

“Dames Amaczon,” “Nobles Chevaliers,”
and Imaginary Worlds:
Text-Image in King René d’Anjou’s Book Production

by

Françoise Keating
MA (University of Victoria, 2016)
BFA (University of Victoria, 1985)

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Department of Art History and Visual Studies

© Françoise Keating, 2022
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This dissertation may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by
photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

“Dames Amaczon,” “Nobles Chevaliers,”
and Imaginary Worlds:
Text-Image in King René d’Anjou’s Book Production

by

Françoise Keating
MA (University of Victoria, 2016)
BFA (University of Victoria, 1985)

Supervisory Committee:

Dr. Catherine Harding, Supervisor
Department of Art History and Visual Studies

Dr. Evanthia Baboula, Departmental Member
Department of Art History and Visual Studies

Dr. Iain Higgins, Outside Member
Department of English

Dr. Hélène Cazes, Outside Member
French Department

ABSTRACT

This thesis looks at the court of Anjou-Provence's book production, under the guidance of King René d'Anjou, during the decades of the 1440's and '50s. It examines four literary works of which three were authored by the prince, namely, *Le Livre des tournois*, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance* and *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, and an anonymous translation into French of Boccaccio's *Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia*, entitled *Le Livre de Thezeo*. In this thesis, I argue that these four works, although they emerge as separate events, connect ideologically and iconographically, highlighting a set of ideas that redefines nobility for the French Early Renaissance. Applying a complex combination of approaches, my theoretical framework combines translation, emotions and worldmaking theories. My model reveals King René's vision of gendered roles and his refined sense of true nobility that make his court's cultural identity stand out among that of comparable French courts of the day. It also outlines René's close working relationship with his illustrator Barthélemy d'Eyck.

The structure based on the four case studies outlines aspects of the debates on love and courtly culture that developed at René's court. Chapter One discusses the distinctiveness of the Angevin-Provençal court's reception of Italian and antique cultures and its importance as a continuum from the Latin translations in the Parisian humanist circles in the 1400s. Chapter Two examines *La Théséïde*, the only fully illustrated manuscript of the translation into French of Boccaccio's *Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia*, analysing the central focus on Emilia as the "Dame Amaczon." Pursuing the work's re-envisioning of gendered roles through emotional communities, Chapter Three explores the transformation of two warriors into "nobles chevaliers" in anticipation of René's

standardisation of noble knightly values in his *Livre des tournois*. In view of the prince's age when he started his literary career, Chapter Four questions the role that religion played in his vision of masculinity and unveils the portrait of the contemplative knight in René's *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*. The heart-centred narrative connects with the quest of the secular heart in his *Livre du Cœur d'amour épris* in Chapter Five. It reveals the knight Cuer's re-envisioned quest through imaginary lands and its unexpected conclusion as King René's notion of true nobility refined by spiritual love, for men and women of the Early Renaissance. In the conclusion, the cross-study of these four books highlights their symbiotic working dynamic, and the talent of Barthélemy d'Eyck, that brought together the impressive Angevin-Provençal cultural production emerging within King René's close circles, on the eve of the French Renaissance.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	v
Acknowledgement.....	vii
Dedication.....	viii
Preface.....	ix
Introduction.....	1
Literature Review.....	6
Structure of Dissertation and Chapters.....	17
Summary.....	24
Chapter One: Translation and Visualisation of Texts at the Court of Anjou-Provence.	26
Chapter Two: “Dames Amaczon.” The Power of Cultural Transmission of Texts Across Europe.....	49
Part A: Book History: <i>Le Livre de Thézéo</i> and <i>La Théséïde</i>	50
Part B: The Illustration Cycle(s).....	61
Part C: “Dames Amaczon” and the Culture of Women at the Court of Anjou- Provence.....	70
Chapter Two: Summary.....	102
Chapter Three: “Nobles Chevaliers.” Worldmaking in Late Fifteenth-Century Literature.....	105
Part A : Book History : <i>Le Livre des tournois</i>	106
Part B: Collaboration of Author and Artist on Iconographic Programme.....	119
Part C: “Nobles Chevaliers” and the Crafting of Emotional Quintessence for the Late Medieval Knight.....	126
Chapter Three: Summary.....	158
Chapter Four: Religious Devotion and The Contemplative Knight.....	161
Part A: Book History: <i>Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance</i>	162
Part B: René d’Anjou’s and Barthélemy d’Eyck’s Iconographic Programme...	165
Part C: The Knight and His Religious Heart: Contemplating the Divine.....	172
Chapter Four: Summary.....	195
Chapter Five: The Contemplative Knight Rethinks Romance and the Quest for the Noble Heart.....	197

Part A: Book History: <i>Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris</i>	198
Part B: The Iconographic Programme as Revealed in Manuscripts V and P.....	201
Part C: The Contemplative Knight's Journey Through Imaginary Lands in Pursuit of True Nobility.....	211
Concluding Remarks.....	251
Conclusion.....	253
Abbreviations.....	263
Bibliography.....	266
List of Illustrations.....	291
Appendix.....	300
Figures.....	318

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My work owes much to the generous help of many. Through the years, encounters with scholars, physical and virtual, shaped my project: Marie Huot (Nancy); Christine Descatoire (Musée de Cluny); Maxence Hermant, Dominique Hollard, Julien Olivier and Isabelle de Cours (BnF); the library supervisor at the Château de Chantilly; Catherine Leroi (Château d'Angers) and Anna Leicher (Direction de la culture et du patrimoine, Maine & Loire), Arnaud Lemaigre (Bibliothèque-musée Inguimbertaine de Carpentras), Marc-Édouard Gautier (Bibliothèque municipale d'Angers), and my colleagues in the Department of Art History and Visual Studies at the University of Victoria. When languages became a stumbling block, Herbert Van Markle (Van) and M. R. offered their time freely. First and foremost, my deepest gratitude goes to the members of my committee: Dr. Eva Baboula, Dr. Hélène Cazes, Dr. Iain Higgins for his patience and astute commentaries, and finally and above all, my supervisor Dr. Catherine Harding whose judicious guidance and constant support have never failed. None of this work would have been possible without the financial support of scholarships, grants and bursaries from the Government of Canada; the Centre for Studies in Religion and Society, the Faculty of Graduate Studies and the Department of Art History and Visual Studies of the University of Victoria.

DEDICATION

For my parents and my friends Barbara, James and Gwendolyn.

PREFACE

RENÉ D'ANJOU

...the king, an art and technology enthusiast, sparks off creation in all fields, and encourages the collaboration [...] of artists from diverse traditions. We find here already a little of the great Renaissance atmosphere, and the spirit of François I, attracting and retaining the masters of European art by his side.¹

This quote from French literature professor Gabriel Bianciotto gives us a sense of René d'Anjou (1409–1480) as a leading cultural patron of his day. René's most impressive literary and artistic patronage (especially in the 1440s and '50s) reveals his ability to blend classical and Italian culture and humanism with traditional forms of literature and art into a novel system of cultural aesthetics. Invariably envisioning the future, René's creativity made a remarkable contribution to the French Early Renaissance.

During the fifteenth century, the court of Anjou-Provence stands out as a unique locale of French cultural avant-garde within the constellation of great cultural patronage centres, such as Burgundy and Blois. René shaped his court's identity through an abundant cultural production, including books, spectacles, scientific and technological development, etc., that promoted his political relevance within European geopolitics. Similarly, his understanding of Christian spirituality uniquely accommodated regional devotions and practices. Whether through architectural, sculptural, literary projects,

¹ Gabriel Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman de Troyle*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Rouen: Publ. de l'Université de Rouen, 1994), 339. "... le roi, passionné d'art et de techniques, suscite la création dans tous les domaines, et amène à collaborer [...] des artistes d'origine très différente. Nous trouvons déjà là un peu l'atmosphère de la grande Renaissance, et l'esprit de François I^{er}, attirant et retenant auprès de lui les maîtres de l'art européen."

collecting objects and animals, or sponsoring chivalric and theatrical spectacles, René always strove to employ innovative materials, aesthetics, ideas, and he repeatedly chose the best artists, as he activated his artistic networks throughout the Mediterranean world. As this dissertation demonstrates, the translations of Boccaccio's early vernacular literature produced at the court of Anjou-Provence attest to a broader knowledge of Italian culture and humanism than that of the court of Charles d'Orléans' (1394–1465). We are fortunate to possess a rich scholarly literature on King René, which covers the many facets of his unique theatrical, artistic, spiritual and social vision.

René d'Anjou was born in Angers in 1409, the second son of Yolande d'Aragon (1380–1442) and Louis II d'Anjou (1377–1417).² He was a member of the second house of Anjou, a younger branch of the Valois dynasty. His younger years were spent at the court of Anjou, raised with Charles de Ponthieu (third son of Charles VI, King of France, and future *dauphin*, 1403–1461) who was betrothed to René's sister Marie.³ At 10, René was adopted by Louis, Cardinal of Bar († 1430), who oversaw the negotiations of René's marriage with Isabelle (1400–1453), daughter of Charles II de Lorraine (1364–1431).⁴ Charles's court was a rich cultural and political environment where both René and Isabelle, who were married in 1420, received a substantial education. Newly made Duke

² Jean-Michel Matz and Elisabeth Verry, eds., *Le roi René dans tous ses états* (Paris: Patrimoine, Centre des monuments nationaux, 2009), for this short biographical section..

³ I believe this early connection between the two cousins explains, at least partially, René's steadfast loyalty to his then brother-in-law King Charles VII (r. 1422–1461). In turn, René extended the same allegiance to his nephew King Louis IX (r. 1461–1483), which led to the dismantlement of the state of Anjou-Provence and the rich culture René and his court had developed.

⁴ Matz and Verry, *Le roi René*, 20–24. Louis de Bar was Yolande's uncle. In positioning her son as the future Duke of Lorraine, Yolande's political scheme was to provide the much-needed support to the future King of France, in the region. At the time, Lorraine was the only significant territory that prevented the junction of Burgundy in eastern France with the English forces occupying France, conferring on it a strategic position for France.

of Bar at age 15, and a noble and loyal French knight, he entered local conflicts, then the war against England. René was captured at Bulgnéville in July 1431 by Isabelle's cousin, an ally of Burgundy.⁵ A series of events then occurred that would have significant repercussions on his socio-political and cultural life. His older brother Louis died in 1434 without any descendants. A year later, Jeanne II de Naples made René her heir, after changing her mind about Alfonso V of Aragon.⁶ Because René was still imprisoned, Isabelle "naturally" took over the governance of the composite Angevin-Provençal state, showing a great talent in administering local affairs. She moved the court to Italy and, as Queen of Sicily, governed for the next three years.⁷ René joined her in May 1438, abounding in honorary titles but otherwise greatly impoverished, and therefore not able to exert much influence in the socio-political arena. Despite this, René's four-year stay in Naples, although hampered by Alfonso V's constant military conflicts, was valued as a fertile cultural journey. René finally left Naples in June 1442 to return to France after a four-month tour of Italy.⁸ In France, he actively participated in military and diplomatic

⁵ Matz and Verry, *Le roi René*, 27–29. Antoine de Vaudémont, who saw himself as the rightful heir of Lorraine, had started a war of succession in 1425 against René and Isabelle, and later became a powerful ally of Burgundy. His capture was a disastrous event for René that marred his political action for the rest of his life because of the enormous financial burden of his ransom. Antoine remained a prisoner of Philippe le Bon until 1437.

⁶ The Capetian house of Anjou-Sicily had been without an heir on two occasions. Each time, the queens (Jeanne I and Jeanne II de Naples) had adopted Dukes of Anjou, from the Anjou-Valois dynasty. Although it developed a rich Italianate culture in the Anjou-Provence state over three generations, no duke successfully retained the elusive Italian kingdom.

⁷ Marion Chaigne-Legouy, 'Reine « ordinaire », reine « extraordinaire » : la place de Jeanne de Laval et d'Isabelle de Lorraine dans le gouvernement de René d'Anjou', in *René d'Anjou (1409-1480): pouvoirs et gouvernement*, ed. Jean-Michel Matz and Noël-Yves Tonnerre (Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 77–101, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.124695>, § 21. The unusual governance pattern that René and Isabelle established in France and Italy because of their political circumstances is part of my analysis in Chapter Two, as it creates an example for the representation of women in the Angevin-Provençal literary production.

⁸ Richard-Albert Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René: Sa vie, son administration, ses travaux artistiques et littéraires d'après les documents inédits des archives de France et d'Italie*, vol. 2, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie

efforts in support of King Charles VII to bring an end to the Hundred Years' War. This period was followed by the prolific cultural and literary era, starting in the late 1440s, the focus of this dissertation.

René's vision for new gender roles for the Angevin-Provençal aristocracy emerges from the debate on courtliness animating the late fifteenth-century courts in Europe. His concept of a re-imagined masculinity began with redefining noble chivalry through a set of norms idealising the late medieval knight. These new standards appeared in a series of deeds of arms held between 1445 and 1449, were institutionalised in René's *Ordre du croissant* (1448) and later materialised in his *Livre des tournois* (hereafter abbreviated as LDT, c. 1462–1465). As his military life ended, in the 1450s René turned to literary endeavours, authoring the *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance* (hereafter abbreviated as MVP, 1455), the *Livre du Cœur d'amour épris* (hereafter abbreviated as LDC, 1457), and finally his LDT.

Under René's guidance, the court's literary production and translations reveal a new Angevin-Provençal culture for women. This study uncovers the essential role of emotions in bringing to light René's vision for men and women, given the authors/nobles' awareness, during this period, of living through melancholic and desperate times. The now-famous miniatures of Barthélemy d'Eyck (1420–c. 1470) illustrate many of René's manuscripts: Barthélemy became a precious collaborator who had a rare talent for translating emotions and ideas into pictorial form.

de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie, 1875), 437–97 (445). During his stay in Naples, René had received the support of powerful Italian families in Genoa, Milan, Florence, Venice and the Vatican, and developed important social and cultural alliances that he cultivated throughout the rest of his life, as we shall see. His visit to Florence in 1442 coincided with the ecumenical council of Ferrara/Florence.

For these reasons, René d'Anjou and the court of Anjou-Provence stand out compared to the courts of Burgundy and of Blois. Through a re-evaluation that encompasses cultural and social studies, translation and literary studies, I will show how this Angevin-Provençal cultural identity was unique: it was based on truly innovative concepts of gender, chivalry, and nobility of heart and soul imagined by its prince.

Several years ago, when I began this study of René d'Anjou, my interest centred around his court culture and the books that emerged from it as individual, cultural projects starting in the 1450s. With such wonderful scholarship abounding on this topic, it seemed as if there would be little new to say. If we are to judge by the number of luxuriously illustrated manuscript copies of these books, now preserved in libraries around Europe, an intricate meshwork of family and friends, and a rich set of related cultural preoccupations emerge around the themes of love, chivalry, religion, death and dying.

I was initially interested in the role that women played in cosmopolitan worldmaking at René's court. As I studied the *Livre de Thezeo* (hereafter abbreviated as LDTH, c. 1457) and its illustrated manuscript of *La Théséïde* (hereafter abbreviated as LDTH *W*^l, c. 1460–1470), produced in the ambit of his court, I became aware of how debates about the power of women were being played out in this locale. A complex web of issues developed that included book culture, translation, and the reception of Italian literature into the French court of Anjou-Provence. It then became clear that each one of the well-studied literary projects we associate with King René needed to be re-evaluated in the light of new questions around the production and reception of visualised texts, and how ideas could cross-fertilize one another.

I became aware of how this debate was arising from the political responsibilities that the duchesses of Anjou had to take on as Queens of Jerusalem and Sicily, during three consecutive generations, to govern the Angevin-Provençal state for their son and heir, in their husbands' absence. If René's grandmother was cited as an exemplar in Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la Cité des dames* (hereafter abbreviated as LDCD, 1405), his mother is nonetheless remembered to this day as an astute political strategist.

René's wife Isabelle is not as well-known as a woman of power, and this too needed to be re-examined. The natural switch of governance that René and Isabelle exercised, sharing the exact same power when one was in France and the other in Italy, forced my reflection on René's feminism. The comparison with other French courts in this regard is enlightening. Despite the spread of the Burgundian state, Philippe le Bon's government does not provide a similar example of shared power with any of his wives, and Charles d'Orléans' concern with women did not seem to extend further than its poetry or a form of social etiquette. René's understanding of Italian culture and humanism might be the reason his vision of women is so distinctive from that of the other two courts. Christine de Pizan's experience of both cultures and insight as an author offered a more fruitful comparison. Indeed, I found it impossible to analyse the LDTH without Christine's vision of the Amazon queen in mind. As an art historian, I felt a similar attraction to her visual representation of the Amazon warriors in various manuscripts of the LDCD, which brought back my attention to René's artists.

Although I was initially bewildered by the number of artists and artisans who appear in René d'Anjou's accounts—their importance only revealed by their endurance in his service—by the time I finished, I was impressed by the power of one specific artist,

Barthélemy d’Eyck.⁹ The aesthetic quality and innovative painting technique of the miniatures in each of the projects summoned up yet more questions. I became conscious of how these textual productions might have impacted on the relationship between an extraordinary book artist, Barthélemy, and his patron. Together, they were able to create powerful text-image relations that animated the narratives in each text, creating new worlds of antiquity/the present; the chivalric culture of the day; the romance quest, this time focused on the noble heart; and the ways that religious thought influenced the conceptualization of the romance quest.

Although this productive relationship was especially evident between René and Barthélemy, I see it was equally dynamic in the case of the LDTH with a patron whose anonymity began to fade. Each time a new book project was begun, new worlds were constructed in terms of topics, ideas, gender roles, the sense of emotions, and artist-patron relations within the medieval tradition of re-writing that allowed for the embracing of more recent ideas. A similar textual worldmaking, as what we see in Marco Polo’s *Devisement du monde*,¹⁰ or *The Book of John Mandeville*,¹¹ and how such compilations

⁹ Inès Villela-Petit, ‘Le maître intermédiaire: Barthélemy d’Eyck’, in *Commentaire au fac-similé des Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry, sous la direction de P. Stirnemann et I. Villela-Petit*, ed. Patricia Stirnemann and Inès Villela-Petit (Lucerne: Quaternio Verlag, 2013), 125–43; Nicole Reynaud, ‘Barthélémy d’Eyck avant 1450’, *Revue de l’Art* 84, no. 1 (1989): 22–43; François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peinture en France: 1440-1520* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale: Flammarion, 1993); Dominique Thiébaud, Philippe Lorentz, and François-René Martin, *Primitifs français: Découvertes et redécouvertes* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004); Eberhard König, ‘Le Maître du Boccace de Genève’, in *Splendeur de l’enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers; Actes Sud, 2009), 133–43; Rose-Marie Ferré, ‘René d’Anjou, *Le Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance*’, in *Splendeur de l’enluminure, Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers; Actes Sud, 2009), 284–99 and J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

¹⁰ Simon Gaunt, ed., *Marco Polo’s Le Devisement du monde: Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity* (Boydell & Brewer, 2013).

¹¹ Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The ‘Travels’ of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

affect their textual interpretation,¹² are to be noticed in the Angevin-Provençal court's literary production. The text, enriched with the new author's context, seems to be changing each time. This *mouvance* is seen in a striking manner with the LDTH as it morphs from an antique tale to Boccaccio's literary account and the anonymous Angevin translation. Barthélemy's hybrid visual encapsulations of these successive worlds is what makes the LDTH an outstanding work.

For most people, René d'Anjou's fame as a patron of the arts is based primarily on his work on chivalry (1444–c. 1449) crystallised in his LDT and his revisioning of the quest romance in his LDC (1457). Both were written as his military days were over when he was in his fifties. What I had not anticipated was that a related research trajectory was to evaluate King René as an ageing ruler confronting his own mortality. Ageing during the Middle Ages meant belonging to a category within what classical literature described as the “ages of man,”¹³ which idealised each individual life-course. The medieval period later added moral norms dictating behaviours for each stage. Man's life-course was generally depicted by artists as a journey from birth to death, captured in characteristic images.¹⁴ Wisdom, or spiritual wisdom, was obtained through study and represented old age. This realisation shaped my re-evaluation of René's MVP (1455) and his LDC, and

¹² Mark Cruse, ‘Romancing the Orient: *The Roman d’Alexandre* and Marco Polo’s *Livre du grand Khan* in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 264’, in *Medieval Romance and Material Culture*, ed. Nicholas Perkins (Boydell & Brewer, 2015), 233–52.

¹³ Chris Gilleard, ‘Aging and Old Age in Medieval Society and the Transition of Modernity’, *Journal of Aging and Identity* 7 (1 March 2002): 25–41 (25–26).

¹⁴ Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), (134–41). These images are traditionally the Wheel of Life, the Tree of Life and the Steps of life. A strong connection is established between these representations and religion as it is not rare to find them in devotional books. Sears describes PML ms. G50 in which scenes of the ages of man are introduced following miniatures of the Passion of Christ.

how these manuscripts inflect one another as texts.

Each time I turned to one of these key projects produced at the court, I felt that I understood René d'Anjou in deeper ways. The scholarship on René and his world demonstrates his involvement with contemporary interests, as they would have been known to him through royal precedents in addition to contemporary literature and social debate. The exploration of these four book projects hence unfolded the Angevin-Provençal response to these concerns. While René's vision of romance, developed in the LDC, appeared to be the overarching endeavour involving the court of Anjou-Provence, it seemed that the other three works structured progressive and intertwined phases of René's evolving vision of key issues.

This is how I understand it. First, the main protagonists, “nobles chevaliers” and “Dames Amaczon,” needed to be defined in late fifteenth-century terms; then, love itself was probed, encompassing both religious and secular love, represented in the heart metaphor, as two separate but interrelated aspects ultimately refining nobility. These are the research questions that emerged as I undertook my study of René's and his court's cultural production:

1. What defines the concept of “Dame Amaczon” in the LDTH *W'*? What types of emotions are expressed in/through text and image in the LDTH *W'* and how are they revealed? What characterises emotions in Amazonia? Do these emotions evolve, and if so, in what ways? How does the concept of the “Dame Amaczon” impact on or illustrate the status of women in this unique royal court?
2. What are the differences between a feudal knight and the “noble chevalier,” as expressed in the LDTH *W'*? Can emotions be identified within the men's world in

Athens and what distinguishes them? How does the concept of the “noble chevalier” impact on René’s vision of the late medieval ideal chivalry and on his LDT?

3. Did the production of the LDTH help René define the role of the prince, and if so, how did it help him to reimagine the concept?
4. Considering the MVP, how does the reformed spirituality cultivated in René’s work and its didactic message help us understand René’s concept of the contemplative knight? How do emotions conveyed in René’s devotional work shape this refined model of masculinity?
5. How does René’s concept of an ideal, spiritual, and emotion-bound knight influence his metaphor of Cuer in the LDC? How might René’s contemplative knight have influenced Cuer’s dilemma at the end of his initiatory journey in René’s LDC? Is René’s secular heart as deserving of redemption as the Soul’s Heart and why? What is the nature of true nobility for René?

My study does not follow the usual chronological order, which would have provided a linear sense of how and when René’s and the Angevin-Provençal court’s literary production came about. What emerged over the months was a new set of concerns, focused on the ideas and issues about love, emotions and social behaviours of both genders that were continuously debated within and without this aristocratic circle. As my dissertation suggests, these new readings of René’s and his court’s literary projects change our understanding of his literary and artistic patronage in important ways. Based on what I know about these synchronous literary projects, my study of Angevin-Provençal book production offers us an unprecedented view into the dynamic intellectual milieu from which these texts emerge. Significantly, these literary works engage with this

cosmopolitan court's particular exploration of contemporary issues of love, chivalry and women's power, and late medieval nobility idiosyncrasies. In turn, this unique literary culture reveals the undeniably innovative and knowledge-driven spirit of King René d'Anjou as a cultural producer who was invariably focused on defining a new future. It is his deep relationship with the best painters and sculptors of his era that produced his new vision.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the social implications of the Angevin-Provençal court's production and dissemination of texts during the second half of the fifteenth century, outlining the cultural identity that connected the aristocrats who read and viewed them. The four books under consideration, arising during the pivotal decades of the 1440s and '50s, are as follows: the *Livre de Thezeo* (LDTH, c. 1457), the translation into French of Boccaccio's *Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia* by a still unidentified translator; and three works composed by René d'Anjou: the *Livre de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*, known as the *Livre des tournois* (LDT, c. 1462–1465), the *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance* (MVP, 1455), and the *Livre du Cœur d'amour épris* (LDC, 1457).¹⁵ As a group, these four manuscripts are understood as the product of the continuous courtly debates that were gestating within the late fifteenth-century courts in France. However, here they are considered as separate events that do not unfold in a linear or chronological manner but rather emerge as individual entities that impact on each other because of the commonality of ideas and concepts that connects them. While each of these volumes reveals specific facets of these conversations, my dissertation discovers common threads that bring them together, highlighting how they affect one another as a whole by navigating innovative conceptualisations between each other. From an art historian's

¹⁵ Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, eds., *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres* (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009). The dates used here indicate when these literary works were first written. The chronological order is as follows: René's MVP, then his LDC and the anonymous LDTH within the same year, and finally René's LDT. The dating scholars agree on for these manuscripts usually show that they were copied and illustrated at different times (and sometimes in various places), to which the central role of Barthélemy d'Eyck, as the main illustrator, offers further interesting avenues for interpretation, as we shall see. Most importantly, we have to remember that additional manuscripts, now lost, may have made this chronological order of manuscript production slightly different.

perspective, how patrons envisaged the visual expression of these texts as an additional interpretation remains the primary focus of my dissertation. I shall now describe these book projects not as they emerged chronologically, but rather—since this is more relevant to the current study—as they seem to impact on each other.

The LDTH is the first translation into French of Boccaccio's *Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia* (hereafter abbreviated as TNE, c. 1340–41).¹⁶ The identities of its translator and patron are still being debated by scholars;¹⁷ we do know that Barthélemy d'Eyck's illustrations in a single manuscript (*W¹*) largely account for the location of translator and patron within the Angevin-Provençal milieu. The narrative revolves around the antique world of heroes and heroines transposed into the world of a courtly romance. Its major interest rests in how the characters perform, are transformed and come to terms with their gendered roles in view of the culture that moulds them. Recent theories applied to medieval translation are helpful to interpret such a book, bridging the many gaps that culture, history, politics and the various human manipulations initiated between the original legend and the French text over time. Similarly, translation is also understood as

¹⁶ Gabriel Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo: traduction anonyme du XVe siècle du Teseida de Boccace: édition critique*, Bibliothèque de Transmédie (BITAM), volume 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017). This study uses Giovanni Boccaccio, *Teseida*, Edizione critica a cura di Salvatore Battaglia (Florence: Sansoni, 1938) and its translation into English, Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Book of Theseus: Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia*, trans. Bernadette Marie McCoy (New York: Medieval Text Association, 1974). For further information on a specific *Teseida* manuscript, William E. Coleman, 'The Oriatoriana Teseida: Witness of a Lost Beta Autograph', *Studi Sul Boccaccio* 40 (2012): 105–86. On the ÖNB Cod. 2617 and 2632, see Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: (Fortsetzung des beschreibenden Verzeichnisses der illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien) / Hrsg. v. Otto Pächt.*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974).

¹⁷ Eduard Chmelar, 'Eine Französische Bilderhandschrift von Boccaccio's Theseide', in *Jahrbuch Der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen Des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 14 (Vienna, 1893), 318–28 (323); Eberhard König, 'Boccace, *La Théséide* (Traduction française anonyme)', in *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009), 268–75 (268); Carla Bozzolo, *Manuscrits des traductions françaises d'œuvres de Boccace: XVe siècle* (Padova: Antenore, 1973), 34, and Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 18–20.

the visual expression acting as additional comments, familiar to a fifteenth-century viewer, and which sometimes accounts for pictorial hybridity. Although two men in this book undergo a significant metamorphosis to become courtly knights, a young Amazon seems to be the focus of the LDTH *W*¹ as she discovers men's love. Will she remain true to her autonomous nature or marry the courtly hero who deserves her? As an almost-contemporary female author whose interest in gender roles was revealed through her extensive literary production as well as her involvement in the *Querelle de la rose*, Christine de Pizan provides a literary context with her *Livre de la Cité des dames* (LDCD, 1405) that offers interesting perspectives on the culture of women within the court of Anjou-Provence, and the book's possible patron and his/her gender. Christine's model of the Amazon queen and a hypothetical patron for the LDTH *W*¹ are discussed in Chapters One and Two below.

René d'Anjou's LDT, written between 1462 and 1465, is possibly the most popular of René's works and will be analysed in Chapter Three. This treatise addresses key issues in the chivalric tradition, which explains its rapid transmission and wide dissemination. An unusual programme of twenty-six illustrations in BnF ms. fr. 2695, executed on paper in a much larger format than usual comparable books, establishes the manuscript's uniqueness amidst the chivalric literature of the day.¹⁸ It is the vehicle

¹⁸ Justin Meredith Sturgeon, 'Text and Image in René d'Anjou's *Livre des Tournois*, c. 1460: Constructing Authority and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Court Culture' (York, University of York, 2015), <https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/11345/>; Marc-Edouard Gautier, 'René d'Anjou, *Le Livre des tournois*', in *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Edouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers ; Actes Sud, 2009), 276–82; Edmond Pognon and François Avril, *Le Livre des tournois du roi René, de la Bibliothèque nationale (ms. français 2695)* (Paris: Herscher, 1986); Léon Marie Joseph Delaissé, 'Les copies flamandes du *Livre des tournois* de René d'Anjou', *Scriptorium* 23, no. 1 (1969): 187–98, and Jacques Heers and Françoise Robin, eds., *Traité des Tournois* (Munich: Edition Helga Lengenfelder, 1993), <https://www.omifacsimiles.com/brochures/cima32.pdf>.

through which René's spectacular chivalry¹⁹ materialised into his envisioned ideal knight's behaviour in proper technical combats. As such, René's LDT showcases the fluid debate on knighthood and courtliness that animated the late medieval courts. It is intriguing, though, to see how René's judging system and the competitiveness between knights relies on a newly formulated emotional scheme to define the best of them. This is where the discursive influence of the LDTH on emotional community-building within a men's world would have impacted on René's LDT the most, leaving us with a better idea of how the court of Anjou-Provence's cultural identity was being shaped in distinctive ways.

The next book project to be considered is René's MVP, written in 1455, the examination of which forms Chapter Four. It has been labelled as the "deliberate killing of vain pleasure,"²⁰ the severe verdict of an ascetic meditation. This is perhaps a harsh assessment for a book that closely reflects René's devotional milieu and his vast religious culture.²¹ A further indication of René's affinities is reflected in the MVP's dedication to René's confessor Jean Bernard, then Archbishop of Tours. The transmission of this text through France's high aristocratic families shows the interest the short book generated within a restricted circle of family and friends during the last four decades of the fifteenth

¹⁹ René's spectacular chivalry usually corresponds to his sponsoring of highly controlled, theatrical war games that are ultimately used to redefine his vision of masculinity and knightly values in late medieval terms. It can also be understood by opposition to military knighthood.

²⁰ Gilles Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance* (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A, 2015), VII; Virginie Minet-Mahy, 'Lecture croisée de Jean Gerson et de René d'Anjou: La figure du prince-poète méditant', in *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011), 99–117, and Barbara Newman, *Medieval Crossover: Reading the Secular against the Sacred* (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013).

²¹ Marc-Édouard Gautier, 'La Bibliothèque du roi René', in *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009), 20–35 (31–32).

century. The prologue suggests the influence of Jean Gerson, as René's intended audience extends to "simple lay people." The specific iconographic programme that largely followed René's choices over time is composed of particularly impactful images, which in my view support the possibility of the lowest servants being part of René's audience. The narrative of this didactic devotional treatise is an allegorical fable staging the Soul and her Heart, the site of all worldly vanities. The long, educational contribution of two more personifications — namely, Fear of God and Contrition—leads the Soul to sacrifice her Heart and entrust it to them for its purification. Each miniature, perfectly encapsulating the text it precedes, is used as a step to induce meditation. The crucifixion of the Heart, imitating the Passion of Christ, discloses René's adherence to the Franciscan affective theology and invites the audience to contemplation.²² Barthélemy d'Eyck's original iconographic programme highlights his talent at depicting deep emotions in highly communicative gestures to be decoded by a viewer.

In 1457, René wrote his now most famous book, the LDC,²³ which is said to form a literary diptych with the MVP.²⁴ In this book, the author revisits the concept of the heart, this time as a secular metaphor. Becoming a knight after having been taken from

²² See Figs. 40 to 43, and Figs. 49 and 50.

²³ The general scholarship includes Florence Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris / René d'Anjou* (Paris: Libr. Générale Française, 2003); Christian Freigang, ' "Fantaisie et Ymaginacion": Selbstreflexion von Höflichkeit am provençalischen Hof unter René I/La culture de cour en France et en Europe à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Hofkultur in Frankreich und Europa im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Christian Freigang and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 209–43, and Michel Zink, 'La tristesse du Cœur and *Le Livre du Cœur d'Amours épris* de René d'Anjou', in *Le Récit amoureux, Proceedings of the International Conference at Centre Culturel International de Cerisy-La-Salle, 12 – 22 July 1982*, ed. Didier Coste and Michel Zérafra (Seysssel: Éditions du Champ Vallon, 1984).

²⁴ Daniel Poirion, 'Les tombeaux allégoriques et la poétique de l'inscription dans le *Livre du Cœur d'Amours épris* de René d'Anjou (1457)', in *Écriture poétique et composition romanesque* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994), 399–414 (400). Daniel Poirion is first to mention the term of "diptyque du cœur" or "diptych of the heart" in relation to the connection between the two books.

René's body by love (*d'amour épris*), Cuer goes on a love quest guided by Desir. Influenced by Arthurian literature and popular romance, the seemingly traditional dream-vision and allegorical form of this romance are called into question by heroes with human senses who are unable to interpret the signs of the corrupted world around them. Finally reaching a marvellous world where Love rules, Cuer is refused physical love and chooses to end his days in a hermitage. By revisiting the romance, the now contemplating knight Cuer/René defines true nobility in renunciation. Although not his last work, René's LDC seems to synthesise the concepts developed through the other three books to offer, in my view, an *extra-ordinary* portrait of the Early Renaissance men and women of true nobility of heart, as they were reimagined by the court of Anjou-Provence under René's guidance.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The court of Anjou-Provence during the 1440s and '50s is this dissertation's focus; therefore, my research rests on the study of secular court culture, relying on the scholarship on court studies and social and cultural history. A renewed perception of the late Middle Ages shows that, despite this being a time of war, diseases and economic devastation, this transitional period should also be considered as the "seedbed from which the courts of the Renaissance were to grow,"²⁵ referring specifically to the princely courts

²⁵ Malcolm Vale, 'Courts, Art, and Power', in *The Renaissance World*, ed. John Jeffries Martin (New York; London: Routledge, 2007), 287–306 (287). For a global analysis of the period and what followed, see John Jeffries Martin, ed., *The Renaissance World* (New York; London: Routledge, 2007) and Guido Ruggiero, ed., *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, Blackwell Companions to History (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002). For more specific aspects, such as humanism and the circulation of literature and art: Peter Burke, 'The Circulation of Knowledge', in *The Renaissance World*, ed. John Jeffries Martin (New York ; London: Routledge, 2007), 191–207 and Ingrid D. Rowland, 'High Culture', in *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, ed. Guido Ruggiero (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 317–32; and on growing knowledge and innovations: Francisco Bethencourt, 'European Expansion and the New Order of Knowledge', in *The Renaissance World*, ed. John Jeffries Martin (New York ; London: Routledge, 2007), 118–39.

of Europe. In the north, they were generally formed as geographically composite dominions, the structured governments of which were housed in spread-out established, immovable administrations. Their central power—the itinerant courts, composed of the ruler and his/her entourage—was no longer in charge of the daily management of affairs. By contrast, in Italy, society and governments were organised in city-states and their territories, where the household of small despots began to administer the state, in a comparable manner to sedentary princely courts.²⁶ Best perceived through the “prism of territorial and family interests,”²⁷ the northern or southern court was modelled on principles of lordship; rulers were eager to exert control following principles of feudal domination, and defining nobility status through reputation and actions for which memory was key. Latin Christianity was a common factor that united European courts.

Next to be considered is the court’s infrastructure and ceremonial, which highlights people and the system of social rituals and favours that composed the reality of life at court.²⁸ With the proliferation of noble courts, prestige and luxury became the focus of rivalries. Princes emerge as protectors of the arts, building artists’ reputations and developing the importance of cultural and artistic patronages.²⁹ The most recent

²⁶ Malcolm Vale, ‘The Court and Court Identities, Uniform or Diverse?’, in *Courts and Courtly Cultures in Early Modern Italy and Europe: Models and Languages*, ed. Simone Albonico and Serena Romano, Prima edizione (Roma: Viella, 2016), 9–19 (13). Cited are the Montefeltro [Urbino], the Malatesta [Rimini], the Este [Ferrara] families, and to some degree the Gonzaga family [Mantua]. The author makes the point that what differentiated the northern and southern courts was their cultural identities, which complemented more often than they opposed each other.

²⁷ Matthew Vester, ‘Social Hierarchies: The Upper Classes’, in *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, ed. Guido Ruggiero (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 227–42 (227).

²⁸ Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 15–33.

²⁹ Françoise Robin, ‘L’art d’être mécène: Quelques réflexions’, in *Les Arts et les Lettres en Provence au temps du roi René*, ed. Chantal Connochie-Bourgne and Valérie Gontero (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2013), <http://books.openedition.org/pup/19224>, § 2; Deborah L. McGrady, *The Writer’s Gift or the Patron’s Pleasure? The Literary Economy in Late Medieval France* (Toronto:

scholarship has taken a wider view of court life, including the French royal court as a model for a profusion of smaller neighbouring courts, orienting the research towards the courts' structures, operation and production.³⁰ One of the most spread out but influential courts that has attracted the attention of art historians of late is the Angevin-Provençal court of King René d'Anjou.³¹ The power of its innovative culture, balanced with traditional values, makes this court stand out in the late medieval French courts' landscape.

Among the abundant scholarship on René d'Anjou, key authors such as Françoise Robin, Françoise Piponnier and Christian de Mérimond specifically discuss the court based on precise archival research,³² although none of them identifies the fashioning of a specific social or cultural identity. As crowned kings of an independent state, Louis II d'Anjou, and later René, had precedence over the Duke of Burgundy, or any duke who

University of Toronto Press, 2019), and Tracy Chapman-Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France: The Artistic Patronage of Queen Marie of Brabant (1260–1321)* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2019).

³⁰ Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, Bruno Laurioux, and Jacques Paviot, eds., *La cour du prince. Cour de France, cours d'Europe, XIIIe - XVe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2011).

³¹ Renewed interest in René d'Anjou originated with the celebrations of the 600th anniversary of his birth in 2009. The scholarship that focuses on specific interests includes Gautier and Avril, eds., *Splendeur de l'enluminure*; Florence Bouchet, ed., *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2011); Matz and Verry, eds., *Le roi René*; Jean-Michel Matz and Noël-Yves Tonnerre, eds., *René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Pouvoirs et gouvernement* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.124668> and Chantal Connochie-Bourgne and Valérie Gontero, eds., *Les Arts et les Lettres en Provence au temps du roi René* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2013), <http://books.openedition.org/pup/19224>. The archival researches of Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, 2 vols; Richard Albert Lecoy de La Marche, *Extrait des comptes et mémoriaux du roi René pour servir à l'histoire de l'art au XVe siècle* (Paris: Librairie de la Société de l'École des Chartes, 1873), and Gustave Arnaud d'Agnel, *Les comptes du roi René publiés d'après les originaux conservés aux archives des Bouches-du-Rhône*, 3 vols (Paris: A. Picard, 1908), although partial, complete each other and still prove to be essential for any research on René d'Anjou.

³² Françoise Robin, *La cour d'Anjou-Provence: La vie artistique sous le règne de René* (Paris: Picard, 1985); Françoise Piponnier, *Costume et vie sociale. La cour d'Anjou, XIVe-XVe siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1970). Christian de Mérimond, *Le roi René et la seconde maison d'Anjou: Emblématique, art, histoire* (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 1987), gives a comprehensive picture of the Anjou-Valois' identity fashioning, through emblematic structures, providing a background for René and his court.

was bestowed an apanage, benefiting from close family connections with the royals.³³ Moreover, the Anjou-Valois dynasty was well established when René became Duke of Anjou.³⁴ Each dominion forming the vast Angevin-Provençal state had its own identity, arising from an original and accomplished civilisation, and providing French, German, Italian, and Spanish cultural overtones to René's court, which was labelled as truly cosmopolitan by its contemporaries.³⁵

As a *prince des lis* (or royal prince) and a fervent poet with a keen eye for artistic creations, René d'Anjou is an unusual and compelling commentator³⁶ on late medieval court culture. Particularly receptive to Italian humanism and classical culture in literary and artistic terms, the Angevin-Provençal court, by virtue of its physical location in Angers, Aix-en-Provence, Nancy or Naples, was a centre conducive to the dissemination of cultural innovations. As the main links, the Rhône commercial corridor and the Loire facilitated the movement of ideas and material culture up to the Holy Roman Empire and west to the Touraine region and French royal court. It is no surprise then that the first

³³ Three generations of Anjou cultural patronage reflect this highly cultivated relationship. During René's time, Marie d'Anjou, his sister, married Charles de Ponthieu, future King Charles VII (r. 1422–1461).

³⁴ Robin, *La cour d'Anjou-Provence*, 8. At its most prosperous, the Angevin state counted the Dukedom of Anjou (royal apanage) and the County of Maine (independent dynastic inheritance of Anjou) in western France, the Dukedoms of Bar (inherited from René's great-uncle Louis de Bar) and Lorraine (received in marriage) in eastern France and the County of Provence (independent dynastic inheritance) in southern France. The Kingdoms of Naples (inherited from the Capetian House of Anjou-Sicile) in Italy and of Aragon in Spain (offered from the Catalonians) were less successfully established territories.

³⁵ Gabriel Tetzels's *Diary* (15th c.) is conserved as BSB Cod. Germ. 1279. See the modern edition of the text: Malcolm Letts, ed., *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy: 1465–1467*, Reprint d. Ausg. London, Hakluyt Soc., 1957 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 67–69.

³⁶ Gabriel Bianciotto, 'Passion du livre et des lettres à la cour du roi René', in *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009), 85–103 and Rose-Marie Ferré, 'Le roi René peintre? État de la question', in *Splendeur de l'enluminure, Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes sud, 2009), 117–21.

mention in France of the *tre corone* of Italian literature is found in René's LDC,³⁷ and that the LDTH brought Boccaccio's TNE to France for the first time. As the French presence in Italy increased at the turn of the sixteenth century, so did its taste for Italian literature during the French Renaissance.

Although identity issues have been the focus of literature concerning the Burgundian court,³⁸ to my knowledge the scholarship on René d'Anjou has not yet made the connection between the court's characteristics and a desire for identity formation, and/or social patterning/codes for both noble men and women. Scholars of René d'Anjou typically see him as a truly medieval prince manipulating emblematic systems³⁹ or the court as the centre of an original artistic patronage,⁴⁰ failing to reconcile both into René's desire for self-identification. Exploring four interrelated works of the court of Anjou-Provence's literary production allows us to uncover René's complex textual and visual strategy to communicate his and his court's innovative socio-political and cultural identity. This master plan is what empowered him to rival with the other influential courts of Europe.

Because René's redefinition of masculinity and femininity is clearly the focus of the debate exhibited in the Angevin-Provençal court cultural production on the eve of the

³⁷ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman*, vol. 1, 342.

³⁸ Arjo Vanderjagt, 'Practicing Nobility in Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Courtly Culture: Ideology and Politics', in *Rhetoric and the Discourses of Power in Court Culture: China, Europe, and Japan*, ed. David R. Knechtges and Eugene Vance (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 321–41 and Agathe Lafortune-Martel, *Fête noble en Bourgogne au XVe siècle: Le banquet du faisan (1454): aspects politiques, sociaux et culturels* (Montréal: Paris: Bellarmin ; Vrin, 1984), the latter describing a specific event.

³⁹ Mérindol, *Le roi René*, and Laurent Hablot, 'L'emblématique du roi René: outil de pouvoir et de gouvernement', in *René d'Anjou (1409 - 1480): Pouvoirs et gouvernement*, ed. Jean-Michel Matz and Noël-Yves Tonnerre (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 327–38, <http://books.openedition.org/pur/124668>.

⁴⁰ Robin, *La cour d'Anjou-Provence*, 165–244.

Renaissance, this dissertation considers the concept of courtliness and the evolution of knighthood, within the princely courts of Europe, a pivotal aspect of my research. In his book on military values and ideals of knighthood during the Middle Ages, cultural historian Craig Taylor cites the Valois monarchs as models of the aristocratic, chivalric culture that established norms of behaviours and rituals defining medieval noble society.⁴¹ Considering these evolving ethical values and practices born of warrior societies and the “golden age of writing about knighthood and warfare,”⁴² I propose that René’s books, written by a participant in conflicts in France and Italy and a late medieval man of letters, exemplify the “core principles such as honour, courage, loyalty and discipline”⁴³ that were celebrated on the battlefield. Such ethics additionally stimulated the moral debate on noble behaviour at court through René’s prose, although not in the format favoured by Craig Taylor, namely, chronicles, biographies or translations of classical texts on warfare. In Taylor’s words the complexity of late medieval courtly culture that emerged from the ninth century on in Europe is explained by its shifting nature, the result of a slow process that also highlighted manners and social etiquette.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013).

⁴² Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, 2.

⁴³ Taylor, 1.

⁴⁴ A survey on courtliness includes Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, ed. Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, and Stephen Mennell, trans. Edmund Jephcott, Rev. ed (Oxford ; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000). As a social historian, Norbert Elias examined the progress of civilisation in illuminations such as in the anonymous manuscript *Das Mittelalterliche Hausbuch* describing the changing German secular knightly society. Also generally focused on the Carolingian courts and their later influence in Europe, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Pr., 1991) and Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), who specifically investigates the impact of courtliness on literature and vice versa.

However, if Taylor's model, based on men-at-arms' values, provides sound evidence regarding the evolution of knighthood, it nevertheless excludes the examination of women's changing role in the aristocratic social environment explored in this dissertation. A similar comment can be made of the French literature on René d'Anjou as a promoter of chivalric spectacles.⁴⁵ Yet, courtly romances such as Chrétien de Troyes' Arthurian literature, popular with their female audience, reflected and stimulated these social shifts, prompting further changes in reading culture and establishing the principles of authorship.⁴⁶ Although this sociological approach has traditionally outlined the "imagined" aspects of courtly values, these perspectives on courtly life need to be reconciled. It is my view that, through the Angevin-Provençal court's literary production, King René's vision provides this connection.

The role that literature, art and devotion played in the evolution of courtliness during the age of chivalry⁴⁷ has been the focus of the more recent scholarship, in addition to explaining how royal and princely courts, and families of northern and southern

⁴⁵ Philippe Contamine, 'Points de vue sur la chevalerie à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Francia* 4 (1978): 255–85; Christian de Mérindol, *Les fêtes de chevalerie à la cour du roi René* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1993); Marco Nievergelt, 'René d'Anjou et l'idéal chevaleresque', in *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011), 239–53, and Christian Freigang, 'Le tournoi idéal: La création du bon chevalier et la politique courtoise de René d'Anjou', in *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011), 179–96.

⁴⁶ On courtly romances see Thierry Delcourt, *La littérature arthurienne*, 1st ed. (Paris: Presses Univ. de France, 2000); Roberta L. Krueger, 'Chrétien de Troyes and the Invention of Arthurian Courtly Fiction', in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. Helen Fulton (Chichester, UK; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 160–74. Seminal scholarship on reading culture includes Laurel Amtower, *Engaging Words: The Culture of Reading in the Later Middle Ages*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave, 2000), Paul Henry Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*, Figureae (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1997) and Deborah L. McGrady, *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and His Late Medieval Audience*, Studies in Book and Print Culture (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006). On authorship, see Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

⁴⁷ Following the definition offered in Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, 3–4, this dissertation understands the term "chivalry" as the aristocratic class it represented and the social aspect associated with it, rather than the strictly martial life that late medieval knights experienced.

Europe influenced one another by developing social models and exchanging artists.⁴⁸ It is within these courts that innovative literary, artistic and spiritual movements gestated. These shifting social trends echoed the evolution of civility, regulating behaviour through moral values of virtues and vices, which slowly spread to the whole society through literature, art and religion.⁴⁹ It is my view that the Angevin-Provençal court's social model for men and women created by King René can be better understood through this larger intellectual framework.

During René's time, the type of discourse that emerged from the court of Anjou-Provence was enriched by the work of the Italian humanists, as well as of the French contemporary authors. Christine de Pizan's image of the Amazon queen in her LDCD⁵⁰ has much to do with the court's understanding of women's role on the late fifteenth-century socio-political scene, which is reproduced in Princess Emilia's persona in the LDTH. Additionally, Christine's model of illustrious women moulded three generations of Anjou duchesses' political presence in the European arena as Queens of Jerusalem and Sicily. They were well noticed by contemporary male chroniclers who described one of

⁴⁸ Simone Albonico and Serena Romano, eds., *Courts and Courtly Cultures in Early Modern Italy and Europe: Models and Languages*, Prima edizione (Roma: Viella, 2016).

⁴⁹ Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 55; Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 426; Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, 257.

⁵⁰ A comprehensive discussion on gender roles and stereotypes, and their perception within the late medieval society, as well as the specificity of French queenship and its consequences regarding the court of Anjou-Provence, although informative on our subject, would surpass the scope of this dissertation and exceed the limits of my argument. A larger analysis will however be the subject of a future publication. The scholarship on Christine de Pizan is vast. I favoured Claire Le Brun-Gouanvic, 'Christine de Pizan et l'édification de la cité éternelle', *Études françaises* 37, no. 1 (18 August 2004): 51–65; Betsy McCormick, 'Building the Ideal City: Female Memorial Praxis in Christine de Pizan's Cité des Dames', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 36, no. 1 (2003): 149–71; Maureen Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's Cité des Dames* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), Laura Rinaldi Dufresne, *The Fifteenth-Century Illustrations of Christine de Pizan's The Book of the City of Ladies and The Treasure of the City of Ladies: Analyzing the Relation of the Pictures to the Text*. (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012) and Jody Enders, 'The Feminist Mnemonics of Christine de Pizan', *Modern Language Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (September 1994): 231–49.

them as possessing a “cuer d’omme”⁵¹ or the heart and courage of a man. Among them, René’s first wife, Isabelle de Lorraine, offers a model of governance in replacement of her husband⁵² that, in my opinion, directly influences the concept of the “Dame Amaczon.”

In a similar manner Jean Gerson, as a theologian and reformer of his time, influenced René d’Anjou’s work and his understanding of the significance of the heart in medieval French literary tradition. To comprehend how René and Gerson connect, it is essential to examine René’s religious context because of its direct impact on his MVP, and on the idea of true nobility that explains the ending of his LDC. In a similar manner to members of the Valois family, René’s spiritual life and devotional practices were regulated by representatives of the mendicant orders. By then, a tradition had developed for nobles in western France, and the Anjou family was led to cultivate specific connections with the Franciscan creed.⁵³ The knowledge accrued within regional spiritual movements that composed the rich religious mosaic of Lorraine and Provence was part of

⁵¹ Henri Moranvillé, ed., *Journal de Jean Le Fèvre, Évêque de Chartres, Chancelier des rois de Sicile Louis Ier et Louis II d’Anjou*, vol. 1 (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1887), 79, referring first to Marie de Blois, René’s grandmother, after she became a widow. Cited in Marion Chaigne-Legouy, ‘Femmes au « cœur d’homme » ou pouvoir au féminin ? Les duchesses de la seconde Maison d’Anjou (1360: Thèse de doctorat préparée sous la direction de Mme Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, soutenue le 8 décembre 2014 à l’université Paris IV-Sorbonne’, *Perspectives médiévales*, no. 36 (1 January 2015), <https://doi.org/10.4000/peme.8452>, § 11–13.

⁵² Chaigne-Legouy, ‘Reine « ordinaire », reine « extraordinaire »’, § 10–25.

⁵³ A survey of the scholarship on religion in France during the period should include André Vauchez et al., ‘Histoire des mentalités religieuses’, *Actes de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l’enseignement supérieur public* 20, no. 1 (1989): 151–75; André Vauchez, ‘Influences franciscaines et réseaux aristocratiques dans le Val de Loire : Autour de la bienheureuse Jeanne-Marie de Maillé (1331-1414)’, *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 70, no. 184 (1984): 95–105; Jacques Chiffolleau, ‘Les confréries, la mort et la religion en Comtat Venaissin à la fin du Moyen Âge’, *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 91, no. 2 (1979): 785–825; Jean-Michel Matz, ‘Les ordres mendiants à Angers à la fin du Moyen Âge. État de la question’, in *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge: Mélanges en l’honneur d’Hervé Martin*, ed. Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet et al. (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017), 159–66, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.19765>.

his education, gaining him the label of “unusual Christian prince.”⁵⁴ In the MVP, René’s Franciscan affinities are clearly present in the text, but also visible in the crucifixion of the Heart. On a more theological level, René’s simple didactic message encouraging a direct access to God for redemption through meditation and contemplation is shared with Gerson’s. Addressing a lay audience of nobles and “simple people” is a further sign of his reformed devotional practices and of Franciscan thought.

Finally, because my case studies are four specific books produced within King René’s court, royal and noble literary patronage is consequently a significant focus of this dissertation. The reassessment of the relationship between patrons and writers, miniaturists or artisans has recently become a growing interest for art historians. As the young, second wife of King Philippe III, soon widowed without children, Marie de Brabant (1254–1322) used art and architecture to convey her relevance at court, in opposition to Philippe’s heirs, through her noble social network. Among the more recent scholarship, Tracy Chapman-Hamilton’s convincing reconstruction of Queen Marie de Brabant’s library traces its innovativeness to the blending of two distinct cultures, namely, her Brabantine and her new husband’s French cultures. Furthermore, Chapman-Hamilton connects the queen’s strategic identity-fashioning to her specific interest in secular, vernacular literature and religious, monumental architecture. This type of social and cultural hybridity is at the very core of the Angevin-Provençal state. As a woman and a bibliophile, Marie’s influence in royal circles informs the discussion on a possible

⁵⁴ “prince chrétien singulier.” Jean-Michel Matz, ‘René, l’Église et la religion’, in *Le roi René dans tous ses états*, ed. Jean-Michel Matz and Élisabeth Verry (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, Centre des musées nationaux, 2009), 125–47, and Fabienne Henryot, ‘L’Atlas de la vie religieuse en Lorraine à l’époque moderne: Mise en œuvre et résultats’, *Approches sérielles et spatiales en histoire religieuse* 20 (2013): 117–33, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01338494/document>.

patron for the LDTH *W'* and, in more general terms, on René's wife Jeanne de Laval's (1433–1498) cultural patronage.

Foraying into the Valois dynastic period, medievalist and French literature specialist Deborah McGrady similarly reassesses royal literary patronage, starting with King Charles V's (1338–1380) building of the royal library. This critical study explores the patron/writer dynamics from both sides, equally highlighting the writers' responses to their patrons' solicitation of books as exemplified in presentation miniatures. McGrady questions Charles V's legacy as that of an outstanding patron and rethinks his model of literary patronage in terms of tradition vs. novelty. Furthermore, examining Christine de Pizan's more individualistic concepts of literary creations, McGrady tries to penetrate the shifting genesis of late medieval literary works through the deep motivations behind the patron's feeling of pleasure, on the one side, and the writer's act of knowledge gifting, on the other. Even though Chapman-Hamilton's and McGrady's foci are on an earlier period when secular libraries were still a novelty among wealthy nobles, their critical view on royal patronage was helpful for my work, with one deviation. Specifically, McGrady's analysis of Charles V's innovative model of royal patronage, encourages my exploration of the particular dynamics between René d'Anjou, as the patron-writer of three of the books under study in my dissertation: we see him as an author in dialogue with the textual traditions of the past and his present. We are also fortunate to have a much clearer, detailed sense of the patron-painter relationship in his connection with his favourite illuminator, Barthélemy d'Eyck. It is the dialogue between these two that ultimately distinguishes the court of Anjou-Provence's cultural production from any other provincial court in late fifteenth-century France, in the dynamic ways that patron and

artist collaborated to visualise key texts.

STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION AND CHAPTERS

My dissertation highlights the fluidity of the debate on courtliness and knighthood that occurred during René d'Anjou's time, through four interrelated case studies. These four texts do not necessarily generate the next project, but they do impact on each other on various levels while respecting their diversity. Each case study is examined in one chapter composed of three sections. In each case, Part A encompasses the relevant book's history⁵⁵ and the theoretical approach I will be using. Part B covers the iconographic analysis, and Part C presents my new reading of the work.

Before exploring our four case studies, Chapter One gives an overview of the court of Anjou-Provence's uniqueness in its interest in and reception of antique and Italian culture. It discusses the importance of the vernacular translation movement at René's court as the continuum from the translation/visualisation tradition developed during the early 1400s in Paris for the Valois. This chapter explains the impact of Boccaccio's TNE and Christine de Pizan's image of the Amazon queen in her LDCD as crucial literary and visual references when considering the Early Renaissance masculinity and femininity developed in the LDTH *W^l*. Finally, this chapter presents the notion of text visualisation at the court of Anjou-Provence and the role of Barthélemy d'Eyck as the artistic collaborator connecting my four case studies.

Chapter Two concerns the LDTH and its only illuminated copy *W^l*. Part A presents the LDTH as the antique world of heroes and heroines, which, by contrast with

⁵⁵ A limited codicological analysis of all four case-studies is available in the Appendix.

Boccaccio's narrative, is transposed into a medieval context where divine intervention almost disappears in the illustration cycle. In order to understand the hybrid nature of the illustration, I turn to translation theory.⁵⁶ Although René's notion of the evolution of knightly behaviour parallels Craig Taylor's, I consider the medieval contexts of time, politics, geography, linguistics and points of cultural encounter to provide an alternative paradigm to the reading of the LDTH. Extending this theoretical framework to material culture, I demonstrate that the dissemination of objects, particularly books, along trade routes and across cultural borders, creates socio-political networks. On the one hand, they underline the fluidity of cultural reception and, on the other, they explain artistic hybridity and the proliferation of translations in an ever-growing number of languages, one of the distinctive features of elite French culture in the early Renaissance.

More importantly, translation studies in connection with development theory, within a complex thinking approach,⁵⁷ provide a new lens to examine the evolution of social values. René's model of femininity at his court is important, and to understand the dynamic relationships created within groups by rituals and ceremonials imposed on them, emotions theory⁵⁸ emerging from socio-historical research covers time and space and is

⁵⁶ Emma Campbell and Robert Mills, eds., *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012).

⁵⁷ Kobus Marais, *Translation Theory and Development Studies: A Complexity Theory Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

⁵⁸ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2006) and Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling. A History of Emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2016); Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, 'Medieval Sciences of Emotions during the Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries: An Intellectual History', *Osiris* 31, no. 1 (July 2016): 21–45; Andreea Marculescu and Charles-Louis Morand Métivier, *Affective and Emotional Economies in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2017), and Jennifer Spinks and Charles Zika, 'Introduction: Rethinking Disaster and Emotions, 1400–1700', in *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse 1400–1700*, ed. Jennifer Spinks and Charles Zika, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 1–17.

now making progress within art history.⁵⁹

Part C of Chapter Two focuses on the decoding of the “Dame Amaczon” model, and the culture of women at the court of Anjou-Provence. While cultural history and codicology form the foundation of this study, the powerful emotions appearing in the LDTH *W^l* became a clear focus connecting the four books. The creation of emotional communities highlighted in the text and their impact on the characters exemplify the shaping of the court’s unique vision of gendered roles. Young Princess Emilia’s move from the men-hating sisterhood of Scythia to the gendered courtly society in Athens reveals the transformative power of courtly love in her progressive shift between these two emotional communities, in contrast to her sister Queen Ipolita’s self-imposed sacrifice to save their exclusive nation of women. Barthélemy d’Eyck’s visualisation of Emilia’s developing persona into the “Dame Amaczon” is much informed by Christine de Pizan’s LDCD. Although I only offer a brief insight into the reception of the author at the time, the study of female *exempla* in Christine’s LDCD is key to understanding how they model the notion of women’s power for Isabelle de Lorraine, represented in the LDTH *W^l* as Princess Emilia’s persona. The chapter concludes with a suggestion that Jeanne de Laval is the possible patron for the text-image relations of the LDTH *W^l*.

Chapter Three examines the more well-known LDT and René’s re-envisioned courtly knight. In addition to the book history, Part A introduces Nelson Goodman’s worldmaking theory as a useful model for interpretation that explains how René builds worlds, and to further clarify how ancient and present coexist in the LDTH *W^l*. With the

⁵⁹ Dafna Nissim, ‘The Emotional Agency of Fifteenth-Century Devotional Portraits: Self-Identification and Feelings of Pleasure’, *Sicilorum Gymnasium* 72, no. 5 (2019): 331–55.

development of his spectacular chivalry and its crystallisation in his LDT, René additionally pairs fiction and reality, textually re-writing worlds where emotions, generated through rituals and ceremonials, create bonds and build communities. Part B examines the specific dynamics between author and artist in the source manuscript of René's LDT. Following on Chapter Two, Part C first analyses the role for men presented in the LDTH *W'*, focusing on Arcita and Palemone, two feudal warriors of the Theban despot's family conquered by Prince Teseo, who, like Emilia, undergo an emotional shift that leads to their social transformation into "noble chevaliers." Whereas Emilia's fate is sealed by marriage to the most loyal, Arcita's and Palemone's metamorphosis through glory and love conveys norms of knightly behaviour resonant with those developed in René's LDT, anticipating his sense of emotional masculinity. The role of Prince Teseo as the creator of rituals and arbitrator of combats is compared to René's role as the prince/author of his most renowned chivalric work. Showing the influence of the LDTH *W'*, the creation of emotional communities for men in the LDT, comparable to that of Amazonia, institutes rewarding and punishment around familiar notions of loyalty, justice and lineage. Furthermore, the dramatization of the concept of the noble knight that we observe in accounts of chivalric spectacles outlines the fashioning of fictitious worlds for men and women co-existing with the court's present, or with antiquity in the LDTH *W'*. Similarly, René's narrative in the LDT, based on a previous text, relates an event between two contemporary nobles, while all other knights are imaginary. René's concept of ideal knighthood thus emerges through textual worldmaking, a literary process he perfects in his LDC. Performed into ceremonials within René's chivalric order, these knightly ideals not only solidify his international social networks but, to a great extent, connect these

elitist values to the knights of the Croissant's Latin Christian world.

The role played by religion in René d'Anjou's vision of the ideal knight is the focus of Chapter Four as a thread that has not been explored before. In his late forties when he wrote his MVP, René was entering the last stage of his life cycle as understood by medieval standards. For this reason, I believe King René is also considering this work as preparation for the afterlife. What I consider here is how religion moulds René's ideal knight into the contemplative one developed in his MVP. Part A focuses on the book, and how the text develops, using specific terminology and what that implies. Part B examines Barthélemy's specific iconographic programme that closely visualises René's three-act narrative with dramatic, polysemous miniatures that endure through the manuscript tradition. Part C summarises the metaphor of the heart in medieval terms, locates René within his religious context and analyses how this influences the MVP and beyond.

Although centred on the religious heart, René's devotional work is not a religious book.⁶⁰ Rather, it addresses a lay readership uneducated in Latin, in the tradition of reformer Jean Gerson, using allegories and the moralising culture reminiscent of religious sermons, common in the day. In preparation for life after death, this didactic treatise explores the necessity of self-introspection, progressively guiding the audience towards contemplation. By setting himself as an example, René self-identifies as his ideal knight whose troubled heart needs redemption.

Like most French royals of his day, René d'Anjou's spirituality was based on Franciscan thought. The capacity for the heart, as an intercessor, to feel emotions was

⁶⁰ By religious book I mean a book produced by and for clerical scholars.

part of the affective theology practiced by the Franciscans. In the MVP, the association of the heart, senses and emotions, recalling Gerson's *Canticordum du pèlerin*, guides René's teachings to reach harmony with God. Additionally, it was believed that emotions like posture could be controlled, suggesting that appropriate emotions like proper behaviour signalled a virtuous conduct. Visually, emotions were evoked in specific gestures that, like allegories, René's medieval viewer would have easily decoded. Barthélemy's visualisation of emotions, such as sadness, doubt and fear, would activate the viewer's compassion, in turn stimulating self-examination. The redemption of René's Heart through crucifixion occurs in a garden, reminding us of the Garden of Eden and of Emilia's. The Divine and the present, co-existing in this world, is created for René's now contemplative knight through pictorial worldmaking, illustrating the symbiosis between author and artist that we see in René's more complex LDC.

Chapter Five examines René's famous LDC, which is interpreted as the culmination of all previous concepts. Part A is a thorough summary of the extensive literature on the LDC, especially how manuscripts V and P developed. Part B concerns the iconographic programme as it is revealed by a comparative analysis of V and P. Part C considers René's second heart-centred narrative, written two years after the MVP, as its sequel. Rewriting the quest romance, in the LDC René imagines new adventures for his secular heart, now personified as the knight Cuer and his loyal squire Desir. Because the MVP explained how religion influences René's ideal knight, Cuer's quest becomes an initiatory journey, which steps or adventures refine his nobility.

Both text and miniatures articulate multiple sensory experiences, stimulating pleasure and stirring up emotions in the fantastical world created by René. One of the

primary tones of this literary work is the sense of melancholy and sadness, which may explain the way it ends. Cuer's and Desir's goal, the Isle of Love, is described as a supernatural world that co-exists with René's present. Ruled by the God of Love, this marvellous destination reveals the true nature of love, how poets and knights revere it, and women exercise power through it. While the beauty and wealth of this world are blinding, they also cause deception, pain and horror. In the end, Desir dies, and Cuer is refused physical love and must retire to a hermitage.

In the LDC, Cuer, described as an inexperienced and carefree knight who would rather listen to his desire than sound advice, really typifies the late medieval courtier; a literary figure who, by the late fifteenth century, is beginning to appear in critical literature, such as *L'Abuze en court*. Besides, Cuer and Desir with their human sensory abilities do not perform as traditional personifications, and their imaginary realm shows signs of corruption. This departure from previous literary traditions emphasises René's innovativeness. More importantly, the slightly veiled criticism of courtly society and its vanities, suggests René's view that courtliness has failed the late medieval nobility. In this context, the not so unexpected ending of Cuer's renunciation, revealing René's sense of true nobility refined by spiritual love, parallels the Soul's sacrifice in the MVP and the prince's life journey. Barthélemy d'Eyck's miniatures in the partially illustrated copy of the LDC testifies to the cohesive dynamic between René and his friend, and demonstrates how the author's close work with his artist provides truly innovative aesthetics.

SUMMARY

Recent biographers of René d'Anjou⁶¹ have introduced him as a paradox of his time. The words of Gloucester in Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 2* best characterise this mindset: "... poor King Regnier, whose large style / Agrees not with the leanness [*sic*] of his purse."⁶² Had he been able to have his kingdom and the revenues to fill his purse, he might well have had much more influence in the European political arena, possibly facilitating the relations between France, Italy and the papacy at a much earlier stage.

In terms of literary impact, art historians and literary scholars have attempted of late to characterise a specific style to his patronage.⁶³ Although the development of a certain originality can be investigated, the dismantling of the Anjou apanage and the successive disappearance of the Angevin males shortly before and after René's own demise cut short the real propagation of a Provençal artistic style, as a vibrant alternative current to co-exist with the French Renaissance style.

This dissertation outlines the Angevin-Provençal cultural identity through the court's production and dissemination of texts after 1450, insisting on the relationship between the court of Anjou-Provence's literary and artistic production, and its aristocrats. My new reading of these four books offers an unprecedented view of the intellectual debate within René's circle. It considers revised roles for Isabelle de Lorraine, as an inspiring female political model, and for Jeanne de Laval, as a more influential cultural patron than thought before. At the centre of the effervescent court of Anjou-Provence,

⁶¹ Jean Favier, *Le roi René* (Paris: Fayard, 2008) and Margaret L. Kekewich, *The Good King: René of Anjou and Fifteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁶² William Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part 2*, Act 1, Scene 1, cited in Kekewich, *The Good King*, 247.

⁶³ Robin, 'L'art d'être mécène', § 20; Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman*, vol. 1, 340.

King René now emerges as an respected scholar during his time and a cultural patron whose innovative spirit defines his vision of the future, enhancing our view of the connection between culture and the late fifteenth-century society. Studied together, these four volumes and their transmission highlight an amazing network of cultural production, generated by René d'Anjou and Barthélemy d'Eyck within the prince's tight circles, and which sent echoes beyond to people in his ambit.

CHAPTER ONE: TRANSLATION AND VISUALISATION OF TEXTS AT THE COURT OF ANJOU-PROVENCE

Before we immerse ourselves in our four case studies, Chapter One introduces the unique characteristics of this court under the guidance of King René d'Anjou, within the constellation of the Early Renaissance courts of France. This chapter explains Boccaccio's, then Christine de Pizan's influence on the court of Anjou-Provence, as intermediaries between classical literature and the courtly culture that was developing at court through textual and visual translations, such as the LDTH. Although the king's and queen's stay in Naples was short (1435–1442), I suggest that the social networks Isabelle de Lorraine, then René d'Anjou, developed in Naples and Italy help us understand the regeneration of René's continuously enriched, cultural politics.

Italo-French Cultural Connections

René's fascination with Italy and the Kingdom of Sicily was nothing new in his family. However, his erudition and true passion for art facilitated his encounter with artists and thinkers who in turn fashioned the rediscovery of antiquity and Italian humanism that inspired beauty and elegance in behaviour.⁶⁴ Among the various cross-continental friendships that built René's and Isabelle's social networks, that with the Venetian Jacopo Antonio Marcello, a familiar of the Paduan humanists, painters and illuminators, would hold the place of honour, as his membership in René's chivalric *Ordre du Croissant* suggests.⁶⁵ Over the years, Marcello provided René, Isabelle and one

⁶⁴ Rowland, 'High Culture', 331.

⁶⁵ Florence Bouchet, 'Les arts et les lettres en Provence au temps du roi René', *Perspectives médiévales* 36 (19 June 2016), <https://journals.openedition.org/peme/7556>, § 3–4. As a senator of the Republic of Venice, Marcello acted as a diplomat and cultural contact between France and Italy. His supportive role in

of René's courtiers, Giovanni Cossa, with a number of luxurious gifts of manuscripts, a map of the world and a new card game, all representative of the latest and best Italian artistic and intellectual creations.⁶⁶

René also maintained a friendship with the Doge of Genoa, Tomaso de Campofregoso, who had been a supporter of his father: they corresponded with each other in humanistic Latin.⁶⁷ The prince also established relationships with humanist Francesco Filelfo, whose son Gian Mario later obtained a position as a judge in Marseille. René tried to attract Lorenzo Valla to his court in Provence, just after René left Italy. Although these humanists remained loyal to the Aragonese in Naples, they retained an epistolary connection with the Angevin prince. René additionally cultivated the friendship and political support of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and of the Florentines, Cosimo de' Medici and the banker Jacopo de' Pazzi.⁶⁸ It is during René's

Isabelle's social network is further explained in Chapter Two, 29. René's later gratitude to the Venetian is discussed in Chapter Three, 39.

⁶⁶ Jacques Monfrin, *Études de Philologie Romane* (Genève: Libr. Droz, 2001), 842–43 and Maxence Hermant and Gennaro Toscano, 'Les manuscrits de la Renaissance italienne: modèles et sources d'inspiration pour les enlumineurs français', in *La France et l'Europe autour de 1500: croisements et échanges artistiques*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Thierry Crépin-Leblond, and Élisabeth Delahaye, Rencontres de l'École du Louvre, XXVIIes (Colloque la France et l'Europe autour de 1500: croisements et échanges artistiques, Paris: École du Louvre, 2015), 107–28 (107–110). The gifts included: the *mappamundi* from the Florentine Onofrio Strozzi; Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* (BnF ms. lat. 17542); Petrarch's *Itinerarium*; the Greek text of John Chrysostom's *Homilies* with a Latin translation; Quintilian's book on rhetoric found by Poggio Bracciolini; Pomponio Leto's *De arte grammatica* and Guarino Veronese's first Latin translation of Strabo's *Geographia* (Albi ms. fr. 77). The *Passio Mauricii et sociorum ejus* [*Passion de saint Maurice et de ses compagnons*] preserved in Arsenal, ms. 940, a gift to Giovanni Cossa and Martiano de Sancto Alosio's *Tractatus de deificatione sexdecim Heroum*, conserved as BnF ms. lat. 8745, with Michelino da Besozzo's card game offered to Isabelle de Lorraine, are not mentioned by Monfrin.

⁶⁷ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman*, Vol. 1, 341.

⁶⁸ Mark Evans, 'The Coat of Arms of René of Anjou, by Luca Della Robbia, about 1466-78', The V&A Masterpieces Series (blog), 2006, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/the-coat-of-arms-of-rene-of-anjou/>. This over 1000kg ceramic roundel, boasting René's and Jeanne de Laval's emblems now conserved as VAM 6740:1 to 15-1860 [fig. 1], was created to adorn the Pazzis' family villa in Montughi. De' Pazzi's nephew who was born during this period, was named after René. A copy of the roundel adorned René's palace in Aix-en-Provence. A drawing of this second relief, made for Roger de Gaignières' collections in

stay in the Tuscan capital that he met the humanists Poggio Bracciolini, Ambrogio Traversari, Leon Battista Alberti and cardinal Basilius Bessarion, during the ecumenical Council held in Florence.⁶⁹ This brief survey of people and connections indicate that René was actively constructing a wide-ranging social network, matching the collections and diplomatic entanglements of his uncle Jean de Berry.⁷⁰ These networks included the elite of prominent Italian courts who exhibited similar cultural affinities and were enticed into the Angevin-Provençal circle through René’s chivalric order or more pragmatic means such as a position in his administration.

Examining how material culture was circulating along trade routes during the medieval period, constructing social and political networks, Finbarr Barry Flood developed a theory of “transculturation” that encompasses objects and *things*, which might not be traditionally grouped with textual translations, and extends to Asia and the Middle East.⁷¹ They include modes of dress and ritual practices, but also coins, monumental architecture and books. Flood states that material objects, such as René’s medals, and the people who created and used them (possibly altering them), partook in a productive system similar to texts undergoing translation. Artisans and objects, too, crossed cultural boundaries and these “transcultural” exchanges based on trade, culture, and identity shaping can help art historians understand medieval cosmopolitanism,

1727, is conserved as BnF RESERVE Pc-18-Fol. An additional eighteenth-century engraving shows how it was exhibited over the restored entrance of the palace, which was destroyed in 1786.

⁶⁹ Bianciotto, ‘Passion du livre’, 88.

⁷⁰ Mark Cruse, “Pleasure in Foreign Things”: Global Entanglement in the *Livre des merveilles du monde* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 2810), *Mediaevalia* 41, no. 1 (2020): 217–44 (220 & 228).

⁷¹ Finbarr Barry Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval ‘Hindu-Muslim’ Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 9.

exoticism, and iconoclasm, similarly in western and eastern art.

