw profit from them, and on how to avoid being defrauded of his revenues. They will advise him well; but if they are men of conscience, they will carefully avoid laying before him any means of drawing money by extortion or other unjust means, for they would carry the blame.

74. The “loups pastoures” is perhaps an echo of Dante (*Paradiso* 9.130–32), although the image seems rather common and Farinelli identifies it in Jean Meschinot and later in Martin le Franc: Arturo Farinelli, *Dante nell'opere di Christine de Pisan* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1905), 1:167n33.

75. Christine underlines the importance of paying the troops in order to avoid pillage in *Corps de police* 1.9 (Kennedy, 14–15). Kennedy refers to Jean Gerson, *Vivat Rex*, in *L'Œuvre française: Sermons et discours*, vol. 7 of *Œuvres complètes*, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris and Tournai: Desclée, 1968), 1170. The theme also occurs in *Chevalerie* 1.14 (Willard and Willard, 41).

Such are the people it is proper to appoint to offices of finance and accounts. Through the counsel of all of the above together—and others of his subjects along with them, such as lawyers, magistrates, bourgeois from his good towns, merchants, and others he might call on as cases may require—the prince can be well counseled, and dispose all his affairs as well as possible.

11

Concerning bad counselors, and the evil that can result from them

The man who speaks to his friend with smooth and false words spreads a net for his feet. Proverbs, chapter 29.⁷⁶

A man, says Solomon in his proverbs, who with sweet feigned words flatters and blandishes his friend—or one whose friend he pretends to be—does the equivalent of spreading nets and snares at his feet to trap him. Following on what we have said concerning wise, loyal, and appropriate counselors, they cannot be rewarded enough nor praised too much, for by their wise and just counsel the whole country can be guaranteed protection. It is a pity all are not like that. We will explain how it is that some are perverted and turn from being good, which is a very great mischief when it happens: it is through greed, which is the root of all evil and all vices.⁷⁷ It is because of this miserable greed—and in order to draw from their lords offices, benefices, emoluments, and profits—that not all counselors strive to know what will profit the soul and body, the glory and honor of the prince, though they were appointed for that task: to encourage him, and give good counsel. For the bad, on the other hand, it is sufficient merely to advise how money might be extracted and brought in, whether by just means twisted to the most sinful tyranny and cruelty, to the detriment of the people, or some other way. So long as it can be dressed up as having some just cause, that is enough. In this work they apply their understanding subtly, pondering at such length that there is no ingenious ploy they will not recommend. They attain a great and devious cunning, which makes them so adept at stratagems that they are very expert at advising on ways and means. But I doubt that their private intentions are

76. Prov. 29:5.

77. 1 Tim. 6:10. Willard in *Paix* (Willard, 192) points out that this was the text of Jean Petit's sermon in defense of John of Burgundy's killing of Louis of Orléans. It appears in fact to have been a platitude that was taken up by both sides, and it figures prominently in the speech defending Louis of Orléans read before the king on September 11, 1408, at the behest of Valentina Visconti. See *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.105.

aimed at the prince's own profit. Rather, these intentions spring from the prodigious greed that burns within them, because they know well how to comport themselves to get their cut, and yet leave people with the impression that they have served well and that they are good and wise counselors, worthy of every reward. The worst is that, just as a single virtue cannot exist on its own without attracting the others, so it is with vices, which like the links of a chain are intertwined and hold to each other. Therefore the bad counselor who is full of greed will not do without blandishment and flattery. Using these vices he will hide his acts from any who do not see clearly, for to achieve his end he will employ all manner of flattery in his intrigues. To do this the more effectively he will consider his master's disposition and inclinations, and so seek to trap him. Trying more for his master's favor than to counsel him for the benefit and honor of his soul and body, he will make sure, whether in open council or elsewhere in public or private, to offer only opinions that he believes will please, even if he speaks against his conscience, forbearing to give some other counsel that he knows would be better and more truthful. On the contrary, since there is nobody who is without some vice, if he perceives in his lord some blemish in which that lord takes great delight—like voluptuousness, levity, or frivolity—he will never reprimand him, but will speak words of encouragement to gratify him even more. If the lord is young and carefree, he will not speak for his improvement, but of idle, foolish things. Similarly for his other vices, even cruelty, tyranny, pillage, or other malefactions—he will support him in them all. So it does not matter to him what path his lord takes, as long as he can keep him on a leash in order to govern him completely, or at least for the greater part. And he will behave the same toward anyone he thinks he might need, to effect his evil deeds. So will the foolish prince be deceived, without being on guard against one he wrongly takes to be a friend. He is no friend, but rather one who prefers the feathers to the flesh, and to whom it does not matter what evil is done, nor what its consequences are, so long as he attains whatever unconscionable desire his wickedness prompts him to. It is to this that the above authority in Latin relates.

12

Again concerning bad counselors

With the multiplication of the impious, crimes will multiply, but the just will see their destruction. Proverbs, chapter 29.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Prov. 29:16.

With regard to the subject of the preceding chapter and this that follows, Solomon speaks extremely well in the Latin given above, for there is no doubt that when there are many troublemakers and traitors all evils will be multiplied; and experience teaches us that this is true. So we take up once again the subject of false ministers and disloyal counselors, of whom there are many surrounding any great lord or powerful man. There is no greater peril in the world; indeed, when they sense that he is disposed to put faith in their false advice, there is no horror they will not put into his head. O! if they sense that he is lecherous, nothing is required but to work to satisfy him by diligently seeking and finding girls and married women of all estates to serve him, deceiving them with many tricks, trying to outdo each other, and the one who knows best how to use them is the best servant. God knows what deceptions are contrived on these occasions! Or if their lord is covetous, the pillage, extortion, and unfair levies they advise as ways of extracting money are similarly without bounds. If he is cruel and pitiless, alas! The evils that ensue are hardly thinkable. For then nothing will prevent their persuading him that to be a true lord he must persecute all sorts of people—have heads cut off, some people put to death, others imprisoned or exiled. He must avenge every displeasure, so that he is held in fear, and spare nobody so that none will dare stand up to him. They claim that it is justice well executed, to make sure that many die because they have said things about him, or are so much as suspected of not being his friends or supporters, or in agreement with him. It is not right for him to put up with anything; rather he should in all cases take revenge, as lord and master. And thus “a household is conducted according to its lord”;⁷⁹ by these means the evil counselors become the favorites of the evil lord. And thereby, because of the authority that they are seen to have when such things happen, the simple and peaceful folk fear them so much that they do not care what they have to pay or do to ransom themselves from these evil men, as long as they can live in peace, free of cruelty. For their part, they are well aware of this, and like nothing better than to fleece them to the full if they sense that they are at all rich, whether by threats or otherwise. So they keep them in subjugation and fear with their words full of menace and exaggeration claiming that they have pissed against the sun⁸⁰ and that they will show them how. Furthermore, if those poor

79. Proverb, repeated in 2.18, “Si que dit le proverbe commun que selon le seigneur est la maisniée duite.”

80. According to Emile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris: Gallimard, 1959–61), this means “offended someone in a high position.”

guiltless innocents want to bring them around with their goods, God knows how hard a bargain these traitors drive, saying that they well deserved to be punished and if it had not been for them their life would have been forfeit. But if it happens that someone attracts their hatred, whether recently or a long time ago, and these wicked people see an opportunity to be avenged—O, what cruelty is then committed! I believe that there is no torment sufficient to punish the acts that such a man is subjected to. So discord and dissension are sown by these people, both in private and in the public realm; and this they glory in, for it is out of such trouble that they take their prey, and just as it is said that the death of the sheep is the life of the wolf, so these could not profit from such things if sedition were to cease.⁸¹ If I were to go on forever speaking of the evil which follows from bad counselors and seditious people—such as the ruin of soul, body, honor, and all the good of the said lord, and the destruction of peace, and the rebellion of his subjects—I would not have related one thousandth of it. The fortune of these wicked people may appear durable for a time, while God permits it as a scourge for the sins of His creatures. But such violence cannot last for long, and God will not allow it to go on forever. As the words at the end of the authority in Latin say above, the just will see the ruin of these people. That is, while for a time they may rule, one will see them in the end destroyed and brought down by divine justice, to the joy of the common good. This is shown in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: Phaeton, through presumption and overconfidence, sought to meddle in driving the chariot of the sun; because of which foolhardiness the earth and its vegetation were all ruined, for he did not know how to keep to the right path and everything was burnt before him. But the god Jupiter, hearing the cries of the creatures harmed by him, in the end struck down with thunderbolts this madman who had intervened through arrogance in the affairs of others, which were none of his business.⁸²

81. This whole passage reads as though it is intended as a commentary on the events that followed the peace of Chartres, which resulted in Jean de Montaigu being executed because of his past friendship with Louis of Orléans. Christine may well have been upset by this, as she had praised Montaigu for his generosity toward her in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.17 (Solente, 1:179). During this period, many others feared for their lives, including William Tignonville, who for a while was afraid to return to Paris and whose property was confiscated. See Enguerrand Monstrelet, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the Adjoining Countries*, trans. Thomas Johnes (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), 1:148–49. The accusation that Louis of Guyenne was surrounded by false counselors during this period was also made by Monstrelet. He was clearly criticizing a group of young Orléanists who had the ear of the prince; it is unclear whether Christine would have endorsed his criticisms. Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, 1:239.

82. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2:1–326, ed. W. S. Anderson (Leipzig: Teubner, 1981), 27–36.

Concerning bad officials and the means by which they attain office

They are wicked who are as well placed
as if they had the deeds of the just.
Ecclesiasticus, chapter 8.⁸³

Among the other great evils that can come from such greedy and unscrupulous counselors as described above, there is one in particular that affects the prince, as well as certain others. This is that they can promote people to offices—whether of justice or finance, or many other positions and ministries—who are neither good, nor men of probity, nor even competent to do what the office requires. Or they put these people in posts around the prince and in his service, so that if any bad report concerning them should come up, these people can snuff it out—or prevent it from coming forward at all. They even place such people in financial offices, so that they will work for them in return for a share. Indeed, there are many who have contrived to pay out large sums of money, either their own or someone else's, giving it liberally to whoever procured such a post for them—those who gave a good report of them and their lives to their lord, testifying to their goodness about which they know nothing, so that rightly or wrongly, they are installed there. There is no doubt that just as it is greed that has bought them such a position, from this motive also they will work in the exercise of these offices, both to recover what it has cost them, and to enrich themselves or rise immediately to great standing by setting up a grand household. So they must now determine how money, gifts, and emoluments can be raked in, whether from the prince or elsewhere. Ah! God knows how because of this great robberies, extortions, and pillage are committed by these people, without any regard to conscience—nor any care that in the end they will have to account to God for their faults. This they disregard. I speak of the evil ones; the good I except. *Ecclesiastes* speaks of the iniquitous and their deeds in the passage set out above, which says that there are some pitiless and wicked people so entrenched in their evil, and so good at covering and whitewashing it, that they seem to do nothing unjust; and this is a great peril, when under such cover they find the means to execute huge frauds. In such appointments there are many perils, and much evil follows in many places and countries

83. Not Ecclesiasticus but Eccles. 8:14.

when they are made for the benefit of the persons appointed and not for the offices, because the office is sought first and competence afterwards (which is opposite to the way it should be). For this reason the Romans considered that for offices to contribute to the general public good it was better to fill them well than to provide for private interests; and therefore they did not distribute offices as favors or gifts, or at the request of people, but gave them to the most worthy and wise. Against those who say that honors change behavior, they never gave anyone office until good sense had already shown itself. Even offices of arms were given to the wisest and best-trained.⁸⁴ It was not enough for them that a man be merely handy with arms, if he did not wield them intelligently—for they thought that good sense was more profitable than force, even in deeds of knighthood.⁸⁵ And if anyone had undertaken any enterprise foolishly, without regard to the law of arms and of reason, even if good came of it for the captain, it was never attributed to the prowess of the one who did it, but to good luck. Conversely, if something went badly even though it was undertaken sensibly and with good reason, they blamed fortune and not him who had undertaken it. Thus good sense was valued above all other things. It pleases God, as I have said elsewhere, that in such cases order be maintained in all things, after the manner of those consummate statesmen, the Romans.⁸⁶ Offices ought to be granted not through such simonies or favors but by pure, true, and loyal election by well-informed men of probity on the basis of good inquiries, to whoever is of most worth and merit. And let each station be filled according to what is needful—such as in knighthood, as we have seen, choosing the most expert and wise in matters of arms, with the qualities demanded of captains of whatever degree according to their capacity. Similarly in matters of justice: appoint those learned in justice, law, and the customs of the country. And likewise with other offices: only those who are capable and good should be put in them. Above all, in order to avoid the harm that we saw can come from greed, none, whatever his knowledge, should be chosen unless

84. Here, and elsewhere in this text, Christine uses forms of “exciter” where one would expect forms of “excerciter.”

85. A.-J.-V. Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des proverbes français*, 2nd ed. (Paris: A. Delahaye, 1859), 2:83; J. Ulrich, “Die altfranzösische Sprichwörtersammlung *Proverbes ruraux et vulgaires*,” *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 24 (1902): 1–35, no. 244.

86. *Corps de police* 1.12 and 2.14–17 discuss the necessity that knights love honor, and 2.15, in particular, illustrates the Romans’ love of honor over money. The virtues of the Roman knights are also a theme of Wisdom’s speech on chivalry in *Long estude* 4223–500. Also throughout her *Fais d’armes et chevalrie*, Christine extols the Romans, their love of honor, methods of training young men, and valor in war.

it is known by men of probity—from reliable, honorable sources, untainted by envy or the desire to do harm—that his life is good and that he is a person of good conscience and praiseworthy conduct. This was how the said King Charles did things. He even refused his brother the Duke of Anjou an office in Languedoc for one of his servants—because he was informed that this man was a player of dice. He gave it instead to a man of simple estate who he was informed was good and wise.⁸⁷ Through consistent use of this procedure, all offices will be filled advantageously, because when they see that none are received in them except those who are worthy and good, those desiring to achieve such honor would take pains to be capable and worthy of attaining it.

14

Concerning who should be court officials and servants

Who wishes to love life and see out his days in prosperity should restrain his tongue from evil, and his lips should not speak deceit. Let him refrain from evil and do good; let him search out peace and follow it. Epistle of Peter.⁸⁸

Because the class of officers, which we spoke of in the previous chapter, can include officials of seigneurial courts and their servants, among others, it seems good to us in this chapter to speak of certain things that encourage the *good* officers in particular (though they are relevant to all), and not just dwell on the bad. Where virtues and good deeds are lauded as worthy to be upheld and followed, vices and bad deeds are seen as unworthy, and to be shunned. Saint Peter teaches this in his Epistle, as is expressed in Latin at the beginning of this chapter: “The man who wants to follow a good rule in life to the betterment of his days should watch that his tongue does not speak evil, and that no false or treacherous words issue from his lips. Set aside evil and do good; desire peace and follow it.” These teachings of Saint Peter quoted above serve to introduce five principal attributes that the good officer of the court should have, whether he be of great or humble estate. These are love, loyalty, good speech, diligence, and good nature. First, he must have love for his master, which encompasses the soul at least as much as the body—otherwise

87. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.19 (Solente, 2:58–60).

88. 1 Pet. 3:10–11.

it would not be love. The effect of this love should show itself in everything that touches the good of the said lord—in body, soul, honor, renown, and profit. He should pursue all these—guarding, advancing, and maintaining them with all his power in the carrying out of his duties. Above all, he should shield his lord with his body in all just and reasonable cases where there is need. It is true, as everyone knows, that true love demands all this; so the love must not be feigned, nor the service aimed at currying favor with the lord, in the hope of some reward. Service done only for such reasons is not done for the love that one has for the person, but for his goods. However, it is with this kind of love that powerful men are often loved; and they deceive themselves greatly, as Tully says, when they believe in times of prosperity that they are loved by those who lead them on with false blandishments, while everything appears different if ever fortune turns from sweet to bitter. As soon as power is lost so too are such friends.⁸⁹ However, since it is no part of the true servant to love with such a love, we turn to the second attribute appropriate to him, which we said was loyalty. This loyalty will command him that whatever happens, even if it means death, he will not say or do, nor suffer anything within his power to be done, against the honor of his lord. It commands that he serve his lord well and loyally—whether in prosperity or in bad fortune, poverty or riches, or in whatever situation he is in; and that he will do his duty as long as he is with him, even more in adversity than in prosperity. These are the things that loyalty requires of the good servant. It will rule out for him the false disloyal contracts, robberies, and diverse hidden or manifest frauds that many officers engage in—embezzling without conscience, claiming that it doesn't matter if they spend or pilfer, because though these are their lord's goods, he is very rich. They deceive themselves, for without fail they will be damned, and will render account to God. And worse, there are some who under cover of office extort from and rob many poor people, such as their lord's own collectors. Such men are neither good nor loyal, and should not be tolerated when they are found out.

15

Again concerning good servants

The tongue kills more than the sword.
Solomon, Proverbs.⁹⁰

89. Cicero *De amicitia* 61 (Simbeck, 69).

90. Not Proverbs, but perhaps false recall of Ps. 56:5, “et lingua eorum gladius acutus,” or Eccles. 28:22, “multi ceciderunt in ore gladii sed non sic quasi qui interierunt per linguam suam.”

As Solomon says above, many people are killed by the blade of the tongue. This authority concerns servants who in fact betray their lords in many ways, in the guise of good service, by diverse flatteries. They themselves are the means of their destruction—of their goods or of their honor or, as has sometimes happened, even of their person. O God! What a horrible crime here! Is there sufficient punishment in the world for such disloyalty? Certainly I think not; and of such people, I have no doubt that, supposing that through some favor they are tolerated in this world, in the other they will be put in the profoundest hell—or a deeper place such as Vergil describes for the case of false Judas. For there is no worse fault than to betray one's master.⁹¹ But when Dame Greed burns strong in the heart of the bad, all of this is brought by her.

With regard to the next good attribute that the officer of the court should have, we have said it is an honest tongue. This gift should be manifest in three ways. One, always to speak good, true, loyal words to his master and encourage him toward the good, within the officer's power and with what it falls to him to speak about. Two, to keep his lips sealed about his lord's private business, whatever it may be, and neither from threat of death nor with the prospect of gaining the whole world to reveal it. And three, to make no bad reports: whether in blaming someone else wrongly through envy; through some particular hatred in order to disgrace him or to have his property or his office; for some other unjust cause; or through flattery and false blandishments to extract goods from him by evil means. Ah! One can hardly say enough about this honest tongue, as much with regard to what it should say as to that about which it should remain silent. And if it dares not, at least let it be silent and not speak the opposite—nor speak against conscience through flattery in order to please the master, if the speaker does not want to displease God. But since in the entourage of lords there are generally few like this, Seneca's point in the *De Beneficiis* is sound: that there is nothing in the world great lords have a greater lack of than someone to tell them the truth—for flattery, with which they are generally served, would scarcely allow the truth to be told them.⁹² The *Policraticus* says that the flatterer is the enemy of all virtue and that he blinds the one who believes

91. Allusion to Dante *Inferno* 34.

92. Cf. Seneca *De beneficiis* 3.15.3, ed. E. Hosijs (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914), 61; *Corps de policie* 1.10 (Kennedy, 16), according to Kennedy (150), cited from Hesdin and Gonesse 2c.

him as much as if he had driven a nail into his eye.⁹³ Truth should be told to the lord by his good servant: that is to say, truth told wisely in circumstances of loyalty, for the good and honor of that lord, both in soul and in body. Flattery should never be heard—those flattering reports given to the lord to please him, wrongfully encouraging him in the direction in which he seems to be inclined, as was already said above in a chapter on bad counselors. Nor blandishments directed at making him laugh, making him speak words of mockery or detraction about others at their dinners or during their entertainments, nor urging him to incite them to sins of the flesh or other vices.⁹⁴ The lips should be sealed against such things, as the authority quoted above suggests. The fourth attribute appropriate to the servant who seeks to live well is diligence in serving his master: to be ready at any hour, awake and prompt. Such diligence comprises also obedience in any just and reasonable matter. Everyone should understand that it is no small thing to place oneself in service. For, while the tie of marriage is a sacrament of the Holy Church which permits a man to leave his father and mother to join his partner, nevertheless, when the two partners are with their mutual agreement placed in unrelated households, they will be required during their service to leave one another, and while preserving their marriage vows, at the same time, to pledge their loyalty to this service. By just such obedience and diligence is the good servant or officer known, for in this there is a double profit: as much to his master by the servant's bringing him whatever benefit, honor, and pleasure he can through serving in his office, as to himself in deserving good wages and rewards for his excellent service. O, what a great asset is the good loyal servant! Certainly it is impossible to reward him too much, where there is no flattery or adulation. Let us consider what genuine flattery amounts to, lest anyone believe that it is diligently to obey and carefully serve, to be awake and ready to serve and do and say his master's or mistress's pleasure in anything worthy and without sin, to keep one's peace without murmur and without disobeying or failing to do anything that is appropriate. Is that flattery? No, indeed! Rather it is the province of a good loyal honest follower or serving woman so to behave. Genuine flattery is when the servant, in order to please his lord, gives him evil advice on matters of sin—whether to do with finance or with women, or cruelty or whatever

93. John of Salisbury *Policraticus* 3.4, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, CCCM 118 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 179: "Adulator enim omnis uirtutis inimicus est." Also quoted in *Corps de police* 1.10 (Kennedy, 16; 190 above).

94. Cf. *Prudence* 243v.

it might be—and pursues the act, seeks it out, and makes use of it against his lord's good honor and conscience, in order to win his thanks and bring benefits to his own fortune and condition. So I say that such a follower is neither good nor loyal, for he leads his master to fall into hell—and himself with him as well.

Similarly, the fifth attribute of the good servant is to be good-natured, so that he seeks peace and keeps it. O! what a good attribute in any officer of the court or servant, whoever it may be! For by him much good may be done. He may appease his lord if he sees that he is ill-disposed toward someone for some reason, and through gentle words, if it is something of which it is fitting for him to speak, change his mind when his lord wants to punish someone who is wrongly accused through envy, as often happens at court. The nature of such a man is always to use good words, and to make peace between the riotous and the troublemakers to the extent of his power: not to blame anyone, but to excuse people willingly, and to have pity on the downtrodden. When he wants to say something, he makes sure in advance that he says nothing that might turn out to displease someone or bring blame, or which might call forth some rancorous response. He is friend to everyone—to God first of all, who loves peacemakers most—of sweet cheer and benign carriage, happily greeting and honoring people, gracious in deed and word. Such a man is naturally loved by nearly everyone. But the opposite—the riotous, quarrelsome, and discordant man—can disrupt not only the court of a prince, but a whole county or city by disseminating evil words and spreading dissension among the closest friends. His riots can bring about assemblies of the people so that a whole town can be moved to do unimaginable evil, and such a man is more to be shunned and driven away than the serpent. So ends this first part.

PART 2



Here begins the table of contents of the second part of this book, begun on the third day of September, after the articles of peace were reconfirmed in the town of Pontoise, and our lords of France came in great joy and peace to Paris in the year of grace 1413.¹ This second part speaks again in praise of the good of peace, for the encouragement of the said lord of Guyenne, and of securing the princes and the knights in love, with reference to three virtues: justice, magnanimity (called high- or great-heartedness), and fortitude, giving the example of his grandfather, King Charles V.

1. The first chapter speaks of the great joy of peace and is addressed to the lords.
2. Speaks in praise of my lord of Guyenne for the accomplishment of the peace.
3. Speaks to my lord of Guyenne, encouraging him to continue the peace.
4. Blames cruelty from which war derives and issues.

1. The reconfirmation of the peace of which Christine speaks had been brought about as a result of overtures made to the dukes of Guyenne, Berry, and Bourgogne by the king of Sicily (Louis of Anjou), Charles of Orléans, John of Bourbon, and the counts of Alençon and Eu some time earlier. On July 21 Guillaume Saignet, representing the king of Sicily, had discoursed on the need for peace in the town of Pontoise, developing the popular metaphor of the body politic that Christine had previously used in her 1407 *Corps de police*. Saignet puts his own mark on this metaphor, attributing it to Plato rather than to Plutarch as Christine and John of Salisbury had done, and making the knights the eyes of the kingdom, rather than the arms, as in their versions. According to Michel Pintoin, the peace that resulted from these negotiations was proclaimed by the royal heralds at the crossroads of Paris on August 8. The duke of Burgundy precipitously left the capital on August 23 so that he was not there to greet his cousins on the last day of August, when they ceremoniously entered the town dressed in the purple coats and red and black hats that the duke of Guyenne had sent to them. See *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5:71–151.

5. Begins to speak of the virtue of justice.
6. Speaks of the attributes of justice and good magistrates.
7. Speaks of the evil that comes from not justly punishing evildoers.
8. Speaks of greedy magistrates.
9. Speaks about keeping justice well and gives examples of King Charles.
10. Speaks of how it is appropriate in justice to reward the good.
11. Gives examples from the Romans about the election to offices.
12. Begins to speak about the virtue of magnanimity.
13. Speaks to exhort my lord of Guyenne to greatness of heart.
14. Says how it does not befit a prince to be too isolated.
15. Speaks of King Charles with regard to magnanimity.
16. Speaks about the virtue of fortitude, and which man has fortitude.
17. Speaks of the virtue of fortitude in the person of King Charles, and about his wars.
18. Provides the names of some good leaders and valiant knights and men noble in deeds of war from the time of the said King Charles.

Here ends the table of contents of the second part.

Here begins the second part of the book, which speaks in praise of the good of peace, for the encouragement of this lord the Duke of Guyenne.

1

The first chapter speaks of the great joy of peace and is addressed to the lords

Those who sow in tears shall reap in
rejoicing. Psalm.²

More than I could ever say, were I to speak forever, would not suffice to express the very great joy with which my heart is now filled on account of this glorious peace confirmed once again between the French princes. For a long time they have been quarrelling, because of a malign spirit jealous of the good of this kingdom, through which the whole of France has turned to ruin. But in fulfillment of the psalmist's prophecy, by God's grace, we the good subjects of France, wanting the troubles to cease and sowing our prayers in tears and weeping, now rejoice as we gather in the harvest of divine virtue. In seeing this peace we have attained what we sincerely desired, and because of this we tremble in the abundance of our happiness, beside ourselves with

2. Ps. 125:5.

joy, and congratulate each other and celebrate together. For there would not be a human heart, well disposed in honest faith, in the love of its prince, and desiring the good of the polity, regretful of past evil, brotherly and charitable to its neighbor, which would not now experience joy and great consolation. O God! Who would not experience it, seeing an end to the slaughter—to the great cruelties, the destruction, the rebellions, the pride of vile and wretched people, the mad government of the low-born and bestial rabble, the virtual enslavement of the prince, the contempt for the nobility, and in brief, the infinite evils and hateful torments which have run riot worse than ever this present year?³ O good princes of France—enlightened by God, royal scions of the Crown, limbs with the same head, all united to one body,⁴ whose great reputation is of being most noble of all lineages, kind, good and of gentle blood, very humane, without cruelty, calm and reasonable, catholic and very Christian in faith! May you always persevere in peace, mindful of the evils which have come, and could still come, from its opposite, and may regret for such destruction ensure that you never again fall into permitting such a war, no matter what comes to pass. By your effort and advice you might repair the bitter destruction of this stricken kingdom for the good of the Crown and the betterment of the polity, in such a way that people can live as they ought, regulated by well-kept justice. If you do so, thereby holding the world in peace, with the goodwill of God and the world, then everyone will praise you; and proper order will return in all the estates, which have been diverted from their right situation through various circumstances. The nobility, as is their duty, will devote themselves to the defense of the crown and the polity—the clergy to laws and learning, burghers to their proper business, merchants to their commerce, workers to their trades, laborers to their labor. So will everything be in its right place, without anything unreasonably encroaching upon anything else;⁵ and so will policy, which has burst its banks beyond right rule, follow a straight course. May God by his grace dispose you so to act. Amen.

3. This is the first of a number of passages in this chapter in which Christine expresses her loathing for the people who had taken over the streets, burst into the royal palaces, and murdered a number of nobles during the spring and summer of 1413. These passages have been used to argue that Christine was deeply conservative and hence no feminist precursor. See Sheila Delany, "'Mothers to Think Back Through': Who Are They? The Ambiguous Example of Christine de Pizan," in *Medieval Texts and Contemporary Readers*, ed. Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Schichtman (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987), 177–97, and other works cited in the Introduction, n14, for the continuation of the debate about Christine's attitude to the common people.

4. Willard in *Paix* (Willard, 195) links to *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.11 (Solente, 1:134), but the link relies on "branches royaulx" being equated with "Les Branches de l'arbre."

5. This is quite close to *Corps de policie* 1.10 (Kennedy, 16–17).

In praise of the said lord of Guyenne for the accomplishment of the peace⁶

Just as a sea that is peaceful after being rough greets a serene sky that has a happy countenance after being cloudy, thus war changed by peace brings the greatest joy. Heading 2, Cassiodorus.⁷

Once again taking up again what was said above, most noble and excellent prince, I say to you that after my initial joy at the peace made last year between those of your blood, I abandoned the happy song I had sung right to the end of the first part of this volume: because peace—the very theme and title of this book—eluded me on account of ill-informed people, and the demagogues and base rabble by whose plots and conspiracies the good of peace has since been disturbed. But now, considering that divine grace has put an end to the storm and turbulence that had troubled so many noble hearts, with various outrages and dreadful events—and now that God bestows upon us as before, but better and better, his worthy and sudden miracles, so that we are henceforth reconciled—I take up my pen this third day of September, even as our lords of the royal blood, long absent, have entered Paris again in joy and peace, for whose happy arrival and appearance I begin again my song of happy peace in this year 1413, saying: O! What in the world is more delightful than peace? Certainly—going beyond what is said in the Latin cited above—neither the sea turned peaceful again after being lashed by tempestuous storms, nor the sky cleared of cloudy, gloomy

6. The acceptance of these peace proposals had not been altogether smooth and had clearly been helped by some decisive acts of Louis of Guyenne. Henri de Troyes, one of the principal leaders of the spring uprisings, spoke violently against accepting the peace at a public meeting in Paris on August 2. Subsequently Simone Caboche and Denys Chaumont, with four hundred armed men, took over the town hall. Meanwhile another group of bourgeois, who were in favor of the peace proposals, were also arming themselves. The situation might well have degenerated into an armed conflict in the streets of Paris but for the actions of the duke of Burgundy and Louis of Guyenne. The first seems to have persuaded the leaders of the armed occupation of the town hall to disperse quietly. The second, putting himself fully armed at the head of the pro-peace bourgeois, traversed the town in a show of force that liberated the prisoners, including Louis of Bavaria and Robert of Bar, who had been kept in the Louvre and other prisons since May. *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.123–31.

7. Not Cassiodorus, but Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta* 4.2 (Briscoe, 239): “*nam si placidum mare ex aspero caelumque ex nubilo serenum hilari aspectu sentitur, si bellum pace mutatum plurimum gaudii adfert, offensarum etiam acerbitas deposita candida relatione celebranda est.*”

weather, nor any other comparisons that one could apply are sufficient for the multitude of joys brought by war transformed into peace, so that nothing else is met with such a merry and joyful heart nor seems so fortunate. So, youth of high authority and noblest nature, through whom we receive all this good, why should I not continue in lofty praise of you, as before? For as Seneca says, he is strong who does not break at all, or abandon his constancy in finishing the good work that he has begun, because of any hindrance that might come his way.⁸ And are you not that sort of person? Whatever storm has raged against you—and there have been plenty—it has not been able to shift you from your determination and desire for peace among your own people; you have worked so hard with the aid of good loyal subjects, that against all obstacles you have obtained your desire. O holy enterprise and divine inspiration! Truly, as Saint Augustine says on this matter, although the virtue which has inspired you has come from God and not from you, nevertheless the working of it is through you, in the same way that if you opened a window the sun coming in would be doing so without you, but the house that received its brightness would have it through your intervention.⁹ And I do not doubt that God, having disposed your heart to find peace among your people so agreeable, will endow you with the intent to do everything well, and will keep you from evil.

3

Speaks to my lord of Guyenne, encouraging him to continue the peace

Every war is easily started, and also
it ceases with great difficulty; for its
beginning and end are not within its
power. Sallust, *The Jugurthine War*,
book 2.¹⁰

Most honorable prince, your noble condition, as has been said, delights in seeing peace among your own, as your achievement shows. So in order to encourage you to maintain this holy path not only now but forever—and since Fortune, bringer of all evils, prepares invitations to bitterness and discord which should

8. Cf. Seneca *Epistulae morales* 24.25 (Hense, 83): “Vir fortis ac sapiens non fugere debet e vita, sed exire.”

9. Latini *Trésor* 2.52.6, quoting Augustine *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 118, sermo 18.4, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCL 38–40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), 1725.

10. Sallust, *De bello Jugurthino* 83.1, ed. A. Kurfess (Leipzig: Teubner, 1957), 118.

not be accepted without mature consideration—kindly take note of the saying of Sallust given above in Latin: war and battle is lightly undertaken and begun, but nevertheless, as he says and as experience confirms, its conclusion is always wretched. An end to battle does not issue from the power of the stronger side, nor victory from the merit of those who hold it: it is rather in Fortune’s gift, by the will of God. Two things therefore are necessary for you, so that the good of peace might always be with you. The first is always to keep your mind and your eyes fixed on the evil that comes through war and battle, and how several kingdoms have been destroyed and emptied through pursuing it—and also on the hazards of Fortune, which no one holds in his hand. Having regard to this you should never lightly follow advice to undertake war, nor even to contemplate it. Especially you should avoid civil war against your own people or your subjects, and not tolerate it breaking out among them either, since nothing is so harmful, as the Gospel and likewise the present situation attest.

The second is that you should hold to and seek out every good and appropriate way of keeping the peace, as has been said above, and avoid the contrary. That is, you should maintain the princes of all parties in amity—in benevolence toward you and in friendship among themselves—by such an attitude and with such wisdom that they have reason to remain in peace and not to do the opposite. And even if it should happen that some spark of bitterness threatens to reignite, you should extinguish it through good measures. Likewise the knights and the nobility—the tools you can and should use in the defense of your country, and without which your lordship is empty—must be loved and held dear; and good things should be done for them to make them more obliged to you. As Solomon says in his *Proverbs*, one who has something to give, has something with which to govern; that is, through gifts and good deeds one wins the hearts of men, and this is impossible in any other way.¹¹ To those whom you know to be good and faithful, give a reason for them to persevere; for serving well is the business of a servant, and rewarding well that of a lord. The same for those of whom you are suspicious: attract them if you can by good cheer and gifts and bind them to you by oaths; for as Tully says, one cannot have too many friends or too few enemies. And do not let anyone be defamed by hearsay, without strong presumption of wrongdoing—not just for their own sake, but so that others cannot draw a poor example from you.¹² In these ways of behaving

11. Cf. Prov. 19:6: “multi colunt personam potentis et amici sunt dona tribuentis” (many people cultivate the powerful and are friends to one giving gifts).

12. Cf. Cicero *De amicitia* 78 (Simbeck, 76).

may your grandfather, the above-mentioned King Charles, be a mirror and a lesson for you. He not only kept his own people's love through gifts and good deeds, but also gained the friendship of his enemies in similar ways. In this he showed his great knowledge and prudence, as will be told in its due place and time later, for he achieved more by wisely keeping to the ways of mildness and amity than he did by arms and acts of war. And such a course do all wise men advise.¹³

4

Blames cruelty from which war derives and issues

Just as trees that are cut back regenerate with many branches by bearing forth many [kinds of shoots, thus royal cruelty increases the number of enemies]; for the parents and children of those who are killed, as well as neighbors and friends, succeed to the place of individual people. Seneca, The book *On Clemency*.¹⁴

Seneca says that just as trees that are cut back regrow again, by means of many branches and shoots dividing themselves into diverse kinds of limbs, and spring back up, so does a king's cruelty increase and multiply the number of his enemies by making many people die, for their children or kin all succeed them in hate. That is to say, for one enemy several others spring up. This proposition is of use against cruelty, wherever it may exist. In the councils of princes several opinions may be put about with regard to the matters broached, sometimes quite at odds and with each person striving to carry his point. But as Seneca says, the wise counselor advises the prince that he should not trust too much in his own power and strength; given that the strength of Fortune is so much greater, one must look with disfavor on all such approaches, as violence cannot continue for long, if evil

13. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.19, 3.46 (Solente, 1:73–74, 2:275–76).

14. Seneca *De clementia* 1.8.7 (Hosius, 221): "*Voluntas oportet ante saeviendi quam causa deficiat; alioqui, quemadmodum praecisae arbores plurimis ramis repullulant et multa satorum genera, ut densiora surgant, reciduntur, ita regia crudelitas auget inimicorum numerum tollendo; parentes enim liberi que eorum, qui interfecti sunt, et propinqui et amici in locum singulorum succedunt.*" Christine supplies a French translation of the whole phrase but seems to have made an accidental omission in copying the Latin text.

is not to come of it.¹⁵ For as Tully says: “The wise man watches out for good and evil before it happens, and so he does not find himself taken by surprise.”¹⁶ While it is proper for wise men to act on advice, each should take care to be well advised. As Saint Gregory says, “man can avoid peril when he is warned about it.”¹⁷ And for this reason Juvenal said: “Prudence anticipates what is coming, and therefore whoever has it has acquired divinity.”¹⁸ Boethius agrees with this, saying: “It is not sufficient to recognize present things, but also things to come, or which *may* eventuate,” for there is no doubt that, just as many evils have been seen to come about in different ways and in different places because of cruelty, the same thing can happen in any place where it is aroused.¹⁹ And since this should be useful as an example to the insightful, I cite Juvenal, who says: “He is wise who knows from the perils of others how to protect himself.” For this reason, have some water in your house if you see fire in the neighborhood. A man prepared, as Horace says, will be safe in every situation.²⁰ How true it is that such common and cruel acts of destruction arise, when they do, for one of the following four reasons (or even for all four together, as can certainly happen): *hate*, *envy*, *vengeance*, and *greed*. Through some particular hatred or enmity toward someone, such as motivated the woman whom Herod kept, who was his brother’s wife; because Saint John the Baptist reproached him for this, she succeeded in having his head cut off.²¹ Or through envy, such as Cain had for Abel: because Abel was better than he was, Cain killed him; and so also with the brothers of Joseph, etc.²² Or through vengeance, as when the children of Jacob, for their sister who was raped, killed the king who had done it.²³ Or greed, such as Ahab had, who to possess the vineyard of Naboth had him condemned to death;²⁴ and so with David, who to

15. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.3, quoting Seneca *De beneficiis* 6.30.5 (Hosius, 168).

16. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.2, quoting Cicero *De officiis* 1.23.81, ed. C. Atzert (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914), 28.

17. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.2, quoting Gregory the Great *Moralia in Job* 26.34, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143–143B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979–81), 1313–14: “Plerumque subito inopinata tempestas omne quod aer serenum blanditur immutat; et eo periculum uitari non potest, quo nec potuit praeuideri.”

18. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.2, quoting Juvenal *Saturae sedecim* 10.365, ed. J. Willis (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1997), 150: “nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia: nos te, nos facimus, Fortuna, deam celo que locamus.”

19. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.2, quoting Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 2.1.15, ed. L. Bieler, CCSL 94 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 18.

20. Latini *Trésor* 2.74.9–10, quoting Juvenal and Horace (unidentified).

21. Matt. 14:1–11.

22. Gen. 4:1–15; Gen. 37:12–35.

23. Gen. 34.

24. 1 Kings 21.

have the wife of his knight Uriah brought about his death.²⁵ It also happens through flattery, which comes from greed, as with the false servants of King Darius who killed their lord, thinking to please King Alexander and to receive a reward from him;²⁶ or those who killed the valiant knight Pompey to have the favor of Caesar.²⁷ While such wickedness is sometimes represented under the color of justice, or an attempt is made so to represent it, to satisfy the murmuring of the world, such impulses must not be obeyed. For as Seneca says, a man overtaken by anger or hate and greed does not see, does not hear, does not understand, does not think, does not speak—except for stupidities, and without any thought for the scruples of conscience, or any other dangers.²⁸ About this Cato truly says that anger and greed so blind a man that he does not see the law, yet the law still sees him. That is to say, he does not realize the risk he faces from the power of justice, when he begins to put his wickedness into action.²⁹ Such faults are execrable in those inclined to them, and especially to true princes (not tyrants) who are apt for dominion. To them Ovid says: “Conquer your heart, you who would conquer all things.”³⁰ And Seneca says similarly: “You who wish to bring all things into submission, first submit yourself to reason; and if reason governs you, you will be a governor, and if will governs you, you will be governed.”³¹ But as for clarifying what right justice is, and what purpose it serves, we shall speak of it next.

5

Here begins consideration of the virtue of justice

Blessed are they who keep their
judgment, and do justice at all times.
Psalm.³²

25. 2 Sam. 11:1–18.

26. Cf. *Epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni* 5, ed. P.H. Thomas (Leipzig: Teubner, 1966), 2.

27. Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta* 3.2.13 (Briscoe, 163).

28. Latini *Trésor* 2.62.2, perhaps quoting Seneca *De ira* 3.5.6, ed. F. Hermes (Leipzig: Teubner, 1923), 114: “Praeterea ira, ut seponamus, quae mox secutura sunt, damna, insidias, perpetuam ex certa—minibus mutuis sollicitudinem, dat poenas dum exigit; naturam hominis eiurat: illa in amorem hortatur, haec in odium; illa prodesse iubet, haec nocere.”

29. Latini *Trésor* 2.62.2, quoting *Disticha seu dicta Catonis* 2.4, ed. E. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores* 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1888), 223.

30. Latini *Trésor* 2.62.2, quoting Ovid *Heroides* 3.85, ed. R. Ehwald (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907), 214.

31. Latini *Trésor* 2.113.3, quoting Seneca *Epistulae morales* 37.4 (Hense, 116): “Si vis omnia tibi subicere, te subice rationi; multos reges, si ratio te rexerit.”

32. Ps. 105:3.

Having said these things, we come to the second virtue: that is to say justice, which we said in the first part befits and is suitable for you, Louis of France, and similarly for all princes. Those who are just uphold justice at all times—meaning in every cause. And these are blessed, as the psalmist says. Since you should be blessed, this virtue suits you. And to say what Justice is, she is like a faithful housekeeper who distributes and shares out for each person that part and portion which is due for their acts, whether they be good or bad. It is fitting for you to keep and work through her, as nothing is more pertinent for a king or a prince. O, what good will follow for you if you keep her well! Certainly (and do not think otherwise), if your love for her is well secured, then despite the diverse and quite astonishing turns and tricks of Fortune, which sometimes strike even those elevated to the highest places, she will be a shield for you and a defense against every trouble, and she will bring you increase in prosperity and triumph. This good will first of all bring benefit to you yourself, with the highest thanks to God, who commands you to act thus when he says: “Love justice among you who judge on earth.”³³ And then generally to all your subjects, for two reasons: one, that the evildoers will not dare to persecute the good because they will know full well that your legitimate justice will punish them; the other, that no one will have a desire to *become* bad, when everyone knows that such people suffer your punishment. They will, therefore, have reason to improve themselves, and so there will be peace among your people; and that is the glory and increase of every kingdom, as has been said.

6

The attributes of justice and of good magistrates

For as long as he is said to be a judge,
for so long he is thought to be just.
Fifth letter of Seneca.³⁴

As the Latin above says, the judge is said to be good for so long as he is thought to be just. This justice, in brief, amounts to not showing favor to rich or poor, nor to friend or enemy; nor departing through any fear from just ways. To distinguish more precisely the parts of which justice consists, know that there are four principal ones. The first is that evildoers be punished, so that they may not trample on the good, nor impede the peace. The second, that the innocent be protected from wrongdoing and that justice be

33. Latini *Trésor* 2.91.9, quoting Ws. 1:1: “Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram.”

34. Not Seneca, but Cassiodorus *Variae* 3.27 (CCSL 96:117). *P* correctly adds “dicitur.”

done to them and to all having a good cause. The third, that justice should watch that evils not be committed, for it does not suffice that the good magistrate punish evildoers when they have committed a crime: he must be aware of the harm that can be done through them before the evil is done, and forestall it. And the fourth is that the good should be rewarded for their good deeds. You will possess these four main elements of justice, which then branch into several parts according to different situations, if you are enamored of justice, as has been said. But to put them into effect, as it is impossible for one prince to suffice for many different regions, it is appropriate to put in his place various ministers and lieutenants in each of his scattered jurisdictions. O gracious prince, may it be pleasing to you to speak of this matter—in general rather than mere particular terms. For God would surely be pleased if now and in time to come you were so zealously enamored of this virtue that your ministers, following your example, dare not stray from it. Never would there be so much good in this kingdom! For this reason good ministers are needed, through whom justice is handed out to each person according to what he deserves. And what is appropriate in your lieutenants? In the name of God, to be wise so that they see clearly in all things and make no errors in their judgments, and to fear God so that greed cannot corrupt them through favors or flattery. Let them be men of probity and justice, who can hold out a firm hand to any man without giving anyone reason to complain, and gentle and humane so that the poor and simple are not afraid to approach them when wrong is done to them. What good can come from such magistrates? Ah! Surely it is beyond anyone to measure it. First of all, through justice thus maintained, God's grace will be acquired. Next, highest praise to the prince, because one knows the lord by his ministers, as the common proverb says³⁵—so everyone will proclaim him just. Next, the glory and improvement of the land, for merchants and all people will travel there at will, without fear of being wronged. So will all riches and good and joy flow into the kingdom.

7

The evil that comes from not bringing wrongdoers to justice

Because judgment against wrongdoers is not brought forward quickly, they perpetrate evils without any fear of the son of man. Ecclesiasticus, chapter 8.³⁶

35. Cf. Le Roux de Lincy, *Proverbs*, 2:71; Ulrich, no. 91.

36. Eccclus. 8:11.

But as it is well-known fact that not all magistrates are good, or of the kind described, I assign the cause to that suggested in the authority cited above in Latin: because wrongdoers have been allowed to remain in power so often and for so long, men are emboldened to engage in diverse wrongs. That is to say, past negligence and failure to guard against the wicked in such offices has licensed an increase in wickedness, in those able to take advantage through deceit and various frauds. Because of this failure, it has come to pass in many courts that extortion and horrific cruelties can be carried out, under a cover of justice. What is worse, though, is when such things happen and no one dares complain about them. The pity is that then such truth is suppressed through fear or favor, which harms both the prince and the public good. But what precipitates this misfortune is usually what gives rise to every evil and every vice, of which we have spoken above, and which likewise corrupts many counselors and court officers: accursed, treacherous Greed. O Greed, root of all evils and of all vices! Indeed, he who compared you to the pit of hell, which is so adept at swallowing up souls and is never sated, named you fittingly. For nothing is more insatiable than the heart of the greedy person, which nothing, except lack of power, holds back from perpetrating all manner of evils; and as for the eye of conscience, it is quite blinded by dame Greed.³⁷

8

Of greedy magistrates

By that through which someone sins,
by that he will also be tormented.
Ecclesiastes.³⁸

I find there are some sins in particular, which, not to put too fine a point on it, bring with them their own hell: envy and greed. Envy gnaws at the heart of whomever it inhabits, consuming it completely but bringing no benefit. Greed causes the person who is overtaken by it such obsession and torment that he has no rest from his eagerness for acquisition; it never ceases. For this reason, Ecclesiastes, quoted above, rightly says: “That through which someone sins, by that he will also be tormented.” And Boethius says: “No vice is without punishment, and no virtue without reward.”³⁹ And Solomon: “The

37. John of Salisbury *Policraticus* 7.17, ed. C. C. J. Webb (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 2:164.

38. Not Ecclesiastes, but Ws. 11:17: “ut scirent quia per quae peccat quis per haec et torquetur.”

39. Latini *Trésor* 2.52.9, quoting Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 4.1.7 (Bieler, 65): “nec sine poena umquam esse uitia nec sine praemio uirtutes.”

wickedness of evildoers tips them into the ditch.”⁴⁰ But to speak further about this greed which cannot be too much scorned, certainly if such a plant is bad and poisonous, this is not to be marveled at, because it grows from many hateful roots. For some, it is the desire to have money because of their prodigality, for giving to fools or for using for gluttony and lavish spending; and for some, in order to climb more in honors than befits them; for others, by jealousy of their neighbors so as to have more than they have and to surpass them in possessions. And others pile up wealth with great effort because of the fear and wretched apprehension that they always have of not having enough, and that some ill fortune may come to them. These people are not happy with what they have, and cannot bear to do good either to themselves or to others, because they think they will avoid every misfortune through their wealth. But in this they are too foolish, and grossly deceived: because there have been many cases of such ill-starred folk being basely killed for their wealth. Thinking that through money they can avoid misfortune, instead they are bringing it upon themselves. This kind of greedy people are the worst, for two reasons. One, because what they have is kept locked up and piled in a chest, and is as good as lost—since if it circulated more in common, many people would benefit. The other is that for all their wealth, they themselves are so pitiable that they die of cold, hunger, and illness, poorly clothed and shamefully dressed. All this Dame Avarice makes them suffer patiently, so that they become poor beggars without honor or any ease from the fullness of wealth; and then comes death, which takes them painfully without any benefit to the soul or the body—and what was theirs is used with great mockery and merriment, since their relatives, for whom they never did anything good, care nothing for them.

But to return to our first consideration. O God, what danger, when such a vice overruns the heart of a magistrate! There is no greater calamity. Wrong is made right, and right is made wrong—by means of gifts. Nothing is excluded: someone deserves death or has a bad case, and gifts are presented to counter it. Alas! But there is worse, for in line with what has been said before about bad counselors and servants, the danger is great when flattery strikes among them. To win the regard of the prince, whom they understand to be inclined more to one side than to another, they consent to give judgment according to the

40. Possibly Christine is thinking here of Prov. 26:27, “qui fodit foveam incidet in eam et qui volvit lapidem revertetur ad eum” (Who digs a pit shall fall into it, and he that rolls a stone will have it return on him), or Prov. 28:10, “qui decipit iustos in via mala in interitu suo corruet” (Who deceives the righteous on to an evil path shall fall into his own pit).

will of the prince and not at all according to justice. Or they delay judgments for the innocent, or in other cases give judgments in favor of lords, or because of friendships or enmities. There is no doubt, with flatteries of this or some similar kind, which all flow from greed for gaining or keeping favor, whether of the prince or some other, so as to receive gifts, payments, and profit, or to have greater authority or tenure in office—these are all hateful and accursed, and work to the severe condemnation of the judge and of those in whose favor they are done. For this reason Boethius says: “False friends bring flattery in place of counsel, and deceive with smooth words.”⁴¹

9

On keeping justice well, with the example of King Charles

The righteousness of the just will free
them and the wicked will be caught in
their own traps. Proverbs, chapter 11.⁴²

O honorable prince, listen to what Solomon says in his *Proverbs* about this noble and worthy virtue of justice. Certainly, since it will protect those who righteously uphold it, and those who corrupt it will be punished and taken through their own fault, you, along with every prince and all good people, should maintain justice with all your power, in order to be well guarded and defended and to avoid God’s punishment. The way to maintain it is to desire it, and so to order things that in all circumstances it is done to everyone, as much to the little folk as to the great, as has been said, without sparing anyone—punishing the guilty in accordance with their deserts, with no more rigor than the case requires, but righteously and with due regard, so that the innocent are protected, the cases of the poor expedited, and the rich not suffered to crush them by their force. Solomon says that justice involves two things in particular: one is that the judge have the will and desire to benefit all, and the other is not to harm anyone.⁴³ This is also commanded by natural law. And Tully says: “To remove the bad from among the good is not to harm, but to benefit.” Just as, if certain parts of a man were already dead and rotten with sickness, to amputate or cut them out so that they do not harm the other parts would be a benefit to the man, and no harm to the parts.⁴⁴ Therefore Seneca says: “The judge is damned if the malefactor is absolved.” We could no doubt find many

41. Latini *Trésor* 2.60.4, quoting Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 2.5.14 (Bieler, 27).

42. Prov. 11:6.

43. Unidentified.

44. Latini *Trésor* 2.92.2, quoting Cicero *De officiis* 3.19.76 (Atzert, 108).

propositions on this subject, for the authors have written many.⁴⁵ But to turn to examples from your good grandfather: God, how well he maintained it, and desired that it would be upheld above all else! Who in his time could complain of injustice? As soon as any complaint came to his ears, it did not matter whose cause it should be. For he certainly spared no one, as he many times demonstrated with regard to those closest to him—stranger or private acquaintance, no matter how great—as is only right. For example, once one of his best-loved chamberlains, whom there is no need to name, when he had struck one of the sergeants at court, was only reprieved with great difficulty from having his hand cut off in accord with the law, by means of much petitioning from the king's own brothers, and others of the royal blood; and even then, the man was never thereafter in his grace.⁴⁶ I do not know whether one could say more of the emperor Trajan, of whose justice history makes such great mention, and who even got down from his horse, which he had mounted in order to go off to war, in order to do justice and right to a woman who asked him for it. For King Charles once did no less a thing at St-Germain-en-Laye, when a good woman, as he was coming out of the castle to go hunting, came crying to his feet, complaining that one of his servants, whom she had lodged in her house, had raped one of her daughters. The King, immediately well informed of the case after the confession of the man himself, would hear no requests for remission, but immediately commanded that he should be hanged on a tree in sight of all so that others would take example.⁴⁷ By doing thus and continually upholding justice, I promise you he was so feared that everyone took care not to do wrong. And speaking of justice, did he not even sometimes want to hear the cases which came before his stewards concerning his private servants, and often decided them himself?

10

How it is appropriate in justice to reward the good

For a special person, clemency is to be shown to those nourished by a praiseworthy and honest life. Guido, in the introduction to his *Summa*.⁴⁸

45. Latini *Trésor* 2.92.3, quoting Seneca *De ira* 2.7.3 (Hermes, 78): “et iudex damnaturus quae fecit eligitur et corona pro mala causa—bona patroni voce corrupta.”

46. This anecdote, plus the comparison with Trajan and the story that follows, are all repeated from *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.23 (Solente, 1:60–62).

47. John the Deacon *Sancti Gregorii Vita* 2.44, PL 75 (Paris: Garnier, 1849), 105AB.

48. Unidentified in Guido Faba *Summa dictaminis*.

We said earlier that we can take the fourth attribute of justice to be that it is as good to reward the good as to punish the bad. We can speak to this in terms of the statement cited above in Latin, which suggests that to those we observe to be virtuous and good, who seem to adorn and sustain themselves by so being, one should in particular offer great rewards, kind encouragement, and honors. These words can be principally addressed to princes and lords, since it is up to them to reward the good for their good deeds as much as to punish the bad for their crimes; so we shall speak on this theme in this chapter, because there are many problems current today that require remedy, on which princes could take action if they pleased. There are in particular two remedies. The first is that things should be organized by those princes in such a way that the evil are punished without any being spared through favor, no matter who they are. This should be according to the nature of their wrongdoing—and never out of hate, but in strict justice. And those who are vicious with immoral and worthless ways should be dismissed, no matter how great and rich they are; no account should be taken of them, nor welcome given at court. The other remedy is that legislation should be passed and upheld so that the good, virtuous, and worthy are honored and remunerated generously, and promoted in accordance with their deserts, in order of merit—and no account taken of other people. This is how the valiant Romans did things, as I have said before in speaking of this matter, of which one cannot say too much. The Romans never prized anyone of any rank if he was not worthy and virtuous. No knight or gentleman had any honor or title in the office of arms, no matter what his breeding, unless he had won it through valiant deeds and bodily prowess; and they were remunerated and honored in accordance with the good they did. So that they would be well informed concerning this, and the good not be forgotten, they committed to writing each voyage, enterprise, deed of arms, and every valiant act worth remembering that anyone did.

O, please God that things were done thus now! There would be more who are honored and fewer who are not; for there would be today fewer of those valiant men who have done many things which are worthy of a great reputation and memory but are seemingly forgotten. O! How much it displeases those of good heart to see people of great value, in a realm so renowned, where all nobility used to gather and be given due regard, but where at present the good seem to be ignored. And others for the sake of a little outward show, or less, with no great deeds, but who are in someone's favor, are pushed forward and have the honors.

Examples from the Romans about the election to offices

Nothing is more distinguished than
 virtue, nothing is more beautiful: and
 it is a good and desirable thing for
 anything to be governed by its rule.
 Seneca, Letter to Lucilius.⁴⁹

On this same topic of praising the virtues above anything else—or of praising worthy and virtuous people, in effect—Seneca suggests above that, since nothing is more noble or beautiful than virtue, or better or more delightful to be governed by, so the virtuous should be exalted. This is why, in the time of the Romans, when they came to consult the books of knighthood where the good deeds of each were recorded, they elected men to be chieftains and governors of others according to the reports given in them; and similarly they inquired concerning their way of life, for no matter what prowess they might have, no ill-bred man would there be elected. And they said that a man was not worthy of honor whose heart was corrupted by vices and bad ways. Similarly they would inquire concerning the behavior of all their other officers, and they promoted them according to whether they were well-behaved and cultivated. There was therefore nothing which men wanted more to acquire, with all their heart, than good reputation, because in those days one took no account of other riches and kinds of estate. This is well illustrated by that valiant knight and general in the Roman army, Fabricius, who was not at all ashamed to be seen by his enemies' distinguished ambassadors eating at table and sitting on a little bench, served with wooden dishes—which he could easily have changed if greed were his mistress, but his generosity, whereby he gave everything to the good until nothing remained for himself, prevented him.⁵⁰ Virtue was all their study

49. Seneca *Epistulae morales* 67.15 (Hense, 230): “Nihil est virtute praestantius, nihil pulchrius. Et bonum est et optabile, quicquid ex huius geritur imperio. Vale.”

50. Cf. John of Salisbury *Policraticus* 1.5.7 (Webb, 311). Fabricius was a much-cited example of Roman probity. He appears in this role in Dante *Monarchia* 2.5 (Shaw, 64–65), where Vergil's *Aeneid* is cited, and he serves the same purpose in the glossed Valerius Maximus that was used extensively by Christine in her *Corps de police*. Although she tells a number of stories about this general in that earlier work (1.12), this one was not used by her previously. Fabricius's probity is reported by Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta* 4.3.6–7 (Briscoe, 247–48), where it is followed by this story, but told about the consul M. Curius. Christine had also mentioned Fabricius in *Long estude* 4802 in a long list of wise exemplars who despised wealth.

because wealth, estate, and clothing brought them no honor. They would say that they wished their adornments to be interior and not exterior, so that they could never be taken away or stolen by thieves; and such are virtues. It is because they upheld such ways that the Romans were such valiant people, the like of which has never since been in the world, as much in prowess of arms as in prudence, the acquisition of knowledge, and integrity—and in all things that accord with high and legitimate government. While they continued thus they ruled over all lands; but when pride began to take hold, and evil lords came who pursued their own profit out of greed, their rule collapsed.

Why do you think it is that in ancient times people were more worthy than they now are: nobles in arms as much as scholars in knowledge, and people of justice, and all others? In God's name, because they were encouraged to be thus by the very great account that was taken of the good, and the disdain in which the unworthy were then held. When people of those days, who were even pagans and without the Law, did such in order to be good and nobly cultivated, it is to be presumed that the Christians of today might far more excel and increase in virtue, and certainly it is a very great cause for reproach if they do otherwise.

Ah! How well what I previously said of King Charles illustrates this matter. He managed things that same way: wherever he heard of good people, he sent in search of them and wished to have them, whether in the office of arms, in learning, or in some other capacity. And God knows, as do others who still live, how he held serious people in great reverence and took great account of them; and the way he maintained them in honors, estates, and benefits certainly could not have been better. So I conclude that it is through the fault of the rulers, as I said before, that people are not better—when honors and benefits are not given to the virtues but to the great estates. But if the opposite were done, valiant deeds would be promoted and pillage put down. Please God, then, that such a thing be done, for it would be to the common as well as the private good.

12

Here begins consideration of the virtue of magnanimity, which is called greatness of heart

It is particular to a great mind to be peaceful and tranquil, and to spurn and

despise injuries and offences. Seneca, the book *On Clemency*.⁵¹

The third virtue which we have said is appropriate to the prince is magnanimity, which is called greatness of heart. The characteristic of this, says Seneca, is that it makes men peaceful, gracious, agreeable, settled, mild, and composed; and it causes them to despise and take no heed of insults and offences. O, noble virtue in a great lord—indeed, in all noble men! For it does more than what is said above: it makes a person splendid in his deeds, causes him to be spoken about, enhances his dignity and the awe, fear, and love with which he is regarded, declares his honor and strength of character; and in brief, there is so much good in it that nothing is better suited to a prince or great lord. Here we say what this virtue is, so as to make better understood what it consists in, and so that none will be misled about it, for some who are ignorant are apt to believe that pride, presumption and arrogance, which are ugly and evil vices, come from greatheartedness: but it is absolutely the opposite. That is to say, the virtue of high- or greatheartedness, where it is established, makes a man such that he despises all vile and base things; nor could he give himself or his thoughts to anything other than good, beautiful, and praiseworthy works. Such a man habitually desires renown—not in the least for himself, but to provide a good example. Therefore there is nothing in this world that he hates so much as ugly vices, bad habits of life, and obnoxious faults, and he would rather die than allow any such baseness to be truly reported of him. He strives to be worthy in all things; he inquires what prudence is, so that he might know how to direct his greatness of heart with good sense. Such a man has a high manner and firm countenance, not at all from arrogance—for there is nothing he despises more—but on account of what befits the rank that he has. In speech he is wise and kindly, courteous and friendly, not loquacious; and he rarely says things of no value. He presents a joyous face when among his own people; he loves them and wants their love; if they bring him honor, service and loyalty, he rewards them generously; he occupies himself diligently with the good of the polity, and does not waste time with trifles or encumber himself with vices and base concerns;

51. Seneca *De clementia* 1.5.4 (Hosius, 217; with slight differences): “*magni autem animi proprium est placidum esse tranquillum que et iniurias atque offensiones superne despiciere.*”

he always wants to hear about virtuous affairs; he does not lightly rise to anger, nor take account of slight misdeeds or demand vengeance in petty matters; his games and his laughter are temperate; he wishes to do no one wrong, though he would rather die than allow another to wrong him in turn; his word and promise is stable and firm in all matters, and he would never lie. Such a man never decides anything without taking plenty of advice, but no one is more constant once things are decided; in the execution of his wars he is diligent and cautious, fierce toward his enemies and bold as a lion—but mild, merciful, and humane to the vanquished and to those who surrender. Such a man despises greed and hates avarice, wishes to possess only in order to be able to give generously to those who are deserving; wrongdoing displeases him more than anything else: he does not do it himself, nor suffer it to be done, so far as this is within his power; and he is never more unhappy than when people have reason to complain with just cause. His thoughts never cease to seek out ways in which he can continually grow in high renown and fame. Such are the characteristics of greatheartedness (along with others, all of them good) in a prince or in any noble man who has it also, each in his degree.

13

Exhorting my lord of Guyenne to greatness of heart

Magnanimity seems to be the jewel of the virtues. Aristotle, *Ethics*.⁵²

A kingdom with magnanimity is to be prized. Aristotle, *Politics*.⁵³

You have the material of virtue; put the thing into action. Walter in the *Alexandreis*, about the words of Aristotle.⁵⁴

Concerning this virtue of magnanimity, or greatness of heart as we may call it, Aristotle says above in Latin that it is the jewel through which the other virtues are honored, which means that it exalts and manifests the others. For in one who has it the others can be seen shining through his works; otherwise this

52. Aristotle *Ethica* 4.7.1124a (AL 26.3:440): “Videtur quidem igitur magnanimitas ut ornatus quidam esse virtutum.”

53. Not found in Aristotle *Politica*.

54. Walter of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.83, ed. Marvin L. Colker, *Thesaurus mundi* 17 (Padua: Antenore, 1978), 11.

would not be magnanimity, since it cannot exist alone. This is why Aristotle says elsewhere that the prince is most prized by his subjects when they see that he is greathearted, and why he said to Alexander: “Young man, have within you a strong and magnanimous heart, and if you have the material for virtue (that is, if you have reason to exercise virtue, as you do), then *execute* the thing (which is to say, demonstrate it in action).”⁵⁵ These words, most noble prince, can be addressed to you as much as to Alexander; or so it certainly seems to me, in light of the properties of this magnanimity or greatness of heart. It among all the virtues is suited to you and to any prince or high person; you are one such, so it is appropriate that you be guided by and conform to it in everything from your earliest youth—not only in that you have it or know what it is, but in that you act from it. For, as Saint Augustine says, there is little value in knowing what virtue is if one does not put it into practice.⁵⁶ O noble youth! May it please you for a moment to contemplate how beautiful a thing it is to see a prince, even in his youth and as he grows up, ever better ornamented by the beautiful precepts and manners that are encompassed by this virtue. That is to say, despising vices more than anything and desiring to encourage all good manners and habits, in practice and also in countenance and words, since there is nothing more agreeable to see than a prince who is wise, restrained, of a beautiful eloquence of manner and discreet speech, doing his duty toward God and his service, attentive at his council to the opinions of his wise councilors, gracious to foreigners, receiving in lordly manner and with good welcome each according to his degree, with great love toward those of his blood, honoring the good and valiant, wanting to hear their deeds spoken of, rewarding those who deserve it, mild, humane, gracious, accommodating, and joyous as the time and place may require, and, where it is called for in his games and amusements, courteous and moderate, without rowdiness at any stage of his life.

14

How it does not befit a prince to be too isolated

Men of great intellect and will are
naturally lords and rulers of others.
Aristotle, *Politics*.⁵⁷

55. See Introduction p. 20.

56. Unidentified.

57. Cf. *Les “Auctoritates Aristotelis”* 1.1 (*Les “Auctoritates Aristotelis”: Un florilège médiéval; Étude historique et édition critique* 1.1, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse [Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1974], 252), glossing Aristotle *Politica* 1 (1252d31–b5): “Hominis ratione et intellectu vigentes naturaliter aliorum domini sunt et rectores.”

If a man were seized into heaven, everything wonderful that he saw there would be mourned by one not having anyone to whom he could reveal it. Archyta of Tarentum, as reported by Tully.⁵⁸

Man is naturally a social animal. Aristotle, *Ethics*, book 1.⁵⁹

Your deeds ought to be done openly and do not believe that any secret can ever be given to royal vices. Lucan.⁶⁰

It behooves a prince to know everything which he can't do if he is alone. Giles, in the book *On the Government of Princes*.⁶¹

Once more, in order better to demonstrate that this greatheartedness is more appropriate to a prince than to any other, I have produced in testimony the sayings of the authorities on this matter. For since it is the case, as Aristotle says in the first Latin text above, that even common men who are great of heart and have good understanding are constituted by right of nature to have prerogative over the others, these qualities are all the more necessary to you, and all other princes already established in lordship and government of a multitude of people. To carry through with this matter of the manners appropriate to a prince: since nothing pleases his faithful and loving subjects more than to be in the presence of their lord, he should not keep himself in too great solitude. Archyta of Tarentum says that if a man had visited the heavens, it would be very hard if he could not tell anyone about the marvels that he had seen there—meaning that it is a natural and appropriate pleasure for men to discourse and communicate with others. On this matter Aristotle says, “Man is sociable by nature,” which is to say that people will happily

58. Paraphrase of Cicero *De amicitia* 88 (Simbeck, 79): “verum ergo illud est quod a Tarentino Archyta . . . si quis in caelum ascendisset naturam que mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore; quae iucundissima fuisset, si aliquem cui narraret, habuisset.”

59. Aristotle *Ethica* 1.5.1097b11 (AL 26.3:382): “quia natura civile homo”; cf. *Politica* 1.2 1253a (AL 29.1:5): “et quod homo natura civile animal est.”

60. Not Lucan; actually Claudian *Panegyricus* 8.269, ed. J. B. Hall (Leipzig: Teubner, 1985), 71: “cunctis tua gentibus esse / facta palam nec posse dari regalibus usquam / secretum uitiiis.”

61. Not found in Giles of Rome *De Regimine principum*.

converse. And says Giles: “The deeds of a prince should be open to view, for if they are bad, they cannot then be hidden.” And he says further: “It is proper for a prince to familiarize himself with everything, which would be impossible if he were too solitary.” Therefore he should willingly keep himself in the presence of his nobles and his people without making difficulties about being seen, giving appropriate audience at hours that are convenient to those that have business with him. He should not adopt habits or behavior that are inappropriate or unbecoming to a prince, either in attitude and expression of body and speech or in manner and order of life, so that none can say of so elevated a person that he is unwise, cruel, despicable, a blasphemer, of ugly habits or of disordered life. In short, all of these good things and many others belong to greatness of heart, as has been said: despising base things, meaning that the prince does not waste time that should be devoted to good governance of lands and subjects in follies, whether in word or in deed. Nor in childish and effeminate things, nor in anything from which honor cannot come: for being addicted to such shameful things can lead to his subjects despising him, and it can turn out so badly for him that he is accounted a fool, or naïve and simple, which are not the properties of grandeur.

Similarly, we have said that it pertains to greatness of heart to have high thoughts about matters of honor, and to want to put these high thoughts into practice. The high thoughts of honor for a prince concern deeds of chivalry, whether initiating them, or defending his country or his own lands. With regard to which, as everyone knows, defense is more fitting than attack, since one is from God and the other is from the will. Nevertheless in both are recognized the properties of greatheartedness, for he who defends well does something no less admirable than he who invades well, except that such affairs in particular should be guided by the advice of experts. In such cases, says Sallust, the counsel should precede the act.⁶² But “after long counsel, brief expedition,” as Lucan says.⁶³ To illustrate the practice of these things, we shall discuss what has been said concerning the deeds of the aforementioned King Charles.

