

Counselling Charles VI of France:
Christine de Pizan, Honorat Bovet,
Philippe de Mézières, and Pierre Salmon

Kristin Leigh Erika Bourassa

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Abstract

Four vernacular advice books were dedicated to King Charles VI (r. 1380-1422) during his reign. Charles became king at the age of eleven, and both Philippe de Mézières' *Songe du vieil pelerin* and Honorat Bovet's *Arbre des batailles* were dedicated to him in 1389, a year after his declaration of personal rule at the age of twenty. Charles VI began suffering from intermittent periods of mental illness from 1392 until his death. Both Christine de Pizan's *Chemin de long estude* (1402-3) and Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues* (1409, with a second version in 1412-15) were dedicated to him during this period. The four books suggested solutions to problems posed by the king's minority and later mental illness, as well as other political concerns including the papal schism, the Anglo-French wars, and the conflicts between the king's relatives that eventually descended into civil war. Although they have been described as belonging to the modern category of "mirrors for princes," these books are united more by their common dedication to Charles than by their conformity to a modern understanding of genre. The books' textual contents and their manuscript images, layout, and circulation demonstrate the importance of the dedication to the construction of their messages. The books' intended audiences included the king as well as other members of his government and in particular his relatives. The writers authorized their advice by stressing the importance of books and their own credentials, especially their goodwill towards and relationship with the king. They adapted familiar discussions of kingship to suggest concrete solutions to the crises in France, and to urge the king's relatives to work together to support Charles instead of fighting amongst themselves. The later manuscript circulation of these books demonstrates how such a dedication could be adapted for new audiences in different political circumstances.

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Author's Declaration

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or a diploma at any university, and is entirely my own work. Some material from Chapter 6 will be appearing as “Reconfiguring Queen Truth in BnF Ms. fr. 22542 (*Songe du vieil pelerin*),” in *Textual and Visual Representations of Power and Justice in Medieval France: Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant, Anne D. Hedeman, and Bernard Ribémont (Farnham Surrey: Ashgate, Forthcoming).

Introduction

Writers during the reigns of Charles V (r. 1364-80), Charles VI (r. 1380-1422), and Charles VII (r. 1422-61) produced a great deal of what Jean-Philippe Genet has referred to as “political literature,” a term that usefully avoids categorizing the books and poems according to modern definitions of genre such as that of the “mirror for princes.”¹ They include works by a variety of individuals such as Nicole Oresme (ca. 1322-82), Denis Foulechat (fl. 1362-72), Jean Gerson (1363-1429), Eustache Deschamps (ca. 1346-1406/7), Honorat Bovet (ca. 1350 – before 1410), Philippe de Mézières (1327-1405), Christine de Pizan (1365 – ca. 1430), and Pierre Salmon (fl. 1396-1424).² Joël Blanchard and others have also noted that these works form a kind

¹ For further discussion of these terms, see Chapter 1, below. See also Jean-Philippe Genet, “Conclusion: La littérature au miroir du prince,” in *Le prince au miroir de la littérature politique de l'Antiquité aux Lumières*, ed. Frédérique Lachaud and Lydwine Scordia (Rouen: Publications des universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2007), 405-24 (405-13); Jean-Philippe Genet, “General Introduction,” in *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), ix-xix (ix).

² See for example Joël Blanchard and Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2002), 9-25, 194-95; Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 12-14; Diane Bornstein, “Reflections of Political Theory and Political Fact in Fifteenth-Century Mirrors for the Prince,” in *Medieval Studies in Honor of Lillian Herlands Hornstein*, ed. J. B. Jr. Bessinger and R. B. Raymo (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 77-85 (77); Claude Gauvard, “Christine de Pizan et ses contemporains: l'engagement politique des écrivains dans le royaume de France aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles,” in *Une femme de lettres au moyen âge: études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Presses universitaires de France, 1995), 105-28 (107); Jean Devaux, “Introduction: Littérature et politique sous les premiers Valois,” *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010), 533-43; *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le moyen âge*, ed. Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard, Guy Raynaud de Lage, Cardinal Georges Grente, Geneviève Hasenohr, and Michel Zink (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 29-32, 376-77, 429-32, 1072-75; Genet, “Conclusion,” 405-24; Michael Hanly, “Literature and Dissent in the Court of Charles VI: The Careers of the ‘Courtier-Poets’ Philippe de Mézières and Honorat Bovet,” in *Tradition and Ecstasy: The Agony of the 14th Century*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), 273-90; Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon's Dialogues*, Illinois Medieval Studies (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Jacques Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440): Étude de la littérature politique du temps* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1981); Frédérique Lachaud and Lydwine Scordia, eds., “Au-delà des miroirs: la littérature politique dans la France de Charles VI et Charles VII,” *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 24 (2012); Thierry Lassabatère, *La cité des hommes: Eustache Deschamps, expression poétique et vision politique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011), 26-30, 84-98, 106-14, 129-30, 252-53; “Le prince en son ‘miroir’: littérature et politique sous les premiers Valois. Bibliographie thématique.” *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010): 679-95; Gisela Naegle, “À la recherche d'une parenté difficile: miroirs des princes et écrits de réforme (France médiévale et Empire),” in *Le prince au miroir de la littérature politique de l'Antiquité aux Lumières*, ed.

of “littérature engagée,” in which the writers became involved with contemporary politics in part by clearly identifying themselves and their own experiences within their books.³ For these authors, and especially for those whose works were unsolicited, rather than presented as having been commissioned, writing may have been a way of offering advice and commentary they were unable to give to the king or his counsellors by other means.⁴ They wrote about some of the major political issues of the day, including the papal schism ongoing from 1378-1417, the Anglo-French wars, and internal power struggles in France.

This project explores a particular group of books: the four vernacular advice books dedicated to Charles VI at key stages throughout his reign. One of the major concerns for these writers and for members of the political elite during this period was the fact that Charles VI was incapable of fully exercising his authority for much of his reign. Charles became king at the age of eleven, and his uncles governed on his behalf until he declared his personal rule in 1388, at the age of twenty. Two of the books dedicated to Charles, Philippe de Mézières’ *Songe du vieil pelerin* and Honorat Bovet’s *Arbre des batailles*, were completed in 1389.⁵ Both recognize this declaration of personal rule as a transitional moment marking a shift from the leadership of the king’s uncles to that of the king himself. But in August 1392, less than four years after this declaration took place, Charles suffered the first of the many episodes of mental illness that were to dominate the rest of his reign. Christine de Pizan’s *Chemin de long estude* (1402-3), which was also dedicated to several of the king’s relatives, was written

Frédérique Lachaud and Lydwine Scordia (Rouen: Publications des universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2007), 259-75; Brigitte Roux, “Charles V et Charles VI en miroir(s),” *Le Moyen Age: Revue d’histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010), 679-95; “Le prince en son ‘miroir’: littérature et politique sous les premiers Valois. Bibliographie thématique.” *Le Moyen Age: Revue d’histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010): 679-95; Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 13-17, 19-53.

³ Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l’aube des temps modernes*, 26-31, 33-34, 42, 58; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 2; Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, 2; Lachaud and Scordia, eds., “Introduction,” 9, 13; Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, “Une génération d’écrivains ‘embarqués’: Le règne de Charles VI ou la naissance de l’engagement littéraire en France,” in *Formes de l’engagement littéraire, XV^e - XXI^e siècle*, ed. Jean Kaempfer (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2006), 15-32 (19).

⁴ Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War*, 29.

⁵ For the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, see Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. George W. Coopland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969). For the *Arbre des batailles*, see Honorat Bovet, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet: étude de l’oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan,” Thèse, ed. Hélène Bui (Paris: Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004).

a decade after Charles' illness first became apparent, and in the context of constant uncertainty about who was at the centre of French royal power.⁶ Because the king was periodically considered to be capable of ruling, his relatives were unable to establish a permanent regent or even a regency council to act on his behalf. Instead, they competed with each other for influence over the king when he was well, and control over his government when he was not. By the time Pierre Salmon finished his *Dialogues* in 1409, the situation had escalated dramatically with the murder of the king's brother, Louis d'Orléans, by their cousin Jean sans Peur, the duke of Burgundy. Salmon wrote the second version of the *Dialogues* (1412-15) after the 1410 outbreak of a civil war between the supporters of the two rival dukes.⁷ Charles VI's intermittent ability to rule his kingdom raised pressing questions about French kingship, government, and the role of the French royal family, questions the writers tried to address in their books.

In dedicating their books to Charles himself, each of these four writers chose to communicate his or her own messages and comment on the contemporary political situation using a similar method. This distinguishes this group of books from the many other examples of political literature produced during this period and dedicated to or commissioned by other powerful individuals—including books by three of these four writers. Philippe de Mézières, Christine de Pizan, and Honorat Bovet also wrote books for the dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Orléans, as well as for the queen, Isabeau de Bavière.⁸ The *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the

⁶ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ed. Andrea Tarnowski, Lettres gothiques (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000).

⁷ For the *Dialogues*, see Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*; Pierre Salmon, *Les demandes faites par le roi Charles VI, et les réponses de son secrétaire et familier Pierre Salmon*, ed. Georges-Adrien Crapelet (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1833). For the reign of Charles VI, see Alain Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, Nouvelle histoire de la France médiévale (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990); Richard C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York: AMS, 1986); Bernard Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé* (Paris: Perrin, 2004); Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société: L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans, 23 novembre 1407* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992); Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France*, European History in Perspective (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁸ Isabeau is a French translation of her name, which was Elisabeth von Wittelsbach. She is usually referred to as Isabeau in both French- and English-language scholarship, although she herself adopted the name "Ysabel" when she became queen of France. Tracy Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, Series: Rethinking Theory (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010), 2-4; Rachel Gibbons, "Isabeau of Bavaria, queen of France (1385-1422): the creation of an historical villainess," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th series, 6 (1996), 51-75 (53). For other books by these writers, see for example Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999);

Chemin de long estude, and the *Dialogues* were produced in what Einar Már Jónsson terms “situations analogues,” or analogous situations.⁹ They were written in the vernacular by authors with knowledge of the political situation; they were dedicated to Charles VI of France; and their stated purpose was to instruct and assist the king in reforming French government.

The writers and their books

Before he wrote the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Philippe de Mézières had had a long and active career as a soldier and as a counsellor to several different kings including Peter I of Cyprus and Charles V of France. He wrote most of his books, including the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, while in retirement from public life at the Parisian convent of the Celestines. Among these were the *Nova passionis religio* (1384); the *Contemplatio hore mortis* and the *Soliloquium peccatoris* (1386-87); the *Pelerinage du pauvre pelerin*, (before 1389, now lost); the *Songe du vieil pelerin* (between December 1388 and October 1389); the *Oratio tragedica* (1389-1390); the *Epistre au roi Richart* (1395); and the *Chevalerie de la Passion de J̄esus-Christ* and the *Epistre lamentable et consolatoire* (both 1396).¹⁰ Philippe de Mézières’ major aim in writing to secular rulers was to convince Christian kings and princes to stop fighting amongst themselves and embark on a joint mission for the recovery of the Holy Land. In his books, he advocates for reform in French government, peace between England and France, and an end to the papal schism as prerequisites for such a mission.¹¹

Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1936); Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie: Edition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998); Honorat Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: the “Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun” of Honorat Bovet*, ed. Michael Hanly (Tempe, Ariz: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2005); Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II: A plea made in 1395 for peace between England and France*, ed. George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975).

⁹ Einar Már Jónsson, “Les ‘miroirs aux princes’ sont-ils un genre littéraire?,” *Médiévales* [En ligne] <http://medievales.revues.org/1461> 51 (2006), 38.

¹⁰ Nicolas Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405: La croisade au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1896), 448-49, 449n1, 452-61, 466-68, 471, 482, 489, 494, 499, 510; Pasche, “Great Schism of the West.”

¹¹ See for example Joël Blanchard, “Ordre et utopie: une alliance impossible? Le Songe du vieux pèlerin de Philippe de Mézières,” in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd’hui: pouvoir d’État, opinion publique, justice: mélanges offert à Claude Gauvard*, ed. Nicolas Offenstadt and Olivier Mattéoni (Paris: Presses

The *Songe du vieil pelerin* survives in eight manuscripts.¹² One of these (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 2682-2683) dates to within the lifetime of both author and dedicatee, and may have been the presentation manuscript. The others were made in the later fifteenth century.¹³ The *Songe du vieil pelerin* was edited in 1969 by George W. Coopland, using one of the later manuscripts as a base. Joël Blanchard and others are currently preparing a new edition based on the earliest manuscript, due out in 2015.¹⁴ In the text, Philippe de Mézières uses a series of allegories to examine the moral behaviour of humankind, and especially of Christian realms; to criticize French government and to propose a series of reforms; to instruct and advise Charles VI on how to accomplish these tasks; and to encourage the French king to embark on a crusade with other Christian rulers. The *Songe du vieil pelerin* is told as a dream-vision in a prologue and three parts, divided into a total of 321 chapters. The dedication to Charles occurs in the prologue and at the beginning of each of the three books, emphasizing the centrality of the king to the book’s message.¹⁵ In the

universitaires de France, 2010), 57-62; Joël Blanchard, “Introduction,” in *Philippe de Mézières: Songe du Vieux Pèlerin, Traduit de l’ancien français* (Paris: Pocket, 2008), 9-88; Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417*, 97-121; Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov, eds., *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Michael Hanly, “Marriage, War and Good Government in Late-Fourteenth-Century Europe: the *De regimine principum* tradition in Langland, Mézières, and Bovet,” in *Chaucer and the Challenges of Medievalism: Studies in Honor of H. A. Kelly*, ed. Donka Minkova and Theresa Tinkle (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 327-49; Michael Hanly, “Literature and Dissent in the Court of Charles VI: The Careers of the ‘Courtier-Poets’ Philippe de Mézières and Honorat Bovet,” in *Tradition and Ecstasy: The Agony of the 14th Century*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), 273-90; James Magee, “Crusading at the Court of Charles VI, 1388-1396,” *French History* 12 (1998), 367-83.

¹² For a list of manuscripts of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues*, see also Appendix 1, below.

¹³ See Appendix 1, below, as well as: Blanchard, “Introduction,” in *Philippe de Mézières*, 51-55, Kristin Bourassa, “Reconfiguring Queen Verité in BnF Ms. fr. 22542 (*Songe du vieil pelerin*),” in *Textual and Visual Representations of Power and Justice in Medieval France: Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant, Anne D. Hedeman, and Bernard Ribémont (Farnham Surrey: Ashgate, Forthcoming); Sandra L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan’s “Epistre Othéa”: Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), 146-47.

¹⁴ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. George W. Coopland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969). My page references will be to the Coopland edition, accompanied by book and chapter references to facilitate cross-referencing with the 2015 edition. The Coopland edition numbers chapters consecutively from the beginning of Book 1 to the end of Book 3; its base manuscript includes no chapter numbers at all. As the base manuscript for the new edition (Arsenal 2682-2683) restarts the chapter numbering at the beginning of each book, it is possible that the edition will follow this pattern as well.

¹⁵ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:90 (Prologue), 1:95 (Book 1, Chapter 1), 1:442 (Book 2, Chapter 81), 2:115 (Book 3, Chapter 178).

prologue, the Vieil Pelerin (Old Pilgrim) is visited in a dream by the allegorical figure of Providence Divine (Divine Providence), who informs him that the virtues of Charité, Esperance, Foy, Sapience, Verité, and Bien Vivre (Charity, Hope, Faith, Wisdom, Truth, and Good Living) have abandoned the mortal world because of the refusal of Christian people to accept their good moral coinage. Providence Divine renames him Ardant Desir (Ardent Desire) and sends him and his sister, Bonne Esperance (Good Hope), to find the virtues and convince them to return to the mortal world. They succeed in convincing Queen Verité to give the world a second chance, and lead her, along with her companions ladies Paix, Misericorde, and Justice (Peace, Mercy, and Justice), on a world journey in search of a realm worthy of their presence. Book 1 details their travels to at least twenty-five different locations, including non-Christian lands, the cities associated with the papal schism, and Christian realms such as England and Scotland. In eleven of these places, Queen Verité establishes a judicial court to investigate the inhabitants' moral coinage. Books 2 and 3 take place inside such a court established in Paris. In Book 2, Queen Verité examines the four hierarchies of France (burghers, merchants, artisans, and labourers; legal, financial and administrative officers; lords and military leaders, except the king; and the clergy). In Book 3, she teaches Charles VI about his duties using a series of three metaphors in which the king is described first as a young Moses and second as a chariot driver. Finally, she offers him an allegorical chessboard, with each square of the board representing a theme or lesson he must learn, such as the need to make peace with Richard II of England. Queen Verité gives the king at least seventy-eight different instructions throughout these three allegories, on subjects as diverse as the king's sleep habits to the need for fiscal reform. Book 3 culminates with the queen's exhortations to Charles to work towards the recovery of the Holy Land, including logistical instructions on how to do so. The *Songe du vieil pelerin* focuses Philippe de Mézières' attempts to inspire a new crusading venture on the person and office of Charles VI, presenting the reform of king and government as necessary prerequisites to this goal.

Like the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Honorat Bovet's *Arbre des batailles* was completed and dedicated to Charles in 1389 and is framed as being particularly beneficial to him. It also explores some of its author's key concerns, such as the papal schism.

Bovet was based in Avignon at the time he completed the *Arbre*, and may have presented a copy of the book to the king on his visit there.¹⁶ The book exists in two distinct versions with very different manuscript traditions. These are often referred to as the “common” and the “interpolated” versions, although the book’s most recent editor, H  l  ne Bui, reasonably suggests calling them the “short” and “long” versions instead. The so-called “interpolation” was likely written before the rest of the text and cannot therefore be considered an addition or interpolation to it. The short version, which survives in ninety French-language manuscripts, was written between 1386 and 1389. The long version, surviving in only five manuscripts, was likely written in two stages: first, from 1371-83 and second, from 1386-89. Since Charles VI only became king in 1380 and declared his personal rule in 1388, and since Bovet would have had no knowledge of Charles’ later visit to Avignon when he began writing the *Arbre*, it is possible that the writer did not initially plan to dedicate the book to the king. None of the surviving manuscripts is known to have belonged to Charles VI despite the book’s dedication to him.¹⁷ Nonetheless, this dedication was a key part of the way Bovet presented his messages to the *Arbre des batailles*’ larger audience. The book was translated into Castilian, Catalan, Scots, and Occitan. Bui demonstrates that it circulated independently, in compilation manuscripts, and in excerpted form, usually focusing on the sections on the rules of warfare.¹⁸

Bui’s edition of the *Arbre des batailles* is based on the longer version of the text, which survives in the smallest number of manuscripts. Both versions of the *Arbre des batailles* are divided into four books, although the part division and chapter numbering are not always consistent across the manuscripts. The longer version merges Parts 3 and 4 of the shorter version into one so as to accommodate the insertion of a different Part 3 (the “interpolation”) (see Table 1, below).¹⁹

¹⁶ Michael Hanly and H  l  ne Millet, “Les batailles d’Honorat Bovet: Essai de biographie,” *Romania* 114 (1996), 135-181.

¹⁷ Eighty-one of the French manuscripts are in public libraries, with the remaining nine held in private collections. H  l  ne Bui, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet:   tude de l’oeuvre et   dition critique des textes fran  ais et occitan,” Th  se de doctorat, Universit   Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004, 1:19-20, 1:28, 1:30-33; H  l  ne Bui, “Prol  gom  nes    une   dition critique de l’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet et de ses traductions en langues romanes,” *Revue d’histoire des textes* 2 (2007), 211-50 (215-19, 220, 224).

¹⁸ Bui, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 1:38-39, 1:213-349.

¹⁹ Bui, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 1:27-28.

Table 1: Part division of the *Arbre des batailles*

Both versions	
Prologue	
1. Interpretation of the visions of St John	
2. History of ancient empires, especially Rome	
Shorter version	Longer version (edition)
	3. European history 1159-1328
3. Battle in general	4. Battle in general and battle in particular
4. Battle in particular	

The prologue of the *Arbre des batailles* dedicates the book to Charles VI and explains that it was written for four main reasons. These are: first, the tribulations of the Church; second, the wars and discord throughout Christendom; third, the turmoil in the writer's native Provence over local succession crises; and fourth, because Bovet hoped that Charles VI would be able to remedy these problems. Bovet expresses his desire for the book to remind the young king of his duties, and help equip him to undertake them.²⁰

After establishing that battle was first found in heaven, the *Arbre des batailles* proceeds with a history of the Church as interpreted through the visions of St John, including episodes such as the introduction of errors and heresies in faith, and the papal schism caused in part by the greed of Urban VI. The next section focuses on the history of Rome, from its Trojan origins to the accession of the first emperor, Octavian. After providing a definition of jurisdiction and its origins, this version of the *Arbre des batailles* moves into a narrative of European history from 1159 until the reign of Joanna I of Naples (1343-82). In the final section, the tone and approach shift from a narrative to a question-and-answer format on issues related to battle. It opens with the question “Se en cestui monde peut estre paix,” and ends with “Maintenant commence a donner aulcunes doctrines surs la condicion de champ clos.”²¹ Two possible answers and a conclusion selecting one of them are provided for each question, the range of which covers both practical subjects, such as whether battle should be undertaken before or after a meal, and moral dilemmas, such as

²⁰ Bovet, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:599 (Prologue).

²¹ “Whether there can be peace in this world;” “Now [I] begin to give a few lessons about the condition of an enclosed field.” Bovet, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:734 (Chapter 61), 2:861-64 (Chapter 197).

whether a man who dies in battle will be able to go to heaven. The book ends with a section on the qualities of a good emperor and one on the qualities of a good prince. Most of the final part of the *Arbre des batailles* is concerned with the legitimacy of warfare and with the protection of non-combatants in it, with Bovet consistently arguing that individuals not actively contributing to any ongoing war should not be harmed by it. Although the dedication of the book to Charles VI may have been an afterthought intended to take advantage of the king's visit to Avignon, it frames these issues as being primarily up to Charles to remedy.

The *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Arbre des batailles* both marked Charles VI's transition from child-king to personal rule, and no further advice books were dedicated to him during his brief period of full authority or into the first decade of his mental illness. Writers continued to produce political literature during this period, which saw such contributions as Eustache Deschamps' poetry, Philippe de Mézières' *Epistre au roi Richart* (1395), and Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (1400-1, dedicated to Louis d'Orléans).²² But no further advice books were dedicated to Charles until Christine de Pizan's *Chemin de long estude*, written between October 5, 1402 and March 20, 1403. Even this book was not dedicated to the king alone: it was addressed to Charles as well as to several of his relatives, a choice that at least tacitly acknowledged Charles VI's incapacity to govern consistently during this period. Christine de Pizan continued to appeal to other individuals in her later books, including the *Epistre à la reine Isabeau* (Oct 4, 1405), for Charles VI's queen; the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* (between January 1 and November 30, 1404), commissioned by Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy; and the *Livre du corps de policie* (November 1404 – November 1407), intended for the dauphin Louis de Guyenne.²³ She died shortly after writing the *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc* (1429), probably in 1430 in the Dominican abbey of Poissy, home to her daughter Marie.²⁴

²² Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*; Thierry Lassabatère, *La cité des hommes: Eustache Deschamps, expression poétique et vision politique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011); Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard*.

²³ Sylvie Lefèvre, "Christine de Pizan," in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le moyen âge*, ed. Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard, Guy Raynaud de Lage, Cardinal Georges Grente, Geneviève Hasenohr, and Michel Zink (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 282-86; Gilbert Ouy, Christine M. Reno, and Inès Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012), 477, 631.

²⁴ Nadia Margolis, *An Introduction to Christine de Pizan, New Perspectives on Medieval Literature: Authors and Traditions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), xix-xxiii, 1-27.

The *Chemin de long estude* survives in a total of nine manuscripts, of which seven were produced during the author's lifetime. These were owned by or initially produced for the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Orléans, along with the queen.²⁵ As with the *Arbre des batailles*, no copy known to have belonged to Charles VI is extant. The *Chemin* has three main parts: a prologue in which the author dedicates the book to the king and to the royal dukes, and describes an initially sleepless night before she falls asleep and is offered a dream-vision; a travel narrative in which the dreaming narrator is led on a journey by Seville, including stops at the Fountain of Wisdom, Constantinople, and the Holy Land before they ascend into the heavens; and an allegorical Parlement similar to those held by Queen Verité in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. In the *Chemin*, the Parlement takes place in the heavens and is presided over by Raison, who is assisted by ladies Richese, Chevalerie, Noblece, and Sagece (Wealth, Chivalry, Nobility, and Wisdom). Their goal is to come up with a solution for the fighting between Christian princes. First, they determine that the cause of this trouble is the envy of princes and their desire to govern over each other. Second, they decide that the best solution to this would be the appointment of one universal prince, as one man cannot cause conflicts with himself. Third, they debate the qualities that this universal prince should have as part of their attempt to nominate a candidate. Unable to come to an agreement on who should become the universal prince, they refer the decision to the French king and dukes, assisted by the French Parlement, and appoint Christine de Pizan as a messenger to bring this task to them. The importance of learning and study are crucial to the *Chemin*, as the narrator's own devotion to these pursuits are the prerequisites for her being offered the dream-vision, for her ability to follow Seville on her journey and to ascend with her to the celestial Parlement, and for her candidacy as a messenger to the French princes. A second key theme in the *Chemin* is the conflicts between individuals who ought to be helping, rather than fighting, each other—a complaint which must be considered in the

²⁵ Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, "Où mène le *Chemin de long estude*? Christine de Pizan, Ambrogio Migli, et les ambitions impériales de Louis d'Orléans (A propos du ms. BNF fr. 1643)," in *Christine de Pizan 2000: Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000), 177-95 (183-84); Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 204-12, 270, 379-412; Andrea Tarnowski, "Remarques sur la présente édition," in *Le Chemin de longue étude* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), 57-69 (59-66).

context of the increasing discord between the dukes of Orléans and Burgundy during this period. Unique among the vernacular advice books dedicated to Charles VI in also addressing the dukes, the *Chemin* frames the solutions to the problems it exposes as being primarily the responsibility of the king, but also of his relatives, whose importance to French government increased as they were required to act on Charles' behalf during his periods of incapacity due to mental illness.²⁶

The final advice book dedicated to Charles VI was Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*, the first version of which was completed in 1409. Like the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Dialogues* exists in two distinct versions, both by Salmon himself, although it had a much more limited manuscript circulation.²⁷ The first version, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279 (BnF fr. 23279), was completed ca. 1409; the second, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 165 (Geneva fr. 165), dates to ca. 1412-15. The earlier manuscript consists of a prologue and three parts, while the later one includes modified versions of the prologue and the first three parts, and adds a final, fourth part. Both of these manuscripts were presentation copies whose production was likely supervised by Salmon himself. The second version was copied in two later manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS fr. 9610 (ca. 1500) and 5032 (ca. 1510-30).²⁸ The only sections of the *Dialogues* to have been edited are Parts 1 and 3 of the first version, although both presentation manuscripts have now been digitized and are available online.²⁹

The prologue of the 1409 version of the *Dialogues* dedicates the book to the king and describes it as being composed of three parts: the first on the author's answers to the king's questions about his estate and the government of his person; the second, a similar question-and-answer session between the king and Salmon on "la

²⁶ Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 80-99; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*; Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 192-236.

²⁷ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, xi, 1.

²⁸ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 1-6, 74-80.

²⁹ Pierre Salmon, *Les demandes faites par le roi Charles VI, et les réponses de son secrétaire et familier Pierre Salmon*, ed. Georges-Adrien Crapelet (Paris : Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1833). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279 is available on Gallica (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84546920.r=23279.langEN>). Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 165 is available at E-Codices (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/fr0165>).

divine escripture;” and the third, in which “l’acteur recite et ramaine à memoire, par maniere d’epistres, comme il s’est employé le temps passé” in the service of the king.³⁰ Part 1 is subdivided into sections on the three virtues required of kings (the love and fear of God; the honouring of the royal dignity; and the keeping of justice in the realm); on the habits and conditions of a good king; and on his choice of counsellors and servants. In Part 2, the king’s questions and Salmon’s replies take the form of a catechism, opening with a request for an explanation of God’s “droite et propre essence” and ending with a discussion of the mercy God shows sinners after their deaths.³¹ Part 3 shifts from the question-and-answer format of Parts 1 and 2 to a combination of narrative and epistolary form. It opens with a letter from Charles VI, requesting that Salmon put into written form all the efforts he has made to serve the king, including the applicable correspondence.³² What follows is a narrative of his time spent in England and his travels on behalf of the king, interspersed with copies of Salmon’s correspondence, which he often explains is a substitute for a conversation he would have preferred to have in person. In this version, Part 3 ends on a hopeful note: Salmon believes he has located an individual who will be able to cure the king, and the papal schism appears to be over with the election of Pope Alexander V at Pisa.

Salmon wrote the second version of the *Dialogues* between 1412 and 1415, after the death of Pope Alexander V (1410) and after it became evident that neither the king’s illness nor the papal schism had in fact been remedied. The second rendition includes edited versions of Parts 1, 2, and 3 of the first version, and adds a fourth part (see Table 2, below). Salmon must have had a copy of the first version to hand when composing the second, as in several cases the wording of both is absolutely identical.³³ Some sections of Part 1 convey a similar meaning using different wording, while Part 2 is amplified in part by the use of additional examples,

³⁰ “divine scripture;” “the author recites and calls to memory, using letters, how he has worked in the past.” Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279 (BnF fr. 23279) f. 1r.

³¹ “true and proper essence.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 19v, 48r-48v; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 12-13.

³² BnF fr. 23279 f. 52v.

³³ See for example BnF fr. 23279 f. 5v and Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 165 (Geneva fr. 165) f. 4v.

although some of the king's questions have also been edited out. Part 3 of this second version has been the most dramatically altered. The thirty letters and one speech in the first version are reduced to a total of seven letters and one speech in the second; three of these are unique to this version. With the exception of one speech from Salmon to the duke of Burgundy, all the letters in the second version of the *Dialogues* are between Salmon and Charles VI. In the final letter, Salmon declares his intent to withdraw from the secular world as, despite his best efforts, matters have not improved. The completely new Part 4 is modelled on Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*.³⁴ Having retreated to a solitary place, Salmon is now in need of comfort and consolation. He is visited by ladies Raison, Foy, and Esperance (Reason, Faith, and Hope), and has a series of discussions with them about themes such as suffering, the forgiveness of sins, and the vices and virtues.

Table 2: Part division of the *Dialogues*

Version 1	Version 2
Prologue	Prologue (edited)
Part 1	Part 1 (edited)
Part 2	Part 2 (edited, amplified through use of more examples)
Part 3: Narrative, 30 letters, 1 speech	Part 3: 7 letters, 1 speech
	Part 4, Salmon's conversation with the virtues

Salmon's major goals in writing the *Dialogues* were to help end the divisions between members of the royal blood, while the text also informs us of his past efforts to help end the papal schism and to find a cure for the king's illness. Again, the dedication of the *Dialogues* to Charles VI frames these problems as being his responsibility.

Counselling Charles VI

The timing of these four books for Charles VI—two at the outset of his personal rule, and two well into the period dominated by his mental illness—

³⁴ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 41.

combined with their common dedications to the king and the *Chemin de long estude*'s dedication to the dukes as well, raise important questions about the contemporary purpose and function of these books and of others like them. The manuscript history of these texts in particular highlights the issue of the books' audiences, as so few of the extant manuscripts were associated with the king himself. Yet the books' dedications to Charles, and the way the writers described and characterized him, were crucial components of their message, which was ultimately aimed not only at the king but also at a wider audience. The fact that these books were explicitly addressed to the king makes them a coherent category of political advice books, a subset of the political literature or "littérature engagée" of the period. **Chapter 1** situates the four books in the historical context of both political literature during this period and of the key moments in Charles VI's reign, an understanding that is crucial to examining how writers approached political problems at different times. It further demonstrates that the category of "mirror for princes" was not used by contemporaries, and that grouping the books according to their dedication and stated intent enables us to better understand contemporary approaches to political literature.

In **Chapters 2 and 3**, I examine how the writers authorized or justified themselves and their books as sources of advice, and what audiences they hoped or expected to reach with their works. The dedication of the books to the king, and the writers' use of themes from earlier works of princely advice literature that would have been familiar to their audiences, helped to authorize the books as sources of counsel. The writers encouraged their princely dedicatee to view books as useful sources of instruction and advice. They also emphasized their own credentials, in particular their goodwill towards and past service to the king and kingdom. The authors' insistence that they had a right or obligation to speak in part because of their relationship with and desire for the well-being of their royal dedicatee situates their books in the context of other contemporary forms of communicating to and about rulers. These included royal entries, whose audiences were comprised of the visiting ruler as well as his or her entourage and the townspeople who lined the streets; sermons preached before the king and members of his court; and letter-writing campaigns to the kingdom's towns. The organizers and writers of these also justified

their words or actions on the basis of their love for the king and goodwill for the whole kingdom. They used the king as a focal point to reach and influence a larger audience, especially a civic audience. The vernacular advice books dedicated to Charles VI envisioned both a wide audience of members of the Christian community, and a more narrow one of Charles and his counsellors and relatives, who might have heard the book read aloud or seen copies of it at court. The writers described Charles, and in some cases fictionalized him within their narrative, in different ways at different points in his reign and according to the message they wished to convey. The earlier books depict him as a competent young king with the potential to reform France and, by extension, all of Christendom. In the later books he is an incapable ruler, in need of counsel and support from his relatives. The writers used these characterizations to speak not only to Charles about his duties, but also to his counsellors and relatives about theirs: their duty to step aside after the king had declared his personal rule in 1388, and their responsibility to help and support him—rather than fighting amongst themselves—after the onset of his mental illness in 1392.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine the way the writers adapted material from earlier princely advice books, which would likely have been familiar to their readers and listeners, in order to provide concrete commentary about and advice for the king and his counsellors. These counsellors included in particular Charles' relatives, those members of the royal blood whose roles were so important during his minority and throughout the later years of his reign. The writers adapted familiar discussions of the king's responsibilities to his office, to his subjects, and to the Church to offer advice on contemporary issues such as succession crises, the king's perceived unwillingness to display the symbols of his office, violence against French civilians, changes in the French judicial system, and the role of France in solving the papal schism and recovering the Holy Land. In addition to reminding Charles that he had a duty to consult good counsellors, the writers also spoke to these counsellors themselves. They reminded the members of the royal blood, who were increasingly seen as a distinct group with particular responsibilities in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France, that they were responsible for the problems in French government during Charles' minority and that the fighting between them after his mental illness became apparent prevented them from supporting the king and governing on his

behalf. In 1389, the writers urged the king's relatives to remember that the young Charles was now ready to rule on his own; after 1392, they acknowledged that Charles was no longer viewed as consistently competent to govern, and asked the king's relatives to focus on their duty to help and support their ill king rather than trying to advance their own goals.

The manuscript circulation of these books also demonstrates that the books could be interesting to an audience of people who counselled rulers, in addition to or instead of those rulers themselves. **Chapter 6** explores the manuscript afterlives of these books. Copies of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues* made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries suggest that later audiences were able to adapt the textual and visual material of these earlier books. They circulated among individuals with important political roles who may have been flattered by the books' initial association with a king of France, and who likely retained an interest in some of their original themes such as the role of law and justice and the characterization of the kings of France as being superior to other Christian rulers. The later manuscript circulation of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* in particular demonstrates how an advice book that appeared very tied to the contemporary circumstances of its composition could be adapted for use by different audiences. Much of the book's advice, which was very particular to Charles VI's reign, was out-dated by this period. But some of the text's key themes, including its argument that the kings of France were particularly favoured by God as well as its interest in the practice of French justice, remained of interest to a later audience. The owners of these manuscripts included individuals with family links to some of the important figures at Charles VI's court, who were influential during the reigns of Charles VII and Louis XI. Additions to the text of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the pictures of these later manuscripts focused on these themes, and used the prestige of the text's original context and its author's relationship with the king to flatter the *Songe du vieil pelerin*'s new audience.

In order to help situate these books in their contemporary literary context, this study makes frequent comparisons with other examples of princely advice literature. Three key earlier examples are John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1159), Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* (ca. 1277-81), and Jacobus de Cessolis' thirteenth-

century *De Moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super ludo scaccorum*.³⁵ Each of these books had been translated into French, sometimes in multiple versions, by the reign of Charles VI. These translations included Henri de Gauchi's version of the *De regimine principum*, the *Gouvernement des rois et des princes*, by 1282; Jean Ferron's *Jeu des eschaz moralisé* ca. 1335-50; and Denis Foulechat's *Policratique*, commissioned by Charles V, in 1372.³⁶ These books were known at the French court. Inventories of the royal library made in the year of Charles' accession and during his reign indicate that the Louvre library held at least eleven copies of the *De regimine principum*, some in Latin and some in French; five copies of manuscripts with similar titles that may also have been copies of this text; six manuscripts of some version of the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*; one copy of the *Policraticus*, and one of Denis Foulechat's French translation of it.³⁷ These three books provided important concepts for thinking about kingship

³⁵ These three examples are part of a much wider tradition of princely advice literature. See also for example Patricia J. Eberle, "Art. Mirror of Princes," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1987), 434-36; Jónsson, "Les « miroirs aux princes » sont-ils un genre littéraire?"; Cary J. Nederman, "The Mirror Crack'd: The *Speculum Principum* as Political and Social Criticism in the Late Middle Ages," *European Legacy* 3, no.3 (1998), 18-38. On the *Policraticus*, see: Cary J. Nederman, *John of Salisbury* (Temple, Ariz: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005); John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers: Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the Policraticus of John of Salisbury*, ed. Joseph B. Pike (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury: Being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books, of the Policraticus*, ed. John Dickinson (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963). On the *De Moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super ludo scaccorum*, see: Jenny Adams, *Power Play: The Literature and Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 4, 34; David Antin, "Caxton's The Game and Playe of the Chesse," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2 (1968), 269-78 (269); H.J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 537-46; Jean-Michel Mehl, "Le roi de l'échiquier. Approche du mythe royal à la fin du Moyen Age," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 58 (1978), 145-61 (149-50). On the *De regimine principum*, see Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De regimine principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275-c. 1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9.

³⁶ Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De regimine principum*, 9; Collet, "Introduction," 85; Henri de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois: a XIIIth century French version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise, De regimine principum*, ed. Samuel Paul Molenaer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1899); Jean Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles: Le jeu des eschaz moralisé, traduction de Jean Ferron (1347)*, ed. Alain Collet, Classiques français du Moyen Age (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999); Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livres I-III*, ed. Charles Brucker (Geneva: Droz, 1994); Denis Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes, et prêtres (Jean de Salisbury, Policratique IV et VIII)*, ed. Charles Brucker, Le moyen français 21 (Montréal: CERES, 1987); Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livre V: Edition critique et commentée des textes français et latin avec traduction moderne*, ed. Charles Brucker, Publications romanes et françaises (Geneva: Droz, 2006); Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury, Livres VI et VII*, ed. Charles Brucker (Geneva: Droz, 2013).

³⁷ Leopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V* (Amsterdam: Van Heusden, 1907), 1:3-4, 1:263-64, 1:258-62, 1:326, 2:85, 2:87-92.

and political society and had a lasting influence on later thinkers and on medieval political thought. These concepts included John of Salisbury's model of society as the body politic with the king as the head; the argument that a king must be personally virtuous and must first learn to govern himself, and then his household, before being able to rule his kingdom; and Jacobus de Cessolis' modelling of society after chess pieces, with the king down to the pawns each assigned a particular role. Philippe de Mézières, Honorat Bovet, Christine de Pizan, and Pierre Salmon, as well as their contemporaries, were aware of these traditions and in some cases quite clearly adapted this earlier material in their own books.³⁸ These very influential books formed part of the mental framework of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century writers thinking about questions of kingship and government.³⁹ The way the writers used and adapted some of the themes of these earlier books was an important part of how they communicated their messages to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century audiences.

At the same time, the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues* were part of a much larger context of political literature written during Charles VI's reign. I have tried in particular to situate these books in the context of some of the others produced by the same writers, as Philippe de Mézières, Honorat Bovet, and Christine de Pizan also wrote other books that were dedicated to, or commissioned by, other politically influential individuals. I make particular reference to some of these, including Philippe de Mézières' *Epistre au Roi Richart* (1395); Honorat Bovet's *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* (1398); and Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (1400-1), *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* (1404), and *Corps de policie* (1406-7).⁴⁰ The *Epistre au Roi Richart* was dedicated to Richard II of

³⁸ Jean Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles: Le jeu des eschaz moralisé, traduction de Jean Ferron (1347)*, ed. Alain Collet, *Classiques français du Moyen Age* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 129-31; Kate Langdon Forhan, "Introduction," in *Christine de Pizan, The Book of the Body Politic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), xiii-xxxi (xxi-xxiii); Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 10; Angus J. Kennedy, "Introduction," in *Le livre du corps de policie: Edition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), xi-xlii (xxxiii); Amnon Linder, "The Knowledge of John of Salisbury in the Late Middle Ages," *Studi medievali* 18, no.2 (1977), 315-66 (324-52); Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:200-1 (Book 3, Chapter 222).

³⁹ See for example Stephen H. Rigby, *Wisdom and Chivalry, Chaucer's Knight's Tale and Medieval Political Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

⁴⁰ On the *Epistre au Roi Richart*, see: Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II: A plea made in 1395 for peace between England and France*, ed. George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975); Françoise Autrand, "La paix impossible: les négociations franco-anglaises à la fin du 14^e siècle," in

England; the *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*, to Louis d'Orléans with manuscripts also presented to the duchess of Orléans and to Jean de Montaigu; the *Epistre Othea*, also to Louis d'Orléans; the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* to its patron, Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy; and the *Corps de policie*, though without a dedication, was intended for the use of the dauphin Louis de Guyenne.⁴¹ These are all important books for our understanding of these writers' priorities and the way they adapted particular tactics for different dedicatees or audiences.

Throughout this thesis, I will be referring to the books produced by these authors using the term "text," although I would like to acknowledge the complications caused by this word. As Pierre Chastang argues, the word "text" is problematic when used to describe medieval writing, as it creates an artificial and anachronistic division between the written word and the material structure on which it is preserved. Chastang contends that the concept of a "text" in the modern sense,

Actes du colloque international "Nicopolis, 1396-1996" (Dijon: Société des annales de Bourgogne, 1996), 11-22 (17-19); Kevin Brownlee, "Cultural Comparison: Crusade as Construct in Late Medieval France," *L'esprit créateur* 32, no.3 (1992), 13-24; Anne Curry, "War or Peace? Philippe de Mézières, Richard II and Anglo-French Diplomacy," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 295-320; Michael Hanly, "Philippe de Mézières and the Peace Movement," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 61-82; Alain Marchandisse, "Philippe de Mézières et son *Epistre au roi Richart*," *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010), 605-23. On the *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*, see: Honorat Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: the "Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun" of Honorat Bovet*, ed. Michael Hanly (Tempe, Ariz: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2005); Michael Hanly, "Marriage, War and Good Government in Late-Fourteenth-Century Europe: the *De regimine principum* tradition in Langland, Mézières, and Bovet," in *Chaucer and the Challenges of Medievalism: Studies in Honor of H. A. Kelly*, ed. Donka Minkova and Theresa Tinkle (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 327-49. On the *Epistre Othea*, see: Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999); Sandra L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othea": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986); Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 245-55. On the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, see: Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1936); Jean Devaux, "De la biographie au miroir du prince: le *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* de Christine de Pizan," *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010), 591-604; Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440)*, 64-65; Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 477-515. On the *Corps de policie*, see Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie: Edition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998); Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440)*, 65-66; Rosalind Brown-Grant, "Mirroring the Court: Clerkly Advice to Noble Men and Women in the Works of Philippe de Mézières and Christine de Pizan," in *Courtly Literature and Clerical Culture: Selected Papers from the Tenth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Universität Tübingen, Deutschland 28. Juli-3. August 2001*, ed. Christoph Huber and Henrike Lähnemann (Tübingen: Attempto Verlag: University of Nebraska, 2002), 39-56; Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 631-62.

⁴¹ Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 631.

in which there is a separation between “la phase d’élaboration du discours, privilège de l’auteur, et le moment de sa production matérielle,” is a product of the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, related to the increase in printed books. Chastang characterizes a “text” “par sa dématérialisation, sa conformité et ainsi que par sa reproductibilité,” features that are not applicable to works that circulated in manuscript form.⁴² Similarly, Mary Carruthers points out that “[f]or us, texts only come in books, and so the distinction between the two is blurred and even lost,” although, as Daniel Hobbins argues, the use of electronic media today suggests that “[c]enturies from now, historians of the written word will surely describe this present age as a moment of transition.”⁴³ While I have attempted to privilege the material context of these books as much as possible, I have been unable to entirely avoid the use of the word “text,” which remains valuable for modern discussion even if we must acknowledge the problems in applying it to medieval mentalities.

Note on French spellings and names

For the sake of consistency, I have retained the French form for the names of individuals even where a common Anglicized form exists. Where I quote from manuscripts, I have modernized punctuation and added accents where necessary to reduce ambiguity. Where quoting from editions, I have retained the edition’s spelling.

⁴² “the point at which the discourse is elaborated, privilege of the author, and the moment of its material production;” “by its dematerialization, its conformity, and also by its reproducibility.” Pierre Chastang, “Le texte médiéval et l’hypertexte: Éditer des documents du Moyen Âge au XXI^e siècle,” in *Pourquoi étudier le Moyen Âge? Les médiévistes face aux usages sociaux du passé: Actes du colloque tenu à l’université de São Paulo du 7 au 9 mai 2008*, ed. Didier Méhu, Néri de Barros Almeida, and Marcelo Cândido da Silva (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2012), 233-51.

⁴³ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Culture, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 9; Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, xi.

Chapter 1. Political Literature and Charles VI

The many writers who commented on and attempted to influence contemporary politics in written form in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France used different genres to convey their messages, including dream-vision, theology, law, exegesis, prophecy, poetry, and mirrors for princes, and they adapted familiar material to comment on the contemporary circumstances. Nicole Oresme's *De moneta* (ca. 1356-57), for example, criticized the manipulation of currency, arguing that it belonged to the community rather than the prince; Deschamps' poetry dealt with political themes such as crusade, kingship and legitimacy, and the body politic; Chartier's 1422 *Quadrilogue Invectif* features a personification of France in mourning; and Gerson's over five hundred titles included two epistolary treatises for the tutors of Charles VI's sons, as well as sermons and tracts on the papal schism and Jeanne d'Arc's victory at Orléans.¹ These books, Jean-Philippe Genet argues, "def[y] all attempts at definition, even at classification," but largely deal with questions of princely duties and share similar themes, language, and ideas.² Given how difficult it is to classify these books by genre, and the difficulties modern scholars have had in defining common terms such as the mirror for princes, it seems more useful to group these books according to categories that were likely understood by their writers and contemporary audiences. In the case of the four advice books dedicated to Charles

¹ Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Paris and Tournai: Desclée 1960-1973), 2:203-15, 2:335-38; Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, 3, 128, 136; Sylvie Lefèvre, "Alain Chartier," in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le moyen âge*, ed. Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard, Guy Raynaud de Lage, Cardinal Georges Grente, Geneviève Hasenohr, and Michel Zink (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 29-32; Lassabatère, *La cité des hommes*, 26-30, 84-98, 106-14, 129-30, 252-53; Sylvie Lefèvre and René Mathieu, "Nicole Oresme," in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le moyen âge*, ed. Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard, Guy Raynaud de Lage, Cardinal Georges Grente, and Geneviève Hasenohr (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 1072-75; Yelena Mazour-Matusevich and István P. Bejczy, "Jean Gerson on Virtues and Princely Education," in *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages 1200-1500*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007), 219-36 (220); Gaston Raynaud, *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps: Introduction* (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1903), 11 of 11 vols.

² Jean Devaux, "De la biographie au miroir du prince: le *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* de Christine de Pizan," *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010), 591-604; Genet, "Conclusion: La littérature au miroir du prince," 405-24 (405-13); Genet, "General Introduction," ix; Frédérique Lachaud and Lydwine Scordia, eds., "Introduction," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes (Au-delà des miroirs: la littérature politique dans la France de Charles VI et Charles VII)* 24 (2012), 9-19 (13-16).

VI, it is also important to consider these books in the context of the changing circumstances of and questions about authority and princely power that characterized his reign.

The differing opinions of scholars on whether or not the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues* should be categorized as mirrors for princes demonstrate some of the problems of trying to classify and analyse this literature according to genre. In a series of publications, Joël Blanchard has argued that the *Songe du vieil pelerin* is not a mirror for princes; that only Book 3 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* is a mirror for princes; and that the entirety of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* is a mirror for princes.³ Gisela Naegle suggests that it is difficult to categorize the *Songe du vieil pelerin* as a mirror for princes because it contains direct calls for action.⁴ Genet argues that the text in fact uses multiple genres—mirrors for princes, dream-visions, allegories, travel literature, and treatises on the virtues and vices—and that this multiplicity of genres enables the text to look at the problem of reform on a larger scale than one genre alone would allow.⁵ It is equally difficult to classify the *Dialogues* as belonging to a particular genre: it contains recognizable elements of many different genres, including letters, political writing, mirrors for princes, chronicles, autobiography, theology, and philosophy. While Part 1 may seem most clearly a mirror for princes, some of the letters in Part 3 also employ a similar style. Because the *Dialogues* contains so many recognizable genres, and because the only edition of it includes only the first and third parts of the first version, scholars have

³ Joël Blanchard, “Discours de la réformation et utopie à la fin du Moyen Age: le ‘*Songe du vieil pelerin*’ de Philippe de Mézières (1389),” *Studi Francesi* 32 (1988), 397-403 (397); Joël Blanchard, “Ordre et utopie: une alliance impossible? Le *Songe du vieux pèlerin* de Philippe de Mézières,” in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd’hui: pouvoir d’État, opinion publique, justice: mélanges offerts à Claude Gauvard*, ed. Nicolas Offenstadt and Olivier Mattéoni (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2010), 57-62 (58); Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l’aube des temps modernes*, 27; Joël Blanchard, “Introduction,” in *Philippe de Mézières: Songe du Vieux Pèlerin, Traduit de l’ancien français* (Paris: Pocket, 2008), 9-88 (41-2).

⁴ Gisela Naegle, “À la recherche d’une parenté difficile: miroirs des princes et écrits de réforme (France médiévale et Empire),” in *Le prince au miroir de la littérature politique de l’Antiquité aux Lumières*, ed. Frédérique Lachaud and Lydwine Scordia (Rouen: Publications des universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2007), 259-75 (267-70). See also Jacques Krynen, “Un exemple de critique médiévale des juristes professionnels: Philippe de Mézières et les gens du Parlement de Paris,” in *Histoire du droit social. Mélanges en hommage à Jean Imbert* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1989), 334-44 (344).

⁵ Genet, “Conclusion: La littérature au miroir du prince,” 418.

sometimes looked exclusively at segments of the text rather than at the whole.⁶ The inclusion of distinct sections on the virtues and responsibilities of princes in the *Arbre des batailles* and the *Chemin de long estude* has also caused generic confusion about these two texts. Brigitte Roux observes that although the *Chemin de long estude* does not necessarily belong “dans la catégorie des miroirs,” still it “dessine toutefois le portrait d’un prince idéal.”⁷ Hélène Biu excludes the *Arbre des batailles* from the category of mirrors for princes based on its political content, despite the inclusion of sections on the duties of kings and emperors, while Michael Hanly and Hélène Millet observe that it does not fit into any particular genre.⁸

One of the reasons it is so difficult to decide whether or not these four books qualify as mirrors for princes is that there is no standard accepted definition of the genre or even of what the primary examples of it should be. According to the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*,

The modern term “mirror of princes” (German: *Fürstenspiegel*; French: *miroir aux princes*; Latin: *speculum regis/principis*) is commonly used to refer to medieval books of counsel designed for the use of members of the ruling class. Although political theory is discernible in some of these treatises, the primary purpose of the mirror of princes is not to present political theory as such. The medieval mirror takes monarchy as the given form of government and assumes that good government will follow from the rule of a morally good man.⁹

⁶ For a letter employing elements of mirrors for princes, see for example Salmon’s letter to Louis d’Orléans in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279 (BnF fr. 23279) ff. 70r-72r. See also Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon’s Dialogues*, Illinois Medieval Studies (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), x-xii, 2; Brigitte Roux, *Les Dialogues de Salmon et Charles V: Images de pouvoir et enjeux politiques* (Geneva: Droz, 1998), 16-18.

⁷ “in the category of the mirror for princes...draws a portrait of the ideal prince.” Brigitte Roux, “Charles V et Charles VI en miroir(s),” *Le Moyen Age: Revue d’histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010), 687.

⁸ Hélène Biu, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet: étude de l’oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan,” Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004, 1:15, 1:26-27, 1:41-42, 1:107-31; Michael Hanly and Hélène Millet, “Les batailles d’Honorat Bovet: Essai de biographie,” *Romania* 114 (1996), 135-81 (135).

⁹ Patricia J. Eberle, “Art. Mirror of Princes,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1987), 434-36 (434).

The *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*' primary examples of mirrors for princes are two influential texts written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1159), dedicated to Thomas Becket, chancellor of Henry II of England; and Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* (ca. 1277-81), dedicated to the future Philippe le Bel of France.¹⁰ The eight books of the *Policraticus* include sections on the differences between a king and a tyrant; the duties of a king; royal succession; and the relationship between the king and the Church and the king and his subjects, using the metaphor of the body politic. The *De regimine principum* provides a series of moral and practical principles for rulership, and assumes that a prince incapable of governing both himself and his own household will be unable to govern a kingdom. It instructs him on how to undertake these three tasks.¹¹

These two books, held up as examples of the mirror for princes genre, were extremely popular and continued to circulate widely throughout the Middle Ages. The *De regimine principum* is considered a medieval best-seller and survives in approximately 350 manuscripts, including vernacular translations, from the late thirteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹² Writers began borrowing from and citing the *Policraticus* as early as the twelfth and thirteenth

¹⁰ Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De regimine principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275-c. 1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9; Joseph B. Pike, "John of Salisbury," in *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers: Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the Policraticus of John of Salisbury* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938), 3-5 (4).

¹¹ Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livres I-III*, ed. Charles Brucker (Geneva: Droz, 1994); Denis Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes, et prêtres (Jean de Salisbury, Policratique IV et VIII)*, ed. Charles Brucker, *Le moyen français* 21 (Montréal: CERES, 1987); Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livre V: Édition critique et commentée des textes français et latin avec traduction moderne*, ed. Charles Brucker, *Publications romanes et françaises* (Geneva: Droz, 2006); Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury, Livres VI et VII*, ed. Charles Brucker (Geneva: Droz, 2013); Henri de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois: a XIIIth century French version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise, De regimine principum*, ed. Samuel Paul Molenaer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1899); John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers: Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the Policraticus of John of Salisbury*, ed. Joseph B. Pike (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury: Being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books, of the Policraticus*, ed. John Dickinson (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963).

¹² Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De regimine principum*, 2-3; Charles F. Briggs, David C. Fowler, and Paul G. Remley, "Preface," in *The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the De regimine principum of Aegidius Romanus* (New York: Garland, 1997), ix-xvii (ix); Noëlle-Laetitia Perret, "Lecteurs et possesseurs des traductions françaises du *De regimine principum* (vers 1279) de Gilles de Rome (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)," *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010), 561-76.

centuries. Some of its early manuscripts continued to circulate in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when new manuscripts were also produced. The *Policraticus* was owned and used by religious houses, theologians, and jurists, and by writers such as Geoffrey Chaucer, Antoine de la Sale, Raoul de Presles, Nicole Oresme, Robert Gervais, and Jean Gerson.¹³ Charles V commissioned Denis Foulechat to produce a French translation of the *Policraticus*, completed in 1372, and by the time Charles VI inherited his father's library in 1380, it contained at least fourteen copies of the *De regimine principum*, some in Latin and some in French. The library inventories note that one of these manuscripts was removed for the king's use in 1405, while another copy bore his signature. A copy of Foulechat's *Policratique* was among the manuscripts removed from the royal library for the use of Charles VI's uncle, Louis I d'Anjou, and never returned.¹⁴ Philippe de Mézières, Honorat Bovet, Christine de Pizan, and Pierre Salmon, as well as other contemporary authors, were aware of the contents of these books, and adapted some of their themes in their own works.¹⁵ Christine de Pizan borrowed from the *Policraticus* in the *Livre des trois vertus* and the *Livre du corps de policie*, and its discussion of tyranny was revived during the debates over the 1407 murder of Louis d'Orléans on the orders of Jean sans Peur, duke of Burgundy.¹⁶

The longevity and influence of the *Policraticus* and the *De regimine principum* are indisputable. But their qualification as the quintessential examples of mirrors for

¹³ Amnon Linder, "The Knowledge of John of Salisbury in the Late Middle Ages," *Studi medievali* 18, no.2 (1977), 315-66 (333-52).

¹⁴ Charles Brucker, "Introduction," in *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372): Livres I-III* (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 11-70 (21-24); Leopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V* (Amsterdam: Van Heusden, 1907), 1:3-4, 1:101, 1:236, 1:258-63, 1:320-1, 1:326, 2:74, 2:85, 2:87-8, 2:88n3, 2:89-92.

¹⁵ Jenny Adams, *Power Play: The Literature and Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 28-29; Brucker, "Introduction," in *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury*, 28; Biu, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 1:63-67; Michael Hanly, "Marriage, War and Good Government in Late-Fourteenth-Century Europe: the *De regimine principum* tradition in Langland, Mézières, and Bovet," in *Chaucer and the Challenges of Medievalism: Studies in Honor of H. A. Kelly*, ed. Donka Minkova and Theresa Tinkle Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 327-49; Lassabatère, *La cité des hommes*, 229; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. George W. Coopland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 2:222-23 (Book 3, Chapter 229); Stephen H. Rigby, *Wisdom and Chivalry: Chaucer's Knight's Tale and Medieval Political Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War*, 43.

¹⁶ Angus J. Kennedy, "Introduction," in *Le livre du corps de policie: Edition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), xi-xlii (xxxiii); Linder, "The Knowledge of John of Salisbury in the Late Middle Ages," 333-52; Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, "De ira et avaritia ou les faiblesses des grands à l'épreuve de l'actualité: des miroirs des princes à l'engagement politique sous Charles VI," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales (XII^e-XV^e siècles)* 9 (2002), 215-35 (215).

princes is less certain, in part because the genre is so difficult to define. As the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* acknowledges, the term “mirror for princes” is a modern, not a medieval, category. The term draws on both the frequent use of mirror metaphors in princely advice literature, and on the use of the word “mirror” in the titles of other medieval books.¹⁷ As Naegle observes, “[à] première vue, les miroirs des princes sont un genre bien établi et universellement reconnu. Pourtant, il s’agit de textes très divers qui présentent des liens de parenté avec d’autres genres.”¹⁸ Interpreted broadly, the term has been used to encompass any example of medieval literature—including romances such as the Anglo-Norman *Havelok* and the Middle English *Havelok the Dane*—that assumes that good kingship is a crucial component of society, dependent on the ruler’s understanding and application of good moral principles.¹⁹ Einar Már Jónsson proposes a narrower definition, arguing that we should consider the circumstances of writing and the text’s intended audience as well as its contents. He suggests that a mirror for princes “est un traité écrit pour un prince—et en général dédié à lui d’une façon ou d’une autre—qui a pour objet principal de décrire le prince idéal, son comportement, son rôle et sa situation au monde.”²⁰ According to Jónsson, the context in which the book was written is a key factor: the genre is marked by qualities that are “extra-littéraires: les oeuvres sont

¹⁷ For example, Philippe de Mézières urges the king to think of himself as a mirror for his people, who can look to him as a model for their own virtuous behaviour; in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Queen Verité wears a dress covered in small mirrors, which reflect the viewer’s moral status rather than his or her outward appearance. Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:203 (Book 1, Chapter 4), 2:249 (Book 3, Chapter 236). See also Eberle, “Art. Mirror of Princes,” 434-36; Einar Már Jónsson, *Le miroir: Naissance d’un genre littéraire* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1995), 9-18.

¹⁸ “On the surface, mirrors for princes are a well-established and universally-recognized genre. Yet the genre contains quite diverse texts, which also have links with other genres.” Naegle, “À la recherche d’une parenté difficile,” 259. See also for example Cary J. Nederman, “The Mirror Crack’d: The *Speculum Principum* as Political and Social Criticism in the Late Middle Ages,” *European Legacy* 3, no.3 (1998), 28-33.

¹⁹ Hanly, “Marriage, War and Good Government in Late-Fourteenth-Century Europe,” 328; Derek Pearsall, “Hoccleve’s *Regement of princes*: The Poetics of Self-Representation,” *Speculum* 69 (1994), 386-410 (386); David Staines, “Havelok the Dane: A Thirteenth-Century Handbook for Princes,” *Speculum* 51 (1976), 602-23 (623).

²⁰ “is a treatise written for a prince—and usually dedicated to him in one fashion or another—which takes as its principal object the description of the ideal prince, his behaviour, his role, and his situation in the world.” Einar Már Jónsson, “La situation du *Speculum Regale* dans la littérature Occidentale,” *Études Germaniques* 42 (1987), 391-408 (394). Similarly, Richard Firth Green sees mirrors for princes as “handbooks for rulers.” Richard Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1980), 140-141.

écrites indépendamment les unes des autres mais dans des situations analogues, ou, plus exactement, dans une relation précise avec le prince et reflètent ainsi l'ensemble des idées qui lui sont attachées.”²¹ Jónsson excludes the *Policraticus* from the genre on the grounds of its dedication to the king's chancellor, rather than to the king himself.²²

What all this suggests is that modern scholars have defined mirrors for princes both narrowly and so broadly that a distinction between them and other genres becomes almost meaningless. In the context of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin*, and the *Dialogues*, the mirror for princes definition is particularly problematic as there is so little agreement on whether or not these individual texts qualify as mirrors. Moreover, deciding whether or not these four books are mirrors for princes does not contribute to our understanding of their contemporary purpose and function, as it was not a category used by these writers or indeed by the people who owned their books. Rather than describing their books as mirrors for princes, Philippe de Mézières, Honorat Bovet, Christine de Pizan, and Pierre Salmon used terms such as “mon petit dit,” a “livre,” or a “livre et traictie,” with the *Songe du vieil pelerin* adding references to its dream-vision format as “cestui Songe” or a “songe, vision, imagination ou consideracion.”²³ The writers' focus on the materiality of the book as a “livre” or “livre et traictie” is in keeping with the way books were described in the inventories of the king's library in the Louvre: rarely by title, sometimes by content, but usually by physical descriptors such as the book's size, shape, and age; the distribution of text into columns; the varieties of ink used and the shape of the letters; the kind of illuminations and marginal decorations; and the

²¹ “extra-literary: the works are written independently from each other, but in analogous situations; or, more specifically, in a precise relationship with the prince and thereby reflecting the collection of ideas attached to him.” Einar Már Jónsson, “Les ‘miroirs aux princes’ sont-ils un genre littéraire?,” *Médiévales* [En ligne] <http://medievales.revues.org/1461> 51 (2006), 38.

²² Jónsson, “La situation du *Speculum Regale* dans la littérature Occidentale,” 395, 399; Jónsson, “Les ‘miroirs aux princes’ sont-ils un genre littéraire?,” 22.

²³ “my little poem;” “book;” “book and treatise;” “this dream;” “dream, vision, imagination, or consideration.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 1r; Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, fr. 165 (Geneva fr. 165) f. 77v; Honorat Bovet, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet: étude de l’oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan,” Thèse, ed. Hélène Biu (Paris: Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004), 2:599 (Prologue); Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ed. Andrea Tarnowski, *Lettres gothiques* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), 1, 12; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:87, 1:89, 1:95 (Prologue), 1:253 (Book 1, Chapter 21).

volume's bindings, covers, and clasps.²⁴ Books that are categorized as mirrors for princes today were not even necessarily shelved together in the Louvre. The 1380 inventory is organized according to the three floors of the tower in which the books were held: lower, middle, or upper.²⁵ According to these inventories, a Latin copy of the *Policraticus* was held on the top floor and its French translation by Denis Foulechat on the bottom floor; of sixteen books titled as some variant of either *De regimine principum* or *Le Gouvernement des roys et des princes*, eleven were held on the lower floor; one on the middle floor; and four on the top floor. Multiple copies of the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, from which Pierre Salmon borrowed his description of the king in majesty and on which Philippe de Mézières based his chess allegory, were kept on the lower floor of the Louvre and one copy on the middle floor.²⁶ Books concerned with the behaviour and role of princes were shelved on all three floors of the Louvre library, with duplicate copies of the same work sometimes even kept floors apart. This is not to suggest that there was no coherence to the organization of the library; Vanina Madeleine Kopp argues that during the reign of Charles V, for example, the first floor of the library contained mostly political books that could be used to strengthen the Valois monarchy.²⁷ Nonetheless, the location of these books

²⁴ Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 1:43-45. For further discussion of the organization and use of books in the royal library, see Vanina Madeleine Kopp, "Der König und die Bücher. Sammlung, Nutzung und Funktion der königlichen Louvrebibliothek am spätmittelalterlichen Hof in Frankreich/Le roi et les livres. Collection, utilisation et fonction de la bibliothèque royale du Louvre à la cour au bas Moyen Age," PhD, Universität Bielefeld/École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2013, 617-20. I would like to thank Dr Kopp for sharing with me a summary of her work, which is currently in preparation for publication.

²⁵ The 1380 inventory survives in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 2700 (Delisle's Inventory A) and in a scroll copy (Delisle's Inventory B). The items on the lower floor were numbered 1-269 in A, 1-280 in B; those on the middle floor, 270-529 in A and 289-548 in B; and those on the top floor, 530-910 in A and 549-913 in B. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 1:24-26.