Flood's ideas are useful for the present fit; they match my framework of translation theory as applied here to medieval translation and visualisation of texts at the court of Anjou-Provence when considering these books are equally transportable, material depositories of various cultures. Marcello's gifts, travelling from Padua and Venice to Provence, provide examples of the routes by which objects, exchanged for intellectual and artistic benefits, entertainment or simply friendship, circulated between Italy and France. René's independent territory of Provence could be considered as the gate that allowed the flow of goods from the Mediterranean region beyond to North-Western Europe, using the Rhône Valley as the main conduit. The Angevin-Provençal state also included René's Lorraine territory that commanded access to the Holy Roman Empire and Anjou, a rich apanage that ensured him beneficial political and cultural connections with the Kingdom of France, through the Loire Valley. Anjou-Provence held a particularly prominent geographical access to these trade routes, which facilitated exchanges.⁷²

It is not surprising, then, that Boccaccio was the chosen author of two works translated into French in the Angevin-Provençal milieu.⁷³ Both reveal the court's primary issues, namely, gender relations and how emotions contribute to redefining late fifteenth-

⁷² Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, vol. 1, 479–83; Matz and Verry, eds., *Le roi René*, 90. A treaty was signed in December 1478 between the King of Sicily and the Marquisate of Saluzzo, with the approval of the King of France, to allow the project of a tunnel under Mount Viso to facilitate the transit of merchandise from Provence and Dauphiné to Italy and from Piedmont and Lombardy to France. This tunnel measured seventy-two meters long and was initiated by René's father Louis II. It is still used today.

⁷³ They include Louis de Beauvau's *Roman de Troyle* (hereafter abbreviated as RDT, 1444–1455), a translation of Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, and the anonymous LDTH. The Beauvau family was attached to the Anjou dynasty for generations and its members held key positions in Angevin administration and clergy. Louis became seneschal of Anjou, then grand seneschal of Provence.

century masculinity and femininity. These ideas that we perceive as being in constant debate among nobles at René's court impact on literary production, with authors, texts and images influencing each other.

A first wave of translations from Latin of Boccaccio's works appeared in France in the early years of the fifteenth century from the humanist poet Laurent de Premierfait (c. 1370?–1418), a clerk working in Paris, in the circle of humanists Jean Muret, Giovanni Moccia, Nicolas de Clamanges, Jean de Montreuil and the Col brothers. These translations included Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* (1400 and 1409) and the *Decameron* (1411–1414), translated with the help of Antonio Neri d'Arezzo, a Franciscan teaching theology at the Université de Paris.⁷⁴ They were followed by the anonymous translation of *De mulieribus claris*.⁷⁵ Premierfait's work as a translator has recently become the focus of a major study by Anne Hedeman;⁷⁶ she demonstrates that intellectuals like Premierfait, jointly with a *libraire* (or bookseller) and artists, guided various translations and used miniatures to replace textual commentaries as visual expressions to translate the past for the fifteenth-century reader/viewer, in visualisation projects of eminent classical Latin texts within his milieu. Hedeman additionally shows how the translations of Laurent de Premierfait and his humanist friends established a thriving Parisian book culture encompassing the Valois and the elite nobles. I submit that

⁷⁴ Carla Bozzolo, 'Manuscrits des traductions françaises (XVe s.) d'œuvres de Boccace dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et des États-Unis', *École pratique des hautes études. 4e section, Sciences historiques et philologiques* 104, no. 1 (1972): 753–60 (756–57).

⁷⁵ François Avril and Florence Callu, *Boccace en France: De l'humanisme à l'érotisme* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1975), 51.

⁷⁶ Anne D. Hedeman, *Visual Translation: Illuminated Manuscripts and the First French Humanists*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2022).

the LDTH is an intrinsic part of this translation and visualisation current extended to the court of Anjou-Provence under the guidance of Jean de Berry's nephew, René d'Anjou.

We also have evidence of translations made from Boccaccio's original texts in the vernacular, which came from literary circles where Italian was known from birth. Such is the case with Christine de Pizan's knowledge of Dante or Charles d'Orléans' access to Italian literature through his mother, the Milanese Valentina Visconti.⁷⁷ The Angevin-Provençal court around René d'Anjou offered not only a particularly educated aristocratic circle but a noble environment in which Italian became the language of administration, stimulating the intellectual curiosity of courtiers during Isabelle's and René's stay in Naples, as well as suggesting the status of Italian as a courtly language of communication. In Chapter Two, I demonstrate how both Boccaccio's translations in the Angevin-Provençal milieu are significant for Early Renaissance French literature. Even though the LDTH is described as a mediocre translation,⁷⁸ its value lies in its exploration of gender, like Boccaccio's narrative, and the visualisation of an ancient world in the *W'* for its fifteenth-century audience, which adds another level of exegesis.

Boccaccio's Text, the French Translation: Gender and Classical Storytelling

Several of Giovanni Boccaccio's early love romances, in which Fiammetta holds the central role, pay tribute to the influential French literature of Robert I d'Anjou's (1277–1343) court and its distinctive culture.⁷⁹ Already a renowned poet in the

⁷⁷ Monfrin, 'Études', 842–46 & 850; Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman*, Vol. 1, 10.

⁷⁸ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 18–20.

⁷⁹ Avril and Callu, *Boccace en France*, 3. Boccaccio's father initially sent him to learn business with the Bardis, the financial company for which he worked in Florence.

vernacular at the court of Naples,⁸⁰ Boccaccio started his TNE just before his return to Florence. Modelled on Virgil's *Aeneid*, with numerous appropriations from Statius' *Thebaid*, it is a voluminous epic poem blended with a romance of close to 10,000 verses in *ottava rima*, written in Italian.⁸¹ The autograph manuscript (BML Cod. Acquisti e doni 525 or *AL*) is deeply reliant on marginal and interlinear commentaries that developed in successive versions, representing the work's evolution over approximately twenty years.⁸² Spaces reserved for illustration suggest Boccaccio's intent to add another level of visual clarification. References are also made to Dante's *Commedia*, a contemporary poem completed in 1320.⁸³ With the TNE, Boccaccio rewrote the Greek legend of Prince Teseo⁸⁴ and the Amazons as equally competitive heroes, emphasising women's autonomy in forging their own society. As a precursor text to *De mulieribus claris* and the *Decameron*, both of which house Boccaccio's tenets on women, the TNE's interest partially lies in Boccaccio's ideological development regarding gender.⁸⁵ We can only surmise that the central role held by the Amazons in Boccaccio's poem and the metamorphosis of the two captive warriors into courtly knights resonated with the debate

⁸⁰ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 7–8. These poems include *Caccia di Diana*, *Il Filocolo* and *Il Filostrato*.

⁸¹ Umberto Bosco, ed., 'Giovanni Boccaccio', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 6 January 2020), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Giovanni-Boccaccio>. In this text, I use "Fiammetta" when referring to Boccaccio's lady love, versus Fiammetta as his literary creation mentioned in René's LDC.

⁸² Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 7. Inserted in the fashion of a medieval copy of a classical epic, these commentaries are necessary to explain rather obscure mythical references. Their scholarly sources would elevate Boccaccio's oeuvre to the level of classical epics.

⁸³ Bianciotto, ed., 1 (FN 8). Modern scholars believe that Boccaccio intended the TNE as an epic poem to fill a gap in Italian literature.

⁸⁴ In this dissertation, I adopt the spelling used in the LDTH for characters and places.

⁸⁵ Carla Freccero, 'From Amazon to Court Lady: Generic Hybridization in Boccaccio's *Teseida*', *Comparative Literature Studies* 32, no. 2 (1995): 226–43 (226). Freccero however notices that the blending of epic poem and romance affects the integrity of the mythical heroes and heroines.

on courtly love animating the court of Anjou-Provence in the late fifteenth century.

Written in part to reconquer his beloved “Fiammetta,” the romance developed in the LDTH is also profoundly endowed with multiple classical references, which reveal Boccaccio’s fascination with the ancient world and his quest for authenticity in reproducing it.⁸⁶ Composed of twelve books, the TNE depicts the confrontation of the two Theban knights Arcita and Palemone, both in love with the Amazon Emilia. Their conflict evolves against the background of the Athenian prince Teseo’s heroic exploits, in a world determined by divine interference. The conflict between the classical world of mythical characters and biographical references causes trouble through the overall narrative. It translates into a constant pull between the pains and joys of love symbolised by the two knights (a sort of subliminal message for “Fiammetta” to decipher) and the grandeur of the epic narrative characterised by Teseo (the heroic ruler) and Emilia (the goddess Diana’s devotee). Emilia, playing the central role of “Fiammetta,” is a complex, young heroine. She possesses all the attributes of an Amazon and, at the same time, the ability to understand the power she has on men as a woman. In a sense, she embodies the political control that allows women to be autonomous while, as a courtly lady, she still retains Diana’s influence on her, contrary to her sister Ipolita.⁸⁷

Boccaccio’s narrative starts with the defeat of the Amazons of Scythia, the subsequent marriage of Teseo with Queen Ipolita, and their journey back to Athens with

⁸⁶ Robert A. Pratt, ‘Chaucer’s Use of the *Teseida*’, *Modern Language Association* 63, no. 3 (1947): 598–621 (600–01). Although Pratt clearly assimilates Fiammetta with the Neapolitan noble woman Maria d’Aquino, King Robert’s illegitimate daughter, with whom Boccaccio had an alleged relationship, there is no historical documentation supporting the claim that she ever existed.

⁸⁷ Pratt, ‘Chaucer’, 600–01; Freccero, ‘From Amazon to Court Lady’, 238. Freccero sees Ipolita’s switch from Queen of Amazonia to court lady as Boccaccio’s unresolved issue regarding gender, in this early text.

Ipolita's sister Emilia. They separate in Thebes. The two women are to continue with their retinue, whereas Teseo battles Creon, the new Theban despot. Teseo is victorious and takes back to Athens Arcita and Palemone, two royal cousins found on the battlefield, as hostages. Book III is a pivotal moment in the narrative, marking the end of the heroic tale and the beginning of the love romance. Spying on Emilia from their prison window, Arcita and Palemone both fall in love with the young Amazon who is making a crown of roses, in the intimacy of her small garden. Their love for her soon has no equal but their jealousy for one another. As time passes, Prince Teseo's friend Peritoo intercedes in favour of Arcita, who shortly thereafter is released from prison. Arcita glances back at the dungeon as his shackles are taken away, overwhelmed with sadness at having to leave the beloved Emilia behind. Not able to bear the separation, he comes back to Athens in disguise, and lives at court under the assumed name of Penteo. Eventually, from his prison, Palemone hears of Arcita's return. He escapes and meets Arcita in a grove where they engage in a battle to death. Teseo and Emilia, hunting in the very same grove on that day, discover the two Thebans. Learning the cause of their disagreement, Teseo orders that they must fight as knights in tourney for Emilia's hand in marriage. He decrees that each has one year to wander the world in order to rally one hundred of the noblest knights to their causes.

One year has passed. The day before the tourney, Arcita, Emilia and Palemone pray to their respective gods, Mars, Diana and Venus, for a favourable outcome. Where Arcita desires the glory of a victory, Palemone wants Emilia's love most of all. True to her faith to Diana—her Amazonian characteristic—Emilia however prays to be given to the suitor who would be the most loyal to her—a courtly quality. The knights meet in the

lists and engage in a raging tourney, of which Arcita comes out the winner without having to kill his cousin. However, Venus sends a fury that scares Arcita's horse, crushing the knight in his fall. Arcita receives the glory of the victory, allowing him a hero's funeral, but is mortally wounded and marries Emilia on his death bed. With this death, Palemone's prayers are also granted, as love wins. He marries Emilia, thus seemingly fulfilling the gods' prophecies.

Following Boccaccio's re-written models of knighthood and powerful women, the influence of Christine de Pizan's LDCD becomes a trusted and contemporary source that intersects with the Angevin-Provençal socio-political portrait of the Early Renaissance woman. In the production of the LDTH, Emilia becomes the central character defining this novel image of femininity. While the text-image analysis of Amazonian women from a number of Christine's manuscripts resonates with *W^l*'s dignified but conflicted young Emilia, I only offer a brief insight into the reception of the author at the time because this is a future study in its own right.

Amazons and Classical Heroines in Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la Cité des dames* (1405)

Much has been written about Christine's LDCD due to the literary wealth it generates. Here, I offer a summary of the gender dialogue occurring during her time because of its probable impact on the LDCD. I wanted to situate Christine's overall concept of femaleness and her vision of the Amazon queen disclosed through textual and visual descriptions as this information sheds light on the interpretation of women's roles that we see in LDTH *W^l*. Furthermore, one of Christine's later compilations, within the female patronage of late fifteenth-century Flanders, offers a pictorial connection with the LDTH *W^l*'s frontispiece, outlining Christine's impact as well as the significance of the

French translation.

Christine held what has been described as an ambiguous position as a writer, firstly because being a woman author placed her at the centre of the anti-feminist discourse of her time. As such, she was not complying with the sex-typed activity reserved to her fellow women writers,⁸⁸ instead hurling herself into the *Querelle de la Rose*. Secondly, Christine was a foreigner in French society. Indeed, from birth she was raised in the Italian culture, immersing herself in French culture only after her father became King Charles V's astrologer.⁸⁹ Although she probably spoke Italian at home,⁹⁰ Christine was writing in her "adoptive" language. In the debate about the *Roman de la Rose*, she showed her scholarly familiarity with the literary canons of both her cultural realities, through her criticism of Jean de Meung. The criterion of utility, the focus of his argument, she maintained was borrowed from Dante, which earned him the epithet of lazy ("qui mieulx peut estre appelee droite oysiveté que oeuvre utile").⁹¹ In the intellectual life of contemporary authors, though, Christine's cultural duality would have made her situation even more marginal. Thirdly, the reason she became a writer further highlights ambiguous social circumstances. At the age of fifteen, she married a court bureaucrat only to be widowed ten years later. As a woman could not hold a remunerated position at court, she was compelled to write poetry to support her three young children

⁸⁸ Albrecht Classen, *The Power of a Woman's Voice in Medieval and Early Modern Literatures: New Approaches to German and European Women Writers and to Violence against Women in Premodern Times* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 27.

⁸⁹ Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority*, 1. The family moved to France when she was four.

⁹⁰ Quilligan, xiv.

⁹¹ Le Brun-Gouanvic, 'Christine de Pizan', 64; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre des epistres du debat sus le Rommant de la rose*, ed. Andrea Valentini (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014), 156.

and her mother, and to defend her rights in court. Nor could she rely on influential male family members, her father having died shortly before her husband. Therefore, without any social models available to her, Christine became “the first professional woman of letters,” choosing to turn her “unique alienness”⁹² as a foreign professional woman into her new-found identity.⁹³

Naming her “a singularly proto-modern woman,”⁹⁴ Renaissance literature professor Maureen Quilligan explains how Christine de Pizan successfully constructed her authority as a woman writer through a series of works addressing women of various social spheres, in the LDCD. As a scholar recently experiencing the *Querelle de la Rose*, Christine had learnt that to gain authority as a writer one had to adhere to, or in her case to perfect, a literary canon that was structured by male writers with a misogynistic view of the world. Additionally, her association, as a woman author, with a powerful female patron (namely, Queen Isabeau) and the support of influential male writers such as Jean Gerson, chancellor of the Université de Paris, proved to be essential.⁹⁵ She was convinced that women lacked the education necessary to defend themselves against the anti-feminist image that their religion and society cultivated. In the LDCD, Christine employs the power of allegories, a familiar literary and visual tool in medieval literature, to deconstruct this accepted image and to rebuild a pro-feminist ideal woman. She therefore

⁹² Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority*, 1–3.

⁹³ McGrady, *The Writer’s Gift or the Patron’s Pleasure?*, 177–250. Although the scope of this dissertation does not include an in-depth examination of Christine’s literary life, it is important to note that her efforts to establish herself as an author (like other male writers, in late medieval France) depended also on the dynamics between herself and her patrons.

⁹⁴ Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority*, 1. On the development of the theory of authorship during the late medieval period, see Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*.

⁹⁵ Classen, *The Power of a Woman’s Voice*, 20–21.

provided her female audience with a system based on memory to insure the perpetuation of her ideal model.⁹⁶

Taking part in her own dream vision as an active protagonist allowed Christine to develop an unprecedented female authorial persona while encouraging a true philosophical discourse. By controlling the illustration cycle with the recurring image of her avatar, she further built a pictorial version of her persona that is still recognisable to this day by both men and women.⁹⁷ Most importantly, Christine revised a traditional literary model chosen by male writers, “presenting portraits of women which were very different from their male-authored originals,”⁹⁸ therefore, creating her own place in the list of *auctores* and becoming an authority herself. Infiltrating the very bastion of masculinity that was trying to reject her and employing their accepted learned model in addition to her actual female experience, Christine attempted to shift the perception that the Latin Christian world had of femininity, while becoming a model for women writers of the future.

To change the pervasive image of women’s fickle nature, which conditioned women themselves, in the LDCD Christine de Pizan first had to educate them about the source of this social misrepresentation, and then to re-establish the historical reality with examples. Christine’s feminine utopia is organised as a dream vision in which Christine, the protagonist and pupil, is visited by three virtues: *Raison*, *Droiture* and *Justice* (or

⁹⁶ McCormick, ‘Building the Ideal City’, 149.

⁹⁷ Susan Groag Bell, ‘Christine de Pizan in Her Study’, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 10 June 2008, <http://journals.openedition.org/crm/3212>, § 4. Her symbolic blue dress and double-horned headgear act like the stamp guaranteeing her work.

⁹⁸ Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority*, 5–6.

Reason, Rectitude and Justice). Acting as a naive inquirer, she questions men's disparaging image of women and women's history. She then engages in an intellectual dialogue instead of an exposé on worthy women. Each virtue in turn answers in her specific fashion, highlighting three important lessons of Christine's credo, "to be more critical of such misogynist beliefs, to value her own experiences and to reject the idea that the ancient 'authorities' could never be wrong."⁹⁹ Lastly, scholars are aware that Christine wished to ensure the longevity of the work as well as control the various textual copies, as evidenced in her oversight of the three miniatures of the LDCD's illustration cycle and its reproductions.¹⁰⁰

Rewriting Giovanni Boccaccio's interpretation of women's history, in Part I of the LDCD, Christine portrays a number of traditional women leaders, intellectuals and scientific scholars to celebrate their contributions in areas and behaviours sex-typed as masculine, rather than to emphasise their female particularities like her predecessor.¹⁰¹ As builders and heads of state, but also warriors protecting their people without the help of men, Amazons were a natural model for the author's New Kingdom of Femininity ("nouvel royaume de Femenie").¹⁰² A certain classical ascetism would have agreed nicely with her Christian beliefs, as chastity was these women's source of strength. The last of

⁹⁹ Dufresne, *Illustrations of Christine de Pizan*, 57.

¹⁰⁰ Dufresne, 106. Despite her supervision, posthumous miniatures did not always adhere to Christine's earlier visual requirements, possibly due to artists' unfamiliarity with her revisionist nature of the text or concepts. The number of illustrations vary, as did their content, in later manuscripts, depending also on patrons.

¹⁰¹ Dufresne, 105. Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* was the first collection of exclusively female historical and mythical biographies in western literature.

¹⁰² McCormick, 'Building the Ideal City', 162; Dufresne, 107. Distancing themselves from the bondage of love and childbearing helped Amazons rise above domesticity to practice intellectual activities, much like Christine in widowhood. All translations from the LDCD are found in Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, ed. and trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards, 1st ed (New York: Persea Books, 1982), 117.

them, Queen Penthesilea [fig. 2] is depicted among her warriors in Christine's *L'Épître Othéa* in a manuscript compiling her oeuvre, including the LDCD (BL Harley ms. 4431). Since this manuscript was produced during Christine's time, we can reasonably assume that this is how the author wanted Amazons to be visually depicted. The queen is wearing a crown and her long blond hair is not braided, as a sign of her maidenhood.¹⁰³ The typical Amazonian heraldic emblem of the three-queen busts with *fleur-de-lys* crowns decorates her shield and horse cover, on the same blue background.¹⁰⁴ All warriors wear full armour and ride astride, as horsemen, a position which seems to have caused difficulties for the artist, since their legs are hidden and the women look as if they sit uncomfortably in their saddles.¹⁰⁵ Covering their plate armour are long surcoats of rich textiles.¹⁰⁶ Penthesilea's surcoat, slit on the side, is in a rich, brilliant blue with gold patterns recurring in horizontal bands. Her horse's head is adorned with a fan of white feathers. The Amazons are not engaging in combat; instead, they are proceeding in tight rows, under their flying banners, on their way to join the Trojan army. Christine's corresponding text gives more reverence to Penthesilea's allegiance to Hector as an equal

¹⁰³ Dufresne, *Illustrations of Christine de Pizan*, 109. According to the legend, Penthesilea remained a virgin until death, a quality afforded to only a few non-Amazon warriors that gave them a sort of "secular sanctity." The idea of virginity within marriage was also promoted by Franciscans, as we see in the narrative of Jeanne-Marie de Maillé in Chapter Three. Brigitte Buettner, *Boccaccio's Des cleres et nobles femmes: Systems of Signification in an Illuminated Manuscript* (Seattle: Published by College Art Association in association with University of Washington Press, 1996), 63. Buettner also indicates that unbraided and uncovered hair can be the sign of physical or moral distress, which could be read as such in the next illustration.

¹⁰⁴ Dufresne, *Illustrations of Christine de Pizan*, 109.

¹⁰⁵ The Amazons seem to be standing in their stirrups, but the depiction of the saddles prevents any mistaken perception here.

¹⁰⁶ Dufresne, *Illustrations of Christine de Pizan*, 109–10. The plate armour first appeared in the fifteenth century. Men who usually wore long, then short surcoats over the previous suit of mail, progressively stopped wearing them with this new style of armour.

than Boccaccio's interpretation.¹⁰⁷ However, this depiction of the queen and her troops is said to have been inspired by a previous image in an early French translation of Boccaccio's *De mulieribus Claris* (BnF ms. fr. 12420 f. 46r) [fig. 3].¹⁰⁸

A later richly illuminated copy of Christine's LDCD (KBR ms. 9235 c. 1470–1475), commissioned by Walburge van Meurs, boasts a larger illustration cycle, displaying “the most exciting miniatures of amazons ever created for this book.”¹⁰⁹ The miniature on f. 24v [fig. 4] depicts Menalippe and Hippolyta in a three-fold episode of the battle that opposed them to the Greek heroes Hercules and Theseus, the same battle that illustrates the LDTH *W^l*'s frontispiece [fig. 5]. The text corresponding to fig. 4 describes them as “two valiant maidens of supreme strength and valour, bold and brave over all others [...] both close relatives of the Queen [Orithyia].”¹¹⁰ Their courage is celebrated thus: “regardless of the great strength, boldness and courage of these men, so forcefully did these maidens attack them that each maiden struck down her knight, horse and all, in one heap.”¹¹¹ Looking at Jacquemart Pilavaine's miniature, the viewer encounters a continuous narrative in which a series of engagements and the battle's outcome are displayed. It unfolds along a sinuous path that curves around a central rock, from the left bottom corner to the background where the Greek fleet is docked. All

¹⁰⁷ Dufresne, 109.

¹⁰⁸ Dufresne, 110; Buettner, *Boccaccio's Des cleres et nobles femmes*, viii.

¹⁰⁹ Dufresne, *Illustrations of Christine de Pizan*, 110. Walburge van Meurs was married to Willem van Egmont (1412–1483), member of Marie de Bourgogne's council (1477) and member of *Ordre de la Toison d'or* (Burgundy's Order of the Golden Fleece). KBR ms. 9235 has been attributed to the workshop of Jacquemart Pilavaine who worked for the Duke of Burgundy. The manuscript was later owned by the bibliophile Louise d'Albret (1460–1494), then by Marguerite d'Autriche (1480–1530), daughter of Marie de Bourgogne.

¹¹⁰ Cited in Dufresne, 111; Pizan, *The Book*, 45.

¹¹¹ Cited in Dufresne, 111; Pizan, *The Book*, 46.

warriors wear plate armour and are courageously engaged in battle. On the right of each battle scene, the Amazons are recognisable by their short rose-coloured surcoats, sheer skirts, and feathered helmets.

The foreground pictures the initial dashing victory of Menalippe and Hippolyta. In this chivalric joust, the Amazons are barrelling lance down onto their opponents, in a parallel attack. Jousting followed strict chivalric rituals and was considered a most courteous exercise. To paint the Amazons participating in such an encounter suggests their adherence to the same values of honour, lineage, and justice that the activity entailed for knights. In the text, they are as courageous and strong as their male adversaries. This illustration completes the portrait by implying that they are just as civilised as the Greek heroes. Whereas in reality women's participation in *pas d'armes* was restricted to the scaffoldings, in this miniature, the entire largest vignette is dedicated to the Amazons in the thick of the scuffle, as the winners.¹¹²

The next encounter is pictured in the right middle-ground section. The four have dismounted and are now engaged in a sword fight, on foot. Although the victory is uncertain, the following scene, in the background, reveals the consequences. Menalippe and Hippolyta, their long blond hair loose on their backs, are riding side by side, under the guard of the two knights (namely, Hercules and Theseus) who are taking the captives back to the Greek ship. In the face of the evidence, Christine's text only focuses on the knights' great honour in capturing these two brave warriors.¹¹³ The artist's strategy is equally revealing. The scene representing the Amazons' defeat occupies a small section

¹¹² Dufresne, *Illustrations of Christine de Pizan*, 112.

¹¹³ Dufresne, 112.

of the left background, where the main actors are minuscule, thus more difficult to recognise, whereas the initial fight where the female warriors prevailed is the focus of the illustration. Although this manuscript was produced some forty years after Christine's death, it is possible that the illuminator carefully followed the author's precious instructions distilled in the text to honour these women. We might also speculate that it was the choice of the manuscript's female patron, revealing concerns about women's role at the court of Burgundy-Habsburg similar as those debated at the court of Anjou-Provence, only some twenty years later. The impact of female patronage we see in fig. 4 will be useful in forming a hypothesis regarding the patron of the LDTH *W^l*.

The Amazons proved to be the only example of matriarchal society where the queen assumed full governing power. Exceptional warriors, these women follow a practice of chastity, which gives them their strength, that also forces them to be expatriated to procreate and survive. We have seen in the LDTH's narrative how Teseo takes Queen Ipolita (the same as the above Hippolyta) and her young sister Emilia back to Thebes after the battle. The illustrations on KBR ms. 9235 f. 24v [fig. 4] and on the LDTH *W^l* ffs. 18v-19r [fig. 5] exhibit very different visualisations of the same event, as we shall see in Chapter Two. However, this intertextual and "inter-pictorial" connection between Christine's LDCD and the LDTH *W^l* substantiates the significance of the French translation when read through the dialogue they create around the image of the Amazon queen.

Equally, the transformation of both male and female antique warriors into Early Renaissance courtly nobles is expressed in the LDTH through a series of emotions, which build various communities. This worldmaking technique used by René in his own literary

projects especially impacts on his LDT, further analysed in Chapter Three, and how he will ultimately develop his masculine community. As emotions emerge from the historical realities of dangerous times, religion had a crucial role to play in remediating the consequences of adversity, emphasizing the various stages of life, and preparing for death. In René's life, the affective piety, preached by the Franciscans, reflected dynastic as well as local affinities and is further expressed through his own literary production. As we shall see in Chapters Four and Five, René's particular brand of spirituality contributed to the Angevin-Provençal discourse on love through a devotional treatise that addressed a larger audience of less educated courtiers, and the shaping of his concept of true nobility as the conclusion of his romance quest.

The common thread that we see in the four case studies tying all of René d'Anjou's ideas and issues is their illumination, made possible through the close collaboration of patron and major artist, Barthélemy d'Eyck. It seems that during the decade between approximately 1460 and 1470, Angers had become the centre of an intense cultural activity that would eventually produce our four illustrated volumes, the texts of which would be visualised directly by René's friend and associate or largely visually prepared by him. These books would not have been as successful, had it not been for Barthélemy's clear understanding of René's ideas.

Translation and Visualisation of Texts at the Court of Anjou-Provence

My first case study treats the first translation into French of Boccaccio's TNE. Using translation theory applied to medieval translation helps art historians interpret texts, such as the TNE, uncovering the many layers of meaning added overtime by various translators working in diverse contexts. The text on medieval civilisation *par*

excellence, Marco Polo's *Devisement du monde*,¹¹⁴ is a perfect example of this process. It appears in a large number of compilations, in many different versions over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹¹⁵ As a translation, the LDTH produced within the court of Anjou-Provence, in my view, belongs to this translational *mouvance*, the production of variations due to re-writing or textual worldmaking—and, as Mark Cruse suggests in his study of Marco Polo illustrations, this quality of fluidity and movement can extend to the visualization process. This re-evaluation of successive interpretations of the TNE's text and image explains its distance from the original Greek legend or even from Boccaccio's revised notion of gender relations, giving us a sense of René's court's understanding of the same issue. If the court of Anjou-Provence was shaping innovative societal concepts, compared to other contemporary French provincial courts, we see that the means through which these concepts were expressed were part of a long tradition within book history.

Furthermore, McGrady guides us towards considering another aspect of late medieval royal patronage, namely, the patron's delight in commissioning luxury manuscripts for their lay libraries, sharing knowledge within an intellectual community as a means of strengthening their cultural power and identity. Although the LDTH patron is becoming better understood in recent scholarship, enough information is available to assume that he/she is to be found within the close circle around King René.¹¹⁶ This realisation locates Boccaccio's translation within the sort of patronage, knowledge

¹¹⁴ Cruse, 'Romancing the Orient', 235–37. Cruse's focus is Bodleian 264.

¹¹⁵ Gaunt, *Marco Polo*, 2. From the hybrid form of French it was first written into, the text was quickly translated into a number of European languages and copied into its many versions in more than 140 manuscripts.

¹¹⁶ The fact that Barthélemy was the primary artist for this literary project is one of the most significant clues.

contribution and erudite society that McGrady describes with King Charles V.

Most importantly, as an art historian, I have focused my dissertation primarily on the visual expression that shapes these texts and how it influences their interpretation. Considering my first case study, Hedeman's most recent publication reiterates König's affirmation that the early French translations of the Italian humanists inspired a more refined quality of illustration.¹¹⁷ Building on the work of Claire Sherman and Richard and Mary Rouse, her study concerns multiple projects of French humanists in the Parisian circle of Laurent de Premierfait and Jean Lebègue at the start of the fifteenth century, and the tradition and culture around classic, humanist texts in Latin. These translators understood how images could shape the interpretation and accessibility of translations for their contemporary audience, especially when translations were distant from source texts. Outlining the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century contexts for textual and visual translation among early French humanist circles, Hedeman notes that we see how artists possessed:

[the] ability to visually translate texts originating in a culture removed in time or geography for medieval readers who sought to understand them... [we can also study] ... both shared and individual approaches to visualizing humanist texts.¹¹⁸

She remarks on the need to study these manuscripts' elaborate illustration cycles as an intrinsic component of these translations produced in a centre—Paris—where there was an established artistic production and consumption, of which Christine de Pizan is a striking example. It is interesting to note that a c. 1460 manuscript of Laurent de

¹¹⁷ König, 'Boccace, *La Théséide*, 268. "Il fallut, y compris dans le cas du *Décameron*, la traduction française pour inspirer une illustration plus soignée que quelques dessins à la plume" ("the inspiration for a more refined illustration than a few pen and ink drawings came from translations into French, including for the *Decameron*").

¹¹⁸ Hedeman, *Visual Translation*, 12–13.

Premierfait's *Livre des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* was illustrated by the Maître du Boccace de Genève, the second artist working with Barthélemy on the LDTH *W^l*.

It is my belief that the LDTH *W^l* fits within this translation trend that associated classical humanist texts with the Parisian elite society, among them Jean de Berry as the recipient of many of these works.¹¹⁹ If the Angevin-Provençal translators might have experienced more familiarity and comprehension with Boccaccio's vernacular literature because of their knowledge of the Italian language, the variation in style between Louis de Beauvau's *Roman de Troyle* (RDT) and the anonymous LDTH *W^l* still highlights the cultural gap that the latter translator encountered because of his lack of knowledge. It is revealing, however, to see that the extant manuscripts of Beauvau's RDT are usually visually limited to one or two grisaille illustrations at best, except for BnF ms. fr. 25528 and the later production of Bodleian Douce ms. 331, both boasting a complete illustration cycle.¹²⁰ Can we surmise that Beauvau's deep knowledge of Boccaccio's literary works and his talent as a poet provided a translation that was understandable to an audience who was already familiar with Italian culture? The less experienced anonymous translator of Boccaccio's TNE in the LDTH *W^l* seems to require a further level of clarification and follows nonetheless the trend of textual and visual translation described half a century

¹¹⁹ Anne D. Hedeman, 'Laurent de Premierfait and the Visualization of Antiquity', in *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011), 27–50. Hedeman highlights the role of Martin Gouge, the duke's *trésorier général*, as the donor of several books—in particular Terence's *Comedies* in which Laurent de Premierfait designed such a precise visualisation—as *étrennes* to Jean.

¹²⁰ BnF ms. fr. 25528 has one of its grisaille illustrations in common with the LDTH *W^l*. The production of Bodleian Douce ms. 331 dates to 1475–1500. Its colourful and detailed half-page illustrations follow a more traditional text-image layout than the LDTH *W^l*.

earlier by Hedeman.¹²¹ This visualisation of the text is demonstrated in the location of the miniatures, their hybridity and polysemy, outlining the significance of the Barthélemy d'Eyck's artistic collaboration and of the Anjou-Provence's literary production. In Chapter Two, we will see how the Angevin-Provençal patron, working closely with Barthélemy, devised an innovative illustration cycle; we have some indications of a possible female patron.

¹²¹ Hedeman, 'Laurent de Premierfait', 30. The *W'*'s illustration programme is very similar to the visual framework that Premierfait devised in Terence's *Comedies*. Moreover, Hedeman's analysis of the characterisation of the plays' figures through dress is recognisable in the *W'* to a lesser degree.

CHAPTER TWO: “DAMES AMACZON”

THE POWER OF CULTURAL TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS ACROSS EUROPE

Chapter Two examines the *Livre de Thezeo* (LDTH, c. 1457), the first translation into French of Giovanni Boccaccio’s (1313–1375) *Teseida delle Nozze d’Emilia* (TNE, c. 1340), produced within the Angevin-Provençal milieu. Over a century after the production of the TNE, the innovative miniature cycle of the LDTH’s single illustrated manuscript copy—*La Théséide* (or LDTH *W*¹)—visualizes Boccaccio’s vision of women and of their socio-political role. I propose that, in effect, this extant manuscript highlights the court of Anjou-Provence’s women culture as part of concerns about aristocratic identity during the late fifteenth century. My examination of the LDTH in Chapter Two establishes the foundation of King René’s particular brand of identity fashioning for the court of Anjou-Provence. I argue that, as part of this cultural project, René’s vision of women’s role in society evidenced in the LDTH is inspired by Isabelle de Lorraine’s political presence and reflects the contemporary literature on women. Chapter Two ends with my proposition of Jeanne de Laval, René’s second wife, as a possible patron for the LDTH *W*¹.

A theoretical framework, encompassing the complex combination of translation theory and emotions theory, is applied. As we saw in Chapter One, the use of translation theory helps understanding how, during the medieval period, original ancient texts (and oral legends) have adapted, textually and visually, to various contexts over time and space and reappear through Europe in many compilations. Ultimately it emphasises the power of the transmission of texts as cultural objects across Europe during the period. My

employment of an additional theoretical lens, that of emotions theory, provides the scope for evidencing women's social groups and how these communities defined by similar emotions morph with socio-political and geographical shifting circumstances. Both images and text in the LDTH *W*¹ are especially suitable to the use of emotions theory through the analysis of vocabulary and of the artist's ability to depict gestural and physiognomic details. With this framework, I create a model for the continuing exploration of gender roles in Chapter Three, which examines the emotional lives of both sexes.

Part A surveys the scholarship on the *Livre de Thezeo* and its illustrated copy, and establishes the theoretical framework. Part B encompasses the iconographic analysis. Part C examines the archetype for the role of noble women at court that is envisioned in this book. My comparative study comprises the contemporary literature of Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la Cité des dames*, as set out in Chapter One. I examine how the text might inform the history of governance of the Queens of Jerusalem and Sicily, focusing on Isabelle de Lorraine.

PART A: BOOK HISTORY:

LE LIVRE DE THEZEO AND LA THÉSÉÏDE

The LDTH was produced around the middle of the fifteenth century, within the Angevin-Provençal court.¹²² *La Théséïde* is the title given to two specific manuscript copies of this translation (ÖNB Cod. 2617 or *W*¹ and Cod. 2632 or *W*²). This section provides a summary of the scholarship on the LDTH. Then I present the theoretical

¹²² See the Appendix for a historical summary and brief codicological analysis of each extant manuscripts.

framework I intend to use to interpret this text, which belongs to the French translation movement before 1500.

Like its source, the LDTH is a medieval romance grafted onto an epic. However, here, an equal measure of love and chivalry has replaced the “confrontation of the mythical heroes of Greek legends in a world visited by the gods,”¹²³ especially in the illustration cycle. This hybridity has been explained by the gap in time between the Italian lengthy poem (and its classical source) and its translation a century later.

Contemporaneous with René’s *Livre du Cœur d’amour épris* (LDC), the production of the LDTH and its location uphold this close connection with René d’Anjou. Numerous factors point to the Angevin-Provençal court: the presence of volumes in original languages in the prince’s library and his knowledge of *Trecento* authors in vernacular Italian; René’s and his courtiers’ mastery of the Italian language, this being a translation from its original vernacular;¹²⁴ and the illumination of LDTH *W^l* (c. 1460–c. 1470) by Barthélemy d’Eyck and the Maître du Boccace de Genève,¹²⁵ both painters of René d’Anjou. All of these factors confirm that *W^l* (a manuscript created during the same period as the LDTH) was produced at the court of Anjou-Provence.¹²⁶ Finally, the slightly earlier translation of Boccaccio’s *Il Filostrato* (c. 1338) by Louis de Beauvau, entitled the *Roman de Troyle* (RDT, 1444–1455), would establish a pattern of reception of Italian

¹²³ “l’affrontement de héros mythiques des légendes grecques dans un monde fréquenté par les dieux.” Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 7. This dissertation owes much to this recent critical edition. All English and German translations (other than of the primary sources) by author unless otherwise mentioned.

¹²⁴ Bianciotto, ed., 18. The quasi-absence of dialectal forms of French in this translation further suggests René’s court as the location for the work.

¹²⁵ Hereafter referred to as the Maître du Boccace.

¹²⁶ Bianciotto, ed., 17–18.

humanist literature at René's court.

In the search for the translator, it has been said that Louis de Beauvau is the LDTH's translator, but this hypothesis has now been ruled out in favour of an anonymous translator.¹²⁷ Unlike that of Beauvau's RDT, the prologue in the LDTH *W^l* does not offer conclusive data on its translator, and the attribution of this text remains uncertain.

Similarly, the manuscript's patron is not revealed. In the biographical section of the prologue, the translator addresses a lady, and this address is repeated in the epilogue. The use of the term "mademoiselle" suggests that she is this work's young and most beautiful patroness in the realm, but it also keeps her name a secret by her own demand ("par la priere qui m'est commandement de vous, qui a mon cuider estes en ce royaume de France (...) le seul comble et l'accomplissement de beauté").¹²⁸ In the following lines, the translator states that he is going to translate from Italian into French a book entitled *Thezeo*, which a Florentine poet long ago made, in the form and manner that follow hereafter ("translater d'ytalien en langaige francoys un liure nommé le *Thezeo*, que jadis fist un florentin poethe, par la forme et manière que cy après s'ensuit").¹²⁹ More discretion could not have been used! Boccaccio is only hinted at, although he must have been known. About himself, the translator says very little directly, but copying Boccaccio, he uses the first person to acknowledge authorship.¹³⁰ Talking about his

¹²⁷ Paul Durrieu, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits français ou d'origine française conservés dans des bibliothèques d'Allemagne', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 53, no. 1 (1892): 115–43 (143); Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman*, Vol. 1, 344–45.

¹²⁸ Hauvette, 'Les plus anciennes traductions', 190–91; Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 411 and 720. The translation into English of the LDTH by author, using Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*, 10 vols (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881), <http://micmap.org/dicfro/search/dictionnaire-godefroy/>.

¹²⁹ Bianciotto, ed., 412.

¹³⁰ Bianciotto, ed., 'Passion du livre', 93.

inexperience in love, he reveals himself thus in the epilogue:

Car ou vray parler, je n'en scay ne esproué ne l'ay fors que par oïr dire,
ainsi que plusieurs a la fois en parloient, lesquels pour vray, moy présent,
racontoient que en amours, sans raison qui soit, mille moult de maulx y
souffroient (For, to speak the truth, I know about it or have experienced or
had it only through hearsay, as many talked about it at times, recounting as
true, in front of me, that in love they suffered a thousand torments without
reason).¹³¹

Rather than a clerk presenting a book to a monarch, the presentation miniature [fig. 6] is the portrait of a young squire, kneeling in front of a *demoiselle*, presenting his noble patroness with his translation. The image corresponds exactly to the immediately following textual description—a young woman commissioned the translation—and not to what is usually said—a clerk would typically have referred to his patron with some type of panegyric. Since the presentation illustration in the TNE *AL* is somewhat similar, it is difficult without more evidence to ascertain that the LDTH *W¹*'s patron is indeed a young aristocratic woman. Although the biographical information, written by the translator and visually represented in the miniature that accompanies the text, could be meant as metaphors, this is a reasonable conclusion. In fact, it is quite similar to a miniature in Louis de Beauvau's RDT (BnF ms. fr. 25528 f. 23v) [fig. 7], also produced at the court of Anjou-Provence. For this reason, it was tempting to attribute the LDTH *W¹* to Louis.¹³² However, it is difficult to imagine Beauvau as a young immature lover at the age of fifty-one.

¹³¹ Eduard Chmelarz, 'Eine Französische Bilderhandschrift von Boccaccio's Theseide', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 14 (Vienna, 1893), 318–28 (324); Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 721.

¹³² Durrieu, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits', 142. Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 33. Pächt notices the similarity in a reversed composition, in the *Roman de Troyle*, which had to be copied from the Maître du Cœur's (Barthélemy d'Eyck's) original. The BnF notice indicates that ms. fr. 25528 was illustrated after Marie de Clèves became a widow (1465), which makes the copy probable.

Further comparison of the two translations regarding style and vocabulary reveals a different author, someone with an inferior vocabulary who provided a literal translation of Boccaccio's TNE.¹³³ The LDTH exhibits additional commentaries for difficult passages and, at times, entirely ignores Boccaccio's commentaries or summarised passages. Mythical or geographical references create the most difficulty for the translator, and he seems to be totally ignorant of the Italian humanist scholarship.¹³⁴ Moreover, his command of the Italian language seems too limited for him to be a member of an Italian family attached to the court of Anjou-Provence, such as Giovanni Cossa.¹³⁵ This observation would confirm the work of a younger and possibly less educated courtier. By contrast, Beauvau's RDT, with its light poetic style, directly inspired by Boccaccio, and its central conversation focused on the analysis of the characters' internal debates, illustrates a refinement through which French literature exhibits its knowledge of *Trecento* literature. Compared to the *Pas d'armes de la bergère* (1449), Beauvau's style as a poet has progressed and now reflects the influence that his increased knowledge of Boccaccio has had over his writing.¹³⁶ Indeed, the RDT certainly mirrors, and possibly models, the literary tastes of René d'Anjou's court, the same quality of prose being

¹³³ Bozzolo, *Manuscrits des traductions françaises*, 34; Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 18–20. Bianciotto's conclusion is slightly more nuanced, given the level of difficulty represented by the integration of Boccaccio's commentaries and the translator's gaps in geographical and classical knowledge.

¹³⁴ Bianciotto, ed., 18.

¹³⁵ Ross Gregory Caldwell, 'Description of the Michelino Deck - Translation of the Original Text from Martiano da Tortona from ca. 1425', Trionfi, 7 September 2020, <http://trionfi.com/martiano-da-tortona-tractatus-de-deificatione-16-heroum>. Giovanni Cossa, Count of Troia (1400?–1476), followed René from Naples and became his seneschal of Provence, where he is buried. He was one of the first members of René's chivalric *Ordre du Croissant* and acted as a diplomat for King René in Italy. He was also an intermediary between Italian dignitaries and the royal couple for art purchases and gifts.

¹³⁶ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman*, Vol. 1, 344. Bianciotto remarks on the similarity of style in the Italian text and the French prologue and epilogue, suggesting that Beauvau had completely assimilated Boccaccio's style by the time he translated *Il Filostrato*.

present in René's LDC. The LDTH *W*^l never reaches this degree of literary achievement. Indeed, the reading has been described as monotonous; the translator remains anonymous to this day.¹³⁷

During the late medieval and early modern periods, this first French translation of Boccaccio's TNE has survived in only four manuscripts and fragments of another, of which only *W*^l was illuminated (c. 1460–c. 1470). It was shortly followed by a summarised versed version during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The next section explores the scholarship on two of these extant manuscript copies of the LDTH.

Manuscripts of the LDTH

The two copies of *La Théséïde* are conserved in Vienna.¹³⁸ One displays an impressive programme of illustrations that was, for a while, associated with another French manuscript, René d'Anjou's LDC, also in the ÖNB.¹³⁹ Comparing the similar material qualities of the LDC and the LDTH *W*^l, Paul Durrieu expressed his doubt that they originated in different workshops.¹⁴⁰ More precisely, Durrieu claims:

The master of the *Cœur d'amour épris* in the Vienna library would be Barthélemy de Clerc, King René's painter and valet, a name known only

¹³⁷ Bozzolo, *Manuscrits des traductions françaises*, 34.

¹³⁸ François Avril, 'Manuscrits à peintures d'origine française à la Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne', *Bulletin monumental* 134, no. 4 (1976): 329–38. In the early twentieth century, Viennese archivists of the ÖNB invented a system of descriptive notices paired with images that would later be more universally adopted and improved, thanks to codicology and art historians' growing attention. Avril describes the task started by Hermann Julius Hermann after WWI and continued by Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, with a specific focus on the late fifteenth century, a particularly productive period for French illuminated volumes now in Vienna.

¹³⁹ Durrieu, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits', 142–43.

¹⁴⁰ Durrieu, 142.

to scholars at this time, but assured to hold a glorious place in French art history in the future.¹⁴¹

Although the reality of this remark would be debated for the most part of the following century, especially by Otto Pächt, the great majority of art historians now agree that Barthélemy d'Éyck was responsible for illuminating both volumes.¹⁴²

Simultaneously, the early French translations of Italian humanists nourished interest among literary scholars. In particular, Boccaccio's early literary work in the vernacular was popular across Europe, if we are to believe the number of extant volumes, both in manuscript and in print. Of the early translations of the TNE in France, two main versions are known in the late medieval and early modern periods. The LDTH, a prose translation, is the earliest, dating between 1457 and 1461, followed by a verse summary composed by Anne Malet de Graille between 1520 and 1524 for Queen Claude de France.¹⁴³ The former was not a well-known text, as only four complete copies and fragments are preserved, with only one exhibiting a complete cycle of illustrations.¹⁴⁴

(For the codicological analysis, please refer to the Appendix).

¹⁴¹ "... le maître du *Cœur d'amour épris* de la Bibliothèque de Vienne serait Barthélemy de Clerc, peintre et valet de chambre du roi René, nom connu aujourd'hui seulement des érudits, mais destiné à prendre à l'avenir une place glorieuse dans l'histoire de l'art français." Durrieu, 142.

¹⁴² Otto Pächt, 'René d'Anjou et les Van Eyck', *Cahiers de l'Association internationale d'études françaises* 8 (1956): 41–67 cited in François Avril, 'Manuscrits à peintures', 336–37. For the more recent scholarship, see Thiébaud, et al., *Primitifs Français*, 123–41; Marie-Thérèse Gousset, 'Le Jardin d'Émilie', *Revue de La Bibliothèque Nationale* 22 (1986): 7–24; Nicole Reynaud, 'Une broderie de l'histoire de saint Martin: Barthélemy d'Éyck et Pierre du Billant?', *Revue du Louvre* 47, no. 4 (1997): 37–50 (47, FN 28). Reynaud demonstrates that Barthélemy de Clerc, a name used by one of René's early biographers, and Barthélemy d'Éyck were the same person and René's favourite painter. While *W*¹'s cycle is complete, *W*² shows only spaces reserved for illustrations.

¹⁴³ Bozzolo, *Manuscrits des traductions françaises*, 33–36. It is preserved in Chantilly ms. 513.

¹⁴⁴ From hereafter, I use Gabriel Bianciotto's naming system. The manuscripts are known respectively as ÖNB Cod. 2617 (*W*¹) and Cod. 2632 (*W*²); Chantilly ms. 601 (previously 905, *C*); Bodleian ms. Douce 329 (*O*) and NAF 934 (*p*).

As we examine medieval translations and ponder over their differences, various factors come to mind by way of explanation for those differences. Proximity to the source material (geography and time); the source language and culture (linguistic ability and cultural encounter); the translator's intervention, and the proliferation of translations of the same work, from oral to written format in different languages, seem to have had a large impact on the final production. But how do we access such data, what do we know of the translator's intent and how do we interpret it within the culture of the Angevin-Provençal court?

Translation Theory: Its Importance for Understanding the LTDH *W*

Traditionally, medievalist scholars have considered medieval translations as the translation of Latin texts by and large, favouring the “transfer of authority and power” as a model. Medieval translators underline the importance of *translatio studii et imperii*, in effect the appropriation of Latin—or Greek—culture by later medieval translators, assuming the source authors' authority.¹⁴⁵ This useful theory evolved, extending this transfer to new vernacular texts in other languages, thus establishing a hierarchy of texts that were ever more removed from their ancient source and culture. Boccaccio's TNE (*AL*) is a perfect example of vernacular literature based on the legend of the Athenian Prince Teseo, the reading of which is made more complicated by interlinear and marginal commentaries added over the years. When such a text is then translated into a different

¹⁴⁵ Campbell and Mills, *Rethinking Medieval Translation*, 10. With the spread of Italian humanism and vernacular literature during the late medieval period, texts were now translated into other languages, such as French, English, and Spanish. Because the Italian humanists were in effect re-discovering antiquity, in some cases through vernacular Italian, their texts had much to do with classical literature, legends and myths. This acquired knowledge, evidenced through an abundance of marginal glosses, was a testimony to the transfer of authority and power.

language while also crossing cultural borders and historical time, and by an inexperienced translator who seems to be ignorant of the geographical and mythical references of the source text, as is the case in the LDTH *W^l*, translation represents more than just a linguistic transfer.

Tackling this complex issue from the more modern angle of interdisciplinary studies, scholars of medieval translation and modern theorists dealing with ethical and political issues have found a productive interface to mediate the “translation’s ability to negotiate cultural and linguistic difference”¹⁴⁶ that acts as a more flexible model. Suggesting that “medieval texts are never truly monolingual,” and that translation is a “pervasive cultural practice and central part of medieval aesthetics,”¹⁴⁷ Campbell’s and Mills’ work testifies to translation’s unavoidable presence in medieval culture because of the literary tradition of compilations and the acquiring of authority and power through the translation model. More than just a site of language conversion in textual form, medieval translation can be perceived as a practice of cultural transformation that additionally concerns material culture. As stated previously in Chapter One, translation visualisation by means of illustration cycles designed to facilitate the interpretation of past cultures for a current elite audience, as demonstrated by the earlier Parisian humanists’ translations of ancient texts, offers another layer of meaning-making in the medieval context.

Examining our translation of Boccaccio’s TNE through the lens of translation

¹⁴⁶ Campbell and Mills, 4.

¹⁴⁷ Campbell and Mills, 11. Using the lens of such theorists as Lawrence Venuti, Jacques Derrida, and Walter Benjamin, the authors reconsider the ethics and politics of translation when applied to medieval contexts of time, space, history, linguistics, cultural borders and points of cultural encounter, and translators’ intervention.

theory gives us a better understanding of the process that led to the production of the LDTH *W*^l. Being the first translation into French of an Italian humanistic text, the LDTH is removed from its classical roots by Boccaccio's own interpretation/translation of what is ultimately a legend, suggesting that he was himself working with a narrative that belonged to both oral and written past cultures. Furthermore, the untraditional layout of Barthélemy's miniatures gain meaning when the LDTH *W*^l is also interpreted within the tradition of Laurent de Premierfait's visualisation of antiquity for a fifteenth-century audience, as we shall see in Part B.

No written evidence exists to explain why Boccaccio's TNE appealed to the LDTH's patron; however, rethinking the translation through the same lens might generate a more subtle understanding. By producing this literal translation, and despite his inexperience, the anonymous translator suggests the patron's interest in the ideas that infuse the source text. These tastes also represent those of the court, under René's influence. Louis de Beauvau's contemporary translation of Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, which is also about love and gender issues, and was produced within the same circle, is a more obvious example of the same process. Additionally, in the LDTH *W*^l we witness a cultural exchange that shifts the focus onto contemporary concerns, this time regarding the literary form and character examination. A deeper analysis of the female role, in addition to the questioning of courtly knighthood, reflects the time, historical and geographical construct of the rising French humanism at the court of Anjou-Provence. What is specific to this court, though, is its reception of the Italian culture under René's guidance.

Since King René was acting in Italy with King Charles VII's complete

understanding and support during both expeditions, the Angevin-Provençal court was perceived as playing a predominant political and intellectual role between France and Italy. Whereas René's and his courtiers' extended knowledge of the Italian language and culture facilitated the otherwise difficult political situation in Naples,¹⁴⁸ the numerous encounters with local artists and thinkers contributed to their cultural development. This situation explains why the first translations into French of romances from their original Italian appeared within the Angevin literary milieu. A renewed interest in these works led to what has been described as the most prosperous time for the Angevin-Provençal court's social and cultural influence,¹⁴⁹ after René's return from the Lombardy expedition of 1452–1453, as France was experiencing a relatively peaceful time. This particular position the court and its ruler occupied was unmatched by any other provincial court at the time, even the court of Blois with Charles' Milanese Visconti connections or the court of Savoie, for disseminating works originally in Italian.¹⁵⁰ We might consider that the openness of the Angevin-Provençal court to Italian culture made it a location propitious to foreign cultural encounter, a notion that is validated in its material culture production.¹⁵¹ Boccaccio and Petrarch appear for the first time in French literature,

¹⁴⁸ See René d'Anjou's brief biography in the Preface. Believing he was Queen Jeanne II's legitimate heir in Naples, Alfonso V of Aragon never ceased his military attacks on the kingdom while René was in Italy. René d'Anjou was made King of Sicily and Jerusalem in 1435 after Jeanne changed her mind about Alfonso, who remained known as King of Naples (r. 1442–1458).

¹⁴⁹ Bianciotto, 'Passion du livre', 94–96.

¹⁵⁰ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman*, Vol. 1, 339.

¹⁵¹ A series of medals produced between 1461 and 1466, sculpted by Pietro da Milano and Francesco Laurana, are a revealing example of René's ability to adapt Italian culture to his ever-innovating vehicles for self-representation. Their distinct capacity to trigger the senses make them exceptional sources of knowledge and marvel, medal cabinets becoming true precursors of cabinet of curiosities. Additionally, they attest to the global networks that linked René and his court to the Mediterranean. On this, see Cruse, "Pleasure in Foreign Things", 217–36.

respectively as the “poete” suffering from love for “Flammete” and the famous Florentine poet (“Petrarque Florentin, poete renomme”),¹⁵² both lying in the renowned poets’ cemetery of René’s LDC. Dante Alighieri is not mentioned in this very select company that includes Ovid and Jean de Meung. Although it has been claimed that only Christine de Pizan knew Dante’s *Commedia* in the early years of the fifteenth century,¹⁵³ the 1471 inventory of René’s castle in Angers indicates a copy in Italian of what is probably Dante’s book.¹⁵⁴ Because of its specific reception of the Italian humanist culture, it could be said that King René’s court was the most Italianate court in France in its time.¹⁵⁵

PART B: THE ILLUSTRATION CYCLE(S)

Part B focuses on the illustrations, and/or their reserved spaces, in the various LDTH manuscripts, and particularly Barthélemy d’Eyck’s contribution in the LDTH *W^l*, to determine how it echoes René’s innovative aesthetics and reflects the Angevin-Provençal cultural identity. The added visual portrait of Emilia in her garden, and the central role the young Amazon plays in images, further guide my proposal of a woman in René’s close circle as *W^l*’s hypothetical patron.

In the catalogue of the 2009 exhibition celebrating the 600th anniversary of René

¹⁵² Monfrin, ‘Études’, 852; Stephanie Viereck Gibbs and Kathryn Karczewska, eds., *The Book of the Love-Smitten Heart by René d’Anjou*, trans. Kathryn Karczewska and Stephanie Viereck Gibbs (New York: Routledge, 2011), 174–175 and 178–179.

¹⁵³ Monfrin, ‘Études’, 849.

¹⁵⁴ “Ung livre en parchemin nommé Dente de Fleurence, escript en lettre ytalienne” (“A book made of parchment entitled *Dente de Fleurence*, written in Italian”). Lecoy de La Marche, *Extraits des comptes*, 261 (item # 642); Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman*, Vol. 1, 341–42.

¹⁵⁵ Robin, *La cour d’Anjou-Provence*, 9. The author compares it to the princely courts of Northern Italy associated to the fate of large families such as the Visconti and Sforza of Milan, the Este of Ferrara, the Gonzaga of Mantua or the De Montefeltro of Urbino.

d'Anjou's birth in Angers, art historian Eberhard König insists on how the French translations of the day stimulated "the inspiration for a more refined illustration than a few pen and ink drawings,"¹⁵⁶ using the popular *Decameron* as an example. Illustrated between c.1460 and c.1470, the LDTH *W^l* is part of this trend, as we see with the presentation miniature [fig. 6]. It is richly coloured and there is a profusion of naturalistic details, not to mention the precision and exquisite technique of the artist. The illustration cycle comprises sixteen miniatures and a large historiated initial. Of the sixteen miniatures, one is continuous on facing folios and four are facing each other on separate folios. Although two artistic styles are distinguishable in the LDTH *W^l*, layout, colours, landscapes, and visual descriptions of court life unify as much as possible the complete illustration cycle. However, noticeable skill differences exist between the two painters.

The layout and the border decoration also vary from those of other French fifteenth-century manuscripts. At the time, the decorative border would generally spread over the margins to cover the space around the miniature, like it does in Chantilly ms. 601 C f. 1r [fig. 8]. A fine example of a similar decoration is also found in the *Hours of the Virgin* f. 25r (PML ms. M358) [fig. 9], commissioned by René d'Anjou and painted by Barthélemy d'Eyck and Enguerrand Quarton around 1445. Here, the border decoration extends to the page limits on all sides of the central miniature.¹⁵⁷ Described as Provençal, these specific acanthus leaves in three colours (blue, red and green) within a myriad of

¹⁵⁶ König, 'Boccace, *La Théséide*', 268.

¹⁵⁷ König, 'La Théséide', 268. On the work of Barthélemy d'Eyck and Enguerrand Quarton in Provence during the period, see François Avril, 'Pour l'enluminure Provençale. Enguerrand Quarton, Peintre de Manuscrits?', *Revue de l'art* 35 (1977): 9–40, and Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peinture*, 227. Avril supports the argument developed by Charles Sterling's and Michel Laclotte's earlier work that the two artists in fact founded a Provençal School, which style was distinguishable from the Avignon School, and that Barthélemy's influence is visible on Quarton's painting rather than the opposite.

small colourful flowers is one element of Barthélemy's distinctive decors. It became a significant factor for the attribution of the LDTH *W^l* and René's LDC to the same artist who decorated the borders of the *Hours of the Virgin*, known at the time to scholarship as the Maître du Cœur.¹⁵⁸ In the LDTH *W^l*, Barthélemy filled the negative space with gold dots/stars and rosettes. The second artist working on the LDTH *W^l*, who was named the Maître de Jouvenel until the 1980s and is now known as the Maître du Boccace de Genève,¹⁵⁹ used the same layout, but his decoration is "painted in a more schematic and flatter manner"¹⁶⁰ and the colours of the acanthus tendrils are limited to blue and bronze-gold. The Provençal flora is replaced by more traditional fruits and plants, such as cornflowers and strawberries.

By comparison, in the LDTH *W^l*, the miniatures cover more than half of the top section of the page, while the bottom is reserved for a few lines of text, starting with a large, decorated initial in a rectangle of gold. Margins are left untouched while the decoration, which is limited to the space just below the miniature, surrounds the text, filling the lower register. This composition will be repeated in René's LDC. Only one illustration diverges slightly from this convention: the historiated initial on f. 17v. [fig. 10]. The large letter "O," decorated with an interior white filigree on a blue background and enhanced by a row of tiny dots circling the inside of the pattern, is centred in the top section of the page, occupying most of the rectangle in gold. In the corners, acanthus leaves, reminiscent of the border decoration, spread out in curls of blue, red and green.

¹⁵⁸ Avril, 'Manuscrits à peintures', 337–338; Reynaud, 'Barthélemy avant 1450', 35.

¹⁵⁹ Henceforth, referred to as the Maître du Boccace.

¹⁶⁰ "viel schematischer und flacher gemalt." Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 33.

Inside the “O” lies the miniature portrait of a man in his *studiolo*, sitting on his Gothic wooden armchair in front of a book-wheel. His right foot, clad in a brown shoe, is resting on the pentagonal pedestal. Three precious volumes stand on the book-wheel. Open in front of him is a manuscript with double columns of text, which he reads, following the text with his right forefinger. He looks like a clerk in his blue robe underneath a pinkish red garb lined in white, with cowl. His scholarly black *calotte* indicates that this small dedicatory portrait is of Boccaccio in his library.¹⁶¹ Books are on a bookshelf on the back wall facing the viewer, and there is a small square window above the reader. Otto Pächt describes the style of this interior scene:

The intimate section of the studio belongs to the Eyckian studio interiors passed on to us through Petrus Christus’ *St Jerome*, whereas the furnishings are still from the Limburger interiors. (cf. the “St. Jerome” of the *Bible moralisée* BnF ms. fr. 166).¹⁶²

Under the red rubric, snuggled in the indentation on top of the gold rectangle, the author’s invocation occupies three quarters of the page, spreading around the right side and below the initial. A large textless margin surrounds the page, wider on top and bottom. Decorating the left margin only, a narrow gold band with colourful leaves, alternately on the right and left of an undulating blue line, separates the text from the decoration proper. To its left, acanthus tendrils, branching out from a vertical, central axis, with pink flowers and blue cornflowers respectively in the top and bottom sections, cover only the marginal space available between the gold band and the page side, the top

¹⁶¹ Pächt and Thoss, 33; König, ‘*La Théséide*’, 268. Hedeman, ‘Visualization of Antiquity’, 31.

¹⁶² “Der intime Ausschnitt des Studios ist der des eyckischen Studio-Interieurs, wie er uns durch den Hieronymus von Petrus Christus überliefert ist. Hingegen sind die Einrichtungsgegenstände noch die des limburgischen Interieurs (vgl. die Hieronymuszeichnung der *Bible moralisée* ms. fr. 166 Bibliothèque Nationale Paris).” Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 33. This *Bible moralisée* belonged to René’s library at the time.

and bottom of the text determining its height. Gold dots/stars and rosettes fill the negative space.

The specific layout displayed in the LDTH *W^l* for all the miniatures as well as the historiated initial was common in Italy with illuminators such as Guglielmo Giraldi,¹⁶³ and might be useful in the search for the source manuscript. Jean Fouquet (1415/1420–1478/1481) is said to have brought this style back to France after his stay in Italy,¹⁶⁴ as displayed in the renowned *Livre d'Heures d'Étienne Chevalier* (Chantilly ms. 71, 1452–1460). Otto Pächt first hypothesised that the LDTH *W^l*'s iconographic programme could have been inspired by an Italian manuscript of Boccaccio's TNE, similar to BSO Cod. C.F.2.8 (*NO*).¹⁶⁵ As Gabriel Bianciotto notices, this comparison would validate the presence of a manuscript of the TNE in the original language at the court of Anjou.¹⁶⁶ It could also explain the distinct Italianate layout. Among the reduced numbers of illustrated (or exhibiting an anticipated iconographic programme) manuscripts of the TNE, only two were possible contenders: Boccaccio's autograph manuscript, BML Cod. Acquisti e doni 525 (*AL*) and *NO. AL* (1348–1350) has a very elaborate anticipated iconographic programme, of which only the dedication miniature has been completed. It includes spaces reserved for 36 to 58 illustrations (depending on critics) with additional “phantom” marginal illustrations as visual commentaries, evaluating the cycle at about 70 miniatures. *NO* (c. 1450) is a copy of an autograph manuscript, which is now lost. Partially completed, the illustrations reproduce up to 70% of Boccaccio's original

¹⁶³ König, ‘*La Théséide*’, 268.

¹⁶⁴ Burke, ‘The circulation of Knowledge’, 198–99.

¹⁶⁵ Cited in Avril and Callu, *Boccace en France*, 65 and Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman*, Vol. 1, 349 (FN 80).

¹⁶⁶ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 50.

organisation of *AL* with its drawings and reserved spaces.¹⁶⁷ Neither of the two manuscripts of the TNE—the autograph manuscript *AL* or the copy *NO*—displays a partially completed or an intended illustration programme with spaces reserved that shows a correlation with the specific organisation of the images in either the LDTH *W¹* or *W²*. Both *AL* and *NO* display a much closer text-image relationship, the drawings or reserved spaces being inserted within the stanza they depict, in addition to much larger cycles.¹⁶⁸

The LDTH *W¹*, as a literal translation, replicates the twelve books of Boccaccio's epic/romance. To help the reader make sense of this long narrative filled with unexpected developments, the large miniatures in *W¹* act as small paintings, depicting key moments. The abundance of details, the precision of the painting technique and the relevance of the colour choices, all tell a story in themselves. In the presentation illustration on f. 14v [fig. 6], for example, the oriental carpets, arranged around the bed and joined together for the comfort of the young lady, convey the knowledge of the Mediterranean world and exotic countries where these were manufactured. The spurs fitted on the tall boots and the pommel of a sword we see behind the young man signify that he is a knight. The red textiles, entirely covering the walls, the bed and one cushion symbolise the wealth and comfort of this aristocratic interior decor. Emotions are painted on each of their faces and visualised in their gestures: the humble man, kneeling with slightly flushed cheeks, the woman smiling with gratitude but reserved as she extends her delicate, white, opened

¹⁶⁷ Bianciotto, ed., 50–68. Bianciotto's analysis suggests that either iconographic programme depends on copyists. "New" drawings or reserved spaces demonstrate the author's choice to illustrate different scenes.

¹⁶⁸ Bianciotto, ed., 67–68. None of the French translations show a visual, common perspective with *AL* or *NO*, including *C*, whose intended illustrations, like those of *W²*, exhibit more spectacular or exotic tendencies, especially in the second part of the romance.

hand to receive the thick book bound in red. The cushion, covered in the same blue as the knight's doublet, plumped on the left window bench, tells the viewer of many future readings, in the late afternoon light of this pleasant countryside. The written description of the translator's motivations in the prologue *transpires* in this painting and can be visually *read* through Barthélemy's genial creation.

Rather than inserting each image within the text it describes, as in *AL* and *NO*, the illustrations in the LDTH *W^l* act as frontispieces for each book, highlighting its central scene. "Emilia in Her Garden" [fig. 11] on f. 53r is an exception placed on the second page of Book III.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, the text-image relationship shifts with Book IV. Whereas, up until then, the illustrations acted as preludes to the heroes' adventures, the image starting Book IV illustrates the release of Arcita from prison, which happens at the end of Book III, showing that some miniatures function as a connection between books. This deviation from the programme is corrected with Book V, which begins with two miniatures on facing folios. These illustrate two parallel narratives in this book: Emily's hunting party and the confrontation of Arcita and Palemone. The text tells us they all meet in the grove, towards the end of the same book. The illustrations then seem to follow the complex text, with another double illustration starting Book IX, the injury of Arcita and his marriage with Emilia. Beginning Book X, the miniature of a funeral seems to announce the demise of Arcita, but he is still alive on Book XI's frontispiece.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 36; Avril, 'Manuscrits à peintures', 337. This assessment could indicate that this image was an afterthought since no space was provided on the first folio of Book III. It is also painted on a folio that has been rewritten by a second hand in the second campaign.

¹⁷⁰ Eberhard König seems to believe that the order of the miniatures is problematic, but I do not believe that the dead knight in Book X is meant to be Arcita. The hybrid style of this image is meant to illustrate Greek funeral customs with a pyre surrounded by lamenting men dressed in black, but in fact also depicts the deceased as a medieval knight in his full armour and tabard, which perfectly illustrates the translation

Finally, the marriage of Emilia with Palemone starts Book XII.

I submit that the placement of the illustrations thus and their use as frontispieces also suggest that the patron and the artists of the LDTH *W¹* interpreted this complex romance as a series of individual episodes rather than one global narrative like Boccaccio seems to have done, if compared to the impressive prepared iconographic programmes of *AL* and *NO*. This layout also reminds us of Laurent de Premierfait's incorporation of miniatures at the beginning of each of Terence's plays in his copy for Jean de Berry "to translate images from the earlier tradition into a fifteenth-century visual idiom."¹⁷¹ Given the difficulties our anonymous translator for the LDTH encountered with the source text, it is also probable that the additional visual layer of exegesis must have been required for the *W¹*'s educated reader/viewer to fully appreciate the complexity and knowledge infused in Boccaccio's epic romance.

It is interesting at this point to compare the illustration cycle of the LDTH *W¹* with its twin *W²*. In his stylistic commentary, Pächt writes:

In a second manuscript of the *Théséide*, Cod. 2632, whose illustration program was not executed but was planned for, space for the planned image is left blank each time [jeweils] where the event to be illustrated is outlined in the text.¹⁷²

Although the miniatures were never painted, the space reserved for them is arranged in a different sequence, with the result that the text-image relationship appears

process, albeit visually. I believe the resulting illustration could confuse modern viewers more than it would have the late medieval readers of the LDTH *W¹*.

¹⁷¹ Hedeman, 'Visualization of Antiquity', 28.

¹⁷² "In einer zweiten Wiener *Theseide*-Handschrift, Cod. 2632, deren Bildschmuck nicht ausgeführt wurde, aber vorgesehen war, ist Platz für das geplante Bild jeweils dort freigelassen, wo im Text die zu illustrierende Begebenheit geschildert wird." Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 36.

to be more conventional and, possibly more cohesive.¹⁷³ In Book VIII, for example, space for three distinct miniatures is reserved, “each of which would have depicted a single scenario dedicated to the relevant protective deity.”¹⁷⁴ However, without the completed miniatures it is difficult to judge the intention of the artist/patron pair. All we can say is that it varies in this unillustrated version and does not correspond to *W¹* or any Italian model. Inserting the miniature at the beginning of Book VIII in *W¹*, Barthélemy summarised the prayer scene into a single image depicting the three chapels side by side. Could this suggest that *W¹* was completed because the frontispiece position of the images in each book was a better reflection of the artist/patron’s vision in this volume? The later adjustment of “Emilia in Her Garden” [fig. 11] would tend to confirm this suggestion because it was inserted as close to the beginning of the book as possible, since a space had not originally been reserved for a miniature in Book III. This addition in *W¹* is possibly Barthélemy’s masterpiece regarding colours, his observation and reproduction of the Provençal flora and his translation of the morning light effect on the skin of the prisoners’ hands through the bars of their window.¹⁷⁵ The *mise-en-scène* also reveals his maturity as a painter and possibly the patron’s focus on the young female character. With its desire to adhere to the original Italian text, *W¹*’s iconographic programme shows, however, no correlation with any Italian model, exhibiting by contrast its own artistic choices, consistent with the patron’s and/or the artists’ particular reading of Boccaccio’s

¹⁷³ König, ‘*La Théséïde*’, 268; Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 62–65. 10 reserved spaces in the LDTH *W²* correspond to similar scenes in the Italian manuscripts, but none are inserted in exactly the same location. A lot of the scenes intended by Boccaccio are not considered in *W²* either.

¹⁷⁴ “die jeweils ein einziges, der betreffenden Schutzgottheit geweihtes Szenarium gezeigt haben müssen.” Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 35.

¹⁷⁵ Gousset, ‘*Le jardin d’Émilie*’, 8. A complete formal analysis of the miniature is done at the end of this chapter.

re-creation of an antique narrative. At this stage of the research, we can only say that it is possibly a more resolved copy than *W*² in terms of text-image relationship, as far as we can interpret *W*²'s intended illumination.¹⁷⁶

Examining the two Italian models presented by Gabriel Bianciotto, it seems that Boccaccio's visual focus on Teseo's heroic persona is lost for a large part in the French translation. Yet if this manuscript loses the epic dimension of the original "illustrated" poem, it gains an element that is appropriate to René d'Anjou's particular milieu, namely, the focus on chivalry. Can we therefore assume that the LDTH *W*¹'s illustrations reflect the debates about courtly culture that animated the noble audience of the court of Anjou-Provence?¹⁷⁷ These episodic readings would have emphasised each section, sometimes describing illustrations as a means to recall events from a previous sitting. Were both men and women involved in these conversations, and can we find the patron among them? Now that we have gained a deeper understanding of the manuscript, I propose a new reading of the *Livre de Thezeo*.

PART C: "DAMES AMACZON" AND THE CULTURE OF WOMEN AT THE COURT OF ANJOU-PROVENCE

In Part C, I look at Queen Ipolita and her sister Emilia, the two Amazons, to determine how they reflect the culture of women at the court of Anjou-Provence. First focusing on the history of governance of Isabelle de Lorraine in light of Christine de Pizan's *exempla* in the LDCD, I compare fiction and reality as exterior influences

¹⁷⁶ Not having been able to visit Vienna in the last two years due to travel restrictions, I am unfortunately not able to advise further.

¹⁷⁷ Robin, *La cour d'Anjou-Provence*, 29–58

constructing the archetype of the “Dame Amaczon.” Using emotions theory as a framework to analyse the narrative around the two Amazons, and how their emotional community shifts when they move to Athens, I concentrate on the more complex character of Emilia, who represents the “Dame Amaczon.” Part C ends with speculations about a possible patron, corroborating my findings.

