In 1405, at the end of the *Livre des trois Vertus*, a book of advice for women of all stations in life also entitled the *Trésor de la Cité des dames*, Christine de Pizan confidently predicted that her work would be reproduced in multiple copies and that these would reach, over the course of time and space, a wide and varied audience of women:

Since French is a more common and universal language than any other, this work will not remain unknown and useless but will endure in its many copies throughout the world. Seen and heard by many valiant ladies and women of authority, both at the present time and in times to come, they will pray to God on behalf of their faithful servant, Christine, wishing that her life in this world had been at the same time as theirs so that they might have known her.\(^1\)

During her lifetime, Christine de Pizan’s most famous women patrons were Charles VI’s queen Isabeau of Bavaria, to whom she dedicated the most lavish and last known copy of her collected works (London, British Library Harley 4431);\(^2\) Valentine Visconti, duchess of Orleans, who seems to have owned two if not three of


her works, and Marie of Berry, daughter of the famous bibliophile Jean, Duke of Berry, for whom Christine wrote the *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine*, a book of consolation on the loss of several of Marie's relatives in the battle of Agincourt.

Based on the evidence of the approximately 200 manuscripts of Christine's works that have survived, it is clear that her future hopes for them, as we may interpret from the passage quoted above from the *Livre des trois Vertus*, did indeed come true to a large extent; they have attracted, over the generations, the interest of an expanding audience even more varied than she could have imagined.

To focus on Christine's appeal to her female readers, however, it is evident the most famous women owners of her manuscripts in the centuries following her death were also the most elevated in rank. Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands from 1506 to 1530, an avid manuscript collector, owned four Christine manuscripts, one of them containing two of her works; these manuscripts include two copies of the *Cité des dames* (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier 9393 and 9235-37, this latter containing also the *Livre des trois Vertus*), and two other copies of the *Trois Vertus* (BR 9551-52

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3 Based on his study of the catalogues of the Orléans library, Pierre Champion believed that the duchess owned copies of Christine's *Livre de Prudence* [which he does not distinguish from the *Livre de Prod'homme*], as well as a dossier of the *Roman de la Rose* quarrel. See *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Champion, 1910), 31-2. According to James Laidlaw, Valentine Visconti owned, in addition, a copy of Christine's collected works; see "Christine de Pizan — a Publisher's Progress," *Modern Language Review* 82 (1987): 48.

4 While the history of the reception of Christine de Pizan's works has not been fully elucidated, important partial studies have been done. See, for example, in addition to the volume cited in footnote 7, an earlier article by Charity Willard, "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Livre des trois Vertus* and Christine de Pizan's Audience," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 77 (1966): 433-34.
and 10974). A good portion of Margaret of Austria's collection was inherited by her niece (Charles V's sister) Maria of Hungary, who served as regent of the Netherlands from 1531 to 1556. One of the manuscripts Margaret of Austria and Maria of Hungary owned in succession stands out as having belonged to four generations of women. Before Margaret bought it in 1511 along with seventy-seven other codices, this manuscript (BR 9235-37) had belonged to women of the Croy family, first Walburge of Meurs, wife of Philip of Croy, then her daughter-in-law Louise of Albret, wife of Charles Croy and princess of Chimay. Queen Christina of Sweden, an avid bibliophile, acquired five Christine de Pizan manuscripts before her abdication in 1654: individual copies of the Cité des dames, the Livre des fais et bonnes meurs, the Livre de Prod'hommie and the Epistre Othea, (respectively Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 918 and Reg. lat. 920, 1238 and 1323), and a fifth Christine manuscript containing two of her works, the Epistre Othea and the Enseignmens moraux (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Vu 22).

Anne of Brittany, who has the distinction of having been consort to two French kings, Charles VIII and Louis XII, owned a copy of the Livre des trois Vertus (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 1180). Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René of Anjou, had in her collection a copy of the Fais d'armes et de chevalerie, which was contained in a large codex presented to her in 1445 on the occasion of her marriage to Henry VI of England (BL Royal 15 E VI).