²⁶ For the *Policraticus*, see Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 2:85; for the *De regimine principum* and similar, Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 2:87-90; and for the *Jeu des échecs moralisé*, Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 2:91-92. For the chess metaphor and Philippe de Mézières and Pierre Salmon, see Jean Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles: Le jeu des eschaz moralisé, traduction de Jean Ferron (1347)*, ed. Alain Collet, *Classiques français du Moyen Age* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 129-31; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 10; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:200-1 (Book 3, Chapter 222).

²⁷ Kopp, "Der König und die Bücher," PhD, Universität Bielefeld/École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2013, 619. I would like to thank Dr Kopp for sharing with me a summary of her work, which is currently in preparation for publication.

demonstrates that the generic categories modern scholarship has applied to them do not always reflect the way contemporaries used them.

While these writers were not preoccupied with whether or not their books qualified as mirrors for princes, they were very careful about their dedications, about what message they wanted to convey, and what might be the best method of communicating that message. The dedications of the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Chemin*, and the *Dialogues* to the king are particularly significant when considered alongside the large number of books dedicated to other politically influential individuals during Charles' reign. Many authors, including Philippe de Mézières, Honorat Bovet, and Christine de Pizan, dedicated different books to different political actors. Philippe de Mézières also dedicated the *Epistre au roi Richart* to Richard II of England in 1395. Within France, Philippe de Mézières, Honorat Bovet, and Christine de Pizan also wrote for the successive dukes of Burgundy, Philippe le Hardi and Jean sans Peur; the dauphin Louis de Guyenne and his wife, Marguerite de Bourgogne; the queen, Isabeau de Bavière; the king's brother Louis d'Orléans and his wife Valentine Visconti; and the king's uncle, Jean de Berry. Philippe le Hardi received dedications or commissioned works from Philippe de Mézières (*Epistre lamentable et consolatoire*, 1396) and Christine de Pizan (*Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, 1404, presented to Jean de Berry after the duke of Burgundy's death). Christine de Pizan dedicated the *Avision Christine* to Jean sans Peur (1405). Louis de Guyenne was the dedicatee or target audience of her *Livre du corps de policie* (1404-7) and *Livre de la paix* (1414); to Louis' wife Marguerite, Christine dedicated the *Livre des trois vertus* (1405). In the same year, she dedicated the *Epistre à la reine Isabeau* to the queen. Both Honorat Bovet and Christine de Pizan also made multiple dedications or presentations of the same work. Bovet's *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* (1398) was presented to Louis d'Orléans, Valentine Visconti, and Jean de Montaigu; Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othéa* (1400-1) went to Louis d'Orléans, Jean de Berry, and the queen; and her *Lamentacion sur les maux de France* (1410) refers to the princes in general terms as well as to Isabeau de Bavière and Jean de Berry.²⁸ After

²⁸ See Honorat Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: the "Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun" of Honorat Bovet*, ed. Michael Hanly (Tempe, Ariz: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2005); Anne Curry, "War or Peace? Philippe de Mézières, Richard II and Anglo-French Diplomacy,"

1392, most dedications were to the king's relatives, likely in recognition of his incapacity due to mental illness. The dedications of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin*, and the *Dialogues* to Charles VI sets them apart from the many similar works dedicated to others during this period. In grouping the texts this way, rather than by their conformity to a particular genre such as that of the mirror for princes, I have attempted to consider the way contemporary writers and audiences would have conceptualized the purpose and function of these books. Considering these texts in their historical context, and in the context of their common dedications and attempts to help reform French government, enables a closer look at their contemporary purpose and function than could be achieved by considering them primarily as exemplars of a particular genre.

Charles VI and a crisis of kingship

Charles VI makes an interesting case study for how writers used such dedications because of the timing of the books' composition: two were dedicated to him when he was beginning his personal rule, and two when he was understood to be incapable because of his mental illness. His reign can be divided into three key periods, with vernacular advice books dedicated to him in the second and third of these: his minority rule after he became king on September 16, 1380, months before his twelfth birthday; his personal rule, from November 1388 to August 1392; and a long period defined by the king's frequent "absences" due to his mental illness, until

in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 295-320; Christine de Pizan, *Christine de Pizan: Christine's Vision* (New York and London: Garland, 1993); Christine de Pizan, *Christine de Pizan: The Epistle of Human Life with An Epistle to the Queen of France and Lament on the Evils of the Civil War*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature Volume 21, Series A (New York and London: Garland, 1984); Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999); Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1936); Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie: Edition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998); and Andrea Tarnowski, "Préface," in *Le Chemin de Longue Étude* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), 9-18 (15-16); Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II: A plea made in 1395 for peace between England and France*, ed. George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975); Philippe de Mézières, *Une épître lamentable et consolatoire: Adressée en 1397 à Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, sur la défaite de Nicopolis (1396)*, ed. Philippe Contamine and Jacques Paviot (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 2008).

his death in 1422.²⁹ For the political elite and those who advised them, much of Charles VI's time on the throne was dominated by the question of how to ensure that French government could continue to function with a child-king or a periodically incapable king. This was a difficult situation in a political society to which the king was so fundamentally necessary.³⁰ Processions were held to pray for the king's recovery, and Michel Pintoin's *Chronique du Religieux de St-Denis* claims that, at the news that the king had fallen ill, all true Frenchmen wept as though at the death of an only son, because the health of the kingdom and that of the king were so intertwined.³¹ Jean Gerson likewise linked the health of the king to the health of the kingdom.³² As the character of the *Phisicien* or doctor in Bovet's *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* indicates, the variety of unsuccessful methods used to try to cure the king caused some contention: the *Phisicien* explains that he does not dare to enter the city of Paris because of the illness of the king and the number of attempts to cure him by means of sorcery or alchemy which have made it a dangerous place for physicians to go.³³

One of the official responses to the uncertainty over Charles VI's ability to rule was the issuing of ordinances that dealt with the question of how France should be governed in the case of a minor king, an "absent" king, and an "absent" king with only underage heirs. The issuing of eight such ordinances over fifteen years demonstrates the uncertainty of the situation, with only three similar documents

²⁹ Current scholarship frequently refers to the king's "absences," which Hedeman notes "is how the king's illness was described in royal documents." Louis Claude Douët-d'Arcq, ed., *Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI* (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1763), 1:2, 1:27-39, 1:240-43; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 1. See also Alain Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, Nouvelle histoire de la France médiévale (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 80-99; Richard C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York, 1982), xi, 2-5; Bernard Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé* (Paris, 2004), 9-10, 289-92. For an approximate chronology of these incidents, see Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 293-96.

³⁰ Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, xi; Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 232.

³¹ M. L. Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1840), 2:22-23. On the special processions during Charles VI's reign, see Bernard Guenée, "Liturgie et politique: Les processions spéciales à Paris sous Charles VI," in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Etudes offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard, and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), 23-49 (27-28).

³² M. L. Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1841), 3:346-47.

³³ Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue*, 72-76; Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 64-140.

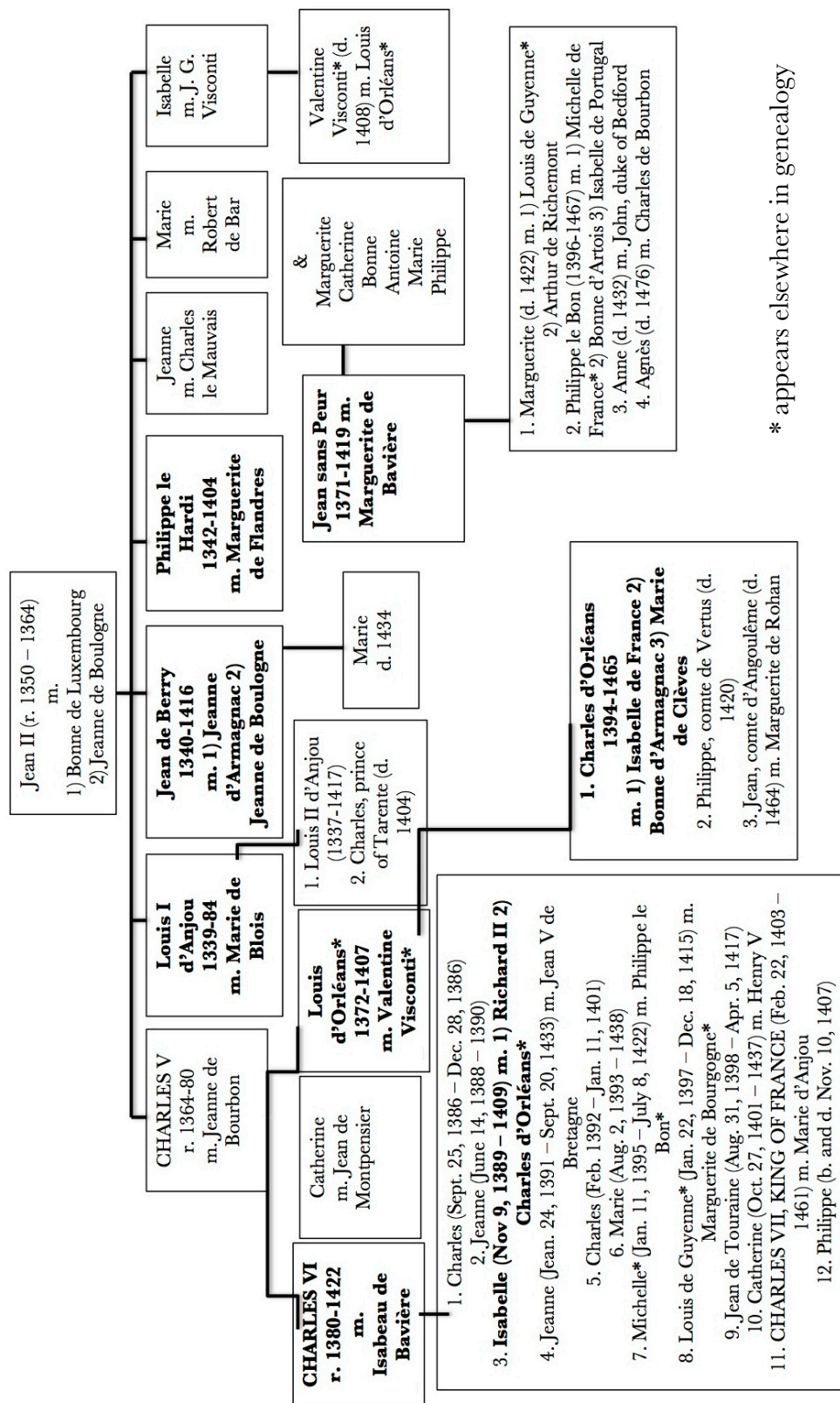
issued under Charles V.³⁴ *Who* should be acting in the best interests of king and kingdom was obvious. These ordinances stressed the important role the king's family members, to whom many advice books were dedicated, were to play in such situations. As members of the king's "sang et lignage," and as his uncles, cousins, and sibling, they were expected to contribute to "le proufit et utilité publique."³⁵ But while the importance of these individuals to royal government was obvious, how to balance their competing interests and political goals, and how to ensure stability in the absence of an adult heir, was less so.

The major players included Charles VI's paternal uncles, Louis I d'Anjou (July 23, 1339 – 1384); Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy (January 17, 1342 – April 27, 1404); and Jean de Berry (November 30, 1340 – June 15, 1416) (see Figure 1, below).

³⁴ Based on the ordinances published by Denis-François Secousse. These three ordinances are published in Denis-François Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1741), 6:26-32, 6:45-54. Ordinances for Charles V's reign also appear in Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, volumes 4 and 5.

³⁵ "blood and lineage;" "the public profit and benefit." Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société: L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans, 23 novembre 1407* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 29-33; Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:46, 6:49, 7:519, 7:531, 8:581-82, 12:227.

Figure 1: Valois Genealogy



As brothers of Charles V, they controlled large areas of land and were accustomed to important roles both in their own territories and in their capacity as sons, brothers, and now uncles to kings of France. Louis I d'Anjou was also duke of Touraine and count of Maine, and held an assortment of other French territories. Philippe le Hardi controlled both the county and duchy of Burgundy, as well as Flanders and several other territories in the Low Countries. The duke of Berry also held Auvergne and Poitou. Because their nephew became king at such a young age, they continued to enjoy a large degree of independence and authority several years into his reign. Charles VI's maternal uncle, Louis de Bourbon (1337 – August 19, 1410), also played a role.³⁶ Given the prominence of the royal uncles, Charles VI's brother Louis—urged by Philippe de Mézières in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* to support the king—initially found it difficult to play a significant role in political life, even when he also came of age.³⁷ As he grew older, however, he began to threaten the interests of his uncle, the duke of Burgundy. The struggle for influence over the king and for control of French government during his absences added to the conflicts between the two dukes, who also had incompatible territorial ambitions, different approaches to the ongoing problem of the papal schism, and different views on how French government should be run. Louis used his influence to people the Parlement, Chambre des comptes, and Chambre des aides with his own supporters, while Philippe le Hardi sought to increase his own popularity by opposing his nephew's fiscal policies.³⁸ Louis d'Orléans' steady acquisition of territories and allies outside of France, particularly in the Empire from about 1398, also threatened to divide his

³⁶ Alfred Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), 5; Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France*, European History in Perspective (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 127, 132, 138; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Fundian State* (London: Longmans, 1962), xxix, 3-6, 126.

³⁷ Tracy Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, Series: Rethinking Theory (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010), 10, 93; Small, *Late Medieval France*, 140; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:122 (Book 3, Chapter 183), 2:467-68 (Book 3, Chapter 300).

³⁸ For the conflicts between the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans, see: Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, 93-100; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*; Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*; Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*; Rachel Gibbons, "Les concilatrices au bas moyen âge: Isabeau de Bavière et la guerre civile," in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au moyen âge: actes du 119^e congrès des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, 26-30 oct. 1994, Amiens. II: Guerre et gens*, ed. Philippe Contamine and Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1996), 23-33 (26); Bertrand Schnerb, *Armagnacs et Bourguignons, la maudite guerre* (Paris: Perrin, 1988); Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 39-58.

uncle's Flemish and Burgundian territories and weaken his position. When Philippe le Hardi died on April 27, 1404, the rivalry between the dukes of Orléans and Burgundy continued rather than being extinguished with the death of one of its key participants. As the conflicts between the two escalated, the new duke of Burgundy, Jean sans Peur, ordered the murder of Louis d'Orléans on November 23, 1407. The failure of the king and his relatives to mitigate the continuing conflicts between Jean sans Peur and the duke of Orléans' heirs and supporters was a major factor in the civil war that broke out in 1410.³⁹ It was in this context of political power struggles and uncertainty over the king's abilities that Philippe de Mézières, Honorat Bovet, Christine de Pizan, and Pierre Salmon dedicated their books to Charles VI of France. It is important to consider these dedications in the context of the questions of authority and counsel surrounding the king throughout his reign.

Out of these four books, the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Arbre des batailles* were dedicated to Charles VI at what might be considered the most appropriate moment, when he would be able to act on their advice: just after the young king's declaration of the beginning of his personal rule, after nearly eight years of government by his uncles. The struggles for control over the child-king's government began several years before his reign, as Charles V made preparations for the likelihood of his son becoming king before he reached the majority age of fourteen.⁴⁰ Foreseeing the

³⁹ Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 86-96; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 24, 53-54; Gibbons, "Les concilatrices au bas moyen âge," 31-32; Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 244, 247; Schnerb, *Armagnacs et Bourguignons, la maudite guerre*, 45-46.

⁴⁰ Charles V issued an ordinance in August 1374 stipulating the age of majority for French kings (Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:30-32). There has been some confusion as to whether he specified that they would attain their majority at the age of thirteen or fourteen, presumably due to the ambiguity of the wording. Alain Demurger, for example, says fourteen, while Françoise Autrand, Richard C. Famiglietti, and Bernard Guenée say thirteen. The August 1374 ordinance says "annum quartum decimum," or "the fourteenth year." This wording is repeated in the October 1374 ordinances, issued in French, which say the king will attain his majority having reached the "quatorzieme an de son âge," which could be translated either as "fourteenth year of age" or "fourteenth year of life" (Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:46). The second of these interpretations would indicate the year the king turns fourteen, i.e. while still thirteen years of age. A 1392 ordinance issued under Charles VI to confirm, and translate into French, his father's 1374 ordinance on the age of royal majority suggests that contemporaries understood fourteen, not thirteen, to be the age of royal majority. It specifies that the king will attain his majority at "l'âge de quatorze ans," "the age of fourteen years" (Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 7:520). Françoise Autrand, *Charles VI: La folie du roi* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), 13; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 86-90; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 82; Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 159-65; Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:46, 6:53.

possibility of a minority, Charles V had attempted to structure a system that would create a balance of power between the individuals who would govern on his son's behalf. In October 1374, when the future king was five years old, Charles V issued two ordinances stipulating what should be done in such a situation. The first named the king's oldest brother, Louis I d'Anjou, as regent until the new king reached his majority. If Anjou had died or was otherwise unavailable, Philippe le Hardi would be regent instead. The second ordinance appointed a group of guardians for the future king and his siblings. The individuals tasked with the "tutelle, garde et gouvernement," or guardianship, of the royal children were the queen, Jeanne de Bourbon; her brother, Louis de Bourbon; and Philippe le Hardi. While the duke of Berry was excluded entirely from these two ordinances, the duke of Burgundy appeared in both, and had the potential to be involved in both the regency and the guardianship of the royal children should something happen to Louis d'Anjou. The king's first chamberlain, Bureau de la Rivière, was also singled out in both ordinances. The regency ordinance appointed him to the management of the royal children's finances, while the duke of Anjou retained control over the finances required for the government of the kingdom. The guardianship ordinance stipulated that he should also be appointed the new king's first chamberlain, and that the royal guardians should not make any decisions about the physical well-being of the royal children without consulting him. The same ordinance specified that the royal guardians should be assisted by a group of at least twelve individuals from a suggested list of forty-one—including Philippe de Mézières, who was one of Charles V's counsellors—as well as six bourgeois of Paris.⁴¹ The ordinances show Charles V's attempt to separate guardianship and regency, preventing any one of the dukes from gaining power over both royal government and the royal person in whom authority resided. The guardianship ordinance also included individuals who might have been able to counter-balance the influence of the dukes in the education of the royal

⁴¹ Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, 93; John Bell Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society under Charles V and Charles VI* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 15; Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berry: sa vie, son action politique (1340-1416)* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1966), 2:11-13; Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:45-54; Noël Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles: Nouvelles recherches, suivies d'arrêts et de procès-verbaux du Conseil* (Geneva: Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, 1975), 75-76, 78.

children. Bureau de la Rivière was one of these; a loyal servant of Charles V, whose household he had entered in 1358, his influence over both Charles V and, later, Charles VI was resented by the dukes.⁴² Their unsuccessful attempts to distance him from influence during Charles VI's minority, as well as their displeasure at his later prominence, demonstrate his importance in French political life.⁴³

When Charles V died in 1380, his brothers, especially the duke of Anjou, struggled to consolidate their positions. Louis I d'Anjou argued that he should be both regent and guardian, due to his senior position as the oldest of the king's uncles. Anjou's brothers refused to accept this, assigning guardianship to Louis de Bourbon and Philippe le Hardi as had been stipulated by Charles V, whose wife had predeceased him and therefore could not be included. Louis I d'Anjou's role as regent was also undermined by the decision to hold Charles VI's coronation as soon as possible, rather than waiting until his fourteenth birthday. While Anjou retained the title and revenues of the regent, nominally Charles VI was in full control from the beginning of his reign.⁴⁴ The *Chronique du Religieux de St-Denis* reports that the disagreement between the dukes during these negotiations was so great that it threatened to become a dangerous scandal.⁴⁵ The system of regency and guardianship envisioned by Charles V had been replaced by a system in which the eleven-year-old king was theoretically in charge from the moment of his coronation. In practice, of course, an eleven-year-old could not be expected to rule a kingdom. Louis I d'Anjou was president of the royal council, and it was decided that he and at least one of the other three dukes must be present for each of its meetings.⁴⁶ It was

⁴² Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society under Charles V and Charles VI*, 77, 97, 103-4, 127, 137-38, 158-59, 165.

⁴³ Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society under Charles V and Charles VI*, 77, 97, 103-5, 108, 127; Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 80-91.

⁴⁴ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:8-9, 1:15-18, 1:28-30, 1:40-41, 1:130. See also Autrand, *Charles VI*, 19-20; Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society under Charles V and Charles VI*, 104; Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berry*, 2:12-13; Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 79.

⁴⁵ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:14-15.

⁴⁶ "Premierement. Que au Conseil du Roy seront tousjours Noss. les Ducs d'Anjou, de Berry, de Bourgoigne & de Bourbon, ou les trois ou les deuz d'eulz, s'il leur plaist, dont Mons. d'Anjou sera tousjours l'un, quand il y vendre & pourra estre; & que ledit Mons. d'Anjou aura la presidence, & prérogative, selon son gré, de ainneesce; & nos trois autres Seigneurs chascun selon son gré; et quant

the king's uncles who retained power, and the contemporary understanding that such an arrangement was formally required is evident in the way official documents were signed during this period. Despite the lack of legal necessity for the presence of one of the king's uncles, documents frequently noted that a decision had been taken with the consent of one or more of them.⁴⁷ Similarly, chronicles describe the king as being accompanied by his uncles on voyages and refer to the revolts in Paris in the early years of the reign as defying the authority of the king and his uncles.⁴⁸ Philippe de Mézières' *Songe du vieil pelerin* and, to a lesser extent, Honorat Bovet's *Arbre des batailles* would later comment on how the dukes handled French government during Charles' minority.

Charles VI's decision to make a formal declaration of personal rule, just before his twentieth birthday, is significant for a number of reasons. Both the *Songe du vieil pelerin*'s discussion of the matter and the formal way in which the king undertook his personal rule demonstrate the extent to which the idea that Charles had been ruling up to this point had been an elaborate fiction.⁴⁹ Charles VI declared the beginning of his personal rule at Reims, the site of his coronation. According to the *Chronique du Religieux de St-Denis*, the king summoned his uncles and counsellors to Reims to ask them to deliberate on the future of royal government. The cardinal of Laon, Pierre Aycelin de Montaigu, then spoke on the king's behalf. He argued that harmony depended on having a prince capable of reigning by himself, that Charles was already following the good example of his ancestors, and that he no longer required tutors but was capable of managing affairs himself.⁵⁰ The king then thanked

ledit Mons. d'Anjou ne y pourra ou voudra estre, ne se delivreront aucunes grosses & pesantes besoignes sens lui faire savoir, & avoir son consentement." Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:529. See also Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 80.

⁴⁷ Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 81.

⁴⁸ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:1448-49.

⁴⁹ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Queen Verité tells the king: "Encores te doit souvenir que tu n'es plus soubz tuteur ne soubz le gouvernement des patrons de la nef francoise, et que par la provision et dispensacion divine a present tu es le grant maistre et souverain prince de la nef francoise figuree, et que a toy seul principalement en appartient le gouvernement." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:131 (Book 3, Chapter 189).

⁵⁰ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:554-60.

his uncles for their service and for having been loyal counsellors, reassured them that he intended to consider their counsel in the future, and added that he expected them to act without delay if the kingdom were ever attacked by enemies.⁵¹ The effective dismissal of the king's powerful uncles was an unprecedented move, and the chronicler reports that not only did the king's uncles blame his counsellors for the decision, but also that they hated the cardinal of Laon as a result. When he died shortly afterwards, there were rumours that he had been poisoned.⁵²

The formal declaration of personal rule, despite the fact that technically he had been given full authority even before reaching the majority age of fourteen, enabled Charles to make a clear distinction between the rule of his uncles and the beginning of his own. This may have helped him to avoid the fate suffered by his grandson, Henry VI of England, when he faced a similar situation. When Henry VI became king as an infant, his relatives decided to forestall his coronations as king of England and France until he was older. The 1429 coronation of Charles VII in France threatened English claims there, and Henry VI was therefore crowned as quickly as possible in both London, at age seven, and Paris, at age nine, in order to counter Charles' claims.⁵³ No further formal declaration of personal rule occurred as Henry grew older, and the line between the roles of king and advisor became difficult to establish.⁵⁴ Charles VI's approach enabled a clear break, which was accompanied by noticeable changes in the king's advisors. While the duke of Bourbon remained on the royal council, Burgundy returned to his own territories and Berry to his duties in the Languedoc. Even his lieutenancy there did not last much longer; on his 1389 visit to the region, the king heard reports that the duke had been abusing the position for

⁵¹ Autrand, *Charles VI*, 165; Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:560-61; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espairs*, 81-85; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, xi; Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society under Charles V and Charles VI*, 130-33; Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berry*, 2:231; Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 93-94.

⁵² Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:560-63.

⁵³ Anne Curry, "The 'Coronation Expedition' and Henry VI's Court in France, 1430 to 1432," in *The Lancastrian Court*, ed. Jenny Stratford (Donington, Linc.: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 29-52; Bertram Wolffe, *Henry VI, English Monarchs* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1981), 48-64.

⁵⁴ Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 95; John Watts, "When did Henry VI's Minority End?," in *Trade, Devotion and Governance*, ed. Dorothy J. Clayton, Richard G. Davies, and Peter McNiven (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), 116-39.

his own financial gain, and stripped his uncle of the lieutenancy. While most of the other members of the king's council remained in place after the declaration of personal rule, there were also some significant newcomers. One of these was Jean de Montaigu, the king's *maître d'hôtel*. Counsellors such as Bureau de la Rivière were now able to take on a larger role, freed of the opposition of the royal dukes.⁵⁵

Accounts of Charles VI's reign frequently focus on the period after 1392, when the difficulties of adapting provisions made for a minor king to the problem of a periodically "absent" one were paramount. But we should not discount the importance of either the first eight years of the king's reign or his brief period of personal rule. With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to see that the struggle for control in the early 1380s foreshadowed the situation from 1392 onwards. But in 1389, when two of the four advice books dedicated to the king were completed, nobody could have predicted the events of 1392. Both Philippe de Mézières and Honorat Bovet dedicated books to a young, newly-independent, and as-of-yet untested ruler.

The *Songe du vieil pelerin* in particular explicitly takes advantage of this change. Instead of taking up a post on a guardianship council during Charles VI's minority, as had been suggested by Charles V, Philippe de Mézières had retired to the convent of the Celestines in Paris. In the prologue of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, he explains that in earlier years he had tried to influence Charles indirectly by means of a book dedicated to Bureau de la Rivière, who still had access to the young king during his minority. The author describes the *Songe du vieil pelerin* as a new attempt to reach the king, who had now taken on government himself, and he used sections of the text to criticize decisions made during the minority.⁵⁶ In both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Arbre des batailles*, youth in a king is presented not as a liability, but as an expression of potential. The king is in need of good advice and instruction, but is assumed to be

⁵⁵ Autrand, *Charles VI*, 164; Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:568-72, 1:616-20; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 83-84; Hanly and Millet, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 143; Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society under Charles V and Charles VI*, 103, 133, 139; Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 95-97.

⁵⁶ George W. Coopland, "General Introduction," in *Le Songe du vieil pelerin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 1:1-80 (1:14, 1:14n1); Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berri*, 2:11-12; Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:52; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:84-88 (Prologue); Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 75-76.

more than capable of following through on both of these. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, for example, the king is described as the “tresnoble, vaillant, et, jusques cy se dire se puet, innocent roy du royaume de France, jadis franche et glorieuse appelee;” thanks to his youth, he is innocent of any significant wrongdoing.⁵⁷ The prologue of the *Arbre des batailles* informs the king that the book has been composed in part “pource que vostre jeunesse soit enformee.”⁵⁸ The characterization of youth as an advantage is significant, especially when compared with the way a prince’s youth could be portrayed as a liability. Discussions of minority kingship often referred to the maxim that no good would come to a realm whose king was a child. Criticism of Richard II of England, who also became king as a minor, characterized the king as young even when he was an adult. We might also consider Christine de Pizan’s *Epistre Othea*, in which Louis d’Orléans, at the age of twenty-eight, is equated with the text’s fictionalized addressee, the fifteen-year-old Hector of Troy.⁵⁹ The letter addressed to Hector in his “prime jeunesse” is intended to help him learn necessary skills. The royal entries of Henry VI into both Paris and London presented him as being young and in need of instruction. In Paris he was informed that he was “trop jeune et peu fort.”⁶⁰ The dedications of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Arbre des batailles* to Charles VI at the outset of his personal rule capitalized on the new independence of the young king, and should not be overshadowed by the later events of the reign—as significant as these were.

⁵⁷ “very noble, valliant, and, up to now if it can be said, innocent king of the kingdom of France, already called frank and glorious.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:507 (Book 2, Chapter 104).

⁵⁸ “so that you, in your youth, might be informed.” Bovet, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:599 (Prologue).

⁵⁹ Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, 197-98, 313.

⁶⁰ “prime of youth;” “too young and not very strong.” Charles Beem, “Woe to Thee, O Land? Some final Thoughts,” in *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Charles Beem (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 249-54 (250); Kristin Bourassa, “‘Fforto Tellen Alle the Circumstaunces’: The Royal Entries of Henry VI (1431-32) and their Manuscripts,” MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 2010, 10-42; Gwilym Dodd, “Richard II and the Fiction of Majority Rule,” in *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Charles Beem (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 103-59 (104-8); John Lydgate, “King Henry VI’s Triumphal Entry into London, 21 Feb., 1432,” in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken (London: Early English Text Society, 1934), 630-648; Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, eds., “Première entrée du roi Henri VI à Paris, Récit anonyme,” in *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, ed. Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1968), 62-70; London, London Metropolitan Archives, MS Letter Book K, f. 103r.

Writing after 1392, both Christine de Pizan and Pierre Salmon were entering into a different conversation. In August of that year, Charles VI embarked on a military expedition against the duke of Brittany, who had arrested and humiliated the constable of France, Olivier de Clisson. Charles was accompanied by several counsellors, including Bureau de la Rivière, and by his own brother Louis, whom he had made duke of Orléans on June 4 of that year. The king suffered his first episode of mental illness during this expedition, attacking several members of his own party and even, according to some reports, killing several people.⁶¹ After a period of recovery, he experienced a second episode in June 1393, during which time he recognized neither his wife nor himself as king. This second episode lasted for a period of seven months. The nature of the king's illness remains uncertain, although it has been suggested that he suffered from a form of schizophrenia. Whatever the cause, it was to dominate the rest of his reign. The *Chronique du Religieux de St-Denis* describes the king as suffering from an incurable illness that sometimes deprived him of his reason, adding that during his periods of wellness he always consulted his counsellors and never acted hastily.⁶²

The king's intermittent periods of illness enabled the return of his uncles to authority, in turn creating a shift in who was in need of, or could be offered, counsel and advice. This is reflected in the advice books dedicated to people other than the king after 1392. Blaming at least in part the king's counsellors for the entire Breton episode, on which they had not been consulted, Jean de Berry and Philippe le Hardi responded after the fact with the arrest and imprisonment of some of the expedition's supporters, including Bureau de la Rivière.⁶³ After Charles fell ill a second time, it

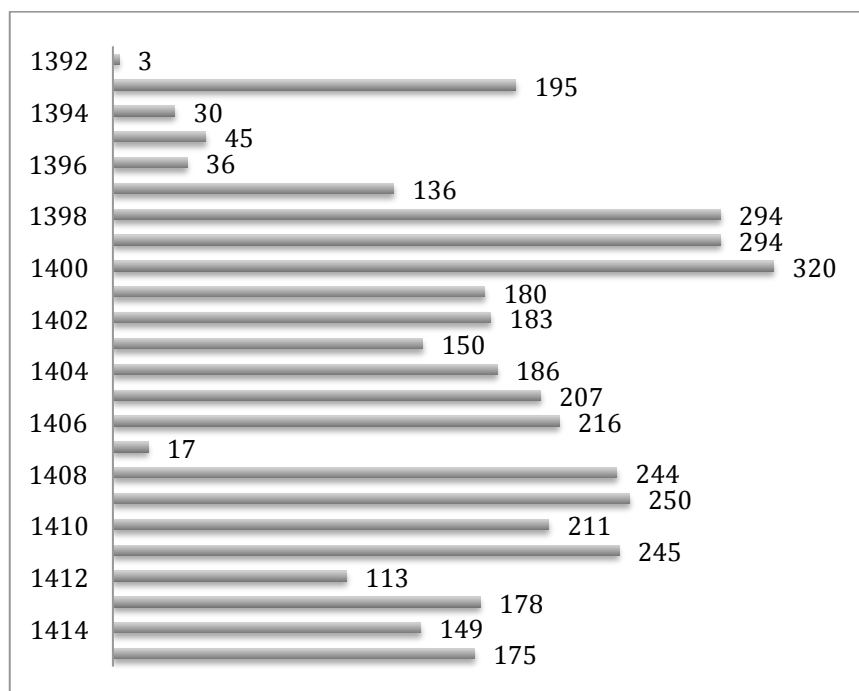
⁶¹ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 2:20-21. See also Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 2-3; Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart* (Brussels: Victor Devaux, 1871), 15:35-47.

⁶² Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:566-67; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 2-4; Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society under Charles V and Charles VI*, 157-58; Wendy J. Turner, "A Cure for the King Means the Health of the Country: The Mental and Physical Health of Henry VI," in *Madness in Medieval Law and Custom*, ed. Wendy J. Turner (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 177-95 (184).

⁶³ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 2:10-11, 2:16-17, 2:22-23, 2:26-31; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 81-95; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 2; Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society under Charles V and Charles VI*, 128, 158-59; Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 97-98.

became clearer that the absence of the king from political life might become a permanent state of affairs. Charles VI was “absent” for significant periods leading up to Pierre Salmon’s composition of the *Dialogues* in 1409 and its second version in 1412-15. An analysis of the recurrences of the royal illness demonstrates that Charles VI frequently spent more than half the days of a given year “absent” and unable to rule. While Bernard Guenée cautions that our knowledge of when the king was and was not absent is imperfect—especially for 1407, when the *Chronique du Religieux de St-Denis* is largely silent about the matter—it is still possible to establish that the king was rarely well for extended periods of time (see Figure 2, below).⁶⁴

Figure 2: Approximate number of days per year Charles VI was "absent" (1392-1409)⁶⁵



The immediate official response to the king’s illness was to establish how France should be governed if he were to die before his infant son Charles, six months old in August 1392, reached the age of majority. In November 1392 and January 1393, a series of three ordinances was issued. These were explicitly modelled on

⁶⁴ Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 294-96.

⁶⁵ I have based this on the approximate chronology given in Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 294-96.

Charles V's 1374 ordinances.⁶⁶ The November 1392 ordinance translated into French and confirmed Charles V's August 1374 ordinance fixing the age of royal majority at fourteen.⁶⁷ The first of the January 1393 ordinances appointed the queen, her brother Louis de Bavière, and the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon to the guardianship of Charles VI's children if he should die before they came of age.⁶⁸ Charles VI had married Isabeau on July 17, 1385, providing France with an alliance in the Empire and a counter to Richard II of England's marriage to Anne of Bohemia.⁶⁹ As wife of the king and mother of his heirs, she played an important role in attempts to both implement a system of government during the king's absences, and mediate the conflicts that arose between his other relatives.⁷⁰ At the time the ordinance was issued, Charles and Isabeau had two daughters—Isabelle (1389-1409) and Jeanne (1391-1433)—and one son, the dauphin Charles (February 6, 1392 – January 11, 1401). The ordinance stipulated that their guardians were to be assisted by a group of twelve people, but, unlike the 1374 ordinance, provided no list of candidates. In the second January 1393 ordinance, Charles VI appointed his brother Louis d'Orléans as regent in case of a minority reign.⁷¹ The January 1393 ordinances provided official solutions to the possibility that Charles VI would die before the dauphin reached the age of majority. As it turned out, this was a constant concern throughout his reign, because although Charles VI had a total of six sons, five of them died before the king.

⁶⁶ “Nous qui voulons ensuir de nostre pouvoir les bonnes oeuvres de nostredit Seigneur et Pere, desirans la paix, seurté et bon estat perpétuelz de nostredit Royaume; considérans les causes raisonnables et évidens qui meurent nostredit Seigneur et Pere à faire ordonner la Loy et Constitucion dessus dicte declairé ès Lettres cy-dessus transcriptes.” Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 7:522.

⁶⁷ Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 7:520.

⁶⁸ Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 7:530.

⁶⁹ Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, 3-4; Rachel Gibbons, “Isabeau of Bavaria, queen of France (1385-1422): the creation of an historical villainess,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th series, 6 (1996), 51-75 (53).

⁷⁰ Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, 88-111; Gibbons, “Isabeau of Bavaria, queen of France (1385-1422),” 54; Gibbons, “Les concilatrices au bas moyen âge,” 32-33.

⁷¹ Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, 14, 16-17; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 313-20; Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 289-92; Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 7:533.

While the king's longevity continued to stave off the succession of a minor, it also caused a more immediate problem: what to do when the king was experiencing one of his episodes of mental illness? The king was, essentially, indispensable: there was no acceptable substitute for acts such as receiving homages, greeting foreign rulers, and making decisions in council.⁷² The king could not be displaced or deposed because "personne, ni hors du royaume ni dans le royaume, n'avait les moyens juridiques ou politiques de le déposer, ni même de gouverner à sa place."⁷³ A periodically "absent" king was more difficult to work with than a minor king, or indeed a physically absent one, such as in the case of Jean II, who spent several years of his reign in English captivity while the future Charles V managed affairs in France on his behalf. Charles VI was intermittently capable, and this forestalled any permanent regency situation, whether formal or informal. The problems that the king's relatives faced were similar to those later experienced by the counsellors and relatives of Charles' grandson, Henry VI, after his coronations in England and France.⁷⁴ As Guenée argues, the political situation changed completely based on whether the king was "present" or "absent;" for example, the restoration of obedience to the Avignon papacy in 1403 was Louis d'Orléans' project, but "seuls les convictions personnelles du roi l'ont rendue possible."⁷⁵ The lack of an adult heir for much of Charles VI's reign also meant that there was no one individual who could obviously take the king's place when he was unavailable. As the king's only brother, and designated regent in case of a minority reign, in some respects Louis d'Orléans

⁷² Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 232; Turner, "A Cure for the King Means the Health of the Country," 177.

⁷³ "nobody, whether outside the kingdom or within it, had the legal or political means to depose him, or even to govern in his place." Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 232.

⁷⁴ Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c. 1300 - c. 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 34; Curry, "The 'Coronation Expedition' and Henry VI's Court in France, 1430 to 1432," 29; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 86-90; Ralph A. Griffiths, "The Minority of Henry VI, King of England and of France," in *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Charles Beem (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 161-93 (163); André Leguai, "Fondements et problèmes du pouvoir royal en France (autour de 1400)," in *Das spätmittelalterliche Königtum im Europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Reinhard Schneider (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1987), 57; Watts, "When did Henry VI's Minority End?," 116-39; Small, *Late Medieval France*, 113-19; Bertram Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1981), 28, 61, 48, 51-52.

⁷⁵ "only the king's personal convictions made it possible." Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 201-3; Guenée, "Le voyage de Bourges (1412). Un exemple des conséquences de la folie de Charles VI," 297.

was the obvious choice. Certainly Louis did use the 1393 ordinance to take precedence during the king's absences. But rather than providing stability while the king was ill, Louis' increased power exacerbated his rivalry with the dukes of Burgundy.⁷⁶

The ordinances issued by Charles VI later in his reign attempted to prevent the conflicts between his relatives from escalating, as well as providing for the government of the realm during royal absences or after the king's death. Christine de Pizan and Pierre Salmon, writing in October 1402 – March 1403 and in 1409, would have been aware of this situation when they composed their books. By 1402, the conflict between the two dukes had escalated to the point that the king issued an ordinance forbidding his relatives to take up arms against each other, and appointing the queen to mediate between them during his absences; a second ordinance enabled her to act in the king's place on the Royal Council when he was not well.⁷⁷ The need to issue ordinances trying to forestall fighting between the governors of the kingdom must have been particularly alarming, and Christine de Pizan's decision to dedicate her book to the dukes as well as to the king may have been in part a response to this situation.

Another aspect of this attempt to prevent the conflicts between the dukes from making the governance of France impossible was the increased power given to the dauphin, Louis de Guyenne.⁷⁸ The king's third son was granted the duchy of Guyenne on January 14, 1401, and an ordinance of April 26, 1403 declared that there was to be no regency, regardless of the age of the new dauphin on his

⁷⁶ Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, 94; Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 201-3.

⁷⁷ The first ordinance, issued on March 16, 1402, declared the necessity to maintain peace between "ceux de nostre sang et lignage" for the sake of the "paix et tranquillité" of the king's subjects; forbade them from resorting to a "voie de fait;" and appointed the queen as mediator: "ou cas que pour l'absence du Roy...il ne pourroit à ce si briefment remédier comme le besoin pourroit estre, le Roy veult et ordène dès maintenant que en ce cas, celui ou ceulx qui aura ou auront lesdiz desplaisirs viengne ou viengent...devers la Royne...il veult que elle s'entremecte de appaisier lesdiz débas...Et de ce faire donne dès maintenant pour lors, à la Royne, plain pouvoir et auctorité." The second ordinance was issued on July 1, 1402, and stipulated that in the king's absence the queen should summon to her the members of the king's blood and of his council, so that "elle pourvera bien, tant à l'appaisement de noz diz oncle de Bourgoigne et frère d'Orléans, comme au gouvernement de noz dictes finances et aux autres grans besoignes de nostredit royaume, jusques à ce que nous y pourrons entendre en nostre personne." Douët-d'Arcq, ed., *Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*, 1:227-43. See also Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, 94.

⁷⁸ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, 86.

accession.⁷⁹ The queen, assisted by the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Orléans, and Bourbon, as well as the members of the Council and “autres de nostre Sang et Lignage” would act as the new king’s guardians and make decisions based on the majority opinion of the council.⁸⁰ This ordinance increased the political capital of the dauphin and potentially of the queen, who would play a larger role as queen mother to a young king without a regent than she could hope to play if there were a regent as well.⁸¹ But it also meant that political rivalries could now centre around the dauphin as well as the king, as can be seen in the struggles for control over his person between the queen and Jean sans Peur in 1405.⁸²

In the aftermath of the murder of Louis d’Orléans in November 1407, on December 26, 1407, a new ordinance was issued confirming that there was to be no regent, and that the dauphin would be crowned king immediately following his accession, regardless of his age. The ordinance was expected to apply not only to Charles VI’s successors, but to their successors as well. Like the 1403 ordinance, the 1407 ordinance specified that in such a situation decisions were to be made based on the majority opinion. But unlike the earlier version, which named the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Orléans, and Bourbon, the 1407 ordinance said only that for Charles VI’s successors, and their successors after them, decisions were to be made “par les bons advis, deliberacion et conseil des Roynes leurs meres, se elles vivoient, et des plus prouchains du Linage et Sang royal qui lors seroient; et aussi par les adviz, deliberacion et conseil des Connestable et Chancelier de France.”⁸³ While this was perhaps partly an attempt to turn the ordinance into something more generic, that could be applied to future generations as well, the exclusion of individual names or

⁷⁹ Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 23-24, 31.

⁸⁰ “others of our blood and lineage.” Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 28-9; Gibbons, “Les concilatrices au bas moyen âge,” 28; Guinée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 164; Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 8:581-82.

⁸¹ Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, 94-100.

⁸² Hutchison, “Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume,” 49; Guinée, “Liturgie et politique,” 45.

⁸³ “according to the good advice, deliberation, and counsel of the queens, their mothers (if they are living), and of the closest members of the royal lineage and blood; and also according to the advice, deliberation, and counsel of the constable and chancellor of France.” Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 9:267-69.

titles in the 1407 ordinance may also have been due to the struggles for influence following the murder of the king's brother a month prior.

The dedication of Salmon's *Dialogues* to the king alone in 1409 is particularly interesting because of how unlikely it was that Charles would have been able to act on it and how clear it was that the political situation was spiralling out of control. Most of the letters included in the first version of Salmon's *Dialogues* date to the period between the murder of Louis d'Orléans and the election of Pope Alexander V at Pisa on June 26, 1409.⁸⁴ The political chaos following the murder helps to explain Salmon's desperate attempts to convince the recipients of his letters to act for the good of the king and the kingdom. Sometime before February 24, 1409, Salmon received a letter from the king dated at Tours on January 4 of that year—two weeks before the king issued an ordinance reinforcing the role of the dauphin as he approached the age of majority.⁸⁵ The ordinance, dated January 18, stipulated that Louis de Guyenne would act on behalf of the king and queen if they were both unavailable, and that his decisions were to be considered equally valid as the king's. The king expressed his "toute singuliere confidence" in his son in the ordinance. It was confirmed by a similar ordinance issued from Paris on December 31, 1409.⁸⁶ The need to issue two such similar ordinances within less than a year suggests that they were in need of reinforcement, as does the issuing of so many similar ordinances in such a short period of time. Both the April 1403 and December 1407 ordinances declared themselves to be perpetually valid, and yet new ordinances were still issued.⁸⁷ Despite the likely inability of the king to apply all of Salmon's advice, the dedication of the *Dialogues* still focuses on him and presents the issues in the realm as being caused by failures of kingship.

⁸⁴ For a list of the letters, see Appendix 2, below.

⁸⁵ BnF fr. 23279 f. 85v.

⁸⁶ "complete confidence." Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, 23-24; Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 1:227-31.

⁸⁷ Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:46, 6:49, 8:583.

Conclusion

While the generic identity of these four texts may not have been among their authors' primary concerns, clearly the question of *to whom* one should dedicate one's book was an important one, particularly during the reign of Charles VI who, unlike his father, was more likely to be offered unsolicited dedications rather than to have commissioned the production of books himself.⁸⁸ In addition to this, for much of his reign he was not the obvious target of political advice due to his frequent "absences." In this period of political crisis, which saw the accession of an eleven-year-old, the papal schism, the ongoing Anglo-French wars, and eventually, the king's mental illness and the civil war, authors dedicated political texts to individuals they believed might be able to effect change.⁸⁹ Authors who commented on current affairs and frequently included fictionalized versions of themselves in their texts, participated in a context of politically engaged literature, placing themselves in a position of responsibility and appealing to their audiences to act.⁹⁰

Attempts to include or exclude these texts from the modern category of the mirror for princes is a largely futile exercise, with scholars disagreeing with each other and sometimes even contradicting themselves on the definition of the genre and on what should be included in it.⁹¹ Instead of categorizing these texts based on genre, I have selected them based on characteristics understood by their creators and

⁸⁸ Charles V's commissions included the *Songe du vergier* as well as the French translation of the *Policraticus*. Charles Brucker, "Introduction," in *Le Policraticus de Jean de Salisbury (1372): Livres I-III* (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 21-24; Lachaud and Scordia, "Introduction," 13; Roux, "Charles V et Charles VI en miroir(s)," 686; Bertrand Schnerb, "Charles V au miroir du *Songe du vergier*," *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010), 545-59 (545).

⁸⁹ Honorat Bovet, for example, dedicated copies of his *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* to the duke and duchess of Orléans as well as to the king's counsellor, Jean de Montaigu. Biu, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 1:10-12; Michael Hanly, "Introduction," in *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: the "Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun" of Honorat Bovet* (Tempe, Ariz: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2005), 1-56; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 2; Lachaud and Scordia, "Introduction," 9-12; Gauvard, "Christine de Pizan et ses contemporains," 108; Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, xiv-xx.

⁹⁰ Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes*, 26-31, 33-34, 42, 58; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 2; Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, 1-2, 217; Lachaud and Scordia, "Introduction," 9, 13; Mühlethaler, "Une génération d'écrivains 'embarqués'," 19.

⁹¹ Blanchard, "Discours de la réformation et utopie à la fin du Moyen Age," 397; Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes*, 27; Blanchard, "Introduction, *Philippe de Mézières*," 41-4.

audiences: their dedicatee and stated intent. By focusing here specifically on books dedicated to Charles VI of France, and which claim to help him reform himself and his government, I hope to make a distinction between texts commenting on problematic political situations, and texts that associated these political concerns with the role and behaviour of the prince. I do not intend this distinction to suggest that we should consider these four texts in isolation from the many others produced in the same period, especially by these same authors. Instead I wish to consider them as an example of a particular communication attempt, one that was framed around both the person and the office of the king of France. Focusing on these four texts acknowledges the importance of their dedications, the context in which they were written, and their relationship—or purported relationship—with the king. While these authors likely also hoped to reach other audiences, composed of individuals who were capable of implementing the changes they proposed, the dedications of their books to Charles VI are perhaps indicative of just how indispensable the king really was to political society, whether or not he was capable of fulfilling his role.

Chapter 2. Authority

The dedications of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues* to Charles VI framed the books around the person and office of kingship. To justify their entry into this political conversation, the writers also framed themselves and their books as worthy sources of counsel for the king. The dedications themselves were one way of doing this, as they associated the books with a powerful individual. This was a similar tactic to that used in books that had been commissioned; Henri de Gauchi's French translation of the *De regimine principum*, for example, reminds the reader of the book's patronage, while Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* stipulates that Philippe le Hardi had requested the book because he had been so pleased with her *Mutacion de fortune*, which she had given him as a New Year's gift the previous year.¹ These writers also asserted their authority to provide counsel in two main ways: first, by promoting the use of books as sources of learning, and especially of princely learning; and second, by characterizing themselves as having both relevant experience and genuine personal motivation to work towards the good of Christendom and of the kingdom of France. They identified themselves in their works and referred to their own biographies to demonstrate their credentials.² The writers' attempts to authorize and justify their advice situate their books not only in the tradition of princely advice literature exemplified by the *Policraticus* and the *De regimine principum*, but also in the context of other forms of communication with the ruler in late medieval France.

¹ Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1936), 1:7-8; Henri de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois: a XIIIth century French version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise, De regimine principum*, ed. Samuel Paul Molenaer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1899), 2-3 (Prologue).

² Joël Blanchard and Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2002), 3-4.

Books as counsel

The four vernacular advice books for Charles VI joined a corpus of other vernacular books available to Charles VI and members of his court, including recent French translations of Latin books such as the *Policraticus* and Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, used as a source by authors including Christine de Pizan, Honorat Bovet, and Eustache Deschamps.³ The availability of such books in easily-accessible vernaculars enabled a shift in the way writers constructed authority. Earlier writers could present themselves as authorities because they had read books their audiences had not; Giles of Rome, for example, cited Aristotle heavily in the *De regimine principum*.⁴ John of Salisbury, while urging princes to be learned and read books, acknowledged that they might require trustworthy counsellors to do their reading for them if they were illiterate, presumably in Latin. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century writers could not construct their authority in the same way, as their readers were likely to be familiar with the books cited.⁵

Instead of primarily describing themselves as learned individuals who were able to pass on the results of their reading to their princely audiences, these four writers encouraged their readers and listeners to read such useful books themselves. Both Pierre Salmon and Honorat Bovet, for example, assert their own learning while also encouraging their readers to consult books. In the first version of the *Dialogues*, the presentation scene includes a Latin scroll emerging from Salmon's book, and in the second version he frequently includes Latin quotations, demonstrating his own

³ Hélène Biu, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet: étude de l'oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan," Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004, 1:54; Charles Brucker, "Introduction," in *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372): Livres I-III* (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 24; George W. Coopland, "Introduction," in *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet: An English Version with Introduction* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949), 60; Thierry Lassabatère, *La cité des hommes: Eustache Deschamps, expression poétique et vision politique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011), 368; Raymond Cazelles, *Société politique, noblesse, et couronne sous Jean le Bon et Charles V*, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 28 (Geneva: Droz, 1982), 30.

⁴ See for example de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 2-3 (Prologue), 15-17 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 7), 43 (Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 10).

⁵ Denis Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes, et prêtres (Jean de Salisbury, Policratique IV et VIII)*, ed. Charles Brucker, Le moyen français 21 (Montréal: CERES, 1987), 62-67 (Book 4, Chapter 6); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury: Being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books, of the Policraticus*, ed. John Dickinson (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 24-31 (Book 4, Chapter 6); Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes*, 14.

learned authority.⁶ Part 4 of the second version further demonstrates Salmon's own learning and encourages others to follow his example. It is based on the model of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, and Salmon's discussions with the allegorical figures in this part include commentary on books he has read.⁷ While in the *Consolation* the imprisoned Boethius is comforted by Lady Philosophy, in the *Dialogues* the despairing Salmon, having abandoned his attempt to help save French government, is comforted by ladies Raison, Foy, and Esperance (Reason, Faith, and Hope). Raison reminds Salmon, and by extension the reader, of how useful reading books could be.⁸ She converses with Salmon about a book he has recently read, which she proceeds to describe in detail: the book describes its author's search for the virtue of charity, including travels to Lombardy, the Holy Roman Empire, England, Spain, Egypt, Tartary, Turkey, Hungary, and Greece.⁹ Eventually his travels brought him "tout droit en France," where he sadly discovered that the fountains of charity, nobility, and justice had all run dry and found that "l'ostel royal et tout le noble sang royal, et la precieuse marguerite de France, troublez et empeschiez pour ne say quelles maleureuses et douleureuses divisions, scismes et descors, par male fortune avenus entre ceulz de noble sang royal."¹⁰ Here Salmon demonstrates his own reading while also promoting the value of reading for others. The description of the book he had read, which had a very similar plot line to that of Philippe de Mézières' *Songe du vieil pelerin*, reminds the reader of the current problems in France. It may also have reminded any readers or listeners who were familiar with the *Songe du vieil pelerin* of other contemporary examples of political literature.

Bovet similarly refers to his sources while anticipating that his audience will have access to some of them. Some of the major sources for the *Arbre des batailles* were

⁶ Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon's Dialogues*, Illinois Medieval Studies (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 8-9.

⁷ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 41.

⁸ Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 165 (Geneva fr. 165) ff. 108r, 112r, 133v-137v, 138r-143r, 180v-189v.

⁹ Geneva fr. 165 ff. 149r-150v.

¹⁰ "straight into France;" "the royal house and all of the royal blood, and the precious daisy of France, troubled and impeded by I don't know what unfortunate and distressing divisions, schisms, and discords, that by bad fortune had come between those of the noble royal blood." Geneva fr. 165 ff. 151r-151v.

Martin de Troppau's *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum/Chronica martiniana* (1272-74); Ptolomey of Lucca's *Historia ecclesiastica nova* (1313-16); and Giovanni da Legnano's *De bello, de represaliis et de duello* (ca. 1360).¹¹ Bovet reminds the reader that he has consulted written sources in his frequent use of such phrases as "mais l'histoire retourne au pape," "après dit l'histoire," and "mais l'histoire retourne a parler."¹² Recognizing that his readers might be familiar with some of what he says, he explains that he will not elaborate on certain themes, such as the history of Macedonia, if the reader can easily find information about them in other books.¹³

The books encourage princely learning in particular, suggesting that a ruler will be able to improve his abilities through reading. Christine de Pizan demonstrates her own learning while simultaneously insisting on its importance for a ruler. She cites authorities such as Aristotle in the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*.¹⁴ In the *Chemin de long estude*, learning is one of the most crucial elements of a good ruler. In the celestial Parlement debating the qualities of a good prince, Richese, Chevalerie, and Noblece (Wealth, Chivalry, and Nobility) present a case for the importance of wealth, martial skill, and noble heritage. In her response, Sagece provides a model of kingship based on a form of wisdom that includes taking counsel from books. Sagece models this behaviour by referring to written sources throughout her discussion on the properties of wisdom "selon les aucteurs."¹⁵ She defends her position with references to authors such as St Ambrose, Alain de Lille, Claudius Fulgentius, and Cicero. She argues that the great deeds of kings and emperors have always been motivated by wisdom, and describes Charles V as a "[p]arfait ameur de sapience" who had many books translated into French "[p]our les cuers des François

¹¹ Biu, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 1:68-72.

¹² "but the story (or history) returns to the pope;" "after, the story (or history) says;" "but the story (or history) goes back to speaking [about.]" Honorat Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet: étude de l'oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan," Thèse, ed. Hélène Biu (Paris: Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004), 2:668, 2:670; see also 2:683, 2:687, 2:690, 2:693, 2:695, 2:696, 2:700, 2:709.

¹³ Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:764.

¹⁴ Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, 1:10.

¹⁵ "according to the authors." Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ed. Andrea Tarnowski, *Lettres gothiques* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), 378 (rubric), ll. 5477-6079.

attraire/A nobles meurs par bon exemple.”¹⁶ Christine de Pizan also praised Charles V’s wisdom and learning in her 1404 *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*.¹⁷ Similarly in the *Chemin de long estude*, she credits Alexander for having followed the advice of the *Secretum secretorum*, a pseudo-Aristotelian text that had been translated into a number of different vernacular languages.¹⁸ A fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* compared Philippe de Mézières’ relationship with Charles VI to that between Aristotle and Alexander.¹⁹ Sagece argues that learning is crucial for kings; a “roy non savant” is similar to “un asne couronné,” a sentiment also found in John of Salisbury’s *Policraticus*, while “la gouvernance autentique/Est par clerks et estudians.”²⁰ “Science” is more necessary for a prince in charge of “publique gouvernement” than it is for anybody else.²¹ Despite the fact that the celestial Parlement does not in the end choose a candidate to be the universal prince, it is clear that Sagece’s proposed list of ideal characteristics is the preferred one. While the suggestions of Richese, Chevalerie, and Noblece are met with outrage by the rest of the Parlement’s attendees, and while Sagece refutes each of their positions, nobody speaks against hers. The use of Charles V as an exemplum may have encouraged the book’s dedicatees—Charles V’s brothers and sons—to contrast the current state of affairs with the idealized past of his reign, especially given Charles VI’s own reputation for preferring martial pursuits over all others.²²

¹⁶ “perfect lover of wisdom;” “to attract the hearts of the French/to good habits by providing good examples.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 5007, 5024-25, 5187, 5207-8, 5244, 5297.

¹⁷ Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, 1:15-16, 2:10-21, 2:42.

¹⁸ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 5155-59.

¹⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 22542 (BnF fr. 22542), f. a.r.; Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 2, 2n5, 3.

²⁰ “unlearned king;” “a crowned donkey;” “good government/is by the learned.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 5093, 5096, 5124-25; Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes, et prêtres (Jean de Salisbury, Policratique IV et VIII)*, 65 (Book 4, Chapter 6); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman’s Book of John of Salisbury*, 28 (Book 4, Chapter 6); Jacques Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440): Étude de la littérature politique du temps* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1981), 98.

²¹ “knowledge;” “public government.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 5141-44.

²² M. L. Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1839), 1:124-25, 1:172-73, 1:218-19, 1:380-81; Bernard Guenée, “Le portrait de Charles VI dans la *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*,” in *Un roi et son historien. Vingt études sur le règne de Charles VI et la “Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis”* (Paris: de Bocard, 1999), 185-219 (213).

Similarly, the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues* both include suggestions of what the prince should read. The writers recommended both older books and newer ones, including the *Somme le roy* (1279), an instruction manual for Philippe III of France that remained popular until the end of the fifteenth century; the *Policraticus* and the *Gouvernement des princes*, which was likely a French version of the *De regimine principum*; and authors such as St Augustine, Titus Livy, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Boethius, and Aristotle, in addition to specific parts of the Bible such as the books of Solomon and Wisdom.²³ Philippe de Mézières, whose primary goal was to encourage Charles VI and other Christian princes to embark on a crusade, also suggested reading material that provided models of good Christian rulers and warriors: the stories of the Christian emperors, and of the crusader Godefroy de Bouillon, one of the members of the Nine Worthies tradition.²⁴ Philippe de Mézières' recommendation of books by some of his contemporaries are also significant. Queen Verité recommends the works of Nicole Oresme, which she points out were produced "à la requeste" of Charles V and which "singulierement appartiennent à ta royale mageste pour ton gouvernement et le gouvernement de ton peuple."²⁵ She also suggests that he read the "dictez vertueulx" of Eustache Deschamps, a poet who frequently used his works to comment on the contemporary political situation in a manner similar to that of Philippe de Mézières.²⁶ These recommendations are

²³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279 (BnF fr. 23279) f. 8v; Geneva fr. 165 f. 9r; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 10; Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440)*, 83; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. George W. Coopland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 2:221-23 (Book 3, Chapter 229).

²⁴ Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, "Les Neuf Preuses, l'invention d'un nouveau thème iconographique dans le contexte de la Guerre de Cent Ans," in *Le genre face aux mutations: masculin et féminin, du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Luc Capdevila (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 279-89 (281); Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 121; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:222-23 (Book 3, Chapter 229).

²⁵ "at the request;" "belongs entirely to your royal majesty for your government and the government of your people." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:222.

²⁶ "virtuous poems." Sylvie Lefèvre and Paul Zumthor, "Eustache Deschamps," in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le moyen âge*, ed. Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard, Guy Raynaud de Lage, Cardinal Georges Grante, and Geneviève Hasenohr (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 429-32; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:223 (Book 3, Chapter 229). See for example Deschamps on the problems of the *routiers* in France, on the duties of a prince, on how Charles VI should follow the models of Alexander and St Louis, and on how a king should choose his counsellors. Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps: publiées d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale*, ed. Marquis Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878 and 1880), 1:217-18, 1:266-67, 1:282-83, 2:22-23, 2:151-52.

important because they encourage Philippe de Mézières' audience to read and value books by men such as himself, who were entering into political conversations using literary means.

The authors' portrayal of their works as contributors to a tradition of advice-giving and learning from books explains in part the texts' consciousness of themselves *as books*, as objects to be read and handled. Philippe de Mézières, for example, frequently explains his use of "figure ou similitude" to help his readers and listeners remember what he says more easily.²⁷ The second version of the *Dialogues* is more conscious of the acts of reading and writing, presenting this version of Salmon's text less as a record of Salmon's conversations and correspondence and more as a book with recognizable sections and with a material existence. The second version calls more explicit attention to the act of composing the book than does the first, claiming that it had been written at the "commandement et ordonnance" of the king.²⁸ Unlike the first version, this manuscript also includes an uncompleted statement about its presentation date: "Lequel livre il luy presenta ou moys de [blank] l'an de l'incarnation nostre seigneur mil quatre cens et [blank], et l'an du regne dicellui mesmes seigneur XXX [30]."²⁹ Even though the month and the final digit of the year were never completed, this statement still helps to emphasize the visual representation of the presentation scene on the same folio. The claim of royal patronage also contributes to the book's authority. So does its existence *as a book*, rather than as a record of conversations. While in the first version of the *Dialogues* Part 1 opens with "La premiere demande et question faicte par le roy à Salmon son disciple," the second version immediately describes itself as a book, not a conversation: "Cy aprez s'ensuit la premiere partie de ce present livre, contenant en soy les demandes que le roy nostre seigneur fait à l'acteur dudit livre."³⁰ The shift in

²⁷ "figure or allegory." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:101 (Prologue).

²⁸ "command and order." Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9610 (BnF fr. 9610), f. 1r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 77v. BnF fr. 9610, a very close copy of Geneva fr. 165, can be used as an indication of what appeared on the now-missing folios of Geneva fr. 165. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 76-79.

²⁹ "which book he presented to him [the king] in the month of [blank], year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and [blank], and the thirtieth year of the reign of the said king." BnF fr. 9610 f. 1r-1v

³⁰ "The first of the king's questions to Salmon, his disciple;" "Here follows the first part of this book, containing the questions that the king our lord asked the author of the said book." BnF fr. 23279 f. 5r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 4r.

the way the dialogue between Salmon and the king is described has a similar effect. In the first version, the king's questions are introduced by "Le roy demande" (the king asks) in gold ink, while Salmon's responses are headed "Salmon respont" (Salmon answers) in blue. In Part 2 of the second version, the framework of "Le roy demande/Salmon respont" is replaced with "Le roy/L'acteur" (the king/the author), again in gold and blue. This both removes the verbs of the first version and describes Salmon as an author, rather than by name.³¹ Other vocabulary changes also emphasize that the second version of the *Dialogues* is a book. In the first version, Salmon tells the king that he will explain the virtues necessary for kingship; in the second version, he informs the reader that the necessary virtues are written in the book.³² The second version also divides the first and second parts into "certain chappitres," terminology more suitable to books than to conversations and that is absent from the first version of the text.³³ The division of Part 2 into a total of seven chapters more clearly groups the questions and answers into themes, focusing on the Trinity; Creation; the Nativity; the Last Supper; hell; purgatory and paradise; the Antichrist and the Last Judgement; and the joys of paradise.³⁴ In this version of the *Dialogues*, Salmon more clearly authorizes his advice by virtue of its presentation as part of a *book* than he does in the first version. In discussing the value of books, and in explicitly referring to their own works as material objects to be viewed, read, and read aloud, the authors place their texts within an acceptable, and precedented, tradition of written advice to princes and encourage their readers to consult these other books in addition to their own.

Writers as counsellors

In order to justify their promotion of themselves as counsellors and their books as a means of communicating their advice, the writers also referred to their own personal credentials. Using fictionalized representations of themselves,

³¹ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 33.

³² BnF fr. 23279 f. 13v; Geneva fr. 165 f. 15v.

³³ "individual chapters." BnF fr. 9610, f. 1v.

³⁴ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 33.

combined with descriptions of their own extra-textual experiences, the writers describe themselves as educators to the king; as having relevant experience, whether in royal service or through other means such as study and learning; and as having genuine personal motivations to help solve the crises in Christendom and in the kingdom of France. Their personal engagement in their works—that is, the way they describe themselves and their own experiences—contributes to the books' authority and encourages their audience to take their advice.³⁵

In her *Corps de policie* (ca. 1406-7), Christine de Pizan describes the ideal education of a young prince.³⁶ A prince requires a tutor who will act as a good example for him, who will encourage him to say his prayers and to attend Mass; and who will teach him grammar and Latin and give him good books to read. He should also be trained in feats of arms and appropriate daily habits by an old knight with suitable authority, one who will not be afraid to correct the prince when required and who will help prevent him from acquiring bad habits when he is young.³⁷ Both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues* offer the king such an education; in both cases, the authority of the writers to provide that instruction depends largely on their past service to the king and their ability to speak the truth to him. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and in the *Dialogues*, both the writer and the dedicatee, Charles VI, appear as fictionalized characters within the narrative. If the king read these books or heard them read aloud, he would have been reading or hearing about the actions of his fictionalized self. The relationship between the textual representations of the author and the king are important for the writers' construction of themselves as having the authority to speak, as in both cases the writer's fictionalized representative is presented as an educator to the fictionalized king.