15

Of King Charles, concerning magnanimity

A mind is more distinguished than any
weapon. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.⁶⁴

62. Latini *Trésor* 2.57.1, referring to Sallust *De bello Iugurthino* 10.7 (Kurfess, 60).

63. Paraphrasing Latini *Trésor* 2.57.1, referring to Lucan.

64. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.54 (Anderson, 55): “telo que animus praestantior omni.”

This magnanimity makes it possible for men to accomplish very great things, to which Ovid is witness in the brief text above: “There is no blade so good as courage.” This means that all force of arms is as nothing, if the heart is not behind it. So it was said in the country proverb: “It is the heart that does the deed.”⁶⁵ And for a good example of this, it is well once more to remember that same King Charles, who never once failed to display his greatness and nobility of heart in practice, from the moment he was crowned, which was at a very young age. For when he saw how his kingdom was greatly diminished by past wars—as by the loss of the whole Duchy of Guyenne to which were attached twelve counties and many cities, towns and lands, such as la Rochelle, the city of Poitiers and others, and in Picardy the county of Ponthieu and that of Guines which are rightful fiefs of France, and several other lands that the English held without having to pay any rent at all, as properties won by the sword—O! his great and mighty heart could not suffer this, nor that the reproach might arise in future times that you and his successors would be so impoverished in honor and inheritance.

Because of this, with very great courage informed by good sense, he put his hand to the task, which was no small thing; but he had heart, and certainly demonstrated it when, on seeing himself impoverished by his predecessors through long wars of the past—stripped of so many men, rents, and revenues—he dared to try to recover what was his by use of war.⁶⁶ Now this shows what great courage is, governed by wisdom: and what great faith it gives to one possessed of it. By means of it he was not at all disappointed, so it seems. For he worked so effectively—diligently and with wise counsel, aided by the efforts of good people whom he had drawn to himself for this purpose, as we saw above—that by the grace of God, not moving from his royal throne but ordering things from his rich palaces, he toiled against strong resistance and recovered the greatest part of the said duchy and all the other lands lost by his predecessors. This work bore out the words of Vegetius, who said: “In matters of chivalry arm yourself more with the strength of courage united with wisdom, than with iron or steel,” which means that more is achieved this way than by force of arms.⁶⁷

65. Le Roux de Lincy, *Proverbes*, 2:175.

66. The list of territories lost occurs at *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.8 (Solente, 1:127).

67. Vegetius *De re militari* 1.1 (Önnefors, 9).

Of the virtue of fortitude, and which man is truly strong

Spare the defeated and crush the proud.
Vergil, *Aeneid*.⁶⁸

The fourth that belongs to you, most revered Prince, is the virtue of fortitude, which is so greatly compatible with magnanimity that one seems to be born of the other. It is not to be understood as bodily strength or power, but as simply strength of heart. So Vergil says, here above, that the property of the latter is to subjugate the arrogant but to spare those who are humbled and subdued, from which we gather that his words are addressed only to princes and powerful men, because it is not for everyone to humiliate the proud and to dispense mercy, and the like. This is not at all to suggest that strength of heart is hard, cruel, or unyielding, so that it cannot be shifted from any bad opinion nor persuaded to bend in pity: rather that the heart is so firmly tempered that it is ever quick and ready to resist the blows that Fortune may assail it with—so much so that by no misadventures, loss, or mischance whatsoever can it be daunted, cast down into desolation, or deprived of its resolve. Similarly, it does not rise in arrogance on account of the prosperity that might come its way. This virtue the ancients depicted and imagined as an armed lady, whose shield and lance were borne by Dame Constance, who accompanied her; for truly is constancy the rightful and steadfast companion of fortitude. She truly helps a man to endure all manner of burdens without them weighing him down—nor do ordinary large affairs, since they are reckoned small, seem to him arduous or bitter. He is ready to put up with cold, heat, hunger, austere lodging, and every hardship with equanimity, if need be, to uphold justice, virtue, and the right. Neither undertaking deeds nor persevering in them is hard for him. Such a man does not undertake his actions without taking full counsel, nor engage in them imprudently, and therefore he never does anything lightly, and is not distracted from his enterprise, nor frightened by anything. He does not base his hopes on frivolous schemes; nor is he prone to give credence to statements with some mere paltry appearance of truth. Few things trouble such a person, nor divert him from his opinion; and, following the teaching of the wise, he gives flatterers and sycophants no hearing. For concerning this Tully said: “No traps are so perilous as those that hide under flattery.” By such a thing was Troy laid waste, and many another

68. Vergil *Aeneid* 6.853, ed. O. Ribbeck (Leipzig: Teubner, 1895), 526.

city.⁶⁹ About this also Macrobius used to say: “A flatterer is worse than a thief.” Not for nothing do all men scorn them. The strong heart loves the virtuous and those resembling itself, and draws them close to itself. O God, how many grand endeavors has this virtue caused to be achieved, which had seemed impossible to carry through! For there is hardly anything so great that the steady courage of the man of fortitude cannot accomplish it.

17

Of the virtue of fortitude in the person of King Charles, and concerning his wars

Courage is praised insofar as it faces the most difficult circumstances and greatest dangers. Aristotle, *Ethics*, book 3.⁷⁰

The reason that fortitude is praised among the virtues is, according to Aristotle, that it prevails among and triumphs over difficulties and perils. This is to say that, because dealing with weighty and toilsome deeds takes great effort, pain, and application—and is therefore a difficult thing constantly to endure—they merit high praise who persevere long-sufferingly until their good work is completed. For an example of the truth that it has value in the heart of a prince, let us say more concerning the said good king, your grandfather. For whence might you suppose he got the great stamina and infallible persistence that he had in the management of his wars—so great, onerous and perilous they were, almost all his life!—if not from strong and powerful courage? And how could he have otherwise put up with such a burden, when enormous care and diligence had to be exercised because of the various shocks and chances (sometimes favorable, sometimes adverse) that turn up in warfare, if he did not have great fortitude in him? For he could have found a way to treat with his enemies had he preferred instead to leave things unfinished. But who is now such a prince, or where was there ever seen one more circumspect, wise, and mightily strong in all things? He took warfare so completely to heart, and managed all things so wisely, that in order to be loyally and more honorably served he employed even those of his blood and his closest companions, such as his own brothers, who took

69. Cicero *De amicitia* 99 (Simbeck, 83).

70. Aristotle *Ethica* 3.12.1117a (AL 26.3:425): “fortitudo et iuste laudatur; difficilium enim [est] tristitia ut dictum est sustinere.”

to it well. Thus his first brother the Duke of Anjou, a most virtuous lord of great courage, who was later king of Sicily: with the contingent of men-at-arms that the king had committed to him conquered a great part of the Duchy of Guyenne, the town of La Rochelle, and a great tally of fortresses.⁷¹ Similarly, the Duke of Berry, who is still alive: he conquered the city of Poitiers and that of Limoges, and in Languedoc a good number of fortresses, and also in Auvergne. Likewise the Duke of Burgundy, who was the third brother, took the town of Ardre and a great part of the county of Pontieu, in Picardy. The Duke of Bourbon also, who was his brother-in-law—and indeed like a brother to him, for he was a good and valiant lord—with that fine commander my lord Bertrand du Guesclin, assisted by the barons of the place, conquered almost all of Brittany, whose duke at the time was in rebellion against him. Elsewhere too his boldness was felt. And in this fashion the said lords moved, here and there, against their enemies.⁷²

But to our theme of the fortitude and courage of the abovementioned king: we should emphasize that it was by no means only against the King of England that he was waging war, since at the very same time he stood against the King of Navarre (who was then still living) and the Duke of Brittany. In total, for these wars it was necessary to maintain troops in perhaps five or six places—on the frontiers, through the kingdom, or even at sea. This meant a huge army in Guyenne, and also in Picardy, Brittany, Languedoc, Auvergne (where the Duke of Berry achieved much, as has been said); and in Normandy, where the Duke of Burgundy conquered many a strong castle, and accomplished great things. Also, in order continually to protect the sea routes my lord John of Vienne, a fine admiral, maintained twenty-five or thirty galleys filled with men-at-arms and whatever was necessary—to say nothing of the other craft and smaller vessels that plied the sea causing much obstruction to the enemies.⁷³ And for all of this that most wise king, by his great prudence and fortitude, made provision in full measure.

71. The brothers of Charles V are described in greater detail in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.11–14 (Solente, 1:133–60).

72. The feats of Bertrand du Guesclin were praised at length in *Fais et bonnes meurs*. Christine speaks of him at 2.5–6, 19–20, and eulogizes his feats at 2.23–25 (Solente, 1:120–25, 184–89, 194–201); the account of Charles V's wars that follows this eulogy contains many mentions of him. She later represents his death as presaging that of his master (3.70; Solente, 2:180–82).

73. Christine mentions the admiral Jean of Vienne at *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.25, where Suzanne Solente refers to *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, 10 vols. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1920–53); see Solente, 2:150n7, for information about him. It is noteworthy that the description of his role is fuller here than in that earlier work. He was one of the knights killed at the battle of Nicopolis; see *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 2.515.

**The names of certain good captains, and valiant noblemen in warfare,
at the time of the abovementioned King Charles**

The truly strong person does not fear a
good death. Aristotle, *Ethics*, book 3.⁷⁴

The truly strong man, says Aristotle, is one who through the love of virtue has no fear of death. In relation to this, since it is noteworthy and a good example, honorable and praiseworthy, we turn to those who were the noble King Charles' servants in the conduct of those honorably fought wars. Much joy to the heirs who might hear of it! It is appropriate after speaking of the lord, since everything contributes to the same glory, that we say something about those who most often took part in person, with true strength and no fear of death, as is borne out by what has been said of their deeds. In order too that the names of these remarkable people not be effaced by the passage of time, it is proper to record them here, and to preserve the memory of at least some of them; and since to tell all would require a long account, we shall speak of those most regularly involved. The four noble brothers of the said king have been mentioned before, as has that good commander my lord Bertrand du Guesclin, a very valiant knight who, in concurrence with the common proverb that says "a household is conducted according to its lord,"⁷⁵ did well for the lord he served. He knew how to recognize and reward his men according to their desert. Other principal captains continually on the field were of royal blood: the Count of Alençon and his brother the Count of Perche;⁷⁶ the marshal of Sancerre, who was then a commander; the marshal of Blainville;⁷⁷ the Lord of Clisson;⁷⁸ the Lord of Coucy; the Stutterer of Villaines; the Lord of Montfort; the Lord of Montauban; that of Roye; my lord Guy of Rochefort; my lords Oliver of Mauny; Jacques Daulphin, master of the crossbows; the Lord of Beuil;

74. Aristotle *Ethica* 3.9.1115a (AL 26.3:421): "*Utique fortis, qui circa bonam mortem inpavidus.*"

75. Joseph Morawski, *Proverbes antérieures au xvi^e siècle* (Paris: Champion 1925), no. 2249, p. 81.

76. Mentioned in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.33 (Solente, 1:224).

77. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.25: "Citons, parmi ceux-ci, les frères du roi Charles mentionnés plus haut; l'amiral de France Jean de Vienne, chevalier noble, vaillant et avisé; le maréchal Louis de Sancerre, tout aussi vaillant et courageux; le maréchal Jean de Blainville—ainsi que bien d'autres" (Hicks and Moreau, 163). Blainville is also mentioned at 3.36, preceding Charles V in the procession that went to visit the emperor, and at 3.37 (Solente, 2:99, 102), escorting the emperor into Paris.

78. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.35–36 (Solente, 1:231).

the Lord Owen of Wales (while he still lived);⁷⁹ the “Herald of Love”;⁸⁰ my lord Omenion of Pommiers.⁸¹ Other barons, knights, and valiant upright noblemen were there also, of whom I have no knowledge, along with a great contingent of foreign captains: for there is no doubt the wise king had provided himself with so many good people that nothing was wanting, neither in men-at-arms nor in any other provision for war. So I can conclude at the end of this chapter on my original theme: that, considering the remarkable military establishment put in place by this prudent king, it was yet more a matter of the fortitude of his noble heart, his first principle, than even the strength of the mighty power he had deployed. And now ends the second part of this book.

79. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.31: “Pendant quelque temps le duc d’Anjou fut dans le pays de Périgord, et le connétable Bertrand Du Guesclin en Champagne; quant au duc de Bourbon, frère de la reine de France, au maréchal de Sancerre, au seigneur de Coucy, au seigneur de Montfort, au seigneur de Montauban, au seigneur de Rais, à Gui de Rochefort, à Olivier de Mauny, au seigneur d’Assé, au Bègue de Villaines, à Owen de Galles, au seigneur de Châteaugiron, au seigneur de Bueil, ils s’étaient répandus, avec une multitude d’autres nobles et vaillants chefs, aux quatre coins du royaume” (Hicks and Moreau, 175; Solente, 1:216–17).

80. Christine had also spoken of the “Herald of Love” in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.26 (Solente, 1:203–4). He was Jacques Wyn, a companion of Owen of Wales. In 1372, during the reign of Edward III, Owen had transferred his allegiance to the French: “Qui plus est, toujours en cette même année, le noble écuyer Owen de Galles, qui était de l’avis général l’héritier légitime de son pays, arriva en France, accompagné de beaucoup d’autres Gallois, tous beaux gentilshommes et vaillants combattants. Il avait abandonné la cause anglaise en raison du grand prestige de notre bon roi Charles V, et souhaitait devenir, avec son parent et compagnon d’armes Jacques Wyn, vassal du roi de France. Ce noble chevalier s’était trouvé aux côtés des Anglais lors du Combat des Trente; on l’appelait ‘le poursuivant d’Amours.’ Tout en étant les compagnons du prince de Galles, fils du roi d’Angleterre, et membres de sa maison, ils s’estimaient dépossédés de leurs terres et domaines par les Anglais et leur portaient une haine bien compréhensible” (Hicks and Moreau, 166).

81. Like Jacques Daulphin, the knight Omenion of Pommiers is one of the few mentioned here who had not previously been spoken of in the *Fais et bonnes meurs*. Omenion had, however, been discussed by Christine in her *Cité des dames* 2.67.2, where he is described as the recipient of the generosity of Christine’s friend Marguerite de la Rivière. It is unclear why she now chooses to mention Jacques Daulphin. Suzanne Solente (2:195n1) identifies him as Guichart Daulphin, lord of Jaligny. He is perhaps the same person as the Guichard Daulphin mentioned in *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.679 as having given up the castle of Sancerre (then in the hands of the Orléans faction) to the king.

PART 3



Here begins the table of the third part of this book, which speaks of the good government of the people and the polity in relation to three other virtues: clemency, liberality, and truthfulness.

1. The first chapter praises the virtue of clemency and kindness in a prince.
2. How the people must be included in peace.
3. Concerning the strength and power of France when she is at peace and united within herself.
4. Concerning the evil wrought by bad men who are powerful and have authority.
5. More on the bad lord, on the damage he does and the evil that comes from it.
6. How it brings great honor to a prince to keep all the estates of the realm in their proper places.
7. How the people should be treated gently by the good prince.
8. Examples of this same subject from Holy Scripture.
9. Several signs of his love that God has shown to the people.
10. Here follows a letter addressed to the people which speaks for their improvement and instruction, showing by examples how rebellion and common unrest toward one's lord is displeasing to God.
11. How it is not fitting that the common populace should be given offices and ranks in the city.
12. Concerning the peril of giving the common people more authority than is suitable for them.
13. How to ensure that the nobles remain at all times practised in arms.

14. Recalling the peril and evil that is and may be a consequence of civil war, in order to guard against falling into it.
15. The way in which a prince should treat the common people in order to guard against presumption and cause for rebellion.
16. Examples of the virtue of clemency in a good prince from the wise King Charles.
17. More on King Charles, how by his wisdom, clemency and kindness he constantly acquired lands and friends.
18. How the wise King Charles loved knowledge and honored scholars and learning.
19. Some lessons that God sent to cruel princes.
20. How cruelty comes from pride.
21. Concerning the punishments that God sent to proud princes.
22. Here begins consideration of the virtue of liberality, about its usefulness and how it is fitting for a prince.
23. Concerning the virtue of generosity and its use.
24. Concerning greed and the evil that comes from it.
25. What can be said in condemnation of the vice of greed.
26. On liberality: concerning the good order which the abovementioned king kept when hearing petitions.
27. Concerning the fine works the abovementioned king commanded, and how he made the people prosper.
28. Concerning the great burdens and commitments the said King Charles made in expenses and outlays, and how in spite of this, everything was fairly provided for in the matter of payment and expenditure.
29. Concerning the ways the said king had of honoring foreigners.
30. Concerning the largesse of the king and his discreet way of giving gifts.
31. Here begins considerations of the virtue of truthfulness and how a prince should possess it.
32. Here it is shown how wrong it is that the vice of lying is as common as it is in all ranks.
33. Concerning the ordering and manner of fair eloquence in a prince.
34. More concerning the ordering of speech according to the science of rhetoric.
35. In praise of economy in speech.
36. How it ill becomes a prince to be enraged and to speak furiously.
37. What can be said in condemnation of voluptuousness in a prince and being too given over to pleasures of the flesh.
38. Further on this matter and praise for the institution of marriage.

39. Here begins a brief consideration of some of the virtues already mentioned, supporting them with authorities, beginning with justice.
40. How it behooves those who are descended from noble families to show it in their actions.
41. The great evil that can come to a prince through the vice of laziness.
42. How the prince should readily communicate with those around him.
43. How the prince should not favor flatterers.
44. How there should be a settled order in the actions and way of living of the prince.
45. About charity that pertains to a prince.
46. Some teachings of Aristotle.
47. In conclusion, concerning the maintenance of friendship.
48. The last chapter and the end of the book.

Here begins the third and last part of this book, which speaks of the good government of the people and the polity, in relation to three virtues: clemency, liberality, and truthfulness.

1

The first chapter praises the virtue of clemency and kindness in a prince

Clemency makes people not just more honest but more safe, for it is an ornament for rulers and a most certain security; the power of tyrants is wretched and brief. Seneca, book *On Clemency*.¹

Excellent and most feared prince, we proceed in this third part in the same way as before: with the subject of peace. Here we treat of suitable ways for a prince to govern his people, and we shall speak first of clemency, which is the fifth of the seven virtues that I have said are appropriate for you.² The property of this virtue, says Seneca in the passage quoted above, is that it gives to princes not only honesty but also very great security, and it is

1. Summarized from Seneca *De clementia* 1.11.4 (Hosius, 221): “Clementia ergo non tantum honestiores sed tutiores praestat ornamentumque imperiorum est simul et certissima salus. *Quid enim est, cur reges consenuerint liberisque ac nepotibus tradiderint regna*, tyrannorum execrabilis ac brevis potestas sit?”

2. Cf. *Corps de policie* 90r, and *Prudence* 20v.

the fitting ornament and sure salvation of emperors. And by contrast, the accursed transitory power of tyrants is displeasing. So you can see what a propitious thing it is for every good prince to be clement and humane. Jesus Christ himself gave an example in his own person of how clemency and graciousness ranks high among the virtues, throughout the whole course of his life—the life that is an instruction for every good Christian; and for that reason the Gospel praises it. This virtue makes a man kind and gracious, as well as compassionate and courteous in deed and in word, causing him to desire the good and advancement of everyone. He should want to pursue it to the best of his ability.³ Of all the virtues, this is the one that most attracts friends, distant and close, to a great lord, and that most keeps him in peace and harmony with all. Your good father, our present King Charles VI, himself shows that it causes a man to be more welcome in the sight of all. Because of the impression that everyone has of his great sweetness and kindness, and because he wants to be everyone's friend and to harm nobody, nothing is desired more by his people than his noble presence. This virtue causes hatred of tyranny, cruelty, any sort of wickedness, and greed—all vices that are most ill-suited to a lord. If any lord had them, he could not be loved, since they are contrary to human nature. Is it not a pleasant thing for a subject, of whatever degree or estate, to know that his lord is so gracious that he will not disdain to hear his humble request, or appeal for redress, but rather will kindly and patiently hear him out, and then answer him sweetly? Certainly, this kindness makes the subject love his lord so much that he would die for him if need be. Such ample graciousness earns renown everywhere. O! It is a noble virtue in a great lord—one that costs him nothing, and yet may be worth much to him. Certainly this clemency was not lacking in our good King Charles, your grandfather whom we mentioned before, in whom all kindness and gentleness abounded, as those still living who served him well remember.⁴ About this we shall speak more fully later, as befits any good example—and so that the virtues of such a valiant and cultivated prince may not be forgotten.

3. In *Prudence* 268v Christine repeated a definition of clemency, inspired by Seneca: "Clemence est une vertu qui s'encline et s'acorde de legier a dispenser, amolir ou mitiguer la rigueur de la loy et toute cruauté; et aussi est clemence une benignité et doulçour que doit avoir le souverain envers le subgiet." Here she does not repeat this definition verbatim but certainly follows its sense. She also discussed clemency as a virtue needed in a prince in *Corps de police* 1.16 (Kennedy, 27–29; Forhan, 30–31).

4. Christine devotes chapter 1.24 of *Fais et bonnes meurs* (Solente, 1:64–68) to the clemency and benign character of Charles V.

How the people must be included in the peace

Mercy and truth have met each other,
justice and peace have embraced.⁵

Peace is the whole work of virtue,
the greatest peace the result of efforts.
Prudentius, *Book on the Fight of Virtues
and Vices*.⁶

Turning now to consider the general rank and estate of the people, in respect of this virtue of clemency and its relation to peace, we observe that clemency is quite indispensable. It is, after all, utterly impossible to keep a large community in check, and to prevent certain of them running into all manner of fault—whether by simplicity, bad counsel, or some other cause. Human nature is in itself inclined toward all the vices, when discretion and reason do not intervene; and such reason is usually weak in the common populace, because they do not receive much instruction in virtue or in how to tell good from evil. There are many, therefore, that are little better than beasts, as far as reason is concerned. If a physician were engaged to cure the whole body of a sick man, but he refrained from healing the feet and legs or other minor limbs, one would say neither that the treatment was good nor that the whole body was healthy. Similarly with the political body of this kingdom, whose head is the prince: let the common people also be ministered to with the cure that is this glorious peace!⁷ Certainly at least some have been poorly advised and gullible, urged on by one among them in particular—very iniquitous and worthy of punishment—to exploits against your good self, and to other mischief. Nevertheless, for the good of the whole body, it is time for the words of David quoted above in Latin to apply: that mercy and truth have met, and justice and peace have embraced. In this case this means that, although it is true that many evils deserving heavy punishment have been committed, nonetheless it is fitting that mercy should come to meet this

5. Ps. 85:11.

6. Prudentius *Psychomachia* 769–71, ed. M. P. Cunningham, CCSL 126 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966), 176: “Pax plenum uirtutis opus, pax summa laborum, / pax belli exacti pretium est pretium que peridi, / sidera pace uigent, consistunt terrea pace.”

7. Willard in *Paix* (Willard, 201) believes Christine took this metaphor from John of Salisbury *Policraticus*, via the translation by Denis Foulechat (1372). She makes extensive use of the same metaphor in *Corps de policie*: for example, at 3.1. and in *Long estude* 5493–94.

truth: so mercy should soften the rigor that normally applies in these cases. And this is why the text goes on to say that justice and peace have embraced. Bless that embrace! And how necessary it is for us to take note of what our next authority says: “Peace is the fulfillment of every virtue, and the end and sum of all our works and labors. The stars have their movements ordained by good proportion, concord, and peace, and so have elements and affairs here below.” From this it is clear that without peace we cannot live as we ought to, nor according to virtue.⁸ And thus, since all our labors are directed toward having peace, as our authority quite correctly observes, may every effort be made so that peace is upheld among us creatures that reason—just as we have seen that it is among God’s other creatures.

3

Concerning the strength and power of France when she is united within herself at peace

I determined that the whole world could
not stand in the way of a united Gaul.
Quoted in the *Deeds of Julius Caesar*.⁹

We believe that no one wise has
known about the republic who did
not think that Gaul had to be greatly
feared. Cicero, *Book about the Consular
Provinces*.¹⁰

I beg that you do not accustom your
hearts to such great wars nor turn
violently against the healthy strength of
your fatherland. Vergil, *Aeneid*.¹¹

8. This passage may contain an echo of Dante *Monarchia* 1.9 where Dante quotes the passage from Boethius that Christine uses below at 3.6.

9. Paraphrase of Caesar *Commentarii belli Gallici* 7.29.6, ed. W. Hering (Leipzig: Teubner, 1997), 120: “atque unum consilium totius Galliae effecturum, cuius consensui ne orbis quidem terrarum possit obsistere.”

10. Cicero *De provinciis consularibus* 33, ed. A. Klotz (Leipzig: Teubner, 1919), 351: “nemo sapienter de re publica nostra cogitavit iam inde a principio huius imperii, quin Galliam maxime timendam huic imperio putaret.” Christine omits a phrase that she does not translate, suggesting that she has taken it from an anthology in which the text is attributed to Cicero rather than to Tullius. It is possible that she thought Cicero, “prince romain de tres grant savoir,” was a different person from Tullius (his more common name in medieval literature).

11. Vergil *Aeneid* 6.832–33 (Ribbeck, 523).

Since it often happens that self-love or envy will turn a man away from judging fairly anything belonging to another, or from publicly praising it—no matter how good or beautiful the thing may be—it seems that when foreigners do assert that a country other than their own is magnificent, it should be believed and held to have great authority, especially when they are people who have a high opinion of themselves. Even though the Romans looked down on all the nations of the world, and deemed nothing valuable beyond themselves, the account of the deeds of Julius Caesar quoted in Latin above testifies that if France were united and without internal division it would be strong enough to resist anyone. Similarly Cicero, a Roman prince of very great learning, asserts that all who are competent to assess a country's strength have judged France to be more formidable in war than any other country, and greatly to be feared.

O noble crown prince, when foreigners attribute such vigor to the French if they are united, you, whom this matter touches more closely than any other living person except your father, must strive to ensure that the accident which can prevent France from attaining such excellence is eliminated once and for all—and that is civil war—which in itself is more harmful than anything else. But even worse: its continuation can bring on an acceptance of perpetual war such as we see in Italy, which is a very great misfortune, and effaces all of that country's glory. Accordingly, Vergil says to you princes in our next quotation: "Do not become accustomed by war to turning your forces against the vitals of your own country"; that is, do not exert yourself to destroy your subjects by force of arms, because you are then making war on yourself. And do you know what Tully says about such quarrels? He says, by God, that the poison of civil wars was first ordained to humble the great: and that those who become proud through too long a period of prosperity, since there is no one stronger than they are to oppress them, fall out among themselves and oppress each other.¹² Ovid too says that an excess of glory is often harmful.¹³ Plato held that princes and other governors must take care lest discord spring up among them. This is no less perilous, he says, than it would be for sailors to contest among themselves who is best to steer their vessel, even as it is tossed in the storm.¹⁴ Let it please you, good prince, to note the words of the wise men and follow them. As Aesop said, there is nothing better than sane counsel, nor anything worse than false exhortation if it is believed.¹⁵

12. Unidentified.

13. Cf. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.654 (Anderson, 74).

14. Latini *Trésor* 2.85.3; also quoted in John of Salisbury *Policraticus* 5.11 (Webb, 1:331).

15. Cf. Aesop's fables, as translated by Phaedrus: *Fabulae Aesopiae* 1.20, 25, ed. L. Müller (Leipzig: Teubner, 1879), 9, 10.

Concerning the evil that is brought about by bad men who are powerful and have authority

Injustice bearing arms is most savage.

Aristotle, *Politics*¹⁶

O heavy fate, every time a wicked
sword is joined with savage poison.

Boethius¹⁷

Aristotle says above that there is nothing more horrible than injustice armed with power; and Boethius then confirms that sword and venom combined make hard companions. Since the wickedness of corrupt men can express itself more fully in powerful men than in others, by causing many evils, there is nothing worse than when a bad man—full of venom, cruelty, and belligerence—is powerful. On this subject, and in order to deal with various matters that have to do with the one goal of peace, we shall speak of the reasons why wars or rebellions break out between subject and lord. Lest it ever be suggested or imagined that I sought in this book to trample on subjects or peoples, in order to support the nobles by some special favor, or otherwise to prefer any of the estates over the others, it seems fitting that I say something about the wrongs a lord might do to his subjects. This may indeed have happened; or it may *appear* to have happened, or at least *could* come about.¹⁸ That is, while true justice and reason may permit wars that are undertaken for a just cause—to those whose duty includes war, such as sovereign princes—surely this right is limited in the case of lords just as it is for subjects. Let me illustrate, briefly, with a simile. Let us imagine a powerful lord: one so detestable, malicious, and wicked that his inclination is to afflict all lands if he could, and to use nothing less than the full extent of his power to challenge the rights of his neighbors. This man, because he feels fortified by his possession of land, people, or allies, or by the faith that he puts in money, will impose many extortions, or will take issue with other princes or with some of his own subjects. He will seek to usurp their

16. *Les "Auctoritates Aristotelis"* 15.10; cf. Aristotle *Politica* 1.2.1253a26 (AL 29.1:6): "*gravissima enim iniustitia habens arma.*"

17. Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 2.m.6.16–17 (Bieler, 32): "*heu grauem sortem, quotiens iniquus/additur saeuo gladius ueneno!*"

18. Christine hedges her criticism of a "potential tyrant" with so much caution that one cannot help feeling that she was afraid of suffering the effects of some tyrannical wrath herself if she spoke too clearly about the person she had in mind—surely, in the context, John the Fearless, who had recently left Paris.

property; and to achieve these things he will make war in order to terrify everyone. Such a man will afflict all his people in different ways, and will not take the advice of wise men. Instead he will go his own way, to his great discredit, to exact vengeance—or otherwise impose on and injure all and sundry. For these reasons, and because of his many assaults on foreigners and fellow countrymen, and because of his foolishly undertaken wars and wicked deeds, his noblemen will be killed and trampled underfoot. Their lands will be destroyed and laid waste, and cities and castles will be brought down by various enemies. Nor will he allow anyone to reproach or gainsay him, on pain of death. To put it briefly, he will not fear God or His punishment for anything he may do. O! but Solomon spoke of such men and their downfall in *Proverbs*, in the person of Our Lord, when he said: “You have despised counsel and have not wanted to be reproached; I will laugh at your destruction and will not have any regard for you when sudden disaster befalls you.”¹⁹

So the evil prince—from whose kind may God preserve us—will be cruel in all things, and bloodthirsty and vengeful. Because of these horrible faults, countless evils will spring up and overrun him and his country. He, nevertheless, will be so obstinate and so given over to evil that he will care nothing about his own ill deeds or those of others. O! how opposed to such a one is what Brutus the Constant says: a prince must realize that he lives, as it were, in the midst of the world; he is neither born nor ordained to be a lord for himself, but is established in that office for the benefit of all.²⁰ Sallust says too, speaking of sailors, that a man who is raised to a position of power, as lords are, must always show himself through virtue to be worthy of greater dignity than he has, which is to say that a prince’s virtues should outweigh any power he may wield.²¹ But, continuing the case against the bad prince, just as a king’s virtues ensure that he will continue to be loved in his country, and give him peace of mind, the vices of a bad prince will torment him with fear. Concerning this Horace says: “How can the evil man comfortably enjoy delicate and costly meats at his table, when a sword hangs by a thin thread over his head?” We should understand this to mean that the punishment of Our Lord can fall suddenly on the wicked.²²

19. Prov. 1:25–26.

20. Cf. Cicero *Brutus* 254, ed. E. Malcovati (Leipzig: Teubner, 1970), 77.

21. Not Sallust, but *Bellum alexandrinum* (*Corpus Caesarianum*) 16.5, ed. A. Klotz (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927), 12.

22. Cf. Horace *Carmina* 3.1.17–19 in *Opera*, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1995), 67: “dstrictus ensis cui super impia/cervice pendet, non Siculae dapes/dulcem elaborabunt saporem.”

More on the bad lord: on the damage he does and the evil that comes from it

Woe to the man through whom scandal comes. In the Gospel.²³

About these bad princes of whom we have been speaking, it must be said that, for all those innumerable ills that come about because of them, there is yet worse to come: for just as one good thing brings another, the same happens with bad things. To keep up his wars, about which we have spoken, and to reward his followers, counselors, and helpers in these wicked deeds, how can the bad prince find a way to obtain money and keep financing it all? This is no small expense, and there is no fortune so great it would not be used up. There is no way other than inflicting many burdens and exactions on the people and heaping wrongful taxes on them—which would leave him fearful that they might rebel or that their favor might be lost, from which worse could come. But what can he do? In God's name, he can find out where the rich are, and especially what can be got from them. It will be put about that some of them are traitors, that others have been party to some bad contracts, that still others have deserved death—and there will be enough prepared to testify to it. In such diverse ways, by disguising cruelty, pillage, and tyranny under the colors of justice, money will be found, no matter who is disinherited or ruined in the process.²⁴ And thus the evils and persecutions that the wicked, tyrannical lord can contrive take countless forms and use different means. According to their inclinations some favor one way, others another.

For some might perhaps be bad in a different way: by seducing the wives, daughters, or female relations of their men by iniquitous means, whether by force or threats, or by promises or money, or by fear of their tyranny, putting their husbands in prison, and so on.

Still others foolishly believe their wicked flatteries without question, and in this instance bring about the death of people without cause or justice, or

23. Matt. 18:7: "vae homini per quem scandalum venit."

24. As well as being reminiscent of the fate of Jean de Montaigu (*Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.267–77), this passage may well contain an implicit criticism of the proposals for raising money put forward by the Estates General at the beginning of 1413. Certain wealthy members of the administration were accused of corruption, and it was proposed that the money needed to defend France against the English be extracted from them. See *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 4.745–69, and Alfred Colville, *Les Cabochiens et l'ordonnance de 1413* (Geneva: Slatkine-Megariotis, 1974), 167–72.

at least with little reason, both in public and by having drownings or killings done in secret so they will not be talked about. Or they find excuses by oblique means to justify someone's death or destroy them through enmities if they are a hindrance to them, in order better to attain their goals, as many have done.²⁵ Thus it is written of several tyrants, such as Denis the Tyrant and Julian the Apostate, and King Antiochus who pretended to be on a pilgrimage to the temple in order to rob it; this is commonly their method, to cover their deeds with dissimulation and pretend that their motives are good.²⁶ Another, full of covetousness, pretended that the gods had appeared to him and, as he claimed, charged him with building a temple of gold and precious stones, and by that ruse stripped his men of all their goods. It was to such a man that Saint Augustine said: "How is it that you want to have all good things, and wish nothing bad, and yet you care nothing about having a good soul—though in fact you have no other possession but that?"²⁷ So in various ways were propagated the doings of those lawless tyrants, for whom the authorities cited earlier spoke their words. But of those and similar people who cause such scandal and misfortune, the Gospel quoted above says that—alas for them!—God will not leave them unpunished. To return, though, to our first topic of subjects and princes: suppose that men find themselves with such a lord, who with his wars and exactions has caused them much damage, leaving their children, sons, brothers, or parents dead, and themselves disinherited and the country destroyed; and suppose they feel that he is inclined to carry on with this madness and that in all regions they will be hated and reproached because of him, and condemned never to be without war; and suppose that his obstinacy continues from bad to worse. I ask you, if these people and all the nobles rebelled against such a lord (given that they would feel so oppressed, and driven to extremes)—would it be surprising? I would say further that such rebellion would not be sufficient punishment: rather, the women, who otherwise could not harm him, ought

25. During the spring of 1413, a number of people had been killed by drowning or other means as a result of the actions of the crowds who took over the streets and appeared to be led by members of John the Fearless's household. See *Religieux de Saint-Denis* 5.55–59, and Colville, *Les Cabochiens*, 184–96, 327–29. Among these, Jacques de la Rivière, brother of the count of Dammartin, was the son of Bureau de la Rivière and Marguerite Auneau, both of whom Christine had praised in her writings, and who Suzanne Solente (1:lxixiv–lxxv) suggests were among her sources in *Fais et bonnes meurs*.

26. Cf. John of Salisbury *Policraticus* 8.6, 8.21–22 (Webb, 2:256, 381, 392–93). These examples of arrogant rulers were also included in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.27. Solente believes that Christine drew these from the *Flores Chronicorum* of Bernard Gui (Solente, 1:76n2).

27. Latini *Trésor* 2.122.13, quoting Augustine *Sermones* 29, ed. C. Lambot, CCSL 41 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1961), 375.

to pray devoutly to the blessed soul of the good lady Judith that she beg God to deliver his people from this cursed Holophernes.²⁸

6

How it brings great honor to a prince to keep all the estates of the realm in their proper places

Certainly it is a great sort of happiness to achieve a dominion that is free of conflicts. 2nd example.²⁹

It is certain that a republic is happy, which shines adorned with many citizens. Cassiodorus³⁰

After what we have said about bad princes—whose paths God grant that you, Louis of France, noble youth, may avoid and flee utterly, as I firmly hope that with God’s help you will—let us return to our main subject. The authority above affirms what a very happy thing it is to achieve rule without contention, meaning that when a prince knows how to exercise his rule without discord among his subjects, it is a sign that he is wise and virtuous. And for this reason Cassiodorus also says, most aptly, that a realm shows itself fortunate if it is resplendent and endowed with many citizens: it is a sign that a city is in good condition, and great, rich, and well governed, when one sees very many illustrious burghers there. These words lead us to consider that through good government, and by keeping peace among his people, a prince increases and maintains the happiness of the realm. And with regard to citizens, the city of Paris is without doubt peopled with good, loyal, and wise ones, as they have demonstrated at this time. As for the nobility of the

28. Christine devotes a chapter to Judith in the *Cité des dames* (2.31) and also refers to her in the *Mutacion de Fortune* and the *Ditié* dedicated to Jeanne d’Arc. Judith’s story is also told in John of Salisbury *Policraticus* 8.20 (Webb, 2:377). Discussing the imperial themes and symbols used by Cola di Rienzo, a contemporary who influenced Petrarch and whose letters were therefore quite likely known to Christine’s father, Frances Yates comments that he often illustrates the overthrow of a tyrant with the example of Judith. This suggests a possibility, so far unexplored, that there was some influence on Christine’s prophetic political writings from this source. Frances Yates, *Astraea* (London: Routledge, 1975), 14–15, 37.

29. Cassiodorus *Variae* 8.2 (CCSL 96:300). “Magnum profecto felicitatis genus optinere givē contentionibus principatum” Christine’s text is corrupt, but she translates it correctly.

30. Cassiodorus *Variae* 6.11 (CCSL 96:239): “Constat felicem esse rem publicam, quae multis ciuibz resplendent ornata.”

land, this most noble kingdom shines and is endowed above all the countries of the world with four things: the first is the high dignity of its princes, who all share the blood of the royal line; the second is the valiant knighthood and estate of the nobility; the third is the distinguished clergy, active in all kinds of scholarship, especially in Paris; the fourth, the worthy and rich burghers in many cities, especially in this one. And, thank God, all the estates—along with the people in general, simple though they be—quite rightly recognize, with great loyalty and love, obedience and respect, one single head: the King. O indeed, what power could oppress or trample underfoot such a body, if it is united, with none of its limbs separated? The head that is the king, the shoulders and upper parts that represent the princes and lords, the arms that are the knights, the sides that are the clergy, the loins and belly that are the burghers, the thighs that are the merchants, the legs and feet that are the people.³¹ Without doubt, if this body—God protect it!—holds together well, it need fear nothing. Each of the estates must in good faith take pains to persevere in this way. God grant that it may be so! On this matter, it seems that Boethius spoke to this noble body, as if he meant to write: “O, you men of France, you will be so blessed if you desire it: that is, if you are governed by the love that holds up the heavens and without which nothing is stable.”³²

7

How the people should be treated gently by the good prince

How great is the force of friendship and the harmony in which many exist can be seen from disagreements and discord. Tully, the book *On Friendship*.³³

It seems as if Tully was prophesying about the present time when he spoke the words above, which mean that we can now see how great is the power of friendship and concord over the evils that have come our way through dissension and discord. So it is necessary, if we are to avoid falling once more into the terrible misfortunes that discord has led to, for us always to live in peace from now on. To return to what has been said above—that even the

31. See 7 above for previous use of this metaphor.

32. Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 2.m.8.28–30 (Bieler, 36): “O felix hominum genus, / si uestros animos amor / quo caelum regitur regat!” This passage was also quoted by Dante in *Monarchia* 1.9.

33. Cicero *De amicitia* 23 (Simbeck, 55): “id est minus intellegitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordia quae sit, ex dissensionibus atque ex discordiis percipi potest.”

common people should be included in this holy union—it may appear to some, considering the criminal exploits and offences many of them have been involved in, that they are not acceptable. For this reason it seems desirable to me, through examples, to touch on how the prince should have the common people under his protection, even though they have ever been, through their very nature, inclined to go astray through foolish credulity and bad counsel. We have examples of this in Holy Scripture, where God, notwithstanding the great errors into which the Israelites fell on several occasions, did not wish that they should be brought down too far, but struck with bitter afflictions the princes who sought to oppress them and treat them so very harshly.³⁴ From this it is to be presumed, since these things must be for the instruction of princes, that it would not please Him at all for His Christian people, who must be more acceptable to Him than the Jews were then, to be trampled upon or beaten. Nonetheless let no one believe that I am referring to the principal malefactors from whom the recent sedition has come—perverters of others and sowers of encouragement to evildoing; it is not my intent that they be spared, but that they be punished according to the law.³⁵

8

Examples of this same subject from Holy Scripture

That power is safe which imposes
measure on its own strength. Guido in
the Introduction to his *Summa*.³⁶

It says above that in the end, firm and secure power is that which is restrained in its use of force. These words, which are addressed to princes and powerful men, mean that the common people of whom we are speaking ought to be spared and dealt with leniently; because, although it is well within the power of the lord to punish his people if they have done wrong, it is better for his rule if he behaves moderately than if he is very vindictive. In other words, it is better for a prince to be loved³⁷ for not being harsh, than to be greatly feared for being cruel. To give an example of this, in the way of God being

34. Cf. 2 Kings 13:22–24.

35. Willard in *Paix* (Willard, 203) observes that Louis of Guyenne had refused to pardon the leaders of this revolt and concludes that Christine was trying to avoid antagonizing him.

36. Not Guido Faba, but Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta* 4.1.ext.8 (Briscoe, 238), also quoted in John of Salisbury *Policraticus* 8.20 (Webb, 2:273).

37. Willard corrects *B* (“tenir”) from *P* (“ame”). This does seem to be a genuine case of a slip by the copyist of *B* (Christine?), anticipating the “tenir” later in the sentence.

displeased at the people being oppressed, there is King Pharaoh, of whom it is written in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of the book of Exodus that because this king greatly subjugated the people in slavery God sent ten plagues to Egypt. The first was of waters turned into blood; the second was of a numberless host of frogs everywhere, even in the houses; the third was of a kind of flying creature that is called *culex* in Latin; the fourth a great quantity of large flies; the fifth the death of the dumb animals; the sixth swellings and ulcers on people; the seventh a prodigious hail that killed the beasts; the eighth a kind of flying worm called locusts that laid waste all the fruits of the earth; and the tenth was the death of all of the first-born sons of every household.³⁸ Similarly, God showed King Rehoboam that He does not wish too great a burden to be imposed on the community, when that king had replied to his people's request for a diminution of the taxes imposed by his father that his smallest finger was bigger than his father's back had been, and that he would treat them more harshly than his father ever had. When that happened the greater part of his people, following the counsel of some young people and hotheads, rebelled against him and he was left with little, as it is written in the twelfth chapter of the book of Kings.³⁹ Similarly, Amalek, who wanted to destroy the people, was undone by Joshua, as it is written in the seventh chapter of the book of Exodus.⁴⁰ Similarly, the prophet Balaam, who had come from far away to curse that people, was reproached by his ass who spoke, as it is written in the twenty-second chapter of the book of Numbers.⁴¹ Similarly, with the help of God the people destroyed the king of the Amorites, and Og, king of Bashan, who were attacking them, as it is written in the twenty-first chapter of the book of Numbers.⁴² Similarly, six thousand men of the people killed a hundred and twenty thousand of their adversaries, as it is written in the eighth chapter of the second book of Maccabees.⁴³ Similarly, when Sennacherib was besieging one of the cities of Israel, a hundred and eighty thousand men were struck down in one night by divine punishment, as it is written in the nineteenth chapter of the fourth book of Kings.⁴⁴

38. Exod. 8:1–11:10. Christine has omitted the ninth plague, a great darkness such as could be felt.

39. 3 Kings (= 1 Kings) 14:21–31; 1 Kings 12.

40. Exod. 17:8–16.

41. Num. 22:22–35.

42. Num. 21:21–35.

43. 2 Macc. 8:10.

44. 4 Kings (= 2 Kings) 19:35–36. The reference to Maccabees, Sennacherib, and the plagues of Egypt are all to be found in John of Salisbury *Polycraticus* 8.21 (Webb, 2:381).

Several signs of his love that God has shown to the people

If we inspect the origin of friendship, we see that it draws its essence from the supreme nature which is God. Cassiodorus, *Book of Friendship*, Chapter 11.⁴⁵

If we look into the origins of friendship, we find that it draws its being from the highest nature, which is God. So says Cassiodorus, and it is true: even more so in relation to the love that God has shown to the common people, which is a great demonstration that He loves the populace, given that it is not to be thought, as we have already said, that He loves his Christian people less than he did the Jews. So we shall speak of some instances of the love he showed the people as contained in Holy Scripture. God gave His people on Mount Sinai His law written by His own finger on tablets, as it is written in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus.⁴⁶

Similarly, He brought the people out of Egypt and out of slavery to King Pharaoh; and as they wandered through the desert to the Promised Land He gave them a column of fire to lead them by night and a column of cloud to lead them by day, and to protect them from the great heat, as it is written in the fourteenth chapter of Exodus.⁴⁷

Similarly, the Red Sea was divided by Moses' staff and the people passed dry-shod, and the Egyptians who were following them were all drowned, as it is written in the fourteenth chapter of Exodus.⁴⁸ Then, because the water in the desert was bitter, Moses sweetened it by throwing a wooden staff into it, so they and their beasts could drink, as it is written in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus.⁴⁹

Similarly, when the people were crossing the desert to the Promised Land they were fed for forty years with manna that came down from heaven. And because some of them complained, wanting to eat meat, God sent them fields covered in quail, as it is written in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus.⁵⁰ Then,

45. *P* supplies "capitulo." Not Cassiodorus, but Peter of Blois *De amicitia Christiana* 9, ed. M.-M. Davy, in *Un traité de l'amour du XII^e siècle* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1932), 144.

46. Exod. 20:2–17.

47. Exod. 13:21–22.

48. Exod. 14:21–31.

49. Exod. 15:22–25.

50. Exod. 16:13–35.

because the people had run out of water, Moses struck a rock with his staff and water gushed out, as it is written in the forty-second [chapter] of Exodus.⁵¹

Similarly, the people wandered in the desert for forty years without their clothes deteriorating in any way, as it is written in the book of Deuteronomy.⁵² Then, when the people were about to enter the Promised Land, because they had no vessels to cross the water, the river Jordan divided and the lower part flowed downstream and the upper part stopped, and so the people passed across dry-shod, as it is written in the third chapter of Joshua.⁵³ Similarly, in the battle against the enemies of the people before Gibeon, the sun stopped in its course at Joshua's request, as it is written in the tenth chapter of Joshua.⁵⁴

10

Here follows a letter addressed to the people which speaks for their improvement and instruction, showing by examples how rebellion and popular dissent against a lord offends God⁵⁵

It is not sufficiently safe to trust honeyed words. Aesop, *Fables*.⁵⁶

O all you people, from all parts of the world, whose state is normally changeable, surely led on by sensuality and scarcely checked by reason: although Terence says that speaking the truth engenders hate, do not on that account think of silencing it!⁵⁷ For Aesop, quoted above, urges you to the contrary—and you should believe him—when he says that believing sweet words is a risky business. What madness can ever move you, for whatever reason, to an intention to rise up in rebellion against your superiors, and to contemplate bringing down or destroying the nobility, which you could never do without disaster turning back onto you? It is great ignorance

51. Exod. 17:5–6; there is a scribal error in the text where xl replaces xv.

52. Deut. 8:2–4, 29:5.

53. Josh. 3:15–16.

54. Josh. 10:13–14.

55. Willard, *Paix* (Willard, 204), notes that Christine sometimes inserts letters into her work and claims that a selection of this one has been printed in P. Viollet, “Quelques textes pour servir à l’histoire politique des Parisiens au xve siècle,” *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Île de France* 4 (1877): 168–70.

56. Gualterus Anglicus *Esopus* 9.11–12, in *Les Fabulistes latins*, ed. L. Hervieux (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1893–99), 2:320.

57. Terence *Andria* 68, ed. A. Fleckeisen (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898), 5: “obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit.” Possibly accidentally omitted as a rubric.

blinding you, when you do not see that nobility is such a strong bond that warring kings would make peace in advance to help one another, so they would not be destroyed when you rebel. And rightly so, as it is a natural thing that God has willed and always tolerated. For although all men are indeed equal in terms of creation and birth, still you must know that, in those who are of noble lineage, by long habit of difference in rank the practice of a distinct kind of greatness of spirit and conduct from that found in others becomes second nature. Or it should do so, for those who fail in this regard dishonor their ancestry.⁵⁸ This is shown by the beasts and birds: some kinds are noble, others not. For this reason, in the estates to which God has elected you, where each can do good and achieve his salvation if he pleases, you must be humble beneath the rule of your superiors, and loyally do your work, each according to his ability. And this trains you into doing good and living in peace. Especially you people of France, who have better reason to do this than any people in the world, since you are the people to whom God, as a sign of love—as the Bible says of the people of Israel, to whom he made many gifts—has always provided naturally with kings one succeeding another, without the disruption of foreign lords, who would have oppressed you or forced you to follow other customs than the noble French ones, as happens in many places; and under these kings of most benign temperament you have been, and continue to be, treated very gently and without tyranny, and sincerely loved. Because of this—and so you will know never to believe any advice to act, speak, or plot in groups, in public or private, against respect for royal majesty—it is good to remind you by instructive example how God dislikes dissension by subjects against their superiors and princes. He never fails to demonstrate this in the end, by grievous punishments for those who do it, and Holy Scripture shows several examples of this.

First, because the people of Israel protested against their leader Moses for leading them into the desert according to God's will, saying that he had taken them there to die of hunger and be deprived of meat to eat, God sent serpents that killed a great number of them as a punishment for this dissension, as it is written in the twenty-first chapter of Exodus.⁵⁹ Also, because Moses took a long time when he went to receive the law of God on Mount Sinai, the people took to idolatry and turned away from the law of God; for that reason, when Moses returned twelve thousand men were killed, as it is

58. Compare Christine's phrase "ou doit avoir ou ilz folignent ceulx qui y faillent" with Oresme's "ce est assavoir que noblesse de lignage est non forligner de nature" (*Politiques* [Menut, 153]).

59. Num. 21:6.

written in the thirty-second chapter of Exodus.⁶⁰ Similarly, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who were three that led the people astray the most, envied their prince his rule over the people, saying that they were holier and worthier to govern than he was. There was a great commotion because of their declarations, and the people were divided. For this sin the three were punished by the ground opening before them, and they were taken alive down into hell with their accomplices, as it is written in the sixteenth chapter of Numbers.⁶¹ O, what an example for wicked conspirators, from whom harm and sedition comes! They should not doubt that God, who is constant, will punish them sufficiently, even if He delays. Yet the foolish people were not chastised by this example; rather, because those we have named were thus killed, murmuring and sedition against the leader Moses built up again and the foolish people said that he had killed them. Fear of their tumult caused Moses and Aaron to flee to the temple, for which crime God would no longer hold back His punishment, but sent fire from heaven which killed fourteen thousand men on the spot, as it is written in the sixteenth chapter of Numbers.⁶² These examples and many others that could be told, which I have not included because it would take too long, all make it clear—and they are not alone, all the books are full of them—that it is always a bad course for the people to conspire against their rulers or their royal estate. Even in this kingdom of France, if you would take notice of how it has turned out for them every time they have rebelled against the nobles, whether by bad advice or by their own will, I am sure that you will find it is they who end up in disarray, since God cannot tolerate such an outrage. Solomon says aptly in relation to this: “Let your eyes see in front of your steps” which is to say look ahead before you undertake such serious actions.⁶³

11

How it is not fitting that the common populace should be given offices and ranks in the city

Do not exalt those who nature teaches
should lie humble, for a rain, swollen
stream flows stronger than a permanent
river. Walter, *Alexandreis*.⁶⁴

60. Exod. 32:28.

61. Num. 16:1–40.

62. Num. 16:40–50.

63. Prov. 4:25, also quoted in Latini *Trésor* 2.57.1.

64. Walter of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.86–88 (Colker, 11).

Therefore, most noble prince, considering that the general inclination of the common populace is hasty, with little reflection and needing little pretext for action, without their seeing even as much as beasts the evil that can result for them when they have some complaint that incites and stirs them up to commotion and tumult, such as claiming that they are badly governed and would be better so (though still it is not pleasing to God that they should be down-trodden or unreasonably burdened)—taking into account all of these things we have touched on above, how can one manage them prudently, dispelling any fear of their foolish uprisings, while not harming or wronging them? For it is willed by Our Lord that we should support them, and furthermore their trades and labor are necessary to the realm. It seems to me that the authority quoted above in Latin teaches you the first reason they should remain in the estate to which they belong. It says plainly, and on their behalf, that you must not raise up those that Nature ordains to be lowly, for a little stream that bursts its banks is more violent than a great river. To elevate common people too much—a dangerous thing—is to yield to them responsibilities or ranks greater than those that belong to them. They should not have authority of any office, nor prerogative of any government of city or town—things that belong to worthy burghers from old families, from degree to degree according to the capacity both of the offices and of the people, as Tully testifies in his book. There are good reasons for it to be done like this. For what sorry misadventure would have instructed a tradesman, who has all his life done nothing but earn his living through the work of his arms or his hands, without moving outside his workshop, nor having mixed with jurists or experts in matters of law and justice, who will not have seen honor nor know what intelligence is, nor have learnt to speak in an ordered way with fine and clear arguments, nor acquired other knowledge of things necessary for people who are fit to be placed in government? Yet such a fool, who hardly knows his paternoster nor how to conduct himself except in low taverns, aspires to govern others.⁶⁵ God! There is nothing more calamitous than government by such people, for they commonly have little sense—and fools are naturally proud, however insignificant they are. For how do you think it will be when such an ill-favored wretch suddenly thinks to become a master? There is no more perverse imposition than when he screws up his face with a pike in his hand, swears horribly, threatens everyone, and believes he is doing his job well. What a sight it is to see the deliberations of their assemblies! It would be laughable, were it not so perilous, to hear them make their speeches where the most foolish speaks first, with his

65. Cf. Cicero *De officiis* 1.4.14 (Atzert, 6).

work-tray in front of him. It looks like a real play, with parodies of characters, for that is what they base their expressions and speeches on, because they have heard them in these farces that are performed, thinking that this is how one should pronounce and give weight to one's words: one foot in front of the other, arms held by the sides. There is nothing to equal it! No real craft, there: willfulness does all the work. And from a foolish judge comes hasty judgment; here conclusions are drawn without advice, from which very bad effects follow.⁶⁶ O! how terrible it is to see emerging from that diabolical assembly countless common people, following each other like sheep, ready and armed to do all sorts of evil as soon as one makes a start—certainly a wild boar's fury or cruelty was never comparable—without knowing what they want. And when they seize on something, or someone, nothing curbs them and they show no respect for prince or princess, lord or master, nor to their neighbor or his wife. Nobility is despised, property is menaced, all will be killed. They have put up with enough: so they quite happily kill people, break open chests, pillage everything, and breach the wine casks of those rich people. Ah! To make a long story short, they make such a good job of it and do so much harm that the author who said that a little stream breaking its banks does more damage than a great river knew what he was about. It is no lie!

12

Concerning the peril of giving low-born people more authority than is suitable for them

O guileless nobility, beware of
untrustworthy weapons. Ovid, *Fasti*.⁶⁷

A noble prince, says Ovid, should always beware of traitors. It is therefore pertinent to turn from these common people, for the telling of the wicked results of their furious outbursts would never end. Not that I have raised or recalled the subject to harm them or to put them in bad grace with the King, or with you, good prince, nor to blame them before those who might read or hear read this book in the future, when these things will have died down and been forgotten. No: my only motive is, as God knows, to work toward peace and every other good, and to avoid war. I have raised it, in

66. Le Roux de Lincy, *Proverbes*, 2:122.

67. Ovid *Fasti* 2.225, ed. E. H. Alton, D. F. Wormell, and E. Courtney, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1997), 32.

the light of my small knowledge, to show how to govern such people and skillfully keep them in check, so that perils like those mentioned above may never be met with; for as a wise man said, whoever does not want to fall into difficulties should keep himself away from the occasions for them. At the same time, no doubt, there are even among simple artisans very good people who would never participate in such disturbances, and I know several who were very upset about these dreadful deeds; so let what I have said be taken by the readers in the sense I intended it and not otherwise. For the reasons given in the preceding chapter, then, civic office is not suitable for the populace. But if some would like to say that the opposite seems true because several cities in Italy and elsewhere have government by low-born people, like Bologna the Fat among others, my reply is that indeed they have; but since I have not heard anyone say that they are well governed by such people, or long in peace, I would say they are not. As for what some say of Rome, that it governed itself well in former times without a lord, I say it was not the common people governing, but the nobles, as they do today in the city of Venice and always have done, increasing its dominion.⁶⁸ These are ancient lineages of worthy burghers of that city: they are counted as nobles, and would by no means admit any of the common people to their councils. Such governments can last a long time; but I do not believe that government by the common people would be approved by any wise man. Even Aristotle affirms this when he says that rule by several in a country or city is a confused thing.⁶⁹ And Cataline, who is mentioned by Sallust, says that the poor in cities—the common people—always envy the rich, and because of this they are quick to rise up and exalt the wicked, wanting new lords and revolutions.⁷⁰ Since they are never satisfied no matter how good their rulers are, they constantly want the city's government changed. The truth of this pronouncement is brought home to us by the experience of recent events. For since such people are poor and indigent and can have nothing from one day to the next if they do not earn it with their labor, they always want war, especially civil war, so they can overrun the rich, seeing that they are more numerous than the rich. Giving them authority and enabling them to make war, then, is no different from giving license to robbers and murderers, who normally hide in the woods for fear of the gibbet, to commit their crimes in broad daylight—and encouraging others to join them. If I may be so bold as

68. Christine's father had lived in these cities.

69. Cf. Aristotle *Politica* 2.2.1266a1 (AL 29.1:26).

70. Latini *Trésor* 2.74.13, quoting Sallust *De coniuratione Catalinae* 37.3 (Kurfess, 29).

to say so, there is no greater foolishness for a prince or lord, who wishes to maintain his lordship freely and in peace, than to allow the common people to arm themselves. He who does so is making a rod for his own back, as experience has shown us. I dare say that, if they become accustomed to bearing arms, they will not be easily held in check, but will rebel.⁷¹ Furthermore, because as we saw they are fickle and always wanting something new, the lord himself will from time to time be in danger of losing his lordship. A wise duke of Athens, being well aware of this, when he had subjugated the people of Lacedaemonia commanded that they practise their trades and no longer bear arms. From this, and given the clear reasons set out above and many others that could be stated, I conclude (subject to correction) that it would be better for a prince that, if he lack enough men-at-arms in his own country, he employ foreign mercenaries for his wars instead—as is done in Italy and several other places. Even though many might say the opposite, reasoning that people would be fiercer and more proud in defense of their country and in aid of their lord than foreigners, I say all that is nothing. For as Vegetius says, there is no defense or fighting force other than those whose profession it is: that is to say, very good fighting men.⁷² Since there is no stability or security among the common people, and since they are good for nothing but pillaging and doing damage for their own advantage, they should not be employed in war.

13

How to ensure that the nobles remain at all times practised at arms

Art is a teaching that gives a certain
path and reason for learning. Aristotle,
Rhetorica.⁷³

Aristotle says that art or skill is a teaching or an insight that lends certainty and reason to education. So this reminds me to speak at greater length, as seems to me suitable, on the matter touched on earlier: that only trained and practised men are of any worth as soldiers. It should quite rightly surprise us that in this kingdom, which leads and surpasses all others in every sort of glory, the noblemen do not train more in the handling of equipment and weapons in times of peace, in order that in times of need they might

71. Cf. Le Roux de Lincy, *Proverbes*, 2:483; Morawski, nos. 1154, 2335.

72. Vegetius *De re militari* 1.1.2 (Önnfors, 8).

73. Not Aristotle, but ps.-Cicero *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.2.3 (Marx, 3).

be so expert and prepared that there would be no need to call on others for assistance. For as Tully says, weapons are worth little if there is no wisdom, that is to say science of warfare, directing them.⁷⁴ To set this matter in order, the king should take charge of it: he should ordain expressly that all noblemen in his kingdom who are required to bear arms and are his loyal liegemen should at all times be well equipped and turned out, and ready to come whenever they are summoned. And he should make certain of this by musters every year on a fixed day in the regions they belong to, letting the lands be divided up by dioceses. Similarly, they should hold tournaments in these dioceses once or twice or three times a year as they prefer, the expenses paid by the royal taxes in the *bonnes villes*.⁷⁵ The most illustrious man bearing arms in the country should be appointed by the king to preside over the said musters and celebrations, and no one should be respected as noble unless he attends this training, age and physical strength permitting; nor should anyone else be accepted unless they are of the few whose gentility of heart would permit them to be ennobled. Similarly, once a year and at his own expense, the king should review his forces assembled in battle order, his people well armed and well mounted; and so they can engage in combat a great tournament should be held, with fixed prizes for the valiant. Those who do not qualify should not get in fraudulently by borrowing equipment from one and a mount from another, as is often the case. And thus by taking these measures, which would not be costly, the noblemen would improve in their handling of equipment and use of arms, and they would be more prepared when they were summoned, instead of delaying one or two months before being ready to answer the call, as happens now. In the matter of fighting, as Vegetius says, training makes valiant fighters: one man is worth three because of his experience. These fine customs were followed in Lombardy in the time of my lord Bernabò and Galeazzo his brother, who powerfully established their rule.⁷⁶ This is why Seneca said aptly: “Long preparation for war makes for speedy victory.”⁷⁷

74. Latini *Trésor* 2.57.1, quoting Cicero (unidentified).

75. Willard in *Paix* (Willard, 205) suggests that this indicates Christine’s awareness of the French military inadequacies that were to lead to the disaster at Agincourt.

76. Christine mentions Bernabò Visconti in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.9 (Solente, 1:128) and speaks of him and his brother in *Mutacion de Fortune*. In *Advison* 3.12 (Reno and Dulac, 113–14; McLeod, 121–22), she laments the death of Bernabò’s nephew, Giangaleazzo, who had been married to Charles V’s sister Isabelle and was the father of Valenta Visconti—particularly because he had invited her to his court and promised a pension. She had praised him in *Long estude* 5050–53, citing him as an example of a prince who, like Charles V, had conquered lands by wisdom, and he serves as an example of the same kind in *Chevalrie* 1.6.

77. Latini *Trésor* 2.86.2, quoting Seneca (unidentified).

Explaining the peril that the realm of France faced as a consequence of the civil war just past, in order to guard against falling back into it

Turning to a few things, false reasonings are easily given. Aristotle, *Sophistical Refutations*.⁷⁸

Here, Aristotle means that those who do not pay attention to things or do not take sufficient precautions are often or easily deceived. Some further thoughts, then, on the prince's nobles, since it has not been possible above to say enough on this topic—the danger of allowing members of the populace to be unreasonably promoted—to ensure that the past examples and the present one should teach them to organize against similar or worse harms in future. O God! Where is the heart that would not tremble at the thought of the perilous mischance by which the kingdom has gone astray, because of this deplorable war? I raise it here in my book simply, as I have said, to have the present example give lasting wisdom to those that hear it, now and in the future. For as Aristotle says, examples are like lessons to their listeners.⁷⁹ Now, let us imagine for a moment what it must have been like to see drawn up in mortal battle, as happened every day and at every hour, so many princes and noblemen, all of one and the same body, under one head and sovereign lord, killing each other and dying pitifully: from the painful thrust of Fortune, in the house of woe. Reflect on how frightful it would be to see a man so charged with anger that he strove to destroy himself, by tearing his own flesh with his teeth, his hands hitting each other with great blows, and each pulling against the other, the feet striking his eyes if that were possible, and withal the whole body thrashing in furious movement against itself. One would certainly say that such a man was moved by great madness. But alas! Is it not similar with civil war in a country, and especially in this one? For in no place were nobles ever so like one single body as here and now—as they should be. Then, after the aforementioned slaughter and confusion, along came the diabolical common people, who could wish for nothing better: with their pikes and hatchets and clubs that they were foolishly allowed to take and carry. They would have wrought carnage, and then finished off the remaining nobles, ladies, girls, and children—without

78. Aristotle *De sophisticis elenchis* 16 (AL 6.1:35): “nam qui ab alio facile paralogizatur.”

79. Cf. Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1.2.11.1356b (AL 31.1:11).

realizing, fools that they were, that foreign lords would soon have come to subjugate them and put them to death, finding no resistance because the nobles were dead. And thus France would have perished and been enslaved, as other realms have been through various circumstances. Still trembling with fear at the memory of it, I pray God that such a thing may never happen. O what a sorry state of affairs! For God's sake! For God's sake, most noble and excellent French princes, knights, and all other nobles now and in the future: may this event and this mortal danger never leave your memory, for your own sake, and so that quarrels which could lead to such a detestable predicament may never be allowed to arise again. Nor let the ruin, destruction, bloodshed, atrocities, impoverishment, irreverence toward a sovereign lord, the ladies and girls made widows and orphans because of this calamity, ever be forgotten or counted for naught as she fears they might be, lest your humble servant, poor Christine, cannot keep silent about that of which the Cock told before, but by her pitiful and tearful letters must speak once more from fear that the same might happen again.⁸⁰ And from danger of worse, no wit of man has ever been protection, but only divine prudence, by a clear miracle—for which God be praised.

15

The way in which a prince should treat the common people in order to guard against presumption and cause for rebellion

If a vague will of different people remains, confusion of who to blame is generated as a friend. 2nd letter, Seneca, 1st book.⁸¹

But to finish what I began to say earlier (since it is sometimes necessary to delay the conclusion to give more space to the subject), about the kind of government a prince should exercise to keep his people in peace: the above authority can be interpreted in relation to our topic. It may be understood

80. Christine had been pleading with the princes for peace and probity since 1405. *Prison/Epistre* contains her *Epistre à la reine* of 1405 and *Lamentations sur les maux de la France* of 1409; during 1413 she had written the lost *L'Advison du coq* mentioned here and again below in Chapter 24. For a discussion of this lost work, see K. Sneyders de Vogel, "Une œuvre inconnue de Christine de Pisan," in *Mélanges de philologie romane et de littérature médiévale offerts à Ernest Hoepffner par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1949), 369–70. For an account of the "lachrymose persona" that Christine constructed in many of her works, see Louise d'Arcens, "Petit estat vesval: Christine de Pizan's Grieving Body Politic," in Green and Mews, *Healing the Body Politic*, 201–26.

81. Not Seneca, but Cassiodorus *Variae* 7.27 (CCSL 96:282).

as saying that evil deeds cannot be given up until desire for certain things ceases, and then those who used to be enemies become friends. The common people do indeed want many things, as has been said; but in order for their futile desires to cease, and for evils like those that have happened not to ensue, it seems to me right that the prince, as much so as to do his principal duty toward God as to give the people no cause for murmuring or discontent, should govern them properly and enforce justice. Nor should he let them be oppressed or pillaged by soldiers or anyone else; and he should defend them diligently from all enemies, as a good shepherd does his sheep. He should carry this out, and order that if anything of theirs is taken they should be paid and satisfied at once, for the wise man said: "Do not hold back the laborer's wages till the next day, lest a curse fall on you." Let him not impose any levy, tax, or charge on them, beyond what is necessary and within his rights for supporting his wars. Let him keep them in peace and see that no one oppresses them or does them harm, so that they have no cause to revolt or to become involved with anything but their work and their proper occupations. Let him be polite and speak kindly if they happen to speak to him, and look favorably on their just petitions: never be cruel, but seek to treat them in a friendly way. When he goes through the town or elsewhere, or they come and greet him, let him greet them gently and kindly.

Similarly, decree that they should not wear clothes that are extravagant or inappropriate, nor put on those of gentlemen, or embroideries or badges; such pride might be harmful, and has perhaps been so in the past. Similarly, and so that they learn to be better behaved, place a general prohibition on all swearing, curses, and excessive oaths to Our Lord—on pain of severe punishment. Let high and low alike, and even people of the court, be punished so as to uphold the rights of each one and avoid complaint by the lower orders; and let the offenders be punished afterwards with moderate justice; and at the same time let their disorderly gathering and meeting in houses without reason be forbidden. Similarly, since idleness often leads young men into many wrongful actions and foolish conspiracies, let reliable people be appointed by the courts to watch that no disorder is fomented in the city, and that such foolish, idle, young fellows who wander round low taverns doing nothing are no longer tolerated. Let them be questioned on what they are doing and who they work for, and put in prison if they do not go to their workshop, if it is a working day. Similarly, it would surely be well to prohibit this foolish dissenting speech that has been going around, and still is, from which harm could come—and well also to punish those who would continue using it to hound others. To sum up, by generally keeping to these methods, and all

other good ordinances that might be thought of, the prince could keep his people in peace, which would be to their great profit because they would not fall into wasting time as they usually do. Each would be at his own work; they would be content with his rule because it was just and upheld the peace, and they would become more prosperous and better able to help him if needed. So would the people live, under the glorious rule of a good lord.