Other aristocratic readers of Christine include Agnes of Burgundy, daughter of John the Fearless and sister of Philip the Good. Agnes’s

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6 La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 1940), 13.

7 On this manuscript, see Frances Teague, “Christine de Pizan’s Book of War,” in The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the Fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries: Visitors to the City, ed. Glenda K. McLeod (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991) 25-26.
name and her title of Duchess of Bourbon appear in two manuscripts, the earliest extant exemplar of the *Epistre Othea* dating from about 1400, and a copy of the *Cité des dames*. Both manuscripts were no doubt inherited by Agnes, and both belong today to the Bibliothèque nationale de France (fr. 848 and 24293). A later duchess of Bourbon, Jeanne de France, daughter of Charles VII, owned a copy of the *Livre des trois Vertus* (BnF fr. 452) which she passed on to her grand-niece Anne at her death in 1488.

In addition to these women of high social rank, we have indications that many women of less lofty station also read Christine’s works. Thus, for example, one sees the signature of one Katherine Vance, or Rance, in a paper copy of the *Livre des trois Vertus* found in the Arsenal Library in Paris (ms. 3356). In an elaborate paper copy of the *Epistre Othea* decorated with 99 watercolor illustrations in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lille (ms. 175), the name of a sixteenth-century woman owner, Carholyn Fratrisart, appears in the midst of the signatures of five other owners, all male; the initial owner at least must have been a person of some means. On a fifteenth-century parchment copy of a Paris manuscript which contains Christine’s *Enseignemens moraux* (BnF fr. 1623), we find the name Hélène de Tournon along with that of her two brothers Antoine and Henri; all of them were children of Juste Ier, lord of Tournon. The first owner’s name on the manuscript of the *Cité des dames* that eventually ended up in Christina of Sweden’s collection bears witness to “noble woman Jacquete Brachet, widow” who lived in either the fifteenth or sixteenth century (Vatican Pal. lat. 918).

As one might expect, particular interest has been paid to the question of literary women owners of Christine de Pizan manuscripts, since in their case the ownership of or access to particular manuscripts indicates the intriguing possibility of literary influence. Two articles published in Glenda McLeod’s important 1991 collection, *The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the Fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries: Visitors to the City*, treat this question. Charity Canon Willard’s study “Anne de France, Reader of Christine de Pizan,” examines the work of this daughter of Louis XI and Charlotte of Savoie who was the power behind the throne during the early years of the reign of her brother Charles VIII, crowned at the age of 13. According to Professor Willard, the
book of advice Anne wrote for her daughter Suzanne in 1504, when Suzanne was 14, shows that Anne had taken to heart Christine’s advice to women in the *Livre des trois Vertus*. Both authors stress the importance of discretion and diplomacy at court where jealousies large and small abound, of patience in dealing with a husband who, as Willard puts succinctly, was most likely chosen “for someone else’s political or economic advantage” and lastly, of serving as a role model for the women of her entourage.

The second article alluded to above, Paula Sommers’ “Marguerite de Navarre as Reader of Christine de Pizan,” builds on the observations of Robert Marichal, editor of Marguerite’s *La Coche*, to point out the probable influence Christine’s writings had on both this work and the *Heptameron*. Marguerite de Navarre had access to manuscripts of most of Christine’s works in the library at Blois, and also to early printed editions of some of them.

In the remainder of this study, I would like to focus on yet a third sixteenth-century woman author, less well known than either Marguerite of Navarre or Anne de France, whose interest in Christine de Pizan is demonstrable: Anne de Graville. Anne de Graville was the third daughter of the admiral Louis Malet de Graville, who, in addition to being a man of action, had a strong interest in the written word. One of the central documents relating to the first trial of Joan of Arc, manuscript 518 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Orléans, bears the claim that the manuscript contains the French translation of the trial record ordered by Louis XII at the behest of “Mgr l’amiral de France, seigneur de Graville”. In fact,

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8 Charity Canon Willard, “Anne de France, Reader of Christine de Pizan,” in *The Reception of Christine de Pizan* 65.