The role of women, the object of knights’ love, fluctuates in the LDTH *W^l*, reflecting an evolution in understanding and portraying their role in society. As an introduction to the book, Barthélemy’s large presentation miniature [fig. 6] depicts traditional roles pictured in courtly literature, as we see in a compilation of Christine de Pizan’s poems (BnF ms. fr. 835 f. 50r) under the rubric “complainte amoureuse” [fig. 12], still popular at the time. A young man is kneeling in front of a lady, offering his text. However, the LDTH’s anonymous translator is not the traditional clerk, as in Boccaccio’s autograph manuscript’s illustration, and the recipient/patron is not a queen or a duke but an anonymous young lady. Located on f. 14v, Barthélemy’s miniature is supposed to visually relate the prologue facing it on f. 15r. Hiding behind the veil of anonymity, the translator is relaying Boccaccio’s prologue to his late fifteenth-century audience while adapting it to his French context. It is to be about a noble kind of love and its loyal servants, as told in the legend of Teseo. What the prologue is not saying, its illustration, however, might visualise. We might question the validity of this presentation illustration, as it says more about the nature of the story than who its depicted protagonists are, if we compare it with the image of Christine’s lovers. Looking closer, however, Barthélemy’s miniature might be tricking today’s viewer, but revealing both to his present audience. The young man is dressed in a short blue doublet with a black collar, tight at the waist in

the latest fashion for nobles at René's court. Similarly fashionable is his furry black hat, lying on the floor.¹⁷⁸ He wears tall, black, pointed boots having a brown fold-down collar at the top and fitted with spurs at the heels, and is carrying a sword on his lower back. These two details reveal that he is a knight. The young beauty, as the audience is meant to see this female figure, standing in front of him, is dressed in a black dress trimmed with a wide band of white fur around the collar, sleeves and bottom. The long train exhibits a lining of the same colour and fabric. Her high and very thin waist is sashed in the same blue as the man's doublet and the large and low-cut neckline opens onto a red bustier and a white linen shirt, barely covering her young bust. This garment is similar in style to the two ferrywomen's dresses in René's LDC (ÖNB Cod. 2597 f. 51v) [fig. 13]. Here, the dress looks more refined and stylish because of the excess of cloth, pleated in the front and forming the train, and the white fur trim. The young patroness is an aristocrat. She wears a tall, fluted hennin decorated with pansies, down the sides of which a white, transparent veil flows lightly past her forehead to her back in tubular folds, which cover her ears and shoulders. Her almond eyes and plump cheeks make her face look very young. The room, smothered in red textiles, and, where the red floor tiles are, partially covered with oriental carpets, displays the wealth of its owner. The Gothic wooden door-casing, whose delicate architecture projects into the room, is part of this rich decor. A window, with open shutters, exactly behind the kneeling translator, invites the gaze towards the exterior green landscape, in which a small path meanders towards a

¹⁷⁸ Piponnier, *Costume et vie sociale*, 183. Whereas the short, tight-waisted doublet was common in French fashion, the sleeves that are wide, bouffant at the shoulder, pleated and tight-fitted at the wrist are influenced by the fashion worn in Venice. Hats were one of the rare elements of masculine dress where some "decorative imagination" was exerted. Jet beads to decorate a hat are mentioned in René's accounts.

castle and a large church, suggesting the proximity of a village. By revealing the details of the wealthy surroundings of this young woman's life and the knight's paraphernalia on the man, Barthélemy might have pictured more details about the translator and his patron than the prologue did, while confirming the nature of the story and remaining within the bounds of the traditional presentation miniature. Furthermore, this first large illustration, attracting the attention of the audience with its overwhelming red hue, insists on the role courtly ladies play in literary culture, thus possibly hinting at such women's involvement (relative to power) in the court of Anjou-Provence as well as the actual patron of this book.

Yet, the frontispiece to the text as such, an illustration spread across the opening created by folios 18v and 19r [fig. 5], suggests quite another stereotype of femininity. It depicts the arrival of the Greek fleet and the battle of Teseo against the Amazons. Contrary to archetypes of traditional femininity, in the Greek legend, Amazonian women represent a model of matriarchal society, female warriors with political power who, having killed their husbands, are responsible for their own fate. Boccaccio's story of the Amazon Queen Ipolita and her sister Emilia translated in the LDTH is more nuanced than that of the legend generally.¹⁷⁹ Having lost the battle against the Greeks, they find their fortunes left to Teseo's prerogative so that Amazonia could be saved. If women in the

¹⁷⁹ Margaret Franklin, 'Imagining and Reimagining Gender: Boccaccio's Teseida Delle Nozze d'Emilia and Its Renaissance Visual Legacy', *Humanities* 5, no. 1 (15 January 2016): 1–14. Visual representations of Amazons during the fifteenth century in France and Italy seem to differ. While their pictorial expressions are similarly based on contemporary, local, literary translations and understanding, they also respond to other dictates, such as those of a patriarchal society in the case of the Italian *cassoni* gifted as wedding presents. Woven slightly later, a tapestry fragment in the collections of the Château d'Angers, like Barthélemy d'Eyck's frontispiece in the LDTH *W^l*, visualises another type of femininity closer to Christine de Pizan's interpretation studied in Chapter One.

LDTH *W*^l show the strength and autonomy of traditional Amazons, their emotions reveal their ability to make sacrifices for a greater cause, and their adaptability to new social surroundings.

In Chapter One, we have seen how Christine de Pizan's portrayal of the Amazon queen in the LDCD, supported by her strong visual iconography, provides a contemporary vision of a matriarchal society where the queen assumes full governing power. The description and illustration of the same battle in a manuscript of Christine's LCDC contemporary to the LDTH *W*^l has further provided a textual and visual connection between author and translator, creating a dialogue around the image of the Amazon queen and validating the authority of the French translation. Furthermore, Christine de Pizan's choice of the Virgin Mary to rule over her virtual city is understood as an important clue to how the political role of women was perceived in Christine's historical reality.¹⁸⁰ During the late Middle Ages, the Virgin Mary was understood as a regent on behalf of her son. In addition to ancient and mythical rulers given as ethical examples for her audience, Christine includes contemporary queens and royal princesses of France who became regents of their realms, usually on behalf of their sons, under extraordinary circumstances. Among them is Marie de Blois.¹⁸¹ Governing the Kingdom

¹⁸⁰ Tracy Adams, 'Christine de Pizan, Isabeau of Bavaria, and Female Regency', *French Historical Studies* 32, no. 1 (1 January 2009): 1–32 (25–26).

¹⁸¹ Matz and Verry, *Le roi René*; Jean-Michel Matz, 'Princesse au pouvoir, femme de pouvoir? L'action politique de Marie de Blois d'après *Le journal du chancelier Jean Le Fèvre* (1383-1388)', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, no. 129–2 (1 January 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.3666>; Moranvillé, ed., *Journal de Jean Le Fèvre*; Zita Eva Rohr, *Yolande of Aragon (1381–1442) Family and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137499134>, and Philippe Contamine, 'Yolande d'Aragon et Jeanne d'Arc : l'improbable rencontre de deux parcours politiques', in *Femmes de pouvoir, femmes politiques durant les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge et au cours de la première Renaissance*, ed. Éric Bousmar et al., 1. éd (Bruxelles: De Boeck, 2012), 11–30. Although visual and textual testimonies abound to support the strong female governance of Marie de Blois (1345–1404) and

of Naples meant that the Dukes of Anjou, Kings of Jerusalem and Sicily, had to be separated from their wives who usually stayed in their French dominions. That entailed a specific perspective on French female governance over the Angevin-Provençal territories in France and is reflected in the political and cultural life of this provincial court.¹⁸² In this, they followed the royal model of King Charles VI and Queen Isabeau.¹⁸³ Now that we can fully appreciate Christine de Pizan's influence, I argue that Isabelle de Lorraine, by inheriting the socio-political role of the Duchesses of Anjou, had an additional significance in shaping the image of Emilia in the LDTH *W^l*, because of her unique contribution.

This chapter continues analysing evidence of the power of women in the late fifteenth-century French court of Anjou-Provence that helps interpret Princess Emilia's ambivalent courtliness in the LDTH *W^l*, as the archetype of "Dame Amaczon."

Sharing Full Sovereignty: Isabelle de Lorraine and René d'Anjou

Because their husbands inherited the Kingdom of Naples, three generations of duchesses of Anjou were crowned Queens of Jerusalem and Sicily.¹⁸⁴ To analyse the

Yolande d'Aragon (1384–1442), this dissertation examines the most relevant to René d'Anjou's political circumstances, even if not the most visually striking.

¹⁸² Marion Chaigne-Legouy, 'Titres et insignes du pouvoir des duchesses de la seconde Maison d'Anjou. Une approche diplomatique, sigillaire et emblématique de la puissance féminine à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, no. 129–2 (1 January 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.3790>.

¹⁸³ Adams, 'Christine de Pizan', 4–17. As of 1392, the king started to experience episodes of mental instability during which he lost his capacity to rule the country. In view of the tremendous power exerted by his uncles Philippe, Duke of Burgundy and Jean, Duke of Berry, in addition to the king's own brother Louis, Duke of Orléans, in the royal council, and afraid that they would usurp power during one of his temporary absences, over the next seven years the king wrote a series of ordinances in which his wife, Queen Isabeau, received the guardianship of the royal children, the mediation power to gain peace and progressively more power in a co-regency with Louis d'Orléans.

¹⁸⁴ On Salic law, see Craig Taylor, 'The Salic Law, French Queenship, and the Defense of Women in the Late Middle Ages', *French Historical Studies* 29, no. 4 (1 October 2006): 543–64 (552 & 555). Yolande d'Aragon, was the only duchess of Anjou who was crowned Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily on her wedding

queen's role as it was progressively and continuously perceived by these women, I provide a biographical approach to the life of Isabelle de Lorraine (1410–1453). This section explores the hypothesis that Isabelle's *exemplum* creates a model for the LDTH *W^l*'s concept of "Dame Amaczon" (a commanding and independent, but courtly lady) embodied by Emilia: this example helps us understand the Angevin-Provençal concept of the role of noble women. No one to date has brought out this angle of investigation.

These evolving royal inheritances affected the Angevin-Provençal court, forcing Louis I, Louis II and Louis III d'Anjou to leave their state on French soil to defend their Neapolitan claim. While their husbands were abroad, Marie de Blois and Yolande d'Aragon, following Queen Isabeau's model as the children's guardians and political mediators, became regents in Anjou and Provence in the name of their eldest sons and/or of their incapacitated husband.¹⁸⁵ With Isabelle, the third generation of Angevin queens gives an atypical picture of the monarchical female power of this dynasty, possibly explaining the modernity perceived in the illustration programme of the LDTH *W^l*. Because Isabelle's father Charles II had chosen her as the heiress of Lorraine against the customs of the Holy Roman Empire, he had to negotiate with the Lorraine aristocracy for "this usually forbidden female succession" to be accepted.¹⁸⁶ While Isabelle's marriage

day (2 December 1400), which was quite unusual for queens in France at the time. Traditionally, the queen's coronation was held as a different ceremony (no anointment) since she could not hold temporal power in her own right but could still exercise some political functions as the king's wife. Louis II d'Anjou was proclaimed King of Jerusalem and Sicily at the age of 7. This might explain the deviation from tradition on this occasion, since when Yolande married Louis II, he was already king.

¹⁸⁵ Louis III, René's brother, was 31 when he died in Italy, while his wife, Marguerite de Savoie, was only 14. Marguerite never assumed the role of regent her mother-in-law played after her husband's, then her son's death.

¹⁸⁶ "succession féminine normalement interdite." Chaigne-Legouy, 'Reine « ordinaire »', § 6. A succession war started, which was fuelled by Isabelle's cousin Antoine de Vaudémont, who played into the hands of Philippe le Bon against René d'Anjou, while René was imprisoned in Dijon.

with René provided a favourable alliance with one of the greatest families of France as well as the expansion of Lorraine with the Duchy of Bar, Isabelle was the “indispensable instrument”¹⁸⁷ to insure René’s legitimacy in Lorraine. Isabelle received an unusually comprehensive political education and developed social and political networks, through her godfather Conrad Mayer de Boppard, Bishop of Metz. When René was captured at the battle of Bulgnéville in 1431, Isabelle took charge of the administration of Bar and Lorraine for the first time, assuming on her own the Lorraine succession war and the negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy’s councillors.¹⁸⁸ During René’s imprisonment, Isabelle was acting without her husband’s authority to assert hers, possibly due to her unusual position as a female heiress and her and René’s homogamic matrimony.¹⁸⁹ However, during his remission period, from April 1432 to May 1433, René continued her lieutenancy of the state, as if Isabelle and he were switching roles, in the same capacity.¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, after this interlude, René went back to his jailers for another

¹⁸⁷ “instrument indispensable.” Matz and Verry, *Le roi René*, 26. Chaigne-Legouy, ‘Reine « ordinaire »’, § 6. While Isabelle was the sole heiress of an important state and René had lower titles at the time of his marriage, his adoption by the Cardinal-Duke of Bar suggests that his position was to be duke consort. René took the titles and bore the arms of both dukedoms of Bar and Lorraine upon his marriage, although Louis de Bar and Charles II de Lorraine continued to administer their states. René did his official entry in Bar-le-Duc in August 1424, year of his majority at age 15.

¹⁸⁸ Urbain Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne, avec des notes, des dissertations et les preuves justificatives*, vol. 4, 4 vols (Dijon: Antoine de Fay, 1748), XCVIII–C, cited in Chaigne-Legouy, ‘Reine « ordinaire »’, § 11. More specifically, an early treaty with Jean de Vergy attracted historians’ attention. In appearance, the agreement looked unfavourable to her, but a subtle clause suggests an astute mind for political intricacies. Isabelle offered a large sum of money to the Burgundian agent not to interfere against her in his Barrois possession. According to the clause, he could only interfere if ordered directly by the King of England or the Duke of Bedford in person, which was not likely.

¹⁸⁹ Michel Nassiet, *Parenté, noblesse et états dynastiques: XVe-XVIe siècles* (Paris: Editions de l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2000), 203, cited in Chaigne-Legouy, ‘Reine « ordinaire »’, § 6. An homogamic marriage is described as a union between a female heir and the second male of a socially equal family. The fact that René was made heir of the Duke of Bar slightly improved his position as is reflected in his and his wife’s heraldic coats of arms.

¹⁹⁰ Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, vol. 1, 96–106. René d’Anjou was able to temporarily leave his prison, in exchange for his two sons, for one year to compensate a number of his companions who fought with him at Bulgnéville and to find a successful compromise to end the Lorraine succession war. His

four years, and Isabelle to her governance.

Yet in 1435, inheriting the title of King of Jerusalem and Sicily three months after the Duchy of Anjou, René and Isabelle found themselves in a drastically changed position, while he was still held captive.¹⁹¹ As she did before, Isabelle assumed power. She received the lieutenant generalcy as René now depended on her to claim the Neapolitan kingdom. The complex geography of the Angevin-Provençal state and the hazards of war now emphasised a key period in Isabelle's political action as she moved the court to Naples. Her two-fold mandate extended outside the habitual prerogatives of lieutenancy. First, Isabelle was entrusted with an intense diplomatic action among the nobility of key Italian states to garner financial and practical support around her. In 1436, she appealed to Venice first, but was refused, although King Charles VII had sent one of his officers to officially support her request.¹⁹² The Republic, engaged in a difficult conflict with Milan in support of the Genoese, answered through the Venetian Senate that this should be seen as helping France. Genoa was essential to Isabelle in Naples for food supply, and she had to pay dearly for their help, next.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, her exceptional diplomatic role for a fifteenth-century woman in this foreign environment shaped her outstanding persona.¹⁹⁴ Can we read a proof of this in a letter from the Venetians, in

daughter, Yolande d'Anjou, then four years old, was promised in marriage to Ferry II, son of Antoine de Vaudémont. Isabelle continued to provide compensation after René's return to captivity.

¹⁹¹ Lecoy de La Marche, vol. 1, 112. Jeanne II was leaving her kingdom to the second son of Louis II d'Anjou in her will now that Louis III had died.

¹⁹² Chaigne-Legouy, 'Reine « ordinaire »', § 21 and FN 31. Nicolas de Saci was the king's chamberlain helping with the negotiations.

¹⁹³ Chaigne-Legouy, 'Reine « ordinaire »', § 21. Isabelle had to pawn her jewellery.

¹⁹⁴ Chaigne-Legouy, 'Femmes au « Cœur d'homme »', § 11–13. Marie de Blois has been known to possess the heart or courage of a man—a term habitually describing a knight in times of warfare—in confronting her political office. This term particularly fits Isabelle.

which René was labelled a prince-consort, a “most rare use of the term”¹⁹⁵ to describe a reigning and crowned monarch?

The second part of her role in Naples was political, a role for which she was not prepared, being on foreign soil, with very limited financial capacity. Moreover, opposing Alfonso V of Aragon required military action and, contrary to Christine de Pizan’s exceptional ancient queens, Isabelle was not prepared for direct combat.¹⁹⁶ This completed her utter isolation.

The Patronage of Isabelle de Lorraine

Isabelle de Lorraine’s artistic patronage during this period is understandably sparse but a page in a manuscript reveals as much her outstanding role as queen as her desire for visible legitimisation. Her active networking and reputation-fashioning are qualities that have often gone unnoticed by art historians regarding René’s first wife, favouring his qualities. The *Codice di Santa Marta* (ASN ms. 99 C. I. f. 12r) attests to her commitment to the aristocratic confraternity of Santa Marta in Naples. Even though the manuscript was believed to have been Isabelle’s artistic commission in Italy, recent

¹⁹⁵ “l’emploi rarissime du terme.” Paul-Michel Perret, *Histoire des relations de la France avec Venise, du XIII^e siècle à l’avènement de Charles VIII*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Paris: H. Welter, 1896), 160. “antiqua ac naturali benevolentia et affectione que viguit et viget inter serenissimam domum Francie ipsamque serenissimam Reginam ac serenissimum consortem suum, regem Renatum [...] et nostrum dominium” (ancient and natural kindness and affection, which thrives and flourishes between our territory and France, and especially her highness the Queen and her consort, his highness King René). Paul-Michel Perret, *Histoire des relations de la France avec Venise, du XIII^e siècle à l’avènement de Charles VIII*, vol. 2, 2 vols (Paris: H. Welter, 1896), 320, both cited in Chaigne-Legouy, ‘Reine « ordinaire »’, § 21. This has been interpreted as the Venetians’ understanding of the *dignitas* to be granted to the person who effectively exercised power, whatever the gender.

¹⁹⁶ Chaigne-Legouy, § 21 and FN 34. Recognising the limitations of her circumstances, Pope Eugene IV, who was favourable to the Angevin political action in the peninsula, chose to act on behalf of René’s release from captivity, rather than to help Isabelle in Italy. For the pope, her gender was evidently a drawback to lead an army, as his indirect intervention reveals the reticence of the clergy in matters concerning female power.

scholarship has demonstrated the lay brotherhood's existence since the fourteenth century.¹⁹⁷ It has now been attributed to Jeanne II de Naples, to construct a visual record of her family in her mother's example.¹⁹⁸

It is nonetheless composed of very luxuriously illustrated pages, added over time until the 1450s. Other monarchs portrayed in the codex are either from the Durazzo family to which Jeanne II belonged, or the Aragonese dynasty, who reigned in Naples after René and Isabelle. These illustrations are composed in a similar manner: a central heraldic motif topped with the name and portrait of king or queen and followed by a short text in Latin. Two pages, dated respectively 1435 and 1438, demonstrate Queen Isabelle's and King René's contributions [fig. 14 & 15].¹⁹⁹ Even though Isabelle has been proven not to be the manuscript's patron, no one to date has denied René's and Isabelle's benefaction to the confraternity. In fact, social historian Amadeo Feniello has remarked on René's protection of churches, religious organisations, and universities as the "preferred areas for contribution"²⁰⁰ of a global social strategy to assert his political legitimacy and the prestige of the royal family in Naples. Sponsoring the confraternity of Santa Marta, to which the highest local aristocracy belonged, was part of Isabelle's

¹⁹⁷ Amadeo Feniello, 'Naples dans l'aventure italienne', in *Le roi René dans tous ses états*, ed. Élisabeth Verry and Jean-Michel Matz (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, Centre des musées nationaux, 2009), 99–123 (120).

¹⁹⁸ Legaré, 'Les deux épouses de René d'Anjou et leurs livres', 59; Luciana Mocchiola, 'La reine Marguerite d'Anjou-Duras et la construction d'une mémoire familiale', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, no. 129–2 (1 January 2017), § 33, <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.3659>.

¹⁹⁹ Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, vol. 1, 169 (FN 2); Mérindol, *Le roi René*, LVI and XXXV. They are respectively ffs. 12r and 11r. The date indicated on f. 12r is 1435, but Mérindol proposes c. 1436. Ffs. 13r and 14r depict René's son Jean de Calabre and Marie de Bourbon, his wife. The manuscript is now dismantled.

²⁰⁰ "domaines privilégiés d'intervention." Feniello, 'Naples dans l'aventure Italienne', 120. Feniello discusses only René's portrait in the codex.

initiative three years prior. We know that René arrived in Naples in June 1438 and left the city four years later.²⁰¹ The date of 1435 on the folio portraying “Isabel Prima Regina” in majesty confirms Isabelle’s connection with the confraternity of Santa Marta, showing her artistic patronage as queen in Naples prior to her husband’s arrival. Her portrait upholds her desire to be perceived as leading the most influential patricians, therefore validating the Anjou-Valois’ legitimacy as René would have.

Two years after his arrival in Naples, René sent Isabelle back to Lorraine for a second lieutenant generalcy, with their second son Louis, Marquis of Le Pont, as governor under the tutelage of a council. Isabelle was administering all the territories *par-deçà*²⁰² and was given a large freedom of action. As previously, when René was in captivity, she acted as the perfect substitute for the king, embodying the legitimacy of the family. Isabelle took charge of the daily administration of the state, which included matters of protection and justice, and finances. In practice, Isabelle replaced her husband while educating her son in politics.²⁰³

The expansion of the Angevin state in Italy created a complex issue for the royal couple, forcing the duplication and separation of power at home and abroad. Assuming power, Isabelle manifested an unquestionable loyalty to her marital family, which was perceived as the crucial quality on which to establish her legitimacy and her authority, as

²⁰¹ Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, vol. 2, 442–45; Michel Laclotte, ‘Rencontres franco-italiennes au milieu du XVe siècle’, *Acta Historiae Artium* 13 (1967): 33–41 (35).

²⁰² Chaigne-Legouy, ‘Reine « ordinaire »’, § 14. *Par-deçà* or “beyond [the Alps]” meaning Anjou, Provence, Bar and Lorraine, a term that is used often in contemporary texts given the geography of the Anjou-Provence state.

²⁰³ Chaigne-Legouy, § 16–20. René’s trust in Isabelle was such that any agreement sealed by her was pledged on the king’s soul (“in animam nostram prestandis et aliis ad illarum robur necessariis”). Her second son unfortunately died a few years after her return.

did her predecessors. Whether regent, lieutenant general, viceroy or acting in full replacement of the king, each of the three queens developed her own version of female power that is equally reflected in their artistic patronage.²⁰⁴ Isabelle de Lorraine best represents the duplication of power. From an early age, she was destined to truly govern a state. As obvious as it was for the Burgundian, Venetian, Genoese and Neapolitan governments, and to the pope, it becomes clear to us why René and Isabelle shared the role of monarch so smoothly to govern the complex, scattered Angevin-Provençal dominions. In battling Antoine de Vaudémont in Lorraine, then Alfonso V of Aragon in Italy, even if only as a metaphorical Amazon queen, Isabelle certainly deserved her husband's gratitude, which is still visible in the "emblematic signs of affection"²⁰⁵ painted on private and public objects, as in the *Heures du roi René* (BnF ms. lat. 17332 f. 31r) [fig. 16], to be decoded by future generations. René d'Anjou's clear understanding of the special position Isabelle held is further evidenced in his decision to leave the duchy of Lorraine to his first-born son after her death († 1453). Her interest in building social and political networks, attested in the *Codice di Santa Marta*, and the unique governing command that she developed in Lorraine and Naples positioned this Queen of Jerusalem

²⁰⁴ Laurent Hablot, 'Présences emblématiques dans la tenture de l'Apocalypse', in *Apocalypse: La Tenture de Louis d'Anjou*, ed. Jacques Cailleteau and Francis Muel (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, Centre des monuments nationaux, 2015), 27–41, https://www.academia.edu/19666630/L_HABLOT_Présences_emblématiques_dans_la_tenture_de_l'Apocalypse_Apocalypse_La_tenture_de_Louis_d'Anjou_Réunion_des_musées_nationaux_Paris_2015_p_27_41; Françoise Gatouillat, 'Les vitraux du bras nord du transept de la cathédrale du Mans et les relations franco-anglaises à la fin de la guerre de Cent Ans', *Bulletin Monumental* 161, no. 4 (2003): 307–24. While Marie de Blois' used emblematic and sigillary signs of her role as queen, Yolande d'Aragon commissioned an impressive window for the north transept of the St. Julien cathedral in Le Mans where she inserted the Anjou dynasty within French royalty and English lords occupying the city at the time.

²⁰⁵ "signes d'affection emblématiques." Chaigne-Legouy, 'Reine « ordinaire »', § 44. René used the two intertwined letters "R" and "I" as a usual emblematic sign to commemorate his love for Isabelle and his second wife Jeanne together. We already saw it on the ceramic roundel.

and Sicily at the forefront of Early Renaissance female monarchs. Her model, akin to Christine's Amazon queens, building on the strength of her Angevin female predecessors, asserted her female authority through her recognised interest in Italian culture.²⁰⁶ Acting as an archetype of female power in the late fifteenth-century court of Anjou-Provence, it is my view that Isabelle had a strong influence in shaping the vision of noble femininity that is on display in the LDTH *W^l*.

The choice to reduce the iconographic programme to individual books' frontispieces could partly account for the fact that the artists of the LDTH *W^l* show very little interest in visually highlighting the part divine intervention plays in the narrative. It might also reflect the translator's limited understanding of antique legends and their mythical heroes. This artistic decision additionally suggests that the patron's and artists' vision focus instead on the romance's outcome rather than the concealed machinery devised by gods belonging to another religious authority. Ultimately, this visual concept is also revealing of the book's late medieval concerns with courtly culture. Introducing the only epic section of the narrative, the double miniature [fig. 5] depicts the central scene of Book I. Focusing on the role of women in the LDTH *W^l*, I first analyse textually and visually the battle between Teseo and the Amazons and turn to emotions theory to examine the emotional community in Amazonia and how it shifts with the battle

²⁰⁶ Ross Gregory Caldwell, 'Marcello's Letter and Marziano's Text (BnF ms. lat. 8745[A])', *Tarot History Forum*, 30 January 2013, <http://forum.tarothistory.com/viewtopic.php?t=933#p13570>; Hermant and Toscano, 'Les Manuscrits de la Renaissance italienne', 107–108; Thiébaud, 'Les manuscrits italiens', 46, and Anne-Marie Legaré, 'Martianus de Sancto Aloysio, Tractatus de Deificatione Sexdecim Heroum [Traité de la déification des seize héros]', in *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009), 348. The precious gift of a unique card game with a small book of instructions (BnF ms. lat. 8745), addressed to Isabelle in 1449 by Jacopo Antonio Marcello, is the first of a corpus of Italian luxuriously decorated manuscripts adorning René's library collections. The letter that opens BnF ms. lat. 8745 ffs. 1r–4v, addressed to her, illustrates Marcello's desire to please a great queen with an exceptional present.

outcome. Then, I focus on three portraits of Emilia and explore emotions in text and image to identify her attributes as the “Dame Amaczon,” concluding with my findings regarding Jeanne de Laval as a possible patron for the LDTH *W*^l.

Defining the Emotional Community of an Amazon Queen

Following the author’s invocation, adorned with his portrait inside the large initial [fig. 10], a red rubric announces the beginning of the Athenian Prince Teseo’s adventures in Boccaccio’s TNE. The next illustration [fig. 5], continuous on facing folios, is unique to the LDTH *W*^l. Its singularity signals in my view that it serves as the actual frontispiece to the whole volume, highlighting the decisive part that this battle plays in the narrative, as it seals the fate of the Amazonian Queen Ipolita and her sister Princess Emilia. The composition parallels the other miniatures except for its size. The decoration that occupies the bottom register follows the convention described above in Part B. The left side of the image is reserved for the landing of the Greek fleet, while the right depicts the Amazonian army hurtling down the hill in an effort to push them back. Eight large vessels have landed. They form a diagonal sequence that ends at the bottom of a cliff, on top of which the Amazons’ castle is built, the closest of the ships acting as the connection between the two sides of the image, in its centre. In the background, three more ships are sailing forth, depicted in aerial perspective. The height and mass of the boats are accentuated by their dark shadows, stretching over the grey waters, and blocking the small bay.²⁰⁷ In the foreground, some of Teseo’s archers are still disembarking from small rowboats, while their companions, wading in the waves, are busy shooting arrows.

²⁰⁷ The details and particularities of each vessel suggest Barthélemy d’Eyck’s familiarity with boats and a desire to depict reality, which is also revealed in a similar image in the LDC [fig. 13]. This is discussed in Chapter Five.

Their swift movement collides with that of the Amazon cavalry, rushing in the opposite direction. The horsewomen are pouring down the narrow path from the castle in overwhelming numbers, waving their scimitars over their heads, shooting arrows, and driving their lances into the enemy in a bid to push them back towards the beach where the battle rages:

Et courans illec d'un costé et d'autre, defendoient les pas et les descenses, avecque leurs arcs et flesches, faisant illec prestement et a dilligence petites murailles de pierre. (And running here and there, they promptly defended passages and hills with their bows and arrows, and small walls of rocks built quickly and with effort).²⁰⁸

An additional female battalion completes the strategic central movement of the cavalry and fights fiercely from their higher position to push back the Greek soldiers who are encircled by the mounted troops. The bottom part of the miniature is cluttered with the twisted bodies of the wounded and the dead, a confused, trampled mass of soldiers in their armour, a horrible mix of horses and women warriors, body parts and bloody wounds.

Teseo's soldiers are recognisable in their full suits of armour, whereas Ipolita's warriors wear long, colourful skirts topped with partial armour, some of which are made of metal plates, and helmets. One of them protects herself behind a beautifully decorated shield. Their long, blond, and wavy hair is visible. Barthélemy has painted detailed faces under the helmets of the Athenians and the Amazons, the latter's gender only revealed by their hair. What differentiates one camp from the other is their military equipment and the Amazonian mounts. In this illustration, the artist has made it obvious that the Amazons

²⁰⁸ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 428.

have the advantage in number, position, and capacity to defend themselves, as explicit in the text. At this point of the battle, it is nevertheless difficult to foresee the outcome. The artist has not painted Teseo's troops as invincible. I believe Barthélemy has illustrated this line: "Certainly no battle was ever so cruel and so fierce and no one has ever suffered more [in any other]" ("Certainement bataille ne fut jamais si dure, si fiere ne si felle").²⁰⁹ Death has stricken both sides equally, and the women's advantage recalls the same battle illustrated in Christine de Pizan's LDCD (KBR ms. 9235 f. 24v) [fig. 4]. Not knowing the outcome of the battle, the reader would be enticed to read further. The Amazons succeed in surrounding Teseo's camp. Only the help he receives from the gods reverses the situation, and to avoid the destruction of Amazonia, Ipolita accepts Teseo's terms with the harsh words of a great general:

Tu n'as pas fait comme les chevaliers qui prennent la guerre contre leurs pareilz; mais comme desloyal homme, baratier, trompeur et guerrier de neant, subitement as assailli mon pays. Mais si mon penser ne fault, tu ne penseoys pas que guerroyer aux dames et obtenir victoire est plus blasme que loz. (You have not done as knights who wage war against their equals [do]. But like as disloyal man, fraudster, deceiver and worthless warrior, have suddenly attacked my country. But if I am not mistaken, you did not think that going to war against ladies and achieving victory is more [to be] blame[d] than praise[d].)²¹⁰

Interpreted as the frontispiece to the whole book, this powerful image seeks to persuade the viewer to become a reader. Visually translating the author's words faithfully, the miniature praises the ladies who defend their land and their society from conniving invaders and sacrifice themselves for their nation. In my view, this also pictures the role of Queen Isabelle in Naples where the danger represented by Alfonso V

²⁰⁹ Bianciotto, ed., 429.

²¹⁰ Bianciotto, ed., 434.

of Aragon could be perceived as a contemporary Teseo. Faced with her dilemma, Ipolita chooses to save Amazonia and follows Teseo to Athens to become his wife. This choice simultaneously brings us to the main aspect of the Amazonian sacrifice: the emotional narratives that are textually and visually spun in the LDTH *W*¹.

Since the nineteenth century, social historians have interrogated emotional sensibilities within different periods in various locations, applying diverse methodologies. Barbara H. Rosenwein has made extensive research since the 1990s in the field. Identifying the limitations of psychology with regard to a history of emotions, the author developed her principal methodological approach by focusing on what she terms “emotional communities,” or groups of individuals who show the same emotional patterns within a specific period, in a local area. Recently, Rosenwein has incorporated manuscript illustrations as part of her methodology to connect image and text in her gathering of materials to establish a set of emotional communities in medieval Europe.²¹¹

The study of Amazonia has not yet been discussed by Rosenwein. A population restricted to only one gender, forming a tight-knit community of supportive individuals with a common dislike of the group they rejected, should especially complement her methodology. These fierce women are described as “banding together (...) so they would not be subjected to men” (“fient convencion ensemble (...) ordonnerent de lors en avant non estre subgetes aux hommes.”), knowing that “each of these women with their bloody blades parted the spirits from the bodies of their men” (“chascune de cestes femmes firent partir avecques couteaux ensanglantez les espriz des corps de leurs

²¹¹ Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling*, 13.

hommes”).²¹² These two lines suggest that powerful negative emotions towards men associate all members of the community in a unique and once violent will.

After her defeat and acceptance of Teseo’s superiority thanks to his gods’ help, Ipolita explains her and her sister Emilia’s sacrifice to save the lives of the women of her community. Her address to her sisters recalls Christine de Pizan’s visual depiction of the Amazon queen. This speech confirms the tightness of the emotional bond that links her to her cohort. However, her honourable capitulation gains the strategist Teseo’s admiration and, because of it, Ipolita—his enemy—becomes the loveliest person in his eyes. After he “sighed ardently” (“avecques ardans souspirs”), he declares: “This one is more beautiful than Helen” (“Ceste cy est plus belle que Elene”).²¹³ At this key moment, Ipolita exchanges her Amazonian emotional community, where negative emotions for men unify its members to adhere to Teseo’s, which is based on love for the opposite sex. “He already bore in his heart the arrow which Cupid used to hold most dear” (“Desja luy desja au cueur fichee celle sayete que Cupido a de coustume avoir plus chiere”).²¹⁴ Their triumphal entry in Athens, sharing the rejoicing of the population, seals Ipolita’s and Emilia’s belonging to the new emotional community in Athens. We see how Queen Ipolita’s transition from the dislike/hate of men that associated her to her sisters, shifts to love and joy with her new husband in a gendered society, after her sacrifice.

Subjected to her sister’s renunciation, the central character of Emilia as the romance’s archetypal “Dame Amaczon” is more complex and is developed over the

²¹² Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 429–30.

²¹³ Bianciotto, ed., 449–50.

²¹⁴ Bianciotto, ed., 450.

length of the narrative. A younger Amazonian woman, her persona is more hesitant as she discovers the love of men.

Decoding the “Dame Amazion”: Princess Emilia, Arcita and Palemone

Already devoted to the Goddess Diana, Emilia shows a strong sense of belonging to the Amazonian culture, and this deep respect for her Amazonian character is perceived throughout the LDTH *W*^l. Her independence is nevertheless tempered by her ability to adapt to her new courtly life. She is an impressionable young woman of approximately fifteen who is submitting to her sister’s sacrifice in Scythia, then to the love of men in Athens. A number of illustrations of Emilia in the LDTH *W*^l translates her dichotomous persona. Apparently added to the original composition of the volume, the miniature of Emilia in her garden [fig. 11] is possibly the most famous illustration of them, and the first in the *W*^l to explain her “nature.”²¹⁵ The author’s invocation preceding the illustration explains that this section of Book III will unveil how Arcita and Palemone fell in love with Emilia, suggesting Cupid at work again, and a respite after the confrontation of Juno and Mars. Although it is not discernible in *W*^l’s illustration cycle, this moment in the narrative is the delicate turning point from the epic to the romance.

The beauty of this miniature is embodied in the apparent simplicity of its composition.²¹⁶ Emilia, at its centre, seems to be totally alienated from the world that surrounds her. Painting her with her head down and slightly to the side, Barthélemy has

²¹⁵ Avril, ‘Manuscrits à peintures’, 337; Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 479.

²¹⁶ Gousset, ‘Le jardin’, 10–7. Gousset compares this image, and Barthélemy’s detailed visualisation of each flower and plant, to Jean Bourdichon’s *Grandes Heures* of Anne de Bretagne (BnF ms. lat. 9474, 1500–1508). Most specifically, Barthélemy’s roses are compared to the precise coloured drawings in the eighteenth-century catalogues of Pierre-Joseph Redouté.

skilfully portrayed Emilia exuding the charm of the child who is becoming a young woman. She is entirely absorbed in making a crown of red and white roses, like a child at play, while “singing a love song to herself” (“en soy esbatant chantoit une amoureuse chançon”).²¹⁷ Her insouciance and joy in this simple task radiates from her quiet face and delicate hand gestures as she secures the fragile flowers, white then red then white again, around a crown of bulrush.²¹⁸ The viewer’s eye is immediately drawn to the lattice behind Emilia, on which red and white roses are intertwined, making a screen that gives her privacy in her tiny garden.²¹⁹ The symbolism of the rose, resonating with the contemporary *Roman de la Rose*, confirms Cupid’s intervention and highlights the cultural context that transpires in this miniature.

On a deeper level, this illustration reveals the ambivalence of Emilia’s new life in Athens symbolised by this garden representing her world. Although tiny, it is an open space where she can go freely but is delineated by crenelated walls that suggest a prison. Contrasting her apparent (though limited) freedom, Arcita and Palemone are confined in their prison cell. Through their barred window, which both mirrors and contrasts with the flowered trellis—the screen that should protect Emilia’s intimacy—they escape by spying on her in her private freedom. Neither Emilia nor her lovers are wholly free or entirely imprisoned. The physical ambiguity of her garden and their cell signals both their psychological ambivalence in Teseo’s world. While this fluctuation will lead to Emilia’s

²¹⁷ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 479.

²¹⁸ Gousset, ‘Le jardin’, 8. The shepherdess on the frontispiece of the *Pas d’armes de la bergère* (1449) by Barthélemy d’Eyck is depicted in a similar occupation (BnF ms. fr. 1974 f. 1r [fig. 17]).

²¹⁹ Gousset, 14. A comparison with the “rose de Provins” (*rosa gallica officinalis*), which René introduced in Provence, then in Anjou from Italy, makes a striking connection with the illustrator’s reality.

and the knights' metamorphosis into "Dame Amaczon" and "nobles chevaliers," Barthélemy's miniature uncovers the vision of the LDTH *W'*'s patron: the necessary transformative process for noble men and women on the eve of the French Renaissance.

Barthélemy's composition and choice of colour similarly reveal more about the construction of Emilia's persona as the "Dame Amaczon." He has gone to great lengths to depict the specificity of Mediterranean plants, the overall realism of his aesthetics betraying his Flemish training.²²⁰ Art historian Marie-Thérèse Gousset has first noticed that this composition resembles the garden with the square grass banquette and two trees in which Barthélemy painted the Virgin Mary with her son in the *Hours of the Virgin* (PML ms. M358 f. 25r) [fig. 9].²²¹ Emilia's enclosed Garden of Love of the LDTH *W'* thus becomes a secular representation of the Garden of Eden, assimilating Emilia to Venus, her blue dress bestowing her the radiance of the Virgin. A comparison of Emilia with the Virgin Mary in Barthélemy's triptych the *Annonciation* [fig. 18], reveals a strangely similar feeling of *gravitas* at the revelation of their own future significance, even if the humming Emilia might not completely understand it yet.²²²

This emerging awareness is substantiated by the look on Arcita's and Palemone's faces and their words. Arcita says to himself: "She is from paradise" ("Ceste cy est de

²²⁰ Gousset, 17. Aloe originally came from Eastern Africa or India and was imported to Southern Italy as early as the twelfth century. Robin, *La cour d'Anjou-Provence*, 117, cited in Gousset, 'Le jardin', 10. Hollyhock is very common in Provence and now in Anjou; aubretia comes from Southern Italy and lavender is dominant in Provence. Cork oaks are also common in the LDC. It is the tree under which the shepherdess is resting on the frontispiece of Beauvau's *Pas d'armes de la bergère* [fig. 17]. Flowers are present in earlier paintings by the artist, in particular the lily and roses in the chapel of the Virgin, in the *Annonciation* (1443–1445) [fig. 18].

²²¹ Gousset, 8.

²²² Reynaud, 'Barthélemy avant 1450', 22. Mary seems more confident in the impending event than young Emilia at this point, which might explain why Barthélemy paints Emilia in a more introverted attitude.

Paradis”).²²³ Love is at work, however referring to a more familiar Christian context. Not able to contain his feelings, Arcita then turns to his cell companion, and says: “come and see Venus who has truly come down here” (“Vien veoir Venus, qui vrayment est cy descendue!”),²²⁴ reverting to the classical circumstances of the legend. With this miniature, the artist has masterfully translated Emilia’s divine ability to inspire love, transforming the Amazon warrior into a courtly lady. Her occupation is a lady’s and so is her singing to inspire love in a man’s heart. By contrast, with her long, blond and wavy hair, loose on her back instead of the braids mentioned in the text, Barthélemy’s Emilia simultaneously personifies her Amazonian qualities and suggests her chastity, emphasised in the text by the words: “not bound by any love” (“non contrainte par aucun d’amer”).²²⁵ This Christian characterisation of the ambivalence of the “Dame Amaczon,” reflecting the manuscript’s religious context, will also be noted in René’s definition of the knight’s true nobility in his LDC.

Emilia’s Amazonian nature is further depicted in Barthélemy’s praying scene illustrating Book VII [fig. 19]. As an Amazon at heart, the young princess goes to the temple of Diana before the confrontation between Arcita and Palemone in the tourney. Kneeling in front of the statue in the orant position, her hair rippling down her back, she prays, identifying herself to Diana in no ambiguous terms:

Je suis encores de tes gens et vierge, plus preste a l’arc et sayetes
d’Amours fuyr et a sercher les boys que a mary querir. Et tu peuz bien
savoir comme mon cueur est plus dur que pierre contre la dissolue Venus,
qui plus suyt son foul desir que la raison (I am still one of your people and
a virgin, readier with a bow and arrow to flee Love and hunt in the woods

²²³ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 479.

²²⁴ Bianciotto, ed., 479.

²²⁵ Bianciotto, ed., 479.

than to look for a husband. And you well know how my heart is harder than stone against dissolute Venus, who follows her rash desire rather than reason).²²⁶

Yet rather than asking Diana to preserve her Amazonian nature, Emilia accepts that the tourney will seal her fate, the love that she inspires being at the centre of the discord between Arcita and Palemone. She knows, then, that to fulfil the god's prophecy, one knight will have to die to grant victory to the other. So, with the same sacrificial generosity that described her sister, she prays for both their lives to be saved. Her "will is now divided" ("ma volonté, qui est maintenant mixte"),²²⁷ suggesting a shift in her loyalties and consciously admitting that she lives in both worlds. Emilia is now a woman who still believes in her autonomy but of necessity accepts the love of a husband, in a world where women are subjugated to their lovers. Now ready for her own sacrifice, she is convinced of the knights' virtue, guaranteed by Teseo's rules for the tourney, showing her developing courtly nature.

This resolution and Emilia's admission of her double nature are pictured on the following miniature [fig. 20], introducing Book VIII and representing the melee. The gods battled and the outcome of the tourney has been decided. Barthélemy has painted the blood that has been spilt. Many valiant knights have lost their lives, and their twisted bodies lie in the foreground. Arcita and Palemone are still fighting, identifiable by their floating banners. In the text, Ipolita is praising their prowess. Contrary to Pächt's description of the illustration on f. 121r, I believe the artist has pictured Emilia (wearing

²²⁶ Bianciotto, ed., 582.

²²⁷ Bianciotto, ed., 583.

her blue gown and a simple crown) rather than Ipolita by Teseo's throne.²²⁸ One knight has to die and, at this moment, Emilia regrets to be a lady at the court of Teseo. The miniature depicts Emilia with her eyes turned to Teseo who is ready to give his judgement with his stick on his shoulder. With her right hand up in a gesture that suggests her refusal of the peremptory choice, her attitude mirrors her earlier prayers. At this moment, Emilia's fortune as an Amazon, accepting the rules of courtly life, weighs too heavily on her shoulders. In her mind, Love is the culprit: "Alas, Love, You have wrought too much evil" ("Helas, Amour, tu as trop mal ouvré").²²⁹ With this simple gesture of her hand, Barthélemy has expressed all Emilia's misfortune. He has ingeniously translated the young woman's anxiety and guilt at living in two opposing realms, remaining faithful to her goddess while accepting the Christian courtly rules.

Similarly, we see how the emotional shift is affecting Emilia in a deeper way than her sister. In addition to Ipolita's and Teseo's idyllic love now being assimilated to the Athenian emotional community, Emilia's complex understanding of love outlines an extended palette of emotions. Love for men such as Teseo, Arcita and Palemone that seems simple and straightforward is triggered by female beauty that makes women godly. By contrast, for the young Emilia, it seems to be a combination of emotions that brings regrets and nostalgia after her cruel separation from Amazonia, as well as the joy of being loved and the pain of having to choose while realising the consequences of a choice. These emotions are mirrored both in text and image. While Emilia's joy and carefreeness

²²⁸ Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 35. In the narrative, both women are watching the tourney with Teseo. However, Emilia is the central figure of the LDTH *W*¹ and it is her future that is at stake.

²²⁹ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 618.

are best described by her daily visits to her garden each morning, her line about Love and his work reveals regrets and sorrow. By comparison, Barthélemy d’Eyck’s miniatures visually translate crucial lines of the narrative with either overwhelming detail or simple gestures, suggesting emotional climactic events. More generally, this chapter has revealed that an emotional community is being constructed around the main characters of Boccaccio’s text in the LDTH *W*¹ and that the narrative, woven around love, affects the characters differently according to gender, age and nobility.

Furthermore, through the lens of translation theory this chapter discovered that the classical legend has now essentially been textually transposed into a courtly romance where love rules and visualised for its French late medieval audience. Possibly even more directly, the “pictorial translation” of hybrid illustrations blends exotic-looking references to antiquity with the Christian, cultural, historical and geographical circumstances of the Early Renaissance.²³⁰ Emilia’s questioning of the power of love is representative of the fluid medieval debate on gender roles and outlines the significance of the LDTH *W*¹ in demonstrating the part the Angevin-Provençal court played in this debate. Emilia as the “Dame Amaczon” (a courtly lady whose power comes from her autonomous position in society) in Athens is subjected to the prince’s desire, but given the translation’s new context, her subjugation recognises her previous and potential power and its social implications. The “Dame Amaczon” mirrors the model of power provided by the Duchesses of Anjou as Queens of Jerusalem and Sicily, actually governing as regents,

²³⁰ Hedeman, ‘Visualization of Antiquity’, 34. As Hedeman reminds us, late medieval imagery commonly uses dress conventions, as a visual rhetoric that would have been recognised by most viewers.

lieutenants or vice-lieutenants,²³¹ contemporarily embodied in Isabelle de Lorraine. This archetype of Early Renaissance femininity, hinged on love, sacrifice, and their resonance in the Christian faith, represents the LDTH *W^l*'s vision for the noble women in the Angevin-Provençal court.

If the *W^l*'s patron is indeed a woman as the well-developed, central, and beautifully illustrated figure of Emilia suggests, she should be found in René's tight circle because of the common references with his LDC and the choice of Barthélemy as the main illustrator.²³² Determining if women in René's family and close friends had a role in literary culture, my further exploration, although speculative, is guided by a previous hypothesis in addition to my discoveries regarding the character of Emilia in the LDTH *W^l*.

In Search of *La Théséïde*'s Patron

In her study of the Angevin-Provençal court, Françoise Piponnier notices the progress in visibility that women, from both popular and noble backgrounds, made at René's court through the quality of fabrics and their attire.²³³ Searching for *W^l*'s patron within the noble women in René's circle, I examine manuscripts as anthropological objects, receptacles of memory, bearing the trace of specific social events to be later recollected. I propose that such written messages equally demonstrate women's involvement in these events and their visibility.

While France was again enjoying more prosperous times, and René d'Anjou's

²³¹ Chaigne-Legouy, 'Titres et insignes', § 16–8.

²³² A very similar-looking soldier on *W^l* f. 19r and René's LDT f. 100v is another link that will be followed in the next chapter.

²³³ Piponnier, *Costume et vie sociale*, 262–88.

second Italian campaign (1452–1453) had revived an active interest in Italian humanism, a series of literary debates took place during the 1450s between the court of Anjou-Provence and the court of Blois. Charles d’Orléans and René d’Anjou engaged in poetic epistolary exchanges that were followed by several actual meetings of the two courts. These lyrical competitions, involving the princes alongside their court poets, centered mostly on love and courtly culture. On these occasions, their literary exchanges were recorded in manuscripts that encouraged further exchanges of books produced in both courts.²³⁴ As an example, a copy of Louis de Beauvau’s sentimental RDT (BnF ms. fr. 25528) was found in the Duchess of Orléans’ library.²³⁵ The similarity between Barthélemy’s presentation miniature in the LDTH *W^l* and that on f. 23v in BnF ms. fr. 25528, which is said to have been directly influenced by it, also demonstrates the continued literary and artistic relationship connecting the two courts. Moreover, a manuscript of Alain Chartier’s poems (BnF ms. fr. 20026), also found in Marie de Clèves’ library, bears the signatures and mottos of the Angevin courtiers, attesting to one such poetic debate. Among the women who signed on the frontpage [fig. 21], under René’s signature, are Yolande d’Anjou (René’s daughter), Isabeau de Beauvau (Louis’ daughter), and Marguerite de Chambley (Louis’ first wife).²³⁶ Dedications in books that were exchanged between courts suggest further literary relationships. Antoine de La Sale

²³⁴ Bianciotto, ‘Passion du livre’, 94–97. BnF ms. fr. 25458 is the autograph manuscript of Charles d’Orléans’ poems, including René’s, Jean de Lorraine’s and Jean Vaillant’s rondeaux and ballades, which preserves these exchanges.

²³⁵ Bianciotto, 94. This copy was produced for the duchess in Tours, in 1456. Beauvau’s RDT promotes the introspection of the heart, which is René’s principal topic in the MVP and the following LDC, examined in Chapters Four and Five.

²³⁶ Bianciotto, 94.

dedicated his *Paradis de la Reine de Sybille* (finished in 1444) to Jean de Calabre and Marie de Bourbon, and Georges Chastellain's *Le Temple de Boccace ou Consolation à Marguerite d'Anjou* (1464) was dedicated to René's first daughter, after her return to France. Whether they inspired, collected, or wrote literature, an array of aristocratic women at court were indeed involved with the literary culture that suffused the court of Anjou-Provence.

The involvement of noble women in literary patronage has long been proven in royal circles. Tracy Chapman-Hamilton's book offers a textual and visual survey of one of the first women's libraries in northern Europe. The book's novel perspective in highlighting the "interaction of nations through history,"²³⁷ envisioned through the lens of women's studies, demonstrates how Marie de Brabant's (1260–1321) patronage successfully combined her own and her adopted literary and artistic traditions.²³⁸ Chapman-Hamilton's research further establishes the queen's contemporary influence within the royal circle, through the copying of romances, and didactic and moralising texts, produced in the same workshops for her female friends. Marie de Brabant's library was eventually incorporated into the royal library, many of her books passing on to Charles V's (1338–1380) library.²³⁹ Finally, the scholar's additional examination of the female necropolis of the Cordeliers church in Paris reveals how Marie's religious architecture was copied by later noble women of the court, thus diffusing her brand of

²³⁷ Chapman-Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France*, 20. Marie married the French King Philippe III (1275).

²³⁸ Chapman-Hamilton, 36. Adenet le Roi, the famous *trouvère* from her native land, exemplifies this trend. He appears on Arsenal ms. 3142 ffs. 1r and 72r, a compilation of poetic texts in French produced at the end of the thirteenth century and illustrated by the Méliacin Master.

²³⁹ Chapman-Hamilton, 140. The link to Capetian values was important for the Valois kingship.

innovative identity fashioning.

It seems that the noble women of the Angevin-Provençal court, as part of the Valois dynasty, had a very compelling example of female literary and artistic patronage in Marie de Brabant. Despite the sparsity of archival data, the research in the Angevin literary culture underlines the presence of rare and luxuriously illustrated manuscripts bearing emblematic traces that identify generations of Anjou duchesses and is now being collated with studies encompassing their female relations and friends.²⁴⁰ However, even though the existence of the LDTH *W^l* among René's collection has stimulated interest regarding women's literary patronage, none of these women yet seems to be a serious candidate as its patron.

To begin with, I would offer that all evidence points to an older woman than the translator's biographical passages and the presentation illustration imply. One royal lady has yet to make an appearance: it is René d'Anjou's new wife in 1454, Jeanne de Laval, who would have been in her late twenties at the time. Several reasons make her patronage a credible hypothesis. Contemporary to the production of the LDTH *W^l*, another anonymous volume, entitled *Mirouer de la vie de homme et de femme* (BnF ms. fr. 17100, before 1454), is dedicated to Jeanne de Laval. Here, she is described as: "the noble, powerful and renowned maiden the young lady Jeanne de Laval, the good young lady" ("noble, puissante et très honnoree damoiselle madame fille Jehanne de Laval, [B]onne mademoiselle"),²⁴¹ using the same terminology as in the *W^l*. Jeanne's accounts

²⁴⁰ Anne-Marie Legaré, 'Princesses et duchesses bibliophiles à la cour de René d'Anjou', *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 20 (2012): 37–54 (38). In addition to the women already cited, Legaré mentions Marie de Bretagne and Charlotte de Savoie.

²⁴¹ Legaré, 'Les deux épouses', 60.

testify that soon after her marriage to King René she became an avid bibliophile, and “that she demonstrated a real and constant interest in the art of the book and illumination, and in the literature of her time.”²⁴²

François de Ximenes’ *Le Livre des anges* (BGE ms. fr. 5) was copied for at least four women in the Angevin-Provençal court’s circle, one most probably commissioned by Jeanne herself.²⁴³ Jeanne’s manuscript was illustrated after 1466 by the Maître du Boccace, at about the same time he received the LDTH *W^l* for its second campaign of illumination. On BGE ms. fr. 5 f. 29r, a small illustration depicts an angel protecting a man from a demon. This man is dressed exactly like the translator in the LDTH *W^l*’s presentation miniature [fig. 6], with shoes and no sword. The Maître du Boccace’s understanding of the symbolism of the sword and spurred boots would confirm my reading of Barthélemy’s depiction to disclose the translator’s knighthood. Additionally, since the Maître du Boccace had access to Barthélemy’s miniature of the knight, he could have copied the furry black hat, blue doublet and now visible red hose as the most fashionable garments for his man in spiritual danger. I submit that since both books were illustrated by the Maître du Boccace during the same period, in the same location, and since Jeanne most probably commissioned her copy of the *Livre des Anges*, it would support the idea that the LDTH *W^l* was her project as well.

As additional evidence to support my speculation, we know that although Jeanne

²⁴² “qu’elle manifestait un intérêt réel et constant pour l’art du livre et de l’enluminure et pour la littérature de son temps.” Legaré, ‘Princesses et duchesses bibliophiles’, 44 & 51.

²⁴³ Anne-Marie Legaré, ‘François de Ximenes, *Le Livre des anges*, traduction française anonyme’, in *Splendeur de l’enluminure, Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers: Ville d’Angers - Actes sud, 2009), 356–57 (356). Other copies were made for Marguerite d’Orléans and then passed on to Marie de Bretagne; Charlotte de Savoie and Gabrielle de La Tour (associated with the house of Bourbon)

employed Angevin artists and calligraphers to copy, illuminate, bind and repair her books,²⁴⁴ she must also have been aware of René's taste for Barthélemy's work because he was promoted to the noble position of Jeanne de Laval's *écuyer tranchant* (trenchersquire) in 1457.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, the duchess was a very devout Christian with a preference for Franciscan thought, as her important role in disseminating the MVP attests.²⁴⁶ The choice to visually minimise the Greek divinities in favour of a more Christian context might also support Jeanne as the commissioner. If we cannot be sure she was familiar with her uncle Louis de Laval's library to guide her vision of Ipolita and Emilia,²⁴⁷ she would have known and shared René's imaginary and aesthetics. I noticed a few commonalities between *W'* and René's LDC. Most scholars believe that Jeanne did commission the illumination of the Paris copy of the LDC (BnF ms. fr. 24399) after René's death in continuation of Barthélemy's creation, which would assert her deep knowledge of René's aesthetics and overall concept of gender roles. Finally, if she is described as a "complementary" wife to René, in everyday life as well as the titular Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily,²⁴⁸ this is probably because by the 1460s the state of

²⁴⁴ Legaré, 'Les deux épouses', 60.

²⁴⁵ Villela-Petit, 'Le maître intermédiaire', 12.

²⁴⁶ Legaré, 'Princesses et duchesses bibliophiles', 46. Jeanne introduced the MVP to Charlotte de Savoie, thus the royal court of Louis XI.

²⁴⁷ Alain Marchandisse, 'La diplomatie liégeoise de Louis XI au miroir des sources narratives contemporaines', *Bien Dire et Bien Apprendre: Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales et dialectales de l'Université de Lille III* 27 (2010): 49–67 (58). A renowned bibliophile and patron of Jean Colombe, Louis de Laval-Châtillon (1411–1488) was an important aristocrat and soldier at the court of the dauphin Louis, who made him governor of Dauphiné, of Genoa, and governor and lieutenant general of Champagne. He then became a councillor and ambassador of King Louis XI, who made him the ninth member of his *Ordre de Saint-Michel* in August 1469. Sébastien Mamerot was Louis de Laval's chaplain and author of *Histoire et faits des neuf Preux et des neuf Preues* (ÖNB Cod. 2577 & 2578) (1470s), illustrated by Jean Colombe. The second volume is dedicated to Women Worthies, among them the Amazon queens.

²⁴⁸ Chaigne-Legouy, 'Reine « ordinaire »', § 32. Of all the Duchesses of Anjou who were crowned Queens of Jerusalem and Sicily, only Jeanne de Laval never experienced actual ruling power in France or Italy.

Anjou-Provence was much diminished. In her secondary role, she was a “discreet partner”²⁴⁹ who followed the “ordinary” path that Christine de Pizan warned women against, whereas Isabelle would have been described as “extraordinary” by the author.²⁵⁰ Jeanne was never given the political clout the previous Queens of Jerusalem and Sicily developed during their regency, lieutenancy or vice-lieutenancy. Nonetheless, through her vision of Emilia’s character, Jeanne would redefine the role of a governing queen as a “Dame Amaczon” herself. As the LDTH *W^l*’s patron, working jointly with René on literary projects, her re-imagined noble woman would more forcefully complement René’s of the noble knight.

Chapter Two: Summary

The LDTH and its only fully illustrated manuscript *W^l* (ÖNB Cod. 2617) are significant components of the late medieval body of translations from foreign humanistic literature that provide us with a fuller conception of the social, political, and cultural concerns enjoyed by Angevin aristocrats of the period. My renewed reading of *W^l* increases our understanding of the court of Anjou-Provence during the second half of the fifteenth century, regarding its contribution to the conversation on love and gender relations. First, this chapter showed the helpfulness of translation theory in understanding how time, geography, religion, and the manipulations of various translators textually reconciles antiquity with the present. Additionally, by replacing obscure glosses with imagery easily understandable to the late medieval viewer, translation/visualisation

²⁴⁹ “seconde discrète.” Chaigne-Legouy, § 32.

²⁵⁰ Chaigne-Legouy, § 31.

remedies further difficulties of interpretation connected with antiquity. Connecting the LDTH *W^l* with the Parisian humanists circle and their elite patrons, translation/visualisation further outlines the primary role René d'Anjou's court played in the production of translations into French of Boccaccio's vernacular literature.

Continuing with the impact that this translation had on the visual and textual dialogue established with Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la Cité des dames*, I clarified the importance of the image of the Amazon queen. More than their strength, skill and courage as powerful warriors, the Amazons' political autonomy is especially relevant in our examination of the LDTH *W^l* and the light it throws onto the debate around the role of noble women. This chapter explained the value of the governing power embodied by Isabelle de Lorraine, in conjunction with Christine's image of the Amazon queen. Indeed, I believe that Isabelle's governance model influenced *W^l*'s production. My text-image analysis of the battle of Teseo against the Amazon warriors, in addition to three portraits of the young and conflicted Emilia, bolstered by the examination of the shifting Amazonian/Athenian emotional community, in turn highlight an archetype of aristocratic women. Their role at court mirrors that of Isabelle, through the book's reading and viewing. Barthélemy d'Eyck's successive portraits of Emilia complement this archetype of the "Dame Amaczon," progressively unveiling her characteristics. If we are to believe that Jeanne de Laval commissioned this book, I propose that with it she was virtually reconstructing the world that the Queens of Sicily lived in, in order to memorialise the role of these powerful and autonomous women at times, as models. This metaphoric world blends antiquity with her contemporary reality.

Turning the focus to the more popular and accessible literary tradition of the noble

knight, Chapter Three continues with the exploration of King René's more well-known *Livre des tournois* (LDT). Furthering the examination of the LDTH *W'*, the next chapter focuses on René's redefinition of the ethics of knighthood after the failure of chivalry to end the many conflicts that plagued France within and without. The emotional communities shaping the world in Athens in the LDTH *W'* create connections with the classical culture as it is rediscovered by René and the court of Anjou-Provence, influencing the translation textually and visually, as we have seen in this chapter. Chapter Three will show how the role of prince and the Angevin-Provençal specific vision of noble masculinity, developed in the LDTH *W'*, evolves further in René's LDT.

CHAPTER THREE: “NOBLES CHEVALIERS”

WORLD-MAKING IN LATE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE

Chapter Three continues with my renewed interpretation of the LDTH and the court of Anjou-Provence’s envisioned masculinity, applying the theoretical frameworks developed in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I want to convey the idea that the LDTH builds a foundation for René d’Anjou’s most renowned *Livre des tournois*. The concept of the “noble chevalier” is illustrated in the LDTH in text and miniatures through the morphing of two lawless warriors related to a despot into courtly knights abiding by the rules of a fair prince.

It is my opinion that this concept outlines rituals that further mature in René’s LDT, and in the development and dramatization of his spectacular chivalry, through more specific rituals and refined ceremonies. Moreover, the study of the rules, like the prescribed punishments in the LDT, now brings to light emotional communities built through various degrees of shaming or rewarding knights and their behaviours. I argue that René’s strategy in the LDT therefore creates a shift towards courtier knightly values. It is worth bearing in mind at this point that the “noble chevalier’s” sense of belonging to an emotional community of highly moral noble men, such as René’s chivalric *Ordre du croissant*, will enable the necessary impetus to more spiritual values in René’s MVP, in Chapter Four. Lastly, the additional use of Nelson Goodman’s worldmaking theory emphasises some of the key features of René’s LDT writing style, which is also evidenced in the jousting events sponsored by the prince and their accounts. This chapter seeks to demonstrate that the coexistence of fictitious and real worlds in the LDT,

alongside the antique/the present hybridity already seen in the LDTH's miniatures, is used to create an imaginary world where male noble identity is being reshaped. Consistent with the medieval literary tradition, as we shall see in Chapter Five, this technique will be even more elaborate in René's *Livre du Cœur*.

Part A summarises the book history of René's LDT, introduces worldmaking theory and a more comprehensive approach to translation theory to study the influence of the LDTH *W^l* on the LDT and the development of a social identity. Part B analyses the innovative aesthetics of the iconographic programme and the specific collaboration between René and Barthélemy d'Eyck. Part C expands on the LDT and the fashioning of the "noble chevalier" as a new vision of masculinity that encompasses a complex emotional experience. Chapter Three ends with the concept of worldmaking applied to medieval ever-expanding texts and specifically to King René's spectacular chivalry and *Ordre du Croissant*.

PART A: BOOK HISTORY: *LE LIVRE DES TOURNOIS*

The *Livre de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*, commonly known as the *Livre des tournois* (LDT) (BnF ms. fr. 2695 or P1) is of René's literary works the one that has known the most significant and enduring success since it was created.²⁵¹ Several characteristics about this manuscript are distinctive, possibly explaining the neglect it suffered among scholars for a long time. It is a paper codex of a

²⁵¹ Gautier, '*Le Livre des tournois*', 276. For a comprehensive codicological study of all manuscripts, see Sturgeon, 'Text and Image.' The BnF counts seven additional copies: ms. fr. 2692 (P4), 2693 (P3), 2696 (P2); ms. fr. 2694 (P5) (copy of ms. fr. 2692), ms. Dupuy 288 and ms. fr. 11362 (partial copy) and Arsenal ms. 4223. Additionally, there are four other volumes preserved globally: PCL ms. Czart. 3090 IV (K) and HL ms. Typ 131 (H); RLS ms. E1939.65.1144 (G) and SLB Mscr. Dresd. Oc 58 (D). Fragmentary drawings are conserved as SMB Inv./Cat. n. Z 17792 and AMV Inv. Nr. 7792.

large format with an uncommon illustration style, executed in brown ink drawings with a light colour wash. These drawings are not framed and lack backgrounds, and the manuscript does not have any kind of other decoration. It is not what was considered a luxurious manuscript with painted miniatures on parchment, as we have seen with the LDTH *W*¹ and *W*². For this reason, the original was thought to be lost and P1 was mistakenly believed to be one of its copies.²⁵² However, details such as the undeniable authorship of the work; the dedication to Charles du Maine, René's brother; the numerous textual corrections; the distinct interrelationship between text and image, and the superior quality of the illustration cycle and its dating, all concur to make this superb volume the source manuscript, belonging to René d'Anjou.²⁵³ One of the sources for René's treatise was Antoine de La Sale's *Traité des anciens et des nouveaux tournois*, written in 1459, to which the author refers, thus establishing P1's text after this date.²⁵⁴ A series of watermark analyses of the paper, cross-checked with the Angers inventories, demonstrate when and where this manuscript was written, suggesting a date that corresponds to René's stay in Anjou between 1462 and 1469.²⁵⁵ Textual and visual analyses of P1, along with the transmission through medieval and modern copies, inform us about the reception of the book and René's legacy in space and time as a model of courtliness.

Contrary to the previous *pas d'armes*, René's treatise offers a novel model for

²⁵² Gautier, 'Le Livre des tournois', 279.

²⁵³ This study is largely indebted to Justin Sturgeon's most recent scholarship on the LDT.

²⁵⁴ Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, 'Le Livre des tournois du roi René de la Bibliothèque nationale (Ms. Français 2695) by François Avril', *Bulletin Monumental* 145, no. 3 (1987): 337–42 (338); Gautier, 'Le Livre des tournois', 279.

²⁵⁵ Delaissé, 'Les copies flamandes', 192; Pognon and Avril, *Le Livre des tournois*, 10; Gautier, 'Le Livre des tournois', 279–80; Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 316–19.

sword tourneys. In deeds of arms, horsemen typically engaged in individual lance combats, whereas here, two groups of knights confront each other on horseback, combatting in companies under the banner of their captains. In this work, René imagines a set of new rituals as a sort of synthesis of customs in use in France, Germany, Flanders and Brabant.²⁵⁶ Antoine de La Sale's treatise, Burgundian chronicles or accounts of tournaments in urban centres in the Holy Roman Empire represent specific and varied regional sources that René draws upon. In addition to these, he incorporates his own preferences and the knowledge of the French nobility (his primary audience) and its evolving tastes.²⁵⁷ However, similarly to the *pas d'armes*' accounts, the combat itself only occupies a small section of the text. The majority of René's book is dedicated to the proper preparations, equipment, and behaviours of the combatants.

By turning his focus to an *ideal* tournament rather than a real one, René also addresses the nobility, providing a codification of chivalric ethics that opposes and excludes the growing popularity of bourgeois tourneys in late fifteenth-century urban centres.²⁵⁸ For example, the review of the tourneyers by the judges before the tournament "functions like a noble court of justice,"²⁵⁹ based on the same principles of honour, lineage and fidelity that existed during the *pas d'armes*' proceedings. Textually and visually identifying for the reader/viewer tourneyers being caught and punished, by

²⁵⁶ Brabant, as well as Flanders, was part of the Burgundian dominions.

²⁵⁷ Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 195–258. René was well accustomed to Flemish and German culture. During his stay at the court of Charles II de Lorraine, René had access to the duke's renowned library and social networks.

²⁵⁸ Évelyne Van den Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: École des Chartes, 1996).

²⁵⁹ "fonctionne comme un tribunal de la noblesse." Gautier, 'Le Livre des tournois', 276.

contrast René also offers the concept of the *ideal* knight.²⁶⁰ Two symbolic examples denote parallel narratives. On f. 67v [fig. 22], the review of helms depicts the judges pointing to an irregularity with one of the knights' helms under the Brittany banner. Then, on f. 100v [fig. 23a], the penalty requires the same knight to sit on the enclosure's barrier in full armour and in his saddle while his company members are taking part in the melee. On the same folio, the *chevalier menteur*, or lying knight, is being chastised by other knights who strike his helm with their swords to throw it to the ground, as prescribed earlier in the text, on ffs. 70r-70v. Touched by his plight, a lady on the scaffold signals the knight of honour to lower her colours onto the lying knight whose swan-covered helm is toppling forward, to indicate that he is under her protection, thus ending the punishment. Despite the confusion of the melee, the viewer can follow the gesture of the lady and her scarf to recognise the knight in trouble.

The proper equipment is thoroughly detailed in the manuscript's text and image. Barthélemy's highly realistic illustrations, translating visually the technical descriptions of the different parts of the knight's and his horse's equipment, provide the accurate way to dress and equip the ideal knight [fig. 24] and his mount. These drawings, executed with an admirable precision, might recall, with some humour, garments to be cut out for paper dolls, or those small books that imitate pictures in motion when one flips the pages, expecting the Duke of Brittany to dress himself and gallop away on his horse, perfectly armed and holding his shield.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ Gautier, 276.

²⁶¹ Freigang, 'Le tournoi idéal', 184–85.

Manuscripts and Transmission of the LDT

The twelve extant copies of the LDT attest to its popularity, and its transmission throws light on its reception during René's lifetime and later. (For a summarised codicological analysis, please refer to the Appendix). The provenance of these manuscripts reveals a complex network of courts, spreading René's legacy as a model of aristocratic ethics in space and time. Justin Sturgeon's investigative work, connecting manuscripts K and H, has helped date these two books more securely between 1465 and 1470, during René d'Anjou's lifetime.²⁶² More importantly, H has proven to be an important link in understanding how René's treatise was received as soon as it was written. Contrary to its older twin copy, it is a compilation containing Jacques d'Armagnac (c. 1433–1477), Duke of Nemours' treatise *La forme des tournoys*, among other texts on the same subject. Moreover, the book is dedicated in the present tense to Gaston de Foix, Prince of Viana (1444–1470), whose reputation in military battles and tournaments was well-chronicled by the Burgundian historiographers.²⁶³ Knowing that H is the only known book to pair Nemours' treatise with René's, and that the patron's intention was to gift possibly this copy to one of the noblest knights of the times, says much about the LDT's authority at the time it was produced.²⁶⁴ Its rather rapid

²⁶² Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 332; Gautier, '*Le Livre des tournois*', 282. How Jacques d'Armagnac actually produced the first copy is still uncertain. The first hypothesis that it was copied under Barthélemy's supervision at the Angevin-Provençal court does not seem to carry much weight anymore due to its iconographical analysis. Jacques d'Armagnac was Charles du Maine's son-in-law. Marc-Édouard Gautier has speculated that PCL ms. Czart. 3090 IV could also have been the manuscript René dedicated to his brother, which then passed on to Jacques, as did Gaston Phébus' *Chasses*, before both found their way to Pierre de Beaujeu's library after Jacques d'Armagnac's trial and subsequent execution in 1477.

²⁶³ Gaston Du Fresne de Beaucourt, ed., *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, 3 vols (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1863); Courteault, 'Le manuscrit original de l'histoire de Gaston IV' and Leseur, *Histoire de Gaston IV*. Gaston de Foix died after he was mortally wounded at a tournament in Libourne in 1470.

²⁶⁴ Gautier, '*Le Livre des tournois*', 282.

transmission during René's lifetime further suggests that René d'Anjou's reputation as a paragon of courtliness was well-established before he died.²⁶⁵ The fate of the source manuscript offers a further pattern of transmission revealing the scope of this reputation. After René's death, P1 found its way to the House of Luxembourg, in the possession of a woman, Marie de Luxembourg (c. 1470–1547). There are two hypotheses that could explain this acquisition. Marie could have inherited it from her grandfather Louis de Luxembourg, Count of Saint-Pol (1418–1475).²⁶⁶ Louis and René shared the same passion for chivalric culture and Louis was greatly admired at the Angevin-Provençal court. He distinguished himself in the *Pas d'armes de Nancy* (1445), in the presence of the King of France. Louis de Beauvau's poem relating the *Pas d'armes de la bergère*, four years later, bears a dedication to him on Barthélemy's frontispiece [fig. 17].²⁶⁷ Although there is no evidence that Louis de Luxembourg was offered P1, René's and Louis' shared values make this hypothesis plausible. However, at least two Flemish copies (P3 and P4) also point to Louis de Bruges (1422–1492), Lord of Gruuthuse's possession of the manuscript. It is speculated that he would have obtained P1 through his son Jan, who was appointed Seneschal of Anjou and Captain of the castle in Angers in 1480. Louis de Bruges would have had the copies made between 1488, or slightly earlier, and 1489.²⁶⁸ Louis would have offered P1 to Marie de Luxembourg's husband, Jacques

²⁶⁵ Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 332.

²⁶⁶ Sturgeon, 319–20. She inherited most of her library from her father who had also inherited his father's books.

²⁶⁷ Vaivre, '*Le Livre des tournois*' 338; Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 321; Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 350–52. Louis de Luxembourg's coat of arms is also on the gate of the Love Cemetery in the LDC (BnF ms. fr. 24399 f. 90r), where René's laudatory description of Louis precedes Louis de Beauvau's.

²⁶⁸ Gautier, '*Le Livre des tournois*', 282; Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 322; Lecoy de La Marche, *Extraits des comptes*, 267. "ung cayez de papier en grant volume, ouquel est le commencement d'un tourney" in the Angers castle inventory of 1471 has been accepted by many as the only record of the source manuscript.

de Savoie, who came to Louis' rescue in 1488 during the Flemish revolts, and later gifted its copy (P4), to King Charles VIII.²⁶⁹ By the end of the fifteenth century, René's LDT was associated with the Armagnac, and later the House of Bourbon, the House of Luxembourg, closely connected to Burgundy, and the House of France, representing the major courts of the French speaking world.

During the first two decades of the sixteenth century, a new iconographic cycle emerged, connected to another copy produced in Flanders (P2), of which D is a surviving version.²⁷⁰ Integrated in a *miroir des princes* style of book, D's elongated illustration cycle of this *Traité des tournois* offers "an entirely different, hence interesting vision of the chivalric world" without, however, "referring to the illustrations from the Angevin models."²⁷¹ René's original text still seems to retain its intrinsic ethical values. Without being entirely disconnected from the source manuscript or its other copies, the lower-quality miniatures provide a new visual interpretation that does not respect the original patron's and artist's intentions. Throughout D, a number of painted coats of arms, among them the ancestral arms of Austria, suggests that "it was intended as a gift to a member of the Habsburg family, most likely Maximilian I."²⁷² Sturgeon insists on the political role of such a book in a region like Flanders, highlighting this "unique example of how

²⁶⁹ Gautier, 'Le Livre des tournois', 282; Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 322. The pagination differs and a presentation illustration to a king is added.

²⁷⁰ Gautier, 'Le Livre des tournois', 282; Heers and Robin, *Traité des tournois*, 15, 21–26; Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 337–46. The provenance of P2 remains unclear, suggesting either the Burgundian court or the house of Savoie.

²⁷¹ Heers and Robin, *Traité des tournois*, 26. "toute différente et par là même intéressante de cet univers chevaleresque"; "qui ne fasse pas référence aux illustrations issues des modèles angevins."

²⁷² Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 342.