16

Examples of the virtue of clemency in a good prince, drawn from the wise King Charles

A wise and good man does not wish to struggle and expose himself to danger, as conquest is not in our power and as every struggle is dangerous. But it is characteristic of a wise and very good man not to wish to oust an adversary, which cannot happen without felony and peril. [. . .] *Divine Institutes, about the Blessed Life*, book 1.4.⁸²

I have set out in brief, as it seems to me, all that affects the government of the common people. But now, once more, I am pleased to draw an example for your encouragement, as promised earlier, from your good grandfather the wise King Charles, already alluded to several times above. Since not everything can be said at once about what constitutes the virtue of clemency, with which I began this third part of the book, and continuing on the theme of peace and the good government by the prince of everything touching the general estates of the realm, I shall show how a prince may, more by clemency and kindness than by war or use of arms or force, acquire friendship and lands and goods, from friend and stranger alike. Useful in this regard is the Latin authority quoted above, which says that it is not in the character of a wise and good man to fight openly and expose himself to danger, for it is not within our power to vanquish completely, and every such attack is anathema and forbidden. But it is characteristic of the wise man not to wish to oust his adversary, something that could not be done without felony and peril.

82. Lactantius *Divinae Institutiones* 6.18.29 (Brandt, 552). Christine includes, but does not translate, extra Latin words (in square brackets) presumably copied from a corrupt source.

It certainly seems, noble lord, that the said king your grandfather had heard and retained this lesson. For he was so humane and benign that although he knew well enough that he had many enemies, both far and near, he did not aim at their destruction, well though he could have if he had wanted to. Rather, he always set all his power of love and benevolence to converting them. (Anyone who wanted to could name many of these, but there is no need.) And following the doctrine of Jesus Christ, he did not want the death of sinners at all, but only that they be converted and live. Why do you think, then, that God looked with such favor on him in the matter of his wars, and that the good fortune of King Edward of England, who had mistreated this kingdom so badly for so long, declined? In God's name, it was no doubt because he was so saddened by the shedding of human blood; and never in his time would he consent to pitched battle against his enemies, nor to their destruction, unless it was by their cause, presumption, and guilt—whence they always suffered misfortune. In that way he acquired much: because of his clemency and benevolence. For in the same way as it is said of the Romans that they oft-times acquired more from the renown that spread of their clemency and justice than by force of arms, because many came nobly to submit to them, similarly, many noble barons among his enemies in the lands of Guyenne and elsewhere surrendered to this king of their own free will, without any constraint, because of the renown of his goodness, even when they were at war. Such were my Lord Bertucat d'Albret, the Lord of Bedos, my lord Anissant de Caumont, the lord of Castets-en-Dorthe, the noble scions of Saint-Aoys, and several other barons and knights, putting themselves and their great and powerful lands in his hands.⁸³ And he did not fail to receive them kindly, or to keep them at his court in great honor, as is fitting. Similarly in Lombardy several great and powerful lords sought his love and his alliance.

But more importantly, see what a noble thing the renown of a great lord is: for I swear to you that even the Sultan of Babylon, desiring to make his acquaintance, sent his knights on an embassy, bearing many fine presents.⁸⁴ And I can testify to this, since as a child I saw them and marveled at their strange clothes, in the house of my father—a counselor of the said king.

83. This event is recounted in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.32; Solente (1:221) supplies the more modern versions of their names.

84. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.31 (Solente, 2:84).

More on King Charles, how by his wisdom, clemency, and benevolence he constantly acquired lands and friends

For kings, security that comes from mercy is more certain than frequent punishment. Seneca, *On Clemency*.⁸⁵

O! How well the good King Charles of whom we are speaking had taken in the words of Seneca, who says that kings gain much more certain security by benevolence and kindness than by vindictiveness. Concerning this wise benevolence, if there had been any knights or others at his court rumored to belong to the party of his enemies, do you think he would banish them or have them put in prison, if the matter was not serious? Of course he never did. For it seemed to him that by sending them away he would have increased the number of his enemies. But he made them swear solemnly that they would be good and loyal to him, and gave them so many benefits and honors that it would have been wicked of them not to be. Nevertheless, he wisely remained on his guard with them, and kept a watch on their behavior so they did not plot anything against him. By this benevolence he drew to himself the hearts of all noble men, whether friends or enemies: not thinking to control them by rough treatment, nor suffering them to be discontented with him. They told each other how they had been well treated, so that many who had been enemies were converted into good friends. In this way he never ceased to gain friends by means of gifts, benefits, and kind treatment, whether they were great, middling, or small; and I may tell you indeed that he was little inclined to vengeance for wrongs done to him, but always to taming hearts with benevolence.

O, what great wisdom it is for a prince to act thus! For do not imagine that force of arms would ever achieve what gentleness and benevolence will. What I could tell you, revered lord, of your most wise grandfather! It would take too long to tell all his virtues: but to put it in a nutshell, so steadily did he act with wisdom, clemency, and liberality that the star of his good fortune rose from strength to strength.

At the same time, do not imagine that he was ignorant of what it takes to carry on a war successfully. That is, both by supporting it financially (knowing also how to honor the chiefs of the armies to whom he owed those fine victories), and making sure that what was captured remained in

85. Seneca *De clementia* 1.8.6 (Hosius, 221).

his hands. In fact, he provided for this so wisely that no conquest—whether of city, fortress, domain, or castle—was afterwards lost, through rebellion or otherwise. This is a wonderful thing, and not what commonly happens with conquered territories, which often pass easily from hand to hand through rebellion or other challenge, even though many were conquered that had been in various foreign hands for a long time. And as you have heard, this king by his wisdom, magnanimity, strength, clemency, and liberality rid his country of its enemies, so that they no longer made their wonted raids. All this considered, I may conclude these virtues to be of more value to a prince than any other strength, seeing that this prince—working principally through these virtues, and not moving from his palaces and royal seats—reconquered, reestablished, and enlarged his kingdom, which before had been devastated, lost, and left forlorn by his warlike and knightly predecessors.⁸⁶ And the knighthood of France, moribund from the horror of past ill fortune, was revived by him—lifted up, set on its feet in great boldness and good fortune. These things considered, Seneca said truly that there is more wisdom in one day for a wise man than in a long age for a fool.⁸⁷

18

How the wise King Charles loved knowledge, and honored scholars and learning

Mercy and truth keep the king, and
his throne is strengthened by mercy.
Proverbs, Chapter 21.⁸⁸

Still praising this virtue of clemency in princes and lords, Solomon teaches in his *Proverbs*: “Mercy and truth will guard the king, and by clemency and kindness his throne will be strengthened.” That is, his power and high honor will be increased and strengthened. As said before, this means that by clemency and graciousness, which encompass mercy and truth, the prince may gain the love of all, and this love is the best and surest safeguard of all. But it is not enough for a prince to be kind, benevolent, humane, and tractable only toward the great and powerful: he should be the same toward the least of his subjects, as suggested earlier; and it is in this that the greatest benevolence

86. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 2.10 (Solente, 1:131–33). Christine makes an explicit virtue of Charles V’s practice of not himself engaging in battle in *Chevalrie* 1:6 (Willard and Willard, 21).

87. Latini *Trésor* 2.52.8, quoting Seneca *Epistulae morales* 78.28 (Hense, 298).

88. Prov. 20:28.

is recognized. Thus it is written of the good emperor Titus that he was so benevolent to all that no one knew whom he wanted to please most.⁸⁹ Not, however, that we should understand this benevolence to be naïve and without reserve, making oneself too available and intimate—unbecoming a great lord, or any wise man—as he would then be less esteemed and held to be foolish or vulgar. Rather, maintaining the honor of his rank in speech, behavior and bearing, and keeping to suitable hours, he should willingly hear and receive the petitions of his people great and small, protecting the rights of each estate in its condition, as has already been touched on, and as the aforementioned King Charles surely knew how to do. As well as looking favorably on all their just requests, he honored all their ranks—after the nobles that is, as has already been told; and the learned, as he showed at the University of Paris, where, by preserving their privileges and always adding to their freedoms, he kept them in love and peace.⁹⁰ He had great reverence for their congregation and was always glad to see the rector and the eminent masters, and most benevolently listened to their propositions and followed their counsels. And why would he not have done, for was he not a learned man himself: a real philosopher and a good astrologer, who loved that science very much?⁹¹ He showed that he was enlightened by his supreme love of books, of which he had a marvelous quantity, and of all sorts. But what is more, even though he was well enough instructed in grammar to have mastered Latin, he had all the most important books, Holy Scripture and others, translated by well-qualified scholars, masters in theology—so that his brothers and those who would come after him, and all other lay people, could profit from understanding what they contained. The Bible in three volumes, for example: the text, then the text together with glosses, and then allegorized in another way. Similarly, the great book of Saint Augustine on the *City of God*: the *Soliloquio*, the *Book of Heaven and Earth*. Similarly, Valerius Maximus, the nine books of the *Properties of Things*, Josephus, Aristotle's books *Ethics* and *Politics*; and to add some more examples, the *Problems* of Aristotle, the *Policraticus*, and many others, so that there were masters on high wages continually working on this.⁹² But to return to the topic of the

89. Cf. Jerome *Commentarium in Epistolam ad Galatas* 3, PL 26:462B.

90. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.13 (Solente, 2:46).

91. Cf. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.3–5 (Solente, 2:12–20). Christine also praises Charles's love of learning in *Corps de policie* 1.26 (Kennedy, 44; Forhan, 45–46), and in *Long estude* 4999–5049, she gives a brief version of the argument outlined in these chapters.

92. This translation project and Charles's comprehension of Latin is alluded to also in *Long estude* 5016–34 and outlined in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.12 (Solente, 2:42–45).

clemency of this prince toward his subjects: this good lord, when he came to deal in council with things pertaining to the finances of the kingdom, or some decree or undertaking, would wish the burghers of his *bonnes villes* summoned; also the important merchants, and even some of the common people. He summoned them when he made new laws⁹³ instituting that, former custom notwithstanding, kings' sons in France could be crowned from the age of twelve, if the situation arose. And this was sworn to by his princes and nobles and clerks, and the abovementioned estates of the people. And likewise other laws and statutes on the government of the kingdom.

19

Some examples of the punishments God sent to cruel princes

A prince is slow to punishments, quick to rewards, and he mourns every time he is thought to be fierce. Ovid, *Tristia*.⁹⁴

It is therefore fitting for a prince, as we have seen, to be clement, humane, and gracious, and consequently cruelty does not suit him. By this, the wise men say, a natural prince can be distinguished from a tyrant, since the natural prince treats his subjects as a father his children, or a shepherd guarding his fold, ready to risk his life in their defense; and the tyrant is like the ravening wolf among the sheep.⁹⁵ So the authority above says that a prince must be slow to punish, and prompt to reward, and must regret it on those occasions when it is necessary to be harsh to anyone, in such a way that he seems cruel. Let us turn to this matter, since we have said enough about graciousness in a prince, and it seems to me right to devote some space to the strongest censure of cruelty and of the evil that can come from it, as much to the rulers themselves who are or would be cruel, as to all their lands and dominion. First of all, Tully says there are few of them who die well—and no wonder, for what in this world is more hated by God than cruelty?⁹⁶ Nothing, certainly, as it is entirely contrary to His worthy law, which is wholly founded on charity and love of one's neighbor, without which love and affection nothing else

93. Charles's practice of consultation is also described in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.8 (Solente, 2:28).

94. Ovid *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.2.122, ed. J. A. Richmond (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990), 90: "sed piger ad poenas princeps, ad praemia uelox, quique dolet, quotiens cogitur esse ferox."

95. Cf. Latini *Trésor* 2.44.3–4: "Le gouvernement de l'ome a sa masnie est senblable au gouvernement dou roi a son people; . . . car li buen seigneures s'esforce de bien fere a ses subdés, ausint comme li pastors de son fouca."

96. Unidentified.

we did would have merit. And therefore, if he who does not do good to his fellow attracts the wrath of God, how must he who persecutes, destroys, and kills him be hated? We can find plenty of examples in the Scriptures of cruel princes coming to a bad end in the final reckoning through divine punishment; and even the experience of our own times teaches this to us, so that much could be said on the matter. But let us turn to what Holy Scripture says about those who delight in bloodshed. Such as Saul, persecutor of David, whom God punished for his cruelty with a famine that afflicted his country for three years: in the end he killed himself, and he and his sons were hanged, as it is written in the twenty-first chapter of the second book of Kings.⁹⁷ Similarly, Sennacherib was a prince of great cruelty who destroyed people and lands, and for this God punished him so horribly that he was killed by his own children, as it is written in the first chapter of the book of Tobit.⁹⁸

Similarly, and showing how cruel people usually do not shrink from disloyal or treacherous acts: because Joab treacherously and by a truce killed Abner, and also he murdered Amasa under cover of a kiss, he was killed in the temple, as it is written in the second chapter of the third book of Kings.⁹⁹ Similarly, was not Holophernes, the cruel persecutor of God's people, also killed by the valiant lady Judith, as it is written in the thirteenth chapter of the book of the same name?¹⁰⁰ Similarly, to King Antiochus, because bloodshed aroused no compassion in him, God sent such a punishment that his whole body was covered in worm-filled sores, which stank so much that it went through his whole army, so none could stand to be near him; in the end he died pitifully all alone in the desert without burial, and even the birds would not eat his body.¹⁰¹ Likewise, because of the cruelty of the Babylonians—persecutors and destroyers of Jerusalem and of that city's king, Zedekiah—as a punishment from God great Babylon was later destroyed so completely and dreadfully that it has remained uninhabited except for dragons and serpents, as it is written in the thirteenth chapter of Isaiah.¹⁰² Many more examples can be found in the Holy Scripture of the great punishments God inflicts for cruelty, since He cannot tolerate it for long. All princes and powerful men would do well to take note of them, so as not to go the same

97. Not Kings, but 2 Sam. 21:1–9. Strictly speaking, this passage tells only of sons of Saul being punished for the cruelty of their father, who killed himself at Gelboa (1 Sam. 31:4).

98. Tob. 1:18–21.

99. 1 Kings 2:5; 2 Samuel 20.

100. Jth. 13:1–20.

101. 2 Macc. 9:1–12.

102. Isa. 13:19–22.

way. Other writings are full of them: it is said of King Mithridates that after committing several acts of cruelty he was slain by his own children.¹⁰³

Nero and others likewise died wretchedly, from which we can conclude that such cruel tyrants in persecuting others persecute themselves, and even in this world they begin their time in hell, from which they will never escape. For Juvenal says that for those who want to be feared, fear engenders hate—and hate conspiracy, and conspiracy death. Of the misery of those who think to make all the world tremble at their atrocities, Horace says that none live in such fear as they do, nor so apprehensively, nor with their minds less at rest. For as they have committed crimes against everyone, and trust no one, they always suspect that those whom they terrorize will be lying in wait for them.¹⁰⁴ That is why Boethius said: “Do not think that he who always has guards with him is powerful, for he fears those whom he frightens.”¹⁰⁵ And this is why it is said of Denis the Tyrant that he was so afraid of the barber’s razor that he burnt off his beard himself.¹⁰⁶

20

How cruelty comes from pride

It is a type of death to live badly. Ovid,
Tristia.¹⁰⁷

Ovid means here that to live badly is not a true life, but almost a kind of death. This can rightly be said, for a man devoid of virtues is overcome by vices, and is as nothing in the sight of God; but the virtuous man lives, and will live perpetually. So in order to live, than which nothing is better, those vices must be shunned as the real killers of soul, body, honor, and reputation. Because as we have said above none is so deadly among them as cruelty, and so displeasing to God and even to nature, in addition to having condemned it in the preceding chapter it is now fitting for us to tell of its evil birth and the root from which it springs, in order to shun the whole. Let us say that, properly speaking, the real root and wellspring of cruelty is invariably pure pride. For although cruelty is practised for many reasons—sometimes from greed to rob and usurp the lordship, lands, or goods of others, other times

103. *De viris illustribus* 76.7, ed. F. Pichlmayr (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911), 68.

104. Cf. Horace *Saturae* 1.3.58.

105. Latini *Trésor* 2.119.5, quoting Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 3.m.5.1–2 (Bieler, 8).

106. Latini *Trésor* 2.119.6, quoting Cicero *De officiis* 2.7.25 (Atzert, 63).

107. Ovid *Epistulae ex Ponto* 3.4.75 (Richmond, 71): “si genus est mortis male uiuere, terra moratur.”

from revenge, and so on—nevertheless, all things considered, it all comes from pride. While the desire to oppress others wrongly and without cause comes from this source, no matter what the immediate motive is, the way to put it into effect is to use cruelty: which is why I say that cruelty has its birth there. O Pride, most detestable vice, hated by God: so many evils result from you! You so blind this human nature, in all estates, that not even the most miserable earthworm would want to ascend to it. Through this have all the evils of the past come about, on the part of the great, and also of the middling and the small. But speaking to the great, who are excessively given to pride, Horace says that tall trees are often weakened by strong winds and sometimes blown down and uprooted, and the tops of high towers easily fall down; also, lightning falls most often on peaks and high mountains.¹⁰⁸ Therefore men who are raised to the greatest heights should not forget the tricks Fortune can play, and should keep on their guard against being too raised up by pride, remembering that they are men subject to many passions: for since such aggrandizement is displeasing to God, and He cannot in the long run tolerate it, it is rare that He does not bring down the arrogant by His divine providence, as He brought down the evil angels from His high heaven into hell. And they should note the example of those princes or powerful people who in great pride presumed to subjugate all by their strength, believing nothing could harm them, without taking into account the hand of God which is on all things. The Holy Scriptures and other writings are full of these; thus it is written of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, that, finding himself in his noble city surrounded by all his might, riches, and pleasures, he became so proud that he had no regard for any other power. God therefore wanted to punish him for this: while he was at dinner in great pride and pomp, drinking and eating from great golden vessels his father had pillaged from Jerusalem, there appeared a hand writing on the wall the punishment God was sending to him; and, its explanation having been made by Daniel, that very night he was slain and the kingdom divided, as it is contained in the sixth chapter of the book of Daniel.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, Absalom was so proud that he had no regard for King David his father, and considered he was better and knew more.¹¹⁰ Those who are bad and presumptuous children, whether of princes or others, would do well to note this example: because the honor they receive on account of their parents they attribute to

108. Latini *Trésor* 2.119.3, quoting Horace *Carmina* 2.10.9–12 (Shackleton Bailey, 52).

109. Actually Dan. 5:1–6.

110. 2 Sam. 15:1–12.

themselves, and become proud on account of it, and no longer bother to obey father and mother, but despise them. If they are aged they want them to die so they can rule untrammelled. Because Absalom was like this, God permitted that while he was running about in hot pursuit of his father, the branches of a tree caught him by his long fair hair of which he was very vain; and he hung there until Joab came and killed him, as it is written in the eighteenth chapter of the book of Exodus.¹¹¹

21

Concerning the punishments God has sent to proud princes

One who does not understand himself
and does not hear another in his mind,
places himself as a useless man forever.
Aristotle, *Ethics* 3.¹¹²

He who neither knows nor listens to or believes those who do know, says Aristotle, is on that account a useless man, good for nothing. The words offered above can be applied to those who need to learn, and yet do not deign to listen to good teaching or pay heed to it. And they may relate even to the proud, referred to above, who are the people in the world who value such teaching least. Nevertheless I shall give some more examples of God's punishment of such proud men, princes and others alike. Nebuchadnezzar, finding himself to be a prince of marvelous power, grew in pride before all the world, and overreached himself so far as to believe himself more than a man, wanting to be worshipped like God.¹¹³ Let those who thus presume of themselves—whether in wit, beauty, strength, power, or riches—understand that others may not share their high opinion, so it often happens that they find themselves seriously in the wrong. God wanted to punish the arrogance and great pride of that king so severely that he reduced him to the state of a dumb beast; and he lived with the beasts for seven years, eating hay and grazing in the fields, as it is written in the fourth chapter of the book of Daniel.¹¹⁴ Similarly,

111. Presumably a mistaken reference by Christine for 2 Sam. 18:32.

112. *P* supplies "libro." Aristotle *Ethica* 1.2.1095b (AL 26.3:378): "Qui autem neque ipsemet intelligit, neque alium audiens in animo ponet, hic *nursus* inutilis vir."

113. Christine similarly uses Nebuchadnezzar as the epitome of pride in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 1.27 (Solente, 1:75–76). In *Advision* 1.24 (Reno and Dulac, 42–43; McLeod, 34–35), his fate is used as an example of the way God punishes pride; see also *Trois vertus* 1.4 (Willard and Hicks, 19; Lawson, 41).

114. Dan. 4:1–34.

Seron the king boasted that he could resist and prevail against everyone, and because of this, God willed that he be defeated by Judas Maccabaeus in spite of his great power, as it is written in the third chapter of the book of Maccabees.¹¹⁵ God became angry in the same way with his servant David, because in his arrogance he wanted to count his people, so in punishment God gave him a choice of three chastisements: the first was that there would be a famine for seven years; the second, that his enemies would harass him for three months; the third, that pestilence would visit his kingdom for three days. David wanted to put himself entirely in God's hands, so he chose the last; and in the space of those three days a very great number of people died, as it is written in the twenty-fourth chapter of the book of Kings.¹¹⁶ Many other kings and princes could be told of, as reported in Holy Scripture, and as can be found in all other writings, who were punished by divine justice for their pride; but I leave these aside for the sake of brevity, so that we can summarily touch on a few of the punishments God has visited upon the common people, from whom poverty has not, for the most part, removed pride. The thirty-ninth chapter of the book of Jeremiah tells how, on account of the pride and disobedience of the people of Israel, God permitted that they and their kings Zedekiah and Jehoiakim be led into Babylon in slavery, where they were for forty years; and this is what is called the Babylonian captivity.¹¹⁷

On account of the pride of the people, Our Lord permitted their persecution by the Philistines, which lasted for forty years, as it is written in the eighth chapter of the book of Judges.¹¹⁸ Similarly, on account of the people's pride, which God could not tolerate, the punishment of the flood came about, as it is written in the seventh chapter of Genesis.¹¹⁹ Similarly, because of the pride of the people in wanting to make the city of Babel so that it touched the sky, God sent down on them a confusion of languages, as it is written in the eleventh chapter of Genesis.¹²⁰ This example can be understood figuratively: when the people want to climb higher than they should, God sends confusion among them that makes them fall. Horace therefore speaks well concerning such people: there are some who think

115. 1 Macc. 3:14–26.

116. In fact in 2 Sam. 24:12–25. See also in *Advision* 1.24 (Reno and Dulac, 42; McLeod, 34–35).

117. Jer. 39:4–9.

118. Judg. 8:4–26.

119. Gen. 7:1–24.

120. Gen. 11:9: “et idcirco vocatum est nomen eius Babel quia ibi confusum est labium universae terrae et inde dispersit eos Dominus super faciem cunctarum regionum.”

their eyes are stronger than the sphere of the sun, but by trying to look at it they blind themselves.¹²¹

22

Here begins consideration of the virtue of liberality: its use, and how it is fitting for a prince

Ordered charity considers no one to be a stranger but gathers all together at the opportune time. That ordered charity seems to exist which knows how to begin with its own servants. Guido in the Introduction to his *Summa*.¹²²

After clemency follows the fifth virtue fitting for a prince, as we have said above: liberality, which is like a sister of clemency. Liberality, when it is exercised justly, has its roots in charity, of which the authority above says that if it is well regulated then no man is considered a stranger, which means that the charitable man wants to do good to intimates and strangers alike. Charity receives all, he says, at the opportune time: that is, when the charitable man sees a chance to help and do good, no one is turned away. Nonetheless, well-regulated charity is that which begins with one's closest friends: even though charity is doing good to whomever one can, nonetheless one is more closely bound to one's own than to other people. This liberality is thus most suitable for you, good Prince Louis to whom I speak, and therefore it is fitting to set out its properties. Now, it must be known that this virtue has two parts: one is itself called liberality, and the other is largesse.¹²³ The first applies not only to giving gifts of money, lands, jewels, or other possessions, but also to being liberal in lending the aid of one's power, and also with one's body, one's word, one's efforts, and one's welcome and hospitality; in cheerfully pardoning injuries, in willingly helping the needy, and generally in all those things in which one can be of value to others. The other part only applies to money: it is abundant giving of money, or other things in its place, and is called largesse or generosity. And it is clear that liberality and largesse are more fitting for a prince than for anyone else. For

121. Unidentified in Horace.

122. Unidentified in Guido Faba.

123. Willard in *Paix* (Willard, 209) notes similarity to Giles of Rome *Li livres du gouvernement des rois* 1. 17, ed. S. P. Molenaer (1899; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1966).

why were princes established on earth, if not to aid and support—by the authority of their power, by their body, word, travail and encouragement, and all other means of assistance—not only their subjects, but likewise all Christians whether strangers and friends? Indeed, any who may need it and come to ask it of them, such as the Church if she is oppressed or trampled by a tyrant; or ladies, whether widows or orphans; or other Christian princes wrongly under attack. Generally, any man under their rule who requests it with just cause they should assist with their word, maintaining justice—as did the Romans in the past, who refused assistance to no one.¹²⁴ Princes should devote themselves diligently to all things profitable for the polity, willingly granting pardon to those who are contrite and plead for it, bestowing favors, and such things as it is vouchsafed to a prince to perform. Doing these things willingly and habitually is true liberality.

23

Concerning the virtue of generosity and in what it consists

The root of all good things is charity.
Cassiodorus, *On Charity or the Love of
God*.¹²⁵

Charity is the root of all that is good, says Cassiodorus. Following what we have said above about liberality, let us now say that the second part of this liberality is called largesse, or generosity. This consists of willingly giving fine gifts, and when it is well regulated it is used toward four kinds of people for four reasons. First, to the poor—and principally in ways that involve almsgiving for the love of God.¹²⁶ Second, to those who are worthy of it for the love of goodness, since favoring the good befits the princely condition. Third, to those who deserve it because it is not fitting for a prince simply to take the effort, labor, or service of another: he should reward it immediately. And

124. In *Corps de police* 1.14 (Kennedy, 24–26; Forhan, 25–28), Christine praises the liberality of the Romans.

125. Not Cassiodorus, but Peter of Blois *De amicitia Christiana* 42 (Davy, 488), quoting from Augustine *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 90, sermo 1.8 (CCSL 39:1260): “quomodo enim radix omnium malorum cupiditas, sic radix omnium bonorum caritas est.”

126. *P* inserts at this point: “lequel bien fait en charité est si acceptable à dieu que sans lui nul autre ne lui pourroit plaire et là où il est ne pourroit avoir faulte des autres vertuz et pour ce dit l’auctorité que charité est racine de touz biens” (this good done in charity is so acceptable to God that without it none other could please Him, and where it exists the other virtues cannot be lacking; this is why the authority says that charity is the root of all good).

fourth, to foreigners for the sake of his own honor and the growth of his good reputation and renown. This virtue, liberality and largesse together, goes well with clemency, as we have seen: in the acquisition of friends, at home and abroad, both by performing acts of friendship through generous aid, support, and comfort, and by generosity with fine gifts and favors. And know that a legitimate gift must meet four conditions: the first is that it be the property of the giver and not taken from one to give to another. So Tully said: "Let us give in such a way that our gifts are worth something to our friends and do not harm those around us." The second, that it be given freely, cheerfully, and generously, not reluctantly and with bad grace, nor only at length after being pursued for it; for as Seneca says, a gift long awaited loses some of its merit, because there is no promise so sweet that the wait is not most bitter.¹²⁷

The third is that it be given for some good purpose, not to deceive or cause someone harm. On this Horace says: "The gift presented to cause harm is like poison hidden in sweet liquor."¹²⁸ And the fourth, that it be given with sincere affection without pretence; for Macrobius says that lovers love poorly who desire harm to befall those whom they show friendship, in order then to show them sympathy in their trouble—such as keeping them company when they are exiled, or helping them when they fall into poverty, or visiting them when they are sick. He declares that he hardly distinguishes between such friends and enemies, for it would be a strange kind of betrayal to want someone to fall into the water in order to pull him out, or to be beaten in order to avenge him, or evicted in order to shelter him. Love done like this should not be prized at all, since it serves no good purpose.¹²⁹ Furthermore we should know that largesse when it is well regulated is a virtue; but when it exceeds reasonable bounds it is a vice that is called prodigality or foolish generosity, which proceeds from indiscretion and lack of prudence—such as when some prince or other gives excessively to someone and they value it little, and have not deserved it, yet he pays little or nothing of what he owes. And he does not reward those who have served him well and to whom he is bound or who merit it, spending his wealth on superfluous things, on excesses and vanities and all sorts of foolish expenses, and leaves what is necessary, good and profitable in neglect—in ruin and abandon. O, a prodigal prince is a great danger! For certainly there are no people as greedy as such princes, and there is no act of tyranny they would

127. Latini *Trésor* 2.95.4, quoting Cicero *De officiis* 1.14.43 (Atzert, 16), and Latini *Trésor* 2.95.2, quoting Seneca *De beneficiis* 2.1.2 (Hosius, 21).

128. Unidentified in Horace.

129. Unidentified in Macrobius.

not commit to serve the needs of their prodigality: no land, people, or property they would not destroy. It is their habit to take from some without cause, to give to others for no reason. And so, to conclude this subject, there is undoubtedly no area in which discretion is more necessary, especially in a prince, because his deeds touch more people in the matter of spending: both ordinary and as gifts or other payments. For where Prudence is not the pay-mistress there is ruin for soul, body, wealth, and country.

24

Concerning greed and the evil that comes from it

Greed is the root of all evils.

Cassiodorus.¹³⁰

There is no doubt that greed is the root of all evil, as the authority here says. It would take forever to describe fully, this greed and the evils that have come and always will come into the world through it. So to put it briefly—and every reasonable man can recognize it without more being said in detail—all the destruction of lands, kingdoms, domains, and countries, all cruelties and slaughters, and generally all evils past, present, and future unmistakably spring from this cause. Alas! This most detestable vice, through which so many souls and bodies perish, should be hated above all. It is much more dangerous in a prince and powerful person than in any other, because they have more capacity to put it into effect through taking by force, and they have a desire for possession and a fire of greed that others do not. On this subject we might mention the great sin and evil it is for a prince to take more than is reasonable from his people. Those who exceed this and go beyond the limits of what is right, and those who advise it, may be certain that God will not let it go without severe punishment. For He is immutable and His stability is as firm as it was in the time of King Rehoboam, mentioned above, whom He punished so severely for his greed in taking an unreasonable amount from his people that he lost his kingdom.¹³¹ Similarly in the case of Achan: because he greedily looted goods in the destruction of Jericho, Our Lord allowed the people to be persecuted by their enemies and Achan himself was stoned at God's command, as it is written in the seventh chapter of Joshua.¹³² All the crimes of King Antiochus, whose cruelty has already been described, were in

130. Peter of Blois *De amicitia Christiana* 42 (Davy, 488), alluding to 1 Tim. 6:10.

131. 3 Kings (= 1 Kings) 14:21–31.

132. Josh. 7:24–26.

the way of robbing the people: and his end was painful, so it is said.¹³³ There are so many other examples, and of lesser men than kings, that I leave them aside for the sake of brevity. Similarly Gehazi, who out of greed accepted the gifts of Naaman—earlier refused by his master Elisha, who had cured Naaman of leprosy—became a leper himself, as it is written in the fifth chapter of the fourth book of Kings.¹³⁴ Similarly, Joseph’s brothers sold him out of greed, and because of this there was famine, as it is written in the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis.¹³⁵ Similarly, because from avarice Laban wanted to deceive Jacob and cheat him of his wages several times, God transferred all Laban’s property to Jacob, as is written in the thirtieth chapter of Genesis.¹³⁶

So does God punish His creation every day, because of the little love that human beings have for each other—against His worthy commandment—and because of this treacherous greed that makes each one take from his neighbor. This is why divine punishment, although we take little notice of it, is sent to us every day in the form of wars, deaths, betrayals, and innumerable plagues; and we are not chastened, which is a sign of obstinacy, an unredeemable sin. But since it is worth little to speak of the maladies without mentioning the remedies that are good to use against this cruel ardor of greed, I shall pass over them more briefly, because I wrote about them at length, according to my poor understanding, in a little treatise named *The Vision of the Cock*, whose name can translate the ancient name of this kingdom, which I presented to you yourself, Louis of France, sitting in your chamber at Saint Paul this same year in the season of Lent.¹³⁷

25

What can be said in condemnation of the vice of greed

A small dry mouthful with joy is
better than a house full of wealth and
contention. Proverbs, Chapter 1.¹³⁸

In relation to what has been said above about the consequences of greed, Solomon says in his *Proverbs*, quoted above, that a little piece of dry bread

133. 1 Macc. 1:10–64.

134. 4 Kings (= 2 Kings) 5:29–37.

135. Gen. 37:28.

136. Gen. 30:25–43.

137. The Roman province of Gaul was called *Gallia*; an inhabitant was a Gaul, or *Gallus*, which is an exact homonym of the word for a cock.

138. Prov. 17:1: “melior est buccella sicca cum gaudio quam domus plena victimis cum iurgio.”

accompanied by joy and peace is worth more than a house full of riches accompanied by disturbances and quarrelling. Therefore, so as to say something useful for the discipline and correction of those who are too greedy, whether they be princes or others, it seems apposite to recall some authorities for their instruction. Such as Tully, who says: "There are people who think they will increase their profit by ruining others through all sorts of fraud and wickedness; but they are deceived in this, since life and honor are worth more than money. Although they perhaps fill their treasuries by their cleverness in damaging others, this is more to their loss than their profit. It often comes about that they shorten the term of their life through the enemies they make in wronging many people; and at the very least they need to be more on their guard, since he who is hated by many needs to guard himself against all."¹³⁹ For as Tully says also: "If for gain we do not mind stripping others of their goods or taking from them by force, it follows that the society formed by human love, in accordance with nature, will be sundered, where it should remain one."¹⁴⁰ It is just the same as if one part of the body possessed understanding and strove to draw to itself the blood, health, and substance of its neighboring limb. This would cause the weakening and deterioration of the whole body, of which every limb needs its share of blood, humor, and nourishment. So it is in human society: for just as Nature grants that each part acquires what it needs for its betterment, she does not wish us to strip someone else to clothe ourselves. Furthermore, the same Tully says in conclusion: "Therefore, you should not care so much about your own profit that it makes you lose the right to be called a good man, since such acquisition cannot bring you as much as it robs you of, when it takes away your goodness and human faith."¹⁴¹

That this human faith is worth more than possession of any fortune is well demonstrated by the example of Damon and Phintias, who were such faithful companions and loved each other so greatly that when the cruel tyrant Denis had condemned one of them to death, and the one who had been condemned requested a little time to go home and make his will and put his affairs in order, he left his companion as a hostage in prison to await death there if he did not return on time. The other returned to his death as he had promised, and the tyrant marveled greatly at the loyalty, faithfulness, and love of these two companions. And so, prizing such loyalty in human

139. Latini *Trésor* 2.122.4, paraphrasing Cicero *De officiis* 3.5.21–22 (Atzert, 91).

140. Latini *Trésor* 2.122.5, paraphrasing Cicero *De officiis* 3.5.26 (Atzert, 92).

141. Latini *Trésor* 2.122.7, quoting Cicero *De officiis* 3.20.81–82 (Atzert, 110).

company more than any riches, even one who was a tyrant and very wicked nonetheless begged these two to admit him as a third party to their loyal love and companionship.¹⁴²

Therefore, just as this example may serve to demonstrate that love is worth more than riches, Tully says, in addressing princes, that there is nothing that establishes their rule better than attracting subjects to their advantage; that is to say, winning their love by doing good to them, which works against greed.¹⁴³ This is why Seneca said: “He is rich who is good, as no treasure equals goodness—nor is anything else true wealth, as much as fools may disagree.”¹⁴⁴ For as Solomon said, the fool always wants what is in fact contrary to his interests, meaning riches, in order to use them foolishly; and the wise man, who knows what goodness is, wants to have enough and no more, in order to do good.

26

On liberality: concerning the good order which the abovementioned king kept when hearing petitions

I can encourage you to put friendship
before all human things. For nothing
is so suitable to nature, so suited for
things that are either suited or opposed.
Cicero, *On Friendship*.¹⁴⁵

“I can exhort you,” says Tully, “to put friendship before all other human affairs, for nothing is more in keeping with nature, or more applicable to propitious and adverse affairs”—and the contrary is true of greed. Following what we have said on this subject above, let us say more about the virtue of largesse. The authority just quoted is very apt, since there is nothing through which so many friendships can be made as largesse, as we have seen. Therefore it is a very good thing for a prince to employ it: wisely and with discretion. To give examples of this in our accustomed manner, following good and compelling reasons we shall return to our subject of King Charles: to his habits in practicing this virtue, and first of all concerning the virtue of liberality in a good prince. O, what a sweet thing it was to see how he came out after hearing mass to give audience to all the people, poor or otherwise! Noble ladies were

142. Latini *Trésor* 2.122.10, quoting Cicero *De officiis* 3.10.45 (Atzert, 99).

143. Cf. Latini *Trésor* 2.122.11, quoting Cicero *De officiis* 3.10.45 (Atzert, 99).

144. Latini *Trésor* 2.122.13, quoting Seneca *Epistulae morales* 9.19 (Hense, 25) and then 2.122.14, perhaps alluding to Prov. 1:7.

145. Cicero *De amicitia* 17 (Simbeck, 22).

seen there—and all ranks, high, middling, and low. He did not slip quickly among them, like a cock on hot coals,¹⁴⁶ to avoid being bored by hearing them, or direct his followers to “take their petitions,” as if he took no account of them; rather, he himself stopped there. He heard them all out in turn, had their petitions read out, and gave them a very kind answer. And if there were matters which required forethought or longer deliberation, he commanded them that those petitions be presented to him again at the proper time and place. He acted similarly where almsgiving was involved, and thus dealt with all matters expeditiously. As a result of this he was greatly loved by those around him; and not only by them, but by all those who, having had dealings with him, were full of praise, no matter who they were. Together with this, in the giving of alms (the first part of largesse, as discussed above) that good lord was never wanting. For as I hold in good faith, this has never been so well demonstrated in any other king within memory. This is still apparent to the world, and always will be, principally in the fine churches he founded and generously endowed in Paris and elsewhere: such as the church of the Celestines which is so beautiful, with its great house of friars that he endowed generously by liquidation of debts. He also endowed the church of Saint Antoine inside Paris, and established friars there. Similarly, he enlarged and greatly modified the church of Sainte Catherine at Val-des-Ecoliers, and improved it greatly. Likewise the church of Saint Paul beside his residence. Further, he greatly improved the Hôtel-Dieu and gave great alms there.

Similarly, he generously helped the four mendicant orders to improve and enlarge their churches, and often gave fine alms to the convents. And similarly with many others, as he was never lacking in the building of churches, hospitals, and other alms that were asked of him, which added up to a great amount each year.

Likewise, outside Paris, in the forest of Vincennes, he endowed canons with very good rents, also the good men near the palace of Biauté. For the Carthusians he modified the buildings and made many improvements, and modified other churches and chapels, and added buildings and improvements. And I promise you that these were not the only good deeds and almsgiving he performed: for what do you think? The poor scholars and students supported by him, mendicant friars and others, religious and secular, and those who had to put on a feast for their graduation—it was nothing if not wonderful, that he gave so great a quantity of alms, and that no one was excluded from his generosity. Similarly, do you think he failed other

146. The usual form of this simile is “comme chat sur braise” (like a cat on hot coals).

poor men, such as poor gentlemen, old and confused, or broken by war? Alas! But in that time they did not go without: the men of that time had found their father, as it were. If only there were such a prince reigning now! O, what relief there was for poor gentlewomen—widows and others. For orphans too; and in brief, for all poor wretches who sought it. But what is more, do you think the good king, who was compassionate, and in all things circumspect and clear-sighted, forgot the poor and lowly companions of his court? He certainly did not. It was his custom always to carry in his purse a hundred francs or more in gold. Sometimes he saw one of those poor lads who carry the logs, or others he saw from his windows working here and there in his court, and he called some who it seemed to him were working hard, from among those who never dared to ask for anything or speak to him, asked them if they were married, and inquired how they went. And he gave to them generously from the money in his purse, more to one, less to another—according to how well his discretion told him it would be best used, and according to the responsibilities and households of the said poor men; and he told them to approach him from time to time. They were most comforted, and prayed to God with all their hearts for him.

In such a way did this very good prince back up the words that he spoke with action. In the presence of the knights and his company, where it happened that they were freely discoursing on many things before him, as the custom is to speak out before princes on many subjects, one of his barons said what a noble thing and great happiness lordship was. The King replied that he knew of only one good in it; and as those who heard him had a great desire to know what he meant, and asked him about it at once, he answered that it was the power to do good for others, and that all the rest was not glory, but a burden.

O, that lofty utterance: and how noble in a prince! Worthy of being remembered and noted well. How it had pleased God that you, and all the princes and powerful men in the world, had indeed remembered it.

27

**Concerning the fine works the abovementioned king commanded,
and how he made the people prosper**

Be mindful, I beg, of what stock you
are created, and keep the honor of your
fatherland. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.¹⁴⁷

147. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.543, 548 (Anderson, 71): “este, precor, memores, qua sitis stirpe creati, . . . et patrium retinete decus.”

With regard to the examples I have given you of your good grandfather King Charles, Ovid speaks the above words to you, Louis, his grandson: "Remember your predecessors and maintain the honor they have acquired for you."¹⁴⁸ Be pleased to retain these words, and you will be the better for it. And further, on the subject of largesse treated above, we can show how in all things his great benevolence, largesse, and love toward his people were demonstrated by the various benefits he provided for them, such as by making all the artisans prosper through the fine things he commanded. I mean the distinguished and sturdy buildings and other works where people were constantly employed: for where is another king found who built so much? For example, after the churches mentioned above he built the castle of the Louvre, in Paris, which is very fine. He greatly enlarged and modified his residence of Saint Paul. Similarly, at several of the gates of Paris he commissioned the fine buildings that are now established there: like the fortress of Saint Antoine, although it was completed later, which is a very fine castle. He greatly improved the palace and constructed several buildings according to his taste, as well as many fine rooms. Similarly, the new walls around Paris and their fine high towers, whose construction he committed to the charge of Hugh Obriot, then provost of Paris; and the new bridge of Saint Michel was begun by him, as well as the Petit Pont. Similarly, outside Paris, the very fine castle of the Forest of Vincennes, the palace of Biauté, the palaces of Plaisance and of Saint Ouen, the castle of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Crail Montargis (with such a fine hall), the castle of Melun almost all new, and many others that were made or repaired by him.¹⁴⁹ These buildings are so fine, beautiful, and sturdy, that anyone who thinks about it will realize that they required great expense and many workers, and this demonstrates the liberality and largesse of the good lord in that he wanted all manner of people to prosper through him. Furthermore, with whom but the king did the merchants, both local and foreign, then do most business, supplying him with all kinds of goods, whether for the provisioning of his household, or for his ceremonial regalia or other things with noble jewels and rich gold cloth, goldsmiths' work, and other rich things on which he spent money? For did he not have made the richest crown France had ever seen, which cost an extraordinary amount from the treasury? And likewise

148. See preceding note.

149. This passage repeats information concerning Charles V's prudence as an artist and architect from *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.11 (Solente, 2:37–41). For a discussion of Christine's representation of Charles as artist and architect, see Julia Simms Holderness, "Castles in the Air? The Prince as Conceptual Artist," in Green and Mews, *Healing the Body Politic*, 161–76.

the ceremonial crown, enriched with a great ruby that was said to have cost thirty thousand francs. He had all the royal coronation apparel, right down to the shoes, remade richer than it had ever been, as can be seen in the treasury at Saint Denis where they are kept. Similarly, he was always having golden crosses made, along with other rich reliquaries and large images, decorated with jewels, and all kinds of church and chapel ornaments, rich chasubles decorated with pearls, and all kinds of coverings, which he generously gave often and liberally to several churches, canonries, and chapels. He himself had the richest chapel that any king of France is ever said to have had. But as far as payment is concerned, if anyone doubted it, whatever the expenditure, there was no failure whatsoever in settling the bill.

28

Concerning the great burdens and commitments the said King Charles made in expenses and outlays, and how in spite of this everything was fairly provided for in the matter of payment and expenditure

It seems sufficiently praiseworthy, that branches should feel alleviation from their root. Guido, in the Introduction to his *Summa*.¹⁵⁰

The words presented above can be understood in relation to our subject, as saying it is apt that a branch issuing from and nourished by good root stock should be good. Because this matter concerns you, now hear more about your grandfather, noble Louis, and learn from his example what fine and good government is, and how to keep order and maintain everything in its proper condition. Take note also of the outlays and expenses described above, and along with them the great cost necessary to sustain such large land and sea forces for so long a time, as has already been mentioned: not just for one or two years, but almost as long as he reigned, which was about twenty-three years. The soldiers were so well paid—and the captains so well satisfied, as much with rich gifts, for God knows that there nothing was spared, as with their salaries and wages—that none left or made a complaint because of failure of payment, and all were well equipped. But this great expense was not the only one. Just consider how at the same time the buildings already mentioned were being constructed, the translations of books mentioned before were being

¹⁵⁰. Unidentified in Guido Faba.

undertaken, and many other costly projects, without any failure of payment anywhere. What is more, with all these things that should be noted, he placed in his coffers many rich and noble jewels, and gold coins, as plenty of people know from the treasure that was found after his death. Let none say that, in order to achieve this, many cutbacks had to be made in the state he maintained: or that his court was otherwise not well served, or that the expenses of his residence were not paid, or that there were few gentlemen or servants and they were meanly turned out, or that he gave no gifts, or that no one was advanced in station by him, as is done nowadays and as lords commonly do for those they hold in favor. For I will reply truthfully, and let no one think the contrary, that never since the time of Charlemagne was there a king in France who held court with such magnificence—with all the nobles in great array, and royal ceremonies—nor one who gave more handsome gifts or so exalted and enriched people with lordships, lands, and goods as this king did. Not just one or two people, but a great number, as is clear to their heirs (who need not be named), and of all ranks, etc. There are many still living who know this.

There are some who say that he did not give his brothers and those of his blood generous allowances or lavish gifts, as has been done since, and that when they came to see him at the end of one or two years, if he gave them five hundred or a thousand francs in one sum, they were well pleased with it, and he wanted them to return to their lands without making a long stay. Saving the grace of those that say this, I say it is not to be believed that he, very wise and generous to all, who loved his brothers most dearly, and kept them occupied in his service almost continually—as anyone who does not believe me can learn from the chronicles—would have rewarded them worse than a simple knight who approached him, given their rank and the love he had for them.

29

Concerning the ways the said king had of honoring foreigners

Note the two parts of usefulness, soundness and power. Soundness is safe and whole strengthening of well-being; power is the faculty of keeping one's own things and of obtaining other things that are similar. Seneca, *On Benefits*.¹⁵¹

151. Not Seneca, but Cicero *De inventione* 2.56.169, ed. E. Stroebe (Leipzig: Teubner, 1915), 115: “quare utilitatis duae partes videntur esse, incolumitas et potentia. Incolumitas est salutis *rata* atque *integra conservatio*; potentia est ad sua conservanda et alterius adtenuanda idonearum rerum facultas.”

It is to you Louis, noble youth of France, that the Latin words of Seneca above may be addressed. They can be explained as saying that if you examine the elements of what is profitable, you will find two. One is security, which we can understand as prosperity, and the other is power or lordship. This profit can apply in respect of great lords, for Seneca further suggests that prosperity in a prince obtains when he is firmly and without division master of his estates, in secure and complete tranquility: and this is the well-being that is proper to him. Power, which is the other part of profit, is manifest when a prince has so acted by his own good sense and foresight that he has attracted to himself all things that will help him to keep and defend his estates, and to assist others who might ask him if the need arises. These favorable things are: very good friends, at home and abroad; strong and powerful knights; wealth to sustain the expense; and all other things that are proper and useful in overcoming enemies. With these, such a lord can call himself powerful.

O youth of France, most fair and gracious (may God make you perfect!), please always remember how well your wise grandfather understood these two aspects of profit. That is why he drew to himself everything that could be of service: he acquired friends to the extent that such a benefit could be useful. First, in the matter of foreigners, how well did he honor them, and who ever gave them richer or more abundant gifts to attract them, and from whom did they part more pleased? And to do this more properly, did he not have knights of his own at court, to honor, receive, and fete the foreign visitors? Such as the count of Estampes who was of his own blood, and others: the Lord of La Rivière, who by his eloquence and gracious welcome was so good at receiving visitors that he behaved just as the minister of such a lord should, and was well rewarded by the king who knew him to deserve it, which can still be seen; and others of whom it would take too long to tell, whom he had accompany the said foreign visitors and fete them in their houses.¹⁵² With fair assemblies of ladies and young girls, presenting his gifts to each according to his rank, he honored them and had his knights honor them—and had them accompany them to his castle, to see what guard and fine artillery there was in the palace; to the Sainte Chapelle also, and to Saint Denis in France, to see the relics and the treasury, which is such a noble thing. Similarly, he also wanted them to see the queen and his fair children: their way of life and its regulation, which was very fine in all respects. What

152. The count of Estampes and Bureau de la Rivière are also described thus in *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.32 (Solente, 2:87–88), and Bureau's part in the reception of the emperor is emphasized in 3.33 (2:89–90).

more can I tell you, good lord? I promise you that by such and similar actions his name was carried throughout the world. There is no doubt that accomplishing such works necessitated great expenditure, yet no one should think there was any scarcity as a result. What is more, I tell you it is certain that he never in his life imposed a poll tax, nor had one collected for any reason; nor was any new tax imposed. And let no one think that the levies, salt taxes, and duties were instituted by him: for truly they dated from before he was born, from the earliest wars, and indeed the good lord had the intention of abolishing them as soon as the war had ended. He even lowered the salt tax and other charges when his son Charles, your father who is reigning now, was born, which was higher than it had ever been, and several high tariffs on wine and other things. I say in conclusion, therefore, that it is not without cause if we marvel today at how all these things could have been supplied, given that at the present time we in France are not so oppressed by wars with the English as we were then. Nor were the revenues so great then as they are now, because several regions which he subsequently liberated were still occupied by the English, and it would seem impossible to accomplish a third of what he did. For this reason, all things considered, we may conclude that it was through good management by his own good sense, and his goodness and perfect prudence. Thus it is fitting to say of him in the words of Saint Bernard: “Dull gold is worth more than gleaming copper.”¹⁵³

30

Concerning the largesse of the king and his discreet way of giving gifts

Let us beware lest we send superfluous gifts, like books to a rustic. Seneca, *On Benefits*.¹⁵⁴

Seneca says above that we should be careful not to send gifts where they will not be properly used, just as would happen if fine books were sent to peasants and people of little understanding. All this can be applied to the said King Charles, since he was sensible in all things concerning what should be avoided because of the evil it will do, and what should be done for the good.

¹⁵³. Latini *Trésor* 2.52.8, quoting an unidentified proverb.

¹⁵⁴. Seneca *De beneficiis* 1.11.6 (Hosius, 16): “*utique cavebimus, ne munera supervacua mittamus, ut feminae aut seni arma venatoria, ut rustico libros, ut studiis ac litteris dedito retia.*”

It can also apply to the order he kept in the matter of giving or using his gifts, which you may be sure, while it was most generous, was always done in an orderly and discreet way, just as it should be. So he always had enough to keep giving, as the wise man says where he teaches that gifts should be given with such moderation that one always has enough to continue. Since it hurts a generous man greatly when he no longer has anything to give away, it is better to give what is possible, than with a great liberality that must fall short. This is why we said in the first part of this book that discretion is the mother of virtues, since the others need to be governed by her or else they will turn into vices. And therefore, by way of conclusion to what has been said about that wise king (and may it please you always to have his manners in mind as an example of how to conduct yourself well and wisely), we can recognize in him, along with his other virtues, the regulation of his most discreet largesse: he always distributed it generously, as has been said, yet never failed to continue doing so. This was seen from the visit of his uncle the emperor of Rome to Paris, which was such a notable event that, even if after it he had done nothing more, it was something to note down and remember. For after all, who today could make such an outlay as was employed in welcoming him with such honor and magnificent generosity of ceremony and gifts? So greatly and nobly was everything arranged: and it was so costly, with no expense spared, that it was nothing short of a marvel. For such gifts there were—of gold, silver, all kinds of jewels and precious stones, tapestry, vessels and all sorts of ornaments, and noble things given as presents. There was such sustained largesse—not only to the said emperor and his son, the King of Bohemia, and their barons, knights and gentlemen, but, let me tell you, there was hardly even the lowliest servant who did not receive at least a gilded goblet or a covered tankard. And all expenses were paid from the day the emperor set foot in France until he left, which was a great length of time; and every day there was rich feasting, presented in different forms, as many people still living know, who saw it with their own eyes. I promise you that the cost must have amounted to a great sum, yet be assured that although this was at the time of his wars when he had the most to do, never was there any loan taken from the burghers, nor tax imposed on the people. I have spoken more fully about these matters elsewhere, so that anyone who wants can see more about the arrangements for this visit in the book of his deeds and good conduct that was made at the command of the most noble prince, Duke Philip of Burgundy, brother of the said King. It is from the account and truthful reports that he had given to me that I know all these things.¹⁵⁵

155. *Fais et bonnes meurs* 3.33–48 (Solente, 2:89–130).

Here begins consideration of the virtue of truthfulness, and how a prince should possess it

Truth in every season is the same. What is deceptive has nothing solid. Lying is meager; it [truth] will shine if you inspect it closely. Seneca, *Letters to Lucilius*, 4.10.¹⁵⁶

It remains for us to speak about the virtue of truthfulness, which is the seventh of those I have said were proper to you—noble son of a king. In the passage quoted above praising this virtue, Seneca means that all its parts are true and good. This means that everything done, thought, and accomplished through it should be accepted as right and true: not only should a man's words be true, but similarly his intentions and all he does. On the other hand he suggests that deceptions or falsehoods fall away to nothing: something feigned and appearing to be other than it really is will not last, and will be seen through by the wise and clear-sighted, who will be wary of it. Since following the way of this virtue for the sake of its nobility, and fleeing the path of falsehood on account of its baseness and repugnance, pertains just as much to a prince as to any other man, Jesus son of Sirach said: "Let true speech come before all deeds."¹⁵⁷ This is to be understood as saying: "Let truth be to the fore in everything you have to do," since there is nothing more to be reviled, nor so insulting, nor worse thought of, nor more repugnant than to say that a prince is a liar. One finds that in former times a prince would never, even to avoid death or other loss, speak falsely or act in contradiction to his word; and quite rightly, for the title of ruler and prince is the highest rank there can be in the world, and it is quite reasonable that someone who has such an exalted position should be believed before all others and his word be given credence, since this is his prerogative. But if such a man should be found in the normal run of things not to speak truthfully and to be a liar, his word and promise unreliable, who would believe him? By God, no one would. And quite rightly, since he could not be trusted; and what could one say of such a prince, around the world? By God, that he was a liar, a deceiver, not to be trusted, and full of trickery with his fair words full of falsehood; so other princes would not trust him enough to make peace agreements, truces, or

¹⁵⁶. Seneca *Epistulae morales* 79.18 (Hense, 303): "veritas in omnem partem sui eadem est. Quae decipiunt, nihil habent solidi. Tenue est mendacium: perlucet, si diligenter inspexeris."

¹⁵⁷. Latini *Trésor* 2.63.1, quoting Ecclus. 37:20.

alliances with him, because they would not have confidence that he would keep them. Because of this he would end up without honor, without peace, and without friends, subjects, or anyone else, because they would know what he was like; for it is to be presumed (and is commonly found) that a man, whoever he is, who is full of the vice of lying is not without other crimes, and should be suspected of treason, of which falsehood is the cloak. That is why this vice of lying is so dishonorable in a prince, as we have seen; in any person, the habit is not good even in small things, since without fail those who become accustomed to lying about these will move on to greater ones. Of this truth, so approved by the Savior and praised as paramount by all good people, Seneca said: “Love truth above all things, and you will be close to God—who is the real truth.”¹⁵⁸ And he said further: “The simple words of one who follows truth at all times are always believed, because the opposite is never seen in him; but the liar on the other hand, if by chance he tells the truth, is not believed because he is more often lying than telling the truth.”¹⁵⁹ People say of such a man that he is nothing but a trickster or a mountebank; and therefore, because you see truth in a prince extolled, the right course of action is to become accustomed to speaking it. Consequently, it should also be understood that it is not proper for a prince to strengthen his word with oaths. It happens that those who swear great oaths by God or His saints do it so that greater credence will be lent to their word because they suppose that what they say will not be believed otherwise, but this is never the case for a great lord. Therefore it is not suitable for him to do it, nor even for any important person. The reason for this is, as has been said, that it is proper that the words of the prince be believed without being strengthened by an oath, for his authority requires that he speak the truth, and this leads one to assume that he is truthful.

32

Here is shown how wrong it is that the vice of lying is so common in all the estates

Before all actions, let a true word
come forth from you. Ecclesiasticus,
Chapter 37.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸. Unidentified in Seneca; cf. Cassiodorus *Expositio Psalmorum*, Ps. 30, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 97 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 263.

¹⁵⁹. Seneca *Epistulae morales* 40.4 (Hense, 121).

¹⁶⁰. Ecclus. 37:20: “ante omnem operam verbum verax praecedat te et ante omnem actum consilium stabile.”

And so, good prince, following the words of Ecclesiasticus, let truth in your deeds go before any undertaking, in such a way that it may be an example to all your father's subjects (and yours in due course), of all estates, so as to correct in them the vice of falsehood, which is so common at present in this kingdom among all kinds of people that one searching for truth will scarcely find any. O, what a fault and stain it is on the reputation of such a prominent country!—and all this is a failure of foresight. For if falsehood were hated by the great, and if they took seriously the damage that it does and the way it is communicated by bad example from one to another—from the great to the middling, and from the middling to the lesser—and the evil and harm that come from it, the king would surely act, and the princes after him, so that it would be less widely practised in their courts and offices.

Today it is even seen in all the courts of justice, being practised by those who lead and prosecute cases—to such an extent that it seems to have become part of the normal style of the law, by which people are given the run-around, to the great harm of the king and of the polity. In truth, anyone with experience of it knows this. These errors and faults could easily be guarded against.

And how much falsehood is used also in the other royal offices!—apart, however from the heads of finance and their people. There it is nothing short of normal procedure, for whoever wants to get possession of the calf¹⁶¹ needs to use it, nothing else will do. And there are those who say that it is right to act this way; but, with due respect to them, I think that with good management there would never be any need to practise falsehood so much, in this and other areas. For why in this kingdom, which is so renowned for all sorts of knowledge, could not the method of payment be followed that is used in England and everywhere else, where finance officials do not have to be pestered, as they do here? There is no doubt that the king's needs and the common good would be served better—even though it seems to those who are used to it that one cannot be involved in trading or any other business without resorting to duplicity, which is nothing other than covering up falsehood, trickery, and mendacious fraud with great boldly perjured oaths. As Tully says, since it does not befit a man to lie, deceive, or speak evil for whatever reason, a good man's reputation should not as a result be lost through greed. And as for these dreadful oaths—which are used more,

161. *B* reads “qui veult avoir du veau la baille” (literally “whoever wants to control the calf”), while *P* reads “du beau la bataille,” which makes little sense. Christine's meaning is obscure, particularly her apparent exception of financial officers. She may intend a reference to the Golden Calf (Exod. 32); in any case, it seems clear from the context that it is talking about control of money.

I believe, in this kingdom than anywhere else—and denials, curses, and such detestable things as have been mentioned, allowing Christians to use them is a lack of faith and of fear of God. Many ill effects come from this by divine justice, and it does no good to anyone.

On this subject Cassiodorus said: “O, why is truth so despised, seeing that she is none other than the warrior against falsehood?”¹⁶² And Solomon said that a liar is worse than a thief because it is possible to protect oneself against the latter, but difficult to do so against the former.¹⁶³ May God therefore grant that you consider these things, so that you may remedy them.

33

Concerning the ordering and manner of fair eloquence in a prince

Nothing is so distinguished or so magnificent that it does not want to be tempered through moderation. Valerius Maximus, Book 4.1.¹⁶⁴

In the passage quoted above, Valerius means that there is nothing so perfectly beautiful, grand, and magnificent as that which is done with temperance and moderation. And this is why, most noble prince, when speaking above of the virtue of truthfulness, the subject of eloquence and public speaking has come to my mind. Since it is of supreme importance for a prince to be eloquent, and of refined and temperate speech, I should like to touch on this—not from my own knowledge, but only what the great authors say when they praise it without reserve, especially in a prince. Aristotle says in his *Politics* that there is nothing whatsoever that does not require to be governed in an orderly way.¹⁶⁵ Because eloquence is the ornament of the world, the embellishment or adornment of the body, and the representation of man’s understanding, and because it is something that is important and can be of great value, it is right that rules should be followed in its practice. It is said, then, that to speak well and beautifully there are four principles to bear in mind: the first is quality, the second is quantity, the third is speed,

162. Latini *Trésor* 2.63.2, quoting Cassiodorus *Variae* 3.3 (CCSL 96:388–89): “Pessima consuetudo est despiciere ueritatem.”

163. Latini *Trésor* 2.63.1, quoting Ecclus. 20:27.

164. Valerius Maximus *Dicta et facta* 4.1.9 (Briscoe, 229).

165. Cf. Aristotle *Politica* 1.2.1253c (AL 29.1:4).

and the fourth is slowness.¹⁶⁶ In quality there are five points for the speaker to consider: first, who he is; second, whom he wishes to address; third, on what subject he wishes to speak; fourth, how much time he has to speak; fifth, what result he wishes to achieve and how his words may be received. For the first of these points touching on quality, the speaker should begin by directing his mind to his station and capacity. For if he is a king or sovereign prince it is appropriate for him to use other words than would a man of lesser rank, and similarly from degree to degree, each according to his capacity, every man who wishes to speak should bear this in mind. But it is fitting for the prince to adopt a graver, grander, and more lordly way of speaking, and to make his introduction with matters of weight if the subject requires it: not arrogantly or menacingly, from pride, throwing his head back and lifting his eyebrows like a frightened beast, but speaking moderately like a lord, with a fair and noble manner. This grand style is not fitting for everyone.¹⁶⁷ The second of the five points concerns whom he is addressing, for the way a prince should speak to his peers or those slightly inferior to him is different, and involves a different type of language, from the way he speaks to his own subjects: to them he should speak and command according to their rank and station, and how they are bound to him. For the third point, the subject on which he wishes to speak, he should prepare in his mind in advance the order of what he wants to say: let him give the premise of his discourse succinctly to begin with, then his main part, which is the substance of his speech; then the conclusion comes after. All this should be done in such a way that he does not give his reasons back-to-front, nor say superfluous things unrelated to the topic, so that he forgets where he is going and stops in the middle, bewildered, not knowing how to get out. All of these things are most unattractive in public speaking. For the fourth point, which is the amount of time he has, he should consider whether an urgent matter or other situation calling for brevity obliges him to use few words, and organize the substance of his subject as succinctly as he can. For the fifth point, the end he wishes to pursue, he should consider what it is that moves him to speak, and the final objective at which he is taking aim; and because words resemble arrows—swiftly spoken and never retrievable¹⁶⁸—he should not say anything too judgmental, which could have a harmful effect or even

166. Cf. Latini *Trésor* 2.66.1: “Por ce doit la meniere & la mesure dou parleur estre de .v. choses, ce est en parleure & en isnellet & en tardess & en qualité & en quantité.”

167. Cf. Latini *Trésor* 2.66.2–3.

168. *P* has “retraictes”; Willard keeps *B* reading “traictées.”

give rise to reproach; if he delivers his words audibly let them be such as to be understood only as he intended. And let him speak in such a way that his words will stir the hearts of his hearers and win them to his cause—which we deal with more fully next.

34

More concerning the ordering of speech according to the science of rhetoric

If knowledge is without usefulness, it is of little benefit, usefulness however with knowledge can be of great benefit. Boethius, *On the Instruction of Students*.¹⁶⁹

Knowledge without practice is worthless, says Boethius, but with practice it is good. I quote this still in relation to fair speech, my lord, because although it has its own art and science called rhetoric, it would be little use only to know all of its theory and not be adept at its use. But because it would be too long and difficult for me to articulate in full, even if I knew how to, I have at least put down a few simple things briefly so that anyone listening may more quickly learn and put into practice what is contained in this science—concerning what is seemingly, both in fair eloquence and manner of speaking, and in the good arrangement of discourse. Thus Tully says in his *Rhetoric*, praising eloquence and facility with words, that if it happened that a man could not claim his words to be fine or polished, yet if he did know how to proffer them graciously, in an attractive manner, and effectively,¹⁷⁰ they would be praised; but if he spoke them without any order, even though the subject was a fine one it would never be pleasing to hear. And for this reason, he says afterwards that you must regulate and temper your voice, your mind, and all the movements of your body and tongue, to trim the words coming out of your mouth so that they are neither overblown nor distorted by speaking too loudly or with a violent tone of voice: the words not harsh when you open your lips, but sounding well enunciated, smooth, and clear, with every letter that should be sounded having its sound sweetly—and each word its level, which should be between high and low,

169. Ps.-Boethius *De disciplina scoliarium* 1.14, ed. O. Weijers (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 98: “*Sicut enim prudentia sine iusticia parum vel nichil prodest, iusticia sine prudentia multum, sic sine usu scientia parum, usus autem sine scientia multum.*”

170. Latini *Trésor* 2.66.1; cf. Cicero *De inventione* 1.18.25 (Stroebel, 23).

but lower at the beginning than at the end. All these things, however, should be modified according to changes of place, things, purposes, and time;¹⁷¹ for there are some things one should relate simply, others gently, others with disdain, others with pity, others with joy, and so on—in such a way that posture and facial expression are always in accord with the subject of which you speak. On this Horace said: “Speak sad words to the sad, joyful words to the joyful, words of vengeance or threats to the wrathful, and be careful not to speak frivolously in council.”¹⁷² For Tully said it is idle and unwise to speak foolishly and irrelevantly when weighty matters are being discussed.¹⁷³ This is why Pericles the provost was reprovved in council when he began speaking of the beauty of a youth he saw passing by.¹⁷⁴ And let your posture be such, he says, that your head is held straight, not directed up to the sky or down toward the ground, but looking straight at those to whom you are speaking. Do not twist your lips or open them too wide, nor wink one or both eyes—nor glare, frown, bare your teeth, or raise your hands, lest it be inappropriate.

We have said in the preceding chapter that the second thing to attend to in fine speech is quantity, and on this subject Macrobius said that more is better in all things except words. Therefore one should most especially guard against excess, for there is nothing more tedious than listening to incessant talking. For this reason Tully said: “You will please everyone if you speak little and do many good deeds.” The Apostle said concerning this: “Be quick to listen and slow to speak.”¹⁷⁵ And as Solomon said: “In every man who is quick to speak, it must be supposed that there is less wisdom and more folly.”¹⁷⁶ Cassiodorus, approving this, said: “It is a royal virtue to run slowly into words and quickly into listening.”¹⁷⁷ Seneca said on the same theme, as if speaking to highly placed men: “Take care that your words are not frivolous, since it is not fitting for a prince to speak of foolish things”; and: “Let your words not be worthless but always used to counsel, induce, command, or admonish.”¹⁷⁸ Therefore, so that your speech

171. Latini Trésor 2.66.2; cf. Cicero *De inventione* 1.18.25 (Stroebel, 23).

172. Latini Trésor 2.75.2, quoting Horace *De arte poetica* 105 in *Opera*, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1995), 315.

173. Latini Trésor 2.75.2: “Vicieuse chose est es hautes besoignes dire mous de solas.” Unattributed, but from Cicero *De officiis* 1.40.141 (Atzert, 41).