9 Paula Sommers, “Marguerite de Navarre as Reader of Christine de Pizan,” in *The Reception of Christine de Pizan* 71-82.

Louis Malet de Graville was one of the most important manuscript collectors of his day.\textsuperscript{11}

Anne, the third of Louis’ five daughters, was a free spirit who eloped in 1506 with Pierre de Balzac, to whom she was related on the maternal side, thus incurring the wrath of her father, who filed criminal charges against the couple and subsequently disinherited his daughter. Thanks to the intervention of Louis de Graville’s chaplain, Anne and her father were reconciled, but on condition that Anne renounce claims to both her paternal and maternal inheritance in exchange for a fixed sum of money and an annual pension. Anne was able to regain her fortune and indeed inherited her father’s library after Louis de Graville’s death. She also became lady-in-waiting to Princess Claude, eldest daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany; Claude became the wife of the future Francis I in 1514, the year before he ascended the throne. Anne de Graville, in addition to having been a literary figure in her own right, acquired additional renown after her death as the great-grandmother of Honoré d’Urfé, author of the famed pastoral novel l’Astrée.\textsuperscript{12}

It was at Queen Claude’s behest that Anne de Graville wrote one of the works on which her literary reputation rests, \textit{Le beau Romant des deux amans Palamon et Arcita et de la belle et saige Emilia}. Working from a previous French translation of Boccaccio’s \textit{Teseida delle Nozze d’Emilia}, a work that also inspired Chaucer’s ‘Knight’s Tale,’ Anne recounted the amorous rivalry of Palamon and Arcite for the hand of Emily, younger sister of the Amazon Hippolyta who accompanies her to Athens with the victorious Theseus. Palamon and Arcite, former close friends, end up dueling for Emily’s hand;


\textsuperscript{12} Accounts of Anne de Graville’s life can be found in Maxime de Montmorand, \textit{Une femme poète du XVIe siècle: Anne de Graville, sa famille, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa postérité} (Paris: Picard, 1917) and in Yves Le Hir’s introduction to his critical edition of Anne’s \textit{Le beau Romant des deux amans Palamon et Arcita et de la belle et saige Emilia} (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965).
Arcite is the victor, but dies tragically from his wounds before he can wed Emily. Emily is encouraged by Theseus to make the best of the tragedy and accepts the vanquished Palamon as her spouse. Anne de Graville's adaptation, written in decasyllabic rhymed couplets, is about a third as long as the fifteen thousand verse Teseida.\textsuperscript{13} Her other literary work is also written in verse; it is a series of seventy-one rondeaux based on Alain Chartier's \textit{Belle Dame sans mercy}.\textsuperscript{14}

Anne was not only a writer, she was also a collector of manuscripts, and in fact owned four manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's work, including two copies of her monumental universal history in nearly 24,000 verses, the \textit{Mutacion de Fortune}.\textsuperscript{15} Anne's coat of arms is found in two copies of this work, both of them incomplete; one, an early fifteenth century manuscript written on parchment, is found in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 11); the other, Paris, Arsenal 3172, is a paper manuscript dating from the sixteenth century; Anne is its first known owner and probably commissioned it. The manuscript is textually very closely related to the Munich copy of the \textit{Mutacion} she already possessed.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13} The \textit{Teseida} is written in \textit{ottava rima}.

\textsuperscript{14} Anne de Graville, \textit{La Belle Dame sans mercy, en fransk dikt}, ed. Carl Wahlund (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1897).