René's work could be interpreted and repurposed by its contemporary audience."²⁷³

Finally, among the modern copies of René's LDT, P5 was produced from P4, during the early years of the seventeenth century.²⁷⁴ Around 1619, a French humanist from Aix-en-Provence, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), produced a series of prints from the first Flemish copy. Two of these engravings illustrate the first printed version of the LDT published by Marc de Vulson de la Colombière in 1648 [fig. 25a & b].²⁷⁵ In this new format, a large image of the lists is surrounded by smaller oval vignettes, seemingly haphazardly taken from the original illustration cycle. The equipment of the ideal knight is employed in decorative motifs, linking the small pictures with drawn ribbons.

Barthélemy d'Eyck's illustrations are still recognisable in these new frames, but it is safe to say that they function in a very different fashion. Marc-Édouard Gautier's conclusion flawlessly summarises the enduring effect that René's book has had on its audience, highlighting René's didactic approach engaging the imaginary:

Four more manuscript copies were produced during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for great bibliophiles. Since the publishing of the original manuscript by Champollion-Figeac in 1826, reproductions of the original illustrations or of the medieval copies have continued to multiply to the point of making this work a sort of memory place, fashioning our collective imaginary of chivalric combat.²⁷⁶

As a prince-author, René d'Anjou was fortunate to be able to express in his own

²⁷³ Sturgeon, 345.

²⁷⁴ Vaivre, '*Le Livre des tournois*', 342.

²⁷⁵ Vaivre, 342; Gautier, '*Le Livre des tournois*', 282. Vulson de la Colombière, *Le vray théâtre*, 48–81.

²⁷⁶ "Quatre copies manuscrites sont encore réalisées aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles pour de grands bibliophiles. Depuis l'édition du manuscrit original par Champollion-Figeac en 1826, les reproductions des enluminures de l'original ou de ses copies médiévales n'ont cessé de se multiplier au point de faire de cette œuvre une sorte de lieu de mémoire qui façonne notre imaginaire collectif du combat chevaleresque." Gautier, '*Le Livre des tournois*', 282.

words and to control the modelling of his concept of the late fifteenth-century ideal knight, helped by a very talented illuminator. The result, once analysed and decoded, is astounding, and many were the noble knights who believed so, if we are to consider how rapidly it was copied, preserved in its entirety, and disseminated through courts of France, Burgundy, Bourbon, and possibly Savoie and Habsburg. In time, the symbiotic relationship of pictorial and textual metadata that René and Barthélemy had concocted in their great book was lost to further productions, its interest now reduced to the imaginary chivalric world created by the prince. Many factors might explain this. Noble tourneys, as René described and depicted them, were already losing popularity while bourgeois tournaments proliferated in the urban centres of Flanders and Germany. Most importantly, the progressive loss of medieval memory training and the advent of a new conception of rational thinking, as well as the progressively expanding cultural distance, made it more and more difficult to make sense of René's and Barthélemy's book, especially their partnership in generating intricate text-image relationships.

Before resuming our examination of the LDTH *W'*, developing a different approach to translation theory to allow a comparison with the LDT that is more adjusted to the refining of courtly knighthood, I consider Nelson Goodman's worldmaking as an equally useful theoretical lens to interpret medieval texts and scripted social events, such as René's treatise on chivalry, *pas d'armes* and his re-imagining of the chivalric order.

World-Making Theory

In 1978, the American philosopher and Harvard professor Nelson Goodman assembled a number of conference papers on world-making into a small book that has been since the foundation for a variety of contemporary discussions on literature, art and

science. In this book, the author re-evaluates and expands on Ernst Cassirer's theory of "countless worlds made from nothing by use of symbols" applied to myths and cultures.²⁷⁷ Goodman defends what he calls "radical irrationalism" or "irrationalism with severe constraints." Since he finds explaining the world through a unique truth misleading, the author perceives multiple versions of worlds, conflicting and/or existing side by side, in a perpetual regenerating formation process:

Much but by no means all worldmaking consists of taking apart and putting together, often conjointly: on the one hand, of dividing wholes into parts and partitioning kinds into subspecies, analyzing complexes into component features, drawing distinctions; on the other hand, of composing wholes and kinds out of parts and members and subclasses, combining features into complexes, and making connections.²⁷⁸

An essential point of Goodman's worldmaking theory is the awareness of worlds. Rather than seeing to believe or using a physical system of recognition, he advocates for a system based on sensorial perception, which works particularly well with art. Goodman believes that: "the philosophy of art should be conceived as integral part of metaphysics and epistemology,"²⁷⁹ and that non-linguistic symbol systems, such as metaphors used in fiction, whether in literature, visual arts, music or dance, are especially potent fields of investigation, demonstrating that fictitious and actual worlds can coexist. This last observation is notably important with regard to René's LDT and chivalric *mise-en-scène* that are part of the *pas d'armes* ceremonials, relating in books events that occurred before, during and after the deed of arms. Considering Goodman's worldmaking from pre-existing worlds serves scholars wishing to interpret medieval literary practices of

²⁷⁷ Goodman, *Worldmaking*, 1.

²⁷⁸ Goodman, 7.

²⁷⁹ Goodman, 102.

compilation and re-writes from previous histories and cultures, including translations. Goodman's worldmaking is particularly helpful with illustrations and complements the textual worldmaking that we see in Marco Polo's *Devisement du monde* or the *Book of John Mandeville*,²⁸⁰ providing us with a model for a related approach to these expansive medieval texts that we briefly described in the Preface. This chapter also considers another approach to translation theory to nuance Taylor's views on medieval knightly culture and the evolution of social values.

Translation Theory and Development Theory

Historian Craig Taylor's work on knighthood is an essential read for any chapter on late medieval chivalry. Based on chronicles and historiographies, it focuses on warrior culture and records the specific shift regarding the role the military knight played within late medieval French society. However, chivalric romances as source texts clearly do not fall within the author's scope. Instead, the book focuses on the complexities of ideals of knighthood and how it was debated and "explored by medieval writers and commentators."²⁸¹ Even if the period and main discourse match the production of both the LDTH *W¹* and the LDT, *W¹*'s translator would not be considered, according to Taylor's book, as an "objective witness to the changing world."²⁸² Clearly, this type of literature would be regarded a "cultural fantasy."²⁸³ René d'Anjou as a military man and a prince-author fits the author's prerogative without getting more than a mention among

²⁸⁰ Higgins, *Writing East*, vii.

²⁸¹ Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, 6–7.

²⁸² Taylor, 9.

²⁸³ Taylor, 10.

the princes-bibliophiles who were key to the extraordinary production and circulation of books on knighthood and warfare during the late Middle Ages. Furthermore, we have seen how the LDTH *W^l* provides a significant commentary on female power, which totally eludes Taylor's purview.

Rather than simply using a historical approach like I will do for the LDT, this chapter continues the interpretation of the LDTH *W^l* within a translation theoretical framework, now interfaced with complexity theory and development studies. My aim is to show that, in the discourse on knighthood presented in *W^l*, translation understood as a semiotic exchange between languages and cultures is not adequate or sufficient as a concept but should be "organized ... as a transdiscipline."²⁸⁴ Thus considered as a vehicle to facilitate complex relationships between various aspects of reality, translation creates a dynamic interaction between contexts such as history, politics and society to induce development. The result of philosophical research in translation studies, Kobus Marais' framework therefore provides a means for translation to have a "role to play in the way in which societies emerge."²⁸⁵

Locating René d'Anjou and his entourage within the proposed interrelated systems, I then observe how the conversation on knighthood, evolving through the LDTH *W^l*'s text and images, functions regarding social developments. Historically and socially, the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) meant seasonal and relentless insecurity and economic devastation for the population at large, and the dangers of death or prison and ransom for all knights and men-at-arms. While minimal economic and cultural activities

²⁸⁴ Marais, *Translation Theory and Development Studies*, 115.

²⁸⁵ Marais, 120.

were pursued, civilisation was at a standstill and the “practical function of knights in military, political and social terms was subject to important changes and pressures.”²⁸⁶ If René could not historically act as a king and a knight, he could extend his political influence through a passionate discursive action on knighthood and a redefinition of courtly behaviour. Late medieval historical accounts, such as chronicles, and didactic and military treatises indicate that knighthood and aristocratic values were part of an intense, fluid debate that was equally reflected in chivalric literature.²⁸⁷ Even if intrinsic values of honour, prowess, courage, and loyalty were never disputed, these texts, which refer to classical authors and are critical of contemporary actions, influenced social change by outlining ideals and fashioning behaviours. Suggesting a further relationship, we see how King René’s reality now connects history, geography, cultures, and politics to shaping masculinity, re-imagining the late medieval knight/courtier within his social role through the production of translations, such as the LDTH *W^l*. Applying Marais’ framework of complex thinking to these relationships, I examine how they consistently inter-react, defining René d’Anjou’s influential vision of a new courtly knight in *W^l*. Then using a historical approach, I further explore the court of Anjou-Provence’s social scene and René’s developing spectacular chivalry, which led to the foundation of the *Ordre du Croissant*.

²⁸⁶ Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, 8.

²⁸⁷ Contamine, ‘Points de vue sur la chevalerie’, 283. Princes-authors and warriors such as Charles d’Orléans and René d’Anjou were especially important partakers in this debate, although on different levels, and anticipated the Renaissance values through their literary activity. Their lives were intricately woven in the melancholy of the times. Contamine seems to regret the end of the traditional chivalric values but sees a new form of chivalry coming out of the Phoenix’s ashes. The period studied in my dissertation corresponds, in his view, to the transformation of declining values into imaginary ideals, of which Don Quixote represents the ultimate and pathetic example.

Before I turn to my reading of René's LDT and how it completes my analysis of the LDTH *W^l*, it is important to observe how René's and Barthélemy's collaborative work on the LDT evolves into a perfect symbiosis, because it will affect Barthélemy's illustration of René's LDC. I see, in this atypical manuscript, made on paper, a "working draft" that could have significant repercussions in the way we perceive the court of Anjou-Provence's literary production centred around Barthélemy's work.

PART B: COLLABORATION OF AUTHOR AND ARTIST ON THE ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMME

Although the patron's identity of the LDTH *W^l* is still speculative, iconographic strategies show that the manuscript was produced within the same cultural circle as the LDT. The second campaign of illustration was executed in Angers by the Maître du Boccace when René and Barthélemy were working on the LDT, between 1462 and 1469. The former is the translation of a story about love and chivalry, and the latter, a didactic text setting norms for the ideal knight. The two manuscripts' inter-pictorial dialogue, as a sign of their influence on each other, their similar narratives, and their authors and illustrators sharing the same location during similar periods further suggest a multi-level relationship between the two books.

A superb iconographic programme, functioning cohesively with the text, engages the viewer in a dynamic reading, as if the spectator of seventeen full-page illustrated tableaux, of which ten extend on entire facing folios; five images of the knight's armour sections and weapons, and four illustrations of the inside and outside layers of the horse's

hourt or armour to protect the horse's breast.²⁸⁸ The narrative smoothly blends real and imaginary strands of the storyline while the large illustrations represent, complement, announce, explain and comment on the text, their amazing mimetic quality partaking in the performative aspects of the ceremonies.²⁸⁹ As the viewer discovers on ffs. 45v-46r [fig. 26], the Duke of Brittany, the appellant, confronts the Duke of Bourbon, the defendant in René's ideal tournament. Their historically correct identity is visually validated by their actual heraldic emblems, extending from their crest to their horses' covers. However, all the other tourneyers are fictitious, as we see in the ritual of "faire de son blason fenêtre," ("display their blazons at the windows")²⁹⁰ is depicted on ffs. 54v-55r [fig. 27]. The larger coat of arms on the left visually displays the factual, heraldic details of the Duke of Brittany: the shield of ermines, topped with a bascinet (light helmet) and the ducal crown, and the crest composed of the *lion de Montfort* with horns on each side of the lion. Under the shield lies the collar of the *Ordre de l'Épi*, created by the duke in 1450.²⁹¹ The armorial mantling unfolds around it. Viewers can appreciate the precision and the attention to detail that went into the composition of such an image, reproduced on the facing illustration with the coat of arms of the Duke of Bourbon. The *fleur-de-lys* shield with the red *brisure* has a large white dog standing on its rear legs on each side, a heraldic detail which had been abandoned by the duke and reinstated during

²⁸⁸ All translations for technical terminology used in this chapter are found in René d'Anjou, 'King René's Tournament Book', trans. Elizabeth Bennett, *King René's tournament book: A modern English translation*, 1998, <http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/compare.html>.

²⁸⁹ Freigang, 'Le tournoi idéal', 180.

²⁹⁰ Vaivre, 'Le Livre des tournois', 338; Anjou, 'King René's Tournament Book.'

²⁹¹ Pognon and Avril, *Le Livre des tournois*, 12, cited in Christian de Mérindol, 'Le Livre des tournois du roi René: Nouvelles lectures', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1992 (1994): 177-92 (182). Avril first noticed the collar on the Duke of Brittany as he enters the town with his party on f. 52r, which suggests René's impressive chivalric knowledge.

the late 1450s.²⁹² Although the ten other coats of arms in each faction look heraldically realistic in terms of colour and shield design, they are entirely fictional, suggesting René's vast heraldic knowledge and imagination.²⁹³ Nonetheless, the emblematic accuracy is as much René's responsibility as a patron for conceiving it as it is the illustrator's for depicting it so vividly.

Since the 1980s, art historians have recognised Barthélemy d'Eyck's style and technical precision in the fine drawings of the LDT, but this has not always been the case. The earliest copies of the manuscript (K and H), dating between 1465 and 1470, "tacitly identified René as the sole authorial voice of the treatise,"²⁹⁴ implying that the myth of René-the-painter developed during his lifetime. This myth was later adopted by the prince's historiographers in Anjou and Provence.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, a handwritten note in P1 f. 1v, saying that "the present book was dictated by King René of Sicily and painted with his own hand" ("Le present livre a esté dicté par le Roy Rene de Sicille et paint de sa propre main") suggests that the single creation of the book was already accepted during the seventeenth century.²⁹⁶ This idea was later abandoned, and I support this

²⁹² Vaivre, 'Le Livre des tournois', 339; Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 332–34. As we will see in Chapter Five, this detail will be repeated in René d'Anjou's LDC. The coat of arms of the Duke of Bourbon is depicted at the gate of the Love Cemetery (BnF ms. fr. 24399 f. 83v).

²⁹³ Freigang, 'Le tournois idéal', 181.

²⁹⁴ Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 39.

²⁹⁵ Jehan de Bourdigné, *Chroniques d'Anjou et du Maine*, ed. Théodore de Quatrebarbes, vol. 2, 2 vols (Angers: Imprimerie de Cosnier et Lachèse, 1842) and Otto Pächt, 'René d'Anjou Studien II', *Jahrbuch Der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 73 (1977): 7–106 (82) cited in Ferré, 'Le roi peintre', 119. Among others, Ferré cites Jehan de Bourdigné and César de Nostredame who immortalised René as "a well-informed art lover and a painter" ("un amateur d'art éclairé et peintre") and "a very excellent painter and a good illuminator" ("très excellent peintre et bon enlumineur").

²⁹⁶ Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 40; "Laure Rioust, Notice du département des Département des Manuscrits. Ms. fr. 2695", BnF Gallica, last update July 2017, <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc49176v>. A scholarly conversation started as early as 1892. Durrieu, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits', 141–43 and Otto Pächt, 'René d'Anjou et les Van Eyck', 56. In his conclusion, Durrieu named Barthélemy de Clerc as the Maître du Cœur d'amour épris, the artist responsible for the illuminations in the eponymous manuscript

perspective, based on what has emerged in our understanding of Barthélemy d’Eyck.²⁹⁷

Symbiosis of Text and Image in the LDT

The LDT, and P1 as the source manuscript, is a remarkable example of René’s and Barthélemy’s close collaboration, the multi-layered relationships between text and image demonstrating their interdependence on a conceptual level. Sturgeon has extensively investigated this aspect of the manuscript, establishing how textual and pictorial languages function inter-connectively described as “a unique symbiosis between text and image.”²⁹⁸ Examining the specific terminology employed in the captions preceding each image, the layout using blank pages, and how both text and illustrations act as exegetic elements, Sturgeon shows “the complexity and interconnected nature of the text and image cycle within the book.”²⁹⁹ These remarks lead to the undeniable authority of René d’Anjou regarding noble tourneys and his artist’s ability to precisely visualise the prince’s ideas. The image on f. 19r [fig. 28] exemplifies the process. This caption, in red ink, precedes the illustration:

Icy après est pourtraictie la facon et maniere comment le Roy d’armes aiant le drap d’or sur l’espaule et les deux chiefs pains sur le parchemin, et aux quatre coings les quatre escussons desdits juges pains, Et crie le Tournay, et comment les poursuivans baillent les escussons des armes desdits juges a tous ceulx qui en veullent prandre (Hereafter is shown the

conserved in Vienna, and Barthélemy’s workshop for the illustrations in the LDTH *W^l*. Pächt’s in-depth investigation during the 1970s, challenging Durrieu’s proposal in comparison with the *Hours of René d’Anjou* (BL Egerton 1070), reverted to René as the single author and illuminator.

²⁹⁷ Ferré, ‘Le roi peintre’, 118; Sturgeon, ‘Text and Image’, 40–41. The prince’s involvement in many artistic projects had often been noticed in his accounts in reference to different artists, but unfortunately misconstrued as his own work. Charles Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton: Le peintre de la Pietà d’Avignon* (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1983), 173–80, cited in Reynaud, ‘Barthélemy avant 1450’, 41 (FN 1); Avril, ‘Barthélemy d’Eyck’, 225. Sterling’s, then Avril’s revisiting of Durrieu’s earlier hypothesis, led the way towards a new series of attribution of works to Barthélemy d’Eyck as an illuminator, including the LDT.

²⁹⁸ Sturgeon, ‘Text and Image’, 46.

²⁹⁹ Sturgeon, 60.

way and manner in which the king of arms, with the cloth of gold on his shoulder and the two captains and the arms of the judges painted at the four corners of the parchment, cries the tourney, and how the pursuivants give a little shield with the arms of the judges to all who wish to take part).³⁰⁰

Sturgeon proposes that the terms “pourtraictie” and “facon et maniere” are employed as formulas, repeated throughout the book, to guide the reader’s interpretation of the following image as representing, or portraying, the key moment of a preparatory ceremony—here, crying the tourney. The king of arms’ textual description specifically indicates how to proceed, the image naturalistically depicting manner and equipment as prescribed in the text. Text and image, never on the same page, are separated here by two blank folios, forcing a visual break at this critical moment. At the same time, the negative space is reflected in the absence of background in the image, also creating a pause from the text, successively and separately focusing the reader’s, then viewer’s attention on what is written and depicted. Finally, the abundance of detail in the text and its corresponding image are interwoven to form a uniform collection that nourishes itself. This type of illustration describing a particular moment of a ceremony is always followed by a scripted speech, providing information not available anywhere else in the text.³⁰¹ In this example, one of the pursuivants is represented his mouth wide open and his head tilted back a little to have more power to cry the tourney [fig. 28]. The scripted speech in fact prescribes choosing the pursuivant with the loudest voice, requiring him to “take three great breaths and three great pauses” before shouting “Hear Ye, Hear Ye, Hear Ye”

³⁰⁰ Anjou, ‘King René’s Tournament Book.’

³⁰¹ Sturgeon, ‘Text and Image’, 59.

(“par troys haultes allenées et troys grandes reposées (...) Or ouez, or ouez, or ouez”).³⁰²

Now, the image precedes the text, demonstrating their interdependency. Simultaneously, René’s and Barthélemy’s effective complicity weaves in fiction and reality, elaborating a model of tournament together, based on the noble knight’s proper behaviour.

Despite the admiration one might feel at such a great process and the minds behind it, it would be too facile to describe the patron’s and artist’s work as a simple game of deciphering text with image once the code is broken. The desire to guide the interpretation and help the reader/viewer’s focus on specific elements, using distinct co-dependent textual and visual stratagems, additionally suggests René’s appeal for his audience’s virtual participation in the ritualisation. Art historian Christian Freigang has called attention to this specific visual strategy.³⁰³ It becomes especially noticeable while shifting from depicting key moments in a ceremony to narrative images. In the set of illustrations visualising the lists and the scaffolds, Barthélemy played with optical perspective, moving the vanishing point vertically, horizontally, and back and forth.³⁰⁴ At times located at the level of the judges and the ladies at the centre of the lists, the vanishing point gives the viewer the impression that he/she might be on an imaginary scaffold facing them. At other times, it is lowered, moved to the side and forward, bringing the viewer to the level of the tourneyers and their squires, so that he/she can feel

³⁰² Anjou, ‘King René’s Tournament Book.’

³⁰³ Freigang, ‘Le tournois idéal’, 182–183. Chapter Five explains how the same visual strategy is deployed in the LDC (BnF ms. fr. 24399) copied on Barthélemy d’Eyck’s original iconographic cycle. On this, see also Rose-Marie Ferré, ‘Pour une lecture performative de l’œuvre de René d’Anjou? Le dialogue des arts dans *Le Livre de Cœur d’Amours espris* de Paris: Écriture, peinture, spectacle (autour des tapisseries de Vénus)’, in *René d’Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011), 135–58.

³⁰⁴ Freigang, ‘Le tournois idéal’, 182.

part of the melee. Paired with the unusually large full-page illustrations extending on facing folios, the optical illusion is perfected by painting a knight or a valet, his head directly facing the viewer, as if ready to address him/her. Composing the image cycle thus, Barthélemy's approach is comparable to that of a film director, choosing his angles, zooming in and out, all the time keeping in mind that he makes "the spectator play an important and well-defined role."³⁰⁵ In my view, the association of Barthélemy's artistic genius with René's visionary capacity, pushing the boundaries of the late medieval manuscripts' agency, truly reveals the didactic purpose of the LDT to promote René's vision of the ideal noble man.

A final remark is due to the unusual nature of P1. Of all four books examined in my dissertation, P1 is the only one made of paper, of a larger format, with uncommon illustrations and no decoration. It is also the only complete source manuscript. As such, it is a precious document regarding René's and Barthélemy's working dynamics. P1 appears to be a sort of "working draft." This conclusion is supported by the fact that it was left behind in Angers after René's last move to Provence.³⁰⁶ Did he take with him a more luxurious copy of his precious treatise? Although it is speculative, I carefully submit that P1 could exemplify the type of draft of René's LDC that served as a model for P and V. It might more easily explain why the elusive luxury manuscript that serves as model is now lost, or was possibly never created.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ Freigang, 183. Freigang qualifies this visual strategy as "absolutely exceptional" at this time.

³⁰⁶ See FN 272 above. René's accounts mention it as a "cayez."

³⁰⁷ This will be further explored in Chapter Five.

PART C: “NOBLES CHEVALIERS” AND THE CRAFTING OF EMOTIONAL QUINTESSENCE FOR THE LATE MEDIEVAL KNIGHT

In Part C, I analyse how the concept of the “noble chevalier” is developed through both the LDTH *W^l* and the LDT, exploring how the *W^l*’s text and illustrations, extended to René’s chivalric events and order, influence the LDT. Continuing with emotions theory, I examine how an emotional narrative developed within groups of men who participate in a common social activity stimulated René d’Anjou’s conceptualisation of a new image of masculinity. Finally, I introduce the prince’s LDT as a worldmaking text in comparison with René’s spectacular chivalry in text and image, and with the LDTH *W^l*’s treatment by its potential patron.

Conceptualising the “Noble Chevalier” in the LDTH *W^l*

Other than the presence in Angers, during a similar period, of Barthélemy d’Eyck, the Maître du Boccace and René d’Anjou, and despite the lack of evidence that they worked in concert on *W^l* and the LDT, the iconographic relationship and layout that connect both manuscripts has already been noticed.³⁰⁸ Most particularly, Barthélemy’s construction of spaces using large illustrations on facing folios in *W^l*, such as the frontispiece on ffs. 18v-19r [fig. 5], is described as a precursor to the development of the same technique in the LDT, as we have seen with the decoration of the houses where the knights are staying on ffs. 54v-55r [fig. 27]. Although the stillness and lack of people in the visual description of the street contrast with the busy dynamism of the battle, the perspective created by receding diagonal lines produce a similar spatial constrictive effect

³⁰⁸ Gautier, ‘Le Livre des tournois’, 279.

in both illustrations. Furthermore, Barthélemy's use of perspective in the LDT shows a sturdier technique in his lists' scenes than in *W^I*. For example, we can compare Arcita's and Palemone's combat [fig. 29] with the tourneyers leaving the lists after the confrontation [fig. 23]. In the latter, the double row of the barrier receding in one direction and the horsemen with their vertical banners, crossing that barrier in the other, compensate for the lack of background of the LDT in making the space in this scene very realistic. More iconographic details, such as the soldier wearing a pointed helmet with a visor, painted in a very similar manner in both *W^I* on f. 19r [fig. 5] and the LDT on f. 100v [fig. 23a], defines an inter-pictorial relationship between the manuscripts based on specific details. Applying translation theory in *W^I*, I analyse what characterises the conversion of Arcita and Palemone from feudal knights into "nobles chevaliers." Then, I examine how glory and love are used progressively to define each of their transformation, love eventually rewarding the winner.

In Boccaccio's TNE, Arcita and Palemone are two knights in the royal family of the despot Creon who treacherously defeated Argos and Thebes. In Book II, Teseo, hearing of Creon's ravages of war, decides to avenge the widows of Argos. After a quick victory, he takes both knights back to Athens as hostages, but treats them with respect, highlighting his fairness as a prince in contrast with Creon. As Creon's family members, however, Arcita and Palemone are assimilated to his boorish or uncivilised behaviour. On the battlefield, both act as ruthless warriors, representing the old tradition of military knighthood described by the women of Argos. Besides, we have seen them peering at Emilia from their prison cell, as the young woman weaves a crown of roses in her garden. They both fall in love with her at that moment and their jealousy increases until they

receive the opportunity to fight it out to death. They are clearly portrayed as feudal knights with warrior instinct, behaving in total opposition to practices upheld by late medieval courtliness and prescribed by René in his LDT.

The knights' metamorphosis in the LDTH *W'* respects the rules of a noble tournament and is arbitrated by the fair Teseo, although in the source text divine intervention was more influential. It is indeed difficult not to see René d'Anjou's appreciation in this courtly mutation, and, pushing this concept further, René's portrait in Prince Teseo. Four specific scenes, depicted in Barthélemy d'Eyck's and the Maître du Boccace's miniatures, deserve greater scrutiny to interpret the steps of this progressive shift and how it operates. First, I study Arcita's and Palemone's fight, followed by Teseo's imposition of rules for a courtly tournament. Then, I observe how both knights behave during and after the tournament and how feelings of glory and love adequately befit a noble, civil conduct, matching the late fifteenth-century ritualised practices we see in the LDT.

Book V of Boccaccio's TNE marks a turning point for the two Thebans and begins with separate miniatures on two facing folios. This double illustration by the Maître du Boccace, laid out by Barthélemy,³⁰⁹ introduces two narratives, simultaneously developing and reaching a climax at the end of Book V. At first glance, the miniature on f. 77r [fig. 30] reminds us "of the flatness of wallpaper."³¹⁰ Two knights in full armour are engaged in a sword fight, on horseback. The artist's lack of skill at depicting depth is distracting to a viewer used to perspectival depth. By contrast, the peaceful landscape on

³⁰⁹ Neither of the illustrations has text in the lower register.

³¹⁰ "von tapetenhafter Flächigkeit." Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 34.

the top left corner illustrates Barthélemy's preparation of this image and matches the background that unfolds more visibly in the facing illustration. The brutality of the attack is lost in the unmatched scale of horses and men with the surrounding grove.³¹¹

Responding to Arcita's invective, Palemone's reaction is instinctive and belligerent. Without a word, as a proud warrior, he acts to surprise his adversary. In the conflict that opposes Arcita and Palemone, they are acting as vengeful knights, barbaric and uncivilised or "*dörperlich*,"³¹² recalling the image of Mars in the *Mittelalterliche Hausbuch* [fig. 31], where the god of war ravages villages and their population. This conduct, contrary to the nobility of behaviour prescribed in the combat rituals, is understood by the cousins as acceptable, but reflects in the translation a criticism of a historical period and an authoritarian political system that are now past. Prince Teseo's intervention at this key moment emphasises his superior valour and stops the fight.

This significant encounter substantiates Teseo's authority and role as an arbitrator in the knights' shift towards courtliness. In the dialogue that follows, the combat is presented as an impromptu meeting. The reader learns that not only did the Thebans vow to fight to the death, but that Arcita, under the assumed identity of Penteo, has come back in defiance of the prince's order and that Palemone has escaped from his prison. Only love can be the two miscreants' redeeming quality and the reason for imploring Teseo's pardon. As a model of late medieval courtliness deployed in romance literature and, as we will see shortly, a common fiction for *pas d'armes*, the prince welcomes love as a

³¹¹ Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 112. The knights, probably borrowed from stock images that were commonly used in workshops to illuminate Arthurian romances, are much too large compared to the trees.

³¹² Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 14.

noble reason to fight for, however, in the ritualised combat of tournament. His decree lists the rules by which Arcita and Palemone must abide. Whereas in Boccaccio's TNE the gods play a greater part, in the LDTH *W*¹ the emphasis is on Teseo's set of rules to facilitate the transformation into noble knights, and only incidentally to satisfy the gods' prophecies. This realisation underlines the cultural disparity between the source text and the French translation.

The illustration at the beginning of Book IX on f. 138v [fig. 29] depicts the aftermath of Arcita's victory, highlighting a second key moment in the knights' metamorphosis. The outcome of the tournament, decided by the gods, gave a temporary victory to Arcita. Receiving the glory granted to the best knight, for which he had prayed, he struts around the lists on his horse. This action could have been interpreted as an arrogant gesture in contradiction with chivalric ethics. Saving the knight's honour, the self-serving Venus sends the fury Herinis (from the Greek Erinys), who scares Arcita's horse, throwing his rider and mortally wounding him. Still on the lists, the vision field has been reduced from the previous illustration. An increased three-quarter diagonal view of the tournament field, delimited by its barrier, now occupies the larger part of the miniature, with an extraordinary piling up of injured bodies of men and horses, and pieces of armour, in the foreground. Bright red and blue surcoats identify both camps, with their banners still floating in the background. Amid a vivid blue sky, Herinis appears in the shape of a dragon in a cloud of smoke, blowing her malevolent and pestilential breath onto Arcita's horse.³¹³ In the exact centre of the miniature, the horse is overturned,

³¹³ Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 35. Pächt comments on how this scene, painted by the Maître du Boccace, is highly inspired by Barthélemy d'Eyck's *Landing of the Greek Fleet and Battle against the Amazones* on ffs. 18v-19r [fig. 5]. The movement of the overturned horse especially, in the

crushing the poor knight underneath. Arcita's subsequent death allows for his heroic funeral as the winner, in turn also providing for Palemone's wish from Venus—the love of the young Emilia. In the LDTH *W^l*, glory and love have been presented as the utmost qualities of the courtly knight. Glory makes Arcita the best one, but love offers Palemone an enduring marriage with the young woman. Love makes the courtly knight the victor in the end. Of all the miniatures in *W^l*, this is the only one that comments directly on the gods' interventions highlighted in Boccaccio's TNE. Seeing the small part granted to the gods in *W^l*'s miniatures, it is my view that the translation visualises the contemporary Christian context to explain the antique culture, of which Boccaccio was an admirer, to the late medieval viewer.

In the miniature on f. 152r [fig. 32], located at the beginning of Book X before Arcita's actual death, the Maître du Boccace depicts “how the Grecian kings, dukes and lords went to bury their dead by night” (“Comment les roys, ducs, barons et seigneurs de Grece, allèrent de nuyt donner sepulture a leurs gens trespassez”).³¹⁴ Barthélemy's influence is evidenced in the variety of facial expressions illustrating the emotional distress of the Greek knights at the funeral pyre of one of theirs. As Greek aristocrats, their foreign identity and remoteness from the fifteenth-century historical reality is reflected in the exoticism of their dress and weapons.³¹⁵ However cosmopolitan this crowd appears to be, several kings are identifiable by their European-looking crowns and

midst of the lying bodies of the dead and wounded, is the result of a very similar approach to illustrate the outcome of the battle. If the two scenes are comparable in their angle and representation, they also outline the varied skills of the two artists.

³¹⁴ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 649.

³¹⁵ Hedeman, ‘Visualization of Antiquity’, 34.

their ermine-lined capes. The Greek noble who receives this hero's funeral has been pictured, however, as a late medieval knight in full armour and short tabard.

Barthélemy's inspired hybrid image visually blends the foreign funeral practice of the legend with the local knight of the French translation. If it is meant as the illustration of any Greek hero, it announces Arcita's demise which occurs at the end of this Book.

Presented thus, his noble death appears as an acceptable compromise to end the quarrel that opposed the two knights. Decoded through the lens of translation theory, his contemporary chivalrous victory elevates him to the level of an antique hero, but because there could be only one victor, he must die as the foreboding lines in Book IX announce:

Le doloireux fait que Arcita fist en celle bataille s'aprouchoit fort, lequel lui devoit estre de tant plus grief a soutenir qu'il estoit eslevé en plus grant honneur et gloire; mais les faiz de ce monde vont en ceste maniere que aleure que l'omme est plus eslevé et en plus grant estat, de tant est il plus pres de trebuscher, et plus se blesse de tant qu'il est monté plus hault (During this battle, Arcita's sad destiny drew near, so much the heavier for him to bear for the greater honour and glory to which he had been elevated. But that is the way the world goes, for a man is closer to his fall, and injures himself all the more, when he has been elevated higher and enjoyed a greater position).³¹⁶

Therefore, with this moralised ending, Arcita's transformation is complete, again bringing the Christian context of the translation as the preferred interpretation of the antique world of the legend told by Boccaccio. The visual depiction of the men in the illustration on f. 152r [fig. 32], combining exotic with contemporary fashion, reflects a similar visual hybridity, revealing the typical medieval layering of meaning through the translation theoretical approach.

A scene glorifying love finalises Palemone's conversion into a "noble chevalier"

³¹⁶ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 629.

through his marriage with Emilia, pictured at the beginning of Book XII. To mark the prestigious, festive event, the Maître du Boccace shows a great dexterity in his depiction of the colourful silks and brocades of short and long robes, from various exotic parts of the known world [fig. 33]. The array of men's and women's hats and crowns of the guests are to be contrasted with the common chaperon headdresses of the Athenians. For her second marriage, Emilia is equally transformed, her blue dress enriched with an elaborate gold brocade pattern. Her long blond hair has been braided and tied back, showing that she is not a maiden anymore. Her eyes are lowered, and she looks solemn, as her right hand is held by the priest (the patriarch?), touching Palemone's left hand. The groom seems desperate to catch her eye, in vain.

The scene of the wedding on f. 182r [fig. 33] is entirely contained within the circular space in front of the temple of Venus, much like it was depicted on earlier medieval images. Small recognisable flowers, growing in bunches along the edge of the grass, delimit the island-like space. Yet the large round arch supported by pillars that opens the chapel/temple of Venus, recognisable by her golden statue on a column of the same metal, is largely inspired by Barthélemy's interior church spaces.³¹⁷ Two more statues (Mars and Venus) adorn the arch on each side. The walls in the chapel are covered with rich multicoloured textiles, in the same style as the oriental silk robes that are seen in the foreground. The guests are arranged around the trio formed by the bride and groom with the priest, so that some are facing the viewer and others turn their backs, in the style typical of the Maître du Boccace.³¹⁸ Some gesture with their hands, looking

³¹⁷ The chapel in Barthélemy's *Annonciation* (1443–1445) [fig. 18] offers this kind of space.

³¹⁸ König, 'La Théséïde', 270. See the "Funerals of a Greek Knight" [fig. 32].

like they are involved in private conversations. They are mostly men. Four women stand in the back, under the arch. This circular composition, delimited by the grass border in the front, the pillars on the side and the background wall, gives the viewer a sense of containment, of completion, of stillness. The Maître du Boccace has depicted the pomp and ceremony of a princely wedding within the Greek faith between European medieval actors, pictured in a composite antique/Christian/the present decor. As in the previous image, the lens of translation theory shows how the textual suggestion of an antique world is visualised in this miniature through a multi-layered composition that unifies history, religion, geography, and culture. This image, illustrating the transformative power of love, marks the completion of Palemone's rebirth. Not only does he become a "noble chevalier" in a fair combat, but by his marriage to Emilia he also becomes a member of the princely family, demonstrating his access to a more civilised political system.

Enabling the formation of relationships between political, historical, geographical and cultural systems constantly reacting to each other, a set of crucial scenes read through the lens of translation with a complex thinking approach refines the conceptualisation of the "noble chevalier," in the LDTH *W*¹. References to antique culture in the text, in contrast to pictorial details that translate the manuscript's present context for the reader/viewer, ever reacting between religious, historical, cultural, or political levels, signal for the knights Arcita and Palemone a social *renaissance* that is facilitated by specific emotions related to glory and love. The former, which is only transitory, transforms the knight into the best one of them; the latter, corresponding to the courtly love of medieval romances, provides him with honour and nobility for the future. By

setting the rules for this ritualised transformation, the prince clearly takes on the role of guide for this social progress. This chapter now focuses on the prince as an arbitrator; in addition, it asks if Prince Teseo in the LDTH *W^l*, as understood within the court of Anjou-Provence, parallels the role of King René creating the image of the ideal knight in the LDT.

Creating and Arbitrating Rituals: The Role of the Prince and the Influence of the LDTH *W^l* on René's LDT P1

The miniature that serves as frontispiece to Book VI [fig. 34] reminds us of René's LDT. A year has passed since Prince Teseo set the rules of the coming tourney, and he is now presiding over the assembly of the noblest knights, gathered from around the world by Arcita and Palemone, each with "one hundred comrades of his choice, as he will be able to do" ("cent compaignons telz qu'il pourra a son plaisir trouver").³¹⁹ They are assembled in front of the prince who sits on a canopied throne, placed on a rostrum, and entirely draped in a rich brocade of gold with blue foliage.³²⁰ Teseo is recognisable by his royal dress. His face does not betray any emotions. Instead, he seems to be listening to the young men who kneel in front of him, heading two separate groups. The *W^l*'s text, which describes in detail the arrival of the opposing champions, provides adequate information regarding the exact proceedings. The knights chosen by the opposed lovers are lining up in two rows, their backs mostly turned to the viewer in the foreground or facing him/her on the opposite side of the enclosure, copying the composition of the Greek funeral ceremony [fig. 32]. The colours and styles of their attire

³¹⁹ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 543.

³²⁰ A similar visual concept of the throne is depicted in René's LDT on ffs. 3v and 7r.

visualises a cosmopolitan crowd, in a large display of wealth. As a humorous detail, in the foreground, a small yellow dog sits, mimicking the viewer. To achieve a successful perspective, the throne and the lists enclosure draw parallel lines, although they unskilfully do not really connect at their vanishing point.

This assembly in the presence of Teseo was ordered by decree in these terms: “then you will come together [with your entourage] for combat in our court” (“Et après ce, en nostre court ferez armes ensemble”).³²¹ A medieval aristocratic tournament implied courtly values founded on honour, lineage and fidelity, ethics the two competitive knights are severely lacking. Additionally, we have seen how glory and love were favoured as additional sentiments, presented in the LDTH *W^l* to facilitate the resolution of their disagreement. Replacing the death of one of the adversarial lovers by Emilia’s love as the result of an honourable combat, Teseo shifted a disorderly battle to a tourney ritualised by a set of principles that demonstrate the evolution of the civilised world. The victor’s love for Emilia is similarly ritualised by marriage. The lists symbolise the prescriptive space for the confrontation and the enclosure serves as physical boundaries, as does the temple/church for the wedding. The terms of Teseo’s binding contract are clear regarding the manner of fight that is expected. The outcome of this confrontation demonstrates its fairness. Both are victorious, Arcita through glory and Palemone through love and without killing one another. In the end, Venus the Goddess of Love wins the gods’ battle, and Palemone gets his wish.

Setting the rules of noble behaviour for the two knights is in essence similar to

³²¹ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 543.

what René d'Anjou is doing in his LDT. We could say that Teseo, as the fair prince with superior ethics in the LDTH *W^l*, is anticipating René's role in the creation of his own, more complete compilation of norms in the LDT. I submit that not only is the anonymous translation known as the LDTH *W^l* clearly connected to René's LDT visually; a new reading through the lens of translation theory also shows that the roles of "nobles chevaliers" and prince in *W^l* partially predict what King René will refine as satisfactory or punishable behaviours for the ideal knight in his LDT, and what his role as a prince is in influencing this social development. Furthermore, if we accept that Jeanne de Laval is indeed the patron of the LDTH *W^l*, this conceptual proximity of the two books means that she and René might have collaborated with a shared vision of courtly women and men during the 1460s, exchanging ideas. The presence of Barthélemy's work in both volumes might be interpreted as an additional confirmation of Jeanne's and René's collaboration. Speculating even further and recalling René's repeated emblematic symbol of both his wives on objects,³²² I submit that Isabelle's inspiring political role and Jeanne's complementary ideas on late medieval noble women's representation being developed in the LTDH *W^l* might have been part of his guidance, or at least pleased him, as he was elaborating his ideal courtly masculinity in his LDT.

The standards of courtliness provided in René's LDT are further developed and performed with the whole court of Anjou-Provence fashioning public events that are meticulously crafted through layers of meaning depicted in a similar manner; such spectacles were later recorded visually and textually in books.

³²² Depictions of the letter "I" intertwined with the "R" of his name [fig. 16] in books of hours and on the large ceramic roundel [fig. 1] that adorned his friend's villa in Florence and his palace in Aix-en-Provence.

Dramatizing the “Noble Chevalier” and the Fashioning of a Spectacular Chivalry

During the late Middle Ages, the role of artists and writers became crucial to the integration and dissemination of social changes. Secular literature such as chronicles and historiographies, and later epic and lyric poetry, inform us on evolving social behaviours as much as on its influence on them.³²³ If it was not an actual reflection of medieval society at large, in most circumstances, because it illustrated ideals, secular literature nonetheless intersected with the medieval reality of festive celebrations. Popular romances contributed to shape, in Joachim Bumke’s words, “a heightened self-image that regarded one’s own lifestyle as ‘courtly’ (*höfisch*) and dismissed anyone who did not measure up to this standard as ‘boorish’ (*dörperlich*, or literally “peasantish”).”³²⁴

This literary model that characterised the foundation of courtesy and social etiquette was displayed in various fashions, in late medieval manuscript illumination. The month of January in the *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry* (TRH) (Chantilly ms. 65) [fig. 35], partially illuminated by the Limbourg brothers (1411–1416), depicts the tradition of gift giving on New Year’s Day in the Valois family known as *étrennes*, which blends aristocratic courtly behaviours with contemporary Christian values. Presiding at a trestle table, slightly raised on a small platform, and covered with a crisp white cloth, the royal prince is conversing with a cleric in front of the large fireplace of his private abode, both of them sitting on a textile-covered bench. Jean, Duke of Berry, is equally identifiable by the viewer and the members of this noble assembly. The ducal baldachin,

³²³ Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, 9. For him, courtesy, more than a reference point to measure the civilising process, marks the origin of civilisation, by contrast with Elias in *The Civilizing Process*.

³²⁴ Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 14.

under which he is sitting, showcases his heraldic emblem of the gold *fleur-de-lys* on blue, here on a red background that inconspicuously masks the red label. Both the duke and his religious guest are wearing elaborate and colourful robes, Jean with his collar of a chivalric order,³²⁵ a fur hat and collet against the cold. The *étrennes* ritual was very regulated and mostly perpetuated among nobles to strengthen social bonds between family members or with servants, courtiers, and close relations.³²⁶ By the late medieval period, gifts of enormous economic value such as gold, silver, and precious stones, worked in jewellery and dinnerware, and illuminated manuscripts, became agents of social bonding. On this special occasion, the duke's vassals have brought their gifts, which are exposed on a table to his right. These luxurious offerings comprise mostly chiselled and engraved gold cups, jugs, and dishes. The most precious, a gold nave decorated with Jean's emblems, a swan and a bear, holds a place of honour on the main table, symbolising the value of presents due to him as a royal prince.³²⁷ Delicate foods are available as a token of the duke's gratitude and largesse to the assembly of nobles wearing the latest fashion. Servants, in their recognisable livery of red and brown, bring drinks and feed the dogs. A large tapestry, covering the background walls from top to bottom, reminds the viewer that despite the display of wealth and power of this virtuous and festive custom, these were times of great uncertainty due to inner and exterior conflicts. The war heightened the role of these ritualised unifying events, orchestrated

³²⁵ The *Ordre de l'Étoile*, created by his father Jean II le Bon?

³²⁶ Brigitte Buettner, 'Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400', *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 4 (2001): 598–625 (600); Françoise Autrand, 'Le Jour de l'an 1415 à la cour du duc de Berry', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1999, no. 1 (2002): 275–88 (280–84).

³²⁷ Autrand, 'Le Jour de l'an', 284.

within noble families, reflecting practices of utmost civility even in adversity.

Now that his military life was behind him, Jean de Berry's nephew René d'Anjou's construction of a spectacular chivalry embraced intellectual conception, practice, and institutionalisation. Like Jean's courtiers and servants partaking in the *étrennes*, the court of Anjou-Provence, as sophisticated as it was, played an immense, more public, role in René's project. In this section, I summarise the considerable research that has been carried out on René d'Anjou's *pas d'armes* or deeds of arms, and chivalric order, and returning to his LDT, analyse how more interrelationships between the LDTH *W*¹ and the LDT P1 show the *W*¹ as preparatory work for René's LDT.

René's sumptuous lifestyle after 1442, surrounding himself with writers and artists in the intensity of creation, represents, in my view, as much an attempt to rise to joyful emotions and uplifting pleasures in reaction to the melancholy of the times, as it is a channel for refashioning his identity as a prince and noble knight, and a model of courtliness. Françoise Robin reminds us that princely patronage originated in a complex combination of need and desire, necessity and magnificence.³²⁸ Relating chivalric literature, theatrical spectacle and individual warlike combat, the *pas d'armes* became the court entertainment par excellence, responding to a desire for a "new style of spectacular chivalry."³²⁹ Although its highly ritualised and allegorised structure served the political or diplomatic ambitions of its sponsors, fastening new alliances, a successful *pas d'armes*

³²⁸ Robin, 'L'art d'être mécène', § 2.

³²⁹ "nouveau style de cette chevalerie spectaculaire." Daniel Poirion, *Le poète et le prince: L'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1965), 52. Contrary to tourneys where participants entered all together in a battle called a meele within the delimited space of the lists' enclosure, in jousting only two participants opposed each other on the field.

was first and foremost a carefully constructed fiction.³³⁰ Three visual factors were key to this essentially theatrical event to be deciphered by the participating audience: the decor, the ornaments and the *mise-en-scène*, all three contained within a time limit and presented through known semantics.³³¹ Symbolic figures and allegories coordinating specific chosen themes, such as delivering a captive lady, were an important part in creating the narrative for each *pas d'armes*.³³²

Between 1445 and 1449, no less than seven *pas d'armes* sponsored by René d'Anjou are recorded, suggesting a great desire for self-representation.³³³ The *Pas de Nancy* (1445), in the presence of two kings, is an important event that celebrated the marriages of his two daughters, in particular the union of Marguerite d'Anjou to King Henry VI of England, which sealed the negotiations of the Trêves de Tours.³³⁴ René's role in the peace negotiations with England had been significant, and King Charles VII's presence at the chivalric event had to be unmistakably meaningful. It is only natural that René, Duke of Lorraine, saw it as an opportunity of choice, after conveying his diplomatic savvy, privately deployed among royals and embassies, to publicly display the

³³⁰ Jean-Pierre Jourdan, 'Le symbolisme politique du Pas dans le royaume de France (Bourgogne et Anjou) à la fin du Moyen-Age', *Journal of Medieval History* 18, no. 2 (January 1992): 161–81 (167).

³³¹ Guillaume Bureaux, 'Pas d'armes et vide iconographique: Quand le texte doit remplacer l'image (XVe siècle)', *Perspectives médiévales*, no. 38 (1 January 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4000/peme.12792>, § 3; Freigang, 'Le tournoi idéal', 190.

³³² Heers and Robin, eds., *Traité des tournois*, 9–10.

³³³ Bureaux, 'Pas d'armes', 5–6; Jourdan, 'Symbolisme politique', 170. René d'Anjou also participated in several *pas d'armes* sponsored by the courts of France and Burgundy, apart from the ones he organised during the period.

³³⁴ Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, vol. 1, 81–84. René's elder daughter Yolande married Ferry II de Lorraine in large part to pay for René's ransom. Ferry II was Antoine de Vaudémont's son. Contrary to his father, Ferry II became a devoted supporter of René, especially in Italy. Vester, 'Social Hierarchies', 230. Vester explains who one marries is a key factor of nobility. One might argue that it also played a role in Marguerite d'Anjou's marriage.

impactful spectacle of an exotic parade through the streets of his town of Nancy. René's Moors, dressed and armed in their foreign cultural attire, paraded with his lions through the streets, preceded by a similarly dressed dwarf, carrying René's royal shield. In front of this unusual pageant, René, wearing the coat of arms of Jerusalem, self-identified as Godefroy de Bouillon.³³⁵ This lavish exhibition of prestige, luxury and might, associating human, animal, and material exoticism, would certainly make courtiers and citizens alike forget his failed expedition in Naples, and expose the renewed power in France of the titular King of Sicily by association with the image of the first King of Jerusalem. The *Pas de Nancy* had additional historical and political implications, reasserting René's alliance with King Charles VII and recreating an entente with his cousin and previous captor, Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy.

The historical record of the *Pas de la Gueule du dragon* (Deed of the Dragon's Mouth), also named *Pas du Rocher périlleux* (Deed of the Perilous Rock), held between Razilly and Chinon, provides an invaluable insight into late medieval courts' cultural identities.³³⁶ It was followed by the *Pas de Saumur*, also known as *Pas du Perron ou de la Joyeuse Garde* (Deed of the Large Stone or of the Joyous Gard), which was held consecutively between Saumur and Launay over a period of forty days. Both deeds

³³⁵ Jacques Paviot, 'Le roi René, l'idée de croisade et l'Orient', in *René d'Anjou (1409–1480). Pouvoirs et gouvernement*, ed. Jean-Michel Matz and Noël-Yves Tonnerre (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 313–23, <http://books.openedition.org/pur/124668>, 318. Godefroy de Bouillon (c. 1058-1100), hero of the first crusade, became the first King of Jerusalem, although he refused the title and preferred to be referred to as the *avoué du Saint-Sépulcre* (the one who is clearly known as belonging to the Christian faith). For this reason, he also became one of the nine Worthies.

³³⁶ See Leseur, *Histoire de Gaston IV* as well as Courteault, 'Additions et corrections'; Vulson de la Colombière, *Le vray théâtre*; Beaune, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche* and Georges Chastellain's *Chronique* for the Burgundian *pas d'armes*, such as the *Pas de l'arbre Charlemagne* (Deed of the Tree Charlemagne) or the *Pas de la fontaine aux plours* (Deed of the Fountain of Tears). For a critical analysis of some of them, see Mérindol, *Les fêtes de chevalerie*.

started in June 1446. Very few *pas d'armes* are preserved other than in chronicles.

However, following the *Pas de Saumur*, wall paintings were commissioned for the large hall in René's castle in Saumur, in relation to a manuscript produced within the court.³³⁷

Written and illustrated by unknown author and artist, NLR ms. fr. F. p. XIV. 4 (a copy of the now lost original) is crucial to understanding the motivations for and approach to such spectacles because it illustrates key scenes of the noble entertainment, “filling in the gaps or vagueness/inaccuracies of the texts, or giving meaning to obscure or old vocabulary.”³³⁸ It is a pictorial and poetic record of the knightly traditions upheld at the Angevin-Provençal court during the second half of the fifteenth century, displaying the identity the prince was projecting through these spectacles.³³⁹ The text insists on

³³⁷ Robin, *La cour d'Anjou-Provence*, 173–74, cited in Reynaud, ‘Barthélemy avant 1450’, 38; Lecoy, *Extraits des comptes*, 169, item #479 “la peinture de la grant salle de Saumur” (25 July 1449). These murals do not exist anymore, but René's accounts show their enormous payments spread out from October 1447 to October 1448. Reynaud proposes to interpret the original manuscript as a model for the larger murals due to the specific tight composition Barthélemy used to represent the corteges on several levels. This technique is known to be used on mural paintings. Rose-Marie Ferré, ‘Relation du *pas de Saumur* tenu en 1446’, in *Splendeur de l'enluminure, Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers - Actes sud, 2009), 244–47 (244). Interestingly, the drawings in brown ink with light colour wash used the same technique as in René's LDT P1, which I have described as a “working draft.” Similarly, the copy by a lesser artist (NLR ms. fr. F. p. XIV. 4) does not have decoration as far as I can see.

³³⁸ “comblent les vides et les imprécisions des textes, ou encore de donner du sens à un vocabulaire obscur ou galvaudé.” Bureaux, ‘Pas d'armes’, 3. Ferré, ‘Relation du *pas de Saumur*’, 244; Bianciotto, ‘Passion du livre’, 88. Ferré indicates that the author, a tonsured clerk wearing a monastic garb, presents his book to his lord (presumably René d'Anjou) on f. 2r. Bianciotto adds that the “anonymous ecclesiastic” was a “clumsy versifier not entirely aware of courtly combat” (“ecclésiastique anonyme, très malhabile versificateur et peu au fait des armes courtoises.” Christian de Mérindol, ‘Armoiries et emblèmes dans les livres et chartes du roi René et de ses proches. Le rôle de Barthélemy d'Eyck’, in *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009), 151–65 (157). This copy could have been commissioned by René or by a close friend at the end of Isabelle's life.

³³⁹ Reynaud, ‘Barthélemy avant 1450’, 38. Barthélemy d'Eyck illustrated the lost original for Isabelle de Lorraine, whose now-erased coat of arms is somewhat visible on the frontispiece of the copy. Ferré, ‘Relation du *pas de Saumur*’, 244, and Christian de Mérindol, ‘La relation illustrée du Pas de Saumur, nouvelle lecture’, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 2010, no. 1 (2015): 64–76. According to Ferré, the predominant position of the Anjou knights and their identity, validated by names written on the illustrations, would also confirm that the manuscript was commissioned within René's court.

ritualised proceedings in addition to the detailed and precise description of ornaments and emblematic devices, highlighting key elements of these fictional wargames and depicting them as ceremonials.³⁴⁰ Known and accepted by all participants, the codified formalities of the *pas d'armes* created a contractual bond between the knights, which united them through glorified prowess. Discussing these codes of behaviour, Jean-Pierre Jourdan writes:

Its object is not to destroy, but to reveal, to glorify the worth, to prove the nobility of blood and, through spilled blood, to bond in a fraternity of arms. ... Bonds thus created by faith, word and blood weave a powerful network of contractual relationships, which come in addition to the judicial ties or of personal dependence that had loosened or become unpredictable because of wars or divisions within the kingdom.³⁴¹

The text-image analysis of the manuscript helps interpret specific moments of these rituals, but already in Jourdan's words we recognise from the LDTH *W'* the role that glory plays to achieve nobility. In NLR ms. fr. F. p. XIV. 4, the illustration on f. 24r [fig. 36] depicts an introductory ceremonial, the cortege of René d'Anjou from the artificial castle to the jousting field where he will meet his opponent. He is preceded by "the king's squires" ("les escuyers du Roy")³⁴² on foot, holding his lances. The riding party stretches on the curvy road in front of René, illustrating the composition described as a technique for painting murals. It is composed of two heralds blowing their trumpets, followed by "two Turkish grooms, dressed in their fashion" ("deux estafiers Turcs,

³⁴⁰ Ferré, 'Relation du *pas de Saumur*', 244.

³⁴¹ "Son objet n'est pas de détruire, mais de révéler, d'exalter la valeur, de prouver la noblesse du sang et, par le sang versé, de lier en un[e] fraternité d'armes. [...] Les liens ainsi créés par la Foi, la lettre et le sang tissent un réseau puissant de relations contractuelles qui se surajoutent aux liens juridiques ou de dépendance personnelle devenus plus lâches ou incertains du fait des guerres et divisions du royaume." Jourdan, 'Le symbolisme politique du Pas', 167.

³⁴² Vulson de la Colombière, *Le vray théâtre*, 84.

habillez à leur mode”),³⁴³ wearing long blue robes and multicoloured turbans. Then ride two kings of arms who will record the details of the festive event. The dwarf, “dressed in the Turkish fashion (...) on a beautiful and richly caparisoned horse” (“vestu à la Turque [...] sur un beau cheual richement caparassonné”), is followed by a beautiful lady—Mademoiselle de Blancmont—who leads René’s horse with her scarf (“vne eſcharpe attaché à la bride”).³⁴⁴ All Anjou servants wear the recognisable livery of crimson and white damask, except René’s foreign servants. This parade and the narrative that it evokes recall the pageantry deployed through the streets of Nancy. Both reveal a careful *mise-en-scène* of the prince’s self-representation surrounded by his courtiers and servants, in a fable, which that day assembled the essential components of René’s projected identity: chivalry, courtly love and exoticism. The text is equally revealing, describing this occasion in verse that emphasise nobility, honour, respect of knightly values and courtly love, as it is expressed in romance literature:

Maint Duc, maint Comte, maint Baron,
 Maint noble de grande maison,
 Furent au Pas celle saison,
 Pour l’honneur d’armes acquerir,
 Et pour oster sans mesprison,
 Celle amoureuse poison,
 Dont nul n’a iamais guerison,
 Sans Dame humblement requerir. (Many dukes, many counts, many
 barons/Many nobles from great houses/Came to the *pas* this season/To
 acquire the honour provided by arms/And to combat without being treated
 wrongly/The love potion/From which no one is ever cured/Without the
 humble help of a Lady.)³⁴⁵

The following illustration, depicting the encounter between René and the Duke of

³⁴³ Vulson de la Colombière, 83.

³⁴⁴ Vulson de la Colombière, 83–84. The lady is named in stanza 39.

³⁴⁵ Vulson de la Colombière, 86, after the original poem.

Alençon on f. 24v [fig. 37], exemplifies the distinctive individual jousting. Both knights are galloping towards each other, on each side of a wooden palisade, lowering their lances towards the opponent to touch his shield, helmet, or armour. The beautiful lady and the dwarf wearing a turban and a staff, painted in a slightly elevated position, support the defendants with their horses facing the same direction. A series of heraldic symbols and emblems, equally recorded in text and illustrations, distinguishes each participant. On this occasion, René d'Anjou's device was "pansies in their natural state on red background" ("de gueule au semis de pensées au naturel") evidenced on the cover of his and his knights' horses.³⁴⁶ The ink drawings and coloured wash picture the defendant systematically in the foreground and coming from the left, similarly to King René coming out of the castle on the previous illustration. Together these details "glorify the Duke of Anjou, his financial and cultural power, as well as the magnificence of his knights, signalling their importance by placing them in the foreground."³⁴⁷

This grandiose chivalric performance was based exclusively in fiction. It included the artificial "Château de la Joyeuse Garde" that was built, painted, and furnished for the occasion;³⁴⁸ ornaments, comprising the *perron* (here, an ornate marble square column) on which the defendants' shields were suspended and to which two lions were chained, and the knights' equipment, including heraldic emblems and devices. Finally, the proceedings followed the specific theme of the Arthurian quest, combining knights' honour and the

³⁴⁶ Ferré, 'Relation du *pas de Saumur*', 244. This device is similar to the decoration of hennins of the young patroness on the presentation miniature [fig. 6] and of the ladies in Emilia's retinue in the hunting party [fig. 30], in the LDTH *W*^l.

³⁴⁷ "glorifier le duc d'Anjou, sa puissance financière et culturelle, de même que la magnificence de ses chevaliers en signifiant leur importance par leur place au premier plan." Bureaux, 'Pas d'armes', 8.

³⁴⁸ Delcourt, *La littérature arthurienne*, 23. Le Château de la Joyeuse Garde refers to Lancelot, the model of the perfect knight.

love of a lady, thus poeticising life at court.³⁴⁹ Festivities included further ceremonials, such as the presentation of the winners' prizes, and a great banquet brought the entertainment to a close. The account of this spectacular event, however, does not glorify the winner, as if the "honour, faith, word and blood"³⁵⁰ alliance created in this exclusive and artificial space is more important than the actual combat, brilliantly illustrating the shift in the late fifteenth-century perception of courtliness.

Through both these well-scripted amusements held within the same year in his apanage territory of Anjou, where symbolism, allegories and rituals recalled the chivalric quests of Arthurian romances, René enthusiastically showed his desire to reaffirm the past political alliance between Anjou and France.³⁵¹ We can easily imagine the financial burden of these spectacles within a single year, as he was back from Naples, defeated. Displaying such great wealth and prowess, the prince was also boasting of his nobility and lineage, upholding traditional values of fidelity, honour and justice through the alliance concluded in combat. The audience, included with all participants, bonded through the spectacular event, therefore sharing the same reputation.

Because the combat was fictitious, theatre and erudition replaced crusades and real military achievements, going as far as developing a "collective identity," as seen in the more bucolic narrative in the last *Pas d'armes de la bergère* or *Pas de la pastourelle* (Deed of the Shepherdess) (BnF ms. fr. 1974), held in Tarascon in 1449. The only

³⁴⁹ Nievergelt, 'René d'Anjou et l'idéal chevaleresque', 242.

³⁵⁰ Jourdan, 'Le symbolisme politique du Pas', 168.

³⁵¹ Courteault, 'Le manuscrit original', 201–02. In 1446, René d'Anjou in fact sponsored three consecutive *pas d'armes* in Anjou. Between the two already mentioned, the *Pas du Géant à la blanche dame du Pavillon* took place in Launay, one of René's *maisons de plaisance* (manor houses) in Anjou. During this event, René (possibly tired by so much activity) took part in only one joust, then was represented by the knight of Loré.

illustration by Barthélemy d’Eyck [fig. 17] serves as a frontispiece to the poetic text by Louis de Beauvau who wrote it as a gift to René. Comprised of painted metaphors, it occupies the top half of the text block. A decorated initial and a decoration of large tassels or flocks, each suspended from a cord and doubled on the right side, fill the rest of the page.³⁵² Under the text, the Beauvau crest is crowned by Louis’ emblem of two horizontal yellow and black boathooks, the baton resembling a branch with cut-off limbs.³⁵³ On top of each other and linked head to toe, the Beauvau motto in red ink: “SANS... DEPARTIR” (without separation) underlines his loyalty. This border represents symbols known as emblems, which relate text and image to establish a metaphorical likeness of the author. The miniature is framed by a moulded red line. It is rectangular with the right side being augmented at the top by a semi-circular space to accommodate the image of a tree. A young-looking shepherdess is sitting on puffy cushions in front of her hut—an aspirational comfort— assembling flowers that rest on her lap, possibly into a necklace or a crown. She is dressed in a dark-coloured peasant attire with a wide-brimmed bonnet, and she has a large shepherd bag attached to her waist. The long crook lies on the ground by her left side. A small brown and white dog is lying in the grass in front of her, under a tree. It appears that it has some type of vegetal collar around its neck. In a tall and gnarled tree, two jousting shields or *targes* are suspended: white on the left, black on the right. Behind the tree, and covering the middle ground space, a herd of black and white sheep are penned in a tight enclosure. The only

³⁵² Some of the tassels are left only black with gold highlights while others are enhanced with a brilliant blue giving them a three-dimensional aspect.

³⁵³ The branch with cut-off limbs was also one of René’s emblems referring to his widowhood.

reference to a tournament is the two shields of the appellant and defendant, unexpected in this pastoral scene. Opening this small and precious manuscript and studying this unique illustration, a noble reader would certainly reflect on a bucolic, even rustic, lifestyle as something desirable. Inspired by René's idealistic vision of country living, this imaginary or fictitious world of an ideal court is displayed through a series of metaphors. Among them are the shepherdess as the essence of youth, femininity, love, and the simplicity of a pastoral life³⁵⁴—recalling Emilia in her garden; the resting dog, representing the loyal companion and tireless worker or noble courtier; the whole picture displaying the peacefulness and beauty of a glorified and poeticised court landscape.

Sponsoring and participating in such spectacular chivalry helped René d'Anjou reinvent his political significance while refining norms of knightly behaviour. Doing so, he was redefining his court's cultural identity, including identifiers such as "location, race, *habitus* or characteristic, gender, class, historical legacy and inheritance, nationality, language, sexuality, ethnicity, religious beliefs, aesthetics, food, drink, costume and dress."³⁵⁵ Simultaneously, the interaction of these many components created a dynamic, eventually allowing social development. These revisited ethical values of chivalry, love, and religion, were pre-eminently institutionalised in King René's *Ordre du Croissant*, created in 1448 in Angers. His chivalric order rallied his most loyal vassals, also including prominent friends from his social networks whose devotion to his cause in Italy

³⁵⁴ Another manuscript, *Regnault et Jehanneton* (1454–1461), emerged in René's court, probably written by Pierre de Hurion, within which René and Jeanne are depicted as shepherds in love. See Chapter Five.

³⁵⁵ Vale, 'Courts and Courtly Culture', 12. A banquet always closed the event.

he wanted to cultivate.³⁵⁶ Never really used as a governing or propaganda tool, René's chivalric order was founded on rites in which religion, heraldry and orderly ceremonies were understood as an imaginary, elitist world,³⁵⁷ which copied royal ceremonial court life. The illustration presenting the knights assembled in the virtual "Chapelle des chevaliers" [fig. 38] on the inside cover of the *Passio Mauricii et sotiorum ejus* (Arsenal ms. 940, illuminated 1453) is not meant to depict an exact location or specific persons.³⁵⁸ Indeed, the doorway opens onto a country scenery of rolling hills and blue sky. A row of three tall Romanesque windows on each side of the room evokes the same landscape without showing it.³⁵⁹ The entrance is protected by an armed soldier and a strong metal gate, guaranteeing the sanctity of this imaginary space. St. Maurice, the patron of the order, offers additional spiritual protection from above the gate, resting his left hand on the shield of the order. The knights are seated side by side around the space, on benches covered in green textiles, the wall behind them carpeted with decorative hangings of the same colour. All wear similarly luxurious crimson robes and wide-brimmed black hats. The robes, open on the right side, unveil the insignia, a crescent-shaped metal plate worn under their right arm. It bears the order's motto "loz en croissant" (or ever-increasing

³⁵⁶ Contamine, 'Point de vue sur la chevalerie', 283–84. Chivalric orders came to replace the old disappearing military orders, although very rarely addressing traditional knighthood anymore. They multiplied during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

³⁵⁷ Nievergelt, 'L'idéal chevaleresque', 245.

³⁵⁸ Dominique Thiébaud, 'Jacopo Antonio Marcello, *Passio Mauricii et sotiorum ejus* [Passion de saint Maurice et de ses compagnons]', in *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009), 216–23. This manuscript was offered to Giovanni Cossa and the knights of the order, as a diplomatic gift, by the Venetian Marcello in 1453. Marcello supported René in his various campaigns in Italy and was one of the first members of René's order. This sumptuous gift suggests shared cultural and artistic values. The knights met once a year in a specific chapel of the Angers St. Maurice cathedral.

³⁵⁹ This artistic composition clearly recalls Barthélemy's three chapels in the LDTH *W¹*'s f. 102r where a spiritual space is also depicted in a setting that vacillates between reality and imagination.

praise) written in enamelled blue letters.³⁶⁰ Four ecclesiastics, all dressed in red from head to toe, stand by the entrance, looking like the guardians of the Faith. The repetition of forms and colours gives this imaginary scene a sense of the “fraternal ideals and ceremonials” of the knights.³⁶¹ Like the spectacular and theatrical decor of the *pas d’armes*, the performance of the *Ordre du Croissant*’s membership, described at length in the contemporary order’s statutes, suggests the self-referencing image of the small circle of nobles around their prince, attached to ideals of chivalry best carried out in carefully constructed, grandiose *mises-en-scène* that may have mediated the more brutal reality of traditional feudal knightly values.

The “heavy rustic symbolism” of the *Pas d’armes de la bergère* marked a turning point in the Angevin-Provençal court’s spectacular chivalry politics, indicating René d’Anjou’s desire to retire from military and chivalric life to turn to a quieter, pastoral one centred around literary and artistic activities, enjoying his gardens and bird collections in his manor-houses of Anjou and Provence.³⁶² The second half of the fifteenth century is filled with a flurry of intellectual pursuits for René, leading to the production of three sumptuous manuscripts between 1455 and 1469. During this same period, two translations into French of Italian literature were produced within the court of Anjou-Provence, in addition to the pastoral fable of *Regnault et Jehanneton*.³⁶³ Love was the

³⁶⁰ The detailed origin, multiple symbolism and longevity of the order and its rites are best summarised in Mérindol, *Le roi René*, 135–37. BnF ms. Fr. 25204 is the contemporary copy of the initial *Armorial* conserving the statutes of the *Ordre du Croissant* with the coats of arms of the first thirty-two knights. The insignia is depicted under each coat of arms. In addition to Jacopo Antonio Marcello (f. 43r), two other Italians were among the first members: Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan (f. 42v), and Giovanni Cossa, Count of Troia (f. 51v), who followed René from Naples, becoming his seneschal of Provence.

³⁶¹ “des idéaux fraternels et des cérémoniels.” Nievergelt, ‘L’idéal chevaleresque’, 246.

³⁶² Nievergelt, 243.

³⁶³ See FN 356 above, and Chapter Five.

central theme of them all, whether spiritual or secular, or within various social groups. Further connecting the Angevin-Provençal court's literary culture and chivalric activities are a number of emotional narratives that seem to be woven between characters in this literature, such as the examples we observe in the LDTH *W^l*. The *pas d'armes*, being mostly dramatized as grand living spectacles, largely influenced the life of the courtiers/participants who became assimilated into these emotional narratives, like the characters in the manuscripts of the *Pas de Saumur* (NLR ms fr. F. p. XIV. 4. f. 24v) or of *Le Pas d'armes de la bergère* (BnF ms fr. 1974) they record. Continuing the exploration of these emotional narratives, this chapter turns back to René's LDT, to determine how emotional communities are formed among noble men at court.

Constructing an Emotional Narrative for Noble Men in the LDT P1

As we saw with the Amazons Queen Ipolita and Princess Emilia in the LDTH *W^l*, the reader/viewer of René d'Anjou's LDT is offered an emotional portrayal of the characters. It might appear to our modern perception as an incongruity because of their gender and their occupation, but I submit that it is exactly the opposite. Their gender and activity actually bind them together through the tournament rituals and ceremonial. Creating a brotherhood unified by formal rules within the social elite, the shared competitive experience produces this emotional bond that shaped the close relationships unifying them. As knights, they are comparable to the women warriors of Amazonia, striving to be their best to survive as a community. In the description of René's ideal tournament in the LDT, the knights/tourneyers are participating under the banner of their captains, here the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon. Each company of knights then becomes a separate emotional community, each member competing for the good of all

within the company, as well as striving to become the best of all the tourneyers, developing pride as a connector to their company and to the whole group.

With the judging system exemplified in René's LDT, the tourney functions as a court of justice, as we have seen, the role of the judges being to ensure that each knight partaking in the tournament follows the rules imposed by the prince in the pursuit of chivalric ideals. Two examples of tourneyer misconduct are described in the text, relayed by corresponding images. One of them happens during the review of helms. Being pointed out by the judge for an irregularity with his helm [fig. 22], the knight is reprimanded in front of the assembly of knights, implying the humiliation he must feel in front of them all. Most importantly, he faces his company members whom the judge's gesture implies he has let down. The tourneyer is then further punished when he must "sit out" the next melee while ridiculed by literally sitting on the lists' barrier instead of his horse, in his saddle and fully armoured [fig. 23a]. Only pages and esquires are without a horse within the lists. There, he is exposed to the worst humiliation in front of his company, all the knights and the ladies on the scaffolds.

The second example, concerning the *chevalier menteur* or lying knight, is slightly different because the knight is judged and punished by his own company members, within his own emotional community. While in the lists, during the melee, instead of fighting the opposite company, several of the tourneyers turn onto the lying knight within their ranks, striking his helm with their sword until it topples over [fig. 23a]. Again, he is humiliated in front of all the assembly, so much so that a lady takes pity on him and intervenes to stop the punishment by putting him under her protection. Signalling the knight of honour to lower her scarf symbolising her colours onto the knight under attack,

she stops his chastising. With this pity-triggered gesture, a further emotional narrative is created, producing a supplementary connection between the emotional community of the male tourneyer's company and the female audience who is forming another emotional community, as demonstrated in the lady's action stimulated by pity.

The ceremony of prizes [fig. 39] is another example of emotional narrative involving men and women, concluding the ideal tournament in René's LDT. Following the rituals of the tourney, the knights of Brittany and Bourbon competed in the lists for the prescribed number of days, and three of them within the Brittany company are to be rewarded for their prowess in sword combat. Three women, each holding a piece of the scarf that cements this ceremony, are standing in front of the group formed by the four judges who decided who the victors were. Two of the victorious knights are still kneeling in front of the ladies as their leader gets up to collect the prize, a bejewelled trophy topped with three ostrich feathers. Once again, pride must make their hearts swell as they are being recognised as the best of all the knights—their brothers—competing today.

Knights invited to be members of René's *Ordre du Croissant* similarly shared this sentiment of brotherhood. In fact, I contend that René's chivalric order prolonged the knightly ideals developed in the LDT to construct an exclusive community of ideal knights whose experience of prowess and loyalty, in addition to their lineage, has been tested, as per their motto.³⁶⁴ The image of their assembly [fig. 38] celebrates their closeness and resemblance, additionally picturing the ritualisation of the yearly ceremonial under the guidance of their president, his chair placed three steps higher than

³⁶⁴ Mérindol, *Le roi René*, 135–37. Christian de Mérindol relates the symbolism of the crescent to the first house of Anjou, present on Charles I's and Charles II's coins. A reminder of Jerusalem and crusades?

the communal bench on which the others sit. The religious dimension of such an assembly, taking place yearly in a specific chapel named after the knights within the St. Maurice cathedral in Angers, adds a spiritual significance to the global fashioning and emotional capacity of such a congregation. The orders' statutes (BnF ms. fr. 25204) convey all three. As an exclusive society, the knights of the *Croissant* were almost made sacred, their membership possibly replacing the sacredness granted to the traditional knighthood of the past.

The creation of ceremonials conducted according to specific rituals typifies the late medieval courts, following the royal court's model.³⁶⁵ I propose that in his LDT King René, however, blends a unique emotional narrative with his concept of the ideal knight, which seems unnoticed in other French provincial courts at the time.

René's and the Angevin-Provençal court's literary compilation of ritualisation and dramatization, channelled through historical, cultural, geographical, and spiritual content, and encompassing human, natural and animal realms, recalls the generating of worlds that exist through friction or side by side. Continuing with the notion of worldmaking, I examine how René d'Anjou constructs an imagined world for the "noble chevalier" in his LDT, and how it relates to the world of the "Dames Amaczon" encountered in the LDTH *W'*.

Making Worlds for "Nobles Chevaliers" Within Angevin-Provençal Literary Culture

One of the most commonly constructed worlds in King René's LDT P1 is one in

³⁶⁵ Vale, *The Princely Court*, 15–33.

which fiction and reality coexist, generating a new world.³⁶⁶ The LDT offers a standardisation of behaviour to define the ideal noble knight; a vision of masculinity with an emotional dimension that influences his revisiting of the romance and the love quest in the LDC. For René, the rules he took much pain to clarify correspond to a very real social need to redefine the late medieval military knighthood. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had shown that the traditional knight was unable to put an end to the interior and exterior conflicts plaguing France. First re-writing a previous text on chivalry,³⁶⁷ René establishes this reality as the foundation of his treatise. Choosing his captains of the knights, the appellant and defendant of the tourney, as existing, highly reputable knights picked within the elite, and good friends of the prince, is a further real, political and diplomatic choice.³⁶⁸ The Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon are described in the text, layering the realistic details, then by visually replicating their heraldic shields and emblems throughout the book. They appear in most illustrations (apart from the equipment and the empty lists) and René grants the victory to Brittany for whom he had a slight preference. The rituals and ceremonials are part of noble tournaments; René writes in and illustrates their specific details, and he does the same with the equipment. These

³⁶⁶ By the time he wrote the LDT, the prince-author had previously developed his textual worldmaking extensively in the LDC (1457), which will be part of my analysis in Chapter Five.