174. Latini Trésor 2.75.2, quoting Cicero *De officiis* 1.40.141 (Atzert, 41).

175. Latini Trésor 2.66.4, quoting James 1:19.

176. Latini Trésor 2.66.4, quoting Prov. 29:20.

177. Latini Trésor 2.66.4, quoting Cassiodorus *Variae* 10.4 (CCSL 96, line 48).

178. Latini Trésor 2.63.6, quoting ps.-Seneca [Martin of Braga] *Formula vitae honestae* 2 (Barlow, 239).

does not fatigue the audience, you will make it as brief as you can, without compromising the substance of what you want to say, so that there is no superfluity. Nevertheless Seneca also said: “Take care that this brevity be not so great as to obscure the quality of your words and the point you want to make.”¹⁷⁹ Similarly, as far as speed of speech is concerned, one should take care that it is not too rapid: since when there is too much haste there cannot be order, and it is not pleasing to listen to, but rather confusing and difficult to understand. Similarly, when slowness is to be used in reciting, the words should be well placed, for just as haste is not effective, neither is pausing too long between one word and the next, as if one were listening to oneself speak, and toiling over one’s utterances. They should therefore be well placed and connected. And above all, said Tully, readily use good words that are sensible and peaceful, for kind words are cause for friendship and rough words the opposite. He said, therefore, to epitomize what has been said before: since well-ordered eloquence is like honey, or the very life-blood, flowing from the speaker, be quick to use good words that are well joined, honest, clear, simple, well ordered, and in plain language; and keep a reserved expression, without laughing too much or looking angry.¹⁸⁰

35

In praise of economy in speech

Silence is a sign of wisdom and loquacity a sign of foolishness; do not hurry to reply until there has been an end to questioning. Aristotle.¹⁸¹

Aristotle means here that remaining quiet, or readily falling silent, is the sign of a wise man, and the opposite is true of a man who talks incessantly. It is as if he meant to continue: “Therefore do not rush to speak or to respond before you have understood the point of the question, or what you should say.” Most noble lord, because his speech is the thing which reveals most about the habit and state of mind of a man, by which he is judged well or badly according to the words that commonly come out of his mouth—as the well-known proverb says, “He who comes from the soil speaks of the

179. Not in fact Seneca, but an adaptation of Latini himself in *Trésor* 2.62.10.

180. Latini *Trésor* 2.65.3, quoting Cicero *De amicitia* 40 (Simbeck, 62).

181. Not Aristotle, but attributed to “the philosopher” by Petrus Alphonsi, *Disciplina clericalis*, ed. and trans. Ángel González Palencia (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1948), 8: “Ne festines respondere donec fuerit finis interrogationis.”

soil”—and because what is in the heart makes the mouth speak,¹⁸² it is most necessary, especially for people in high positions, to be knowledgeable about speaking. Not just in taking care that it be well organized, as we have talked about above, but in not saying anything that should be kept quiet, or anything unsuitable or open to reproach as foolish or bad. And so, revered prince, do not find it tedious if I am a little prolix on this subject, for as a wise man said, you cannot say too much on something about which too little is said. Speaking of this, it seems to me that wisdom in speech lies in two principal things: one is in speaking wisely, and the other is in wisely keeping silent, and the one goes with the other. Seneca said: “He who does not know how to speak does not know how to refrain from speaking.” Speaking wisely is always saying sensible things on everything you want to speak about. One should know, as Seneca said, that speaking should not go on for any length unless it is for one of five purposes: to teach others; to advise and induce to do good; to ask a question in order to be instructed or advised; to give a command that is reasonable and that one has a right to give; or to report honorable and true things. At the same time though, nature, reason, and right give ample license for joyous and merry things to be spoken of in games and entertainments—provided that one takes care not to exceed the bounds of reason, which could lead to foolish or dishonest words being spoken. We should consider which people a person wanting to emulate the good and valiant ought to be ready to consort with, and which he should avoid. On this matter, so that it may be treated more authoritatively, it will be enough to report what the authors say, without adding anything of mine. The Psalmist said: “Frequent the good and you will be like them, and likewise for the bad.” Sallust: “Let your words be addressed to the wise, so that their reply will add to your knowledge.” Solomon said: “Seek advice on what you have to do from someone who is experienced in the matter, for the expert must be believed in his field.” The proverb next to this says: “Do not see or speak evil,” and because danger can come from spoken words, do not let them out if they should be kept quiet.

Similarly, on the subject of those whom it is better to avoid, it seems to me that there are three kinds of wicked people whom the authors advise especially against having too much to do with: fools who cling obstinately to their foolishness through contempt for knowledge and learning; those who get drunk; and the third, those who speak with scorn, mocking, and detraction. Tully said of this that acquaintance with a fool cannot be good

182. Cf. Matt. 12:34, Luke 6:45.

because one can learn nothing good from him nor become better as a result. And if anyone tries to teach a fool, the instruction will be scorned. Thus a wise man said: "Since acquaintance with a fool cannot be good in any way, it is better to avoid it." Jesus son of Sirach said: "Words spoken to a sleeping man are no more wasted than correction of a fool." Solomon: "Correct the fool, he will hate you for it; correct the wise man, he will love you,"¹⁸³ and he said furthermore: "A fool sees nothing but foolishness, so trying to teach him is no use," and "a speech that is not heard is like a harp made out of lead."¹⁸⁴ He also said: "The wise man keeps quiet till the time is right, but the fool knows no season." And therefore a philosopher, when asked why he was so quiet, whether it was through wisdom or foolishness, answered: "A fool cannot keep quiet." Solomon says it is a sign of foolishness to reply before hearing all of the question.¹⁸⁵

Similarly, acquaintance with those who get drunk is bad for several reasons: one is that it is a vice that sets a bad example; another is that they are dangerous in their drunkenness and cause disturbances; the third, that then they say things they know about people and things they do not know. And therefore the wise man said: "Do not tell your secret to a man who gets drunk, since drunkenness can hide nothing." And for that reason those who are underhanded ask drunkards questions. Jesus son of Sirach said that he held a drunkard to be no better than someone who would sell his own intelligence in the marketplace for wine. And he said that in many countries such people are not accepted as witnesses.¹⁸⁶ Similarly, the company of slanderers, detractors, and mockers is bad, says Seneca. And therefore the prophet said: "A man who is quarrelsome and a nuisance can cause upheaval in a whole country with his words." Jesus the son of Sirach: "Nothing is more dreadful in a city nor more dangerous in a community than a seditious man and informer, and anyone who speaks with him is acting as if he were throwing oil on a dangerous fire to make it flare up."¹⁸⁷ Tully said: "Detractors should be avoided more than the barking of dogs," and Macrobius said of them: "Mockers and detractors are punished by their own vices, for what they say of others is said of themselves." And the Apostle said: "A man who judges others condemns himself." And later he said: "You reprove others and do not

183. Latini *Trésor* 2.64.6, quoting Prov. 9:8.

184. Cf. Latini *Trésor* 2.64.5, quoting Prov. 23:9.

185. Cf. Latini *Trésor* 2.67.2, quoting Prov. 18:13.

186. Latini *Trésor* 2.64.10; cf. Ecclus. 31:25-42.

187. Cf. Latini *Trésor* 2.64.7-8, quoting Ecclus. 9:25.

teach yourself.”¹⁸⁸ And since mocking words are distasteful he said: “Do not mock your friend since it is displeasing to any man to be mocked, and once love is lost it is difficult to regain.” Pericles: “Whoever makes known the vices of others will soon hear his own talked about.”¹⁸⁹ And thus the master teaches his disciple: “Take care that in what you say there is nothing against your neighbor, for he is your brother.” But Cato said: “It is a bad thing for a master when he is tainted with the fault he reprimands others for.”¹⁹⁰

Similarly, the other kind of wisdom in speaking, mentioned before, is to know when to be silent. Solomon said: “A bridle is better in a man’s mouth than a horse’s,” which means, keep a tight rein on your speech. The wise man said: “Be suspicious of anyone who questions you about your private business if he is not your friend; and whoever he is, find out his condition before you tell him anything, and be on your guard.” Jesus son of Sirach said: “If there is a dangerous secret you cannot ask advice about, do not tell anyone; for it is safer to be silent than to ask someone else to keep quiet.” And the wise man said: “As long as you keep your secret quiet it is locked away, but as soon as you have revealed it you are in the power of the one you have told it to.”¹⁹¹ Therefore Seneca said: “If you do not command yourself to keep quiet, how can you ask another to; and if you are not able to keep a secret, who will keep yours?”¹⁹²

36

How it ill becomes a prince to be enraged and speak in fury

Then you shall possess the good omens
by right, when you are able to be your
own king. Claudian.¹⁹³

Claudianus said, as if he were speaking to you, good prince, that you will rule others rightfully when you are king and master of yourself. The import of these words, which apply supremely well to you, who have to rule, is that sensuality in all things should be conquered by reason, so that in your

188. Latini *Trésor* 2.62.4, quoting Rom. 2:1, 3.

189. Unidentified.

190. Unidentified.

191. Latini *Trésor* 2.64.2, quoting Ecclus. 19:8.

192. Latini *Trésor* 2.64.2, quoting Seneca.

193. Claudian *Panegyricus*, *Carmen* 8.261–62 (Hall, 70): “tunc omnia iure tenebis, cum poteris rex esse tui.”

heart virtue has the upper hand, and not self-will. Since it is more necessary for a prince than for another—though it is appropriate to all—because he has greater authority, and also because his subjects will readily follow his example in good or evil, he should show himself more accomplished than common men: he should strive hard with himself to vanquish all vicious passions. And Tully concurs when he says that it is a royal virtue to curb one's emotions and keep them under control. This relates to the subject of speech, in the matter of what should be said and what should not, which we discussed above: because anger is often what moves the mouth to speak, and it would be wrong for a good prince, since he should have a calm manner that is never shaken, to be seen speaking or acting in angry outbursts of rage, as tyrants commonly are. It is most important that you guard against this, as Ovid says so well: "Conquer your heart and your anger, you who would conquer all things." To convince yourself that anger is wrong in a prince, you can see it in the very ugly appearances and uncontrolled expressions that Tully records as observable in an angry man. He says that when the heart is inflamed with anger, it makes the face terrible to see and the eyes fierce and flashing; it binds the tongue, upsets the body and makes it tremble; it makes the limbs—feet, hands, and face—move uncontrollably, jerking about oddly; and it prevents a man from recognizing his friends or those behaving well toward him, and from making any use of the faculty of reason. As Seneca says: "When a man is full of anger he sees nothing but rage and wickedness." Cato himself agrees, saying: "Anger clouds the mind so much that it cannot tell truth from falsehood." Petrus Alphonsi said on this same subject: "There is a fault in human nature, such that when the mind is disturbed by some upheaval, it loses the perception of the difference between true and false";¹⁹⁴ and because a man in this state does not know what he is doing, many wrongs are often committed when this happens. Horace says: "The law can see the man who is overtaken by anger, but he does not see the law,"¹⁹⁵ for in carrying out the crime he is committing in anger he does not see what can befall him as a result, whether by divine punishment or otherwise. And therefore Pythagoras said: "Let anger be far from us, for nothing done in anger can be well done or well conceived."¹⁹⁶

This anger which we have been speaking about commonly forces the heart to make the mouth speak immoderately, whether in threats or in slandering others; and harm and repentance often result, although sometimes too late. And

194. Latini *Trésor* 2.62.2, quoting Petrus Alphonsi *Contra Iudaeos* (pl. 157:539B).

195. Cf. Latini *Trésor* 2.62.2, but here attributed to Seneca.

196. Latini *Trésor* 2.62.2, where it is attributed to Cicero *De officiis* 1.38.136 (Atzert, 47).

for this reason Cato said: "It is most important to curb one's tongue in anger, and being able to control it is a superhuman virtue." Solomon says, on this: "He who cannot control the urge to vent his anger in speech is like a city open and surrounded by enemies": that is to say, all the vices are ready to come in.

There are some people who by their nature are prone to anger, and do not have the sense to restrain themselves; and such people are to be avoided at all costs, since they are very dangerous in their deeds and in their language, and it will destroy them. Saint Augustine said: "It is more praiseworthy to avoid evil by keeping quiet than to conquer it by responding." And Jesus son of Sirach said: "Do not get into an argument over something that has nothing to do with you." Also, it does great good to speak to such people gently, as the common proverb says: "Gentle words restrain great anger." Likewise Panphille: "Friendly and gentle words make and keep friends, break down anger, and attract hearts."

Therefore, still on the subject of watching one's tongue in all situations, Solomon says: "He who guards his tongue guards his soul and his body, for it has the power of life and death."

37

What can be said in condemnation of voluptuousness in a prince, and being too given over to pleasures of the flesh

If you devote yourself to Bacchus and
Venus, though you subdue all else, you
have come beneath the yoke. Walter,
Alexandreis.¹⁹⁷

In order to have covered everything that is most fitting for a prince, so that our work may be complete, with what we have said above in censure of vices and praise of virtues, it seems to me desirable in conclusion of our work to touch on something that may greatly diminish the worth of a great lord, or of any prominent person who becomes taken up with it: pleasures of the body, and all voluptuousness. Since involvement in such pursuits is vain, proscribed, and dishonorable, and corrupts and disrupts all good works in a person who indulges in it. It is a great shame when such a vice is seen in a man who has the high responsibilities of government, as princes do, for since it is their duty to be attentive and take care that the matters of the public realm are well managed in their hands, it is no light load to fulfill

197. Walter of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.167–68 (Colker, 15).

properly the duties this involves. Toward ensuring this the author quoted above in Latin advised Alexander, in these words that can be seen to apply to all princes: “You who conquer and rule men, if you devote yourself to wine and lust you enslave yourself,” which is to be understood as concerned with all excesses of bodily comfort, since infinite evils can come of it. I could give you plenty of examples of this from many princes and prominent men who through it lost soul, body, honor, and even their kingdom; but I can pass more quickly over this now, because I have already set them down in a book I entitled *The Body Politic*, which was similarly addressed to you. It will suffice here to give some authoritative statements of wise men on the matter; in particular Aristotle, who said: “Let us take care that pleasure does not rule us, for there is nothing more capable of leading man astray.” And after that he said: “Lust and wine, lechery and wasting time in idleness confuse the senses and lead men into error, and in the end bring them to nothing.”¹⁹⁸ Sallust agrees with this, saying: “a mind given over to sensuality is powerless to devote itself to good.”¹⁹⁹ On this Solomon also said: “Wisdom will not be found in the land of those who live for pleasure.”

38

Further on this matter, and praise of the institution of marriage

Pleasure belongs to a small weak mind.²⁰⁰

Further on the subject that it is not proper for a prince, whose spirit should surpass other men in greatness, to be greatly taken up with pleasures of the body, and that this may become grounds for serious criticism, the Latin above says that voluptuousness and sensual enjoyment are signs of weak and feeble spirit. And Vergil says: “If you want to rule, regulate your actions toward great things.”²⁰¹ Seneca too, encouraging every wise and powerful man to guard against this weakness, said: “When the will obeys reason, then the noblest part of man is lady and queen of the heart’s realm.” Therefore, one in whom such a power rules is rightly called lord and master of other men because of the noble workings of virtue, which make him shun all baseness. So as Tully says, in view of the great fault and evil it is for such a noble animal

198. Adapting Latini *Trésor* 2.76.3, without Christine’s attribution of these words to Aristotle, followed by the second quotation, attributed by Latini to Scripture (Ecclus. 19:2).

199. Latini *Trésor* 2.76.1, quoting Sallust *De coniuratione Catalinae* 51 (Kurfess, 42).

200. Juvenal *Saturae* 13.189 (Willis, 180): “semper et infirmi est animi exigui que voluptas.”

201. Cf. Latini *Trésor* 2.82.3, quoting Vergil.

as man, in whom reason should rule—otherwise he is defective and like a brute beast—he must guard against degrading his heart, of which Seneca says that when he is wise it is like the world of the moon where there is always light; and let him not debase his freedom in the slavery of pleasure. Horace wondered at those princes and powerful men, in particular, who readily let themselves be conquered by their carnal appetites, saying what a marvel it is that men who want to rule over everything let themselves be overrun, tamed, and degraded by sensuality. And Macrobius said: “You, man, who have been created in order to pursue intelligent activity, which of its nature requires high things: leave them! Leave carnality and the pleasures of the body and base things, to the dumb beasts that have no other glory, and accustom yourself to the great works that perfect the soul and bring fame.” An infinite number can be found of such and similar authoritative sayings of wise men praising abstinence from carnal pleasure in princes and all noblemen. But let these suffice to instruct you, if it please you, most noble royal scion, how you should behave from your earliest youth, so that such occupations do not hinder and take away from you the practice of virtues and excellence of renown that befit you. For on the danger of becoming accustomed in youth to vicious pursuits, Horace says that a soft shell that is soaked in or moistened with something will retain the odor of the substance in question for a long time.²⁰² Seneca himself says where there has been a fire the smoke will remain for a long time. And because many young men delight in talking about foolish things, the authorities severely condemn that too. Seneca says: “Refrain from offensive talk, for it encourages foolish actions.” Elsewhere he says: “A wise man is honest in all things.” And Socrates says: “I do not think that what is shameful to do can be honest to say.” To speak truly, it was to avert the problems both in the matter of sin and in appeasing the carnal desire of the flesh in legitimate ways, as well as for the proper reproduction of humankind, that marriages were ordained. This estate and order should be held in great reverence—as it is recited in the treasury of a book—for eleven principal reasons:²⁰³ first, because it was instituted by God; second, because of the dignity of the place where it was instituted, the Earthly Paradise; third, that it is an ancient institution; fourth, that Adam and Eve were clean of all

202. Cf. Horace *Epistulae* 1.2.69 (Shackleton Bailey, 257).

203. Latini *Trésor* 2.77.2. This oblique reference to “a treasury of a book” is Christine’s only explicit reference to Latini’s *Li Livres dou Trésor*, which appears to have been her source for many of the quotations in this part. Although much of the following passage is taken directly from Latini *Trésor* 2.77.2, the mention of St. Archedeclin at Cana recalls a wider medieval tradition.

sin when God placed them together; fifth, because God saved this order from the Flood in Noah's ark; sixth, that Our Lady belonged to this order; seventh, because Our Lord honored the marriage assembly when He Himself was with His mother and His disciples at Saint Archedeclin's wedding; eighth, that there He turned water into wine as a sign of the increase in goods that should come in marriage; ninth, that the children born of marriage are true heirs and without reproach; tenth, because it is one of the seven sacraments of the Holy Church; eleventh, because of the sin that one avoids through marriage, and many other benefits that come from it to those who behave well and as they should—within its bounds.

39

Here begins a brief consideration of some of the virtues already mentioned, supporting them with authorities, beginning with justice

Let justice, celebrated by the ancients,
therefore drive your actions; and
through you, may final justice, which
has left the earth for the stars above,
be recalled from on high. Walter,
Alexandreis.²⁰⁴

Most revered prince, even if in the end I were able to tell you all of the matters of virtue that you ought to know, I should be utterly unworthy of the telling. Nevertheless, fair youth, may you be pleased to study and take note, not of worthless words, but of the fair sayings of wise men, recalled here and elsewhere, which teach you and demonstrate all things that are propitious and right for you to practise. Because they are scattered here and there in many books and volumes, I have collected some of them here so they may be seen more easily, with some final comment and brief review of the subjects already covered.

Some of these authorities are good for helping you to commit to memory and recall once more all I have told you of your good grandfather, and other distinguished men. To wit, Aristotle who speaks thus to you: "May your deeds be directed principally by your study of justice, which your predecessors so esteemed, in order that, though it left the earth through bad government in the past, it may by you be called back down from heaven."

204. Walter of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.175–77 (Colker, 16).

How it behooves those who are of noble extraction and lineage to show it in their actions

For his stock and ancestors which we
ourselves have not made, I can scarcely
call our own. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.²⁰⁵

But why does the poet speak these words, saying that he finds it difficult to give praise to anyone because of their forebears? What he means is that it is not enough to be descended from good, noble, and valiant people, if one is not like them oneself in goodness and conduct. It is to the latter that glory and praise rightly belongs, for there is more censure due to someone descended from a good, great, and exalted line who degrades himself in vice and base pursuits than to someone who has never had contact with any such dignity. It is important for great men and nobles to remember this, so they can take care that the nobility of their forebears and parents not die away in them. On this Julius Caesar made a very good response to an impertinent man who had reproached him for not being of noble lineage. He replied: "I am better off to have nobility starting with me than you are to have it running out in you," which means that greater praise is due to someone from whatever humble origins who is noble in the way he speaks and acts than to someone of noble lineage who speaks and acts basely.

The great evil that can come to a prince through the vice of laziness

O laziness, stepmother of the virtues;
although it may be hostile to one of
any age, yet it is a most pernicious
enemy of youth, which if seduced by
its blandishments will be weakened by
its destructive power to growing into
something worse.²⁰⁶

205. *P* supplies "in Metamorphoseos." Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.140–41: "nam genus et proavos et, quae non fecimus ipsi, / vix ea nostra voco."

206. Boccaccio *Liber de casibus virorum illustrium* 6.5, ed. P. G. Ricci and V. Zaccaria, in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. V. Branca (Milan: Mondadori, 1983), 9:9: "O noverca virtutum mollicies, esi cuius etati adversa sit, adolescentie quidem perniciosissima hostis est. Nam si fuerit suis blanditiis

Since the demands of incessant business arising in matters of lordly leadership call for great diligence in a prince, and so that laziness can never cheat you of the glory which is due to you—more on account of your virtues than your leadership, however magnificent your authority now and to come may be—if you will nevertheless apply yourself to worthy pursuits, you will find there the height of happiness. And so that you do not fail in this, listen, if it please you, and take note of the vituperation that Boccaccio, quoted above, heaps on this vice. “O laziness!” he says, “stepmother of virtue: those who are drawn by your blandishments continually fall into worse and worse states.” Thus you can see that the consequence of this laziness is the corruption of all glory, and therefore any man who wants to aim high should flee it with all his might.

42

How the prince should readily communicate with those around him

Nature loves nothing solitary.²⁰⁷

Communication is part of what is good.
Maxims of the philosophers.

The cause of this vice of laziness, which we have said above is so unbefitting to a prince, is often that he is alone too much. Because this does not fit well with a man who has to busy himself with many things, Tully himself, quoted above, says that nature does not like that which is solitary, which means that it is contrary to human nature to keep oneself shut away too much. Therefore Aristotle said: “A solitary man is either better than a man or worse than a beast.”²⁰⁸ And it was he who said, in the second Latin quotation above: “Human communication is of the nature of every good.”

43

How the prince should not favor flatterers

Guide of nobles, despise double-speaking servants.²⁰⁹

attracta et eius resederit inclinata in gremio, non ipsa periclitatur tantum, verum de reliquo vite actum est; que, si etiam protrahatur longissima, confecta huius exitiale tabe, semper in peius excrescendo labitur.”

207. Cicero *De amicitia* 88 (Simbeck, 79): “sic natura solitarius nihil amat.”

208. “Mais celui qui ne peut communiquer civilement. . . Et pour ce convient il que tel homme soit ou beste ou dieu.” Oresme *Politiques* 1.2 (Menut, 49).

209. Walter of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.85 (Colker, 11).

But although communication with men is good, that does not mean it is good to communicate with the wicked, for the company of such people is neither good nor pleasant, as has been said many times already. Because it happens from time to time that there are such people in the entourage of princes, and because they look more to their own benefit than to the good and honor of their lords, Aristotle said: “You, prince, who must ask counsel, it should be of wise men, and you should despise and banish all flattering and double-tongued servants.”

44

How there should be a settled order in the actions and way of living of the prince

What abandons fixed order for a
quick path does not have a happy end.
Boethius.²¹⁰

Boethius says that when people do not keep a settled order in their actions, the end and the outcome of whatever they do is not good. These words, like the others, apply most particularly to great lords, who should maintain order, both in their way of living and in their general actions. That is to say, they should divide up the day and night into portions in such a way that, at each hour, what the time requires is always done, rather than making day into night and night into day, and behaving in other unregulated ways that are not befitting to a prince.

45

Concerning the charity that pertains to a prince

Have charity, which is the bond of
perfection. Paul to the Colossians.²¹¹

But the purpose of the precept is
charity from a pure heart and a good
conscience and faith that is not false.
Paul, I Timothy.²¹²

210. Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 1.m.6.20 (Bieler, 14).

211. Col. 3:14: “super omnia autem haec caritatem quod est vinculum perfectionis.”

212. 1 Tim. 1:5.

Judgment without mercy shall be reserved for the one denies a coin to one who begs. Guido, Introduction to his *Summa*.²¹³

Among the other virtues, good prince, I would remind you of charity, in accord with the teaching of Saint Paul, above in Latin, who says to humankind: "Have charity, for it is that which is the binding of perfection." This means it is what culminates and joins together all virtues, as he says in the next quotation. "The end," he says, "of the commandment is charity from a clean and pure heart, and good conscience, and not faith that is feigned." Ah! what great weight these words of gold carry, for in them lies the pattern for all our life and works, which is something not to be forgotten. So it is singularly proper for a prince to be merciful, and it is bad for those who are not. And Guido, in the next quotation above, said to them: "Certainly judgment without mercy will be made on anyone who denies or refuses mercy to those who ask it."

46

Some teachings of Aristotle

Let piety, shame, and reverence for what is right not be lacking, to celebrate the divine summits, tame yourself when asked, labor over the laws, censure the guilty with civility. Put off vengeance, until anger has passed. Walter, *Alexandreis*.²¹⁴

There is nothing so firm under the arc of Phoebus that there cannot be fear of destruction by the weak. Who as he sails the world should not fear the meeting and storm of death. From teachings of Aristotle.²¹⁵

213. Unidentified in Guido, *Exordia*.

214. Walter of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.178–81 (Colker, 16).

215. Walter of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 8.400–403 (Colker, 217).

Therefore good prince, to speak briefly, so that prolixity does not render my writings tedious to read or listen to, may it please you above all to remember the fair words of Aristotle quoted above, which contain a full measure of good and useful things that he said to his disciple Alexander, who later ruled the whole world. "Have pity," he says: "Keep your eyes fixed on right and reason. Inquire into the sciences. Soften your anger with prayers, punish the guilty with rightful justice, defer your vengeance until your anger has passed." It is as if he then wanted to say: "For there is nothing under the threshold or pivot of the sun so firmly fixed that one need not fear ruin; who then, that swims and swirls among the perils of the world, should not fear the meeting with death, or its pain?"

47

In conclusion, concerning the maintenance of friendship

Agreement is one good true thing; by the same token discord is a bad thing, quite different from what is lofty.
Pythagoras.²¹⁶

Feigned love makes a man untrustworthy and makes him hateful to the wise. Guido in the Introduction to his *Summa*.²¹⁷

To wish for the same thing, and not to want the same thing, is indeed strong friendship. Sallust, *De coniuratione Catalinae* 1.²¹⁸

In human affairs nothing is found that is sweeter than friendship, nothing more holy is sought after, nothing more fruitful is preserved; for it has the fruit of the life is which now and is to come. Cassiodorus, *De amicitia*.²¹⁹

216. Unidentified.

217. Unidentified in Guido, *Exordia*.

218. Sallust *De coniuratione Catalinae* 20.3 (Kurfess, 17).

219. Not Cassiodorus, but Peter of Blois *De amicitia Christiana* 3 (Davy, 116).

These things said, let us move on to the end and conclusion toward which this book was undertaken: the subject and substance of peace, especially civil peace, and avoiding discord. May it please you also, most worthy prince, to maintain among your people—in the way suggested in the words of the philosopher Pythagoras—unity, goodness, and concord, which are beneficial things that are always of one accord and party, and put behind you all division, wrong, and discord, which are all in conflict one with another.²²⁰ Let there be no false and worthless love in or around you, which, wherever it is, in the end dishonors the man who practises it and makes him despised by or hateful to wise men, so that you discover how much such falsity causes one to be utterly hated, as Guido says above. Let there rather be between you, those of your blood, and your good friends, such perfect love that, as Sallust says above, you want the same things and are opposed to the same things, in the end. Since this is steadfast love, it will always keep you in true friendship and concord; and united, so that everyone of you wants what the other wishes. Similarly for the avoidance of evils, for as it is said above, there is nothing sweeter to be found in human affairs than friendship, nothing asked for that is more sound, nothing kept that is more fruitful; and certainly, Sallust says, in friendship there is the fruit of the present life and of that to come.

48

The last chapter and the end of the book

An affair is always determined in its end.
Proverbs, Chapter 7.²²¹

Now it is time to bring my work to a close, of which one can say, following the proverb above, that the good and the bad of something can always be seen in the end according to its effect. Therefore, most noble and excellent prince, if it pleases you with your benign grace to take note of the intention toward you and your noble family expressed throughout by your humble servant in compiling this book, if it is your pleasure to deign to read it, or have it read, or hear it, you will find her to have been moved by such affection through the desire to increase the prosperity of your soul, body,

220. Maud Temple, "Paraphrasing in the *Livre de paix*," 185, suggests that here Christine is remembering more than one passage of Cicero's *De natura deorum*.

221. Unidentified in Proverbs.

and reputation, that you will kindly make allowance for and amend the faults that are there through ignorance, so that the laurel that is gained in victory and is thus due to the victor for honorable efforts will not be withheld from the labor of this work, which I hope your worthy highness may find agreeable and remember, with God's help. May He perfect every grace in you. Amen.

Here ends the book of peace.



Le Livre de Paix

PART I



(fol. 1r) Cy commence la table des rubriques du livre de paix, lequel s'adrece a tres noble et excellent prince monseigneur le duc de Guyenne, ainsné filz du roy de France, encommencié le premier jour de septembre, après l'apointement de la paix juree en la cité d'Auxerre entre noz seigneurs de France en l'an de grace mil iiii cent et douze.

Le dit livre est parti en trois parties: la premiere partie parle a l'ennortement de continuacion de paix a mondit seigneur de Guyenne sus la vertu de prudence et de ce que elle requiert en gouvernement de prince. Acomplie la dicte premiere partie le derrain jour de novembre et delaissié adont le surplus pour cause de matiere de paix deffailie.

Item, recommencié l'euvre en la ii^e partie le iii^e jour du mois de septembre après les convenances de paix rejurees en la ville de Pontoise et que noz seigneurs de France s'assemblerent a grant joye et paix a Paris en l'an de grace mil iiii cent et treize. Et parle de rechief la dicte ii^e partie a louenge et bien de paix, a l'ennortement dudit monseigneur de Guyenne, et de tenir les princes en amour et la chevalerie, sur iii vertus, c'est assavoir justice, magnanimité que on dit hault corage, et force, en donnant exemples de son ayol le roy Charles quint.

Item, la iii^e partie parle de bien gouverner le peuple et la chose publique sur iii autres vertus, c'est assavoir clemence, liberalité et verité.

(fol. 1v) Les chapitres de la premiere partie:

Le premier chapitre est une louenge en rendant graces a Dieu de la paix.

Item, louenge et beneyçon a mondit seigneur de Guyenne de ce que par lui et son mouvement vint la paix.

Item, parle a mondit seigneur de Guyenne a l'ennortement de

continuation de paix.

Item, commence a parler a l'ennortement de vertu a mondit seigneur

Item, commence a parler de prudence et dont elle vient.

Item, preuve par raisons comment a nul n'est tant expedient savoir moult de choses que est au prince, et commence a donner exemples du roy Charles quint du nom.

Item, comment prince se doit gouverner par sages, et donne exemples dudit roy.

Item, dit encore dudit roy.

Item, comment prince doit ouvrir par conseil, et quelz conseilliers lui affierent et quelz non.

Item, parle des bons conseilliers et de quans estas et quelz doivent estre environ le prince.

Item, parle des mauvaiz conseilliers et du mal qui puet par eulx ensuivre.

Item, parle encore des mauvais conseilliers.

Item, des mauvais officiers et des moiens qui les mettent es offices.

Item, quelz doivent estre officiers et serviteurs de court.

Item, encores des bons serviteurs.

(fol. 2r) Cy commence le livre de paix, lequel s'adrece a tres noble et excellent prince monseigneur le duc de Guyenne, ainsné filz du roy, encomencié le premier jour de septembre après l'apointement de la paix juree entre noz seigneurs de France en l'an mil iiii cent et xii.

i

Le premier chapitre est une louenge a Dieu a cause de la paix

Ex ore infancium et lactancium
perfecisti laudem [David in Psalmo].

De la bouche des enfans et des alectans voirement, Notre Seigneur Dieu roy celestre tout puissant qui deffaces et osten quant il te plaist la misere du monde, est ton plaisir d'avoir parfaicte louenge si qu'il est par maintes foiz apparu si comme lorsque tu ouvris les enfantines levres de Daniel pour la bonne Susanne, accusee a tort, respiter de mort quant il dit: "Je suis net au sang de ceste, etc.,"¹ pour laquelle chose tu fus beney de tout peuple. O trinité glorieuse, une seule deité inseparable que les angelz louent incessamment,

1. B mg: "Mundus ego sum a sanguine huius etc. Danielis prophete" [Dan. 13:46].

certes bien est folz qui en toy n'a fiance, car ne demonstras tu bien autressi puissanment tant grant force lors que les trois enfans Azana et ses compaignons, mis en l'ardant fournoise par le roy de Babilonie, te louoyent en voix de chant tres melodieusement sans sentir nul mal, disant: "Benoist est notre seigneur," etc. Semblablement te plut, beaux sire Dieux, estre beneys par la bouche des enfans le jour que tu entras a grant solempnité en Jherusalem, que a haulte voix crioient: Sauveur, filz (fol. 2v) de David, benoit soies tu qui viens au nom de notre seigneur.² Et tres doulx Dieux, plain de bonté et infinie misericorde, quoy que assez se pourroient dire et raconter des foiz esquelles t'a pleu demonster par enfans innocens et simples tes divines graces et vertus en maintes guises, devons nous taire de non te louer, et magnifier avec les autres bontez passees de tous noz courages par grant affection de ce que semblablement, presentement, et de nouvel nous a voulu secourir, visiter et conforter en notre tres grant affliction par un seul enfant inspiré en bouche et en fait de ton Saint Esperit, par lequel, moyennant ta tres grant misericorde et ouyes les voix des vrais deprians, t'a pleu par benigne paix garir, saner et curer la mortelle playe de dure hayne et l'effusion de sang tres horrible ja toute envieillie de ton catholique royaume de France qui tout perissoit, pour laquelle bonté tres doulx Jhesucrist qui siés a la destre avec le Saint Esperit en la gloire du Pere, nous te louons, nous te beneyssons, nous te gloriffions, rendant graces de ce tres grant benefice a toy qui es notre vray Dieu, notre seul createur, notre bon pasteur, juge tres juste, notre saige maitre, notre aydeur tres puissant, notre phisicien secourable, notre clere lumiere et notre vie. Tu, roy de gloire, vueilles ouyr noz justes prieres; et a notre duc Loys victorieux, par la cuy euvre se puet dire aux François: "Chantez a Dieu nouvel chant car il a fait merveilles!"³ te plaise donner perfection de grace, doctrine en meurs, sens en gouvernement, et infinie gloire. Amen.

ii

(fol. 3r) **Louenge et beneyçon a monseigneur de Guyenne par qui moyen et promocion fu la dicte paix**

Fiat pax in virtute tua. Psalmus David.

Gloire, honneur, reverence avec toute obeissance soit premissa a toy, tres excellent et tres redoubté prince Loys, ainsné filz du roy, actendant la

2. B mg: "Osanna filio David benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. In euuangelio" [Matt. 21:9].

3. B mg: "Cantate Domino canticum novum quia mirabilia fecit. David Psalmos" [Ps. 97:1].

couronne par grace de Dieu, duc de Guyenne et daulphin de Viennoiz. Tres hault et tres noble prince, ta grant magnificence n'ait a despris l'escripture de ta servante et humble creature, de bon vouloir meue et pure affection du bien de ta digne personne, ains vueille l'umaine clemence de ton noble courage le recevoir (fol. 3v) en gré. Avec ce, prince de tres haulte excellence, supplie ta doulce humilité que a mal n'ait s'en singulier nom je parle a toy. Car ton bon sens ja inbués et apris⁴ en fait de lectres n'a pas a savoir que selon usage de rethorique c'est le plus propre stille d'escripre mesmement a empereurs et roys. Tres excellent seigneur, la tres grant joye qui a present en mon cuer habonde, a cause de la nouvelle paix, par mistere divin de toy venue et nee, ne souffreroit que je me tenisse de prendre la plume pour escripre en nouvel volume choses glorieuses a ta louenge, car non pas seulement moy, femme simple et ignorant en qui n'a science ne autre savoir ne mais stille vulgal et rural en fait d'escripture, mais tous haulx entendemens remplis de clergie, orateurs, sages stillés en rethorique, droit et raison oblige de chanter de toy en vers et en proses, si que a tousjours en demeure memoire; car n'es tu pas cellui qui par la Dieu graces en si jeune aage comme de xv ans, par divine inspiracion sans autre moien, malgré l'ennemy d'enfer, adversaire du bien de paix qui par divers contredis la cuidie empeschier, mais tu constamment et perseveramment, non pas comme enfant flechissable et legier mais comme homme meur, tres sage et pesant, en euvre et en fait as mise la paix entre ceulx de ton sang pour la cuy guerre ja de longue main le regne perissoit, et eulx dispers par horrible (fol. 4r) hayne, qui de toutes pars gectoit feu et flamme, as rassemblez, rejoings, raunis, paciffiez, ensemble acordés, apaisiez, mis en nouvelle amour par loyaulx jointures dignes et loïsibles, sans blasme de nullui ont foy juré ensemble en ta haulte presence? O enfant de bonne heure nez, tu soies beneys en ciel et en terre perpetuellement dont t'est venus tel sens de si grant euvre faire que chascun reputoit comme chose impossible. Mais ne vint pas de toy sans faille le mouvement. Ains de cellui sans la cuy custode pour neant est veillé en la garde de la cité, lors que la veille de saint Jehan Baptiste en ce present an mil iiiii cent et xii, si que j'ay esté bien informee par ceulx qui l'oyrent, gens digne de foy, que tu oyant la messe sur le pas de l'euvangille ou il dist de saint Jehan, "Et multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt," te tournas a joyeux visage, comme tout soubdainement meue, en disant a ton confesseur: "O! pleust a Dieu que a ceste glorieuse journee nous peussions mectre ensemble par bonne paix et joye ces ii Jehans"—c'estoit a entendre Jehan duc de Berry d'une part et

4. B "apres," P "aprin." Based on the reading of P, we interpret B's reading as a slip for "apris."

Jehan duc de Bourgongne de l'autre—"contraires; mais," ce dis tu, "afin que bon traictié doresenavant y puissions entreprendre, moyenner et bien finer a l'ayde de Dieu, est bon que une belle messe a solempnité soit demain dicte en la chappelle de saint Jehan qui est cy pres, auquel lieu les ii susdis ont grant devocion." O noble prince, n'est (fol. 4v) pas sans miracle ceste chose avenue, veu les contredis et grans repunances, c'est assavoir toy estant en l'ost devant la cité de Bourges avec le roy ton pere a grant assemblee, ouquel lieu n'estoit parlé de paix ne mais par desrision, que tu adont de tel chose fusses inspiré, laquelle besongne depuis la dicte heure, quelz qu'aient esté les contredis non mie petis, as tenu ton propos en y ouvrant constamment jusques a fin de paix. Mais neantmoins, quoy que de Dieu soit tout venu, t'en appartient louenge en tant qu'il t'a fait digne de recevoir de lui si grant benefice, dont graces a tousjours mais par vertueux office est tenus de lui rendre. Et doncques tu, vassal de Dieu, de lui permis, n'es tu pas le restoreur, le repareur, le conforteur de toute France, qui as mué guerre en paix, dueil en joye, mort en vie, hayne en amour, effusion de sang en convalescence, cherté en habondance et tout mal en bien? O! glorieuses choses sont dictes de toy⁵ dont a tousjours mais devras bien estre nommé Loys Dieudonné, mais qu'en bien perseveres, pour lesquelles presens bontez tu soies beneys de la divine essence et de toutes les choses celestes et terrestres ou Dieux a mis bonté, tu qui nous donne cause de chanter haultement: "Gloire soit au hault Dieu du ciel et en terre paix aux hommes de bonne volenté."⁶

iii

Cy parle a mon dit seigneur de Guyenne a l'ennortement de continuacion de paix

Omne regnum in se divisum
desolabitur et omnis civitas vel
domus divisa (fol. 5r) contra se non
stabit. In Euvangelio.

Tout royaume divisé en soy sera desolé et toute cité ou maison divisee contre le bien de soy meismes ne puet avoir duree, parce que l'Escripture Sainte tesmoigne avec l'experience et le raport de plusieurs exemples qui a propos dire se pourroient, comme de Troie, Romme et autres citez et diverses contrees que pour briefté je laisse, lesquelles jadis furent de si grant puis-

5. B mg: "Gloriosa dicta sunt de te" [Ps. 86:3].

6. B mg: "Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominis bone voluntatis" [Luke 19.38].

sance que tout le monde ne leur peust nuyre se tous d'un acort fussent, et par descort perirent. Povons de rechief, tres redoubté prince, magnifier ton euvre de ceste digne paix; car puis qu'il est ainsi qu'il convient tout royaume perir ou il a discencion, est chose certaine que par le contraire c'est paix et amour, il est preservé et conservé. Doncques tu, sage et tres bien conseil-liez, ne peusses trouver meilleur medicine ne si souverain remede a garder de perir cestui noble royaume qui est ton heritage que par y mettre paix. Et ainsi as sauvé le tien et avec ce moult acquis en ciel et en terre, car dist l'Escripture les paisibles beneurez et sains, car filz de Dieu seront appeléz.⁷ Et mesmement que prouffit te soit en terre dist celle meismes que la gloire du regnant, c'est a entendre du seigneur, est puissanment eslevee quant les subgiez sont en tranquillité sans occupacion de guerre.⁸ Doncques puis que joye et tranquillité est ou n'a telle occupacion, s'en ensuivra a toy accroissement de toute habondance de biens, si que dit (fol. 5v) le Psalmiste en la fin du vers allegué pour proeme ou chapitre precedent: "Et habondance de tous biens sera en tes tours,"⁹ c'est assavoir en ce que tu possederas. Mais que dist David: "Enquier paix et la poursuis,"¹⁰ et certes ce as tu bien fait, car tu l'as tant quise que trouvee l'as. Si la te convient poursuivre: c'est continuer a tousjours selon la sentence de ce que dist l'Escripture: "Grant louenge est au prince quant si bien scet gouverner le bien de paix que elle tourne au preu de chacun ne a nul n'est prejudiciable, ains est de tous amee."¹¹ Et pour ce par grant prudence te convient ouvrer en ceste continuacion, c'est assavoir que si sagement saches atraire et maintenir toutes choses pertinens a conservacion de paix, et par bon conseil qui y conviennent en deboutant toutes contrarietez que quelconque cause de survenu, accident contraire par faulte de bonne provision, ne la puist empeschier ne troubler car si que dit un philosophe: "N'est pas si grant maistrise d'acquérir la chose desiree comme de la bien garder." Et il n'est riens plus vray que tout ainsi que le feu, quant est espris et embrasé a grant flamme en une ville, est fort a estaindre tellement que aucune flamesche n'y demeure par aucuns jours qui de legier pourroit porter dommage et ralumer. Semblablement est de rancune et mal talent, qui par armes c'est¹² demonstree fort a tost remectre et appaisier. Et pour ce

7. B mg: "Beati pacifici quia filii Dei vocabuntur. Matheus" [Matt. 5:9].

8. B mg: "Regnantis est gloria subiectorum otiosa tranquillitas" [Cassiodorus *Variae* 2:29].

9. B mg: "Et habundancia in turribus tuis" [Ps. 121:7].

10. B mg: "Inquire pacem et persequere eam" [Ps. 33:15].

11. B mg: "Ad laudem regnantis trahitur si ab omnibus pax ametur. Cassiodorus in Epistola" [*Variae* I:23].

12. This looks as though it should be "s'est." There are other examples of "c'est" for "s'est" in this manuscript.

en cestui fait destruisant comme le feu a l'estaindre (fol. 6r) convient grant continuacion de l'eau de douceur et benignité a getter sus, laquelle viengne et sourde de toy mesmes comme de droite fontaine de clemence, leesce et debonnaireté: c'est que tu soies entre eulx tousjours moien de conduire voies de paix par si grant douceur, non pas sans plus un moys ou deux, maiz a tousjours, que leurs cuers actraies et actendresses tellement que le runge de la rancune passee, tant pour l'amour de toy et de ta douceur comme pour le bien d'eulx meismes, soit du tout effacié et tourné en amour, benivolence et union ensemble. Et ainsi noble prince, par ces voies tenir et toutes autres bonnes qui y conviennent, ne doubtes pas que cellui Dieu, par lequel ayde (il en soit louez!) as fait le plus fort, t'aidera a parfurnir le surplus en maniere que doresenavant vivre pourras glorieusement en l'amour des tiens et au bien d'entre eulx, ainsi que le t'octroit Dieux.

iv

Cy commence a parler a l'ennortement de vertu a mon dit seigneur

Sola virtus in sua potestate est, omnes
bene vivendi rationes in virtute sunt colo-
cande; enim non multum potest obesse
fortuna qui sibi firmitus in virtute quam in
casu presidium collocavit. Tullius libro ii^o
Rethoricis qui *Ars Nova* appellatur.

Comme toutes choses ça jus soient falibles, seulle vertu, dist Tullies, est en la puissance d'elle meismes, c'est a entendre durable, et pour ce les raisons que on puet mettre pour bien (fol. 6v) vivre doivent estre assises en vertu, car certes Fortune ne puet estre contraire a celui qui plus s'afiche en vertu que es biens de fortune et d'aventure. Et pour ce avec les choses dessus dictes, tres noble et tres redoubté prince, non obstant que assez me soit manifeste que ta belle juenece, flourissant en bien que Dieux par sa grace vueille tousjours augmenter et acroistre de bien en mieulx, ait esté le temps passé et des premiere enfance et soit par chascun jour amonestee et duite en toutes bonnes meurs et vertus louables par bons loyaux et sages nobles preudesommes que as environ toy que ta noble nature a ce incliné a tres bien retenu, neantmoins moy ta creature, laquelle autre chose n'occupe en solitaireté ne mais labour d'estude, a celle fin que la joye par toy et de toy eue et encomencié nous puist estre durable en toy veant revestu entierement du droit habit royal, c'est assavoir de l'aournement qui a ta tres noble haultesse aduit

et appartient, ay cueilli aucunes fleurectes souefves et belles ou champ des escriptures pour te faire chappel a aourner le chief de ta plaisant juenece; lesquelles dictes fleurectes sont yssues des germes entre les autres nobles plantes de vii principaulx racines de vertu, dont la premiere et de laquelle les autres naissent et viennent a nom prudence, et ensuivant sont les autres vi nommees justice, magnanimité que on dit grant courage, (fol. 7r) force, clemance, liberalité et verité. Et afin que toy qui atens couronne de dignité royal desires avoir premierement ce dit chappel qui est en son circuit et tout ensemble nommé vertu, ou les dictes fleurectes sont par bel ordre mises et assises encores, je diray de lui aucuns beaux mots a son aprouvement.

Dist Tulles: “Nulle riens n’est plus amable ou fait plus a amer que vertu.”¹³ Senecque en son epistre a Lucille: “Seulement vertu donne joye perpetuelle.”¹⁴ Et qu’il soit vray qu’en vertu soit toute joye le preuve Aristote par vray argument qui veult dire ainsi: Comme gloire et parfait delit ne puist estre en quelconques chose escalourgiable ou muable—c’est assavoir qui puist estre mué de un en autre si que sont souvent les communs deliz par divers accidens de joye tournee en dueil—ne puet doncques estre felicité, laquelle chose est droite joye fors es choses qui sont en si hault degré de bonté et si fichiees que decheoir ne peuent pour quelconques troubles ne estre tresbuchiees. Et quel chose est ce qui siet en si hault degré? A nom Dieu c’est purement vertu, non autre quelconques riens! O noble prince, doncques se tu savoies le bien qui y est compris, certes quelconques autre tresor tant ne souhayderoies comme ce soit seul et pour le tout ce qui te puet faire grant, fort, puissant, riche, renommé, craint et amé. Et scez tu que est ceste vertu? A la describe en brief, certainement c’est avoir les meurs (fol. 7v) qui sont compris en volenté de fuir toutes taches laides et reprouchables et prendre delit en tout bien faire et bien dire, amer bon conseil et par cellui ouvrer. Mais dist Senecque que cellui n’est pas vertueux qui seulement le semble estre, ains cellui qui en fait les euvres. Et doncques par ainsi ouvrer, c’est assavoir par l’ennortement de vertu, ne doubtes quelconques nuisance et par consequant, si que dist Macrobés, ne fauldras mie a beneurté. Et ceste chose afferme saint Luc, disant: “Alez seurement tant que vertus vous conduisent, car nul autre mur n’est si deffensable contre toute male fortune.” Et pour ce disoit Tulles: “les sages sont avironnez de deffense de vertu qui les garde.” Mais pour ce que doubter pourroies que a suivre cest ordre convensist du tout delaissier joye et leesce,

13. B mg: “Nichil amabilius est virtute Tullius” [Cicero *De amicitia* 28].

14. B mg: “Solum virtutes prestant gaudium perpetuum et securum Seneca in epistula ad Lucilium” [Seneca *Epistulae morales* 27:3].

de laquelle chose naturellement se puet a paine deporter juenece, je te respons encores au propos dessus que Tullis dit que de toutes les joyes et plaisances mondaines ne s'apareille nulle a celle qui vient et sourt a cause de vertu, car c'est comme la fontaine qui est interissable. Et ce confirme saint Bernart, disant que pour soy sauver et bien faire n'est ja besoing oster de soy delit et plaisance. Et pour ce, seigneur tres digne, veu que ce t'est neccessaire, te dis derechief que des en ton enfance et premiere juenece t'y convient duire et du tout confourmer, car dit Salemon que l'omme envieillis ou endurcis en vices a trop grant paine (fol. 8r) revendrait aux vertus. Doncques et en conclusion, si que dit Tullis, se tu te delictes a avoir et posseder comme bien t'appartiengne les tres plus belles et meilleurs choses, si eslis de sur toutes pour souverain bien la tres meilleure et plus belle maniere de vivre.

v^c

Cy commence a parler de prudence et dont e de elle despent et vient

Nulum bonum sine ratione est. Virtus non aliud est quam recta ratio. Omnes virtutes rationes sunt. Sequitur ratio naturam; quid ergo est ratio nisi nature imitacio? Seneca.

Nul bien, ce dist Senecque, n'est sans raison. Doncques encores au propos dessus dit, vertu qui est souverain bien n'est autre chose que droite raison. Raison, ce dit il, ensuit nature, si s'ensuit doncques que toutes choses se doivent fonder sur raison et emprendre et encommencier. De ceste Raison qui est fille de Dieu ensuit Prudence. O Prudence, noble vertu, il n'est richesse ne propre noblesce fors celle qui vient de toy. Et ce tesmoigne bien Senecque la ou a ta louenge il dit: "Se richesses envieillies es lignaiges font les hommes nobles, certes trop plus est grande la noblesce de ceulx qui l'ont prise es tresors de prudence."¹⁵ Et de ceste prudence, pour mieulx descrire que c'est et dont elle vient et dessent, est a savoir qu'entendement qui est puissance et operacion de l'ame, si que dit Saint Augustin, de Dieu donné singulierement plus grant es uns hommes que es autres, (fol. 8v) est son commencement; l'office de cest entendement est d'ymaginer toutes choses veues ou non veues; selon la quantité de sa force pour lesquelles ymaginacions par bien invistiguer est engendree congnoissance, laquelle s'aprobe plus des choses

15. B mg: "si inueteratae et per genus ducte diuicie nobiles faciunt, multo magis praestancior est cuius origo thesauris prudencie locuples inuenitur Seneca" [in fact, Cassiodorus *Variae* 8:19].

ouvrables, c'est assavoir des choses que on veult mettre a euvre, congnoistre et entendre les manieres de les faire et entreprendre. De ceste congnoissance vient Discrecion qui est dicte mere et conduisarsse et toute la premiere des vertus; de ceste discrecion, de quoy elle sert ou puet servir, dist l'Ecclesiaste que c'est une vertu par laquelle se puet congnoistre ce que est bon et ce que est mauvais en discernant le bien du mal, et en l'election du bien pour ce que il est valable et deboutant le mal pour ce qu'il est nuisible. Et pourquoy est elle dicte mere des vertus est la cause pour ce que la ou elles ne seroient menees par elle ne seroient pas vertus, ains vices. Si comme quoy se sapience qui est grant vertu estoit semee entre les pourciaulx, folie seroit au semeur et non pas sapience. Semblablement d'atrempance, se uns homs la vouloit avoir si grande en lui qu'il souffrist son pere villener devant lui sans le revenchier, ou cas semblable, et que bien le peust amender, tel atrempance seroit folie; ou se aucun vouloit avoir tant grant courage qu'il ne se daignast plaindre de mal qu'il sentist par quoy fauldroit au remede, tel force seroit nulle; ou se cruauté ou vengeance estoit exercee soubz ombre de (fol. 9r) justice, ou prodigalité qui sert de tollir aux uns pour trop donner aux autres estoit couverte soubz largesce, ou que niceté et lasche courage fust faint soubz ombre de clemence et benignité. Telz choses et semblables ne seroient pas vertus mais vices, pour ce que discrecion n'y seroit mie, laquelle sert d'ordonner que bien a point sans pou ne trop soit usé d'elles. Et pour ce de ceste Discrecion vient Raison qui est dicte fille de Dieu; la cause est car son office sert de partir esgalment toutes choses: c'est assavoir elle veult que les bons soient meritez et les mauvais pugniz et que ordre soit mis en toutes les euvres que elle dispose. Et pour ce faire bien a point elle engendre une tres bonne fille et tres propre a toutes choses bien disposer: c'est assavoir Prudence. Ceste Prudence sert tant aux biens espirituelz comme aux corporelz, car par elle l'omme desire congnoistre Dieu et savoir les choses propices a sauvement et a les mettre a euvre, le amer et le craindre, sans laquelle congnoissance toute autre prudence n'est que folie, et se seul bien et ce qui en despent est appellé sapience, qui principe est de tout savoir si que dit le Psalmiste.¹⁶ Et ainsi par ceste voie se despendent¹⁷ et naissent les vertus les unes des autres et toutes ensemble se conviennent, de laquelle matiere, et qui moult est belle, se pourroit plus longuement traictier mieulx et plus soubtilment par les preuves d'Aristote, que mon povre entendement ne saroit ymaginer ne descripre. Mais pour entendre a (fol. 9v) l'effect de notre euvre nous en passerons a ytant. Si

16. B mg: "Inicium sapiencie timor domini" [Ps. 110:10].

17. Alternative spelling for "dependent."

est assavoir que es choses ouvrales et qui au corps appartiennent convient avoir acqui de Prudence, et par elle veult bien ouvrer une autre vertu qui en despend et vient qui se nomme Circonspection, laquelle est necessaire avant tout euvre en tout quanque l'omme veult disposer a faire, par especial en grant choses et pesans faiz. C'est que l'omme circonspect avise meurement les raisons et causes qui mouvoir le peuent a ce qu'il veult entreprendre, et quant bien a avisié et pourpensé se il sent et voit que les raisons qui le meuvent soient bonnes et justes, il est content quant en celle partie. Mais pourtant ne souffit mie avoir bonne cause de vouloir faire la chose; ains convient regarder comment pourra estre faicte ains que on la delibere, auquel regart par especial iiii choses conviennent: la premiere, quel puissance on a de ce faire; la ii^e, quel ayde et comment bon on y pourra avoir; tiercement, quelz pourront estre les contredis, repunances et empeschemens, et y faire les doubtes qui y conviennent; et quartement, a quel fin la chose pourroit venir. Item, a cestui regart convient trois autres poins: l'un est prepenser les choses passees es semblables cas et y prendre exemple; la ii^e, le temps a venir pour y pourveoir; et le iii^e, l'estre du temps present pour bien se disposer.

vi

Cy preuve par raisons comment a nul n'est tant expedient savoir moult de choses que est a prince et (fol. 10r) commence donner exemples du roy Charles quint du nom

Non quemquam magis decet, vel
 meliora scire vel plura quam principem
 cuius doctrina omnibus potest prodesse
 subiectis. *Vegecius De re militari* in
 primo capitulo.

A propos de ce que est declairié au chapitre precedent, tres noble prince, apreuve assez la cause pourquoy si au long ay mis la descripcion de prudence l'auctorité cy dessus mise, car sans faille voirement n'est a nul homme tant convenable savoir plus de choses ne les meilleurs qu'il est au prince, pour ce que la prudence de lui et le bel ordre de vivre puet proufiter et valoir a tous ses subgiez tant en tout bon exemple comme en estre bien gouvernéz. Et pour ce afin que l'auctorité de toy, tant au temps present comme en cil a venir, ne soit pas seulement resplandissant en toute terre pour ta grant haultece, mais plus encores pour tes vertus et sagesce, t'est convenable ycelle vertu de prudence et par elle disposer tous tes faiz selon circonspection qui doit estre au sage premierement en toutes ces

choses ains l'entreprise, si que dit est. Et qu'il soit vray, certes quoy que assez te pense donner exemple des vaillans anciens tant du preux Julius Cesar, de Pompee, de Scipio et d'autres tres nobles, lesquelz tout avant euvre misdrent paine de savoir et d'estre saiges qu'ils determinassent les grans empreses desquelles après plus gouvernees par grant savoir que par force d'armes leur prist tres bien, me souffira te (fol. 10v) donner exemple de ton bon ayol, le tres sage roy Charles quint de ce nom. Auquel Dieu par sa grace te doint ressembler, si ne fauldras mie en tout quanque on puet demander en prince tres parfait et sage. O! qui pourroit parler de plus prudent de lui, ne mieulx moriginez et en toutes choses bonnes plus parfait. Car des en fleur de juenece, par grace de Dieu, avisant par grant prudence que c'est chose comme noble et tres necessaire a prince, quelque soit le petit nombre des ans, avoir cuer meur et congnoissance de ce que est a faire et ce que est a laisser, delaisa tous les meurs des juenes, se disposant du tout en ce que sagesse enseigne. Et ceste deliberacion faicte, pour le bon desir mectre a euvre, debouta de lui tous ceulx qu'il pensa qui, au contraire de son bon vouloir, le peussent desmouvoir, et de toutes pars vult actraire gens sages, preudesommes et bien moriginez, et de telz gens fist enquerre et yceulx retint a grant honneur et prouffis de toutes manieres d'estas. C'est assavoir vult avoir pour estre bien introduit en ce qui puet touchier au bien espirituel, qui est le principal, de solempnelz preudesommes theologiens, si comme estoit un moult sage maistre que se nommoit maistre Jehan de la Chaleur, et d'autres desquelz vouloit souvent ouir, et a certaines heures et jours, leçons de sapience, de laquelle doctrine lui ensuivy que il se disposa a servir Dieu, craindre et amer sur toute riens, si qu'il le continua (fol. 11r) par euvres vertueuses, tant es effaiz de charité aux povres comme en edificacion d'eglises, oraisons et toutes devotions, toute sa vie si comme encores y pert en maint lieux. Item, et pour bien gouverner le fait de la policie de son royaume vult avoir notables clerks legistes experts, afin que par leurs consaulx selon ordre de droit peust toutes choses bien disposer, dont lui en ensuivi que tant qu'il regna par tenir les manieres que ordre royalle bien ordonnee requiert, tint son royaume en grant magnificence et croisement de felicité de mieulx en mieulx, c'est assavoir par tenir justice tres parfaictement, sa chevalerie bien ordonnee non mie oyseuse mais en l'exercice et euvre qu'il appartient, le clergié en leurs privileges et droit ordre, ses bourgeois en amour, marchans en droit regite, fussent estranges ou propres, le peuple en paix, sans les occuper ne mais en leurs labours et maistiers si que droit de policie le requiert, ne leur faire extorcions ne souffrir estre fait a personne. Item, et pour son royaume estre bien deffendus et qu'en ses mains peust

estre augmentez et acreuz, vould tirer vers soy toute fleur de chevalerie de toutes pars que les bons lui pouoient estre ramenteuz, et de tous les meilleurs fist chevetains a grant honneur et provision si que faire se doit, si comme assez de gens encores vivans le scevent. Et a dire ce qu'il lui en ensuivy: certes, noble seigneur, il y pert, tant que le preu encores en demeure a toy meismes et demourera a tousjours, (fol. 11v) se Dieux plaist, a la couronne et a lui merite et haulte renommee.

vii

Cy dit comment prince se doit gouverner par sages et donne exemple dudit roy

Multitudo sapientum sanitas est
orbis terrarum et rex sapiens populi
stabilimentum. Vi^o capitulo libro
Sapiencie.

Salemon en l'auctorité cy dessus vould dire que par grant foison avoir sages pourroient estre garenties toutes les terres et contrees du monde. Esquelz sages, afin que nul ne soit deceu de entendre, ne doit mie estre cuidié que a estre sage soit de necessité avoir apris grant clergie, combien que tres convenable y soit, et que quant prudence et circonspection est avec yceulx passent tous autres. Mais neantmoins voit on a la foiz des plus grans clerks si que le dit la ruse, et il est vray, n'estre pas les plus sages. C'est assavoir les plus prudens en fait de gouvernement et policie, ne mesmement en parolle, combien que clergie l'aprenge et le demonstre, et bien est vray que yceulx bien le savoient dire et par raisons monstrar selon les livres, mais plusieurs en y a qui a mettre a euvre a paines si aplicqueroient et es choses mondaines pou seroient habilles; pour ce disons que sages est cil qui sagement fait bonne euvre et non cil qui la scet seulement sans en savoir ouvrir. Et combien que Aristote die, celui n'estre droit sage qui de toutes choses ne scet, neantmoins ceulx que seulement le scevent par raport des livres (fol. 12r) doivent estre appelez sçavans mais non pas sages. Et pour ce a dire des sages y peuvent estre compris mesmement des laiz ceulx qui ont bon entendement et prudemment scevent mettre a euvre ce qu'ilz ont expérimenté: si comme sages chevaliers ou autres qui ont esprouvé maintes choses et veu avenir plusieurs cas, soit en armes ou en la policie de la terre, par quoy scevent par exemple et voient par bonne circonspection les remedes plus propres aux inconveniens avenues ou disposez a venir.

Mais a retour au premier propos, dit ensuivant l'auctorité sagece estre si bien seant en roy que un tel est la seureté et la ferme estableté de tous ses subgiez et de son peuple. Et pour ce a propos de sage roy tres redoubté prince: que c'est sagesse se puet demonstrier seulement si que dit est par bien ouvrer, pour laquelle chose declairier, comme exemples entreposez avec les causes donnent communement plus grant impression des choses que ne font seulement les raisons, n'y voy meilleur preuve de t'apprendre a gouverner en tout le effect de la prudence qui t'est propice qu'encores dire de ton dit ayol; duquel de tant que de sang descendus lui es plus prouchain, te doit embelir ouyr de ses nobles faiz et t'y confourmer et prendre exemple; et de cestui quoy qu'en autre livre propre de ses fais en ay autre foiz plus a plain parlé, neantmoins, pour ce qu'il est expedient en ce present volume fait en ton singulier nom le ramentevoir, (fol. 12v) ne me soit reprouchié ne tenu a redicte. O doulx Dieux! Tres noble seigneur, ymagine un petit s'il te plaist quel merveilleuse difference te seroit a veoir l'estat royal de lors a cellui de present. O! quel tres grant ordonnance en toutes choses quel pontificalété, quel sens, quel gouvernement, quel representation de prince, quel faconde, quelle eloquence, et quelle redoubtee et tres reverent personne estoit cellui a veoir qui heure ou temps ne passoit sans l'occupation d'aucune bonne euvre. C'est assavoir ou vacquier en ce qui touchoit le bien de la chose publique, que sur toute riens il avoit a cuer, ou au fait de l'eglise, ou a expedier estrangers, ou ou fait de ses guerres ou a quelque autre convenable occupation; cuides tu la diligence de lever matin, ouir ses messes, dire son service canonical tout au long et tres bien servir Dieu, puis de bonne heure aler au conseil, ou je te promet l'ordonnance estoit telle que nul des conseilliers n'eust failli d'y estre a droite heure, ne la n'avoit gens superflus et non dignes par faulte de sens de estre a conseil de prince, et qui mieulx y disoit ou bien proposoit n'estoit pas en vain, car cellui y estoit qui bien le savoit entendre, congnoistre, et nocter, puis au disner aprésté a droite heure s'aseoit le bon prince, après lequel jusques a la collacion donnoit espace a toute gent de besongner a lui et tres benignement tous y escoutoit, et semblablement après après le dormir qui n'estoit mie long, et mesmement par ses jardins (fol. 13r) de Saint Pol, qu'il faisoit tenir tant bien ordonnez, en alant et venant pour prendre l'air expedioit ce qu'il avoit a faire. Mais cuides tu que ce fust a longue main ainsi que l'en fait ores? Trop lui ennuyast estre poursuivis longuement d'une chose quelle qu'elle fust; aussi ne peust il vacquier en tant de cures comme il avoit se tost ne fust expedient. Si ne menoit riens par dilacion et ne differoit ce que tost pouoit achever. Mais que estoit ce a veoir environ lui puis ses nobles freres et ses autres barons

de son sang et autres ou ses vaillans chevaliers qu'il tenoit occupez en ses guerres, ou aucuns estrangers quant vers lui venoient, comment les savoit tous bel recevoir parler a eulx conjoir et faire chiere! Certes par si bel ordre et haulte maniere, et humble avec ce estoit, que moult le prisoient et tous s'en tenoient pour contens. Et a ses solempnitez divers et festes quelz riches paremens, quelz dreçouers, que de riche vesselle, comment ses chambres tendues et gent servis en toute largesse! On ne fait mais ainsi. O, regardes noble prince, que c'est que de sagesce et quelle impression elle donne a ceulx qui la sentent estre en aucune personne!

Certes, quoy que cellui roy fust benigne sur tous les princes du monde et a joyeux visage entre toute gent ne que oncques ne lui fu veu faire ou dire a personne quelconques rudesse, neantmoins la representacion de sa prudent maniere et belle faconde le faisoit avoir en si grant reverence que (fol. 13v) nul, tant fust grant, n'osast en riens mesprendre, et mesmement ses freres desquelz aux grans festes estoit servis et present grans seigneurs estrangers.

viii

Cy dit encores dudit roy

Et qui vidit testimonium perhibuit
et verum est ejus testimonium et ille
scit quia vera dicit ut et vos credatis.
Johannes.

Pour ce que le temps a venir ouquel ce present livre, se Dieux plaist, pourra en maint lieux estre transportez et leuz, comme livres soient au monde si comme perpetuelz pour cause de plusieurs coppies qui communement en sont faictes, quoy que toy Loys, filz second, c'est assavoir engendré du propre filz de cellui roy Charles que je tant loue et non sans cause, peusses bien savoir s'il te plaisoit par plusieurs tres notables chevaliers et autres mesmement de ton hostel et court encores vivans se de ceste matiere dis voir ou non se en faisoies doubte, neantmoins a ceulx qui te succederont et aux autres oyans je dis la parole prealeguee, qui veult dire a mon propos et qui ces choses vid en porte tesmoignage, et ce tesmoignage est vray et vous qui l'oyez le croiez ainsi et ne doubtez du contraire car plusieurs et moy avec eulx le veismes des yeulx. O! quelle belle ordonnance estoit ce le veoir chevaucher par la ville ou aler dehors; ne failloit pas demander en la presse: "Lequel est le roy? Lequel est le roy? Je les voy tous ensemble." Car vraiment le bel ordre qui y estoit tenus le (fol. 14r) donnoit assez a congnoistre, c'est assavoir chevaliers

et escuiers devant si que est la coustume, mais Dieux scet comment jolis habillez et montez, car n'en faiz doubte que cellui, qui sur tous les roys qui de trop long temps aient esté tenoit pontifical estat en toutes choses, n'eust jamaiz souffert quoy que nul die que ses gens n'eussent esté tres richement ordonnez, et bien leur donnoit de quoy. La estoit ou millieu de sa gent un nombre de gent d'armes et arbalestiers tousjours devant lui qu'a xx frans de gaiges le mois chacun tenoit (pour ce que aucuns veullent dire que si grans gaiges ne donnoit que on fait aujourd'hui) et les chevaliers xxx en avoient; les barons devant lui au plus pres le parement devant, et ses freres s'il y estoient ou autres de son sang après, mais d'un costé ne d'autre ne l'aprochoit homme plus d'une toise excepté les sergens d'armes qui tout a pie environ lui aloient. La estoit hault montez, vestu en habit royal, car autre nul temps ne portoit—si te promet que bien sembloit estre prince—et puis ses destriers de parement a riches selles, les plus beaux que on peust veoir, a tres grant foison après. Si aloit la gent saluant qui a l'encontre de lui de toutes pars fuioient, si comme le bon peuple de France a acoustumé de faire vers leur seigneur, et quant grant presse y avoit en quelque grant place, en signe d'amour et beniginité recevant le salu de tant de gent, il ostoit son chapel. Et ainsi (fol. 14v) cellui seigneur vouloit tenir ordre en toutes choses. O! comment tenoit il en belle ordonnance la royne sa femme; comment estoit elle acompaignee de foison dames et damoiselles et plusieurs de son sang, certes moult y avoit bel estat et semblablement ses enfans, lesquelz il vouloit qu'ilz fussent tenus en crainte et qu'ilz apprenissent. Mais trop tost leur failli leur bon pere dont ne fu pas seulement domages a eulx et a tout le royaume, mais generalment a tout le monde. Et ainsi que tu oys la prudence de cellui roy se demonstroit tant par le fait du gouvernement de son estat et personne comme en tous les autres generaulx affaires si que encores sera dit cy après.

ix

Cy dit comment prince doit ouvrer par conseil et quelz conseilliers lui affierent et quelz non

Ubi multa omnia fac cum consilio
[Salomon in Proverbiis].