\textsuperscript{15} The other manuscripts of Christine are a copy of the \textit{Avision} and Tours, B.M. 2128, a copy of the \textit{Livre des trois Vertus}. See Myra Dickman Orth, "Dedicating Women" 227-28, n.6. See André Vernet Les Manuscrits de Claude d'Urfé (1501-1558) au Château de la Bastie” académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres. Comptes Rendus de l’Année 1976, pp. 81-97.

\textsuperscript{16} As the critical apparatus of Suzanne Solente’s edition of the \textit{Mutacion} indicates, the Arsenal and Munich copies ("U" and "E" respectively) very often offer variant readings which are unique to these two manuscripts; see, for example, the variants for vv. 1904, 2688, 2727, 2728, 2795, 2919, 3388, 3909, 3935, 4330, 4333, 4423, 4562, 4597, 4643, 5995-96, etc. Particularly interesting in this regard are lines which are reversed in these two manuscripts alone, as, for example, vv. 3249-50. However, given the fact that the Arsenal manuscript offers several readings which diverge from
Ironically, a note on the liminary guard leaf identifies Anne as the author of the *Mutacion de Fortune*; the note was written by Pierre-Antoine Soyer, who was the secretary to the Marquis de Paulmy, the manuscript's last private owner, and reads, "La Mutacion de fortune par Anne Mallet de Graville". As I hope to demonstrate, this misattribution turns out to have at least a bit of truth in it with respect to Anne's copies of that work; Anne was indeed an intent and even inventive reader of Christine.

Support for this statement consists, first of all, of some notes in the Arsenal copy of the *Mutacion de Fortune* that are written in a sixteenth century hand; while these cannot at the outset be traced to Anne, the question of a connection can be entertained given the manuscript's limited readership in that period. Perhaps the most interesting note is jotted in the margin, in a section where Christine speaks of her own origins; it reads "la nativité de [Crist]ine" (f. 106r). Unfortunately, this note does not reveal anything beyond a sixteenth century reader's interest in the author behind the work; it can tell us nothing about how much the person who wrote it might have known about Christine.

Numerous hand drawn bookmarks, in the form of a hand, diagonal lines, or even a face drawn in the margin, and which appear to come from the person who wrote the notes since they are in the same ink, give indications of the reception of the *Mutacion* by this reader. This reader takes note of Christine's comments regarding the relationship of writer to patron: "Car bon loier celui attent/ Qui service a bon maistre tent" [For the one who offers his services to a good master expects a good reward]; (f. 3v, *MF* vv. 121-22.)

the Munich manuscript, and that these quite frequently match those of BnF fr. 603, (which is roughly contemporary to the Munich manuscript), it seems reasonable to assume that if the Arsenal manuscript had been copied from a single source, that source has not survived but would belong in the same group as the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gal. 11 and BnF fr. 603 manuscripts.

17 These and following verses are quoted from the manuscript, which offers variations from Suzanne Solente's edition, *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*, 4 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1959-1966), whose base text is BR 9508.
This reader also highlights Christine’s testimony to the value of serious study: “Par bien apprendre est on savant” [”By learning well one becomes a wise person”] (fol. 3r, *MF* v. 101) as well as Christine’s statement that she was unfairly prevented from acquiring her father’s store of knowledge because of traditional mores: “...(succeed/ Ne poz a l’avoir qui est pris/ En la fontaine de grant pris/ Plus par coutume que par droit” [It was custom rather than right that prevented me from inheriting the treasure contained in the priceless fountain (of knowledge)] (fol. 10r, *MF* vv. 416-19). The importance of Fortune in the world causes the reader to draw another bookmark: “Car Fortune estoit pieça née/ Ains que Richece fust formée” [For Fortune was born long before Riches] (fol. 37r, *MF* vv. 1613-14). The remaining passages that are marked off are reflexions on the evanescent nature of riches, which are amassed with difficulty and easily lost (fol. 41r, *MF* vv. 1789-90), on social inequalities which result in rich people acquiring more and more and being less and less satisfied with their wealth, while others must continue to work hard for little profit (fol. 111v, *MF* vv. 5063-78), and finally, on the fact that criticizing others only reflects poorly on the critic (fol. 113r, *MF* vv. 5145-46).