³⁶⁷ The main source is Antoine de La Sale's *Traité des anciens et des nouveaux tournois* (1459). Antoine lived at court for a time when he was Jean d'Anjou's (René's eldest son) tutor.

³⁶⁸ Mérindol, 'Le Livre des tournois', 178. René's son Jean married Marie de Bourbon, whose brother was Jean de Clermont, as per the terms of his ransom. The duke of Bourbon was married to René's niece, Jeanne de Valois, explaining his closeness to the royal family and why he calls him his nephew in the LDT's dedication. Having won its independence during the Anglo-French conflict, Brittany was not particularly close to the royal court, at the time. However, when he wrote his treatise, René had just married Jeanne de Laval whose father had fought with the Duke of Brittany to reconquer Normandy. Choosing Brittany as the appellant captain, René is acting as an "ambassador" of Brittany to his royal brother-in-law and granting him victory is then affective diplomacy in action. Brittany also appears as the "petit Arthur" through his legendary coat of arms in the LDC.

actual characteristics would have appealed enough to the connoisseurs in his audience to put their trust in René's book. The book's dissemination proves they did. The rest comes purely from his imagination, also exhibiting his immense knowledge of heraldry in the tradition of "faire de son blason fenêtre" (displaying their blazons at the windows), for example. Borrowing from the previously existing world of an older chivalric treatise with its own rules, René is generating a new world, writing in his own specific, real characteristics and adding new fictitious features, both harmoniously coexisting.

The same can be said of René's *mises-en-scène* of *pas d'armes*, on a more grandiose and complex scale. On the one hand, the corteges blend animal and human worlds³⁶⁹ from various geographies, in which King René, self-identifying as Godefroy de Bouillon, mixes contemporary and past histories, through costume, heraldry, and colour symbolism in a public pageant. On the other hand, the narratives, developed as the decor within which the event occurs, re-writing legends and popular romances, combine cultural and historical worlds. Fiction and reality, past and present times, are interwoven in the fabric of René's new world, depicting Mademoiselle de Blancmont leading René's horse with her scarf in the *Pas de Saumur*'s manuscript [fig. 36] and Mademoiselle de Lenoncourt as a shepherdess in Barthélemy's frontispiece to Louis de Beauvau's poem narrating the *Pas de la bergère* de Tarascon [fig. 17], both real courtiers playing a fictional role in René's newly created world.

A similar world re-creation, this time blending antique and the present worlds, operates within the LDTH *W^l*, as we have seen, constructed by its patron. If we accept

³⁶⁹ Both genders are represented, as well as particular servants, such as dwarfs.

that Jeanne de Laval is this patron, the working dynamics between René, Jeanne and Barthélemy, devising a collaborative re-envisioning of noble society in the second half of the fifteenth century, is slowly being revealed textually and visually through these books. The coexistence, and sometimes friction, of antique and the present worlds that “Dames Amaczon” and “nobles chevaliers” embrace give us a clearer idea of the development of their creators’ concepts. Working in a similar manner with the Maître du Boccace would explain the illustration of the funeral of the Greek hero [fig. 32], who in the LDTH *W^l* is depicted as a medieval knight. Furthermore, if we consider Jeanne as *W^l*’s patron and her collaborative work with René and his artists, world-making becomes a possible vehicle for visibility in women’s literary culture at the court of Anjou-Provence. It is my opinion that her patronage further substantiates the influence of the LDTH *W^l* on King René’s LDT.

Chapter Three: Summary

René d’Anjou’s most celebrated LDT has left an undeniable mark on the chivalric literature of the late fifteenth century, his reputation as a paragon of courtliness still being attached to this book today. Although it might only have been a draft for a more luxurious manuscript, its rapid transmission and dissemination through time and space, attested in the major libraries of Europe until the eighteenth century, and its unique iconographic programme endured in most manuscript copies, make King René’s book a treasured library item for contemporary and modern highly respected knights.

In this chapter, I argued that the LDTH *W^l* influenced René’s LDT in several ways. We know that *W^l* was translated slightly before, but its second illustration campaign occurred in Angers where René and Barthélemy were now working on the

LDT, at approximately the same time. Iconographic evidence show that Barthélemy's style has matured in the LDT. This is seen in his treatment of space with deep perspective, developed through large illustrations placed on facing folios with background landscapes unfolding continuously on both images in *W^l*, and his depiction of the lists, where he now plays with varied angle and viewpoints to activate the viewer's participation.

More importantly, my new reading of the LDTH *W^l*, viewed through the lens of translation theory with a developmental approach, shows that the image of the "noble chevalier," cultivated in the translation through the metamorphosis of Arcita and Palemone, prepares the standardisation of behaviour that King René instilled in his LDT. His concept of the ideal knight as his vision of masculinity is the result of this process. By punishing unacceptable behaviour and rewarding the best of knights, the prince-author further refined the image of the "noble chevalier," which I believe was one of the impactful agents that generated this social change, encompassing the whole court of Anjou-Provence.

We observed how emotional communities are created within René's LDT, in a similar manner as in the LDTH *W^l*, here among knights of the same company but also binding all men as equal competitors in the tourney. Further emotional narratives are spun through the judging of behaviour. Punishments incur humiliation and pity, while the supreme reward invites pride, glory, and happiness. René's chivalric order additionally promotes piety through specific religious rituals recorded in the order's statutes. These emotions are common to both books, but, in my view, extend the influence of the LDTH *W^l* on René's LDT.

Finally, my analysis shows that in the LDT René creates worlds in text and pictures in a more developed manner than in the LDTH *W'*. By the time he wrote the LDT, René had perfected this textual process in the LDC. Here, repurposing a previous text on chivalry, King René combines real and fictitious people, spaces, times and actions to construct his new world of ideal knighthood where they all coexist.

Religious devotion played a central role in traditional knighthood. We have seen how correspondingly the medieval Christian context at times overshadows Boccaccio's divine struggles to control the world of the mortals in the LDTH. René's *Ordre du Croissant* showed us the significance of spirituality in the ritualised life of the elite knighthood. As an emotional portrait of René's ideal knight starts to emerge, it becomes essential to now question the role that religious devotion played in René's identity fashioning and multi-faceted worldmaking.

CHAPTER FOUR: RELIGIOUS DEVOTION AND THE CONTEMPLATIVE KNIGHT

Now that the previous chapters have revealed René d'Anjou's and the court of Anjou-Provence's re-envisioned identity models for late medieval noble women and men, Chapter Four turns to the role that devotion plays, as part of the debate on love, in defining nobility for the aging prince. My textual and visual examination of René's devotional treatise, the *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance* (MVP, 1455), highlights the heart as an intercessor embodied in a religious metaphor. By engaging with Jean Gerson's (1363–1429) understanding of the relationship between the heart and the senses, René guides his audience to self-introspection through a recognisable sermon-like text blending metaphors and parables, and newly imagined, polysemous illustrations. The drama that unfolds stimulates a wide range of normalised emotions that are encapsulated within specific gestures. This interpretation takes into account the author's particular religious affinities for the mendicant orders and underlines the didactic potential of the work through the close collaboration of the patron and the illuminator of the original iconographic programme. I contend that this religious fable allows René, as the author/protagonist and a "noble chevalier," to become a contemplative knight, thus elevating him to spiritual love. This conclusion is particularly revealing when considering René's *Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, which has traditionally been understood as the secular pendant to his MVP: this interrelationship leads us to our final chapter.

Part A presents a short survey of the available literature on René's devotional treatise and its extant copies to illustrate its dissemination. Part B explores the iconographic programme and provides a summary of its dramatized, heart-centred

narrative. Then, Part C begins with the meaning of the religious heart in medieval terms, connecting it to René d'Anjou's religious background. It will help us better understand how this book fits into the discourse on the courtly knight by spiritualizing his behaviour. My text-image analysis outlines Jean Gerson's influence to connect the heart to the physical senses, which in turns leads to meditation. My reading demonstrates how René constructs a world for his contemplative knight through specific illustrated gestures that can be decoded as normalised emotions modelled for the viewer. Chapter Four shows how René's innovative spiritual devotion contributes also to his ideal of the contemplative knight who speaks directly to God: these unique responses have an impact on his best-known literary work, the LDC.

PART A: BOOK HISTORY: ***LE MORTIFIEMENT DE VAINNE PLAISANCE***

The literature on René d'Anjou's *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance* suggests that its creation stems from René's political and personal context at the time.³⁷⁰ When he wrote the MVP in 1455, René's bid to claim his Kingdom of Naples was now definitely abandoned. Several deaths among close family members, including that of his wife Isabelle de Lorraine († 1453), probably reminded him of the importance of preparing for the afterlife. Inevitably, René remarried, in 1454. Jeanne de Laval (1433–1498) was twenty-four years younger than he—and she was also a simple, reserved woman who was deeply religious.³⁷¹ Considering these recent personal developments, René's MVP seems

³⁷⁰ Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, VII.

³⁷¹ Matz and Verry, *Le roi René*, 36; Legaré, 'Princesses et duchesses bibliophiles', 45–49. See also Chapter Two, 98 (FN 251).

to be a response to his contemporary questioning about death; it is much influenced by the Franciscan spirituality that reflected René's and Jeanne's devotional identity.

The MVP's narrative is composed of three sections or acts that owe much to René d'Anjou's passion for religious plays, known as *mystères*.³⁷² The characters are contained in two groups of allegories, embodying abstract concepts, a familiar and helpful process in medieval writing and iconography for dramatization and visualisation. Allegorical personifications, decked with traditional attributes, act as receptacles for memorised meaning and behaviour, facilitating the reader's interpretation. They are part of the popular culture that René wants to access with his narrative. Textual and visual details, especially embodying the symbolic motif of decay, lead the audience towards meditation.³⁷³

In the prologue and his dedication to Jean Bernard, Archbishop of Tours, René clearly identifies himself as the author by addressing the “personal friend of my heart” (“de mon cuer collateral Amy”)³⁷⁴ with these words: “I, René [...] started to make the following treatise between the devout Soul³⁷⁵ and the Heart filled with much vanity” (“je, René [...] me suis mis a faire cy après ung traicté entre l'ame devote et le Cuer plain de

³⁷² Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, XXII. Graham A. Runnals, ‘René d'Anjou et le théâtre’, *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 88, no. 2 (1981): 157–80 (164–68). The *Mystère du Roi Advenir* (1455) and the *Mystère de la Résurrection* (1456) are two of the most important religious theatrical spectacles commissioned by René. Jehan du Perier, known as Jehan le Prieur, who dedicated his life to René's service, is the author of the first and most probably of the second.

³⁷³ Isabelle Fabre, ‘La maisonnette, le pont et le bois de la lance: La ruine et le détail chez René d'Anjou (1455-1457)’, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, no. 31 (3 August 2016): 179–98, <https://doi.org/10.4000/crm.14021>, § 11.

³⁷⁴ Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, 2. The manuscript edited and translated in modern French by Gilles Roussineau is SMB ms. 78 C 5 or C.

³⁷⁵ For reading ease and because of the limited number of figures in this book, I translated the allegories' names.

toute vanité”).³⁷⁶ Justifying his use of French prose, the author defines his audience as “simple lay people” and claims he wants to avoid a debate with learned clerks (“l’ay fait en prose, en langaige commun [...] car je ne l’ay fait en autre entencion fors que pour y pouoir fructifier les simples gens laiz et non pas pour donner occasion aux grans cleres fondez en haultes sciences d’argüer encontre”).³⁷⁷ His goal is to “stimulate the readers to do well” (“pour plus esmouvoir les lisans a bien faire”)³⁷⁸ and follow the example of Christ, whom he names “our True Redeemer” (“nostre vray Redempteur”).³⁷⁹ Vanity, the result of the tension created between social and spiritual experiences, must be purged, possibly alluding to René’s personal experience. We can safely say that René’s treatise offers a moral and spiritual education to all, including those who could not read Latin.³⁸⁰ The parallel between René’s own heart and the staging of the muted sinful Heart as the central metaphor is meant to capture the reader’s attention, while also revealing his own devotion to Christ. His knowledge of the asceticism advocated by the mendicant orders is also expressed through René’s choice of words when referring to Christ and specific religious practices.³⁸¹

Manuscripts of the MVP

There are a dozen extant manuscript copies of the source text conserved globally: ten of these are illuminated.³⁸² This spiritual text is thus mildly popular within the

³⁷⁶ Roussineau, ed., 2.

³⁷⁷ Roussineau, ed., 2 and 4.

³⁷⁸ Roussineau, ed., 2.

³⁷⁹ Roussineau, ed., 2.

³⁸⁰ Fabre, ‘La maisonnette, le pont et le bois de la lance’, § 2.

³⁸¹ Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, VII; Vauchez, *Influences franciscaines*, 105.

³⁸² Roussineau, ed., *Le Le Mortifiement*, XXIII–XXVIII. Using Roussineau’s system of identification, they are: KBR ms. 10308 (A); Bodmer, Cod. 144 (B); SMB ms. 78 C 5 (C); FM ms. 165 (F); Chantilly ms. 151

patterns of textual production in Anjou-Provence. Although its dissemination was limited to a restricted circle of princely courts, the number of surviving illustrated manuscripts still suggests a clear interest at the time. (For the codicological analysis, please refer to the Appendix).

PART B: RENÉ D'ANJOU'S AND BARTHÉLEMY D'EYCK'S ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMME

The examination of the extant manuscripts reveals that two main sources of illustration have been identified,³⁸³ one in Flanders associated with the court of Burgundy and modelled on Jean Le Tavernier's manuscript (*A*), and one in France. However, all eight miniatures forming the illustration programme reflect the artistic choices and iconography devised by René with Barthélemy d'Eyck.³⁸⁴ This traditional programme comprises eight illustrations. They are as follows:

1. The Soul, prostrate on the floor of a derelict cottage, holds her Heart in her arms against her chest.
2. Fear of God and Contrition, two allegorical personifications, visit the Soul.
3. A cart driver drives a crowned lady in a cart pulled by two horses.

(*H*); PML ms. M705 (*M*); Bodleian ms. Cherry 4 (*O* - not illustrated); BnF ms. fr. 19039 (*P*); BnF ms. fr. 960 (*Q*); Metz ms. 1486 (*R*); Tournai Cod. 42 (*T*) and BnF ms. fr. 12443 (*U*). Roussineau counts six copies with a complete similar cycle of illustrations, seven when including the fragments of Metz ms. 1486. I mostly use this critical edition for this section unless otherwise noted.

³⁸³ Frédéric Lyna, ed., *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance de René d'Anjou. Étude du texte et des manuscrits à peintures* (Bruxelles; Paris, 1926), XLII and LXXV–LXVII cited in Roussineau, XXIX; Pächt, 'René d'Anjou et les Van Eyck', 41–67 (FN 54 & 55).

³⁸⁴ Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peinture*, 224–27; Bernard Gagnebin, 'Un manuscrit du *Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance* retrouvé à Genève', *Scriptorium* 26, no. 1 (1972): 51–53.

4. An old woman, carrying a heavy bag of wheat, hesitates in front of a dilapidated bridge while a man inside the mill watches her from the opposite side.
5. A soldier goes up a ladder to besiege a city.
6. The Soul trusts her Heart to Fear of God and Contrition.
7. Faith, Hope and True Love nail the Heart onto a cross while Divine Grace thrusts her lance into the Heart.
8. Fear of God and Contrition give back her Heart, nailed on the cross, to the Soul.

While the artist's style and interpretation may vary slightly from copy to copy, all illustrations follow the narrative and visually describe the text in detail, in a traditional text-image relation. Only miniatures 3 to 5, corresponding to parables that would have been known to René's audience—from aristocrats to servants—are copied in all the surviving manuscripts in exactly the same manner, which indicates their importance for René's teachings.

Deploying Visual Metaphors and Using Popular Culture

Act I opens with the verbal image of a dilapidated cottage, within which the Soul laments her pitiful situation, blaming her Heart. She addresses the culprit, asking for his sincere remorse. The author—*L'acteur*—or René, hears the grieving Soul and declares that her sorrow “immediately opened the eyes of his thought” (“furent a coup les yeulx de ma pensee ouvers”).³⁸⁵ Using the poetic metaphor of René's intellect as possessing eyes

³⁸⁵ Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifement*, 6; Bouchet, ‘Introspection et diffraction’, 78.

(which open when it is triggered and close when passive), this line states that the author/René is involved in the narrative. Indeed, the Soul is addressing him, hence revealing that this is René's soul, therefore the heart is his as well. He notices the poor state of the cottage where the Soul lives, which brings forward another conventional spiritual metaphor.³⁸⁶ The Soul's pitiful surroundings, symbolising the transitory nature of material things and her body's dependence on her fickle Heart, stop her from attaining a perfect spiritual harmony with Christ. René's audience is slowly guided towards the same spiritual introspection, inferring that the prince is questioning his own soul and sinful heart about material vanities.

The first miniature of the French cycle [fig. 40]³⁸⁷ is inserted before the Soul's dialogue with her Heart so that the metaphorical image prepares the reader. It depicts the Soul as a young woman dressed in white with a blue cape inside her cottage. She is lovingly cradling her Heart against her chest. The timbered walls of the cottage, in which gaping holes let through the blue sky, seem to be made of a brittle material, such as straw. A rotten set of planks that used to serve as a shutter is falling off its hinges. The structure is so derelict that large boughs are propping each wall to stop them from falling in. The red tiles covering the floor are cracked or damaged and many are missing or dislodged. No furniture is visible. Through the open door, a colourful landscape unfolds across fields and a large river, across which is a castle with a high dungeon and two round entrance towers. The castle's strong appearance amidst this peaceful scenery suggests the

³⁸⁶ Bouchet, 'Introspection et diffraction', 79.

³⁸⁷ Deploying the same illustration cycle as *C* and the closest to *R*, mostly painted by Barthélemy d'Eyck, *B*'s miniatures, readily available online, are used for this formal analysis (without describing the lower register as it seems to be a repetitive mark of the illuminator's style of decoration), unless otherwise noted.

hope of a flourishing future. Sitting on the floor, the Soul's resemblance to the Virgin Mary (an association reinforced by the blue cape) contrasts with her precarious surroundings. This disparity signals that René intends to divert his audience from social vanities through introspection to regain spiritual harmony.³⁸⁸ In her monologue, the Soul mentions her great melancholy, visually translated by her finely detailed face with sorrowful eyes, slightly red cheeks and down-turned mouth. With her neck bent over her chest, her head turned to the right and her arms crossed over her Heart in a protective gesture, the Soul seems to be only thinking of the movement that encloses the plump, red Heart. This gesture and her sad face portray the Soul as someone who cannot part with something very precious, but who understands the necessity to do so.

The Soul's lamentations trigger the arrival of two allegorical personifications, Fear of God with her sword of Divine Justice hovering above her head, and Contrition, bare to her waist and carrying a small bunch of switches to be used for flogging. They are announced by the author and come to convince the Soul to allow her sinful Heart to be redeemed. The second miniature, depicting the Soul bent over her Heart with the two allegories appearing by her side, is inserted just before Fear addresses the Soul for the first time.

Act II follows a sermon-like structure, in which the three confer about the need to be strong to face death, the reassurance that God gave his grace and the danger of sins as obstacles to reach eternal life. Four situations from everyday life are presented to argue the importance to be able to help oneself to deserve to be helped by God, elucidating

³⁸⁸ Fabre, 'La maisonnette, le pont et le bois de la lance', § 11.

René's didactic purpose.³⁸⁹ Three parables are then employed as metaphorical situations to offer an additional comment. These popular moralising fables were no doubt known to all audiences, and so were the multi-layered images illustrating them. Each specific miniature is embedded in the text before the text it exemplifies. The three moral fables encourage the reader/viewer's internal examination, describing, in turn, the will of the heart being tamed by reason, vain appetites being resisted to gain paradise, and the necessity to please God at all times to gain His grace. Their power convinces the Soul to entrust her Heart to Fear and Contrition for its redemption. This action is relayed by the sixth miniature and is meant to engage the audience to do the same once they have completed their spiritual introspection. The last section of René's book illustrates the crucifixion of the Heart, in imitation of the Passion of Christ.³⁹⁰

The Passion of the Heart

Fear and Contrition take the Heart up a mountain, eventually arriving in a garden of boundless fruit and sweet-smelling flowers, dedicated to contemplation and listening to the Divine Word. The flower- and fruit-laden vegetation of this sacred garden is painted with the most realism on the Barthélemy and/or Jean Colombe miniatures in *B* f. 60v [fig. 41] and in *R* fragment d [fig. 42]. The first of these two illustrations recalls the exceptional collection of flowers in Emilia's garden in the LDTH *W^l* created around the same time.

On the ground lies a cross, surrounded by a second group of allegories. They are the four theological virtues: Faith, Hope, True Love or Charity crowned as queens, and

³⁸⁹ Rousseau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, IX. No miniatures illustrate this section of the text.

³⁹⁰ Minet-Mahy, 'Lecture croisée', 113.

Divine Grace dressed as an empress. Similarly, in *B* [fig. 41] and *R* [fig. 42], the richness and the inscriptions on the virtues' garments, and detailed attributes, encapsulate Christian catechism.³⁹¹ The climactic depiction of the crucifixion is a gruesome and bloody scene to shock the audience and gather a maximum impact. The Heart's redemption is made possible through the purifying action of all instruments replicating Christ's Passion. Fittingly, the *coup de grâce* is applied by Divine Grace, piercing the Heart with a lance.³⁹²

In *A* (KBR ms. 10308), the same miniature [fig. 43] is enhanced by keeping closer to the text, thus incorporating more details within and without the garden. Observing the scene composed of the four central allegories surrounding the cross, Fear and Contrition seem to be commenting on it with hand gestures, in the bottom left corner of the garden. Opposite them, her back to the audience, Divine Grace's actions are slightly more revealing. Before plunging the lance into the Heart, she empowers it to perform by assembling the "knowledge of eternal glory" ("cognoissance de gloire eternelle") of the spearhead in her left hand with the "consideration of obsolete, worldly possessions" ("consideration des biens mondains caduques") of the rotting shaft in her right hand.³⁹³ Doing so, she facilitates René's ascetic programme to purge material vanity. Iconographic choices oppose the horror of sins to the purifying effects of the heavenly clothing, objects and space, thus inviting the viewer's private meditation. The *mise-en-abîme* of René contemplating the "inner world of his soul" through the garden gate

³⁹¹ Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, XV.

³⁹² Roussineau, ed., XII.

³⁹³ Fabre, 'La Maisonnette, le pont et le bois de la lance', § 13–14; Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, 76.

translates his inward gaze.³⁹⁴ Furthermore, his gaze and hand gesture, in addition to Fear of God's and Contrition's, invite the viewer to do the same. This visualising process illustrates René's internal thought, as guidance for his viewer, side by side with his actual body, the garden wall enclosing the contemplative scene. The drama and violence pictured inside, recalling a theatrical *mystère*, are meant to leave an impression on the audience's mind and heart, possibly in the same manner as the inscribed heart of the Church Fathers.³⁹⁵

Crucified and bloodless, the heart is now pale and flat, purged of its sins and purified. Fear and Contrition return it to the Soul, who thanks God, having regained harmony with her redeemed heart. René's spiritual education is complete.

Although the heart in pictorial images is relatively rare in medieval illuminations compared to its many textual references to it,³⁹⁶ René's devotional treatise addressing a lay audience does not belong to this tradition. As the central metaphorical figure, the Heart in René's MVP has not morphed into an allegorical personification, as it will in his LDC, but still occupies a three-dimensional space. Muted, its shape, colour and consistency visually change. Voluminous and red in colour,³⁹⁷ it corresponds to the Heart full of passions, and is textually described as a thief ("larron"),³⁹⁸ robbing the Soul of a harmonious life with God. During the crucifixion, the spurting blood is dark red and

³⁹⁴ Newman, *Medieval Crossover*, 235.

³⁹⁵ Newman, 231–32. This is explained further in Part C.

³⁹⁶ Christiane Raynaud, 'La mise en scène du cœur dans les livres religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Le « cuer » au Moyen Âge: Réalité et Senefiance* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1991), 313–43, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pup.3094>, § 1.

³⁹⁷ Although it is painted blue in one of the fragments of the Metz manuscript, its pink colour and dark red blood is restored during the crucifixion.

³⁹⁸ Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifement*, 66.

translates the horror of vain pleasures, each drop, faithfully illustrated, representing a particular sin.³⁹⁹ The Heart that is given back to the Soul, purged of its sins or abominable blood, is therefore flat and more transparent. Although René's narrative is intentionally not comparable to the literature written by religious scholars, its familiarity with the religious iconography of the heart⁴⁰⁰ is preserved, because René's work intends to educate an audience who would be accustomed to this type of illustrations, if not with the text. The MVP however textually originates within the medieval courtly debate between the heart and the body,⁴⁰¹ being also inscribed in the literary tradition and its sensory history.

PART C: THE KNIGHT AND HIS SPIRITUAL HEART: CONTEMPLATING THE DIVINE

Part C analyses René d'Anjou's textual and visual process deployed in the MVP to lead his audience towards introspection. To understand René's heart-centred literature, I first define the heart in late medieval terms. Then, I explore René's religious background and the contemporary devotional literature to see how they influence the specific spirituality the MVP illustrates. Finally, I examine how these ideas shape the emotional and spiritual world that the prince creates for his contemplative knight in the MVP.

³⁹⁹ Roussineau, ed., 82–84.

⁴⁰⁰ Raynaud, 'La mise en scène du cœur', § 6–7.

⁴⁰¹ Denis Hüe, 'Propos cordiaux : Le Cœur dans les poèmes dialogues', in *Le « cuer » au Moyen Âge: Réalité et Senefiance* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1991), <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pup.3106>, § 18–37.

Understanding the Metaphor: The Medieval Religious Heart

René d'Anjou's heart-focused work corresponds to a literature tradition that developed throughout the medieval period even though classical literature had already interiorised the "secrets of men," i.e., emotions, will power, physiology,⁴⁰² into the metaphor of the writing tablet. From this trope, Christian exegetes invented the inscribed heart as the spiritual space receiving the Word of God.⁴⁰³ Visualised as a wax tablet, the metaphoric heart could be written onto through divine creation, human sins could be erased, and rewritten onto it by divine grace. As recording technology changed through the Middle Ages, the book of the heart successively replaced the tablet or the scroll by the codex, then the printed book. The large historiated initial on BL Harley 3087 (1450–1500) f. 1v [fig. 44] illustrates the process. His open book facing him on his desk, St. Augustine writes with his pen—the external tool of letters—in his right hand, while holding his large, red heart—the interiorised self—in his left. This depiction emphasises the idea that the writer is merely translating the Word inscribed on his heart by God onto the paper with his pen, thus "writing from the heart."⁴⁰⁴ This image adorning the incipit of St. Augustine's *Confessions* implies that all that is written henceforth in this book is inspired by God with St. Augustine's heart acting as an intercessor. It further suggests that the substance is revealed to the author and the reader alike in a double timeline,

⁴⁰² Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 28–30. This long process is well explained in Jager's book. This process does not, however, fall within the scope of this dissertation.

⁴⁰³ Jager, *The Book*, 1–44. For the role of the heart in religious literature see also Raynaud, 'La mise en scène du cœur' and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, 'La légende du Cœur inscrit dans la littérature religieuse et didactique', in *Le « cuer » au Moyen Âge: Réalité et Senefiance* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1991), 297–312, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pup.3094>.

⁴⁰⁴ Jager, *The Book*, 40.

through writing and reading. This sense of time in the *Confessions* parallels the history of humanity, highlighting “the human heart as a secret record of this life.”⁴⁰⁵

As all books require an audience of readers and/or hearers, behaviours “secretly written” in each human heart are therefore made public, unveiling his/her self. Images of the Last Judgement, such as the one in the Sainte-Cécile cathedral in Albi (1474–1480) [fig. 45], in the south of France, illustrate this later concept. The western wall of the cathedral, originally illustrating the Gospel of Matthew chapter 25, was dedicated to a gigantic mural, painted on the interior half-cylinders of the bell towers.⁴⁰⁶ On the central horizontal band, depicting the elect on the left—Christ’s right—and on the right—Christ’s left—the damned, each naked body of the dead in purgatory has an open book on its chest in the place of its heart. The written text of each book of life recorded its owner’s deeds on the displayed pages, determining if and why they are chosen, or not. More than a metaphorical representation of the self as a book located in the place of the human heart, by that time the medieval religious heart additionally implied the very intimate connection each person had with God. Because the metaphor was a book, it meant that sins written in it could be erased and good deeds could be re-written in their place.

Like all medieval Latin Christians, René was familiar with the concept of the religious heart, and the rich connection between heart, book and the Divine. In the MVP,

⁴⁰⁵ Jager, 42.

⁴⁰⁶ “« Le jugement dernier », un chef-d’œuvre de la cathédrale d’Albi”, Église catholique dans le Tarn online, Diocese of Albi, 25 January 2008, <https://albi.catholique.fr/liturgie-art-et-culture/patrimoine/292234-jugement-dernier-lun-chefs-doeuvre-de-cathedrale-dalbi/>. Started by Archbishop Louis d’Amboise in 1474, it was completed in 1480. The central section with Christ in judgement and the archangel Gabriel was however destroyed in 1693.

the prince-author adapted this metaphor to his own devotional history and literary culture. Evidence of a specific terminology strongly suggests a Franciscan discourse, likely influenced by Jean Gerson's own heart-centred literature. To further locate René's MVP, we now turn to the French religious landscape during the late fifteenth century to examine René d'Anjou's devotional practices and the religious context within which he was educated.

Mendicant Orders and Franciscans in Anjou: René d'Anjou's Religious Education

Like that of all royal princes of the Valois lineage, René d'Anjou's religious identity was constructed around family values instilled from childhood.⁴⁰⁷ René was a truly pious man with a broad religious culture. His devotion to Christ, the Virgin Mary and specific saints is attested by numerous church donations, his artistic patronage and a large collection of religious books. However, religion also became part of his self-representation as a fifteenth-century prince (especially as the King of Jerusalem), and "personal choices" and "original religious conceptions" made him an "unusual Christian prince."⁴⁰⁸ Despite René's desire to fashion a unifying religious identity to minimise the disparities associated with his composite state, each dominion reflected regional religious practices that influenced his identity.

The Duchy of Lorraine, the pivotal power in a cluster of small territories wedged

⁴⁰⁷ Jean-Michel Matz, 'René, l'Église et la religion', in *Le roi René dans tous ses états*, ed. Jean-Michel Matz and Élisabeth Verry (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, Centre des musées nationaux, 2009), 125–47 (127). This seems to have been the most important influence. However, given that René lived in Anjou until he was 10 but received a large part of his education in Bar and Lorraine thereafter, then shared his life between Anjou Provence, and Italy as an adult, it is understood that each of these regions with their idiosyncrasies had some impact on his overall religious identity. This is confirmed by his desire to unify these regional differences.

⁴⁰⁸ "choix personnels (...) conceptions religieuses originales (...) prince chrétien singulier." Matz, 'René, l'Église et la religion', 127.

between France, Burgundy and the Holy Roman Empire, was on the border between Catholicism and the Rheno-Flemish spirituality.⁴⁰⁹ To survive, it had to comply with time-shifting influences, however conforming with the Catholic doctrine that the Angevin dynastic government cherished.⁴¹⁰ In Provence, open to the Mediterranean, religious minorities formed a larger mosaic of spiritualities acting within and without the County.⁴¹¹ The devotion to St. Lazarus and his sister St. Martha, and to St. Mary Magdalene followed the belief they landed in Provence accompanied by Mary of Cleophas and Mary Salome that nourished René's spirituality and family taste for relics.⁴¹² Marseille, Tarascon, and Saint-Maximin were revitalised through René's generous religious patronage to churches, college foundations and donations to different orders. He participated in pilgrimages to the grotto sanctuary of La Sainte-Baume,⁴¹³ near Saint-Maximin. René had this grotto replicated near Angers, as a hermitage that marked the establishment of the Friars Minor in the city. He called it La Baumette (1452) or Little Baume.⁴¹⁴ The Angevin sanctuary possibly inspired the idea of the Ospital d'Amours in René's LDC, as we shall see in Chapter Five.

⁴⁰⁹ Henryot, 'Vie religieuse en Lorraine', § 2. In particular, the influence of the *devotio moderna* of Thomas à Kempis is discussed in regard to the MVP in a following section.

⁴¹⁰ Henryot, § 2.

⁴¹¹ Vauchez, 'Mentalités religieuses', 165–66. Studies on heresy during the Middle Ages highlight minorities such as Catharism in Languedoc and Waldensian in Savoie.

⁴¹² Matz, 'René, l'Église et la religion', 137–39; Claudia Rabel, 'Des histoires de famille: La dévotion aux trois Maries en France du XIV^e au XV^e siècle', *Revista de história da Arte* 7 (2009): 120–37 (136). In 1448, with the blessing of the pope, René embarked on a significant archaeological campaign to successfully recover three bodies, later authenticated by papal order. Not all historians agree on where the relics are, Claudia Rabel thinking they are part of the treasure of the Évreux cathedral as René's gift in 1449 to Bishop Guillaume de Floque, and Jean-Michel Matz seeing them in the late fifteenth-century inventory of the Angers cathedral.

⁴¹³ Matz, 'René, l'Église et la religion', 139. The sanctuary enclosed the relics of St. Mary Magdalene.

⁴¹⁴ Lecoy de La Marche, *Extraits des comptes*, 77–78 (item # 209), 122–26 (items #330–339).

Like most royals of his day, René was fond of the mendicant orders, to which the house of Anjou was historically connected in Provence and Anjou. The establishment of the mendicant orders in France during the late Middle Ages is by and large an urban phenomenon. In western France, there were two main centres: Tours, as an ecclesiastical metropolis, and Angers, with its schools of which one became a university during René's time. The two cities became active locations where the orders opened convents and hermitages that were founded by the nobles and sought by the population to mediate their passage into the afterlife.⁴¹⁵ Angers, named the “ville à cinq couvents” or city with five convents, was unique since the urbanisation in the region was still relatively moderate. Over time, the city included the four orders—Dominicans, Friars Minor, Carmelites, Augustinians. The Franciscans were first established in Chanzé, where René founded La Baumette, and moved into town progressively.⁴¹⁶ In Anjou, nobles and bourgeois families in addition to clerics, foreign to the city and attracted by its university, were recruited. All mendicant orders were relatively integrated within the local religious life, without any obvious opposition to their establishment, although the Church regularly acted to restrain their power.⁴¹⁷

The spiritual journey of the Blessed Jeanne-Marie de Maillé (1331–1414) exemplifies the Franciscan influence around Tours, during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; the order's power spread into western France, including Brittany and

⁴¹⁵ Matz, ‘Les ordres mendiants à Angers’, § 2–3.

⁴¹⁶ Matz, § 5. Apart from scarce private testaments, very little is known about the orders before René's time after which acts of foundation, obituaries, pensions, properties, court proceedings, and liturgical and study books were recorded and became available from La Baumette. Vauchez, ‘Influences franciscaines’, 95. Vauchez equally dates the “triumph of the Observance” in Anjou after 1430.

⁴¹⁷ Matz, § 15–16. Especially against collections.

Anjou, and shows a direct link with the aristocracy and the Anjou dynasty.⁴¹⁸ More specifically, Jeanne-Marie's story shows the expansion of the Franciscans' spiritual theme of virginity within marriage,⁴¹⁹ and the aristocrats' choice of vows of chastity and poverty. More importantly, Jeanne-Marie de Maillé's story is representative of the Friars Minor's role, in general, as confessors and religious educators of the nobility in the region. The confessor of Yolande d'Aragon, René's mother, was Brother Raphaël, the Friar Minor who developed the cult of St. Michael while the famous island monastery was under English occupation. René's sister Marie d'Anjou, Queen of France, welcomed in Orléans the Franciscan preacher Brother Richard, in 1429.⁴²⁰

Educated in universities in Angers and Aix-en-Provence, the Angevin-Provençal clerks were familiar, expert figures within René's state and church administration who could be partially compensated through ecclesiastical benefits.⁴²¹ Most were part of the ducal council, but also members of the chancellery. Among the most renowned was Jean Bernard († 1466), Canon of Angers, who became Archbishop of Tours and René's confessor. René dedicated his MVP to him. Concerning René's relations with the Franciscans, he met Bernardino of Siena († 1444), the great promoter of the Franciscan

⁴¹⁸ Vauchez, 'Influences franciscaines', 102–103. The research highlights her family relation with the Capetians, her devotion to Charles de Blois and the help she received from his daughter Marie de Blois (René's grandmother). Jeanne-Marie was forced into marriage but remained a virgin until death. She lived as a recluse most of her life, after her husband was killed in the Hundred Years' War. Louis I d'Anjou encouraged Jeanne-Marie de Maillé's canonisation as an example of one living a poor and chaste life.

⁴¹⁹ Vauchez, 97. Women such as Jeanne-Marie, although they married, were inspired by a hagiographic conception of conjugal life, a theme found in Franciscan saints in Provence. Can this be compared to the Amazonian virginity of Queen Penthesilea?

⁴²⁰ Vauchez, 103. Brother Richard was travelling across France spreading the devotion to Christ and announcing the forthcoming liberation from foreign oppression. Both examples highlight the political bias behind the religious gestures of both these important Angevin women and their religious protégés.

⁴²¹ Matz, 'René, l'Église et la religion', 131.

Observance, most probably shortly after René's arrival in Italy.⁴²² The prince's influence was instrumental in Bernardino's canonisation, and in his memory, René erected a chapel attached to the Friars Minor's convent in Angers. In accordance with his testament, René's heart was buried in the Saint-Bernardin chapel in 1481. René's body was buried with Isabelle de Lorraine's in the tomb he designed for the cathedral in Angers. Later, Jeanne de Laval elected to have her heart buried next to René's in the Franciscan chapel,⁴²³ making René the only prince in the family to be buried and commemorated with both the women he had dearly loved during his lifetime.⁴²⁴

Given this context, we see how René's devotion to the Cross and the Passion of Christ, displayed in the MVP, was shaped by his religious education over time and how this rich culture contributed to his own brand of spirituality. Using the specific semantics of the Franciscans in a heart-focused narrative, the MVP addresses a non-religious audience, educating it to find redemption in the afterlife. The emphasis on love and emotions to shape the identity of the late medieval noble men and women that we saw in the LDTH and the LDT in the previous chapters is now more deeply on the heart. Having

⁴²² Robin, *La cour d'Anjou-Provence*, 56 cited in Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, *D'or et de cendres: La mort et les funérailles des princes dans le royaume de France au bas Moyen Âge* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2005), <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.septentrion.54578>, § 17. The meeting took place either in Genoa in 1438 or later in Naples. Bernardino became René's confessor.

⁴²³ Chapman-Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France*, 251–59. Marie de Brabant who became King Philippe III le Hardi's second wife, set the example for Jeanne. The author describes Marie's gesture as "an expression of spiritual allegiance." The same could be said of Jeanne's decision.

⁴²⁴ Mérindol, *Le roi René*, 145–46; Gaude-Ferragu, *D'or et de cendres*, Ch. XI, § 4–8. For René's particular burial circumstances, see Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, Vol. 2, Appendix no. 93, 387, and Alexandre Bande, 'Les voyages des cœurs royaux en Val de Loire (fin XIV^e-début XVI^e siècle)', in *Entrer en ville*, ed. Françoise Michaud-Fréjaville, Noëlle Dauphin, and Jean-Pierre Guilhembet (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006), 231–43, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.7866>, § 18–19. Usually, the viscera were buried on the site of death, and the body was brought back home to the family burial place. The choice of a burial place for the heart was dictated by a particular devotion or a statement the person (a king or a high aristocrat) chose to make. René's wishes were in line with the usual practice, and so were Jeanne's. Matz and Verry, *Le roi René*, 39. René's marriage to Jeanne is seen as a union for love.

gained more knowledge on the medieval religious heart and René d'Anjou's spiritual influences, I turn to the analysis of René's literary and visual processes in the MVP. To do this, the author deploys a commonly known fable, in a sermon-like structure recognisable by all, to equally reach an audience that would have ranged from sophisticated lay nobles to illiterate servants.

Bridging the Heart and the Senses

The first of the three parables, introduced in Act II of the MVP reveals a significant influence in René's literary and artistic choices connected to the medieval heart. It stages a cart driver who is transporting a queen in his cart, pulled by two impaired horses. The corresponding full-page illustration of the cart driver in *B* [fig. 46] draws attention to two senses: sight and hearing. To control his two undisciplined horses, the cart driver covered the ears of one and the eyes of the other, thus attempting to avoid an accident that might injure his precious cargo. This metaphoric visual narrative is meant to demonstrate that the will of one's heart should be subdued by reason having control over the senses.⁴²⁵ The image itself depicts the queen, safe and subdued, with her face slightly bent down, her eyes closed, and her hands crossed in her lap. The cart driver, riding the second of the two horses, which are harnessed in single file, holds his whip high above his strong animals to keep them under his command. The horse he is riding has its eyes covered by a white cloth, while the leading horse's ears are wrapped in the same manner. Both are tamed and walk prudently. With this recognisable parable,⁴²⁶

⁴²⁵ Fabienne Pomel, 'Les yeux et les oreilles dans l'écriture allégorique du *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*', in *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011), 85–98 (86–87).

⁴²⁶ Iain Higgins kindly reminds me that this fable, in a way, goes back to Plato's allegory of the soul in the *Phaedrus* (itself still an older story), which depicts the soul as composed of a charioteer and two horses,

inserted within the allegorical discourse of Fear of God and Contrition in his heart-focused tale, René connects a well-known moral fable to his more complex theme. His adaptation of a classical allegory to his contemporary cultural context ensures its interpretation by both poles that define his audience.

This association of the heart with the senses is one developed by the French scholar, educator and reformer Jean Gerson, chancellor of the Université de Paris (1395–1415). A close examination of *A*, commissioned by the Duke and/or Duchess of Burgundy, reveals that René’s text was bound with Jean Gerson’s *Mendicité spirituelle* at an early stage, then added to Gerson’s *Complainte de l’homme à son âme*.⁴²⁷ Virginie Minet-Mahy remarks:

A dialogue is established between Gerson’s authority and René d’Anjou, thanks to the diptych of the Brussels manuscript, and unveils not so much an incontrovertible source as interactive ideas and aesthetics, a dialogue that extends beyond the two texts of the collection.⁴²⁸

Both texts echo each other on several concepts. The authors’ strong desire to address the laity in the vernacular and the notion of affective theology, by opposition to the abstruse theology of learned clerks written in Latin, are clear similarities in René’s MVP and Gerson’s *Mendicité spirituelle*.⁴²⁹ Furthermore, the image of the heart seems to be as important for Gerson as it is in René’s intellect. For the theologian, the five senses

one of them unruly. This shows René’s talent to adapt classical literature to fit his audience, no doubt through a long process of transmission before he put it to use. Could it also refer to Lancelot climbing into the cart as part of his relentless pursuit of the kidnapped Guinevere?

⁴²⁷ Virginie Minet-Mahy, ‘L’iconographie du cœur et de la croix dans le *Mortifiement* de René d’Anjou et les *Douze Dames de Rhétorique* de George Chastelain.’, *Le Moyen Age* CXIII, no. 3 (2007): 569–90 (571–72).

⁴²⁸ “Un dialogue s’instaure, grâce au diptyque du manuscrit de Bruxelles, entre l’autorité gersonienne et René d’Anjou et met au jour, moins une source irréfutable, que des idées et des esthétiques interactives, dialogue qui se prolonge en dehors des deux textes du recueil.” Minet-Mahy, 569–70.

⁴²⁹ Minet-Mahy, ‘Lecture croisée’, 108.

represent the physical world and are external senses, while the heart is a sixth sense, internal and spiritual. Being the site of will power, the heart controls the external senses, therefore theoretically protecting the soul from sins.⁴³⁰

The heart is also central to Gerson's *Canticordum du pèlerin* ("Song of the Heart," hereafter abbreviated as CDP, 1424), a mystical text on the return of the soul to God after death,⁴³¹ representing yet another conjuncture between René d'Anjou's MVP and Jean Gerson's work. The latter's doctrine is based on a cruciform visualisation [fig. 47], in which the heart is the centre. Each branch of the cross corresponds to a musical note, in turn associated with an emotion: joy ("joye"), fear ("paour"), grief or pain ("douleur"), and hope ("e[spoir]"). In Gerson's interpretation, the perfect musical, verbal and emotional harmony making the heart vibrate would elevate the soul to God. This image of the heart on a cross, reminiscent of the Franciscan *imitatio Christi*, equally concludes René's MVP with the heart's redemption and the Soul's subsequent harmony with the Divine.

This concept of the heart closely associated with an introspective, spiritual reflection is by no means a new concept. Indeed, as we have seen, the metaphor of the heart had evolved since the beginning of Christianity as the "moral and spiritual core of human beings."⁴³² With the evolution of lay education and book culture,⁴³³ the metaphor

⁴³⁰ Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, XX.

⁴³¹ Minet-Mahy, 'L'iconographie du cœur', 575–77.

⁴³² Jager, *The Book*, 28.

⁴³³ On literacy and its visual implications see Saenger, *Space between Words*; Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Michael Camille, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History* 8, no. 1 (1985): 26–49 and Celia Chazelle, 'Pictures, Books and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles', *Word & Image* 6, no. 2 (1990): 138–53.

of the book of the heart, progressed from the universal to the individual and entered popular culture and devotion. In Eric Jager's words, "this individual turn also characterizes the book of the heart in popular religious literature and art, the vernacular texts and images designed to teach doctrine and devotion to the laity."⁴³⁴ Becoming a symbol of the self, the book of the heart was conceptualised as a visual text made for private and silent reading, gradually generating new literary genres, such as Latin autobiographies and vernacular romances.⁴³⁵ Clearly belonging to this tradition, by the mid 1450s, René d'Anjou was offering his own adaptation of the book of the heart with the MVP, closely integrating textual and visual metaphors in a lively, easily understandable drama. While unravelling the Heart's redemption, René was also unveiling his spiritual self-representation as a model for his contemplative knight.

Picturing the Redeemable, Spiritual Heart of René d'Anjou

Originating within the late fifteenth-century familiar debate between "religion and love of worldly life,"⁴³⁶ the spiritual narrative René d'Anjou develops in the MVP is crafted like a sermon for a wide, lay Christian audience. René uses it as a didactic tool to interpret everyday life situations, praising God and highlighting the importance of ignoring temptations. The cycle of eight miniatures, outlining these instructive moments, visually translates the text meticulously and "is intimately connected to the writer's creative process, from which it is inseparable,"⁴³⁷ similarly to what we saw in René's

⁴³⁴ Jager, *The Book*, 103.

⁴³⁵ Jager, 46.

⁴³⁶ "religion et amour du monde." Bouchet, 'Introspection et diffraction', 74.

⁴³⁷ "est intimement liée à la démarche créatrice de l'écrivain, dont elle est indissociable." Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, XVI.

LDT in the previous chapter. In the MVP, René's precept is founded on the sincere examination of one's heart (by one's soul) to identify futile passions and vices and on the voluntary sacrifice of this corrupt part, the heart or the soul's emotional side. Redemption is then offered through the crucifixion of the heart, by analogy with Christ's sacrifice. Martyred for the salvation of the soul, every Christian heart is therefore understood to be redeemable, precisely because the intentional purge of all vices through a similar Passion connects the heart to God, the ultimate spiritual elevation.⁴³⁸

Imitating the Passion of Christ, the crucifixion of the Heart in the MVP is affiliated to a Christian religious perception close to the asceticism advocated by the mendicant orders.⁴³⁹ The renowned Franciscan preacher Bernardino of Siena's credo⁴⁴⁰ promoted a virtuous, poor and chaste life, following Christ's model. The specific terminology René uses, when referring to Christ as the True Saviour, evidences his familiarity with Franciscan religious thought. We saw how it was well-established in western France and had specific connections with the Anjou dynasty.⁴⁴¹ Franciscans and Cistercians practiced affective theology, through which the *affectus cordis*,⁴⁴² or the capacity for the heart to feel emotions, was incorporated into meditation. Moreover, the Soul's spiritual examination in the MVP is also reminiscent of *devotio moderna*, the spiritual movement of Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380–1471) that originated in Flanders and developed in the Rhineland. It has been said that René's MVP could have facilitated the

⁴³⁸ Bouchet, 'Introspection et diffraction', 75.

⁴³⁹ Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifement*, XXI.

⁴⁴⁰ Gautier, *La bibliothèque*, 25. The absence of ascetic treatises as a foundation for the MVP in René's libraries is a surprising gap if compared to the Burgundian library, for instance.

⁴⁴¹ Matz, 'Les ordres mendiants', § 9–14.

⁴⁴² Boquet and Nagy, 'Medieval Sciences of Emotions', 35; Bouchet, 'Introspection et diffraction', 75.

“dissemination of a mystic movement of *devotio moderna* within the Angevin milieu.”⁴⁴³

It might well be this uncommon combination of devotional practices that warranted him the label of “unusual Christian prince.”

More importantly, René’s familiarity with novel religious trends, as expressed in the literary tradition, and his ability to incorporate them into the MVP’s narrative, place him at the centre of his spiritual tale. In fact, the dedication/confession to Jean Bernard in the prologue,⁴⁴⁴ repeated in the epilogue, suggests that the experience that is presented is personal. Therefore, as René’s narrative opens with the questioning Soul, his audience understands that it represents René’s soul, the sins of the metaphorical Heart being his as well. This “allegorical confession” in turn leads to René’s “moral self-portrait” with the crucifixion of the Heart.⁴⁴⁵ I submit that its visualisation in René’s *mise-en-abîme* in *A* [fig. 43], where the prince is contemplating his own redemption, can therefore be interpreted as the old knight’s own life narrative as he prepares himself to sacrifice his worldly life. Yet if the crafting of his self-identity as a contemplative knight is becoming clearer in the MVP, René d’Anjou was nonetheless refining a model for Angevin-Provençal aristocratic men and women of the Early Renaissance that is now focused on self-examination and possibly emphasises the noble knight.

⁴⁴³ “diffuser dans le milieu angevin un courant mystique de *devotio moderna*.” Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, XVIII. Through his younger years at the court of Charles II of Lorraine, René could have been exposed to new spiritual movements active in north-eastern France.

⁴⁴⁴ Roussineau, ed., 94. René confesses to Jean Bernard: “car je cognois les fruiz de mes labeurs estre mors parturiz par mon tresgrief pechié” (“because I know the fruits of my efforts are still-born due to my very great sin”).

⁴⁴⁵ “ce protocole d’adresse autorise à lire le texte comme une confession allégorique, qui débouche, lors du crucifiement du cœur, sur un autoportrait moral.” Bouchet, ‘Introspection et diffraction’, 75.

Contemplative Devotion: The World of René d'Anjou's Spiritual Knight

The preoccupation with death and the preparation for the afterlife were very real concerns during René's lifetime, because it was a period of war, plague and famine.⁴⁴⁶ A response to this questioning, René's MVP echoes the older man's examination of his own temporal life. The model it becomes for his audience is as much a result of his religious context, reflecting his own concept of affective theology and reformed devotional practices, as it is of late medieval literary practices and the role of emotions in identity formation. As we have seen previously with the LDTH *W*^l and René's LDT, the coexistence of antique/the present or real/fictional worlds signals the patron's desire to re-write and visually reconstruct new realms based on pre-existing ones to which he/she adds his/her own interpretation. In the MVP, because it is a devotional book, the sermon-like structure in dramatized form does not allow the blending we see in the previous two books. Even though we have seen how René can re-write an antique allegory to fit his Christian context, the three parables are deployed in the conversation between the personifications and the Soul when examples are needed to prove a point and convince her to renounce her sinful Heart for its redemption. Similarly, the content of René's MVP addresses a wider audience that possibly encompassed lower members of the household. For these reasons, René's iconographic cycle becomes an essential means of communication to dramatize the commonly known moralising fables through seemingly recognisable miniatures. Furthermore, the allegorical process employed throughout with

⁴⁴⁶ Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, Vol. 1, 515. In his chapter on judiciary organisation, Lecoy's section on Angers' "police sanitaire" supervised the enforcement of the Council's edicts regarding cleaning various city districts to avoid epidemics. René's involvement was not limited to Anjou. Plague and famine are mentioned specifically in Provence, in smaller communities.

additional visual metaphors asserts the MVP's description as a non-religious work. We have seen how René adapted the fable of the cart driver to fit his contemporary audience. I submit that, in the MVP, René relies on polysemous iconography to propose his own "pictorial worldmaking" where the juxtaposition of classical/the present and real/fictional is presented as an illustrated allegorical poem where the newly imagined illustrations carry complex, layered meaning.

Two miniatures act as bookends to René's MVP, in conjunction with the following text, and are key to understanding the emotional narrative told here. The admission of sins with which the Soul is faced when assessing her Heart is expressed in the gesture of the Soul cradling the Heart on f. 3v [fig. 40]. In a recent essay, Dafna Nissim explains how "corporeal movements can convey a message to the spectator who is capable of decoding it in light of contemporary norms."⁴⁴⁷ In a book of hours (BnF ms. lat. 1156A, 1435–1436, and after 1446), the devotional portrait of René d'Anjou on f. 81v, [fig. 48] is placed on the folio opposite the Passion of Christ. In this diptych, René in prayers is visually facing the Divine—the image of Christ taken down from the cross by an angel. Nissim sees in René's worshipful posture a "subtle message"⁴⁴⁸ that would be easily decoded by the contemporary viewer. Nissim further connects posture to emotion because appropriate emotions, controlled like proper behaviours, signalled a virtuous conduct. Gazing at the carefully devised, impactful image of the Soul's protective motion toward her Heart within the ruined environment of the tiny hut [fig. 40], the medieval

⁴⁴⁷ Nissim, 'The Emotional Agency', 340–43. Normative texts on virtues, emotions and behaviours prescribed an equal temperance in all as the greatest virtue.

⁴⁴⁸ Nissim, 340.

viewer would interpret the common layered metaphors. Following Nissim's theory, the Soul's posture especially would in turn trigger sadness, doubt and fear for the future. The viewer's compassion would then be activated, stimulating self-examination. The expression on the Soul's face is notably reminiscent of the angel's face as he contemplates Christ's sacrifice [fig. 48]. A viewer in contact with René's book of hours and the image of the angel as the prince prayed in his chamber would identify the Soul's emotional narrative even more readily. The decor of a luxuriant landscape with the protection of the castle, visible through the open door, creates in the viewer's mind an anchor in reality, while also evoking hope for a better future.

Similarly, the last image showing Fear of God and Contrition handing the Soul's crucified Heart back to her [fig. 49] depicts her kneeling in front of the cross, in text and picture. Her raised head towards the Heart emphasises her disbelief that it is indeed her Heart because of its changed appearance: "the Soul disturbed... a little startled and amazed by what she sees and had not seen before" ("l'Ame troublee... ung tres pou esbahie et comme merveilliée de ce qu'elle veoit et qu'elle n'avoit pas avant veu").⁴⁴⁹ Yet the Soul's kneeling suggests gratitude when understanding that it is purged of all sins. The reader/viewer's extended gaze at this image of the Soul's posture and head gesture would trigger similar emotions of surprise, amazement and gratitude. Meditating on these emotions, the reader/viewer would understand that the sacrifice of worldly vanities leads to one's own Christian redemption. Following René's specifically outlined steps would therefore guide to redemption for all, in the afterlife.

⁴⁴⁹ Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*, 90.

Building his new world for the reformed, contemplative knight, two more images in René's iconographic programme suggest crucial moments connecting gestures to emotions that would lead to contemplation. When the Soul is finally convinced that she must sacrifice her Heart, she trusts it to Fear of God and Contrition who act as expert intermediaries [fig. 50]. Moving from a protective gesture towards the Heart, she now stretches her arms out, holding it to the two personifications. As a genial physiognomist, Barthélemy demonstrates a rare talent at visualising the Soul's side glance and sort of twisted mouth to translate some last doubts. Decoded by René's audience, these gestures would have encouraged the viewer to resort to a similar introspection before trusting intermediaries. Jean Colombe, and other miniaturists, do not seem to be as successful at reproducing the facial expression, although the Soul's more stretched out posture in *M* would convey a similar emotion. The following image points to another key moment in the narrative and a more revealing decor oscillating between reality and fiction, which suggests René's worldmaking.

The Heart's redemption, which is depicted in the penultimate illustration [fig. 42], is only possible through the Soul's sacrifice and the Heart's crucifixion. The comparison of this image in the MVP with the Passion of Christ is key to understanding René's teachings; therefore, the text and illustration meticulously depict the instruments of the Passion displayed on the illustration in René's book of hours [fig. 48]. Each drop of blood matches a sin of which the Heart is being purged, in turn causing its physical change. The violence of Faith, Hope, True Love and Divine Grace hammering on the nails and thrusting the lance is contrasted with the divine space of the garden, symbolised by its bounty of vegetation, and the embroidered vestments embodying Christian

catechism. This dichotomy creates a more impactful vision than the two previous images, compelling the viewer to contemplate the interpretation provided by René. The pain and suffering endured by the Soul would then be interpreted as part of her necessary sacrifice vicariously shared by René's audience. Furthermore, true to the metaphor of the religious heart, René's Heart in the MVP represents for the Soul the direct connection to God. Contemplating the last image, a reader of the final section of the MVP would associate any possible redemption with a direct experience of the Divine and the graciousness of God. Most importantly, in this innovative world that René is constructing for his contemplative knight, Barthélemy's creation of a walled garden filled with fruit-bearing trees and sweet-smelling flowers is reminiscent of Emilia's garden in his LDTH *W^l*, as well as René's real passion for botanical experiments.⁴⁵⁰ Sacred when interpreted as the Garden of Eden, this miniature also depicts all the elements of a real garden. The same can be said of the embroidered vestments, stressing the delicate real/fictional balance of René's iconography.

The standardisation of emotions inducing contemplation in the MVP is comparable to René's tournament rituals regulating knightly behaviours in the LDT in that both provide norms reflecting the specific, respective historical and religious context of the court of Anjou-Provence. Centred on the medieval metaphor of the religious heart, René's spiritual introspection, modelled on Franciscan thought, shapes the image of the contemplative knight/René that will be further refined in his LDC. Interestingly, René's MVP probably addressed a wider audience than just aristocrats. This is not such a far-

⁴⁵⁰ Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, Vol. 1, 484. The construction of model-farms and his experiments to introduce carnations, a new rose and Muscat grapes from Provence to Anjou, reveal René as a pioneer naturalist.

fetched assumption when considering the evidence of reception concerns outlined by the consistency of the illustration cycle in the extant copies. The perpetuation of the illustration programme reflects René's desire to provide all an enduring, simple, and rewarding spiritual exercise without intermediaries, even if the religious education of the common household was usually a task typically reserved to noble women. With the first of René's diptych of the Heart, the unravelling of the concept of the allegorical heart further prepares the sophisticated reader/viewer to connect the Heart (religious or secular) with spiritual self-examination, exposing the MVP's influence on René's LDC.

Visualising René's World for the Contemplative Knight: Patron-Artist Dynamic in the MVP

In this final section, I would like to briefly reflect on an important component of René's manuscript: the collaborative relationship between him, the prince-author, and Barthélemy d'Eyck, his close associate and favourite illuminator. In the previous chapter, I have briefly mentioned how their physical working closeness (whether in Anjou or in Provence) must have been a factor in developing what scholars describe as their symbiotic working relationship.⁴⁵¹ Consequently, Barthélemy's work amounts to a form of visual translation of René's literature, the innovativeness of which we have demonstrated in the LDT. Fostered by a visible harmony in their ability to interpret concepts textually and visually, the dynamic between René and Barthélemy that we will see in the LDC, in the next chapter, might be even more remarkable, because of the book's complexity.

⁴⁵¹ Robin, *La cour d'Anjou-Provence*, 107; Sturgeon, 'Text and Image', 38–45; Robin, 'L'art d'être mécène', §12, and Nicole Reynaud, 'Lettre de la veuve de Barthélemy d'Eyck au roi René', in *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Edouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers ; Actes Sud, 2009), 274–75.

An expert on René d'Anjou's court, Françoise Robin offers us "several remarks" on the "art of being a patron" in René's time.⁴⁵² Robin discusses the particularity of the prince's patronage in French regions where established artists already benefited from an active trade with the cities' wealthy bourgeois. Although Barthélemy's work include paintings such as *L'Annonciation d'Aix* (1442–1445) for the cloth merchant Pierre Corpici, or a *Christ on the cross* (Louvre RF 1993-4, 1445–1450) as part of a polyptych and the *Brustbild eines Mannes, 1456* (LMV GE729), both anonymous commissions, René's accounts attest to Barthélemy's specific status as low courtier by the late 1450s, which would suggest that he was essentially a court painter.

More importantly, Deborah McGrady analyses the dynamics between patrons in the Valois family and writers during the late medieval period. McGrady specifically examines literary patronage from the authors' point of view, and their reactions to patrons' solicitations for books to fill their vernacular libraries. This approach opens new avenues for inquiries that might also apply to other cultural patronage. McGrady notices over time a "dramatic reconceptualization of literary dynamics,"⁴⁵³ beginning with King Charles V's cultural policy. This shifting relation was mirrored by the authors' changing attitude as books produced for the patron's pleasure are progressively transformed into "gifts freely offered,"⁴⁵⁴ which were visually pictured in some presentation miniatures. McGrady writes:

By replacing a royal claim for goods with a philosophy of intellectual giving, authors and bookmakers defined their relationship with the political elite as a partnership built on the free circulation of intellectual

⁴⁵² Robin, 'L'art d'être mécène', § 15.

⁴⁵³ McGrady, *The Writer's Gift or the Patron's Pleasure?*, 30.

⁴⁵⁴ McGrady, 53.

riches intended for the common good. This philosophy set the stage for vernacular authors to conceive of their writing activity as a distinctive, valuable, and rare talent that would subsequently justify writers' claims of membership in the emerging field of letters.⁴⁵⁵

Names such as Guillaume de Machaut⁴⁵⁶ and Christine de Pizan instantly come to mind. We have seen the involvement of Christine in the continuity of the LDCD in Chapter One. McGrady explains the increasing control writers had over their work by the growth of clientelism. As a result, by the end of the fifteenth century, literary patronage exclusively based on commission by the elite was progressively disappearing in centres like Paris. This evolution is well-documented at the court of René d'Anjou, where the prince's commissions and the courtiers' translations/productions offered to him are part of a vibrant literary life.⁴⁵⁷ What makes this court unique, though, is that René additionally produced three major works that were disseminated through significant courts in Europe, as we have seen. The quality of the illumination of these three books, as well as others that were commissioned, is another aspect of the court of Anjou-Provence's literary production that makes it stand out. I contend that the work of artists can be viewed with the same lens as authors offering their gifts of books to elite patrons for the greater good in order to assess the patron/artist relationship.

Because he had married and bought houses and vineyards in Aix-en-Provence, we can assume that Pierre de Billant, for example, had a "bourgeois and ecclesiastical

⁴⁵⁵ McGrady, 9–10.

⁴⁵⁶ See also McGrady, *Controlling Readers*.

⁴⁵⁷ Tania Van Hemelryck and Hélène Haug, 'De l'émulation bibliophile à la création auctoriale: La dynamique littéraire à la cour d'Anjou', in *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011), 285–305 (286–94).

clientele” there.⁴⁵⁸ He was also René’s embroiderer, the most significant artist at court. With René’s rich artistic patronage, in many ways comparable to that of his uncle Jean de Berry, it is safe to say that the position of artist at the court of Anjou-Provence carried social distinction, much like that accorded to writers in Paris. Barthélemy d’Eyck, like his stepfather Pierre de Billant, could have had an independent town workshop as his earlier commissions outside of the court show, but there is no trace of it. Instead, he dedicated his art to illustrate René’s, and possibly Jeanne’s, manuscripts over a total period of approximately thirty years. This turn of events might throw some light on Barthélemy’s and René’s extraordinary relationship as being more than a working partnership.

McGrady’s approach seems to be especially productive in the case of René’s MVP. As vernacular literature, offering a spiritual lesson for the common good, the MVP is dramatized in a set cycle of miniatures destined to be understood by all. With these controlled text and illumination, René’s MVP underlines the particularly close dynamic between the patron-author and his illuminator to ensure René’s teachings. Indeed, the same relationship is evidenced in the most famous illustration cycle of René’s LDC (V), begun by Barthélemy in 1465, and which interruption in the 1470s marks Barthélemy’s supposed death.⁴⁵⁹ In the end, the artist, with his long-lasting dedication to his elite patron, tied his fortune to that of his friend. Barthélemy’s reputation as one of the greatest artists of the late Middle Ages was forgotten when the Angevin-Provençal state was finally dismantled after René d’Anjou’s death.

⁴⁵⁸ “clientèle bourgeoise et ecclésiastique.” Robin, ‘L’art d’être mécène’, §13.

⁴⁵⁹ Reynaud, ‘Lettre de la veuve’, 274. No specific date confirms Barthélemy d’Eyck’s death. His name just disappears from René’s accounts. A letter from Jeanne de La Forest, Barthélemy’s widow, to René, potentially dated to 1476, confirms, however, that the artist died during the early 1470s.

Chapter Four: Summary

Influenced by Jean Gerson, René d'Anjou's didactic treatise on devotion the MVP is a spiritual discourse on the lures of worldly life, focused on the heart and its incapacity to resist temptation. Its recognisable dramatized sermon-like structure addresses René's lay audience, who would have easily decoded the three central allegories and the well-known parables used to convince the Soul to sacrifice her Heart for its redemption. This chapter proposed that, using Gerson's contextualisation of the heart within a sensorial structure, René's exploration of the metaphor of the self depends on slightly different philosophical and religious perceptions. By the late fifteenth century, the direct connection between God, the heart and the book is a tangible one, supported by a copious religious imagery, often freely invented by patrons, authors and artists. It is materialised in a lay and vernacular literature that manipulated similar concepts, using the same memory techniques. René's non-religious literary work expresses a new spirituality inspired by evolving ideologies from both northern and southern Europe.⁴⁶⁰ Furthermore, the simplicity of René's message guarantees redemption, during times when the preparation for the afterlife was a daily preoccupation. The iconography, composed of a limited and impactful cycle of images, seems to have endured over time, outlining the book's reception. By assuming the role of author of his treatise on devotion, René suggests that the allegorised Soul and the Heart represent his own soul and sinful heart. Ultimately, he provides the reader/viewer with an intimate self-representation of the devout prince that reveals individual questioning, failures, hopes, and a complete trust in

⁴⁶⁰ See the section entitled "Mendicant Orders and Franciscans in Anjou: René d'Anjou's Religious Education" (162).

his faith. Calling on an intricate emotional narrative, layered within allegorical meaning and decoded through normative gestures and/or posture, the work reveals an economy of emotions that is reminiscent of other literary projects within the Angevin-Provençal court, all part of the fluid debate taking material shape in René's visualisation of the many worlds of the Early Renaissance aristocrat, male and female.

Indeed, two years later, René d'Anjou produced a second heart-centred book, this time with the heart as a secular central character. This romance uses the love quest to refine the soul. This literary diptych offers an image of the true nobility René is developing as a new vision of medieval knightly ideals through literature and its visual art, and demonstrates the roles the heart and spirituality play in achieving his brand of nobility.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CONTEMPLATIVE KNIGHT RETHINKS ROMANCE AND THE QUEST FOR THE NOBLE HEART

Having gained a clearer understanding of the motif of the heart and the image of the contemplative knight provided in the previous chapter, Chapter Five examines René d'Anjou's most acclaimed literary work, the *Livre du Cœur d'amour épris* (LDC, 1457). My work interprets it as René's secular exploration into the world of romance, using the motif of the quest of the noble heart in the tradition of courtly love quests. This last book represents the overarching achievement of René's literary career insofar as it completes his evolving model of masculinity and crystallises his investment in worldmaking, combining his own literary creation with the talent of a master painter, Barthélemy d'Eyck.

The LDC encompasses many of the standard categories in medieval literature (dream-vision, allegories, supernatural beings and places); it also blends the motifs of the quest and of the romance in a typical re-writing of previously existing texts. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, beginning in the second part of the book, the author engages in a sharp critique of a wondrous world that materialises in the Isle of Love, a place marred by insidious corruption. This critique belongs to a new literary trend which focuses on the decadence of the late medieval courts and their courtiers' behaviour. Building on previous chapters, I argue that René/Cuer's contemplative dimension, as developed in René's MVP, allows for this secular quest to be undertaken as an initiatory journey: the prince's personal innovative blend of spirituality is interwoven in new ways with his knight's genuine nobility. The knightly lover is offering him(self) a place to redeem a "secular" heart as the aging and melancholic prince ponders the end of life.

Part A begins with a survey of the current scholarship on the history of the text; Part B examines the extant illustrated manuscripts on which my reading of René's LDC is founded. Then in Part C, I will lead readers carefully into the LDC, based on my new reading of the text-image relations, as we examine the quest for René's new definition of true nobility of heart.

PART A: BOOK HISTORY: ***LE LIVRE DU CŒUR D'AMOUR ÉPRIS***

René wrote the *Livre du Cœur d'amour épris* in 1457. Following the MVP, the narrative likewise revolves around the "fiction of the 'Heart torn out'."⁴⁶¹ However, this time the literary motif comes to life as a complete and independent personification. In fact, several scholars⁴⁶² have argued the two works form a literary diptych, seeing in the MVP a prequel to René's more famous LDC. Within this one book, René proposes to the reader a more complex compilation of both epic and romance literature, employing conventional literary processes in utterly unique ways. Mostly founded on the courtly love tradition of *the Roman de la Rose* (1230–1235) and the epic-like quest of *La Queste del Saint Graal* (1225–1230), but alternating prose and verse,⁴⁶³ the LDC expands on the

⁴⁶¹ "la fiction du 'Cœur arraché'." Rose-Marie Ferré, 'René d'Anjou, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*', in *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril (Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009), 300–309 (300).

⁴⁶² Poirion, 'Les tombeaux allégoriques', 400; Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 15; Newman, *Medieval Crossover*, 224 "companion piece"; Roussineau, ed., *Le Mortifiement*; Ferré, 'René d'Anjou, *Le Livre*', 300; Fabre, 'La maisonnette, le pont et le bois de la lance', § 1, and Durrieu, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits français', 115–43 (138), if only pictorially, for this last reference. The points of conjunction between the two narratives are discussed in Part C.

⁴⁶³ Iain Higgins kindly reminds me that the prosimetrum goes back to Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae*, another work of self-knowledge in the form of a vision.

metaphor of the Heart. Here, the snatched heart becomes the knight Cuer⁴⁶⁴ who is given to his esquire Desir⁴⁶⁵ by Amours, the God of Love. Cuer and Desir are guided from afar on their quest for Cuer's ladylove, the imprisoned Douce Mercy (Sweet Grace), by Esperance (Hope), because Desir's impulsivity and Cuer's naivety repeatedly lead them astray. A set of negative personifications counterbalances the many positive allegories, impeding or helping the heroes' progress. However, in contrast to René's redeemed Heart in the MVP, Cuer cannot gain Mercy's favour. His is a "quest without conquest,"⁴⁶⁶ and in the end, he is forced into retirement, entering a hospital for hearts injured by love, where he will end his life in prayers.

If this unsuccessful ending is surprising, it does not completely set apart René's courtly love quest from previous literary traditions,⁴⁶⁷ but offers the reader/viewer a privileged glimpse of the author's rich and audacious imaginary worlds. Ultimately, his fiction uncovers René d'Anjou's particular melange of genres as the maturation of his ideas in the MVP and his own sense of self-fashioning. Focusing on the coexistence of the real and the fictitious, of tradition and novelty, this chapter explores the emergence of

⁴⁶⁴ In this more well-known work, I prefer to keep the French original characters' names to avoid the complication of translation and grammatical gender, hence retaining their authenticity. Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book* is used for all translations of ÖNB Cod. 2597 V's text. Since it is a critical edition and a translation of V, I quote this version of René's text. For ease of comprehension, I still offer the translation.

⁴⁶⁵ Vladimir Chichmaref, 'Notes sur quelques œuvres attribuées au roi René', *Romania* 55, no. 218 (1929): 214–50 (234). "Ardent Desire" was one of René d'Anjou's mottos and the nickname given to the Angevin author and artist Pierre de Hurion. One of René's favourites, Pierre had military titles as well as a bachelor's degree in law.

⁴⁶⁶ "une quête sans conquête." Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 42.

⁴⁶⁷ Delcourt, *La littérature arthurienne*, 69–70. In this René follows the example of the *Queste del Saint Graal*, which offers a well-known precedent for excellent worldly knights to fail on a quest. This paradox is exemplified in the contrast between Galahad—the chaste and pure knight—and Lancelot—the perfect knight—who will, however, fail because of his love for Guinevere. A failed quest in love offers readers rich interpretative possibilities, especially those who know René's other heart book.

René's self in Barthélemy d'Eyck's miniatures and René's text. More importantly, it reveals a self-crafted emotional and spiritual identity as an assessment of the visionary prince's ideas on late medieval nobility. Before turning to our main argument, we must first outline the history of the manuscript tradition of the LDC.

Manuscripts of the LDC

In this section, I give an overview of the scholarship on the extant manuscripts of René's LDC so we get a better idea of its transmission. Examining this small corpus reveals how this extraordinary story was composed, illustrated, annotated and received over time. In particular, the comparison and contrast of ÖNB Cod. 2597 (V) and BnF ms. fr. 24399 (P) help us consider patrons' varying interests and/or demands, in addition to the two illuminators' distinct styles.

René d'Anjou's LDC survives in seven manuscripts, four of them either partial or abridged copies.⁴⁶⁸ Only three of the volumes illustrate the text, and two of the copies exhibit a number of spaces reserved for miniatures that were never completed. The number of surviving manuscripts of René's LDC suggests that the dissemination was limited to a small group in the court circle, their recipients' identification being still under research.⁴⁶⁹ Of the seven manuscripts, V is the most renowned because of its magnificent

⁴⁶⁸ Bouchet, ed., 64–66. Using the established naming system, the manuscripts are known respectively as: BnF ms. fr. 24399 (P); ÖNB Cod. 2597 (V); BnF ms. fr. 1509 (P2); BnF, ms. fr. 1425; Arsenal, ms. 2984; VAB Cod. Regina 1629, and NAF 11679.

⁴⁶⁹ Otto Pächt, 'René d'Anjou Studien II', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 69 (1973): 85–126; Otto Pächt, 'René d'Anjou Studien II', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 73 (1977): 7–106; Christian de Mérindol, 'Deux cycles iconographiques du *Cœur d'amour épris* : Essai de datation', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* 1982, no. 1 (1980): 5–18, cited in Ferré, 'René d'Anjou, *Le Livre*', 300.

illustrations that have been attributed to Barthélemy d’Eyck;⁴⁷⁰ these have been copied in one other manuscript (P). V is one of the oldest copies and is said to have belonged to René, who owned others as well.⁴⁷¹ (Please refer to the table in the Appendix for the codicological analysis).