Par la preuve de ce que est touchié cy devant, prince de noble encestre, et si que dit l'auctorité cy dessus en latin, cellui qui moult de choses a a faire doit ouvrer par conseil, pues tu veoir que selon prudence par laquelle te convient ouvrer se bien te veulx disposer, tu qui moult de choses as affaire, t'est

besoing avoir conseil, et encores pour t'y embelir te dist de ceste prudence et conseil le livre des Proverbes: "Se sapience est entree en ton courage¹⁸ conseil te gardera, prudence te conservera." Et dist oultre Salemon: "Euvres par conseil et tu ne te repentiras point." Laquelle (fol. 15r) chose est a entendre que le conseil soit bon comme tous consaulx ne le soient mie. Et pour ce est bon que nous avisions quelz et comment faiz doivent estre les conseilliers qui sont a eslire, quoy que par l'exemple du susdit roy en ayons touchié, mais non pour tant encores a ce propos dist Aristote en son livre de *Politiques* non pas les juenes hommes soient appelez es consaulx des princes. Car, dist il, comme leur entendement ne puist encores estre perfect pour le juene aage qui trop pou leur a donné espace de moult aprendre et veoir par quoy aient grant experience pour bien congnoistre le mieulx du pis, et avec ce soit leur nature communement de chaude cole, furieuse, de grant volenté, tost meue a pou d'achoisson, tost deliberant sans consideracion, entreprenant sans circonspection, a volenté et non regart de raison, de brief conseil, de grans menaces plaines de sang, de cuidier legier, tost meue a bataille et a tous soubdains faiz, et autres legieretez, fait a reprouver le conseil d'iceulx comme par eulx et leurs consaulx soit venu maint maulx assez de foiz. Si que tesmoignent maintes histoires et mesmement la bible qui dist de Roboan qui par croire telz conseilliers perdi sa seignourie, mais les anciens sages y conseille appeller le dit philosophe car, dist il, comme les anciens, c'est assavoir les sages, aient eu long espace de moult aprendre tant science comme par longue experience, ceulx font a recevoir a croire car, dist il, ilz ne determinent pas (fol. 15v) de legier des choses douteuses ains les interpretent souventes foiz avient a la pire partie, pour ce que maintes fois ont veu en leurs temps ainsi a venir, ne peu d'apparence ne les meut pas a croire la chose se ançois n'ont la verité bien esprouvee, pour ce que souvent, si que dit Senecque, verité a face de mençonge et mençonge de verité. Si leur souvient de ce que ont esté maintes fois deceuz si n'y adjoustent foy, ne ilz ne donnent pas grant esperance sur petit fondement et sur pou d'achoisson pour cause que maintes foiz ont veu avenir par les tours de fortune trop autrement les choses que on ne les pensoit; c'est ce pourquoy ne donnent pas consaulx soubdains ne a la volée et sans grant regart d'entreprendre grans fais sans bon avis et meure consideracion avisent les perilz en faisant maintes doubtes, et de telz viellars sages ou de ceulx mesmement qui en juene aage ont meurs pesans et grant sens, comme il en est par grace de Dieu aucuns, font les consaulx moult a louer et avoir leurs personnes en tres grant reverence, de quelque estat qu'ilz

18. Marginal note: "[S]. . .]"

soient, car comme dist Tulles en son *Livre de Vieillesce*, quoy que les viellars n'aient si grant force de corps comme les juenes, neantmoins ilz ont plus grant discrecion et vertu en conseil, laquelle chose est de tant plus valable a la chose publique, et plus fait a louer comme la vertu de l'entendement est plus noble et plus prouffitable que n'est force de corps. Et ce tesmoigne Salemon ou il a dit: (fol. 16r) "Mieulx vault sapiences que forces et l'omme prudent que le fort,"¹⁹ car un seul bon conseillicr puet valoir a tout un royaume, et ce ne fait mie un seul homme fort quelque force qu'il ait, pour laquelle chose, si que j'ay dit ailleurs, certes ne pourroit assez souffisanment estre merit  le loyal, sage, bon conseillicr comme infinis soit le bien qui par lui puet venir mais qu'il soit creux. Si qu'il est escript de Scipio Nasica, le tres sage bon conseillicr, que ycellui ne prouffita pas moins aux Rommains par les bons consaulx qu'il donnoit de bien gouverner la chose publique que firent les autres Scipions, de laquel lignee il estoit et qui tant furent vaillans par leurs armes, dont dit l'auteur que pas n'avoit ycellui moins desservi de merite et louenge a tout sa cotte de paix que les autres avoient a tout leurs hernoiz et habillement d'armes. Mais neantmoins se avons lou  en conseilz les viellars sages, n'est a entendre pour tant que tous les vieulx aient sens ne dignes soient que on use de leur conseil, comme il en soit assez de tres nices et folz ou n'a vertu ne quelconques autre bien. Si n'est riens plus desprisable que vellece dissolue, nice, et sans vertu. Mais doit estre entendu des preudesommes loyaulx, de conscience vertueulx, et bons. Et dist Aristote qu'il est ii manieres de vieillesce. L'une est celle qui s'ensuit apr s juenece bien ordonnee et atrempee, et ceste cy loue Tulles en son *Livre de Vieillesce*. L'autre est vieillesce qui ensuit apr s juenece (fol. 16v) dissolue et vague, et ceste cy, dist il, est subgiecte a moult de miseres et fait a desprisier. Et pour ce l'omme qui desire estre vertueux et bon n'attende vellece pour le devenir, comme tousjours detiengne le pot le flair qu'il prent quant il est neuf.

x

Cy parle des bons conseillicrs et de quans estas et quelz doivent estre environ le prince

Qui corripit hominem gratiam postea
inveniet apud eum magis quam ille
qui per lingue blandimenta decipit.
Proverbiorum xxix^o capitulo.

19. B mg: "melior est sapiencia quam vires et vir prudens quam fortis" [Ws. 6:1].

Dist Salemon en ses Proverbes: “Cellui qui corrige l’omme trouvera après plus grant gré et grace vers lui que cellui qui par blandisses de langue le deçoit.” Comme il soit doncques ainsi selon le chapitre precedent que les anciens sages doivent estre appelez es consaulx des princes, est assavoir a quel utilité vendra leur consaulx s’ilz sont creuz. A laquelle chose respondre disons: A nom Dieu convient que tout bien en viengne, non mie en une seule chose mais a toutes, tant touchant la personne du prince pour qui conseillez sont establiz comme generalment a toute la contree. C’est assavoir car yceulx, puis que sages seront, ne fauldront pas a loyauté et preudommie, autrement neant seroit leur savoir. Car si que dit Salemon, sapience, prudence, ou conseil est neant se Dieux n’est premier. Si induiront premierement le dit prince a estre bon vers Dieu et garder ses commandemens, n’en riens ne lui conseilleront faire au contraire. Item, comme vrayz loyaulx et non faulx (fol. 17r) blandisseurs, le blasmeront et reprendront en acquitant leur loyauté se faire ou dire lui voient quelque riens desseant, mal honneste, contre conscience et honneur, ou non partinant a prince, ne le vray ne lui en celeront tant et si acoustumément toutesvoies selon discrecion par bons admonnestemens, en humbles et doulces paroles, si qu’il appartient qu’ilz seront cause, s’il les veult croire, qu’il soit un bon et tres vertueux prince bien ordonné en vie et en meurs, comme il ne soit si dur que bons et acoustuméz enseignemens ne reduisent a bien.

Item, quant au fait de ce que au gouvernement de l’empire, royaume, ou pays appartient, pour ce que diverses choses ou difficilles y sont comprises, appartient que de divers estas soient autressi les conseilliers du prince et non mie tous d’un meismes estat ne pareulx, ce n’est en une seule chose, c’est assavoir en preudommie et en bonne conscience, comme autres n’y doivent estre appelez, si que dit est du roy Charles, ne nulz de qui on ne sache la vie estre bonne et le sens expert en ce de quoy se dient estre maistres. Si y doit avoir par especial continuellement de iiii manieres d’estas conseilliers. C’est assavoir des nobles mesmement de ii manieres: les uns soient chevaliers ou escuiers tres esleuz et esprovez en l’exercice des armes lesquelz aient tout leur temps employé ou labour d’icelles, tellement qu’en tout savoir ou la plus grant partie de ce qu’il y convient soient venus a digneté et estat d’estre chevetains des autres, (fol. 17v) es offices et charges qui y conviennent, et yceulx seront propres a bien conseiller sur le fait des guerres. Car dist le Philosophe que chascun expert en son art doit estre creuz et eulx meismes mettre a euvre après la deliberacion du dit prince. Item, autres preudesommes chevaliers d’aage ou autres nobles de bon sens naturel, lesquelz aront bien retenu les choses qu’aront veuz avenir en leur temps en divers cas et saront comprendre la difference des estas du temps et des personnes. Si seront

meurs et rassis, honnestement habitez de sages parolles et bons faiz, et de belle vie et ordonné estat, et yceulx sont propices estre residenment entour le dit prince et a le conseilier sur le fait de l'ordonnance qu'il convient a ce qui est partinent au noble estat royal, et de telz appartient estre fait grant maistre d'ostel chambellans et autres offices a eulx partinans. Et a droit voir dire, bel parement et tres honorable est a court de prince pour recevoir estrangiers ou qui qu'ilz soient et pour gouverner l'estat la representacion de celle noble gent. Es autres estas sont compris clers et laiz, c'est assavoir clers legistes et autres sages, soient prelaz ou autres, ausquelz les lois aient apris droit de gouverner policie et communauté de toutes manieres d'estas de gens; ycelz sont ydoines a conseiller sur le fait de la justice, admonnester le prince que bien soit gardee, que les offices tant de la justice comme autres soient mis en bonnes (fol. 18r) mains et baillez a gens congneuz et desquelz on sache la vie estre bonne, et que souffisans, loyaulx, et preudesommes soient, non mie faire des loups pastours et des larrons maistres. Et que sur le fait des finances soit bien pourveu qu'en bonnes mains en soient les receptes et distribucions par tel ordre que superfluité de choses non necessaires, ne grans dons excessis par prodigalité, ne les disperse et despende tellement que les loyaulx debtes et droituriers gaiges en soient reculees et empeschiees, et donner remede que fraudes n'y puissent estre faictes tant des receveurs comme des distributeurs et tous autres. Doit le prince vouloir et souverainement lui doit on conseiller, que pour le fait de ses guerres bien maintenir et que plus volentiers en tel cas soit servis de privez et estranges, que ses gens d'armes soient tres bien paiez, afin aussi que moins aient de excusacion de fouler le pays et grever les laboureurs, et que quelconques droit ne les puist garder que pugniz ne soient se après leurs justes paies ilz prennent riens. Et ainsi ses vaillans preudesommes conseilleront le prince, et de l'estat d'iceulx dis legistes appartient estre fait chancelier, prevosts, et baillifs de grans juridicions, maistres des requestes, autres telz offices.

Item, les laiz du conseil qui est le iiij^e estat doivent estre bons preudesommes de bel estat et bonne vie, soient bourgeois ou autres, sages et prudens, lesquelz aient frequenté en leur vie gens de divers estas et offices tant de finance comme (fol. 18v) de fait d'escriptures et lectres royaulx et de justice, si qu'ilz soient tous stillez de fait de finances et de comptes et generalment de tout ce qui y appartient, et yceulx conseilleront le prince es voies bonnes, justes, loyalles et licites a son prouffit de fait de finances et comment sur les receptes et revenues de son royaume ou pays pourra estre pourveu qu'il n'y soit baretez et en tout ce qui y touche bien et bel l'adviseront, mais bien se garderont se preudesommes sont et de conscience de lui mettre au devant quelconques voie de traire argent extorcionnairement ne hors droit, car a leur

grant charge seroit, et ycelz gens sont ydoines es dis offices de finances et des comptes. Et ainsi et par le conseil de tous les susdis ensemble et d'autres ses subgiez avec eulx selon les divers cas qui peuent avenir, comme juristes, gens de justice, bourgeois de ses bonnes villes, marchans et aucuns du peuple quant a y estre appelez escherra, pourra le dit prince estre bien conseiliez a disposer au mieulx de tous ses affaires.

xi

Cy parle des mauvais conseilliers et du mal qui se puet par eulx ensuivre

Homo qui blandis fictisque sermonibus loquitur amico suo rete expandit gressibus suis. Proverbiorum xxix^o capitulo.

Homme, ce dit Salemon en ses Proverbes, qui par parolles douces et faintes blandist et flate son ami, ou cellui a qui se faint estre ami, fait tout ainsi que s'il espandoit (fol. 19r) rez et las au devant de ses pas pour le prendre. Après ce que avons devisé des bons, sages, loyaulx, et propices conseilliers, desquelz trop grant louenge ne pourrait estre dicte ne assez de bien leur fait, comme par eulx et par leurs sages, justes et bons consaulx puist estre tout un pays garanti et gardé, pour laquelle chose est pitiez quant tous ne sont telz; dirons la cause qui aucuns puet pervertir et destourner a estre bons dont grant meschief est quant il avient: c'est assavoir convoitise qui racine est de tous maulx et de tous vices. Pour celle doulereuse convoitise, afin de traire des seigneurs offices, benefices, emolumens et prouffis, n'estudient pas tous les conseilliers d'enquerir et savoir ce que pourroit estre le meilleur et le plus propice pour le bien et prouffit de ame et de corps, de gloire, d'augmentation et honneur au prince, auquel conseillier sont deputez et establiz afin qu'il l'en puissent ennorter et donner bon conseil; ains aux mauvais souffit seulement avoir regart d'aviser par grant diligence les tours et chemins comment argent pourra estre trait et venir ens, soit par voie droite torse au grief du peuple par tyrannie et cruaulté a grant pechié, ou autrement bien ou mal que ce soit, mais que aucunement soit coulourez que pour aucune juste cause soit, souffist assez. Et en ceste euvre se soubtillent et applicquent leur entendement par si longue pensee qu'il n'est tour qu'ilz n'y avisent. Et ainsi actraint grant (fol. 19v) malice qui les rent avisez de toutes cautelles si proprement que a conseillier les voies sont tres experts, mais que l'entencion privé d'iceulx vise au singulier prouffit du prince je tiens

que non—ains vient et naist de la tres grant male convoitise qui leur art la couraille, pour ce que bien scevent qu'ilz tendront maniere que leur part en aront et qu'encor on dira qu'ilz aront bien servy et que bon conseilliers sont et sages, dignes de tout bien. Et pis y a car tout ainsi comme une seule vertu ne se pourroit passer a par elle et que autre n'atraist, semblablement est des vices lesquelz en la maniere que les aneaulx d'une chayenne s'entresuivent et tiennent est il d'iceulx. Et pour ce le mauvais conseiller plain de convoitise ne sera pas sans blandisses et flaterie. Et soubz ce vice seront couvers ses faiz, voire aux non cler voyans. Car pour venir a la conclusion ou il tent, se soubtillera a toutes flateries. Et pour ce, afin de mieulx s'i savoir employer, considerera les condicions de son seigneur, et a quoy plus est enclin et ce mieulx lui plaist, et par ce le vouldra prendre. Et comme cil qui plus tasche a avoir sa grace que a conseiller son prouffit et honneur de ame et de corps, se gardera bien, soit en plain conseil ou son oppinion lui soit demandee ou autre part, soit en publique ou a part, de dire chose dont ne lui cuide du tout complaire quoy qu'il die contre sa conscience, et que bien (fol. 20r) sache que autrement conseiller seroit mieulx et selon verité, mais celle voie ne tendra mie. Ains, comme il ne soit homme sans aucun vice, s'il sent en son dit seigneur quelque tache en laquelle moult se delicte, si comme s'il est luxourieux, legier ou vague, ne l'en reprendra mie; ains lui dira parolles a ce propos plaines de blandisses selon qu'il sentira que mieulx lui pourroit plaire, ou s'il est junes jovent et pou enbesongnez lui tendra plais non mie de doctrine mais de choses oyseuses et plaines de folies, et semblablement des autres vices, soit cruaulté, tyrannie, rapine ou autres malefices, en tout le confortera. Si ne lui chaudra quel voye il tiengne, mais qu'a sa cordelle le puisse si atraper qu'il le gouverne du tout ou en la plus grant partie. Et celle meismes maniere tendra vers tous ceulx qu'il pensera qui lui aient besoing a parfurnir sa dicte malice. Et par celle voie sera pris le fol prince sans s'en donner de garde de cellui qu'il tendra pour amy et ne le sera mie, comme cil qui mieux en aime la plume que la char et a qui ne chault quel mauvaistié soit faicte, ne a quel prejudice, mais qu'il aviengne a ce que mauviestié encline son desconvenable desir, auquel propos sert l'auctorité cy dessus en latin.

xii

Cy parle encore des mauvais conseilliers

In multiplicacione impiorum
multiplicabuntur scelera et ruynas
eorum justi videbunt. Proverbiorum
xxix^o capitulo.

(fol. 20v) Au propos du chapitre precedent et de cestui qui l'ensuit, vraiment bien parla Salemon en l'auctorité cy dessus en latin, car n'est pas doubte que en la multiplicacion des discordans et felons, c'est assavoir en multitude d'iceulx, sont et seront toutes mauvestié multipliees, et qu'il soit vray le nous aprent pure experience. Et pour ce encores a parler des faulx menistres et desloyaulx conseillers, quant de telz en a environ grant seigneur ou puissant homme, ou monde n'est plus grant peril; voire quant ilz le sentent enclin ou condicionnez a croire et adjouster foy a leurs faulx consaulx, comme orreur ne soit qu'en teste ne lui mectent. O! s'ilz sentent qu'il soit luxurieux, adont ne faudroit mie a eulx bien travailler pour lui complaire de faire diligence partout que filles, femmes mariees et de tous estaz soient cerchees et quises, afin que leur seigneur en soit par eulx servis en les decevant par maintes fraudes qui mieulx mieulx, et qui plus en scet servir est le meilleur varlet. Et Dieux scet les faulses besongnes qui a telles occasions sont faictes et machinees. S'il est convoiteux, semblablement sont infinis les rapines, extorcions, et males toultes, dont ilz l'avisent a trouver voies de traire argent. S'il est cruel et sans pitié, hélas, les maulx qui s'en ensuivent nul ne le pourroit penser, car adont ne faudront mie yceulx a lui dire et admonnester comment jamais ne sera drois sires (fol. 21r) s'il ne persecute fort toute maniere de gent, face copper testes, mourir de malle mort, les autres emprisonne ou exile, se venche de tous desplaisirs afin qu'il si soit cremus et que nul n'ose se jouer a lui, n'espargne personne; dient que c'est justice et bien fait d'en faire assez mourir puis qu'ilz ont parlé de lui ou ne sont ses amis ou adherans ou conformez a ses volentez et opinions ou qu'il les en souspeçonne, n'est pas raison qu'il seuffre riens, ains se venche de tout comme sires et maistres. Et ainsi, selon seigneur maigniee duite, par telz moiens sont fais les mignots de mauvais seigneur, les mauvais conseillers dont pour l'auctorité que on leur voit avoir quant tel chose avient sont tellement cremus des simples et paisibles, celle maniere de gent qu'il ne leur chault qu'ilz baillent et de quel finance ilz se rançonnent a ces dis mauvais, mais qu'ilz puissent avoir leur grace et vivre en paix, et eulx qui bien le scevent ne faillent mie ou par menaces ou autrement a bien les exploier et plumer quant il les sentent riches. Si les tiennent en subjection et crainte par leur menaceuses parolles plaines d'oultrages, leur mectant sus qu'ilz ont pissié contre le souleil et bien monstrent comment. Et encores se les las innocens et sans coulpe se veuillent pacifier a eulx moiennant le leur, Dieux scet comment les desloyaulx s'en font prier, disant que bien ont desservi grant pugnicion et que s'ilz ne fussent, riens ne fust de leur vie. Mais s'il (fol. 21v) avient que aucun, ou de long temps ou de nouvel soit, choit en leur hayne

et les dis mauvais voient oportunité d'eulx en vengier. O, quel cruaulte est la consommee! Je croy qu'il ne soit martire assez souffisant a pugnir les faiz qui lui mectent a sus. Si est par tel gent semee discorde et discencion, tant en particulier comme en la policie publique, et ce est leur gloire pour ce qu'en telz troubles prengnent ilz leurs proies, si que on dit que la mort des brebis est la vie des loups, lesquelles choses a leur prouffit faire ne pourroient se cedicion cessoit. Si ne diroie le milieme se ne finoie de dire du mal qui ensuit par mauvais conseilliers et gent cedicieurs, si comme perte d'ame, de corps, d'honneur et tout bien au dit seigneur, destruction de paix et rebellion de subgiez. Mais quoy que la fortune d'iceulx iniques appere par un temps durable, quant il avient si que aucune fois est permis de Dieu comme flaiel et bature pour les pechiéz des creatures, neantmoins comme choses tant violentes ne puissent long temps durer, jamais Dieux ne les souffreroit a perpetuité, ains tout ainsi que le dit la fin de la dicte autorité en latin cy dessus alleguee, les justes verront la ruine d'iceulx, c'est assavoir que quoy que un temps soient comme regnans, les voit on en la fin par justice divine decheuz et trebuchiez, a la joye du commun prouffit. Si que il est dit en poisie ou livre d'Ovide *Methamorphoseos* de Pheton qui, par la presompcion (fol. 22r) et outrecuidance se vould mesler de mener le char du souleil, pour lequel outreciudier fu la terre et ses germes toute brouyé par ce que il ne savoit tenir le droit chemin, dont tout ardoit avant soy, mais le dieu Jupiter, oyant les clameurs des creatures par lui offensees, en parfin le bruy, fouldroia, et tempesta, celui fol qui entremis s'estoit par arrogance d'autrui ensonniment et de ce qu'a lui n'appartenoit.

xiii

Cy dit des mauvais officiers et des moiens qui les mectent es offices

Sunt impii qui ita securi sunt quasi
iustorum facta habeant. Ecclesiastici
viii^o capitulo.

Entre plusieurs autres grans maulx que de si fais convoiteux et sans conscience conseilliers que avons dit dessus puet venir, un singulier qui redonde tant au prince comme a plusieurs autres y a. C'est assavoir que par leur promocion peuvent estre mis es offices tant de la justice comme des finances et d'autres, plusieurs estas et menistres qui bons ne sont ne preudesommes, ne mesmement saiges, souffisans, ne ydoines a l'exercice que leur office requiert, ou les mectent a leur poste entour le prince et a son service, afin que s'aucun

mauvais raport venoit de eulx que yceulx le peussent estaindre ou ne le souffrissent aler avant, et meismes les mectent es offices des finances afin qu'ilz soient pour eulx a en avoir leur part. Mais tant y a que par quelque cautelle ou du leur ou de l'autrui ont finé d'argent tant (fol. 22v) que si largement en ont donné ou autres dons a celui ou ceulx qui ce leur ont pourchacié, en faisant bonne relacion de eulx et de leur vie au seigneur, en portant tesmoignage de ce que de quoy riens ne savoient, de leur bonté, que par fas ou par nefas sont la assis. Si n'est pas doubte que semblablement que par convoitise on leur a tel estat pourchacié, par celle meismes ouvreront ou fait de l'exercice des dis offices, tant pour en retirer ce que leur a cousté comme pour en enrichir ou monter tantost en grant orgueil par mener estat. Si fault aviser comment argent, dons et emolumens seront tirez a toutes mains, soit sur le prince ou autre part. Ha! Dieux scet comment sont a celle cause faiz par telz gens de grans roberies, extorcions et rapines, sans nul regart a conscience ne advis que a Dieu fault a la parfin rendre compte; la n'est point regardé. Je dis des mauvais, les bons j'en excepte. Mais pour yceulx iniques et au propos de leurs faiz parle l'Ecclesiastique en la parolle cy dessus proposee, qui dit qu'il sont aucuns mal, piteux et mauvais, tant seurs en leurs mauvaistiéz, et tant les scevent bien couvrir et palier qu'il semble qu'ilz ne facent riens fors justement, et la est le grant peril quant soubz umbre est trouvé maniere de faire grans tricheries. Et pour ce qu'en si faictes promotions de gens a mains perilz, et que assez de maulx en viennent en maints pays et lieux par ce que on tasche a pourveoir les personnes (fol. 23r) et non mie aux offices et que la souffisance est quise après l'office, laquelle chose est contre droit. Et avoient les Rommains consideracion pour ce que fait d'offices redonde universellement a la chose publique y devoit mieulx estre regardé a y bien pourveoir que aux singulieres personnes, et pourtant ne donnoient les offices par faveur, dons ou requestes de gens, ains aux plus vallables et sages. Et contre ceulx qui dient les honneurs changent les meurs, ilz ne donnoient mie les offices ains que le sens fust venus, ains actendoient le sens estre venus devant, et mesmement es offices d'armes les plus sages et les plus excitez les avoient, car ne leur souffisoit mie que homme fust seulement bon de la main, se sens d'armes n'estoit avec, comme ilz tenissent que plus prouffitoit mesmes es fais de chevalerie sens que force, et se aucun eust fait quelque entreprise follement, et hors ordre de droit d'armes et de raison et toutesvoies bien en fust ensuivy au chevetain pourtant en a cellui qui l'avoit faicte ne lui eust ja estre atribuee a honneur mais a aventure, par le contraire se une chose venist mal et toutesvoies par sens et bonne raison fust entreprise, la coulpe en donnoient a la fortune et non mie a l'entreprenant.

Et par ce appert que sens reputoient sur toutes autres choses. Et pour ce pleust a Dieu que ainsi que autre fois ay dit ailleurs sur ceste matiere, que ordre fust par tout de tenir en telz cas les manieres que jadis (fol. 23v) en avoient les dis Rommains souverainement politiques en toutes choses, c'est assavoir que les offices fussent donnez et distribuez non mie par telz simonies ou faveurs, mais par pure loyalle et vraie eleccion par preudommes bien congnoissans et par bonne enqueste, donnez aux plus vallables et mieulx dignes chascun estat porveu selon qu'il requiert, si comme en la chevalerie, si que dit est, esleuz les plus experts et sages es choses d'armes avec les circonstances des meurs qui y affierent, pour estre chevetains de degré en degré selon leur souffisance. Semblablement ou fait de la justice les apris en droit, lois et coustumes du pays, et ainsi des autres offices, n'y mectre fors gens bons et souffisans. Et en sur que tout pour obvier aux inconveniens qui a cause de convoitise peuent venir, si que dit est devant, quel que fust le savoir, n'y fust mis nul se par bonne informacion faicte sans envie et non pour tolir a aucun son bien, mais par preudesommes n'estoit sceu avant la vie estre bonne et la personne de bonne conscience et meurs louables. Et celle maniere tenoit le susdit roy Charles, le quel mesmement refusa a son frere le duc d'Anjou un office en Languedoc pour un sien serviteur, pour ce qu'il fu infourmez que cil estoit un jouer de dez, et la donna a un homme de simple estat duquel fu informez que bon et sage estoit. Et par ainsi le faire a longue continuacion convendrait tous offices estre bien excitez pour ce que veu nul y estre receu fors les vallables et bons, tous hommes desirans ataindre a honneur mectroient (fol. 24r) paine a savoir et valoir afin d'y advenir.

xiiii

Cy dit quelz doivent estre officiers et serviteurs de court

Qui vult vitam diligere et videre dies
 bonos coherceat linguam suam a malo
 et labia sua non loquantur dolum.
 Declinet a malo et faciat bonum;
 inquirat pacem et sequatur eam.
 Epistola Petri.

Pour ce qu'en l'estat des officiers dont ou chapitre cy dessus avons parlé peuent estre compris ceulx des cours des seigneurs et leurs serviteurs, quoy que d'uns et d'autres en y ait, nous semble bon qu'en difference du mal disions en cestui chapitre aucunes choses qui pour estre bons leur affierent,

quoy que a toutes gens fussent bien seans. Si est a entendre que la ou les vertus et bien faiz sont louez a tenir et suivre, par consequent les vices et malfais sont a debouter et fuir, ainsi que l'enseigne saint Pierre en son *Epistre* si que ou latin est touchié au commencement, qui veult dire ainsi: "L'omme qui veult mener rigle de bonne vie pour avoir beaucoup de bien en ses jours, doit garder sa langue de dire mal et que de ses levres ne yssent quelconques parolles de faulseté ne tricherie, delaisse le mal et l'eschieve et face le bien, quiere paix et la suivre." Ces susdis enseignemens de saint Pierre peuvent servir a propos de cinq principales condicions que doit avoir le bon serviteur ou officier de court, soit grant ou petit, de quelque estat qu'il soit; c'est assavoir amour, loyauté, bonne bouche, diligence, debonnaireté. Amour premierement a son seigneur doit (fol. 24v) avoir, en laquelle amour est comprise autant ou plus l'ame que le corps, autrement amour ne seroit; l'effect de ceste amour se doit demonstrer en toutes les choses qui peuvent touchier au bien dudit seigneur en corps, en ame, honneur, renommé et prouffit, les pourchacier, garder, avancier et maintenir de tout son pouvoir de ce que a lui appartient a faire. Et en sur que tout exposer son corps pour la deffence de lui en toutes choses justes et raisonnables se besoiing estoit; doncques, comme il soit vray, si que chascun scet, que ycestes choses soient requises en amour vray, n'est mie a entendre que l'amour soit fainte, ne que le service que le serviteur s'efforce de faire au seigneur soit seulement pour avoir sa grace afin qu'il ait du sien. Car service fait unement a celle cause n'est pas pour amour que on ait a la personne, mais a ses biens, quoy que de tel amour soient communement amez les puissans hommes, lesquelz trop se deçoivent, si que dit Tullies, quant ilz cuident ou temps de leur prosperité estre amez de ceulx qui par blandisses faines leur font acroire, comme il appere tout le contraire s'il avient cas que fortune se tourne de doulce ou amere: adont perdu la puissance, perdus telz amis. Mais comme il n'appartiengne au vray serviteur amer de tel amour, avons pour ce dit que la ii^e condicion qui lui affiert est loyauté; celle loyauté lui commandera que pour chose qui soit, et deust il mourir, ne face, ne die, pourchace ne seuffre a faire de son povoir riens (fol. 25r) contre le preu de son dit seigneur; le serve bien et loyaument, soit en prosperité ou en dure fortune, povre ou riche, en quelque estat qu'il soit; face son devoir tant que avec lui sera, et mieulx encores en aversité qu'en la prosperité. Ces choses requiert loyauté en bon serviteur. Si lui deffendra doncques qu'il ne face les faulx desloyaux contras, roberies, divers baras couvers ou manifestes que font plusieurs officiers et serviteurs de court en leurs offices pour tirer et rober sans que nulle conscience s'en facent, et dient que ne puet chaloir d'en faire gast ou

prendre assez, puis que c'est des biens du seigneur car il est assez riche. Mais ilz se deçoivent, car sans faille c'est a leur dampnacion et en rendront a Dieu compte. Et piz y a des aucuns qui soubz ombre de leurs dis offices ou service font plusieurs extorcions et roberies a maintes povres gens, si comme les preneurs pour les seigneurs et telz gens. Si ne sont telz ne bons ne loyaulx, n'estre souffers ne doivent quant sont aperceuz.

xv^e

Encores de bons serviteurs

Plures occidit lingua quam gladius.
Salomon in Proverbiis.

Si que dit Salemon cy dessus, moult de gens sont occis par le glaive de la langue. Ceste auctorité est a propos des serviteurs qui de fait trayssent leurs seigneurs en maintes guises soubz umbre de bel service par diverses flateries; sont eulx meismes moiens de leur destruction en biens (fol. 25v) ou en honneur ou meismement en personne, tel fois est venu. Ho Dieux! quel horrible malefice cy et est il pugnicion ou monde assez souffisant a tel desloyauté? Certes, je croy que non, et telz gens, je n'en doute pas, posons qu'en ce monde par quelque faveur fussent souffers, qu'en l'autre ne soient mis ou parfont d'enfer ou plus bas lieu, si que le devise Virgille, avec le faulx Judas, car plus grant mal ne pourroit estre fait que de trayr son maistre, mais tout ce pourchace Dame Convoitise quant ou cuer du mauvais est fort alumee.

Mais a propos de bonne condicion que doit avoir officier de court, avons dit que c'est bonne bouche. Ceste bonté se doit estendre en iii manieres. L'une que tousjours dire a son maistre bonnes parolles veritables, loyalles, et de bonne exortacion, a son povoir, des choses que a lui appartendra a parler. La ii^e que elle ara les leuvres closes pour taire son secret, comment qu'il soit ne pour mourir ou tout le monde gaingner, ne le reveleroit. Et la iii^e que mauvais raport ne lui fera tant en blasmant autrui a tort pour quelque envie ou particuliere hayne, afin de le mettre hors de grace, ou pour avoir le sien ou son office, ou pour quelque autre cause injuste comme a cause de flaterie et de faulse blandisse pour traire du sien par quelque fraude ou mauvaistie. Ha! de ceste bonne bouche ne se pourroit assez parler, (fol. 26r) tant de ce que lui appartient a dire comme de ce que lui appartient a taire. Ce que lui appartient a dire est verité, et se dire ne l'ose, au moins se taire et ne dire pas le contraire ne contre conscience par flaterie afin de complaire a son seigneur, se a Dieu ne veult desplaire, mais comme entour les seigneurs

soient communement pou de telz dist bien a ce propos Senecque ou *livre des Benefices* qu'il n'est au monde chose dont grans seigneurs aient si grant disecte comme de qui leur die verité, car flaterie dont sont communement servis a paines souffrieroit que verité leur fust dicte. Dist le *Policratique* que le flateur est ennemy de toute vertu, et qu'il avugle cellui qui le croit tout ainsi que se un clou lui fichast en l'ueil. Verité doit estre dicte au seigneur par son bon sergent, c'est a entendre verité dicte sagement par les circonstances de loyauté pour le bien et honneur de son dit seigneur tant de ame comme de corps, si que dit est, et telle flaterie si n'est mie doncques a entendre que au seigneur doivent estre fais rapors par flater qui soient de mauaise exortacion pour lui complaire en ce en quoy on le sent enclin, si que ja est dit cy dessus ou chapitre des mauvais conseillers, ne pour le faire rire dire parolles de mocqueries ou detraccions d'autrui a leurs disners n'a leurs esbatemens, ne les induire a pechié de corps n'a autres vices. Si doivent a telz choses ou les semblables estre closes les leuvres, si que le veult dire l'auctorité cy dessus aleguee. (fol. 26v)

A ceulx qui veullent estre bons et mener droit vie, la iiiie condicion qui affiert au serviteur est diligence de bien servir son maistre, et a tout heure estre prest, esveillé et prompt, en laquelle diligence est comprise obeissance en toutes choses quelconques justes et raisonnables. Si doit chascun savoir que n'est mie petit lien de se soubzmectre a service, car quoy que lien de mariage soit sacrement de sainte Eglise, par laquelle force est permis a l'omme de laisser pere et mere pour aler avec sa partie, neantmoins les ii parties, tous d'un accort mises en indifferens services, seront tenues durant ledit service laisser l'un l'autre, et toute obeissance de mariage gardee, toutesvoies leur loyauté pour entendre au dit service. En ceste dicte obeissance et diligence est congneus le bon servent ou officier, car en ce puet prouffiter doublement, c'est assavoir tant a son maistre en lui portant le prouffit, bien, honneur et plaisir qu'il puet et doit selon qu'a l'exercice de son office appartient a faire, comme a lui meismes en desservant bons gaiges et grans biens faiz et remuneracion par son bel et bien servir. O, quel grant bien est bon loyal serviteur! Certes trop ne pourroit estre remuneré ne de bien fait ouquel n'ait flaterie ne adulacion. De pure flaterie que c'est, afin que nul ne²⁰ cuidast que bien et diligemment obeir et songneusement servir, estre esveillé et prest pour vacquer a son service et a son maistre ou maistresse, faire et dire tous plaisirs bons, raisonnables et sans (fol. 27r) pechié, garder sa

20. The word "ne" may be crossed out.

paix sans murmure et sans en riens qui soit licite desobeir ne mesfaire fust tel chose, flaterie non est sans faille. Ains est fait de bon loyal preudomme serviteur ou servante le faire ainsi. Droite flaterie est quant le servant, pour complaire a son seigneur, lui fait mauvais rapors de chose de pechié, soit de fait de finance ou de femmes, de cruaultez ou de quoy que ce soit, et pourchace le fait et quiert et l'en sert, contre le bien de son honneur et de sa conscience, afin qu'il ait sa grace pour en tirer prouffit en chevance et estat. Si dis que tel serviteur n'est ne bon ne loyal, car il aide son maistre a tresbuchier en enfer et lui meismes avec. Item, la v^e condicion du bon servant est qu'il soit debonnaire si qu'il quiere pais et la garde. Ho, la bonne condicion en officier de court ou servant que qu'il soit, car par lui moult de biens peuvent estre faiz! Si comme appaisier meismement seigneur s'en aucune chose le voit mal meu contre qui que soit, et par ses doulces parolles, s'il est tel qu'il lui appartiengne a parler a lui, le desmouvoir se aucune pugnicion vouloit faire sur aucun aculé a tort par envie si que maintes fois est fait a court. La nature de tel homme est de tousjours dire bonnes parolles et de mettre paix entre les descordans et rioteux a son pouoir, de ne blasmer nullui, de excuser volentiers gens et avoir pitié des defoulez. Et quant il veult dire quelque chose, il avise avant la main que riens ne die qui puist tourner a desplaisir de nullui ne a blasme, ne dont (fol. 27v) rancuneuse response lui doie estre dicte. Amy est a tous et a Dieu premierement, qui souverainement aime les paisibles; doulce chiere et benigne porte; salue volentiers et honneure gens; gracieux est en fais et dis; et est tel homme naturellement amé du plus des gens. Mais par l'opposite, l'omme rioteux, noiseux et discordant puet esconmouvoir, non pas seulement la court d'un prince, mais tout un pays ou une ville, par semer ses mauvaises parolles, mettre discencion entre les plus prochains amis par ses riotes, faire assemblees de gent dont toute une ville se puet esmouvoir et faire du mal, tant que on ne le pourroit assez dire, et tel homme doit estre fui et debouté plus que le serpent.

Et atant fine ceste premiere partie.

Explicit.

PART 2



(fol. 28r) Cy commence la table des rubriques de la ii^e partie de ce livre. Laquelle ii^e partie fu commenciee le iii^e jour du mois de septembre après les convenances de paix rejurees en la ville de Pontoise, et que noz seigneurs de France vindrent a grant joye et paix a Paris, en l'an de grace mil iiii cent et xiii. Et parle de rechief ladicte ii^e partie a louenge et bien de paix a l'ennortement dudit monseigneur de Guyenne et de tenir les princes en amour et la chevalerie sur iii vertus, c'est assavoir justice, magnanimité que on dit hault ou grant courage, et force, en donnant exemple de son dit ayol le roy Charles quint.

Le premier chapitre parle de la grant joye de paix et s'adrece aux seigneurs.

Item, parle en louant mon dit seigneur de Guyenne en l'effect de la paix.

Item, parle a mon dit seigneur de Guyenne en l'exortant a continuation de paix.

Item, blasme cruaulté de laquelle vient et sourt guerre.

Item, commence a parler de la vertu de justice.

Item, dit des proprieté de justice et des bons justiciers.

Item, parle du mal qui vient de non pugnir par justice les malfaicteurs.

Item, dit des convoiteux justiciers.

Item, parle de bien garder justice et donne exemple du roy Charles.

Item, parle comment appartient selon justice guerdonner les bons.

Item, donne exemple des Rommains en l'election des offices.

(fol. 28v) Item, commence a parler de la vertu de magnanimité.

Item, parle a l'exortement de hault courage a mon dit seigneur de Guyenne.

Item, dit comment ne sciet a prince estre trop solitaire.

Item, dit du roy Charles a propos de magnanimité.

Item, commence a parler de la vertu de force et quel est l'omme fort.

Item, parle de vertu de force en la personne du roy Charles et devise de ses guerres.

Item, nomme les noms d'aucuns bons chevetains et vaillans chevaliers et nobles hommes en fait de guerre du temps du susdit roy Charles.

Explicit la table de la deuxieme partie.

(fol. 29r) Cy commence la ii^e partie de ce livre laquelle parle a louenge et bien de paix a l'ennortement dudit monseigneur le duc de Guyenne.

i

Le premier chappitre parle de la grant joye de paix et s'adrece aux seigneurs

Qui seminant in lacrimis in excultacione metent. Psalmus.

Plus que ne pourroie dire, et ne cessasse, ne saroie actaindre a exprimer la tres grant joie dont mon cuer est rempli presentement, a cause de ceste glorieuse paix de rechief confermee entre les princes françois, ja long temps par maling esperit envieux du bien de ce royaume, esté contencieux ensemble, pour lequel descort toute France tournoit a ruine, mais avoirie la prophecie du Psalmiste, par la Dieux grace, nous, les bons subgiez de France, desireux la tourmente estre cessee, semant en lermes et plours noz oroisons, recueillons par divine vertu en esjouissement; c'est assavoir, sommes venus a noz loyaulx desirs voyant ceste paix, pour laquelle en habondance de leessee tressaillans comme tous hors de nous meismes, nous entreconjouissons et faisons feste. Comme il ne soit cuer humain et bien disposé de loyal foy en l'amour de son prince, et desireux du bien de la chose publique, piteux du mal passé, fraternel et charitable a son prouchain, qui a present en grant consolacion ne doie mener joye. O Dieux! et qui ne la menroit, voyant cessez les occisions, les grans (fol. 29v) cruaultez, les ruines, les rebellions, l'orgueil e de vile et chetive gent, le fol gouvernement de menu et bestial peuple, le prince comme asservi et le despris des nobles, et a brief dire, les infinis maulx et detestables tourmens qui ont couru trop pires que oncques mais, ceste present annee? O! bons princes françois, de Dieu enluminez, branches royaulx yssues de la couronne, membres du chief ajoins tous a

un corps, lesquelz grant voix renomme estre nobles sur toute autre lignee, benignes, bons et de doulz sang, tres humains, sans cruaulté, rassis et raisonnables, catholiques en foy et tres crestiens, vueillés en vous toujours estre perseverance de paix sans oubli des maulx avenus et qui avenir pourroient a cause du contraire, si que pitié de tel destruction, quelque accident qui avenir puist, vous deffende a jamais plus encheoir a consentir tel guerre. Si soient par vous voz labours et consaulx reparees les dures ruines de ce batu royaume, au bien de la couronne et augmentation de la chose publique, par tel maintien que doresenavant on puist vivre en maniere deue et ordre de droit justice bien gardee, et par ces poins tenant le monde en paix acquerrés la grace de Dieu et du monde, chascun vous louera et revendra droit ordre en tous les estas qui trop s'estoient desrengiéz de leurs droiz estres par divers accidens; les nobles entenderont a la deffence de la couronne et la chose publique si que c'est leur mestier, (fol. 30r) le clergié aux lois et sciences, les bourgeois a ce que leur appartient, marchans a leur marchandises, les ouvriers a leurs mestiers, et laboureurs a leurs labours. Et ainsi chascune chose en son droit renc sans entreprendre les uns sur les autres plus que raison ne donne, et adont sera la policie en son droit canal qui trop a esté desrivé et hors droite rigle; Dieux par sa grace ainsi faire le vous octroit. Amen.

ii

Cy parle en louant mondit seigneur de Guyenne en l'effait de la paix

Sicut placidum mare ex aspero
celumque ex nubilo serenum hilari
aspectu sentitur, sic bellum pace
mutatum plurimum gaudii affert.
Titulo 2^o. Cassiodori.

Encores a toy et de rechief si que dessus, tres noble et excellent prince, dis que après la premiere joie de moy eue a cause de la paix faicte l'annee precedent entre ceulx de ton sang, si que dit est devant, delaissié mon joyeux chant, au premier encommencié et continué jusques en fin de la premiere partie de cestui volume, pour ce que matiere de paix dont je intitulai le present livre m'estoit faillie par l'occasion de gent mauconseilliéz et d'iceulx populaires et vile gent, par cui conjurais et conspiracion le bien de paix a esté puis troublé. A present, veu l'orage et tempesteux tourment, qui tant de nobles cuers a troublez par divers meschiefs et dures aventures, cessé et

remis, par la Dieu grace, en nous continuant si que autre fois ses dignes et soubdains miracles, (fol. 30v) de bien en mieulx, sommes ores reconsilliéz, reprens ma plume a cestui jour iii^e du mois de septembre, de nouvel entrez a Paris a joye et paix noz seigneurs du sang royal longuement absentez, pour lequel joyeux venement et veue d'iceulx recommence mon chant de la joyeuse paix en cestui an mil iiii cent et xiii disant ainsi: O! quel chose est aujourd'hui ou monde plus delictable que paix? Certes, plus que ne dit le latin cy dessus allegué, oncques la marine après l'aspreté de tempesteux orage qui l'a troublee redevenue paisible, ne le ciel esclarcy de nuble et obscur temps, ne quelconques autres comparaisons que on y peust mettre ne sont souffisans a la multitude des joyes que aporte guerre tresmuee en paix, ne chose n'est regardee de si haitie et joyeux corage ne tant benuee. Doncques, jouvencel de haulte auctorité et tres noble nature par lequel tout ce bien recevons, pourquoy ne dois je continuer de toy la tres grant louenge comme devant? Car si que dit Senecque, celui est fort qui point ne brise ne part de sa constance de la bonne euvre parfaire qu'il a entreprise pour trouble qui lui puist avenir. Et n'est tu pas celui? Car comme quelconques orage ne tempeste au contraire dont as souffert assez ne t'ait peu desmouvoir du bon desir et affection de paix entre les tiens, a convenu, tant y as travaillé a l'ayde des bons loyaux, malgré toutes repunances, que ayes obtenu selon ton (fol. 31r) bon desir O saint entreprise et inspiration divine! Vraiment si que dit a propos saint Augustin, quoy que la vertu soit venue de Dieu qui le t'a inspiré et ne pas de toy, neantmoins l'euvre qui en est ensuivie si est par toy, tout ainsi comme se tu ouvroies une fenestre le souleil qui entreroit en seroit sans toy, maiz la maison qui recevrait sa clarté l'aroit par ton occasion, et je ne doubte pas, puis que Dieu t'a donné telle disposition de courage que paix veoir te soit tant agreable entre les tiens, qu'il ne t'octroit volenté de tout bien faire et garder du mal.

iii

Cy parle a mondit seigneur de Guyenne en l'exortant a continuacion de paix

Omne belum facile sumitur, ceterum
egerrime desinit; non enim in ejusdem
potestate initium ejus et finis est.
Salustius libro secundo qui appellatur
Iugurtinus.

Pour ce, tres honnoré prince, que ta noble condicion, si que dit est, se delicte en vertu de paix veoir entre les tiens si que le demonstre ton euvre, afin de te conforter a maintenir non pas seulement ou temps present mais a tousjours celle sainte voie—et il soit ainsi que souventes fois avient en divers cas que Fortune, admenistrasse de tous maulx, prepare occasions de rancunes et descors auxquelles que n’y doie estre sans meur regart obey—vueilles nocter le dit du prealigué Saluste cy dessus ou latin, de laquelle chose pour ce que guerre et bataille est emprise et commencié de legier et neantmoins, si comme (fol. 31v) il dit et experience le nous certiffie, en est tousjours la fin tres povre et tres miserable. Et si n’est mie conclusion de bataille en la puissance de la plus fort partie la victoire ne de ceulx qui la maintiennent, mais en la distribucion de Fortune, par voulenté de Dieu. Te sont doncques necessaires deux choses par especial afin que le bien de paix soit tousjours avec toy. L’une est avoir a memoire sans oubly et devant les yeulx le mal qui vient par guerre et bataille, et comment en la continuacion d’icelle plusieurs royaumes ont esté destruis et desers, et le peril de Fortune que nul ne tient en main, pour laquelle regart et consideracion ne te soit legiere chose croire conseil d’entreprendre guerres ne la deliberer, par especial et sur toutes riens guerre civile, c’est assavoir contre les tiens ne tes subgiez, ne la souffrir avoir entre eulx comme nulle soit tant prejudiciable, si que le tesmoigne l’Euvangille et mesmement la present experience.

L’autre que tu tiengnes et quieres toutes les manieres bonnes et propices a conservacion de paix, si que dit est devant, et l’opposite escheves, c’est assavoir tiengnes les princes en amour de toutes les parties, tant en la benivolence de toy comme en l’amistié d’entre eulx, par tel mantien et si sagement qu’ilz aient cause de remanoir en paix et non faire au contraire. Et mesmement se quelque fois avenoit que aucune estincelle de rancune se voulsist ralumer, que par bonnes voies tantost l’estinguisses. La chevalerie et les (fol. 32r) nobles semblablement, lesquelz sont les outilz dont tu te dois et pues aidier a faire l’ouvrage de la deffence de ton pays sans lesquelz ta seigneurie est nulle, dois chiers tenir et en amour et leur faire des biens afin de les plus obliger a toy. Car si que dit Salemon en ses *Proverbes*, qui a que donner il a regner, c’est a entendre que par dons et bien faiz s’aquierent les cuers des hommes et est impossible autrement. Ceulx que tu saras bons et feaulx a toy, donnes leur cause qu’il perseverent, car appartient a servent bien servir et a seigneur bien guerdonner. Ceulx mesmement que souspeçonneras, les actrais se tu pues par bonnes chieres et dons et les lies a toy par sermens, car si que dit Tullies, on ne puet avoir trop d’amis ne pou ennemis, et ne seuffres nul par oppinion estre villenez et sans trop vehemente presompcion de mesprison,

non mie tant pour la singuliere personne d'icellui, mais afin que autre ne le tirassent a mauvais exemple en toy. Et de ces manieres tenir te soit mirouer et lecçon de ton bon ayol le susdit roy Charles, lequel non pas seulement les siens tenoit en amour par dons et biens fais, mais semblablement acquerroit l'amistié de ses ennemis par telles voyes, et en ce demonstra bien son grant savoir et prudence, si que dit sera en lieu et temps cy après, car plus acquist par sagement tenir voies doulces et d'amistié que ne fist par armes et fais de guerre, et ainsi faire le conseillent tous sages.

iv

(fol. 32v) **Cy blasme cruaulte de laquelle vient et sourt guerre**

Quemadmodum precise arbores pluribus
ramis repullulant et multa satorum
[. . .] numerum tollendo parentes enim
liberique eorum qui interfecti sunt
propinqui et amici in locum singularium
succedunt. Seneca libro *De clemencia*.

Dit Senecque que tout ainsi et en la maniere que les arbres qui sont trenchiéés recroissent de rechief, par plusieurs branches et gictons en moult de diverses manieres de souches se fourchent et ressourdent, ainsi et par tel maniere la cruauté royale acroist et multiplie nombre d'ennemis en faisant plusieurs gens mourir, car les enfans ou prochains d'iceulx succedent en hayne du singulier, c'est a entendre pour un ennemy sont ressours plusieurs. Ceste proposition pour servir contre cruauté ou elle seroit, pour ce que es consaulx des princes, selon les matieres ouvertes de divers cas, sont maintes opinions divulguees, aucune foiz contraires ou moult differenciees l'une de l'autre, chascun au mieulx selon son avis. Neantmoins, si que dit Senecque, le sage conseiller ammoneste le prince qu'il ne se fie trop en sa puissance et force; veu que trop plus est grande celle de Fortune, pour tant doit estre deslouee toute tel voye comme chose violente ne puist avoir duree, afin que mal n'en conviengne. Car si que dist Tullies: "Le sage est pourveu du bien et du mal ains qu'il lui aviengne," et pour ce ne se treuve il deceu. Et tout soit ce la propriété des sages ouvrer (fol. 33r) par conseil garde soy un chascun qu'il soit bien conseillié. Car si que dit saint Gregoire: "L'omme puet eschever le peril quant en est avisé." Et pour ce disoit Juvenal: "Prudence pourvoit au temps a venir et pour tant a aqaise deité qui l'a." Ce acorde Bouece disant: "Il ne souffist pas congnoistre les choses presentes mais celles a venir ou qui

avenir peuent,” car n’est pas doubte que tout ainsi que par cause de cruauté on a veu mains maulx avenir diversement et en plusieurs lieux, puet en semblable cas avenir en toute place ou elle est excitee, et comme ce doye tourner a exemple aux voyans, dist Juvenal: “Cellui est sage qui se scet garder par les autrui perilz.”¹ Et pour ce garnis ta maison d’eau se vois le feu prouchain. Car l’omme, ce dit Orace, bien pourveu sera seur en tous les estas. Mais comme il soit vray que telles excecucions cruelles se facent quant il avient, et communement, pour aucune de iiii raisons qui s’ensuivent ou pour toutes iiii ensemble, puet bien avenir: c’est assavoir hayne, envie, vengeance, et convoitise. Par aucune hayne particuliere ou ennemistié a achoison d’aucun cas, si comme avoit la femme que Herode maintenoit, qui estoit femme de son frere, pour ce que saint Jehan Baptiste l’en reprenoit elle procura qu’il eust la teste coppee. Envie si comme ot Chayn sur Abel, pour ce que mieulx valoit que lui l’occist. Et comme orent les freres de Joseph etc. Par vengeance, si que firent les enfans (fol. 33v) Jacob, pour leur suer qui ot esté violee occirent le roy qui ce avoit fait. Convoitise, si que fist Achas, pour avoir la vigne de Naboc le fist condampner a mort ou David, pour avoir la femme de son chevalier Urie le fist mourir. Par flaterie se fait aussi, laquelle vient de convoitise, si que firent les faulx serviteurs du roy Daire qui occirent leur seigneur pour cuidier complaire au roy Alixandre et en avoir salaire, ou ceulx qui tuerent le vaillant chevalier Pompee pour la faveur de Cesar; quoy que telles mauvaistiés faire soient aucunefois pour contenter le murmure du monde coulourees soubz umbre de justice, ou que on les y vueille coulourer, ne doit estre obey a telz mouvemens, car si que dit Senecque, l’omme surpris d’ire ou hayne et convoitise ne voit, n’ot, n’entent, ne pense, ne parle, fors toute forcenerie, sans nul regart a conscience ne autre peril. Et de ce disoit bien vray Cathon que ire et convoitise avugle tellement l’omme que il ne voit la loy, mais la loy le voit bien: c’est a dire qu’il n’apperçoit le peril du dangier de la justice ou il se met executant par fait son malefice. Lesquelz deffaulx sont trop orribles en ceulx qui y sont enclins, et par especial aux vrayz princes, non tirans, a qui appartient seignourie, ausquelz Ovide dist: “Vaincs ton courage, tu, homme qui toutes choses veulx vaincre.” Et semblablement dit Senecque: “Tu qui veulx soubzmettre toutes choses, soubzmes toy avant a raison, et se raison te gouverne tu (fol. 34r) seras gouverneur et se voulenté te gouverne tu seras gouverné.” Mais pour declairier quel chose est droite justice et a quoy bonne en dirons cy après.

1. B mg: “felix, quicumque dolore alterius discas posse cavere suum” [perhaps initially quoted from Latini II.74.9, where it is attributed to Juvenal, but here with original Latin text, in fact by Lygdamus, transmitted within Tibullus *Carmina* 3.6].

Cy commence a parler de la vertu de justice

Beati qui custodiunt iudicium et faciunt
justiciam in omni tempore. Psalmus.

Après ces choses dictes vendrons a la ii^e vertu, que avons dit en la premiere partie qui affiert et est convenable a toy, Loys de France, et semblablement a tous princes, c'est assavoir justice. De ceste est a entendre que ceulx sont justes qui la font et tiennent en tous temps, c'est a entendre en toutes causes, et yceulx sont beneurez, si que dist le Psalmiste. Et pour ce a toy, auquel appartient beneurté, convient ceste vertu. Et a dire que est justice, c'est si comme une loyalle despensiere qui distribue et depart a un chascun tel part et porcion qui lui est deue par ses faiz, soit de bien ou de mal; ceste te convient il avoir et ouvrer par elle, comme riens ne soit plus partinant a roy ou prince. O! quel bien t'ensuivra se tu bien la gardes! Certes, et ne doubtes du contraire, que se en toy l'amour d'icelle est bien fichiee, que non obstant soient les tours et tresbuchemens de Fortune divers et tres merveilleux, meismement vers les plus haults eslevez a la fois avient, ceste te sera escu et defence contre toutes nuisances et t'amenra accroissement toute prosperité et triomphe. Si redondera cestui bien (fol. 34v) premierement a toy mesmes par souverain merite vers Dieu qui te commande ainsi le faire quant il dit: "Amez justice entre vous qui jugez les terres." Et après generaulment a tous tes subgiez pour deux raisons: l'une car les mauvais n'oseront persecuter les bons pour ce qu'ilz saront bien que ta droituriere justice les pugniroit; l'autre que nul n'ara envie de devenir mauvais quant chascun sara que tu soies le pugnisseur d'iceulx. Si aront cause d'eulx amender et par ainsi convendra estre paix entre les tiens, laquelle chose est la gloire et augmentation de toute royaume, si que dit est.

Cy dit des proprietiez de justice et des bons justiciers

Tamdiu iudex [dicitur] quamdiu justus
putatur. In epistola quinta Senece.

Si que dit le Latin cy dessus, tant longuement le juge est dit bon comme longuement il est réputé juste. La propriété de ceste bonté en justice, a proprement et en brief dire, est ne faire pour quelconque faveur au riche ne que au povre, n'a amy n'ennemy, ne laisser pour quelconque paour les choses de justice. Et pour mieulx et plus particulièrement distinguer les parties en quoy justice s'estent et

consiste, est assavoir que iiii principaulx y a. L'une, a ce que les mauvais soient pugniz, afin que par eulx ne soient les bons foulez ne le bien de paix empeschié. La ii^e, a ce que les innocens soient gardez de tort et que droit leur soit fait et a tous ayans bonne cause. La iii^e, que elle empesche et garde que maulx ne soit faiz, car ne souffist (fol. 35r) pas seulement que le bon justicier pugnisse les malfaiteurs quant ont fait le delit, ains doit avoir regart aux inconveniens qui par yceulx peuent venir ains que le mal soit fait et y pourveoir. Et la iiij^e, a ce que les bons soient meritez et remuneréz de leurs bien faiz. Ces iiii principaulx membres de justice, lesquelz après s'estendent en plusieurs parties selon les divers cas, tu aras en toy se es ameür d'icelle, si que dit est, mais pour les mettre a effect, pour ce qu'il est impossible que un seul prince peust souffire en plusieurs lieux, lui convient pour mettre en son lieu divers menistres et lieutenans en toutes ses juridicions espandus. O prince debonnaire, a parler de ceste matiere, non mie en particulier mais en termes generaulx, pleust a toy meismes, car a Dieu bien plairoit que, tant en temps present comme en cil a venir, fusses par tel ferveur ameür de ceste vertu que tes menistres a l'exemple de toy n'y voulsissent ou osassent errer, oncques tant de bien n'avint en ce royaume; doncques est il ainsi que bons menistres y convient par lesquelz elle soit a chascun distribuee selon son merite. Et qu'appartient il a yceulx, tes lieutenans? A nom Dieu, estre sages afin que cler voyent en toutes causes et que erreur ne soit en leurs jugemens, qu'ilz craignent Dieu afin que convoitise par faveur ou flaterie ne puissent estre corrupus, preudesommes et justes a tenir main droite a tout homme sans que nul s'en puist plaindre, (fol. 35v) doulx et humains afin que les povres et simples s'osent tirer vers eulx quant tort leur est fait. Et quel bien puet venir de telz justiciers? Ha! certes n'est nul qui le puet extimer: tout premierement, par justice ainsi maintenue grace vers Dieu en sera acquise. Item, tres souveraine louenge au prince. Car si que dit le proverbe commun, aux menistres congnoist on le seigneur. Si le clamera chascun juste.

Item, la gloire et augmentation de la contree. Car marchans et toutes gens volentiers s'y traïront pour ce que paour n'aront que on leur face tort. Et ainsi y affluera toute richece et bien et joye.

vii

Cy parle du mal qui vient de non pugnir par justice les malfaiteur

Quia non profertur cito contra malos
sentencia absque ullo timore filii
hominum perpetrant mala.
Ecclesiastici viii^o capitulo.

Mais comme ce soit chose notoire que tous justiciers ne soient mie bons ne telz que dit est, y assigne la cause a quoy se puet tenir l'auctorité cy dessus en latin, c'est assavoir pour ce que on sueffre tant et si longuement les mauvais en puissance, les hommes sont plus hardis de faire divers maulx, qui est a entendre que la negligence et non coustume de ne prendre garde sur les mauvais de telz offices le temps passé a donné licence de plus eslargir en mauvaistié ceulx qui de fallaces et divers fraudes se scevent bien aidier. Pour laquelle deffaulte est la chose tant acreue en mainte court que (fol. 36r) soubz umbre de justice, tel fois avient, y fait on puet estre extorcions et cruaultez orribles et detestables. Mais pis y a quant tel chose avient et on ne s'en ose plaindre. Adont est la pitié que tel verité conviengne estre teue par crainte ou par faveur, qui est chose prejudiciable tant au prince comme au bien publique, mais l'achoisson de cest inconvenient est communement la chose qui engendre tous maulx et tous vices, dont parlé avons dessus, qui meismement corrupt maint conseilliers et officiers de court, c'est assavoir celle maudite desloyal Convoitise. O, Convoitise, racine de tous maulx et de tous vices! certes qui t'acompera au gouffre d'enfer lequel tant sache engloutir d'ames ja n'est assouvis bien te nomma a droit, comme riens ne soit plus insaciable que est le cuer du convoiteux, auquel faire et perpetrer tous maulx a celle cause n'empesche a ce qu'il s'en faut de l'effaict ne mais la non puissance, car quant est de l'ueil de conscience, tout l'avugle dame Convoitise.

viii

Cy dit des convoiteux justiciers

Per que peccat quis, per hec et torquetur.
Ecclesiastes.

Aucuns pechiéz sont par especial si que je treuve qui portent a proprement dire leur enfer avec eulx, c'est assavoir envie et convoitise. Envie runge le cuer de celui ou elle est si que tout le consume, ne autre bien ne lui fait.² Convoitise met l'omme quant il en est espris a tel soing et (fol. 36v) tourment qu'il n'a repos pour l'ardeur d'acquiesce; ne jamais ne lui cesse.³ Et pour ce dist bien l'Ecclesiaste cy dessus allegué: "Par les choses que aucun peche il est et sera tourmenté." Et dist Bouece: "Nul vice n'est sans paine,

2. B mg: "Invidus alterius rebus macrescit opimis" [Horace *Epistulae* 1.2.57].

3. B mg: "Quesita vorans seu rapacitas nouos pandit hiatus" [Boethius *Philosophiae consolatio* 2.2.9].

ne vertu sans loyer.” Salemon: “L’iniquité du mauvais le tresbuche en la fosse.” Mais a dire encores au propos de ceste convoitise qui trop ne se puet vituperer. Certainement, se tel plante est mauvaise et venimeuze ne fait a merveiller, car aussi ist elle de plusieurs detestables racines, comme le desir des convoiteux aux aucuns soit d’avoir deniers a cause de prodigalité pour donner aux folz ou emploier en gloutonnies et maintes lourdes despenses, aux autres pour plus monter en pompes que ne leur appertient, aux autres par une envie contre leurs prochains d’avoir plus qu’ilz n’ont et de les surmonter par force d’avoir. Et les autres amassent a grant labour a cause d’une paour et miserable doubte qu’ilz ont tousjours de pou avoir et de quelque male fortune qui leur puist venir; yceste gent pour avoir qu’ilz aient ne sont contens et n’endurent a bien faire a eulx ne autres, pour ce qu’ilz cuident eschever par force d’avoir tous inconveniens, maiz de ce sont trop folz et laidement deceuz, car de telz maloustrus on a veu maintes fois occirre vilainement pour avoir le leur. Si cuident par finance eschever male fortune et ilz la se batissent. Et ceste maniere de convoiteux sont les pires (fol. 37r) pour deux raisons: l’une pour ce que l’avoir qu’ilz ont est tenus cloz et amassé en coffre qui est comme perdu, car s’il courust plus en commun plusieurs gens s’en aydassent; l’autre car eulz meismes sont tant chetifs qu’ilz meurent de froit, de fain, et de mesaise, mal vestus et honteusement habillez, costé leur avoir, mais tout ce leur fait souffrir paciemment dame Avarice, et ainsi sont povres paillars sans honneur ne quelconques aise en habondance d’avoir, et puis vient la mort, qui les prend doulereusement sans bien fais en ame ne en corps, et est le leur dispensé en se mocquant d’eulx et a grant joye, comme parens n’en facent conte pour ce qu’il nul bien ne leur faisoit.

Mais a notre premier propos, O Dieux, quel peril! Quant tel vice s’embat en cuer de justicier il n’est plus de meschief; la est fait du droit tort et de tort droit par force de dons, riens n’y a reservé: cil est digne de mort ou a mauvais cause, contre lequel dons sont presentez. Helas! mais pis y a, car semblablement que dit est devant des mauvais conseillers et serviteurs, est grant le peril quant flaterie s’y embat. C’est assavoir, quant pour avoir la grace du prince qu’ilz sentent enclin plus a une partie que a l’autre, se condescendent a faire jugement a la volenté d’icellui et non mie selon droit, ou a retarder sentences pour l’innocent ou a les donner, ou en autres divers cas, contre droit, pour faveur de seigneurs d’autres amistiez ou (fol. 37v) inimistiez, n’est mie doubte que telles flateries ou semblables, qui toutes dependent dudit vice de convoitise, pour acquerir et avoir la grace soit du prince ou autre, afin d’en recevoir dons, emolumens, et prouffit, ou plus avoir port et durer longuement en office, sont detestables, escommeniéz,

et au grief dampnement du juge et de celui ou ceulx a quel faveur est fait. Et pour ce dist Boece: “Les faulx amis portent flaterie en lieu de conseil et deçoivent souef.”

ix

Cy parle de bien garder justice et donne exemple du roy Charles

Justicia rectorum liberabit eos et insidiis
suis capientur iniqui. Proverbiorum xj^o
capitulo.

O tres honoré prince, escoute que te dit Salemon en ses *Proverbes* de ceste noble et digne vertu de justice, et certes, puis que elle meismes gardera ceulx qui droiturièrement la gouverneront et par l’opposite ceulx qui y seront corumpus, leurs meismes deffaulx les pugniront, et y seront pris toy et un chascun prince et toute bonne personne, afin d’estre bien gardez et deffendus et eschever la pugnicion de Dieu, la doit bien garder de son povoir. Et comment garder, c’est vouloir et de fait ordonner que sur toute riens elle soit faicte a un chascun, tant au petit comme au grant, si que dit est, sans nul espargner, pugnir les deffaillans selon les dessertes, non mie en plus grant rigueur que le cas requiert, mais (fol. 38r) droiturièrement par droit regart, et que les innocens soient deffendus, les causes des povres expedies, et non souffrir aux riches les fouler par leur force. Et dist Salemon que justice regarde deux choses singulièrement: l’une est que le justicier ait volenté et desir de prouffiter a tous, et l’autre est de non nuire a nullui. Et ce commande meismes la loy naturelle. Et dist Tulles: “Oster les mauvais d’entre les bons n’est pas nuire; ains est valoir.” Si comme se aucuns membres de l’omme fussent ja mors et porris par maladie, les retrenchier et copper, afin que ne nuississent aux autres, seroit valeur a l’omme et non nuisance aux membres. Et pour ce disoit Senecque: “Le juge est dampné quant le malfaicteur est absoulz.” A ce propos sans faille se pourroient assez trouver d’auctoritez, comme moult en aient escript les auteurs. Mais pour venir aux exemples de ton bon ayol, Dieux! comment la gardoit il et vouloit que souverainement fust gardee! Qui fu oncques en son temps qui plaindre se peust d’injustice? Par si que la plainte en venist a ses oreilles ne fust pas besoings a qui cause en fust, car certes n’y espargnoit si que faire se doit estrange ne privé, quelque grant qu’il fust, si comme maintes fois le demonstra a de ses plus privez. Si comme une fois un de ses mieulx amez chambellans, qui ja nommer n’est besoing, pour ce qu’il avoit feru un de ses sergens a sa court,

a trop (fol. 38v) grant paine pot estre respité par moult de prieres, meismes de ses propres freres et autres du sang royal, qu'il n'eust le poing coppé selon le droit, mais neantmoins oncques puis ne fu tant en sa grace et ne sçay que plus on pourroit dire de l'empereur Trayen, dont les histoires font si grant mencion de sa justice, et que il meismes descendi de son cheval ou il estoit montez pour aler a la bataille pour faire droit et justice a une femme qui lui demandoit, car le roy Charles, qu'en fist il moins a Saint-Germain-en-Laye une fois qu'il y estoit, et une bonne femme, si que il issoit du chastel pour aler a la chace, vint crier a ses piéz se plaignant d'un de ses serviteurs, que elle avoit logié en son hostel, avoit efforcée une sienne fille, lequel incontinent bien infourmez du cas, après la confession de lui meismes, n'en vult oncques ouir requeste de remission; ains tantost commanda qu'il fust pendus a un arbre a le veue de tous si que les autres y prencissent exemple. Et par ainsi le faire et continuellement justice tenir, si te promet, tant estoit cremus que chascun se gardoit de mesprendre. Et mesmement a parler de justice, ne vouloit il meismes aucune foiz ouir des cas qui venoient devant ses maistres d'ostel qui touchoient ses privez serviteurs et plusieurs fois en determina?

Le x^e

(fol. 39r) **Cy parle comment appartient selon justice guerdonner les bons**

Speciali tamen hiis est agendum
clemencia quos fouet vita laudabilis et
honestas. Guido in exordiis *Summe* sue.