³⁵ Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes*, 26-31, 33-34, 42, 58; Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, "Une génération d'écrivains 'embarqués': Le règne de Charles VI ou la naissance de l'engagement littéraire en France," in *Formes de l'engagement littéraire, XV^e - XXI^e siècle*, ed. Jean Kaempfer (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2006), 15-32 (19).

³⁶ The education of princes was a topic of contemporary debate. Jean Gerson, for example, composed epistolary treatises about the education of princes for the tutors of Louis de Guyenne and the future Charles VII. Yelena Mazour-Matusevich and István P. Bejczy, "Jean Gerson on Virtues and Princely Education," in *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages 1200-1500*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007), 219-36.

³⁷ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie: Edition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), 3-7.

In both versions of the *Dialogues*, Pierre Salmon is appointed to this task by the fictionalized Charles in Part 1, in which the king admits that he has not always followed Salmon's advice and asks that Salmon, for the sake of his loyalty to the king, "vous nous vueilliez dire, à vostre advis, quelz meurs et condicions doit avoir le roy pour estre beneuré à Dieu et au monde, et de quelz gens il doit estre acompaignié et servi."³⁸ The fictionalized Charles thus explicitly asks Salmon to instruct him in the duties and responsibilities of princes. Salmon complies in the question-and-answer format of Part 1, in which he answers the king's questions with information that Salmon's audience would likely have already recognized from the tradition of princely advice literature including the *De regimine principum*, such as the requirement for the king to carefully choose his counsellors.³⁹ His description of the enthroned king wearing his regalia is pulled directly from another book that was popular during this period, and of which there were copies in the royal library: the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, which explains the duties of all members of society including the king by comparing each one to a piece in the game of chess.⁴⁰ The instruction Salmon provides in this section would have been available to Charles from the books in his own library; rather than reading these books, however, the fictionalized Charles VI contributes to Salmon's authority by trusting him to provide the answers.

Part 2, which uses the framework of a catechism, further emphasizes Salmon's authority. Here the king asks Salmon a series of questions about basic aspects of Christian faith. The framing of this religious content as being based on the king's questions again shows the imbalance between the fictionalized Charles' knowledge and that of the fictionalized author. While Charles requires instruction on such basic elements of Christian faith such as the Trinity, Creation, and the divine and human natures of Christ, Salmon is able to answer each of these questions with ease—comparing, for example, the three persons of the Trinity to the three

³⁸ "tell us, according to your advice, what habits and conditions a king must have to be blessed by God and the world, and by what people he should be accompanied and served." BnF fr. 23279 f. 6r, 6v; see also Geneva fr. 165 ff. 5r-5v, 6v.

³⁹ BnF fr. 23279 f. 16r; de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 263-65 (Book 2, Part 3, Chapter 17); Geneva fr. 165 f. 21r.

⁴⁰ Jean Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles: Le jeu des eschaz moralisé, traduction de Jean Ferron (1347)*, ed. Alain Collet, *Classiques français du Moyen Age* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 133; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 10.

inseparable components of the sun (substance, heat, and light).⁴¹ This is the kind of knowledge that the *De regimine principum* stresses that princes ought to learn as children.⁴² Some of the king's questions are particularly child-like, such as his wondering why God would create "mouches poingnantes" and other bothersome creatures.⁴³ Similarly, on the subject of the general Resurrection, Charles wonders whether aborted children will be included (the answer is yes), before coming up with an even more dire scenario: what would become of a child or a man who had been eaten by a lion, so that their flesh became that of the lion? Or even worse, what if a lion were to eat a wolf that had in turn eaten a person? Would these individuals also be saved?⁴⁴ The king's inquisitiveness and comparative lack of knowledge is contrasted with Salmon's ability to provide satisfactory answers to such a large number of questions.

The *Dialogues* further emphasizes Salmon's role as a teacher by encouraging the reader to picture the two men engaged in an actual conversation. At one point in Part 2, for example, Salmon asks the king to answer his own question instead of providing the definitive answer himself. When Charles asks why God allows souls to suffer and be punished in purgatory, Salmon responds: "n'est ce pas raison que les mauvais hommes et femmes soient punis de punicion perpetuelle" for their sins, "qu'en dites vous?"⁴⁵ The king agrees that this eternal punishment does seem reasonable and just. The dialogue between the two men is also visually foregrounded in the manuscript through the use of images, in particular the inclusion of pictures showing Salmon and the king in conversation. There is one such image in both Part 1 and Part 2 of the first version of the *Dialogues*; in the second version, the two images in Part 1 show Salmon and the king conversing with each other (see Table 3 and Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6, below).⁴⁶ These images remind the viewer of the guiding

⁴¹ BnF fr. 23279 f. 20r, 21v, 32r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 27r, 29r.

⁴² de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 195 (Book 2, Part 2, Chapter 5).

⁴³ "stinging flies" BnF fr. 23279 f. 26v.

⁴⁴ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 41r-41v; Geneva fr. 165 f. 65r.

⁴⁵ "doesn't it make sense that wicked men and women should be punished eternally;" "what do you think?" BnF fr. 23279 f. 39v; see also Geneva ff. 60r-60v.

⁴⁶ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 5r, 19r; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 4r, 7r.

premise of Parts 1 and 2 of the text, the conversations between Salmon and Charles VI in which Salmon appears as an authority and as a teacher.⁴⁷

Table 3: Images in the Prologue, Part 1, and Part 2 of the *Dialogues*

BnF fr. 23279	Geneva fr. 165/BnF fr. 9610
Prologue	
Presentation scene (f. 1v)	Presentation scene (BnF fr. 9610 f. 1r)
Part 1	
Salmon in conversation with Charles VI (f. 5r)	Salmon in conversation with Charles VI (f. 4r)
First virtue, David and Solomon (f. 8r)	Salmon in conversation with Charles VI (f. 7r)
Second virtue, Charles VI enthroned (f. 9r)	N/A
Third virtue, Solomon and his successors (f. 13r)	
Part 2	
Salmon in conversation with Charles VI (f. 19r)	Trinity enthroned (BnF fr. 9610)
N/A	Historiated initial: Charles VI and Salmon
	7 historiated initials (Creation of Adam, the Nativity, the Last Supper, Hell, the Antichrist, David in prayer, a French king in prayer). ⁴⁸

⁴⁷ See also Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 31-33.

⁴⁸ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 61-62 and 69-70.

Figure 3: BnF fr. 23279 f. 5r. Photo: BnF/Gallica.bnf.fr



Figure 4: BnF fr. 23279 f. 19r. Photo: BnF/Gallica.bnf.fr



Figure 5: Geneva fr. 165 f. 4r. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève/e-codices.unifr.ch



Figure 6: Geneva fr. 165 f. 7r. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève/e-codices.unifr.ch



The *Songe du vieil pelerin* also portrays the fictionalized king as being in a pedagogical relationship with his interlocutors in the text and especially with Queen Verité, whose authority depends in part on her status as one of the virtues but also on Philippe de Mézières' own experiences. In the prologue of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Philippe de Mézières describes the book as intended to “enseigner” the king in how to avoid vices and to be virtuous, because the author is unable to instruct Charles in person.⁴⁹ The use of the verb “enseigner,” or “to teach,” is important because it frames the author as being an instructor or teacher, and the dedicatee as the student. This is different from the relationship between a king and his counsellors, in which the king makes decisions but demonstrates his wisdom and good governance by consulting others first. A king who needs to be taught is one who is not yet fully ready to rule, although his youth might make him receptive to such instruction. A writer able to teach him must possess both the ability and the authority to do so.

In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the fictionalized king's primary instructor is Queen Verité. During her world journey in Book 1 and the lengthy stop in Paris in Book 2, her role is clearly judicial, as she holds a series of formal courts in order to judge the moral coinage of each realm she and her companions visit. In Book 3, which “traicte principalement pour l'instruction et doctrine en bonne meurs” of the king, her role becomes pedagogical.⁵⁰ As in the *Dialogues*, here the fictionalized Charles asks Queen Verité to “enseigne” or “teach” him what she knows.⁵¹ The scene takes place in the same crowded Parisian Parlement, filled with representatives of all levels of French society, in which the queen has just assessed the moral coinage of France in Book 2. She recognizes that it would be inappropriate and counter-productive for her to teach the king in plain view of all these people, saying that kings do not respond well to being reminded of their faults in the presence of their subjects. But if they are instructed in secret, they will be more receptive to advice.⁵² The willingness of rulers

⁴⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:86-87 (Prologue).

⁵⁰ “treats principally the instruction and counsel in good habits.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:115 (Book 3, Chapter 178).

⁵¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:139 (Book 3, Chapter 139).

⁵² “Dont il est assavoir que de commun cours les grans princes de ce monde ne prenent pas bien en gre quant on les repret publiquement de leurs deffaultes en presence de leurs subgiez. Mais quant on leur moustre gracieusement leurs deffaultes en secret, s'ilz sont preudommes, filz de Verité et

and future rulers to accept instruction was a concern shared by other writers, including Jean Gerson who wrote about the topic in his epistolary treatises to the tutors of Charles VI's sons.⁵³ Similarly Christine de Pizan's *Corps de policie* notes that in order to encourage his royal charges to respect his discipline, a royal tutor must not be too familiar with them.⁵⁴ So that Queen Verité can advise Charles in private, she arranges for a barrier of allegorical figures between herself and the king and the rest of the court. She invites Charles' brother Louis, who also appears as a fictionalized character in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, to join in the royal instruction.⁵⁵ She and her companions, ladies Paix, Misericorde, and Justice, sit at the four corners of a square, facing each other. Their attendants form another circle around them, and the king and his brother are brought into the centre, surrounded by the four virtues.⁵⁶ Queen Verité thus transforms the judicial space of the French Parlement into a space for private advice, counsel, and instruction.

The structure of Book 3 also contributes to the teacher-student relationship established in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, and to the authority that relationship provides its author. Like Part 1 of the *Dialogues*, which is clearly subdivided into sections on the virtues a good king must possess, Book 3 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* follows a defined structure, helping both reader and fictionalized auditor to remember Queen Verité's lessons. These lessons to Charles VI are divided into three main sections, which are in turn subdivided into different points. She first addresses the king as a young Moses, giving him ten commandments he must inscribe on his two tablets of memory and understanding. She then addresses the importance of the four virtues of truth, peace, mercy, and justice by likening them to the four wheels of a chariot. These virtues are also represented by the four corner squares of a chessboard, the rest of which is divided into quarters representing the king's governance of himself and his household, the king's relationship with the Church, the king's governance of his royal officers,

predestinez, ilz le prendront en bon gre." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:120 (Book 3, Chapter 181).

⁵³ Mazour-Matusevich and Bejczy, "Jean Gerson on Virtues and Princely Education," 220.

⁵⁴ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie*, 4.

⁵⁵ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:222 (Book 3, Chapter 220).

⁵⁶ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:120 (Book 3, Chapter 181).

and finally his responsibility towards “la chose publique et bien commun” of all of Christendom and of France in particular.⁵⁷ Each quarter of the chessboard is further subdivided into fifteen points. The first four points of the first quarter, for example, dictate that the king must always act in accordance with the truth; he must be an example to others; he must show restraint “en boire, en mangier, en parler et en l’office du sacrement de mariage;” and finally, that he should sleep at regular hours so as to avoid being half-asleep in council or at Mass.⁵⁸ This subdivision of lessons would help an attentive reader navigate through them.

The use of the chessboard structure as a memory aid to improve understanding and retention of Queen Verité’s lessons is particularly evident when considered in relation to its source material, the same *Jeu des eschaz moralisé* from which Salmon borrowed his description of the enthroned ruler. The book describes the game of chess as having been invented by a wise philosopher as part of an attempt to reform a tyrannical king, an explanation also given by Queen Verité in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*.⁵⁹ In the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, the game of chess is used as a metaphor similar to that of the body politic, with each piece of the game representing its counterpart in contemporary society. If each one performs its prescribed function properly, all the others will also benefit.⁶⁰ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Philippe de Mézières adapts the structure of this metaphor to focus only on the chessboard, rather than on the chess pieces, creating a system that could be visualized and remembered.⁶¹ Queen Verité gives the fictionalized Charles a “trop riche petit eschequier quarre, garny de pierres precieuses,” to remind him of the lessons of the

⁵⁷ “the public and common good.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:204 (Book 3, Chapter 224).

⁵⁸ “in drinking, in eating, in speaking and in the office of the sacrament of marriage.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:204-8 (Book 3, Chapter 224). For a visual representation of this chessboard, see Joël Blanchard, *Philippe de Mézières: Songe du Vieux Pèlerin, Traduit de l’ancien français* (Paris: Pocket, 2008), 577.

⁵⁹ Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles*, 129-31; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:200-1 (Book 3, Chapter 222).

⁶⁰ Jenny Adams, *Power Play: The Literature and Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 47-8; Alain Collet, “Introduction,” in *Jacques de Cessoles: Le jeu des eschaz moralisé, traduction de Jean Ferron (1347)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 7-124 (96-7); H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 537-46.

⁶¹ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Culture, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1-10.

chessboard.⁶² This small chessboard is one of the many memory aids gifted to Charles by the virtues, who also give him a “divine reigle” that will help him govern; a “divine balance” to help him assess his own moral coinage; a key pressed to his heart to remind him to be merciful; and a sword to remind him of his duties to “droicte chevalerie royalle.” Justice inducts him into the “saint ordre de vraye chevalerie royalle” to remind him to be just.⁶³ The queen also asks Charles to use “les troys fleurs de lys qu’il porte en ses armes” as a reminder of the virtues he should strive to possess.⁶⁴ Finally, Queen Verité urges the young Louis to act as a living memory aid to his brother, reminding him of the lessons they have both received: it is up to him to “ramentevoir a grant amour et reverence l’eschequier et le chariot et nostre sainte doctrine” to Charles.⁶⁵ The gifts that Philippe de Mézières’ allegorical figures offer Charles VI function in a similar way to the gifts offered by representatives of cities in royal entries, which were sometimes used as educational memory aids from someone with knowledge and authority.⁶⁶

In both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues*, the authority of the fictionalized Charles VI’s educators depends in part on the credentials of the writers themselves, both of whom had significant experience in royal and diplomatic service and who reminded their audiences of this experience in their books. The most commonly cited example of this for Philippe de Mézières is his supposed employment by Charles V as a tutor to his sons, the future Charles VI and his

⁶² “splendid small square chessboard, decorated with precious stones.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:176 (Book 3, Chapter 214).

⁶³ “divine ruler;” “divine scale;” “true royal chivalry;” “holy order of true and royal chivalry.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:459 (Book 3, Chapter 294), 2:462 (Book 3, Chapter 295), 2:463 (Book 3, Chapter 297), 2:464-65 (Book 3, Chapter 298), 2:477 (Book 3, Chapter 305).

⁶⁴ “the three fleurs-de-lis that he has on his arms.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:469-71 (Book 3, Chapter 301).

⁶⁵ “remember, with great love and reverence, the chessboard and the chariot of our sacred lessons.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:468-69 (Book 3, Chapter 300).

⁶⁶ Kristin Bourassa, “‘Fforto Tellen Alle the Circumstaunces’: The Royal Entries of Henry VI (1431-32) and their Manuscripts,” MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 2010, 34-39; Kipling, *Enter the King*, 135-37; Scott-Morgan Straker, “Propaganda, Intentionality, and the Lancastrian Lydgate,” in *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture, and Lancastrian England*, ed. Larry Scanlon and James Simpson (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 98-128 (120).

brother Louis.⁶⁷ While it is plausible that the writer held such a post, it seems worth noting that there is very little contemporary evidence to indicate that he did. The assertion is based entirely on an allegorical statement in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* itself. According to Nicolas Jorga's biography of the author, by 1377, "Philippe avait été déjà nommé par le roi [Charles V] précepteur de son fils aîné, le futur Charles VI. Bien que le fait ait été souvent contesté, cette fonction fut réellement remplie par Mézières: le *Songe* en fournit la preuve. Il a 'nourri et apprivoisé,' dit-il, le jeune prince, dont il a été le 'premier fauconner.'"⁶⁸ Here Jorga quotes from the prologue of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, in which the writer describes the king as a falcon "qu'il a norry et apprivoise et duquel il a este premier fauconner."⁶⁹ Whether this is a reference to a position actually held by the writer or a claim to authority solely within the boundaries of the text is unclear, especially considering the criticism of the king's upbringing in Book 3 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. Here Queen Verité instructs Charles to raise his own children "non pas comme tu as este nourriz mais comme furent nourriz les enfans de ton dit grant pere saint Loys."⁷⁰ The ambiguity and ambivalence of the way the writer uses the verb "norrir" in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* makes it impossible to determine whether or not he intended it to indicate that he had been responsible for the young Charles VI's education.

Regardless of whether Philippe de Mézières had tutored Charles, he certainly describes himself as having been familiar with the king in his youth. He also had important credentials that included past service as a royal counsellor. Although the

⁶⁷ See for example Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes*, 26; Michael Hanly, "Marriage, War and Good Government in Late-Fourteenth-Century Europe: the *De regimine principum* tradition in Langland, Mézières, and Bovet," in *Chaucer and the Challenges of Medievalism: Studies in Honor of H. A. Kelly*, ed. Donka Minkova and Theresa Tinkle (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 327-49 (332); James Magee, "Crusading at the Court of Charles VI, 1388-1396," *French History* 12 (1998), 367-83 (369); Gisela Naegle, "Resveillier ceulx qui dorment en pechié: Philippe de Mézières et la tradition des miroirs du prince," *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010), 625-43 (632).

⁶⁸ "Philippe had already been named by the king [Charles V] tutor of his older son, the future Charles VI. Although this fact has often been contested, Mézières did hold this position: the proof is in the *Songe*. He had 'raised and tamed,' he says, the young king, of whom he had been the 'first falconer.'" Nicolas Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405: La croisade au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1896), 429.

⁶⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:85-86 (Prologue).

⁷⁰ "not as you were raised, but as the children of your grandfather St Louis were brought up." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:350 (Book 3, Chapter 263).

author does not refer to himself by name in the prologue, he was probably sufficiently well-known to be recognizable to contemporaries based on the information he does provide in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. That the writer was well-known to the political elite of Charles VI's reign is suggested by the reference Jean Petit made to him in his speech justifying the 1407 murder of Louis d'Orléans on the orders of the duke of Burgundy. The speech accuses Philippe de Mézières, who had died two years earlier, of having conspired with the duke of Orléans—an accusation that seems to assume the speech's audience already knew who the writer was.⁷¹ We might therefore expect the *Songe du vieil pelerin*'s readers and listeners to have been familiar with the writer's identity and history. He was born in Mézières around 1327 and grew up in Amiens. He left France in the 1340s, travelling to a number of places including Lombardy, Naples, Avignon, Smyrna, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Venice before his permanent return to France in the 1370s.⁷² He worked both as a soldier and an advisor: he was knighted after the battle of Smyrna, fought and was possibly a captain in the Anglo-French wars, and served a variety of individuals including Lucchino Visconti, lord of Milan; Andrew of Hungary, duke of Calabria and first husband of Joanna I of Naples; and the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, Hugh IV (1324-58), Peter I (1358-69), and Peter II (1369-82).⁷³ As chancellor of Cyprus under Peter I, he was very active in that king's efforts to promote a new crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land.⁷⁴

After his return to France, Philippe de Mézières joined Charles V's council; his service was clearly valued by this king, who paid him a pension, granted him a total of three houses, and named him as one of the potential members of the

⁷¹ Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *La chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. Louis Claude Douët-d'Arcq (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1966), 1:229-30.

⁷² It is also possible that he travelled elsewhere in the Middle East, to Prussia, to Spain, and to Scandinavian Europe. George W. Coopland, "General Introduction," in *Le Songe du vieil pelerin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 1:11-12, 1:127; Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405*, 9n1, 10-11, 19-22.

⁷³ Olivier Caudron, "Un épisode de la Guerre de Cent ans: Philippe de Mézières capitaine de Blérancourt dans les années 1350," *Mémoires; Fédération des sociétés d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Aisne* 29 (1984), 69-73 (70); Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405*, 45-47, 63-70, 76n2, 76-77, 82-83, 88-89, 88n3, 95-96, 235-36; Carola M. Small, "Joanna I of Naples," in *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz, John W. Barker, Gail Geiger, and Richard Lansing (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 585-86 (585).

⁷⁴ Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405*, 63-65, 206, 211-19, 227, 235-36.

guardianship council for the royal children in the 1374 ordinance.⁷⁵ While based in Paris, Philippe de Mézières also served as *maître d'hôtel* to duke Louis I d'Anjou. He officially withdrew from public life after Charles V's death, moving to the Parisian convent of the Celestines, but was able to easily remain informed about French political life in part due to the convent's very central location between the hôtel St-Pol and the hôtel d'Orléans.⁷⁶ He remained politically aware and kept in touch with other influential individuals such as Christine de Pizan and Louis d'Orléans, who named the writer as one of the executors of his 1403 will.⁷⁷ The king himself paid his respects to the late Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy, at the Celestines in 1404.⁷⁸ The prologue of the *Songe du vieil pèlerin* reminds the reader of Philippe de Mézières' experience, noting that he had served a total of six kings prior to Charles VI. Exactly who these six kings were remains something of a mystery—obvious candidates include the three kings of Cyprus as well as Charles V of France—but this does not diminish the author's use of his history of royal service as one of his credentials for providing Charles VI with advice.⁷⁹

Philippe de Mézières' authority as an instructor to Charles VI comes from both outside the text and within it. His credentials as a former servant to a number of kings including Charles V make him qualified to speak about French government;

⁷⁵ Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405*, 421-23, 440-41; Denis-François Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1741), 6:49-54.

⁷⁶ Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405*, 448, 449, 449n1, 452-53, 510.

⁷⁷ Much of our knowledge of the relationship between Philippe de Mézières and Louis d'Orléans comes from the Burgundian propaganda that accused them both (posthumously) of having conspired together to kill Charles VI. Coopland, "Introduction," *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet*, 26; de Monstrelet, *La chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, 1:229-31; Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405*, 426-27, 505-6, 506n5.

⁷⁸ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:150-51.

⁷⁹ The six kings could potentially include any combination of Charles V; the three kings of Cyprus; Andrew of Hungary, who was married to the Queen of Naples though never crowned king; Philippe VI of France (r. 1328-50); Jean II of France (r. 1319-64); or Alfonso XI of Castile. Louis I d'Anjou is also a candidate, in his capacity as king of Naples. Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pèlerin*, 1:86-87 (Prologue). See also Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405*, 46-57, 66, 66n2, 68-69. Recent scholars have tended to privilege the Castilian possibility, listing the six kings as Andrew of Hungary (or Naples), the three kings of Cyprus, Charles V of France, and Alfonso XI of Castile. Joël Blanchard replaces this with Alfonso IX of Castile, but this is likely an error. Joël Blanchard, "Introduction," in *Philippe de Mézières: Songe du Vieux Pèlerin, Traduit de l'ancien français* (Paris: Pocket, 2008), 9-88 (9); Joan B. Williamson, "The French-Italian World of Philippe de Mézières in 1370," *Romance Languages Annual* 3 (1992), 140-75 (140).

the allegorical framework of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, in which authority belongs to Queen Verité as well as to the author's own allegorical counterparts of the Pauvre Pelerin (Poor Pilgrim), the Vieil Pelerin (Old Pilgrim), and Ardant Desir (Ardent Desire), give him divine as well as earthly authority. The conflation of Queen Verité's experiences and voice with those of the author further emphasize the value of his credentials for advising kings. In the prologue of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Providence Divine appears to the author in a dream and informs him that he has been chosen to be the "messenger au monde" who must convince the virtues of Verité, Paix, Misericorde, and Justice (Truth, Peace, Mercy, and Justice) to return to the world.⁸⁰ This gives the writer's allegorical representative divine as well as earthly authority. Queen Verité confirms Ardant Desir's role when she accepts his offer to act as her earthly guide. Ardant Desir assures her that he will always walk before her, as he knows "tous les chemins et pais et royaumes" as well as "tous les princes et les barons et les peuples de ce faulx monde." Queen Verité agrees that he must act as her "bonne guide."⁸¹

According to the explanations given in the prologue, each one of the author's allegorical representations has a particular responsibility (see Table 4, below). As the Pauvre Pelerin, he is the author of the *Pelerinage du pauvre pelerin*, the earlier book (now lost) dedicated to the royal counsellor Bureau de la Rivière and his wife. As the Vieil Pelerin, he is offered the dream-vision of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. And as Ardant Desir, he serves as a messenger to the world and as a guide to Queen Verité and her companions.

Table 4: Allegorical identities of Philippe de Mézières in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*

Pauvre Pelerin	Vieil Pelerin	Ardant Desir
Author of the <i>Pelerinage du Pauvre Pelerin</i> , dedicated to Bureau de la Rivière	Dreamer of the <i>Songe du vieil pelerin</i>	Messenger to the world; guide of Queen Verité

In practice, however, these assorted identities are conflated not only with each other, but also with that of the allegorical figure of Queen Verité, who in many ways

⁸⁰ "messenger to the world." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:91, 1:94 (Prologue).

⁸¹ "all the roads and countries and kingdoms;" "all the princes and barons and people of this false world;" "good guide." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:220 (Book 1, Chapter 9).

essentially speaks with the author's voice.⁸² Her travels in Book 1 are informed by his experiences. In Spain, for example, she is displeased with “la grant tyrannie du roy Pietre [Pierre],” of which she is aware because one of Pierre's servants told the Vieil Pelerin about it.⁸³ Likewise in Book 3, Queen Verité often describes the author's experiences as her own, such as in her criticism of court fashion. Here she describes the period of the author's youth as a kind of golden age in which the sum of money spent on clothing was less outrageous.⁸⁴ Suggesting that Charles VI be more moderate in his enjoyment of pursuits such as jousting, tennis, and hunting, she provides an example of his father, Charles V, who used to abandon the delights of the hunt when it was time for Mass, saying “au Vieil Pelerin: ‘Laissons cestuit deduit et alons a la messe.’”⁸⁵ Similarly she mentions Charles V “parlant priveement avec le Vieil Pelerin” while riding to Melun, thereby describing the author as a trusted counsellor who not only held private conversations with Charles V but travelled with him as well.⁸⁶ It is significant that Queen Verité here refers to him as the Vieil Pelerin—the name by which he is known as the dreamer of the allegory—rather than by his new allegorical designation of Ardant Desir. By referring to the pilgrim, and not to his allegorical counterpart, the queen calls attention to Philippe de Mézières' authority outside the realm of the dream, an authority he holds by virtue of his experience serving kings. Queen Verité's knowledge of Charles V's behaviour is in fact Philippe de Mézières' knowledge, and her instruction to the fictionalized Charles VI is his as well. Christine de Pizan used Charles V as an example to similar effect in her *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, which depicts the late king

⁸² Joël Blanchard, “Discours de la réformation et utopie à la fin du Moyen Age: le ‘*Songe du vieil pelerin*’ de Philippe de Mézières (1389),” *Studi Francesi* 32 (1988), 397-403 (398); Kevin Brownlee, “The Figure of Peter I and the Status of Cyprus in *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*: Crusade Ideology, Salvation History, and Authorial Self-Representation,” in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 165-88 (166-67); Armand Strubel, “Le *Songe du vieil pelerin* et les transformations de l'allégorie au XIV^e siècle,” *Perspectives médiévales* 6 (1980), 54-74.

⁸³ “the great tyranny of King Pierre.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:385, 1:387 (Book 1, Chapter 71).

⁸⁴ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:211 (Book 3, Chapter 225).

⁸⁵ “to the Old Pilgrim: ‘Let's leave this hunt and go to Mass.’” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:214 (Book 3, Chapter 226).

⁸⁶ “speaking privately with the Old Pilgrim.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:296 (Book 3, Chapter 247).

as an exemplary ruler while simultaneously demonstrating the author's own familiarity with him during his lifetime.⁸⁷

Pierre Salmon also had a history of royal service, in particular as a secretary to Charles VI, that would have made him a familiar figure at the French court as it included correspondence with a number of members of the royal family and of French government. The letters and narrative section of Part 3 in the first version of the *Dialogues* remind Salmon's audience of his service to the king, demonstrating Charles' confidence in his secretary's abilities as well as what Anne D. Hedeman describes as Salmon's "persistent, single-minded loyalty to King Charles VI."⁸⁸ In Part 3, Salmon describes his time in England as part of the retinue accompanying Isabelle, Charles VI's daughter, to England after her 1396 marriage to Richard II; his involvement, especially as a messenger, in negotiations to end the papal schism in the summer of 1407; and his often-interrupted attempts to locate a man capable of curing the king's illness. Part 3 also includes copies of correspondence between Salmon, the king, members of the royal blood, and members of both royal and Parisian government, reminding the book's audience—which likely included the letters' original recipients—of his efforts on the king's behalf.

Part 3 of the *Dialogues* constructs Salmon as an authority by virtue of his loyalty and service to the king in three main ways: his protection of Valois interests while based in England; his search for a cure for the king; and his attempts to help end the papal schism. As Salmon describes it, while in England he continually worked towards the benefit of the king of France, often suffering personally for it. He details several conversations with an increasingly angry Richard II, in which the English king demands information on Charles VI's health and, voicing claims made in the post-1407 Burgundian propaganda justifying the murder of Louis d'Orléans, accuses Louis of causing his brother's illness.⁸⁹ Salmon tells us that he risked the English king's wrath by refusing to provide details about Charles VI and by refusing

⁸⁷ Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, 1:42-47.

⁸⁸ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 19.

⁸⁹ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 20; Emily J. Hutchison, "'Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume': Burgundian propaganda under John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, 1405-1419," PhD, University of York, 2006, 119.

to speak against the king's brother, who was also Salmon's own "seigneur naturel."⁹⁰ While in England, Salmon was falsely accused by a disgruntled Burgundian cleric of plotting against the king of France and of having stolen from Queen Isabelle; Salmon's flight to Paris in an effort to clear his name saw him thrown in prison, a fate he endured a second time after being accused of supporting the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII, who had just been condemned by the University of Paris.⁹¹ According to a letter copied into the *Dialogues* and dated May 16, 1409, Salmon later reminded Charles VI of his efforts on his behalf while in England ten years prior, and that on his return to Paris "je fus mis en prison, en laquelle je fus en grant dangier et euz assez à souffrir."⁹² Since the king called him to his service, Salmon adds, "j'ay eu moult à souffrir pour vous estre loyal. Mais j'ay tout pris en pacience" for two reasons: his faith in God, and the fact that "j'ay mis mon temps et mon estude à vous servir cordialement, vous estre loyal et dire verité."⁹³ This letter reminds both Charles VI and any other readers of the *Dialogues* of events described earlier in the text, which demonstrate Salmon's loyalty and willingness to suffer personal hardships on behalf of the king.

Much of Part 3 is also dedicated to Salmon's search for a cure for the king, a tale whose primary purpose must be to demonstrate the author's experience and his devotion and loyalty to Charles. Salmon demonstrates his great desire for a cure for the king throughout Part 3 of this version. He made multiple failed attempts to travel to Rome in order to speak with a monk there who knew of a way to cure the royal illness; Salmon's trips were interrupted by his employment as a messenger from Paris to the negotiators trying to reach an agreement to end the papal schism and by

⁹⁰ "natural lord." Salmon explains that: "[J]e lui respondy que monseigneur le duc d'Orléans estoit frere du roy de France, mon souverain seigneur, et d'autre partie qu'il estoit mon seigneur naturel, et que je estoie son homme, et s'il estoit qu'il fust si desloyal comme il disoit, pource n'estoie je pas cellui qui le devoie corriger." BnF fr. 23279 ff. 55r-56v, 61r.

⁹¹ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 4:10-13, 4:58-63; BnF fr. 23279 ff. 61v-64r, 66v, 67v-70r, 79v-80r.

⁹² "I was put into prison, where I was in great danger and suffered a great deal." BnF fr. 23279 ff. 108r-108v.

⁹³ "I have suffered very much for my loyalty to you. But I have taken everything with patience;" "I have devoted my time and study to cordially serving you, to being loyal to you and speaking the truth to you." BnF fr. 23279 ff. 109r-109v.

attacks on Rome by Ladislaus, one of the rival claimants to the throne of Naples.⁹⁴ He finally found the man in question in Pisa, a journey he describes in both versions of the *Dialogues*.⁹⁵ At the time he finished the first version of the book, Salmon believed that he had located a doctor who would be able to cure the king and had secured the support of the duke of Burgundy and of the Pisan pope Alexander V in bringing the man to Paris to treat Charles. Very little further action would have seemed necessary to him until the doctor had been able to assess his patient.⁹⁶ Salmon frames his narrative of these travels as being about his quest for a cure for the king's illness, demonstrating his loyalty to him. But his involvement in key negotiations to end the papal schism, even if primarily as a messenger, also contributes to his authority by demonstrating the extent to which the negotiators were willing to trust him with important correspondence. Salmon's efforts are also visually represented in the pictures of Part 3 of the first version, which contains twenty-one images. Eight images show Salmon in conversation with or presenting letters to: Richard II, Jean sans Peur, Isabelle de Valois' confessor, Charles VI, Popes Alexander V and Benedict XIII, Jean de Berry, and Louis II d'Anjou.⁹⁷ Three images show Salmon helping Charles VI by speaking with individuals who can help find a cure for him, even saving the king from drowning. Salmon's arrest while in the king's service is also depicted.⁹⁸

The correspondence Salmon copies into the *Dialogues* is also an important part of the way the text presents him as having the authority to speak to and advise the king. The first version of the *Dialogues* contains a total of thirty letters and one speech, dating from sometime before the murder of Louis d'Orléans on November 23, 1407 to before the completion of the *Dialogues* in late 1409 (see Appendix 2, below). They include several letters written by Salmon for which he records no reply;

⁹⁴ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 72v-77r; Boris Bove, *Le temps de la guerre de Cent Ans: 1328-1453*, Histoire de France (Paris: Belin, 2009), 608; Véronique Pasche, "Great Schism of the West," in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, *Oxford Reference Online*, ed. André Vauchez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Georges Peyronnet, "Angevins of Naples," in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages, e-reference edition*, ed. André Vauchez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Small, "Joanna I of Naples," 585-86.

⁹⁵ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 114v-119r; BnF fr. 9610 f. 80v.

⁹⁶ BnF fr. 23279 f. 121r.

⁹⁷ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 55r, 57v, 58v, 59v, 60v, 61v, 69r, 70r, 74r, 75v, 102r, 115v, 119r.

⁹⁸ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 64v, 81r, 117v.

these are addressed to the royal chancellor and constable (1408); the provost of Paris and the provost of the merchants of Paris (1408); the first president of the Parlement (1408); the Council of Pisa (April 1409); the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII (April 1409); and the dukes of Orléans (before November 23, 1407), Bourbon (November 1408), and Anjou (Easter 1409). Salmon also transcribes exchanges of letters between himself and Charles VI, as well as between himself and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. The letters demonstrate both Salmon's expertise in this form of communication and his relationship with some of the most important men in the kingdom. It is very likely that versions of most or all of these letters were in fact sent by Salmon. They are presented in the order in which Salmon sent or received them, even if a case of delayed delivery puts the letters out of sequence according to their date of composition. In some cases Salmon also indicates which messenger was to carry the letter to its recipient. Most compellingly, one of the letters copied in the *Dialogues* has been discovered in the archives of Dijon, suggesting that the others were also sent.⁹⁹ The letters show Salmon acting in his capacity as the king's secretary, a job that would have involved producing correspondence on behalf of the king and training in the conventions of letter-writing.¹⁰⁰ Letters were an important method of communication, not only between individuals but also to groups; one of the key elements of Jean sans Peur's propaganda campaign against Louis d'Orléans, for example, was the sending of letters to the *bonnes villes*. These letters were read aloud to large gatherings of townspeople before being posted to church doors, providing a visual reminder of both the occasion on which they had been read out, and of their contents.¹⁰¹ In including copies of his letters in the *Dialogues*, Salmon was similarly publicizing his correspondence. The combination of recorded conversations and of copied correspondence in the *Dialogues*, and the format of the book itself, demonstrate Salmon's ability to master a number of different methods of communicating with and counselling princes. Publicizing his correspondence in this

⁹⁹ Anne D. Hedeman, "Making Memories for a Mad King: Illustrating the Dialogues of Pierre Salmon," *Gesta* 48 (2009), 169-85 (181).

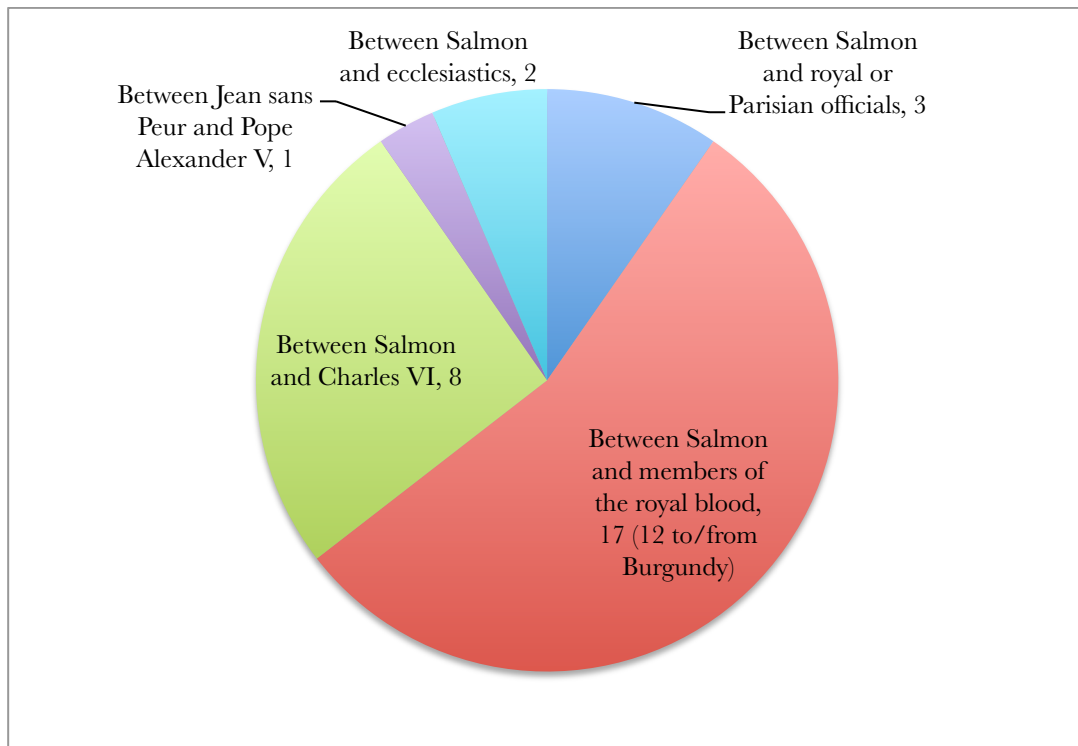
¹⁰⁰ Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, Typologie des sources du moyen-âge occidental (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1976), 11; Hutchison, "'Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume,'" 124-29.

¹⁰¹ Hutchison, "'Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume,'" 121.

way may have also reminded Salmon's audience of his contacts with important members of both Parisian and royal government.

Salmon's most prolific correspondent in this version of the *Dialogues* is Jean sans Peur, duke of Burgundy, who was in a very powerful position at the time the book was completed (see Figure 7, below).

Figure 7: Distribution of letters in Version 1 of the *Dialogues*



That twelve of the manuscript's thirty-one letters are to or from Jean sans Peur is particularly telling given the duke's ascendancy during this period. The duke had recently managed to justify his murder of his cousin, by means of the speech delivered by Jean Petit; he had been welcomed with a royal greeting into Paris on his return there after the murder and the justification; he had been pardoned by the king and arranged for Charles' return to Paris after the flight of the royal family to Tours (November 1408) for fear that Jean sans Peur was becoming overly powerful in the capital; he had agreed to the peace of Chartres (March 9, 1409) which forced the duke of Orléans' heirs to accept his pardon by the king; he had arranged for the arrest and execution of one of his powerful rivals, Jean de Montaigu; and he had acquired guardianship of the young dauphin, Louis de Guyenne (December 27,

1409).¹⁰² While Salmon may or may not have been deliberately contributing to Burgundy's public image campaign, including so much correspondence with him certainly helped Salmon to present *himself* as an intimate of an increasingly influential (if controversial) figure. Whether or not one agreed with the duke of Burgundy's actions or policies, association with him in 1409 was an association with a powerful individual. The amount of correspondence between Salmon and Burgundy, and the eight letters between Salmon and the king, also place Salmon at the centre of important political debates, further contributing to the author's own authority by virtue of experience.

Part 3 is the most heavily-edited part of the *Dialogues* in its second version, and this affects the way this section of the text contributes to the author's authority. The second version of the *Dialogues* contains only eight letters, including Salmon's speech to the duke of Burgundy. Of these, five letters are from Salmon to Charles VI, and two are from Charles VI to Salmon. While some are edited versions of letters from the first version of the *Dialogues*, others are new (see Table 5 and Appendix 2, below).

Table 5: Contents of Part 3 of the *Dialogues*

BnF fr. 23279	Geneva fr. 165
	Introduction
	Letter. Salmon to Charles VI
Letter. Charles VI to Salmon	Letter. Charles VI to Salmon
Lamentations (Salmon in England, 1396)	
Letter. Salmon to Louis d'Orléans (before November 23, 1407)	
Lamentations (Salmon tries to go to Rome)	
Letters. 2 between Salmon and Jean de Berry (1408)	
Lamentations (Salmon imprisoned)	
Letter. Charles VI to Salmon (safe-conduct) (October 4, 1408)	
Lamentations (Salmon goes to Avignon)	

¹⁰² Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 86-90; Richard C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York: AMS, 1986), 16, 63; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, xi; Hutchison, "Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume," 117.

BnF fr. 23279	Geneva fr. 165
Letter. Salmon to Charles VI (November 1, 1408)	Letter. Salmon to Charles VI (November 1, 1408)
Letters. Salmon to dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon; to constable and chancellor of France; to Parisian and royal officials; to chancellor of France (1408)	
Letters. 2 between Salmon and Jean sans Peur (December 5 and December 23, 1408)	
Letter. Salmon to Charles VI (February 24, 1408)	Letter. Salmon to Charles VI (February 24, 1408)
Letter. Charles VI to Salmon (January 4, 1409)	Letter. Charles VI to Salmon (January 4, 1409)
Letters. 4 between Salmon and Jean sans Peur (February 16, 1409; February 24, 1409; January 28, 1409; March 6, 1409)	
Letters. Salmon to Charles VI (April 7, 1409); to Louis II d'Anjou (Easter 1409); to Council of Pisa (April 1409); to Benedict XIII (Pierre de Lune) (April 1409); to Charles VI (May 16, 1409)	
Letters. 5 between Salmon and Jean sans Peur (May 16, 1409; April 23, 1409; May 16, 1409; June 23, 1409; July 15, 1409)	
Lamentations (Salmon goes to Pisa)	Rubric summarizing Salmon's trip to Pisa
Speech. Salmon to Jean sans Peur (after September 29, 1409)	Speech. Salmon to Jean sans Peur
Letter. Jean sans Peur to Pope Alexander V	
	Letter. Salmon to Charles VI (1410?)
	Letter. Salmon to Charles VI (1411?)

The editing out of Salmon's correspondence with anyone except the king, and the omission of most of his contact with the duke of Burgundy, shift the reader's focus to Salmon's relationship with Charles and to the king's responsibilities in particular. The exclusion of the lamentations also changes the focus of Part 3 because it provides less evidence of Salmon's past service to the king. For example, in the first version of the *Dialogues*, Salmon's November 1, 1408 letter reminding Charles of the work he has done on his behalf is contextualized by the preceding narrative of

Salmon's arrest and imprisonment in Paris. In the second version, the only context is provided by a rubric to the letter, explaining that "Ceste lettre et epistre, escripte en Avignon le premier jour de novembre 1408, escript et envoia au roy nostre seigneur le dit acteur; contenant et faisant mencion comme icellui acteur pour le bien du dit seigneur, de son royaume et la sancté de sa personne, a traveuillié et labouré tant hors dudit royaume."¹⁰³ While Salmon continues to describe himself as the king's loyal servant and to remind him of the services he has undertaken for his benefit in these letters, these assertions are not contextualized through the use of examples from elsewhere in the text.¹⁰⁴ The final two letters in this version, neither one of which appears in the first version, particularly highlight the suffering that Salmon has endured while serving the king; seeing no hope for change in the future, he begs for permission to leave Charles' service. The focus here is on Salmon's relationship with the king and his willingness to suffer for him, rather than on the details of that suffering. While the second version of the *Dialogues* includes fewer details about Salmon's credentials, it still presents him as an authority by virtue of his relationship with and service to Charles.

The relationship, both in and outside of the text, between the writer and the dedicatee is a crucial element of the way the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues* construct their authority. In addition to describing his service to Charles, Salmon also frames the *Dialogues* as a record of the relationship between himself and the king, produced at the request of the king himself. Part 1 opens with Charles VI's admissions of his own failures, and his request for Salmon's assistance. Salmon tempers this with declarations of humility, perhaps in recognition of the fact that, as a royal secretary, his relationship to the historical Charles VI did not extend to a pedagogical role similar to the one Philippe de Mézières may have held. Salmon describes himself as "le mendre" of the king's servants, reminding him that he has in the past given him "quelque jouel et don" or performed "autre service" for the sake

¹⁰³ "This letter, written in Avignon on the first day of November 1408, the said author wrote and sent to the king our lord; it contains and explains how this author, for the good of the said lord, of his kingdom, and the health of his person, worked and laboured so much outside of the said kingdom." Geneva fr. 165 f. 80v.

¹⁰⁴ See for example Geneva fr. 165 f. 81r.

of the king's health and the well-being of his person.¹⁰⁵ Although he professes his humility, Salmon also uses his relationship with Charles to present himself as having the authority to speak and write to him, and to advise him.

Philippe de Mézières also draws attention to the relationship between himself and the king prior to the book's composition, suggesting that the *Songe du vieil pelerin* was just one example of the communication they had with each other. Although it is difficult to determine whether or not the relationship described in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* is an accurate reflection of a historical association between Philippe de Mézières and Charles VI, such an association is certainly implied in the text. The *Songe du vieil pelerin* uses references to the king's youth to imply that the author was familiar with him during that time. In Book 2 the author claims to have been involved in the selection of the king's tutor in grammar. In Book 3, Queen Verité reprimands him for his habits of staying up too late at night and of jousting too frequently and enthusiastically. She implies intimate knowledge of the king's childhood opinions, reminding him that he should be prepared to act against the Jews of France, especially since he had so hated them in his youth.¹⁰⁶ The references to the king's youth, personal habits, and opinions are part of the construction of a relationship between author and imagined audience in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. Contemporary readers may also have been reminded of the role Charles V had envisioned for Philippe de Mézières during Charles VI's minority. Charles V's faith in the writer's ability to participate in the guardianship of his sons authorizes the instruction of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* while implicitly criticizing the decisions made by the royal uncles during Charles VI's minority. This is particularly evident when compared with Philippe de Mézières' approach to providing written advice to Richard II of England. Not having had a similar history with the kings of England, the writer was unable to call upon such a relationship (whether fictionalized or actual) when writing to Richard II in 1395. The *Epistre au Roi Richart* makes only a

¹⁰⁵ "the lowest;" "the occasional gift or present;" "another service." BnF fr. 23279 ff. 1v-2r. See also Geneva fr. 165 f. 1r. In the Geneva manuscript, Salmon omits the "quelque jouel et don" and other services he has performed for the king, instead reminding the king immediately of "certaines demandes qu'il vous a pleu moy avoir faictes ou temps passé" (f. 1r).

¹⁰⁶ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:580 (Book 2, Chapter 132), 2:206-7 (Book 3, Chapter 224), 2:212 (Book 3, Chapter 226), 2:286 (Book 3, Chapter 246).

brief mention of the author's prior experiences "es cours des papes et des roys."¹⁰⁷ It addresses the king more formally than does the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, relying instead on the authorizing characteristics of prophecy, dream-vision, and, like Salmon's *Dialogues*, the comparison between himself and the Biblical prophet David who felt compelled to speak before the king.¹⁰⁸

Although they were both familiar with contemporary politics, neither Christine de Pizan nor Honorat Bovet had a similar history of royal service or of a relationship with Charles VI at the time they wrote the *Chemin* and the *Arbre des batailles*. Unlike Philippe de Mézières and Pierre Salmon, they could not present their books as a record or continuation of ongoing communication between themselves and their dedicatee. Instead, they emphasized other credentials, especially learning, to justify their ability to speak to and advise the king and other members of his court by means of a book. Bovet was born ca. 1350 in Valernes, near Sisteron, and died sometime before 1410. Although he did not have Philippe de Mézières' military experience or association with the kings of France at the time of writing, he did have significant political experience. He entered the Benedictine abbey of Ile-Barbre sometime before 1368 and was appointed prior of Selonnet in July 1371. Simultaneously with these duties, he was registered at the University of Avignon from ca. 1370 to 1382, receiving his *bachelier en décret* in 1371, his *licence* by spring 1382, and his doctorate in 1386. This degree was presented to Bovet by Jean Le Fèvre, bishop of Chartres and chancellor of the duke of Anjou, presumably in recognition of Bovet's support of Angevin ambitions in the region.¹⁰⁹ Queen Joanna I of Naples, countess of Provence, had adopted Charles VI's uncle, Louis I d'Anjou (1339-1384) as her heir before her murder in 1382, leaving Louis to fight rivals for control of both Provence and Naples.¹¹⁰ Louis' claims were further complicated by

¹⁰⁷ "at the courts of popes and kings." Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II: A plea made in 1395 for peace between England and France*, ed. George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975), 106.

¹⁰⁸ Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, 75-76, 80.

¹⁰⁹ Alfred Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), 219; Michael Hanly and Hélène Millet, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet: Essai de biographie," *Romania* 114 (1996), 135-81 (142-43, 150, 150n72).

¹¹⁰ Pierre Salmon would later find his plans foiled by this ongoing conflict, as the attack of a rival claimant to the throne, Ladislaus, on Rome prevented Salmon from reaching that city in 1408 (BnF fr.

his lack of popularity following his lieutenancy of the Languedoc region (1365-80) under Charles V, during which the local population had revolted in response to heavy taxation. Bovet helped promote the claims of both Louis I and his son, Louis II d'Anjou, to the succession of Naples and Provence, and used the *Arbre des batailles* in part to defend them. Bovet was based in Avignon, possibly in the service of Pope Clement VII, when he completed the *Arbre des batailles* in 1389. Charles VI visited the city in that same year, and it is possible that Bovet presented a copy of the text to the king on this occasion. Whether it was due to the *Arbre des batailles* or to personal contacts such as Jean Le Fèvre, Bovet certainly attracted the king's attention and entered his service around this time. He participated in the king's investigation of the duke of Berry's management of the Languedoc region, received a pension from the king, and represented France at talks in Prague about using the withdrawal of papal obedience as a tactic to end the papal schism.¹¹¹ This background helps explain Bovet's emphasis on his academic qualifications, as well as his reminders to his readers about the sources he consulted when writing the book. Even in the 1398 *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*, which Bovet wrote when he had a bit more experience at the French court, he informs his dedicatee (Louis d'Orléans) that consulting scholars can be particularly beneficial.¹¹²

Christine de Pizan, like Bovet, was familiar with contemporary politics but lacked an advisory relationship with Charles VI. She was born in Venice in 1365, and came to Paris with her father, the doctor and astrologer Thomas de Pizan, when he was invited to the French court by Charles V.¹¹³ Thomas de Pizan was both well-respected and well-paid by the king, and his daughter married a royal secretary,

23279 ff. 76r-78v). Hanly and Millet, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 142; Peyronnet, "Angevins of Naples;" Small, "Joanna I of Naples," 585-86.

¹¹¹ Hanly and Millet, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 157, 171-73.

¹¹² Biu, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 1:19; Bove, *Le temps de la guerre de Cent Ans*, 614; Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435*, 219; Honorat Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: the "Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun" of Honorat Bovet*, ed. Michael Hanly (Tempe, Ariz: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2005), 60; Hanly and Millet, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 142-43, 148, 150, 150n72, 156-57, 171-73; Sylvie Lefèvre, "Honoré Bovet (ou Bouvet)," in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le moyen âge*, ed. Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard, Guy Raynaud de Lage, Cardinal Georges Grente, Geneviève Hasenohr, and Michel Zink (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 685; Peyronnet, "Angevins of Naples."

¹¹³ Nadia Margolis, *An Introduction to Christine de Pizan, New Perspectives on Medieval Literature: Authors and Traditions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 2-3.

Étienne de Castel, at the age of fifteen. Christine de Pizan's husband thus had a similar role to that of Pierre Salmon, who was also one of the king's secretaries; her son Jean later occupied the same position.¹¹⁴ Christine de Pizan was widowed in 1389 or 1390, and turned to writing to support herself and her household of three children, her mother, and a niece.¹¹⁵ Christine de Pizan, like the other authors, wrote from a position of knowledge and experience of political situations, in this case through the connections of her family members and through her own status as a professional writer whose works were both dedicated to and commissioned by members of the political elite. But she had no personal relationship with the king to draw upon, and so she had to construct her authority in her text in different ways. In the *Chemin de long estude*, she does this primarily through her emphasis on her own devotion to study and learning.

The guiding premise of the *Chemin de long estude*, as is evident in its title, is the necessity and inherent value of study and learning. It is because of the author's own dedication to these pursuits that she has been offered the dream-vision described in the book, and learning is a prerequisite for taking the paths of the dream's travel narrative.¹¹⁶ When Christine de Pizan and her guide encounter two pathways to the heavens, they take the one reserved for the "lettrez;" she is permitted to climb the ladder to the heavens as one of the "gens subtilz" permitted access.¹¹⁷ She is chosen as a worthy *chambriere* to Seville. Christine is to follow her "penon," a pun on the words for both "banner" and "pen."¹¹⁸ Christine de Pizan's own father is listed among those who have been inspired by wisdom in the book.¹¹⁹ The writer similarly uses her father's wisdom and experience as part of her construction of authority in both the *Epistre Othea* and the *Corps de policie*.¹²⁰ Thus it is in recognition of her dedication to study and learning that the dreaming Christine de Pizan is permitted to

¹¹⁴ BnF fr. 23279 f. 80r; Hedeman, "Making Memories for a Mad King," 169, 169n4; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 3; Margolis, *An Introduction to Christine de Pizan*, 6-7.

¹¹⁵ Margolis, *An Introduction to Christine de Pizan*, 8.

¹¹⁶ Tarnowski, "Introduction," 27.

¹¹⁷ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 919-52, 1569-1784.

¹¹⁸ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, 126n1, ll. 696-98.

¹¹⁹ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 981-1088.

¹²⁰ Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, 95-98; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie*, 44.

witness Raison's celestial Parlement and the debate on the qualities of a good prince. This recognition is extended at the end of the Parlement, when the virtues agree that Christine de Pizan's love of learning, as well as her links to France, make her the perfect candidate to take their message to the French princes. Bovet used a similar technique in the *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*, in which the ghost of Jean de Meun tells the fictionalized Bovet to write down everything he is about to hear.¹²¹ As Rosalind Brown-Grant argues, Christine de Pizan authorized her books in part by using either herself or an authoritative female figure as a model for her readers to follow.¹²² In the *Epistre Othea*, the authority figure is the goddess Othéa, representative of the wisdom of women; the text advises the prince to take the advice of his wife and other wise women into account.¹²³ Among the evidence Christine de Pizan offers of her own learning in the *Chemin* is her description of her reading Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* for solace. She explains that reading this book has encouraged her to think about the role of Fortune in individuals' lives, and how good fortune can be just as dangerous as bad fortune because it is so apt to change.¹²⁴

While learning and study are not an integral part of the *Arbre des batailles* the way it is in the *Chemin*, it is still important for the writer's construction of himself as an authority. He was likely unknown to Charles VI before the composition of the *Arbre des batailles*, and accordingly he introduces himself in the prologue: "je appellé par mon droit nom Honoré Bovet, prieur de Sallon en Prouvence, docteur en decret."¹²⁵ The introduction highlights his religious affiliations rather than his secular

¹²¹ Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue*, 68; Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 6293-96.

¹²² Rosalind Brown-Grant, *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defence of Women: Reading beyond Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 5, 51, 59. See also Dina De Rentiis, "'Sequere me: 'Imitatio' dans la 'Divine Comédie' et dans le 'Livre du Chemin de long estude,'" in *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan*, ed. Margarete Zimmermann and Dina De Rentiis (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 31-42 (42).

¹²³ Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999), 197-202, 325; Sandra L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), 33-39, 59.

¹²⁴ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 172-79, 180-287.

¹²⁵ "My name is Honoré Bovet, prior of Sallon in Provence, doctor in canon law." Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:599 (Prologue).

association with the dukes of Anjou, using his position as prior and his doctorate to help authorize his advice.

Motivations

Regardless of their history of royal service, or lack thereof, all four writers were able to use the sincerity of their motivations, especially their desire to benefit the king and kingdom of France as well as the Church and all of Christendom, as techniques for authorizing their advice. These motivations turn the authors into model members of the body politic, contributing to the welfare of the king so that the entirety of the kingdom will benefit—conforming with, for example, Christine de Pizan’s appeals to all members of the body politic to work towards the common good in the *Corps de policie*.¹²⁶ The sincerity of their motivations gives them not only the permission or authorization to speak, but an obligation to do so.¹²⁷ Both Christine de Pizan and Pierre Salmon, for example, remind the reader that the humbleness of their own estate does not preclude them from speaking the truth. In the opening of the *Chemin*, Christine de Pizan asks for forgiveness for her presumption “[d]’escripe a vous de tele digneté,/A moy, femme, pour mon indigneté,” and asks that the king and the dukes not “depriser l’arbitrage,/Pour ce qu’il est par trop petit message.”¹²⁸ She asks her readers to consider her goodwill, telling the king that: “[m]on petit dit soit premier présenté [to you, Charles VI],/Tout ne soit il digne qu’en tieulx mains aille;/Mais bon vouloir comme bon fait me vaille.”¹²⁹ To the dukes, she hopes that they will “accepter le desir/Qu’ay de servir ou faire aucun plaisir/A vostre tres digne et haulte noblece.”¹³⁰ Salmon compares himself to David, who was so full of “aucune

¹²⁶ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie*, 91-92.

¹²⁷ Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l’aube des temps modernes*, 33-34, 58; Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, 1.

¹²⁸ “to write to you, of such dignity/For me, a woman, with my indignity;” “despise the message/because of the lowliness of the messenger.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 26-28, 51-52.

¹²⁹ “my little poem is first presented [to you, Charles VI]/Though it is not worthy to enter your hands/But my good will motivates me.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 12-14.

¹³⁰ “accept the desire/That I have to serve or to delight/To your very worthy and high nobility.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 29-31.

bonne science” that “nécessairement il falloit qu’il voidast et meist hors par sa bouche les precieux tresors [the psalms] dont il estoit si plein;” likewise his own “cuer si est si plain de ferveur, d’amour et de dilection” and concern for the honour and praise of God “et le salut de vostre ame aussy, se Dieu plaist, et le bon gouvernement de vous et de vostre royaume;” that he must produce his book.¹³¹ Like Christine de Pizan, and like Philippe de Mézières in the *Epistre au Roi Richart*, he hopes that his work will be received in the spirit in which it was intended, despite his humble estate.¹³² He initially protests that he is unworthy to advise the king, being “si petite creature,” before agreeing to offer his “petit advis.”¹³³ Later in the *Dialogues*, he asks the king to listen to him because “on ne doit pas desprisier le bon fruit qui vien d’un petit arbre” and the humblest of people may speak the truth.¹³⁴ Both Christine de Pizan and Salmon ask the reader to forgive their low positions because of the sincerity of their motivations.

One of the major motivations for writing claimed by all four of these authors is their devotion to the welfare of all of Christendom and to the institution of the Church, in particular in terms of calls for crusade and for an end to the papal schism. In the prologue of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Philippe de Mézières describes the book, as well as his previous actions and writings, as part of a larger effort to improve the moral coinage of all of Christendom and to promote the recovery of the Holy Land through crusade in particular. He explains that he wrote his earlier book, the *Pelerinage du pauvre pelerin*, in an attempt to improve his own moral coinage.¹³⁵ Furthermore, he writes that his forty years of travels, and his service to six kings prior

¹³¹ “such good knowledge;” “it was necessary for him to empty himself of it, and out of his mouth came the precious treasures of which he was so full;” “heart is so full of fervour, of love, and affection;” “the health of your soul as well, if it pleases God, and the good government of yourself and of your kingdom.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 3r-4r. Similarly in Geneva fr. 165, Salmon finds that he must write his words down for the sake of the “salut de vostre ame et des ames de ceulx qui les liront et orront lire” (f. 2r).

¹³² Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l’aube des temps modernes*, 51; BnF fr. 23279 ff. 2v, 71v, 85v, 89v; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 1r, 85v; Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, 75.

¹³³ “such a small creature;” “little advice.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 7v-8r; see also Geneva fr. 165 ff. 7v-8r. See also Salmon’s similar assertion in Part 2, BnF fr. 23279 f. 19v.

¹³⁴ “we must not discount good fruit because it comes from a small tree.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 2v, 71v, 85v, 89v; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 1r, 85v.

¹³⁵ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:84-85 (Prologue).

to Charles VI of France, were motivated by his desire to “multiplier son pauvre besant et temporal et espirituel” and to bring about the “saint passage d’outre mer,” a project he explains he has written about previously, in the *Reigle de la Nouvelle Arquemie de la Passion de Jhesuscris*.¹³⁶ At the end of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, when Philippe de Mézières’ allegorical representative laments the departure of Queen Verité from the world, Providence Divine appears to comfort him. She recognizes his “doleur” and his sincere desire for the moral improvement of all of Christendom.¹³⁷ This desire for the welfare of Christendom, the Holy Land, and, as a prerequisite, secular kingdoms, is also a key part of Philippe de Mézières’ *Epistre au Roi Richart*, which frames the author’s requests to the king of England as part of a larger crusading endeavour.¹³⁸

While they do not explicitly call for a crusade to the Holy Land in these texts, the other writers also authorize their advice based on their sincerity as good Christians hoping to benefit all of Christendom. At the beginning of the *Chemin*, Christine de Pizan describes her concern that the Church is “desolee.”¹³⁹ In recognition of her devotion and her “joyeuse” reaction to reaching Jerusalem in the travel narrative section of her dream-vision, Sebille offers Christine de Pizan a tour: “Et en tous les lieux m’a menee/Ou Jhesus fu et mort et vifs.”¹⁴⁰ Christine de Pizan also laments the decline of Constantinople “Par meschef et par longue guerre/Qu’ilz ont tout temps aux Sarrasins,/Qui trop leur sont prochains voisins.”¹⁴¹ In the *Chemin*, Christine de Pizan is a devoted Christian who views Saracen armies as a significant

¹³⁶ “increase his temporal and spiritual moral coinage;” “the sacred passage overseas.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:87-88 (Prologue). See also Abdel Hamid Hamdy, ed., “Transcription of the Ashmole MS. 813: La sustance de la chevalerie de la passion de Jhesu Crist en francois,” in *Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion*, ed. Abdel Hamid Hamdy (Alexandria: Alexandria University Press, 1964), 43-105.

¹³⁷ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:508 (Book 3, Chapter 319).

¹³⁸ Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, 75-77.

¹³⁹ “desolate.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 371-72.

¹⁴⁰ “joyful;” “And she took me to all the locations/Where Jesus lived and where he died.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 1239-43, 1245-49.

¹⁴¹ “By mischief and long war/That they are always fighting with the Saracens/Who are their too-close neighbours.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 1224-28.

threat.¹⁴² Honorat Bovet, too, explores this threat in his 1398 *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*, in which the “Sarrazin” observes that French armies are not strong enough to withstand Saracen ones.¹⁴³ Bovet also expresses his desire to help the Church in the *Arbre des batailles*; in the prologue, he explains that one of his main reasons for writing the book is “quar l’estat de saint Eglise est en telle tribulacion que se Dieux n’y met aulcun bone remede et vostre seignorie, la quelle est acoustumee d’achever et mettre a fin les fieres aventures de la foy crestianne, je ne voy ne chemin comment en soit bonne ne brief accordance.”¹⁴⁴ Based in Avignon when he completed the book between 1386-89, Bovet was also in a position to witness some of the effects of the papal schism first-hand. He further reveals his distress about the schism in his later description of the Roman Pope Urban VI as corrupt and as holding the keys to hell rather than to heaven.¹⁴⁵ Pierre Salmon’s April 1409 letter to the council of Pisa and his urging of Charles VI to work towards “la reformacion, paix et union de sainte Eglise,” demonstrate his desire to bring about an end to the schism.¹⁴⁶ The authors’ concern for, and attempts to benefit, the Church and all of Christendom authorize or obligate them to speak out by writing to the king.

The second crucial motivation the authors claim as a source of their authority is their loyalty to the king and their sincere desire to benefit both him and his government—ultimately resulting in improvements for all of Christendom, through Charles’ potential for influence on matters such as the schism and calls for crusade. Philippe de Mézières explains that, despite his retirement to the convent of the Celestines, his “vraye amour et douce memoyre” led him to keep “en son cuer” the king, whom he believed would bring great good “au royaume de Gaule, et par consequant a toute la crestiente.”¹⁴⁷ This was his primary motivation in writing the

¹⁴² Claire le Ninan, “L’Idée de croisade dans deux oeuvres de Christine de Pizan,” *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* 8 (2001), 251-61 (255).