Further notations on this manuscript involve corrections and interpolations that have been made by our sixteenth-century reader. Numerous verses skipped by the scribe are written in, and when we compare these additions to the text of the current Munich manuscript Anne already owned, we see that most of these added verses were originally missing in the Munich manuscript as well
and were added in both manuscripts, in a sixteenth-century hand.\textsuperscript{18} The additions to the Arsenal manuscript are listed below:

1. fol. 123v: “Lesquelz ne sont avers ne chichies” (v. 5650), which is lacking in the Munich manuscript; all other MSS give: “Frans et liberalux et non chiches”.

2. fol. 125v: v. 5783: In the verse “Arez quinze ans ou vingt & un d’aage”, “vingt & un” has been crossed out and “ou saize” added after “quinze”; this lesson is found in this manuscript only.

3. fol. 146r: missing v. 6768 added: “Qui en tous ses faictz est entiere”; same verse added in the Munich MS, fol. 50r; all other mss. give: “Qui ne flechist/ conssent avant, n’arriere”.

4. fol. 146r: missing v. 6772 added: “Mais sa folle vie importune”; same verses added in the Munich MS, fol. 50r; other mss. give “Ce fait son cas plain de rancune”, except BnF fr. 603, which has “Ce fait son cas ou sa rencone”.

5. fol. 146v: missing v. 6773 added in top margin: “Mais l’homme qui a bon scavor”; a variation of this is added in the side margin of in the Munich manuscript, fol. 50r: “Puis homme qui a bon scavor”; all other MSS give: “Ou s’aucun dessert bien avoir”.

\textsuperscript{18} In her edition of the \textit{Mutation} (I, p. CXVIII-CXIX) Suzanne Solente remarked on these notations in the two manuscripts, but stated that those from the Munich ms. had been added in the late fifteenth century, and those in the Arsenal codex in the seventeenth century. On one occasion (II, p. 236, note to v. 10626), Solente identified one addition to the Munich MS as dating from the sixteenth century. In fact, this addition is in the same hand as the others in this MS, and the additions in both MSS are from the sixteenth century. Those of the Arsenal manuscript are considerably larger so as to blend in with the large humanist script of the text; it is my contention that they were made by the same person. I thank Danielle Muzerelle of the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal for having confirmed that the additions of Arsenal 3192 date from the sixteenth century, and Gilbert Ouy of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique for having made the same confirmation with regard to the Munich manuscript.
6. fol. 155r: missing v. 7126 added: "Ainsy d'eulx elle se vanga"; same v. added in Munich MS, fol. 53v, with the orthographic variation "Ainssy." Other MSS give: "Et tout leur bien en mal changia."

7. fol. 168v: missing v. 7764 added: "A aultruy sans en soy les prendre".


9. fol. 185v: missing v. 8581 added in margin: "Ainsy leur ouvrage feroient"; same v. added in the Munich MS, fol. 63v. All other MSS give: "Et comment le mortier feroient."

10. fol. 19v: missing passage added: "Israel divisé [d]u royaume de" (see ed. Solente, II,166, l. 13).

11. fol. 219r: the word "quarante" in v. 9515 is crossed out and replaced by "soixante", which is given in all other MSS

12. fol. 224r: missing v. 9740 added: "Par armes et fleches persans".
13. fol. 242v: missing v. 10626 added: "Feroit ne vonteroit [sic] deffier"; the same verse, with slightly different spellings, is added in the Munich MS, fol. 82r: "Feroit et vanteroit deffyer" the other MSS have: "Feroit, sanz jamais deffier".

14. fol. 244r: v. 10695: "dame" is corrected to "Dunoe"; other MSS have "Danoe".

15. fol. 247v: v. 10860: "antene" is crossed out and replaced by "enseigne".