Nous avons dit devant que la iiij^e propriété de justice povons prendre en ce que elle s'estent aussi bien a remunerer les bons que a pugnir les mauvais. Doncques, a propos de parler a celle entencion, puet assez servir la sentence du latin cy allegué ou nous povons entendre que a ceulx que on voit estre vertueulx et bons, si que il semble que ilz s'i embellissent et nourrissent, doit on par especial faire les grans biens et les benignes chieres et honneurs. Et comme ceste parolle se puist adrecier principalement aux princes et seigneurs, pour ce qu'en eulx est tant de guerdonner les bons de leurs bien fais, comme de pugnir les mauvaiz de leurs deliz, dirons a ce propos en ce chapitre, pour ce que besoing fust que ainsi on feist des remedes qu'en tant de deffaulx qui cueurent au jourd'hui pourroient s'il leur plaisoit mettre les princes. Si sont par especial deux. Le premier est que maniere tenissent les dis princes que les mauvais fussent pugniz sans nulle espargne de faveur,

qui qu'ilz fussent, selon les cas de leurs deliz, et non par hayne nullement mais en droituriere justice, et les vicieux et de male meurs et non vallables deboutez quelque grans ou riches qu'ilz fussent conte n'en fust fait ne a court bien venus. L'autre est que ordonnance fust (fol. 39v) donnee et tenue que les bons, vertueulx, et vallables fussent selon leur dessertes, qui mieulx mieulx, grandement honnourez et remunererez, mis avant, ne d'autre gent ne fust fait conte. Tout en la maniere que le faisoient les vaillans Rommains, si que autre fois ay dit, parlant de ceste matiere, comme trop on n'en puist dire. Lesquelz en tous les estas Rommains ne prisoient nullui s'il n'estoit vallable et vertueux, c'est assavoir que nul chevalier ou gentil homme n'avoit quelconques honneur ne degré en office d'armes quelque, gentillesce qu'il eust, se avant ne l'avoit gaingné par vaillance et prouesce de son corps, et selon que ilz faisoient de bien estoient de plus en plus honnourez et remunerere. Mais afin que de ce fussent bien infourmez et le bien ne fust oublié, on mettoit par escript les voyages, les entreprises, les fais d'armes, et toutes les vaillances dignes de memoire que y faisoit un chascun. O! que pleust a Dieu que ainsi ores fust fait; il en y aroit de plus honnorez et moins qu'il n'a, comme il en soit moins vaillans aujourd'hui qui plusieurs choses ont faictes dignes de grant reputacion et memoire que on a si comme oublié. O! quel desplaisir a gent de bon corage veoir gent de grant value, en royaume tant renommé et ouquel toute noblesse se souloit traire et estre a son droit regardee, que a present on n'y face si comme compte des bons. Et d'autres pour un pou ou neant d'aparance sans grans faiz, mais qu'en grace d'aucuns soient, sont mis avant (fol. 40r) et ont les honneurs.

xi°

Cy donne exemples des Rommains en l'eleccion des offices

Nichil est virtute praestancius nichil
pulcrius et bonum est et optabile
quidquid ex huius geritur imperio.
Seneca in epistola ad Lucilium.

Au propos de quoy nous parlons de donner louenge aux vertus, c'est assavoir aux personnes vallables et vertueuses plus que a quelconques autre chose, veult dire Senecque cy dessus que comme riens ne soit plus noble que vertu, riens plus bel, bon, et delictable par sus toutes choses comme droit empire, doivent estre exaulceez les vertueulx. Et pour ce ou dit temps des Rommains quant venoit a visiter les livres de la chevalerie ou estoient escrips les dis bien

faiz d'un chascun, selon les rapors d'iceulx, on les eslisioient a chevetains et gouverneurs des autres, et semblablement s'enqueroient de leurs meurs, car quelque proesse que ilz eussent ja homme mal moriginez n'y fust esleuz. Et disoient homme non estre digne d'onneur qui ait courage corumpu par vices et males meurs.

Semblablement enqueroient du gouvernement de tous leurs autres officiers et selon qu'ilz estoient sages et moriginez on les exaulçoit. Si n'estoit adonc chose nulle dont homme eust si grant cure comme d'acquerre bonne renommé, car comme alors on ne feist conte d'autre richesse et estas, si comme bien y paru au vaillant chevalier et duc (fol. 40v) de l'ost des Rommains, Fabricius, qui n'ot point de honte d'estre veu des ambassadeurs notables de ses ennemis mengier a table seant sus une petite fourm, servi en escuelles de bois, quoy que bien l'eust amendé se convoitise fust sa maistrece, mais la largesse de tout distribuer aux bons si que riens ne lui demouroit ne lui souffroit. Estoit en vertu toute leur estudie pour ce que richesse, estat, et vesteure ne faisoit riens quant a honneur, et disoient qu'ilz vouloient que leurs paremens fussent en eulx meismes et non pas dehors si que larrons ne le peussent tollir ne embler, lesquelles choses sont vertus. Et par ycestes manieres tenir est la cause pourquoy si vaillans gens estoient les Rommains, tant en prouesce d'armes comme en prudence, science acquise, et preudommie, et en toutes choses qui affierent a hault et esleu gouvernement, que oncques puis ou monde les pareulx ne furent. Et tant que ainsi le continuerent seigneurirent toutes terres, mais quant orgueil s'i commença a bouter et que leurs mauvais seigneurs vindrent, qui a convoitise et leurs singuliers prouffis tiraient, failli leur seigneurie.

Et pourquoy cuides tu que es temps anciens fussent la gent plus valables, tant les nobles es armes comme les clerks es sciences, gent de justice et tous autres, que ores ne sont? A nom Dieu, pour ce que on les y nourrisoit en leur donnant cause d'estre telz par le tres grant conte que on tenoit des bons et le despris en quoy (fol. 41r) on avoit les non valables. Doncques et quant tel faisoit estre bons et noblement moriginez ceulx de lors, mesmement qui paiens et sans loy estoient, est a presumer que trop mieux encores devoient valoir et prouffiter en vertu les crestiens d'ores ausquelz faire le contraire certes est trop grant reproche.

Ha! comment fait bien a propos de ceste matiere ce que devant ay dit du roy Charles qui ainsi le faisoit, c'est assavoir que par tout ou il oyait parler des bons les envoioit querre et avoir les vouloit, fust en l'office des armes, fust en science ou en autres vertus, et Dieux scet et aussi font autres encores vivans se gent solempnelz avoit en grant reverence et en faisoit grant conte,

et comment en honneurs, estas, et bien faiz les maintenoit, certes on ne peust mieulx. Et par ainsi je conclus que par la coulpe des seigneurs est, si que autrefois ay dit, que gent ne valent mieulx pour ce que les honneurs et bien faiz ne sont pas donnez aux vertus, mais aux riches estas, mais se par l'opposite fust vaillance seroit exauciee et rapine jus mise, laquelle chose, comme elle tournast tant a prouffit commun comme par propre, pleust a Dieu que fait fust.

xii^e

Cy commence a parler de la vertu de magnanimite que on dit hault corage

Magni animi est placidum esse et
tranquillum, quietumque et injurias
atque offensiones spernere et despiciere.
Seneca libro *De clemencia*.

(fol. 41v) La iii^e vertu que avons dit qui affiert a prince est magnanimité, que on dit hault courage. La propriété de ceste, ce dit Senecque, est que elle fait l'omme paisible, debonnaire, souef, rassis, doux, et reposé, et desprisier et mettre en non chaloir injures et offenses. O, la noble vertu en grant seigneur voire en tout noble homme! Car plus fait elle encores que dit n'est dessus; c'est que elle rent la personne resplandissant en ses faiz, fait parler de lui, surhaulce sa dignité, le rent redoubté, craint, amé, et le repute en honneur ou courage d'un chascun, et a brief dire tant y a de bien que riens n'est plus convenable a prince et a grant seigneur. De ceste vertu, afin de encores mieulx donner a entendre que c'est, si que nul ne soient deceuz d'entendre ce que elle consiste et porte, pour ce que aucuns innoranment pourroient cuidier que orgueil, presompcion, et fierté, qui sont lais et mauvais vices, viengnent de grant courage, et c'est tout le contraire, si que dit est. C'est assavoir que la vertu de hault ou grant courage, ou elle est fichiee, fait l'omme tel qu'il desprise toutes viles et basses choses, ne sa pensee ne se pourroit adonner a quelconques riens fors a euvres belles, bonnes, et que font a prisier. Tel homme communement desire renommee non mie pour lui, mais pour donner bon exemple. Et pour ce n'est en ce monde riens qu'il tant hee comme lais vices et mauvaises meurs (fol. 42r) et laides taches, et mieulx vouldroit mourir que de lui peust estre raporté veritablement quelconques villenie. Il s'esforce de valoir en toutes choses. Il enquierit que est prudence afin que par sens sache conduire son hault courage; tel homme a

haulte maniere et contenance rassise, non mie par orgueil, car riens n'est qu'il tant desprise, mais pour l'estat du degré ou il est. Il est en parolles sage, tres benignes, courtois, et debonnaire, n'a moult de langaige, ne volentiers dit chose qui ne soit d'aucune value. Joyeux visage a entre les siens; il les aime et en veult estre amez; se honneur, service, et loyauté lui portent, grandement leur guerdonne; diligemment s'occupe ou bien de la chose publique, et ne pert temps en fatras et ne s'empesche de vices et basses choses; tousjours voudroit ouir parler de besongnes vertueuses; ne se courrouce de legier ne de petis mesfais ne fait grant conte, ne grant vengeance ne quiert de pou de chose; ses jeux et ses ris sont atrempez; ne voudroit faire tort a autrui, ne souffrieroit pour mourir que on lui feist; sa parolle et promesse est estable et ferme sur toute riens—ne point ne mentiroit; tel homme ne delibere pas sans grant advis, mais riens n'est plus constant es choses deliberees; ou fait de ses guerres est diligent et cault, fier contre ses ennemis et hardis comme lions, doulx, piteux, et humains aux vaincus et a ceulx que se rendent. (fol. 42v) Tel homme desprise convoitise et het avarice, ne desire avoir que pour largement donner a ceulx qui le vallent; tort fait lui desplait sur toute riens, ne le feroit ne souffrieroit faire de son povoir ne de riens n'est plus dollent que quant gent se peuent plaindre a juste cause; ses pensees ne cessent de querir voie de tousjours acroistre en haulte renommee et fame. Telles et autres toutes bonnes sont les condicions du hault courage en prince et en tout noble homme qui ytel l'a, chascun en son degré.

xiii

Cy parle a l'exortement de hault corage a mondit seigneur de Guyenne

Videtur quidem magnanimitas ornatus esse virtutum. Aristotiles in *Ethicis*.

Magnanimitate regnum in precio est. Aristotiles in *Politicis*.

Materiam virtutis habes rem profer in actum. Galterus in *Alexandride* de verbis Aristotilis.

De ceste vertu de magnanimité ou grant courage a proprement dire, dit Aristote cy dessus ou latin que c'est le parement parquoy les autres vertus sont en honneur, qui est a entendre que elle exaulce et demonstre les

autres: c'est que cellui qui l'a, convient que on voie en lui reluire par euvre les autres; autrement ne seroit magnanimité, comme elle ne puist estre seulle. Et pour ce dist il ailleurs que c'est la chose par quoy un prince est plus prisié de ses subgiez que le veoir avoir hault corage; pour tant disoit Aristote a Alixandre: "Enfant, prens en toy corage (fol. 43r) fort et magnanime, et se tu as matiere de vertu (c'est se tu as cause de t'evertuer, ce que si as), si mets la chose a execucion (c'est a dire, si le demonstre par euvre)." Ceste parolle, tres noble prince, se puet adrecier a toy comme a Alixandre, dont il me semble certainement veues les proprietiez de cest magnanimité ou hault corage entre toutes les vertus te estre bien seant, et semblablement a tout prince et haulte personne, et pour ce, comme tu soies cellui, est convenable t'y duire et confourmer du tout des ta premiere juenece, non mie seulement que tu l'ayes ou saches que c'est, mais que par elle tu euvres, car si que dit saint Augustin, pou vault savoir que est vertu qui ne la met a effect. He! noble jouvencel, plaise toy aucunement prendre plaisir a penser comment c'est belle chose veoir prince, meismes en son juene aage et tousjours en croissant, de bien en mieulx parez de belles duissions et manieres que ceste dicte vertu contient, c'est assavoir desprisier vices sur toutes riens et desirer atraire toutes bonnes meurs et belles manieres, tant en effect comme en contenances et parolles, comme riens ne soit plus agreable a veoir que est prince sage, amoderé, de belle faconde en mantien et discrete parleure, vers Dieu et son service faire son devoir, a ses consaulx ententif aux opinions des sages conseillers, aux estrangiers gracieux en seigneuri et bel accueil, chascun recevoir selon son degré, de grant amour vers ceulx de son sang, honnorer (fol. 43v) les bons et vaillans, voulentiers ouir parler de leurs faiz, rendre guerdon a ceulx qui le desservent, doulx, humain, gracieux, traictables, joyeux, a point en temps et lieu, et ou il appartient en ses jeux et esbatemens courtois, amoderé, et sans effroy en tous aages.

xiiii

Cy dit comment ne siet a prince estre trop solitaire

Homines magni intellectus et voluntatis
sunt naturaliter aliorum domini et
rectores. Aristotiles in *Politicis*.

Si homo in celum raptus esset omnia
que mirabilia ibi prospiceret dolendum
ei foret, non habere cui revelare posset.
Archita Tarentinus ut Tullius recitat.

Naturaliter animal civile homo est.
Aristotiles in primo libro *Ethicis*.

Debent tua gentibus esse facta palam
nec crede dari regalibus umquam
secretum viciis. Lucanus.

Principis est omnia cognoscere quod
non potest fieri in solitario. Egidius in
libro *De regimine principum*.

Encores afin de mieulx demonstrier que cestui hault corage soit plus convenable a prince que autre, ay produit en tesmoignage les dis a propos des aucteurs, car puis qu'il est ainsi, si que dit Aristote au premier cy dessus ou latin, que les communs hommes meismes qui ont grant courage et bon entendement par droite nature soient constituez d'avoir la prerogative sur les autres, par plus forte raison toy et tous autres princes ja establis aux seigneuries et gouvernemens de (fol. 44r) grant multitude de gent, vous est tres necessaire. Et pour ceste chose bien demener, encores des manieres convenables a prince, comme il ne soit plus grant plaisir aux subgiez de bonne foy et amour que de veoir et estre en la presence de leur seigneur, que il ne se doie tenir en trop grant solitaireté; dit le Archita Tarentin que se un homme avoit esté ou ciel lui seroit grant durté s'il ne povoit dire a aucun les merveilles que veues y aroit, qui est a entendre que c'est naturel et convenable plaisir a homme parler et deviser a autres. A ce propos dit Aristote: "Homme de sa nature est civil," c'est que il converse volentiers gens. Et dist Egidius: "Les faiz d'une prince doivent estre en appert, car s'ilz sont mauvais si ne peuvent ils estre cellez," et encores dit ycellui: "Il appartient au prince congnoistre de tout, laquelle chose ne se pourroit faire lui estant trop solitaire." Et pour ce se doit tenir volentiers en presence des nobles et des siens sans trop grant difficulté d'estre veuz, donner convenable audience a heures competans a ceulx qui ont a besongner a lui, ne prendre nulles manieres ne usages desconvenables et mal seans a prince, tant en mantien et contenance de corps et parolle comme en maniere et ordonnance de vivre, si que dire on ne puist de si haulte personne qu'il fust pou sage, fel, despit, blasphemeur, de laides meurs et mal ordonnee vie. Toutes ces choses, a brief dire, quoy que assez d'autres bonnes en y ait, conviennent a hault (fol. 44v) corage⁴

4. P "de prince. Item, avec ce affiert au dit grant courage" inserted here by CW.

si que dit est, desprisier basses choses, esquelles sont entendues qu'il ne perde le temps qu'il doit emploier au bien du gouvernement de sa seigneurie et subgiez en fatras et choses enfantelines et femenines en fait et en parolles, ne qui a preu ne peuvent venir. Car de telz choses henter pourroit ensuivre despris de ses subgiez qui a trop grant mal lui pourroit tourner que on le reputast pour tout [fol]⁵ ou nices et simple, qui ne sont les propietez de grandeur.

Item, avons dit qu'il appartient a grant courage avoir haultes pensees en choses d'onneur en desir de mettre a effaict; les haultes pensees en honneur a prince sont faiz de chevalerie, tant en ce qui touche les entreprendre comme en la deffence de son pays et de ses propres terres. De laquelle chose, si que chascun scet, est plus licite la deffence que l'entreprise, comme l'une soit de Deu et l'autre de volenté, mais neantmoins en toutes ii sont congneues les propretez de hault courage, car ne fait pas moins a prisier celui qui bien deffent que celui qui bien envaist, mais que telz choses par especial doivent estre menees par le conseil des experts en telz fais dist Saluste: "Le conseil doit aler devant l'euvre," mais "après long conseil briefve expedition," ce dist Lucan. Et pour donner exemple de l'effect de ces choses dirons après les raisons dictes des faiz du prealigué roy Charles.

xv^e

Cy dit du roy Charles a propos de magnanimité

Telo animus praestancior omni. Ovidius
in *Methamorphoseos*. (fol. 46r)⁶

A cause de ceste magnanimité que tres grans choses soient a homme possibles a faire le tesmoigne en pou de parolles Ovide cy dessus allegué, ou il dist: "Il n'est si bon glaive que le corage," c'est a entendre que toute force d'armes est riens se grant courage ne la maine; pour ce fu dit ou proverbe rural: "Le cuer fait l'euvre." Et pour ce par exemple fait bien a ce propos de rechief ramentevoir le susdit roy Charles, lequel sans faille par effect ne faillie a demonstrier son noble et hault courage, tres dont qu'il fut couronnez qui fu en assez juene aage. Car comme il avisast son royaume estre si grandement appetissiéz par les guerres passees, comme de toute la duchié de

5. Supplied by CW from *P*—blank space in *B*.

6. The folios marked 45 and 46 in the manuscript are reversed. Here, as in Willard's edition, the correct order of the text has been restored, but the manuscript folio numbers are kept.

Guyenne ou apendent xii contez et maintes citez, villes, et terres, comme La Rochelle, la cité de Poitiers et autres, et en Picardie la conté de Pontieu, celle de Guines, qui sont des drois fiefs de France, et plusieurs autres terres que les Anglaiz tenoient, sans redevance faire quelconques, comme choses a l'espee conquises. O! son hault et grant courage ne pot ce souffrir, ne que reproche peust estre ou temps a venir que toy et ceulx qui le succederont fussent de tant apovris d'onneur et d'eritage.

Et pour ce par tres grant courage deliberé par sens mist la main a l'euvre, qui n'estoit pas petite, mais s'il avoit cuer bien le demonstra quant lui se veant apovris par ses predecesseurs es guerres passees par long temps continuees, tant d'ommes comme de revenue et finance, oser esperer recouvrer le sien par effect (fol. 46v) de guerre. Or pert il que c'est que de grant corage conduit par sagece, quel grant fiance il rent a cellui qui l'a. De laquelle chose ne fu mie deceu, si comme il y pert, car tant par effect y ouvra, en appellant sage conseil par grant cure et diligence et par l'exercice des bons qu'il avoit actraiz pour y emploier, si que est ja dit devant, que la Dieu grace, lui ne se mouvant de son trosne royal en ses riches palaiz, seulement disposant des faiz, recouvra non pas a pou de paine, car fort resistance y trouvoit, aucques tout ou la plus grant partie de la dicte duchié et toutes les autres terres perdues par ses dis predecesseurs, en laquelle euvre bien fu avoirie la parolle de Vegece, qui dist: "Es choses de chevalerie arme toy plus de force de corage avecques sagece que de fer ne d'acier," qui est a entendre que trop plus y font que ne fait force d'armes.

xvi

Cy commence a parler de la vertu de force et quel est l'omme fort

Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.
Virgilius in *Eneyede*.

La iiij^e qui t'appartient, tres redoubté prince, est la vertu de force qui moult est convenable avec magnanimité, qui sont si comme l'une naissant de l'autre, et n'est mie a entendre de force corporelle ne puissance, ains est a dire purement force de corage. Cy dit Virgille cy dessus que la propriété de ceste est subjuguier les orgueilleux et pardonner aux humiliéz et soubzmis, dont on puet entendre que ceste parolle ne s'adrece (fol. 45r)⁷ fors aux princes et

7. See preceding note.

puissans hommes comme il n'appartiengne a un chascun de humilier les haultains et pardonner etc. Et par ainsi puet on entendre semblablement que ce n'est mie a dire force de corage que il soit dur, aspre, ne obstiné si que on ne le peust desmouvoir d'aucune mauuaise opinion ne faire condescendre a pitié et a telz choses, maiz est cuer tant atrempeement affermez que il soit tout temps prompt et prest a resister puissamment contre les hurs que Fortune lui pourroit bailler, tellement que pour quelconques malle aventure, perte, miseur, ou mescheance ne peust estre brisiéz ne tresbuchiéz en desconfort ne de sa fermeté desmeu, et semblablement ne le souffreroit monter en arrogance pour quelconques prosperité. Ceste vertu paignoient et figuroient les anciens comme une dame armee, de laquelle portoit l'escu et la lance dame Constance qui l'accompaignoit, car de force voirement est constance la droite compaignie sans separacion. Ceste fait l'omme voirement endurer tous pesans faiz sans qu'il lui poisent, ne semblent durs n'amers les communes grans choses réputé estre petites. Il est prest de porter froit, chault, fain, dur giste, et toutes povreté tres constamment se besoiing est pour soustenir justice, vertu, et droit, ne riens a entreprendre ne y perseverer ne lui en est dur. Tel homme ne dispose pas ses faiz sans grant advis ne les entrepente sans prudence, et pour ce y euvre constamment, ne de legier n'est pas desmeu (fol. 45v) de son entreprise n'espoventé pour quelconques chose; son esperance ne fonde sur legieres besongnes ne s'encline a croire parolles petit voir semblables; pou de chose ne trouble pas tel personne n'empesche de son opinion; flateurs ne losengeurs ne veult escouter selon les enseignemens des sages. Car de ce dist Tullies: "Nulz agaiz ne sont si perilleux comme ceulx qui se tappissent soubz flaterie," et par tel chose fu Troye destruite et autre cité mainte, et pour ce disoit Macrobe: "Flateur vault pis que lierre." Si n'est sans cause se tout bon homme les desprise. Le fort corage aime les vertueulx et ceulx qui lui ressemblent et pres de soy les tire. O Dieux! quantes fortes emprises a ceste vertu fait a eschever qui comme impossibles semblassent a traire a fin, comme il ne soit a paine tant grant chose que le affermé courage de l'omme fort ne puist traire a chief.

xvii

Cy parle de la vertu de force en la personne du roy Charles et devise de ses guerres

Fortitudo in eo laudatur quia circa
difficillima et circa maxima pericula.
Aristotiles in 3^o libro *Ethicorum*.

Pour ce est force de courage louee entre les vertus, ce dit Aristote, que elle surmonte et est puissant entre les difficilles et perilleuses choses. C'est a dire que, pour ce que enporter pesans faiz et penibles convient grant labour, paine, et travail, qui fort chose est a constanment l'endurer, doivent avoir grant louenge ceulx qui perseverant (fol. 47r) souffremment en bonne euvre jusques en fin. Et par exemple, si que dessus, qu'il soit vray de ce que valoir puet en corage de prince, encores de cellui susdit bon roy, ton ayol. Car dont pourroies-tu penser que lui venist d'autre chose tant grant constance et assuree perseverance qu'il ot ou fait de ses guerres par lui continuees—comme grandes, pesantes et perilleuses fussent, aucques toute sa vie—ce n'est de fort et puissant courage? Car comme eust-il autrement souffert la pesenteur, tant du grant soing et diligence mise et despensé qui y convenoit, comme des hurs et diverses aventures, puis pro, puis contra, qui en faiz de guerre avienent, se en soy meismes grant force n'eust, comme bien peust trouver voye de traictier a ses ennemis se la chose vouldist laisser imperfecte? Mais qui est ore le prince, ne ou fu il oncques veu, en toutes choses plus circonspect, sage, et tres fort? Car tant avoit le fait de la guerre parfaictement a cuer, et si sagement toutes choses y dispoist, que pour y estre loyaument et plus honnorablement servis meismes ceulx de son sang et ses plus prouchains y vouldt emploier, si comme ses propres freres qui bien leur lieu y tindrent, c'est assavoir le duc d'Anjou, tres vertueulx seigneur et de grant courage, premier frere, qui puis fu roy de Secille, y conquist avec la quantité de gens d'armes que le roy avec lui avoit commis grant part de la duchié de Guyenne, la ville de La Rochelle et tres grant foison fortresses.

Item (fol. 47v) le duc de Berry, qui encores est vif, conquist la cité de Poitiers et celle de Limoges, et en Languedoc foison forteresses et en Auvergne semblablement. Item, le duc de Bourgongne, qui fu le tiers frere, en Picardie la ville d'Ardre et grant partie de la conté de Pontieu. Item, le duc de Bourbon, qui son serourge estoit, et bien le dot tenir pour frere, car vaillant et tres bon seigneur fu, avec le bon connestable messire Bertran de Claquin conquist, a tout l'aide des barons du lieu, aucques toute Bretagne dont le duc qui adont vivoit lui estoit rebelles, et autre part semblablement en plusieurs lieux esprouva sa vaillance, et ainsi, puis ça, puis la, contre les ennemis les dis seigneurs se transportoient. Et a notre propos de la force et vaillance du susdit roy, est assavoir qui plus fait a nocter que non mie au roy d'Angleterre seulement avoit guerre, mais semblablement tout en un temps au roy de Navarre, qui lors vivoit, et au duc de Bretagne, si que dit est, pour lesquelz guerres lui convenoit tenir continuellement gens d'armes en v ou en vi lieux es frontieres et par le royaume ou meismement sur mer, c'est

assavoir en Guyenne tres grant ost, si que dit est, en Picardie semblablement, en Bretagne, en Languedoc, en Auvergne, ou le duc de Berry, si que dit est, bien besogna, et en Normandie, ou le duc de Bourgongne conquist maint fors, chastiaux, et bien y esloita.

Item, sur mer a garder les passaiges (fol. 48r) continuellement y tenoit le bon admiral monseigneur Jehan de Vienne a tout xxv ou xxx galees, tres bien garnies de gens d'armes de trait et de quanque il convient, sans les autres barges et autres vaisseaux qui, courant la mer, maint encombrer faisoient aux ennemis. Et a tout ce le tres sage roy par sa grant prudence et force bien et bel fournissoit.

xviii

Cy dit des noms d'aucuns bons chevetains et vaillans et nobles hommes en fait de guerre du temps du sus dit roy Charles

Vere fortis est circa bonam mortem
inpavidus. Aristotiles 3^o libro *Ethicorum*.

Le vray fort, ce dit Aristote, est celui qui pour l'amour de vertu ne doute la mort. A propos pour ce que c'est chose notable et de bon exemple, et qui a grant honneur et loz doit tourner a ceulx qui furent servans ce noble roy Charles ou fait de ses justes guerres tant haultement conduites, dont avons cy devant parlé, et grant joye aux hoirs qui ouir le pourront, c'est chose convenable, après ce que avons devisé du seigneur, comme tout se revertisse en une meismes honneur, que disions de ceulx qui le plus communement en propre personne s'i emploioient comme droiz fors et de hault courage sans paour de mort, si qu'il paru a leurs faiz comme dit est. Afin aussi que le nom par espace de temps ne peust estre effacié de si notable gent, est expedient le mettre en livre et en faire memoire, au moins des aucuns; comme tout dire y convendrait (fol. 48v) long conte, dirons de ceulx qui le plus communement occupez y estoient. Premièrement les iiii nobles freres dudit roy, si que dit est, le bon connestable Monseigneur Bertran de Claquin, lequel tres vaillant chevalier, si que dit le proverbe commun que selon le seigneur est la maisniee duite, estoit tel que appartenoit au seigneur qu'il servoit et qui bien savoit congnoistre et remunerer selon leur desserte. Les autres chevetains principaulx estans continuellement sur les champs estoient du sang royal: le conte d'Alençon, le conte du Perche son frere, le marechal de Saincire qui puis fut connestable, le marechal de⁸ Blannule, le seigneur de Cliçon, le

8. We follow Willard here in inserting "sain cire qui puis fut connestable le marechal de" from *P*.

seigneur de Coucy, le Begue de Vilaines, le seigneur de Montfort, le seigneur de Montauban, celui de Roye, Monseigneur Guy de Rochefort, Messires Olivier de Mauny, Messieurs Jacques Daulphin, maistre des arbalestiers, le seigneur de Bueil, le seigneur d'Asseyne de Gales tant qu'il vesquit, le poursuivant d'Amours Messire Omenion de Pommiers, et autres barons, chevaliers, et nobles hommes vaillans et preux dont je n'ay congnoissance, et plusieurs capitaines estrangers a grant foison, car n'est mie doubte que de toute bonnes gens s'estoit le sage roy si bien pourveuz que riens n'y convenoit, tant de gent de trait comme de tout autre estorement de guerre, dont je puis conclurre⁹ en fin de ce chapitre, a mon premier propos, que veu la notable ordonnance de cestui prudent roy ainsi mise a effect, que plus en estoit cause la force de son noble courage que premier (fol. 49r) principe en estoit, que meismement la force de sa tres grant puissance qui y estoit employee. Et atant fine la ii^e partie de ce livre.

Explicit.

9. The word "de" crossed out.

PART 3



Cy commence la table de la tierce partie de ce livre qui parle de bien gouverner le peuple et la chose publique sur trois autres vertus. C'est assavoir clemence, liberalité, et verité.

Le premier chapitre parle en louant la vertu de clemence et benignité en prince. i.

Item, dit comment ceulx du peuple doivent estre compris en la paix. ii.

Item, parle de la force et puissance de France quant elle est a unie en soy meismes en bonne paix. iii.

Item, du mal qui avient par mauvais homme puissant et qui ait seigneurie. iv.

Item, encores de mauvais seigneur, du grief qu'il fait et du mal qui en vient. v.

Item, comment c'est grant (fol. 49v) honneur a prince tenir tous les estas de la policie en leurs degrez, et ainsi qu'il appartient. vi.

Item, comment peuple doit estre traictié doucement par bon prince. vii.

Item, de ce meismes, exemples de la sainte escripture. viii.

Item, parle de plusieurs signes d'amour que Dieux a demonstré a peuple. ix.

Item, ensuit un epistre adreçant au peuple, qui parle a leur exortacion et enseignement par exemples comment desplait a Dieu rebellion et murmure de commun vers seigneur. x.

Item, comment il n'appartient que les menus populaires soient mis es offices et estas de la cité. xi.

Item, parle du peril que c'est de donner a menu peuple plus auctorité qui ne leur affiert. xii.

Item, des manieres bonnes a tenir afin que les nobles fussent en tout temps excercitez aux armes. xiii.

Item, ramentoit le peril et mal qui ensuit et puet ensuivre de guerre civile afin de se garder de n'y encheoir. xiiii.

Item, la maniere comment appartient a prince tenir le menu peuple afin de le garder de presompcion et cause de rebellion. xv.

Item, tire, a propos de la vertu de clemence en bon prince, exemples du sage roy Charles. xvi.

Item, encores du roy Charles, comment par sa sagece, clemence, et benignité acquerroit tousjours terres et amis. xvii.

Item, comment le sage roy Charles amoit science et honnoroit clers et clergie. xviii.

(fol. 50r) Item, dit d'aucuns exemples que Dieux envia a princes crueulx. xix.

Item, comment cruauté vient d'orgueil. xx.

Item, dit des pugnacions que Dieux envia a princes orgueilleux. xxi.

Item, commence a parler de la vertu de liberalité, de quoy elle sert et comment elle est convenable a prince. xxii.

Item, parle de la vertu de largesse et de quoy elle sert. xxiii.

Item, de convoitise et du mal qui en vient. xxiiii

Item, parle du blasme qui est dit du vice de convoitise. xxv.

Item, parle encores soubz la vertu de liberalité: la bonne ordonnance que¹ le susdit roy tenoit en oyant requestes. xxvi.

Item, parle des beaux ouvrages que le susdit roy fist faire et comment faisoit gaingner les gens du peuple. xxvii

Item, parle des grans charges et affaires que le dit roy Charles avoit en fraiz et mises, et comment non obstant ce, tout se fournissoit bien et bel en paye et despense. xxviii.

Item, dit des manieres que le roy tenoit en honnourant les estrangiers. xxix.

Item, parle de la largesse du dit roy et la discrete maniere qu'il tenoit en fait de donner dons. xxx.

Item, commence a parler de la vertu de verité et comment elle doit estre en prince. xxxi.

1. B "que que."

Item, demonstre comment c'est grant laidure estre le vice de mençonge si commun en tous les estas qu'il est. xxxii.

Item, parle de l'ordre et maniere de belle eloquence en prince. xxxiii (fol. 50v) Item, dit encores de l'ordre de parleure selon la science de rethorique. xxxiiii.

Item, loue n'avoir moult de langaige. xxxv.

Item, comment c'est chose mal seant a prince estre ayreux et parler furieusement. xxxvi.

Item, blasme volupté de corps en prince et estre trop habandonné a plaisirs charnelz. xxxvii.

Item, encores de ce meismes et louenge de l'ordre de mariage. xxxviii.

Item, commence a parler en brief d'aucunes des vertus devant dictes en les approuvant par auctoritez, et premierement de justice. xxxix.

Item, comment appartient a ceulx qui sont venus et descendus de haulte atrace et lignee le demonstrier par euvre. xl.

Item, le grant mal qui puet venir a prince par le vice de paresce. xli.

Item, comment le prince doit volentiers communiquer entre les siens. xlii.

Item, comment le prince ne doit amer flateurs xliii.

Item, comment doit avoir certain ordre es fais et maniere de vivre du prince. xliiii.

Item, de charité partinant a prince. xlv.

Item, d'aucuns enseignemens d'Aristote . xlvi.

Item, parle en concluant de maintenir amistié. xlvii.

Item, le derrain chapitre et la fin du livre. xlviii.

Explicit

(fol. 51r) Cy commence la iii^e et derreniere partie de ce livre, laquelle parle de bien gouverner le peuple et la chose publique sur iii vertus, c'est assavoir clemence, liberalité, et verité.

i

Le premier chapitre parle en louant la vertu de clemence et benigne en prince

Clemencia non tantum honestiores
sed tuciores prestat, ornamentum enim
inperatorum est et certissima salus,

tirannorum execrabilis et brevis potestas
est. Seneca libro *De clemencia*.

En continuant tousjours notre matierelle paix ainsi que devant, excellent et tres redoubté prince, en ceste iii^e partie en laquelle esperons traictier des manieres pertinans a prince de gouverner son peuple, parlerons a ce commencement de la vertu de clemence, qui est la v^e des vii vertus que devant ay dit qui t'appartiennent; de la propriété de ceste dit Senecque cy dessus allegué que elle ne donne pas seulement honnesteté aux princes, mais aussi tres grant seureté, et que c'est le droit aournement des empereurs et certain salut. Et par le contraire est desplaisant la maudite puissance non durable des tirans. Or pues tu doncques veoir comment propice chose est a tout bon prince estre clement et humain. De ceste clemence et debonnaireté que ce soit tres eslevé vertu nous en donna exemple proprement Jhesu Crist, qui souverainement la demonstra en soy meismes en tout le cours de sa vie, laquelle vie est instruction de (fol. 51v) tout bon crestien, et pour ce la loue l'Euvangille. Ceste fait l'omme estre benigne et debonnaire, piteux et courtois en fait et en langage, vouloir le bien et l'acroissement d'un chascun, le pourchacier et y tendre de son pooir youldroit. Ceste vertu entre les autres est celle qui a grant seigneur fait plus actraire d'amis estranges et privez, et qui plus le tient avec tous en paix et concorde. Et qui la reputacion de sa personne fait estre plus esjoyssable et vouldentiers veue; tesmoing ton bon pere le roy Charles vi^e, qui a present regne. Lequel pour l'impression que chascun a de sa tres grant benignité et douceur et que amyouldroit estre a tous et a nul nuire. Riens n'est plus désiré de son peuple que sa noble presence. Ceste vertu fait hair tirannie, cruauté, et toute mauvaistié, convoitise, qui sont vices tres impertinans a seigneur, et lesquelz se aucun les avoit ne pourroit estre amez comme ilz soient contraires a nature humaine. Et quel plaisant chose cuides tu que ce soit au subgiet, de quelque faculté ou estat qu'il soit, quant il sent son seigneur si humain et tant debonnaire qu'il n'ara pas en desdaing d'ouir son humble requeste, supplicacion, ou complainte de quelque grief se on lui fait, ains l'escouterà benignement et le voudra entendre et doucement lui en respondra? Certes, ceste benignité le rent si amant son dit seigneur que il mourroit pour lui se besoing estoit. Et par tout (fol. 52r) crie et renomme celle grant debonnaireté. O! la noble vertu en grant seigneur et qui riens ne lui couste et moult lui puet valoir. Et certes, a parler de ceste clemence, n'y failli mie nostre prealigué bon roy Charles ton ayol, auquel toute benignité et douceur habondoit. Ce scevent ceulx encores vivans qui le servirent, de laquelle chose, comme il soit expedient pour tout bon exemple et afin

que les vertus de si vaillant prince et tant bien moriginé ne soient oubliéés, parlerons plus a plain cy après.

ii

Cy dit comment ceulx du peuple doivent estre compris en la paix

Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi
justicia et pax osculate sunt. David.

Pax plenum virtutis opus, pax summa
laborum, sidera pace vigent, consistunt
terrea pace. Prudentius libro *De pugna et
viciorum et virtutum*.

Pour entrer en la matiere de parler de la faculté et estat du peuple, soubz ceste vertu de clemence, dont sommes entrez a traictier, et a propos de paix, disons que comme chose soit si impossible tenir et garder une grant communauté que plusieurs d'eulx, par simplece, mauvais conseil, ou autrement, n'en courrussent maint deffaulx, veu nature humaine estre de soy encliné a tous vices la ou discrecion et raison ne l'en garde, laquelle raison est petite communement es menus populaires, par ce que grant admenistracion d'enseignement de choses vertueuses et que c'est que bien en difference (fol. 52v) du mal, ne les endoctrinez en leur temps, parquoy maintes en y a on puet veoir ne estre gaires plus que bestes quant a raison, est chose neccessaire, tout ainsi que se un bon phisicien estoit establi a garir le corps d'un homme malade par toutes ses parties, et il en reservoit a garir les jambes et les piéz ou autres menus membres, on ne tendroit mie la cure estre belle ne tout le corps sain, est semblablement du corps universel de la policie de ce royaume dont le prince est le chief, soit compris en la cure de ceste glorieuse paix avec les autres ceulx du peuple, quoy que, sans faille par l'exort d'aucun de eulx tres iniques et dignes de grant pugnicion, aient esté petitement conseillez au moins une partie de eulx et follement creu, tant en aucuns espoiz contre ta reverence comme autrement. Mais neantmoins pour le bien du corps tout ensemble il est l'eure que vient apropos ce que dit David cy dessus allegué au commencement ou latin, que misericorde et verité ont rencontré l'une l'autre et justice et paix se sont entrebaisiéz, qui puet estre entendu a ce propos que quoy que verité soit que maint maulx aient esté faiz dignes de grant pugnicion, neantmoins convient que misericorde encontre celle verité. C'est assavoir, souldoye la rigueur qui y affiert, et pour ce est il dit après, justice et paix se sont entrebaisees. O! benoit soit celui baisement, et comme il nous

soit neccessaire dit après l'auctorité suivant: "Paix est la plainitude de toute vertu (fol. 53r) et la fin et somme de toutes noz euvres et labours, les estoilles ont leur mouvemens ordonnez par bonne proporcion, concorde, et paix, et pareillement les elemens et les choses basses." Par ceste raison appert que sans paix ne pouons vivre deuement ne selon vertu. Et doncques, puis que afin de avoir paix sont tous noz labours, si que il dit et il est vray, soit mise toute peine que elle soit gardee entre nous, creatures raisonnables, si comme elle est es autres choses que Dieux a crees, si que dit est.

iii

Cy parle de la force et puissance de France quant elle est aunie en soy meismes en bonne paix

Totius Gallie consensui orbem totum
resistere non posse. In gestis Iulii Cesaris
habetur.

Nulum sapientum de re publica
cognovisse credimus qui non Galliam
maxime timendam putaverit. Cicero
libro *De provinciis consularibus*.

Ne queso ne tanta animis assuescite
bella nec patrie validas in viscera vertice
vires. Virgilius in *Eneyde*.

Comme il aviengne de commun cours que faveur a soy meismes ou envie avugle et destourne l'omme a jugier au vray de l'autrui chose, quelque bonne ou belle qu'elle soit, ne en semer louenge, doit doncques estre creu, comme il me semble, quant il avient que estrangers certiffient autre contree que la leur estre magnifique, et de grant auctorité, et par especial gent qui sur tous se present; pour ce le di que non obstant fussent ceulx de Romme haultains sur toutes nations du monde et que riens a peu ne leur sembloit de value (fol. 53v) fors eulx, neantmoins est il temoigné es gestes de Julius Cesar si que ou latin cy dessus est dit, que se France estoit aunie ensemble et sans division seroit puissant a resister contre tout le monde.

Item, semblablement Cicero, prince rommain de tres grant savoir, veult dire ailleurs que tous ceulx qui proprement ont sceu escrire et diviser de puissance de pays, ont tesmoigné France estre fort et puissant en guerre sur tous pays et qui tres grandement fait a redoubter et craindre.

O noble filz de roy attendant la couronne, et quant les estrangiers tesmoignent tel vigueur es François s'ilz sont aunis, toy, a qui ceste chose touche après ton pere plus que autre vivant, te dois bien tousjours pener que l'accident qui puet empeschier France de tel excellence soit du tout effacié et remis ne que jamais n'y soit—c'est assavoir civile guerre—car tout soit elle prejudiciable sur toutes autres, si y a il un autre plus grant inconvenient: c'est que la continuacion d'icelle se puet convertir en guerre perpetuelle et comme naturelle, si que en Ytalie le veons estre, qui trop est grant meschief et qui toute la gloire en estaint et efface. Et pour ce dit bien a entre vous princes Virgille, en l'auctorité ensuivant: "Ne vous acoustumez point a tourner voz forces par guerre contre les entrailles de vostre meismes pays." C'est a dire, ne vous efforciez point par puissance de destruire voz subgiez car contre vous meismes guerroyeriez. Et scez tu que dit Tullies de telz contencions? A nom Dieu, il dit, que le (fol. 54r) venim des guerres civiles fu premierement ordonné par la providence divine afin de humilier les grans, et que ceulx qui par trop longue prosperité se orguillissent pour ce qu'il n'est nul plus fort que eulx qui les puissent opprimer que entre eulx meismes ilz se oppressent et compriment. Et a ce propos dit Ovide que trop grant gloire nuit souvent a pluseurs. Si disoit bien Platon que les princes ou gouverneurs des royaumes, pays et citez doivent bien garder que descort ne meuve et viengne entre eulx, car ce n'est point moins de peril, ce dist il, que seroit de nef en tempeste ou les mariniers estriveroient l'un a l'autre de mieulx gouverner. Si te plaise, bon prince, nocter les dis des sages et a ceulx te confourmer, car si que dit Exopus, il n'est riens meilleur que sain conseil ne pire que faulse exortacion se elle est creue.

iv

Cy parle du mal qui advient par mauvais homme puissant et qui ait seigneurie

Sevissima est injusticia ferens arma.
Aristotiles in *Politicis*.

Heu gravem sortem quociens iniquus
aditur seuo gladius veneno. Bouecius.

Dit Aristote cy dessus que riens n'est plus horrible que injustice armee de puissance. Ensuiivant afferme Bouece que c'est dure compaignie de glaive et venim ensemble, qui est a entendre que comme la mauvaistié des hommes

pervers se puist plus demonstrer par l'effait de maint maulx es puissans hommes que es autres, n'est plus de meschief que quant advient que homme mauvais plain de venin, (fol. 54v) de cruaulté, et de bataille soit puissant. A propos, et pour traictier de diverses matieres tirant a une meismes fin de paix, dirons des causes pourquoy peuent sourdre guerres ou rebellions entre subgiez et seigneur; afin que quelque fois ne peust estre dit n'imaginé que ou proces du contenu de ce livre fust mon entencion de fouler ou courir sus aux subgiez ou peuples pour soustenir les seigneurs par aucune faveur, ou autrement ne plus favorisier aucun des estas que les autres, me semble bon de declairier et dire aucunes choses du tort qui puet venir de seigneur a subgiez, si que puet estre en pur effect ou semblable est aucune fois avenu, ou advenir pourroit. C'est assavoir que quoy que droit justice et raison permette guerres emprises pour juste cause de ceulx a qui il appartient, si comme les princes souverains, neantmoins n'est mie a entendre que le droit ne soit limité du costé des seigneurs aussi bien que des subgiez. Et de ce a parler en brief par similitude: je prens que un puissant seigneur soit tant detestable, malicieux, et mauvais que son inclinacion ne soit qu'a troubler toutes terres s'il pouoit. Et neantmoins de sa puissance se vouldra emploier a usurper ou chalengier les droiz de ses voisins.² Cestui, pour ce que fort se sentira de pays, de gens, ou d'aliéz, ou d'argent, en quoy se fiera, fera mainte extorcion,³ ou prendra debat a autres princes particuliers ou a aucun ou aucuns de ses subgiez, a son grant tort vouldra usurper le leur, et pour ces choses faire (fol. 55r) mouvra grant guerre afin de tout espoventer.⁴ Si troublera toute sa gent en diverses manieres, ne vouldra croire conseil de sages. Ains fera de sa teste, a son grant tort, par vengeance ou autrement, grevera un chascun par maintes exortacions en cas particuliers ou universelz, pour lesquelz causes et divers tors fais a estranges et privez, et par ses foles emprises, guerres, et maulx fais, seront ses nobles hommes mors et foulez, leurs terres destruites et desertes, villes, et chastiaux tresbuschiez par divers ennemis, ne vouldra estre repris ne de nul contredit sur peine de mort. Et a brief dire, ne craindra Dieu ne sa pugnicion pour chose que il face. O! mes de telz et de leur tresbuchement parla bien Salemon es *Proverbes* en la personne de notre Seigneur quant il dit: "Vous avez desprisié conseil et n'avez voulu estre repris. Si me riray de votre destruction et ne tendray compte de vous quant soubdaine misere vous vendra." Et ainsi sera cruel en toutes choses le mauvais prince, dont de telz Dieu nous gart, plain de sang et de vengeance, pour lesquelles orribles taches

2. The phrase "de ses voisins" added over erasure. See Introduction.

3. The phrase "a ses voisins" crossed out.

4. From here to the end of the chapter, the text of *B* differs from that given by *P*. See Introduction.

mectre a effect sourdront et courront maulx infinis a lui et a sa contree. Mais neantmoins tant sera obstiné et affichié en mal que ses meismes maulx ne les autrui ne pesera. O! comment a un tel est bien contraire la sentence de Brutus le constant, qui dist que un prince doit congnoistre que sa vie est ainsi comme ou millieu du monde, et qu'il n'est pas nez ne ordené a estre seigneur pour lui, mais est establi pour le bien d'un chascun. Et comme de rechief dist Saluste au propos de marins que homme qui est esleeve en puissance, si que seigneurs sont, se doit par vertu tousjours monstrier digne de plus grant dignité qu'il n'a, qui est a entendre que les vertus de prince doivent surmonter toute puissance. Mais au propos contre le mauvais prince ou princes, n'est pas doubte que ainsi comme (fol. 55v) les vertus tiennent le roy aimié ou pais en longue duree et le corage du seigneur en seureté, les vices par crainte tourmentent le courage du mauvais prince, auquel propos dist Orace: "Comment pourra mengier aise les chieres et delicatives viandes a sa table le mauvais a qui le glaive pent sur la teste a un petit filet?" qui est a entendre que la pugnicion de nostre Seigneur puet venir soubdainement sur le mauvais.

v

Encore de mauvais seigneur du grief qu'il fait et du mal qu'en vient

Ve per quem scandalum venit. In
Euvangelio.

De ces mauvais princes dont dit es cy dessus, est assavoir que avec les infinis maulx qui par eulx et a leur cause ensuivent, encores y a pis, car tout ainsi que un bien tire l'autre, semblablement est des maulx, car pour soustenir ses guerres dont parlé avons et donner aux aderans, conseilliers et aides des susdis malefices, comme il ne soit si grant avoir qui n'y fust despendu, comment trouver voie de tirer argent et faire finance pour continuer ces choses qui ne sont pas de petis fraiz? Maiz n'y a maniere fors par plusieurs griefs et extorcions faire sur le peuple et y asseoir males toltes, qui ne le laisse de paour qu'ilz se rebellassent ou que on peust perdre leur grace, dont pis peust venir. Maiz que convient il faire? A nom Dieu, aviser ou sont les riches particulièrement que on puist atrapper de ceulx, on fera entendant que les uns sont traitres, les autres ont fait quelque mauvais contrats, les autres ont mort desservie et assez y a qui le tesmoigne, et ainsi diversement; par coulourer cruauté, pillerie, et tyrannie soubz umbre de justice fera l'en tant que deniers seront trouvez, qui qu'en soit desherité ou pery. Et

ainsi diversement (fol. 56r) en innombrables guises et differenciees manieres s'estendent les maulx et persecucions que mauvais tirant seigneur scet trouver a faire; selon les inclinacions, les uns d'une maniere autres d'une autre se donnent.

Car autres puet estre seroient par autre maniere mauvais. C'est assavoir par seduire les femmes filles ou parentes de leurs hommes par mauvais moiens, que par force, que par menaces, que par promesses ou argent, que par paour de leur tyrannie, faire mectre les maris en prison et ainsi diversement.

Autres par folie croire de legier leurs mauvais flateurs et en celle instance faire mourir gens sans cause ne justice ou a pou d'achoisson, tant en publique comme secretement faire noyer ou occirre qu'il n'en soit plus parlé, ou trouver excusacions par voies obliques d'avoir cause juste que gent prengnent mort, ou les destruire par aucunes haynes s'il leur sont nuisans afin de mieulx actaindre a leurs entencions, si que maint ont fait, ainsi si que il est escript de plusieurs tirans si comme Denis le Tirant, Julien l'Apostat, le roy Anthiocus le quel faigny le pelerinage d'aler au temple, pour le desrober, qui est leur maniere communement de couvrir leur faiz soubz dissimulacion et faindre que leur motif soit a cause de bien. Un autre plain de convoitise faigny que les dieux qui s'estoient apparus a lui, si qu'il disoit, lui avoient enchargié que il feist un temple d'or et de pierres precieuses, et par celle cautelle despouilla ses hommes de tous leurs avoirs. Et a tel homme dit saint (fol. 56v) Augustin: "Comment est ce que tu veulx avoir toutes choses bonnes ne riens ne voudroies de mauvais et neantmoins il ne te chault d'avoir bonne ame et si n'as autre chatel ne mais ycellui?" Et ainsi en diverses manieres s'estendent les effaiz des desloyaulx tirans, pour lesquelz sont dictes les auctoritez cy dessus. Mais de telz gens et semblables qui sont cause de tant d'esclandres et d'inconveniens, dit l'Euvangille devant allegué que mal pour eulx c'est que la justice de Dieu ne les laira mie impugnis. Et a notre premier propos revenir de subgiez a prince: les hommes qui se verroient avoir un tel seigneur ou semblable, par lequel et ses guerres ou extorcions avoient receu maint grief, leurs enfans, filz, freres ou parens mors et eulx desheritez, et le pays destruit, et l'en sentiroient condicionné a tousjours mener celle verve, et qu'en tous pays seroient hays et reprochiéz pour lui et taillez de n'estre jamais sans guerre, et que son obstinacion durast de pis en pis—je demande se le peuple et toute gent se rebelloit contre un tel seigneur (veu que tant se sentiroient oppressez et si comme en extreme nececcité) se merveilles seroit.⁵ Je dis

5. The phrase "veu que . . . seroit" has been written over an erasure. *P* has: "et le defficient non pas seulement de sa seigneurie mais du siecle, quelle merueille."

qu'encores ne seroit souffisient pugnicion, ains devoient meismement les femmes, qui autrement nuire ne lui pourroient, prier devotement a celle benoite ame de la bonne dame Judith que elle priast a Dieu qui vouldist delivrer son peuple de ce maudit Olopherne.

vi

(fol. 57r) **Cy dit comment c'est grant honneur a prince tenir tous les estas de la policie en leurs degrez et ainsi qu'il appartient**

Magnum profecto felicitatis genus
est abstinere sine contencionibus
principancium. Exempla 2^a.

Constat felicem esse rem publicam
que multis civibus resplendet ornata.
Cassiodorus.

A nostre premier propos revenir, après ce que avons dit des mauvais princes, desquelz Dieu doint toy Loys de France, jovencel noble, eschever et fuir toutes telz traces, si que j'espore fermement a l'aide de Dieu que si feras, dit et afferme l'auctorité cy dessus que c'est un grant genre de felicité de obtenir seigneurie sans contençons, qui puet estre entendu que le prince qui scet tenir sa seigneurie sans qu'il ait descort entre ses subgiez, c'est signe qu'il est saige et tres vertueux. Et pour ce dit après Cassiodore bien a propos que la chose publique appert estre beneuree, laquelle resplandist et est aournee de moult de citoiens, qui est a dire que c'est signe de cité estre en bon estat, grant, riche, et bien gouvernee, quant on y voit foison de notables bourgeois. Ces choses dictes servent a propos de considerer que par bel gouvernement de prince et tenir les siens en paix est acreue et maintenue la felicité de la chose publique. Et a dire de citoiens, sans faille de ce est moult bien garnie la ville de Paris bons, loyaulx, et sages, si que bien l'ont monsté a ceste foiz. Et a parler de noblece de pays, sans faille de iiiii choses excellentes resplandist et est aourné cestui tres noble royaume sur (fol. 57v) toutes les contrees du monde: la premiere est de haultece de tres nobles princes d'un meismes sang de la lignee royal, la seconde est de vaillant chevalerie et estat des nobles, la tierce de solonnel clergié en plusieurs universelz estudes et par especial a Paris, la quarte en notable et riche bourgeoisie en maintes citez et par especial en ceste. Et tous les estaz, la Dieu grace, des oncques et naturellement, avec l'innombrable peuple qui y est, tout soit il simple, tres loyaument et de grant amour recongnoissent en toute obeissance et reverence, si que raison est, un

seul chief, c'est assavoir le roy. O voirement! qui seroit la puissance qui peust oprimer ne fouler tel corps s'il est tout ensemble sans separacion de nulz de ses membres? C'est assavoir le chief qui est le roy, les espauls et parties haultes qui representent les princes et seigneurs, les bras qui est la chevalerie, les flans qui est le clergié, les reins et ventre qui sont les bourgeois, les cuisses qui sont les marchans, les jambes et piéz qui sont le menu peuple. Sans faille se cestui corps, que Dieux maintiengne, se veult bien tenir ensemble, ne lui fault craindre tout le monde. Si doit bien un chascun des estas en droit foy mettre paine que ainsi perservere, ce que Dieux par sa grace ainsi l'octroit. Et de ce semble que Bouece en son livre parlast a ce noble corps si que s'il voulsist dire: "O vous, genre des hommes françois, tant serés beneurez se vous voulez, c'est assavoir se amour, laquelle mantient (fol. 58r) le ciel et sans qui riens n'est estable, vous gouverne."

vii

Cy dit comment peuple doit estre traictié doucement par bon prince

Quanta vis amicie concordieque
sit ex dissencionibus atque discordiis
percipi potest. Tullius libro *De amicia*.

Il semble que Tulles prophetisast a nous la venue du temps present quant il dit la parolle cy dessus alligee, qui veult dire que nous pouons ores appercevoir comment est grande la force et vertu d'amistié et de concorde aux maux qui nous sont venus par discencion et descors. Et pour ce sert a propos que, veuz les horribles inconveniens passez par descors, afin de jamais n'y rencheoir, vivions desormais et a tousjours en union et paix. Et encores a revenir a ce que dit est cy dessus, que ou contenu de ceste sainte union doivent estre compris meismes les populaires, pour ce que il pourroit sembler a aucuns, considéré les esloiz et mesprentures et offenses passees ou yceulx ou grant partie de eulx se sont fort ingeréz, que acceptables ne devroient estre, me semble bon de touchier par exemple comment le prince doit avoir pour recommandé le menu commun, non obstant que de droite condicion et des oncques soit peuple enclin a de legier errer par folle creance et mauvais exort. Et de ce avons exemple en la sainte escripture comment Dieu non obstant les tres grans deffaulx en quoy encoururent ceulx d'Israel par plusieurs foiz, neantmoins ne (fol. 58v) vouloit point Nostre Seigneur que trop fussent suppedites, ains batoit amerement par plusieurs afficcions les princes qui trop aigrement les

vouloient traictier et oppresser, pour laquelle chose, comme ces choses doivent estre instruction aux princes, est a presumer et a croire que ne lui plairoit mie que son peuple crestien, qui plus est de lui acceptable que celui des juifs lors n'estoit, fust foulez ne batuz. Non obstant que nul ne croye que j'entende des principaulx malfaiteurs desquelz sedicion passee est venue, pervertisseurs des autres et semeurs de mauvaise exortacion, qu'ils doivent estre espargnez n'est mon entente. Ains de la pugnicion qui leur affiert m'en raporte aux lois.

viii

Encore de ce meismes exemples de la sainte escripture

Ea demum potencia tuta est que viribus
suis modum inponit. Guido in exordiis
Summe sue.

Dit cy dessus que a la parfin celle puissance est ferme et seure qui inpose et met maniere en ses forces. Ceste parolle s'entent aux princes et puissans hommes et veult dire au propos du peuple dont nous parlons soupploier ou espargner, que comme il soit bien en la puissance du seigneur de pugnir son peuple s'il a mespris, neantmoins, s'il si maintient amoderement c'est plus ferme chose a sa seigneurie que s'il estoit moult vindicatif, qui peut estre entendu que mieulx vault a prince estre bien amé⁶ par non tenir rigueur que estre (fol. 59r) trop craint par estre cruel, et pour ce et a propos de fouler le peuple s'il en desplaist a Dieu, pour estre pris exemple du roy Pharaon, si qu'il est escript ou viii^e, ix^e, x^e et xi^e chapitre du livre de Exode que pour ce que celui roy tenoit le peuple en sa servitude trop subgiet Dieu envoia dix plaies sur Egipte. La premiere fu des eaues muees en sang, la seconde de innombrable habondance de renouilles par tous lieux et mesmement es maisons, la tierce fu d'une espece de bestes volans qui s'appelle en latin *culex*, la quarte de grant quantité de grosses mouches, la quinte de la mort des bestes mues, la vi^e de boces et de vessies sur les gens, la vii^e de tres merveillable gresle qui tuoit les bestes, la viii^e d'une maniere de vers volans que on appelle langoustes qui gasterent tous les fruis de terre, et la x^e fu de la mort de tous les premiers nez des filz de chascun hostel. Item, que Dieu ne vueille mie que trop grant subscide soit mis sur commun le monstra au roy Roboan, lequel respondi au peuple qui lui requeroit la diminucion des charges sur

6. B "tenir"—we follow Willard in correcting from *P*.

eulx imposees par son pere que le plus petit de ses dois estoit plus gros que les dos de son pere n'avoit esté et que il les traicteroit plus durement que oncques son pere n'avoit fait, dont il advint que en croiant de ce le conseil des juvenes et des folz, se rebella grant part de son peuple contre lui et pou lui en demoura, si que il est escript ou xii^e du livre des Roys. Item, Amalech, qui vouloit destruire le peuple fut desconfit par (fol. 59v) Josué, si que il est escript ou vii^e de Exode. Item, le prophecte Balan, qui estoit venu de loings pour maudire ycellui peuple, fu repris de son asnesse qui parla, si que il est escript ou xxii^e du livre de Nombre. Item, par l'aide de Dieu le peuple destruit le roy des Amorees et Og, roy de Basan, qui lui couroient sus, si que il est escript ou xxi^e chapitre du livre de Nombre. Item, vi^m hommes du peuple occirent cent et xx^m de leurs adversaires, escript en le viii chapitre du second livre des Machabees. Item, Sennacheris tenant siege devant une des citez de Israel, furent mors par divine pugnicion en une nuit cent iiiiii^{xx} mille hommes si qu'il est escript ou xix^e chapitre du quart livre des Roys.

ix

Cy parle de plusieurs signes d'amour que Dieux a demonstré a peuple

Si amicitie inspiciamus originem a
summa natura que deus est suam traxit
essenciam. Cassiodorus libro amicitie xj^o.

Se nous regardons la naissance d'amistié, elle atraict son estre de la souveraine nature laquelle est Dieu, si que dit Cassiodore, et il est vray, et est encores a propos de l'amour que Dieu a demonstree a peuple qui est grant approbacion que il aime les populaires et n'est a presumer que moins ayme, si que dit est devant, son peuple crestien qu'il faisoit cellui des juifs; si dirons aucunes choses de l'amour que il demonstra au dit peuple si qu'il est contenu en la sainte escripture. Dieu donna au peuple au mont de Synay sa loy escript (fol. 60r) en tables de son doy, si que il est escript ou xxx chapitre d'Exode.

Item, il mist hors d'Egipte et de la servitude du roy Pharaon le peuple, et en alant par les desers a la terre de promission leur bailla pour conduit de nuit une coulombe de feu et pour conduit de jours, pour les garder de la trop grant chaleur, une coulombe de nuee, si que il est escript ou xiii^e chapitre d'Exode.

Item, par la verge de Moyse la mer Rouge fu devisee et passa le peuple a pié sec, et les Egipcien qui les suivoient furent tous noyez, si que il est escript ou xiii^e chapitre de Exode.

Item, pour ce que les eaues du desert estoient ameres Moysse gectant une verge de bois dedens les adoulcy pour boire eulx et leurs bestes, si que il est escript ou xv^e chapitre d'Exode.

Item, le peuple alant par les desers a la terre de promission fu nourry par xl ans de manne qui descendoit du ciel. Et pour ce que les aucuns murmuroient, desirans mengier char, leur envia Dieu les champs tous couvers de cailles, si que il est escript ou xv^e chappitre de Exode.

Item, pour ce que le peuple avoit deffaulte d'eau Moysse frappa une roche de sa verge dont eaue sailli, si qu'il est escript ou xlii^e d'Exode.

Item, le peuple ala par xl ans par les desers sans que leurs vestemens fussent de riens empirez, si que il est escript ou livre Deutromonee.

Item, lors que le peuple dot entrer en la terre de promission pour ce que ilz n'avoient vaisseaux a passer l'eaue le fleuve Jourdain se devisa et la (fol. 60v) partie d'embas couri aval et celle d'en hault s'arresta, si passa le peuple a pié sec, si que il est escript ou iii^e chapitre de Josué. Item, en la bataille qui fu devant Gabaon contre les ennemis du peuple le soleil arresta son cours a la requeste de Josué, si qu'il est escript ou x^e de Josué.

x

Cy ensuit un epistre adreçant au peuple qui parle a leur exortacion et enseignement par exemples comment desplait a Dieu rebellion et murmure de commun vers seigneur

Non satis est tutum mellitis credere
verbis. Exopus in fabulis.

O peuple universal de toutes le parties du monde, duquel en commun usage sont les condicions muables suivant la sensualité sans gaires frain de raison, certes, quoy que Terance mecte que dire verité engendre haynes, ne la vous pense pour tant a taire, car de vous dire le contraire, et vous le creussiez, dit Exope cy dessus alligüé que croire a parolles doulces n'est pas seure chose. Quelle follie vous puet mouvoir, en quelque part que ce soit, d'avoir jamais vouloir de vous mouvoir a rebellion contre voz mageurs et cuider fouler ou destruire gentillesce, laquelle chose est impossible que obtenissiez en la fin, et que le meschief ne tournast sur vous? Si est grant descongoissance qui vous avugle quant ce vous advient de non congnoistre que noblesse est un lien entretenant tellement que avant feroient les roys ennemis paix ensemble pour aidier l'un a l'autre que ne feussiez destruis quant vous rebellez, (fol. 61r) et a bonne droit, si comme chose naturelle, que Dieux veult et a souffert des oncques, car quoy que voirement tous hommes soient pareulx

quant a creacion et naissance, neantmoins devez savoir que par longue acoustumance en difference d'estat en tourne en usage si comme naturel en ceulx qui sont nobles de lignage autre grandeur de couraige et de meurs que es autres, ou doit avoir, ou ilz folignent, ceulx qui y faillent, et ce meisme est figuré es bestes et oyseaulx, les uns gentiz et les autres non. Et pour ce a vous, es estas ou Dieu vous a esleuz, esquelz chascun en droit soy se puet sauver et bien faire s'il lui plaist, devez estre humbles soubz seigneurie de greigneurs et loyaument faire voz ouvraiges, chacun selon la faculté. Et pour tant a votre introducion de bien faire et estre en paix, et par especial vous peuple françois qui legitime cause en avez sur tous les peuples du monde comme cellui que Dieux en signe d'amour, si que dit la bible du peuple d'Israel a qui il fist maint biens, a pourvieu naturellement a tousjours de roys de hoir en hoir susedens, sans mutacion d'estranges seigneurs qui vous aient suppedité ne contrains a autres lois ne coustumes que les nobles françoises, si qu'en maint lieux sont, soubz lesquelz roys de tres benigne sang avez esté et tousjours estes maintenuz sans tyrannie, tres doucement traittiéz, et de bon cuer amez. Pour lesquelz choses afin d'estre avertis de non jamais (fol. 61v) croire conseil, d'ou que il peust venir, de vous ingerer n'esmouvoir nullement a faire dire ou procurer quelconques chose par assemblees en appert ne privé contre la reverence de magesté royalle, est bon vous ramentevoir par exemple, a vostre enseignement, comment desplaist a Dieu murmure de subgiez vers prince et contre leurs mageurs, si que tousjours ne jamais n'y fault le demonstrier a la parfin par griefs pugnicions sur ceulx qui ce font. Et de ce tesmoigne la sainte escripture plusieurs exemples.

Premierement comment pour ce que le peuple d'Israel murmura contre leur duc Moïse de ce que par voullenté de Dieu les avoit menez es desers disoient, que la les avoit transportez pour mourir de faim, et pour estre privez de mengier char, Dieu pour pugnicion de ce murmure leur envoya serpens qui en occist grant partie, si que il est escript ou xxi^e chapitre de Exode.

Item, pour ce que Moïse tarda longuement quant il ala recevoir la loy de Dieu ou mont de Synay, le peuple ydolatra et se surtray de la loy de Dieu, pour laquelle faulte, Moïse retourné, furent mors xii^m hommes, si que il est escript ou xxxii^e chapitre d'Exode. Item, Thore, Dathan, et Abiron, qui estoient trois des plus sedicieurs du peuple, orent envie sur leur prince Moïse et de ce que il avoit seigneurie sur le peuple, eulx disans plus sains et mieulx dignes de gouverner que lui. Si ot a cause d'iceulx grant (fol. 62r) commocion par leurs amonicions et fu en division le dit peuple, pour lequel pechié pugnir devant tous la terre s'ouvri et descendirent en enfer tous vifs avec leur complices, si que il est escript ou xvi^e chapitre de Nombre. O, quel exemple

pour les mauvais conspirateurs par qui maulx et sedicions viennent! Ne fault pas doubter que Dieux, qui est immuable, les pugnisse assez, quoy qu'il tarde. Item, de ceste exemple ne furent pas chastiéz les folz populaires. Ains, pour ce que les susdis nommez furent ainsi mors, se sourdi de rechief murmure et sedicion ou peuple contre le duc Moyse, et disoit le fol peuple que il avoit fait mourir yceulx, dont de fait pour crainte de leur tumulte s'en convint fuir Moyse et Aaron au temple, pour lequel mesfait Dieu ne vult plus retarder sa pugnicion, ains envoya tantost feu du ciel qui occist xiiii^m hommes, si que il est escript ou xv^e chappitre de Nombre. Ces exemples et maint autres qui dire se pourroient, comme je n'aye mie tout cueilli, car trop long seroit, tout facent ilz moult a nocter. Si ne sont ilz pas seulz, ains en sont tous les livres plains, comment est tousjours mal venu a peuple de conspirer contre leurs princes ou leur reverence, et meismes en cestui royaume de France, se prendre garde voulez a toutes les foiz que par mauvais conseil ou de leur volenté se sont esmeuz contre les nobles comment leur en est pris, je tiens que (fol. 62v) trouveras qu'en fin en est tousjours la confusion leur comme Dieu ne peust souffrir tel oultrage. Si dit trop bien a ce propos Salemon: "Voz yeulx voient devant voz piéz," qui est a dire que avant regardiez que vous faites ou voulez faire que entre preniez si grans faiz.

xi

Cy dit comment il n'appartient que les menus populaires soient mis es offices et estas de la cite

Ne quos humiles natura iacere pre-
cipit exalta nam qui pluvialibus undis
intumuit torrens accrior fluit amne
perhenni. Galterus in *Alexandreide*.