¹⁴³ Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue*, 84-100.

¹⁴⁴ “because the Church is in such tribulation that if God does not provide a remedy as well as your lordship, which is accustomed to solving problems in the Christian faith, I don’t know how else the problems will be solved.” Bovet, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:599 (Prologue).

¹⁴⁵ Bovet, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:616-20 (Chapters 10-11).

¹⁴⁶ “the reformation, peace, and union of the holy Church.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 101r, 104r.

¹⁴⁷ “true love and sweet memory;” “in his heart;” “the kingdom of Gaul, and all of Christendom as a result.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:87 (Prologue).

Songe du vieil pelerin and presenting it to the king.¹⁴⁸ For Salmon, too, his love for and loyalty to the king were important motivating and authorizing factors. In the prologue, he reminds the king of his great concern for “l’estat du roy nostre dit seigneur et le bien commun de son royaume” and of his efforts on behalf of “le salut de vostre ame et la bonne santé et prosperité de vostre personne.”¹⁴⁹ At the opening of Part 1, the fictionalized Charles VI acknowledges Salmon’s “grant desir et la bonne volenté que vous avez au bien de nous et de nostre royaume,” and while Salmon initially expresses his inability to answer the king’s question, he agrees to do so because “j’ay tous temps desiré, et encore desire, vos bons plaisirs faire et acomplir.”¹⁵⁰ Likewise he agrees to the fictionalized king’s request to copy their correspondence into the *Dialogues* because it might be profitable “pour le salut de vostre ame et corps.”¹⁵¹ In his letters to the king warning him that he and his kingdom will suffer if he does not take Salmon’s advice, Salmon justifies himself based on his concern for Charles’ well-being, “que je le desire de tout mon cuer,” and on his “affection” for the king.¹⁵² Similarly Salmon asserts that in his conversations with Richard II, he refused to speculate on matters of Charles’ health due to his desire for his well-being, “du quel bien je estoie moult desirant.”¹⁵³ Bovet, too, claims a desire to write for the benefit and the honour of the king, so that Charles’ knowledge of scripture and his Christian faith might help him work towards an end to the problems identified in the prologue.¹⁵⁴ Christine de Pizan’s dream-vision in the *Chemin* occurs after initial sleeplessness caused by her thoughts “aux ambicions,/Aux guerres, aux agais faulx, aux trahisons” afflicting the world and

¹⁴⁸ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:101 (Prologue).

¹⁴⁹ “the estate of the king our lord and the common good of his kingdom;” “the health of your soul and the good health and prosperity of your person.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 1r, 2r. See also Geneva fr. 165 f. 1r.

¹⁵⁰ “great desire and the good will that you have for our good and the good of our kingdom;” “I have always desired, and still desire, to do as you wish.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 5r, 7v. See also Geneva fr. 165 ff. 4r, 7v.

¹⁵¹ “for the health of your soul and body.” Geneva fr. 165 f. 79v.

¹⁵² “that I desire with all my heart;” “affection.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 82r-82v; Geneva fr. 165 f. 81r.

¹⁵³ “the good of which I greatly desire.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 56v.

¹⁵⁴ Bovet, “*L’Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:599 (Prologue).

presumably, France in particular.¹⁵⁵ The writers' personal motivations contribute to their authority, turning them into members of the suffering body politic with a reason to speak out.¹⁵⁶

Conclusion

Philippe de Mézières and Pierre Salmon, who were both already familiar with the king at the time of writing their books, drew on that relationship in constructing themselves as authorities. Unable to claim a similar history of royal service, Christine de Pizan and Honorat Bovet nonetheless proclaimed their sincere devotion to the well-being of king, kingdom, and all of Christendom. All four authors also stressed the value of books as sources of advice, presenting their works as one example among many that the ruler ought to consult. This focus on the role of books, on fictionalized conversations, and on the authors' motivations to help the king, form key parts of their authorization of their advice books for Charles VI. The different uses of their own autobiographies in different texts suggest that these authors were aware of the different effect such a focus could have on different audiences. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues*, the authority of the writer depends in large part on his personal relationship with the dedicatee. In the *Epistre au Roi Richart*, the authority is more dependent on prophecy and dream-vision, as the writer has no similar claim to a relationship with the English king. Similarly in his *Arbre des batailles*, Honorat Bovet had no prior service to Charles VI to call upon as an authorizing mechanism. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues*, fictionalized commissions also play an important authorizing role; both the fictionalized Philippe de Mézières and Christine de Pizan are chosen by divine figures to bring a message to the world, while Salmon's prologue claims that he has written the entire book at the king's request. The way these writers used their personal engagement in their texts differentiates them from earlier forms of princely advice literature, such as the *De regimine principum* in which the book's authority

¹⁵⁵ "about ambitions,/About wars, about falseties, about treasons." Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 323-25.

¹⁵⁶ Brown-Grant, *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defence of Women*, 114.

depends partly on the writer's frequent citation of authorities such as Aristotle, rather than repeated references to his own abilities, experiences, and motivations.¹⁵⁷

Many of the tactics used by these four writers to authorize and justify their written advice were also used in other forms of contemporary political communication. In authorizing their advice by stressing their motivations to benefit the Church, the king, and the kingdom, and by asserting their loyalty and love for the king, these four writers employed a tactic also used by contemporaries, such as Jean Gerson who was "convinced that the day's pressing need was for people who were self-conscious about the task of writing and skilled in putting it to good use."¹⁵⁸ Philippe de Mézières' and Pierre Salmon's emphasis on their relationship with the king, their dedicatee, is similar to the approach of royal entry organizers in Paris and London. While Parisians reminded their audience that their city was the home of French royal justice, Londoners claimed a privileged position as the king's royal chamber.¹⁵⁹ The ongoing crises of the papal schism, the Anglo-French wars, the divisions between members of the French royal house, and the illness of the king elicited a variety of responses and ways of providing advice and suggesting solutions to these problems. In trying to convince the *bonnes villes* of France to support his efforts, Jean sans Peur of Burgundy used letters to the towns, ceremonies, and Jean Petit's speech justifying the murder of Louis d'Orléans to recruit support.¹⁶⁰ Ecclesiastic, royal, and civic officials organized processions to pray for the well-being of the king and the kingdom.¹⁶¹ Jean Gerson published sermons and tracts, and took advantage of large public gatherings in order to distribute them among the largest

¹⁵⁷ See for example de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 15-17 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 7).

¹⁵⁸ Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 1.

¹⁵⁹ Bourassa, "'Fforto Tellen Alle the Circumstaunces,'" 87-89, 95-96; Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, eds., "Première entrée du roi Henri VI à Paris, Récit anonyme," in *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, ed. Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1968), 62-70; Christian D. Liddy, "The rhetoric of the royal chamber in late medieval London, York and Coventry," *Urban History* 29, no.3 (2002), 323-349; London, London Metropolitan Archives, Letter Book K, ff. 102v-103v.

¹⁶⁰ Hutchison, "'Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume,'" 4, 19, 43-70, 71-96, 122-32.

¹⁶¹ Bernard Guenée, "Liturgie et politique: Les processions spéciales à Paris sous Charles VI," in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Etudes offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard, and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), 23-49 (25-26, 48).

possible audience.¹⁶² Pierre Salmon was one of many who tried to find a cure for Charles VI's illness.¹⁶³ Visionaries tried to reach the popes through the use of revelations, while writers turned to books as one way of responding to the papal schism.¹⁶⁴ In later periods of the Anglo-French wars, civic organizers of royal entries used the event pageants to communicate their confidence or lack thereof in royal government.¹⁶⁵ These assorted methods of political communication, all of which commented on the crises of the day and proposed solutions to them, called upon similar themes that would have been familiar to their audiences: the importance of good government, and of the responsibilities of all members of the body politic to work towards the common good.¹⁶⁶ Other political actors, including Jean sans Peur; the civic organizers of Parisian royal entries; and preachers such as Jacques Legrand, also claimed authority based on their sincere motivations, their own prestige, and their relationship with the king and with royal government.¹⁶⁷ That these four writers used similar tactics demonstrates the extent to which they were involved in contemporary politics, and the way books such as these were attempts to join an ongoing political conversation.

¹⁶² Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, 2, 4, 217.

¹⁶³ Bernard Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé* (Paris: Perrin, 2004), 64-140.

¹⁶⁴ Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 33.

¹⁶⁵ Bourassa, "'Fforto Tellen Alle the Circumstaunces'," 10-31.

¹⁶⁶ Hutchison, "'Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume'," 19-21.

¹⁶⁷ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:268-71, 3:296-301; Bourassa, "'Fforto Tellen Alle the Circumstaunces,'" 10-48; Hutchison, "'Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume,'" 4, 19, 43-70, 71-96, 122-32.

Chapter 3. Audiences

In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues*, the writers used their dedications, images in the manuscripts whose production they were involved in, and fictionalizations of Charles VI to characterize him as the primary intended reader and imagined audience of their messages. The writers were also aware that they had the potential to reach larger audiences, and that the way they characterized the king could form part of their communication with these individuals. Public readings of books were common, with gatherings including members of the nobility and others involved in royal government. For books of princely advice literature, this kind of public reading could lead to discussions about government and rulership.¹ Earlier advice books had taken this into account. In the *Policraticus*, John of Salisbury praises his dedicatee, Thomas Becket, for having none of the faults that the book discusses. The author explains that this dedication was intended to help avoid offending any of his readers, through a dedication to someone who was innocent of the accusations he made.² Giles of Rome claimed that the *De regimine principum* would be useful to both princes and their subjects; the prince, so as to learn how to govern, and the subjects to learn how best to obey their prince.³ The translators of the *Policraticus* and the *De regimine principum* addressed the king but also wider audiences even in these commissioned works, while

¹ Charles F. Briggs, "Literacy, reading and writing in the medieval West," *Journal of medieval history* 26 (2000), 397-420 (419); Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1936), 1:47; Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 96-97, 110-28; Anne D. Hedeman, "Making Memories for a Mad King: Illustrating the Dialogues of Pierre Salmon," *Gesta* 48 (2009), 169-85 (169); Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 14-15.

² Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livres I-III*, ed. Charles Brucker (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 95-96 (Prologue); John of Salisbury, *Frvolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers: Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the Policraticus of John of Salisbury*, ed. Joseph B. Pike (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938), 8 (Book 1, Introduction).

³ Henri de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois: a XIIIth century French version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise, De regimine principum*, ed. Samuel Paul Molenaer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1899), 5-6 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 1).

Christine de Pizan claimed that her *Corps de policie* would be useful for princes, nobles and knights, and “l’université de tout le peuple.”⁴ Philippe de Mézières, Honorat Bovet, Christine de Pizan, and Pierre Salmon frequently referred to their readers and listeners in the plural, suggesting that they were aware of the likelihood of the books circulating or being read aloud to a wider audience. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, for example, Philippe de Mézières refers to “les lisans de cestui Songe,” as well as its “auditeurs,” whom he suspects might include readers “qui ne sont pas clerics” and will therefore find his explanation of who each allegorical figure represents useful.⁵ He includes anecdotes about figures such as a one-eyed knight because they might be amusing to the book’s readers.⁶ Anne Middleton has commented on the phenomenon of portraying the ruler as the audience of a book while simultaneously addressing others in England under Richard II. She argues that in John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, “[t]he king is not the main imagined audience, but an occasion for gathering and formulating what is on the common mind.”⁷ The different ways the writers described and characterized Charles in their texts was similarly part of their attempt to communicate with this larger audience in addition to the king.

The use of a dedication to the king while simultaneously acknowledging the likelihood of (or even primarily targeting) a wider audience makes these books a form of political communication similar to the royal entry. These events took place at significant points in a reign, such as the ruler’s return to Paris after being crowned at Reims. As the king passed through the designated route, he would be met by a series of staged pageants or “histoires,” that could be used to communicate the city’s expectations to the ruler through a variety of means, including speeches and signs explaining the contents of the pageants. In these cases too, the message would

⁴ “the universality of all people.” Joël Blanchard and Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l’aube des temps modernes* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2002), 16, 124; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie: Edition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), 1; de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 4-6; Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livres I-III*, 81.

⁵ “the readers of this dream;” “listeners;” “those who are not learned.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. George W. Coopland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 1:101 (Prologue); 1:209 (Book 1, Chapter 7), 1:236 (Book 1, Chapter 16).

⁶ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:236 (Book 1, Chapter 16).

⁷ Anne Middleton, “The Idea of Public Poetry in the Reign of Richard II,” *Speculum* 53, no.1 (1978), 94-114 (107).

simultaneously be communicated to a larger audience: the members of the royal family and of royal government accompanying the ruler, but also the inhabitants of the city who lined the streets. For example, Charles V and Queen Jeanne de Bourbon made separate entries into Paris on May 28, 1364, after the coronation ceremony at Reims. The *Grande Chroniques de France* reports that the queen was accompanied by a group including the duchesses of Orléans and Anjou, as well as by her brother-in-law, the newly-made duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Hardi. On his entry into Paris on November 11, 1380, Charles VI was met by the city's bourgeois citizens, dressed in white and green, along with a very big crowd who delighted at the characters and pageants of the entry. Pageants for his entry into Lyon in October 1389 included four women who welcomed him into the city, the appearance of two wild men, and crowds of children who acclaimed the king as he passed through the city. The first Parisian entry for which detailed descriptions of the pageants survive is that of Charles VI's grandson, Henry VI, who made a royal entry into Paris prior to his coronation there in 1431. The pageants were used to remind the young king that Paris was the seat of royal justice and that it deserved to be well-governed.⁸

Sermons could also potentially reach a larger audience while focusing on the actions of one individual. The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* reports that Jacques Legrand gave a sermon before the queen in 1405, complaining about misgovernment of the kingdom. The queen's ladies expressed their shock at Legrand's daring; when some who had been present complained to the king about

⁸ For printed descriptions of these events, see Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1968), 54-56 (Charles V, Paris), 56-58 (Charles VI, Paris), 59-70 (Henry VI, Paris), and 142-51 (Charles VI, Lyon). For royal entries and political communication, see also Lorraine Attreed, "The Politics of Welcome: Ceremonies and Constitutional Development in Late Medieval English Towns," in *City and Spectacle*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 208-34; Joël Blanchard, "Le spectacle du rite: les entrées royales," *Revue historique* 305, no.627 (2003), 475-519; Kristin Bourassa, "'Fforto Tellen Alle the Circumstaunces': The Royal Entries of Henry VI (1431-32) and their Manuscripts," MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 2010; Cynthia J. Brown, "From Stage to Page: Royal Entry Performances in Honour of Mary Tudor (1514)," in *Book and Text in France, 1400-1600: Poetry on the Page*, ed. Adrian Armstrong and Malcolm Quainton (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2007), 49-72; Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance (Geneva: Droz, 1986); Noël Coulet, "Les entrées royales en Angleterre. Deux exemples: les entrées de Richard II en 1392 et Henry V en 1415," *Memini: Travaux et documents* 1 (1997), 3-21; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and Richard H. Osberg, "The Jesse Tree in the 1432 London Entry of Henry VI: Messianic Kingship and the Rule of Justice," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 16, no.2 (1986), 213-231.

the sermon, Charles responded by asking Legrand to preach again, in his own presence. Jean Gerson's "Vivat Rex" sermon was preached before the kings of Navarre and Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Orléans, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and several counsellors and prelates.⁹ While public readings of books would have been more intimate affairs, the concept of publicly advising the king in a recognizable format was similar. An examination of the way these books and their dedications portray Charles VI as their imagined audience, and of how the writers expected that other individuals might also read their books, can therefore tell us not only about ways of communicating with the king, but also about how authors could use their communication with him as a way to speak to a larger group.

Charles VI as imagined audience

Each of these four books opens with a dedication to the king and closes with a reminder that the project had been undertaken primarily with him in mind. In the prologue of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Philippe de Mézières explains that this was his second attempt to influence the king by means of a book. He had dedicated an earlier work to Bureau de la Rivière, who despite being unpopular with Charles' uncles managed to retain access to him during his minority; this earlier book was supposed to help Bureau de la Rivière improve the king's moral coinage.¹⁰ The writer specifies that the present book "est intitule et appelle le Songe du Vieil Pelerin, adroissant au Blanc Faucon au bec et piez dorez."¹¹ This dedication to Charles VI's allegorical equivalent of the falcon casts the king as the primary imagined audience

⁹ M. L. Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1841), 3:268-71, 3:346-47.

¹⁰ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:85-86 (Prologue); John Bell Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society under Charles V and Charles VI* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 77, 97, 103-5, 108, 127; Noël Valois, *Le Conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles: Nouvelles recherches, suivies d'arrêts et de procès-verbaux du Conseil* (Geneva: Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, 1975), 80-91; Andrea Tarnowski, "The Consolations of Writing Allegory: Philippe de Mézières' *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 237-54 (249).

¹¹ "is entitled and called the Dream of the Old Pilgrim, addressing the White Falcon with the golden beak and feet." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:95 (Prologue).

of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and is repeated at the beginning of Books 1, 2, and 3.¹² The final paragraph of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* concludes with the narrator's prayers for "le jeune Moyses [Charles VI] et tout son gouvernement, la paix du royaume de Gaule, l'union de l'église, et tous ses seigneurs et amis."¹³ Similarly the *Arbre des batailles* opens with the writer's dedication of the book to Charles and declaration that he wanted to write it in order to help the king. The book is dedicated "a la sainte coronne de France en la quelle au jour d'uy par l'ordenance de Dieu regne Charles li siesimes roys en cellui nom, tresbien amé et par tout le monde redoubté."¹⁴ The writer then identifies himself to the "[t]reshault prince," to whom he has dedicated the book and explains that he wrote it to honour God, the Virgin Mary, and the king.¹⁵ The *Arbre des batailles* closes with Bovet's good wishes for Charles: "je pri humblement a Dieu qu'il par sa pitié vous doint en tel forme gouverner vostre royaume et la sainte coronne qu'il vous a commis que après la fin il vous ameyne a la sienne sainte gloire de paradis."¹⁶ The beginning and end of these books frame the project as being intended primarily for the benefit of Charles VI of France.

The framework of the *Chemin de long estude* also foregrounds the importance of the king to the project, as it presents Christine de Pizan as a messenger to the king and to the royal dukes. She dedicates the book to "vous, bon roy de France redoubtable,/Le VI^e Charles du nom nottable" as well as to "vous, haulx ducs magniffiez."¹⁷ The *Chemin* ends with her appointment by the allegorical figures to

¹² Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:90 (Prologue), 1:442 (Book 2, Chapter 81), 2:115 (Book 3, Chapter 178).

¹³ "the young Moses [Charles VI] and all his government, the peace of the kingdom of Gaul [France], the union of the Church, and all of his lords and friends." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:514 (Book 3, Chapter 321).

¹⁴ "to the sacred crown of France, in which reigns today by the ordinance of God Charles, the sixth of this name, beloved and feared by all." Honorat Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet: étude de l'oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan," Thèse, ed. Hélène Bui (Paris: Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004), 2:599 (Prologue).

¹⁵ "very high prince." Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:599 (Prologue).

¹⁶ "I humbly pray to God that, through his pity, he will enable you to govern your kingdom and the sacred crown he has given to you in such a way that will introduce you to the sacred glory of Paradise." Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:871 (Chapter 199).

¹⁷ "you, good revered lord,/The sixth Charles of the notable name;" "you, high and mighty dukes." Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ed. Andrea Tarnowski, Lettres gothiques (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), ll. 5. 9-18.

bring their message to Charles and the other French princes, further reminding the reader that the purpose of the project is her attempt to communicate with them. Both versions of the *Dialogues*, too, open and close with the writer's dedication to and attempts to help the king, and refer to him throughout. The first version opens with: "[c]y s'ensuit le prologue de l'acteur de ce present livre, contenant la maniere comme il presente son dit livre au roy nostre sire."¹⁸ The second version claims that the book has been produced at the "commandement et ordonnance de treshault et tresexcellent prince, Charles, par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, sisiesme de ce nom."¹⁹ The first two parts of the book contain the author's answers to questions asked of him by the king, while the third part demonstrates Salmon's history of service to him.²⁰ As in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the references to the king as the text's primary audience are repeated at the beginning of each of its three parts. In Part 1, Charles VI laments his failings as a king and asks Salmon to tell him about the characteristics of an ideal ruler. At the beginning of Part 2, Charles acknowledges that he has heard and understood Salmon's response and says that he wishes to ask several more questions. Part 3 begins with a letter from Charles to Salmon, in which the king acknowledges Salmon's previous efforts on behalf of "le bien de nous et de n[ost]re Royaume" and requests copies of Salmon's letters on the subject "pour nous bien informer et instruire."²¹ Only Part 4 of the second version does not present Charles as its primary instigator, as the premise of this section is Salmon's withdrawal from royal service in despair.²² Like the earlier books, the *Dialogues* also ends by reminding the reader of Charles as its primary audience: the first version closes with Jean sans Peur's interventions to help cure the king of his illness, and the

¹⁸ "here follows the author's prologue to this book, containing the manner in which he presents the said book to the king our lord." Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279 (BnF fr. 23279) f. 1r.

¹⁹ "commandment and ordinance of the high and excellent prince Charles, by the grace of God king of France, sixth of this name." Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9610 (BnF fr. 9610) f. 1r. BnF fr. 9610, a very close copy of Geneva fr. 165, can be used as an indication of what appeared on the now-missing folios of Geneva fr. 165. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 76-79.

²⁰ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 1r, 5r-7r; BnF fr. 9610 ff. 1r-1v, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 165 (Geneva fr. 165) ff. 4r-6v.

²¹ "our good and the good of our kingdom;" "to inform and instruct us." BnF fr. 23279 ff. 7r, 19r, 52v; BnF fr. 9610 f. 71v; Geneva fr. 165 f. 24r, 80r.

²² BnF fr. 9610 f. 94r.

second by reiterating that the entire book has been written for “vous, mon treshault et tres puissant prince, mon seul et souverain seigneur.”²³ In all four of these books, the dedications and the concluding paragraphs clearly foreground Charles VI as their primary imagined audience.

The manuscripts produced during the reign of Charles VI also remind the reader or viewer of the king’s role as their primary imagined audience by making him clearly identifiable in the books’ pictures. Philippe de Mézières, Christine de Pizan, and Pierre Salmon likely provided instructions about the pictures that appeared in the copies of their books produced during their own lifetimes. The only surviving *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscript that dates to before Philippe de Mézières’ death in 1405 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal MS 2682-2683) has autograph corrections, demonstrating the writer’s involvement in its production. This was possibly, though not certainly, the presentation copy for the king.²⁴ Anne D. Hedeman has demonstrated Pierre Salmon’s likely input into the production of both versions of the *Dialogues*, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 23279 (BnF fr. 23279) in 1409 and Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève MS fr. 165 (Geneva fr. 165) in 1412-15.²⁵ Christine de Pizan was very much involved in the material presentation and image programmes of her books, some of which she even copied out herself.²⁶ She was personally involved in the production of seven manuscripts of the *Chemin de long estude*, which were presented to or intended for Isabeau de Bavière, Jean de Berry, Philippe le Hardi, and Louis d’Orléans.²⁷ The manuscripts of each of these three

²³ “you, my high and powerful prince, my only and sovereign lord.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 120v-121r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 257v.

²⁴ As Sandra Hindman points out, the manuscript contains no indication that it was actually owned by the king, although it has sometimes been assumed to be the presentation copy. Sandra L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan’s “Epistre Othéa”: Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), 146; Brigitte Roux, “Charles V et Charles VI en miroir(s),” *Le Moyen Age: Revue d’histoire et de philologie* 3-4 (2010), 679-95 (687).

²⁵ Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon’s Dialogues*, Illinois Medieval Studies (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 5-7.

²⁶ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan’s “Epistre Othéa”*, xiv-xx; James C. Laidlaw, “Christine de Pizan: A Publisher’s Progress,” *The Modern Language Review* 82, no.1 (1987), 35-75; Andrea Tarnowski, “Préface,” in *Le Chemin de Longue Étude* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), 9-18 (9-11).

²⁷ Andrea Tarnowski, “Remarques sur la présente édition,” in *Le Chemin de Longue Étude* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), 57-69 (59-63).

books remind the reader or viewer of the centrality of Charles VI to their message by depicting him in recognizable forms in their pictures.

The Arsenal *Songe du vieil pelerin* can be dated to between 1389 and 1405 on the basis of its autograph corrections.²⁸ Likely originally bound in one volume, the Arsenal manuscript now consists of two volumes and contains a total of three images: one full-page miniature (f. 34r), and two inhabited initials (ff. 1r and 35r) (see Figures 8, 9, and 10, below). It is possible that one or both of the two folios that have been cut out between ff. 33 and 34 originally contained images as well. In both the inhabited initials, Charles VI is represented in his allegorical form of a falcon, a new emblem for Charles but one that would have been associated with chivalry, royalty, and possibly as an alternative to the imperial eagle (see Figures 8 and 9, below).²⁹ In the table of allegorical figures in the text, Philippe de Mézières explains that the white falcon with the golden beak and golden feet is one of the figures representing Charles VI, along with a crowned and winged stag; the falcon with white wings represents the king's younger brother Louis.³⁰ The *Songe du vieil pelerin*'s use of falcons to represent these Valois princes was later echoed by Christine de Pizan, for example in the images of some manuscripts of the *Epistre Othea*.³¹ In the second inhabited initial of the Arsenal manuscript, Charles VI's falcon, which is perched in a tree, is accompanied by the author kneeling before him. The manuscript's images focus on the allegorical representations of Charles VI, and on the relationship between author and dedicatee—an association that might have reminded contemporaries of dedication portraits of Charles V focusing on his relationship with the authors from whom he had commissioned books. It is worth noting that according to the allegorical programme of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, this image skips a step. In the text, the author-as-pilgrim—recast as Ardant Desir—serves as a guide for Queen Verité.

²⁸ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa,"* 146.

²⁹ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa,"* 147-53.

³⁰ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:110 (Table Figuree).

³¹ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa,"* 42-49.

It is Queen Verité, not the fictionalized representations of the author, who teaches Charles VI within the text.³²

The full-page miniature on f. 34r shows Charles VI in his second allegorical form of a crowned and winged stag (see Figure 10, below). This stag imagery would likely have been associated with Charles even by those who had not yet read the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. He had chosen this emblem as a badge for members of his court on September 17, 1381, the anniversary of his accession.³³ The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* attributes Charles' decision to decorate his plate and furniture with the emblem of a winged stag wearing a crown for a collar to a hunting incident: a beautiful stag appeared with a collar on it proclaiming "Caesar hoc mihi donavit," and the king decided to let the stag go.³⁴ A stag was featured in the 1389 royal entry of Charles' queen, Isabeau de Bavière, into Paris. At a scene staged as a royal *lit de justice*, the term used to describe royal appearances in the king's sovereign court of justice, the Parlement, the royal stag and the *lit de justice* were defended by a group of maidens carrying swords against the advances of an eagle and a lion.³⁵ Other writers such as Eustache Deschamps also associated Charles VI and the winged stag emblem.³⁶ This reference to a symbol associated with Charles VI outside the text as well as within it further emphasizes the importance of the king to the reform programme of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* as well as to its readership.

The visual representation of Charles VI in the Arsenal manuscript is particularly important for our understanding of its imagined audience when compared with the pictures of Charles VI in the later copies of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*,

³² On the portraits of Charles V, see Claire Richter Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338-1380)*, Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts 20 (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 18, 21-32.

³³ Françoise Autrand, "France under Charles V and Charles VI," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. VI, c. 1300-c. 1415*, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 422-41 (434).

³⁴ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:70-71. See also Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, Oeuvres de Froissart (Brussels: Victor Devaux, 1870), 10:69-70; Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, 149-50.

³⁵ Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 179; Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, Oeuvres de Froissart (Brussels: Victor Devaux, 1872), 14:11; Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, 151-52.

³⁶ Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps: publiées d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale*, ed. Marquis Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878), 1:64-65.

all of which date to after the author's death. Of the seven manuscripts containing images, the Arsenal manuscript is the only one that visually represents Charles VI independently of other figures; it is also the only manuscript to depict him in conversation with the author and the only one showing the king *only* in allegorical form.³⁷ While three other manuscripts—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS n. acq. fr. 25164 (BnF n. acq. fr. 25164), and fr. 22542 (BnF fr. 22542); and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2551 (Vienna 2551)—contain presentation scenes, these images depict the author's gift of a book to the king, rather than a conversation between them. Images of the king in other manuscripts always show him accompanied by other figures, and usually depict specific elements of the story of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. These scenes include the king receiving the allegorical objects such as the chessboard from Queen Verité and the other virtues (BnF fr. 22542, Vienna 2551, and Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MSS fr. 183/1 and 183/2); welcoming Queen Verité and her companions to Paris (BnF fr. 22542, Geneva 183/1 and 183/2); in presentation scenes (BnF n. acq. fr. 25164; BnF fr. 22542; Vienna 2551); and observing the proceedings in Queen Verité's Parlement in Paris (Geneva 183/1 and 183/2; Vienna 2551). Other scenes commonly pictured in *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts are the composition of the book itself; Providence Divine's visit to the Vieil Pelerin in a dream; the journey of Ardant Desire and Bonne Esperance to the Holy Mountain and their request to the virtues; and Queen Verité's Parlements.³⁸ In some manuscripts, the visual representations of the king are more generic, and are not necessarily identifiable as Charles VI in particular. This makes these pictures similar to those in a later copy of Salmon's *Dialogues*, which was likely made for François de Rochechouart ca. 1500 and which omits symbolism specific to Charles VI while retaining French elements.³⁹ The kings in the Geneva manuscript of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* (183/1 f. 151r, 183/2 ff. 8r, 30r, 52r, 209r) and in BnF n. acq. fr. 25164 (f. 1r) are identifiable by their crowns but unaccompanied by

³⁷ See also Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, 146.

³⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 22542 (BnF fr. 22542) ff. 1r, 31r, 122r, 201v, 202r; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n. acq. fr. 25164 (BnF n. acq. fr. 25164) f. 1r; Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 183/1 (Geneva fr. 183/1) ff. 34r, 151r; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2551 (Vienna 2551) ff. 10r, 73r, 130r.

³⁹ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 38, 50-53.

any French imagery such as *fleurs-de-lis*. In BnF fr. 22542 the royal figure is clearly identifiable as French by his *fleurs-de-lis*, but is not associated with any imagery specific to Charles VI.⁴⁰ The only other manuscript to visually identify Charles is Vienna 2551, which shows the king accompanied by his falcon (ff. 73r, 130r) and his stag (f. 130r). The king's brother Louis is equally recognizable in this manuscript, accompanied by the white-winged falcon assigned to him in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*'s table of allegorical figures (f. 130r). Similarly, Hedeman has demonstrated that the first version of Salmon's *Dialogues* includes pictures that are clearly identifiable as Charles VI based on the use of his motto, personal emblems, and colours in the pictures. In the images of Part 1, the visual association of the Biblical kings Solomon and David with the *fleurs-de-lis* of France (BnF fr. 23279 f. 8r) makes them ideal models for a French king; the placement of a picture of Charles VI, identifiable again through his personal emblems (BnF fr. 23279 f. 9r), between two images of Biblical kings (BnF fr. 23279 ff. 8r, 13r) presents them as models for him to emulate.⁴¹ The imagery in the Arsenal *Songe du vieil pelerin* and in the first version of the *Dialogues* reinforces the text's conception of Charles VI of France as its primary imagined audience.

⁴⁰ Charles VI's emblems include the motto *jamais*, the broom-pod, and branches of *mai*. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 14.

⁴¹ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 8-12, 14.

Figure 8: Arsenal 2682, f. 1r. Charles VI as falcon

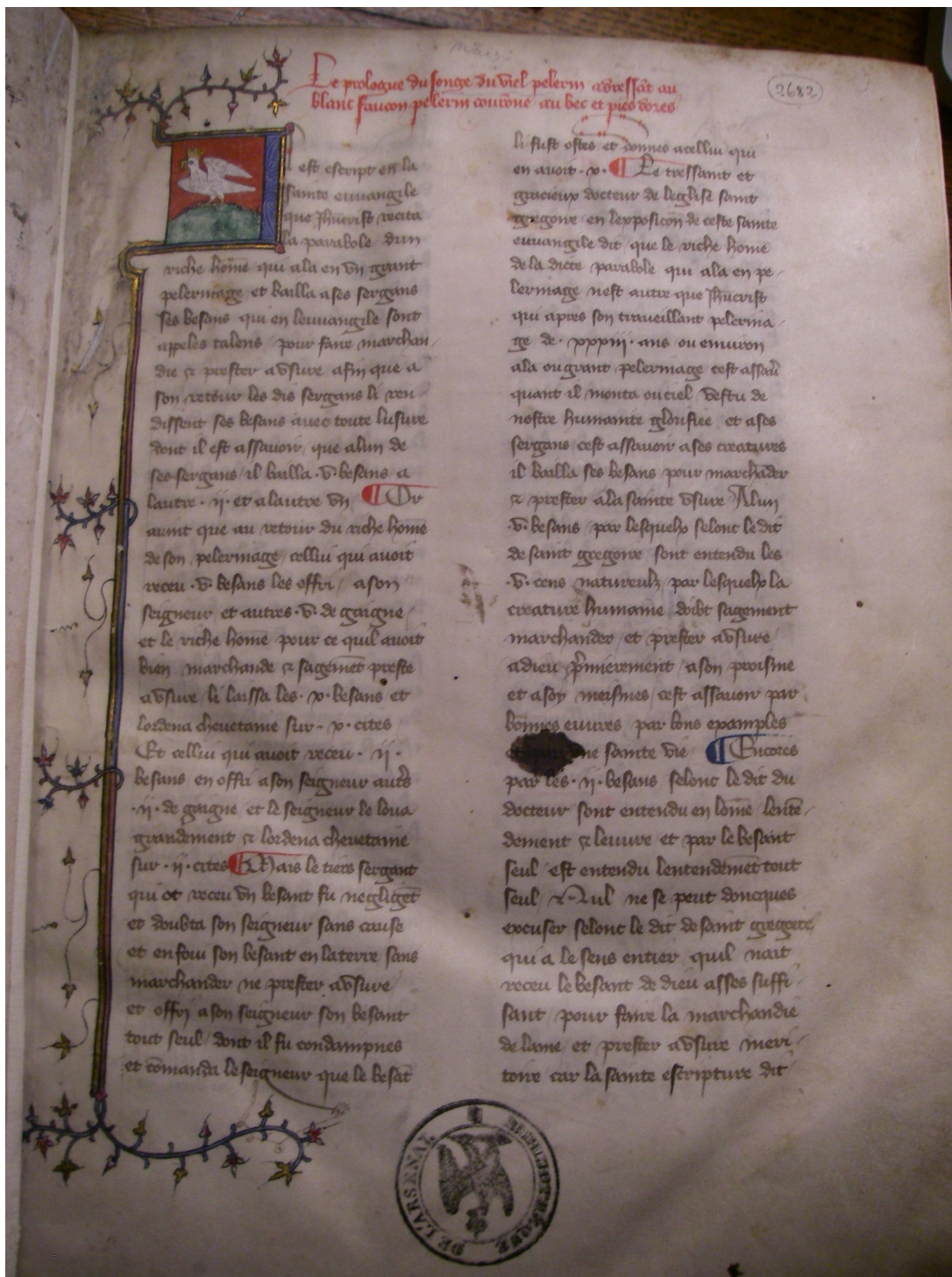


Figure 9: Arsenal 2682, f. 35r. Charles VI as falcon; the Vieil Pelerin



Figure 10: Arsenal 2682, f. 34r. Charles VI as *cerf volant*

Manuscripts of the *Chemin de long estude* also visually foregrounded the importance of Charles VI to the book. Christine de Pizan was involved in the production of the seven *Chemin* manuscripts produced during her lifetime, all of which were either presented to or likely intended for one of the royal dukes or the

queen. Four of the manuscripts contain only the *Chemin*, while the other three are collected works manuscripts including copies of other works by Christine de Pizan (see Table 6, below).⁴²

Table 6: *Chemin* manuscripts supervised by Christine de Pizan

Manuscript	Date	Known ownership during reign of Charles VI
Single-text manuscripts		
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10982 (A)	By spring 1403	Jean sans Peur; Philippe le Bon
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1643 (B)	By spring 1403	Louis d'Orléans (he may have intended it to be a gift for Jean de Berry).
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1188 (BnF fr. 1188) (D)	1402-3	Presented to Jean de Berry.
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10983 (F)	1402-3	Philippe le Hardi; Jean sans Peur; Philippe le Bon
Collected works manuscripts		
Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, MS 493 (L)	1402-3	Possibly made for Valentine Visconti or Isabeau de Bavière.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 836 (BnF fr. 836) (C)	1407-8	Jean de Berry; Marie de Berry. Originally intended for Louis d'Orléans.
London, British Library, Harley 4431 (R) (Queen's Manuscript)	1410-11	Presented to Isabeau de Bavière

Sandra Hindman observes that the dedication miniatures of all the manuscript copies of the *Chemin* show Charles VI wearing an emblem specific to him, the necklace of his Order of the Broom Pod. Combined with Charles' motto of "Jamais," the Latin name of the plant could create two puns: "J'aimais planta genesta," that is, "I have loved the broom flower;" or "Jamais planta genesta," "Never Plantagenet."⁴³

⁴² Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, "Où mène le *Chemin de long estude*? Christine de Pizan, Ambrogio Migli, et les ambitions impériales de Louis d'Orléans (A propos du ms. BNF fr. 1643)," in *Christine de Pizan 2000: Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000), 177-95 (183-84); Gilbert Ouy, Christine M. Reno, and Inès Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012), 204-12, 270, 379-412; Tarnowski, "Remarques sur la présente édition," 59-66. The letters assigned to each manuscript are taken from Tarnowski's list.

⁴³ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, 177.

Hindman argues that, because of this emblem's association with French claims to superiority over the English, its use may have been intended to promote Charles VI's claims to the universal monarchy as predicted in a prophecy that Honorat Bovet also referred to in the *Arbre des batailles*.⁴⁴ A prophecy first transcribed between October 27, 1381 and June 29, 1382 predicted that a king of France, Charles, son of Charles, would rid his kingdom of tyranny, end the papal schism, conquer a number of other realms and acquire the imperial crown, and force the Turks to convert to Christianity.⁴⁵ The prophecy predicts that the king in question will be crowned at the age of fourteen (the age of majority stipulated by Charles V), suggesting that it was first made between the beginning of the papal schism in 1378 and Charles VI's coronation in 1380, at a time when it was still thought that the young king would not be crowned until his fourteenth birthday.⁴⁶ The currency of this prophecy was one of the reasons for the pressure placed on Charles VI to lead a crusade, and its themes were also invoked by other contemporary authors such as Eustache Deschamps.⁴⁷ After the disasters of Charles VI's reign, the same prophecies were re-applied to his son, Charles VII (r. 1422-61) and even to Charles VII's grandson, Charles VIII (r. 1483-98), who was in fact crowned at the age of fourteen.⁴⁸ Whether or not Christine de Pizan intended to refer to the prophecy, the inclusion of a king recognizable as Charles VI in the manuscript images would have encouraged the books' owners to envision him as a key part of the text's intended audience—despite the fact that none of the surviving manuscripts is known to have belonged to him.

⁴⁴ Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:599 (Prologue); Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, 176-79; Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 379.

⁴⁵ The prophecy, transcribed by a "Nicolas ...ney," is preserved in the registers of the notary Guy de Corsaint. Maurice Chaume, "Une prophétie relative à Charles VI," *Revue du Moyen Âge latin* 3 (1947), 27-42 (28n2).

⁴⁶ Chaume, "Une prophétie relative à Charles VI," 27-42, 28, 30-31.

⁴⁷ Biu, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 1:60; Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes*, 57; Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, 1:164-65; Michael Hanly and Hélène Millet, "Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet: Essai de biographie," *Romania* 114 (1996), 135-81 (154); Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, 147-53; Frédérique Lachaud and Lydwine Scordia, eds., "Introduction," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes (Au-delà des miroirs: la littérature politique dans la France de Charles VI et Charles VII)* 24 (2012), 9-19 (14); Thierry Lassabatère, *La cité des hommes: Eustache Deschamps, expression poétique et vision politique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011), 106-14; James Magee, "Crusading at the Court of Charles VI, 1388-1396," *French History* 12 (1998), 367-83 (368-69).

⁴⁸ Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes*, 57; Chaume, "Une prophétie relative à Charles VI," 31.

Two of these books, the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues*, also contribute to the framework of Charles VI as imagined audience by presenting him as a fictionalized character within the narrative. This *written* Charles is the recipient of advice given to him through dialogue with Queen Verité in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and with Salmon in the *Dialogues*. The result is self-reflexive: we are encouraged to imagine the king reading a manuscript that depicts his fictionalized self as the recipient of advice. This situation is similar to what Ann W. Astell has observed in John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, in which "the distinction between 'for whom' and 'about whom' [the] poet writes is purposely blurred."⁴⁹ Gower's narrative "establishes [Richard II] as the *Confessio's* primary historical auditor and commissioner, even as it fictionalizes him, making him literally a part of the poem."⁵⁰ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues*, the centrality of Charles VI to the author's message is emphasized by the self-reflexivity of his position.

The fictionalized Charles appears in Book 3 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, in which his primary role is to receive Queen Verité's instruction. She describes these lessons as being the main goal of her earthly voyage, saying that she has returned to the world in order to show Charles VI how to cure, like a physician, his own moral failings and those of his subjects.⁵¹ The importance of Charles VI's moral coinage is again emphasized at the closing of Book 3, when Queens Sapience and Charité join Queen Verité for a final assessment of how the king has received her lessons. Queen Charité reminds Queen Sapience that they must not fail their sister Verité, who has great need of their good moral coinage for the sake of Charles VI of France.⁵² The entire purpose of Queen Verité's journey has now become the education of Charles, thus further drawing our attention to him as the primary intended or imagined audience of the book's messages. Furthermore, Queen Verité personalizes her lessons

⁴⁹ Ann W. Astell, *Political Allegory in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), 39.

⁵⁰ Astell, *Political Allegory in Late Medieval England*, 39.

⁵¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:132 (Book 3, Chapter 189).

⁵² "[N]e vous ne moy par la vertue de ma nature et mes condicions ne pouons faillir a nostre tresammee suer Verité, ne a ses trois compaignes, qui ont grant besoing des besans de noz forges pour ung Cerf Volant et Faucon Blanc, qui de nouvel est appelle le jeune Moyse couronne." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin* 2:452-3 (Book 3, Chapter 291).

for Charles so that, instead of being generic instructions in kingship, they are suited to his own habits and behaviour. Some of the instructions on personal virtues in Book 3 appear to be written on the assumption that Charles VI had a habit of doing the exact opposite. The extended instruction not to stray from his wife's bed gives the impression of targeting a king who was known to enjoy the company of other women: "Garde bien, Beau Filz, que tu n'approches a la porte de sa maison, et ne donne pas a autrui ta gloire, mais boy l'eauue de ta propre cisterne et te delicte en une joye amoureuse avec la fame de ta jeunesse, c'est assavoir avec ta tresamee compaigne et gracieuse espouse la royne, qui te soit tresamee. Ne a nulle autre tu n'adroisses ton oeil."⁵³

The personalized approach of Queen Verité's instructions is particularly poignant when compared with Giles of Rome's similar exhortations, which do not address the target of the advice in the second person or refer to any specific individuals.⁵⁴ The instructions to not spend too much time jousting, playing tennis, dancing with ladies, gambling, and hunting also suggest that the young king was known for his fondness for these activities.⁵⁵ Queen Verité also describes "la costume mains pesee de toy, Beau Filz, et de tes predecesseurs," of holding "un long parlement a voz serviteurs" when he should be in bed asleep. If he has trouble sleeping, she adds, he should speak to his wife, not his servants.⁵⁶ Readers of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* may have connected Queen Verité's concerns with the historical Charles' behaviour, as the king was known for his interest in youthful amusements such as participating in jousts, his overspending, and for infidelity which was, after

⁵³ "Be careful, Good Son, that you don't approach the doors of other houses, and do not give your glory to others, but drink from your own cistern and take your delight with your wife, your gracious companion and spouse the queen, who is beloved to you. Do not turn your eye to anyone else." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:160 (Book 3, Chapter 207).

⁵⁴ de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 153 (Book 2, Part 1, Chapter 5).

⁵⁵ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:615; Bernard Guenée, "Le portrait de Charles VI dans la *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*," in *Un roi et son historien. Vingt études sur le règne de Charles VI et la 'Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis'* (Paris: de Bocard, 1999), 185-219 (203-206); Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:212-14 (Book 3, Chapter 226).

⁵⁶ "your habit, and the habit of your predecessors;" "a long conversation with your servants." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:259 (Book 3, Chapter 237).

1392, sometimes blamed as the cause of his illness.⁵⁷ Later in the reign, people began to fear that the dauphin Louis de Guyenne's wild behaviour would cause him to suffer from the same illness as his father.⁵⁸ This personalized approach to princely advice emphasizes Charles VI as the book's imagined audience.

Although the fictionalized Charles only appears in Book 3 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the text also presents the historical Charles as its imagined reader throughout, in both the repetition of the text's dedication to him at the beginning of each of the three books and in internal references in Book 3. The text of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* frequently assumes familiarity with prior sections rather than directing the reader to go look at them. In Book 2, for example, the author observes that there is no need for him to describe the clothing worn by Queen Verité and her companions, as a description has already been provided in earlier chapters.⁵⁹ Several such references occur in Book 3, the section in which the fictionalized Charles appears and the one we might most expect him to have read in isolation from the others. Here Queen Verité tells the fictionalized Charles that she has no more to say about gluttony, having already spoken about it in the chapter on pride, avarice, and luxury; similarly, she asks the king to remember her earlier praise for the members of the Teutonic Order rather than repeating her description of it from Book 1.⁶⁰ Since the fictionalized Charles to whom Queen Verité speaks appears only in Book 3, it would be impossible for the *written* Charles to remember the events she describes from Books 1 and 2. The implication is rather that Charles VI as *reader* will be familiar with these episodes. Of the at least thirteen similar references in Book 3, only two

⁵⁷ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:614-15; Guinée, "Le portrait de Charles VI dans la *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*," 203-206.

⁵⁸ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 5:16-17.

⁵⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:450 (Book 2, Chapter 84).

⁶⁰ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:206 (Book 3, Chapter 224). This episode, which actually spans several chapters, occurs in Book 1 during Queen Verité's visit to Avignon. The three old women are Pride, Avarice, and Luxury (1:307-53, Book 1, Chapters 44-57). On the Teutonic Order, Queen Verité says: "te souveigne, Beau Filz, au propoz,' dist la royne, 'du decret immortel de la sainte et tresvaillant religion des Chevaliers de Prusse, comme autresfois fu touchie" (2:340, Book 3, Chapter 259).

direct back to earlier parts of that book. The other eleven refer to Books 1 or 2.⁶¹ We are thus encouraged to view Charles VI as the reader of the entire *Songe du vieil pelerin*, perhaps looking back through the manuscript in order to remind himself of previous sections. The organization of the Arsenal manuscript encourages this kind of interpretation in its list of rubrics to Books 1, 2, and 3, which appears between the table of allegorical figures and the beginning of Book 1.⁶² The list of rubrics encourages the reader to think of the text as a comprehensive unit, unlike for example in BnF fr. 9200-9201 in which the list of rubrics is broken up between the manuscript's two volumes. The length of Book 3 is also an important factor, as it contains 144 of the book's 321 chapters, making it nearly as long as Books 1 (eighty chapters) and 2 (ninety-seven chapters) put together. Even Book 2 can be interpreted as being particularly pertinent for Charles VI. It deals with the government of France, for which Charles was primarily responsible and in which the responsibility of other individuals to the king is emphasized. Books 2 and 3 combined make up three-quarters of the book's chapters. As imagined reader and as character of the narrative of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Charles VI is doubly cast as the primary imagined audience of its advice.

As with the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the first version of the *Dialogues* portrays the king as both one of the book's intended readers and as a character within it, in this case in both dialogue and epistolary form. Here too the fictionalized Charles is the willing recipient of advice, which in this case is provided through his conversations with Salmon. Charles is both the instigator and the audience of Salmon's explanations, drawing the reader's attention to his role as the imagined reader of the manuscript and as the recipient of its message. The format of Parts 1 and 2 is a dialogue between the two men: Charles asks Salmon a series of questions, and Salmon answers them. In Part 1, the king seeks advice on the habits and conditions of good rulers, while in Part 2 he expands his religious knowledge by asking questions on topics such as the nature of God and of heaven and hell. The centrality of Charles to the dialogue is emphasized through the use of coloured ink, with "Le roy demande"

⁶¹ He refers the reader to earlier parts of the *Songe* on 2:184, 2:206, 2:208, 2:209, 2:235, 2:272, 2:274, 2:302, 2:320, 2:340, and 2:489 (Book 3, Chapters 218, 224, 225, 233, 242, 242, 248, 310).

⁶² Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2682 (Arsenal 2682) ff. 21r-33v.

in gold and “Salmon respont” in blue.⁶³ By constantly reminding the reader that the fictionalized king is the instigator of these questions, Salmon stresses Charles’ importance to the project, claiming that the manuscript was produced at his request in order to answer his own questions. The dialogue framework of Salmon’s text draws the reader’s attention to the *written* king as auditor of Salmon’s advice, and the historical king as its reader. As in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Dialogues* also emphasizes Charles VI as its primary imagined audience by providing advice personalized for his situation. This is especially the case in the first version of the *Dialogues*, in which for example Salmon reminds the king that he has previously suggested reading the *Somme le roy* for advice on royal virtues. In the second version, Salmon omits the reference to his earlier conversation with Charles about the book, although he still recommends reading it.⁶⁴ Although Hedeman notes that the first version’s images showing the two men in conversation likely refer to the contemporary literary form of *complainte* “rather than to any real conversation,” the dialogue format of the narrative, combined with the manuscript images of Salmon and Charles speaking, encourage the reader to envision exactly such a conversation.⁶⁵ This contributes to the manuscript’s presentation of Charles as its primary imagined audience.

A wider audience

The books’ dedications, images, and fictionalized representations of Charles VI present him as their primary imagined audience. At the same time, each of the writers was clearly aware of the possibility of reaching a larger group. This is most obvious in the *Chemin de long estude*, which was dedicated to the dukes as well as to the king, and copies of which Christine de Pizan prepared for or presented to them as well. The presentation miniatures in manuscripts supervised by Christine de Pizan all depicted Charles VI as accompanied by three or four others when receiving the book from Christine de Pizan. While this kind of image was not necessarily unusual, in this case it likely served to highlight the dedication of the book to the dukes as well as to

⁶³ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 12.

⁶⁴ BnF fr. 23279 f. 8v; Geneva fr. 165 f. 9r.

⁶⁵ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 14.

the king, reminding them of their relationship with him as well as his own role.⁶⁶ The *Chemin* is the only one of these four books that is known to have been circulated in this manner by its author. Nonetheless, each one of the writers was aware of the potential to reach a larger audience and speaks to this larger audience in their books. They emphasize the possibility of their message being applicable to a Christian community of readers who may benefit from instruction in personal faith and virtue just as the king can. They also very clearly speak to other members of French government, in particular the king's relatives, about their roles. The way the writers described and characterized the king in their books was also a part of how they attempted to communicate with this larger group of people.

Two popular medieval models of society, the body politic as introduced by the *Policraticus* and the game of chess as described in the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, stressed the interdependence of members of society. The *Jeu des eschaz moralisé* explains the necessity of the chess pieces each fulfilling their role so that society can function properly.⁶⁷ In the *Policraticus*, John of Salisbury describes the commonwealth as a body with the prince as its head, subject only to God and his earthly representatives; the Senate as its heart; the eyes, ears, and tongue as the judges and governors of provinces; the hands as officials and soldiers; the sides of the body as the prince's attendants; the stomach and intestines as financial officers; and the feet as farmers, who are always based on the soil. The prince as the head is responsible for the protection of the entire body, and if any part of it becomes ill the rest will also suffer.⁶⁸ Each individual must fulfil his or her role and be a good Christian. If they do, the entire community will benefit. The writers acknowledge this model in their discussions of Christian belief and behaviour, which would have been applicable to all members of society and not just to the king. The *Songe du vieil pelerin* was part of Philippe de Mézières' larger attempts to urge the rulers of Christendom to embark

⁶⁶ Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, 209, 274, 389, 391, 398, 406.

⁶⁷ Jean Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles: Le jeu des eschaz moralisé, traduction de Jean Ferron (1347)*, ed. Alain Collet, *Classiques français du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 209-10.

⁶⁸ Denis Foulechat, *Le Policraticus de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livre V: Edition critique et commentée des textes français et latin avec traduction moderne*, ed. Charles Brucker, *Publications romanes et françaises* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 270-74 (Book 5, Chapter 2); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury: Being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books, of the Policraticus*, ed. John Dickinson (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 64-66 (Book 5, Chapter 2).

on the “sainte passage d’outremer” for the recovery of the Holy Land, an endeavour that depended on the reform of Christian governments but also of individual Christian faith and behaviour.⁶⁹ In Book 1 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Queen Verité’s goal is to find any realm worthy of her moral coinage. Her commentary on the prevalence of vices such as pride, avarice, and luxury, and on the desirability of virtues such as truth and mercy, can be read as a message to all Christian readers and listeners. They must all reform their behaviour if they are to convince Queen Verité and her companions Paix, Misericorde, and Justice to remain among them. Likewise some of her instructions to Charles in Book 3, such as his duty to love and fear God, would have been applicable to a wider audience as well. If he follows her instructions, the fictionalized and historical Charles will be able to provide a good model of behaviour for his subjects.⁷⁰

In the prologue of the first version of the *Dialogues*, Salmon presents his book as being useful to an audience of all good Christians—who may have benefited in particular from the religious instruction in Part 2—the king’s descendants; and other members of his noble blood.⁷¹ The second part of the *Dialogues*, and Part 4 in the second version, would have provided a good model of Christian virtue for all of Salmon’s readers and listeners. The premise of Part 4 is a conversation between Salmon and the allegorical figures of Raison, Foy, and Esperance. In a manner similar to that of the fictionalized Charles VI at the beginning of Part 1, Salmon admits to Raison that he has failed to recognize that his suffering has been caused by his own sins, and decides to withdraw from the world as a form of penance.⁷² Raison proceeds to instruct Salmon on an assortment of virtues and vices: charity; humility and pride; abstinence and gluttony; envy; anger and patience; chastity and luxury; generosity and avarice; and prudence. The inclusion of a fictionalized version of the author, but not of the king, and the presentation of Salmon as the student rather than the instructor in this section, make the dominant focus of Part 4 personal virtues

⁶⁹ “holy passage overseas.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:430 (Book 3, Chapter 284).

⁷⁰ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:141 (Book 3, Chapter 194), 2:152-53 (Book 3, Chapter 202).

⁷¹ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 1r-1v, 4v.

⁷² Geneva fr. ff. 117r-119r.

that should be practised by *all* good Christians, and not by princes in particular. In the *Chemin de long estude*, the fictionalized Christine de Pizan, with her dedication to study and her distress about the suffering of Christians in Constantinople, likewise provides a model of Christian faith and virtue for any readers similar to herself.⁷³ The same motivations to be good members of the Christian community that help authorize the writers' advice also make them exemplary members of the body politic for any other readers.

At the same time, the books envision a more particular audience of French political, military, and princely leadership. In the conclusion of the *Arbre des batailles*, Bovet explains that he hopes someday to be able to write a book about the duties of all secular and ecclesiastic members of society.⁷⁴ This desire to speak to a larger group is also evident throughout the *Arbre des batailles*, which not only speaks to a varied audience but circulated widely in manuscript form. At least ninety French-language manuscripts survive, along with thirteen in other languages (Scots, Occitan, Catalan, and Castilian).⁷⁵ By way of comparison with some other popular medieval texts, Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* survives in one hundred manuscripts; the chronicles of Jean Froissart in over 150; and the *Grandes chroniques de France* in 106.⁷⁶ The *Arbre des batailles* circulated both independently and in compilations, some of which contain excerpts rather than the entire text. Other writers also borrowed from it, including Christine de Pizan in her *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie* and *Livre de l'advison Christine*. Charles VI's uncle Jean de Berry, as well as his nephew Charles d'Orléans, were among the owners of copies of the *Arbre des batailles*.⁷⁷

The book clearly tries to speak to a variety of secular lords, offering them advice that might be useful in everyday scenarios. When discussing whether an individual who pursues his attacker should be punished, Bovet points out that the

⁷³ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 635-708, 1193-1216.

⁷⁴ Bovet, "L'*Arbre des batailles* d'Honorat Bovet," 2:871 (Chapter 199).

⁷⁵ Hélène Bui, "L'*Arbre des batailles* d'Honorat Bovet: étude de l'oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan," Thèse, Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004, 1:36.

⁷⁶ Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, *The Online Froissart: A Digital Edition of the Chronicles of Jean Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart>; Bui, "L'*Arbre des batailles* d'Honorat Bovet," 1:37-38.

⁷⁷ Bui, "L'*Arbre des batailles* d'Honorat Bovet," 1:39, 1:44, 1:50-51, 1:88-89.

answer will be of use to “tous grans seigneurs qui ont a gouverner leur pais et a faire et administrer justice.”⁷⁸ In a similar discussion of whether or not an individual should be imprisoned, he says that he will discuss the matter in detail because it will be useful to all princes.⁷⁹ While Bovet’s concern for the protection of non-combatants in warfare may have been intended to urge Charles VI to reform his army or to try to end the Anglo-French wars, it can also be understood as an appeal to the military leaders who were actually engaged in battle.⁸⁰ Bovet informs the reader, for example, that it is not permissible for pilgrims to be imprisoned during warfare as they are protected by a papal safe-conduct; this information will be of use for all “gens seculiers.”⁸¹ This is not the kind of decision a king was likely to have to make himself, but rather one that his military leaders might have to face.

In dedicating the book primarily to the “sainte coronne de France,” and only secondarily to its occupant of Charles VI, Bovet also stressed the importance of France and the French monarchy in particular in having a responsibility to address the problems he discusses throughout the book. This is especially clear in the sections dealing with the papal schism, in which Bovet presents France as having a particular responsibility towards the Church. According to the *Arbre des batailles*, both God and the French crown must act in order to end the divisions in the Church.⁸² Accordingly, the text includes many historical examples of France and French kings in particular protecting the Church and the rightful pope. In both praising the French and highlighting the particular responsibilities of France, Bovet likely hoped to appeal to a sense of responsibility by both Charles VI and other members of the royal family towards ending the schism. Likewise the *Arbre des batailles*’ focus on how the throne of Naples “vint au[s] François” through Joanna of Naples’ 1380 adoption of Louis I d’Anjou may have been partly an attempt to urge Charles VI to use any influence he

⁷⁸ “all great lords who must govern their territories, and to achieve and administer justice.” Bovet, *L’Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:806 (Chapter 138).

⁷⁹ Bovet, « *L’Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:814 (Chapter 146).

⁸⁰ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan’s “Epistre Othéa”*, 158-61; Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War*, 41, 202.

⁸¹ “laypeople.” Bovet, “*L’Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:832 (Chapter 166).

⁸² Bovet, “*L’Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:621 (Chapter 11).

had to secure the Angevin claim.⁸³ By framing these issues as being of particular concern to the French and the French king, Bovet could appeal not only to Charles but to a larger audience as well. If Bovet started writing the *Arbre des batailles* as early as has been suggested, in 1371-82, it is even possible that he initially intended the book to be for this wider audience of French leadership, and only secondarily to Charles VI who had not yet become king by the time Bovet started writing.⁸⁴ Although the final product was dedicated to Charles VI and framed as being particularly beneficial to him, Bovet may have started writing with a completely different audience in mind. Christine de Pizan's discussion of the ideal behaviour of knights in the *Chemin de long estude* may suggest a similar desire to influence the chivalry of France directly as well as via the king and the royal dukes.⁸⁵

In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues*, the writers more obviously speak to a particular group in French leadership: the members of the royal family who formed the political elite during the reign of Charles VI. These writers would have been keenly aware of the roles that the king's uncles, brother, and cousins played during these key moments in his reign. Philippe de Mézières completed the *Songe du vieil pelerin* just as the king's uncles, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, were being pushed aside from the prominent positions they had held during his minority. The writer criticizes their government on the king's behalf in Book 2 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, and it is possibly them he had in mind when he noted that some of his readers and listeners might be offended by what the book has to say.⁸⁶ Writing later on in the reign, both Christine de Pizan and Pierre Salmon were dealing with a very different situation. The king's relatives had returned to positions of great influence because of his mental illness, and the conflicts between them were threatening to break out into civil war. By the time Salmon wrote the second version of the *Dialogues* in 1412-15, the civil war had in fact begun. Christine de Pizan explicitly dedicated her book to the dukes and presented copies to

⁸³ "passed to the French." Bovet, "L'*Arbre des batailles* d'Honorat Bovet," 2:648 (Chapter 29).

⁸⁴ Biu, "L'*Arbre des batailles* d'Honorat Bovet," 1:28.

⁸⁵ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 4227-4584.

⁸⁶ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:95 (Prologue), 1:553-54 (Book 2, Chapter 124), 1:584-86 (Book 2, Chapter 134).

them, and her allegorical figure of Noblece (Nobility) discusses their responsibilities during the celestial Parlement's debate on the crucial qualities of a good prince.⁸⁷

In the prologue of the first version of the *Dialogues*, Salmon noted that the book might be useful for members of the king's blood as well as to the king himself.⁸⁸ Some of the important themes of Part 1, such as the duty of the king to provide justice and protect his people, would have been applicable to other princes as well—and especially during this part of Charles VI's reign, when his relatives were largely governing on his behalf. The letters that Salmon copied into Part 3 of the first version of the *Dialogues* demonstrate his understanding of the need to influence the king's relatives and other members of his government in order to enact change. These letters would have reminded any of these individuals who read the book or heard it read aloud of his earlier communication with them.⁸⁹

The second version of the *Dialogues* even more explicitly speaks to other members of the royal blood. Salmon may have started this version primarily for the benefit of the young dauphin Louis de Guyenne, who died in 1415 at the age of eighteen. Prior to his death, the dauphin was gradually taking on an increased political role, especially during his father's illnesses. Christine de Pizan wrote her 1407 *Corps de policie* with Louis de Guyenne in mind.⁹⁰ Two ordinances issued in 1409 stipulated that the dauphin, who turned twelve that year, would act on the king's behalf when Charles was unwell.⁹¹ In 1413 the dauphin turned sixteen, and was at an age when he could take on his role in a more meaningful manner. After the murder of his uncle Louis d'Orléans by the duke of Burgundy, Louis de Guyenne presided in the king's place over Jean Petit's speech justifying the assassination.⁹² The

⁸⁷ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 3481-3720.

⁸⁸ BnF fr. 23279 1r.

⁸⁹ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 19, 22-25.

⁹⁰ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, xi, 28-33; Emily J. Hutchison, "'Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume': Burgundian propaganda under John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, 1405-1419," PhD, University of York, 2006, 117-18; Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, 134.

⁹¹ Tracy Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, Series: Rethinking Theory (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010), 23-24; Denis-François Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1741), 6:46, 6:49, 8:583.

⁹² Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit: La question de tyrannicide au commencement du XV^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Auguste Picard, 1932), 67.

dauphin would have been an appropriate target for Salmon's attempts to enact political change when he started this version of the *Dialogues* in 1412.

This second *Dialogues* makes its advice for princes more clearly applicable to Louis de Guyenne and other members of the royal family by changing the personalized approach of the first version into a more generic one. The framing of the book in the prologue, and the advice Salmon offers in Parts 1 and 2, are made less specific to Charles and more generically applicable to all princes. Like the first version of the *Dialogues*, the second dedicates the book to the king, offers good wishes to his family members, and refers to the potential readers and auditors of the book in the plural.⁹³ But while the prologue of the first version focuses on Salmon's history of service to the king and the relationship between the two men, in the second version the prologue is more clearly the introduction to a *book*, rather than to a series of *conversations* that happen to have been written down. Salmon's history of service to the king is conspicuously absent from the prologue of this version, which also includes the unique claim that the book had been produced at the king's "commandement et ordonnance."⁹⁴ Rather than being a record of the relationship between Salmon and Charles VI, this version is more clearly a book that might also be of use to others.

In the question and answer format of Parts 1 and 2, the second version presents both Salmon and Charles as more generic figures than does the first, further encouraging readers and auditors of this version to think of its advice as being applicable to all princes, not just the book's purported patron and dedicatee. The first version's visually striking framework of "Le roy demande" (the king asks) and "Salmon respont" (Salmon responds) is replaced in the second by "Le roy" and "L'acteur" (the king and the author). By removing the verbs "demande" and "respont," the second version of the *Dialogues* places less emphasis on the act of conversation between the two men. The replacement of "Salmon" with "l'acteur" makes him a more generic figure than in the first version of the *Dialogues*, someone capable of offering advice to all princes and not only the one he served as secretary.⁹⁵

⁹³ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 1r-1v, 4v; BnF fr. 9610 ff. 1r-1v; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 1r, 3r.

⁹⁴ "commandement and ordinance." BnF fr. 23279 f. 2r-2v; BnF fr. 9610 ff. 1r-1v; Geneva fr. 165 f. 1v.

⁹⁵ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 33.