16. fol. 248r: v. 10889: "Trois" is crossed out and replaced by "Quatre", which is found in the other MSS

17. fol. 254v: missing v. 11192 is added: "Et ainssi furent lors despris"; the same verse is added to the Munich MS, fol. 86r; other MSS give: "Si perdirent honneur et pris".
18. fol. 254v, v. 11202: “Sont malheureux chetis et nu” is added; v. 11202 is lacking in the Munich MS; the others give: “Sont povres et despris et nu”.

19. fol. 254v: v. 11204: “ont entendu” is crossed out and replaced by “la ou perdu”; the same correction is made in the Munich MS; other MSS give “ou entendu”.

20. fol. 167r: “moult grand feste” added to the end of v. 11615.

21. fol. 276v: v. 12051: “gens” is corrected to “Grecs”, which is the lesson in other MSS; the last word in this verse “arer”, has also been corrected.

22. fol. 276v: v. 12057: the name “Ceres” has been written above another illegible word which has been crossed out.

23. fol. 289r: missing v. 12710 is added: “Et s’il n’estoit sorti dehors”; the same verse is added to the Munich MS, fol. 97r; other MSS give: “Et se devant lui fust ancors”; (v. 12710 is also a lacuna in BnF fr. 603).

The numerous corrections and additions to the Arsenal manuscript indicate that our sixteenth-century reader was eager to have a correct text and went to considerable lengths to make sure that scribal errors were corrected (#11,14,16,21,22) and missing words, lines or even couplets added (#7,8,10,12,20). What is much more interesting, however, is that most of the added verses found in the Arsenal manuscript are also added in the Munich manuscript, and that these readings are not found elsewhere (#1,3,4,5,6,9,13,17,19,23). Given Anne de Graville’s ownership of both, and the clear inventive nature of the additions, and moreover our reader’s interest in literary patronage, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that Anne de Graville is the author of the additions made in the Arsenal and Munich manuscripts.¹⁹ These verses suggest that Anne’s creative

¹⁹I owe thanks to James Laidlaw, who viewed a microfilm of the Munich manuscript with me, for having suggested that the additions in this MS. could be inventions rather than copied text.
impulses and her desire for a complete text won out over scholarly scruples, and that she did not shy away from filling in Christine’s text when this appeared necessary.

Is there any evidence in Anne of Graville’s writings that she was influenced by the writer whom she appears to have studied with such interest, and whose oeuvre she seems to have touched up when the occasion arose? While Anne did not make the move from collecting Christine to using her as a major literary model as she had Boccaccio and Alain Chartier, a few points appear, nonetheless, worthy of further consideration.

Some similarities between Anne’s writings and Christine’s invite attention. In the Palamon and Arcita, one notes, for example, that the opening of Anne’s novel radically shortens Boccaccio’s long account of Theseus’ conquest of the Amazons; the entire first book of the Teseida is compressed into 16 verses, and the details of the Amazons’ defeat are summed up in a verse and a half: “Victorieux en armes et amours/ Fut Theseus...” [“Victorious in arms and love was Theseus...”]. Christine, who extolled the Amazons’ military prowess at length in the Cité des dames, surely would have approved of this discreet glossing over the circumstances of their surrender. Moreover, Anne, before she mentions the Amazons’ defeat, extolls their military prowess and amplifies, as had Christine, the description of their military ardor and moral virtues. Another noteworthy similarity is the prominent role played by the goddess Fortune in Anne’s work, as opposed to Boccaccio’s; Anne even goes so far as to introduce the image of Fortune’s wheel, which is not present in the Boccaccian text. One might well speculate that the importance of this allegorical figure for Anne stems from her study of Christine’s Mutacion de Fortune.

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20 Le beau Romant des deux amans Palamon et Arcita et de la belle et saige Emilia, vv. 19-20.

21 Le beau Romant des deux amans Palamon et Arcita 19.