Et pour tant, considerees les choses dessus dictes tres debonnaire prince, c'est assavoir veu que l'inclinacion generalles des menus populaires est prompte et preste par petite consideracion et a pou d'achoisson sans viser meismes ne que bestes au mal qui leur en puet venir, mais que quelque pié aient qui les induise et esmeuve soubz umbre de dire que ilz sont mal gouvernez et que mieulx le seront a commocion et tumulte, et neantmoins ne plaist pas a Dieu que ilz soient par prince trop asservis ne foulez par oultrageuses charges, si que dit est, comment ouvrir par bonne prudence a les maintenir en tel fourme et maniere que besoing ne soit de plus doubter les espoiz de leurs foles esmeutes sans en riens leur faire quelconques mal ne tort? Car qu'on les

doie supporter Notre Seigneur le veult, et avec ce sont necessaires (fol. 63r) leurs maistiers et euvres mechaniques et labours a la chose publique. Me semble que a l'ordre ouquel appartient que maintainus soient t'enseigne le premier motif l'auctorité cy dessus en latin, qui te dit plainement et pour eulx que tu n'eslieves point ceulx que nature commande estre bas, car un petit ruissiau desrivé, il est plus aspre que une grant riviere; de non eslever trop gent de commun, et que peril soit, est non leur bailler ou souffrir avoir charges ne estas plus grans en autres que ne leur appartient, c'est qu'ilz n'aient auctorité de quelconques office ne prerogative de gouvernement de cité ou ville, lesquelz choses sont partins aux bourgeois notables et d'anciennes linees de degré en degré selon la faculté, tant des dis offices comme des personnes, et ce tesmoigne Tulles en son livre. Comme la raison que ainsi appartiengne estre faicte y soit tres bonne. Car quel mal aventure aroit enseigné a un homme de mestier qui toute sa vie n'ara exercé autre chose ne mais son labour ou de bras ou de mains, sans se mouvoir de son astelier pour gagner la vie, n'avoir frequenté gens legistes ou coustumiers en choses de droit et de justice, n'ara veu honneur ne sara que est sens n'a appris a parler ordeneement par raisons belles et evidens, ne les autres savoirs et choses qui affierent a gens propres a establir es gouvernemens? Et un tel fol qui a paines sara sa pater nostre ne soy meismes gouverner fors (fol. 63v) par ces tavernes, voudra gouverner autrui, Dieu, du gouvernement! duquel, pour ce que le sens est petit communement de telz, et que naturellement les folz sont orgueilleux quelque chetifs qu'ilz soient, n'est plus de meschief que leur gouvernement, car que cuides tu que soit d'un malostru qui tout a coup cuide devenir maistre? Il n'est subjection si perverse, mais que il se harice bien ou visage a tout un petit⁷ en sa main, jurant laidement en menaçant chascun, trop bien cuide faire la besongne, mais que est ce a veoir es consaulx de leurs assemblees, c'est tout pour rire mais qu'il n'y eust peril, leur ouir dire leurs raisons ou le plus fol parle premier a tout son tablier devant soy. Ce semble un droit jeu de personnages fait par mocquerie, et sur ce se fondent ilz en leurs contenance et parlers pour ce que ilz les ont ouy en ces farces que on fait, cuident que on doie par tel maniere prononcier et asseoir son langage, un pié avant et autre arriere, tenant les mains au costé il n'est plus d'egalle, la n'a mestier droit. Voulenté y euvre assez. Et de fol juge briefve sentence, y sont les conclusions faictes sanz advis, dont tres mauvaiz effaiz s'ensuivent. O! mais quel orreur es ce a veoir au partir de la celle diabolique assemblee de innombrable menue gent, suivant l'un l'autre comme brebis, prests et

7. P "pic."

appareillez de tous maulx faire, mais que l'un encomence—certes (fol. 64r) oncques fureur ne cruaulté de senglier ne s'i acompa—sans savoir qu'ilz se demandent, et quant ilz s'encharnent sur quel que soit ou sur aucunes gens, la n'a resne tenue ne honneur gardé a prince n'a princesse, a seigneur ne a maistre, n'a voisin ne voisine, noblece y est en grant vilté, bien y est menacee, tout sera mis a mort, plus n'en souffreront. Adont sont si aisés quant ilz tuent ou massacrent gent, rompent coffres, ro bent tout, effoucent vin a ses riches gens. Ha! comment c'est bien besogné, dont vraiment a tout dire en brief, tant y font de maulx que bien savoit l'auteur qu'il se disoit quant il dit que un petit ruissel desrivé fait plus de grief que une grant riviere, ce n'est pas bourde.

xii

Cy parle du peril que c'est de donner a menu peuple plus auctorite qu'il ne leur affiert

Simplex nobilitas perfida tela cave.
Ovidius *De fastis*.

Un noble prince, ce dit Ovide, se doit tousjours garder des felons. Et pour ce encores a propos revenir de ces populaires, des quelz proces seroit sans finer dire de tous les mauvaiz explois de leurs fureurs, non mie que je les aye touchiez ne vouldisse ramentevoir pour leur nuire, ne mettre en male grace du roy ne de toy bon prince, ne blasmer a ceulx qui le temps a venir ou quant ces choses seront oubliees (fol. 64v) et bien appaisiees pourroient ce livre lire ou ouir, mais comme tous mes motifs soient, et se scet Dieux, afin de tirer a paix et tout bien et eschever guerre, selon mon petit savoir l'ay fait pour demonstrier comment par grant sens tel gent tenir et gouverner afin que jamais les perilz susdiz ne pareulx ne puissent avenir, car si que dit un sage qui ne veult cheoir en inconvenient se doit gouverner des occasions. Et sans faille avec ce n'est mie doubte que meismes des simples gens de mestier est il de tres bons, et qui nullement a telz rumeurs ne se vouldroient ingerer, et en congnois plusieurs qui tres dolens estoient de ces exploiz. Si soit pris des oyans ou bon entendement que je le dis et non autrement. Doncques pour les raisons susdictes si que ou chapitre precedent est touchié office de cité n'appartient aux populaires, mais se aucuns vouloient dire que le contraire appaire par ce que plusieurs citez en Ytalie et autre part se gouvernent par les menus, si que Boulogne la grace et autres etc., je respons que voirement font, mais que de nulle aye ouy parler que bien par telz soit gouvernee ne

longuement a paix je dis que non. Et quant est de ce que aucuns pourroient dire que Romme sans seigneur bien et bel jadis se gouvernast, je dis que non pas le menu peuple gouvernoit mais les nobles, si que en la cité de Venise (fol. 65r) font aujourd'hui et tousjours ont fait bien et bel et en accroissement de siegneurie, mais c'est par les anciens lignaiges de bourgeois notables de la cité et s'appellent nobles et ne souffreroient pour riens un de peuple aler a leurs consaulx, et de telz gouvernemens peuent bien estre de duree, mais de menu peuple croy de nul sage ne seroit approuvé. Et ce afferme assez mesmes Aristote quant il dit que seignourie de plusieurs en un pays ou cité est chose confuse. Et de ceste matiere parla Catilline, duquel Saluste fait mencion, et dit que ceulx qui sont povres es citez, c'est assavoir le peuple, ont tousjours envie sur les riches, et pour ce s'eslievent ilz volentiers et exaulcent les mauvais, si voudroient, a des nouvelles seigneuries et mutations. Et comme jamais ne leur souffise, quelz que bons gouverneurs que ilz aient, voudroient tousjours que estat de cité se rechangias. Et que ceste sentence soit vraie le nous aprent l'experience des choses de nouvel passees. Car pour ce que tel gent sont povres et indigens et ne peuent avoir riens se de jour en jour a leurs labours ne le gaingnent, voudroient tousjours guerre, par especial civile, afin de courir sus aux riches, pour ce que ilz se voient en plus grant quantité que eulx, et n'est autre chose leur donner auctorité et les embesongner de fait de guerre ne mais donner licence aux larrons et murtriers, qui pour paour de fourches se seullent tapir es bois, que ilz facent hardiement (fol. 65v) leurs murtres et larrecins publiquement et en appert, et a ceulx qui ne le sont mesmement que ilz le devienent. Si n'est plus grant folie a prince et seigneur, si je l'ose dire, qui veult obtenir sa seigneurie franchement et en paix, que donner licence au menu commun de soy armer. Et cuelt droitement la verge cellui que ce fait dont il est après batu, si que experience le nous a tesmoigné. Si ose dire que se a porter armes s'acoustument, ne seront pas tenus de legier sans rebellion. Et que le seigneur meismes, par ce qu'ilz sont muables et que tousjours voudroient nouvelettez si que dit est, ne soit quelque fois en peril de sa seigneurie perdre. Et pour ce que bien le savoit, un sage duc d'Athenes, quant il ot subjugué a grant peine le peuple de Lacedemone, leur commanda a excercer leurs mestiers et que plus ne s'armassent. Dont veu les evidens raisons dessus dictes et maintes autres qui dire se pourroient, je conclus selon mon avis, soubz correction, que mieulx seroit a un prince en ses guerres, s'il n'avoit assez nobles et gens d'armes en son pays pour y emploier, que il prensist ainçois souldoiers estranges, si qu'en Ytalie font et autres maints lieux. Combien que assez de gent puet estre diroient le contraire, et leur raison seroit pour ce que plus

aspres et fiers ce leur semble seroient a la deffence du pays et a l'aide de leur seigneur que les estrangiers, mais je dis que tout ce est riens. (fol. 66r) Car si que dit Vegece, il n'est deffence ne autre force en guerre de ceulx desquelz c'est leur mestier, c'est assavoir tres bons hommes d'armes. Et comme en gent de commune n'ait point d'arest ne seureté aucune, et ne vallent ne mais a grever a leur avantage et fait de pillage, n'y sont a employer.

xiii

Cy dit des manieres bonnes a tenir afin que les nobles soient en tout temps excercitez aux armes

Ars est precepicio que dat certam viam
 racionemque discendi. Aristotiles in
Rethorica.

Dit Aristote que art ou science est precepcion ou percevance qui donne certaineté et raison d'apprendre, et pour tant que la matiere sus dicte me reduit a memoire de plus longuement dire, comme il soit expedient, me semble, sur le fait cy devant touchié, c'est assavoir que ne soient vallables en fais d'armes ne mes les hommes excitez et apris en ce. Sembleroit grant merveille et non sans cause qu'en cestui royaume qui tous autres de toute haultesse precede et passe, ne se excercitassent plus meismes en temps de paix les nobles hommes en la duisson du hernoiz et des armes que ne font, afin qu'en temps et au besoing y fussent si maistres et prests que d'autres y occuper ne fust besoings; car si que dist Tullies, pou vallent les armes dehors se le conseil n'en est dedens, c'est assavoir la science de combattre. Et a dire de mettre en ceste chose ordonnance, comme elle (fol. 66v) fust moult convenable et bonne y convendroit pourveoir par le roy. C'est assavoir qu'il ordonnast par commandement expres que tous les nobles hommes de son royaume taillez a porter armes, et ses feaulx hommes liges, fussent tousjours et en tous temps tres bien garnis de hernois bien tenus et prest a toute heure que mandé leur seroit de venir, et de ce en eust la certaineté par monstres chascun an a certain jour es contrees dont ilz seroient, et fussent partis les pays par dyoceses. Item, que yceulx une fois ou ii ou iii l'an ou selon que mieulx seroit regardé usassent de tournois et joustes par les dittes dioceses, les frais paiéz sur les revenues du royaume es bonnes villes. Et que de la dicte monstre et chevetain de la feste fust ordonné de par le roy le plus notable homme en armes du pays, et que nul ne fust réputé noble se ceste excercitacion ne frequentoit veu que aage et corpulence souffisant eust, ne que autre n'y

fussent souffers se non que aucuns par gentillesse de courage se disposassent a estre anoblis. Item, que le roy une foiz l'an a ses fraiz et cousts voulsist veoir l'assemblee de sa puissance en ordonnance de bataille, ses gens bien armez et montez si que pour combatre la ou fust fait un notable tournoy, et certain pris ordonné pour les vaillans. Et non mie que par emprunter hernoiz l'un de l'autre et monteure frauduleusement fussent receuz a la monstre de celz qui n'y sont convenables, si que souvent on fait, (fol. 67r) et ainsi par ses voies tenir qui moult ne seroient cousteuses les nobles hommes s'embeliroient et duiroient plus au hernoiz et excercice d'armes seroient toujours plus prests des que on les manderait, sans actendre un moys ou deux ains que apréstez fussent ne venus au mandement, si que on fait ore. Et en fait de combatre, si que le dit Vegece, l'exercice fait les vaillans vouldroit un iii pour cause de l'usage. Et ses manieres belles et bonnes estoient tenus en Lombardie ou temps de messieur Bernabo et de Galiache son frere, qui puissamment obtindrent leur seigneurie. Pour ce disoit bien a propos Senecque: "Long appareil de guerre fait avoir briefve victoire."

xiiii

Cy devise le peril ou a este le royaume de France a cause de la guerre civile derreinement passee afin de se garder de plus n'y rencheoir

Ad pauca advertentes de facili
paralogizantur; Aristotiles in *Elenchis*.

Veult dire Aristote cy dessus que ceulx qui pou sont avertisans aux choses, ou qui mal s'en donnent de garde, souvent ou de legier s'en treuvent deceuz, et pour tant encores de ses nobles, pour ce que tout ne se puet dire ensemble au propos dont parlé est devant, que peril soit de souffrir populaires surmonter plus que raison, afin que l'exemple present et meismement d'autre fois aprenne a desorenavant tenir tel ordre que jamais pareil inconvenient ou pire ne puist ensuivre. O Dieux! ou est le cuer qui tout ne doye fremir pensant la perilleuse aventure (fol. 67v) ou ce royaume a esté de toute perdition a cause de ceste piteuse guerre? Non mie que pour autre chose le ramentoive ne mettre en livre ne mais afin que l'exemple present, si que ja est dit devant, en face a tousjours sages les presens et ceulx qui es aages a venir l'orront, car si que dit Aristote, les exemples sont ainsi comme leçons aux oyans. Or pensons un petit a voir dire que ce eust esté a veoir en assemblee de mortelle bataille, si comme on y taschoit, tous les jours et chacune heure tant de princes et nobles hommes tous d'un meismes corps et soubz

un chief de souverain seigneur eulx entre-occirre et perir piteusement par le douloureux entregiet de Fortune en la maison de mesheur. Avisons quel forcenerie sembleroit estre veoir un homme tel atourné par grant yre que il mesmes se beast a destruire, si comme se les dens esrachacent sa propre char, les mains s'entreferissent grans coups et tirassent a confondre l'une l'autre, les piéz a frapper es yeulx se estre puest, et ainsi tout le corps fut en tel forcené mouvement contre soy meismes, certes bien droit on que un tel seroit meu par grant desverie. Helas! n'est ce pas pareil de guerre civile en une contree, et par especial en ceste, dont il n'est leu que oncques nobles y fussent ne mais si comme un meismes corps, si que estre doivent fors a ceste foiz? Et puis après ladicte occision et desconfiture venir le diabolique menu peuple qui mieulx ne demandast (fol. 68r) a tous leurs pics et hacques et macques follement leur souffert a porter et prendre qui eussent massécré, et achevé le demourant des nobles dames, damoiselles, et enfans, sans aviser comme foulz que estrange seigneurie fust tost survenue les subjuguier et mettre a mort par faulte d'y trouver resistance par la mort des nobles, et ainsi France perie et mise en servage si que autres seigneuries par divers cas ont esté, de laquelle chose moy comme toute fremissant encore de la paour en le ramentevant, pry Dieu que jamais ce ne puist avenir. O la tres piteuse besongne! Pour Dieu, pour Dieu tres nobles et excellens princes François, chevalerie, et tous autres nobles presans et a venir, que ceste chose et mortel peril ne parte jamais de voz memoires par pitié de vous meismes, si que plus ne soit souffert sourdre contens dont si detestable inconvenient puist nul temps avenir, ne oublié ne soit et mis si comme neant, les ruines destructions, effusion de sang, cruaultez orribles, apovrissemens, inreverence de peuple vers souverain seigneur, dames, damoiselles, vesves, et orphelins demourees a cause de ce meschief, tout en la fourme et maniere dont il lui poise que la povre Christine, vostre humble servante, par ses piteux et plourables epistres dont disoit ains le Coq, et encores de paour que plus n'aviengne ne s'en puet taire. Et en peril de pis de laquel (fol. 68v) chose n'en a mie gardé quelconques sens d'omme, mais seulement prudence divine par evident miracle, dont Dieux louez soit.

xv

Cy dit la maniere comment appartient a prince tenir le menu peuple afin de le garder de presompcion et cause de rebeller

Si voluntas diversorum vaga relinquitur
confusio culparum amica generatur.
Exempla 2^a libro 1^o Senece.

Mais a pareschever ce que ay devant encomencié a dire, comme il conviengne aucune fois dilater les conclusions pour plus au long declairier les matieres, c'est assavoir du gouvernement qui appartient a prince pour tenir son peuple en paix, se puet interpreter l'octorité cy dessus a notre propos que les mauvais fais ne peuent estre delaissiéz jusques a ce que desirs et volentez de plusieurs choses cessent, et adont ce que souloit estre ennemi devient ami. Volenté de plusieurs choses sont voirement en gent de commune, si que dit est, maiz afin que leurs vagues desirs cessent, ne que plus les semblables maulx passez ne puissent ensuir. Est bon me semble que le prince, tant pour faire son devoir principalement vers Dieu comme afin que cause n'ait peuple de plus murmurer ne eulx tenir malcontens, que il le gouverne deuement et soubz tres bonne justice, ne les seuffre estre foulez ne pilliez par gens d'armes ne de personne, les deffende diligenment de tous (fol. 69r) ennemis si que fait le bon pastour ses brebis et que faire le doit, et vueille et ordonne que se riens est pris du leur ou de leur paine que tantost soient paiéz et contentez, car dit le sage: "Ne tiens le salaire du laboureur du soir au matin, afin que maudicion ne te nuise," ne prengne sur eulx suscite, tailles, ne a quelconques charge ne les impose oultre la necessité de soustenir ses guerres si que droit le permet, les tiengne en paix et que nul ne les oppresse ne face grief afin que cause n'aient d'eulx esmouvoir ne occuper en autres choses ne mais a leurs labours et mestiers, leur soit debonnaire et benigne en parolle s'il eschiet que a lui parlent et favourable a leurs justes petitions, de cruauté nullement mise vers eulx, ains vueille que ilz soient traictiéz aimablement. Et quant il va par la ville ou autre part, ou a l'encontre lui viennent et le saluent, les salue tres doucement et de benigne chiere.

Item, ordonne que ilz ne portent habis oultrageux ne autres que leur appartiennent sans prendre ceulx des gentilz hommes, broderies ne devises, comme tel orgueil puist estre prejudiciable et ait peut estre esté. Item, et afin que ilz s'aprennent a estre mieulx moriginéz, face deffendre ses maugroiemens, reniemens, et ses oultrageux sermens de notre Seigneur soubz peine de grant pugnicion en general deffence; aussi bien en soient pugniz grans comme petis, et meismes gent de court, afin de mieulx valoir (fol. 69v) un chascun et eschever murmure des petis, et par justice amoderée soient après pugniz les deffaillans; avec ce ses folles compaignies et assemblees en maisons sans juste achoison leur fussent vées. Item, et comme oysiveté soit cause souvent avient d'induire jeunesce a mains maulx faire et folles conspiracions, que certaines gens fussent establis par belle justice pour tousjours encerchier et prendre garde que aucun desroy ne fust machiné en ville, et que telz folastres gallans oyseux qui vont ça et la ou par ces tavernes sans riens faire ne leur

fust plus souffert, ains bien enquis fussent de quoy servent et que vont faisant, mis en prison s'ilz ne vont a leurs mestiers s'il est jour ouvrier. Item, fussent bien a certes deffendues ces folles parolles parciales qui ont couru et encores ne cessent, dont mal pourroit venir, et pugnir ceulx qui plus en useroit pour chastier les autres. Et a brief dire, par telz voies tenir en generalité et toutes autres bonnes ordonnances que sur ce aviser se pourroient, pourroit le prince tenir son peuple en paix, faisant leur grant proufit parce que plus ne s'en tendroient aux pertes de temps que faire souloient, ains chascun a son droit mestier, si seroient bien contens de lui puis qu'en paix on les tendroit et soubz bonne justice et pourront enrichir, par quoy mieulx aroient l'aise de lui aidier se besoing en avoit. (fol. 70r) Et par ainsi vivroit le peuple soubz bon seigneur glorieusement.

le xvi^e chapitre

Cy tire a propos de la vertu de clemence en bon prince exemples du sage roy Charles

Sapientis ac boni viri non est velle
certare ac se periculo exponere quoniam
vincere non est in nostra potestate et
est anceps omne certamen; sed sapientis
atque optimi viri est non adversarium
velle tollere, quod fieri sine scelere ac
periculo non potest [cecilii firmam iam
tamen]. *Institutionum divinarum de
beata vita* libro primo titulo quarto.

Après ce que ay devisé sumanment assez, comme il me semble, de ce que puet touchier gouvernement de peuple, pour ce que cy devant promis tirer exemple pour ton exortacion a tout bien faire ton bon ayol le sage roy Charles, ja cy dessus plusieurs fois allegué, comme tout ne se puisse dire ensemble encores durant la matiere de ce que consiste la vertu de clemence sur laquelle encommençay ceste iii^e partie de ce livre, et tousjours suivant matiere de paix en bel gouvernement de prince de tout ce qui touche les estas universelz de la policie, m'enbelist retourner encores a parler de lui, a propos de monstrier comment par clemence et benignité prince puet acquerir amistiéz d'estrangers et privéés terres et avoirs plus que par guerres ne excercice d'armes ne par rigueur. Et sert a ce (fol. 70v) propos l'auctorité cy dessus en latin qui dit qu'il n'appartient point a saige et bon homme

vouloir combatre a jour pris et soy exposer a peril, car vaincre n'est mie en notre puissance et tout tel estrif et bataille est esconmeniee et deffendue, mais il appartient au sage non vouloir oster son adversaire, laquelle chose ne puet estre faicte sans felonnie et peril.

Ceste leçon certainement, noble seigneur, semble que ledit ton ayol eust ouye et bien retenue, car tant estoit humain et benigne que quoy que il sceust assez et eust congnoissance que moult eust d'adversaires et loins et pres, neantmoins ne tiroit mie a leur destruction, tout le peust il bien faire s'il lui pleust, ains tousjours a les convertir de tout son pouoir en amour et benivolence, si que on pourroit nommer de plusieurs qui voudroit, dont n'est ja besoing. Et selon la doctrine de Jhesu Crist ne vouloit point la mort du pecheur mais qu'il se convertist et vesquist. Et pourquoy cuides tu doncques que Dieu lui fust tant propice ou fait de ses guerres, et que la bonne fortune du roy Edouart d'Angleterre, qui tant avoit mené mal ce royaume par si long temps, decheust? A nom Dieu ce fu, et n'en doubtes pas, pour ce que il estoit tant piteux d'effusion de sang humain, ne oncques en son temps ne vult consentir bataille arengiee contre ses ennemis ne leur destruction, se par leur (fol. 71r) cause, presompcion et coulpe n'estoit, ou tousjours leur en mescheoit. Et par ainsi, a cause de sa clemence et benignité moult acquerroit, car tout en la maniere que il est dit des Rommains que aucune fois plus acquerroit par la renommee qui couroit de leur clemence et bonne justice que par force d'armes, par ce que plusieurs se venoient debonnairement rendre a eulx, semblablement de cestui roy, pour le renom du bien qui en lui estoit, se vindrent rendre a lui meismement ou temps de ses guerres, de leur propre voulenté et mouvement, sans aucune contrainte, plusieurs haulx barons de ses ennemis du pays de Guyenne et d'autre part. Si comme monseigneur Parducat de Lebrat le seigneur de Bedos, monseigneur Ancel de Caumont le seigneur du chastel d'Andorte, les enfans de Saint Aoyz et plusieurs autres barons et chevaliers, eulx et leurs terres grandes et puissans mettre en ses mains, et il ne failloit mie a benignement les recevoir et tenir a sa court a grant honneur ainsi qu'il appartient. Semblablement de Lombardie plusieurs seigneurs grans et puissans pourchacierent s'amour et son aliance.

Mais qui plus est, regardes la noble chose que est renommee en grant seigneur, car je te jure que meismes le souldain de Babilonie desirant son accointance envoya de ses chevaliers en ambassade avec mains biaux presens. Et moy estant enfant qui les vy en l'ostel de mon pere, (fol. 71v) qui conseiller dudit roy estoit, m'esmerveillant de leurs estranges habis, puis porter de ce tesmoignaige.

le xviii^e chapitre**Encores du roy Charles comment par sa sagece clemence et benignite acqueroit tousjours terres et amis**

Regibus cercior est ex mansuetudine
securitas quam frequens vindicta. Seneca
libro *De clemencia*.

O! comment avoit bien retenu la parolle de Senecque cestui bon roy Charles dont nous parlons, qui dit que seureté est plus certain aux roys par benignité et doulceur que par estre vindicatif. A propos encores de sa benignité sagement demenee, cuides tu que se il avenoit que a sa court eust aucuns chevaliers ou autres sur qui eust aucune soupeon que en quelque maniere fussent aderans a la partie de aucuns de ses ennemis, ou qu'il l'eust entendu ou ouy dire, penseroies tu pourtant que il les boutast hors ou feist mettre en prison se trop grant couleur ou cause atainte n'y avoit? Certes, non faisoit, car lui semblast que par les conjeier il en eust creu le nombre de ses ennemis, mais il les faisoit fort asermenter que bons et loyaulx lui seroient, et leur faisoit tant de biens et d'onneurs que trop mauvais fussent de faire autrement, et non pourtant sagement se gardoit de eulx, et faisoit bien prendre garde de leurs maintiens que aucune chose ne machinassent contre lui. Et par ceste benignité (fol. 72r) actraioit il ainsi les cuers de tous gentilz hommes amis ou ennemis, non mie par leur faire rudece les cuidast avoir ne que de lui mal contens se tenissent. Si mandoient les uns aux autres comment estoient bien traictié et par ce plusieurs y venoient qui d'ennemis se convertissoient en bons amis. Et tousjours d'ainsi amis acquerir par moiens de dons de bien faiz et de beningnes cheres ne cessoit, fussent grans, moiens, ou petis, et te dis bien que petit tiroit a vengeance de ses tors faiz, mais tousdis a mater les cuers par benignité.

O! le grant sens que c'est d'ainsi faire a prince, car ne doubtes pas que jamais rigueur d'armes actaingnist a tirer a chief ce que doulceur et benignité seroit. Que t'en diroie, monseigneur redoubté, de ton tres sage ayol? Trop convendroient de temps a tout compter de ses vertus, mais pour tout dire en un mont, tant alloit ainsi faisant par son sens, clemence, et liberalité que ades croissoit le heur de sa bonne fortune de bien en mieulx.

Et avec ce ne doubtes pas qu'il fust ygnorent en ce qu'il convient en fait de guerre bien continuer, c'est assavoir tant en soutenir par finance et savoir honnourer les chevetains des osts par qui avoit les belles victoires, comme que bien fussent les choses conquises gardees. Ains si sagement y pourvey

qu'il n'est trouvé que chose conquise, fust cité, forteresse, seigneurie, ou chastel, fust puis perdue par rebellion ou autrement, (fol. 72v) qui est chose merveilleuse et hors commun ordre des choses conquises, qui souvent se seulent par rebellion ou autre chalenge entregecter de legier en diverses mains, si en y ot il maintes conquises qui de tres long temps avoient esté en plusieurs mains estranges. Et ainsi que tu oys, cellui roy par son sens, magnanimité, force, clemence, et liberalité descombra son pays de ses ennemis tant que plus n'y firent leurs chevauchees, si que orent apris. Lesquelles choses considerees, puis de rechief conclurre estre les dictes vertus plus vallables a prince que quelconques autre puissance, veu que cestui en ouvrant par elles principaulment, et ne se mouvant de ses palaiz et sieges royaux, reconquesta, ressist, et augmenta son royaume, qui devant estoit desolé, perdu, et despris par ses devanciers suivans armes et tres chevalereux. Et la chevalerie de France, qui estoit devenue comme toute amortie par l'espoventement des males fortunes passees, fut par lui resveillée, source, et remise sus en tres grant hardiece et bonne fortune, et ces choses considerees, voirement dit bien Senecque que un jour de sage est plus sceu⁸ que long aage de fol.

xviii

Cy dit comment le sage roy Charles amoit science et honnouroit clers et clergie

Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem
et roboratur clemencia tronus ejus.
Proverbiorum xxj^o capitulo.

En louant encores ceste vertu de clemence (fol. 73r) en prince et seigneur, l'apprenne Salemon en ses *Proverbes* ou il dit: "Misericorde et verité garderont le roy, et par clemence et debonnaireté sera son trosne." C'est assavoir sa puissance et hault honneur acreu et enforçy, qui est a entendre, si que ja est dit cy devant, que par clemence et debonnaireté, en laquelle est comprise misericorde et verité, puet le prince acquerir l'amour universelle de tous, laquelle amour est la meilleur garde et la plus seure de toutes. Mais tu dois savoir qu'il ne souffist mie que prince soit seulement vers les grans et puissans hommes doulz, benigne, humain, et traictable, mais meismement a ses plus petis subgiez, si que ja est touchié, et la est congneue la tres large

8. See n20 to the English translation. The passage from Latini that appears to be the source of this quotation has "seur." Perhaps the copy Christine was using had the spelling "sœur," which she misread as "sceu." *P* also has "sceu."

benignité, si que il est escript du bon empereur Titus qui estoit tant benignes a tous que on ne savoit ausquelz vouloit mieulx complaire, non pas pour tant que on doie entendre que ceste benignité doye estre nice et sans maniere si que a tous se rende trop privé et communal, qui est chose non partinant a grant seigneur, ne meismement a quelconques homme sage, comme il en fust moins prisiéz et tenus a fol ou vil. Ains doit estre entendu que, gardee l'onnable estat de sa haultesse en parolle, contenance, maintien, et heures convenables, doit volentiers ouir et recevoir en leur petitions petis et grans de son peuple, leurs besongnes en droit et raison, avoir pour recommandees chascun estat en sa faculté, si que ja (fol. 73v) devant est touchié. Si que bien le savoit faire le susdit roy Charles, lequel avec ce que il estoit favorable en toutes leurs justes requestes il honnouroit de eulx tous les estas. C'est assavoir après les nobles, si que dit est devant, les clerks, si que bien le monstroït a l'université de Paris en leur gardant souverainement leurs privileges dont les franchises accroissoit de bien en mieulx, les tenoit en amour et paix, la congregacion d'iceulx avoit en grant reverence. Le recteur et les solennelz maistres veoit volentiers et tres benignement oyait leurs propositions et de leurs consaulx usoit. Et pourquoy ne feïst, car n'estoit il pas grant clerk lui meismes et droit philosophe et bon astrologien, et celle science moult amoït? Et qu'il fust clerk bien le demonstroït, car souverainement amoït livres dont il en avoit a merveilles grant quantité et de toutes manieres, mais encores avec tout ce, quoy que il fust souffisamment instruit en la science de gram-maire que bien et bel entendoit son latin, neantmoins, afin que ses freres et ceulx qui, le temps a venir, le succederoient, et tous autres gens laïz peussent avoir le bien d'entendre ce que les livres contiennent, fist translater par tres souffisans clerks maistres en theologie tous les plus notables livres, tant de la sainte escripture comme autres. Si comme la bible en iii volumes, c'est assavoir le texte, et puis le texte et les gloses ensemble, et puis d'une autre maniere (fol. 74r) alegorisee.

Item, le grant livre de saint Augustin de la *Cité de Dieu*, de *Soliloquio*, le *Livre du Ciel et du Monde*. Item, Valerius Maximus, les ix livres des *Proprietez de choses*, Josephus, des livres d'Aristote *Ethiques* et *Polithiques*, et y adjouster nouveaulx exemples, les *Problemes* d'Aristote, le *Policratique*, et autres a tres grant foison, comme sans cesser y eust maistres a grans gaïges de ce continuellement occupez. Mais a revenir au premier propos de clemence de prince vers subgiez, ycellui bon quant venoit a traictier en conseil de choses qui aux frais du royaume appartenissent ou de quelque ordonnance ou entreprise, adont vouloit que les bourgeois de ses bonnes villes fussent mandez, aussi des gros marchans et mesmement de ceulx du commun, si comme il les y manda

tous lors que il establi aucunes nouvelles lois, ou il institua que de la en avant, quoy que l'ancienne coustume fust autre, les enfans des roys de France seroient couronnez se le cas s'y acheoit des en l'aage de xii ans, laquelle chose jurerent ses princes et nobles et clers, et ceulx des susdis estas du peuple, et semblablement autres lois et estatus sur le gouvernement du royaume.

xix

Cy dit de exemples des pugnicions que Dieux a envoiees a princes crueulx

Est piger ad penas princeps, ad premia
velox. Et dolet quociens cogitur esse
ferox. Ovidius *De tristibus*.

(fol. 74v) Doncques est chose aduisant a prince, si que assez est declairié dessus, estre clement, humain, et debonnaire, et par consequent ne lui est cruauté pertinent. Et en ce, dient les sages, est congneue la difference d'entre prince naturel et tirant, comme le prince naturel soit entre ses subgiez si comme le pere sus ses enfans, ou le pastour en la garde de son parc, prest de exposer sa vie pour la deffence d'icellui, et le tirant est comme le loup ravissable entre les brebis. Si dit l'auctorité cy dessus que un prince doit estre tardif a peine, c'est assavoir a pugnir, et prest a guerdonner, et de douloir toutes les foiz qu'il convient qu'il soit aspre a autrui, si que il semble que il soit cruel. A parler de ceste matiere, pour ce que assez avons dit de debonnaireté de prince, est bon me semble touchier aucune chose a la vituperacion de cruauté et du mal qui en puet ensuivre, tant aux seigneurs meismes qui crueulx sont ou seroient, comme a tout leur pays et seigneurie. Tout premier dit Tulles que pou en sont qui bien muerent. Et quel merveille, car quel chose est en ce monde de Dieu plus haye que est cruauté? Certes nulle. Comme elle soit du tout contraire a sa digne loy qui toute est fondee sur charité et amour du prouchain, sans laquelle amour et dilection avoir nulle autre euvre ne seroit meritoire. Et doncques se cellui qui ne fait bien a son semblable est en l'ire de Dieu, comment en devra estre hay cellui (fol. 75r) qui en grant cruauté le persecute, destruit et occist? Et que au paraler par pugnicion divine princes crueulx finissent mauvairement, en sont toutes plaines les escriptures, et meismes l'experience en noz aages le nous aprent, si que assez dire se pourroit. Mais alons a la sainte escripture de ceulx qui se delictent en effusion de sang, si comme Saul persecuteur de David, duquel pour cause de sa cruauté Dieu le pugni par famine estre grande en son pays

par l'espace de iii ans et en la fin lui meismes se tua et fu pendus lui et sa lignee, si que il est escript ou xxi^e chapitre du second livre des Roys. Item, Senacheris fu prince de grant cruaulté en destruction de gent et de pays. Et pour ce Dieu le pugny si laidement qu'il fu occis de ses propres enfans, si que il est escript ou premier chapitre du livre de Thobie.

Item, et comme gens crueulx n'espargnent communement a faire leurs desloyaultez en traison ou autrement, pour ce que Joab en traison et par maniere de treves tua Abner, et aussi en signe de baisier occist Amasan, fu cellui tué dedans le temple, si que il est escript ou second chapitre du tiers livre des Roys. Item, Olophernes, le cruel persecuteur du peuple de Dieu, ne fu il aussi occis par le vaillant dame Judith, si que il est escript ou xiii^e chapitre du livre d'icelle?

Item, le roy Anthiocus, pour ce que il n'avoit nulle compassion d'effusion de sang Dieu lui (fol. 75v) envia telle pugnicion que tout son corps fu plain de plaies plaines de vers si puans que tout son ost en estoit enpugnési, ne nul souffrir le pouoit, et a la parfin mouru miserablement tout seul es desers sans avoir sepulture, ne meismes les oysiaux n'en daignassent mengier.

Item, pour la cruaulté des Babiloniens, persecuteurs et destruisers de Jherusalem, et du roy d'icelle cité Sedechias, par pugnicion de Dieu fu puis la grant Babilonie destruite tellement et par tel maudicon que c'est sans jamais estre habitee fors de dragons et serpens, si que il est escript ou xiii^e d'Ysaye. Assez d'autres exemples sont trouvez en la sainte escripture de grans pugnicions de Dieu a cause de cruaulté comme il ne la puist au long aler souffrir, esquelz fait bon prendre garde a tout prince et homme puissant afin de non y encheoir. Autres escriptures par tout en sont plaines, si qu'il est dit du roy Mitridates que après plusieurs cruaultez de lui faictes, fu occis par ses propres enfans.

Noiron et autres semblablement morurent chetivement, par quoy en conclusion pouons dire de telz cruaulx tirans que en persecutant autrui persecutent eulx mesmes, et commencent leur enfer des en cestui monde, qui ja ne leur fault. Car pour yceulx qui tant veullent estre cremus dit Juvenal que paour et crainte engendre hayne, et hayne conspiracion, et conspiracion (fol. 76r) mort, et de la misere de telz qui tout le monde cuident faire trembler par leurs oultrages, dit Orace qu'il n'est gent qui vivent a si grant crainte, ne si paoureusement, ne moins a repos de pensee, car comme ilz aient mesfait a chacun ne se fient en nul, si se doubtent tousjours des agaiz de ceulx qu'il font craindre par force. Et pour ce disoit Bouece: "Ne cuides pas que cellui soit puissant qui tousjours maine garde avec lui, car il craint

ceulx a qui il fait paour.” Pour ce est il dit de Denis le tirant que il craingnoit tant les rasouers du barbier que il brusloit sa barbe lui mesmes.

xx

Cy dit comment cruaulte vient d'orgueil

Genus est mortis male vivere. Ovidius
De tristibus.

Veult dire Ovide que vivre malvaisement n'est pas droite vie, mais si comme genre de mort, et a bon droit se puet dire ainsi, car l'omme vuit de vertus est mortifié par vices et est si que neant vers Dieu, mais le vertueux vit et vivra perpetuellement. Et pour tant, afin de vivre, comme si belle chose ne soit, moult doivent estre eschevez ces vices, lesquelz sont les droiz murtriers de ame de corps d'onneur et renommee. Et pour ce qu'entre les autres n'a plus mortel et desplaisant a Dieu, et meismes a nature, que est cruauté, si que avons dit devant, nous convient aussi avec ce que ou chapitre precedent l'avons blasmee, dire semblablement de la tres mauvaise (fol. 76v) naissance et racine dont elle ist et sourt, afin d'eschever tout ensemble. Disons a proprement parler que la droite racine et source de cruauté sans faille n'est autre chose ne mais pur orgueil. Car quoy que elle soit excercee pour plusieurs causes, c'est assavoir aucune fois par convoitise pour usurper et tollir l'autrui, soit en seigneurie, terres, ou autres avoirs, autre fois pour vengeance, et ainsi diversement, neantmoins a bien considerer tout vient d'orgueil. Car comme tout desir de suppediter autrui a tort et sans cause, quel qu'en soit l'achoisson, viengne d'icelle source, comment a le mettre a effait? User de cruauté. Pour ce dis je que de lui vient sa naissance. O! Orgueil tres detestable et de Dieu hay vice, tant de maulx s'ensuivent par toy, et dont vient ce que tu avugles tant ceste nature humaine en tous les estas que meismes n'est si meschant ver de terre qui n'y vueille monter, et par ce sont venus tous les maulx passez tant de la part es grans, comme des moiens et petis. Mais en parlant aux grans, qui trop s'i appuyent, dit Orace que les haulx arbres sont souvent troublez par force de divers vens et a la fois abatus, racinés, et tout des haultes tours tresbuchent bien les soumetons, aussi cheent les fouldres le plus souvent sur les haulx combles et les grans montaignes Et pour tant ne doivent pas oublier les hommes (fol. 77r) qui sont au plus haulx esleveez les tours dont Fortune scet traire, et eulx tenir sur leur garde de non trop eslever es effaiz d'orgueil, remembrans qu'ilz sont hommes subgiez a maintes passions, car comme il desplaie a Dieu telle ele Vance et ne le puist au paraler

souffrir, pou avient qu'il ne trebuche les arrogans par sa divine provision si que il tresbucha les mauvais anges de son hault ciel en enfer, et a l'exemple des princes ou puissans personnes qui par leur force en grant orgueil presumeroient de tout subjuguier sanz que riens leur peust nuire sans aviser la main de Dieu qui est sur toutes choses, sont de ce, les saintes escriptures et autres toutes plaines. Si qu'il est escript de Baltasar, roy de Babilonie, que lui se veant en sa noble cité puissamment avironné de toutes forces, richesses, et delices, s'orgueillit tellement qu'il ne prisoit quelconques autre puissance. Et pour ce Dieu, qui l'en vult pugnir, lui estant a disner en tres grant orgueil et pompes buvant et mengiant es grans vaisseaulx d'or que son pere avoit pillié en Jherusalem, apparu une main qui escript contre la paroy la pugnicion que Dieu lui envoyoit, et l'exposicion declairiee par Daniel le prophete, ycelle meismes nuit il fu occis et le royaume devisé. Si que il est contenu ou vi^e chapitre du livre de Daniel. Item, Absalon estoit tant (fol. 77v) orgueilleux que auques ne prisoit riens le roy David son pere, et se reputoit mieux valoir et plus savoir de lui.

Et fait bien cest exemple a notter a ceulx qui sont mauvais et presumptueux enfans, soient de princes ou d'autres, lesquelz pour ce que on leur porte honneur a cause de leurs parens l'attribuent a eulx mesmes et s'en orgueillissent, et ne tiennent conte de plus obeir a pere et mere. Mais les desprisent s'ilz sont en vieillesce, voudroient qu'ilz fussent mors afin de mieulx seignourir, et pour ce que tel estoit le dit Absalon, Dieu consenti que ainsi qu'il couroit persecutant son pere, les branches d'un arbre l'aherdirent par ses blans et longs cheveulx, esquelz moult avoit grant vaine gloire, et la demoura pendu tant que Joab vint qui l'occist, si que il est escript ou xviii^e chapitre du livre d'Exode.

xxi

Cy dit des pugnicions que Dieux a envoyees aux princes orgueilleux

Qui neque ipsemet intelligit, neque
alium audiens in animo ponit hic inutilis vir. Aristotiles in 3^o libro *Ethicorum*.

Qui ne scet et ne veult ouir ou croire ceulx qui scevent, ce dit Aristote, est ainsi comme homme inutile, et qui n'est a riens bon. Ceste parolle cy dessus proposee ce puet entendre pour ceulx qui ont mestier d'apprendre, et neantmoins ne daignent ouir les bons enseignemens n'en tenir conte,

(fol. 78r) et puet touchier mesmes les orgueilleux dessus dis, qui sont les gens du monde plus desprisans enseignemens. Mais non pour tant encores d'iceulx orgueilleux, pour donner exemple comment Dieux les pugnist, de rechief en dirons, tant de princes comme d'autres.

Nabugodonosor, se veant prince de merveilleuse puissance, s'orguilli contre tout le monde, et tant se outrecuida que il se reputa plus que homme et comme Dieu se vout faire aouer, et est a entendre pour ceulx qui tant presument de eulx, soit en sens, biaulté, force, puissance, ou richesse, que autre que eulx ne prisent, dont souvent avient qu'ilz s'en treuvent malement deceuz. L'outrecuidence et grant orgueil d'icellui roy Dieux vout si durement pugnir qu'il le ramena en estat de beste mue, et par sept ans conversa avec les bestes, mengiant foing et paissans es prez, si que il est escript ou *iiii^e* chapitre du livre de Daniel.

Item, Saron le roy se gloriffioit et vantoit de resister et forçoyer contre tout le monde, et pour ce, tout fust il tres puissant, Dieux vout qu'il fust vaincus de Judas Machabeus, si que il est escript ou *iii^e* chapitre du livre de Machabeans. Item, meismement se courrouça Dieu a David son sergent pour ce que par arrogance vout faire nombrer son peuple, dont en pugnicion de ce Dieu le mist a choiz de l'une de trois corrections: c'est assavoir la premiere (fol. 78v) que il seroit famine par sept ans, la seconde que par trois mois ses ennemis les persecuteroient, la tierce que pestillence seroit par trois jours en son royaume. Et adont se vout David du tout mectre soubz la main de Dieu et choisi la derraine, ouquel espace de jours mourut tres grant quantité de gens, si que il est escript ou *xxiii^e* chapitre du livre des Roys.

D'autres plusieurs roys et princes par le rapport des escriptures saintes se pourroit dire, et semblablement si que on treuve en tous autre escripts, qui furent pugnis par divine justice a cause de leurs orgueils, que je laisse pour briefté. Mais pour ce que nous touchasmes des peuples et menue gent, ausquelz povreté pour tant a la plus grant part de eulx ne tolt mie orgueil, des pugnicions que Dieux leur a envoiees a en toucher en brief aucunes, est contenu ou livre de Jheremie ou *xxxix^e* chapitre comment pour l'orgueil et desobeissance du peuple d'Israel, Dieu consenti que eulx et leurs roys, c'est assavoir Sedechias et Jeconias, fussent menez en servage en Babilonie ou il furent par xl ans, et est ce qui s'appelle la transmigracion de Babilonie.

Item, pour l'orgueil du peuple consenti Notre Seigneur la persecution des Philistines sur eulx qui dura par xl ans, si que il est escript ou *viii^e* chapitre du livre des Juges. Item, pour l'orgueil du peuple que Dieu ne pot souffrir s'ensuivy la pugnicion du deluge, si qu'il est escript (fol. 79r) ou *vii^e* chapitre de Genesis. Item, pour l'orgueil du peuple de ce que ilz voudrent

faire la cité de Babiloine si haulte que elle actaingnist au ciel, y envoya Dieux confusion de divers langaiges, si que il est escript en le xi^e chapitre de Genesis. Et se puet entendre en figure cest exemple, c'est assavoir que quant peuple veult monter plus hault qu'il ne doit, Dieu envoye entre eulx confusion qui les fait cheoir. Et pour ce, a propos de telz gens dit trop bien Orace que ilz sont aucuns qui se cuident avoir les yeulx plus fors que le spere du souleil, mais en eulx efforçant d'i regarder s'avuglent eulx mesmes.

xxii

Cy commence a parler de la vertu de liberalite de quoy elle sert et comment elle est convenable a prince

Ordinata caritas neminem reputat
alienum. Sed omnes recoligit tempore
oportuno, ordinata caritas illa videtur
existere, que a suis novit domesticis,
inchoare. Guido in exordiis *Summe* sue.

Après clemence ensuit la v^e vertu bien seant a prince, si que dit avons devant, laquelle est liberalité, qui est comme suer de ladicte clemence. Ceste liberalité, quant elle est justement menee, despent des racines de charité, de laquelle charité dit l'auctorité cy dessus que se bien est ordonnee, ne repute nul homme estre estrange, qui veult dire que l'omme charitable voudroit a privez et estranges faire tout bien; elle recueilt tous, dist il, en temps convenable, c'est quant il voit son point de povoir (fol. 79v) aidier et faire bien, nul n'est escondit de sa puissance. Mais non pour tant veult il dire, la charité bien ordonnee est celle qui premierement commence a ses plus prouchains amis. C'est a dire que non obstant charité soit de bien faire a un chascun qui pourroit, neantmoins on est plus tenus a ses prouchains que autre gent. Ceste liberalité est doncques propice a toy, bon prince Loys a qui je parle. Si convient aviser en quelz choses gist sa propriété. Or doit on savoir que ceste vertu a ii parties. L'une est elle meismes qui se nomme liberalité, et l'autre est largesse. La premiere sert non mie seulement en tant qui touche donner dons de pecune, terres, joyaulx, ou autres avoirs, mais aussi en estre liberal de l'aide de sa puissance, de son corps, de sa parolle, de sa peine, de son bel accueil et bonne chiere, de pardonner de bon cuer injures receues, volentiers secourir les besongneux, et generallyment en toutes les choses en quoy on puet valoir a autrui. L'autre partie s'estent seullement en fait de pecune, c'est de donner plantureusement, tant argent comme choses qui le vallent, et ceste est appelee

largece. Et qu'il soit vray ceste liberalité et largesse estre plus convenable a prince que autre est chose clere, car pourquoy furent establis les princes sur terre ne mais pour aidier et secourir par auctorité de puissance, de corps, de parolle, de peine, de reconfort et tout aide, non pas seulement (fol. 8or) les subgiez mais semblablement tous crestiens, estranges et privez, qui besoing en aroient, et requerir les vendroient, si comme l'Eglise se elle estoit d'aucun tirant oppressee ou foullee, dames, vesves, orphelins, autres princes crestiens guerroyez a tort, et generalmente tout homme de leur povoir ayant juste cause, et qui les en requeist, ainsi que jadis le faisoient les Rommains qui a nul ne failloient, aidier doivent de leur parolle en justice soustenant, diligemment vacquier a toutes choses bonnes et prouffitables a la chose publique, pardonner volentiers a ceulx qui se repentent et pardon requierent, octroyer graces et telz choses qui proprement affierent a prince, lesquelles quant volentiers et acoustumeement sont faictes, est droit liberalité.

xxiii

Cy parle de la vertu de largese et a quoy elle s'estent

Omnium bonorum radix est caritas.

Cassiodorus *De caritate seu dilectione dei.*

De tous biens est charité la racine, ce dit Cassiodore. Si disons après ce que avons dit cy dessus de liberalité, que la ii^e partie d'icelle liberalité s'appelle largesse. Ceste s'estent a donner volentiers biaux dons. Et quant ycelle est bien ordonnee s'empoie a iiii manieres de gens pour iiii raisons, c'est assavoir premierement aux povres, et en choses qui touchent aumosne pour l'amour de Dieu principalment; (fol. 8ov) secondement a ceulx qui le vallent pour l'amour de bonté, et que c'est estat de prince de bien faire aux bons; tiercement a ceulx qui l'ont desservi, pour ce qu'il n'appartient a prince tenir la peine le labour ou service d'autrui, ains doit tantost guerdonner; et la quarte aux estrangers pour l'honneur de sa propre personne et l'acroissement de loz et renommee. Ceste vertu, liberalité et largece, se conviennent moult bien, si que dit est devant, avec clemence pour acquerir amis estranges et privez, tant par amistié faire a cause de liberalité par son aide secours et reconfort, comme par largece de biaux dons et presens. Et est assavoir que don licite doit avoir iiii condicions. La premiere, que il soit de l'avoir propre de celui qui le donne et non mie tolu aux uns pour donner aux autres. Et pour ce disoit Tullus: "Usons de tel maniere de donner que noz dons vaillent a noz amis et ne nuisent a noz prouchains." La seconde, qu'il soit donné franchement a lie chiere, joyeuse, et

liberale, non mie en rechignant a regrait ne a tart par force de poursuite. Car si que dit Senecque, don longuement attendu part son merite pour ce que point n'est la promesse si douce que l'atente ne soit trop plus amere.

La tierce, que il soit donné a cause d'aucun bien, non mie pour decevoir ou tirer a mal autrui. Et de ce disoit Orace: "Le don présenté afin de tirer a mal est si que le venin enveloppé en liqueur douce." Et la quarte, (fol. 81r) qu'il soit donné par pure affection sans fainte simulacion. Car dit Macrobe que les amans de mauvaïse amour desirent que ceulx a qui ilz se monstrent amis aient aucun mal pour eulx monstrier dolens de leur mal, si comme s'ilz sont exilliéz qu'ilz leur facent compaignie quant ilz s'enfuient, ou qu'ilz devenissent povres afin de leur aidier au besoing ou qu'ilz soient malades pour les visiter. Si dit qu'il ne met gueres de difference de telz amis a ennemis, car estrange felonie seroit vouloir l'omme estre plungié en l'eau pour l'en retirer, ou qu'il fust batus pour le revenchier, ou chacié hors pour le heberger. Si ne doit point estre prisiee si faicte amour comme elle ne puist tendre a quelconques bonne fin. Si devons savoir que largesse, quant elle est bien ordonnee, c'est vertu, mais se elle excède et passe meutes de raison, est tres grant vice que on appelle prodigalté ou folle largesse, lequel dit vice procede d'indiscrecion et faulte de prudence; c'est quant un prince ou autre, qui qu'il soit, done tres excessivement aux uns, et qui pou le vallent et ne l'ont pas desservi, et si paie tres petitement ou neant ce qu'il doit. Et mal merite ceulx qui tres bien l'ont servy et ou il est tenus, ou qui le vallent, et despent le sien en choses superflues, en oultrages boubans et toutes folles mises, et si laisse en non chaloir, en ruine et vagues, choses necessaires, bonnes, (fol. 81v) et prouffitables. O le grant peril de prince prodigal! Car sans faille il n'est gent tant convoiteux comme yceulx, et pour acomplir les desirs de leur prodigalté n'est tirannie que ilz ne feissent. Si n'est terre, gent, ne avoir qu'ilz ne destruisissent. Et a telz est la coustume de tollir aux uns sans cause pour donner aux autres sans raison. Et pour ce en conclusion de ceste matiere sans faille n'est chose ou plus affiere discrecion, par especial en prince pour ce que son fait redonde a plus de gent en fait de despense, tant ordinaire comme en cas de dons ou autres payes, car la ou Prudence n'en est distriburessse c'est perdicion de ame, de corps, de bien, et de pays.

xxiiii

Cy dit de convoitise et du mal qui en vient

Omnium malorum radix cupiditas.
Cassiodorus.

N'est pas doubte que de tous maulx est convoitise racine, si que dit l'auctorité presente. De ceste convoitise et des maulx qui par elle sont au monde ensuivis des oncques, et tousjours ensuivent, seroit proces sans finer du descripre a droit. Pour ce a tout dire en brief, et chacun homme qui a raison le puet considerer sans plus dire en particulier, sans faille toutes les destructions de terres, royaumes, seignouries, et pays, cruaultez, occisions, et generaulment tous maulx passez, presens, et a venir, est tout a celle cause. Las! Si doit bien estre hay sur tous (fol. 82r) ce tres detestable vice dont tant de ames et corps perissent, et lequel est trop plus perilleux en prince et puissant personne qu'en quelconques autre. La raison est puissance de mettre a effait par leur force en prenant l'autrui, le desir d'avoir et ardeur de convoitise que autre gent n'ont. Et puet touchier en ceste matiere le grant pechié et mal que est a prince de prendre plus que raison sur son peuple, de la quelle chose puet estre certain celui ou ceulx qui y excèdent, et passent les mectres de droit, et tous ceulx qui le conseillent que Dieu ne le laira sans grant pugnicion, comme il soit inmutable et son establiement aussi ferme que elle estoit ou temps du roy Roboan, dont devant est dit, le quel il pugny si griefment pour cause de sa convoitise de prendre plus que raison sur le peuple qu'il en perdi sa seigneurie. Semblablement de Achor, pour ce que par convoitise en la destruction de Jherico piller des biens souffri notre Seigneur que le peuple fust persecutez des ennemis, et celui meismes Achor lapidé par le commandement, si que il escript ou vii^e chapitre de Josué. Le roy Anthiocus, dont avons dit cy devant de sa cruauté, tous ses maufais estoit pour achoison de piller le peuple. Si en fu la fin douloureuse si que dit est; tant que c'est sans nombre se pourroit dire d'autres, que je laisse pour briefté, et de menses que roys. (fol. 82v) Semblablement, si comme de Gezi qui reçut par convoitise dons de Naman, le quel Helisens son maistre avoit gari de la lepre, et en avoit reffusé dons, devint mesel, si que escript est ou v^e chapitre du iiiii^e livre des Roys. Item, les freres de Joseph par convoitise le vendirent et pour ce famine s'ensuivy, si que escript est ou xxxvii^e de Genesis

Item, pour ce que par avarice Laban vult decevoir Jacob, et lui tresmuer son loyer plusieurs fois, Dieu transfera a Jacob toute la substance d'icellui Laban, si que il est escript ou xxx^e de Genesis.

Et ainsi Dieux pugnist son siecle tous les jours pour cause de la petite amour que creature humaine a l'un a l'autre, oultre son digne commandement, et tout a cause de ceste desloyal convoitise que chascun a de prendre sur son prouchain, et c'est parquoy pugnicion divine, quoy que pou de consideracion y ayons, nous envoie tous les jours guerres, mortalitez, traysons, et pestillences infinies et si ne nous chastions, laquelle chose est signe d'obstinacion qui est

pechié inremissible, mais comme pou vaille parler des maladies qui ne dit des remedes bons a tenir contre celle cruelle ardeur de convoitise, m'en passeray plus briefment pour ce que aucune chose en escrips assez au plain selon mon povre advis en un petit traictié nomme l'Advision du Coq, lequel nom puet interpreter l'ancien nom de cestui royaume, que presentay a toy meismes Loys (fol. 83r) de France seant en ta chambre a Saint Pol cestui present an ou temps de Karesme.

XXV

Cy parle du blasme qui est dit du vice de convoitise

Melior est bucella sicca cum gaudio
quam domus plena diviciis cum jurgio.
Proverbiorum i^o capitulo.

Au propos dessus dit de ce qui s'ensuit du fait de convoitise, dist Salemon en ses *Proverbes*, cy dessus allegué, que mieulx vault la petite piece de pain seiche a joye et paix que la maison plaine de richesses a noise et contens. Et pour tant a dire aucunes choses prouffitables a la discipline et correction de ceulx qui sont trop convoiteux, qui qu'ilz soient, princes ou autres, est bon me semble ramentevoir aucunes auctoritez a leur enseignement. Si comme Tulles, qui dit ainsi: "Ilz sont de gens qui cuident accroistre leur prouffit en desertant autrui par maintes fraudes et mauvaistiéz, mais en ce ilz sont deceuz en tant que la vie et l'onneur vault mieulx que pecune, car quoy que yceulx accroissent puet estre leurs tresors par leurs soubtilleitez en grevant autrui, ce leur est plus dommage que prouffit, car ilz acoursent le terme de leur vie—souvent avient—par les ennemis qu'ilz acquierent en faisant tort a mainte gent, et a tout le moins leur fault il estre plus sur leur garde, car qui de plusieurs est hay de tous se fault garder." Car dist ycellui Tulles: "Se pour gaignes nous (fol. 83v) ne faisons conte de despouiller ou efforcier autrui, dont convient il que la compaignie de humaine amour qui est selon nature soit deppartie, qui doit estre tout un." Tout ainsi et a la semblance commune se un membre du corps avoit entendement et vouldist et s'efforçast de tirer a lui le sang, la santé et substance de son prouchain membre, qui seroit a l'empirement et affoiblissement du corps tout ensemble, ouquel convient qu'en chascun membre ait sa porcion de sang, humeur et nourissement, est il en humaine compaignie, car ainsi comme nature octroye que chascun acquiere ce que besoing lui est pour son mieulx; ne veult elle pas que nous despouillons autrui pour nous revestir. Si conclut oultre ycellui Tulles; doncques dist il: "Tu ne dois pas tant

prisier ton singulier prouffit que tu en perdes le nom d'estre bon homme, comme tel acquest ne te puist tant raporter comme il te ravist quant il te tolt propriété de bonté et foy humaine."

De ceste foy humaine que mieulx vaille que quelconques avoir de fortune, le demonstra bien l'exemple de Damion et Sicias, qui tant furent loyaulx compaignons ensemble et de grant amour que quant Denis le cruel tirant ot jugié l'un de eulx a mort, le dit jugié requist que on le laissast un pou de terme aler en son hostel pour ordonner son testament et ses (fol. 84r) besongnes, son compaignon laissa en ostaige pour lui en la prison la mort actendant en cas que a jour ne retourneroit, l'autre retourné selon la promesse pour recevoir mort, s'esmerveilla forment ledit tirant de cest loyauté, foy et grant amour des ii compaignons, pour laquelle chose plus prisant telle loyauté en humaine compaignie que quelconques autre richesse, lui qui estoit tirant et tres mauvais, neantmoins pria a ces deux que il leur pleust qu'il fust le tiers en leur loyal amour et compaignie.

Doncques comme cest exemple puist servir a demonstrier que mieulx vaille amour que richesse, dist Tulles, parlant aux princes, que il n'est chose qui plus face obtenir seigneurie que actraire les subgiez a leur prouffit, c'est a dire avoir leur amour en leur bien faisant, laquelle chose est contre convoitise. Et pour ce disoit Senecque: "Cellui est riche qui est bon, comme nul tresor ne s'aparge a bonté ne autre chose n'est droitement avoir, combien que les folz ne s'y avisent," car si que disoit Salomon, "le fol desire tousjours ce qui lui est contraire, c'est assavoir richesses, afin de follement en user, et le sage qui congnoist que est bonté a souffisance en avoir, non superflu, afin de bien faire."

xxvi

(fol. 84v) **Cy parle soubz la vertu de liberalite de la bonne ordonnance que le susdit roy Charles tenoit en oyant requestes**

Ego vos ortari possum ut amicitiam
omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis;
nichil est enim tam nature aptum, tam
conveniens ad res, vel secundas vel
adversas. Tullius libro *De amicitia*.

"Je vous puis ennorter," dit Tulles, "qu'entre toutes les choses humaines vous mettiez au devant amistié, car nulle chose n'est tant apte ne convenable a

nature, tant afferant ne bonne aux choses propices et averses” et pour ce au contraire de convoitise. Après ce qu’en avons dit cy dessus dirons encore de la vertu de largesse, dont encommençâmes a parler. Si est bien a propos la dicte auctorité, comme il ne soit chose par qui tant d’amistiéz puissent estre faictes que par largesse, si que ja est dit, doncques est grant bien a prince user de largesse, c’est assavoir sagement par discrecion, et pour raporter de ce exemples selon la maniere acoustumée, après les bonnes et vehementes raisons retournerons a notre motif du prealigué roy Charles, aux usages qu’en celle vertu avoit, et premierement en ce qui touche la vertu de liberalité en bon prince. O! quel douce chose estoit ce a le veoir communement a l’issir de sa messe donner audience a toute gent povres ou autres; la veist on gentilz femmes et tous estas, grandes, moyennes et petites, ne se glissoit pas d’entre elles comme cocq sur brese par ennuy de les ouir en disant a ses gens privez: “Prenez leurs requestes,” (fol. 85r) comme s’il n’en feist conte, ains lui meismes s’i arestoit. Les oyoit a loisir tous et toutes de renc parler, leur requestes faisoit lire et responce tres benigne leur donnoit. Et ce chose y avoit qui requeist pourveance ou plus long advis, commandoit a ceulx de ses requestes que lui fust ramenteu en temps et lieu. Semblablement faisoit de ce qui touchoit aumosnes, et ainsi de toutes choses en brief expedioit. Et par ce estoit des siens parfaitement amez, et non mie seulement des siens mais de tous ceulx qui a besongner a lui avoient tres loué, qui qu’ilz fussent.

Avec ces choses, en ce qui touche la premiere partie de largesse, si que dit avons devant, qui est ce qui s’estent a donner aumosnes, n’y failloit mie le bon seigneur. Car en bonne foy si que je tiens, n’est memoire qu’en roy qui ait esté se soit plus grande demonstree. Si comme encores y pert et tousjours perra au siecle, es belles eglises principaulment qu’il fonda et grandement renta a Paris et ailleurs. Si comme l’église des Celestins qui tant est belle a tout grant couvent de freres que il renta grandement par amortissement. Item, l’église de Saint Anthoine dedens Paris que autressi il renta et y establi freres. Item, fist accroistre et grandement amender l’église de Sainte Catherine du Val des Escolliers et moult de bien y fist. Semblablement l’église de Saint Pol costé son hostel. Item, amenda moult l’Ostel Dieu de (fol. 85v) Paris, et grans aumosnes y donna. Item, aux iiij ordres de mendians aida grandement a amender et accroistre leur eglises et souvent donnoit aux couvens de belles aumosnes. Et ainsi semblablement a plusieurs autres, comme il ne faillist nulle part en ediffices d’églises, hospitaux et autres aumosnes, dont il fust requis qui montoit en grant somme par an. Item, dehors Paris au Bois de Vincenes fonda chanoynes tres bien rentez, aussi les

bons hommes d'empres l'Ostel de Biauté, aux Chartreux amenda le lieu, et fist mains biens. Et autres eglises et chappelles moult amenda et accrut en ediffices et bien faiz. Si te promets que n'estoient pas seulz ses bien faiz et aumosnes, car que cuides tu, les povres escoliers estudians qui estoient par lui soustenus tant de freres mendians comme d'autres religieux et seculiers, et a ceulx qui la feste de leur degré avoient a faire, ce n'estoient se merveille non de la grant quantité des aumosnes qu'il y faisoit, ne nul n'estoit escondit de sa tres large aumosne. Item, autres povres hommes, cuides tu que il y faillissent, si comme povres gentilz hommes vieulx et affolez ou debrisez par fait de guerres. Helas, n'estoient pas adont despourvez, leur pere avoient trouvé ceulx de lors, mais bien fust besoing a present que un tel prince regnast. O! quel reconfort a povres gentilz femmes vesves, et autres a orphelins et briefment a tous (fol. 86r) povres honteux qui le requeroient. Mais qui plus est les povres et petis compaignons de sa court, le bon roy qui estoit piteux et en toutes choses circonspect et cler voyant, cuides tu que il les oubliast? Certes non faisoit; estoit sa coustume telle que il portoit en sa gibeciere tousjours cent frans ou plus en or. Si regardoit aucune fois ces povres varlés qui portent la buche ou autres que il veoit de ses fenestres besongnans par sa court ça et la. Appelloit les aucuns ou il lui sembloit que bien fust employez de ceulx qui jamais rien demander ne lui ossaient, ne parler a lui, leur demandoit s'ilz estoient mariéz et leur enquerait de leur estre. Et a yceulx donnoit bien et largement dudit argent de sa gibeciere, a l'un plus a l'autre moins, selon que sa discrecion lui juroit que mieulx fust employé, selon les charges et maynage des dis povres hommes, et leur disoit que de fois a autres tournassent vers lui, dont yceulx tres reconfortez prioient Dieu de tres bon cuer pour lui.

Et ainsi se tres bon prince tenoit par euvre la parolle que il dit. Une foiz present ses chevaliers et gens, ou il eschut devant lui a parler de plusieurs choses si que est le commun usage de defrener⁹ devant princes de maintes matieres, dist un de ses barons que noble chose estoit et grant (fol. 86v) felicité que de seigneurie; le roy respondi que il n'y savoit que tout un seul bien. Et comme ceulx qui l'oïrent eussent grant desir de savoir en quel sens avoit dit la parolle, et de ce instant l'en enquisrent, leur respondi que c'estoit puissance de bien faire a autrui, et que tout le surplus n'estoit pas gloire mais charge.

O! le hault mot et tres noble a prince, digne d'estre mis en memoire et bien nocté, que pleust a Dieu que toy et tous les princes et puissans hommes du monde l'eussent bien retenu par pur effect.

9. There is a blank space in *B*. We follow Willard in supplying "defrener" from *P*.

Cy parle des beaulx ouvrages que le susdit roy fist faire et comment faisoit gaingner le peuple

Este precor memores qua sitis stirpe
creati. Et patrium retinete decus.
Ovidius *Methamorphoseos*.

A propos des exemples que je te donne de ton bon ayol le susdit roy Charles, Loys, son filz second, te dit Ovide cy dessus: “Souvienge vous de voz predecesseurs et gardez l’onneur qu’ilz vous ont acquis.” Si te plaise les retenir et mieulx en vauldras, et encores au propos dessus dit de largesse a demonstrier comment en toutes choses se demonstroït sa grant benignité, amour et largesse vers son peuple, par les prouffis que il leur faisoit en maintes guises, si comme en faisant gaigner tous ceulx des mestiers par les belles choses que il faisoit faire. C’est assavoir les notables et fors ediffices et autres ouvrages, ou sans cesser avoit (fol. 87r) ouvriers, car ou est trouvé d’autre roy qui tant feïst bastir? Si comme après les eglises susdictes ediffia a Paris le chastel du Louvre qui tant est belle place. Son hostel de Saint Pol moult accrut et amenda.

Item, plusieurs des portes de Paris fist faire les biaux ediffices qui y sont: la bastide Saint Anthoine qui tant est biau chastel combien que depuis ait esté parachevé; le palais fist moult amender et y faire plusieurs ediffices a sa plaisance et maintes belles chambres. Item, les murs neufs d’environ Paris et les belles haultes tours qui y sont, dont de ce faire commist la charge a Hugues Obriot lors prevost de Paris. Le pont neuf de Saint Michiel fu par lui commencié, aussi le petit pont. Item, dehors Paris le tres bel chastel du Bois de Vincennes, l’Ostel de Beauté, celui de Plaisance, celui de Saint Ouyn, le chastel de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Crail Montargis, ou tant a belle salle, le chastel de Melun aucques tout neuf, et mains autres que fais que reparez furent par lui, lesquelz ediffices tant biaux, jolis et fors, que qui bien les considere puet savoir que grant mise y convenoit et des ouvriers assez, et en ce se demonstroït la liberalité et largesse du bon seigneur en ce que il vouloit que toutes manieres de gens gaingnassent a lui. Avec ces choses, qui fu oncques le roy auquel marchans estranges et privez gaingnassent plus que a lui faisoient de toutes marchandises, fust pour les grans (fol. 87v) garnisons de la despense de son hostel, fust pour son estat ou autres choses en pierrerie noble et riches draps d’or, orfaverie et autres richesses que despendoit il d’argent? Car ne fist il pas faire la plus riche couronne qui en France eust encore esté, veue qui a merveilles cousta grant tresor, et meismement la couronne du sacre enrichi

d'un gros balay que on dit qui cousta xxx^m frans? Et tous les aournemens royaulx jusques aux soulers qu'il convient a roy sacrer, fist faire de nouvel les plus riches que encores eussent esté, si que on les puet veoir a Saint Denis en France ou tresor ou ilz sont. Item, croix d'or autres riches reliquaires et ymages grans garnis de pierrerie et tous aournemens d'eglise et de chapelle, chasubles riches garnis de parles et tous revestemens, dont largement donnoit souvent et menu a plusieurs eglises, chanoyneries et chappelles sans cesser, faisoit faire. Et dont lui meismes avoit la plus riche chappelle dont on ait ouy parler que roy de France ne autre eust oncques. Mais quant est de la paye, se aucun en doubtoit que quelque la mise fust, au payement n'avoit quelconques faulte.

xxviii

Cy parle des grans charges et affaires que le dit roy Charles avoit en frais et mises et comment non obstant ce tout se fournissoit bel et bien en paye et despense

Satis videtur esse laudabile ut fomentum
ramy senciant a radice. Guido in exor-
diis *Summe* sue.