A later manuscript copy of this version shows how this “acteur” could be adapted to flatter one of the counsellors of Louis XII.⁹⁶ Even the use of pronouns and articles in the second *Dialogues* suggests a wider intended audience. In the first version, Salmon tells the king that he will do his best to answer his questions on “que doit avoir *le* roy;” in the second version, this is altered to “que doit avoir *un* roy.”⁹⁷ Similar alterations from the definite to the indefinite article occur throughout the second version of the *Dialogues*. The necessity for *the* king to know himself becomes an instruction that *a* king must know himself; *the* king who must focus on spiritual matters becomes *each* king who must do likewise.⁹⁸ A second-person address in the first version (“you must know”) changes to the third person in second (“the king must know”).⁹⁹ The relationship between the interlocutors is also made less personal, with the informal pronouns of Version 1 sometimes replaced by formal pronouns in Version 2.¹⁰⁰

Subtle changes to pronouns and articles are accompanied by more obvious changes in audience in the second version of the *Dialogues*. Where for example the first version informs the reader that uprightness and mercy belong to the king, in the second version these same virtues are said to be held by wise and disciplined men—thus becoming accessible to a larger group that might also include the king’s warring family members and the dauphin.¹⁰¹ In what is potentially also a pointed reference to the misbehaviour of the princes of France, the first version’s “le roy qui est souverain sur tous les seigneurs et autres gens de son royaume” becomes “un roy excède et surmonte en noblesce, honneur et estat les autres princes et seigneurs de son royaume” in the second version, further emphasizing the superiority of the king over

⁹⁶ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 55.

⁹⁷ “what *the* king must have;” “what *a* king must have.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 7r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 7v. Emphasis added.

⁹⁸ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 11r-11v, 12r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 12v, 15r-15v.

⁹⁹ BnF fr. 23279 f. 10r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 11r.

¹⁰⁰ For example at the beginning of Part 2 in the first version, the king thanks Salmon for his answers in the first-person singular, “j’ay oy et bien entendu la response que faicte a ma question et demande.” In the second version, the king uses the first-person plural, “les responses que faictes nous avez sur les damandes par nous a vous faictes.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 19r; BnF fr. 9610 f. 22r; Geneva 165 f. 24r.

¹⁰¹ BnF fr. 23279 f. 10r; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 10r-10v.

other lords.¹⁰² In the second *Dialogues*, advice for kings becomes advice for kings, princes, and other lords—which could have included the dukes but also the dauphin as he reached an age where he could apply the advice.¹⁰³

While the virtues discussed in Part 4 of this second *Dialogues* would have been applicable to all Christian readers, in some cases Salmon also ties them specifically to princely duties. This may have been intended as a form of education or instruction for the dauphin or for other members of the royal blood.¹⁰⁴ Several of the virtues discussed in Part 4 are explicitly linked to the virtues required of princes. Raison's (Reason's) discussion of the virtue of charity, for example, includes a lament on the lack of this virtue in French leadership.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, the discussion of largesse seems more suited to a princely audience than to the fictionalized Salmon. Here Raison instructs Salmon on the six virtues of "liberalité:" giving neither too much nor too little; being prompt with gifts and not keeping people waiting; making sure that no individual benefits more than another; moderating generosity through prudence; giving only from one's own goods, and not from another's; and giving with affection.¹⁰⁶ Giles of Rome had similarly explained that a prince must avoid being either too generous or not sufficiently generous.¹⁰⁷ Salmon's examples of appropriate generosity include the "noble roy, Saint Louis, et de plusieurs autres roys et princes, ses predecesseurs et subsecuteurs," models more appropriate for French kings than for their counsellors and secretaries.¹⁰⁸ The discussion of the dangers of avarice, including the example of the emperor Nero's excessive taxation, which was harmful to "la chose publique," seems more appropriate to princes than to the fictionalized

¹⁰² "the king who is sovereign over all the lords and other people of his kingdom;" "a king excels in nobility, honour, and estate the other princes and lords of his kingdom." BnF fr. 23279 f. 12r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 12v.

¹⁰³ Compare for example BnF fr. 23279 f. 13v and Geneva fr. 165 f. 15v; BnF fr. 23279 ff. 15v-16r and Geneva fr. 165 f. 20v; BnF fr. 23279 f. 16v and Geneva fr. 165 f. 21v.

¹⁰⁴ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 42.

¹⁰⁵ Geneva fr. 165 ff. 149r, 152v.

¹⁰⁶ Geneva fr. 165 ff. 227r-234v.

¹⁰⁷ de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 59-62 (Book 1, Part 2, Chapters 17-18), 67-69 (Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 20).

¹⁰⁸ "noble king St Louis, and several other kings and princes, his predecessors and descendants." Geneva fr. 165 f. 240r.

Salmon.¹⁰⁹ In this version of the *Dialogues*, Salmon ties a discussion of the virtues all Christians should strive for to the virtues a French king should acquire and the consequences that threaten his people if he fails to do so.

The images in the second version of the *Dialogues* also place less emphasis on Charles VI than they do in the first version. Part 1 of the second version contains no equivalent to the first version's images of Biblical kings associated with French symbols, or the enthroned Charles VI of France, in which the king is clearly identifiable by the inclusion of his personal emblems.¹¹⁰ In the first version of the *Dialogues*, Part 2 includes only one image, showing Salmon and Charles VI in conversation.¹¹¹ In the second version, Part 2 includes a miniature showing the Trinity enthroned and several historiated initials featuring the Creation of Adam; the Nativity; the Last Supper; Hell; the Antichrist; David in Prayer; and a French king in prayer. The focus in these images is less on the relationship between Salmon and Charles VI than on "eternal salvation," something of concern for all Christians and perhaps for a Charles VI in whose earthly actions Salmon no longer had much faith.¹¹² Still, the inclusion of two pictures showing Salmon and Charles VI in conversation with each other in the second version does remind us that although this version addresses a wider audience than the first, the main framework of the book is still the series of questions and answers between the king and Salmon. While he may not have been the primary target of the second version, Charles VI was still its dedicatee and his fictionalized self was still an important part of the text.

Reading the fictionalized king

If they ever read these books or heard them read aloud, the members of the king's family and of his government to whom these writers spoke in their texts would have witnessed two very different characterizations of the king. The way Charles is described and fictionalized in these books is important for our understanding of how

¹⁰⁹ "the public good." Geneva fr. 165 f. 255v.

¹¹⁰ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 11-12.

¹¹¹ BnF fr. 23279 f. 19r.

¹¹² Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 34.

different audiences may have reacted to the books, as Charles' ability to rule had a direct effect on the roles his counsellors and relatives had to play. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and in the *Arbre des batailles*, Charles VI is a competent young king ready to begin his personal rule. In the *Chemin de long estude* and the *Dialogues*, he is a failed ruler who needs instruction despite having been on the throne for many years. These portrayals of Charles as a competent or incompetent ruler were part of the way these texts attempted to communicate their message to a wider audience of individuals who were urged to either step aside or to take on increased responsibilities to the king and the kingdom.

One of the major themes of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* is Charles VI's declaration of personal rule and the distancing of his uncles from royal government. Queen Verité reminds the fictionalized king that he is now primarily responsible for French government and that she has returned to the mortal world due to her love for him.¹¹³ Furthermore, the prologue of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* describes Charles as necessary for the reform of French government and of all Christian society that the writer sees as a prerequisite for his crusading project. While this fictionalized Charles does need instruction and assistance from Queen Verité, he is described as being very willing to accept her help and as being perfectly capable of applying it.¹¹⁴ This fictionalized Charles parallels the way the young king was described in the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, which characterized Charles as being both an able and enthusiastic ruler despite his young age.¹¹⁵ Drawing a further contrast between Charles and his uncles in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Queen Verité implies that the only reason he needs her instruction is that they failed to instruct him properly during his youth. She explains that he requires her help, not primarily due to his own faults, but due to faults in the way he was brought up.¹¹⁶ This likely reference to the failures of the king's uncles

¹¹³ When instructing him in Book 3, the queen reminds him that “a toy seul principalement en appartient le gouvernement.” In the conclusion of the *Songe*, she adds that “je suis descendue de la Riche Montaigne c'est pour l'amour du jeune Moyese, au quel j'ay departy une partie de ma sainte arquemie.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:131 (Book 3, Chapter 189), 2:469 (Book 3, Chapter 301).

¹¹⁴ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:87 (Prologue); 2:125-26 (Book 3, Chapter 185).

¹¹⁵ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:348-49.

¹¹⁶ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:350 (Book 3, Chapter 263).

during his minority, and perhaps to the conflicts that erupted in 1380 over how best to apply the minority ordinances issued by Charles V, may have extended to the king's brother Louis as well. Although his role in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* is very much secondary to that of the king, Louis still plays an important part in the text. Like Charles, he appears in fictionalized form in Book 3. As the only witness of the French Parlement who is invited to accompany Charles and to receive Queen Verité's lessons, he is also accorded a certain degree of responsibility in carrying them out. But he is to have a supporting role, helping his brother to remember and apply Queen Verité's instructions.¹¹⁷

Charles is similarly a young king who is guaranteed to improve France and all of Christendom in the prologue of the *Arbre des batailles*. Bovet explains that he decided to write the book for the king because "les prophecies anciennes" indicate that "ung de la haulte ligne de France doit estre celui par qui les remedes seront donnez" to the problems of divisions, the papal schism, and the Neapolitan succession crisis.¹¹⁸ Accordingly, the book has been produced in order to help the young king understand Scripture and to become more inclined to act to solve these problems.¹¹⁹ The prologue's references to the contemporary prophecies about Charles VI centre Bovet's appeals more specifically on the king and may have been useful in encouraging him in particular to act. Bovet's Charles VI is essentially a catalyst: his involvement is necessary to bring about an end to human suffering and to the papal schism—a topic on which Bovet would later write another book—but others are required to act.¹²⁰ The limitation of explicit references to the king to the prologue and the final paragraph of the text also leave open the possibility that its dedication to him was a last-minute decision, possibly precipitated by the news that the king was paying a visit to Avignon. Still, the references to the prophecies about Charles VI and the treatment of the papal schism as being a particular responsibility

¹¹⁷ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:467-68 (Book 3, Chapter 300).

¹¹⁸ "ancient prophecies;" "one of the exalted line of France will be the one to solve these problems." Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:599 (Prologue).

¹¹⁹ Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:599 (Prologue).

¹²⁰ Honorat Bovet, *L'Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun et le Somnium super materia scismatis d'Honoré Bonet*, ed. Ivor Arnold (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1926).

of the French crown are important. Despite the wide range of individuals addressed later in the *Arbre des batailles*, its prologue presents the crown of France and its occupier, the subject of prophecy, as necessary conditions for the reforms suggested throughout the book. Its dedication could serve a dual purpose, appealing both to the king and to a larger audience.

The extent to which the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Arbre des batailles* characterize Charles as a young ruler full of potential is particularly evident when compared with the construction of Richard II as the primary audience of Philippe de Mézières' 1395 *Epistre au Roi Richart*. Here it is Richard whose abilities to provide peace have been foretold, and his allegorical representation is interpreted to show the qualities and virtues that he already possesses.¹²¹ While the *Epistre au roi Richart* sometimes uses the plural pronoun to speak to both Richard and Charles, its reference to the role played by the French king's uncles acknowledges that Charles may no longer be able to play a key role in the author's plans.¹²² In the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Arbre des batailles*, however, Charles VI is cast as the text's primary imagined audience and as the necessary element in accomplishing its goals. Having dismissed his uncles, he is now able to receive and act on the author's advice. But his need of instruction and counsel at this point, nine years into his reign, is a further testament to the failure of his uncles: a king old enough to undertake personal rule should not also require advice and instruction in the basics of kingship such as that given to him by Queen Verité. The characterization of Charles VI in these two books would have served as a reminder for other members of the royal family that it was now Charles, and not they, who was in charge of French government.

In contrast, the Charles of the *Chemin de long estude* and the *Dialogues* is an incompetent or failed king, one who has not succeeded in ending the warfare and divisions in France or in the rest of Christendom. Contemporaries would likely have remembered the prophecy of the early years of Charles VI's reign when reading the *Chemin de long estude*, whose celestial figures debate the appointment of a universal monarch much like the one the prophecy described. In her plea before the virtues,

¹²¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II: A plea made in 1395 for peace between England and France*, ed. George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975), 83-92.

¹²² Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, 80, 85, 95-98, 116, 124.

Rea (Mother Earth) despairs of the conflicts and warfare that her sons and daughters are constantly inflicting upon each other. The main cause of this is divisions among those in power, who wish to reign over others and retain power for themselves.¹²³ Sandra Hindman argues that Christine de Pizan intended this celestial debate to suggest Charles for the role of universal monarch, in recognition of these earlier prophecies.¹²⁴ Others have remarked that it is more likely that the celestial Parlement's unwillingness to decide on a candidate to be the universal monarch is a comment on Charles VI's lack of ability to fulfil the task. Since he could not rule France, how could he be expected to be a universal prince, even considering the prophecy of earlier in his reign?¹²⁵ Christine de Pizan acknowledges the unlikelihood of Charles fulfilling the prophecies in her 1404 *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, which notes that although prophecies had stated that Charles VI would accomplish great things, he had been impeded by illness.¹²⁶ In the *Chemin de long estude*, the approach of the allegorical figures to the question of who to appoint as a universal monarch suggests that the book was intended as a comment not only on Charles' lack of ability, but on the responsibility of other members of the French royal family to help him rule. The debate of the celestial Parlement makes the choice of a particular individual seem unlikely to happen from the beginning. Rather than suggesting qualified *individuals*, each allegorical figure proposes a series of *characteristics* that the universal prince should hold. Should he be the best knight, the richest, the most noble, or the wisest? Which characteristic is most likely to produce a model universal ruler? The *Chemin de long estude*'s discussion of the qualities of a good ruler does not even come to a conclusion on the ideal qualities of a universal prince. How could it propose that Charles VI take on the role? The Parlement's decision to leave the *choice* of universal ruler to the French princes, however, is important as a comment on Charles VI's abilities. Rather than ask the king to make the decision in

¹²³ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 2599-2705, 3009-3066.

¹²⁴ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, 171, 173.

¹²⁵ Andrea Tarnowski, "Introduction," in *Le Chemin de Longue Étude* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), 21-43 (40).

¹²⁶ Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1936), 1:160-67.

the company of his counsellors, the text leaves the choice up to the entirety of the French royal family. In other words, the ability to end divisions, warfare, and conflicts is in their collective hands, and not those of Charles alone.

In the *Dialogues*, too, Charles VI is an incapable king—one who recognizes and wishes to remedy his own failures, but who has so far failed in the duties required of him. Two or three years prior, Christine de Pizan had written the *Corps de policie* (1406-7), intended primarily for the nine-year-old dauphin, Louis de Guyenne. The book addresses the duties and responsibilities of *all* members of the body politic, opening with exhortations to the prince to love and fear God and take care of the public good that would have resonated with audiences familiar with the tradition of the *Policraticus*, the *De regimine principum*, and the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*.¹²⁷ The instruction of a nine-year-old future king in such duties may reasonably have formed a part of his education. The *Dialogues*' similar instruction of a man who had been king for the last twenty-nine years speaks to his failure to follow through on the education he had received in his youth. Similarly, in her 1400-1 *Epistre Othea*, Christine de Pizan equated the twenty-nine-year-old Louis d'Orléans with the fifteen-year-old Trojan hero, Hector.¹²⁸ The comparison between the adult duke and the young knight learning his duties suggests that Louis is a prince who has failed to capitalize on the instruction he was offered in his own youth, such as the advice offered to him alongside his brother in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. Manuscripts of the *Epistre Othea* produced after the duke's death in 1407 re-framed him as a negative exemplum for new audiences such as Jean de Berry, Isabeau de Bavière, and Louis de Guyenne.¹²⁹

The fictionalized Charles VI of the *Dialogues* is a child-like figure, unlearned in kingship, despite having been on the throne for twenty-nine years at the time the book was written. Charles' failures, and the responsibility of the dukes and other members of French government to act on his behalf and in the common interests of the kingdom, are evident in the way the fictionalized king is depicted in Parts 1 and 2 of the *Dialogues*, as well as in the pleas to the dukes and other members of government

¹²⁷ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie: Edition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), 11-14.

¹²⁸ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, 39.

¹²⁹ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa"*, 100-142.

in the letters of Part 3. By asking Salmon to compose the book, and to include in it copies of Salmon's correspondence, the fictionalized Charles shows his willingness and ability to seek out and follow good counsel and to keep track of what his servants are up to, as he is urged to do in Part 1.¹³⁰ But beyond these requests, the fictionalized king is an incapable one. If he follows Salmon's advice, his illness may be cured. But as it stands, he admits to his own inadequacies. Twenty-one years into his personal rule, he is still asking basic questions about kingship and about religious matters that, as the so-called "roi très chrétien" or Most Christian King, he should probably already know. In the second version of the *Dialogues*, the writer further incapacitates Charles by making more references to his mental illness and his lack of ability. While in the first version Salmon hopes that the king will be blessed with glory, honour, victory, and praise, the second version exchanges glory for "salut de ame et de corps."¹³¹ In the second version the discussion of Solomon's coronation is used to remind the king of his own coronation, perhaps implying that such a reminder was now even more necessary than in 1409 when the first version was completed.¹³² This may also have encouraged the dauphin Louis de Guyenne to think about his own future coronation as a reminder of his current responsibilities to the French crown and French government. This representation of an incapacitated king as the book's primary audience may have been part of Salmon's attempt to urge the king's relatives to work together to rule the kingdom in a way that Charles could not.

Conclusion

Each of these four books was dedicated to the king and used fictionalizations of him, descriptions of him, and pictures specific to him, to present Charles VI as the primary intended or imagined audience of their advice. At the same time, the writers also spoke to a larger audience of the Christian community and, more specifically, other members of French government such as the royal relatives who had such

¹³⁰ BnF fr. 23279 fr. 18r; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 22v-23r.

¹³¹ "health of soul and body." BnF fr. 23279 f. 1v; BnF fr. 9610 f. 1r.

¹³² "vostre sacre à Raims quant là endroit fuste ennoingt et couronne." Geneva fr. 165 f. 3r.

important roles during the minority and later mental illness of the king. The focus on the person and office of kingship in these books was perhaps an attempt to encourage this larger audience to remember their own duties to the king and to the kingdom. Similarly, John of Salisbury had tried to use his dedicatee, Thomas Becket, as a model of good Christian behaviour for other readers.¹³³ Likewise in his 1398 *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*, Bovet included dedications to Louis d'Orléans in the manuscripts prepared for the duke's wife and for Philippe le Hardi and Jean de Montaigu.¹³⁴ The two earliest surviving manuscripts, presented to Jean de Montaigu and the duchess of Orléans, each contain a dedication tailored to their recipient as well as one to Louis d'Orléans.¹³⁵ These dual dedications, framing Louis as the book's primary intended audience despite the presentation of manuscripts to others, encourage the reader to bear him in mind as they read the book. At the same time, the applicability of the messages of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues* to larger audiences may also have reminded Charles himself, if he ever read the books, of the interdependence of members of the body politic and of his responsibilities to his own subjects and his kingdom. This framing of political discussion around the king while also speaking to other influential members of the body politic demonstrates how books such as these could be used as attempts to enter a political conversation in a manner similar to that of the royal entry or of other public forms of advice-giving such as Jean Gerson's and Jacques Legrand's sermons. At the same time, it shows how the writers' choice to dedicate their books to Charles, rather than other political actors, was a key part of their communication strategy in emphasizing the responsibilities of others towards the king. The writers' interest in speaking to both king and other members of his government is also reflected in the way their advice deals with questions of the

¹³³ Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372)*, *Livres I-III*, 88-93 (Euthétique); Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury, Livres VI et VII*, ed. Charles Brucker (Geneva: Droz, 2013), 279-86 (Book 7, Prologue); John of Salisbury, *Fivialities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, 213, 415-25 (Book 7, Prologue; Entheticus).

¹³⁴ Michael Hanly, "Introduction," in *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: the "Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun" of Honorat Bovet* (Temple, Ariz: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2005), 1-56 (1).

¹³⁵ Hanly, "Introduction," in *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue*, 16-17; Honorat Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: the "Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun" of Honorat Bovet*, ed. Michael Hanly (Temple, Ariz: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2005), 58-62.

responsibilities of kings and of royal counsellors, and especially of counsellors who were also members of the royal blood.

Chapter 4. Advising the King

In speaking to their primary imagined audience of the king, the writers adapted some of the familiar discussions of kingship from earlier models such as the *Policraticus*, the *De regimine principum*, and the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé* to promote their advice and advance their goals. The *De regimine principum* provided an influential model of kingship based on the prince's ability to master three key aspects of his duties: the ability to govern himself, his household, and finally, his kingdom. The necessity of learning to govern first oneself and one's household made the king similar to—and ideally able to provide a good example for—his subjects. At the same time, his duties to, for example, dispense justice, defend his subjects, and protect the Church, set the king apart. Philippe de Mézières, Honorat Bovet, Christine de Pizan, and Pierre Salmon, along with their contemporaries, acknowledged this by recognizing the distinction between the person and the office, or dignity, of the king. According to John of Salisbury, an individual's "office" is comprised of his or her duties, which may include both public and private functions.¹ In his translation of the *De regimine principum*, Henri de Gauchi explained that "li non du roi est non d'office," an office that requires wisdom.² The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century understanding that there was a separation between the royal person and the royal dignity is evident in the justification of Jean sans Peur for the murder of Louis d'Orléans, which argued that Louis had been trying to depose his brother and thereby deprive him of his kingdom and of "sa dignité royale."³ Similarly, the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues* all assume a distinction between individual and office, and provide advice based on the framework of virtues an

¹ Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livre V: Edition critique et commentée des textes français et latin avec traduction moderne*, ed. Charles Brucker, Publications romanes et françaises (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 287-88 (Book 5, Chapter 4); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury: Being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books, of the Policraticus*, ed. John Dickinson (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 73-74 (Book 5, Chapter 4).

² "the name of king is the name of [an] office." Henri de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois: a XIIIth century French version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise, De regimine principum*, ed. Samuel Paul Molenaer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1899), 38-39 (Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 7).

³ "his royal dignity." Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *La chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. Louis Claude Douët-d'Arcq (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1966), 1:240.

individual must possess in order to fulfil that office. The texts sometimes refer to the royal “office” but more frequently to the royal “dignity,” a word used by Salmon exclusively for kings although applied more widely by Christine de Pizan.⁴ Bovet uses visual symbolism to describe the royal dignity, calling Charles VI the current occupier of the “sainte couronne de France.”⁵

In their discussions of the relationship between the personal virtues of the king and his duty to the royal dignity, the authors, along with other contemporaries such as Eustache Deschamps, follow the models of texts like the *De regimine principum*, the *Policraticus*, and the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, arguing that a king must be truthful and avoid falseness, have good personal qualities including chastity, wisdom, temperance, and humility, and understand the duties of his office. In addition to helping him rule, these virtues should also make the prince an exemplary figure, inspiring his subjects to virtuous behaviour.⁶ The *Arbre des batailles* notes that a king must be virtuous and devoted to God, that he must practise moderation in all things, and that he must be capable of governing himself before he can govern others.⁷ Likewise in the *Chemin de long estude*, Sagece proposes an ideal ruler who is wise and generous and who avoids luxury and gluttony.⁸ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the entire first quarter of the allegorical chessboard is concerned with the “gouvernement moral” of the royal

⁴ Christine de Pizan uses the word “dignité” to refer to any estate or office in the *Chemin de long estude*, while Salmon consistently uses “dignité” for kings and “office” for other positions. The only uses of the word “office” to refer to kingship in the first version of the *Dialogues* are altered to “dignité” or removed entirely in the second version. Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ed. Andrea Tarnowski, Lettres gothiques (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), ll. 2027-2256.

⁵ “sacred crown of France.” Honorat Bovet, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet: étude de l’oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan,” Thèse, ed. Hélène Biu (Paris: Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004), 2:599 (Prologue).

⁶ Joël Blanchard and Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l’aube des temps modernes* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2002), 18, 91-92; de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 8-9 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 3), 10-11 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 4), 30 (Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 1), 35 (Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 5); Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps: publiées d’après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale*, ed. Marquis Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878), 1:282-83; Jean Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles: Le jeu des eschaz moralisé, traduction de Jean Ferron (1347)*, ed. Alain Collet, Classiques français du Moyen Age (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 134-36; Denis Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes, et prêtres (Jean de Salisbury, Policratique IV et VIII)*, ed. Charles Brucker, *Le moyen français* 21 (Montréal: CERES, 1987), 59-62 (Book 4, Chapter 5); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman’s Book of John of Salisbury*, 19-23 (Book 4, Chapter 5).

⁷ Bovet, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:868 (Chapter 199).

⁸ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 3340-3454, 5477-6079.

person, including such topics as the king's clothing, his amusements, his reading habits, his personal expenditure, and the need to be generous without being too extravagant.⁹ The *Songe du vieil pelerin* also reminds the king to be faithful to God, to be truthful, and to bear in mind that all good government depends on personal virtue.¹⁰ The *Dialogues* reminds him to be truthful and merciful, and that he must know himself in order to be able to properly govern others.¹¹ These four writers adapted the discussion of royal virtue and the duties of kings to suit their personal goals and to comment on the contemporary political situation.¹² While the writers used their concern for the king and the kingdom as well as for the welfare of the Church to authorize their advice, they also used familiar discussions of royal government and virtue to offer concrete commentary on these issues. This is evident in the way the authors adapted some of the key themes of the earlier texts, including the relationship between the king and his office; the responsibilities of the king towards his subjects; and his relationship with and duties towards the Church.

The king and his office

The writers used two important aspects of the king's duties towards his office to communicate their messages: the need for a king to avoid tyranny, and the necessity for him to maintain an appropriate visual display of his royal dignity by dressing according to, and respecting the symbols of, his estate. In the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, the primary purpose for the invention of the game of chess is the creator's desire to "corrigier" a tyrannical king and help him learn to govern in a way that

⁹ "moral government." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. George W. Coopland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 2:205 (Book 3, Chapter 224).

¹⁰ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:210 (Book 3, Chapter 225), 2:141 (Book 3, Chapter 194), 2:177-78 (Book 3, Chapter 215).

¹¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279 (BnF fr. 23279) ff. 10r-11r; Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 165 (Geneva fr. 165) ff. 10v-12v.

¹² See for example Michael Hanly, "Marriage, War and Good Government in Late-Fourteenth-Century Europe: the *De regimine principum* tradition in Langland, Mézières, and Bovet," in *Chaucer and the Challenges of Medievalism: Studies in Honor of H. A. Kelly*, ed. Donka Minkova and Theresa Tinkle (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 327-49; Cary J. Nederman, "The Opposite of Love: Royal Virtue, Economic Prosperity and Popular Discontent in Fourteenth-Century Political Thought," in *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages 1200-1500*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007), 177-197.

inspires the love of his people.¹³ Seven chapters of the *De regimine principum* deal with the subject of tyranny, defined as the worst kind of “seignorie” because a tyrant, unlike a true king, has no care for the common profit but only for his own gain; in addition to being a cruel ruler, a tyrant runs the practical risk of inspiring uprisings among his people.¹⁴ The *Policraticus* defines a tyrant as a person who usurps power or takes it by force and oppresses law and justice.¹⁵ It argues that, while princes should be loved, princes who become tyrants are wicked and should be killed—though it is unlawful to slay a tyrant to whom one has sworn an oath of fealty.¹⁶

The question of tyranny and the idea that slaying a tyrant could be justified became very important in the later years of Charles VI’s reign thanks to Jean sans Peur’s claims that Louis d’Orléans had acted tyrannically, and that this justified his murder in 1407.¹⁷ Writing in or before 1389, prior to these events, both Philippe de Mézières and Honorat Bovet acknowledged earlier discussions of tyranny while also adapting them to discuss another contemporary concern: the problems that could be caused by succession crises. In both the *Arbre des batailles* and the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, discussions of tyranny are linked to succession crises, turning these problems into failures of kingship that cause suffering among the ruler’s subjects. Bovet was primarily interested in two contemporary succession crises: the Angevin claim to Naples, and the papal schism, which he discussed in terms of tyranny.¹⁸ For Bovet,

¹³ “correct.” Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles*, 131.

¹⁴ “lordship.” de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 15-17 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 7), 19 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 9), 22-24 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 11), 270-73 (Book 3, Part 1, Chapter 2), 298-300 (Book 3, Part 2, Chapter 1).

¹⁵ Denis Foulechat, *Le Policraticus de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livres I-III*, ed. Charles Brucker (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 248 (Book 3, Chapter 15); Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes, et prêtres*, 49-51 (Book 4, Chapter 1), 105-10 (Book 8, Chapter 20); Denis Foulechat, *Le Policraticus de Jean de Salisbury, Livres VI et VII*, ed. Charles Brucker (Geneva: Droz, 2013), 401-12 (Book 7, Chapter 17); John of Salisbury, *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, ed. Cary J. Nederman, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 211 (Book 3, Chapter 15), 282 (Book 7, Chapter 17); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman’s Book of John of Salisbury*, 3-5 (Book 4, Chapter 1), 367-74 (Book 8, Chapter 20).

¹⁶ Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes, et prêtres*, 105-10 (Book 8, Chapter 20); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman’s Book of John of Salisbury*, 336 (Book 8, Chapter 20).

¹⁷ Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société: L’assassinat du duc d’Orléans, 23 novembre 1407* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 216-20, 239-55.

¹⁸ Bovet, “L’Arbre des batailles d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:614 (Chapter 8), 2:616 (Chapter 9), 2:618 (Chapter 10), 2:647 (Chapter 27), 2:707 (Chapter 50).

like the earlier writers, a tyrant is someone who has usurped jurisdiction or who thinks of his own good over “la commune utilité.”¹⁹ The *Arbre des batailles* applies this definition in both temporal jurisdictions, such as Lombardy, and spiritual jurisdictions, making anti-popes tyrants as well.²⁰

Philippe de Mézières in particular uses a ruler’s duty to avoid becoming a tyrant to discuss succession crises, as well as more clearly linking the concept of tyranny with contemporary French practices. As Queen Verité introduces the chess allegory in Book 3 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, she explains the origins of the chess game in a segment clearly borrowed from the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*: the game, she tells the king, was invented by a wise philosopher to encourage a tyrannical king to mend his ways. Here the queen also asks Charles to avoid using the title of “redoubté” because it “emporte tyrannie.” She warns that if he uses the title, he will resemble the tyrannical king in the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*.²¹ Philippe de Mézières’ preference for love over fear echoed the *De regimine principum*, which states that a prince should prefer being loved over being feared, and associates fear with cruel rulers.²² In his dislike of the title “redoubté,” however, Philippe de Mézières differed from other contemporary writers, who encouraged kings to be both feared and loved and used “redoubté” or “tres redoubté” not only for the king but also for other secular authorities such as Jean de Montaigu and Valentine Visconti, as well as allegorical figures such as Raison (Reason).²³

Philippe de Mézières further connects discussions of tyranny with contemporary problems in his association between succession crises and tyrannical rule. The *Songe du vieil pelerin* explores these problems most clearly in Book 1, in which

¹⁹ “the common utility.” Bovet, “L’Arbre des batailles d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:647 (Chapter 28).

²⁰ Bovet, “L’Arbre des batailles d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:647-48 (Chapter 28).

²¹ “feared;” “implies tyranny.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:162-65 (Book 3, Chapter 208), 2:185 (Book 3, Chapter 218), 2:200 (Book 3, Chapter 222).

²² de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 368 (Book 3, Part 2, Chapter 34).

²³ For Charles VI, see Bovet, “L’Arbre des batailles d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:599 (Prologue); Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 1, 9; for Raison, see Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, l. 2893; for Valentine Visconti and Jean de Montaigu, see Honorat Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: the “Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun” of Honorat Bovet*, ed. Michael Hanly (Temple, Ariz: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2005), 58-60. See also Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1936), 2:31.

Queen Verité's visits to Padua, Sicily, and Spain all find that the local populations are suffering under tyranny originating in a succession crisis and characterized by divisions, warfare, a lack of justice, and insufficient Christian faith. Queen Verité also finds that the problems in the government of Lower Egypt, Scandinavia, Naples, Padua, Milan, Provence, Navarre, Brittany, Flanders, and England originated in a succession crisis.²⁴ Philippe de Mézières' travels to a number of the locations he describes as having experienced tyranny due to succession crises meant that he had witnessed some of these problems personally.²⁵ He may also have been concerned about the uncertainty of royal succession in France, which was an issue under both Charles V and Charles VI. After fourteen years of marriage, Charles V was still without an heir at the time of his accession in 1364. Prayers for the queen's fertility were included in his coronation *ordo*.²⁶ Although the birth of the future Charles VI in 1368 and of his brother Louis in 1372 clarified the succession, Charles V still found it necessary to plan for the likelihood of his own death before his sons reached the age of majority.²⁷ Furthermore, at the time the *Songe du vieil pelerin* was completed, Charles VI himself was without an heir; his first son had died just a few months after his birth in 1386. Given Philippe de Mézières' disapproval of governance by the king's uncles during his minority, as well as his experiences in other realms, he had reason to be anxious about the French succession.²⁸ Finally, for both Bovet and Philippe de Mézières succession crises also threatened the stability of Christendom as a whole. For Bovet, this was a problem that opened up Christian Europe to attack, as suggested by the Sarrazin in his *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*; for Philippe de

²⁴ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:260-62 (Book 1, Chapter 24), 1:279-80 (Book 1, Chapter 31), 1:386-87 (Book 1, Chapter 71). See also pp. 1:231 (Book 1, Chapter 13), 1:251 (Book 1, Chapter 20), 1:252-53 (Book 1, Chapter 21), 1:302 (Book 1, Chapter 42), 1:392-93 (Book 1, Chapter 74), 1:395 (Book 1, Chapter 76), 1:399 (Book 1, Chapter 77), 1:404 (Book 1, Chapter 80).

²⁵ George W. Coopland, "General Introduction," in *Le Songe du vieil pelerin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 1:11-12, 127; Nicolas Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405: La croisade au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1896), 9n1, 10-11, 19-22.

²⁶ Richard A. Jackson, *Vive le roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 30-31.

²⁷ Guinée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 29-33; Denis-François Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1741), 6:26-32, 6:45-54.

²⁸ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:571-72 (Book 2, Chapter 128), 1:577-78 (Book 2, Chapter 131), 1:582 (Book 2, Chapter 133).

Mézières, it also lessened the likelihood of a unified Christian Europe being able to embark on the “sainte passage d’outremer” for the recovery of the Holy Land.²⁹ Both of these authors used what would have been familiar discussions of tyranny to explore the threats that succession crises posed to the ideal of stable government.

The writers also used a second aspect of the king’s obligations to the royal dignity to express concerns about contemporary problems: the visual display of royal majesty. One of the most obvious occasions on which this was displayed was the coronation ceremony. While the official position was that the king’s authority was immediate from his accession, in practice the coronation was considered a transformative event. Jeanne d’Arc refused to call Charles VII king, referring to him only as “Dauphin,” until his coronation in July 1429; his rival, the child-king Henry VI of England, was crowned in both London (1429) and Paris (1431) in order to counter the increased legitimacy accorded to Charles by virtue of having been crowned.³⁰ During the fourteenth century and under Charles V in particular, the French monarchy had begun placing an increased emphasis on the importance of displays of the royal dignity. These included visual reminders of the king’s status such as the canopy carried over his head during royal entries. A similar canopy was employed in royal appearances in Parlement, contributing to the increased ceremonial, rather than familiar, approach to royalty.³¹ Other important emblems of French kingship included two symbols associated with the first Christian king of

²⁹ “holy passage overseas.” Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue*, 84-100.

³⁰ Anne Curry, “The ‘Coronation Expedition’ and Henry VI’s Court in France, 1430 to 1432,” in *The Lancastrian Court*, ed. Jenny Stratford (Donington, Linc.: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 29; Craig Taylor, “Preface,” in *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), ix-xii (xi); Craig Taylor, ed. and trans., “81. Deposition of the Count of Dunois (22 February 1456),” in *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 278.

³¹ Raymond Cazelles, *Société politique, noblesse, et couronne sous Jean le Bon et Charles V*, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartres 28 (Geneva: Droz, 1982), 515; Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 53; Sarah Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse*, Studies presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions 65 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), 14-23; Jacques Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440): Étude de la littérature politique du temps* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1981), 133. For further discussion of the royal entry canopy, see Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance*, Travaux d’humanisme et Renaissance (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 101-103; Noël Coulet, “Les entrées royales en Angleterre. Deux exemples: les entrées de Richard II en 1392 et Henry V en 1415,” *Memini: Travaux et documents* 1 (1997), 3-21; and Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, “Introduction,” in *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1968), 7-30 (13-18).

France, Clovis: the *sainte ampoule* of oil used to consecrate kings during their coronation ceremony, said to have been brought to Clovis by a heavenly dove; and the triple *fleurs-de-lis*. One of the several origin myths for the *fleurs-de-lis* symbol was that the flowers had appeared to Clovis before a battle; upon hearing that they represented the Holy Trinity, he chose to convert to Christianity and was victorious. Writers employed by Charles V, including Raoul de Presles and Jean Golein, included explanations of these symbols and their legendary origins in their works, and Charles V was the first king to begin systematically using only three—rather than several—*fleurs-de-lis* in the royal coat of arms.³² In her *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, Christine de Pizan described that king as always conscious of how to visually represent the royal dignity while travelling from one castle to another: she writes that the *fleurs-de-lis* banner was always carried before him, and he was always dressed in *habit royal*, a blue robe decorated with gold *fleurs-de-lis*.³³ Under Charles VI, the writers used discussions of the visual display of kingship, as well as one of its key events, the coronation ceremony, to express contemporary anxieties about his unwillingness or inability to follow in his father's footsteps and properly represent the royal dignity.

In both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues*, the instruction in royal virtues begins with the fictionalized Charles VI's admission of his failure to live up to the standard demanded by the royal dignity. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Charles VI admits to Queen Verité that “je n'ay pas bien recogneu ma dignite royalle depuis que je suis parvenu a discrecion d'entendement.”³⁴ At the beginning of Part 1 of the *Dialogues*, the fictionalized Charles VI similarly admits that he has not behaved according to the royal dignity to which he has been raised or according to the examples of his predecessors, Charlemagne, St Louis, and his own father Charles V.³⁵ Already by the time the *Songe du vieil pelerin* was completed, Charles VI was likely

³² William M. Hinkle, *The Fleurs de Lis of the Kings of France 1285-1488* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 32-33; Jackson, *Vive le roi!*, 31-33.

³³ Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, 1:50.

³⁴ “I haven't always recognized my royal dignity since I reached the age of discretion.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:126 (Book 3, Chapter 185).

³⁵ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 5v, 6r; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 4v-6v.

known more for his enjoyment of martial pursuits than his willingness to behave in accordance with the royal dignity. The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* notes that the 1385 wedding of Charles VI and Isabeau de Bavière included everything appropriate to the royal majesty³⁶ But the king's decision to participate in the tournament after Isabeau's coronation in 1388 was not fitting for the royal majesty.³⁷ The same chronicler reports that, as a child, Charles had been offered his choice of royal treasures, including priceless jewels, by his father. Looking around the room, the young dauphin selected a sword hanging in the corner.³⁸ A few days later, during a banquet, the king offered his heir a choice between a magnificent crown and a helmet; Charles chose the helmet. Apparently the only royal emblem of which Charles VI was particularly fond was the *oriflamme*, the banner carried by French kings going into battle and which Charles employed against the Flemish during his minority.³⁹ In apparent disapproval of these more martial than royal preferences, the *Songe du vieil pelerin's* Queen Verité reminds Charles that he must appear "excellent par dessus tous les autres en ses royaulx habits," visually differentiating himself from others as he should do by virtue of his consecration as king.⁴⁰ By dressing according to his estate, she explains, the king will inspire devotion in his people in a manner similar to that achieved by a bishop who dresses according to his estate when celebrating divine offices.⁴¹ Both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Arbre des batailles* remind the king to limit his public appearances so as to ensure their maximum

³⁶ M. L. Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1839), 1:360-61.

³⁷ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:614-15.

³⁸ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:24-25; Bernard Guenée, "Le portrait de Charles VI dans la *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*," in *Un roi et son historien. Vingt études sur le règne de Charles VI et la 'Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis'* (Paris: de Bocard, 1999), 185-219 (213).

³⁹ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:24-25, 1:174-77; Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 166.

⁴⁰ "More excellent than all the others in his royal garments." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:208-9 (Book 3, Chapter 225).

⁴¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:209 (Book 3, Chapter 225).

impact: after all, people become tired of a thing to which they are frequently exposed, and even white bread loses its novelty eventually.⁴²

The king's ability and willingness to maintain the appearance required of the royal dignity was further compromised after 1392. During his periods of illness, Charles sometimes did not recognize himself as king and tried to erase his own coat of arms.⁴³ During a particularly bad period in 1405, the king refused all personal care for at least three weeks before his servants could convince him to change his clothes, bathe, shave, and eat; by this point he was covered in sores and infected by fleas.⁴⁴ As part of his propaganda campaign against Louis d'Orléans, Jean sans Peur accused the duke of diminishing the king's dignity and failing to care for him properly.⁴⁵ Even when he was well, Charles did not always dress according to his estate. After a recovery from illness in 1403, when the king went to Notre Dame to give thanks for his improved health, he failed to dress according to his position, wearing clothing that made him indistinguishable from any other knight.⁴⁶ The St-Denis chronicler's commentary on the king's lack of appropriate attire suggests that this was seen as a problem.

As one of Charles' secretaries, and one of the many people desperate to find a cure for the king's illness, Pierre Salmon was likely aware of the king's unwillingness to maintain his royal dignity. Certainly his audience of the king and members of his court would have been aware of this problem. Salmon's *Dialogues* encourages the king to be more concerned about visual displays of kingship, in keeping with for example the *De regimine principum's* insistence that a king must be good in both truth and appearance.⁴⁷ Borrowing from the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, the first version of the *Dialogues* tells Charles that when seated in his "siege royal" he should be dressed in

⁴² Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:871 (Chapter 199); Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:245 (Book 3, Chapter 235).

⁴³ Richard C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York: AMS, 1986), 6, 10.

⁴⁴ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:348-49.

⁴⁵ Emily J. Hutchison, "'Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume': Burgundian propaganda under John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, 1405-1419," PhD, University of York, 2006, 52.

⁴⁶ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:77-8.

⁴⁷ de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 17-18 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 8).

purple or another royal colour, symbolizing royal virtues; he must wear his crown, symbolizing his lordship over the people of his realm and their duty to obey him; he must hold his sceptre in his right hand, symbolizing mercy and wisdom; and he must hold an apple or something else round in his left hand to demonstrate his administration over his entire realm and his need to govern with “droiture.”⁴⁸ The visibility of the royal dignity is an important part of the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, which explains the limited movements of the chess king in terms of the royal dignity: “pour ce que le roy est le plus digne de touz et par consequant le seigneur, pour ce n’affiert il pas qu’il se esloigne moult de son siege.”⁴⁹ The second version of the *Dialogues* omits the apple or round object from this description, possibly more closely describing the regalia actually used in French coronations. Although the use of an orb had been introduced in the Empire in the eleventh century and was later adopted by other kingdoms such as Aragon, Hungary, and England, it was not used in France.⁵⁰ Instead, from the end of the thirteenth century, French kings displaying their majesty usually carried a sceptre in their right hand, and the *main de justice*—a short rod topped by an ivory hand—in their left.⁵¹ Salmon may have tried to more explicitly reference French practices, using them as a tool to remind the king of his obligations throughout the second version of the *Dialogues*. The first version of the *Dialogues* also provides Charles with a visual reminder of his need to honour the royal dignity: the accompanying picture shows him enthroned, in *habit royal* and under a *fleurs-de-lis* canopy, clearly identifiable through the use of his personal colours and device.⁵²

Changes to the section on the royal dignity and the visual representations of it in the second version of the *Dialogues* make Salmon’s reminders seem even more desperate. While in the first version the king is told that he must “bien cognoistre et honnourer l’estat d’icelle dignite,” the second version is more concerned with the

⁴⁸ “Royal seat;” “equity” or “justice.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 9v-10r.

⁴⁹ “because the king is more worthy than the others and therefore the lord, it is appropriate for him not to move far from his seat.” Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles*, 198.

⁵⁰ Bernard Guinée, “Nos connaissances: le prince et son image,” in *L’Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Les Etats* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1998), 133-50 (146-47).

⁵¹ Guinée, “Nos connaissances,” 147.

⁵² BnF fr. 23279 f. 9r; Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon’s Dialogues*, Illinois Medieval Studies (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 10-12.

king's ability to look the part: he must "bien cognoistre et demoustrer et demoustrer par euvres l'estat de sa dignité."⁵³ Salmon also uses the coronation ceremony as a memory device to Charles, asking him to remember "le joyeux jour de vostre sacre à Raims, quant là endroit fustes ennoingt et couronné."⁵⁴ While Philippe de Mézières had also used the coronation ceremony as a reminder to Charles of his duties to the Church and to his kingdom, this earlier discussion of the event would likely have been understood differently by its audience than Salmon's later references to the coronation.⁵⁵ Philippe de Mézières reminded a young and untried king of his coronation as he embarked on his personal rule; Salmon reminded Charles of the event after what can only be understood as a failure to uphold his obligations. The writers' use of the coronation ceremony as a reminder to Charles echoed the function of the ceremony itself, during which the king took oaths to protect the Church and provide peace and justice in his kingdom.⁵⁶ The visual manifestations of the royal dignity, then, including the royal regalia and the coronation, could be used equally as a reminder to kings of their royal responsibilities and as a reminder to the king's subjects of his office and their duty to obey him.

The king and his subjects

The king's primary duties included the need to govern and provide justice for his people, referred to as any one of his "gens," his "subgiez," or his "people."⁵⁷ The king's relationship with his subjects is sometimes described as one of mutual dependence—as in John of Salisbury's model of the body politic—in which he is one

⁵³ "Know and honour well the estate of this dignity;" "know and demonstrate well and demonstrate by actions the estate of his dignity." BnF fr. 23279 f. 9r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 9v.

⁵⁴ "the joyful day of your coronation at Reims, when you were there annointed and crowned." Geneva fr. 165 f. 3r.

⁵⁵ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:119 (Book 3, Chapter 180), 2:136 (Book 3, Chapter 191), 2:248-50 (Book 3, Chapter 236).

⁵⁶ Jackson, *Vive le roi!*, 58-61.

⁵⁷ "People" or "subjects." See for example BnF fr. 23279 ff. 6r-7r, 8v, 9v, 13v, 14v, 15v; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 5r, 6r-6v, 8r, 9v, 10r, 15r, 16v, 19r-19v; Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 5997-6000; Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:868, 2:870 (Chapter 199); Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin* 2:209 (Book 3, Chapter 225).

important part of a larger endeavour.⁵⁸ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, for example, Queen Verité spends the entirety of Book 2 speaking to members of the French ship other than the king, acknowledging that they too have important roles to play. When addressing the king himself, Queen Verité moves away from this reciprocal point of view. Instead, she focuses on the effects the king's actions might have on his subjects, rather than the consequences his subjects' actions might have on him. She reminds him that he is the head of the body politic and he should act as a mirror or example for his people; “[q]uant le chief est malade, tous les membres s'en deulent; et quant le miroir est souille, les regardans ou miroir ne cognoistront ja leurs souilleures.”⁵⁹ Both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Chemin de long estude* describe the king as a doctor to his people, administering the correct medicine in order to cure any illnesses.⁶⁰ He is expected to be as a father to his children, as a shepherd to his sheep, as a pastor to his subjects.⁶¹ In reminding the king of his responsibilities, the metaphors used by these authors stress the singularity of his position and the dependence of his subjects on him, rather than a reciprocal or mutual dependence between king and people. These responsibilities included the need to protect his subjects from violence, and the obligation to provide them with justice.

The earlier texts also explain the responsibility of a king to protect his subjects. In the *Policraticus*, a prince must avoid oppressing his subjects and is responsible for the behaviour of his soldiers.⁶² In the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, the task of military protection is delegated to his knights, while the *De regimine principum* emphasizes the prince's responsibility for the defence and protection of the kingdom.⁶³ The *Chronique*

⁵⁸ Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury, Livres VI et VII*, 225-26 (Book 6, Chapter 20); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, 243-44 (Book 6, Chapter 20).

⁵⁹ “when the head is ill, all the members suffer; and when the miroir is stained, those looking in it cannot see their own stains.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:249 (Book 3, Chapter 236).

⁶⁰ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 5672-81, 5716-19.

⁶¹ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 5519-21; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:133 (Book 3, Chapter 189).

⁶² Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livre V*, 275 (Book 5, Chapter 3), 322 (Book 5, Chapter 7); Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury, Livres VI et VII*, 129-40 (Book 6, Chapter 1), 225-26 (Book 6, Chapter 20); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, 67 (Book 5, Chapter 3), 95 (Book 5, Chapter 7), 173-79 (Book 6, Chapter 1), 244 (Book 6, Chapter 20).

⁶³ Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles*, 154; de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 272-73 (Book 3, Part 1, Chapter 2), 316-19 (Book 3, Part 2, Chapter 9), 325 (Book 3, Part 2, Chapter 13).

du Religieux de Saint-Denis finds in this obligation one way to praise Charles for his preference for martial pursuits, describing him as possessing the good qualities of being impatient for battle against the English so that he can protect his own subjects.⁶⁴ The writers used the king's obligation to protect his subjects to discuss two important, and linked, concerns: the problems of violence in the realm and of the inability of royal finances to pay the king's soldiers.

Discord and disagreements between Christian people and communities, as well as warfare, hatred, and theft, are some of the key reasons Bovet identifies in the prologue for having written the *Arbre des batailles*.⁶⁵ Chief among these disagreements were the papal schism and the ongoing Anglo-French wars. The truce of Leulinghen between England and France was initially signed on June 18, 1389—just over a month after Richard II's declaration of personal rule and the year after Charles VI's similar declaration—and was intended to last until August 16, 1392. It was in fact regularly renewed until 1403.⁶⁶ The truce theoretically ended hostilities from the early years of Charles VI's personal rule, but this did not entirely end armed raids in contested territories.⁶⁷ Periods of truce also had the unintended consequence of creating a large number of out-of-work soldiers, who when dismissed from their short-term contracts had to find other ways of supporting themselves. Some participated in private wars, while attacks on the land of non-combatants by armed men trying to support themselves were also common; chronicles of the period describe it as one of great violence.⁶⁸ Philippe de Mézières likewise describes the

⁶⁴ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:284-85.

⁶⁵ Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:599-600 (Prologue).

⁶⁶ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:298-99, 1:342-43; George Peddy Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 102-3.

⁶⁷ Alain Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, Nouvelle histoire de la France médiévale (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 63-64.

⁶⁸ The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* comments on the problems caused by these out-of-work soldiers, noting that they threatened Paris in 1380 because there were no English to attack, and that there was further pillaging in 1386 due to a lack of pay. In 1410, it was the soldiers employed by the rival dukes who pillaged in France. Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:16-77, 1:452-53, 4:352-53. See also Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 20-23; Nicholas A. R. Wright, *Knights and Peasants: The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 3-7, 122.

problem of “les compaignes” of France, “nourries et engraissees et enflees du sang du peuple gallican”—that is, the “armed robber, the *routier* or *companion*, who fought in unjust wars.”⁶⁹ Louis I d’Anjou had been sent by his brother Charles V to deal with the problem of the *routiers* in Bovet’s native Provence.⁷⁰ Christine de Pizan also laments the prevalence of thieves and robbers. In the dream-vision of the *Chemin de long estude*, she marvels at her travels through lands where there is no need to fear them.⁷¹ The *Corps de policie* comments on the threat of violence by armed men in France.⁷² In the *Dialogues* the threat of “gens d’armes” is even more immediate, as the dukes had threatened armed conflict as early as 1401 and descended into outright civil war by 1410.⁷³ In a letter to Charles VI appearing in both versions of the *Dialogues* and dated to November 1, 1408, Salmon warns the king that his kingdom and his throne are in danger unless he makes peace and alliances with his enemies, limits the number of armed forces in his kingdom to those who are necessary, protects his people from oppression, and provides justice to end any divisions occurring “entre vous, tres puissant prince, et aucuns de vostre sang, ou autres vos vassaulx ou subgiez, ou entre aucuns d’eux.”⁷⁴ Salmon sent a second letter on February 16, 1409, reminding Charles that if he follows good counsel he will be able to end afflictions, persecutions, tribulations, and divisions within his household.⁷⁵

In the *Arbre des batailles*, Bovet’s approach to this problem is to suggest a series of rules that would help regularize the participation of combatants in war, and protect non-combatants from the effects of it. This section of the *Arbre des batailles*

⁶⁹ “Fed and fattened and swollen from the blood of the French people.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:406-7 (Book 3, Chapter 277); Wright, *Knights and Peasants*, 8.

⁷⁰ Boris Bove, *Le temps de la guerre de Cent Ans: 1328-1453*, Histoire de France (Paris: Belin, 2009), 614.

⁷¹ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Long Étude*, ll. 713-47.

⁷² Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie: Edition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), 15.

⁷³ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:16-17; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d’espoirs*, 86-96.

⁷⁴ “Between you, very powerful prince, and certain individuals of your blood; or else your vassals or subjects or between some of them,” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 84r-84v; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 84r-84v.

⁷⁵ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 93v-95r.

comprises 138 of the book's 199 chapters, or nearly 70% of the text.⁷⁶ It includes questions on the appropriate punishments for disobedient soldiers, the qualities of a good military leader, how to deal with captains or soldiers who have been taken prisoner, how individuals should decide who to support in war if they have conflicting loyalties and obligations, under what circumstances soldiers should or should not be paid, and under what circumstances a member of the clergy is permitted to defend himself using force if attacked.

The *Songe du vieil pelerin* very clearly links the problem of violence in France to the difficulties in paying the royal army. In theory, royal taxation in fourteenth-century France was imposed only in exceptional circumstances. In practice, by the end of the fourteenth century the land remaining directly in the king's hands was unable to provide sufficient revenue to the royal coffers, and taxation was becoming more and more permanent.⁷⁷ This was one of the reasons for the inclusion of coronation oaths forbidding kings from alienating parts of the *domaine royal* and thereby reducing their own ability to raise revenue.⁷⁸ Inalienability was a pressing concern because the king was in theory supposed to raise enough money to support both himself and his kingdom entirely from lands within the *domaine royal*, that is directly under his control.⁷⁹ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Queen Verité urges Charles VI not to alienate parts of his *domaine*.⁸⁰ Areas being alienated could also object to being separated from the *domaine royal*, as did the people of Orléans when Charles VI gave the duchy to his brother Louis in 1392.⁸¹ Although it is not clear whether Charles VI

⁷⁶ Since the edition is of the longer of the two versions of the *Arbre des batailles*, this percentage would be even greater in the shorter version of the text, which survives in a larger number of manuscripts.

⁷⁷ André Leguai, "Fondements et problèmes du pouvoir royal en France (autour de 1400)," in *Das spätmittelalterliche Königtum im Europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Reinhard Schneider (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1987), 41-46.

⁷⁸ Jackson, *Vive le roi!*, 76-77.

⁷⁹ Guillaume Leyte, *Domaine et domanialité publique dans la France médiévale (XII^e-XV^e siècles)* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1996), 153.

⁸⁰ Daisy Delogu, "How to Become the 'Roy des Francs': The Performance of Kingship in Philippe de Mézières' *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 148-64; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:368 (Book 3, Chapter 267).

⁸¹ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:704-5.

took an oath of inalienability at his coronation, the argument that he had done so was used in the revocation of several alienations in 1402.⁸²

The inclusion in the *Arbre des batailles* of twelve chapters dealing with questions of how and when soldiers should be paid demonstrates Bovet's recognition that excesses of violence and unwaged soldiers were linked problems.⁸³ For Philippe de Mézières, the king's duty to protect his people from violence was inextricably linked with both his ability to raise revenue and his obligation to do so without fiscally exploiting his subjects. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, he notes that the king's people should be able to expect protection in exchange for the taxes that they pay.⁸⁴ Cities such as Paris and Rouen were disappointed in their hope that the death of Charles V might result in the abolishment of taxes implemented during his reign, and their inhabitants resisted the royal tax collectors.⁸⁵ In Book 2 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, a representative of the fourth hierarchy (the bourgeois of Paris and other cities, merchants, artisans, and labourers) complains that it is not only the English who are turning the French from free men ("francs") into serfs; it is their own lords, "par gabelles, par tailles, par impositions, par guetz et pilleries et servitudes," who plague them with tax collectors who are like "loups ravissables."⁸⁶ Here Philippe de Mézières uses the pun of "francs" for "free men" to demonstrate that the king is rendering his own people from being free men into being in servitude through heavy taxation.⁸⁷ Christine de Pizan approaches a similar discussion in the *Chemin de long estude* with a hint of irony: in arguing that the wealthiest candidate should be selected as the universal secular ruler, Richese (Wealth) points out that a rich man will have

⁸² Jackson, *Vive le roi!*, 41-46, 76-77.

⁸³ Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," Chapters 96-101, 103-109.

⁸⁴ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:224-35 (Book 3, Chapter 230).

⁸⁵ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:44-45; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 59-61.

⁸⁶ "By *gabelles*, by *tailles*, by impositions, by deceits, by extortions and restrictions;" "ravenous wolves." The *gabelle* could refer either to a sales tax or an indirect tax via a royal monopoly on salt. The *taille* was a direct royal tax intended to be used for military purposes. Bove, *Le temps de la guerre de Cent Ans*, 631-34; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:448 (Book 2, Chapter 83), 1:455-56 (Book 2, Chapter 87).

⁸⁷ Delogu, "How to Become the 'Roy des Francs'," 159.

no need to impose “subsides,/Taillis, gabeles nē aýdes.”⁸⁸ In Book 3 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Queen Verité chastises the king for his excessive spending on trivial matters such as hunts, telling him that his inability to control his debts only hurts his poor subjects.⁸⁹ Ironically, Bovet’s 1398 *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* argued that the people of France would be less impoverished if the king would allow the Jews to return to the kingdom; their expulsion from it had been suggested by the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, and implemented in 1394.⁹⁰

What Queen Verité characterizes in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* as the king’s overspending is considered particularly grievous because of its impact on his ability to protect his subjects from violence. Through Queen Verité, Philippe de Mézières offers Charles VI a solution to the problem of the unemployed soldiers threatening violence to his people: he should retain them for an honourable wage and place them under the command of the constable and marshal of France; they should then be sent on expeditions outside the kingdom, perhaps against the enemies of the faith in Albania or Romania. If they refuse to do this, they must be brought to justice.⁹¹ Philippe de Mézières informs Charles VI that he is obligated to end the wars with England not only to protect his own people, but also to enable him to embark on a crusade—the same argument he presents to Richard II in the *Epistre au Roi Richart*.⁹² He provides a series of instructions on how to do so: Charles should take advantage of the fact that both he and Richard II are young kings who have inherited a conflict not of their making, and work towards peace.⁹³ If compromise fails, he should be

⁸⁸ “Subsidies, *tailles*, *gabelles*, or *aides*.” The *aides* were a local tax paid on goods and services such as wine, salt, and rents. Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c. 1300 - c. 1450*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 110; Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 3323-24.

⁸⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:213 (Book 3, Chapter 226).

⁹⁰ Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue*, 80; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d’espoirs*, 85-86; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:285-86 (Book 3, Chapter 246).

⁹¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:408-9 (Book 3, Chapter 277).

⁹² Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, 76-77, 88-90; Michael Hanly, “Philippe de Mézières and the Peace Movement,” in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 61-82 (60-65, 67, 79-72, 80-81).

⁹³ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:373-74, 2:376 (Book 3, Chapter 270). Philippe de Mézières conveniently ignores Charles VI’s aborted attempts to invade England in 1385-86. Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d’espoirs*, 62-63.

prepared for a military solution in which he can only be successful if he is able to pay his soldiers by making sure money collected from the *aides* is used only for warfare; if he can protect his subjects from being robbed and pillaged; if he can restrict all other spending as much as possible; and if he accepts any opportunity to come to a peaceful solution.⁹⁴ Philippe de Mézières' insistence on the ability to pay soldiers echoes Honorat Bovet's concerns on the same subject, recognizing that the king's abilities to control violence in his realm were related to his abilities to raise revenue. The expectation that a prince should protect his subjects was used to advance these authors' particular aims.

The writers also used the common theme of the king's responsibility to provide his subjects with justice to convey their messages, especially in the case of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Chemin de long estude*. All four of these texts remind the reader of the importance of the king's role in justice, which was considered to be the primary duty of a prince.⁹⁵ Like the *De regimine principum*, and the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues* asserted that the maintenance of justice was the reason for which kings had been created and that just rule was a requirement for good and lasting royal government.⁹⁶ The *Policraticus* characterized justice as the primary difference between a prince and a tyrant, while the *De regimine principum* claimed that a king must rule "selon loy et reson;" and that "sanz justice et sanz droiture les reaumes ne puent durer."⁹⁷ Kings were also reminded of their duties to provide justice in coronation

⁹⁴ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:374-81 (Book 3, Chapters 270-71).

⁹⁵ Bove, *Le temps de la guerre de Cent Ans*, 130; Bernard Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé* (Paris: Perrin, 2004), 211; Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440)*, 92-93; Jacques Krynen, "Un exemple de critique médiévale des juristes professionnels: Philippe de Mézières et les gens du Parlement de Paris," in *Histoire du droit social. Mélanges en hommage à Jean Imbert* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1989), 334-44 (339); Thierry Lassabatère, *La cité des hommes: Eustache Deschamps, expression poétique et vision politique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011), 302-3.

⁹⁶ de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 45-48 (Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 11); Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles*, 130.

⁹⁷ "according to law and reason;" "without justice and equity, kingdoms cannot endure." de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 21-22 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 10), 45 (Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 11); Foulechat, *Le Policraticus de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livres I-III*, 248 (Book 3, Chapter 15); Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes et prêtres*, 49-50 (Book 4, Chapter 1), 67 (Book 4, Chapter 4), 68 (Book 4, Chapter 7), 74-76 (Book 4, Chapter 10); Foulechat, *Le Policraticus de Jean de Salisbury, Livres VI et VII*, 129-40 (Book 6, Chapter 1); John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, 211 (Book 3, Chapter

ceremonies and in royal entries.⁹⁸ According to the *Arbre des batailles*, justice is the reason for which kings were created and the primary duty of all secular rulers, who must also be merciful when the situation calls for it. For “joynes roy,” such as Charles VI, Bovet includes eight lines of verse on the subject.⁹⁹ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the importance of just rule is highlighted by several of Queen Verité’s visits in Book 1. In the land of the “Bragamains” discovered by Alexander the Great, which Philippe de Mézières uses to similar effect in the *Epistre au Roi Richart* and which the *Policraticus* also used as an example, the inhabitants have a king “non pas pour faire justice de eulx, car le cas ne si offre pas,” but rather to be honoured and obeyed.¹⁰⁰ That this king is not required to provide justice is seen as an exception to a ruler’s usual responsibilities. In Avignon, the *Songe du vieil pelerin*’s narrator reminds all Christian princes to emulate the justice of Robert of Naples and his son, the duke of Calabria.¹⁰¹ In Book 3, Queen Verité reminds Charles VI that he has become master of the French ship, that is, king of France, for the purpose of distributing justice.¹⁰²

15); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman’s Book of John of Salisbury*, 3-5 (Book 4, Chapter 1), 15-18 (Book 4, Chapter 4), 34-35 (Book 4, Chapter 7), 45-47 (Book 4, Chapter 10); 173-76 (Book 6, Chapter 1).

⁹⁸ On coronations, see: Jackson, *Vive le roi!*, 31. On royal entries, see Colette Beaune, ed., *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris, 1405-1449* (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1990), 306; Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony*, 84; Bernard Guénéé and Françoise Lehoux, eds., “Première entrée du roi Henri VI à Paris, Délibérations des trois Chambres du Parlement relatives à l’entrée du roi Henri VI à Paris et brève relation de cette entrée rédigée par le greffier Clément de Fauquembergue,” and “Première entrée du roi Henri VI à Paris, Récit anonyme,” in *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1968), 60-70; and London, London Metropolitan Archives, MS Letter Book K, f. 103r.

⁹⁹ “a young king.” “Roys qui vuet estre bon guerrier/soit saiges, fier et courajeux,/et de ses gens il soit seigneur/comme de caille l’esparvier,/et soit misericordieux/et rigoureux quant est mester,/es grans besoins soit tout premier/si d’armes vuet estre aureux.” Bovet, “L’*Arbre des batailles* d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:646 (Chapter 28), 2:866 (Chapter 198), 2:869-71 (Chapter 199).

¹⁰⁰ “Not to provide justice to them, because the case does not present itself.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:244 (Book 1, Chapter 18). Christine de Pizan describes the same location as one “Ou les gens sont bons de nature/Et ne font peché ne laidure.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll.1425-26. See also Mireille Demaules, “L’Utopie rêvée: l’exemple du *Songe du vieil pelerin* de Philippe de Mézières,” in *En quête d’utopies*, ed. Claude Thomasset and Danièle James-Raouel (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005), 73-91 (176); Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes et prêtres*, 77-78 (Book 4, Chapter 11); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman’s Book of John of Salisbury*, 50-54 (Book 4, Chapter 11); Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II: A plea made in 1395 for peace between England and France*, ed. George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975), 128.

¹⁰¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:382 (Book 2, Chapter 68). For Robert of Naples as a model ruler, see Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship*, The Medieval Mediterranean 48 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003).

¹⁰² Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:192 (Book 2, Chapter 220).