PART B: THE ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMME AS REVEALED IN MANUSCRIPTS V AND P

The LDC V contains a partial iconographic programme started c. 1465 and painted by Barthélemy d’Eyck. The images illustrate the text up until the arrival at the Isle of Love, namely sixteen miniatures (in the seven quires forming the first section). From a total of approximately forty-four illustrations, including the reserved spaces, twenty-five are framed and prepared with the text inserted within a decorative border (in a different style) in the last section. The middle part of the manuscript shows only spaces left blank (four quires, no decoration and in a different hand).⁴⁷² Facing such variations in the manuscript—if a completed iconographic programme devised by René with Barthélemy d’Eyck ever existed—the issue of V’s reorganisation therefore seems likely.⁴⁷³

A comparison of V’s and P’s illustration cycles is helpful. The miniatures are

⁴⁷⁰ Florence Bouchet seems to be over-prudent, as other scholars have now recognised Barthélemy’s creative style in V, as early as Durrieu, ‘Notes sur quelques manuscrits’, 142; Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 47.

⁴⁷¹ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 65. Although the analysis of P’s miniatures is necessary in the second part of the narrative, this dissertation values V’s iconography as part of Barthélemy’s body of work, closely representing René’s aesthetics.

⁴⁷² Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 42.

⁴⁷³ Pächt and Thoss, 42; Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 54–55.

placed at regular intervals⁴⁷⁴ and in both manuscripts depict similar key moments of the narrative, resulting most probably in a unique iconographic programme. The visual depictions of these narrative articulations, however, can be noticeably different in both manuscripts. Such is the case with the first illustration, underlining the specific style of both artists and/or a possible variation of the patron's concept. Although counting seventy miniatures, P's illustration cycle diverges from V's total cycle only in the treatment of the section depicting each coat of arms of the knights who suffered through love, which represents twenty-five supplementary miniatures.⁴⁷⁵ Without these, the number of illustrations in V and P might be the same. Most importantly, the Fontaine de Fortune miniature—on f. 15r in both manuscripts—confirms a common and unique iconographic programme, at least with regard to the first section of V. Considering P's later illumination, the access to V (or to a completed earlier version) is an issue that has been debated in modern scholarship⁴⁷⁶ and can only be considered if P was produced in the royal circle, in Anjou where the Maître du Retable was active. In Chapter Three, I have speculatively proposed that the source manuscript of René's LDC could have been a similar "working draft" as René's LDT P1, in which case Barthélemy would have copied V (*W^l*) from this draft, establishing the iconographic cycle proper, or part of it before he died. Later, the Maître du Retable would have had access to the draft in Angers for P. As a non-luxurious manuscript, and with the dismantlement of the Anjou-Provençal state, it

⁴⁷⁴ Ferré, 'René d'Anjou: *Le Livre*', 300.

⁴⁷⁵ Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 43. However interesting this hypothesis is, it has not been referred to in the more recent scholarship, although Bouchet proposes that a 1458 (?) manuscript, with a completed cycle by Barthélemy d'Eyck, existed and that this is the one that was used by the Maître du Retable.

⁴⁷⁶ Avril, 'La Vie de saint François', 25–26.

would not be surprising if this “working draft” was also left behind, and eventually was lost.

Nevertheless, the two artists have very different styles, which are recognisable in the similar illustrations of the Fontaine de Fortune on f. 15r in both manuscripts.⁴⁷⁷ In V, Barthélemy has painted a specific time of day, namely, early morning [fig. 51]. Wearing only his armour and red skull cap, Cuer is standing in front of the fountain, while Desir, still asleep, is lying in the grass under the aspen tree. Long shadows are cast on the yellow-green grass. The deep perspective of the field leads the eye to the dark green hedge that makes a sharp line against the horizon. In the light blue sky, the low vibrating dark ball of the sun signals dawn.

The artist’s precise technique is further pictured in the visible tension that emanates from the right section of the image. There, Cuer stands facing the fountain; the rest of the scene is peaceful. The thick slab of black marble is almost as high as Cuer. On the sculpted cornice, a metal cup on a chain, turned upside-down, is a discreet reminder of the prophecy. The spring, contained in a shallow trough at the bottom of the slab, flows out through a lion’s mouth into a gutter that curves out of the foreground area. His head bent in reflection, Cuer is apparently reading the long text that is engraved in gold letters on the fountain slab:

Droit cy devant, soubz ce perron
De marbre noir comme charbon
Sourt la Fontaine de Fortune [...]

⁴⁷⁷ Franz Unterkircher, *Le Livre du Cueur d’amour espris* (National Library, Vienna), trans. Sophie Wilkins (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), f. 15r. The author reminds us that “Fortune” here is understood “in its negative, shifting, treacherous aspects.” Freigang, ‘Fantaisie et Ymaginacion’, 223; Krueger, ‘Chrétien de Troyes’, 168–170; Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*, trans. Michel Rousse (Paris: Flammarion, 1990). This episode is a direct reference to the Fontaine de Barenton, a recurring theme in Chrétien de Troyes’ *Yvain, le chevalier au lion*.

Et qui bura a la fontaine
 Il en souffrera puis grant paine
 Car faicte fut par artifice
 De Virgille ou d'ung sien complice.
 Par quoy, quant aucun tastera
 De laditte eaue et gittera
 Lavance sur ce perron cy,
 Tantost sera l'air tout nercy [29, ffs. 15r & 15v, v. 1–22]
 (Right here before you, beneath this / Block of marble back as coal, /
 Flows the Fountain of Fortune [...] / He who shall drink of this fountain /
 Will then suffer from it great anguish, / For by artifice it was made / By
 Virgil or one of his companions; / For this reason, when any shall touch /
 This water and cast it forward / Here upon this marble block, / Thereupon
 the air shall quite blacken).⁴⁷⁸

His eyes following each verse as their meaning slowly becomes clear, his animated face and hands under Barthélemy's brush reveal his understanding of the prophecy and of the thunderstorm. Esperance's riddle at the start of their adventure now makes sense.

The position of the sun and its dark vibration, along with the long shadows that stretch through the field, illustrate Barthélemy's technique for painting fictional time (the time set by the narrative) to visually instruct the viewer. With dawn, the viewer becomes a reader of the text on the stone and, alongside Cuer, as the riddle is revealed and additional knowledge is decoded.⁴⁷⁹ The *ekphrasis*⁴⁸⁰ used in images with text inscribed in stone or painted on wood (and woven in silk in the tapestry section of P), which are legible to the viewer-become-reader, allows Barthélemy (and the Maître du Retable) to

⁴⁷⁸ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 30–33. Adopting the same system, section and verse numbering are indicated in brackets, in addition to the foliation, to facilitate scholarly references.

⁴⁷⁹ Philippe Maupeu, « Regarder le temps »: Temps et image dans le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris', in *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011), 119–34 (121). Maupeu calls this René's "entre-regard" or "inter-gaze" technique.

⁴⁸⁰ Here a literary device, used on images, quoting verses that describe specific personifications.

highlight specific personifications through the iconographic cycle. Reading these signs delays their interpretation⁴⁸¹ and creates a meditative process marked by regular pauses in Cuer's journey as stations in that of the pilgrim. This level of precision and innovative technique, expressed in V's miniature on f. 15r, exemplifies the close relationship between patron/author and artist that is required for Barthélemy to develop a degree of understanding and emotion in harmony with René's aesthetics and poetic charm.

Although P's f. 15r visually depicts the exact same scene [fig. 52], the Maître du Retable's technique to represent light and shade is lacking compared to Barthélemy's. The low sunrise could just as well indicate sunset because of its colour and darkness, despite the rays emanating from it. The shadows, when they exist, are not on the appropriate side of objects. The light colours are dull compared to Barthélemy's crisp vividness. Barely legible words on the fountain suggest that the illuminator might not be aware of the intricacies of Barthélemy's use of *ekphrasis* or is unable to reproduce it. Cuer seems to be looking at the words, but neither his face nor his hands express any relevant meaning, lacking the sculptured modelling achieved with precise shading on V's f. 15r. P's later illustration, although a faithful visual aid to the poem, remains a copy by a less developed talent than Barthélemy's interpretive and emotional visualisation of the same lines. Adding two tree stumps in the middle of the field, as a reminder of René's emblem,⁴⁸² evidences P's traditional medieval self-representation practices evolving from

⁴⁸¹ Maupeu, '« Regarder le temps »', 121.

⁴⁸² Mérimodol, *Le roi René*, 130–34. The dry stump, on which grows a single green scion is repeated in René's coat of arms on P's f. 87r. See how it is used in BnF ms. lat. 17332 f. 31r [fig. 16] in connection with the letters "R" and "I."

heraldic emblematic systems.⁴⁸³

Barthélemy's talent has greatly benefitted from his access to the Limbourg's art in the TRH, on which he worked as the intermediate artist.⁴⁸⁴ The vibrancy and glow of the sunrise on V's f. 15r can be compared to the same effect, however hazier, on the month of October [fig. 53]. Another example of the Limbourg's influence is seen in V's previous illustration. It depicts the night of the storm that Cuer and Desir spent in the dark forest [fig. 54].⁴⁸⁵ This image is only lit by the gold strokes on the horses' harness and saddle, the wings on Cuer's helm and the small hearts painted on his horse's cover. Cuer's armour, usually black with golden highlights in the light of day, almost turns white in the dark of night, thanks to the same accents. To the right, in a distance, the fountain slab looms as a gloomy foreboding against the dark blue sky, awash with golden stars, shining between the blackened branches. Similar depictions of night scenes, painted by the Limbourg, already existed in the TRH.⁴⁸⁶ Conservator Margaret Lawson's in-depth technical essay of *Les Belles Heures de Jean de France* (MET 54.1.1, c. 1405–1408/09) provides further updated information regarding the Limbourg's materials and techniques that would be pertinent to Barthélemy's style.⁴⁸⁷ The depiction of the “Christ

⁴⁸³ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 56.

⁴⁸⁴ Eberhard König, ‘Un grand miniaturiste inconnu du XVe siècle français : Le peintre de l'octobre des “Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry”’, *Dossiers d'archéologie* 16 (1976): 96–123 (106).

⁴⁸⁵ Florence Bouchet, ‘Jeux de clair-obscur dans le “*Livre du Cœur d'Amours esprits*” de René d'Anjou : quête du sens et plaisirs des sens’, in *Feu et lumière au Moyen-Age*. (Toulouse: Editions universitaires du Sud, 2000), 7–21, <https://hal-univ-tlse2.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02886097>, 6. Ffs. 12v and 15r form a night/day pair, whereas ffs. 51v and 55r function as an opposite day/night diptych.

⁴⁸⁶ Villela-Petit, ‘Le maître intermédiaire’, 19–22.

⁴⁸⁷ Margaret Lawson, ‘*Les Belles Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry. The Materials and Techniques of the Limbourg’, in *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen Masters at the French Court, 1400-1416*, ed. Rob Dücker and Pieter Roelofs (Nijmegen, Holland: Ludion, 2005), 149–63 (156–61).

in the Garden of Gethsemane” on Chantilly ms. 65 f. 142r [fig. 55] encapsulates their colour choices for a night scene (ultramarine, grey and yellow) and their application of gold, relevant to Barthélemy’s miniature in V [fig. 54]. The Limbourg’s application of yellow gloss⁴⁸⁸ to highlight the flames of the torches provides peripheral light to this scene. In the exact centre of the composition, the halo around Jesus’ head, highlighted with a lighter colour line, is a wide circle of gold, out of which bright rays gradually extend in a cross pattern. This gilding technique⁴⁸⁹ might be how Barthélemy has successfully lit his night scene. In comparison, his darker atmosphere fits the prophecy, with the whitish figure of Cuer strangely floating in the foreground.

It seems that the patron’s demands and the talent of the Maître du Retable are different in P’s later illustration. Exploring these variations could validate previous hypotheses. The introduction of white pages before or after illustrations, as in René’s LDT, suggests an understanding of René’s concept of meditative reading even though the artist’s technique seems more rudimentary. The close copy by the Maître du Retable of Barthélemy’s miniature on f. 15r would confirm the access of P’s artist to the LDC *W¹* (or an earlier copy), thus the manuscript’s production within the royal circle. This connection too would confirm Jeanne de Laval as the commissioner of P’s illumination. Examining the only section that seems to differentiate P from V as it stands now—the series of miniatures depicting the shields of the knights who suffered through love—might provide broader evidence of the style of P’s illuminator and of the influence of P’s

⁴⁸⁸ Lawson, ‘*Les Belles Heures*’, 152. Reminding us of Barthélemy’s depiction of the flames on the border of Desir’s doublet, on f. 2r. Barthélemy’s use of ultramarine to highlight the tassels in the border of BnF ms. 1974 is another example of the borrowed colour palette.

⁴⁸⁹ Lawson, 154. A further comparative analysis of both images needs to be done *in situ*.

patron.

Moving forward in the narrative, our three companions, Cuer, Desir and Largesse, who have now arrived at the Isle of Love, are invited to take a tour of the cemetery where poets who were loyal to love are buried. As they pass the gate, they notice a series of coats of arms exhibited on the arch above the gate. If V's illustration cycle was complete, the only space reserved for a miniature would probably resemble P's illustration on f. 91r [fig. 56].⁴⁹⁰ On the arch of "alabaster stone" ("pierre d'albatre moult blanc"),⁴⁹¹ twenty-nine shields are exhibited, some with additional emblems, on the wall above.⁴⁹² Under the arch, Cuer is at the centre of the trio, pointing at Louis de Beauvau's shield and informing his companions. It is an exact visual illustration of the preceding text. The poem that follows is René's description of his friend's sufferings in love. In P, the twenty-eight previous illustrations are set in the exact manner, the trio scrutinising the other twenty-eight knights, one shield at a time.⁴⁹³ Pauses, provided with blank pages, allow the viewer to meditate on the knowledge encapsulated in each heraldic emblem, before reading René's poetic memorial of any particular knight. The text-image relationship remains

⁴⁹⁰ Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 43. This episode is part of V's middle section, where a space for one miniature only seems to be reserved for Julius Caesar's coat of arms, unframed and without decoration. This would be the exact opposite of P's illustration cycle.

⁴⁹¹ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 141.

⁴⁹² Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, Vol. 2, 6–7; *Extraits des comptes*, 6. Nowadays, the inside passage managed in the thickness of the main gate leading to the private courtyard of the castle in Angers, which was finished by René in 1451, has been covered with the coats of arms of the Anjou family in a very similar way.

⁴⁹³ They are: Augustus Caesar, Nero, Marcus Aurelius, David, Theseus, Aeneas, Achilles, Hercules, Paris, Troilus, Diomedes, Demonphoön, Lancelot, Tristan, Ponthus, Arthur Duke of Brittany (space left blank), Louis Duke of Orléans, Jean Duke of Berry, Louis Duke of Bourbon, Philippe Duke of Burgundy, Charles Duke of Orléans, Charles Duke of Bourbon, René King of Jerusalem, Louis of France, Charles of Anjou, Gaston of Foix, Louis of Luxembourg, Louis de Beauvau. Julius Caesar is not visually represented, Theseus benefits from two visual shields for one textual description and three in the contemporary group receive only a half-sized illustration, none of which seem to be counted in Pächt's and Thoss' analysis.

traditional. The picture illustrates the verse using heraldic symbolism as a literal visual translation of René's text.

The Maître du Retable's pictorial repetition closely follows the list of knights provided in René's text and is reminiscent of medieval literary lists or collections.⁴⁹⁴ The illustration on f. 105r [fig. 57] pictures a comparable series noticed during the companions' visit to the Chastel de Plaisance. Describing a collection of objects symbolising the power of women in antiquity (also referred to as "relics" hanging from a similar archway), Bel Accueil points to one object after another as he tells its story to Cuer and Desir.⁴⁹⁵ Christian Heck's analysis of the scene reveals similarities between these iconographic details and their link to early cabinets of curiosities. It is my view that the Maître du Retable's repetitive series in P's completed illustration cycle should be understood in a similar manner. Moreover, Cuer pointing to each shield on f. 91r [fig. 56] in turn foreshadows Bel Accueil's similar gesture on f. 105r [fig. 57]. Each coat of arms, as a heraldic symbol, is a receptacle of memory-recalled knowledge that refers to a particular knight and his lineage. As such, it belongs to the same cognitive system of interpretation employed to understand the objects collected in cabinets of curiosities.⁴⁹⁶ Moreover, René's particular assemblage reflects his own knowledge as a historian, a humanist and a royal prince. By choosing knights who suffered through love, he

⁴⁹⁴ Armand Strubel, 'Le Livre du Cœur d'amours espris, un "tombeau" de l'allégorie', in *L'allégorie de l'antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed. Brigitte Pérez-Jean and Patricia Eichek-Lojkine (Paris: H. Champion, 2004), 401–14 (407–08).

⁴⁹⁵ Christian Heck, 'Entre l'art courtois, l'Italie et le Hausbuchmeister: Le Cabinet de curiosités du Pouvoir des femmes dans le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris de René d'Anjou', *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 95 (2016): 5–45 (9–12). It is interesting to notice how this listing visual technique in P is used to highlight defining men's and women's values.

⁴⁹⁶ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 375 (FN 2). The author comments on René's use of lists as well, connecting them to memory and knowledge.

inscribed his “collection” in the tradition of courtly love and the late medieval evolution of knightly ethics, connecting his contemporaries—and himself—to classical heroes. All thirty of them thus become “objects of wonder,” whose interrelationships and rarity assimilate them to “curiosities,” forming their own microcosm. Cuer, being the literary metaphor of René’s self and pointing to each and every one of them, therefore copies René’s gesture presenting his knights’ prowess to his guests on the large murals in Saumur, as previously described in Chapter Three.⁴⁹⁷ The Maître du Retable seems to be cognisant of René’s developing noble values, but his choice to visually depict them through heraldry in this repetitive method, although it seems to produce the desired effect, is still fundamentally rooted in medieval iconography.

As we observed in the LDTH *W^l*, the LDT and the MVP, in René’s LDC Barthélemy d’Eyck, as far as we can see, strived to innovate through technique and composition to carry out his patron’s vision. By contrast, the Maître du Retable prefers to rely on time-tested practices and composition while remaining faithful to René’s concept. These translate to visual enumerations, a scrupulous adherence to the text and double or triple actions with repeated characters within the same image.⁴⁹⁸ To be fair, Barthélemy’s unfinished illustration cycle in V does not really allow a further comparison, and the

⁴⁹⁷ Heck, ‘Le Cabinet de curiosités’, 44. I refer here to the now lost mural paintings illustrating the *Pas de Saumur* painted in the great hall of the castle. Heck connects a letter from Louis de Laval, Jeanne’s uncle, commenting on René’s collections, and how the prince showed them to him, to Cuer’s explanatory gesture in P.

⁴⁹⁸ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 55–56. The monstrous appearance of Jalouzie and the depiction of Cuer’s and Soulcý’s actual fight over the bridge are literal visual translations of the text. As in Arthurian romances, P’s characters are repeated at different times in various locations within the same image, such as their arrival at the Chastel de Plaisance [fig. 58]. On this, see Lori Walters, ‘The Use of Multi-Compartment Opening Miniatures in the Illustrated Manuscripts of the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes’, in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes* Vol. 1, ed. Keith Busby et al. (Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1993), 331–50.

question remains of the visual concept of P's patron. Can we conclude that it is indicative of a lack of literary culture and/or aesthetic knowledge compared to René's or is it simply that to Jeanne (?) the content prevails over its illustration?⁴⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the presence of a unique iconographic programme indicates that we can rely on P's illustration in the second part of the narrative to adhere to René's and Barthélemy's coordinated conception and creation.

PART C: THE CONTEMPLATIVE KNIGHT'S JOURNEY THROUGH IMAGINARY LANDS IN PURSUIT OF TRUE NOBILITY

Part C uses text-image analysis and the lens of textual worldmaking to explore René's narrative and its pictorial translation in Barthélemy d'Eyck's and in the Maître du Retable's visualisations. Textual worldmaking has served authors to explain how, for example, travel literature during the Middle Ages expands on previous knowledge. Texts such as Marco Polo's *Devisement du monde* or *The Book of John Mandeville*, are often cited as complex examples of literary combinations of actual travel accounts with depictions of imaginary and extraordinary lands. This hybridisation of real and fictional events, locations and even people in text and illustrations is also part of René d'Anjou's literature, as we have demonstrated in Chapters Three and Four. I believe it is best displayed in René's LDC. In Part C, I examine how text and image reveal the coexistence of imaginary worlds with reality in the contemplative knight's journey to achieve true nobility, while shaping an emotional portrait of René.

⁴⁹⁹ Further inquiries into either the Maître du Retable artistic qualities or Jeanne de Laval's patronage, if she was the actual patron of P, are not within the scope of this dissertation, at this time.

René d'Anjou's LDC is a literary compilation combining the two medieval textual traditions of the romance and the quest, with spiritual overtones, in which René proposes a layered critical assessment of late medieval courtly society. Moreover, by transforming the quest into the knight's travels to an imaginary and marvellous island, René's epic/romance is further associated with medieval travel literature. The work's complexity possibly makes it René's most striking example of medieval textual worldmaking. Although popular romances might appear to address an audience that was not necessarily highly educated, through self-introspection, René's compilation necessitates the reader/viewer's decoding of multi-level semiotic systems, thus requiring ample knowledge. I will now guide you through my understanding of René's layered narrative relying on the perfect complementarity with its illustration, which implies the synergy we have already observed between patron and artist.

A romantic quest first and foremost, René's LDC is in essence a personal journey in search of and assessing his true worldly self.⁵⁰⁰ Set in the royal bedchamber, as a perceptible anchor in reality, this fiction is articulated around a two-part narrative joined by the sea voyage to the Isle of Love. Framed by a prologue and epilogue, V begins with the dedication to René's nephew Jean II de Bourbon, revealing enduring loyalty and the significance of his lineage.⁵⁰¹ Starting as the traditional dream-vision, a rhetorical device

⁵⁰⁰ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 16.

⁵⁰¹ Bouchet, ed., 84; Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 2–3. The paragraph is presented as a lament, in which his cousin is asked to act as a judge, as is common in medieval poetic debates. The lament ("complainte") was a thirteenth-century free verse poetic form (an example is Rutebeuf's poetry) that was very popular during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to express mourning or painful love adventures, such as Christine de Pizan, *Complaintes amoureuses* (1402 and 1410).

used to render the narrative more familiar to his medieval audience,⁵⁰² René shifts its contemporaneity by orientating his daydream towards a melancholic dream and a self-reflection. The author then leads the reader into his main topic: the nature of love with the heart as an intercessor. René's knowledge of literary processes is used to juxtapose his investigation of courtliness and proper male and female behaviour with his own experience, as the old melancholic military man enters the last stage of his life, after his recent remarriage.

René controls the narrative directly and indirectly through a triple frame, splitting himself into three different images of the self.⁵⁰³ The role of writer/narrator, l'auteur or "I," possessing a superior knowledge, allows René's interventions in the plot. Moreover, by splitting his self into two personifications, Cœur (Heart) and Desir (Desire), René projects images of his affects into his fiction. This allegorical process hence facilitates the examination of the true self.⁵⁰⁴ This metaphorical division is visually created in Barthélemy's first illustration on f. 2r [fig. 59] at the precise moment when René's heart is literally pulled out of his body. A large, canopied bed occupies the left half of the image, its luxurious red curtains gathered at the foot as if opening the scene to the small theatre inside it. A man, wearing a white cap, lies under folds of white sheets, resting his heavy head on his left elbow, in the traditional position of the dreamer. His eyes are semi-open and his mouth is pulled down to reveal his sad expression. His identity is sculpted into the wooden canopy and woven in the tapestry on the back wall into the emblem of

⁵⁰² Suzanne Rinne, 'René d'Anjou and His *Livre du Cœur d'Amours espris*: The Roles of Author, Narrator, and Protagonist', *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 12, no. 181 (1987): 145–63 (203).

⁵⁰³ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 16.

⁵⁰⁴ Bouchet, ed., 16.

the “stick with cut-off limbs” familiar to René.⁵⁰⁵ In the centre, standing by the bed and turned towards a third figure, a young man with long blond hair receives René’s plump, red heart as it comes out of the prince’s body.⁵⁰⁶ The quiver and bow, then the dark blue wings, identify him as Amours, the God of Love. The exotic-looking Amours is turning away from the man in the bed, emphasising his role as intermediary in the transmutation. The youth he is turning his gaze towards is stepping into the room with open arms. He is dressed entirely in white, his fashionable pleated doublet embroidered with a row of little flames of orange and gold that identify him as Desir. His long shadow projects a dark silhouette onto Amours’ exotic appearance.

Setting the scene for further allegorical interpretation, René’s portrait on this first miniature oscillates between fiction and reality.⁵⁰⁷ The man in the bed can easily be identified as an older René through the decoding of the stately room’s decor. Moreover, a close comparison of Barthélemy’s detailed miniature with the inventory of René’s *garde-robe* in Angers discloses a further interrelationship between René’s collections of exotic objects⁵⁰⁸ and the objects and garb of the people in his fictional literary and pictorial world. Part of this world, the two youths are the product of René’s dream vision as well

⁵⁰⁵ Christian de Mérindol, ‘Nouvelles observations sur l’héraldique et l’emblématique du roi René’, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1982 (1984): 111–28 (115–17). The “bâton écoté” (stick with cut-off limbs) was an emblem that René chose in remembrance of his wife Isabelle after her death in 1453.

⁵⁰⁶ This gesture is the reverse of Soul’s when she offers her Heart to Contrition [fig. 50].

⁵⁰⁷ Arrouye, ‘Le Cœur et son paysage’, § 4–5. The contrast actual/fictitious is noticed by Arrouye in f. 2r, although no further comment is provided than a “literary reconsideration of René’s life”.

⁵⁰⁸ Lecoy de La Marche, *Extraits des comptes*, 239–71, items #623, 642, 645. Similar objects are found either directly in René’s bedchamber, in the small room next to it or in the corridor. Mérindol, *Le roi René*, 137. The motif of the stick with cut-off limbs was used as mural paintings in the chapel of René’s manor in La Ménitré, outside Angers, and as printed wall hangings in the castle in Angers, mentioned in the previous inventory.

as the reason why the three are portrayed within this scene: the metaphorical transfer of René's heart, or affective self. This episode triggers his narrative and is translated in the text by the change to the third person and the capitalisation of Cuer when referring to the now-independent knight.

In Chapter Four, we explored the metaphor of the heart and the place it enjoyed in medieval life, literature and art. Written two years after the MVP, René d'Anjou's worldly fable is equally part of this tradition, this time shifted into a secular context and merging courtly allegorical poetry and Arthurian romance. The plot, centred on the Cuer's quest for Douce Mercy, captive of Jalouzie in Dangier's castle, and its suspended ending, is modelled on the *Roman de la Rose* for both form and content.⁵⁰⁹ Following the principles of *fin' amor*, René's lament of his suffering from love, without death as a remedy, morphs into a conventional allegorical discourse displayed in Cuer's adventures. However, Cuer's profane quest is further influenced by Arthurian literature, in particular the *Lancelot* in prose and *La Queste del Saint Graal*. The direct Christianisation found in the latter is not as blatant in René's LDC. Spirituality only infuses the Isle of Love, exemplified in the description of the Chastel de Plaisance as a place that "better seemed a heavenly or spiritual thing than an earthly one" ("mieulx sembloit chose celestielle ou esperituelle que terrienne").⁵¹⁰ The complex intertextuality that characterises Chrétien de Troyes' narratives only happens on a verbal level in René's LDC, through formulas such as "the author here speaks" ("Icy parle l'acteur") or more famously "the story now says"

⁵⁰⁹ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 20–27 ; Rinne, 'René d'Anjou', 203. Whereas prose is used to narrate, dialogues and inscriptions are delivered in verse. This convention is reversed in the first frame where "I" tells the reader about the dream in verse.

⁵¹⁰ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 21 (FN1) and 394; Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 196–197.

(“Or dit ly contes”).⁵¹¹ Similar topoi, familiar to the reader of popular romances, articulate Cœur’s progress. Among them are the Fontaine de Fortune and the Ospital d’Amours, as a replacement for Lancelot’s hermitage, but also the great forest, the pine tree, the pavilion and the strange country.⁵¹² Simultaneously, allegorical writing in medieval times combined textual and visual metaphors with personifications to translate appearances or *semblance* into deep meaning or *senefiance*. Mixing biblical, mythological and medieval literary motifs and heroes, René’s narrative is influenced as much by contemporary lyrical traditions as by classical literature, reflecting two important elements in his world of culture.⁵¹³

Medieval Allegories and Dream Vision Revisited: A New World for the Knight

Two texts of significance in René d’Anjou’s literary repertoire are considered to have set the topical canons for medieval allegorical writing: Guillaume de Lorris’ *Roman de la Rose* (1230–1235) and Guillaume de Digulleville’s *Le Pèlerinage de vie humaine* (hereafter abbreviated as PDVH, 1330–1331, and 1355), respectively referring to love and spirituality. In both texts, the progression is described as an initiatory journey marked by specific stages, for instance the picking of the rose in the former or the pilgrim’s stations in the latter, illustrated by recognisable images. Medieval allegorical literature specialist Armand Strubel writes:

Most texts apply more sophisticated techniques: a likeness/similitude is developed [...] according to its internal logic [...]. Each moment of the action can then mean a step in the emotional or spiritual progression [...].

⁵¹¹ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 24–25 and 8–9.

⁵¹² Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 21.

⁵¹³ Bouchet, ed., 23–26. Cited are literary works such as Christine de Pizan’s *Cent balades*, Alain Chartier’s *La Belle Dame sans merci*, Charles d’Orléans’ *La forest de Longue Actente* and Thomas de Saluces’ *Livre du Chevalier errant*; locations such as the poets’ cemetery, and objects like the “relics.”

The principle of similitude works consistently for the action in its entirety and for the details.⁵¹⁴

Likewise, personifications are given characteristic physical descriptions and attributes, the interpretation of which functions in the same manner. In the *Roman de la Rose*, for instance, Bel Accueil is always a friendly and charming young man, thereby personifying the lady's acceptance of the knight's fervour. By contrast, with his club, Dangier encourages distancing because of his brutal appearance, embodying the lady's refusal or resistance.⁵¹⁵ Equally present in René's romance, the frame of the dream-vision is another of the topoi developed in the *Roman de la Rose*, here revealed by the rhyme *songe/mensonge* (daydream/lie) announcing the revelation power of the oneiric function through the allegorical process:

Ou que fust vision ou songe,
Advis m'estoit, et sans mensonge,
Qu'Amours hors du corps mon cuer mist
Et que a Desir il le soumist..... [2, f. 3r, v. 40-43]
(Whether it was a vision or a dream, / it seemed to me, I say without lie, /
that Love from my body took my heart / and gave it over to Desire.⁵¹⁶

René's vast literary knowledge is only rivalled by his innovative play with words and balanced with the choice of traditional meaning.

The advent of illumination in medieval literature developed the visual allegorical process, applying the same principles of interpretation to images under the artists' brush.

⁵¹⁴ “La plupart des textes mettent en œuvre des techniques plus sophistiquées : une similitude [...] est développée selon sa logique interne [...]; Chaque moment de l'action peut alors signifier un stade de la progression sentimentale ou spirituelle [...]. Le principe de la similitude fonctionne constamment pour l'ensemble de l'action et pour les détails.” Armand Strubel, « *Grant Senefiance a* », *allégorie et littérature au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Champion, 2002), 44.

⁵¹⁵ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 117. The author reminds us of Dangier's Old French etymology in the expression faire dangier or “oppose resistance.”

⁵¹⁶ Bouchet, ed., 91; Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 4–5.

The active participation of the viewer, decoding the textual *semblance*, which had become second nature to the late medieval reader, was now required for additional pictorial signs synonym of adjunct *senefiance*. René's and Barthélemy's close collaboration is clear when juggling these abstract concepts into visual creations. The seemingly palpable, intellectual pleasure René generates in his narrative seems to be equally shared in Barthélemy's painting through the profusion of details and the precision of his technique. An example of this is the encounter with the dwarf Jalouzie. Now a proper knight, Cuer is impatient to start the pursuit of Doulee Mercy. Fully trusting his squire Desir and without wondering much about Esperance's cryptic message, Cuer and Desir approach a dark and inauspicious forest, and closely by, a hermitage in front of which stands a strange-looking dwarf, on f. 9r [fig. 60]. The left side of a dense and dark forest punctuated with knotty trunks is balanced with the hermitage chapel, on the right. Cuer and Desir, on horseback, occupy the centre of the illustration, facing a sort of *femme sauvage* who is gesturing, making both horses turn their heads from her. Desir looks fairly relaxed with his crossed arms resting on his saddle's pommel, while Cuer, hidden from view inside his armour, offers no emotion. Although she is a "hunchbacked dwarf" ("une nayne bossue"),⁵¹⁷ the artist has painted the curious woman as tall as the horses, suggesting she deserves more of the viewer's attention.⁵¹⁸ This portrait matches the overall textual description, accentuating her low and prominent brow, her ears "more than a palm's width" ("plus d'une palme"), strong body clothed in "two lion skins" ("deux

⁵¹⁷ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 16–19.

⁵¹⁸ Arrouye, 'Le Cœur et son paysage', 6. The scale inconsistency in many of Barthélemy's miniature is explained as an ordinary process to attract attention to exemplary character, debatable in this instance. Franc Vouloir (Cuer's charger) is additionally facing the viewer as if trying to attract his/her attention as well.

peaulx de lyons”), left breast “hanging down on her belly” (“pendans sur le ventre”) and ungraceful, hairy arms and legs. Her hair, “thick and black, as tough as the hairs of an old boar” (“gros et noirs, comme si ce fust la hure d’un viel sanglier”)⁵¹⁹ stands up behind her squarish head like porcupine quills. Although not the sullen woman the Maître du Retable made of her [fig. 61], she is the image of physical monstrosity. Despite this, Desir is seeking her hospitality in the hermitage for the night. Jalouzie’s answer is as nasty as she looks. The reader quickly learns that before she came out to answer them, she had gagged and held Bel Accueil prisoner⁵²⁰ inside the building so that he could not guide our heroes through the Forest de Longue Actente. Barthélemy’s equals René’s portrait of her perverse, malign conniving.

Apart from visually interpreting the text, Barthélemy’s miniature gathers more information that needs to be decoded. The forest reminds the viewer of a key episode of the Forêt Perdue, articulating the *Lancelot* in prose with *La Queste del Saint Graal*, as well as Charles d’Orléans’ contemporary introspective poetic text *La Forest de Longue Actente*.⁵²¹ Both are ominous and dark places, revolving around supernatural and metaphorical travels, which are here re-written in the LDC as part of René’s textual worldmaking. This process additionally exposes René’s literary culture transferred to the illuminator’s language. The composite architecture of the chapel attests to a similar

⁵¹⁹ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 16–19.

⁵²⁰ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 116–17. A reminder of the Roman de la Rose’s ending when Bel Accueil remains captive in Jalouzie’s castle.

⁵²¹ Patrick Moran, ‘L’épisode de la Forêt Perdue dans le Lancelot en prose: Jeux et divertissements périlleux en terre de Bretagne’, *Questes*, no. 18 (15 February 2010): 87–102 (87) ; Carole Banguion, ‘L’écriture introspective de Charles d’Orléans ou la recherche d’une nouvelle poétique de l’image “En la Forest de Longue Actente”’, *Dalhousie French Studies* 111, no. special (poésie-langue-image) (2018): 17–33 (27).

pictorial hybridisation process, uncovering René's and Barthélemy's knowledge of classical and Italian art. Jalouzie additionally accumulates noxious meanings for the medieval reader/viewer. First, as a dwarf, she represents a harmful potential for the hero of popular romance.⁵²² Secondly, as a meant-to-be-read ugly young woman, she also possesses the same negative capacity observed in Chrétien de Troyes' *Le Conte du Graal*. Her various attributes and physical description encourage her comparison with the savage being who is the "opposite of the ideal of civilisation personified by the courtly hero."⁵²³ As the visual image of the harmful dwarf expressed in René's text, Barthélemy's polysemous illustration is filled with embedded signs (size, features, garb, attitude and smell), rich additional knowledge to be decoded through cognitive activity. These symbols constitute an essential part of the reader/viewer's experience of medieval literature to "understand the truth about people, places and matters that the author writes about"⁵²⁴ and the painter illuminates.

Revisiting common allegories from previous romances and poetic texts, in the LDC we see René's created worlds coalesce into Barthélemy's sophisticated miniatures, weaving meaning for the reader/viewer to decipher. Text and image now define an innovative, complex brand of aesthetics of which Cuier and his journey are the focus. Beyond being an allegory, we saw previously that the medieval heart is deeply connected with the senses in Jean Gerson's CDP and René's spiritual interpretation in the MVP. In

⁵²² Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 113. Bouchet further cites Frocin in Tristan and Isolde and the dwarf who drives the cart in the Chevalier de la Charrette.

⁵²³ "opposé à l'idéal de civilisation incarné par le héros courtois." Bouchet, ed., 113. Cited examples include the bull's gardian in Chrétien de Troyes' *Chevalier au Lion*, the herdsman in Aucassin et Nicolette and Dangier in the *Roman de la Rose*.

⁵²⁴ Bouchet, 'Jeux de clair-obscur', 1.

the next sections, we examine two senses, namely sight and taste, which like allegories need to be decoded to understand the pleasures and emotions they evoke in René's book, appreciating the real measure of Barthélemy's work.

Entering a Marvellous World: Sensory Experiences to Incite Pleasure

During the Middle Ages, sight was possibly ranked the highest in the hierarchy of senses and was granted the foremost importance in the debate on love.⁵²⁵ One of the first authors to connect the senses to imagination and mnemonic functions, Richard de Fournival describes sight as the noblest of all senses in his *Bestiaire d'Amours*, because love captures a person through sight first.⁵²⁶ With time, manuscript illuminators used lighting effects to act as enhancer or vilifier, providing a favourable or adverse mood for the characters. Hence, degrees of light metaphorically revealed the characters' emotional worlds to the viewer.⁵²⁷ As the rendition of light and shade was a characteristic of Flemish painting during the fifteenth century, chiaroscuro became an issue for illuminators of religious texts, then of lay literature.

One of the factors associated with the progression of René's LDC is the passing of time, marked by the various aspects of sun- and moonlight. Trained in Flanders, Barthélemy d'Eyck mastered this concept visually, best depicting fictional time in the LDC to mark Cuer's progress.⁵²⁸ He also excelled in picturing chiaroscuro. A successful

⁵²⁵ Jean-Pierre Jourdan, 'Le sixième sens et la théologie de l'amour [Essai sur l'iconographie des tapisseries à sujets amoureux à la fin du Moyen Âge]', *Journal des savants* 1, no. 1 (1996): 137–59 (139).

⁵²⁶ Pierre de Beauvais, *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge*, ed. Gabriel Bianciotto, (Paris: Stock, 1980), 141.

⁵²⁷ Bouchet, 'Jeux de clair-obscur', 2. Florence Bouchet discusses how light is traditionally synonymous with splendour and, by contrast, darkness with evil, but both can change depending on certain conditions. The bright light of fire can be considered diabolical, and shade can be beneficial.

⁵²⁸ ÖNB Cod. 2597 f. 15r (sunrise) [fig. 51], f. 31v (morning) [fig. 62], f. 46v (evening) [fig. 63], f. 47v (sunset) [fig. 64].

rendering of this subtle gradation—neither bright nor completely dark—translates an in-between moment, suggesting similar transitional emotions in the characters. The frontispiece of the LDC [fig. 59] admirably exemplifies this technique. Positioning a single lit candle under a bench in the lower right corner of the miniature, Barthélemy used chiaroscuro to visualise René’s daydream. In a dramatic diagonal effect, projected beams of light shine on parts of faces and bodies, illuminating the shift from René’s conscious to unconscious state, keeping other areas in the shade. The introductory verse expresses this transitory moment as René “retired to bed, anxious, tormented / Fatigued and deeply pensive” (“Travaillé, tourmenté, lassé, / Forment pensifz ou lit me mis”).⁵²⁹ For the viewer, the interior scene in chiaroscuro is a metaphorical, visual translation of René’s melancholy and sorrow inducing this transitory moment. The diffused light effect is assimilated to the blurriness of an inner state of daydreaming—a striking artistic innovation that supports the text’s meaning, if compared to P’s frontispiece.

Continuing with this correlation between sensorial and emotional experiences, one might think that a bright sunshine can reveal only a beautiful sight and the pleasure that it provides. Accordingly, one such scene is provided to our companions as they approach the Isle of Love:

Et en regardant qu’ilz faisoient aval la marine, ilz virent assez loing
d’eulx, comme ilz geckerent leurs yeulx, une isle couverte, se leur
sembloit, d’une nuee azuree, si belle et si claire qu’il prenoient tresgrant
plaisir a la regarder, et mieulx sembloit estre chose spirituelle que
terrienne. (Looking as they did on the sea, they saw quite far from them as
they looked about an island covered, so it seemed to them, with an azure

⁵²⁹ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 4–5.

cloud, so lovely and bright they took great pleasure in looking on it, as it seemed more a spiritual matter than an earthly one.)⁵³⁰

As they see the island for the first time, the bright light symbolises the pleasure this marvellous sight procures, its beauty compared to spiritual magnificence that “so enraptured” (“si raviz”)⁵³¹ them. A castle of indescribable wonder first catches their eye. They decide to row to shore, and after a day of contemplation of this marvellous spectacle, they arrive at sunset to discover a church of incomparable beauty.⁵³² There, they discover these two buildings are not made of ordinary stones since, although the sun no longer shines, they still provide plenty of light. Built on a rock of light-reflecting fine steel, the walls of grey-brown marble topped with light-coloured jasper are entirely covered with sheets of silver that is enamelled with light blue stars. Such splendour so overwhelms our companions’ senses that it leaves them speechless: “it is not possible to relate everything now” (“n’est possible de tout deviser maintenant”).⁵³³ Such quintessential beauty, which “spiritual matter” does not elude them, also procures immense pleasure.⁵³⁴ Yet this welcoming sight (not illustrated in either of the manuscripts) and their stay on the Isle of Love announces a shift in René’s narrative, nearing a resolution for the knight’s quest.

⁵³⁰ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 124–25.

⁵³¹ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 124–25.

⁵³² Polizzi, ‘« Sens plastique »’, § 56–58. The arrival is infinitely delayed, taking in the vision of the marvellous.

⁵³³ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 126–27.

⁵³⁴ The vocabulary used to describe the Chastel de Plaisance and how it appears in bright light for the first time to the companions strongly suggests its connection to the image of the New Jerusalem. This is examined at length in a following section.

Rediscovering the Fortunate Isles: René's Fantastical Imaginary Leads to Meditation

Naturally isolated from the outside world, the island setting suggests “a fantastical imaginary.”⁵³⁵ René's self-sufficient fictional world reminds us of the Greek myth of the Fortunate Isles.⁵³⁶ It also refers to the secrecy of the Garden of Eden in the Bible, the paradisaical creation emerging from God's imagination. It is highly probable that René's noble audience would have been aware of these literary references. In René's LDC, the Chastel de Plaisance, the Ospital d'Amours and the hospitality of the God of Love carry the fantasy forward. Whereas the first part of René's text consisted of a succession of adventures in the Arthurian tradition within a world of personifications guiding the progression, the confining isolation of the island announces a destination that could be final. But before anticipating any conclusion, let us explore this imaginary world that René is creating through an elaborate textual construction and its impact on his self.

After finally reaching the shores, the visit of the cemetery, where six poets who most famously were loyal to love⁵³⁷ are buried in richly decorated tombs, marks the first

⁵³⁵ “un imaginaire fantastique.” Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 267. The author notes the reference to Avalon.

⁵³⁶ “Des paradis à découvrir”, Odysseum-Eduscol, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de la Jeunesse et des Sports, Last modified 08 Nov. 2019, <https://eduscol.education.fr/odysseum/des-paradis-decouvrir>. The Greek myth would have been known to René d'Anjou through Marcello's gift of Strabo's *Geographia*, where Strabo describes the islands of Tartessos and Gadir belonging to an archipelago named Erythea, also known as the Fortunate Isles (“Iles Fortunées”). Marc-Edouard Gautier, *Les Merveilles du monde ou Les Secrets de l'histoire naturelle et autres acquisitions récentes du temps du roi René* (Angers: Ville d'Angers, 2017). They are also mentioned by Pliny in the *Livre des merveilles* illustrated by the Maître du Boccace (PML M461 ffs. 32v-33r, c. 1460) that was produced in Angers within the court of Anjou-Provence, most probably commissioned by René. Iain Higgins also kindly reminds me that about half a century later, Thomas More will give the myth the name Utopia.

⁵³⁷ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 356–69. They are Ovid, Guillaume de Machaut, Boccaccio, Jean de Meung, Francesco Petrarca, and Alain Chartier. They are presented as martyrs of love. As Cuer remarks on their small number, Courtoisie unveils decomposed bodies that are exposed there to remind visitors of their disloyalty in matters of love, which Amours never forgets.

stage of Cuer's, Desir's and Largess' visit. They then proceed on foot to Amours' abode. The climb to the Chastel de Plaisance causes both emotional pleasures and physical difficulties. The sight of such splendour makes them question its reality, comparing it to a spiritual vision.⁵³⁸ Because the beauty of Amours' castle surpasses what their intellect knows, its sight causes a degree of emotion and pleasure they have never felt. Through the characters' sensory analysis of the supernatural vision, René connects them to their new fantasy world. The blinding luminescence, causing temporary darkness, also announces Cuer's conflicting emotions as if "the contemplation of absolute beauty returns the lover to the obscurity of his desire."⁵³⁹ So we see how René suggests that Cuer's contemplative persona becomes aware of the spiritual aspect of his new environment, while still being pulled towards the more worldly side of his character. This conflict within the self will only intensify. Simultaneously, only a few lines lower, the text compares the Chastel de Plaisance to René's castle in Saumur on the river Loire, immortalised on the month of September on f. 9v of the TRH [fig. 65], "so one may better understand" ("pour plus proprement le donner a entendre").⁵⁴⁰ Anchoring his imaginary world within reality can only make the vision more real for René's audience

⁵³⁸ Bouchet, ed., 395 (FN 189). Bouchet notes the similitude with Corbenic castle in *La Queste del Saint Graal*, and the image of the New Jerusalem on the Apocalypse tapestries (1375–1381) commissioned by René's grandfather Louis I d'Anjou.

⁵³⁹ "La contemplation de la beauté absolue renvoie l'amoureux à l'obscurité de son désir." Bouchet, 'Jeux de clair-obscur', 8. Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 196–99. The castle is built of crystal and precious stones, and "tiles of pure gold, finely enamelled with the motto of the god of Love, 'Of Winged Heart'" ("tuiles d'or fin, gentement esmaillées a la devise du dieu d'Amours, c'est assavoir « a cueurs volages »"). A direct reference to the similar enamelled plaque, bearing the order's motto "ever-increasing praise" that René's Ordre du Croissant's members wore under their right arm [fig. 38]. See Chapter Three, 141.

⁵⁴⁰ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 198–99. René's castle in Saumur was one of his most beautiful and favoured residences.

and convince his reader of the Isle of Love's existence. This complex textual device is repeated later as the trio visits the tapestries in Venus' chamber, to which we will come to shortly.

After a difficult climb, Cuer and his companions arrive at the castle gate where the shade offers a pleasing rest for their eyes.

Et virent dessus la porte deux grandes ymaiges d'ambre jaune, aornees d'or d'alquimye fait de la quinte essence et de pierres precieuses moult richement entaillees et eslevees, qui tenaient ung mirouer d'une table de dyamant grande et large d'environ trois piedz de toutes escarreures la ou on se pouoit mirer des la premiere barriere du chastel. Et avoient les deux ymaiges leurs noms escripz dessoubz leurs piedz, et estoit l'un appelé Fantasie et l'autre Ymaginacion. (Above the gate they saw two great statues of yellow amber, adorned with gold through alchemy of quintessence made and precious stones very richly worked and set; they held a mirror bearing a diamond surface about three feet square in which one could see oneself on reaching the castle's first barrier. The two statues had their names written beneath their feet: one was called Fantasy and the other Imagination.)⁵⁴¹

The scene is depicted in the Maître du Retable's miniature in P, on f. 103r [fig. 58]. The illustration visualises two separate actions. In the bottom right corner, we see our three companions approach the castle. Filling the rest of the image, they are now standing atop an open drawbridge, facing a large, shut gate. Two golden statues decorate the space above the gate on each side, a small board over their heads naming them as Fantasie and Ymaginacion. The trio discovers through *ekphrasis* that these two are the master-builders of this castle.⁵⁴² The two sculptures hold a precious mirror that Cuer is

⁵⁴¹ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 198–99. Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 401 (FN1). Alchemy, which has its roots in Hellenistic and Egyptian traditions and blends what we would call science and magic, came into Latin Christian culture by way of Islamic intermediaries (alchemy is adopted from the Arabic *al-kimiyah*). Jean de Meung boasts of its powers in the extension to the *Roman de la Rose*, two reasons for René to express his interest.

⁵⁴² Bouchet, ed., 401 (FN2). René based his romance half in fantasy [2, f. 3r, v. 37-38], half in a dream. Here, he also plays on the verb *deviser* (to devise or to tell), which could refer to the conception of the

contemplating. Through the text, we learn that this mirror serves as a soul-searching tool for anyone entering this bastion of true love. For Cuer, it acts as a reflection of “his obscure desire”⁵⁴³ expressed earlier in regard to the marvel that symbolises true love. While Desir and Largesse are looking down in a meditative stance, René’s complex *mise-en-scène* facilitates Cuer’s contemplation of his desire for physical love reflected in the mirror. Placing the statues as unavoidable custodians of the castle above the gate, René simultaneously reveals to the reader/viewer the significance of fantasy and imagination in the creation of his new world of love.

In his treatise on Aristotle, thirteenth-century philosopher and theologian Albertus Magnus describes fantasy as a particular perception of the senses,⁵⁴⁴ a definition still relevant during René’s time. Associated with fictional characters, fantasy functions in connection with memory, as part of the imagination, to generate active imagery or visions.⁵⁴⁵ These visions are described as being less reality-based than paintings or, of course, actual objects. Also interpreted as having moral implications,⁵⁴⁶ *Fantaisie* and *Ymaginacion* describe successive parts of the creation process, which in René’s definition of the two allegories possibly means imagination and the notion of reflection or daydreaming. Their advent in the narrative confirms the shift in René’s LDC from love quest to self-introspection, the moment when, forced by the melancholic state that

building, the progression of the narrative and the narrator’s action. The verb, also a latent sense of setting down in writing in detail (cf. Marco Polo’s *Devisement du monde*), refers here to the *ekphrasis* itself, as a literary tool, as well.

⁵⁴³ Bouchet, ‘Jeux de clair-obscur’, 8. This may describe the magical power of this mirror.

⁵⁴⁴ Freigang, ‘Fantaisie et Ymaginacion’, 235.

⁵⁴⁵ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 91; Freigang, ‘Fantaisie et Ymaginacion’, 235. Through *vis cognitiva* and *vis estimativa*.

⁵⁴⁶ Freigang, 235. Here, Freigang refers to the negative connotation of *Phantasma*.

produced his daydreaming, he/Cuer confronts his own desire for love. This change, resulting from a climax of sensory experiences that induced pleasure, affects the type of imaginary and marvellous space the characters evolve in, with the adventurous knight Cuer transforming into a meditative Cuer.

A World Ruled by Melancholy: Sensory Experiences Producing Negative Emotions

However important the sense of sight is in the LDC to reveal self-introspection, the physical sense of taste is equally significant in unveiling emotions, as it relates to René's melancholy. As another means to indicate narrative time, the end of the day sees Cuer and Desir looking for a place to spend the night, both feeling the pangs of hunger. Nourishment is good and aplenty when served by favourable allegories, such as the dinner with Compaignie and Amittié. By contrast, the bread is foul-tasting or even spoiled when offered by adverse allegories like Melencolie.⁵⁴⁷ When food is not available, they must resort to sleep without any joy. Contrary to *La Queste del Saint Graal*, in which deprivation of food leads to a higher spiritual state, in René's LDC, it does not seem to move Cuer towards meditation. After drinking and spilling water on the fountain, Cuer has a prophetic dream of the next day's adventure at the Pas Perilleux (Perilous Pass). In a rare prolepsis [28, f. 14r, v. 1-15], René uses this dream as a harbinger of the all-significant encounter with Melencolie, "the deceitful" ("la couverte").⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁷ Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, 'Le pain de mélancolie, l'ail du berger, les fruits de paradis: Nourriture, intertextualité et registre d'expression dans l'œuvre de René d'Anjou', in *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2011), 53–68.

⁵⁴⁸ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 135. Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 34–35. This particular variable and misunderstood emotion is discussed in-depth in Helen Swift, '« L'on m'appelle Melancolie »: Lecture comparative d'une femme laide dans Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris et La Forest

Foolishly exposing himself to the risks of a meeting with Melencolie, Cuer steps into her cottage in search of food. Useless to say that Melencolie's bread was not to satiate our travellers. It was "made of a grain / Which bears as name Harsh Labor" ("d'une graine / Qui est nommée Dure Paine").⁵⁴⁹ This grain, she tells them, grows in the Fleuve de Larme (River of Tears) that flows close to her cottage. No one has ever eaten "such foul bread" ("si mal pain").⁵⁵⁰ Yet neither Cuer nor Desir understands the prophetic meaning of Melencolie's discourse. As a result of eating this bread, Cuer's dream become reality: he is defeated by the knight Soulcy and falls into the River of Tears. Such negative magical power connects bad food and its foul taste with Melencolie and requires a closer examination of the emotion represented by the personification. Melancholy is a pivotal emotion in the LDC since it is the reason for René's reverie and his reflection on his own "itinerary of love."⁵⁵¹

As seen previously, Barbara Rosenwein's work on emotions focuses on data from socio-historical communities of Western Europe, employing the methodology developed by the "Linguistic Turn,"⁵⁵² enriched by direct practice. The author brilliantly demonstrates that emotions during a specific time, in a particular location, reproduce *de facto* the emotional terminology used in historical and philosophical texts of that period,

de Tristesse', in *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011), 37–51.

⁵⁴⁹ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 36–37.

⁵⁵⁰ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 36–37.

⁵⁵¹ "l'itinéraire amoureux." Zink, 'La tristesse du cœur', 33.

⁵⁵² Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'The Place of Renaissance Italy in the History of Emotions', in *Emotions, Passions, and Power in Renaissance Italy: Proceedings of the International Conference, Georgetown University at Villa Le Balze, 5-8 May 2012*, ed. Fabrizio Ricciardelli and Andrea Zorzi (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 15–29 (22). First employed in 2003, this term names an approach based on "the ways meaning is constituted in and through language."

ultimately establishing a history of emotions by generating more emotional patterns across time and space, hence establishing various “emotional communities.”⁵⁵³ Backed with Jean Gerson’s theory of the heart presented in his CDP, I believe Rosenwein’s theory of emotions offers a valuable lens through which to look at the Angevin-Provençal court, especially when applied to René d’Anjou’s poetic text and Barthélemy d’Eyck’s precise and realistic illumination; this has certainly been suggested in earlier chapters of this dissertation.

Applying Rosenwein’s methodology, I investigate three key moments where emotions were especially pregnant with meaning reminiscent of Gerson’s *Song of the Heart* to evaluate if René and his court determine an emotional community in Rosenwein’s sense, and what is the prevalent emotion at the court of Anjou-Provence. This analysis encompasses the prologue [2, ffs. 2v-3r, v. 1–56]; the adventure with Melencolie and its consequences [30, f. 16r v.17 to 39, f. 19r, v. 26], and the visit to the tapestries of Venus in the Chastel de Plaisance [265, f. 108r, v. 4 to 272, f. 111v. v. 7].

Rosenwein’s analysis of the Burgundian community provides a good comparison with the Angevin-Provençal court with regard to emotions. We have seen in Chapter Four that both Philippe le Bon and René d’Anjou were aware of Jean Gerson’s contemporary philosophical position regarding passion and the heart. While Rosenwein’s examination is based on the writings of the duke’s chroniclers⁵⁵⁴ and lists the emotional terminology

⁵⁵³ Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling*, 169–93. B. Rosenwein’s study of Philippe le Bon’s court using the Burgundian chronicles shows “theatricality and sobriety” through a vocabulary that combines sorrow and pity. Rosenwein uses Rogier van der Weyden’s illustration from the *Chronique du Hainaut* (KBR ms. 9242, Vol. 1 f. 321r) to highlight the visualisation of these two emotions.

⁵⁵⁴ Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Georges Chastelain, Jean Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy and Olivier de la Marche, writing in the tradition of *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* (prose, vernacular French).

that is repeated throughout their work, my more focused survey investigates verse and prose in one of René's self-authored fictions. The romance, written by the prince-poet, is the complete product of his imagination—*fantasie*—and of his reading, as stated in the prologue. Whereas the Burgundian court does not seem to exhibit a rich and varied emotional vocabulary,⁵⁵⁵ we have seen in the previous chapters the importance of emotions for the Angevin-Provençal court. When quoted by the Burgundian chroniclers, love is to be interpreted as passion, in an old-fashioned manner, or considered as a public gesture synonym of peace.⁵⁵⁶ For René, the nature of courtly love between men and women is central to his quest, and for this reason, the richness of his emotional vocabulary is remarkable, even if predominantly depressing.

In the compiled glossary of the three key episodes in the LDC, the elevating emotions can be classified into different degrees of love, happiness, pleasure or even surprise. Nouns especially, additionally evoke virtues such as pity, compassion, honour, mercy, which correspond to spiritual devotion and courtly love values. Within the wider scope of the depressing emotions, first and foremost I note unhappiness due to various degrees of fatigue, confusion, anxiety, suffering, fear, abuse, violence, restriction, regret and pain, in addition to madness. On the negative side, spiritual devotion is associated with sinful behaviour, identified as vanity, shame and arrogance. Death and mourning are mentioned as well as wound or wounding. This list of emotions suggests that the feeling of helplessness caused by various instances of physical and/or mental pain is the source

⁵⁵⁵ Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling*, 170–93. Pity is the focus of the Burgundian court's emotional vocabulary.

⁵⁵⁶ Rosenwein, 183–84.

of René's melancholy. Endless conflicts within French territories that the prince took part in, in addition to the English occupation of Anjou and Maine, would be obvious causes.

As seen in Chapter Four, in Gerson's doctrine developed in the CDP four emotions prevail: joy, fear, grief, and hope [fig. 47]. Only grief is not part of the glossary of emotions developed through my investigation. However, it is part of an allegorical name, Grief Soupir (Grievous Sighing),⁵⁵⁷ allowing me to consider the four emotions within the larger scope of René's LDC. Reflecting on the central role that Cuer, as René's self, plays in the quest while recalling the Heart in René's MVP, we can say that René is not only aware of Gerson's doctrine in the CDP, but displays his own interpretation of it in both devotional and secular works of fiction. Using Rosenwein's theoretical lens, I demonstrate that gathering an audience through the manuscript dissemination of the LDC, albeit limited, René d'Anjou was building a convincing emotional community in accordance with the contemporary theoretical discourse on emotions. I contend that within the Angevin-Provençal emotional community of redefined noble men and women, a vocabulary built around the destruction of war and a dreadful economy may have reflected a pervasive melancholy.

In the previous sections, we examined the allegorical and sensorial potential of Barthélemy d'Eyck's miniatures. I can now extend Rosenwein's model to a visual inquiry for René's Angevin-Provençal emotional community by analysing Barthélemy's illustrations pertaining to the sections of the LDC in which I compiled the emotional glossary. Barthélemy's illustration on f. 2r [fig. 59] visually captures the prologue. The

⁵⁵⁷ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 102–03.

depressing emotions of the text, focused on René's mood that triggers the dream, are visually expressed by the chiaroscuro, which leaves most of the objects in the shade. René's face, partially highlighted, unveils his half-opened eyes and downturned mouth. The same dramatic light effect reveals a similar (if slightly less intense) depressing emotion in Amours' face. As a result, Love appears as an upset intermediary, more exotic than supernatural.

The episode marking the encounter with Melencolie should attract our attention because the emotion held a special meaning in late medieval French literature.⁵⁵⁸ By René's time, melancholy was perceived as the anxiety felt by young people seeing themselves as old, in a time of war, plague and famine. In the LDC, Melencolie is illustrated in three successive miniatures depicting, from cause to effect, the dangers of the powerful allegory and Cueur's inability to interpret the signs outlining the nature of the adverse emotion. These illustrations picture him stepping into Melencolie's cottage; his encounter with the knight Souley at the Perilous Pass following Melencolie's maliciously false directions and his recovery from the River of Tears by Esperance. All three images reveal the synergy between text and image, patron and artist.⁵⁵⁹ In the first miniature on f. 17r [fig. 66], we learn through *ekphrasis* that she lives hidden in the Val de Tresparfont Penser (Valley of Most Profound Reflection) and that she is someone "Who has never

⁵⁵⁸ Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, *The Color of Melancholy: The Uses of Books in the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Parallax (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 12. The author stresses Charles d'Orléans' rondeau CCLXXX mentioning the "Escollier de Merencolye" (schoolboy of melancholy) as an example; Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophies, Religion and Art* (London: Nelson, 1964), 10–14. Traditionally, melancholy had been defined in the theory of the four humours by the ancients as a clinical pathology akin to sadness.

⁵⁵⁹ Zink, 'La tristesse du cœur', 28. René not only commissioned the miniatures, but certainly supervised their production.

done man good / Nor will ever do so” (“Qui oncques ne fist bien a homme / Ne ne fera”).⁵⁶⁰ Filling two-thirds of the miniature, Melencolie’s thatched cottage looks dark and the size of a single room. The viewer enters her intimacy through a large opening in the façade, that creates a similar theatrical effect as the curtain, draped around René’s bed [fig. 59]. The emaciated, grey-faced old woman, all dressed in black, is sitting on a low stool (or possibly on the floor), her sad face and torso twisted to see her visitor behind her,⁵⁶¹ her hands still extended in a fist towards a meagre fire “that could scarcely burn its [a cat’s] tail” (“a paine y eust sceu ung chat bruler sa queue”).⁵⁶² Melencolie looks tormented, fatigued, confused and unhappy just like René’s self-description in the prologue. She is the image of René’s emotion, and this is how dark, desperate and poor it looks. Barthélemy’s illustration opposes light to darkness, outdoor to indoor, stillness to movement. In the centre, Cuer steps into the cottage, half of his body still outside, while his torso is being sucked in. Melencolie’s gaze, directed opposite Desir’s, symbolises the “contradictory feelings of the lover.”⁵⁶³ Despite being warned, Cuer is depicted by Barthélemy entering the cottage, ready to face the gloomy and dangerous emotion.

The image on f. 18v [fig. 68] exposes Melencolie’s perverse nature. Knowing the risks, she guides our two heroes to a dilapidated bridge, guarded by the knight Soulcly to

⁵⁶⁰ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 34–35. The rhyme “homme/somme” has such a particular resounding finality that René’s own emotions echo through the verse, touching the reader.

⁵⁶¹ The portrait of Melencolie in her hut is a striking reverse composition to Barthélemy’s Virgin Mary in *La Sainte Famille devant la cheminée* [fig. 67], c. 1435, conserved in Le Puy-en-Velay, Notre Dame cathedral.

⁵⁶² Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 34–35.

⁵⁶³ “les sentiments contradictoires de l’amant.” Bouchet, ‘Jeux de clair-obscur’, 5.

cross the River of Tears.⁵⁶⁴ A small Melencolie in the foreground is looking and pointing in the direction of the black knight to encourage Cuer to defy him. On Melencolie's left side, the insouciant Cuer on horseback is facing the bridge, lance high, ready for battle. The malefic emotion, revealing her association with the defeatist power embodied in the black knight, has shown her true colours under Barthélemy's brush.

In the third miniature on f. 21v [fig. 69], slightly down river from the bridge,⁵⁶⁵ Melencolie has disappeared. The scene in the foreground gathers three figures: Desir who has dismounted, Esperance whose back is turned and Cuer, in the river. While Desir has his arms open as if worried about the outcome, Esperance is pulling on Cuer's arm who, burdened with his full armour, would not have been able to get himself out of the rapid stream without her. Barthélemy captured her posture exactly, as she arches her back to use the strength of her legs and spine to pull on the heavy weight and holds her left hand out for balance.

Through this allegorical episode, René and Barthélemy send a powerful message: do not ever trust the languishing feeling of melancholy under any circumstances, for you would risk injury and/or potential death. If you do, only hope can ultimately help. René knew the emotion's deceitful nature was especially hazardous for half-witted young hearts bound by their desire. Barthélemy's illustrations with their ground-breaking, dynamic composition additionally led René's audience towards the same conclusion of the unfolding drama.

⁵⁶⁴ Barthélemy has adorned Soulcý's shield with three yellow marigold flowers, rather than columbines in the text. It indicates a play on the word "souci" or worry.

⁵⁶⁵ Freigang, 'Le tournois idéal', 180. The same technique Barthélemy used in the LDT, in effect giving the last two images "a performative aspect."

For the illumination of Cuer's visit to the tapestry hall of Venus in the Chastel de Plaisance in P,⁵⁶⁶ the Maître du Retable painted the eight woven scenes described in René's text, with only the five-stanza verse written under each miniature. The layout is unique to the tapestry series. The viewer—simulating a standing audience—is positioned as if in the middle of the scene, facing the textile-covered back wall of a room in a slightly plunging perspective, created by the viewpoint and tiled floor. A bench, placed in front of the active figures on the woven hanging, separate this makeshift stage from its audience, creating a page that acts as a spectacle or a theatrical performance.⁵⁶⁷ These images, separated by blank folios, act as veiled warnings against the traps and stratagems some must resort to for finding love, hence the need for meditation. The penultimate tapestry stages the character known as Rogier Bon Temps (Roger Good Time, or in a contemporary idiom Good Time Charlie) [fig. 71]. The corresponding verse, placed under the scene, offers a moral statement regarding the first six love-catching practices.⁵⁶⁸ The same text is woven on a banderole, but illegible on the small painting, instead

⁵⁶⁶ It follows a previous tour of Amours' tapestries that took place a little earlier and is separated from this one by a short debate on love and Amours' permission for Cuer's final conquest of Douce Mercy. He needs to swear allegiance to Love and to follow his rules, one of which is to read the Roman de la Rose, expressing one of René's humorous nods. The layout of the images depicting tapestries is the same for both sets of miniatures. Miniatures are paired up on the recto and verso of the same page, followed by two blank folios giving the reader/viewer time to meditate on the verse offered for each pair. In this series the three visitors, Cuer, Desir and Largesse, have disappeared from the image. The exact same repetitive composition is employed for all eight illustrations. The first six tapestries all depict two personifications, most of all allegories representing elevating emotions, catching winged hearts with nets, snares, and cages or with glue on tree branches.

⁵⁶⁷ Ferré, 'Pour une lecture performative', 145. Knowing the Maître du Retable's traditional way of depicting such series, I wonder if the viewing scheme provided by this perspective belongs to Barthélemy's original iconography.

⁵⁶⁸ Runnals, 'René d'Anjou et le théâtre', 174. The *Cuers Vollans* were part of farces given in Lyon in 1476 during René's difficult negotiations with King Louis XI that ended in the dismantling of the Anjou's legacy. Dueil (Mourning) and Tristesse (Sadness), catching winged hearts in a cage [fig. 70], are one of techniques visualised in P.

resembling a musical staff. The choice of tapestry to reveal the *ekphrasis* is not trivial, as this art form was fashionable among the nobility during the Early Renaissance period as a vehicle to display moralising poems.⁵⁶⁹ The figure of Rogier originates in a popular play called the *Farce de la Pipée* (or “How to Catch a Bird”) dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.⁵⁷⁰ Rogier is woven/painted in a very dynamic pose, pointing his right forefinger up as if instructing the audience. His open mouth captures the actor’s pose as if enunciating his lines (“Icy parle Rogier Bon Temps et dit ainsi”).⁵⁷¹ This posture, depicting someone speaking, reminds us of Barthélemy’s announcing knight in the LDT f. 19r [fig. 28], which the Maître du Retable might have seen.

The visual polysemy of this specific series of eight tapestries⁵⁷² richly complements René’s allegorical text. Its *senefiance*, both textual and pictorial, must be interpreted as superposing additional meanings attached to other art forms such as tapestry, theatre and possibly music. As the viewer flips through the pages and pauses for meditation, the spectacle of layered elucidation requires a multilevel allegoresis. Through his hierarchical visual and textual critical vision, René and his artists were drawing on all the creative art forms provided by *Fantaisie* and *Ymaginacion*. These complementary

⁵⁶⁹ Ferré, 146. Reference is made to Henri Baude’s *Dictz moraulx pour faire tapisserie*. See our Masters’ Research Paper ‘Autres dictz pour mectre en peinture ou tapperie: Humanist Allegory of Love in a French Early Modern Tapestry’ (University of Victoria, 2016).

⁵⁷⁰ Michel Rousse, ‘L’allégorie dans la farce de “La Pipée”’, *Cahiers de l’Association internationale des études francaises*, 28 (1976), 37–50 (39). Pipée refers to hunting birds by imitating their call to attract them to a tree where glue is placed on the branches to catch them. Rousse highlights the allegorical connection of this specific farce with the *Roman de la Rose*. Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 457. The theme of the credulous lover being deceived (plumé or plucked/fleeced, in colloquial French) is already used in the *Roman de la Rose*.

⁵⁷¹ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 234–35. In tapestry seven, the rubric indicates that Rogier Bon Temps is saying the verses.

⁵⁷² Ferré, ‘Pour une lecture performative’, 147.

images offer Cuer—René’s self-representation—and his audience a warning about the dangers of emotional interference in not respecting Love’s demands. In so doing, René carried on the tradition of the *Roman de la Rose*’s love debate, his fiction developing a new brand of aesthetics that actively incorporated his vast cultural knowledge and his artists’ expertise. Compared to Barthélemy d’Eyck’s sophisticated play with composition and lighting, the Maître du Retable’s single composition miniatures are repetitive. However, Rogier’s moralising gestures are telling. Ultimately, this comparison demonstrates that emotions theory applied to pictures requires the illuminator to possess a rare degree of technique, as we have seen in Barthélemy d’Eyck’s miniatures.

Unfortunately, Cuer does not understand the warnings woven in the tapestries. Ultimately betrayed by Douce Mercy’s hesitations, the lover and his Desir enter into a desperate battle with Dangier and his acolytes. Desir, “who was valiant and hot-blooded” (“qui vaillant et chaultz estoit”),⁵⁷³ receives a fatal blow and Cuer is left for dead. Leaving Douce Mercy’s side, Pitié revives Cuer and takes him to the Ospital d’Amours where he will finish his days in prayers. Recalling the spiritual concerns stirring René’s heart, as they now seem to stir Cuer’s, I question the capacity of his worldly self to be redeemed within the bounds of this secular romance as I compare it to his spiritual self and René’s teachings in the MVP. It is my belief that René’s LDC can be better understood through its conjuncture with René’s devotional treatise.

Finding Redemption in the LDC Through the Teachings of the MVP

This apparently unresolved ending in many ways resembles Guillaume de Lorris’

⁵⁷³ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 264–65.

courtly love romance. The small image of the lover in the top left corner on f. 39r [fig. 72] in a late fifteenth-century Flemish production of the *Roman de la Rose* (BL Harley ms. 4425, 1490–1500),⁵⁷⁴ seems to be a harbinger of Cuer’s circumstances at the end of René’s book. Furthermore, Cuer’s apparent fate to turn to a religious retreat suggests a predictable conclusion announced by René’s search for redemption in the MVP.

As we noticed at times during Cuer’s journey, our heroes’ behaviour and the fantasy world around them signal that René’s literary allegories do not follow traditional conventions. Although they are personifications, Cuer and Desir seem to possess more than usual sensory capacity.⁵⁷⁵ They suffer from fatigue and hunger, and keep complaining about the difficulty of the quest. The end of the day always sees them “very weary and terribly spent” (“lassez et travaillez durement”) and “very hungry” (“grant fain”).⁵⁷⁶ Able to distinguish good- from bad-tasting foods, they cannot however foresee the consequences of eating or drinking foul nourishment in their imaginary world. The episode of the fountain marks the beginning of such a series of misread signs, starting with Jalouzie, whom “they believed [...] and trusted in what she said, despite the fact she seemed to them smitten by anger and ill will” (“ilz la creurent et adjousterent foy ad ce qu’elle leur disait, non obstant que bien leur sembloit qu’elle fut d’are et de maltalant esprise”).⁵⁷⁷ At Melencolie’s cottage, they ate bread that is “too bitter and hard to swallow” (“trop estoit apre et dur a avaler”),⁵⁷⁸ then drank water from the River of Tears.

⁵⁷⁴ This luxurious manuscript was commissioned by Engelbert II, Count of Naussau and Vianden.

⁵⁷⁵ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 31–32.

⁵⁷⁶ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 24–25, 32–33.

⁵⁷⁷ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 24–25.

⁵⁷⁸ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 38–39.

It flows from the Fontaine de Fortune, the prophetic significance of which they learnt only too late. When they sailed to the Isle of Love, Cuer and Desir got sea-sick, a possible physical expression of Cuer's lovesickness,⁵⁷⁹ the remedy of which was to "put them to bed" ("si les firent couchier")⁵⁸⁰ so they would suffer less. The next day, when they discovered the Chastel de Plaisance in the bright sunshine, the overwhelming reflection of the sun's light from the precious materials made them lose consciousness. To reach Amours' castle, they have to climb a diamond vein in the rock. The sharp stones "pierced their shoes and feet" ("perçoivent les solliers et les piedz"),⁵⁸¹ showing their capacity to be physically wounded. Contrary to those of other allegorical characters, Cuer's and Desir's sensory functions are comparable to those of epic romance heroes, but unlike them, these two figures—René's self—lack the ability to learn from their repeated experiences.

Complementing the text, Barthélemy's miniatures exhibit additional foretelling metadata. Instead of illustrating the battle between Cuer and Soulczy, patron and/or artist chose to stage its outcome, which depicts Cuer in the river, being rescued by Esperance [fig. 69]. Hence, the hero is pictured being humiliated rather than triumphing as a brave knight, without immediate consequences to his integrity. After Esperance's departure, Cuer and Desir start again and eventually arrive at the foot of the Tertre deveé de Liesse (Mount of Dejection) where Courroux' (Anger) castle stands. Even though on f. 26v [fig. 73] Barthélemy depicted the castle less decrepit and with a slightly different appearance

⁵⁷⁹ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 32.

⁵⁸⁰ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 118–19.

⁵⁸¹ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 198–99.

than its textual description, the walls are “split open [...] throughout” (“tout fendu [...] en plusieurs lieux”),⁵⁸² highlighting the derelict state of the world around our heroes. The same can be said of Grief Soupir’s ruined cottage on f. 46v [fig. 63], also illustrating his bad fortune. This miserable appearance echoes the three companions’ perplexed demeanour as they read the panel over the cottage’s door. Through the illustration of a world in ruins these two adverse allegories, representing anger and a deeper sense of melancholy, suggest that these emotions lead to disaster. Even Barthélemy’s masterfully painted light effects possess inauspicious qualities. The morning sun on f. 15r [fig. 51], although looking bright and vibrating, has a halo of small dark paint strokes, symbolising the prophecy resulting in the storm. The same technique is used for the sunrise illuminating the meeting between Desir and Humble Requeste on f. 31v [fig. 62], signifying Cuer’s previous misfortune when fallen prisoner of Courroux. It seems that this black halo around a golden sun shifts the bright light of a hopeful new day into a dark shaded morning echoing the “the black sun of melancholy.”⁵⁸³ On f. 47v [fig. 64], Barthélemy chose to use the particularities of the Provençal skies and their prophetic nature to announce Cuer’s failure. This specific dispersion of clouds is known in Provence to herald the mistral, a powerful devastating wind, specific to the region.⁵⁸⁴ The artist’s Flemish expertise and local knowledge, transpiring in the LDC’s exceptional visual realism, is not limited to light. On f. 51v [fig. 13], the embarkation to the Isle of

⁵⁸² Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., 50–51. Arrouye, ‘Le Cœur et son paysage’, § 9. It is also interpreted as a possible symbol of his anger, paralleling Courroux’s emblem of the black thorn on his shield and possibly announcing his ultimate defeat.