(fol. 88r) La parolle cy dessus proposee se puet entendre a notre propos que c'est chose convenable que branche yssue et nourrie de bonne racine doye estre bonne. Et pour ce que ceste chose te touche, escoute cy encores de ton grant pere, noble Loys, et aprens par l'exemple de lui que c'est de bel et bon gouvernement, et comment ordre conserve et maintient en estat toutes choses. Et prens garde considerees les mises et despenses dessus dictes, et avec ce le tres grant coustement que il convenoit a maintenir continuellement et par si long espace si grans armées et par mer et par terre, que dit est dessus, non pas seulement un an ou ii mais aucques tant qu'il regna, qui fu environ xxiii ans, et les gens d'armes si bien paiez et les chevetains si satisfaiz et contentez tant par riches dons—car Dieux scet que la n'avoit riens espargné comme de leurs salaires et gaiges tellement que par faulte de paiement oncques nul le lascia ne plainte n'en vint—et tout bien et bel se fournissoit, et n'estoit pas seulle ceste tres grant despense. Ains fait a considerer comment en ou meismes temps se faisoit les devant dis ediffices, les translacions des livres cy devant nommez et autres plusieurs cousteux ouvrages, sans avoir faulte de paiement nulle part. Et qui plus est avec toutes ces choses, qui fait bien a nocter, mectoit en tresor, si comme assez de gens

scevent, du tresor qui puis sa mort fu trouvez, tant (fol. 88v) de tres nobles et riches joyaulx comme d'or monnoye. Et toutesvoies, qui voudroit dire que pour ses choses faire convenist maintes chetivetez estre faictes en estat, ou autrement sa court mal servie, ou la despense de son hostel mal payee, peu de gentilz hommes ne serviteurs et en petit estat, ou que il ne feist dons ne que par lui ne fust personne avancié en estat si que on fait ores, et que seigneurs font communement a ceulx qu'ilz ont en grace, je t'i respons pour vray et ne doubte nul du contraire, que oncques puis le temps Charlemayne ne fu roy en France qui si grant estat et tant magnifié tenist de toute noble gent en plus grant aroy, et sirimonies royales, qui plus biaux dons donnast, ne qui plus exçaulcast et enrichist gent de seigneuries, terres et meubles, que celui roy faisoit non mie seulement un ne deux, mais a tres grant quantité comme il y pert a leurs hoirs qui ia ne fault nommer, et de tous estas, etc.; ce scevent plusieurs encores vivans.

Et sont aucuns qui dient que a ses freres et a ceulx de son sang ne donnoit pas les grans pensions ne les excessis dons si comme l'en a fait depuis; et que quant veoir le venoient au chief d'un an ou ii se v^{ct} ou mille frans leur donnoit pour une fois bien contens s'en tenoient, et vouloit qu'en leur pays s'en ralassent sans faire long sejour. Si dis que, sauve la grace des diseurs, n'est pas chose a croire que lui tres sage et a tous (fol. 89r) liberal, qui ses freres tres chierement amoit, et en son service aucques continuellement les occuppoit—si que savoir on le puet qui ne m'en croit par les croniques—les eust pis satisfais, veu leur haultesse et l'amour que a eulx avoit, que il ne feist un simple chevalier se devers lui venist.

xxix

Cy dit des manieres que le dit roy tenoit en honorant les estrangers

Nota partes utilitatis due incolumitas
et potencia; incolumitas est salutis tuta
atque integra confirmacio; potencia est
ad sua conservanda et alia obtinenda
ydonearum rerum facultas. Seneca
De beneficiis.

C'est a toy, Louis de France, noble jouvencel, que puet estre adreciee la parolle de Senecque cy dessus ou latin qui se puet exposer que se tu noctes les parties de prouffit tu en y trouveras ii. L'une est incolumité que nous pouons entendre pour prosperité. Et l'autre est puissance ou seigneurie. Cestui

prouffit se puet nocter quant aux grans seigneurs. Car il descript oultre si comme s'il vouldist dire que prosperité en prince soit quant il est afermee-ment sans division maistre de sa seigneurie en seure et entiere tranquillité, et ce est son propre salut. Puissance qui est l'autre partie de prouffit est quant un prince a tant fait par son sens et bonne providence qu'il a actrait a lui toutes choses propices a garder et deffendre ce que il a. C'est assavoir sa seigneurie et aidier aux autres, se besoing (fol. 89v) estoit, qui l'en requerroient. Les choses propices sont tres bons amis, estranges et privez, fort en puissant chevalerie, richesse pour maintenir la despense, et toutes autres choses qui a forçoyer contre ennemis pourroient estre ydoines et propices. Et adont tel seigneur se puet appeller puissant.

O jouvencel de France tres bel et gracieux, Dieux te parface, vueille avoir a memoire comment ton saige ayol bien les congnoissoit, ces deux parties de prouffit. Et pour ce atraioit toutes choses qui y peussent servir. C'est assavoir d'acquérir amis en tant que tel bien puet estre aidable. Car premierement en fait d'estrangers, comment les honnouroit il, et pour les actraire a lui qui leur donna oncques plus riches dons ne plus plantureux ne de qui plus se partissent contens que de lui faisoient? Et pour ce faire plus proprement, n'avoit il propres chevaliers a sa court pour honnourer, recevoir et festoier les entrangers? Si comme le conte d'Estampes, qui de son sang estoit, et autres: le seigneur de la Riviere, qui par sa belle faconde et gracieux acueil tant bien savoit recevoir gent que bien sembloit menistre de tel seigneur qu'il estoit, et a qui tant de biens le dit roy avoit fait et faisoit comme a cellui qu'il en savoit digne qu'encores y pert assez hors, et d'autres assez de telz, qui trop seroit long a dire, par lesquelz faisoit les diz estrangers (fol. 90r) acompaignier et festoier en leurs maisons. A belles assemblees de dames et damoiselles, presenter ses dons a chascun selon son estat, les honnourait et faisoit honnourer par yceulx acompaigner et mener a son chastel veoir l'ordannance et la belle artillerie que y estoit. Au palais a la Sainte Chappelle, et aussi a Saint Denis en France veoir les reliques et le tresor qui tant est noble chose. Item, vouloit aussi que ilz veissent la royne et ses biaux enfans leur estat et ordonnance qui moult estoit bel en toutes choses. Que t'en diroie bon seigneur? Je te promés que par telz choses et les semblables faire, estoit porté son nom par tout le monde. Si n'est pas doubte que pour telz ouvrages fournir et autres maintes en particularité convenoit tres grant mise, et neantmoins n'en doubte nul que quelconques escharceté n'y estoit faicte, mais qui plus est, je te dy c'est chose certaine que oncques en sa vie ne fist metcre taille ne en son temps n'en ot nulle faicte, pour quelconques besoing qu'il eust. ne nouvel subside ne fust imposé. Et ne croye nul qu'en son temps, ne par lui, fussent mises

sus les imposicions, gabelles et aydes, car vraiment ce fu des avant qu'il fust oncques nez des les premieres guerres. Ains avoit le bon seigneur entencion de les abatre si tost que la guerre seroit faillie. Et mesmement amendry la gabelle du sel et autres charges quant son filz Charles, ton pere (fol. 90v) qui ores regne, fu nez, laquelle estoit trop plus grande que puis ne fu. Et plus grans subsidies sur vin et autres choses. Si te dis en concluant que ce n'est mie sans cause se ou temps present on s'esmerveille comment toutes ces choses pouoient estre fournies, veu que ou temps present on n'est mie en France tant oppressé de guerres d'Anglaiz et d'autres ennemis comme lors on estoit, ne mesmement n'estoient les revenues si grandes comme ores sont par ce que plusieurs terres estoient encores occupees des Anglaiz que puis il en delivra; seroit comme impossible a en faire le tiers de ce qu'il faisoit. Pour laquelle chose, a tout considerer, se puet conclurre qu'il convient que ce fust par la providence de son tres bon sens, bonté et parfaicte prudence. Si est bien a propos de lui ce que saint Bernart dit: "Mieulx vault troublé or que luisant cuivre."

xxx

Cy parle de la largece dudit roy et de la secrete maniere qu'il tenoit en fait de donner dons

Caveamus ne munera supervacua
mitamus ut rustico libros. Seneca *De
beneficiis*.

Dit Senecque cy dessus que garder nous devons de non envoyer dons la ou ilz sont mal emploiéz, tout ainsi que seroient biaux livres aux ruraulx et mal entendans. Tout ce fait au propos du susdit roy Charles, comme bien fust avisez en toutes choses qui affierent a ce que on doit eschever pour cause de mal et ce que on doit faire pour cause de bien, (fol. 91r) et encores ce puet servir en respitant l'ordre qu'il tenoit ou fait de donner ou employer ses dons, laquelle chose, tout fust ce a tres grant largesse, estoit fait par discrecion et ordonnance, n'en doubte nul, si que faire se doit. Et par ce avoit il tousjours assez de quoy fournir et continuer, si que dit le sage ou il enseigne que par telle moderacion soient faiz dons, que on ait tousjours de quoy continuer; comme trop face grant mal au liberal quant plus n'a de quoy donner, est meilleur en user selon possibilité que a grant largesse qu'il conviengne defaillir. Et pour celle cause deismes nous en la premiere partie de ce livre que discrecion est la mere des vertus, comme par elle conviengne les autres estre gouvernees; autrement

tournees seroient en vices. Et pour ce, en epilouant en conclusion ce que dit est devant de cestui tres sage roy, lequel, et ses meurs te plaise comme bon filz avoir tousjours a memoire pour exemple de bien et sagement te gouverner, pouons congnoistre avec les autres vertus de lui l'ordre de sa tres discrete largece, par ce que grandement l'a tousjours espandue, si que dit est, et neantmoins ne failli oncques a la tres bien continuer. Si comme il y paru a la venue a Paris de son oncle l'empereur de Romme, qui tant fu notable chose que se oncques plus n'en avoit fait si est chose a grandement nocter et mettre en memoire. Car a (fol. 91v) tout dire, qui pourroit aujourdui fournir a pareille mise qui y fu employé a la recevoir a si grant honneur et si magnifiee largesse d'estat et de dons? Tant grandement et par si noble ordonnance y furent toutes choses et si cousteuse sans riens y espargner que ce n'est se merveilles non; car quelz dons, quelz dons y furent d'or, d'argent, de tous joyaulx et pierrerie, tapisserie, vesselle et tous paremens et toutes nobles choses y furent presentes donnees, et quel largesse et si longuement continué et non mie seulement au dit empereur ne a son filz le roy de Bahangne et a leurs barons chevaliers et gentilz hommes, mais meismement je te dis que a paines y ot si petit serviteur qui n'y receust a tout le moins un gobelet doré ou hanap couvert et tous fraiz paiéz depuis le jour qu'il mist le pié en France jusques a ce qu'il en sailli, qui dura grant espace de temps, et tous les jours festoye présenté richement en diverses guises, si comme le scevent maintes personnes encores vivans qui des yeulx le virent. Si te promet que a grant coust dot monter, mais neantmoins saches de vray tout fust ce ou temps de ses guerres ou plus avoit a faire, oncques pour tant n'y fut fait emprunt aux bourgeois ne taille mise sur peuple. Si que autre fois ay parlé plus a plain de ceste matiere, qui plus au long de l'ordonnance de la dicte venue vouldra veoir ou livre que de ses fais et (fol. 92r) bonnes meurs fu par le commandement de tres noble prince le duc Philippe de Bourgongne dessus nommé, frere dudit roy, et par lequel rapport et memoires veritables qu'il m'en fist bailler sçay toutes ces choses.

xxxī

Cy commence a parler de la vertu de verite et comment elle doit estre en prince

Veritas in omni tempore sui eadem est;
que decipiunt nichil habent solidi,
tenue est mendacium; perlucet si dili-
genter inspexeris. Seneca ad Lucilium
capitulo decimo epistula quarta.

Reste a parler de la vertu de verité, qui est la vii^e de celles que ay dit devant qui te conviennent, noble filz de roy. De la louenge de ceste veult dire Senecque, cy dessus allegué, que toutes les parties d'elle sont vraies et bonnes. C'est a entendre que toutes choses faictes, pensees et ouvrees par elle sont a recevoir comme tres propres, qui doit estre pris que non seulement les parolles de l'omme doivent estre vrayes, mais semblablement les entencions et toutes euvres, et par le contraire veult dire oultre au blasma de mençonge que les choses qui deçoivent—c'est assavoir mençonge—se terminent et cheent en neant; c'est a entendre que chose fainte et apparant autre que elle n'est au vray ne durera pas, et si sera apperceue des saiges et clers voyans qui bien y prenderont garde. Et pour ce que suivre la voye de ceste vertu pour sa noblesse et fuir la trace de mençonge pour (fol. 92v) sa grant vilté et lait non est chose propre plus a prince qu'a quelconques autre homme, disoit Jhesus filz Sirach: "Devant toutes euvres soit veritable parolle", c'est a entendre qu'en tout quanque tu aras a faire verité soit tousjours devant. Comme il ne soit quelconque chose plus vituperable, tant inpartinant, ne de plus malle renommee, ne plus lait que a dire que un prince soit mençongier. Et treuve l'en qu'enciennement pour mort ne quelconques perte un roy ou prince jamais ne faulst sa parolle ne feist au contraire. Et a bon droit que ainsi doye estre fait, car comme tiltre de seigneurie et princee soit le plus hault estat qui au monde puist estre, est bien raison que celui qui tient si magnifié lieu soit creu devant tous autres et adjousté foy a sa parolle si que il a la prerogative. Mais se tel homme estoit trouvé de commun cours non voir disant, mençongier, et sa parolle et promesse non estable ne en quelconques fermeté, qui le croiroit? A nom Dieu, nul. Et a bon droit, comme fiance on n'y eust. Et que pourroit on dire de tel prince par tous pays? A nom Dieu, qu'il seroit faulsaire, fallacieux, decevant, et plain de cautelles par ses belles parolles plaines de mençonges, et ainsi autres princes ne s'i fieroient en faire a lui accors de paix, treves, ou quelconques aliances, par ce que foy n'aroient que il les tenist. Et par ce (fol. 93r) en fin demouroit sans honneur, sans paix, et sans amis, subgiez, ne autres, puis que tel le saroient, car est a presumer et communement est tel trouvé que homme, qui qu'il soit, qui habonde en vice de mentir, n'est pas sans les autres crimes et de traison doit estre sou-peçonné comme mençonge soit sa droite couverture. Et pour ce si que dit est que cestui vice de mentir est tant deshonnorable en prince et meismes en toute personne, n'en est mie bonne l'acoustumance, meismement es petites choses, car sans faille qui a ycelles s'acoustumé semblablement le devendra es grans. De ceste verité tant approuvee du sauveur, principalement et de tous bons louee, dist Senecque: "Aimes verité sur toutes choses, si seras prouchain

a Dieu qui est vraie verité.” Et dist oultre: “Les simples parolles de cellui qui ensuit tousjours verité sont ades creues pour ce que le contraire n’est nul temps veu en lui. Mais du mençongier au contraire. Car se d’aventure verité dist n’est il mie creuz pour ce que plus a acoustumé mentir que voir dire.” Et dist on de tel homme que ce n’est que un trompeur ou gengleur, et ainsi par ce que tu vois verité en prince estre louee, convenable chose est s’acoustumér a la dire. Et avec ces choses et consequenment est assavoir que affermer sa parolle par sermens n’est mie bien seant a prince. Car (fol. 93v) comme il soit ainsi que ceulx qui jurent de Dieu ou ses sains grans sermens le facent afin que plus grant foy soit adjoustee a leur parolle par ce que ilz supposent que leurs dis ne fussent autrement creuz, n’est mie ainsi de grant seigneur. Pour ce ne lui affiert ne meismement a quelconques notable personne. La raison est pour ce qu’il appartient, si que dit est, que la parolle yssant de la bouche dudit prince soit creue sans affirmation de serment. Car son auctorité requiert qu’il die verité. Si fait a supposer que veritable soit.

xxxii

Cy demonstre comment c’est grant laidure estre le vice de mençonge si commun en tous les estas qu’il est

Ante omnia opera verbum verax procedat
a te. Ecclesiastici xxxvii^o capitulo.

Et ainsi, bon prince, selon la parolle de l’Ecclesiaste, avant toute euvre voit verité en tes faiz par tel fourme et maniere que ce puist estre a l’exemple de tous les subgiez de ton pere, et de toy ensuivant, en tous les estas, de tellement eulx corriger du vice de mençonge qui tant queurt a present en cestui royaume en toutes maniere de gens que a paines y puet en nul ou pou verité estre trouvee que tant ne fust commun. O! quel faulte et laide renommee c’est en si notable contree, et tout ce tient a faulte de providence. Car se bien estoit des plus grans haye mençonge et nocté la laidure que c’est, et comment par mauvais (fol. 94r) exemple l’un de l’autre—c’est assavoir les moiens des grans et les petis des moiens—est tant communiquee, et les maulx et griefs qui en viennent sans faille remede y seroit tost mis, de par le roy premierement et les autres princes après, qu’en leurs cours et par leur gent en tous offices ne fust si en usage.

Et mesmement que est ce a veoir aujourdui en toutes les cours de justice y estre tant usagee par les conduiseurs et meneurs des proces et causes qu’il semble que elle leur soit tournee si comme en stille ordinaire de droit, par

lequel sont gens menez a la longue, a tres grant prejudice du roy et la chose publique—n'est pas bourde—ce scevent ceulx qui l'essaient, ausquelles erreurs et fautes assez de legier pourroit estre pourveu.

Mais aussi es autres offices royaulx comment en use l'en, excepté toutesvoies les generaulx et gens de finance. La n'est elle ne mais comme droit stille en commun usage, car qui vult avoir du veau la baille¹⁰ y ait a besongner, n'y fauldra mie. Et dist on que ainsi le convient faire, mais, sauve la grace des diseurs, croy que se bon ordre y mettoit la main, ne seroit ja besoing tant en ce comme en autres choses tant user de mençonge. Car pourquoy ne pourroit en cestui royaume, qui tant est renommé de tout savoir, estre tenue la maniere en fait de paie que on fait en Angleterre et par tout autre part (fol. 94v) ou ne convient tant trayner après gent de finance comme ycy fait? Et n'est pas doubte que meilleurs en seroient les besongnes du roy et les communs prouffis, quoy qu'il semble a ceulx qui l'ont acoustumé que meismes merchandise et tous autres affaires ne puissent estre frequentees sans l'usage de menterie, laquelle chose n'est autre riens ne mais coulourer faulceté, tricherie et barat par dire mençonges par grans sermens parjurés affermeement.

Et si que dit Tullies, comme il n'affiere a homme mentir, decevoir, ne dire mal pour quelconques cause, ne doit doncques pour convoitise estre perdu nom de bon homme. Et de ses sermens tant horribles de quoy on use plus, je croy, en cestui royaume que nulle part ailleurs, reniemens, maugroyemens et telles detestabletez, si que devant est dit, souffrir a crestiens est faulte de foy et non crainte de Dieu. Et dont maint maulx viennent par divine justice et a nul ne prouffite.

Et pour ces chose disoit Cassiodore: "O! pourquoy est verité tant despittee veu que c'est la pure batailleresse contre faulseté?" Et Salomon dist que pis vault menteur que larron pour ce que de lui se puet on garder, mais de l'autre a paine. Si te doint Dieux tellement aviser a ces choses que de toy et par bon remede y puist estre pourveu.

xxxiii

Cy parle de l'ordre et maniere de belle eloquence en prince

Nichil est tam preclarum aut tam
magnificum (fol. 95r) quod non mod-
eratione temperari desideret. Valerius
Maximus libro iiiio titulo primo in fine.

10. *P* "du beau la bataille."

Veult dire Valeire cy dessus allegué qu'il n'est chose tant parfaitement belle, grande et magnifique comme celle qui est menee par atrempance et moderacion. Et pour ce, tres noble prince, que cy devant en parlant de la vertu de verité, m'est venu a memoire matiere de eloquence et parleure. Comme ce soit souveraine chose a prince avoir faconde et langaige bel et mené par atrempance, me plaist en parler un petit, non mie de moy, mais seullement ce que les aucteurs en dient en la louant parfaitement par especial en prince. Dist Aristote en *Politiques* que il n'est quelconques chose qui n'ait besoing d'estre menee par ordre. Et pour ce que eloquence est le parement du monde, la peinture ou aournement de corps et representation de l'entendement de l'omme, et que c'est chose qui moult a valu et puet valoir, appartient que rigle y soit tenue. Si dit qu'en iiii choses principalles est le regart de bel et bien parler: la premier en qualité, la seconde en quantité, la tierce en isnelleté, et la quart en tardece. En qualité c'est que cellui qui veult parler doit avoir advis sur cinq choses: la premiere, qui il est, la seconde, a qui il veult adrecier ses parolles, la tierce, de quel matiere il veult dire, la quarte, quel espace il a de parler et (fol. 95v) et la v^e, a quel fin il veult venir, et comment ses parolles pourroient estre noctees. A la premiere, qui touche qualité, c'est que le parlant doit viser premierement a l'estat dont il est et a sa faculté. Car s'il est roy ou souverain prince lui appartiennent a dire autres paroles que a homme de mendre estat ne feroit, et ainsi de degré en degré chacun en sa faculté; tout homme qui veult parler doit avoir ce regart, mais au prince plus seigneurieusement parler et de plus grave et grant maniere affiert, et faire son introite de choses grandes se la matiere le requiert, non mie que ce soit fait par orgueil ne menaceusement par fierté, haulçant la teste et levant les sourcilz comme beste effraïee, mais modereement parler comme seigneur de belle et haulte maniere, lesquelles grandeurs n'affierent mie a toute personne. La seconde des cinq, qui touche a qui il veult adrecier ses parolles, c'est que autrement appartient a un prince parler a ses paraulx ou un pou mendres, et d'autre assiete de langaige, que ne fait a ses propres subgiez, ausquelz meismement affiert qu'il parle et commande selon leurs facultez et estas et que a lui sont tenus. La tierce de quel matiere il veult parler, c'est qu'il prepare en sa pensee tout avant euvre l'ordre de ce qu'il veult dire. C'est assavoir la premisses de son ennaracion briefve et substancieuse (fol. 96r) die devant, puis sa mageur après, qui est la substance de la chose, et après viengne la conclusion, et tout ce soit fait par tel maniere qu'il ne mette ses raisons cedevant derriere, ne die choses superflues et hors la matiere, ne qui a propos ne facent, par quoy oublie la fin ou venir veult si que ou millieu demeure esbay et ne s'en saiche yssir, lesquelles choses sont trop laides en parleure. La quarte, qui est l'espace

de temps qu'il a, doit considerer se soubdain cas ou meismement choses qui requierent briefté, le taschent a dire en pou de parolles, doit concueillir la substance de sa matiere ordoneement au plus court langaige qu'il puet. La v^e est la fin ou il veult tendre, c'est qu'il doit considerer quel chose le meut a parler et l'entente ou il veult venir, afin, et pour ce que parolles ressemblent sajectes qui tost sont dictes et neant traictees, ne die chose qui a l'effait de sentence puissent estre prejudiciables ne meismement reprouchables, et que si entendiblement les declaire que on n'y puist nocter autre entencion ne que il a. Et par tel maniere le die que par ses parolles puist induire et provoquer les courages des oyans a son entencion, si que de ces choses cy après plus a plain sera parlé.

xxxiiii

Encore dist de l'ordre de parler et selon la science de rethorique

Si sciencia sit sine usu parum prodest, usus autem cum sciencia multum prodest. Boecius. *De disciplina scolarium*.

(fol. 96v) Riens ne prouffite science sans usage, ce dit Bouece, mais avec usage elle est bonne. Je le dis pour ce, monseigneur, et a propos encores de belle parleure que, quoy que il en soit une propre art et science qui se nomme rethorique, neantmoins pou de chose seroit toute savoir tant seulement et n'en avoir l'usage. Et pour ce que trop griefve et longue chose seroit a moy entierement l'exprimer ou ses termes comme je ne sceusse, en ay tiré a tout le moins aucunes choses legieres en briefves parolles, afin que plus tost puissent estre retenues et mises en usage des oyans de ce qui est contenu en la dicte science de choses bien seans, tant a belle faconde et maniere avoir en parlant, comme en arenge de bien dire. Si dit Tullies en sa *Rethorique*, en louant faconde et maniere de parler, que ja soit ce que un homme ne sceust dire ses motz biaux ne polis, et il savoit les proferer gentement de belle maniere et par biau point si seront ilz louez, et s'il les dist sans ordre, quelque la matiere fust belle ne seroit ja a ouir plaisans. Et pour ce, dist il après, dois tu atourner et atremper ta voix, ton esperit et tous les mouvemens du corps et de la langue, a amendir les parolles a l'issue de ta bouche en telle maniere que elles ne soient enflées ne decassees au parler, trop ressoinans ne de fiere voix ne aspres a la levee des leuvres, mais entendans et sonnans bien proferes, souefves et clers, si que chascune lecture qui affiert estre sonné ait son son (fol. 97r) doucement et chacun mot son assens, et soit entre hault et bas

et plus bas au commencier que a la fin, mais tout ce convient il muer selon les muemens du lieu, des choses, des achoisons et du temps. Car une chose doit l'en conter simplement, autre doucement et autres a desdaing, autres par pitié, autre par joye et ainsi diversement, en telle maniere que les maintiens du corps et de la face soient tousjours accordans a la matiere de quoy tu parles. Car pour ce disoit Orace: "Aux tristes parolles tristes, au joyeux joyeuses, a l'ayré de vengeance ou menaces," et doit on bien garder qu'en conseil on ne die choses de truffes, car dist Tullus: "Oyseuse chose est et sote, es haultes besongnes dire parolles de foulas et mal a propos", et pour celle cause fu repris Pericles li prevosts au conseil ou il prist a parler de la beauté d'un enfant qu'il vid passer. Et soit la porteure de ton corps, dist il, telle que tu tiengnes la face droite, non mie contre le ciel ne baissiee contre terre, mes tes yeulx en regardant ceulx a qui tu parles, ne tors tes levres ne trop ne les bee, ne clingne d'un oeil ou des deux, n'estincelle de regart n'enseurcille du front ne rechingne des dens, ne le lever des mains ne ti soit mal seant.

Item, nous avons dit ou chapitre precedent que la seconde chose qui affiert estre gardee en belle parleure, c'est en la quantité. Et de ce dit Macrobe que de toutes choses bonnes le plus est le meilleur, (fol. 97v) excepté de parole. Et pour ce, en la quantité de parler se doit on souverainement garder du trop, comme chose plus ennuieuse ne soit que escouter le foison parlant. Et pour ce disoit Tullus: "Tu plairas a tous se tu dis pou et faiz assez de biens." Et de ce dist l'Apostre: "Soyes isnel a ouir et tardif a parler." Et si que dit Salemon: "Tout homme isnel a parler en lui doit estre supposé moins de sens et plus de folie." Cassiodore, en approuvant ce, dist: "Royal vertu est courir tart aux paroles et tost a entendre." Et avec ce, si comme se Senecque parlast aux haulx hommes, dist: "Gardes que tes parolles ne soient frivoles, comme a prince n'appartiengne parler de nices choses," auquel Senecque dist: "Ta parole ne soit pas neant, mais soit tousjours pour conseiller ou introduire ou commander ou admonnester." Doncques, afin que ton compte n'ennuye, tu mecras au plus brief que tu pourras sans rompre la substance de ta matiere, ce que dire voudras, si que il n'y ait superfluité. Mais non pourtant dist il: "Gardes que celle briefté ne soit si grant qu'elle engendre obscurté en la qualité de tes dis et de la fin et entente ou venir veulx."

Item, en ce qui touche isnelleté de parole, c'est que on se garde bien que trop tost ne soit menee, comme en trop hastiveté ne puist avoir bon ordre ne si plaisant a ouir. Ains est comme chose brouilleuse et mal entendible.

Item, la tardesce, quant est a proferer les parolles, doit estre par a point. (fol. 98r) Car tout ainsi que hastiveté y messiet, fait le trop tarder de l'une parole a l'autre, si comme se on s'escoutast parler et forgiast on ses dis. Et

pour ce par a point bellement et actrait doit estre proferé. Et en sur que tout, dist Tulles, dis volentiers bonnes parolles raisonnables et paisibles. Car les benignes sont cause d'amistié et les rudes le contraire, doncques, dist il, comme eloquence bien ordonné soit si comme fluence de miel et sang du corps du parlant, en epilouant ce que dit est devant, dis volentiers bonnes parolles liees, honnestes, cleres, simples, bien ordonnees et de plain langaige, le visage coy, sans trop rire ne faire chiere ombreuse.

XXXV

Cy loue n'avoir moult de langaige

Silencium est signum sapiencie, et
loquacitas signum insapiencie, ne festina
respondere donec fiunt finis interroga-
cionis. Aristotiles.

Veult dire Aristote cy dessus que estre taisant, ou volentiers taire, est signe de saige, et par le contraire est de homme foison parlant. Et comme s'il vouldist dire après, "Doncques ne te haste pas de parler ou de respondre, tant que bien saches la fin de l'interrogacion, ou ce que tu dois dire." Tres noble seigneur, et pour ce que c'est la chose qui plus raporte et fait savoir l'abit et estat du courage et sa disposicion que la parleure de l'omme, par laquelle est jugié de lui ou bien ou mal selon l'usage des parolles yssans de la bouche le plus communement, (fol. 98v) si que dit le proverbe commun: "Qui de terre est, de terre parle," et que l'abondance du cuer fait parler la bouche, est chose tres necessaire par especial a toute haulte personne estre avisee en fait de parleure, et non mie tant en ce qui touche mectre estudie que elle soit bien ordonnee, si que dit avons cy dessus, quoy que tres bien sciee, comme que on ne die chose qui face a taire, mal seant, ne en reproche de folie ou mauvaistié. Et pour tant, redoubté prince, ne t'ennuye se un pou proliciment je parle sur ceste matiere. Car si que dit un sage, ja n'iert trop dit ce qui n'est dit assez. Et a parler de ce, il me semble qu'en ii choses principales gist le sens de la bouche: l'une est en sagement parler, et l'autre est en sagement taire. Et que l'un sciet bien avec l'autre; dist Senecque: "Qui ne scet parler, ne scet taire." Du sagement parler, c'est que tu die tousjours choses raisonnables en tout ce de quoy on veult parler. Et doit on savoir que pou si que dit Senecque se doit estendre parleure, ce n'est a l'une de cinq fins, c'est assavoir, ou pour enseigner aultrui conseiller et introduire a bien, ou pour faire demande afin d'estre enseigné ou conseillé, ou pour commander ce que est de raison

et a qui il appartient, ou pour faire rapors de honnorables choses et vraies. Combien que avec ces choses donne assez licence nature, raison et droit que en jeux et esbatemens puist on parler de choses joyeuses et liees, mais que on s'i garde de exceder et passer mectes de raison (fol. 99r) ou trop par quoy folles ou mal honnestes parolles y puissent survenir. Or est a regarder a quelz gens cellui qui veult ensuivre les bons et vaillans doit volentiers tenir regne et lesquelz eschever, et de ceste matiere affin que plus auctorisiement soit traictiee, me souffira rapporter ce que les aucteurs en dient, sans rien du mien y adjouter. Dist le Psalmiste: "Hante les bons, et tu seras comme eulx et des mauvais semblablement;" Saluste: "Ta parolle soit adreciee aux saiges afin que leur responce croisse ton savoir."

Dist Salemon: "Conseille toy de la chose dont tu as a faire a cellui qui en a l'experience. Car l'expert doit estre creu en son art," dist le proverbe qui est costé: "Voye ne die pas folie," et pour ce que de parolles dictes puet venir peril ne soient laissiéz aler nulle part s'elles font a taire.

Item, de ceulx qui font a eschever, me semble que iii manieres sont de mauvais par especial que les aucteurs conseillent non leur tenir moult de regne. C'est assavoir a folz qui sont obstinez en folie par despris de savoir et d'apprendre, l'autre a ceulx qui s'enyvrent, et la tierce a gent mesdisans, moqueurs, et detrayeurs. De ce dist Tulles que l'acointance de fol ne puet estre bonne, pour ce que de lui ne puet on riens de bien aprendre n'en mieulx valoir. Et qui fol enseigner voudroit en despris tourneroit la doctrine. Et pour ce disoit un sage: "Comme l'acointance du fol ne puist en riens estre bonne, fait a eschever." Jhesus filz de Sirach dist: "N'est pas (fol. 99v) plus perdue parolle dicte a homme dormant que est au fol chastiment;" Salemon: "Chastie le fol il te herra, chastie le sage il t'amera." Et dist outre: "Fol ne voit riens que folie, pour ce n'y vault enseignement" et: "Sermon qui n'a point d'ouye est si comme citolle en plomb" dist encores ycellui: "Le sage se taist jusques a temps, mais le fol ne garde saison." Et pour ce un philosophe, quant on lui demande pourquoy il estoit si taisant, ou pour sens ou pour folie, respondi: "Fol homme ne se scet taire." Salemon dist que signe est de folie respondre ains que on ait ouy.

Item, de ceulx qui s'enyvrent est l'acointance mauvaise pour plusieurs raisons: l'une que c'est un vice de mauvais exemple, l'autre qu'ilz sont perillex en leur¹¹ yvrece et esmouveurs de noises, la tierce que adont dient des gens ce qu'ilz scevent et que mie ne scevent. Et pour ce disoit le sage: "Ton secret ne dis a homme qui s'enyvre, comme yvresce ne sache riens celler."

11. We follow Willard in adding "en leur" based on *P*, which has "en leurs yvresces."

Et pour ce les malicieux enquierent des yvres; de homme qui s'enyvre dist Jhesus filz Sirach qu'il ne le prise pas plus que cellui qui venderoit son sens en plain marchié pour emploier en vin. Et dist qu'en plusieurs pays telz gens ne seroient pris en tesmoignage.

Item, que la compaignie des mesdisans, detraieurs et mocqueurs soit mau-
vaise, le dit Senecque. Et pour ce disoit le prophete: "Homme discordant et
noiseux par ses parolles puet esmouvoir tout un pays," Jhesus filz Sirach: "Riens
n'est plus espouventable (fol. 100r) en cité ne plus perilleux en communauté
que homme sedicieux et rapporteur, et qui de cellui tient parole fait ainsi que
s'il gectoît huile en un feu tres perilleux pour plus l'atiser." Dist Tullus: "Plus
que la voix et l'abay des chiens doivent estre escheuz les detraieurs," desquelz
dit Macrobe: "Les mocqueurs et detraieurs sont pugnis par leur meismes vice,
car ce qu'il dient des autres est dit d'eulx meismes." Et dist l'Apostre: "Homme
qui juge mal sus les autres condampne soy meismes," et dist après: "Tu rep-
rens chascun et si n'ensengne pas a toy meismes." Et pour ce que parolles de
mocquerie sont laides, dist: "Ne mocques point ton ami comme chose soit
desplaisant a tout homme estre mocquiéz et amour departie a paine retourne.
Pericles: "Qui les autrui vices desceuvre, tost orra parler des siens." Et pour
ce enseigne le maistre au disciple: "Garde qu'en chose que tu dies n'ait riens
contre le prochain, car il est ton frere." Mais dist Cathon: "Laide chose est au
maistre quant est entechie de la coulpe dont il reprent autrui."

Item, l'autre sens de la bouche que avons dit devant qui est de bien savoir
taire. Dist Salemon: "Frain sciet mieulx en bouche d'omme que de cheval,"
c'est a entendre frain de trop parler. Dist le saige: "Aies en souspeçon cellui qui
moult t'enquiert de savoir ton secret s'il n'est bien ton ami, et qui qu'il soit
sache de ses condicions, ains que riens lui dies, et cautement t'en gardes." Dist
Jhesus filz Sirach: "Le secret qui porte peril, (fol. 100v) dont tu ne t'as a con-
seiller, ne dis a homme, car plus seure chose est a taire que a prier autre qu'il se
taise." Et dist le sage: "Tant que tu tais ton secret il est en chartre, mais sitost que
l'as descouvert tu es ou dongier et prison de cellui a qui tu l'as dit." Et pour
ce disoit Senecque: "Se tu ne commandes a toy meismes a taire comment en
prias tu un autre, et se tu ne te scez celler qui te cellera doncques?"

xxxvi

**Cy dit comment c'est chose mal seant a prince estre ayreux et parler
furieusement**

Tunc omina iura tenebis cum poteris
rex esse tui. Claudianus.

Dist Claudiens, ainsi que se a toy meismes, bon prince, parlast, que alors seigneuriras tu par droit les autres quant tu seras roy et maistre de toy meismes. La sentence de ceste parolle souverainement a toy qui as a seigneurir est bien appliquee, qui est a entendre que tellement soit la sensualité en toutes choses vaincue par raison que vertu domine en ton cuer, et non pas volenté. Car comme il appartient a prince plus que autre, combien que a tous soit bien seant, pour ce que son auctorité est plus grande, et aussi que a l'exemple de lui se confourment volentiers les subgiez, soit en bien ou mal, qu'il se demonstre plus parfaict que les communs hommes, se doit moult travailler de vaincre en soy toutes passions vicieuses. Et ce accorde Tulles ou il dist que c'est vertu royal contraindre et ramener a droit les mouvemens du cuer. Et tirant (fol. 101r) encores assez a propos de parleure tant en ce qui doit estre dit comme teu, dont nous avons parlé cy dessus, pour ce que mouvement de yre est cause souventes fois d'esmouvoir la bouche a parler, laquelle chose trop messerroit a bon prince, comme il doie estre ferme en un estat d'avoir acquoisiees manieres, estre veu furieux en dit en fait par mouvements de yre si que sont communement tirans.

Souverainement appartient t'en garder. Si que dit trop bien Ovide: "Vainc ton courage et ton yre, tu qui veulx vaincre toutes choses." De ceste yre que trop soit mesteant a prince en estre convaincu, le pues tu veoir par les tres maugracieux semblans et desordonees contenancez que Tulles recorde qui apperent en homme ayré. C'est assavoir que la ou le cuer est enflambé de yre fait le viaire terrible, et les yeulx fiers et estincellens, la langue empeschiés et tout le corps esmeu et tremblant, les membres tous desordonnez—piéz, mains et visage—d'estranges mouvemens et contenancez, ne lui laisse congnoistre ses amis ne qui bien lui monstre ne avoir nul usage de raison. Si que dit Senecque: "Quant homme est plain de yre il ne voit riens fors toute forcenerie et mauvaistié." Et Cathon meismes l'acorde, disant: "Yre empesche tellement le courage qu'il ne puet jugier verité." Pierre Alphons de ce meismes disoit: "En humaine nature (fol. 101v) a tel faulte que quant le courage est conmus par aucun tremblement il pert les yeulx de la congnoissance entre voir et faulx." Et pour tant que homme en ce point ne scet qu'il fait, et que souvent sont en cel estat executez mains maulx, dist Orace: "La loy voit bien homme qui est surpris de yre, mais il ne voit pas la loy." C'est qu'en excecitant le mal qu'il fait par yre n'apperçoit pas ce que avenir lui en puet, tant par pugnicion divine comme autrement. Et pour tant disoit trop bien Pitagoras: "Yre soit loings de nous, car tout ce qui est fait par elle ne puet estre bien fait ne bien pensé."

Ceste yre si que devant est touchié contrainst le cuer de commun cours a faire parler la bouche oultrageusement, soit en menaces ou en villenant autrui, et dont souvent ensuit mal et repentance quoy que aucune fois soit a tart. Et pour ce disoit Cathon: "Souveraine chose est refraindre la langue en yre, et qui la scet contraindre est vertu plus que humaine." Et de ce dist Salemon: "Cellui qui ne puet contraindre son esperit ayré en parlant est semblable a la cité ouverte qui est avironné de ennemis," c'est a dire que tous les vices sont prests a y entrer. Si sont aucunes gens qui ont condicion de leur propre nature a estre ayreux et n'ont pas sens de eulx refrener, et telz gens souverainement font a eschever, comme ilz soient tres perilleux en fait et langage, (fol. 102r) et destruira eulx. Dist saint Augustin: "Plus louable chose est eschever mal en taisant que vaincre en respondant." Et aussi dist Jhesus filz Sirach: "De la chose par especial qui ne te touche n'appartient, ne te mesle ne combas." Et aussi a yceulx parler doucement prouffite moult; si que dit le proverbe commun: "Doulce parolle fraint grant yre." Semblablement Panphille: "Aimable parolle et doulce acquiert et nourrist amis, rompt yre et atrait les courages."

Et pour ce encores a propos de langue bien garder en tous estas dist Salemon: "Qui garde sa langue garde son ame et son corps, car en la force d'icelle gist mort et vie."

xxxvii

Cy blasme volupte de corps en prince et estre trop habandonné a plaisirs charnelz

Si bacho venerique vacas qui cetera
subdis sub iugua venisti. Gaulterus in
Alexandride.

Afin de traictier aucunement et touchier de toutes choses les plus convenables a prince, a ce que notre euvre soit complecte, avec ce que dit avons dessus en blasmant vices et louant vertus, est bon encores me semble touchier en conclusion de notre euvre de certaine chose qui trop puet empirer valeur de grant seigneur et de toute notable personne qui y seroit envelopez. C'est assavoir delices de corps et toutes choses de volupté, comme les occupacions en telz besongnes soient vaines, non licites, et deshonorables, et qui amenerissent et (fol. 102v) derompent toutes bonnes euvres en personne qui s'y amuse, est grant meschief quant tel vice est fichié en homme a qui affiere grant gouvernement, si que aux princes fait, car comme soing et sollicitude

leur appartiengne avoir ou fait de la chose publique qu'en leur main soit bien maintenue, n'est pas pou de charge a bien vacquier aux cures qui y conviennent. Et qu'il soit ainsi manda l'auteur allegué cy dessus ou latin a Alixandre les mots sus dis, lesquelz peuent semblablement servir a tous princes, disant: "Toy qui subjuges et seigneuris les hommes, se tu vacques a vin et a luxure tu t'asubjectis," qui meismement est a entendre de toutes superfluitez d'aises de corps, comme il s'en puist ensuivre infinis maux, si que assez de exemples t'en pourroye dire de plusieurs princes et tres notables hommes qui en pardirent ame, corps, honneur, et meismement leur seigneurie; mais de ce me passe plus legierement pour cause que autrefois les ramenteu ou livre que je intitulay de *Corps de Policie*, que mesmement en ton nom traictay. Si me souffira dire sur ceste matiere aucunes auctoritez des sages. Et mesmement Aristote, qui dit: "Gardons que delit n'ait seigneurie sur nous, car riens n'est qui tant peust homme desvoyer." Et disoit après: "Luxure et vin, lecherie et perte de temps en oyseuse, confondent le sens et mectent homme en erreur, et en fin le terminent a neant." A ce s'accorde Salustes, disant: (fol. 103r) "Courage habandonné a sensualité n'a pouvoir de vacquier a bien" De ce mesmes dist Salemon: "Sapience n'iert ja trouvee en la terre de ceulx qui vivent delicativement."

xxxviii

Encore de ce meismes et louenge de l'ordre de mariage

Exigui est animi infirmique voluptas.
Juvenalis.

Encore de ce meismes qu'il n'appartiengne a prince, duquel le corage en grandeur doit passer les autres hommes, qu'en delectacions de corps moult s'enveloppe et occupe, et que a grant reprouche lui peust tourner, dist le latin cy dessus que volupté et delectacion sensuelle est signe de petit et foible courage. Et pour ce dist trop bien Virgille: "Ordonnez vos faiz aux grans choses entre vous qui voulez seigneurie." Et pour tant en confortant tout saige et puissant homme a s'en garder disoit Senecque: "Quant la vouldenté est obeissant a raison, adont la plus noble partie de l'omme est dame et royne du royaume du cuer." Et pour ce, celui ouquel tel puissance domine doit par droit estre appelez sires et maistres des autres hommes pour cause des nobles euvres de vertu, qui lui font eschever toute villenie, doncques si que dit Tullus: "Veu le grant deffault et mal que c'est a si noble animal que est homme, ouquel raison doit dominer, autrement est comme beste brute

et defective, se doit bien garder d'abaissier son courage," duquel quant il est saige dit Senecque que c'est ainsi comme le monde sur la lune ou il a tousjours clarté, de non decliner sa franchise ou (fol. 103v) servage de delit. Et des princes et puissans hommes par especial qui se laissent vaincre a voullenté suivant leurs appetis charnelz, s'esbayst Orace, disant a quel merveille que hommes qui toutes choses veult seigneurir se lait suppediter, mater, et abaisser a sensualité, pour tant disoit Macrobe: "Tu, homme qui es creé, afin de suivre l'effect de l'entendement qui de sa propriété requiert haultes choses, laisses, laisses les, les charnalitez et delis du corps et basses choses aux bestes mues qui n'ont autre gloire, et t'abitués aux grandes euvres qui parfont l'ame et donnent renommee."

Infinies de telles ou semblables auctoritez se trouveroient dictes des saiges, louant abstinence de delices charnelles en prince et tout noble homme. Mais atant souffise pour t'y mirer, s'il te plaist, des en ta premiere jeunesse, tres noble royal enfant, comme il t'appartiengne, affin que telles occupacions ne te peussent empescher et tolir l'exercice des vertus et excellence de renommee qui convenables te sont. Car a propos que peril soit s'acoustumer en juvenesse en choses vicieuses, dist Orace que une escaille tendre qui soit trempée ou mouillée d'aucune chose tendra l'odeur de la matiere longuement, et meismes Senecque dit la ou le feu a demouré par long temps tousjours y sont les fumees. Et avec ces choses pour ce que plusieurs juvenes hommes se delictent en dire folies, le blasment moult les auteurs. Senecque dit: "Astiens toy (fol. 104r) de laides parolles, car elles nourrissent folies euvres." Aliours dist il: "Sages homs est honnestes en toutes choses." Et dit Socrates: "Je ne cuide pas que ce qui est honteux a faire doie estre honneste a dire." Et pour dire au vray, afin de obvier aux inconveniens tant en fait de pechié comme a apaisier la char par voie licite quant est en desir charnel, et aussi a ce que par generacion deue se peust continuer l'espece humaine, furent ordonnez les mariages, lequel ordre et estat affiert estre tenu en tres grant reverence, si que il est recité ou tresor d'un livre, pour xi principaulx raisons: la premiere pour ce que Dieu l'establi premierement, la seconde pour la dignité du lieu ou il fu establi—c est assavoir paradis terrestre—la tierce que c'est establissement ancien, la quarte que Adam et Eve estoient nets de tous pechiéz quant Dieux les mist ensemble, la quint pour ce que cest ordre, sauva Dieux du deluge en l'arche Noë. la vi^e que notre Dame fu de cel ordre, la vii^e pour ce que nostre Seigneur fist cel honneur a assemblément de mariage que il meismes fu avec sa mere et ses disciples aux nopces de saint Archedeclin, La viiii^e car il y fist d'eau vin en signifiante de l'acroissement de biens qui doit venir en mariage, la ix^e que les enfans nez de mariage sont droiz hoirs et sans reproche,

la x^e car c'est un des vii sacremens de sainte Eglise, la xi^e pour le pechié qui l'en eschieve pour le mariage et mains autres (fol. 104v) biens et prouffis qui en viennent a qui bien et deuement s'i contient.

xxxix

Cy commence a parler en brief d'aucunes vertus devant dictes en les approuvant par auctoritez et premierement de justice

Dirigat ergo tuos studio celebrata priorum actus justicia et per te revocetur ab alto ultima que superum terras astrea relinquit. Galterus in *Alexandride*.

Tres redoubté prince, que te diroye enfin et tousjours pourroie dire des choses vertueuses qui convenables te sont, tout ne soye digne du reciter. Mais neantmoins vueille ta tres belle jouvence un pou estudier et nocter, non mie parolles qui toutes sont neant, mais les beaulx dis des sages tant ycy comme autre part ramenteus qui t'enseignent et demonstrent toutes choses propices et qui a excercer t'appartiennent, desquelles pour ce qu'en plusieurs livres et volumes ça et la sont dispers, ay cueilli partie afin de tout ensemble estre veu plus legierement, et encores en epilouant et concueillant en brief sur les matieres passees et dictes cy devant.

Afin du mieulx retenir de rechief y sont propres aucunes auctoritez d'iceulx pour reduire a memoire tout ce que t'ay dit de ton bon ayol comme autres notables. C'est assavoir Aristote, qui ainsi te dit: "Soient premierement tes faiz adreciez par l'estude de justice que tes predecesseurs ont prisee tellement que elle qui a laissee la terre par le mauvais gouvernement passé soit par toy rappellee du ciel en bas."

xl

Cy dit comment appartient (fol. 105r) a ceulx qui sont descendus et venus de haulte attrace et lignee le demonster par euvre

Genus et proavos et que non fecimus ipsi vix ea nostra voca. Ovidius.¹²

Mais pourquoy dist le pouete ces parolles cy dessus que a grant paine il atribue louenge a qui que soit a cause de ses predecesseurs? C'est qu'il veult dire qu'il ne souffit point estre venus de bons nobles et vaillans qui

12. Willard supplies "in Metamorphoseos" from *P*.

n'est soy meismes en bonté et meurs semblable a yceulx, et la affiert il le droit loz et gloire. Car plus est grant reproche a cellui qui des bons grans et haulx est venus et il s'abaisse en vices et viles besongnes que n'est a cellui auquel oncques choses dignes n'atouchierent. Si font ces choses moult a nocter aux grans hommes et aux nobles, afin de eulx garder que la noblesse que eurent leurs predecesseurs et parens ne deffaille mie en eulx. Et de ce respondi trop bien Julius Cesar a un oultrageux qui lui avoit reprochié qu'il n'estoit pas venus de noble lignee, il respondi: "Mieulx m'est que gentillesce commence a moy qu'il ne t'est que elle defaille en toy," qui est a entendre que plus grant loz est a cellui, de quelque petit lieu qu'il soit venus, qui ait meurs et condicions nobles en faiz et dis, qui n'est au noble de lignee qui les avoit vilz.

xli

Cy dit le grant mal qui puet venir a prince par le vice de parece

O noverca virtutum mollicies etsi cuiuis
etati sit adversa adolescencie tamen
perniciosissima hostis est que si blandiciis
attracta fuerit (fol. 105v) eius exciciali tabe
in peius excrescendo delabitur. Bocacius
in libro *De casibus virorum illustrum*.

Comme les necessitez de l'abondance des affaires survenans sans cesser es choses de seigneurie requiere tres grant diligence en prince, afin que parece ne te puist tollir nul temps la gloire qui t'est due plus a cause de vertus encores que de seigneurie, tout soit ton auctorité et celle qui est a venir, moult magnifique, neantmoins se en choses dignes te veulx apliquier, la est le comble de felicité. Et afin de n'y faillir, escoute s'il te plaist et noctes le vitupere que dit Bocace cy allegué d'icelui vice. "O paresse," fait il, "marrastre de vertu, ceulx qui par blandisses s'atraient a toy cheent continuellement de pis en pis." Si pues nocter l'enchoite de ceste parece estre l'amenrissement de toute gloire, pour ce fait a fuir de toute puissance a homme par especial qui veult tendre hault.

xlii

Cy dit comment prince doit volentiers communiquer entre les siens

Natura solitarium nichil amat. Tullius in
libro *De amicitia*.

Comunicacio ex parte boni est.
MAXIMA philosophorum.

Du vice de celle paresce, que avons dit dessus estre tant inpartinent a prince, est cause souvent avient trop grant solitaireté, et pour ce que pas bien ne sciet a homme qui a moult de chose se doit occuper, dist meismes Tullies cy dessus allegué que nature (fol. 106r) n'aime riens solitaire, qui est a entendre que meismes c'est contre ordre humain trop se tenir encloz; pour ce disoit Aristote: "Homme solitaire, ou il est meilleur que homme ou il est pire que beste," et lui meismes dit, si que allegué est cy dessus suivant ou latin: "Communication humaine est de la nature de tout bien."

xliii

Cy dit comment prince ne doit avoir chiers flatteurs

Consultor procerum servos contempne
bilingues. Galterius in *Alexandride*.

Mais quoy que communication avec les hommes soit bonne, n'est mie a entendre de ceulx qui sont mauvais, car de tel gent n'est compaignie bonne ne belle, si que assez est dit devant. Et pour ce qu'environ princes en a, tel fois avient, de telz et qui plus sont curieux de leurs singuliers prouffis que du bien et honneur des seigneurs, disoit Aristote: "Toy, prince, qui dois demander conseil, c'est assavoir aux saiges, desprises et deboutes de toy tous serviteurs flatteurs et de doubles langues."

xliiii

Cy dit comment doit avoir certain ordre es fais des princes

Quod precipiti via certum deserit ordi-
nem letos non habet exitus. Boecius.

Dit Bouece que qui ne tient certain ordre en ses faiz la fin et l'issue de quoy qu'on face n'est pas bonne. Ceste parolle semblablement que les autres touche tres singulierement les grans seigneurs, ausquelz appartient tout ordre tenir tant en maniere de vivre comme en leurs (fol. 106v) generaulx faiz. C'est assavoir establir le jour et la nuit par porcions, ouquel a chascune heure par droit rigle on y face ce que le temps et les heures requierent et non mie faire du jour nuit et de nuit jour et autres non riglees manieres qui ne seroient convenables a prince.

xlv

De charite partinant a prince

Caritatem habete quod est vinculum
perfectionis. Paulus ad Coloscenses.

Finis preceptis est caritas de corde puro
et consciencia bona et fide non ficta.
Epistola prima Pauli ad Thimotheum.

Judicium sine misericordia fiet illi qui
numam denegat postulanti. Guido in
exordiis *Summe* sue.

De charité entre les autres vertus, bon prince, te vueille souvenir selon les enseignemens de saint Pol cy dessus en latin qui a espace humaine dist: “Ayes charité, car c’est le bien¹³ de perfection” c’est a dire que c’est ce qui consume et joint toutes vertus ensemble si que il s’ensuit après d’icellui meismes. “La fin,” dist il, “du commandement, c’est charité de cuer net et pur et bonne conscience et non fainte foy.” Ho! les parolles d’or, comme elles portent grant substance, car en ce gist le terme de toute notre vie et euvres, qui n’est chose a houblier. Et pour ce a prince singulierement appartient estre misercors et mal pour ceulx qui ne le sont. Et leur disoit Guide cy allegué ensuivant “Certainement jugement sans misericorde sera fait a celui qui denye ou refuse au requerant misericorde.”

xlvi

(fol. 107r) **De aucuns enseignemens d’Aristote**¹⁴

Non desit pietas pudor et reverencia
recti; divinos rimare apices mansuete
rogatus, legibus insuda civiliter argue
somples.

Vindictam differ donec pertranseat yra.
Galterius in *Alexandride*.

Sub cardine Phebi tam firmum nichil est
cui non metus esse ruine possit ab inva-
lido; quis enim dum navigat orbem debeat
occursum mortisque timere percellam.

Donques, bon prince, a dire en brief afin que prolicité de langaige ne rende a mes escriptures ennuy au lire ou ouir, te plaise en sur que tout retenir ces

13. One would expect “lien,” to translate “vinculum perfectionis,” but both *B* and *P* have “bien.”

14. This sentence comes at the end of the Latin quotations on fol. 107r.

belles parolles d'Aristote cy dessus alleguees qui grant consommacion de choses utiles et bonnes enportent, lesquelles il disoit a son disciple Alixandre qui puis seigneuri tout le monde. "Soies piteux" dist il, "aies l'ueil et regart a droit et raison. Enquier des sciences. Amolis ton yre par prieres, repren les coupables par droite justice, differe ta vengeance jusques après ton yre." Si comme s'il voulsist dire après, "car soubz l'essueil ou pivot du souleil riens n'est si ferme de quoy on ne doie avoir paour de ruine, et qui est donques cil qui nage et baigne es perilz du monde qui ne doie avoir paour du rencontre et pestilence de mort."

xlvii

Cy parle en concluant de maintenir amistie

Unum bonum verum concordia, ab eadem parte est malum diversum discordia ab altero Pitagoras.

Simulata dilectio hominem (fol. 107v) dehonestat et ipsum facit sapientibus odiosum. Guido in exordiis *Summe* sue.

Idem velle atque idem nolle ea demum firma amicitia est. Salustius libro 1^o qui Catilina dicitur.

In rebus humanis nichil amicitia dulcius invenitur, nichil sanctius appetitur, nichil fructuosius custoditur, habet enim fructum vite que nunc est et future. Cassiodorus libro *De amicitia*.

Après ces choses dictes, a descendre a la fin et conclusion pour laquelle cestui livre principalement fu empris a faire, c'est assavoir au motif et matiere de paix, par especial civile, et eschever descort. Te plaise aussi, tres digne prince, te maintenir entre les tiens en la maniere et selon le dit du philosophe Pitagoras, c'est assavoir unité, bonté, et concorde, lesquelz biens sont tousjours d'un meismes accort et partie, et laisser et mettre arriere de toy diversité, mal, et discorde, qui sont contraires, et toute faulse et mauvaise amour, laquelle en quelque lieu que elle soit a la parfin deshonneure l'omme et le fait hay ou hayneux des sages, ne soit nul temps en toy ne environ que

tu puisses ne saiches, comme tel faulseté face a hair souverainement, si que dit Guide cy dessus allegué, mais soit entre toy, ceulx de ton sang, et tes bons amis si parfaicte amour que selon la parolle de Saluste cy ou latin suivanment alleguee, une meismes chose vouloir, et une meismes non vouloir a la parfin, comme ce soit ferme amour vous tiengne (fol. 108r) tousjours en vraie amistié et concorde, c'est que si tout un soyez que le bien que l'un voudra l'autre vueille, et semblablement soit de l'eschevement des maulx, car si que dit est cy dessus, entre les humaines choses riens n'est trouvé plus doulz que amistié, riens n'est demandé plus sain, riens n'est gardé plus fructueux, car certainement ce dist il amistié a le fruit de la vie qui est maintenant et de celle a venir.

xlviiii

Le derrain chapitre et la fin du livre

Semper in finem determinatur res.

Proverbiorum vii^o capitulo.

Or est temps de venir au terme de mon euvre, de laquelle ainsi que veult dire le proverbe cy dessus, tousjours a la fin puet on veoir quelle est la chose, bonne ou male, selon son effect, et pour tant, tres noble et tres excellent prince, s'il te plaist de ta benigne grace vouloir nocter du tout en tout le motif de l'entencion vers toy et ton noble sang de l'umble ta creature exprimé en la compilation de cestui livre, se c'est ton plaisir d'y daigner lire ou avoir leu ou ouir la trouveras de telle affection estre meue par desir de l'augmentation de ta prosperité de ame, de corps, et de loz, que les fautes qui y sont par ignorance tu benignement supplioieras et vertiras en bien, en tel maniere que la couronne de laurier comme en fin par victoire appartient et est deue au vainquant par travail honnorablement, ne sera pour tant tollue au labour de ceste dicte euvre, laquelle (fol. 108v) ta digne haultesce ait agreable et tiengne a memoire, moiennant Dieu qui en toute grace te parface. Amen.

Cy fine le livre de paix.

APPENDIX: TABLE OF SOURCES

Texts falsely attributed to an author are marked with an asterisk. Texts quoted in French are cited with part and chapter numbers in arabic numerals; those quoted by Christine in Latin have part in roman numerals but chapter number in Arabic numerals; texts quoted by Christine from Brunetto Latini, *Livre du Trésor*, are identified in square brackets.

Gen. 4:1–15	2.4	1 Kings 2:5	3.19
Gen. 7:1–24	3.21	[1 Kings 14:21–31]	1.9, 3.8, 3.24
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Gen. 30:25–43	3.24	1 Kings 21	2.4
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Gen. 37:28	3.24	2 Kings 5:29–37	3.24
		2 Kings 13:22–24	3.7
		2 Kings 19:35–36	3.8
Exod. 8:1–11:10	3.8		
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Exod. 15:16–27	3.9	Tob. 1:18–21	3.19
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Exod. 16:13–35	3.9	Judith 13:1–20	3.19
Exod. 17:5–6	3.9		
Exod. 17:8–16	3.8	Ps. 8:3	1.1
Exod. 20:2–17	3.9	Ps. 33:15	1.3
		Ps. 33:15	1.3 mg
Num. 21:21–35	3.8	Ps. 56:5	1.15
Num. 22:22–35	3.8	Ps. 84:11	III.2
		Ps. 86:3	1.2 mg
Deut. 8:2–4; 29:5	3.9	Ps. 97:1	1.1 mg
		Ps. 105:3	II.5
Josh. 3:15–16	3.9	Ps. 110:10	1.5 mg
Josh. 7:24–26	3.24	Ps. 121:7	1.2
Josh. 10:13–14	3.10	Ps. 121:7	1.3 mg
		Ps. 125:5	II.1
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2 Sam. 11:1–18	2.4	Prov. 1:25–26	3.4
2 Sam. 20	3.19	Prov. 2:10–11	1.9
2 Sam. 21:1–9	3.19	[Prov. 5:22]	1.4
2 Sam. 24:12–25	3.21	[Prov. 9:8]	3.35

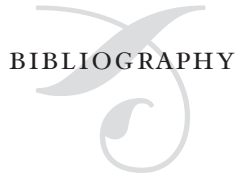
[Prov. 18:13]	3.35	Luke 1:14	1.2 mg
[Prov. 13:16]	1.9	Luke 2:14	1.2
Prov. 13:10	1.9	Luke 6:45	3.35
Prov. 17:1	III.25	[Luke 11:17]	1.3 mg
Prov. 19:6	2.3	Luke 19:38	1.2 mg
Prov. 20:28	III.18	[Luke 24:49]	1.4
Prov. 21:30	1.10		
[Prov. 23:9]	3.35	John 19:35	1.8
Prov. 26:27	2.8		
Prov. 28:23	1.10	Rom. 2:1, 3	3.35
Prov. 29:5	1.11	Colossians 3:14	III.45
Prov. 29:16	1.12		
[Prov. 29:20]	3.34	1 Timothy 1:5	III.45
Eccles. 8:14	1.13	Peter 3:10–11	1.14
[Ws. 1:1]	2.5	[James 1:19]	3.34
Ws. 6:1	1.9 mg		
Ws. 6:26	1.7	Aesop	
Ws. 11:17 attrib. to Eccles.	II.8	<i>Fables</i>	III.10
Ecclus 8:11	II.3	Alan of Lille	
[Ecclus. 9:25]	3.35	[<i>De virtutibus et de vitiis et de</i>	
[Ecclus. 19:2]	3.37	<i>donis Spiritus Sancti</i>]	1.5
Ecclus. 19:8	3.35		
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2 Macc. 8:10	3.8	?	II.14
2 Macc. 9:1–12	3.19	1.2 1253a26	III.4
		1.12.1259b	1.9
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Matt. 21:9	1.1 mg	<i>Rhetorica</i> 1.2.11.1356b	3.14
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<i>Bellum alexandrinum</i>		2.62.2	3.36
(<i>Corpus Caesarianum</i>)		2.63.1	3.32
16.5 [attrib. Sallust]	3.4	2.63.1	3.29
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<i>Liber de casibus virorum illustrium</i>		2.64.2	3.35
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<i>Livre du Trésor</i>		2.75.2	3.34
2.44.3	3.19	2.75.2	3.34
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2.57.1	3.13	2.119.3	3.20
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		?	II.14
Cicero			
<i>Brutus</i> 254	3.4	Gregory the Great	
<i>De amicitia</i>		[<i>Moralia in Job</i> 26.34]	2.4
17	III.26		
23	III.7	Guido Faba	
28	I.4	<i>Exordia summae</i> (unidentified)	
[40]	3.34	?	II.10
61	I.9	?	III.8
88	II.14	?	III.22
88	III.42	?	III.28
99	2.16	?	III.45
[<i>De finibus</i> 4.14]	I.4		
<i>De inventione</i>		Horace	
[I.18.25]	3.34	[<i>De arte poetica</i> 105]	3.34
2.56.169 [attrib. Seneca]		<i>Epistulae</i> 1.2.57	II.8 mg
<i>De beneficiis</i>	III.29	[<i>Epistulae</i> 1.2.69]	3.38
<i>De officiis</i>		<i>Saturae</i> 1.3.58	3.19
I.4.14	3.11	<i>Carmina</i> 3.1.17–19	3.4
[I.14.43]	3.23		
[I.23.81]	2.4	Jerome	
[I.38.136]	3.35	<i>Ad Galatas</i> 3	3.18
[2.7.25]	3.19		
[3.5.21–26]	3.24	John the Deacon	
[3.10.45]	3.24	<i>Vita Sancti Gregorii</i> 2.44	2.10
[3.19.76]	2.10		
[3.20.81–82]	3.24	John of Salisbury	
[I.40.141]	3.34	<i>Policraticus</i>	
[<i>De oratore</i> 1.212]	I.4	I.5.7	2.10
<i>De provinciis consularibus</i> 33	III.3	3.4	I.9
[<i>De senectute</i> 26]	I.9	5.11	3.3
[<i>Tusc. disp.</i> 5.25.72]	I.4	7.17	2.5
		8.6	3.5
Ps.–Cicero		8.21	3.8
<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>			
I.2.3 [attrib. Arist.		Julius Caesar	
<i>Rhetorica</i>]	I.4	<i>Commentarii Belli Gallici</i>	
IV.17.24, IV.19.27	I.4	VII.29.6	III.3

Juvenal		<i>De coniuratione Catalinae</i>	
<i>Carmina</i>		20.4	III.47
[10.365]	2.4	[37.3]	3.11
131.189	III.38	Seneca	
		<i>De beneficiis</i>	
Lygdamus		1.11.6	III.30
<i>Elegia</i> [attrib. Juvenal]	II.4 mg	[2.1.2]	3.23
		3.15.3	1.9
Macrobius		[6.30.5]	2.4
[<i>In somnium Scipionis</i> 1.8.2]	1.4	<i>De clementia</i>	
		1.5.4	II.12
Martin of Braga [ps.–Seneca]		1.8.6	III.17
<i>Formula hon. vitae</i>		1.8.7	II.4
[2]	1.5	1.11.4	III.1
2	3.34	<i>De ira</i>	
		[2.7.3]	2.10
Ovid		[3.5.6]	2.4
<i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i> 1.2.122	III.19	<i>Epistulae morales ad Lucilium</i>	
<i>Fasti</i> 2.226	III.12	9.19	3.25
<i>Metamorphoses</i>		[9.30]	1.4
2.1–326	1.13	[24.25]	2.2
3.54	II.15	27.3	1.4
3.543, 548	III.27	[37.4]	2.4
13.140–41	III.40	66.39, 32, 39	1.5
[<i>Heroides</i> 3.85]	2.4	67.15	II.11
		[74.19]	1.4
Petrus Alphonsi		[78.28]	3.16
<i>Dialogi contra Iudaeos</i>		79.18	III.31
[PL 157:539B]	III.36	[92.3]	3.38
		[102.13]	1.9
Petrus Alphonsi		Terence	
<i>Disciplina clericalis</i> [attrib.		<i>Andria</i> 68	3.10
Aristotle]	III.35		
Peter of Blois		Valerius Maximus	
<i>De amicitia</i> [attrib. Cassiodorus]		<i>Facta et dicta memorabilium</i>	
3	III.47	3.2.13	2.4
9	III.9	4.1.9	III.33
42	III.23	4.2 [attrib. Cassiodorus]	II.2
42	III.24	4.1.9	3.38
		4.1.ext.8	3.8
Prudentius		4.2.6–7	2.10
<i>Psychomachia</i> 1.769	III.2		
		Vegetius	
Sallust		<i>Epitoma in rei militari</i>	
<i>De bello iugurthino</i>		1 Prol.	1.6
[10.7]	2.14	1.1	2.15
83	II.3	1.1.2	3.12

Vergil		I.86-88	III.11
<i>Aeneid</i>		I.167-68	III.37
6.832	III.3	I.175-77	III.39
6.853	2.15	I.178-81	III.46
		VIII.400-403	III.46
Walter of Châtillon			
<i>Alexandreis</i>			
1.83	II.13		
1.85	III.43		



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Christine de Pizan, one of the earliest known women authors, wrote the *Livre de paix* (*Book of Peace*) between 1412 and 1414, a period of severe corruption and civil unrest in her native France. The book offered Pizan a platform from which to expound her views on contemporary politics and to put forth a strict moral code to which she believed all governments should aspire. The text's intended recipient was the dauphin, Louis of Guyenne; Christine felt that Louis had the political and social influence to fill a void left by years of incompetent leadership. Drawing in equal parts from the Bible and from classical ethical theory, the *Livre de paix* was revolutionary in its timing, viewpoint, and content. This volume, edited by Karen Green, Constant Mews, and Janice Pinder, boasts the first full English translation of Pizan's work along with the original French text. The editors also place the *Livre de paix* in historical context, provide a brief biography of Pizan, and offer insight into the translation process.

Karen Green is Senior Lecturer in Philosophy at Monash University.

Constant J. Mews is Associate Professor of History at the School of Historical Studies at Monash University.

Janice Pinder is Research Associate at the School of Historical Studies at Monash University.

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