Likewise in the *Dialogues*, Salmon insists that kings were created for the purpose of keeping justice, and that in so doing the king follows God.¹⁰³ In the *Chemin de long estude*, the allegorical figures decide that appointing a universal secular ruler will be the best way to provide the earth with peace and justice, while Sagece's (Wisdom's) list of the qualities of a good prince includes his requirement to provide justice.¹⁰⁴ The *Corps de policie* also includes justice among the virtues required of a prince.¹⁰⁵

Both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Chemin de long estude* use a particular French judicial institution, the Parlement, as a framework for the actions of their allegorical figures. They both stress the importance of Parlement as an institution of royal justice, and use their discussion of it to advance their particular messages: arguments for judicial reform in the case of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, and a plea for an end to the divisions within the realm in the *Chemin de long estude*. The use of the term Parlement, and the Parlement established by Queen Verité in Paris in particular, would have resonated with contemporary readers familiar with the French judicial institution. The French Parlement, which met at the *palais de la Cité* in Paris, developed out of the *curia regis* to become responsible for the king's justice in the thirteenth century. Its three branches were responsible for hearing pleas, conducting inquiries, and considering appeals. Its membership was increasingly professionalized over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although the nobility retained the ability to participate in its decisions as well.¹⁰⁶ Although the king was not required to be physically present for sessions of Parlement, the institution was still understood to be an extension of royal justice. The use of a ceremonial canopy over the king's head during his appearances in sessions of Parlement provided a visual reminder of royal justice, and by 1413 the king's presence on such occasions was referred to by a specific term, the king's "lit de justice."¹⁰⁷ Although the king's *grand conseil* or *secret conseil* remained the realm's highest judicial body, the Parlement was increasingly

¹⁰³ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 13r-13v; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 14v-15v.

¹⁰⁴ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 3009-3066, 5477-6079.

¹⁰⁵ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie*, 8-9.

¹⁰⁶ Françoise Autrand, *Naissance d'un grand corps de l'Etat: les gens du Parlement de Paris 1345-1454* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1981), 261-67; Maité Billoré, Isabelle Mathieu, and Carole Avignon, *La justice dans la France médiévale: VIII^e - XV^e siècle* (Paris : Armand Colin, 2012), 39-40, 89-92, 109.

¹⁰⁷ Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France*, 14-23.

important in part due to the sheer number of cases it heard. Appeals could come to Parlement directly, or indirectly via local courts such as those in Lille or Douai. During the reign of Charles VI, it was used both as a court of appeal for the realm of France, and as a regional court for the area around Paris. The members of Parlement asserted their own importance through participation in royal entry ceremonies, some of which also staged Parlement scenes to remind the king of his duty to provide justice.¹⁰⁸

In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Queen Verité provides a model of just rulership for Charles VI by presiding over a series of judicial courts referred to in the text interchangeably as either Parlements or consistories. Although the cast of allegorical characters does include Justice, also referred to as Bonne Adventure (Good Adventure) and carrying a double-edged sword symbolizing justice and mercy, Queen Verité is the primary provider of justice in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*.¹⁰⁹ In her search for a realm worthy of her moral coinage, she holds formal courts in Prussia, Avignon, Barcelona, Burgos, Genoa, London, Naples, Prague, Rome, Scotland, Venice, and Paris. In each of these locations, Queen Verité and her companions are welcomed by the local ruler before establishing their court in a local building. Queen Verité sits on a throne at the centre, surrounded by Paix, Misericorde, Justice, (Peace, Mercy, and Justice) and each of their attendants. She consults with them in her examination of the local moral coinage and judging its Christian virtue, coming to no decision before seeking their advice. Queen Verité thus models the kind of just rulership she urges Charles VI to practise when she instructs him later in Book 3. Here she reminds him that he must be personally involved in justice and hear the requests of individuals who have no other recourse; that his subjects should have access to justice considering the high rates of taxation they are expected to pay; that he is the “empereur de France” and his decisions cannot be appealed; and that he must set a good example when appearing in Parlement by rendering justice to all

¹⁰⁸ Billoré, Mathieu, and Avignon, *La justice dans la France médiévale*, 41; Kristin Bourassa, “‘Fforto Tellen Alle the Circumstaunces’: The Royal Entries of Henry VI (1431-32) and their Manuscripts,” MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 2010, 26; Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony*, 84-7; Léonard Dauphant, *Le royaume des quatre rivières: L’espace politique français, 1380-1515* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2012), 130-31, 133.

¹⁰⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:215 (Book 1, Chapter 7).

who deserve it, even to princes and barons if required.¹¹⁰ The Parlement Queen Verité establishes in Paris provides a particularly applicable model for the king. Here the queen essentially usurps Charles VI's place in his own court of justice. She sits on a throne, accompanied by the three virtues and their attendants. To her right sit the archbishops and prelates, while the king and the princes of France sit on her left.¹¹¹ The fictionalized Charles VI witnesses Queen Verité preside over a session of Parlement while Charles VI as the text's imagined reader does the same. This situation is visually represented in some of the later *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts.¹¹²

Queen Verité's courts of justice do more than provide a model of just rulership for Charles VI. Philippe de Mézières calls attention to the importance of the institution by using its fictionalized form to present some of his key messages, including his discussion of the papal schism and of the Anglo-French wars. He also uses Queen Verité's Parisian Parlement as an opening to criticize the contemporary practice of French justice. In Book 2 as part of the examination of the third hierarchy (legal, financial, and administrative officers), Queen Verité's attendant Hardiesse (Daring) accuses French lawyers, magistrates, *procureurs*, and notaries of excessive greed and of deliberately provoking delays in processing cases, causing people unnecessary expense and leading to feuds.¹¹³ This provides an interesting contrast with the court Queen Verité holds in Rome, where she praises the Romans for their choice of a representative who speaks plainly and without delay. In her instructions to Charles VI, Queen Verité also reminds him to be careful when issuing pardons, telling him not to do so too often.¹¹⁴ While Queen Verité's instructions echoed the *Policraticus*' argument that judges should never take bribes and that justice should never be unnecessarily delayed, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century readers of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* were likely to have understood this discussion in the context of contemporary concerns. One of these was the perception that Charles VI was too

¹¹⁰ "emperor of France." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:320, 2:322-23 (Book 3, Chapter 254), 2:325 (Book 3, Chapter 255).

¹¹¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:446 (Book 2, Chapter 82).

¹¹² For further discussion of these images, see Chapter 6, below.

¹¹³ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:463-66 (Book 2, Chapter 91).

¹¹⁴ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:463-66 (Book 2, Chapter 91); 2:324-35 (Book 3, Chapter 255).

generous with royal pardons; he issued between 200 and 250 letters of remission per year.¹¹⁵

Philippe de Mézières' criticisms of the French judicial system were likely related to its increased professionalization and the perceived excessive delays in processing cases brought before Parlement.¹¹⁶ During the minority of Charles VI and during his later periods of illness, prosecutions for treason in Parlement were often used as a tool by political rivals.¹¹⁷ Christine de Pizan also invoked a sense of nostalgia for a lost golden age of Parlement in the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, praising Charles V for his appointment of good jurists to Parlement.¹¹⁸ Not content to simply expose what he saw as problems with the king's system of justice, Philippe de Mézières also proposed a solution: a system of appointing one judicial official per city or castle, assisted by no more than one or two judges and one or two notaries, and with a local committee of members untrained in the law to represent individuals in civil matters.¹¹⁹ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the king's duty to provide justice is used to comment on and propose reforms to the administration of justice in the realm of France, and the Parisian Parlement in particular.

In the *Chemin de long estude*, the celestial Parlement presided over by the allegorical figure of Raison is also a model of how this particular judicial institution should function. As she surveys the scene before her, which includes a number of thrones set out for the participants in the court, the narrator realizes where she is: "Tant qu'il me sembla, brief et court,/Que ce devoit estre une court/Ou un lieu ou a parlement." The four corner thrones belong to Sagece, Noblece, Chevalerie, and

¹¹⁵ Billoré, Mathieu, and Avignon, *La justice dans la France médiévale*, 204; Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes et prêtres*, 389 (Book 5, Chapter 12); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, 135 (Book 5, Chapter 12); Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:271 (Book 1, Chapter 27), 1:463-66 (Book 2, Chapter 91), 2:324-35 (Book 3, Chapter 49).

¹¹⁶ Joël Blanchard, "Ordre et utopie: une alliance impossible? Le Songe du vieux pèlerin de Philippe de Mézières," in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd'hui: pouvoir d'État, opinion publique, justice: mélanges offert à Claude Gauvard*, ed. Nicolas Offenstadt and Olivier Mattéoni (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2010), 57-62 (61); Krynen, "Un exemple de critique médiévale des juristes professionnels," 338-44.

¹¹⁷ S. H. Cuttler, "Treason and the crown 1380-1422," in *The Law of Treason and Treason Trials in Later Medieval France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 194.

¹¹⁸ Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, 1:39.

¹¹⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:489-99 (Book 3, Chapter 98).

Richese, while the centre throne belongs to Raison.¹²⁰ One of the daughters of God, Raison appears in this Parlement when it is required of her: “Mais en celle chaire dessent/A parlement quant elle sent/Qu’il appartient d’aucun affaire/Ou parlement ou jugement faire.”¹²¹ This particular session of the celestial Parlement opens with the appearance of a group of messengers bearing “une requeste” on behalf of Rea (Earth), who expresses her dismay at the desire of her mortal children to destroy each other through incessant wars and begs for help from Raison, who has abandoned Earth’s children due to their unwillingness to heed her in the past.¹²² Raison consults with her brother, Droit (Law), before deciding to summon Chevalerie, Sagece, Richese, and Noblece (Chivalry, Wisdom, Wealth, and Nobility) to the Parlement. As they are responsible for the problem, no solution can be reached without their involvement.¹²³ Like Queen Verité, then, Raison is the ideal just sovereign: she recognizes when action is required, listens to the problems presented to her, and consults with her advisors before coming to any decision.

Thus far the premise of this celestial Parlement is remarkably similar to that of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, in which Ardant Desir begs Queen Verité and her companions to return to the mortal world. It is possible that Christine de Pizan had been influenced by the premise of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*; certainly she was acquainted with its author.¹²⁴ Unlike in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, however, in which Queen Verité ultimately decides that no earthly realm is worthy of her return to the mortal world, Raison’s Parlement is ultimately incapable of coming to any conclusion. Rather than deciding on which qualities to prioritize in a universal ruler, and rather than nominating a candidate to the position, Raison and her counsellors can only agree on one thing: to refer the matter “au recort/Des princes François,

¹²⁰ “So it seemed to me, in short/That this must be a court/Or a place where a Parlement is held.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 2459-61, 2464-65, 2269-2432, 2602, 2793-2809.

¹²¹ “And into this chair descends/To the Parlement when she senses/That there is a matter/On which to hold a Parlement or make a judgement.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 2472-76.

¹²² “a plea.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 2563-68, 2581-83, 2641-48, 2683-56.

¹²³ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 2728-2756.

¹²⁴ Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327-1405*, 510.

dont la court/Est souveraine.”¹²⁵ The virtues choose Christine de Pizan to be the celestial Parlement’s messenger to the French princes and instruct her to make sure the case is given to “la nottable gent/Esleus juges et avocas.”¹²⁶ In appointing the French princes and the French Parlement to decide on the matter, rather than coming to a conclusion themselves, Raison and her celestial Parlement present the French royal house and its court of justice as more honourable, noble, and just than the other earthly options. But this disavowal of responsibility on Raison’s part also puts the blame for warfare and divisions squarely on the shoulders of the same French princes she asks to solve the problem. The celestial Parlement’s attempt to choose a universal secular ruler, rather than being a genuine attempt to promote such a system or solution, is a way for Christine de Pizan to call attention to a major problem of 1402: the French king’s incapacity and the mounting conflicts between his relatives.

The second version of the *Dialogues* is more clearly concerned with failures of royal justice than the first. One of the additions to the text is Salmon’s lamentation on the “doulereux debas et piteables descors” that have afflicted the kingdom since he finished the first version.¹²⁷ In a likely reference to the failure of the king’s justice to address the murder of Louis d’Orléans, and to the civil war that had broken out in part due to this failure, he also expands on the consequences of failures of royal justice. In the first version Salmon informs his reader that if a king fails to keep his own laws, “son royaume est corrompu.” In the second version he adds that “son royaume est corrompu en voie de division qui est une des principales destructions et confusions de tous royaumes.”¹²⁸ Likewise the first version warns that if a king cannot maintain justice “grans inconveniens s’en ensuivent au roy et au royaume,” while the second version warns instead of “larrecins, homicides et divisions entre les

¹²⁵ “to the judgement/of the French princes, whose court/is sovereign.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 6261-63.

¹²⁶ “the notable people/Elected judges and lawyers.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 6279-6374.

¹²⁷ “painful debates and pitiful discords.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 95r.

¹²⁸ “his kingdom is corrupted;” “his kingdom is corrupted by the way of divisions, which is one of the principal destructions and confusions of all kingdoms.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 14r-14v; Geneva fr. 165 f. 16v.

peuples.”¹²⁹ Like the *Chemin de long estude*, the *Dialogues* uses the theme of royal justice to comment on the so-called “divisions” within the kingdom of France. Salmon would not have been the only one to make the connection between the conflicts around Louis d’Orléans’ murder and a lack of royal justice: in his rebuttal to Jean Petit’s justification speech, given on behalf of the duchess of Orléans, the abbot of St-Fiacre called on the necessity of royal justice and warned that the kingdom would fail if justice was not maintained.¹³⁰

The king and the Church

The *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues* are also in agreement both with each other and with the tradition of princely advice literature on the obligations of the prince towards the Church, both in terms of his personal faith and his protection of the institution. John of Salisbury had argued that a prince’s power comes from God, justice, and the law, saying that he is a minister of the Church and must fear and love God as well as maintaining the law.¹³¹ The *De regimine principum* urged princes to lead a contemplative life, focusing on spiritual as well as temporal matters, because they will have to answer to God for their actions.¹³² In the *Arbre des batailles*, both kings and emperors have obligations to the Church. They should be good Christians, respect papal jurisdiction and defend papal territories, protect the Church from its enemies, and help to deliver it from heretics, schismatics, and infidels.¹³³ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Queen Verité reminds the king that he must provide an example of faith for his subjects by never taking the name of God in vain and by reforming the celebration of divine offices in his presence, as currently the room is filled with people requesting gifts, favours, and

¹²⁹ “great inconveniences will follow for the king and the kingdom;” “thefts, homicides, and divisions between peoples.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 14r-14v; Geneva fr. 165 f. 16v.

¹³⁰ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 4:92-93, 4:100-101.

¹³¹ John of Salisbury, *The Statesman’s Book of John of Salisbury*, 9-14 (Book 4, Chapter 3).

¹³² de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 10-11 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 4).

¹³³ Bovet, “L’Arbre des batailles d’Honorat Bovet,” 2:868 (Chapter 199).

offices and the atmosphere is closer to that of a fair than of a religious service.¹³⁴ During her travels, Queen Verité is ultimately disappointed in a number of realms which are exemplary in providing peace, mercy, and justice but do not adequately observe the Christian faith.¹³⁵ In the *Chemin de long estude*, Sagece considers defending and honouring the Church to be among the characteristics of both a good knight and a good king.¹³⁶ The *Dialogues*, too, reminds the king that he should protect the Church and its ministers, including the pope, his legates, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, and that he should keep the commandments of the Church and make sure that his subjects do the same.¹³⁷

In reminding the king of his duties towards the Church, both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues* also use a tactic specific to French kings: the contemporary argument that French kings were superior to other secular rulers by virtue of their special relationship with the Church and their status as the *roi très chrétien*.¹³⁸ The use of this title, which had initially been used as a form of papal recognition to any monarch, was increasingly restricted to the kings of France by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This, along with such aspects of French kingship as the legends of the *sainte ampoule*, of the *fleurs-de-lis*, and of the *oriflamme*, were important parts of the idea that both king and kingdom were superior to other Christian rulers and realms.¹³⁹ In the *Dialogues*, the title is used to remind the king that he should be an

¹³⁴ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:144-46, (Book 3, Chapters 196-97), 2:252 (Book 3, Chapter 237), 2:261 (Book 3, Chapter 238).

¹³⁵ These include the land of the Bragamains, the city of marvellous equity, and Prussia. Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:240-41 (Book 1, Chapter 17), 1:255 (Book 1, Chapter 22), 2:227 (Book 3, Chapter 231).

¹³⁶ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 4227-4584.

¹³⁷ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 6r, 8v; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 6r, 8v.

¹³⁸ This is usually translated as “Most Christian King,” though literally translates to “Very Christian King.”

¹³⁹ Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation de France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), 61-63; Leguai, “Fondements et problèmes du pouvoir royal en France (autour de 1400),” 48-51; Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440)*, 89, 207-11; Jacques Krynen, *L'Empire du roi: Idées et croyances politiques en France XIII^e-XV^e siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), 345-383; Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France*, European History in Perspective (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 8-9.

example of Christian kingship for all princes, “l’essamplaire et le mirouer des autres roys et princes.”¹⁴⁰

The *Songe du vieil pelerin* uses the idea that the king of France is the *roi très chrétien* both to present France as inherently superior to other realms, and to urge Charles VI to action. In insisting that the king of France is emperor in his own realm, Philippe de Mézières invokes the idea that French kings are directly dependent on God, rather than on the emperor or the pope, for their temporal authority.¹⁴¹ The return of Queen Verité to the world is described as being necessary not only for all of Christendom, but for the “royaume de Gaule” in particular. The *Songe du vieil pelerin* also describes the history of French kings’ support of the Church, including attempts to protect the papacy from the Romans.¹⁴²

Like other authors such as Robert Gervais and Jean Gerson, Philippe de Mézières also used the title of *roi très chrétien* to urge Charles VI to intervene in the papal schism.¹⁴³ By the time the *Songe du vieil pelerin* was completed, the schism had been ongoing for eleven years. Philippe de Mézières clearly saw this as an urgent matter that needed to be addressed right away. Although the *Songe du vieil pelerin* presents contradictory viewpoints on the allocation of blame for the schism, with Ardant Desir supporting the Avignon papacy and Queen Verité refusing to pass judgement on the issue, Philippe de Mézières is clear about Charles VI’s responsibilities in the matter.¹⁴⁴ In Book 3, Queen Verité tells Charles that the grace shown to him by God means that he must initiate a solution to the schism, and work harder than any other prince to achieve it. What is more, other princes will see no reason to object to the solution that he proposes to them.¹⁴⁵ She goes on to suggest a conciliar solution to the schism: the two claimants to the papacy should meet, at the

¹⁴⁰ “the example and the mirror for other kings and princes.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 48v. See also for example Geneva fr. 165 f. 23v.

¹⁴¹ Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440)*, 228-31; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:324-25 (Book 3, Chapter 254).

¹⁴² “kingdom of Gaul.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:217, 1:275 (Book 1, Chapter 29).

¹⁴³ Beaune, *Naissance de la nation de France*, 61-63; Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440)*, 90, 210-11; Small, *Late Medieval France*, 10-11.

¹⁴⁴ Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 106-7.

¹⁴⁵ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:292 (Book 1, Chapter 37).

king's request, in a city renowned for its good justice; there they must hold a "grant conseil et parlement general" consisting of people who have been elected to participate, representing the three estates of each Christian realm. These people will be authorized to act, and to make decisions by the lords who have sent them.¹⁴⁶ Once they have decided what to do, they should publicize their decision and the two claimants to the papacy should come humbly before the council and accept its decision.¹⁴⁷ In Philippe de Mézières' estimation, being the *roi très chrétien* comes with both privileges and responsibilities. Being placed above other kings, Charles VI should have some influence over them. He should use this influence to promote peace within Christendom. In the *Epistre au Roi Richart*, Philippe de Mézières also assigns the title of *roi très chrétien* to Richard II, urging him to act on the Anglo-French wars, the schism, and crusade, presenting Richard as bearing a responsibility equal to that of other members of the French royal house and also as having been personally called to end the schism and make peace throughout Christendom.¹⁴⁸

Honorat Bovet, too, argues that Charles VI has a particular responsibility to solve the papal schism. Although he does not use the term of *roi très chrétien* to do so, he does suggest that French kings have a higher degree of responsibility towards the Church than others, noting that Charles VI's "seigneurie" is "acoustumee d'achever et mettre a fin les fieres aventures de la foy crestianne."¹⁴⁹ He also focuses on the prophecies surrounding Charles, noting in the prologue that they "dient comment ung de la haulte ligne de France doit estre cellui par qui li remedes seront donnéz au siecle travaillié et mis en grande pestilence."¹⁵⁰ In the historical section included in the longer version of the *Arbre des batailles*, Bovet provides several examples of historical French kings protecting the Church and the papacy when others failed to do so. These examples include French support for pope Alexander III in 1159-60

¹⁴⁶ "great council and general Parlement." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:293 (Book 3, Chapter 247).

¹⁴⁷ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:295 (Book 3, Chapter 247).

¹⁴⁸ Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, 78, 96, 105, 116.

¹⁴⁹ "lordship;" "accustomed to solving and putting to end the problems in the Christian faith." Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:599 (Prologue).

¹⁵⁰ Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:599 (Prologue); Maurice Chaume, "Une prophétie relative à Charles VI," *Revue du Moyen Âge latin* 3 (1947), 27-42 (28).

and the flight of Innocent IV to French protection in Lyon.¹⁵¹ Like Philippe de Mézières, Bovet expands the discussion of a prince's duties towards the Church to include particular responsibilities for Charles VI of France.

Philippe de Mézières also uses the duties of a prince towards the Church to promote his chief goal, that of the "sainte passage d'outremer" to recover the Holy Land. In Book 1 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, he expresses his fear that if Christian princes do not act soon, regions such as Hungary, Apulia, and Germany will be destroyed by the Turks, who are enemies of the Christian faith.¹⁵² The allegorical figure of Devocion Desesperee (Desperate Devotion) makes an appearance in Queen Verité's court in Venice, representing "les ysles d'orient," including Cyprus, and pleading for assistance against Turks and Saracens. She especially asks for help from "noz freres crestiens d'occident" to join them "affin que nous puissions la Terre Sainte recouvrer, et la vivre, mourir et demourer."¹⁵³ The Genoese, too, are reprimanded for their attacks on Cyprus, a Christian neighbour and "le vray mur defensible de la Crestiente d'orient."¹⁵⁴ Philippe de Mézières' concern for Eastern Christendom was informed by his time spent in Cyprus and by his efforts to introduce the Eastern Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin into Western Christianity.¹⁵⁵ The idea of Eastern Christendom being under threat and of the necessity of reconquering the Holy Land is also present in the *Chemin de long estude*, in which the narrator's dream-journey features stops in Constantinople and the Holy Land. In Constantinople, the narrator laments the city's suffering due to warfare

¹⁵¹ Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:648-49 (Chapter 29); 2:675 (Chapter 39).

¹⁵² "holy passage overseas." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:253 (Book 1, Chapter 21).

¹⁵³ "the islands of the east;" "our Christian brothers of the West;" "so that we can recover the Holy Land, and live there, stay there, and die there." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:257-58 (Book 3, Chapter 23).

¹⁵⁴ "the true defensible wall of Eastern Christendom." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:295 (Book 1, Chapter 39).

¹⁵⁵ Philippe Contamine, "Entre Occident et Orient: Philippe de Mézières (vers 1327-1405): itinéraires maritimes et spirituels," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 19-39 (32); Sharon Kinoshita, "Noi Siamo Mercatanti Cipriani: How to Do Things in the Medieval Mediterranean," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 41-60 (50-51).

with its nearby neighbours, the Saracens.¹⁵⁶ Similar references in the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* (1404) became a more explicit call to crusade in the *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, Christine de Pizan's final work.¹⁵⁷

In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the entirety of Philippe de Mézières' advice on kingship and the reform of French government is presented as a series of prerequisites towards the author's ultimate goal of crusade. If the kingdom of France is improperly governed, and if Christian rulers continue to wage war against each other, they will be incapable of joining together to embark on the "sainte passage d'outremer."¹⁵⁸ Philippe de Mézières was one of several fourteenth-century individuals to call for a crusade, including Clement VI, John Gower, and Eustache Deschamps.¹⁵⁹ Queen Verité's instructions for accomplishing this goal are deliberately left to the final square of the allegorical chessboard, Peace, in which the "preparacion du saint passage" is discussed last because "la chose est parfaite de laquelle la fin est bonne."¹⁶⁰ Here she reminds the fictionalized Charles VI that prophecy has indicated that organizing the crusade is his responsibility, and gives him a series of approximately thirty things he must do to set the plan in motion, including applying all of the lessons of the chessboard. Like other contemporary advocates of crusade, Philippe de Mézières used the idea that the kings of France had a special relationship with God to urge the king to launch the endeavour.¹⁶¹ These instructions can be roughly divided into the following categories: establishing peace

¹⁵⁶ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 1193-82.

¹⁵⁷ Claire le Ninan, "L'Idée de croisade dans deux oeuvres de Christine de Pizan," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* 8 (2001), 251-61 (251-53).

¹⁵⁸ Kevin Brownlee, "Cultural Comparison: Crusade as Construct in Late Medieval France," *L'esprit créateur* 32, no.3 (1992), 13-24; Philippe Contamine, "Guerre et paix à la fin du Moyen Age: l'action et la pensée de Philippe de Mézières (1327-1405)," in *Krieg im Mittelalter*, ed. Hans-Henning Kortüm (Berlin: Hans-Henning Kortüm, 2001), 181-96.

¹⁵⁹ Anne Curry, "War or Peace? Philippe de Mézières, Richard II and Anglo-French Diplomacy," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 295-320 (305); Kelly DeVries, "Joan of Arc's Call to Crusade," in *Joan of Arc and Spirituality*, ed. Ann W. Astell and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 111-26 (113-14); James Magee, "Crusading at the Court of Charles VI, 1388-1396," *French History* 12 (1998), 367-83 (367); Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, 76-77, 104.

¹⁶⁰ "preparation for the holy passage;" "a thing is perfect if it has a good ending." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:429 (Book 3, Chapter 283).

¹⁶¹ Magee, "Crusading at the Court of Charles VI, 1388-1396," 367.

within France and between Christian realms; reforming royal finances so that Charles can fund the crusade; organizing the logistics of the expedition; preparing the participants; acquiring the right kind of ships; ending the papal schism; and requesting that the sultan hand over all the Holy Land voluntarily, making the use of force unnecessary.¹⁶² Philippe de Mézières had previously made similar proposals in the *Ordre de la Passion*, and repeated them in his 1395 *Epistre au Roi Richart*.¹⁶³ In combining the discussion of the king's duties towards the Church with his instructions for a crusade and for ending the schism, Philippe de Mézières adapts this standard trope of kingship to his particular aims—as do, to a lesser extent, Honorat Bovet, Christine de Pizan, and Pierre Salmon.

Conclusion

These representations of a king's duties to his office, to his subjects, and to the Church were tied specifically to the circumstances of Charles VI's reign. The writers adapted these familiar themes to urge the fictionalized Charles, and Charles as their dedicatee, to solve what they saw as the pressing problems of their time: the Anglo-French wars; the papal schism; threats to Christendom and to the likelihood of Christian recovery of the Holy Land; and the need to reform French judicial, military, and fiscal practices. They characterized these problems as being primarily the responsibility of the office of kingship. At the same time, their portrayal of Charles VI and the advice they gave to him specifically acknowledged the distinction between the royal person and the royal office, a distinction that was particularly obvious during this reign. Charles VI and anyone else at his court who read these books, or heard them read aloud, would likely have recognized references to Charles' own characteristics and behaviour, many of which could be contrasted with his father's as described, for example, in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des faits et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*: his enthusiasm for military pursuits, his unwillingness to distinguish himself from other members of his court by wearing the symbols of his office, and his inability to maintain his personal and royal appearance during his

¹⁶² Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:431-40 (Book 3, Chapter 284).

¹⁶³ Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, 103-106.

periods of mental illness. While drawing upon familiar ideas about kingship that may have contributed to their own books' authority, these writers also personalized their advice for their dedicatee, using their works as a form of communication tied to the reign in question.

The dedications to Charles across different periods in his reign would likely have encouraged the books' audiences to think about the king, his abilities, and his responsibilities in different ways. By dedicating their books to him, the writers implied that Charles was primarily responsible for solving the problems they highlighted. In 1389 when Philippe de Mézières and Honorat Bovet completed their books, it seemed likely that the king would be able to act on their advice. But after 1392, both of these writers dedicated books to others instead. The *Epistre au roi Richart* framed change as Richard II's responsibility, while the *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* focused on Louis d'Orléans. The decision of Christine de Pizan and Pierre Salmon to dedicate their books to the king despite his incapacity in this later period would likely have been conspicuous to their larger audience of his counsellors and relatives, for whom the writers adapted the familiar theme of good counsel to comment on their responsibilities.

Chapter 5. Counsel and the Royal House of France

One of the key themes of princely advice literature is the ruler's obligation to select wise counsellors and to consult with them and consider their opinions before making decisions. In the *Policraticus*, princes are informed that they should ideally consult old and wise men, and that their counsellors must be virtuous and not prone to flattery.¹ Giles of Rome similarly argues that princes need to take counsel, assign counsellors and officers carefully, and pick loyal servants.² Privileging the importance of good counsellors may have been partly an attempt to encourage the books' audiences to view the writers and their works as trustworthy sources of counsel themselves. At the same time, discussions of counsel acknowledged that, while the king was head of government, the governing of the kingdom required contributions by others as well. During Charles VI's minority and his periods of illness, the government of France depended entirely on other people. The timing of advice books dedicated to him and to other members of the political elite suggests that the authors were well-aware of this. The *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Arbre des batailles* acknowledged the transition to personal rule, and no other advice books were written for him during the brief period for which this lasted.

One of the most obvious sources of counsel for a king was his relatives, and in the case of Charles VI the clearest candidates were the uncles who governed for him during his minority and, later, his younger brother Louis. Despite being only a cousin of the king, Jean sans Peur, duke of Burgundy, was also able to play a large

¹ Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livres I-III*, ed. Charles Brucker (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 211-13 (Book 3, Chapter 4), 344-55 (Book 5, Chapter 9), 355-72 (Book 5, Chapter 10); John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers: Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the Policraticus of John of Salisbury*, ed. Joseph B. Pike (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938), 159-60 (Book 3, Chapter 4); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury: Being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books, of the Policraticus*, ed. John Dickinson (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 108-13 (Book 5, Chapter 9), 114-22 (Book 5, Chapter 10).

² Henri de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois: a XIIIth century French version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise, De regimine principum*, ed. Samuel Paul Molenaer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1899), 39-41 (Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 8), 257 (Book 2, Part 3, Chapter 14), 259-65 (Book 2, Part 3, Chapters 15-17), 298-300 (Book 3, Part 2, Chapter 1), 330-32 (Book 3, Part 2, Chapters 15-16).

role after the death of his father, Philippe le Hardi. The importance and prestige attached to being a member of the royal family was increasing during this period, helped in part by the canonization of St Louis in the late thirteenth century.³ Lay membership in the prestigious group of the twelve peers of France was also becoming more concentrated in the hands of the king's closest relatives.⁴ While kings of France claimed the title of *roi très chrétien*, his relatives came to be referred to as “le sang, le lignage ou la maison *du roi*, le lignage *royal*, la maison *royale*,” “tres redoubtez et tres nobles seigneurs du sang roïal,” “la noble maison de France,” and “la tres christienne maison,” or “la tres noble et tres chrestienne maison de France.”⁵ In later periods they were called the “princes du sang,” or Princes of the Blood.⁶ Membership in this group came with particular responsibilities: the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* notes, for example, that the teenage dauphin Louis de Guyenne was criticized for his youthful excesses because they were not worthy of the royal rank.⁷ Christine de Pizan, Pierre Salmon, and Philippe de Mézières also categorize these individuals as belonging to a particular group. In the *Chemin de long estude*, they are the princes of the *fleurs-de-lis*: “princes françois” and “ceux des fleurs de lis terriennes.”⁸ In the *Dialogues*, they are members of the king's noble blood: “tous autres de vostre [the king's] noble sang,” and the “seigneurs de son [the king's] sang,” or “seigneurs de son sang et

³ Françoise Autrand, “France under Charles V and Charles VI,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. VI, c. 1300-c. 1415*, ed. M. C. E. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 422-41 (436); Bernard Guenée, “Le roi, ses parents et son royaume en France au XIV^e siècle,” in *Un roi et son historien. Vingt études sur le règne de Charles VI et la ‘Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis’* (Paris: de Bocard, 1999), 301-24 (302-5).

⁴ Richard A. Jackson, “Peers of France and Princes of the Blood,” *French Historical Studies* 7, no.1 (1971), 27-46 (30-33).

⁵ “the blood, the lineage, or the house *of the king*, the *royal* lineage, the *royal* house.” Guenée, “Le roi, ses parents et son royaume en France au XIV^e siècle,” 303, 308-10. Emphasis in original. See also Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société: L’assassinat du duc d’Orléans, 23 novembre 1407* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 30; Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France, European History in Perspective* (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 17.

⁶ Richard A. Jackson first identifies its use in 1441. Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues* does once use the term “princes de son sang,” but in reference to the relatives of Richard II of England, not of Charles VI. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279 (BnF fr. 23279) f. 59v; Jackson, “Peers of France and Princes of the Blood,” 33.

⁷ M. L. Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1844), 5:28-29.

⁸ “French princes;” “those of the earthly fleurs-de-lis.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ed. Andrea Tarnowski, *Lettres gothiques* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), ll. 3693, 6261.

lignage.”⁹ Christine de Pizan called attention to the Trojan origin myth for France in the *Epistre Othea*, emphasizing the prestige of this group.¹⁰

While in practice those who could claim membership of the royal blood likely included about 300 people, those closest to the crown were able to claim the most power and prestige, usually dependent on how closely they were related to either the current king or to previous kings. During the reign of Charles VI, for example, his brother Louis could claim to be the son of a king and the brother of the current king, while Charles and Louis’ uncles—Louis I d’Anjou, Jean de Berry, and Philippe le Hardi—were the sons of a king (Jean II) and the brothers of a king (Charles V), but only the uncles of the current king.¹¹ Despite his efforts to increase his own influence and territories in and around Burgundy, Philippe le Hardi always styled himself according to his relationship with the crown of France as “Philippe, filz de roy de France.”¹² Criticism of the dauphin Louis de Guyenne also reminded him that his behaviour was unfitting for one who could bear the title of “fils aîné de roi de France.”¹³ The extension of the “sacred character of kingship” to the king’s relatives has been seen as a uniquely French phenomenon, although late-medieval English kings were also making efforts to identify the members of the royal blood as a separate “estate.”¹⁴ Richard II expanded the number of royal relatives entitled to

⁹ “all others of your noble blood;” “lords of his blood;” “lords of his blood and lineage.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 1v, 4v, 43v, 62v, 74v, 75v, 83r, 84v, 87v, 88v, 118v; Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 165 (Geneva fr. 165) ff. 3r-3v, 80v, 93v, 95r-95v, 104r. Of twelve such references in the first version of the *Dialogues* and eight in the second version, only one uses the term “princes de vostre noble sang,” on f. 95v of Geneva fr. 165. See also Honorat Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: the “Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun” of Honorat Bovet*, ed. Michael Hanly (Tempe, Ariz: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2005), 150; Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999), 195.

¹⁰ Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation de France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), 40-54; Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, 197-202.

¹¹ Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 31-33.

¹² “Philippe, son of [a] king of France.” Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Fundian State* (London: Longmans), 111.

¹³ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 5:78-79.

¹⁴ Jean-Philippe Genet, “Murdering the Anointed,” in *Murder and Monarchy: Regicide in European History, 1300-1800*, ed. Robert von Friedeburg (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 83-95 (91); Ralph A. Griffiths, “The Crown and Royal Family in Later Medieval England,” in *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Ralph A. Griffiths and James Sherborne (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1986), 15-26 (16-22).

bear the royal arms, while Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, referred to himself as the son of a king (Henry IV), the brother of a king (Henry V), and the uncle of a king (Henry VI).¹⁵ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Philippe de Mézières groups Richard II's relatives by representing them using the same allegorical figure, calling them "les Sangliers, princes des Leopars."¹⁶ Part of the reason for this insistence on the special character of the royal blood in England was the number of royal relatives governing territories outside of England on behalf of the king, while in France it was used partly to support resistance to English claims to the French throne.¹⁷ Philippe de Mézières' consciousness of the royal house of France being a distinct group is evident in the *Epistre au Roi Richart*. Here he stresses Richard's membership in the French royal family, not in support of his claims to the French throne, but to encourage him to think about his relationship with Charles VI as a fraternal one requiring peace rather than war.¹⁸

Charles V's attempts to prepare for the possibility of his death before his son came of age highlight the important role that the individuals who styled themselves "fils de roi de France" and "frere de roi de France" could be expected to play.¹⁹ In addition to declaring the need for the king to consult good counsellors, the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues* all discuss his family members in particular. By addressing the roles and responsibilities of such individuals in books dedicated to the king, the authors acknowledged that, while in theory the government of France was his responsibility, in practice it was the work of a much larger group. For any members of the political elite hearing or reading about their

¹⁵ Griffiths, "The Crown and Royal Family in Later Medieval England," 16-22.

¹⁶ "the boars, princes of the Leopards." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. George W. Coopland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 1:394 (Book 1, Chapter 75).

¹⁷ Griffiths, "The Crown and Royal Family in Later Medieval England," 16-22; Jackson, "Peers of France and Princes of the Blood," 34.

¹⁸ See for example Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II: A plea made in 1395 for peace between England and France*, ed. George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975), 92, 103, 105.

¹⁹ "son of [a] king of France;" "brother of [a] king of France." Guenée, "Le roi, ses parents et son royaume en France au XIV^e siècle," 313-14; Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 31-33; Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berry: sa vie, son action politique (1340-1416)* (Paris, 1967), 3:421; Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 12. See also for example Denis-François Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1741), 6:46, 6:49.

roles and responsibilities from these books, the prestige of the royal dedication may also have been a form of flattery to make them more receptive to the texts' advice. The writers used their discussions of these individuals to explore the role and responsibilities of royal counsellors; to comment on and criticize the management of the kingdom by Charles VI's uncles during his minority, and the divisions between members of the royal blood after 1392; and to urge the king's family members to support him and by extension the kingdom, rather than prioritizing their own interests or fighting amongst themselves. This is particularly evident in the discussion of the members of the royal blood in all three texts, and in their treatment of the role of Louis d'Orléans in particular.

The king and his counsellors

As in their discussion of other elements of royal responsibility, the authors call upon familiar approaches to the prince's obligation to seek good counsel in reminding Charles VI of his duties. The *De regimine principum*, the *Policraticus*, and the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé* all stress the importance of taking counsel from just and loyal men.²⁰ Insisting on the importance of good counsellors also contributes to the authors' portrayal of themselves as educators of the king, increasing their own authority as royal advisors. Philippe de Mézières' description of the ideal French government includes a king who consults his counsellors before making any decisions, a recommendation also made to Charles VI in the *Dialogues*.²¹ The historical material in the *Arbre des batailles* includes examples of kings who have followed good advice,

²⁰ de Gauchi, *Li livres du gouvernement des rois*, 12 (Book 1, Part 1, Chapter 5), 41 (Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 8), 261 (Book 2, Part 3, Chapter 16), 263-65 (Book 2, Part 3, Chapter 17), 298-300 (Book 3, Part 2, Chapter 1), 328-35 (Book 3, Part 2, Chapters 14-17); Jean Ferron, *Jacques de Cessoles: Le jeu des eschaz moralisé, traduction de Jean Ferron (1347)*, ed. Alain Collet, *Classiques français du Moyen Age* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 143; Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livres I-III*, 211-13 (Book 3, Chapter 4); Denis Foulechat, *Tyrans, princes, et prêtres (Jean de Salisbury, Policratique IV et VIII)*, ed. Charles Brucker, *Le moyen français 21* (Montréal: CERES, 1987), 62-67 (Book 4, Chapter 6); Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livre V: Edition critique et commentée des textes français et latin avec traduction moderne*, ed. Charles Brucker, *Publications romanes et françaises* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 344-55 (Book 5, Chapter 9); John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, 159-62 (Book 3, Chapter 4); John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, 24-31 (Book 4, Chapter 6), 108-13 (Book 5, Chapter 9).

²¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:540-42 (Book 2, Chapter 116); BnF fr. 23279 ff. 14v-18v; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 17r-24r.

while in the *Chemin de long estude* the allegorical figure of Sagece includes listening to wise counsel as one of the necessary qualities of a prince.²² Christine de Pizan similarly stresses the importance of taking good counsel in the *Corps de policie*, intended for the dauphin Louis de Guyenne.²³ In both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues*, the fictionalized Charles VI provides a model of rulership based on the consultation of good counsellors. The premise of Book 3 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* is the fictionalized king's willing reception of Queen Verité's lessons, while the *Dialogues* is based on his request for Salmon's advice on the habits and conditions of a good king. Salmon warns Charles that, unless he follows the author's advice, he might suffer a fate similar to that of Louis d'Orléans or Richard II of England.²⁴ Richard II was also used as an example in other works of the period, such as the 1401-2 *Livre de la prise et mort du roy Richart*.²⁵ Salmon expands his pleas for Charles to take good counsel in the second version of the *Dialogues*, more explicitly using the Biblical king Nebuchadnezzar (Nabogodonozor) as an example of a king who refuses counsel than he does in the first version.²⁶

The authors also advise the king on how his counsellors should be selected. The identity and official role of these counsellors is sometimes unclear in French-language texts, which make no distinction between the word for "counsellor" (one who gives advice) and for "councillor" (a member of a council). Unless a text specifically refers to an institution such as the royal council, the Parlement, or the *Chambre des comptes*, it is not usually possible to determine whether a discussion of

²² Bovey, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovey," 2:655 (Chapter 33); Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 4921-5476.

²³ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie: Edition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), 33; Sandra L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), 134.

²⁴ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 93v-95r; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 86r-89r.

²⁵ Glynnis M. Cropp and Alison Hanham, "Richard II from Donkey to Royal Martyr: Perceptions of Eustache Deschamps and Contemporary French Writers," *Parergon* 24 (2007), 101-36; Anne D. Hedeman and Elizabeth Morrison, eds., "Catalogue," in *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250-1500*, ed. Anne D. Hedeman and Elizabeth Morrison (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 89-317 (205); Craig Taylor, "'Weep thou for me in France': French Views of the Deposition of Richard II," in *Fourteenth Century England III*, ed. W. Mark Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 207-22 (221).

²⁶ Geneva fr. 165 ff. 86r-89r.

royal “conseillers” refers to members of a formal conciliar body, or individuals exerting a less-formal kind of influence.²⁷ For example, Philippe de Mézières’ recommendation that each session of the “conseil” open with prayer was likely a reference to the royal council, a crucial institution called upon to share decision-making with the king and which was of particular importance during the minority and later “absences” of Charles VI.²⁸ The authors all provide advice on how the king should choose and monitor his counsellors. Both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues* inform the king that he should promote individuals based on their abilities, and not on their high birth; Salmon in particular adds that the promotion of unworthy men might result in destruction or divisions in the kingdom.²⁹ In Book 3 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Queen Verité advises the king on his choice of his counsellors, officers, and servants, who should ensure the good government of France on his command.³⁰ Both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues* also recommend the choice of old and wise counsellors rather than young and inexperienced ones, advice also offered by Christine de Pizan in the *Corps de policie*.³¹ In the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and in the *Corps de policie*, the king is also instructed to monitor the behaviour of his counsellors: Philippe de Mézières suggests that he should employ a network of spies to keep track of them, and that the counsellors should submit written reports, especially of their expenses, which should not be too extravagant.³² Like the king himself, his counsellors should behave in an exemplary fashion.³³ The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*’ characterization of royal counsellors shows that the authors’ suggestions were in line with contemporary ideals. The chronicle reports that the

²⁷ Marie-Thérèse Caron, *Noblesse et pouvoir royal en France, XII^e-XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1994), 9.

²⁸ Caron, *Noblesse et pouvoir royal en France, XII^e-XVI^e siècle*, 9. Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:334 (Book 3, Chapter 258).

²⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:216-18 (Book 3, Chapter 227), 2:225 (Book 3, Chapter 230); BnF fr. 23279 ff. 17v-18r; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 16v-17r.

³⁰ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:326 (Book 3, Chapter 256).

³¹ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie*, 34-35, 40-41; Jacques Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440): Étude de la littérature politique du temps* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1981), 147; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:256 (Book 1, Chapter 22), 2:148-49 (Book 3, Chapter 199), 2:326-27 (Book 3, Chapter 256); BnF fr. 23279 ff. 14v, 16r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 22r.

³² Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie*, 16-17; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:327-40 (Book 3, Chapter 256), 2:368 (Book 3, Chapter 267).

³³ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:224-26 (Book 3, Chapter 230).

appointments of several important counsellors were criticized for the individuals' failure to comply with these standards: the appointment of the king's cousin Charles d'Albret as constable in 1401, for example, was criticized because of his lack of experience.³⁴

In practice, the counsellors discussed by the authors could include members of both royal and Parisian government, as well as religious institutions like the University of Paris. The rector of the university, for example, gave a speech recommending that the king be merciful to the city of Paris after its anti-taxation uprisings in 1382.³⁵ In his letter-writing campaign to individuals who might be able to influence the king, Pierre Salmon includes among his addressees the royal constable, who was the head of the French army; the chancellor, who was in charge of the production of royal documents; the first president of the Parlement, the king's sovereign court of justice; the royally-appointed provost of Paris; and the provost of the merchants of Paris, elected by the citizens of the city.³⁶ The desire of both the king and the dukes to appoint people loyal to them to these positions demonstrates the influence they could be expected to have. These offices were among those frequently reassigned during the civil war depending on who was in power.³⁷ The officers were also among those summoned to royal councils. A council convened by the dauphin Louis de Guyenne in 1412 included for example the dukes of Burgundy, Bar, and Anjou; the counts of la Marche, Vendôme, Saint-Pol, and Mortain; the chancellor of France and the chancellor of Guyenne; magistrates; and representatives

³⁴ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:68-69.

³⁵ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:238-39.

³⁶ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 86r-91r; Boris Bove, *Dominer la ville: Prévôts des marchands et échevins parisiens de 1260 à 1350* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2004), 187; Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon's Dialogues*, Illinois Medieval Studies (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 63; Paul D. Solon, "Art. Chancellor of France," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler, Grover A. Zinn, and Lawrence Earp (New York: Garland, 1995), 194-95 (194); Paul D. Solon, "Art. Constable of France," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler, Grover A. Zinn, and Lawrence Earp (New York: Garland, 1995), 486-87; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime 1420-1436* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 61.

³⁷ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 4:446-51, 4:464-65.

of the bourgeois of Paris.³⁸ The Parisian officials could be especially important during this period, which saw a great deal of unrest in the city, including anti-taxation revolts, anxious pleas for the king to return to the capital when he was away, and the active attempts of the dukes to acquire Parisian support for their individual causes.³⁹

In their discussions of counsel and counsellors, three out of four of these books focus on a particular group: the members of the royal blood who are included in the dedication of the *Chemin de long estude*. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the royal uncles receive detailed treatment in Book 2, while the king's brother shares in the lessons offered to Charles VI by Queen Verité in Book 3. In the 1409 *Dialogues*, seventeen of the letters copied into Part 3 are between Salmon and members of the royal blood other than the king. Because Charles VI was incapable of governing for so much of his reign, the major responsibilities of the royal relatives increased from assisting him in keeping the public good and providing him with good counsel to being essentially responsible for the government of the kingdom.⁴⁰ The ordinances issued both in preparation for Charles VI's minority and later in his reign gave important roles in government to his family members, including his uncles Philippe le Hardi, Louis I d'Anjou, Jean de Berry, and Louis de Bourbon; his brother, Louis d'Orléans; his wife, Isabeau de Bavière; his brother-in-law, Louis de Bavière; his cousin, Jean sans Peur; and his son, the dauphin Louis de Guyenne.⁴¹ Charles' uncles had very concrete

³⁸ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 4:624-25.

³⁹ For Parisian uprisings see for example Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:20-21, 1:128-29, 4:138-39, 5:6-7. For attempts by the dukes and the queen to acquire Parisian support or take control of the city, see for example Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:334-35, 3:340-41, 4:134-35, 4:180-81, 4:184-85; Emily J. Hutchison, "Partisan Identity in the French Civil War, 1405-1418: Reconsidering the Evidence on Livery Badges," *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), 250-74; and Emily J. Hutchison, "Winning Hearts and Minds in Early Fifteenth-Century France: Burgundian Propaganda in Perspective," *French Historical Studies* 35, no.1 (2012), 3-30. For Parisian anxiety at the king's absence from the capital, see Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 4:188-89.

⁴⁰ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie*, 57; Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 25.

⁴¹ Tracy Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, Series: Rethinking Theory (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010), 94; Richard C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York: AMS, 1986), 28-29; Rachel Gibbons, "Les concilatrices au bas moyen âge: Isabeau de Bavière et la guerre civile," in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au moyen âge: actes du 119^e congrès des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, 26-30 oct. 1994, Amiens. II: Guerre et gens*, ed. Philippe Contamine and

roles during his minority. They initiated meetings of the royal council; struggled to find ways to increase royal revenue; negotiated with the English; advised the king on his military campaigns; and spoke on his behalf to Parisian rebels.⁴² They also took advantage of their increased role to use royal resources for their own benefit: speculation abounded, for example, on whether a royal army being gathered early in 1389 was to be used to the benefit of the duke of Burgundy or the duke of Berry.⁴³ Aware that these individuals were likely to encounter their books, whether by reading them themselves or hearing them read aloud at court, the authors used their portrayal of members of the royal blood not only to urge Charles VI to consult good counsellors, but also to speak directly to the counsellors themselves, urging them to remember their responsibilities, remedy their failures, and work together for the good of the king and the kingdom.

Criticizing the members of the royal blood

For much of Charles VI's reign, then, failures of government were, in practical terms, not failures of kingship but failures on the part of his relatives. Completed in 1389, the *Songe du vieil pelerin* focuses on the problems caused by the king's uncles during his minority, contrasting their mismanagement with the ability of Charles, assisted by Louis, to remedy their uncles' mistakes. The main discussion of the role of the members of the royal blood in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* occurs in Book 2, in which they are included as members of the second hierarchy of France along with the king, barons, and knights. Here they are told that, like the king, they must have even greater virtue than the other hierarchies. They must also avoid flatterers

Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1996), 23-33 (28); Guinée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 141-42, 164, 168; Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 7:530, 7:535, 8:581-82.

⁴² For example, the uncles are described as having encouraged Charles to embark on his military expedition to Flanders; the duke of Berry responded on the king's behalf to a 1382 plea for mercy by the University of Paris after uprisings in the city; Burgundy led discussions on approaches to the Anglo-French wars in 1385; and in the same year, the royal uncles were said to have decided in the king's name how matters in Flanders ought to be dealt with. Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:174-75, 1:240-41, 1:348-49, 1:380-81.

⁴³ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:520-29.

who will make them forget the “dignite de leur office.”⁴⁴ In his more detailed examination of the duties of these members of the second hierarchy, Philippe de Mézières focuses almost exclusively on the role of the king’s uncles. In addition to describing the roles they ought to fill, he also criticizes them for their administration of the kingdom during Charles VI’s minority, accusing them in particular of impoverishing the French people through excessive taxation.

The treatment of the members of the royal blood in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* is perhaps the most carefully constructed example of allegorical deference in the entire text, including its discussion of the king. This can partly be explained by the likelihood of the author having tutored or otherwise known Charles VI as a young man, while he did not have a similarly familiar relationship with the royal uncles. It may also have been out of recognition that the problems Queen Verité exposes in this section would have been recognizable to careful readers as criticisms of the way the royal uncles had governed up to this point. This criticism is carefully packaged in both flattery and obscurity of allegorical identities. Even the allegorical identity of the uncles is less clear than that of the king, who is quite obviously identified as the target of Book 3’s advice. In Book 2, the examination of the *contraires* of most of the second hierarchy is undertaken by one of the queen’s *chambrières*, Magnificence, who is appointed to the task because Ardant Desir doubts his own ability to speak directly to them due to his “simplesse” and their high dignity.⁴⁵ When she turns to the highest members of this hierarchy, however, Magnificence asks Queen Verité to appoint a more worthy *chambrière* to address them. The queen’s choice of no less a figure than “sa premiere chambriere, Droicture” flatters the dukes, who are also reassured by Droicture’s disclaimer that her censure does not apply to “tout ceulx qui ayment son office.”⁴⁶ But this flattery is somewhat tempered by the involvement of the author’s allegorical representative, Ardant Desir, in the discussion. Other than his

⁴⁴ “dignity of their office.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:508 (Book 2, Chapter 105), 1:533 (Book 2, Chapter 113).

⁴⁵ “simpleness.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:535 (Book 2, Chapter 114).

⁴⁶ “her first attendant, Droicture;” “all who love their office.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:546 (Book 2, Chapter 119).

intervention in the discussion of the schism in Book 2, Ardant Desir does not usually even contemplate participating in Queen Verité's discussions with others.⁴⁷

Rather than speaking directly to the king's uncles, Droicture (Honesty) proceeds to introduce another allegory: that of the idealized French ship, captained on its voyage to Jerusalem by the prince Crestien (Christian). Following this allegory requires the reader to pay careful attention, because it is not immediately obvious what each of its elements represents. Among the other inhabitants of the ship are several "gouverneurs de la nef pour le prince, c'est assavoir certains de ses amis qui avoient nom de patron" and whom Crestien relies upon for help.⁴⁸ Droicture describes "les personnes de la nef" and the office of each one.⁴⁹ This allegorical ship, described as being crewed by individuals who all fulfil their appointed tasks and help to ensure its successful pilgrimage to Jerusalem, is used exclusively in the section on the highest members of the nobility in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. It provides another allegorical shield between the author and the targets of his criticism. Droicture explains that this allegory will make her criticisms easier to hear, the same way a doctor uses "parolles couvertes" to comfort a patient.⁵⁰ The historical equivalents to the allegorical figures on the ship are explained in two places in the text: first, in the Table Figuree after the prologue; and second, at the very *end* of Droicture's description of the ship and the role of each of its allegorical members. It is only here that Droicture reveals that the prince Crestien represents Charles VI, while the "patrons" (masters or protectors) of the French ship are the king's uncles.⁵¹ Similarly in the Table Figuree, the "grant prince, crestien et souverain maistre de la nef franchoise" is Charles VI and the "patrons" are "les oncles du roy gouverneurs pour le roy du royaume de France."⁵² A reader trying to work out the identity of these

⁴⁷ For a discussion of Ardant Desir's speech on the schism, see Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417*, 106-7.

⁴⁸ "governors of the ship for the prince, that is, some of his friends who had the name of 'patron' [master, protector]." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:541 (Book 2, Chapter 117).

⁴⁹ "the people of the ship." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:541 (Book 2, Chapter 117).

⁵⁰ "obscure language." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:537 (Book 2, Chapter 116).

⁵¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:564 (Book 2, Chapter 126).

⁵² "great prince, Christian and sovereign master of the French ship;" "the uncles of the king, governors for the king of the kingdom of France." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:111-12 (Prologue/Table Figuree).

allegorical figures would have two choices: to either turn back to the Table Figuree for an immediate explanation, or continue reading until Droicture's explanation. This section of allegory is much less clear than the rest of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, and while it was perhaps designed as a show of deference to the royal uncles, it also increases the risk of the message not being fully understood by the reader.

A careful reading of the text would have made it very obvious that, according to the examination of the royal uncles in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, not one of them can be excused from wrongdoing. Droicture both describes the French ship as it ought to be, and uses it to criticize current and recent problems in France. In the idealized ship, the "patrons" (that is, the king's uncles) and the king refrain from excessive spending on their retinues and on personal furnishings such as bed canopies. The king's manner of collecting rents is clear and requires only one treasurer and one piece of paper to keep track of. As members of the second hierarchy, they are expected to keep and protect the Church, and protect the people from oppression. The constable, marshals, captains, and judges should not do anything without their command.⁵³ The "patrons" should in turn not act without the advice of their counsellors, who compose the "grant conseil de la royal mageste."⁵⁴ The French ship's twelve "fors hommes," or the twelve "pers de France," are tasked with the defence of the ship.⁵⁵ This reference to the twelve peers may have resonated with fourteenth-century audiences familiar with the distribution of the title. The twelve peers of France, who had a special role in French coronations, were the archbishop of Reims and the bishops of Langres, Beauvais, Châlons, Noyons, and Laon, as well as the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Guyenne and the counts of Flanders and Toulouse. In practice, the only lay peer in 1389 was Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy. He had acquired the county of Flanders in 1384; the duchy of Normandy and the county of Toulouse had reverted to the crown; and Guyenne was under English control, a claim the later appointment of the dauphin Louis as duke of

⁵³ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:527 (Book 2, Chapter 110), 1:543-44 (Book 2, Chapter 188), 1:564 (Book 2, Chapter 126).

⁵⁴ "great council of the royal majesty." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:111 (Prologue/Table Figuree), 1:564 (Book 2, Chapter 126).

⁵⁵ "strong men;" "peers of France." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:565 (Book 2, Chapter 126).

Guyenne was intended to counter.⁵⁶ The duke of Burgundy was the only lay peer available to defend France, and the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* notes that he was also the only peer present for Charles VI's coronation.⁵⁷

While Droicture acknowledges the possibility that “chacun a fait tout le bien qu'il a peu ou sceu au governemenet de la nef,” she is still dissatisfied with their management of the French ship during Charles VI's minority.⁵⁸ She accuses the “patrons” of conducting business inappropriately in the middle of the night, and of corruption and of raising their own servants to an unreasonably high estate.⁵⁹ Droicture then informs the members of this hierarchy that she has found complaints against them from six different groups: “les gens de l'eglise, les marchans communs, et les gens de tous les mestiers” of the French ship.⁶⁰ The people of France have been suffering since Charles VI “devint maistre de la nef francoise” and many have left the kingdom in desperation.⁶¹ Their main complaint is excessive taxation, referred to as “la pierre de taille” in the ship allegory and identified in the Table Figuree as “les aides importables du royaume de France, par lesquelles en grant partie le royaume a este destruit.”⁶² Droicture accuses the royal uncles of using this money, which should have been reserved for the expenses of warfare, for their own gain, purchasing

⁵⁶ Jackson, “Peers of France and Princes of the Blood,” 30-33.

⁵⁷ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:30-31.

⁵⁸ “each has done what good he can or knows how to do for the government of the ship.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:553-54 (Book 2, Chapter 553).

⁵⁹ Their nighttime councils are associated with the princes of darkness: “Telx consaulx qui sont faitz en tenebres volentiers sont confermez et inspirez pas les princes des tenebres.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:571-72 (Book 2, Chapter 128), 1:577-78 (Book 2, Chapter 131), 1:582 (Book 2, Chapter 133).

⁶⁰ “the people of the Church, the common merchants, the people of all the trades and crafts.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:584 (Book 2, Chapter 134).

⁶¹ “became master of the French ship.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:585 (Book 2, Chapter 134).

⁶² “the insupportable *aides* of the kingdom of France, which have destroyed a great part of the kingdom.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:112 (Prologue/Table Figuree), 1:586 (Book 2, Chapter 135).

luxurious items while neglecting the care of France.⁶³ As a result, the king-as-falcon is “desplumez.”⁶⁴

Members of the French court reading the *Songe du vieil pelerin* or hearing it read aloud in 1389 would surely have understood Droiture’s criticisms in the context of the anti-taxation revolts that occurred in the early years of Charles VI’s reign. Cities such as Paris and Rouen were disappointed in their hope that the death of Charles V might result in the abolishment of taxes implemented during his reign, and their inhabitants resisted the royal tax collectors.⁶⁵ The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* reports that the anti-taxation demonstrations in Paris in 1380 so frightened the duke of Anjou that he ignored the Parisians’ refusal to pay out of fear of what would happen if he tried to collect the money. His later attempts to collect subsidies from Paris were equally unsuccessful. The restoration of order in the cities, and the removal of some of their privileges, still did not result in a replenishing of the royal treasury. The chronicle also reports that the people of France were further impoverished by the royal counsellors’ decision to make old currency unusable after new coins with Charles VI’s image on them had been struck. Currency could be strengthened or weakened based on the weight of metal used, its value compared to other currencies, and its value when compared to money of account; princes, especially in France with its inadequate taxation system, frequently did this as a way to make money.⁶⁶

⁶³ Guillaume Leyte, *Domaine et domanialité publique dans la France médiévale (XII^e-XV^e siècles)* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1996), 154; Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:112 (Prologue/Table Figuree), 1:586 (Book 2, Chapter 135), 1:592 (Book 2, Chapter 139).

⁶⁴ “plucked of his feathers.” “Il n’a ne noble, ne clerc, ne bourgeois, ne marchand, ne soldoyer, ne marinier, qui ne soit pauvre, et n’ait assez affaire a soustenir sa vie. Et que pis est, du Blanc Faucon au bec et piez dorez, il se puet dire que pour bien user il est bien assurez et scet trop bien que c’est de paine et de pauvrete, car il est tout desplumez.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:588 (Book 2, Chapter 136).

⁶⁵ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:44-45; Alain Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d’espoirs*, Nouvelle histoire de la France médiévale (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 59-61.

⁶⁶ Autrand, “France under Charles V and Charles VI,” 429; Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:20-21, 1:66-69, 1:128-29, 1:130-35; 1:144-5, 1:148-51, 1:240-41, 1:248-49, 1:254-55, 1:346-49; S. H. Cuttler, “Treason and the crown 1380-1422,” in *The Law of Treason and Treason Trials in Later Medieval France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 181-94 (183); Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d’espoirs*, 59-61; Jacques Le Goff, *Money and the Middle Ages: An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), 85, 91, 113.

While taxes were levied in the name of the king, during Charles' minority it was obvious that the individuals responsible for this were in fact the dukes. On the return of the king to Paris after his victory against the Flemish at Roosebeke, it was the duke of Berry who responded to the rector of the University of Paris' speech urging the king to be merciful to the capital city. It was also clearly Berry's men who were accused of ravaging Aquitaine for a full three months after his appointment to the governorship of that region.⁶⁷ After his declaration of personal rule, Charles not only abolished the general subsidies that had so angered the citizens of Paris and Rouen, but also removed the duke of Berry from his position in Aquitaine due to his excessive taxation of the region, which was said to have caused violence and the oppression of its population.⁶⁸ In doing this, Charles clearly distanced himself from the rule of his uncles in precisely the manner he was urged to do in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, which contrasts their failures with the potential of Charles' youth. The *Songe du vieil pelerin*'s reminders to Charles that he is up to this point, innocent—and that the government of the French ship is now his responsibility—clearly leave him blameless for decisions taken during his minority.⁶⁹ The *Songe du vieil pelerin*'s criticism of the king's uncles, and the way it blames them for the major problems of the early years of Charles' reign, contribute to the text's construction of Charles as the individual who can solve all of the realm's problems. While advice literature such as that produced at the court of Richard II sometimes criticized royal counsellors as a way to avoid directly criticizing the king, in this case the criticism was levelled at them in recognition of their very real responsibilities during the minority.⁷⁰ This discussion of the French princes is partly a criticism of them, and partly an appeal to Charles to reform his government and take care of his subjects.

⁶⁷ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:92-87, 2:248-49; Boris Bove, *Le temps de la guerre de Cent Ans: 1328-1453*, Histoire de France (Paris: Belin, 2009), 178.

⁶⁸ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:568-69, 1:616-17, 1:626-29.

⁶⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:507 (Book 2, Chapter 104), 2:131 (Book 3, Chapter 189).

⁷⁰ Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 2-4.

The difficulties in raising revenue did not end with the king's minority, as attested to for example by Christine de Pizan's complaint about over-taxation in the *Corps de policie*.⁷¹ Methods of raising funds, and who should have control over them, were among the many issues tied up in the major failure of Charles VI's relatives: the discord between them that not only prevented them from supporting the king and the kingdom, but ultimately plunged it into civil war. Even in the years leading up to the composition of the *Chemin de long estude* in 1402-3 and the *Dialogues* in 1409, before the civil war had begun, there was constant uncertainty over the relationship between the king's relatives and over their abilities to work together in governing the kingdom during his absences. The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* reports that in 1401 the discord between Louis d'Orléans and his uncle Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy, was so bad that the two men were incapable of speaking politely to one another, let alone governing the kingdom. They each began gathering men-at-arms as though a war had been declared, and processions were held in Paris to pray for an end to the discord between the dukes. The efforts of the queen and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon to encourage a reconciliation between Orléans and Burgundy by inviting them both to social occasions failed, as neither duke would attend without a large company of armed men. When the mediators finally managed to encourage them to a peace on January 14, 1402, all of Paris rejoiced at the news.⁷² In practical terms this peace was short-lived, as the duke of Orléans began to press for the restoration of French obedience to the Avignon pope, against the opposition of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.⁷³ The disagreements between the king's relatives had visible results, with for example three different people named in charge of royal taxation between 1401 and 1402. The first was Charles d'Albret, the king's cousin who was named constable of France later in 1402; the second, the duke of Orléans, resulting in Burgundy's publicizing his disagreement by sending a letter to the

⁷¹ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie*, 17-18.

⁷² Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:1219; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 25; Gibbons, "Les concilatrices au bas moyen âge," 27.

⁷³ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:20-23, 3:68-69.

provost of Paris; and the third, the duke of Burgundy.⁷⁴ For its contemporary audiences, the *Chemin de long estude*'s celestial Parlement must have called these events to mind. Its premise is the lamentation of Rea on the discord between earthly princes. She expresses her "douleur excessive" at seeing her children fight amongst themselves, resulting in "guerres dures, mortelles."⁷⁵ The primary cause of these conflicts is "couvoitise" and, more specifically "couvoitise de regner/L'un sus l'autre et de gouverner."⁷⁶ The framework of Rea's pleas is a family drama. She is described as "la grant mere terrestrë," grieving "de voir ses enfans vouloir/L'un de l'autre destruccion."⁷⁷ She fears that unless Raison helps her, her children may be deprived of their place in Heaven.⁷⁸

Similarly Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues* deplores the "divisions" between the dukes, which had only become more pronounced since the completion of the *Chemin de long estude* and with the accession of Jean sans Peur as duke of Burgundy in 1404. Like the earlier conflicts, incidents such as the 1405 so-called "kidnapping of the dauphin," in which Jean sans Peur intercepted the dauphin and his entourage as they left Paris for Melun on the orders of the queen and the duke of Orléans, played out in a very public way. On their return to the capital, the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin were met outside Paris by an armed company including the king of Navarre; Louis II d'Anjou, king of Naples; the duke of Berry; and the duke of Bourbon, all of whom then escorted the dauphin to the Louvre. The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* attributes the subsequent amassing of soldiers by the dukes of Orléans and Burgundy to their hatred for each other as expressed in this incident.⁷⁹ At least one more

⁷⁴ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:42-45; Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 34-35.