⁵⁸³ “le soleil noir de la mélancolie.” Arrouye, FN 24.

⁵⁸⁴ Arrouye, § 17. The shape of these clouds is known as “os-de-seiche” (cuttlefish bone) in Provence.

Love equally displays signs of Cuer's ultimate failure. On the beach, seashells are strewn on the sand. Among them are a few mussel shells, a symbol of vanity, known as allegories of death, commonly deployed in Flemish still lifes.⁵⁸⁵

Following these literary and visual signs, the LDC's ending guides René's audience in a meditative reading that questions the validity of Cuer's quest and of his intentions for which the teachings of René's MVP provide some assistance. The unresolved tensions between Cuer's social and spiritual experience herald his fate. As a "humanised" personification and a knight, he revels "in all the courtly trappings that constitute the stuff of renunciation in the MVP."⁵⁸⁶ In other words, Cuer's search for courtly love (or physical love) does not prepare him for the sacrifice that is required. The binary concept of class and gender is equally important when considering René's two works. In the MVP, Soul is described as a poor but vigilant woman who voluntarily offers the sinful Heart for redemption. Her social condition and gender appear to guarantee her simple understanding of and complete trust in her Christian faith due to her lack of sophistication. By contrast, in the LDC, Cuer (René's worldly self) is the product of his aristocratic environment and knowledge, a courtly knight in search of physical love and whose faith can waver at times. A common fable, the Perilous Pass, is visually illustrated in both texts, exemplifying this analysis. In the MVP, it is narrated as the parable of the old lady (Soul), laden with a sack of grain (her good work), who crosses the river (the wrath of God) on a rickety bridge (death) to reach the mill (eternal life). In similar circumstances, Cuer does not reach the other side and ends up in the river.

⁵⁸⁵ Arrouye, § 10.

⁵⁸⁶ Newman, *Medieval Crossover*, 251.

Melencolie and Soulcý (Worry) are responsible for his failure, his quest distracting him from decoding the signs within his environment. By contrast, Soul's complete trust in her faith allows her to accept the sacrifice of earthly vanities. Cuer, however, is not prepared for this renunciation until he faces the end of his quest. Cuer's lack of understanding of the pitfalls of courtly love, where the lady controls the outcome of the quest, outlines René's criticism of courtly society and especially of men's vulnerability due to their lack of faith and morals. Therefore, Cuer's redemption can only come through an act of spiritual value, renunciation.

Nevertheless, both hearts are expressions of René's self, one muted and obedient (the spiritual self), the other "pursuing its own, futile passions" (the worldly self).⁵⁸⁷ René's suggestion that an acceptable ending becomes possible in the LDC as it merges with his prescription in the MVP demonstrates that Cuer's renunciation implies his understanding of the limitations of courtly love in addition to the benefits of spiritual redemption. His retreat to a hermitage, recalling Charles d'Orléans' verse: "My heart became a hermit/In the hermitage of [my] thoughts" ("Mon cœur est devenu hermite/ En l'hermitage de Pensee"),⁵⁸⁸ will then shape the knight's true nobility of heart.

Renewed Spirituality Defining True Nobility of Heart

In this final analysis, Cuer's inability to conquer his lady love, a lack of success which could appear as an unresolved ending or the hero's failure in choosing a religious retreat instead, is re-interpreted here in a new way, as René's concept of a true nobility of heart that ultimately re-shapes the Angevin-Provençal knight. Breaking away from

⁵⁸⁷ Newman, 252.

⁵⁸⁸ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 25. Ballade XLIII (v. 1-2).

previous textual traditions, René's harsh assessment of his worldly self belongs to a novel literary trend that criticised courtly culture under the guise of typified characters.⁵⁸⁹ As mentioned in the Introduction, competing princely courts epitomised specific rules of sociability that were developed through literature, art and festivities. Codes of behaviour regulated a variety of rituals and highlighted different aspects of knowledge that were traditionally associated with the civilising process:

The court was thus a privileged concentration of knowledge, savoir-faire, and power, whose behavioral norms then spread to other segments of upper-class society in the form of rules and proscriptions, of politeness and etiquette, which expressed the sacredness of western man and his specific position in a hierarchy of beings with the prince, like God in Nature, located at the pinnacle.⁵⁹⁰

The court, as the prince's entourage, was composed of officers and servants who belonged to various administrations in addition to lay and ecclesiastical aristocrats. Many lived at court in expectation of small or large favours.⁵⁹¹ Knowledge of the hierarchy and of the codes of behaviour to be in favour with the authority (the prince), or not, was key to court life. *Le Curial* (1422–1428), the popular translation into French of Alain Chartier's *De Vita Curiali*, is a satirical account of a courtier's life that denounces the moral corruption of court life in favour of a simpler one,⁵⁹² recalling the dichotomy in René's literary diptych. Based on a hypothetical court, *Le Curial*, nonetheless, provides a moralistic vision that influenced similar texts and possibly René's conclusion for his

⁵⁸⁹ Pauline M. Smith, *The Anti-Courtier Trend in Sixteenth-Century French Literature* (Genève: Droz, 1966), 53. This satirical literature would eventually crystallise during the next century.

⁵⁹⁰ Robert Muchembled, 'Manners, Courts and Civility', in *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, ed. Guido Ruggiero (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 156–72 (156).

⁵⁹¹ Gaude-Ferragu, Laurioux and Paviot, eds., *La cour du prince*, 17.

⁵⁹² Smith, *The Anti-Courtier Trend*, 40 (FN 3). Although the translation is anonymous, Chartier is said to be its author.

LDC. Indeed, the same sentiment permeates *L'Abuzé en court* (hereafter abbreviated as AEC, 1450–1470), a text that was believed to be authored by René d'Anjou.⁵⁹³ Relying on the allegorical process, the AEC relates the life of an older naive man who reflects on how, during his youth, he was abused by amoral courtiers who saw in the potential courtly lover an easy prey for ridicule and injury. Like Cuer, he finishes his life ruined and sick in a hospice because of his inability to decode the court's competitiveness. In many respects, the assessment of the court's vanities in this anonymous text is similar to that of René's LDC. When René's secular heart cannot be redeemed at the end of his adventures, the author provides the reader with a comparable moral lesson by offering Cuer the choice to end his life in a retreat for injured lovers. We see how René's love quest thus becomes Cuer's necessary journey to refine the soul through a process assimilated to a spiritual initiation, in which physical love is denied, and true nobility of heart is only achievable through devotion.

For René, Cuer's confinement to the Ospital d'Amours has been referred to an early Christian tradition within the aristocracy to end one's life in a monastery, or to Lancelot's hermitage.⁵⁹⁴ Yet if we consider René's MVP connected to the LDC, we are reminded of the Anjou family's attachment to the Franciscan thought and René's personal affinities. Part of his innovative devotional concept was formed by René's relationship with the Friars Minor in Angers, in addition to the prince's interest in

⁵⁹³ Roger Dubuis, ed., *L'Abuzé en court* (Genève: Droz, 1973), XXXI–XXXIII. The erroneous mention of René as the author is found in the first Bruges printed edition by Colin Mansion in 1479. The popularity of this anonymous text was still felt during the following centuries. Rabelais refers to it in *Pantagruel* (1532) and La Fontaine's *Le rat des villes et le rat des champs* (1668) is one of Aesop's inspired poems that similarly uses satire to oppose urban (royal) and rural life.

⁵⁹⁴ Freigang, 'Fantaisie and Ymaginacion', 236–37.

particular saints—Mary, Martha, Mary Magdalene and Lazarus—and his devotion to their relics. The hermitage of La Baumette, on the outskirts of Angers under the Friars Minor’s administration,⁵⁹⁵ was created to imitate the grotto sanctuary of La Sainte-Baume in Provence where relics of St. Mary-Magdalene were preserved.⁵⁹⁶ Although no evidence exists that René ever actually used the space for retreats, the concurrence of the fictional Ospital d’Amours to which René’s self would be confined, and the physical hermitage he founded, seems to establish a strong connection between his vision of true nobility, developed in the LDC, and the new spirituality René adhered to. This conclusion shows how René’s new definition of true nobility is substantiated by the predominant and persistent role of devotion in the older man’s life.

With this better understanding of René’s reimagined knight’s ethics, we now turn back to the re-envisioned world that the prince provides for noble men and women.

Making a Supernatural World for Men and Women on the Eve of the Renaissance

The collection of thirty actual and fictional knights on the cemetery’s archway could be considered as a reconfigured emulation of Boccaccio’s illustrious men, commemorating courtly lovers.⁵⁹⁷ In V, this section has been affected by revisions made before 1477 to adjust to reality, resulting in an Angevin diptych that places René’s textual

⁵⁹⁵ Lecoy de La Marche, *Extraits des comptes*, 77–78 (item # 209), 122–26 (items #330–339). In addition to many monetary alms, René gifted books to the friars, such as the *Psalterium cum canticis. Hymni*, also known as the “Mainz Psalter” (Angers rés. ms. 20). Founded in 1452, La Baumette is now a private property, which is open to the public for specific religious celebrations.

⁵⁹⁶ Louis Rostan, ‘Reliquaire de Sainte Madeleine à Saint-Maximin (Var)’, *Bulletin Monumental* 27, no. 7 (1861): 22–28 and Étienne Michel Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l’apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence et sur les autres apôtres de cette contrée, Saint Lazare, Saint Maximin, Sainte Marthe, les Saintes Maries Jacobé, Salomé Etc.*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1848).

⁵⁹⁷ Poirion, ‘Les tombeaux allégoriques’, 402–04. This total corpus includes the changes in V.

self-portrait “alongside” (“Atouchant”)⁵⁹⁸ his brother Charles’ on ffs. 75v and 76r. Inserted within this prestigious line, René’s written heraldic likeness metaphorically boasts his and his family’s political significance, including colours, flowers and coat of arms.⁵⁹⁹ The following poeticised self-representation as King René⁶⁰⁰ ensures him an eternal life as a ruler and a lover in Amours’ cemetery, which has been compared to Cuer’s retirement to the Ospital d’Amours.

What we described in previous chapters as textual worldmaking in other books seems to go further than literary expansion and self-representation in René’s imaginary world. Here, the parallel coexistence of actual locations within the prince’s historical reality and the imaginary marvellous world he created around Cuer is spread throughout the narrative. The fictional Chastel de Plaisance resembles René’s real castle in Saumur; Cuer’s fictional gestures pointing out precious objects to his companions additionally duplicate René’s actual actions in Saumur. This oscillation between fiction and reality establishes coherence for the reader to accept the existence of his imagined marvel, and by extension, the Isle of Love. Besides, by demonstrating the necessary coexistence of these two worlds, René not only validates the creation of the Isle of Love, he proves that Saumur is a marvel. Choosing this particular location is even more revealing. As seen in

⁵⁹⁸ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 166–67.

⁵⁹⁹ On Francesco Laurana’s medal of Charles, he is described as “Charles, count of Maine, son and brother of kings, ward of the king, father of the country. Through his prudence and counsel, during Charles VII’s reign.” (“K_AROLVS·CENOMANI_AE·COMES·FILIVS·F_RATE_R·REGUM·ALVPNVS·REGIS·PAT_ER·REGNI·PRVD EN_NTIA (...) CO_NSILIOQ_{VE}· (...) K_{AR}OLO·VII·IMP_{ER}ANTE”). Translation into French, Heiss, *Les médailles de la Renaissance*, 27.

⁶⁰⁰ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 343. P’s earlier textual self-portrait in verse alludes to his extra-marital affairs, whereas V’s later changes only refer to temptations. René had three illegitimate children, Blanche, Jean and Madeleine. Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 166–67. The rubric announces him as King of Jerusalem.

Chapter Three, the murals in the great hall supposedly depicted René's *pas d'armes* of 1446, commemorating his knights' prowess not as warriors, but as sophisticated, emotion-bound men. In his fiction, René also makes Cuer meditate on objects that celebrate the power of women, reminding his audience that, women, too, can have authority. I propose that by suggesting Saumur as the reality-based model for his imagined Chastel de Plaisance, associated to Cuer's initiatory journey, René was indeed creating the necessary relationship between the real and the fictional that redefines for him the roles of men and women for the court of Anjou-Provence.

The supernatural aspect of this marvellous land pertains to René's brand of world-making as it also refers to his historical context. From a distance, the first sight of the Chastel de Plaisance dazzles the characters. Their delayed arrival on the island is then designed to heighten the overwhelming sensory experience. They are blinded and lose consciousness. This could be described in modern terms as entering a state of trance comparable to a mystical experience induced by an out-of-body "translation."⁶⁰¹ The precious materials the building is made of transform this imaginary construction into something of essential beauty, reproducing the experience of a Christian mystic at the sight of the Virgin Mary. For the reader, René's fictional Isle of Love then becomes associated with supernatural realms. The image of the New Jerusalem, St. John's vision of the mystical city, that so fascinated the Angevin close social circle comes to mind through its depiction on Louis I d'Anjou's monumental tapestry [fig. 74]. A similar image of the spiritual place is described in the PDVH (BnF ms. fr. 829, c. 1330–1355)

⁶⁰¹ The comparison to the New Jerusalem also suggests that this "translation" could be available through death.

and is visualised on the frontispiece in the monk's dream [fig. 75]. Whereas the woven depiction of the New Jerusalem favours a heavenly gothic castle floating between earth and Heaven, reminiscent of the St. Michel's monastery, a circle visualising the monk's dream-vision in BnF ms. fr. 829 paints a castle, which gate between two covered crenelated towers recalls the Chastel de Plaisance's entrance [fig. 58]. The PDVH had a special resonance in the Angevin milieu, representing a comparable sacred space René, as the knight Cuer, aspired to for the rest of his life.⁶⁰² As the prince's own life journey blends into Cuer's initiation, I propose that in the LDC, René provides a re-imagined supernatural world for Early Renaissance noble men and women.

René d'Anjou's Critical Assessment of Late Medieval Courtliness in the LDC

As we have seen, René's LDC advances the French literary tradition in many ways, revealing novel aesthetics supported by Barthélemy d'Eyck's close observation and superior painting technique. The portrayal of the main protagonists as personifications possessing actual human sensibility is part of this trend. The disappearance of heroic emotional traumas, replaced by ordinary emotions (joy, deviousness or perplexity), is an equally new development that makes René's imaginary world more real for his audience.⁶⁰³ By inserting mundane elements from his actual world within traditional forms of non-realistic literature, René's writing renews the allegorical genre, effectively shifting it towards realism.

⁶⁰² Anne-Marie Legaré, 'La réception du Pèlerinage de Vie humaine de Guillaume de Digulleville dans le milieu angevin d'après les sources et les manuscrits conservés', in *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge*, ed. Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet et al. (Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 543–52, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.19863>, §10–16. Jeanne de Laval commissioned a transcription in prose of the PDVH in 1465. The book was largely associated with the Angevin milieu that included the Beauvau, Jacques d'Armagnac and Charlotte de Savoie, Queen of France.

⁶⁰³ Freigang, 'Fantaisie and Ymaginacion', 221.

Furthermore, Barthélemy d’Eyck’s illumination complements René’s novel literary trend. If symbolism is often attached to Barthélemy’s meticulous realism, it is also expressed in more common details, such as the accurate depiction of the Provençal pine trees (f. 5v [fig. 76], f. 47v [fig. 64]); the particular manner in which willows are pruned (f. 21v [fig. 69]); the technical exactitude of boat rigging (f. 51v [fig. 13]); the naturalistic appearance of a mackerel (f. 55r [fig. 77]), and more humorous details such as bird droppings (f. 46v [fig. 63]) or the horse relieving himself (f. 47v [fig. 64]). Indeed, combined with the fantasy world in which they are deployed, these realistic pictorial elements cohere with mentions of actual locations such as Orléans and Saumur in René’s text. In this way, they participate in the construction of the author’s parallel worlds as tableaux vivants, elements of a two-dimensional spectacle resembling René’s murals of the *Pas de Saumur*. Ultimately, text-image relations come to life in a three-dimensional theatrical word-image play in the viewer’s “ymaginacion.” Being greatly enhanced by Barthélemy’s artistic talent, René d’Anjou’s novel aesthetics create a textual and visual fiction that reflects reality and offers sensory and intellectual pleasures and emotions. His style has been compared to that of Guillaume de Machaut’s music-based poetry,⁶⁰⁴ but replacing the music by René’s poetic and pictorial charm.⁶⁰⁵

Considering this shifting of the author’s style, the LDC offers an oneiric environment, within which one perceives, however, the erosion of traditional courtly values. Although it has been described as a true homage to past and contemporary

⁶⁰⁴ “For the hybrid text makes possible a multi-sensorial reading, as it requires an audience to mix reception technologies (e.g., singing, speaking, viewing) to access the text.” McGrady, *Controlling Readers*, 5.

⁶⁰⁵ Bouchet, ‘Jeux de clair-obscur’, 9.

literature, a sense of corruption already present in the unresolved ending of the *Roman de la Rose* is strengthened in René's fiction.⁶⁰⁶ Allegorical personifications, which evolved into medieval virtues and vices, seem to be less virtuous models, opening the way to criticism. From symbolising abstract emotions, others gain human physicality; or, part of René's reality, they are designed here to reveal his ironical vision of times of war and the confusion of his historical world.⁶⁰⁷ Through Amours' apparent distance, the Isle of Love and its marvellous façade is also contaminated, its appearance too bright in daylight and its materials so sharp they create physical pain. Love and its manipulations are particularly criticised through the tapestries in Venus' chamber to the point it becomes a spectacle, dramatized and moralised through the theatrical character of Rogier Bon Temps.

Concluding Remarks

René d'Anjou's LDC, begun as a quest for love, offers a veiled criticism of the courtly society and its vanities, suggesting that courtliness has failed the nobility on the eve of the French Renaissance. Presenting tired heroes who have become reluctant to accept their sacrificial role, René's literary masterpiece falls in line with other contemporary criticism of court life, such as the anonymous AEC discussed in this dissertation, as what we might call a self-critical homage. Authors, such as Louis de

⁶⁰⁶ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 20 and 27.

⁶⁰⁷ Bouchet, ed., 30. Pitié has much to do with manipulating of Douce Mercy's love for Cueur and switches to his side at the end. Courtoisie and Esperance are portrayed as ageing women and the friendly gatekeeper Oyseuse (Sloth) looks unkempt. Used as bait by Compaignie and Amittié to fish at night, or to coax Dangier, money is represented by Largesse, a most important noble virtue. However, money causes ambiguity and becomes a corruptive power when discussing love. Even Amours is portrayed as a disturbing dilettante who sends intermediaries to free Cueur while he enjoys feasting on parrots' hearts and shooting arrows without caring whom he hits.

Beauvau who produced the RDT, which in turn inspired the anonymous LDTH, both translations of Italian vernacular literature; Antoine de La Sale, educator of René's son Jean and author of *Jehan de Saintré*,⁶⁰⁸ or Pierre de Hurion who is believed to have produced *Regnault et Jehanneton*, a pastoral parody of court life starring René and Jeanne as courting shepherds, these individuals and their work of creation and/or translation were pivotal in establishing a particular novel court cultural identity, which in turn guided the entire Angevin-Provençal emotional community.

Denouncing the traps of courtly society through imaginary worlds woven together in his own brand of poetry, art and drama, with the valued collaboration of Barthélemy d'Eyck, René d'Anjou crafted his self-portrait in the LDC as an emotional, contemplative knight who finds true nobility through his heart's spiritual journey. While close to his own life narrative, his constructed identity as Cuer, influenced by the literary production of the court of Anjou-Provence, is René's assessment of a courtly knight's life reimagined within the bounds of a marvellous fantasy world.

⁶⁰⁸ Freigang, 'Fantaisie et Ymaginacion', 231–232. Both the AEC and, to a lesser degree *Jehan de Saintré* which was meant as a didactical tool for René's son Jean, paint a satirical view of court life, denouncing its artifice and inflexibility.

CONCLUSION

The frontispiece of the *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry* offers the viewer an evocative image, depicting the French late medieval elite's self-representation in front of a tapestry illustrating war and devastation. Indeed, royal princes born during the fifteenth century, such as René d'Anjou, Charles d'Orléans and Philippe le Bon, had known not much else but the trauma of military conflicts, imprisonment, or economic ruin for more than half of their lives. Described as the "children of melancholy" in Charles' poetry, once the war ended, aristocrats tried to redefine themselves and the society around them. The prince and his entourage enjoyed a very regulated life, encouraging competitiveness within the court's structure. Under a prince's guidance, an individual court style was developed, while still emulating the royal model. Organised around rituals that epitomised his "style," the prince's daily routine was essentially influencing his court's socio-political and cultural identity. (The issue of gender is discussed below).

Among late medieval courts, which are now considered the measure against which the Renaissance courts are to be culturally and politically assessed, the court of Anjou-Provence was unique. Under René d'Anjou's influence, it was a space of knowledge and refined culture where languages from northern and southern Europe and beyond were spoken; it was the most Italianate of all provincial courts in France, and the number and nationalities of artists that surrounded its prince during his long life have been said to recall, for the modern art historian, "the atmosphere of the great Renaissance

and the spirit of King François I.”⁶⁰⁹ King René was reimagining a new future for society. Four texts emerged within the court of Anjou-Provence during the late 1450s of which three were written by René d’Anjou. The fourth text was an anonymous translation into French of one of Boccaccio’s early literary works. Barthélemy d’Eyck was the pivotal artist whose miniatures illuminate the extant luxurious manuscripts. Apart from their noticed inter-pictorial relationships, together these books establish a conversation visualising the debates that gestated within the court of Anjou-Provence around love, courtliness, and nobility. To this date, no one had considered them all together to re-assess the cultural identity of René d’Anjou’s court. My theoretical framework, comprised of a complex set of approaches, includes translation theory, applied within a developmental approach, in addition to emotions and worldmaking theories. Reinterpreted through my dissertation, all four written works show their impact on each other as essential to understanding King René’s and his court’s unique cultural identity-fashioning, revealing reimagined gender roles for nobles, enriched by an innovative spirituality that refines René’s sense of true nobility of heart.

As was the case for most high aristocrats of his time, King René’s retirement from military action fuelled his concern with a poor assessment of chivalry once the war was over, with the proliferation of bourgeois tournaments, in north-eastern France in particular. René turned to idealising the concept of the knight through a series of deeds of arms that were staged in carefully crafted spectacles. While the whole court had a part to

⁶⁰⁹ “l’atmosphère de la grande Renaissance, et l’esprit de François I^{er}.” Bianciotto, ed., *Le Roman* 339. Hélène Cazes kindly notices the historiographical gap between this remark and the “great kings” historical time, highlighting their “heroic retelling.” I would submit that by comparing René d’Anjou with François I on their power-sharing ability, Dr. Cazes, on reflection, joins Bianciotto in paying tribute to King René.

play in these dramatized performances recreating legendary fictions, combats opposing knights encouraged competitiveness sanctioned by rituals based on traditional values of fidelity, honour and justice and rewarded the best of them. The creation of the chivalric *Ordre du Croissant* further endorsed these re-evaluated norms as the supreme assembly of René's most deserving knights connected by a common ethos and blessed by a Christian ceremonial, that could be described as a neo-chivalric court culture. Collecting rules and practices of tourneys common to the most noble families, René re-wrote his sense of chivalry with his own preferences in one great book, the LDT, that cumulates his reinvented concept of masculinity. My new reading of René's book shows that with justice, honour, glory, and love also came punishment and loss, which generated a number of elevating or depressing emotions that equally shaped the knight's identity and constructed communities of shared emotions. This "rhetorical" ideal was equally used as literary entertainment and matter for courtly debates that was intended to fashion René's vision of masculinity, as we have seen in the accounts of actual *pas d'armes*. I demonstrate that this newly defined brotherhood singles out René's cultural identity among late medieval courts.

Transposing the same concept in the antique world of Athens, as a translation of Italian humanist literature, the LDTH reflects similar ideals of chivalry, as well as a consideration of the role of women in society, as suggested by an analysis of the culture of women at the court of Anjou-Provence. Once the fluidity of cultural borders, amalgamation of political systems and historical reality, and the translator's interpretations are understood through the lens of translation theory, the gender debates animating the Angevin-Provençal court remind us of the ways that one text, the LDTH,

could exert influence on René's LDT.

In the LDTH's world of masculinity, two roles are predominant: that of the knights, being transformed from warriors to mannered courtiers; and that of the prince, acting as a ruler/arbitrator of the men's realm. In its translation into French (the LDTH), Boccaccio's antique epic/romance, in which human fate was decided by power-hungry gods, adjusts to the visualisation customised for the late medieval reader/viewer, and possibly the Christian preferences of its patron, demonstrating the transformative power of love. Regulating the combat, prince Teseo's prescriptions of space (in the lists) and time (after one year) remodel two blood-thirsty soldiers from a despot's family into "nobles chevaliers." We see how this metamorphosis, offered through the guise of a legendary fiction, prepared the way for René's re-evaluated standing for knights in the LDT, and how the Athenian prince Teseo's intervention preceded King René's role as the founder of a new set of masculine norms ennobling this "chevalier."

For women, on the other hand, Amazonia in Boccaccio's translation provided equally ferocious warriors whose nation and autonomy were saved through the sacrifice of their queen and her sister. They both left their home with their victor to become court ladies in Athens. The emotional narrative that is spun into this renunciation outlines the community that is formed by the Amazons in defiance of a world shared with men. Paradoxically, their vulnerability in time as an unsustainable sisterhood (since alone they cannot procreate), points towards heartbreak and separation, as one chooses to join a different emotional community. Once queen Ipolita makes the decision, however, the fair and noble prince falls in love with her dignified behaviour and it seems that, there again, nobility-inspired love heals all.

Her sister Emilia, whose captivating psyche and emotional circumstances characterise the “Dame Amaczon” in the LDTH, is more complex. The image of the Amazon queen, through its analysis in Christine de Pizan’s LDCD, provided an equalising filter to interpret the power of women as experienced by a woman and a scholar of Italian literature. The rich Amazonian culture developed textually and visually in Christine’s literary work seems to have been acknowledged, if not replicated, in the LDTH *W*¹, indicating a common discourse of women’s culture within the court of Anjou-Provence, possibly influenced by Queen Isabelle.

My biographical analysis of Isabelle’s governance shows that her political education as the future legitimate heiress of the Duchy of Lorraine prepared her to replace René in her first lieutenant-generalcy, and soon after as the Queen of Sicily in Naples. There, her artistic patronage, as meagre as it was, is significant in terms of sealing her presence as queen among the local aristocracy. Even though she was not an Amazonian warrior, and the Kingdom of Sicily was eventually lost, René’s and her homogamic matrimony allowed their fluid exchange of governing roles for a better ruling efficiency of their composite dominions. The discourse that seems to have developed within the court through her example is felt in the perception of womanhood in the portrait of the LDTH’s “Dame Amaczon.” Although the young Princess Emilia is moved by the love of men, she retains her Amazonian nature with her desire to maintain her autonomy and power, her emotional portrait in turn intended to move the reader/viewer. We see in René’s LDC, for example, this discourse on love, power, and women within the Angevin-Provençal court in the description of the objects symbolising the power of women on the entrance arch to Amours’ Chastel de Plaisance as something for Cueur to

meditate on. As the central figure of Emilia suggests the significant shaping of a courtly role for noble women at the court of Anjou-Provence, and following visual and textual information, it is reasonable to surmise that the LDTH *W'*'s patron is a woman, or a male champion who is taking up the issue of the power of women. My examination of other manuscripts commissioned by Jeanne de Laval, and her proximity to René and Barthélemy and their working dynamics, lead me to speculating that she might be this patron.

As René's MVP shifts the focus to religious love and the medieval heart, we are reminded of the prince's age and personal narrative as, by the time he composed this work, he was 46 and probably contemplating death and the afterlife. Within the medieval discourse on vices and virtues, the staging of René's soul's questioning of his heart is written to set an example inviting his audience to engage in self-introspection and meditation, further exposing René's religious context and the Franciscan discourse of affective theology. Composed as a didactic tool with a normative set of impactful images for a lay audience of all levels of literacy, René's work contemplates his own redemption and the necessary sacrifice of his worldly life, encouraging the reader/viewer to do the same. Aware of Jean Gerson's precepts of the heart, its relationship with the senses and basic emotions as a means for the soul to reach God in the afterlife, René teaches a simple lesson that evokes the Franciscan vision of a simple life.

Now that King René has explained in simple terms how spirituality prepares one for life after death, the LDC sets his heart, as an allegorical knight, on a quest for secular love. This specific text assembles René's and the Angevin-Provençal court's discourse on gendered roles within its theme of the initiatory journey, in the final refining of his late

fifteenth-century noble identity. While the first section of the knight's adventures provides a partial view of Cuer's and the romance's faults, preparing the audience for an unusual ending, the discovery of the Isle of Love in the second part announces the contemplative Cuer's anticipated encounter with Love. Identifying the divide between the unsatisfying prospect of a worldly life and physical love with an irresolute lady, and the spiritual love that is offered as a final comfort to the wandering knight, the LDC's ending defines René's idea of true nobility, resembling the prince's own confession. If the sacrifice of one's worldly vanities addresses the contemplative knight in the MVP echoed in the LDC, it is to be compared to Queen Ipolita's sacrifice to save her nation in the LDTH, redefining true nobility for both men and women. Additionally, the heart-centred theme, common to both René's MVP and LDC, places these two books within the tradition of the book of the heart and the devotional and secular literature it generated. Together, they ultimately represent a metaphor of both facets of René's life, influencing the court's social identity.

Much of the success of the commonality of ideas that I noticed between my four case studies rests on Barthélemy d'Eyck's visualisation of his understanding of the text. Although other artists came to finish projects, such as the LDTH *W¹* and the MVP, the extant manuscripts show that Barthélemy worked on all four books between c. 1460 until his death († c. 1470), or the point when he is not mentioned any longer in the historical record. This busy period for the artist started with the LDTH *W¹* in Provence before he probably brought the manuscript to Angers to work with René on the three other books, possibly starting with the LDT. We are reminded of additional copies that are now lost, in particular the potential first copy of René's LDC that settled the iconographic programme

that we now see in P, and partially in V. The unusual characteristics of René's LDT P1, as the only source manuscript available for the four volumes and that I interpret as a "working draft," encouraged me to speculate that we could imagine this first copy of his LDC as a similar working copy on paper without decoration.⁶¹⁰ It would clarify how René's LDC V and P were copied at approximately the same time; how Barthélemy would have begun or completed the illustration of V from the "working draft," and how the Maître du Retable would have illustrated P later, from the same initial copy. The LDC first copy devised by René and Barthélemy would have been lost (or discarded as an uninteresting work) after René's death and probably in Anjou where Jeanne resided until her death. If my hypotheses are true, they reveal a specific working dynamic between René, Jeanne, and their artists, in particular Barthélemy d'Eyck who worked on all manuscripts. The symbiotic nature of René's and Barthélemy's working relationship, witnessed in the surviving manuscripts, suggests a common search for innovation. As I noticed, at times, Barthélemy's superior technique of the painter with northern training allowed him to go further than the text, expressing emotions through chiaroscuro, for example. His mastery of realism adds what one might call metadata, layering additional meaning on some of his miniatures. His last project seems to have been René's LDC V. These miniature paintings attest to the maturing of Barthélemy's style, serving René's novel aesthetics that have equally evolved to match his discourse.

Although chronologically it was not René d'Anjou's last literary undertaking, the LDC complex textual and visual layering of *senefiance* makes it René's most

⁶¹⁰ Please refer to the Appendix for the summarised codicological analysis.

accomplished project in terms of the concepts that it explores. Aesthetically, the LDC similarly reveals much of René's advanced literary form. Like all medieval writers, René works by expanding on previous texts—a love quest copying Arthurian literature combined with the most popular of medieval romances—in constructing the first part of this project. Regardless of how the author generates new worlds from existing ones, his creation in the second part of the LDC takes the audience to a totally reimagined world of wonder that floats between reality and fiction much as his Isle of Love floats on the sea. Quickly, though, the author instructs the reader not to trust his self-created world's appearance by lifting the veil on what lies behind the decor of a world ruled by melancholy. It is as if René is cancelling what he constructed through a very complex system of indirect meanings, guiding the reader towards the revelation in the conclusion, as a gem that shines like a precious stone, hidden within an ordinary rock. Rather than forcing reality to fill his new world, he keeps opening doors to successive imaginary marvels, each in turn uncovering some corruption until the climactic finale. Inventing suspense, René understood that the last image would be the most impactful for his audience.

My research has shown that the cross-study of all four books uncovered, within the court of Anjou-Provence under the guidance of René d'Anjou, an identity-fashioning discourse through which new emotional roles emerged for noble men and women of the Early Renaissance. The characteristics identified in each emotional community make the Angevin-Provençal cultural identity unique during its time. René's own writing similarly revealed that a reformed spirituality was fundamental for his notion of true nobility. When he died in 1480, his state was dismantled, Anjou, Maine, and Provence reverting to

the French crown one year later with the death of his nephew. Jeanne survived René for eighteen years and, I believe, continued René's cultural projects as the illumination of LDC P shows. I hope that through my study her profile as a cultural patron has become a little more visible. Our modern perception of King René has always been marred by his military bad fortune. Extending my study to the court of Anjou-Provence and applying a novel theoretical framework to raise new matters for consideration, my interpretation of the four texts and their amazing illustrations by Barthélemy d'Eyck, and their dissemination, showed that René fostered an extraordinary network of cultural production within his close circles. Now revealed as an established scholar during his lifetime through his own and his court's literary works, René also enjoyed the reputation of a remarkable, cultural patron of true nobility whose identity-shaping work, spiritual and secular, reverberated beyond family and friends, offering us a glimpse of his rich inner world and his talent for imagining a future world.

ABBREVIATIONS

BOOKS

AEC	<i>L'Abuzé en court</i>
CDP	<i>Canticordum du pèlerin</i>
LDT	<i>Livre des tournois</i>
LDTH	<i>Livre de Thezeo</i>
LDC	<i>Livre du Cœur d'amour épris</i>
LDCD	<i>Livre de la Cité des dames</i>
MVP	<i>Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance</i>
PDVH	<i>Le Pèlerinage de vie humaine</i>
RDT	<i>Le Roman de Troyle</i>
TNE	<i>Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia</i>
TRH	<i>Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry</i>

LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS

Albi	Albi, Médiathèque Pierre Amalric
AMV	Vienna, Albertina Museum
Angers	Angers, Bibliothèque municipale
Arsenal	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
ASN	Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli
BBM	Rotterdam, Boymans van Beuningen Museum
BGE	Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève
BL	London, British Library
BM	London, British Museum
BML	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

BNP	Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
Bodleian	Oxford, Bodleian Libraries
Bodmer	Coligny, Fondation Martin Bodmer
BSB	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
BSO	Naples, Biblioteca Statale Oratoriana dei Girolamini
Carpentras	Carpentras, Musée-Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine
Chantilly	Chantilly, Musée Condé
Cluny	Paris, Musée national du Moyen Âge, musée de Cluny
Dijon	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale
FM	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
Getty	Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum
HL	Cambridge, Harvard University Houghton Library
KB	The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek
KBR	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
KMB	Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts de Belgique
LMV	Vienna, Liechtenstein Museum
Louvre	Paris, Musée du Louvre
MBAA	Angers, Musée des Beaux Arts
MBAD	Dijon, Musée des Beaux Arts
MBAL	Lyon, Musée des Beaux Arts
MET	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Metz	Metz, Bibliothèque municipale
MNB	Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
MRT	Turin, Musei Reali
MT/MAD	Lyon, Musée des Tissus, Musée des Arts décoratifs
NAF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions
NG	London, National Gallery
NGA	Washington, National Gallery of Art

NGV	National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
NLR	St Petersburg, National Library of Russia Saltykov Shchedrin
ÖNB	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
PCL	Krakow, Princes Czartoryski Library
PML	New York, The Morgan Library and Museum
Poitiers	Poitiers, Médiathèque François Mitterrand
RLS	Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum
SK	Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
SLB	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek
SMB	Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Toulouse	Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale
Tournai	Tournai, Bibliothèque et Musée du Séminaire épiscopal
UUL	Uppsala University Library
VAB	Vatican City, Vatican Apostolica Biblioteca
VAM	London, Victoria and Albert Museum
YAG	New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Copies of *Le Livre de Thezeo*

Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 601, *La Théséide*, 1475–1500.

Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Western medieval manuscripts, ms. Douce 329, *Hystoyre de Theseus, Palamon & Arcita et la belle Emylia*, 1500–1550.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, NAF 934, *Recueil de fragments d'anciens manuscrits français*, 1200–1600.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2617, *La Théséide*, 1460–1475.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2632, *La Théséide*, 1460–1475.

Manuscript Copies of *Le Livre des tournois*

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Inv./Cat. n. Z 17792, *Burgundian Noble Women*, 1592–1642.

Cambridge, Harvard University Houghton Library, ms. Typ 131, *Works on Knighthood and Tournaments*, 1465–1470.

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mscr. Dresd. Oc 58, *Sammelhandschrift - Mscr.Dresd.Oc.58*, 1495–1510.

Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, ms. E1939.65.1144, after 1490.

Krakow, Princes Czartoryski Library, ms. Czart. 3090 IV, 1465–1470.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. fr. 4223, *Recueil sur les Livre des tournois*, 1701–1800.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 2692, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*, 1488–1489.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 2693, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*, 1488 (or slightly later).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 2694, *Français 2694*, 1601–1700.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 2695, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*, 1462–1465.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 2696, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*, after 1483.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 11362, «

Usages et cérémonies des tournois, » par René d'Anjou, roi de Naples et de Sicile, 1601–1700.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, [Dupuy 288], « *Blason d'armoiries, contenant une instruction et brève méthode pour apprendre facilement la vraie intelligence d'icelles...* », 1601–1700.

Vienna, Albertina Museum, Inv. 7792, *Frauen und Männer in burgundischer Tracht (Teilkopie nach einer Miniatur des René-Meisters)*, n.d.

Manuscript Copies of *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*

Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. 78 C 5, *René d'Anjou: Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, 1457.

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, ms. 10308, *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance; Complainte de l'homme à son âme; [Oraison et méditation de l'âme]*, 1455–1467.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 165, *L'instruction d'un jeune prince; Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, c. 1470.

Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. fr. 151, *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, 1475–1500.

Coligny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. 144, *René d'Anjou: Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, c. 1470.

Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1486, *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, 1470.

New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, ms. M705, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, 1455–1460.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Western medieval manuscripts, ms. Cherry 4, *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, 1475–1500.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 960, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance, fait et composé par Rene, roy de Cecille, duc d'Anjou*, 1401–1500.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 12443, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance, fait et composé par Rene, roy de Cecille, duc d'Anjou*, 1701–1800.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 19039, *Dits des philosophes, de Guillaume de Tignonville, et Mortifiement de vaine plaisance, par le roi Rene d'Anjou*, 1501–1600.

Tournai, Bibliothèque et Musée du Séminaire épiscopal, Cod. 42, *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, 1450–1460.

Manuscript Copies of *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arsenal, ms. 2984, *René d'Anjou: Le livre du cœur d'amour épris, ou Roman de merci, en prose et en vers*, 1401–1500.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 24399, *René d'Anjou, Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, 1460–1485.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 1425, “*La Conquête de la tres douce mercy au cuer d'amours*” [par René d'Anjou], 1401–1500.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 1509, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amours espris* [par René d'Anjou], c. 1470.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, NAF 11679, *Recueil de pièces historiques, en vers et en prose, relatives aux expéditions de Louis XII et François Ier en Italie*, 1501–1600.
- Vatican City, Vatican Apostolica Biblioteca, Cod. Regina 1629, 1401–1500.
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2597, *Livre de Cœur d'Amours Espris*, 1460–1475.

Primary Sources

- Albi, Médiathèque Pierre Amalric, rés. ms. 77, *Strabo, De situ orbis geographia*, 1459.
- Angers, Médiathèque municipale Toussaint, rés. ms. 20, *Psautier de Mayence*, 1457.
- Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, ms. 9242, *Chronique du Hainaut, Vol. 1*, c. 1447–1448.
- Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, ms. 9235–37, *Cité des dames; Livre des trois vertus; Mélibée et Prudence*, c.1470-1475 (c.1460–1470 ?).
- Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, ms. 10475, *Sextus Iulius Frontinus, Le Livre des stratagèmes*, translated by Jean de Rouvroy, 1471.
- Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65, *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, c. 1411-1485.
- Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 71, *Le Livre d'Heures d'Étienne Chevalier*, 1401–1500.
- Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 122, *La Cité de Dieu*, 1401–1500.
- Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 340, *Pietro de' Crescenzi, Le Rustican ou Livre des prouffitz champêtres et ruraulx*, c. 1470–1475.
- Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 513, *Histoire de Palamon et Archita*, 1515–1524.

- Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 2949, *Chronica figurata (fragment)*, 1401–1700.
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Acquisti e doni 525, *Giovanni Boccaccio Teseida*, 1401–1500.
- Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, ms. fr. 191, *Jean Boccace, Le Livre des cas des nobles hommes et femmes, traduit en français par Laurent de Premierfait*, c. 1460.
- Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, ms. il. 126, *Vincent de Beauvais, Speculum historiale*, c. 1460.
- London, British Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Egerton ms. 1070, Part 2, *Book of Hours, use of Paris ('The Hours of René d'Anjou')*, c. 1442–1443.
- London, British Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Harley ms. 3087, *Augustine Confessions*, 1450–1500.
- London, British Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Harley ms. fr. 4425, *Roman de la Rose*, c. 1490–c. 1500.
- London, British Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Harley ms. 4431, *Various Works (also known as "The Book of the Queen")*, c. 1410–c.1414.
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Germ.1279, *Gabriel Tetzl, Reise des Leo von Rošmital*, 1465–1467.
- Naples, Biblioteca Statale Oratoriana del Monumento Nazionale dei Gerolamini, Cod. C.F.2.8 (Pil. X.36), *Boccaccio, Teseida*, c. 1450.
- Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, ms. 99 C. I., *Codice di Santa Marta*, 1401–1500.
- New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, 54.1.1, *Les Belles Heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry*, c. 1405–1408/09.
- New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, ms. G50, *De Lisle Hours*, 1316–1331.
- New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, ms. M263, *Heures de Philippe de Gueldre*, 1401–1500.
- New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, ms. M358, *Hours of the Virgin. Rome*, c. 1445.
- New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, ms. M461, *Livre des merveilles du monde*, c. 1460.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, EST 421, *De artificiali perspectiva. Viator. Tertio...*, 1521.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 940, *Passio Mauricii et sotiorum ejus*, 1453.

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 166, *Bible moralisée, fragment*, 1401–1500.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 809, *Français 809*, 1401–1500.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 835, *Cent balades d'amant et de dame; Lais; Rondeaux; Jeux à vendre; Autres ballades; Epistre au Dieu d'Amours; Complaintes amoureuses; Débat des deux amants; Livre des trois jugements; Dit de Poissy; Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose*, 1407–1409.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 1367, *Trésor de sapience*, 1401–1500.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 1377–1379, *Livre des merveilles du monde*, 1425–1450.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 1974, *Le Pas d'armes de la bergère de Tarascon*, 1449–1500.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 9087, *Bertrandon de la Broquière, Voyage en la terre d'oultre mer*, after 1455.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 12420, *Livre que fist Jehan BOCACE de Certalde des cleres et nobles femmes, lequel il envia à Audice de Accioroles de Florence, contesse de Haulteville*, 1401–1500.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 17100, *Mirouer de la vie de homme et de femme divisé en sept chapitres et dédié à Jeanne de Laval*, before 1454.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 20026, *Œuvres poétiques d'Alain Chartier*, 1401-1500.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 25204, *Statuts de l'Ordre du Croissant, fondé par René d'Anjou (1448)*, 1462.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 25441, *Palamon et Arcita, en vers, par Anne de Graville*, 1501–1600.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. fr. 25528, II *Filostrato de Boccace, traduit par Louis de Beauvau*, 1455–1456.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, NAF 6658, *Recueil de lettres originales ou autographes de différents personnages, du XVe au XIXe siècle*, 1401–1900.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, NAF 28640, *Vie et miracles de saint François d'Assise*, 1475–1500.

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. ita. 580,
Giovanni Boccaccio, Teseida, 1475–1500.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. lat. 1156A,
Horae ad usum Parisiensem [Heures de René d'Anjou, roi de Sicile (1434-1480)],
1435–1436 until 1446.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. lat. 4915,
Mare historiarum.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. lat. 8745,
Martianus de Sancto Aloysio, Tractatus de deificatione sexdecim heroum [Traité
de la déification des seize héros], 1449.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. lat. 9474,
Horae ad usum Romanum, dites Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne, 1500-1508.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. lat. 9673,
Images relatives à l'histoire des Juifs, des Grecs et des Romains, 1501–1600.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. lat. 17332,
Heures du roi René, 1450–1475.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, ms. lat. 17542,
Claudius Ptolemaeus, Cosmographia, Jacobus Angelus interpres., before March
1457.
- Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphiques, RF 54636, Fragment d'un
Code de Justinien, 1401–1500.
- St Petersburg, National Library of Russia Saltykov Shchedrin, ms. fr. F. p. XIV 4,
Relation du Pas de Saumur tenu en 1446, c. 1470–1480.
- The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB ms. 66 B 13, *Valerius Maximus, c. 1470.*
- Toulouse, Bibliothèque de Toulouse, ms. 135, *Horae ad usum Romanum, 1480–1490.*
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2577, *Histoire et faits des neuf Preux et*
des neuf Preues, 1470–1479.
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2578, *Histoire et faits des neuf Preux et*
des neuf Preues, 1470–1479

Printed Primary Sources

- Albanès, Josèphe-Hyacinthe. 'La bibliothèque du roi René'. *Revue des Sociétés savantes*
de la France et de l'étranger 5, no. 8 (1874): 301–11.
- Anjou, René d'. 'King René's Tournament Book'. Facing page translation. Translated by
Elizabeth Bennett. King René's tournament book: A modern English translation,
1998. <http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/compare.html>.

- Arnaud d'Agnel, Gustave. *Les comptes du roi René publiés d'après les originaux conservés aux archives des Bouches-du-Rhône*. 3 vols. Paris: A. Picard, 1908–1910.
- Beaune, Henri, ed. *Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche: Maître d'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*. 4 vols. Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1883–1888.
- Beauvais, Pierre de. *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge*. Edited by Gabriel Bianciotto. Paris: Stock, 1980.
- Bianciotto, Gabriel, ed. *Le Livre de Thezeo: Traduction anonyme du XVe siècle du Teseida de Boccace: édition critique*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.
<https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/lib/uvic/reader.action?docID=5264151>.
- . *Le Roman de Troyle*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Rouen: Publ. de l'Univ. de Rouen, 1994.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Teseida, Edizione critica a cura di Salvatore Battaglia*. Florence: Sansoni, 1938.
- . *The Book of Theseus: Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia*. Translated by Bernadette Marie McCoy. New York: Medieval Text Association, 1974.
- Bouchet, Florence, ed. *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris / René d'Anjou*. Paris: Libr. Générale Française, 2003.
- Bourdigné, Jehan de. *Chroniques d'Anjou et du Maine*. Edited by Théodore de Quatrebarbes. 2 vols. Angers: Imprimerie de Cosnier et Lachèse, 1842.
- Caldwell, Ross Gregory. 'Marcello's Letter and Marziano's Text [BnF Ms. Lat. 8745(A)]'. *Tarot History Forum*, 30 January 2013.
<http://forum.tarothistory.com/viewtopic.php?t=933#p13570>.
- Chastellain, Georges. *Chronique des ducs de Bourgogne*. Edited by Jean Alexandre Buchon. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Verdière, 1827.
- Courteault, Henri. 'Le manuscrit original de l'histoire de Gaston IV, comte de Foix par Guillaume Leseur : Additions et corrections à l'édition de cette chronique'. *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* 43, no. 2 (1906): 197–201.
- Du Fresne de Beaucourt, Gaston, ed. *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Paris: Jules Renouard, 1863.
- Dubuis, Roger, ed. *L'Abuzé en court*. Genève: Droz, 1973.
- Lecoy de La Marche, Richard Albert. *Extraits des comptes et mémoriaux du roi René pour servir à l'histoire de l'art au XVe siècle*. Paris: Librairie de la Société de l'école des chartes, 1873.
- Leseur, Guillaume. *Histoire de Gaston IV, Comte de Foix*. Edited by Henri Courteault.

- Paris: Renouard, 1893.
- Letts, Malcolm, ed. *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy: 1465–1467*. Reprint d. Ausg. London, Hakluyt Soc., 1957. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Lyna, Frédéric, ed. *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance de René d'Anjou. Étude du texte et des manuscrits à peintures*. Bruxelles; Paris, 1926.
- Moranvillé, Henri, ed. *Journal de Jean Le Fèvre, Évêque de Chartres, Chancelier des rois de Sicile Louis Ier et Louis II d'Anjou*. Vol 1. Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1887.
- Pèlerin, Jean. *De artificiali perspectiva*. Viator. Tertio. Tulli, 1521.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1518684w>.
- Pizan, Christine de. *Le livre des epistres du debat sus le Rommant de la rose*. Edited by Andrea Valentini. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014.
- . *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Edited and translated by Earl Jeffrey Richards. 1st ed. New York: Persea Books, 1982.
- Plancher, Urbain. *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne, avec des notes, des dissertations et les preuves justificatives*. Vol. 4. 4 vols. Dijon: Antoine de Fay, 1748.
- Pognon, Edmond, and François Avril. *Le Livre des tournois du roi René, de la Bibliothèque nationale (Ms. Français 2695)*. Paris: Herscher, 1986.
- Quatrebarbes, Théodore de. *Œuvres complètes du roi René, avec une biographie et des notices par M. le comte de Quatrebarbes, et un grand nombre de dessins et ornements, d'après les tableaux originaux par M. Hawke*. 4 vols. Angers: Imprimerie de Cosnier et Lachèse, 1843–46.
- Roussineau, Gilles, ed. *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*. Genève: Librairie Droz S.A, 2015.
- Samaran, Charles, and Robert Marichal. *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*. Vol. 1. 7 vols. Paris: CNRS Editions, 1954.
- Smital, Ottokar, and Emil Winkler, eds. *Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne, Manuscript 2597: René duc d'Anjou*. Livre du Cueur d'amours esprits. Translated by Alice Scarlates. 3 vols. Vienne: Édition de l'imprimerie de l'État autrichien, 1927.
- Troyes, Chrétien de. *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*. Translated by Michel Rousse. Paris: Flammarion, 1990.
- Viereck Gibbs, Stephanie, and Kathryn Karczewska, eds. *The Book of the Love-Smitten Heart by René d'Anjou*. Translated by Stephanie Viereck Gibbs and Kathryn Karczewska. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Vulson de la Colombière, Marc de. *Le vray théâtre d'honneur et de chevalerie, ou le Miroir héroïque de la noblesse*. Paris: Augustin Courbe, 1648.

Secondary Sources

Adams, Tracy. 'Christine de Pizan, Isabeau of Bavaria, and Female Regency'. *French Historical Studies* 32, no. 1 (1 January 2009): 1–32.

Agostinelli, Edvige. 'A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of *Il Teseida*'. (1986 1985): 1–83.

Albonico, Simone, and Serena Romano, eds. *Courts and Courtly Cultures in Early Modern Italy and Europe: Models and Languages*. Prima edizione. Roma: Viella, 2016.

Alexander, J. J. G. *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Amtower, Laurel. *Engaging Words: The Culture of Reading in the Later Middle Ages*. 1st ed. The New Middle Ages. New York: Palgrave, 2000.

Arrouye, Jean. 'Le cœur et son paysage'. In *Le « cuer » au Moyen Âge: Réalité et Senefiance*, 27–42. Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1991.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pup.3101>.

Autrand, Françoise. 'Le Jour de l'an 1415 à la cour du duc de Berry'. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1999, no. 1 (2002): 275–88.

Avril, François. 'La Vie de saint François illustrée'. *Art de l'enluminure* 27 (2009): 4–35.

———. 'L'héritage: Quelques livres des premiers ducs d'Anjou'. In *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Edouard Gautier and François Avril, 36–45. Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.

———. 'Manuscrits à peintures d'origine française à la Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne'. *Bulletin monumental* 134, no. 4 (1976): 329

———. 'Pour l'enluminure Provençale. Enguerrand Quarton, peintre de manuscrits?' *Revue de l'art* 35 (1977): 9–40.

———. 'René d'Anjou, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*'. In *Les manuscrits à peinture en France : 1440-1520*, edited by Nicole Reynaud and François Avril, 236–38. Paris: Flammarion–Bibliothèque nationale, 1993.

Avril, François, and Florence Callu. *Boccace en France: De l'humanisme à l'érotisme*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1975.

Avril, François, and Nicole Reynaud. *Les manuscrits à peinture en France: 1440-1520*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale: Flammarion, 1993.

Bande, Alexandre. 'Les voyages des cœurs royaux en Val de Loire (fin XIVE-début XVIe siècle)'. In *Entrer en ville*, edited by Françoise Michaud-Fréjaville, Noëlle

- Dauphin, and Jean-Pierre Guilhembet, 231–43. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes (14 October 2020). <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.7866>.
- Bauguion, Carole. ‘L’écriture introspective de Charles d’Orléans ou la recherche d’une nouvelle poétique de l’image “En la Forest de Longue Actente”’. *Dalhousie French Studies* 111, no. special (poésie-langue-image) (2018): 17–33.
- Bethencourt, Francisco. ‘European Expansion and the New Order of Knowledge’. In *The Renaissance World*, edited by John Jeffries Martin, 118–39. New York; London: Routledge, 2007.
- Bianciotto, Gabriel. ‘Passion du livre et des lettres à la cour du roi René’. In *Splendeur de l’enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 85–103. Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- Boquet, Damien, and Piroska Nagy. ‘Medieval Sciences of Emotions during the Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries: An Intellectual History’. *Osiris* 31, no. 1 (July 2016): 21–45.
- Bosco, Umberto, ed. ‘Giovanni Boccaccio’. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 6 January 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Giovanni-Boccaccio>.
- Bouchet, Florence, ‘Introspection et Diffraction : Les autoportraits de René d’Anjou, entre allégorie et arts figurés’. In *L’autoportrait dans la littérature française: Du Moyen Âge au XVII^e siècle*, edited by Élisabeth Gaucher and Jean Garapon, 71–82. Collection ‘Interférences’. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013.
- . ‘Jeux de clair-obscur dans le “Livre du Cueur d’Amours esprits” de René d’Anjou: quête du sens et plaisirs des sens’. In *Feu et lumière au Moyen-Âge*, 7–21. Toulouse: Editions universitaires du Sud, 2000. <https://hal-univ-tlse2.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02886097>.
- . ‘La bibliothèque mentale de René d’Anjou d’après ses écrits allégoriques’. In *Splendeur de l’enluminure, Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 105–13. Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- . ‘Les arts et les lettres en Provence au temps du roi René’. *Perspectives médiévales* 36 (19 June 2016). <https://journals.openedition.org/peme/7556>.
- Bouchet, Florence, ed. *René d’Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2011.
- Bozzolo, Carla. *Manuscrits des traductions françaises d’œuvres de Boccace: XVe siècle*. Padova: Antenore, 1973.
- . ‘Manuscrits des traductions françaises (XVe s.) d’œuvres de Boccace dans les bibliothèques d’Europe et des États-Unis’. *École pratique des hautes études. 4e section, Sciences historiques et philologiques* 104, no. 1 (1972): 753–60.

- Bresc-Bautier, Geneviève, and Élisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, eds. *France 1500: Entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2010.
- Buettner, Brigitte. *Boccaccio's Des cleres et nobles femmes: Systems of Signification in an Illuminated Manuscript*. Monograph on the Fine Arts, v. 53. Seattle: Published by College Art Association in association with University of Washington Press, 1996.
- . 'Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400'. *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 4 (2001): 598–625.
- Bumke, Joachim. *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991.
- Bureaux, Guillaume. 'Pas d'armes et vide iconographique: quand le texte doit remplacer l'image (XV^e siècle)'. *Perspectives médiévales*, no. 38 (1 January 2017). <https://doi.org/10.4000/peme.12792>.
- Burke, Peter. 'The Circulation of Knowledge'. In *The Renaissance World*, edited by John Jeffries Martin, 191–207. New York; London: Routledge, 2007.
- Caldwell, Ross Gregory. 'Description of the Michelino Deck - Translation of the Original Text from Martiano da Tortona from ca. 1425'. Trionfi, 7 September 2020. <http://trionfi.com/martiano-da-tortona-tractatus-de-deificatione-16-heroum>.
- Camille, Michael. 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy'. *Art History* 8, no. 1 (1985): 26–49.
- Campbell, Emma, and Robert Mills, eds. *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012.
- Cerquiglini-Toulet, Jacqueline. *The Color of Melancholy: The Uses of Books in the Fourteenth Century*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- Chaigne-Legouy, Marion. 'Femmes au « cœur d'homme » ou pouvoir au féminin? Les duchesses de la seconde Maison d'Anjou (1360: thèse de doctorat préparée sous la direction de Mme Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, soutenue le 8 décembre 2014 à l'université Paris IV-Sorbonne'. *Perspectives médiévales*, no. 36 (1 January 2015). <https://doi.org/10.4000/peme.8452>.
- . 'Reine « ordinaire », reine « extraordinaire »: la place de Jeanne de Laval et d'Isabelle de Lorraine dans le gouvernement de René d'Anjou'. In *René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Pouvoirs et gouvernement*, edited by Jean-Michel Matz and Noël-Yves Tonnerre, 77–101. Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.124695>.
- . 'Titres et insignes du pouvoir des duchesses de la seconde Maison d'Anjou. Une

- approche diplomatique, sigillaire et emblématique de la puissance féminine à la fin du Moyen Âge'. *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, no. 129–2 (1 January 2017). <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.3790>.
- Challéat, Claire. 'Barthélemy d'Eyck: Géographie artistique et reconstruction historiographique'. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 1, no. 1 (2009): 3–17.
- Chapman-Hamilton, Tracy. *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France: The Artistic Patronage of Queen Marie de Brabant (1260-1321)*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2019.
- Chazelle, Celia. 'Pictures, Books and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles'. *Word & Image* 6, no. 2 (1990): 138–53.
- Chichmaref, Vladimir. 'Notes sur quelques œuvres attribuées au roi René'. *Romania* 55, no. 218 (1929): 214–50.
- Chiffolleau, Jacques. 'Les confréries, la mort et la religion en Comtat Venaissin à la fin du Moyen Âge'. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 91, no. 2 (1979): 785–825.
- Chmelarz, Eduard. 'Eine Französische Bilderhandschrift von Boccaccio's *Theseide*'. In *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 14:318–28. Vienna, 1893.
- Classen, Albrecht. *The Power of a Woman's Voice in Medieval and Early Modern Literatures: New Approaches to German and European Women Writers and to Violence against Women in Premodern Times*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.
- Coleman, Joyce. *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Coleman, William E. 'The Oriatoriana *Teseida*: Witness of a Lost *beta* Autograph'. *Studi Sul Boccaccio* 40 (2012): 105–86.
- Connochie-Bourgne, Chantal, and Valérie Gontero, eds. *Les Arts et les Lettres en Provence au temps du roi René*. Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2013. <http://books.openedition.org/pup/19224>.
- Contamine, Philippe. 'Points de vue sur la chevalerie à la fin du Moyen Âge'. *Francia* 4 (1978): 255–85.
- . 'Yolande d'Aragon et Jeanne d'Arc : l'improbable rencontre de deux parcours politiques'. In *Femmes de pouvoir, femmes politiques durant les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge et au cours de la première Renaissance*, edited by Éric Bousmar, Jonathan Dumont, Alain Marchandise, and Bertrand Schnerb, 1. éd., 11–30. Bruxelles: De Boeck, 2012.

- Cruse, Mark. “Pleasure in Foreign Things”: Global Entanglement in the *Livre des merveilles du monde* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fr. 2810). *Mediaevalia* 41, no. 1 (2020): 217–36.
- . ‘Romancing the Orient: The Roman d’Alexandre and Marco Polo’s Livre Du Grand Khan in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 264’. In *Medieval Romance and Material Culture*, edited by Nicholas Perkins, 233–52. Boydell & Brewer, 2015. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/medieval-romance-and-material-culture/romancing-the-orient-the-roman-dalexandre-and-marco-polos-livre-du-grand-khan-in-oxford-bodleian-library-ms-bodl-264/9038C48E5501C79FBBD768536EF1819A>.
- Delaissé, Léon Marie Joseph. ‘Les copies flamandes du *Livre des tournois* de René d’Anjou’. *Scriptorium* 23, no. 1 (1969): 187–98.
- Delcourt, Thierry. *La littérature arthurienne*. 1st. ed. Paris: Presses Univ. de France, 2000.
- Diocese of Albi. « *Le Jugement Dernier* », *Un Chef-d’œuvre de La Cathédrale d’Albi*. Albi, 2008. <https://albi.catholique.fr/liturgie-art-et-culture/patrimoine/292234-jugement-dernier-lun-chefs-doeuvre-de-cathedrale-dalbi/>.
- Dufresne, Laura Rinaldi. *The Fifteenth Century Illustrations of Christine de Pizan’s The Book of the City of Ladies and The Treasure of the City of Ladies: Analyzing the Relation of the Pictures to the Text*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=481321>
- Durrieu, Paul. ‘Notes sur quelques manuscrits français ou d’origine française conservés dans des bibliothèques d’Allemagne.’ *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 53, no. 1 (1892): 115–43.
- . ‘Une vue de l’église du Saint-Sépulcre vers 1436 provenant du bon roi René’. In *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, 197–207. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1909.
- Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. Edited by Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, and Stephen Mennell. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Rev. ed. Oxford ; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.
- Enders, Jody. ‘The Feminist Mnemonics of Christine de Pizan’. *Modern Language Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (September 1994): 231–49.
- Evans, Mark. ‘The Coat of Arms of René of Anjou, by Luca Della Robbia, about 1466-78’. *The V&A Masterpieces Series* (blog), 2006. <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/the-coat-of-arms-of-rene-of-anjou/>.
- Fabre, Isabelle. ‘La Maisonnette, le pont et le bois de la lance: La ruine et le détail chez René d’Anjou (1455-1457)’. *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, no. 31 (3 August 2016): 179–98.

- Faillon, Étienne Michel. *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence et sur les autres apôtres de cette contrée, Saint Lazare, Saint Maximin, Sainte Marthe, les Saintes Maries Jacobé, Salomé Etc.* Vol. 1. 2 vols. Paris: J. P. Migne, 1848.
- Favier, Jean. *Le Roi René*. Paris: Fayard, 2008.
- Feniello, Amadeo. 'Naples dans l'aventure italienne'. In *Le roi René dans tous ses états*, edited by Élisabeth Verry and Jean-Michel Matz, 99–123. Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, Centre des musées nationaux, 2009.
- Ferré, Rose-Marie. 'Le roi René peintre? État de la question'. In *Splendeur de l'enluminure, Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 117–21. Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- . 'Pour une lecture performative de l'œuvre de René d'Anjou? Le dialogue des arts dans *Le Livre du Cœur d'Amours espris* de Paris: écriture, peinture, spectacle (autour des tapisseries de Vénus)'. In *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, edited by Florence Bouchet, 135–58. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011.
- . 'Relation du pas de Saumur tenu en 1446'. In *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 244–47. Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers - Actes sud, 2009.
- . 'René d'Anjou, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*'. In *Splendeur de l'enluminure, Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 300–309. Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- . 'René d'Anjou, *Le Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance*'. In *Splendeur de l'enluminure, Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 284–99. Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu-Muslim' Encounter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Franklin, Margaret. 'Imagining and Reimagining Gender: Boccaccio's Teseida Delle Nozze d'Emilia and Its Renaissance Visual Legacy'. *Humanities* 5, no. 1 (15 January 2016): 1–14.
- Freccero, Carla. 'From Amazon to Court Lady: Generic Hybridization in Boccaccio's Teseida'. *Comparative Literature Studies* 32, no. 2 (1995): 226–43.
- Freigang, Christian. "'Fantaisie et Ymaginacion': Selbstreflexion von Höfigkeit am provençalischen Hof unter René I/La culture de cour en France et en Europe à la fin du Moyen Âge'. In *Hofkultur in Frankreich und Europa im Spätmittelalter*, edited by Christian Freigang and Jean-Claude Schmitt, 209–43. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005.
- . 'Le tournoi idéal: La création du bon chevalier et la politique courtoise de René d'Anjou'. In *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, edited by Florence

- Bouchet, 179–96. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011.
- Fumerton, Patricia, and Simon Hunt, eds. *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Gagnebin, Bernard. ‘Un manuscrit du *Mortifiement de vaine plaisance* retrouvé à Genève’. *Scriptorium* 26, no. 1 (1972): 51–53.
- Gatouillat, Françoise. ‘Les vitraux du bras nord du transept de la cathédrale du Mans et les relations franco-anglaises à la fin de la guerre de Cent Ans’. *Bulletin Monumental* 161, no. 4 (2003): 307–24.
- Gaucher-Rémond, Élisabeth. ‘De l’introspection à l’exposition de soi au Moyen Âge’. *Le Moyen Âge CXXII*, no. 1 (2016): 21–40.
- Gaude-Ferragu, Murielle. *D’or et de cendres: La mort et les funérailles des princes dans le royaume de France au bas Moyen Âge*. Villeneuve d’Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2005.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/books.septentrion.54578>.
- Gaude-Ferragu, Murielle, Bruno Laurioux, and Jacques Paviot, eds. *La cour du prince. Cour de France, cours d’Europe, XIIIe - XVe siècle*. Paris: Champion, 2011.
- Gaunt, Simon, ed. *Marco Polo’s Le Devisement du Monde: Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity*. Boydell & Brewer, 2013.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/marco-polos-le-devisement-du-monde/introduction-le-devisement-du-monde-textual-tradition-and-genre/3F1CC1BA46CD11F212BD7BF69C29F669>.
- Gautier, Marc-Édouard. ‘La bibliothèque du roi René’. In *Splendeur de l’enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 20–35. Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- . *Les Merveilles du monde ou Les Secrets de l’histoire naturelle et autres acquisitions récentes du temps du roi René*. Angers: Ville d’Angers, 2017.
- . ‘René d’Anjou, *Le Livre des tournois*’. In *Splendeur de l’enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 276–82. Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers ; Actes Sud, 2009.
- Gautier, Marc-Édouard, and François Avril, eds. *Splendeur de l’enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*. Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- Gilleard, Chris. ‘Aging and Old Age in Medieval Society and the Transition of Modernity’. *Journal of Aging and Identity* 7 (1 March 2002): 25–41.
- Godefroy, Frédéric. *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*. 10 vols. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881.
<http://micmap.org/dicfro/search/dictionnaire-godefroy/>.

- Gousset, Marie-Thérèse. 'Le jardin d'Émilie'. *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale* 22 (1986): 7–24.
- Groag Bell, Susan. 'Christine de Pizan in Her Study'. *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 10 June 2008. <http://journals.openedition.org/crm/3212>.
- Hablot, Laurent. 'L'emblématique du roi René: Outil de pouvoir et de gouvernement'. In *René d'Anjou (1409 - 1480): Pouvoirs et gouvernement*, edited by Jean-Michel Matz and Noël-Yves Tonnerre, 327–38. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011. <https://books.openedition.org/pur/124779>.
- . 'Présences emblématiques dans la tenture de l'Apocalypse'. In *Apocalypse: La Tenture de Louis d'Anjou*, edited by Jacques Cailleteau and Francis Muel, 27–41. Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, Centre des monuments nationaux, 2015. https://www.academia.edu/19666630/L_HABLOT_Présences_emblématiques_dans_la_tenture_de_l'Apocalypse_Apocalypse_La_tenture_de_Louis_d'Anjou_Réunion_des_musées_nationaux_Paris_2015_p_27_41.
- Hauvette, Henri. 'Les plus Anciennes Traductions Françaises de Boccace'. *Bulletin Italien* 8, no. 3 (1908): 189–99.
- Heck, Christian. 'Entre l'art courtois, l'Italie et Le Hausbuchmeister: Le Cabinet de curiosité du Pouvoir des femmes dans *Le Livre du Cœur d'Amour épris* de René d'Anjou'. *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 95 (2016): 5–45.
- Hedeman, Anne D. 'Laurent de Premierfait and the Visualization of Antiquity'. In *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users*, 27–50. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011.
- . *Visual Translation: Illuminated Manuscripts and the First French Humanists*. First edition. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2022.
- Heers, Jacques, and Françoise Robin, eds. *Traité des tournois*. Munich: Edition Helga Lengenfelder, 1993. <https://www.omifacsimiles.com/brochures/cima32.pdf>.
- Henryot, Fabienne. 'L'Atlas de la vie religieuse en Lorraine à l'époque moderne: Mise en œuvre et résultats'. *Approches sérielles et spatiales en histoire religieuse* 20 (2013): 117–33. <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01338494/document>.
- Hermant, Maxence, and Gennaro Toscano. 'Les manuscrits de la Renaissance italienne: modèles et sources d'inspiration pour les enlumineurs français'. In *La France et l'Europe autour de 1500: croisements et échanges artistiques*, edited by Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Thierry Crépin-Leblond, and Élisabeth Delahaye, 107–28. Paris: École du Louvre, 2015.
- Higgins, Iain Macleod. *Writing East: The 'Travels' of Sir John Mandeville*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Hüe, Denis. 'Propos cordiaux : Le cœur dans les poèmes dialogues'. In *Le « cuer » au Moyen Âge: Réalité et Senefiance*. Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de

- Provence, 1991. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pup.3106>.
- Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages: The Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Translated by Frederick Hopman. London: Folio City, 1998.
- Jaeger, C. Stephen. *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courty Ideals, 939-1210*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Pr., 1991.
- Jager, Eric. *The Book of the Heart*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Jeay, Claude. ‘La signature dans la constellation emblématiques des ducs d’Anjou (XIV^e-XV^e siècles)’. *Le Moyen Âge* 122, no. 1 (2016): 83–100.
- Jourdan, Jean-Pierre. ‘Le sixième sens et la théologie de l’amour [essai sur l’iconographie des tapisseries à sujets amoureux à la fin du Moyen Âge]’. *Journal des savants* 1, no. 1 (1996): 137–59.
- . ‘Le symbolisme politique du Pas dans le royaume de France (Bourgogne et Anjou) à la fin du Moyen-Age’. *Journal of Medieval History* 18, no. 2 (January 1992): 161–81.
- Kekewich, Margaret L. *The Good King: René of Anjou and Fifteenth-Century Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Klibansky, Raymond, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl. *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophies, Religion and Art*. London: Nelson, 1964.
- König, Eberhard. ‘Le Maître du Boccace de Genève’. In *Splendeur de l’enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 133–43. Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- . ‘Boccace, *La Théséide* (Traduction française anonyme)’. In *Splendeur de l’enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 268–75. Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- . ‘Un grand miniaturiste inconnu du XV^e siècle français : Le peintre de l’octobre des “Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry”’. *Dossiers d’archéologie* 16 (1976): 96–123.
- Krueger, Roberta L. ‘Chrétien de Troyes and the Invention of Arthurian Courtly Fiction’. In *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, edited by Helen Fulton, 160–74. Chichester, UK; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2009.
- Laclotte, Michel. ‘Rencontres franco-italiennes au milieu du XV^e siècle’. *Acta Historiae Artium* 13 (1967): 33–41.
- Lafortune-Martel, Agathe. *Fête noble en bourgogne au XV^e siècle: Le banquet du faisan (1454): Aspects politiques, sociaux et culturels*. Montréal: Paris: Bellarmin; Vrin, 1984.

- Lawson, Margaret. 'Les Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry. The Materials and Techniques of the Limbourg'. In *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen Masters at the French Court, 1400-1416*, edited by Rob Dückers and Pieter Roelofs, 149–63. Nijmegen, Holland: Ludion, 2005.
- Le Brun-Gouanvic, Claire. 'Christine de Pizan et l'édification de la cité éternelle'. *Études françaises* 37, no. 1 (18 August 2004): 51–65.
- Lecoy de La Marche, Richard Albert. *Le roi René: Sa vie, son administration, ses travaux artistiques et littéraires d'après les documents inédits des archives de France et d'Italie*. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie, 1875.
- Legaré, Anne-Marie. 'François de Ximenes, *Le Livre des anges*, traduction française anonyme'. In *Splendeur de l'enluminure, Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 356–57. Angers: Ville d'Angers - Actes sud, 2009.
- , 'La réception du *Pèlerinage de Vie humaine* de Guillaume de Digulleville dans le milieu angevin d'après les sources et les manuscrits conservés'. In *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge*, edited by Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, Amaury Chauou, Daniel Pichot, and Lionel Rousselot, 543–52. Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.19863>.
- . 'Les deux épouses de René d'Anjou et leurs livres'. In *Splendeur de l'enluminure, Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 59–71. Angers: Ville d'Angers - Actes sud, 2009.
- . '*Martianus de Sancto Aloysio, Tractatus de deificatione sexdecim heroum [Traité de la déification des seize héros]*'. In *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 348. Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- . 'Princesses et duchesses bibliophiles à la cour de René d'Anjou'. *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 20 (2012): 37–54.
- Marais, Kobus. *Translation Theory and Development Studies: A Complexity Theory Approach*. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Marchandise, Alain. 'La diplomatie liégeoise de Louis XI au miroir des sources narratives contemporaines'. *Bien dire et bien apprendre: Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales et dialectales de l'Université de Lille III* 27 (2010): 49–67.
- Marculescu, Andreea, and Charles-Louis Morand Métivier. *Affective and Emotional Economies in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2017.
- Martin, John Jeffries, ed. *The Renaissance World*. The Routledge Worlds. New York; London: Routledge, 2007.
- Matz, Jean-Michel. 'La « bibliothèque » de René d'Anjou : un instrument de

- gouvernement ?' In *René d'Anjou (1409-1480). Pouvoirs et gouvernement*, edited by Jean-Michel Matz and Noël-Yves Tonnerre. Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.124782>.
- . 'Les ordres mendiants à Angers à la fin du Moyen Âge. État de la question'. In *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge: Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, edited by Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, Amaury Chauou, Daniel Pichot, and Lionel Rousselot, 159–66. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.19765>.
- . 'Princesse au pouvoir, femme de pouvoir ? L'action politique de Marie de Blois d'après *Le journal du chancelier Jean Le Fèvre (1383-1388)*'. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, no. 129–2 (1 January 2017). <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.3666>.
- . 'René, l'Église et la religion'. In *Le roi René dans tous ses états*, edited by Jean-Michel Matz and Élisabeth Verry, 125–47. Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, Centre des musées nationaux, 2009.
- Matz, Jean-Michel, and Noël-Yves Tonnerre, eds. *René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Pouvoirs et gouvernement*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.124668>.
- Matz, Jean-Michel and Elisabeth Verry, eds. *Le roi René dans tous ses états*. Paris: Patrimoine, Centre des monuments nationaux, 2009.
- Maupeu, Philippe. '« Regarder le temps »: Temps et image dans le *Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*'. In *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, edited by Florence Bouchet, 119–34. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011.
- McCormick, Betsy. 'Building the Ideal City: Female Memorial Praxis in Christine de Pizan's Cité des Dames'. *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 36, no. 1 (2003): 149–71.
- McGrady, Deborah L. *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and His Late Medieval Audience*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- . *The Writer's Gift or the Patron's Pleasure? The Literary Economy in Late Medieval France*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019.
- Mérindol, Christian de. 'Armoiries et emblèmes dans les livres et chartes du roi René et de ses proches. Le rôle de Barthélemy d'Eyck'. In *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 151–65. Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- . 'La relation illustrée du Pas de Saumur, nouvelle lecture'. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 2010, no. 1 (2015): 64–76.
- . 'Le Livre des tournois du roi René: Nouvelles lectures'. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1992 (1994): 177–92.