⁷⁵ "excessive grief;" "hard and deadly wars." Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 2607, 2641-42, 2647.

⁷⁶ "the desire to reign/And govern, the one over the other." Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 2678, 3033-34.

⁷⁷ "the great Mother Earth;" "at seeing her children desire/the destruction of each other." Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 2593, 2641.

⁷⁸ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 2688-94.

⁷⁹ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:292-97, 3:306-9; Guenée, "Liturgie et politique," 45; Emily J. Hutchison, "'Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume': Burgundian propaganda under John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, 1405-1419," PhD, University of York, 2006, 49-50.

attempt was made to secure peace between the dukes before the murder of Louis d'Orléans on Jean sans Peur's orders in 1407, a crime the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* says can only be explained by ill-will between the dukes and that was particularly heinous for being against the "liens du sang."⁸⁰ Between the murder and the completion of the 1409 *Dialogues*, the situation only worsened. Jean sans Peur justified his actions through Jean Petit's speech accusing Louis d'Orléans of tyranny and of having tried to harm the king; the queen tried to defend herself against accusations also made against her in the justification speech; Louis d'Orléans' widow, Valentine Visconti, pleaded for justice to be done, including a request for Jean sans Peur to be publicly humiliated and exiled; and the duke of Burgundy managed to take control of Paris and to acquire guardianship of the dauphin, Louis de Guyenne. The situation was far from settled despite the absence of Louis d'Orléans from royal politics and despite the young age of his successor, the sixteen-year-old Charles, initially preventing him from playing an active role in demands for justice. To residents of Paris, the results of these conflicts would have been particularly visible as each party tried to fortify the city against the other. While Louis de Guyenne presided over a council held in the Louvre to deliberate the duchess of Orléans' requests for justice, the building was surrounded by armed men. Before Jean sans Peur returned to Paris after defeating an uprising in Liège, the queen had the ill king removed to Tours out of fear for his safety.⁸¹ Bovet's 1398 *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* also expressed anxiety about the threat of divisions, with the text's Sarrazin (Saracen) hoping that Christendom would continue to be divided because that would make it an easier target for attack.⁸²

Salmon deplors these "divisions" in the realm in the *Dialogues*, in which his fictionalized Charles VI takes responsibility for them. He admits that he has not properly exercised his office in view of the divisions within the Church "et par especial en nostre personne et en nostre royaume, tant par les grans tribulacions,

⁸⁰ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:310-17, 3:344-45, 3:732-73, 3:750-51.

⁸¹ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:754-55, 3:766-77, 4:56-59, 4:90-91, 4:130-135, 4:180-89, 4:276-77, 4:288-87, 4:328-29, 4:330-31, 4:340-41; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 71-72.

⁸² Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue*, 114-18.

divisions, guerres, mortalitez, et mauvaises fortunes qui y sont survenues et habondees de jour en jour.”⁸³ The emphasis on the divisions is even more clear in the second version of the *Dialogues*, composed after the outbreak of civil war in 1410. The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* describes this period as one of general distress throughout the kingdom, as people began to realize that the armies the dukes were gathering to fight each other, rather than the English—despite the fact that they had ostensibly been raised for the sake of the king and for the safety of the kingdom.⁸⁴ Here Salmon’s instruction that a king must govern his people “debonnairement” if he wishes to be loved by them is amended to add that such a king will be able to change the hearts of “rebelles” as well as of “ses propres ennemis et adversaires” who cause “insurrections et rebellions.”⁸⁵ Charles VI had himself effectively declared the warring dukes his “enemies,” first by taking the *oriflamme* from St-Denis in 1410 and then by marching under it against the duke of Berry in 1412.⁸⁶ While in the first version of the *Dialogues* Salmon notes that a king must know himself in order to govern and to honour the royal dignity, he adds in the second version that the king must know “les frailes et foibles condicions et meurs de ses subgiez,” placing more emphasis on the problems caused by those same subjects.⁸⁷ There can be no doubt that Salmon was writing about the consequences of the murder of Louis d’Orléans in urging the king to provide justice and put an end to conflicts between any members of the royal blood. Jean sans Peur had returned to Paris on February 28, 1408, and Jean Petit delivered his justification of the duke of Burgundy’s actions at the hôtel St-Pol on March 8 of that year, an occasion on which the dauphin Louis de Guyenne

⁸³ “And especially in our person and in our kingdom, because of the great tribulations, divisions, wars, deaths, and unfortunate events which have arisen and multiplied from one day to the next.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 6r-6v. The wording in the Geneva manuscript is nearly identical.

⁸⁴ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 4:324-27.

⁸⁵ “benevolently;” “rebels;” “his own enemies and adversaries;” “insurrections and rebellions.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 10r; Geneva fr. 165 ff. 11r.

⁸⁶ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 4:360-61, 4:630-31; Bernard Guénéé, “Le voyage de Bourges (1412). Un exemple des conséquences de la folie de Charles VI,” in *Un roi et son historien. Vingt études sur le règne de Charles VI et la ‘Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis’* (Paris: de Boccard, 1999), 285-98 (287, 289).

⁸⁷ “The frail and feeble conditions and habits of his subjects.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 11v; Geneva fr. 165, f. 12v.

stood in for the king.⁸⁸ Although Charles accepted this justification, the pardon of the duke of Burgundy was revoked in July 1408, probably on the urging of the queen and Jean de Berry.⁸⁹ The second version of the *Dialogues* also more explicitly ties taxation with the king's duty to protect his people from violence, oppression, theft, murder, and divisions.⁹⁰ In the first version, the rule of a good king will lead to a stable kingdom; in the second version, it will result in a stable kingdom without divisions.⁹¹ Even Part 2 of the *Dialogues*, with its focus on religious education rather than royal government, is more concerned with divisions in the second version than in the first. The second version expands the discussion of purgatory to add that in the earthly version of purgatory, in which the just suffer, they will be afflicted by persecutions, tyranny, oppressions, and violence.⁹² Salmon also characterizes the events leading to the deposition of Richard II as divisions between the English king and "aucuns princes de son sang."⁹³ Clearly the conflicts between the dukes, both leading up to and during the civil war, were among Christine de Pizan's and Pierre Salmon's primary concerns.

Solutions

In order to appeal to the members of the king's family to consider their collective responsibility to king and kingdom and to reform their actions, the *Chemin de long estude* and the *Dialogues* encourage them to think of themselves as belonging to a particular group, one with both privileges and responsibilities unique to it. In this way, they appeal to the royal house of France in a manner similar to the writers' use of the title of *roi très chrétien* to urge Charles VI to action. In appealing to the members of Charles VI's family to fulfil their duties, the authors remind them that they are part of a group with a collective responsibility. In her *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du*

⁸⁸ Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 67-69.

⁸⁹ Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 69.

⁹⁰ BnF fr. 23279 f. 14r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 15v.

⁹¹ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 15r-15v; Geneva fr. ff. 165 18v-19r.

⁹² BnF fr. 23279 f. 37v; Geneva fr. 165 f. 54r.

⁹³ "Certain princes of his blood." BnF fr. 23279 f. 59v-60r.

sage roy Charles V, Christine de Pizan describes Charles V as a tree; his sons are the fruit of the tree and his brothers are the branches. The same book praises the dukes for their love for the king, his estate, and all his relatives.⁹⁴ In the *Chemin de long estude*, Christine de Pizan uses the dukes' membership in the royal house of France to remind them of their responsibilities. The special character of their royal blood is alluded to in the dedication to them, in which Christine de Pizan reminds them of their membership in the royal house of the *fleurs-de-lis*, which has brought glory to France.⁹⁵ Noblece also flatters the dukes in her argument that the royal lineage of France is the most noble of all. While Christine de Pizan's reference here to Louis d'Orléans' acquisition of Luxembourg, which he purchased in 1402, has been seen as a promotion of the duke of Orléans' imperial ambitions, it is important to note that in the same section she also refers to Louis I d'Anjou's adoption as heir of Naples and to the choice of Philippe le Hardi as guardian of the minor heir to the duchy of Brittany in 1402.⁹⁶ It is true that Christine de Pizan is silent on the potential for Louis' purchase of Luxembourg to exacerbate his conflict with the duke of Burgundy, who held territories to both the north and south of it.⁹⁷ But given her flattery of both dukes in this section of the *Chemin de long estude*, it seems more likely that she was attempting to remind them both of their responsibilities to the king and kingdom of France by flattering their royal lineage, rather than presenting an argument for Louis' potential candidacy as Holy Roman Emperor.

In the first version of the *Dialogues*, Salmon also appeals directly to the royal dukes to support the king and end conflicts between them. Most of Salmon's direct pleas to individuals are in a series of four letters written in November 1408 from

⁹⁴ Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, 1:134-35, 1:142.

⁹⁵ "Et puis a vous, haulx ducs magnifiez,/D'ycelle flour [de lis] fais et ediffiez/Dont l'esplendeur s'espant par toute terre./Par quel honneur fait olz a France acquerre./Et aux gittons d'icelle flour amee/De qui l'onheur par le monde est semee,/Loz, gloire et pris soit toujours envoyee." Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 15-21.

⁹⁶ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ll. 3481-3720; Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, "Où mène le *Chemin de long estude*? Christine de Pizan, Ambrogio Migli, et les ambitions impériales de Louis d'Orléans (A propos du ms. BNF fr. 1643)," in *Christine de Pizan 2000: Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000), 177-95; Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France, European History in Perspective* (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 141; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Fundian State* (London: Longmans, 1962), 52-53.

⁹⁷ Small, *Late Medieval France*, 141.

Avignon, where Salmon had just encountered a monk who warned him that the king was in “grant dangier et peril.”⁹⁸ In the first letter, addressed to the king, Salmon warns Charles that he may suffer a similar fate to that of Richard II or Louis d’Orléans if he does not remedy his kingdom. Specifically, he implores the king to: make peace, alliances, or truces with his enemies; not allow any more armed men in his kingdom than are strictly necessary; prevent large assemblies; provide justice and end any divisions “entre vous, tres puissant prince, et aucuns de vostre sang, ou autres vos vassaulx ou subgiez ou entre aucuns d’eulx,” and to protect his subjects from oppression.⁹⁹

The next three letters in the manuscript, also dated to November 1408, are addressed to: Jean de Berry, Jean sans Peur, and Louis de Bourbon; the constable (Charles d’Albret) and the chancellor (Arnaud de Corbie) of France; and the first president of Parlement (Henri de Marle), the provost of Paris (Pierre des Essarts), and the provost of the merchants (Charles Culdoé).¹⁰⁰ Although before actually sending the letters Salmon must have made a copy for each individual recipient, they are presented in the manuscript as being addressed to a group. The first one is described as “lettres envoies à tres puissans princes, messeigneurs les ducz de Berry, de Bourgogne et de Bourbon,” and opens by addressing the recipients in the plural as “tresnobles et trespuissans princes et mes tresredoubtez seigneurs.”¹⁰¹ A copy of Salmon’s November 1408 letter to the duke of Burgundy survives, in which the duke is addressed as “tresnoble et trespuissant prince,” indicating that the letters actually sent were addressed in the singular.¹⁰² The presentation of the letters as being addressed in the plural in *Dialogues* implies that the recipients were aware that they had been written to collectively, possibly to help encourage them to see themselves as

⁹⁸ “great danger and peril.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 81v-82r.

⁹⁹ “between you, very powerful prince, and others of your blood, or others of your vassals or subjects or between some of them.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 82v-85v.

¹⁰⁰ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 86r-91r; Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 63.

¹⁰¹ “letters sent to the very powerful princes, my lords the dukes of Berry, of Burgundy, and of Bourbon.;;” “very noble and very powerful princes, and my very feared lords.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 86r.

¹⁰² The letter, Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte d’Or, B 11892, layette 148, n. 1919, is reproduced in Anne D. Hedeman, “Making Memories for a Mad King: Illustrating the Dialogues of Pierre Salmon,” *Gesta* 48 (2009), 169-85 (181).

a group that ought to be working together in the king's best interests rather than furthering their own ambitions and conflicts with each other.

For the duke of Berry, this letter followed an earlier one, undated in the *Dialogues*, in which Salmon informed the duke that he had found an individual who might be able to cure the king's illness and offered to send to him an artisan the duke might like to hire. In the earlier letter, Salmon expresses his confidence that the duke of Berry, like Salmon himself, wishes for nothing more than the king's good health. In the November 1408 letter, Salmon similarly appeals to what he characterizes as the dukes' collective goodwill towards the king. He quotes in full the letter to Charles VI included on the previous folios of the manuscript, thereby not only informing them of what he has already sent to the king but also potentially using the examples of Richard II and Louis d'Orléans, as well as his plea for an end to divisions between members of the royal blood, to influence the dukes as well.¹⁰³ Including the full text of the letter to Charles in his correspondence with the dukes would also have ensured that they were fully aware of what Salmon had written to the king, and on what matters he hoped they might intervene. He pleads with them, based on the love they have for the king, to intervene, again addressing them in the plural:

Et pource, tresnobles et trespuissans princes et mes tresredoubtez seigneurs, que je say certainement que vous avez toustempz amé et amez, voulez et desirez l'onneur et bien du roy et de son royaume, je vous supplie et vous advise si humblement comme je puis et si chier comme vous voulez et desirez le bien et l'onneur du roy et de son dit royaume, que vous le vueilliez adviser, solliciter et conseiller de acomplir de point en point le contenu en ces lettres. Et de ce, mes tresredoubtez seigneurs, vueilliez faire bonne diligence, afin que par vous et par vostre bon moien, la noble maison de France soit esauvee en tous biens et garde de peril, de honte et de reproche.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 77v-78v, 86r-90r.

¹⁰⁴ "And because, very powerful and very noble princes and my very feared lords, that I know for certain that you have always loved and still love, wish for, and desire the honour and good of the king and of his kingdom, I beg and advise you as humbly as I can and know how, because you wish for the good and honour of the king and of his said kingdom, that you will advise and counsel him according

Rather than directly asking the dukes to set aside any conflicts between themselves, he implores them as a group—a group concerned with the honour and good of the king and the kingdom, and with the safeguarding of the “noble house of France” from all danger—to advise and counsel the king to heed Salmon’s advice to end the conflicts between members of the royal blood. The changes made to Part 3 in the second version of the *Dialogues* are also telling. The narrative section is excluded entirely, and the first version’s collection of thirty letters and one speech is pared down to a total of eight. Because the letters in the second version of the *Dialogues* are presented without the narrative context offered in the first version, they appear in isolation from Salmon’s actions, with their context explained only by accompanying rubrics that do not appear in the first version.¹⁰⁵ With the exception of the speech to Jean sans Peur, which appears in both versions, all the letters in the second version are between Salmon and Charles VI. This makes sense in historical context: the letters in the first version urge the dukes to work together and support the king. By the time he started the second version of the *Dialogues*, Salmon would have been aware that these pleas had failed and that the dukes had begun to fight a civil war amongst themselves. Excluding them from the second version updates it for the historical moment, while the inclusion of correspondence with the king focuses the reader’s attention on the person and office of kingship and on the responsibilities not only of Charles but of others towards him. Salmon makes this explicit in the changes made to the rubric prefacing his speech before Jean sans Peur. In the second version, Salmon adds good wishes the queen, the dauphin, and others of the royal blood.¹⁰⁶ The final two letters to the king in the second version, which are unique to this version, also explicitly call upon the king’s relatives to act. In the penultimate letter, Salmon hopes for peace for the king and those of his blood—possibly a reference to the ongoing negotiations for the Peace of Arras between the dukes—and encourages

to what I have written in these letters. And please do this diligently, so that by your intervention, the noble house of France might be saved and kept out of harm, shame, and reproach.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 90r.

¹⁰⁵ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 63-68. See for example BnF fr. 23279 ff. 93v-95r and Geneva fr. 165 ff. 86r-89r.

¹⁰⁶ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 29.

those who govern under the king to love justice as he also must do.¹⁰⁷ This is important for the king's entire household, all of which is characterized here as "tres chretien" or "Most Christian." Salmon reminds the reader that the king's royal house has always defended the church, and that it should also be a source of justice. He urges the king and the members of the royal blood to have compassion for their royal household and maintain its glory.¹⁰⁸ In despair by the time he composes the final letter, Salmon laments the divisions in the royal household and the problems that have arisen over such a small amount of time. Although the king has always shown him love and care, members of his royal house have not done so. Salmon expresses his hope for the common good of the king's royal house and of his entire kingdom, reiterates his undying loyalty to the king, and requests permission to retire from the world.¹⁰⁹ His attempts to convince the royal dukes to remember their collective responsibilities had failed.

Louis d'Orléans

The *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues* also use another tactic to speak to their wider audience: they use their representation of members of the royal blood, and especially of Louis d'Orléans, as examples for their readers. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, completed the year Louis (then duke of Touraine) turned sixteen, he is a positive model for the behaviour of members of the royal family. He and his brother present a contrast to the problems caused by the royal uncles: having not been responsible for the problems of government during the minority, they instead represent the potential for improvement in the future. The fictionalized Louis in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* is the ideal member of the royal blood, committed to serving and assisting his brother out of both familial love and political duty. He is described as a willing student of Queen Verité's lessons, and as the ideal counsellor and helper of the king. As Queen Verité arranges for a circle of allegorical figures to surround

¹⁰⁷ Hutchison, "Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume," 118.

¹⁰⁸ Geneva fr. 165 ff. 95r-100v.

¹⁰⁹ Geneva fr. 165 ff. 100v-104v.

Charles in the French Parlement so that he might be advised in private, Amour (Love) suggests that Louis be included as well:

[J]e me estoie advisee par une douce pensee que s'il vous plaisoit pour l'edificacion du jeune gentil Faucon a blanches heles, frere de cestui gracieux Blanc Faucon, et pour sa consolacion, que ce seroit une chose assez gracieuse que le dit Faucon gentil, par grace espiciale, fust appelle a la presence de vostre reginale mageste pour ouyr et retenir et aucunesfoiz recorder a son seigneur et frere vostre sainte doctrine.¹¹⁰

Louis is thus summoned to join his brother both for the sake of his own moral instruction, and for the help he might be able to provide Charles in learning and remembering Queen Verité's lessons. Amour's repeated description of Louis as the king's brother stresses the familial relationship between the two. The allegorical representation of both Louis and Charles as falcons likewise both differentiates them from the other recipients of Queen Verité's instruction, and foregrounds their fraternal relationship with each other. One of the later manuscript copies of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*—Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2551 (Vienna 2551)—visually accentuates this by depicting both Charles and Louis holding falcons similar to those described in the text: a white falcon with a gold crown, gold wings, and gold feet for Charles and a brown falcon with white wings for Louis. Christine de Pizan also associated Louis with a falcon in the pictures of manuscripts of the *Epistre Othea*.¹¹¹

At the end of Book 3, as Queen Verité and her companions summarize their lessons for Charles VI and provide him with a series of gifts to help him remember and apply them, the queen follows up on the “edification” of Louis, at the request of

¹¹⁰ “I have had a thought: if it pleased you, for the edification of the young and gentle falcon with white wings, the brother of this gracious white falcon, and for his consolation as well, that it would be a gracious enough thing for the said falcon, by particular grace, to be summoned into your royal presence to hear, retain, and remind his lord, his brother, of your holy lessons.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:122 (Book 3, Chapter 182).

¹¹¹ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's “Epistre Othéa”*, 42-49.

Ardant Desir. The response of the fictionalized Louis presents him, like his brother, as a willing and capable student and recipient of the queen's counsel. He declares that "en tous mes esbatemens a danser, a jouter, ne au jeu de la paulme" he has never learned as much as by listening to the lessons the queen has just given to his brother.¹¹² In articulating his willingness to help and support the king forge good moral coinage, he says that his "jeunesse" may prevent him from making "les grans coups de martel," but he will still be able to help fan the fire of his brother's forge.¹¹³ The queen responds by asserting that all of the "belle doctrine" just given to the king "secondairement est adroice" to Louis as well, and that he too must avoid vice and do his best to support his brother, in the same manner as "celui qui garde le malade et de jour et de nuyt a toutes heures ramentoit au malade les choses et medicines qui font a la sante."¹¹⁴

Assessing Philippe de Mézières' representation of the fictionalized Louis can be difficult with the benefit of hindsight. Writing in 1389, the author had no more foreknowledge of Louis' later conflicts with the dukes of Burgundy and his eventual murder than he had knowledge of Charles' affliction by mental illness. Instead, he portrayed Louis as he hoped the prince would become: a virtuous prince and a key supporter and counsellor to his brother, the king. The fictionalized duke's declaration that he has learned more from Queen Verité than from any of his habits of dancing, jousting, and playing tennis may have been intended to encourage him to give up these pursuits so that he could better fill the role the *Songe du vieil pelerin* asks him to play; the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* suggests that Louis was known for such activities in his youth.¹¹⁵ The contrast between the pair of Charles and Louis and the *Songe du vieil pelerin*'s depiction of their uncles is striking, especially given the author's preference elsewhere for old and wise counsellors rather than young and

¹¹² "in all my amusements of dancing, jousting, and playing tennis." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:467 (Book 3, Chapter 300).

¹¹³ "youth;" "great strikes of the hammer." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:468 (Book 3, Chapter 300).

¹¹⁴ "good instruction;" "is also addressed;" "he who takes care of a sick person throughout the day and night, bringing him at all hours whatever things and medicines might help him regain his health." Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:468 (Book 3, Chapter 300).

¹¹⁵ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:738-39.

inexperienced ones. Rather than presenting all members of the royal blood as a unified group, Philippe de Mézières divides them into two contrasting groups: Louis and Charles on the one side and their uncles, “les grans veneurs du grant parc des blanches fleurs dorees,” on the other.¹¹⁶

In the *Dialogues*, Salmon uses Louis as a negative exemplum that was clearly informed by Burgundian propaganda following the 1407 murder of the duke.¹¹⁷ The justification of the duke of Burgundy had accused Orléans of tyranny and of having conspired with others, including his Milanese in-laws and even Philippe de Mézières. Jean Petit claimed that Louis’ frequent visits to the Celestines had been entirely for the purpose of conspiring with the writer, who had retired there after Charles V’s death. Petit described Philippe de Mézières as a serial conspirator who had also been involved in the murder of the king of Cyprus. According to Petit, Philippe de Mézières’ sole purpose for having retired to the convent of the Celestines was to have an excuse for being in Paris so that he could pass messages to Louis from his Milanese father-in-law, helping orchestrate the murder of the king and the accession of Louis and his wife to the throne of France.¹¹⁸ It seems unlikely that these accusations were seen as entirely credible. The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* called the justification speech “strange,” while the counter-argument of the duchess of Orléans pointed out that Philippe de Mézières had entered the convent of the Celestines long before she had married Louis, making the timeline of Jean Petit’s accusation more or less impossible.¹¹⁹ The suggestion that Louis had been a frequent visitor to the Celestines, at least, seems to have been true enough. Christine de Pizan described Louis d’Orléans as a model of devotion for his frequent trips to the Celestines in her *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* of 1404.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ “the great hunters of the great park of gilded white flowers.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:565 (Book 2, Chapter 126).

¹¹⁷ Hutchison, “Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume,” 116-18.

¹¹⁸ Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *La chronique d’Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. Louis Claude Douët-d’Arcq (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1966), 1:229-31.

¹¹⁹ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 3:766-67, 4:120-21.

¹²⁰ Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*, 1:171

Despite the incredible nature of some of the accusations, Jean Petit's speech was part of a sustained propaganda campaign by the duke of Burgundy. Copies of the speech were circulated, and similar assertions of Louis d'Orléans' treachery and Jean sans Peur's own desire to protect the king were communicated via other means.¹²¹ Although Salmon does not directly accuse Louis of having conspired against the king, he does so indirectly through his description of conversations between himself and Richard II. These conversations, if they took place, must have occurred at least ten years before the completion of the *Dialogues*, while Salmon was in England after the marriage of Richard and Isabelle de France in 1396 and before the English king's deposition in 1399. Salmon describes a series of three conversations in which Richard repeats that he is certain Louis has been causing Charles' illness and trying to kill him in a bid to become king himself.¹²² The monk who warns Salmon that both Richard II and Louis d'Orléans will meet unfortunate ends also claims that Louis had conspired with his in-laws to kill Charles.¹²³ The chronology of the *Dialogues* seems to suggest that people were already concerned about Louis' motives long before the events of 1407, though the text itself was completed two years later.

Whether or not Salmon believed these accusations to be true—or expected his readers to—they are secondary to the main characterization of Louis. Rather than focusing on the duke as a conspirator, Salmon portrays him as having failed in his duties to the king. He has failed to both take good counsel himself—as he was also urged to do in Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea*—and to provide good counsel to others.¹²⁴ Later in Part 3 of the first version of the *Dialogues*, after his conversations with Richard II, Salmon includes a letter to Louis. He informs the reader that he had to write the letter because his requests for an audience with the duke were refused.¹²⁵ The image of Salmon delivering this letter to Louis in the manuscript visually

¹²¹ Hutchison, “‘Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume’,” 43-70.

¹²² BnF fr. 23279 ff. 54-56v, 60v-61r, 66r; Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 215; Brigitte Roux, *Les Dialogues de Salmon et Charles VI: Images de pouvoir et enjeux politiques* (Geneva: Droz, 1998), 23.

¹²³ BnF fr. 23279 f. 66r.

¹²⁴ Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, 274-75.

¹²⁵ BnF fr. 23279 f. 69v.

emphasizes the idea that he would have liked to provide this advice in person. The letter promotes the characterization of Salmon of himself as a good and loyal counsellor, and of Louis as an unwilling recipient of advice. Salmon both flatters Louis as a “trespuissant prince” who must seek to provide justice to the great and lowly alike, and reminds him that like everyone else Louis will have to give account to God of his actions after his death, and in particular of the “consaulx” he has given to the “gouverneurs de sainte eglise” and to the king.¹²⁶ Salmon’s readers may have understood this in the context of Louis’ advocacy for the French restoration of papal obedience in 1403, especially considering the lengthy discussion of negotiations on the schism in Part 3.¹²⁷ Salmon then informs Louis that an earthly prince must love and serve God; listen to the opinions of his subjects, great and small, so as to know what needs to be done for them; and learn from “bons livres de pluseurs histoires” which should be “goust[és] et savour[és]” so that he can “retenir la propre substance” and recognize his estate and dignity and know what is right and what is wrong.¹²⁸ In such books he can find cautionary examples against “orgueil, hayne, homicide et exercitacion de luxure.”¹²⁹ In other words, Salmon reminds Louis that he has responsibilities not only similar to those of his brother according to Part 1, but also according to his own position as discussed in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Epistre Othea*.

Salmon also uses Louis as an example in two of his letters to Charles VI. The first is the November 1, 1408 letter from Avignon, in which Salmon warns the king not to follow the footsteps of his brother, who was powerful, subtle, feared, and well-served but fell nonetheless.¹³⁰ The second letter, written on February 16, 1409 as a reminder to the king in case he had not received the November letter, warns Charles not to be as hard-hearted as his brother the duke of Orléans, “lequel differa a recevoir le message qui lui apportoit son salut et lui venoit donner advis du mal qui

¹²⁶ “very powerful prince;” “counsel;” “governors of the holy Church.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 70v.

¹²⁷ Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 31.

¹²⁸ “good books of many histories;” “tasted and savoured;” “retain the correct substance.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 71r.

¹²⁹ “pride, hatred, homicide, and luxury.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 72r.

¹³⁰ BnF fr. 23279 f. 83r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 82r.

lui est venu.”¹³¹ The portrayal of Louis d’Orléans as having suffered, in part due to his unwillingness to take Salmon’s advice, would likely have been just as powerful an exemplum to other members of the royal blood as it was to Charles VI. Since Salmon copied the November letter to Charles into his letter to the dukes, he effectively provided the same exemplum to them. Louis had failed the king, but the remaining dukes could still remedy their own behaviour.

Salmon’s characterization of Louis is contrasted with that of his cousin, Jean sans Peur. Including his copy of the November 1408 letter, the duke of Burgundy is the addressee of a total of eight letters and one speech in the first version of the *Dialogues*, and he writes a total of five letters to Salmon in return. The final letter in the manuscript, and the only one not written by or addressed to Salmon, is from the duke of Burgundy to the newly-elected pope Alexander. Most of the correspondence between Burgundy and Salmon in the rest of the *Dialogues* concerns Salmon’s search for the man he has heard might be able to cure the king’s illness, and his attempts to secure help in finding this person and bringing him to Charles VI. Salmon makes frequent references to the duke’s great desire for “la santé et bonne prospérité du roy,” while Burgundy addresses Salmon as “chier et bien amé” and likewise acknowledges Salmon’s “grant et parfaicte affection” for the “bien et proffit” of the king and the kingdom.¹³² Burgundy also promises that he will recompense Salmon generously if their unspecified venture—presumably the king’s improved health—succeeds.¹³³ Salmon was clearly anxious for Burgundy to act quickly, writing a series of letters between December 1408 and July 1409 asking the duke to remember their project.¹³⁴

Even if Jean sans Peur had been anxious to find a cure for the king, he spent the period between November 1408 and July 1409 busy trying to consolidate his position instead. The duchess of Orléans died in December 1408, leaving Duke

¹³¹ “who avoided receiving the message that would have brought his salvation, and advised him of the evil that was to befall him.” BnF fr. 23279 f. 93v.

¹³² “the health and good prosperity of the king;” “dear and beloved;” “great and perfect affection;” “good and profit.” BnF fr. 23279 ff. 92r, 98r-99r.

¹³³ BnF fr. 23279 f. 92v.

¹³⁴ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 92r-93r, 96r-96v, 101v, 111r-114r.

Charles d'Orléans to pursue justice for the murder of his father.¹³⁵ The king then claimed the right to pursue the Orléans quarrel with the duke of Burgundy for himself, and arranged for a meeting to take place at Chartres. This occurred in the cathedral on March 9, 1409. At the request of the dukes of Guyenne and Berry, and of Louis II d'Anjou and the king of Navarre, Charles VI agreed to pardon Jean sans Peur for his murder of Louis d'Orléans. On the request of the king, Charles d'Orléans and his brother Philippe agreed to accept this arrangement and a peace was sworn between the two sides. Later in the same month, Jean sans Peur signed a treaty of mutual support with Isabeau de Bavière and some of her relatives. In March and April of 1409 he also sought permission for the consummation of the marriage between his daughter Marguerite and the dauphin Louis de Guyenne, finally succeeding in June.¹³⁶ Given the duke of Burgundy's attempts to secure his position and protect himself from retribution for the murder of Louis d'Orléans by strengthening the ties between himself and the royal family, it would have been difficult for him to do as Salmon asked even if he had in fact wanted to help find a cure for the king. Despite all this, Burgundy's final appearance in the *Dialogues* shows him following through on his promises to Salmon, writing a letter to the new pope, thanking him for his prayers for the king and requesting that he send the man who will be able to cure Charles' illness.¹³⁷ His concern for the king provides a significant contrast to his cousin Louis' failures in the *Dialogues*.

Conclusion

Given the emphasis on familial love in the ordinances detailing their responsibilities, we might expect the authors to urge the members of the royal family to act out of love for each other. The ordinances on royal government issued by both

¹³⁵ Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 73.

¹³⁶ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 4:190-91; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 75-77.

¹³⁷ BnF fr. 23279 f. 121r.

Charles V and Charles VI framed their duties in terms of familial love.¹³⁸ In Charles V's provisions for Charles VI becoming king as a minor, Louis I d'Anjou was described as "nostre très-chier et très-amé Frere Loys Duc d'Anjou et de Touraine," while Queen Jeanne de Bourbon's motherly love for her children was cited as one of the reasons for her guardianship of them.¹³⁹ Moreover, the role of the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon in the guardianship of the royal children was attributed not only to their own love for their nephews, but also to the necessity for women such as the queen to be "acompaignés et conseillées des plus prochains parens de elles et de leurs enfanz."¹⁴⁰ The ordinances observe that "les Filz des Roys doivent estre nourriz et enseigniez par leurs parens," and that the mother of the royal children will "les garder et nourrir amouusement."¹⁴¹ The king's parental responsibility is also cited as a reason for his decisions on the guardianship of his children: "pour ce que à Nous comme à Pere appartient disposer et ordonner de la Garde et Gouvernement de noz Enfans."¹⁴² The guardianship of the royal children was given over to the queen and to Charles VI's "très-chiers et très-amez Oncles" the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, as well as to his "très-chier et bien amé Frere et Cousin," Louis de Bavière, the queen's brother.¹⁴³ Similarly the duke of Berry's appointment to the governorship of the Languedoc in 1380 was partly attributed to his status as one of the king's relatives.¹⁴⁴ The widow of Louis I d'Anjou begged Charles to help her and her son recover the kingdom of Naples by appealing to him as a relative.¹⁴⁵ The

¹³⁸ Guenée, "Le roi, ses parents et son royaume en France au XIV^e siècle," 313-14; Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 31-33. Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berri: sa vie, son action politique (1340-1416)* (Paris, 1967), 3:421. See also for example Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:46, 6:49.

¹³⁹ "our very dear and beloved brother Louis, duke of Anjou and Touraine." Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:46, 6:49.

¹⁴⁰ "accompanied and counselled by their closest relatives and the closest relatives of their children." Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 6:46, 6:49.

¹⁴¹ "care for and raise them lovingly." Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 7:519, 7:530.

¹⁴² "because it is our duty as a father to arrange for the care and guardianship of our children." Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 8:581.

¹⁴³ "very dear and beloved uncles;" "very dear and beloved brother and cousin." Secousse, ed., *Ordonnances des roys de France*, 7:531.

¹⁴⁴ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:90-93.

¹⁴⁵ Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 1:584-85.

language of the ordinances frames the responsibility of these individuals as familial, based on their love for each other. Similarly, in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Philippe de Mézières encourages the king's uncles to remember their familial ties to him. Droicture stresses the familial relationship between Charles and his uncles by describing the king as being “jeune et dessoubz age” and “non pas bien enseigniez” in the art of mastering the French ship, in addition to being an “orphelin” “sans pere et sans mere” at the time of his accession.¹⁴⁶ Since he was young and unready to rule, she says, based on “anciennes coustumes,” “ses prochains amis, patrons de la nef, regnoient pour lui.”¹⁴⁷ Now that he is of an age to govern for himself, he should do so with the assistance and support of another one of his family members, his “frere seul et germain.”¹⁴⁸ As she begins her examination of Louis' moral coinage, Queen Verité calls further attention to his familial relationship with Charles, his “tresame seigneur et frere.”¹⁴⁹

But mostly, exhortations of love in these four texts focus on a subject's love for his or her prince, rather than on an uncle's, brother's, or cousin's love for a relative. Salmon calls upon both the dukes and other officials to act out of love for the king and the kingdom—not for each other.¹⁵⁰ In the *Dialogues*, the passage imploring the dukes to act on their love for the king and kingdom and give good advice to the king is repeated word-for-word in the letters to the other counsellors.¹⁵¹ By using language similar to that used for others, and to authorize their own positions as advice-givers to the king, the authors frame the responsibilities of the members of the royal blood primarily as political responsibilities, not familial ones. Their membership in this political group is dependent on their familial relationships,

¹⁴⁶ “young and underage;” “not well instructed;” “orphan without a father or a mother.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:553 (Book 2, Chapter 124).

¹⁴⁷ “ancient customs;” “his closest friends, the patrons of the ship, reigned for him” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:553 (Book 2, Chapter 124).

¹⁴⁸ “only and full brother.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:467 (Book 2, Chapter 91).

¹⁴⁹ “beloved lord and brother.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:467 (Book 2, Chapter 91).

¹⁵⁰ Boris Bove, *Dominer la ville*, 187; Solon, “Art. Chancellor of France,” 194-95 (194); Solon, “Art. Constable of France,” 486-87; Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule*, 61.

¹⁵¹ BnF fr. 23279 ff. 90v-91r.

but the love they are supposed to display to the king is that of any subject to the prince.

In addressing the roles and responsibilities of the king's relatives in books dedicated to Charles VI, these authors flattered the royal relatives by associating them with the king. A dedication to the king could also enhance the author's own sense of prestige. Many of these same authors also reached out to the king's relatives by dedicating other books to them. While Honorat Bovet's *Arbre des batailles*' relative silence on the role of Charles VI in particular is accompanied by a lack of discussion of the roles of the royal dukes, Bovet did dedicate other books to members of the royal family. These included the 1398 *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*, dedicated to Louis d'Orléans with copies also presented to the duchess of Orléans, Philippe le Hardi, and Jean de Montaigu. The inclusion of the dedication to Louis d'Orléans in the copies presented to others shows a similar attempt to urge these individuals to act together for the good of the kingdom.¹⁵² Christine de Pizan and Philippe de Mézières also dedicated books to other members of the king's blood, such as Christine de Pizan's 1407 *Epistre Othea* for Louis d'Orléans and Philippe de Mézières' *Epistre lamentable et consolatoire* for Philippe le Hardi.¹⁵³ In their discussions of royal relatives in the books dedicated to the king, Pierre Salmon, Christine de Pizan, and Philippe de Mézières foregrounded the special relationship that was understood to exist between them. If in theory the government of France was Charles VI's responsibility, in practice he was supposed to be aided by the members of the royal blood, who like him were singled out for their association with the royal symbols of the *fleurs-de-lis*, the special link between the kings of France and the Church, and their association with St Louis and Charlemagne. The authors used expressions of the responsibilities of royal relatives to explore the complicated contemporary realities of their role in a time of problematic kingship and a civil war.

¹⁵² Michael Hanly, "Introduction," in *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: the "Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun" of Honorat Bovet* (Tempe, Ariz: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2005), 1-56 (16-17); Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue*, 58-62.

¹⁵³ Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*; Philippe de Mézières, *Une épistre lamentable et consolatoire: Adressée en 1397 à Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, sur la défaite de Nicopolis (1396)*, ed. Philippe Contamine and Jacques Paviot (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 2008).

Chapter 6. Manuscript Afterlives

Each of these books, while drawing on familiar themes from earlier works of princely advice literature, was produced for the very particular circumstances of Charles VI's reign. This is probably one reason why books such as the *Dialogues* did not circulate widely as time passed and the authors' major concerns became obsolete.¹ But the manuscript circulation of these books demonstrates the extent to which they could also reach larger audiences and be used for different purposes. The most remarkable example of this is the *Arbre des batailles*, which survives in at least ninety French-language manuscripts and thirteen in other languages. As H el ene Biu notes, there are many possible reasons for the book's success: it covers a wide range of subjects, including Roman history, the protection of civilians in combat, and the question of just or unjust war, which were very popular and continued to be current after Charles VI's reign.² This book's appeal for a much larger audience than any of the other vernacular advice books dedicated to Charles VI of France can perhaps partly be explained by the king's limited presence throughout the book. The prologue and conclusion of the *Arbre des batailles* both frame the project as having been undertaken for the king, but there is no fictionalized representation of him throughout the rest of the book, nor a claim to a relationship between king and author, unlike in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* or the *Dialogues*.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are the *Dialogues* and the *Chemin de long estude*, whose manuscript circulation after the reign of Charles VI is limited to two manuscripts each. The two later *Chemin de long estude* manuscripts are Paris, Biblioth eque nationale de France, MS fr. 604 (E) (BnF fr. 604) and Krak ow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Gal. Fol. 133 (G). BnF fr. 604 has been dated to after 1407, likely to the mid-fifteenth century. It is a collected works manuscript that was probably based on Chantilly, Biblioth eque du ch ateau, MS 493—a manuscript that was possibly made for either Valentine Visconti or Isabeau de Bavi ere. The Krak ow

¹ Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon's Dialogues*, Illinois Medieval Studies (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 48.

² H el ene Biu, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet:  tude de l'oeuvre et  dition critique des textes fran ais et occitan," Th ese de doctorat, Universit  Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004, 1:36, 1:53-59.

manuscript, which may also have been based on the Chantilly manuscript, is a paper copy of the *Chemin de long estude* that has also been dated to the mid-fifteenth century.³ Both of the *Dialogues* manuscripts produced after Charles VI's death were based on the second version (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 165/Geneva fr. 165), which more clearly spoke to a wider audience than did the first version (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279/BnF fr. 23279). One of the later *Dialogues* manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 5032) was likely a *maquette* manuscript, containing instructions for miniatures but no miniatures themselves. It dates to ca. 1510-30. Anne D. Hedeman has demonstrated that a second later manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9610), dating to ca. 1500, is a copy of Geneva fr. 165 altered to flatter its owner, likely François de Rochechouart, a counsellor of King Louis XII.⁴

Out of these four books, only the *Songe du vieil pelerin* seems to have had a significant period of revived interest. The *Songe du vieil pelerin* survives in eight known manuscripts, of which only one (Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal MSS 2682-2683), dates to within the lifetime of its dedicatee, having been produced sometime before the death of Philippe de Mézières in 1405. A study of the later manuscripts, dating from the mid- to late-fifteenth century, and of their textual and visual contents and their known ownership, demonstrates how the *Songe du vieil pelerin*—itself an adaptation of familiar themes made applicable to the early years of Charles VI's reign—continued to hold interest, and was in some ways adapted, for later audiences. Philippe de Mézières' exhortations to Charles VI to make peace with Richard II, end the papal schism, and embark on a crusade no longer applied in the same way in the fifteenth century as they had in 1389. By the time these later manuscripts were produced, much of the advice of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* was outdated. The 1420

³ Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, "Où mène le *Chemin de long estude*? Christine de Pizan, Ambrogio Migli, et les ambitions impériales de Louis d'Orléans (A propos du ms. BNF fr. 1643)," in *Christine de Pizan 2000: Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000), 177-95 (183-84); Gilbert Ouy, Christine M. Reno, and Inès Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012), 204-12, 270, 379-412; Andrea Tarnowski, "Remarques sur la présente édition," in *Le Chemin de Longue Étude* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), 57-69 (59-66). The letters assigned to each manuscript are taken from Tarnowski's list.

⁴ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 42-53, 78-79. For the manuscripts of the *Songe*, the *Arbre*, the *Chemin*, and the *Dialogues*, see also Appendix 1, below.

Treaty of Troyes—naming Henry V of England as Charles VI's heir and disinheriting his son Charles, who became dauphin in 1417 after the death of all his older brothers—made Philippe de Mézières' suggestions for solving the Anglo-French conflict obsolete. The deaths of both Charles VI and Henry V in 1422 left Charles VII and the infant Henry VI of England as rivals for the French throne.⁵ The papal schism, another major concern of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, had ended in 1417.⁶ And while individuals such as Philippe le Bon of Burgundy continued to issue calls to crusade in the fifteenth century, the defeat of the Burgundian-led crusading forces at Nicopolis in 1396 was a significant setback in Philippe de Mézières' crusading plans.⁷ But some of the important themes of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, especially the argument that the kingdom of France was especially favoured by God, remained current, while others were adapted to appeal to a new audience.

In addition to the Arsenal manuscript, the known surviving *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts are Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, MS 292; Cleveland, Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection (F. 4091.94.M579s); Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, fr. 183/1 and 183/2; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 22542 (the base manuscript for the 1969 edition), fr. 9200-9201, and n. acq. fr. 25164; and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2551. In addition to the prologue and the three books of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, most of the manuscripts also contain a table of allegorical figures and a list of rubrics or chapter headings. Four of the manuscripts contain additional textual content: BnF fr. 22542 opens with a preface unique to this manuscript, including a short biography of the author. Both the Cleveland manuscript and BnF n. acq. fr. 25164 end with a longer biography. In the

⁵ Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c. 1300 - c. 1450*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 30-32; Alain Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, Nouvelle histoire de la France médiévale (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990), 106-8; Bertram Wolffe, *Henry VI, English Monarchs* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1981), 51-53.

⁶ Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 202-4; Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France*, European History in Perspective (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 11.

⁷ Kelly DeVries, "Joan of Arc's Call to Crusade," in *Joan of Arc and Spirituality*, ed. Ann W. Astell and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 111-26 (116-21); James Magee, "Le temps de la croisade bourguignonne: l'expédition de Nicopolis," *Annales de Bourgogne* 68 (1996), 46-58 (58); James Magee, "Crusading at the Court of Charles VI, 1388-1396," *French History* 12 (1998), 367-83 (367); Small, *Late medieval France*, 139, 167.

Arsenal manuscript, a similar biography was added after the manuscript's initial production, along with some commentary on the text (see Table 7, below).⁸

All of the surviving *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts except the Cleveland manuscript contain images. The Chantilly manuscript's one image is not contemporaneous with the text; the manuscript dates to before 1477, and contains blank spaces for miniatures at the beginning of most of the chapters. One of these miniatures was added in the sixteenth century.⁹ In the cases where the images are contemporaneous with the text of the manuscript, they encourage different interpretations of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. No two manuscripts share an illustration programme, and they vary both in scenes depicted and the way those scenes—and the characters—are presented. In the Vienna manuscript, for example, Queen Verité and her companions are depicted as they are described in the text of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*: with wings, and carrying the attributes that represent their function, such as Justice's double-edged sword. In the Geneva manuscript, they appear with neither wings nor attributes and it is therefore difficult to identify which virtue is which. A viewer unaware of the content of the text might not realize they represent allegorical figures at all.

⁸ The text of the biography has been erased in the Cleveland manuscript and is currently visible only under UV light. For transcriptions of the biographies, see Appendix 3, below. For the *Songe* manuscripts, see also Joël Blanchard, "Introduction," in *Philippe de Mézières: Songe du Vieux Pèlerin, Traduit de l'ancien français* (Paris: Pocket, 2008), 9-88 (51-55); Diane E. Booton, *Manuscripts, market and the transition to print in late medieval Brittany* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 194, 353; Émilie Cottureau-Gabillet, "Procès politique et confiscation: le sort de la bibliothèque de Jacques d'Armagnac," in *Violences souveraines au Moyen Âge: travaux d'une école historique*, ed. François Foronda, Christine Barralis, and Bénédicte Sère (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2010), 237-47 (238); Paule Hochuli Dubuis, *Catalogue des Manuscrits français 1-198*, 3d ed. (Geneva: Bibliothèque de Genève, 2009), 314; André Vernet, "Les mauscrits de Claude d'Urfé (1501-1558) au château de La Bastie," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1 (1976), 81-97 (81, 83, 91, 96).

⁹ Agence bibliographique de l'enseignement supérieur, "MS 292: Le Songe du vieil pèlerin, par Philippe de Mézières," *Calames: Online catalogue of archives and manuscripts in French University and Research libraries*, <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/#details?id=IF3010515%23culture=en>; Blanchard, "Introduction, *Philippe de Mézières*," 52.

Table 7: *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts¹⁰

Manuscript	Date	Known medieval/early modern owners	Contains biography of Philippe de Mézières?	Contains a preface?	Contains images?
Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MSS 2682-2683 (Arsenal)	1389-1405	Possibly presentation copy for Charles VI	Yes (added later)	No	Yes
Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, MS 292 (Chantilly)	1433-77	Jacques d'Armagnac	No	No	Yes (one, added 16 th century; spaces left blank for others)
Cleveland, Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection (F. 4091.94.M579s) (Cleveland)	1471	Convent of the Celestines, Paris	Yes (erased)	No	No
Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MSS fr. 183/1 and 183/2	2 nd half 15 th century	N/A	No	No	Yes
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 22542 (BnF fr. 22542)	ca. 1422-83, possibly 1425-58	Louis de Crussol and Jeanne de Lévis	Yes	Yes	Yes
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9200-9201 (BnF fr. 9200-9201)	1465	Philippe le Bon, duke of Burgundy	No	No	Yes
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n. acq. fr. 25164 (BnF n. acq. fr. 25164)	ca. 1490	Robert le Loup; Claude d'Urfé	Yes	No	Yes

¹⁰ See also Appendix 1, below.

Manuscript	Date	Known medieval/early modern owners	Contains biography of Philippe de Mézières?	Contains a preface?	Contains images?
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2551	15 th C	Tanguy du Chastel	No	No	Yes

Five of the post-1405 manuscripts have known medieval owners: the Cleveland, Chantilly, and Vienna manuscripts; and BnF fr. 22542 and 9200-9201. The fifteenth-century ownership of BnF n. acq. fr. 25164, which dates to ca. 1490, is unknown; in the sixteenth century, it belonged to Claude d'Urfé, who campaigned with King François I and was the governor of King Henri II's children from 1553-58. It also bears the signature of an unidentified "Robert le Loup."¹¹ Four of these fifteenth-century manuscripts belonged to important individuals at the courts of Charles VI's successors, Charles VII and Louis XI. The fifth (Cleveland) belonged to the convent of the Celestines in Paris, home of Philippe de Mézières at the time he wrote the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. A study of these manuscripts—focusing on their ownership, on the textual additions to the text where applicable, and on their illustration programmes—will demonstrate how the *Songe du vieil pelerin* was adapted for later individuals who were neither kings nor involved in late-fourteenth-century politics.¹²

Adapting the *Songe du vieil pelerin* for fifteenth-century audiences

The fifteenth-century owners of *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts included Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours (Chantilly 292); Tanguy du Chastel (Vienna 2551); Louis de Crussol (BnF fr. 22542); and Philippe le Bon, duke of Burgundy (BnF

¹¹ Vernet, "Les mauscrits de Claude d'Urfé (1501-1558) au château de La Bastie," 83.

¹² Since the new edition due out with Droz in 2015 will be based on the Arsenal manuscript in comparison with the other surviving manuscripts, enabling a more in-depth textual comparison between the different copies of the *Songe*, I have not attempted such a comparison here.

fr. 9200-9201).¹³ Many of these individuals had familial or political links with each other or with important figures at Charles VI's court. Philippe le Bon (1396-1467) was the son of Jean sans Peur, the duke of Burgundy who had ordered the murder of Louis d'Orléans in 1407 and who was himself murdered on the orders of the future Charles VII in 1419. Philippe le Bon was a signatory to the 1420 Treaty of Troyes naming Henry V of England as Charles VI's heir. After the deaths of both Charles VI and Henry V in 1422, he supported Henry VI of England's claims to the throne of France with military aid, although he began negotiating with Charles VII as early as 1422. He made peace with the French king at the Congress of Arras in 1435. Philippe le Bon's relationship with Charles VII remained troubled even after 1435, and it was partly out of a need for princely allies that he arranged the 1440 return of Charles d'Orléans, son of the murdered Louis d'Orléans, from England, where he had been held since his capture at the battle of Agincourt in 1415.¹⁴ Philippe le Bon's copy of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, BnF fr. 9200-9201, dates to 1465, in the early years of Louis XI's reign (1461-83).¹⁵

Philippe le Bon was also brother-in-law to another owner of a *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscript, Arthur de Richemont (1393-1458), brother of duke Jean V of Brittany and constable of France.¹⁶ Arthur de Richemont's manuscript has not

¹³ Diane E. Booton includes Vienna 2551 as one of the manuscripts originally belonging to Jacques d'Armagnac and acquired by Tanguy du Chastel after the duke of Nemours' arrest for treason in 1475. The signature of Tanguy du Chastel is clearly visible on f. 234r, although I have been unable to find the signature of Jacques d'Armagnac described by Booton as appearing on the f. 234v of the manuscript, which is blank. Émilie Cottereau-Gabillet's list of manuscripts acquired by Tanguy du Chastel from Jacques d'Armagnac's collection includes Vienna 2544 and 2559, but not Vienna 2551. Vienna 2551 is also excluded from Susan A. Blackman's catalogue of Jacques d'Armagnac's manuscripts. Susan A. Blackman, "The manuscripts and patronage of Jacques d'Armagnac duke of Nemours, 1433-1477 (2 vol.)," PhD, University of Pittsburgh, 1993, 2:426-33; Booton, *Manuscripts, market and the transition to print in late medieval Brittany*, 194; Cottereau-Gabillet, "Procès politique et confiscation," 237-47. On the ownership of the other manuscripts, see: Agence bibliographique de l'enseignement supérieur, "MS 292"; Blanchard, "Introduction, *Philippe de Mézières*," 52; Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Archives et manuscrits*, <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/>; Philippe Contamine, "Un préambule explicatif inédit dans un manuscrit (milieu XV^e s.) du *Songe du vieil Pelerin* (1389) de Philippe de Mézières: le texte et l'image," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 4 (2007), 1901-23 (1904).

¹⁴ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), 9-10, 16-17, 20, 99, 110, 115-22, 346-53.

¹⁵ At the end of each volume is the following note: "Escript par moy Guiot Daugerans, en la ville de Brucelles, l'an 1465."

¹⁶ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 9.

survived, but its existence is attested to in the preface of BnF fr. 22542. Although George W. Coopland understood the preface to indicate that BnF fr. 22542 was the constable's manuscript, the wording rather suggests that the manuscript was copied from Arthur de Richemont's.¹⁷ Arthur was married to Philippe le Bon's sister Marguerite, widow of the dauphin Louis de Guyenne.¹⁸ Charles VII managed to recruit Arthur de Richemont as constable of France in 1425, despite his Burgundian connections; conflict with a rival led to the constable's fall from royal favour from 1428 until 1433, when he was reinstated to his former position.¹⁹ The owner of BnF fr. 22542, Louis de Crussol, was a trusted servant of Charles VII's son, Louis XI. His arms appear along with those of his wife, Jeanne de Lévis, on f. 31r of the manuscript. Philippe Contamine suggests that, based on its internal references to Charles VII and Arthur de Richemont, the manuscript was likely produced in either 1425-28 or 1433-58; Louis de Crussol and Jeanne de Lévis likely acquired (or commissioned) it after their marriage in 1452.²⁰ Although the precise dating of the manuscript is difficult to determine, it was certainly produced during the reign of either Charles VII (1422-61) or Louis XI (1461-83). Having started his career as the then-dauphin Louis' squire, Louis de Crussol accompanied the dauphin into exile during his conflicts with his father.²¹ From 1456, the dauphin Louis and his companions were sheltered in the Burgundian territory of Brabant. When he became king in 1461,

¹⁷ "Et n'en a oncques peu finer [i.e., nothing came of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*] jusques au temps du bon roy son filz, Charles le VII^e, où il fu présenté à son loyal connestable, Artus. De quel est cestui cy redigé, et plusieurs autres es cours de plusieurs grans et nobles seigneurs" BnF fr. 22542, f. a.v. The first four folios of BnF fr. 22542 are unfoliated in the manuscript, and will be referred to here using the letters a, b, c, and d to prevent confusion with the foliation systems used later in the manuscript. See also George W. Coopland, "General Introduction," in *Le Songe du vieil pelerin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 1-80 (15-17).

¹⁸ Richard C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York: AMS, 1986), 23-24, 31; Bernard Guénéé, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé* (Paris: Perrin, 2004), 289-92.

¹⁹ Boris Bove, *Le temps de la guerre de Cent Ans: 1328-1453*, Histoire de France (Paris: Belin, 2009), 261; Eugène Cosneau, *Le connétable de Richemont* (Paris: Hachette, 1886), 140-44; Small, *Late Medieval France*, 158; Malcolm G. A. Vale, *Charles VII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 35, 39, 40, 71.

²⁰ Contamine, "Un préambule explicatif inédit dans un manuscrit (milieu XV^e s.) du *Songe du vieil pelerin* (1389) de Philippe de Mézières," 1904n17, 1905n26.

²¹ Vale, *Charles VII*, 163-64.

Louis XI rewarded Louis de Crussol with a number of posts, including the governorship of Dauphiné shortly before his death in 1473.²²

Two more owners of *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts were important figures under Louis XI: Jacques d'Armagnac (1433-77), owner of the Chantilly manuscript, and Tanguy du Chastel, owner of the Vienna manuscript.²³ Jacques d'Armagnac was a nephew of Charles d'Orléans' second wife, Bonne d'Armagnac, and great-grandson of Jean de Berry. He was involved in a series of plots against Louis XI and was executed on August 4, 1477 for his role in the 1475 *ligue du Bien public*, a conspiracy that also involved Charles le Téméraire, son of Philippe le Bon, the king of England, the duke of Brittany, and the count of St-Pol. The conspirators intended to kill the king and divide the kingdom of France between them.²⁴ Jacques d'Armagnac was an avid collector of manuscripts, and kept libraries in his stronghold at Carlat as well as at Roquecourbe and La Marche. He owned at least 119 books. He was arrested at Carlat in 1476, and although his property was not officially seized until July 10, 1477, some of his manuscripts were taken immediately by those present at the arrest.²⁵ Among these individuals was Tanguy du Chastel, a counsellor and chamberlain to Louis XI.²⁶ Many of the owners of copies of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* therefore had political and familial ties to each other and to key figures during the reign of Charles VI; these relationships are represented visually in Figure 16, below.

Philippe le Bon, Arthur de Richemont, and Jacques d'Armagnac were all key political players under Charles VII or Louis XI, while Louis de Crussol and Tanguy du Chastel were trusted servants of Louis XI. Philippe le Bon and Jacques d'Armagnac both possessed large libraries, and their ownership of copies of the *Songe*

²² Contamine, "Un préambule explicatif inédit dans un manuscrit (milieu XV^e s.) du *Songe du vieil pelerin* (1389) de Philippe de Mézières," 1905; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 354.

²³ The Chantilly *Songe du vieil pelerin* is one of many manuscripts belonging to Jacques d'Armagnac with incomplete decoration or image cycles. Blackman, "The manuscripts and patronage of Jacques d'Armagnac duke of Nemours, 1433-1477 (2 vol.)," 1:85.

²⁴ Blackman, "The manuscripts and patronage of Jacques d'Armagnac duke of Nemours, 1433-1477 (2 vol.)," 1:1, 1:5-11; Cottureau-Gabillet, "Procès politique et confiscation," 237-38; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 184-91.

²⁵ Blackman, "The manuscripts and patronage of Jacques d'Armagnac duke of Nemours, 1433-1477 (2 vol.)," 1:15, 1:20-26; Cottureau-Gabillet, "Procès politique et confiscation," 241-42.

²⁶ Booton, *Manuscripts, market and the transition to print in late medieval Brittany*, 353.

du vieil pelerin may therefore seem unsurprising.²⁷ Philippe le Bon, along with Arthur de Richemont and Tanguy du Chastel, were also among the fifteenth-century owners of copies of the *Arbre des batailles*.²⁸ But the discussion of the circulation of *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts in the preface of BnF fr. 22542 suggests that it was considered popular to own a copy of this text in particular at the court of Charles VII. The preface opens with instructions for the physical safeguarding of the book, under the heading “Pour bien garder le livre,” and continues with the “doctrine des devises des ystoires,” a description and explanation of each of the manuscript’s images.²⁹ A reader who compared these descriptions to the images, which appear at the beginning of the Prologue and Books 1, 2, and 3, would have been exposed to a different interpretation than one who did not. The preface’s description of the manuscript’s presentation scene, for example, explains the original context of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and comments on its popularity after the death of its dedicatee, Charles VI. It explains that this image shows the king

en sa magesté, acompaigné de ses oncles, barons et chevaliers, lequel reçoit benignement ce livre des mains du religieux son bon maistre et docteur. Mais pou vint à sa memoyre par les contrayres. Et n’en a oncques peu finer jusques au temps du bon roy, son filz Charles le VII^e, ou il fu présenté a son loyal connestable Artus. Du quel est cestuy cy redigé et plusiers autres es cours de plusieurs grans et nobles seigneurs. (f. a.v)³⁰

²⁷ Blackman, “The manuscripts and patronage of Jacques d’Armagnac duke of Nemours, 1433-1477 (2 vol.);” Bousmanne et al., *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne*, 1:33-34.

²⁸ Hélène Biu, “L’Arbre des batailles d’Honorat Bovet: étude de l’oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan,” Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004, 1:221, 1:224, 1:299.

²⁹ “How to take good care of the book;” “explanation of the image programme” (lit. “lesson of the emblems of the images/histories.”

³⁰ “in his majesty, accompanied by his uncles, barons, and knights, graciously receiving this book from the hands of the religious, his good master and teacher. But little came to its memory because of the circumstances. And nothing could come of it until the time of the good king his son, Charles VII, when it was presented to his loyal constable, Arthur (de Richemont). This copy, and many others at the courts of many great and noble lords, were made from his.”

The survival of only one manuscript from during Charles VI's reign supports BnF fr. 22542's claim that the text had little impact during this period, while its reference to the misfortunes of Charles VI's reign would likely have been understood by its fifteenth-century audience. The preface's description of the king surrounded by his uncles, barons, and knights may also have appealed to a later audience composed of the counsellors of kings. This description's assertion that the text's newfound popularity began with a copy presented to the constable of France associates the *Songe du vieil pelerin* with a new, non-royal audience, while the emphasis on its circulation at the courts of many great lords portrays this new audience as a prestigious one. The later manuscript history of the *Dialogues* suggests a similar use of that book to flatter the counsellors of kings, rather than kings themselves: the copy likely belonging to François de Rochechouart adapted the images of the manuscript's model, possibly in an attempt to foreground its owner's prestigious relationship with Louis XII.³¹ The preface further suggests some other reasons for the text's newfound popularity, informing us that the book will be interesting to multiple audiences: ladies will enjoy its large cast of female characters; learned individuals can use it as a model of rhetoric; and those familiar with Holy Scripture will be able to comprehend its "moral" sense and use the book's images to explain this to readers and auditors who will not otherwise understand (ff. a.v, b.r).

While it is impossible to determine whether BnF fr. 22542 was in fact copied from Arthur de Richemont's manuscript, the preface's assertion that the text circulated widely during this period is clear from the known ownership of other fifteenth-century manuscripts. A closer examination of the images of BnF fr. 22542 and of the preface's description of these images, in comparison with the images of Philippe le Bon's manuscript (BnF fr. 9200-9201) and Tanguy du Chastel's copy (Vienna 2551), demonstrates some of the reasons later audiences may have been interested in this text. These include the wider applicability of its Christian messages; the continued currency of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*'s approach to the characterization of the kings of France as "roys trescrestiens" and of its discussion of the Parisian Parlement; and its approach to royal counsellors. Each of these manuscripts includes

³¹ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 49-53.

images at the beginning of Books 1, 2, and 3; in BnF fr. 22542 there are images at the beginning of the prologue as well. These images provide a visual separation between the main sections of the text as well as a depiction of scenes appearing in each book. In both Vienna 2551 and BnF fr. 22542, the images at the beginning of Book 1 focus on the Christian messages of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, which could have interested non-royal audiences as well. They show the search of Ardant Desir (Ardent Desire) and Bonne Esperance (Good Hope) for Queen Verité and the other virtues, the forging of good moral coinage, and, in BnF fr. 22542, several stages on the world journey in Book 1 (see Figures 11 and 12, below). The preface identifies these images as Queen Verité's visits to "le pays des mescreans," that is, non-Christian lands and "les pays des scismatiques" (centre right); Prussia (bottom right); and Avignon (bottom left), a key location for Queen Verité's commentary on the papal schism (f. b.r-v).³²

³² "the land of unbelievers;" "the land of schismatics."

Figure 11: BnF fr. 22542 f. 31r. The search for Queen Verité; her journey through non-Christian and schismatic lands, Prussia, and Avignon. Photo: BnF



Figure 12: Vienna 2551 f. 10r. The Vieil Pelerin's dream; the quest to find the virtues. Photo: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek



In specifying the location of these visits, BnF fr. 22542 focuses the reader's attention on Queen Verité's search for a realm populated by good Christians, rather than on some of the more political messages also present in Book 1 and that could have been emphasized through depicting her visits to places like Venice or London. The preface also reminds us of the text's description of Ardant Desir and Bonne Esperance as representative of all good Christians: they are dressed "en habit de

pelerins,” and their journey “signifient tout homme et femme qui sont en ce monde, lesquelx sont pelerins pour aler en Hierusalem” (f. a.v).³³ Similarly, the description of Queen Verité’s visit to non-Christian lands reminds the reader that “tous les Tartres, Sarrasins, Barbarins et autres ydolatres et juifz sont loing de Dieu et vont tous a eternele damnation” (f. b.r-v), while her visit to schismatic lands “signifie que telx crestiens scismatiques sont hors de la communion de sainte eglise romaine” (f. b.v).³⁴ The preface’s interpretation of Queen Verité’s visit to Prussia is especially telling, as here the description of the image alters the meaning of the scene as it is described in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. In the text, Queen Verité concludes that she will not be able to remain in Prussia, as the local population has only recently been converted and is not yet fully Christian.³⁵ But according to the preface, this image shows “que ou temps que ce present livre fut composé, estoient entre les Crestiens les Prucennayres moult bien tenans verité, c’est la foy crestienne” (f. b.v).³⁶ The familiarity of the preface’s author with the text of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* suggests that this was a deliberate, rather than accidental, alteration. The preface accurately observes elsewhere, for example, that although Charles VI is entirely absent from Book 1 its lessons still apply to him (f. b.v).

In addition to focusing on the behaviour of all good Christians, a message that would have been appropriate for a non-royal audience, BnF fr. 22542’s focus on these themes in Book 1 may also have reminded fifteenth-century readers of the calls for crusade issued by individuals such as Philippe le Bon, although no such crusade ever materialized.³⁷ His father, Jean sans Peur, had led the crusading forces at Nicopolis in 1396, where he had been defeated and captured; Philippe de Mézières

³³ “in pilgrims’ clothing;” “represents all men and women in the world, who are all pilgrims trying to reach Jerusalem.” Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. George W. Coopland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 1:106 (Prologue/Table Figuree).

³⁴ “all Tartars, Saracens, pagans, and other idolators and Jews are far from God and destined for eternal damnation;” “signifies that schismatic Christians are outside the communion of the Holy Roman Church.”

³⁵ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:239-47 (Book 1, Chapter 18).

³⁶ “at the time that this book was written, the Prussians among all Christians held well to Truth, that is the Christian faith.”

³⁷ DeVries, “Joan of Arc’s Call to Crusade,” 116-21; Magee, “Le temps de la croisade bourguignonne,” 58; Magee, “Crusading at the Court of Charles VI, 1388-1396,” 367; Small, *Late medieval France*, 139, 167.

wrote his *Epistre lamentable* for Jean sans Peur's father Philippe le Hardi in response to these events.³⁸ The fall of Constantinople in 1453 made the need for a crusade seem more pressing, while the end of the Anglo-French wars made it more possible. Philippe le Bon and several of his guests swore crusading oaths at his 1454 Feast of the Pheasant.³⁹ The duke of Burgundy even received permission in 1455 from Charles VII to recruit for participants in a crusade in France, and requested funding for it through the *aides* in 1454-55. In June 1456, the knights of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece collectively wrote a letter to Charles VII on the subject of crusade. Louis de Crussol, owner of BnF fr. 22542, was in Burgundian territory with the exiled dauphin Louis from 1456-61, and would likely have been aware of the duke of Burgundy's crusading plans. He may have viewed the manuscript's treatment of "le pays des mescreans" with this in mind.⁴⁰

The images opening Book 2 in BnF fr. 22542 and Vienna 2551 also draw the reader's (or viewer's) attention to themes of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* that remained current in the fifteenth century (see Figures 13, 14, and 15, below). The Vienna manuscript shows Queen Verité presiding over her Parlement in Paris. She and Justice, Misericorde, and Paix (Justice, Mercy, and Peace) are seated on thrones with canopies similar to those used by French kings when they appeared in a *lit de justice* in Parlement.⁴¹ Their attendants kneel on the floor in front of them, while Ardant Desir and Bonne Esperance stand at the entrance to the room. In the centre, in between rows of gathered spectators, stand Hardiesse (Daring) and a lawyer, in a visual representation of the debate between these two figures about the French judicial system in the text of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*.⁴² On the queen's left sit Charles VI—clearly identifiable by his accompanying stag, falcon, and *chambrieres* Humilité and

³⁸ Kevin Brownlee, "Cultural Comparison: Crusade as Construct in Late Medieval France," *L'esprit créateur* 32, no.3 (1992), 13-24.

³⁹ Kelly DeVries, "The failure of Philip the Good to fulfill his crusade promise of 1454," in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. Susan J. Ridyard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 157-70 (157-61).

⁴⁰ "the land of unbelievers." Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 354, 358-60, 365, 367, 369.

⁴¹ Sarah Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse*, Studies presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions 65 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), 14-23.

⁴² Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:462-507 (Book 2, Chapter 91), 1:595-621 (Book 2, Chapter 141).

Pacience (Humility and Patience)—and his brother Louis, who likewise holds a falcon. The room is clearly identified as being the French Parlement by the gold *fleurs-de-lis* painted on the blue walls, echoing the *habit royal* worn by both Charles and Louis in the image.⁴³ Here the manuscript provides a strong visual reminder of the role of Queen Verité as a model of justice for Charles VI in the text, and for her position in this Parisian Parlement in particular. The choice of the manuscript deviser to depict the debate between Hardiesse (clearly labelled in the image) and the lawyer, rather than any of the other individuals brought before the queen in Paris, also focuses the reader's attention on the text's discussion of the French judicial system.

⁴³ William M. Hinkle, *The Fleurs de Lis of the Kings of France 1285-1488* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991).

Figure 13: Vienna 2551 f. 73r. Queen Verité's Parlement in Paris. Photo: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek



Figure 14: BnF fr. 22542 f. 121v. Queen Verité's arrival in Paris. Photo: BnF



Figure 15: BnF fr. 22542 f. 122r. Queen Verité's Parlement in Paris; Queen Verité and Charles VI with chariot and chessboard. Photo: BnF



BnF fr. 22542 also visually depicts Queen Verité's Parisian Parlement in Book 2 (see Figures 14 and 15, above). This manuscript includes three images at the beginning of Book 2: first, Queen Verité's arrival in Paris and her welcome there by a group of people including the king; second, her Parlement in Paris; and third, a combination of allegories from Books 2 and 3, the ships of England and France, the royal chariot, and the chessboard. Here the Parlement image includes only Queen Verité surrounded by the other virtues, and four debating figures identified in the preface as, on the left, "ung advocat et une astronomienne, et à dextre deux chambrières: Hardiesse, qui respond à l'advocat, et Bonne Foy, qui est l'université de Paris qui respont à la vielle qui represente astronomie" (f. c.r).⁴⁴ The description of this image in the preface also emphasizes the role of the French Parlement, saying that God gave France "son benoist parlement de tenir vraye justice afin de vivre en paix sans avoir bandes, murtreries, champ de bataille et inimitez vindicatives comme il y a es autres royaumes" (f. c.r).⁴⁵ While in the text of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* the debate between Hardiesse and the lawyer in the Parisian Parlement is used to criticize the French judicial system, the preface of BnF fr. 22542 uses this same scene to praise the institution as uniquely French.⁴⁶

The visual depiction of Parlement in these two manuscripts, and the commentary on it in the preface of BnF fr. 22542, would likely also have called to mind the changes made to the institution under Charles VII. As dauphin, he established a Parlement at Poitiers to counter the Parisian Parlement after the Burgundian occupation of the city in 1418. Until Charles VII recovered Paris with the help of Philippe le Bon in 1436, there were two sovereign Parlements answering to two different rulers. Charles VII also established a separate Parlement in Toulouse in 1420, at the region's request. This multiplication of Parlements helped to increase

⁴⁴ "a lawyer and a [female] astronomer, and on the right two attendants: Daring, who is responding to the lawyer, and Good Faith, who is the University of Paris and responds to the old woman representing Astronomy."

⁴⁵ "its blessed Parlement, to keep true justice, in order to permit people to live in peace, without gangs, murders, battle, and vindictive hostilities as exist in other realms."

⁴⁶ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 1:462-507 (Book 2, Chapter 91).

the French king's judicial authority in areas that had previously followed their own local custom.⁴⁷

Parlement continued to have an important role in French political life during the reign of Louis XI, during which the institution was used for a number of political trials, including for Jacques d'Armagnac and other participants in the 1475 conspiracy against the king.⁴⁸ These developments may help explain the popularity of Parlement scenes for visual representation in *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts. The image at the beginning of Book 3 of the Vienna manuscript is also set in Queen Verité's Parisian Parlement (see Figure 16, below). The Geneva manuscript also focuses on Queen Verité's judicial role, showing her presiding over courts in ten of the manuscript's thirteen images. In contrast, Philippe le Bon's manuscript does not contain any images stressing the role of Parlement: instead BnF fr. 9200-9201 depicts the author writing the book; Ardant Desir and Bonne Esperance standing before Queen Verité; and Ardant Desir and Bonne Esperance pleading with Queen Verité as described at the beginning of Book 3. The focus here is on the author and on the relationship between his allegorical representatives and Queen Verité, rather than on the role of Parlement or similar courts in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. This is perhaps not surprising, as Philippe le Bon would have had little interest in promoting the Parisian Parlement as a particularly French institution. One of the major sources of conflict between Charles VII and the duke of Burgundy was the duke's belief that the Parlement of Paris was both encroaching on his jurisdiction and consistently finding against him.⁴⁹ The annotations in François de Rochechouart's copy of the *Dialogues* suggest that this book's treatment of justice was a reason for later interest in it as well.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Roger G. Little, *The Parlement of Poitiers: War, Government and Politics in France, 1418-1436* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1984), 1, 211, Vale, *Charles VII*, 59.

⁴⁸ Cottureau-Gabillet, "Procès politique et confiscation," 238; Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 191-92.

⁴⁹ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 19.

⁵⁰ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 50.

Figure 16: Vienna 2551 f. 130r. Queen Verité's Parlement in Paris. Photo: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek



The other images at the beginning of Book 2 in BnF fr. 22542 are also used to present France as a divinely favoured realm (see Figure 16, above). The discussion between Bonne Foy, representative of the University of Paris, and Astrology in the Parlement scene is described as showing that God gave France the University of Paris for the sake of “vraye cognoissance de resister et vuider les erreurs d’astrologie”

(f. c.r).⁵¹ Queen Verité's arrival in Paris and welcome there in the first image of Book 2 also presents France as a realm favoured by God. Her visit is described as “une espiciale divine visitacion attribuee par la grace de Dieu au royaume de France” and in particular to its king, who “est nommé par dessus tous les roys catholiques le roy trescrestien” (f. c.r), despite the at least twenty-five similar visits she makes in Book 1 of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*.⁵² The description of the third image in Book 2 focuses on the allegorical representation of the king in his chariot and on the gift of the chessboard, symbolizing “Dieu qui visite tousjours ses amis en leurs tribulacions” (f. c.r).⁵³ This added layer of interpretation both shows Charles VI as a recipient of God's favour, and widens the potential audience of the text's messages to anyone who might receive the help of God in a time of need.

In presenting the French king and the kingdom of France as particularly favoured by God, BnF fr. 22542 draws not only on Philippe de Mézières' reminders to Charles VI that he should behave in a manner befitting the title of *roy très chrétien*, but also on further developments in this argument in the fifteenth century. The idea that the kings of France were particularly favoured by God was used to help present the 1438 Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which attempted to lessen papal authority over the French church by enabling the king to assign benefices and select bishops, as a natural progression.⁵⁴ Jeanne d'Arc's successes were also seen partly as further evidence of the divine favour shown to French kings.⁵⁵

The final three images of BnF fr. 22542, and the descriptions of them in the preface, are also used to stress the kingdom of France as being favoured by God, and to appeal to a new and wider audience (see Figures 17 and 18, below). The first image of Book 3 shows Queen Verité, accompanied by the other three virtues, giving the tablets to Charles VI as described in the Moses allegory in the text of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. While in the text the allegorical tablets are used as a record of some of

⁵¹ “true knowledge of how to resist and end the errors of astrology.”

⁵² “a particular divine visitation attributed by the grace of God to the kingdom of France;” “who is called above all other Catholic kings the Most Christian King.”

⁵³ “God, who always visits his friends in their times of trouble.”

⁵⁴ Demurger, *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs*, 203; Small, *Late medieval France*, 11.

⁵⁵ Jacques Krynen, *L'Empire du roi: Idées et croyances politiques en France XIII^e-XV^e siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), 371.

Queen Verité's lessons to the king, in the preface of BnF fr. 22542, they are a reminder of the special graces shown to the kings of France by God, "comme de la sainte empoule, de la guerison et remede es escroelle, de la haultesse et eminence par dessus tous les autres roys de ce seurnom trescrestien" (f. c.v).⁵⁶ Likewise the preface's description of the manuscript's penultimate image draws attention to the special role of French kings—and, in this case, their family members. In the image, Charles VI and his brother Louis receive the allegorical chessboard from Queen Verité. They are surrounded by a circle of attendants, who help to shield them from view as they receive her instructions.⁵⁷ According to the preface,

Et tout entour d'eulx, une dance de damoiselles vault autant à dire que le noble roy de France et tous ceulx du sang royal qui sont capables de parvenir à la couronne qui ont receu le saint sacrement de baptesme, et promis de tenir et garder les commandemens de Dieu, doivent estre fermez et encloz es vertuz de Jesuscrist à son pouvoir, sans nulle enfraindre ou desvoyer. Et recevoir l'eschequier de la main de la royne Verité, c'est la doctrine de l'eglise qui est la royne Verité vraye espouse de Jesucrist, ou autrement se trouver hors du cercle des damoiselles, c'est des vertuz, et estre viudé d'icelles et loing de l'amour de Dieu (ff. c.v-d.r).⁵⁸

The description's statement that to be outside the circle is to be far from God's love is remarkable as in both the image and the main text of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the king and his brother are the only two people inside the circle. The preface also alters the role of the allegorical chessboard, which becomes here a lesson for all Christians and

⁵⁶ "such as the *sainte ampoule*, the cure and remedy of scrofula, and the superiority and eminence of the Most Christian King above all other kings."

⁵⁷ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:120-21 (Book 3, Chapter 181).

⁵⁸ "And all around them, a dance of damsels that shows that the noble king of France and all those of the royal blood who are capable of attaining the crown, and who have received the holy sacrament of baptism, and promised to uphold and keep the commandments of God, must be encircled and enclosed by the virtues of Jesus Christ by his power, without transgressing or straying. And receiving the chessboard from the hand of Queen Truth, is the doctrine of the Church, which shows that Queen Truth is the true spouse of Jesus Christ. In other words, to find oneself outside the circle of damsels, that is of the virtues, is to be devoid of them and far from the love of God."

an assertion of the responsibilities of all members of the French royal blood. This expansion of the manuscript's audience continues into the final paragraph, which transforms the tablets, the chessboard, and the chariot into tools to “edifier plus certainement la memoire et entendement de ceulx qui le lyront et orront” (f. d.r).⁵⁹

The inclusion of Louis d'Orléans in this image, and the preface's description of the responsibilities of French princes, are especially interesting considering that fifteenth-century audiences would have had the benefit of hindsight in assessing his role. In the Vienna manuscript, he is represented alongside Charles VI as he is described in the text, in which Queen Verité instructs him to help the king remember her lessons.⁶⁰ He is clearly associated with the royal house of France through his *habit royal*, and is portrayed with the falcon assigned to him in the allegorical structure of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. The final image of BnF fr. 22542, however, offers a subtle hint of how later audiences likely viewed Louis' role as described by Philippe de Mézières in comparison with his later actions. Here Charles VI appears accompanied not only by Ardant Desir, Bonne Esperance, and Louis d'Orléans, but by another man as well. The preface informs us that “La tierce figure de ceste derniere hystoire, qui contient le roy et le duc d'Orléans, son frere, de genoulz acompaignez d'Ardant Desir et de sa seur Bonne Esperance, et d'un homme de conseil, qui sont demourez avecques eulx pour leur recorder et ramener à memoire les doctrines et enseignemens de la royne et des dames” (f. d.r).⁶¹ There is no equivalent to this figure in the main text of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, in which the task of helping Charles VI remember Queen Verité's lessons is given to Louis alone. In addition to potentially referring to Louis' apparent inability to fulfil his role as the French king's brother, this addition of a royal counsellor may have appealed to individuals like Louis de Crussol and Tanguy du Chastel, men of counsel themselves.

The allusions to the “roy trescrestien” and the use of symbolism specific to Charles VI or to France, such as a crowned, winged stag and the French *habit royal*,

⁵⁹ “further inform the memory and understanding of those who will read and hear it.”

⁶⁰ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, 2:480-82 (Book 3, Chapter 306).

⁶¹ “The third figure of this final history [image], which contains the king and the duke of Orléans, his brother, kneeling and accompanied by Ardent Desire and his sister Good Hope, and of a man of counsel, who stayed with them to record and bring to memory the instructions and teachings of the queen and the ladies.”

in BnF fr. 22542 and Vienna 2551 is significant. Both manuscripts were owned by trusted servants of a French king, who could benefit from their association with a ruler purported to be particularly favoured by God. At the same time, the use of symbols particular to Charles VI continued to tie these manuscripts to the circumstances of his reign—unlike in François de Rochechouart’s copy of the *Dialogues*, which retains imagery applicable to all French kings but removes symbols specific to Charles VI.⁶² On the other hand, the visual elements of Philippe le Bon’s manuscript (BnF fr. 9200-9201) and of the Geneva manuscript completely omit symbolism specific to either Charles VI or to France. The king is not included in any of BnF fr. 9200-9201’s images, while the images of him in the Geneva manuscript include no *habit royal*, falcon, or stag. The lack of French royal imagery in these manuscripts would likely have created a different impression for their viewers and readers.

⁶² Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 50.

Figure 17: BnF fr. 22542 f. 201v. Queen Verité gives the tablets to Charles VI. Photo: BnF



Figure 18: BnF fr. 22542 f. 202r. The circle of virtues, Queen Verité, Charles VI, and Louis (L); the end of the dream and Charles and Louis with a counsellor (R). Photo: BnF



The memory of Philippe de Mézières

In his *Justification du duc de Bourgogne*, arguing that Jean sans Peur had acted for the king's benefit in ordering the 1407 murder of Louis d'Orléans, Jean Petit named Philippe de Mézières (d. 1405) as one of Louis' chief co-conspirators. Petit claimed that Philippe de Mézières had betrayed a king whom he had served as chancellor, presumably Peter I of Cyprus; that, after this event, he helped Louis d'Orléans' father-in-law murder his rival for the duchy of Milan; that he had returned to France and the convent of the Celestines for the sole purpose of passing messages between the new duke of Milan and the duke of Orléans; and that Louis had frequently visited the convent of the Celestines in order to conspire with Philippe de Mézières to kill Charles VI of France.⁶³

This characterization of the writer as a serial conspirator who only wished to harm Charles VI is in marked contrast to the way he was portrayed in fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. The preface of BnF fr. 22542 suggests that owning a copy of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* was prestigious at the court of Charles VII, in part due to the circles in which the text circulated. Several of the surviving manuscripts also present the text as a prestigious thing to own by including biographies of the author that present him, not as a plotter against his king, but as an experienced royal servant who had a strong relationship with the kings of France. In addition to the brief description of the author's life given in the preface of BnF fr. 22542, three more manuscripts include a biography of Philippe de Mézières: the Arsenal manuscript, the Cleveland manuscript, and BnF n. acq. fr. 25164. These three biographies are nearly identical in wording, and likely originated with the version in the Cleveland manuscript, which has been erased and is now visible only under UV light. On the same folio, and also only visible under UV light, is a note that "Ce manuscrit est au Celestins de Paris" (see Figure 19, below).⁶⁴ The biographical passage in the Arsenal manuscript dates to much later than the

⁶³ Jacques Krynen, *L'Empire du roi: Idées et croyances politiques en France XIII^e-XV^e siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), 1:230-31.

⁶⁴ "This manuscript belongs to the Celestines of Paris."

manuscript's composition and has been inserted on a folded sheet of paper (see Figure 20, below).

Figure 19: Cleveland f. 310v, without and with UV light

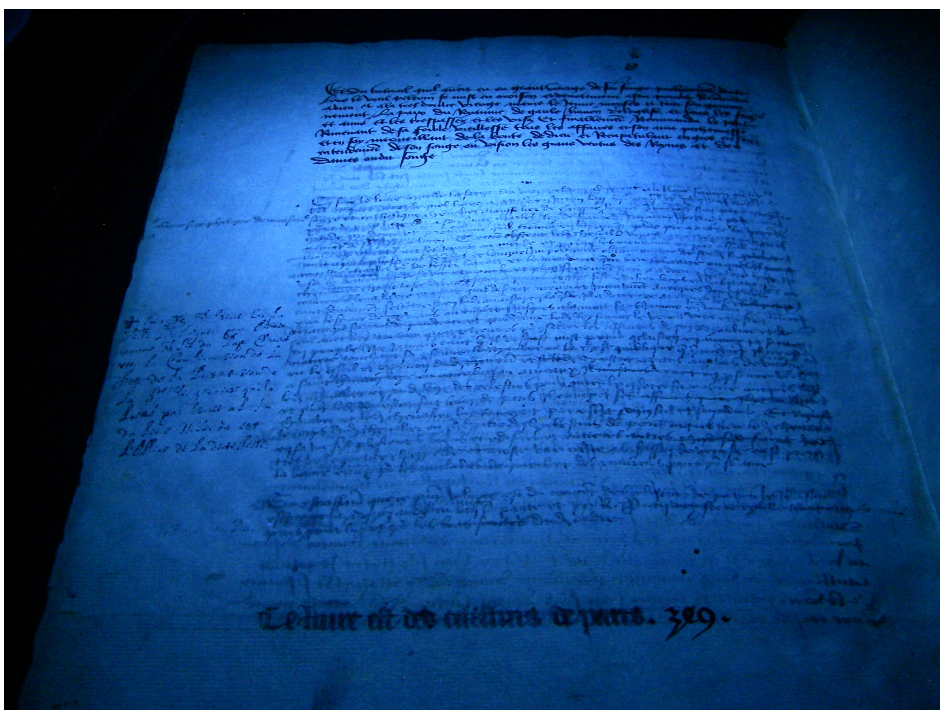
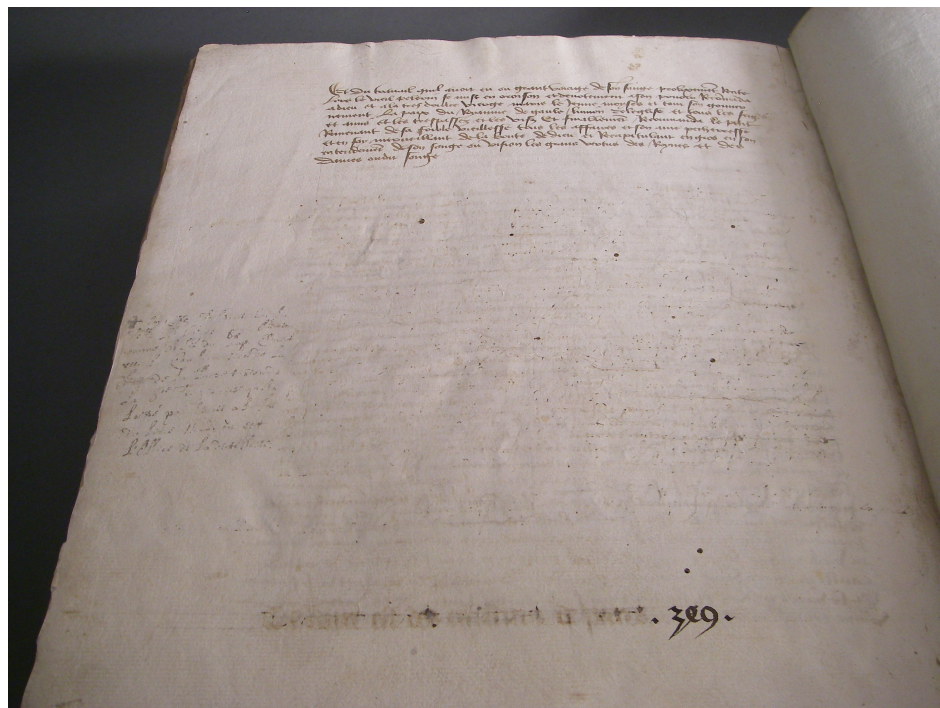
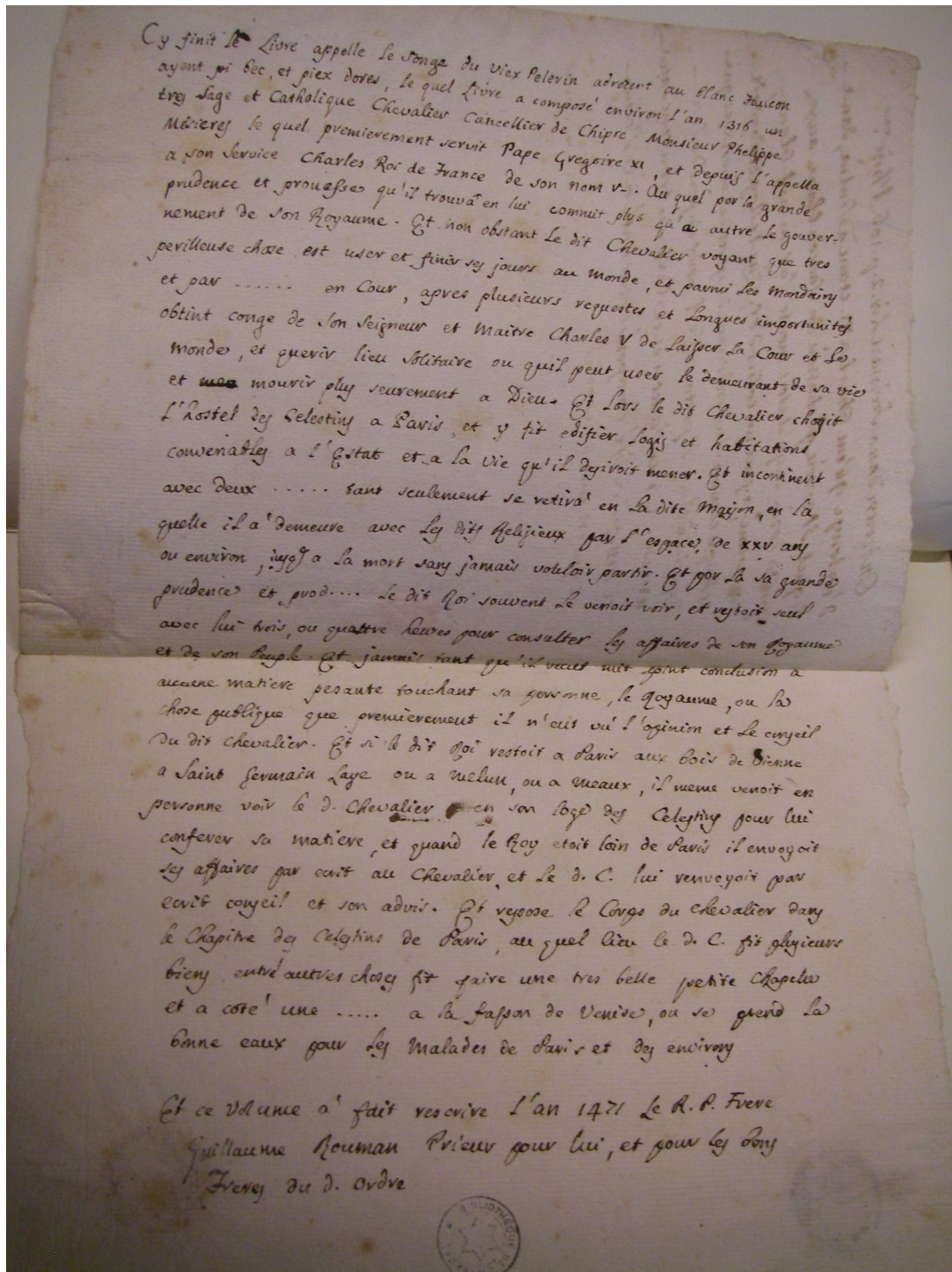


Figure 20: Biography inserted into Arsenal 2682



A note accompanying the biography explains that it was copied from a passage in a paper *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscript owned by the Celestines of Paris, likely a

reference to the Cleveland manuscript.⁶⁵ In BnF n. acq. fr. 25164, the biographical passage appears at the very end of the text and is also nearly identical to that in Arsenal and Cleveland (for the text of the biographies, see Appendix 3, below).⁶⁶

The biography opens by giving the title, year of composition, and author of the book.⁶⁷ It goes on to claim that Philippe de Mézières had served “Pape Gregoire XI” before being called to the service of Charles V of France.⁶⁸ This king “en lui commit plus qu’à autre le gouvernement de son royaume,” and although he gave the author permission to “querir lieu solitaire” and retire to the convent of the Celestines, continued to consult with him both by visiting him and by exchanging letters.⁶⁹ The biography tells us that the author lived in the convent of the Celestines until his death, and that while there he funded both the construction of a chapel in the convent and the installation of a water cistern “à la fason de Venise,” so that the sick inhabitants of Paris could have “bonne eaux” to drink.⁷⁰ Some of the biography’s statements are either inaccurate or unverifiable; for example, between the three different versions of it there are two dates given for the composition of the text: 1316 and 1317. Neither one of these dates is accurate. The assertion that Philippe de Mézières had worked for pope Gregory XI is also unverified, although he did spend time in Avignon during Gregory’s papacy. Finally, as Philippe de Mézières retired to the convent of the Celestines after the death of Charles V, if he continued to consult with any king while in retirement it was certainly Charles VI.

Accuracy notwithstanding, this biography of the author clearly depicts him as a prestigious figure, with experience not only in papal service but also as an indispensable counsellor of Charles V of France—a king frequently invoked as an

⁶⁵ The Cleveland manuscript is primarily on paper, though the outer folios of each gathering are parchment.

⁶⁶ This version has been transcribed by Philippe Contamine in “Un préambule explicatif inédit dans un manuscrit (milieu XVe s.) du *Songe du vieil pelerin* (1389) de Philippe de Mézières,” 1915. The wording is nearly identical to the Arsenal/Cleveland biography.

⁶⁷ In the Arsenal manuscript the date is given as 1316, while BnF n. acq. fr. 25164 says 1317. Both of these dates are obvious errors.

⁶⁸ “Pope Gregory XI.” For transcriptions of the different versions of this biography, see Appendix 3, below.

⁶⁹ “committed the government of his kingdom more to him than to anyone else;” “seek a solitary location.”

⁷⁰ “in the Venetian manner;” “good water.”

exemplary ruler, praised for the same quality of prudence he is said here to have valued in Philippe de Mézières. This biography also emphasizes the author's links—and, by extension, Charles V's—with the convent of the Celestines. Not only did Philippe de Mézières retire there, but according to the biography “le dit roi souvent le venoit voir, et veyrois seul avec lui trois, ou quatre heurs pour consulter les affaires de son royaume et de son peuple.”⁷¹ Even when the king was staying near to Paris but not in the city, “il meme venoit en personne voir le dit chevalier en son loge des Celestins.”⁷² The prestige accorded to the convent by association with Philippe de Mézières is especially emphasized in the Cleveland, and therefore Arsenal, version. This biography concludes with the production of the Cleveland manuscript for the convent of the Celestines: “Et ce volume a fait rescrire l’an 1471 par le R. P. Frere Guillaume Rouman. Prier pour lui, et pour les bons Freres dudit ordre. Ce livre est des Celestins de Paris.”⁷³ In BnF n. acq. fr. 25164, this exhortation for prayers is shortened to “Priés pour son ame.”⁷⁴ By associating the text's author with Charles V of France—and portraying him as an invaluable counsellor to such an exemplary king—and by stressing the importance of the author's links with the convent of the Celestines, the biographical passage in the Cleveland manuscript attributes prestige to the convent through its association with Philippe de Mézières. The preface of BnF fr. 22542 also stresses Philippe de Mézières' links with the kings of France, including a brief description of his life in its description of the images in the prologue. According to the preface, the “tres noble et prudent roy Charles le Quint ot à sa court un excellent docteur auquel il bailla gouverner son filz du temps de son escele” (f. a.r).⁷⁵ Following Charles V's death, the author

⁷¹ “the said king often came to see him, and saw him alone for three or four hours at a time, to consult with him about the affairs of his kingdom and his people.”

⁷² “he still came in person to see the said knight in his lodgings at the Celestines.”

⁷³ “And this volume was copied in the year 1471 by Brother Guillame Rouman. Pray for him, and for the good Brothers of the said order. This book belongs to the Celestines of Paris.”

⁷⁴ “Pray for his soul.”

⁷⁵ “very noble and prudent King Charles V had at his court an excellent doctor, to whom he confided the education of his son at the time of his schooling.”

se feist profez en l'ordre des Celestins à Paris, et ainsi comme Aristote estans à Athenes enseigna par son livre des secrez des secrez es Yndes Alexandre qui avoit esté son disciple, ce bon religieux enseigna ches les Celestins par cestui present livre ou chastel du Louvre à Paris le noble roy Charles le VI^e qui avoit esté son disciple (f. a.r).⁷⁶

In BnF fr. 22542, the author is associated with two kings of France and compared to Aristotle, who it was believed in this period had composed an advice book for Alexander the Great, the *Secretum secretorum*.⁷⁷

The images in the Arsenal manuscript are clearly appropriate for the text's original context. It contains two inhabited initials and one full-page miniature. The full-page miniature shows the crowned and winged stag that represents Charles VI in the text, while the inhabited initials show a pilgrim and the white falcon with the golden beak and feet that also represents Charles VI. The images in this manuscript, which was likely supervised by Philippe de Mézières himself as it has autograph corrections, focus on the relationship between the author and the dedicatee, and on symbols specific to the text's primary imagined audience of Charles VI of France. These images could also have reminded any other members of Charles' court who saw the manuscript of their primary duty to support and counsel the king. This imagined audience is important for our understanding of the circulation of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, both during and after the reign of Charles VI. The contents of the text and the advice it offers to the king are very much grounded in the political circumstances of Charles VI's 1388 declaration of personal rule. The *Chemin de long estude* and the *Dialogues*, which also survive in a limited number of manuscripts, are similarly tied to the political moment in which they were composed. The *Arbre des*

⁷⁶ “had himself initiated into the order of the Celestines in Paris. And so as Aristotle, when he was in Athens, used his book the *Secret of Secrets* to teach Alexander, who was in India and who was his disciple, this good religious while at the Celestines used this present book to teach the noble king Charles VI, who was his disciple, in the Louvre.”

⁷⁷ Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De regimine principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275-c. 1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 21; Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 41-5.

batailles, with its much larger scope, was the only advice book for Charles VI to reach a significantly wider audience, surviving in over one hundred manuscripts.⁷⁸

Conclusion

The circulation and image programmes of *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts after the reign of Charles VI show us how a text so grounded in its initial political context could be adapted for later audiences. Crusade, the argument that the kings of France were the *rois très chrétiens*, developments in the Parlement of Paris, and the role of royal counsellors were still important concerns. The ownership of the manuscript by members of the political elite, and by the convent in which Philippe de Mézières lived while composing the text, also shows us another important reason for the text's brief resurgence of popularity. It had been written by a man with close ties to Charles V and Charles VI of France, and intended as an advice book for one of the French *rois très chrétiens*. Despite all the problems of his reign, Charles VI was not seen as a disastrous king. He was called "bien-aimé" (beloved), and instead of blaming him for the failures of his reign his subjects prayed for his recovery from illness and held religious processions in the streets of Paris to plead for a cure.⁷⁹ The association of the book with this king of France and the prestige of its author were major parts of its attraction for later owners.

⁷⁸ Biu, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 36-37.

⁷⁹ Although Bernard Guenée asserts that the title "bien-aimé" was only used after Charles VI's death, it is used in the prologue of the *Arbre des batailles*. Bovet, "L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet," 2:599 (Prologue); Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*, 170-74, 264-71.

Conclusion

The *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues* are important examples of the way writers used books of advice to promote their own individual goals while commenting on and suggesting solutions to pressing political problems. In contrast to the wider categories employed by modern scholars such as “mirrors for princes” or “littérature engagée,” the fact that these books were directly addressed to Charles VI provides an opportunity to consider the function of constructing the current king as the primary recipient of advice. Other books such as Philippe de Mézières’ *Epistre au roi Richart* (1395, dedicated to Richard II of England), Honorat Bovet’s *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* (1398, dedicated to Louis d’Orléans), and Christine de Pizan’s *Epistre Othéa* (1400-1, dedicated to Louis d’Orléans), *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* (1404, dedicated to Philippe le Hardi), and *Corps de policie* (1404-7, intended for the dauphin Louis de Guyenne) did not frame their advice around Charles VI in the same way. In the *Epistre au roi Richart*, Philippe de Mézières pinned his crusading hopes on the king of England instead of the incapable king of France. In her *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, Christine de Pizan focused her discussion around the idealized past of Charles V’s reign, rather than the problematic reign of his son. The books dedicated to Louis d’Orléans called attention to his role, rather than that of his brother, the king. In contrast, the books dedicated to Charles VI called their audience’s attention to the person and office of kingship, to Charles’ abilities and inabilities, and to the collective responsibility of the other members of the body politic towards their king.

The timing of each dedication is also a key factor, as the books were completed during very different periods of Charles VI’s reign: the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Arbre des batailles* in 1389, at the beginning of his personal rule, when there was every reason to believe he would live up to his potential; the *Chemin de long estude* in 1402-3, ten years into the period dominated by the king’s mental illness; the first version of the *Dialogues* in 1409, when there was still some hope that the king’s relatives could set aside their differences; and the second version of the *Dialogues* in 1412-15, after the outbreak of civil war. The dedications to Charles, and the way the

books described and characterized him both textually and visually as their primary imagined audience, were important to the way the writers authorized their advice and spoke to their audience. Just as in a sermon before the ruler or in a civic-organized royal entry welcoming him into Paris, books dedicated to the king emphasized their authors' special relationship with him. The citizens of London reminded their king of the city's standing as the royal chamber; Parisians, that Paris was the seat of royal justice. Philippe de Mézières and Pierre Salmon insisted on their familiar relationship with Charles VI, while both Philippe de Mézières and Christine de Pizan highlighted their familiarity with the king's late father, Charles V. Like Jean sans Peur in his propaganda campaign against the duke of Orléans, Honorat Bovet, Philippe de Mézières, Christine de Pizan, and Pierre Salmon all justified their actions based on their sincere devotion to the king, the kingdom of France, and Christendom as a whole. And like in these other forms of communication with the ruler, the way these four writers portrayed Charles was just as important to a larger audience of other members of his court as it was to the king himself. The writers targeted in particular the king's relatives, those other members of the royal house of France whose political roles were so dependent on the king's ability or inability to rule. As key members of the body politic, these individuals also had responsibilities towards Charles as its head.

It is important to consider these books in the historical moment of their creation, because this would have affected both the political conversation that the authors tried to enter and the way the books' readers, listeners, and viewers understood and interpreted their messages. The different ways that Philippe de Mézières characterized Charles VI in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the later *Epistre au roi Richart* make this clear. In the earlier book, Charles is young and inexperienced—but ready to learn and, more importantly, ready to rule. The *Songe du vieil pelerin* emphasizes in particular the distancing of Charles' uncles from power. The *Epistre au roi Richart* describes Charles as ruling with the assistance of those same uncles, returned to their former positions of authority due to the king's mental illness. The *Songe du vieil pelerin*'s approach to Charles' uncles and brother also demonstrates the importance of considering the *whole* of Charles VI's reign, and not just the period after 1392, to enhance our understanding of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century

French kingship, government, and political literature. Likewise the way the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Dialogues* were later presented in manuscript form speaks partly to the adaptability of these themes to a later audience of royal counsellors, but also to the books' initial acknowledgement of the important roles they had to play.

For both Philippe de Mézières and Honorat Bovet in 1389, dedications to the king may have seemed an obvious choice: Charles was newly independent, and Bovet in particular may have hoped to use his book as a promotional exercise to gain the attention and patronage of the king. Yet both of these writers, and especially Philippe de Mézières, used their 1389 books to focus a message to a larger audience around their characterization of Charles, rather than speaking solely to him—a tactic they would later abandon in the *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* and the *Epistre au roi Richart*. By the time Christine de Pizan and Pierre Salmon wrote the *Chemin de long estude* and the *Dialogues*, it must have seemed likely to all that Charles would never be the king of prophecy that both the *Songe du vieil pelerin* and the *Arbre des batailles* had earlier urged him to become. Christine de Pizan and Pierre Salmon may have hoped that their dedications would call attention to their works and messages at a time when political literature—including other books by Christine de Pizan herself—was being directed primarily to others.

This study has implications for the way we think about genre and contemporary understandings of and approaches to political literature. The choices writers made about to whom to dedicate their books were key parts of their communication strategy. The importance of the dedications to Charles VI to our understanding of the contemporary purpose and function of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Chemin de long estude*, and the *Dialogues* demonstrates the significance of considering contemporary categories as much as possible when studying medieval texts.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Manuscripts

*Songe du vieil pelerin*¹

Manuscript	Date	Known medieval/ early modern owners	Contains biography of Philippe de Mézières?	Contains a preface?	Contains images?
Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MSS 2682-2683. ²	1389-1405	Possibly presentation copy for Charles VI	Yes (added later)	No	Yes
Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, MS 292. ³	1433-77	Jacques d'Armagnac	No	No	Yes (one, added 16 th century; spaces left blank for others)
Cleveland, Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection (F. 4091.94.M579s). ⁴	1471	Convent of the Celestines, Paris	Yes (erased)	No	No

¹ For the list of manuscripts, see also Joël Blanchard, "Introduction," in *Philippe de Mézières: Songe du Vieux Pèlerin, Traduit de l'ancien français* (Paris: Pocket, 2008), 9-88 (51-55).

² Sandra L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), 146-47.

³ Émilie Cottureau-Gabillet, "Procès politique et confiscation: le sort de la bibliothèque de Jacques d'Armagnac," in *Violences souveraines au Moyen Âge: travaux d'une école historique*, ed. François Foronda, Christine Barralis, and Bénédicte Sère (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2010), 237-47 (238).

⁴ I have determined the dating and ownership of this manuscript based on a passage on the final folio, currently visible under UV light, which says that "Ce livre est des Celestins de Paris." It also contains a version of the biography of Philippe de Mézières that has been inserted on a folder sheet of paper into the Arsenal manuscript. The Arsenal version notes that it was copied from a manuscript held at the Celestines of Paris. Cross-referencing between the two biographies dates the Celestines' manuscript to 1471.

Manuscript	Date	Known medieval/early modern owners	Contains biography of Philippe de Mézières?	Contains a preface?	Contains images?
Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MSS fr. 183/1 and 183/2. ⁵	2 nd half 15 th century	N/A	No	No	Yes
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 22542. ⁶	ca. 1422-83, possibly 1452-58	Louis de Crussol and Jeanne de Lévis	Yes	Yes	Yes
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9200-9201	1465	Philippe le Bon, duke of Burgundy	No	No	Yes
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n. acq. fr. 25164 (BnF n. acq. fr. 25164) ⁷	ca. 1490	Robert le Loup; Claude d'Urfé	Yes	No	Yes
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2551	15 th C	Tanguy du Chastel. ⁸	No	No	Yes

⁵ Paule Hochuli Dubuis, *Catalogue des Manuscrits français 1-198*, 3d ed. (Geneva: Bibliothèque de Genève, 2009), 314.

⁶ Kristin Bourassa, "Reconfiguring Queen Truth in BnF Ms. fr. 22542 (*Songe du vieil pelerin*)," in *Textual and Visual Representations of Power and Justice in Medieval France: Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant, Anne D. Hedeman, and Bernard Ribémont (Farnham Surrey: Ashgate, Forthcoming); Philippe Contamine, "Un préambule explicatif inédit dans un manuscrit (milieu XV^e s.) du *Songe du vieil pelerin* (1389) de Philippe de Mézières: le texte et l'image," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 4 (2007), 1901-1923.

⁷ André Vernet, "Les mauscrits de Claude d'Urfé (1501-1558) au château de La Bastie," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1 (1976), 81-97.

⁸ This manuscript may have initially belonged to Jacques d'Armagnac, although I have been unable to find the signature described by Diane E. Booton as appearing on fol. 234v. Diane E. Booton, *Manuscripts, market and the transition to print in late medieval Brittany* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 194, 353.

*Chemin de long estude*⁹

Manuscript	Date	Known ownership during reign of Charles VI
Single-text manuscripts		
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10982	By spring 1403	Jean sans Peur; Philippe le Bon
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1643	By spring 1403	Louis d'Orléans (he may have intended it to be a gift for Jean de Berry).
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1188 (BnF fr. 1188)	1402-3	Presented to Jean de Berry.
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10983	1402-3	Philippe le Hardi; Jean sans Peur; Philippe le Bon
Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska Gal. Fol. 133	Mid-15 th C	N/A
Collected works manuscripts		
Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, MS 493	1402-3	Possibly made for Valentine Visconti or Isabeau de Bavière.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 836 (BnF fr. 836)	1407-8	Jean de Berry; Marie de Berry. Originally intended for Louis d'Orléans.
London, British Library, Harley 4431 (Queen's Manuscript)	1410-11	Presented to Isabeau de Bavière
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 604	Mid 15 th C	N/A

⁹ Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, "Où mène le *Chemin de long estude*? Christine de Pizan, Ambrogio Migli, et les ambitions impériales de Louis d'Orléans (A propos du ms. BNF fr. 1643)," in *Christine de Pizan 2000: Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000), 177-95 (183-84); Gilbert Ouy, Christine M. Reno, and Inès Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012), 204-12, 270, 379-412.

*Dialogues*¹⁰

Manuscript	Version	Date	Known ownership
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 23279	1	1409	Likely presentation manuscript
Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 165	2	ca. 1412-15, completed 1450	Likely presentation manuscript
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9610	2	ca. 1500	Likely François de Rochechouart
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 5032	2	ca. 1510-30	N/A

Arbre des batailles

The *Arbre des batailles* survives in at least ninety known French-language manuscripts and thirteen in other languages (Scots, Occitan, Catalan, and Castilian). Hélène Bui discusses the manuscripts and provides a list in her 2004 PhD thesis on the *Arbre des batailles*.¹¹

¹⁰ For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon's Dialogues*, Illinois Medieval Studies (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 74-80.

¹¹ Hélène Bui, "L'*Arbre des batailles* d'Honorat Bovet: étude de l'oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan," Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004, 1:36-52, 1:213-349.

Known ownership of the Songe, the Arbre, the Chemin, and the Dialogues by members of the royal family during the reign of Charles VI

	Songe du vieil pelerin	Arbre des batailles	Chemin de long estude	Dialogues
Charles VI	(?) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2682/3	N/A	N/A	Paris, BnF, MS fr. 23279
Isabeau de Bavière	N/A	N/A	London, British Library, MS Harley 4431	N/A
Louis d'Orléans	N/A	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, BnF, MS fr. 836 (made for) • (?) Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1643 • (Maybe made for?) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10983 	N/A

	Songe du vieil pelerin	Arbre des batailles	Chemin de long estude	Dialogues
Valentine Visconti	N/A	N/A	(?) Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, 493	N/A
Jean de Berry	N/A	London, British Library, MS Royal 20 C VIII. ¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, BnF, MS fr. 836 • Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1188 • (?) Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1643 • (Maybe made for?) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10983 	N/A
Philippe le Hardi	N/A	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1188 • (Maybe made for?) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10983 	N/A
Philippe le Hardi and/or Jean sans Peur? (In 1420 inventory of Philippe le Bon)	N/A	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10982 • Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10983 • Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1643 	N/A

¹ Biu, “L’Arbre des batailles d’Honorat Bovet,” 1:223.

Appendix 2. Index of Letters in the *Dialogues*

Date and location (if given)	Order and location in BnF fr. 23279 (Version 1)	Order and location in Geneva fr. 165 (Version 2)	Sender	Recipient	Contents
		1. ff. 78r-79v; BnF fr. 9610 ff. 70v-71r	Salmon	Charles VI	Explains that he will write down the letters they have exchanged for the king's benefit and as a memory aid for him.
N/A	A. f. 52v ²	2. BnF fr. 9610 f. 71r; Geneva fr. 165 f. 80r	Charles VI	Salmon	BnF fr. 23279: Acknowledges Salmon's history of service; asks him for copies of their correspondence. Geneva fr. 165 / BnF fr. 9610: Thanks Salmon for his past letters; asks for copies of their correspondence to be added to the book.
Before November 23, 1407	1. ff. 70r-72v		Salmon	Louis d'Orléans	Reminds him of his duties and warns him to change his behaviour.
1408 Porto-Venere	2. ff. 77v-78v		Salmon	Jean de Berry	Informs Berry that he has found someone who might be able to cure the king, as well as an artisan the duke might be interested in.
April 1, 1408 Paris	3. ff. 79r-79v		Berry	Salmon	He will help Salmon bring both of these men to Paris.

² In her "Index of Letters," Anne D. Hedeman excludes this first letter in BnF fr. 23279 and begins numbering from Salmon's letter to Louis d'Orléans (ff. 70r-72v). For the sake of consistency, I have labelled this one "A" rather than creating a second numbering system. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 63.

Date and location (if given)	Order and location in BnF fr. 23279 (Version 1)	Order and location in Geneva fr. 165 (Version 2)	Sender	Recipient	Contents
October 4, 1408 Paris	4. ff. 80r-80v		Charles VI	Salmon	Letters patent promising protection for Salmon on his voyages (safe-conduct letter).
November 1, 1408 Avignon	5. ff. 82r-86r	3. ff. 81r-85r	Salmon	Charles VI	BnF fr. 23279: Assures Charles of his loyalty and urges him to avoid the fate of Richard II, Louis d'Orléans by making peace and ending divisions. Geneva fr. 165: Edited version, replacing Louis d'Orléans with Biblical princes.
November 1, 1408 Avignon	6. ff. 86r-90r		Salmon	Jean de Berry Jean sans Peur Louis de Bourbon	Commends their loyalty to the king; asks them to urge the king to follow the advice in letter #5, a copy of which is included.
1408 Avignon	7. ff. 90r-90v		Salmon	Constable of France (Charles d'Albret); Chancellor of France (Arnaud de Corbie) ³	Commends their loyalty to the king; asks them to urge the king to follow the advice in letter #5, which is referred to but not copied again in full.

³ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 63.

Date and location (if given)	Order and location in BnF fr. 23279 (Version 1)	Order and location in Geneva fr. 165 (Version 2)	Sender	Recipient	Contents
1408 Avignon	8. ff. 90v-91r		Salmon	First president of Parlement (Henri de Marle) Provost of Paris (Pierre des Essarts) Provost of the merchants (Charles Culdoé) ⁴	Commends their loyalty to the king; asks them to urge the king to follow the advice in letter #5, which is referred to but not copied again in full.
1408 Avignon	9. ff. 91r-92r		Salmon	Chancellor of France (Arnaud de Corbie) ⁵	Asks for intercession with the king on behalf of the Count of Valentinois; asks the chancellor to urge the king to follow the advice in letter #5.
December 5, 1408	10. ff. 92r-92v		Jean sans Peur	Salmon	Has received Salmon's letter and has sent a messenger to the king at Tours; asks Salmon to wait for further instructions.

⁴ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 63.

⁵ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 63.

Date and location (if given)	Order and location in BnF fr. 23279 (Version 1)	Order and location in Geneva fr. 165 (Version 2)	Sender	Recipient	Contents
December 23, 1408 Avignon	11. ff. 92v-93r		Salmon	Jean sans Peur	Acknowledges previous letter and promises to wait for further instructions.
February 16, 1409 Avignon	12. ff. 93v-95r	4. ff. 86r-89r	Salmon	Charles VI	BnF fr. 23279: Worries that Charles has not received his previous letter (#5) and repeats his warnings, with added exempla. Geneva fr. 165: Repeats warnings of previous letter (#3), with added exempla.
February 24, 1409 Avignon	13. f. 95v		Salmon	Charles VI	Describes letter as being written on the back of #12; acknowledges king's reply to #5 (#14); hopes for the best for the king.
January 4, 1409 Tours	14. f. 95v	5. Geneva fr. 165 f. 89v	Charles VI	Salmon	Both versions: Acknowledges receipt of #5; affirms faith in Jean sans Peur and tells Salmon to speak to him.
February 16, 1409 Avignon	15. ff. 95v-98v		Salmon	Jean sans Peur	Repeats his requests for help in working to the benefit of the king, since he has heard nothing from either the duke or the king; includes copy of letter to the king (#12).
February 24, 1409 Avignon	16. ff. 98v-99r		Salmon	Jean sans Peur	Describes letter as being written on the back of #15; acknowledges receipt of letters from the king (#14) and from Jean sans Peur (#17).
January 28,	17. ff. 99r-199r		Jean	Salmon	Has received Salmon's letters and will try to do as

Date and location (if given)	Order and location in BnF fr. 23279 (Version 1)	Order and location in Geneva fr. 165 (Version 2)	Sender	Recipient	Contents
1409 Paris			sans Peur		Salmon asks; asks Salmon to name a location in the duke's territories, and will send someone to Salmon there.
March 6, 1409 Avignon	18. ff. 100r-101v		Salmon	Jean sans Peur	Sends Hannequin du Pré to the duke with an oral message; asks the duke to remember his affairs.
April 7, 1409 Avignon	19. ff. 100v-101v		Salmon	Charles VI	Asks Charles to come to Avignon, or at least send letters, to help end the papal schism; reminds the king of his duties.
Easter 1409 Avignon	20. ff. 102v-104v		Salmon	Louis II d'Anjou	Includes a copy of letter to the king (#19); asks Louis to influence Charles to help benefit the Church.
April 1409 Avignon	21. ff. 104r-104v		Salmon	General Council of the Church	Encourages them to trust in God.
	22. ff. 104v-106r		Salmon	Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna)	Encourages him to help end the schism.
May 16, 1409 Avignon	23. ff. 106v-110r		Salmon	Charles VI	Repeats his warnings to the king; asks for letters of protection so he can travel to Charles and speak with him in person.
	24. f. 110v		Salmon	Jean sans Peur	Includes copy of letter to the king (#23); says he hasn't heard from the duke and asks him to influence the king; asks for letters of protection from him as well.
April 23,	25. ff. 111r-111v		Jean	Salmon	Acknowledges Salmon's efforts; sends a man with

Date and location (if given)	Order and location in BnF fr. 23279 (Version 1)	Order and location in Geneva fr. 165 (Version 2)	Sender	Recipient	Contents
1409 Soissons			sans Peur		oral message; asks Salmon to go to his territories in Flanders.
May 16, 1409 Avignon	26. ff. 111v-112v		Salmon	Jean sans Peur	Thanks the duke, but says he will remain in Avignon and must speak to the king; is still waiting for his letters of protection from the king and the duke.
June 23, 1409 Paris	27. ff. 112v-113v		Jean sans Peur	Salmon	Thanks Salmon and says he has spoken to the king, but cannot accomplish everything at once; hopes their desire (a cure for the king?) will soon be accomplished; urges Salmon to remain in place until he receives his safe-conduct letters.
July 15, 1409 Avignon	28. ff. 112v-114v		Salmon	Jean sans Peur	Thanks the duke and says he will wait to speak with him in person.
After September 29, 1409 Paris [speech]	29. ff. 119v-120v	6. ff. 90r-94v	Salmon	Jean sans Peur	<p>BnF fr. 23279: He's concerned about the king's health, and has travelled to Pisa to ask Pope Alexander to pray for the king and to visit with a doctor there; asks the duke to write to the pope and request that the doctor be sent to Paris.</p> <p>Geneva fr. 165: His concern for the king and an extended description of his trip to Pisa; asks the duke to write to the pope and request that the doctor be sent to Paris.</p>

Date and location (if given)	Order and location in BnF fr. 23279 (Version 1)	Order and location in Geneva fr. 165 (Version 2)	Sender	Recipient	Contents
N/A	30. ff. 120v-121r		Jean sans Peur	Pope Alexander V	Thanks Pope Alexander for his prayers and asks that the doctor be sent to him.
1410?		7. ff. 95r-100v	Salmon	Charles VI	Distressed by the civil war, implores the king and his family members to care for the kingdom and end the divisions between them.
1411?		8. ff. 100v-104v	Salmon	Charles VI	Seeks permission to leave the king's service as he can no longer bear to witness the divisions in the realm; despite his efforts to help and his love for the king, nothing has improved.

Appendix 3. Biographies of Philippe de Mézières in *Songe du vieil pelerin* manuscripts

In the following transcriptions, {...} indicates illegible text. Capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and accents are retained from the original. \ / is used to indicate text in the margin. Abbreviations are expanded in [square brackets].

Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MSS 2682-2683 (paper added to fly-leaf)

1. Cy finit le Livre appelle le Songe du vieix Pelerin adrecent au blanc Faucon
2. ayent ~~pi~~ bec, et piex dores, Le quel livre a composé environ l'an 1316 un
3. tres sage et Catholique Chevalier Cancellier de Chipre Monsieur Phelippe
4. Mésiers le quel premierement servit Pape Gregoire XI, et depuis l'appella
5. a son service Charles Roi de France de son nom v-. Au quel por la grande
6. prudence et prouesses qui'il trouva en lui commit plus qu'a autre le gouver-
7. nement de son Royaume. Et non obstant le dit Chevalier voyant que tres
8. perilleuse chose est user et finir ses jours au monde, et parmi les mondains
9. et par en Cour, apres plusieurs requestes et longues importunités
10. obtint conge de son seigneur et maitre Charles V de Laisser La Cour et le
11. monde, et querir lieu solitaire ou quil peut user le demeurant de sa vie
12. et ~~mon~~ mourir plus seurement a Dieu. Et lors le dit Chevalier choisit
13. l'hostel des Celestins a Paris, et y fit edifier logis et habitations
14. convenables a l'Etat et a la vie qu'il desiroit mener. Et inconnuent
15. avec deux sans seulement se retira en la dite maison, en la
16. quelle il a demeure avec les dits Religieux par l'espace de xxv ans
17. ou environ, iusq a la mort sans jamais vouloir partir. Et por la sa grande
18. prudence et prod.... le dit Roi souvent Le venoit voir, et veyrois seul
19. avec lui trois, ou quatre heures pour consulter les affaires de son Royaume
20. et de son Peuple. Et jamais tant qu'il vecut met point conclusion a
21. aucune matiere pesante touchant sa personne, le Royaume, ou la
22. chose publique que premierement il n'eut vu l'opinion et le conseil
23. du dit chevalier. Et si le dit Roi restoit a Paris aux bois de Vienne
24. a Saint Germain Laye ou a Melun, ou a Meaux, il meme venoit en
25. personne voir le d. Chevalier en son loge des Celestins pour lui
26. conferer sa matiere, et quand le Roy estoit loin de Paris il envoyoit
27. ses affaires par escrit au Chevalier, et le d. C. lui renvoyoit par
28. escrit conseil et son advis. Et repose le Corps du chevalier dans
29. le Chapitre des Celestins de Paris, au quel lieu le d. C. fit plusieurs
30. biens entre autres choses fit faire une tres belle petite chapelle
31. et a cote une a la fason de Venise, ou se prend la
32. bonne eaux pour les malades de Paris et des environs
33. Et ce volume a fait rescrire l'an 1471 par le R. P. Frere
34. Guillaume Rouman Prieur pour lui, et pour les bons

35. Freres du d. ordre.

Cleveland, Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection (F. 4091.94.M579s)

f. 310v

1. Cy fine le liure appelle le songe du viez pelerin adrecent a le blanc faucon aient
2. {...} et piez dorez le quel liure {...} {...} en viron lan iii^c {...} et xvij {...}
3. \^// no[m]me sire phelippe de maisers/ saige et catholique cheualier chansselier de chippre ^// le quel I{...}e {...} me[n]t {...} pape gregoire
4. {...} de p{...}s lapp{...} a son s{...} charles roy de france de {...} {...} {...}po[ur] {...}
5. grande prudence et prou{...}e quil trouua en {...} [com]{...} plus que a n{...} l{...} {...}
6. {...} de {...} lement {...} {...} au {...} Co[m]me obs{...} led[it] cheuali[er] voy{...} {...}
7. chose {...} {...} {...} ses {...} au monde et parmy les m{...} {...} par esp[e]cial {...}
8. {...} ap{...} {...} pl{...} {...} Req{...} {...} et longue Import {...} obtint {...} d{...} seigneur
9. {...} charles v^e de lessier la court et le monde et q[...]{...} {...} soliatire ou quel il p{...}st
10. vser le de{...} de sa vie {...} quels et {...} {...} {...} a dieu Et {...} {...} {...}
11. ch{...} {...} {...} d{...} {...} y {...} {...} fist edifier lo{...}g {...} {...} habita {...}
12. couuen{...}le a la vie ne estoit quil desiroit me{...} {...} {...}rot Inconteme[n]t auecques deux {...}
13. {...}au{...} s{...}le{...} se{...} {...} lad[ite] maison en laq[ue]lle il a d auecques {...} {...}
14. par lespace de xxv ans ou {...} {...} a la mort sans jamais {...} vouloir partir
15. Mais po[ur] sa grande prud{...} prudo[m]mie led[it] Roy souua[n]t le ve{...}it v{...}et {...}t
16. {...} auec luy {...}{...}{...}. po[ur] {...}sulter les affaires{...}. Royaulme et de
17. son peuple N{...} jamais tant q[ue] il v{...}st mist p{...} [con]clusion {...} {...} {...} {...}
18. matiere touchant sa {...}sonne le Royaulme ou la chose publique q[ue] p[re]miere[m]e[n]t il {...} ne {...}st
19. vu le [con]seil et oppinion dud[it] {...} et si led[it] R{...}y estoit a paris aux bois de v{...}
20. a saint g{...} lay ou a {...}elun ou a meaux Il {...} {...} {...} p[er]s{...}e {...}
21. led[it] cheualier {...} pp{...}d l{...}ge d{...} celestins pour mieulx [con]{...} sa matiere auecques l{...}
22. ne p{...}{...} led[it] R{...} soit loing de paris il enuoy et ses affaires {...} p{...} p{...}
23. cheualier et led[it] cheualier luy R{...}oit par {...} son [con]seil et son {...} Et r{...}st

24. le corps dud[it] cheualier ou chappitre des des {...} sans de p{...} ouquel lieu led[it] cheualier
25. en sa vie fist plusieurs {...} {...} {...} de s{...} {...} entre les autres {...} fi{...} fa{...} {...}
26. tres b{...} {...} ch{...}y {...}ll{...} e{...} {...} vne {...} a la {...} de {...} {...} ou se pr{...}
27. la bonne e{...} po[ur] les malades de paris et des a {...}. & p{...} po[ur] so[n] ame
28. Et est assau[oir] que ce p{...} volume est du couue[n]t des cel{...}s {...} paris Il a fait{...}
29. esc{...}pre sa a{...}z aud[it] lieu lan {...} soixante et x{...} R. P{...}. {...} {...} {...}
30. p{...} pour luy et po[ur] les {...} f{...}s saintes dud[it] ordre
31. Ce liure est des celestins de paris. 319.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n. acq. fr. 25164

f. 330r, col. a.

21. Cy fine le liure appelle le
22. songe du vieil pelerin
23. adrecant au blanc faulcon aie[n]t
24. bec et piez dorez Lequel liure a
25. compose enuiron lan iii^c iiii^{xx}
26. et xvii vng t[re]ssaige et catholicque
27. cheualier chansselier de chippre
28. no[m]me sire phelippe de maisieres
29. Lequel premiereme[nt] seruit pape
30. gregoire xi^e et depuis lappella a
31. son seruice Charles Roy de france
32. de son nom v^e. Auquel pour la
33. grande prudence et proudo[m]mie q[ui]l
34. auoit en lui co[m]mist plus que a
35. autre le gouuerneme[n]t de son roy
36. aume. Ce no[n] obstant led che
37. ualier voyant que tresperilleuse
38. chose est vser et finer ses jours ou
39. monde et parmi les mondains

f. 330r, col. b

1. et par esp[eci]al en cour. Apres plus[ieurs]
2. requestes et longue importunite ob
3. tint congie de sond s[eigneur] et maistre
4. Charles v^e de lesser la court et le
5. monde et querir lieu solitaire ou
6. quel il peust vser le demeure[n]t de
7. sa vie et mieulx et plus seureme[n]t

8. seruir a dieu. Et lors ledi ch[eua]l[ie]r
9. choisit lostel des celestins a paris
10. et il a fist edifier logis et habita
11. cion conuenable a la vie et estat
12. quil desiroit mener et inco[n]tine[n]t
13. auecques deux clers ta[n]t seulem[en]t
14. se retraist en lad maison en laq[ue]l
15. le il a demoure auqcues lesd re
16. ligieux par lespace de xxv ans ou
17. enuiron iusques a la mort sans
18. iamais en vouloir p[ar]tir. Mais po[ur]
19. sa grande prudence et prodo[m]mie led
20. roy souue[n]t le venoit veoir et estoit se
21. seul auec lui troys ou quatre heures
22. pour consulter les affaires de son roy
23. aume et de son peuple. Ne iamaiz
24. tant q[u]il vesquist ne eust prins co[n]clu
25. sion en aucune pesante matiere tou
26. chant sa personne le royaume ou
27. la chose publique que p[re]miereme[n]t
28. il neust eu le conseil et oppinion du
29. dit ch[eua]l[ie]r. Et se led roy estoit a paris
30. au boys de vice[n]ne a saint germain
31. en laye ou a melun ou a meaulx
32. il meismes venoit en p[er]sonne vers
33. led ch[eua]l[ie]r en sond logis des celestins
34. pour mieulx co[n]ferer sa matiere a
35. uecques lui. Et quant led roy es
36. toit fort loing de paris Il enuoyet
37. ses affaires par esc[ri]pt aud ch[eua]l[ie]r. Et
38. led ch[eua]l[ie]r lui renuoyoit par esc[ri]pt son
39. conseil et son aduis. Et repose le
40. corps dud ch[eua]l[ie]r ou chappitre desd ce

f. 330v, col. a.

1. lestins de paris ou quel lieu led che
2. ualier en sa vie fist plusieurs biens
3. et edifices et entre les autres cho
4. ses fist faire vne tresbelle petite chap
5. pelle et a coste vne cyterne a la fas
6. son de venise ou se prent la bonne
7. eaue pour les malades de paris et
8. des enuiron. Pries pour son Ame.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 22542

f. a.r, col. b

30. Mais dabondant il faul sauoir
31. que du temps du tresnoble & prude[n]t
32. roy charles le quint ot a sa court
33. vn excellent docteur au quel il bail
34. a gouu[er]ner son filz du te[m]ps de son
35. escele. Et y fut Jusques au temps
36. quil parui[n]t a la couronne le pere
37. encores vuiuant. Mais en bref te[m]ps
38. apres le dit son maistre par grant

f. a.v., col. a

1. deuocion se feist profez en lordre
2. des celestins a paris. Et ainsi co[mm]e
3. aristote estans a athennes e[n]seig
4. na par son liure des secrez des secrez
5. es yndes alixandre qui auoit este
6. son disciple, ce bon religieux e[n]sei
7. gna ches les celestins p[ar] cestui
8. p[rese]nt liure ou chastel du louure a paris
9. le noble roy charles le vi^e. q[ui] auoit
10. este son disciple.

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