- . *Le roi René et la seconde maison d'Anjou: Emblématique, art, histoire*. Paris: Léopard d'Or, 1987.
- . *Les fêtes de chevalerie à la cour du roi René*. Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1993. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k3322748q/f9.item>.
- . 'Nouvelles observations sur l'héraldique et l'emblématique du roi René'. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1982 (1984): 111–28.
- Minet-Mahy, Virginie. 'Lecture croisée de Jean Gerson et de René d'Anjou: La figure du prince-poète méditant'. In *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, edited by Florence Bouchet, 99–117. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011.
- . 'L'iconographie du cœur et de la croix dans le *Mortifiement* de René d'Anjou et les *Douze Dames de Rhétorique* de George Chastelain'. *Le Moyen Age* CXIII, no. 3 (2007): 569–90.
- Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de la Jeunesse et des Sports: Odysseum-Eduscol; Littérature, Humanités et Sciences; Mythologie et Religions; "Au-delà des colonnes d'Hercule: Le saut dans l'inconnu". *Des paradis à découvrir*, Last modified 08 Nov. 2019, <https://eduscol.education.fr/odysseum/des-paradis-decouvrir>.
- Minnis, Alastair J. *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
- Monfrin, Jacques. *Études de philologie romane*. Genève: Libr. Droz, 2001.
- Moran, Patrick. 'L'épisode de la Forêt Perdue dans le *Lancelot* en prose: Jeux et divertissements périlleux en terre de Bretagne'. *Questes*, no. 18 (15 February 2010): 87–102.
- Muchembled, Robert. 'Manners, Courts and Civility'. In *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, edited by Guido Ruggiero, 156–72. Blackwell Companions to History. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Mühlethaler, Jean-Claude. 'Le pain de mélancolie, l'ail du berger, les fruits de paradis: Nourriture, intertextualité et registre d'expression dans l'œuvre de René d'Anjou'. In *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, edited by Florence Bouchet, 53–68. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2011.
- Nassiet, Michel. *Parenté, noblesse et états dynastiques: XVe-XVIe siècles*. Paris: Editions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2000.
- Newman, Barbara. *Medieval Crossover: Reading the Secular against the Sacred*. Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013.
- Nievergelt, Marco. 'René d'Anjou et l'idéal chevaleresque'. In *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, edited by Florence Bouchet, 239–53. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011.

- Nissim, Dafna. 'The Emotional Agency of Fifteenth-Century Devotional Portraits: Self-Identification and Feelings of Pleasure'. *Sicilorum Gymnasium* 72, no. 5 (2019): 331–55.
- Pächt, Otto. 'René d'Anjou et les Van Eyck'. *Cahiers de l'Association internationale d'études françaises* 8 (1956): 41–67.
- . 'René d'Anjou Studien II'. *Jahrbuch Der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 73 (1977): 7–106.
- Pächt, Otto, and Dagmar Thoss. *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: (Fortsetzung des beschreibenden Verzeichnisses der illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien) / Hrsg. v. Otto Pächt*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974.
- Pastoureau, Michel. *Couleurs, images, symboles: Études d'histoire et d'anthropologie*. Paris: Léopard d'or, 1989.
- . 'L'effervescence emblématique et les origines héraldiques du portrait au XIV^e siècle'. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1985, no. 1 (1987): 108–15.
- Paviot, Jacques. 'Le roi René, l'idée de croisade et l'Orient'. In *René d'Anjou (1409–1480). Pouvoirs et gouvernement*, edited by Jean-Michel Matz and Noël-Yves Tonnerre, 313–23. Rennes: Presses Univ. de Rennes, 2011.
<https://books.openedition.org/pur/124770>
- Perret, Paul-Michel. *Histoire des relations de la France avec Venise, du XIII^e siècle à l'avènement de Charles VIII*. 2 vols. Paris: H. Welter, 1896.
- Piponnier, Françoise. *Costume et vie sociale. La cour d'Anjou, XIV^e-XV^e siècle*. Paris: Mouton, 1970.
- Poirion, Daniel. *Le poète et le prince: L'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1965.
- . 'Les tombeaux allégoriques et la poétique de l'inscription dans le *Livre du Cœur d'Amours esprits* de René d'Anjou (1457)'. In *Écriture poétique et composition romanesque*, 399–414. Orléans: Paradigme, 1994.
- Polizzi, Gilles. "'Sens plastique": le spectacle des merveilles dans le *Livre du Cœur d'Amours Espris*'. In *De l'étranger à l'étrange ou la conjointure de la merveille*, 393–430. Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1988.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pup.3302>.
- Polo de Beaulieu, Marie Anne. 'La légende du cœur inscrit dans la littérature religieuse et didactique'. In *Le « cœur » au Moyen Âge: Réalité et Senefiance*, 297–312. Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1991.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pup.3094>.

- Pomel, Fabienne. 'Les yeux et les oreilles dans l'écriture allégorique du *Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance*'. In *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, edited by Florence Bouchet, 85–98. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011.
- Pratt, Robert A. 'Chaucer's Use of the Teseida'. *Modern Language Association* 63, no. 3 (1947): 598–621.
- Quilligan, Maureen. *The Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's Cité des dames*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Rabel, Claudia. 'Des histoires de famille: La dévotion aux trois Maries en France du XIV^e au XV^e siècle'. *Revista de História da Arte* 7 (2009): 120–37.
- Raynaud, Christiane. 'La mise en scène du cœur dans les livres religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge'. In *Le « cuer » au Moyen Âge: Réalité et Senefiance*. Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1991.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pup.3094>.
- Reynaud, Nicole. 'Barthélémy d'Eyck avant 1450'. *Revue de l'art* 84, no. 1 (1989): 22–43.
- . 'Lettre de la veuve de Barthélemy d'Eyck au roi René'. In *Splendeur de l'enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Edouard Gautier and François Avril, 274–75. Angers; Arles: Ville d'Angers ; Actes Sud, 2009.
- . 'Une broderie de l'histoire de saint Martin: Barthélemy d'Eyck et Pierre du Billant?' *Revue du Louvre* 47, no. 4 (1997): 37–50.
- Rinne, Suzanne. 'René d'Anjou and His *Livre du Cuer d'amours Espris*: The Roles of Author, Narrator, and Protagonist'. *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 12, no. 181 (1987): 145–63.
- Robin, Françoise. *La cour d'Anjou-Provence: La vie artistique sous le règne de René*. Paris: Picard, 1985.
- . 'L'art d'être mécène: Quelques réflexions'. In *Les arts et les lettres en provence au temps du roi René*, edited by Chantal Connochie-Bourgne and Valérie Gontero, 159–66. Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2013.
- Rohr, Zita Eva. *Yolande of Aragon (1381–1442) Family and Power*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137499134>.
- Rosenwein, Barbara H. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- . *Generations of Feeling. A History of Emotions, 600–1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2016.
- . 'The Place of Renaissance Italy in the History of Emotions'. In *Emotions, Passions, and Power in Renaissance Italy: Proceedings of the International*

- Conference, Georgetown University at Villa Le Balze, 5-8 May 2012*, edited by Fabrizio Ricciardelli and Andrea Zorzi, 15–29. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015.
- Rostan, Louis. ‘Reliquaire de Sainte Madeleine à Saint-Maximin (Var)’. *Bulletin Monumental* 27, no. 7 (1861): 22–28.
- Rousse, Michel. ‘L’allégorie dans la farce de “La Pipée”’. *Cahiers de l’Association internationale des études françaises* 28 (1976): 37–50.
- Rowland, Ingrid D. ‘High Culture’. In *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, edited by Guido Ruggiero, 317–32. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Ruggiero, Guido, ed. *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Runnals, Graham A. ‘René d’Anjou et le théâtre’. *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l’Ouest* 88, no. 2 (1981): 157–80.
- Saenger, Paul Henry. *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Sears, Elizabeth. *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.
- Smith, Pauline M. *The Anti-Courtier Trend in Sixteenth-Century French Literature*. Genève: Droz, 1966.
- Sterling, Charles. *Enguerrand Quarton: Le peintre de la Pieta d’Avignon*. Paris: Ministère de la culture, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1983.
- Strubel, Armand. ‘Cœur personnifié, réifié, hypostasié: Les avatars de l’organe dans la littérature du XV^e siècle’. *Micrologus* 11 (2003): 449–68.
- . « *Grant Senefiance a* », *allégorie et littérature au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Champion, 2002.
- . ‘*Le Livre du Cœur d’amours espris*, un “Tombeau” de l’allégorie’. In *L’allégorie de l’Antiquité à La Renaissance*, edited by Brigitte Pérez-Jean and Patricia Eichek-Lojkine, 401–14. Paris: H. Champion, 2004.
- Sturgeon, Justin Meredith. ‘Text and Image in René d’Anjou’s *Livre des tournois*, c. 1460: Constructing Authority and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Court Culture’. PhD Thesis, University of York, 2015. <https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/11345/>.
- Swift, Helen. ‘« L’on m’appelle Melancolie » : Lecture comparative d’une femme laide dans *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris* et *La Forest de Tristesse*’. In *René d’Anjou, Écrivain et Mécène (1409-1480)*, edited by Florence Bouchet, 37–51. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011.
- Taylor, Craig. *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred*

- Years War*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107325111>.
- . ‘The Salic Law, French Queenship, and the Defense of Women in the Late Middle Ages’. *French Historical Studies* 29, no. 4 (1 October 2006): 543–64.
- Thiébaud, Dominique. ‘Jacopo Antonio Marcello, *Passio Mauricii et sotiorum ejus* [Passion de saint Maurice et de ses compagnons]’. In *Splendeur de l’enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 216–23. Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- . ‘Les manuscrits italiens du roi René’. In *Splendeur de l’enluminure: Le roi René et les livres*, edited by Marc-Édouard Gautier and François Avril, 46–53. Angers; Arles: Ville d’Angers; Actes Sud, 2009.
- Thiébaud, Dominique, Philippe Lorentz, and François-René Martin. *Primitifs français: Découvertes et redécouvertes*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004.
- Unterkircher, Franz. *European Illuminated Manuscripts in the Austrian National Library*. Translated by J. Maxwell Brownjohn. London: Thames and Hudson, 1967.
- . *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour esprits (National Library, Vienna)*. Translated by Sophie Wilkins. London: Thames and Hudson, 1975.
- Vaivre, Jean-Bernard de. ‘Le *Livre des tournois* du roi René de la Bibliothèque nationale (Ms. Français 2695) by François Avril’. *Bulletin monumental* 145, no. 3 (1987): 337–42.
- Vale, Malcolm. ‘Courts, Art, and Power’. In *The Renaissance World*, edited by John Jeffries Martin, 287–306. New York; London: Routledge, 2007.
- . ‘The Court and Court Identities, Uniform or Diverse?’ In *Courts and Courtly Cultures in Early Modern Italy and Europe: Models and Languages*, edited by Simone Albonico and Serena Romano, Prima edizione., 9–19. Roma: Viella, 2016.
- . *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Van den Neste, Évelyne. *Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: École des Chartes, 1996.
- Van Hemelryck, Tania, and Hélène Haug. ‘De l’émulation bibliophile à la création auctoriale: La dynamique littéraire à la cour d’Anjou’. In *René d’Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409-1480)*, edited by Florence Bouchet, 285–305. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011.
- Vanderjagt, Arjo. ‘Practicing Nobility in Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Courtly Culture: Ideology and Politics’. In *Rhetoric and the Discourses of Power in Court Culture: China, Europe, and Japan*, edited by David R. Knechtges and Eugene Vance,

- 321–41. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- Vauchez, André. ‘Influences franciscaines et réseaux aristocratiques dans le Val de Loire : autour de la bienheureuse Jeanne-Marie de Maillé (1331-1414)’. *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 70, no. 184 (1984): 95–105.
- Vauchez, André, Jacques Chiffolleau, Geneviève Hasenohr, and Michel Sot. ‘Histoire des mentalités religieuses’. *Actes de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l’enseignement supérieur public* 20, no. 1 (1989): 151–75.
- Vester, Matthew. ‘Social Hierarchies: The Upper Classes’. In *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, edited by Guido Ruggiero, 227–42. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Villela-Petit, Inès. ‘Le maître intermédiaire: Barthélemy d’Eyck’. In *Commentaire au fac-similé des Très Riches Heures de Jean de Berry, sous la direction de P. Stirnemann et I. Villela-Petit*, edited by Patricia Stirnemann and Inès Villela-Petit, 125–43. Lucerne: Quaternio Verlag, 2013.
- Villela-Petit, Inès, Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot, and Geneviève Bresc-Bautier. ‘Les Italiens en France’. In *France 1500: Entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, 91–95. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2010.
- Walters, Lori. ‘The Use of Multi-Compartment Opening Miniatures in the Illustrated Manuscripts of the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes’. In *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes Vol. 1*, edited by Keith Busby, Terry Nixon, Alison Stones, and Lori Walters, 331–50. Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1993.
- Zink, Michel. ‘La tristesse du Cœur and *Le Livre du Cœur d’Amours esprits* de René d’Anjou’. In *Le Récit Amoureux*, Proceedings of the International Conference at Centre Culturel International de Cerisy-La-Salle, 12 – 22 July 1982, edited by Didier Coste and Michel Zéraffa, 22–23. Seyssel: Éditions du Champ Vallon, 1984.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1 Luca della Robbia, *Stemma of King René of Anjou*. Italy (Centre, Florence). Relief in enamelled terracotta in white, yellow, green, blue, manganese-purple, brown and purplish black, Ø 335.3cm, 1143kg, c. 1466–1478, London, Victoria and Albert Museum (Inv. no. 6740:1 to 15-1860). Photo © Victorian & Albert Museum, London <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O166225/stemma-of-king-rene-of-stemma-medallion-della-robbia-luca/> (27 July 2020).

Fig. 2 Maître de la Cité des dames and workshop, *Various works* (also known as the *Book of the Queen*), “Queen Penthesilea”. France (Centre, Paris). Parchment, 36.5 x 28.5cm, 1410–1414, London, British Library (Harley ms. 4431 f. 103v). Photo © The British Library <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=22540> (1 June 2020).

Fig. 3 Maître du couronnement, *Livre que fist Jehan Bocace de Certalde des cleres et nobles femmes, lequel il envoya à Audice de Accioroles de Florence, contesse de Haulteville*. Parchment, 35.2 x 23.8cm, 1401–1500, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 12420 f. 46r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10509080f/f101.item> (1 June 2020).

Fig. 4 Jacquemart Pilavaine, *Livre de la Cité des dames*. Netherlands (South, Mons). Parchment, 44.9 x 30.9cm (?), c. 1470–1475, Brussels, KBR, Cabinet des estampes – SV 23489 (KBR ms. 9235 f. 24v). Photo © KBR, Service DIGIT (4 October 2021).

Fig. 5 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *La Théséïde*, “Landing of the Greek Fleet” and “Battle against the Amazons”. France (South, Provence). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1460, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 ffs. 18v-19r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SIGNLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 6 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *La Théséïde*. France (South, Provence). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1460, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 14v). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SIGNLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 7 Louis de Beauvau, *Il Filostrato, de Boccace, traduit par Louis de Beauvau, [Le Roman de Troyle]*. France (Centre, Blois). Grisaille on parchment, 22.5 x 16cm, 1455–1456, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 25528 f. 23v). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105094087> (25 March 2020).

Fig. 8 *Le Livre du vaillant Thezeo*. France. Parchment, 22.5 x 16cm, c. 1476, Chantilly, Musée Condé (ms. 601 f. 1r). Photo © 2013 Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes

https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=20354 (20 February 2020).

Fig. 9 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Hours of the Virgin: Rome Use*, “Virgin Mary and Christ Child”. France (South, Provence). Vellum, 25 x 18.3cm, 1440–1450, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Department of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts (MS. M358 f. 25r). Photo © The Morgan Library and Museum, New York
<http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/46/77128> (31 May 2019).

Fig. 10 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *La Théséide*. France (South, Provence). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1460, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 17v). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SIGNLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 11 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *La Théséide*, “Emilia in Her Garden”. France (South, Provence). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1460, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 53r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SIGNLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 12 Christine de Pizan, *Cent balades d’amant et de dame; Lais; Rondeaux; Jeux à vendre; Autres ballades; Epistre au Dieu d’Amours; Complaintes amoureuses; Débat des deux amants; Livre des trois jugements; Dit de Poissy; Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose*. Parchment, 35 x 26cm, 1407–1409, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 835 f. 50r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449047c/fl07.item#> (17 February 2019).

Fig. 13 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris*, “Embarkation of Cœur and Desir with Two Female Companions to the Isle of Love”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 51v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 14 Maestro di Santa Marta, *Stemma di Isabella di Lorena*. Parchment, 1435, Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli (ms. 99 C. I. f. 12r). Photo © Wikimedia Commons/Sailko
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maestro_di_santa_marta_stemma_di_isabella_di_lorena_dal_codice_di_santa_marta_1436_ca._\(napoli_ads\)_01.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maestro_di_santa_marta_stemma_di_isabella_di_lorena_dal_codice_di_santa_marta_1436_ca._(napoli_ads)_01.jpg) (24 July 2020).

Fig. 15 Leonardo da Besozzo, *Pagina dal codice di Santa Marta 1438*. Parchment, 1438, Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli (ms. 99 C. I. f. 11r). Photo © Wikimedia Commons/Sailko
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leonardo_da_besozzo_\(attr.\)_pagina_dal_codice_di_santa_marta_1438_\(napoli_ads\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leonardo_da_besozzo_(attr.)_pagina_dal_codice_di_santa_marta_1438_(napoli_ads).jpg) (24 July 2020).

Fig. 16 Barthélemy d’Eyck and workshop, *Heures du roi René*. Parchment, coloured and gold paints, 28.1 x 20cm, 1450–1475, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. lat. 17332 f. 31r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100254511> (13 May 2019).

Fig. 17 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Le Pas d’armes de la bergère de Tarascon par « Loys de Beauvau, seneschal d’Anjou »*. Vellum with coloured and gold paint, 20.5 x 15cm, c.

1449, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms fr. 1974 f. 1r). Photo by author.

Fig. 18 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Annonciation*, “Central Panel”. Oil on wood panel, 155 x 156cm, 1442–1445, Aix-en-Provence, Église de la Madeleine. Photo in the Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Master_Of_The_Aix_Annunciation_-_Annunciation_-_WGA14506.jpg (12 September 2021).

Fig. 19 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *La Théséïde*, “Arcita, Emilia and Palemone Praying to Their Deities”. France (South, Provence). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1460, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 102r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SI_NGLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 20 Maître du Boccace de Genève, *La Théséïde*, “Arcita is the Victor of the Tournament”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 121r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SI_NGLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 21 *Œuvres poétiques d’Alain Chartier*. Parchment, 21.8 x 15cm, 1401–1500, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 20026, f. AV). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451111w> (9 November 2017).

Fig. 22 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 f. 67v). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (11 May 2019).

Fig. 23 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 ffs. 100v-101r). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (17 April 2020).

Fig. 24 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 f. 23v). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (2 November 2018).

Fig. 25a & b Marc de Vulson de la Colombière, F. Chauveau, N. Regnesson, R. Nanteuil, M. Lasne, *Le vray théâtre d’honneur et de chevalerie, ou le Miroir héroïque de la noblesse*, vol.1. France (Centre, Paris). Engraving, 1648, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arts du spectacle (FOL-RA1-1 after p. 48 and 80). Photo © Source

gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k480023j/f73.item> & <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k480023j/f106.item> (4 May 2020).

Fig. 26 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 ffs. 45v-46r). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (4 November 2017).

Fig. 27 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 ffs. 54v-55r). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (12 May 2019).

Fig. 28 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 f. 19r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.item> (17 April 2020).

Fig. 29 Maître du Boccace de Genève, *La Théséïde*, “A Fury Scares Arcita’s Horse”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 138v). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SI_NGLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 30 Maître du Boccace de Genève, *La Théséïde*, “Emilia Leaves to Hunt with Her Retinue” and “Duel of Arcita against Palemone”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 ffs. 76v-77r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SI_NGLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 31 Meister des Hausbuches, *Das mittelalterliche Hausbuch*, “Der Planet Mars und seine Kinder”. Quill drawing with colours, c. 1475–1485, Wolfegg, Schloss Wolfegg / Sammlung Fürst von Waldberg zu Wolfegg und Waldsee (f. 13r). Photo in Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons/AndreasPraefcke https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hausbuch_Wolfegg_13r_Mars.jpg (13 September 2021).

Fig. 32 Maître du Boccace de Genève, *La Théséïde*, “Funerals of a Greek Knight”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 152r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SI_NGLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 33 Maître du Boccace de Genève, *La Théséïde*, “Marriage of Emilia and Palemone”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna,

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 182r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SI_NGLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 34 Maître du Boccace de Genève, *La Théséïde*, “Assembly with the Prince in Athens Before the Tournament”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 91r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SI_NGLE (27 May 2019).

Fig. 35 Pol, Jean and Hermann Limbourg, *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, “Janvier”. Parchment codex with colour, gold and silver paints on paper, 29 x 21cm, 1411–1416, Chantilly, Musée Condé (ms. 65 f. 1v). Photo © Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18148525> (11 September 2021).

Fig. 36 *Relation du Pas de Saumur tenu en 1446*. Paper, 36 x 27cm, 1470–1480, St Peterburg, National Library of Russia Saltykov Shchedrin (ms fr. F. p. XIV. 4. f. 24r). Photo © Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18137024> (11 September 2021).

Fig. 37 *Relation du Pas de Saumur tenu en 1446*. Paper, 36 x 27cm, 1470–1480, St Peterburg, National Library of Russia Saltykov Shchedrin (ms fr. F. p. XIV. 4. f. 24v). Gautier and Avril, *Splendeur de l’enluminure*, 247.

Fig. 38 Giovanni Bellini (?), *Jacopo Antonio Marcello*, *Passio Mauricii et sotiorum ejus*, “Assemblée de l’*Ordre du Croissant*”. Parchment, 18.7 x 13cm, 1453, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arsenal (ms. 940 f. Cv). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55005728g/f12.item> (7 December 2018).

Fig. 39 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 f. 103v). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (12 May 2019).

Fig. 40 Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “The Soul, Prostrate on the Floor of a Derelict Cabin, Holds Her Heart in Her Arms Against Her Chest.” Parchment, 24 x 15.5cm, c. 1470–1475, Geneva-Coligny, Fondation Martin Bodmer (Cod. Bodmer 144, f. 3v). Photo under Creative Commons licence <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0144/3v> (30 October 2018).

Fig. 41 Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “Faith, Hope and True Love Nail the Heart on a Cross While Divine Grace Thrusts Her Lance Into the Heart.” Parchment, 24 x 15.5cm, c. 1470–1475, Geneva-Coligny, Fondation Martin Bodmer (Cod. Bodmer 144, f. 60v). Photo under Creative Commons licence <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0144/60v> (30 October 2018).

Fig. 42 Barthélemy d’Eyck and Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “Faith, Hope and True Love Nail the Heart on a Cross While Divine Grace Thrusts Her Lance Into the Heart.” Parchment, 11.2 x 13.2cm, c. 1460, Metz, Bibliothèque municipale (ms. 1486 fragment d). Photo © 2013 Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes
<https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/23895/manifest> (9 January 2020).

Fig. 43 Jean Le Tavernier, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “Faith, Hope and True Love Nail the Heart on a Cross While Divine Grace Thrusts Her Lance Into the Heart.” Netherlands (South). Parchment, 27.5 x 20cm, c. 1460–1465, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (ms. 10308, f. 76r). Matz and Verry, *Le roi René dans tous ses états*, 193.

Fig. 44 Augustine, *Confessions*. Germany (West, Trier). Parchment codex with colour and gold paint, 28.5 x 25cm, 1451–1500, London, The British Library (Harley ms. 3087 f. 1v). Photo © The British Library
<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=18040> (23 December 2019).

Fig. 45 *Le Jugement dernier*, detail of the west wall. France (South, Albi). Painted mural, 270m², 1474–1480, Albi, Cathédrale Sainte-Cécile. Photo © Wikimedia Commons/Pom²
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Albi_cathedral_-_fresco_2.jpg (5 January 2021).

Fig. 46 Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “A Cart Driver Drives a Crowned Lady in a Cart Pulled by Two Horses.” Parchemin, 24 x 15.5cm, c. 1470–1475, Geneva-Coligny, Fondation Martin Bodmer (Cod. Bodmer 144, f. 33v). Photo under Creative Commons licence, via e-codices <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0144/33v> (30 October 2018).

Fig. 47 Jean Gerson, *Collectarium super Magnificat, Opuscula varia*. Parchment, 32 x 23cm, 1447, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. lat. 17487 f. 230v). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90672158/f236.item> (4 April 2019).

Fig. 48 Workshop of the Maître des Grandes Heures de Rohan, *Horae ad usum Parisienem [Heures de René d’Anjou, roi de Sicile (1434–1480)]*. France (West, Angers). Parchment, 26 x 18.6cm, 1435–1436 and after 1446, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. lat. 1156 A ffs. 81v-82r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000466t> (10 October 2018).

Fig. 49 Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “Fear of God and Contrition give back her Heart nailed on the cross to the Soul.” Parchment, 24 x 15.5cm, c. 1470–1475, Geneva-Coligny, Fondation Martin Bodmer (Cod. Bodmer 144, f. 65r). Photo under Creative Commons licence <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0144/65r> (30 October 2018).

Fig. 50 Barthélemy d’Eyck and Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “The Soul trusts Her Heart to Fear of God and Contrition.” Parchment, 11.2 x 13.2cm, c. 1460, Metz, Bibliothèque municipale (ms. 1486 fragment c). Photo © 2013 Institut de

recherche et d'histoire des textes

<https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/23895/manifest> (9 January 2020).

Fig. 51 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer Deciphers the Inscription of the Fountain while Desir Sleeps". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 15r). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 52 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer Deciphers the Inscription of the Fountain while Desir Sleeps". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 15r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f43.item> (7 January 2018).

Fig. 53 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, "October". Parchment codex with colour, gold and silver paints, 29 x 21cm, c. 1446, Chantilly, Musée Condé (ms. 65 f. 10v). Photos © Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18143866> (11 September 2021).

Fig. 54 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer and Desir Sleeping Under the Aspen Tree". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 12v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 55 Pol, Jean and Hermann Limbourg, *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, "Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane - Record 5Fk.089". Parchment codex with colour, gold and silver paints, 29 x 21cm, 1411–1416, Chantilly, Musée Condé (ms. 65 f. 142v). Photos © ARAS Online [online archive], New York: The Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.11663626> (11 September 2021).

Fig. 56 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*. "Cuer, Desir and Largesse Observe Louis de Beauvau's Coat of Arms". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 91r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f265.item> (4 March 2017).

Fig. 57 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer and His Companions Observe the Relics Hanging From the Arched Gateway". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, c. 1460–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 105r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361> (4 March 2017).

Fig. 58 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer, Desir and Largesse Reflect on Fantasy and Imagination". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 103r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f291.item> (20 November 2018).

Fig. 59 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris*, “Amour Takes the Heart of the Lovesick King”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 2r). Photo © Dido, University of Victoria.

Fig. 60 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris*, “Cuer and Desir Facing the Dwarf Jalouzie”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 9r). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 61 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris*, “Cuer Confronts Souley”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 19r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f55.item> (10 October 2017).

Fig. 62 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris*, “Desir Meets Humble Requeste”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 31v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 63 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris*, “Cuer, Followed by Desir and Largesse, Enters Grief Soupir’s Cottage”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 46v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 64 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris*, “Cuer, Followed by His Companions Enters the Chapel”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 47v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 65 Pol, Jean and Hermann Limbourg, *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, “September”, detail. Parchment codex with colour, gold and silver paints, 29 x 21 cm, 1411–1416, Chantilly, Musée Condé (ms. 65 f. 9v). Photos © Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18128023> (11 September 2021).

Fig. 66 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris*, “Cuer and Desir Arrive at Melencolie’s”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 17r). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 67 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *La Sainte Famille devant la cheminée*. Oil tempera on canvas, 240 x 199cm, c. 1435, Le Puy-en-Velay, Cathédrale Notre-Dame. Photo © Ministère de la culture – Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles d’Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Diffusion RMN-GP / M. Taillefer
<https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/palissy/PM43000490> (18 November 2020).

Fig. 68 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris*, “Cuer Confronts Souley”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 18v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 69 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Esperance Rescues Cœur". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 21v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 70 Maître du Retable Beussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Dueil and Tristesse Catch Winged Hearts with a Cage". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 123v). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f356.item> (3 March 2021).

Fig. 71 Maître du Retable Beussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Rogier Bon Temps". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 124r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f359.item> (4 March 2017).

Fig. 72 Master of the Prayer Books of around 1500, *Roman de la Rose*, "Castle of Jalousie". Netherlands (South, Bruges). Colour and gold paint on parchment, 39.5 x 39cm, c. 1490–c. 1500, London, British Library (Harley ms. 4425 f. 39r). Photo © The British Library <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=28524> (5 March 2021).

Fig. 73 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Duel of Cœur and Courroux". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 26v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 74 Nicolas Bataille, Hennequin de Bruges, Robert Poinçon, *Tenture de l'Apocalypse*, "La Jérusalem nouvelle" (6th panel, 80th scene). Tapestry weave, 249 x 150cm, 1373–1400, Angers, Château d'Angers (Inv. no. D-ANG2005000021). Photo © Ministère de la Culture (France), Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, tous droits réservés / Isabelle Guégan <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/memoire/AP02P00000398> (5 February 2019).

Fig. 75 Maître du Livre d'heures de Johannette Ravenelle, *Guillaume de Digulleville, Pèlerinage de vie humaine; Pèlerinage de l'âme*. Parchment with grisaille drawings on coloured background, 33.5 x 24cm, c. 1404, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 829 f. 1r detail). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84497167/f9.item#> (9 August 2021).

Fig. 76 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cœur Meets Dame Esperance by Her Pavilion". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 5v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

Fig. 77 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Overnight Stay at Compaignie's and Amittié's". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 55r). Photo © DIDO, University of Victoria.

APPENDIX

LE LIVRE DE THEZEO AND LA THÉSÉÏDE

Manuscript	Patron and/or Recipient	Codicology	Iconography
ÖNB Cod. 2617 (<i>W</i> ¹)	<p>From the library of Eugène de Savoie.</p> <p>Belonged to Marguerite d’Autriche (1480–1530) in 1520.</p>	<p>Colour, gold and ink on parchment, 26.5 x 20cm, copied c. 1460, illuminated c. 1460–c. 1470.</p> <p>Completed work with a table; a prologue; the translator’s personal preface; a verse summary of the romance in five stanzas of eight decasyllables; the twelve books of the LDTH, and an epilogue: a final address to the “demoiselle,” and more generally to the “dames et damoiselles,” as a plea to reward men who ask for their mercy.¹</p> <p>Book’s content is generally the same as <i>W</i>² and reveals no in-depth reorganisation.</p> <p>Reveals gaps in text already existing in “certain groups of manuscripts of the original text”² in addition to gaps possibly present in direct model used by the translator.</p> <p>Better copy, but not the original translation or model for <i>W</i>².</p>	<p>Fully illustrated: 14 miniatures + 1 continuous on double folios, and 1 large initial. Placed at the beginning of each book, with 2 miniatures on facing folios twice. All prepared by Barthélemy d’Eyck, 7 painted by Barthélemy (including the frontispiece), 9 finished by the Maître du Boccace de Genève.</p>
ÖNB Cod. 2632 (<i>W</i> ²)	<p>From the library of Eugène de Savoie.</p>	<p>Completed work with a table; a prologue; the translator’s personal preface (called <i>prohème de l’acteur</i> in <i>W</i>²); a verse</p>	<p>Spaces reserved for 19 miniatures and large initials: originally believed that <i>W</i>² was an</p>

		<p>summary of the romance in five stanzas of eight decasyllables; the twelve books of the LDTH, and an epilogue.</p> <p>Stylistic amplifications and duplication of terms due to the copyist.</p> <p>Rubrics are sporadic within the text, but number, order and general meaning is respected in the initial table.</p> <p>Book's content is generally the same as <i>W¹</i> and reveals no in-depth reorganisation.</p> <p>Benefited from a better model close to an old version of the model used for <i>C</i> and <i>O</i>.</p>	<p>unfinished copy of <i>W¹</i>, or a slightly older copy.³</p> <p>Higher number of illustrations reflects an expansion in the anticipated iconographic program. Both textually and visually, the making of <i>W²</i> is described as a search for beauty with a distinct appeal for the picturesque.⁴</p>
Chantilly ms. 601 (<i>C</i>)	<p><i>C</i> belonged to Jacques d'Armagnac, as indicated in the partially erased <i>ex-libris</i> on f. 142r: "Ce livre est au duc de Nemours, comte de la Marche" (this book belongs to the Duke of Nemours, Count of la Marche).</p>	<p>Parchment with colours, 22.5 x 16cm, dated to 1475–1500.</p> <p>Rubrics disappear starting with Book VIII.</p> <p>Prologue, initial poem and epilogue are missing.</p> <p>Inscription on the back: "<i>Le livre du vaillant Thezeo. Manuscrit vers l'an 1360.</i>" (or <i>Book of the valiant Theseus. Manuscript [made] around 1360.</i>)⁵</p>	<p>Initials decorated with filigree and antennas in red and blue.</p> <p>Only finished decoration can be seen on the first folio [fig. 8] but the space provided for a miniature over most of the page has been left blank.</p> <p>Coat of arms, inserted in the large initial, has been erased.</p> <p>Numerous spaces reserved for illustrations, the location of which within the text vary from <i>W¹</i>.⁶</p> <p>If an iconographic program was devised, it is not respected through the entire volume.</p> <p>Spaces reserved for more than one illustration per book, although less numerous in the second part.</p>

			Product of a rushed completion made from a mediocre model, very close to the one used for <i>O</i> .
Bodleian ms. Douce 329 (<i>O</i>)		<p>1500–1525?</p> <p>Type of cursive script and the language used in the volume, indicates it could have been copied during 15th c.⁷</p> <p>Title written in the first half of 16th c.?</p> <p>Various annotations added as late as the eighteenth century.</p> <p>Product of a sloppy copyist, with missing words or words copied as read, with numerous mistakes.</p> <p>Created from a model that already had missing parts, and has had folios displaced or entirely removed, but shows a specific structure.⁸</p> <p>Table not placed at beginning of volume, as for <i>W</i>¹ and <i>W</i>², but at beginning of each book.</p> <p>Rubrics appear within corresponding book.</p> <p>In the state of conservation, not possible to ascertain if prologue and epilogue were part of original structure.⁹</p> <p>Translation of the final stanzas (75 to 83) and epilogue also missing.</p>	<p>No spaces reserved for illustrations, nor for decorated initials.</p> <p>Coat of arms and initials of Claude d’Urfé (1501–1558), a long-serving aristocrat, court of François I.</p>

		Model for renowned poet Anne Malet de Graville's (1490–1543) summary in verse, dedicated to Queen Claude de France. ¹⁰	
BnF NAF 934 (<i>p</i>)		<p>1475–1500.</p> <p>Two bifolios entitled <i>Fragments d'un roman en prose du XVe siècle</i>" (or "Fragments of a 15th-c. romance in prose"). They are ffs. 37 (title page), 38–39 and 40–41.</p> <p>Smudged red rubrics would indicate that they belong to Books III and VII.</p>	Gold initials, decorated with alternate red and blue interior filigree. Repeated pattern as are ends-of-lines. ¹¹

LE LIVRE DES TOURNOIS

Manuscript	Patron and/or Recipient	Codicology	Iconography
BnF ms. fr. 2695 (P1)	René d'Anjou	Brown ink and light colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 29.6-30cm, c. 1462–1465. France (Angers?).	Watermarks: scales with 2 trays, ox head (f. 95r on). No background, coloured initials. 26 illustrations by Barthélemy d'Eyck, some on facing folios.
PCL ms. Czart. 3090 IV (K)	Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours	1465–1470.	
HL ms. Typ 131 (H)	Jacques d'Armagnac, gift for Gaston de Foix, Prince of Viana?	1465–1470. Smaller size than K, its twin copy.	Reduced illustration cycle. Dedicated to Gaston de Foix. Compiled with the duke's treatise <i>La forme des tournois</i> .
BnF ms. fr. 2696 (P2)	Burgundy or Savoie?	Produced in Flanders (Bruges?). Paper, 38.5 x 28.5cm, after 1483.	Watermark: world with cross on top (Damme, 1483) 26 illustrations.
BnF ms. fr. 2693 (P3)	Louis de Bruges	Parchment, 22.5-22.8 x 15.3-15.5cm, 1488 or slightly before. Produced in Flanders (Bruges).	31 miniatures, some on facing folios. Presentation miniature copied on P4. Representing an actual tourney in Bruges: Louis de Bruges vs. Wulfart de Ghistelle (ffs. Bv-Cr). Decoration with filigree; initial decorated with brown acanthus leaf with Louis de Bruges' device on banderoles, in both languages within;

			pansy painted next to initial; rare marginal drawings in letter extensions (rubrics).
BnF ms. fr. 2692 (P4)	Louis de Bruges, gift to Charles VIII?	Parchment, 40.7-41.2 x 30.2-30.5cm, 1488–1489. Produced in Flanders (Bruges).	31 miniatures, some on facing folios. Presentation miniature by the Maître du Cardinal de Bourbon, added after it was gifted. Decoration with filigree; 2 decorated initials on gold background; rare marginal drawings in letter extensions (rubrics). Louis de Bruges' device: "PLUS EST EN VOUS" and "MEER ES IN HU...GRUTUSE" in gold.
RLS ms. E1939.65.1144 (G)		After 1490.	
SLB Mscr. Dresd. Oc 58 (D)	Diplomatic gift to Maximilian I?	Parchment, 1495–1510. Copy of P2.	Elongated illustration cycle, lower quality miniatures, new vision.
BnF ms. fr. 2694 (P5)		Copy of ms. fr. 2692. Paper, gouache and coloured engravings, early 17th-c..	
BnF Dupuy 288		17th-c. copy	
BnF ms. fr. 11362		Paper, 32.5 x 24.7cm, 17th-c. copy. Partial copy.	
BnF Arsenal ms. 4223		18th-c. copy	
SMB Inv./Cat. n. Z 17792		Coloured chalk drawing on paper, 28.3 x 19.4cm, 1592–1642.	Fragmentary drawings, attributed to Peter Paul Rubens. "Burgundian noble women."
AMV Inv. Nr. 7792		Red and coloured chalk drawing, 21.4 x 27.4cm,	Fragmentary drawings, attributed to Peter Paul Rubens. "Men and women in Burgundian attire"

			(partial copy after a miniature after the Maître de René d'Anjou).”
--	--	--	---------------------------------------------------------------------

LE MORTIFIEMENT DE VAINNE PLAISANCE

Manuscript	Patron and/or Recipient	Codicology	Iconography
KBR ms. 10308 (<i>A</i>)	Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy and/or Isabelle of Portugal, Duchess of Burgundy	Parchment copy dated to 1455–1467. Bound with the MVP are two of Jean Gerson’s texts: the <i>Complainte de l’homme à son âme</i> (“Complaint of Man to His Soul”), and the <i>Mendicité spirituelle</i> (“Spiritual Mendicancy”).	<p>Philippe le Bon’s coat of arms with the collar of the <i>Toison d’or</i> (his chivalric order of the Golden Fleece) and various devices.</p> <p>Isabelle of Portugal’s coat of arms is the one on the bottom margin, so <i>A</i> might equally have been commissioned by her.</p> <p>Nine miniatures painted by Jean Le Tavernier, eight-miniature cycle + frontispiece.</p> <p>Adjunct: Frontispiece (found in only two copies): René is depicted as a scholar with glasses and is recognisable with his crown atop his hat, writing his book in his workroom.¹²</p> <p>Variation: René is pictured on two miniatures. On the penultimate illustration, he stands outside the gate of a sacred garden, gesturing to the viewer to follow his gaze.</p>
Bodmer, Cod. 144 (<i>B</i>)	Within the court of Anjou-Provence	parchment copy, executed around 1470.	<p>Illustrated by Jean Colombe between 1470 and 1475. As Barthélemy d’Eyck, Colombe was associated with the TRH (Chantilly, ms. 65)</p> <p>Eight-miniature cycle.</p> <p>Illustrations are signed with his workshop’s device of embroidered lettering on the border of the Soul’s blue coat. [fig. 49]¹³</p>

			<p>Variation: Full-page illustrations closely copied on Barthélemy's model but extended vertically by a lower register where three <i>putti</i> or angels present the first few lines of a paragraph on a banderole.</p> <p>Decorated initials, except on the second and third parables.</p>
SMB ms. 78 C 5 (C)	Jeanne de Laval	<p>Copied in Angers in 1457 by Jean Herlin who also produced a <i>Miroir des Dames</i> commissioned by Jeanne de Laval.¹⁴</p> <p>Considered to be the primary manuscript and Jeanne de Laval's own copy.</p> <p>A paper copy was made for Marie de Bretagne,¹⁵ who was then the Abbess of Fontevraud, the royal abbey located near Saumur.</p>	<p>Illuminated in 1457 by the artist who illustrated the <i>Miroir des Dames</i></p> <p>Eight-miniature cycle.</p> <p>Jeanne's coat of arms at the centre of the bottom margin.</p> <p>Emblematic decoration surrounding first folio: vine leaves, carnations and pansies form a frieze where bees are gathering pollen. In each corner and inside historiated initial, two turtledoves, sitting on a branch of red currant with fruit, are linked by a small chain around their necks. The motto "PER NON PER," written on a banderole atop the birds, suggests that René and Jeanne formed an unmatched couple.¹⁶</p>
FM ms. 165 (F)	Within the court of Burgundy	<p>Parchment copy created c. 1470.</p> <p>Compilation of the MVP, preceded by Guillebert de Lannoy's <i>L'instruction d'un jeune Prince</i>.¹⁷</p>	<p>Illustrated by Loyset Liédet. Typical presentation illustration acting as a frontispiece</p> <p>Adjunct: miniature depicting the moment when Fear of God takes the Soul by the hand and addresses her for the first time.</p> <p>Loyset Liédet's style varies widely from Barthélemy and it is based on the illuminator's own interpretation of the text. Pictorial disparities</p>

			include Soul being depicted as a naked woman with multicoloured wings, and the allegories missing all their traditional attributes.
Chantilly ms. 151 (<i>H</i>)	Within the court of Anjou-Provence	Parchment codex, dating to 1477. Twin copy of Tournai ms. 42 (<i>T</i>). The same colophon is written in <i>T</i> : “Et sic est finis huius libri, per manum Natalis Fruityer,” naming the copyist.	Largely erased coat of arms on bottom margin. Presentation illustration showing René d’Anjou offering his book to Jean Bernard, Archbishop of Tours, kneeling in front of him. Triboulet, René’s famous court jester in the background, recognisable with his <i>marotte</i> or staff. Eight-miniature cycle. Illuminator’s talent largely inferior to Barthélemy’s or Jean Colombe’s.
PML ms. M705 (<i>M</i>)	Jean Bernard, Archbishop of Tours	Parchment copy produced in Angers between 1455 and 1460 for Jean Bernard to whom René’s book is dedicated.	Illustrated by the Maître du Psautier de Jeanne de Laval c. 1457. Eight-miniature cycle. Presentation miniature: René sitting on his throne, while Jean Bernard is standing in front of him, wearing the bishop’s mitre and holding his crozier. Illuminator associated with various manuscripts produced at, or at some point part of, the house of Anjou, such as a <i>Bible moralisée</i> (BnF ms. fr. 166) or <i>La Cité de Dieu</i> (Chantilly ms. 122). One of Barthélemy’s illustrations in the MVP used in the latter.
Bodleian ms. Cherry 4 (<i>O</i>)	Marie de Bretagne’s copy? ¹⁸ (closeness to <i>C</i>)	Compilation where the MVP is named <i>Contempnement de vaine plaisance</i> and is followed by an anonymous poem entitled <i>Les Épitaphes du roy de Secille</i> written after René’s death in 1480.	Not illustrated

BnF ms. fr. 19039 (<i>P</i>)	Copied in the Bourgogne region (from location mentioned in colophon)	16 th -c. parchment copy, beginning with Guillaume de Tignonville's <i>Dits des philosophes</i> . The colophon on f. 285r helps dating this copy to 1514, and names copyist and patron: "Cy fine le Mortiffiement de vaine plaisance, escript et finé par la main de Jehan Coppre, prebtre de Varrongnes, au commandement de monsieur de Flagy, en miliare l'an XVe et XIII" (Here ends the <i>Mortiffiement de vaine plaisance</i> , written to the end by the hand of Jehan Coppre, priest of Varrongnes, under the commission of monsieur de Flagy, in the year 1514).	As in KBR ms. 10308, the frontispiece shows René writing his book. Eight-miniature cycle, lacking the miniature of the crucifixion of the Heart.
BnF ms. fr. 960 (<i>Q</i>)		Paper copy, during the eighteenth century.	Neither decorated nor illustrated
Metz ms. 1486 (<i>R</i>)	René d'Anjou ¹⁹	Parchment fragments.	Five illustrations (with text on the verso) of the eight-miniature cycle. Painted by Jean Colombe, who finished the illustrations begun and well-developed by Barthélemy. ²⁰
Tournai Cod. 42 (<i>T</i>)	Within the court of Burgundy	Parchment copy.	Eight-miniature cycle. Erased presentation illustration. Same colophon as its twin copy (<i>H</i>).
BnF ms. fr. 12443 (<i>U</i>)		Eighteenth-c. paper copy of <i>Q</i> .	

LE LIVRE DU CŒUR D'AMOUR ÉPRIS

Manuscript	Patron and/or recipient	Codicology	Iconography
ÖNB Cod. 2597 (V)	Gift to Jean II de Bourbon?	<p>Parchment codex with ink, colours and gold. 29 x 20.7cm.</p> <p>Composite text fitting with the discussion of recension/translation studies in previous chapters.</p> <p>Different sections might come from different manuscripts originally.</p> <p>Earlier version of text (<i>W^l</i>): dating between 1458 to 1460 and copied from an original manuscript (now lost), only partially preserved. Might have included a complete cycle of illustrations. Middle and last sections of this earlier version are now lost. It would be comparable to P's text. This complete copy might have been the model which P's artist used to illustrate the second part of the narrative.</p> <p>Text rearranged or added to at a later date to adjust to historical reality:²¹ The LDC was an ongoing, major project.²²</p> <p>Text displays various marginal additions and/or corrections and a number of erasures.</p> <p>One of these erasures: date of the first version changed from 1457 to 1477, in the</p>	<p>Decoration: follows the same style as the LDTH <i>W^l</i>. Usually consists of acanthus tendrils in red, blue, green and brown, a multitude of flowers/rosettes of the same colours, and gold dots branching out like stars to fill negative space.²⁷</p> <p>Decoration convention: consistent, but variants between the first and last sections: different hands.²⁸</p> <p>Prologue: decorative border on all sides, resembles the frontispiece of Chantilly ms. 601 [fig. 8].²⁹</p> <p>Decoration fills in the lower register, surrounding the text on three sides.</p> <p>Text and large initial, can be placed above the miniature, with added decoration.</p> <p>16 miniatures: slightly larger than the top half of the page (smaller than in the LDTH <i>W^l</i>). Framed.³⁰</p> <p>Last section: unfinished illustration cycle. 15 reserved spaces for illustrations: 7 paired miniatures on facing folios (recalling the LDTH <i>W^l</i>). Inexistent in the first section.³¹</p>

		<p>last verse before the epilogue. Confirms revisions.</p> <p>Handwriting analysis: four hands are distinguished: Two (main copyists), the other two (later corrections).²³ No exact dating or person(s) responsible for corrections/additions.</p> <p>Changes made after 1457: executed “under René’s control, or even belonged to his own initiative”?²⁴</p> <p>Dedication: to Jean II Duke of Bourbon (René’s nephew) in supplementary prologue²⁵ (elucidates epilogue of all the other manuscripts).</p> <p>Gift to this prince? This would explain the lack of prologue in the other manuscripts.²⁶</p>	<p>More consistent cyclic pattern? Different manuscript?</p>
<p>BnF ms. fr. 24399 (P)</p>	<p>Jeanne de Laval would be the most likely illustration commissioner.³²</p>	<p>Parchment copy with ink and colours. 31 x 21.5cm.</p> <p>Text: closest to René’s 1457 literary creation.³³</p> <p>Oldest known complete version of the text. Common to LDC <i>W^l</i>. P and V were copied from the same original version of the text at about the same time, c.1460.³⁴</p> <p>Comparative study helped V’s dating and clarified iconographic programme.</p> <p>The most consistent text and the only completed illustration cycle, with</p>	<p>Illustrated much later than V, between 1480 and 1485, thus completed after René’s death.³⁵</p> <p>The Maître du Retable’s style varies considerably from that of other fifteenth-century illuminators from Touraine, Paris and Provence.³⁶</p> <p>Artist’s main characteristics: scenes washed in a dull light, characters with extremely harsh facial features with no trace of emotion.</p> <p>Colour palette: mostly dark hues.</p> <p>Similarity of miniatures picturing the Fontaine de Fortune on f. 15r in P and V suggests access to Barthélemy’s creation. Associates P with the</p>

		illustrations that share many common details with V.	<p>Angevin-Provençal court, within a circle close to René himself.</p> <p>Proximity to the prince confirmed by marginal drawings, glossing the text [fig. 86]: small female portraits within letter extensions and a number of gold features (crowns, heart, letter R), generally in ink, sometimes enhanced with colourful details. Suggest a woman as commissioner, close to René.</p> <p>Details emphasising the heart thematic³⁷ and the Angevin artist suggest Jeanne de Laval as the patron.³⁸</p>
BnF ms. fr. 1509 (P2)		<p>Parchment copy, dated c.1470.³⁹</p> <p>One-column text.</p> <p>Red rubrics.</p>	<p>Incomplete illustration cycle.</p> <p>Decoration: few simply decorated initials.</p> <p>Miniatures: small, inserted within text, sometimes two illustrations per page. After f. 17r, reserved spaces for miniatures.</p> <p>Two artists: Maître des Heures de Charles de Normandie as a potential illuminator of ffs. 16r and 17r.⁴⁰</p>
BnF ms. fr. 1425		<p>Paper copy, dated to late fifteenth century.</p> <p>Incomplete text.</p> <p>Intituled: “La Conqueste de la tres douce mercy au cuer d’amours.”</p>	No illustrations
Arsenal, ms. 2984		<p>Parchment copy, 25.7 x 17.5cm, dated to late fifteenth century.</p> <p>Missing large portions of text.</p> <p>Colophon, probably written by copyist.⁴¹</p>	Decoration: gold initials on colour.

VAB Cod. Regina 1629		Dated to late fifteenth century. Missing large portions of text.	
NAF 11679		Paper Fragments (ffs. 184r–304v), dated to sixteenth century. Part of compilation of historical accounts, in prose and verse, of Kings Louis XII’s and François I’s campaigns in Italy. ⁴² Text seems complete.	No illustrations.

¹ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 39–40. This three-fold composition parallels Boccaccio’s TNE, although no direct model for the translation has yet been found among all the known TNE manuscripts. In *W*¹ and *W*², the two autobiographical sections of the prologue and the epilogue are matched in the translation, adapted to the translator’s own reality (using “je” or “I”). There are good reasons to think that this translator was influenced by Louis de Beauvau’s RDT, which was completed slightly before this one and uses a similar approach to autobiographical passages. Beauvau’s very refined poetic style is also found in his account of the *Pas d’armes de la bergère de Tarascon*, but not matched in *La Théséide*.

² Bianciotto, ed., 43. “certains groupes de manuscrits de l’œuvre originale.” Of all the scholarship on the manuscripts of Boccaccio’s *Teseida*, Bianciotto’s research rests on Edvige Agostinelli, ‘A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of *Il Teseida*, *Studi sul Boccaccio* 15 (1985–1986): 1–83, and Coleman, ‘The Oriatoriana *Teseida*. Bianciotto’s latest research has unveiled BnF ms. ita. 580 as the closest version of the Italian poem used for the translation, without being the direct model.

³ Carla Bozzolo, *Manuscrits des traductions françaises d’œuvres de Boccace: XVe siècle* (Padova: Antenore, 1973), 35. Re-exploring this assumption, Bianciotto was able to demonstrate that the differences between *W*¹ and *W*² do not provide decisive evidence to postulate the anteriority of one manuscript over the other. Most of the differences are minimal and ordinary except for the final lines of the prologue and the epilogue.

⁴ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 48. The illustration cycle of *W*¹ and how it differs from *W*² is discussed in Chapter Two. Unfortunately, *W*² is not available online and I was unable to conduct my own research on these two manuscripts *in situ* due to the pandemic.

⁵ I was not able to find a reference indicating when this note was inserted.

⁶ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 22.

⁷ Hauvette, ‘Les plus anciennes traductions’, 190; Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 26. This manuscript was originally noticed on the La Vallière 1783 sales’ catalogue. Sold in 1784, it then passed in the Francis Douce’s collection, whose name and coat of arms are on the second flyleaf.

⁸ Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 27.

⁹ Bianciotto, ed., 27. In the manuscript's original state, it is however possible that the four missing folios may have contained the prologue and initial poem of the author.

¹⁰ Bozzolo, *Manuscrits des traductions françaises*, 36 and 171; Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 28; Hauvette, 'Les plus anciennes traductions', 199. This adaptation was produced between 1520 and 1524. Claude d'Urfé was Anne's son-in-law. In his library, a manuscript of Anne's poem was found (BnF ms. fr. 25441), asserting the connection between the two books. Anne Malet de Graville's decasyllabic poem in 3634 verses is followed by a rondeau entitled *Le beau Romant des deux amans Palamon et Arcita et de la belle et saige Emilia* ("The beautiful romance of the two lovers Palamon and Arcita, and of the beautiful and wise Emilia").

¹¹ Bozzolo, *Manuscrits des traductions françaises*, 119; Bianciotto, ed., *Le Livre de Thezeo*, 36.

¹² In *A*, the hat is a black *chaperon*, typically worn by Philippe le Bon rather than René's usual skull cap, which might reflect local fashions rather than usual habits.

¹³ Ferré, '*Le Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance*', 286. Could it be a way to distinguish his work from Barthélemy's? It would be interesting to physically compare this image from *B* with the same from *R* where some lettering is also visible. We know that Colombe was finishing illuminations that were well developed by Barthélemy in *R*.

¹⁴ Legaré, 'Les deux épouses', 60.

¹⁵ She was the daughter of Marguerite d'Orléans (1406–1466), Louis d'Orléans' and Valentina Visconti's daughter.

¹⁶ Mérindol, *Le roi René*, 143. The turtledove and the red currant with the motto are common emblems of Jeanne de Laval that are explained in the poem of *Regnault and Jehanneton* (NLR fr. Q. p. XIV. 1). They also decorate books, such as the *Psautier de Jeanne de Laval* (Poitiers ms. 41), or Francesco Laurana's medal of Jeanne (BnF AV145 & AV146). The turtledoves symbolise René's and Jeanne's love.

¹⁷ Guillebert de Lannoy was one of Philippe le Bon's councillors.

¹⁸ Roussineau ed., *Le Mortifiement*, XXVII.

¹⁹ Ferré, '*Le Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance*', 284.

²⁰ François Avril, 'René d'Anjou, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*', in *Les manuscrits à peinture en France : 1440-1520*, ed. Nicole Reynaud and François Avril (Paris: Flammarion–Bibliothèque nationale, 1993), 236–38.

²¹ Ferré, 'René d'Anjou, *Le Livre*', 300. Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 338, 344 and 352. As an example, the epigraph of Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Anjou, was inserted after his death in 1465. René's own coat of arms was also revised.

²² Ottokar Smital and Emil Winkler, eds., *Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne, Manuscript 2597: René duc d'Anjou. Livre du Cœur d'amours espris*, trans. Alice Scarlates, Vol. 1, 3 vols (Vienne: Édition de l'imprimerie de l'État autrichien, 1927), App. 2; Ferré, 'René d'Anjou, *Le Livre*', 300. Ffs. 1r–56r, 88r–112v and 115r–127r (end), referred to as *W¹* (not to be mistaken with LDTH *W¹*) in Ottokar Smital and Emil Winkler's codicological analysis names *W²–W⁵* the various sets of corrections and annotations. Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 45. Reconsidering Ottokar Smital's and Emil Winkler's style analysis, Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss demonstrated that V could have been copied from an original manuscript, which was later revealed as lost. Due to the pandemic, I have not yet been able to conduct my own research on V *in situ*.

²³ Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 47–48.

²⁴ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 66. “sous le contrôle de René, voire de son propre chef,” demonstrating a constant desire to update information over time and showing the relevance of this information to René and his lay noble audience.

²⁵ Bouchet, ed., 70 & 85; Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 165. Jean II’s father Charles had participated in René’s ransom payment, which is further expressed in v. 1475 by his “Courtoisie, beaulté, bonté, tresor, largesse” (courtesy, beauty, goodness, wealth, largesse or generosity), giving us an idea of René’s concept of nobility and how courtliness is connected to traditional values of largesse and goodness, and a more humanistic idea of beauty. V seems therefore to have been intended as a gift to this prince, which would explain the lack of prologue in the other manuscripts. The dedication is included in NAF 11679. Since no definite *stemma codicum* exists, we can only surmise that it was copied on V, considering its later date.

²⁶ The dedication is included in NAF 11679. Since no definite *stemma codicum* exists, we can only surmise that it was copied on V, considering its later date.

²⁷ This decoration seems to be typical of manuscripts illuminated by Barthélemy, as we have seen with PML ms. M358 [fig. 9] and ÖNB Cod. 2617 [fig. 10].

²⁸ Pächt and Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 38. One of these variants could be affiliated to the LDTH *W*¹. Similarly, a less skilled painter seems to be at work after f. 18v.

²⁹ My own assumption, which would need to be verified with a closer examination of both manuscripts. The prologue continues on the verso without decoration.

³⁰ Most of the reserved spaces are already framed and the decoration on these pages is in place. However, in the middle section mostly, only the rubric has been copied, possibly indicating a space reserved for a future illustration. This should be verified in a future research trip.

³¹ This pattern begins with f. 106r’s miniature. If it were consistent with P, which we will see has a comparable illustration cycle, it would have illustrated the council held by Amours and his mother Venus to retain Cuer as his loyal servant. It highlights Amours’ unreliable character.

³² Ferré, ‘René d’Anjou, *Le Livre*’, 304.

³³ Ferré, ‘René d’Anjou, *Le Livre*’, 304.

³⁴ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 66. In V, the correction of Louis de France’s epigraph indicate that P and V would have been copied from the original version of René’s text before July 1461 when the dauphin Louis became King of France.

³⁵ François Avril, ‘La Vie de saint François illustrée’, *Art de l’enluminure* 27 (2009): 4–35. Avril has successfully connected details of the LDC with the Angevin artist who produced the *Vie et miracles de saint François d’Assise* (BnF ms. fr. 28640, 1475–1500 [acquired in 2007]). The name Maître du Retable Beaussant has been adopted by the Musée du Louvre, which conserves the fragments of a *Code de Justinien* also illuminated by the same artist. I use the abbreviated Maître du Retable, hereafter.

³⁶ Avril, ‘La Vie de saint François’, 19–30. A comparison between the *Heures à l’usage de Rome* (Toulouse ms. fr. 135); the *Trésor de sapience* (BnF ms. fr. 1367); a *Code de Justinien* (Louvre RF 54636), and the *Retable Beaussant* (now exhibited in the Angers cathedral), in addition to the *Vie de saint François* (BnF NAF 28640) allowed the attribution of the LDC P to the Maître du Retable. The only differences Avril notices between the former manuscripts and P are a “quicker execution” resulting in less precise details, and the clothing style depicting a later creation.

³⁷ Viereck Gibbs and Karczewska, eds., *The Book*, 53. They include the crowned pink heart, layered with gold, glossing the verse “Heart, how valiant and courageous you are!” (“Cueur, que tu es vaillans et preux!”) echoing Jeanne’s spirituality and fascination for the heart, and the various gold crowns above words such as “Madame” or “Roy.”

³⁸ Gaude-Ferragu, *D'or et de cendres*, Ch. XI, § 36; Legaré, 'Les deux épouses', 60 ; Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, Vol. 1, 304 and 436. After her husband's death and the transfer of his body and heart from Provence to Angers (1481), Jeanne resided either in Saumur or Beaufort when in Anjou. This move to western France could explain the choice of an Angevin artist to illuminate P at that time, and if Jeanne did commission the illumination of this manuscript, her preference for the Angevin artists and copyists is attested in her accounts. The dowers of Saumur and of the County of Beaufort were given to her by René in 1454. In her testament, Jeanne opted for a heart-burial alongside René's heart in Angers.

³⁹ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 64.

⁴⁰ "François Avril, Fichier des manuscrits enluminés du département des Manuscrits. NAF 28635 (4)", BnF Gallica, last updated 2003, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10000507p/f1197>.

⁴¹ Bouchet, ed., *Le Livre du Cœur*, 64. "Celui qui a escript ce livre / Ne vous requiert chasteau ne place / Mais que soubz vous il puisse vivre / Et soit toujours en vostre grace." ("He who wrote this book / Asks for neither castle nor place of you / But to be able to live in your service / And to always be in your good graces.") A note in Arsenal ms. 2984 indicates that it was printed in 1503, but no printed edition has yet been found.

⁴² Bouchet, ed., 64–65.

Chapter One



Translation and Visualisation of Texts at the Court of Anjou-Provence





Fig. 1 Luca della Robbia, *Stemma of King René of Anjou*. Italy (Centre, Florence). Relief in enamelled terracotta in white, yellow, green, blue, manganese-purple, brown and purplish black, Ø 335.3cm, 1143kg, c. 1466–1478, London, Victoria and Albert Museum (Inv. no. 6740:1 to 15-1860). Photo © Victorian & Albert Museum, London <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O166225/stemma-of-king-rene-of-stemma-medallion-della-robbia-luca/> (27 July 2020).



Fig. 2 Maître de la Cité des dames and workshop, *Various works* (also known as the *Book of the Queen*), “Queen Penthesilea”. France (Centre, Paris). Parchment, 36.5 x 28.5cm, 1410–1414, London, British Library (Harley 4431 f. 103v). Photo © The British Library <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IIIID=22540> (1 June 2020).



Fig. 3 Maître du couronnement, *Livre que fist Jehan Bocace de Certalde des cleres et nobles femmes, lequel il envoya à Audice de Accioroles de Florence, contesse de Haulteville*. Parchment, 35.2 x 23.8cm, 1401–1500, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 12420 f. 46r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10509080f/f101.item> (1 June 2020).



Fig. 4 Jacquemart Pilavaine, *Livre de la Cité des dames*. Netherlands (South, Mons). Parchment, 44.9 x 30.9cm (?), c. 1470–1475, Brussels, KBR, Cabinet des estampes – SV 23489 (KBR ms. 9235 f. 24v). Photo © KBR, Service DIGIT (4 October 2021).



Fig. 5 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *La Théséide*, “Landing of the Greek Fleet” and “Battle against the Amazons”. France (South, Provence). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1460, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 ffs. 18v-19r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).

Chapter Two



“Dames Amaczon” The Power of Cultural Transmission of Texts Across Europe



Si les amoureux cueurs des
treslovaux poures & disceur
de liesse et de tout plaisir souffre
teur qui courtois est en son cuer



Fig. 6 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *La Théséide*. France (South, Provence). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1460, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 14v). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).



Priscida se soubzint en le regardant et vint
 les lettres et puis les mist en son semu lors
 dist quanduo quant Je auay temps et lieu
 Je les verray et volentiers bien au longz et auuement
 que Je saury. Et si par bo' fais mal fest x' ne bo' houlor
 deposer ne deysaure et Je en appelle dieu atestmony lequel
 ait sa bonne grace vueille x'ortueoir a ma simpleesse
 Quanduo sen vint quant Il eut lussees ses lettres.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Français 25528

Fig. 7 Louis de Beauvau, *Il Filostrato*, de Boccace, traduit par Louis de Beauvau, [*Le Roman de Troyle*]. Parchment and paper, 22.5 x 16cm, 1455–c.1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 25528 f. 23v). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105094087> (25 March 2020).

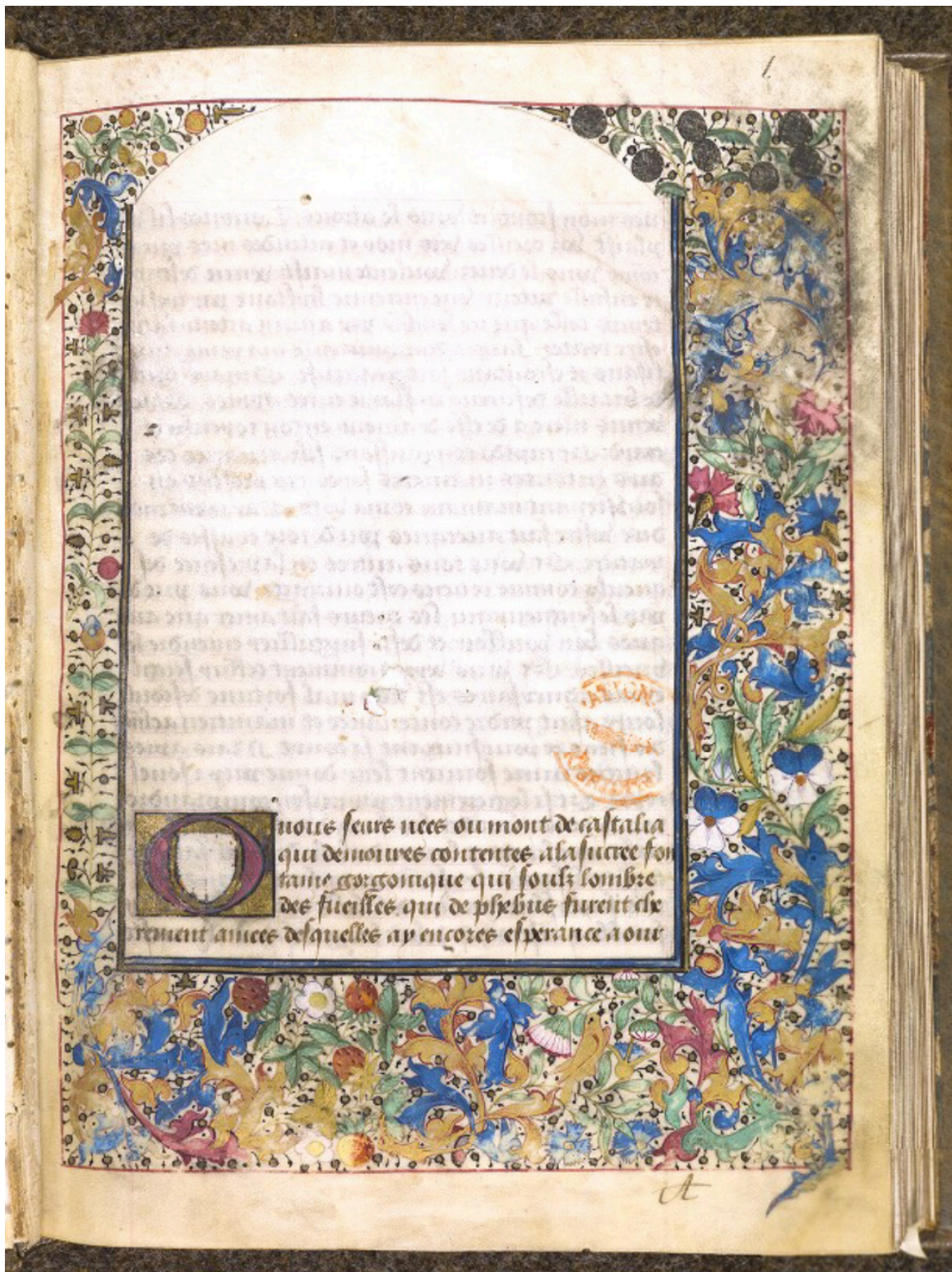


Fig. 8 *Le Livre du vaillant Thezeo*. France. Parchment, 22.5 x 16cm, c. 1476, Chantilly, Musée Condé (ms. 601 f. 1r). Photo © 2013 Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=20354 (20 February 2020).



Fig. 9 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Hours of the Virgin: Rome Use*, “Virgin Mary and Christ Child”. France (South, Provence). Vellum, 25 x 18.3cm, 1440–1450, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Department of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts (MS. M358 f. 25r). Photo © The Morgan Library and Museum, New York <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/46/77128> (31 May 2019).



Fig. 10 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *La Théséide*. France (South, Provence). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1460, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 17v). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).



Debus montant avecques ses
 cheuaults tenoit lumbie beste du
 ciel que porta en uirx cest adue
 que Le fouleil estoit ou signe

Fig. 11 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *La Théséide*, “Emilia in Her Garden”. France (South, Provence). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1460, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 53r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).



Fig. 12 Christine de Pizan, *Cent balades d'amant et de dame*; *Lais*; *Rondeaux*; *Jeux à vendre*; *Autres ballades*; *Epistre au Dieu d'Amours*; *Complaintes amoureuses*; *Débat des deux amants*; *Livre des trois jugements*; *Dit de Poissy*; *Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose*. Parchment, 35 x 26cm, 1407–1409, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 835 f. 50r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449047c/f107.item#> (17 February 2019).



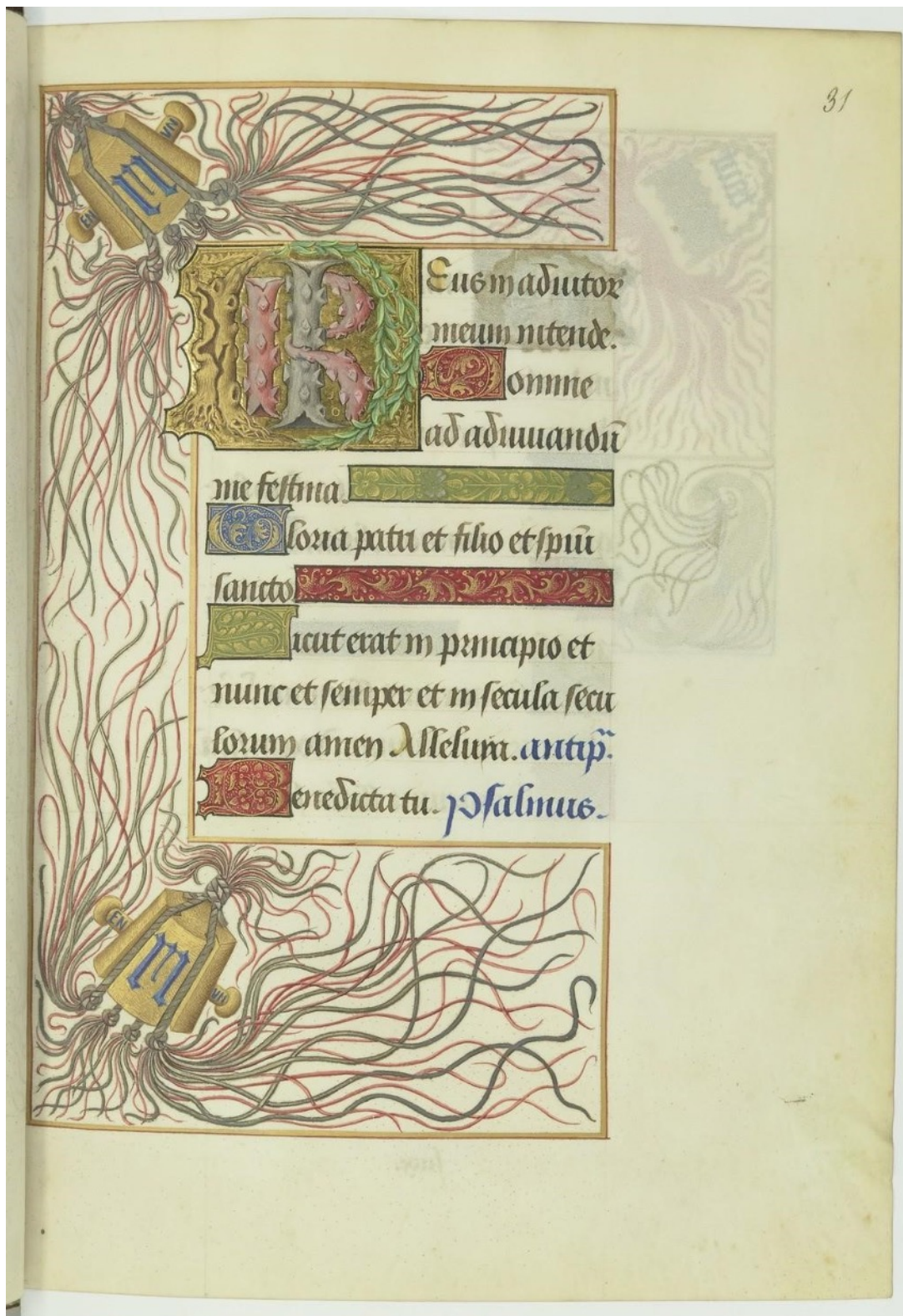
Fig. 13 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d’amour épris*, “Embarkation of Cœur and Desir with Two Female Companions to the Isle of Love”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 51v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Fig. 14 Maestro di Santa Marta, *Stemma di Isabella di Lorena*. Parchment, 1435, Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli (ms. 99 C. I. f. 12r). Photo © Wikimedia Commons/Sailko [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maestro di santa marta, stemma di isabella di lorena, dal codice di santa marta, 1436 ca. \(napoli_ads\)_01.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maestro_di_santa_marta_stemma_di_isabella_di_lorena_dal_codice_di_santa_marta_1436_ca._(napoli_ads)_01.jpg) (24 July 2020).



Fig. 15 Leonardo da Besozzo, *Pagina dal codice di Santa Marta 1438*. Parchment, 1438, Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli (ms. 99 C. I. f. 11r). Photo © Wikimedia Commons/Sailko [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leonardo_da_besozzo_\(attr.\)_pagina_dal_codice_di_santa_marta_1438_\(napoli_ads\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leonardo_da_besozzo_(attr.)_pagina_dal_codice_di_santa_marta_1438_(napoli_ads).jpg) (24 July 2020).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Latin 17332

Fig. 16 Barthélemy d'Eyck and workshop, *Heures du roi René*. Parchment, coloured and gold paints, 28.1 x 20cm, 1450–1475, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. lat. 17332 f. 31r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100254511> (13 May 2019).



Fig. 17 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Pas d'armes de la bergère de Tarascon* par « Loys de Beauvau, seneschal d'Anjou ». Vellum with coloured and gold paint, 20.5 x 15cm, c. 1449, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms fr. 1974 f. 1r). Photo by author.



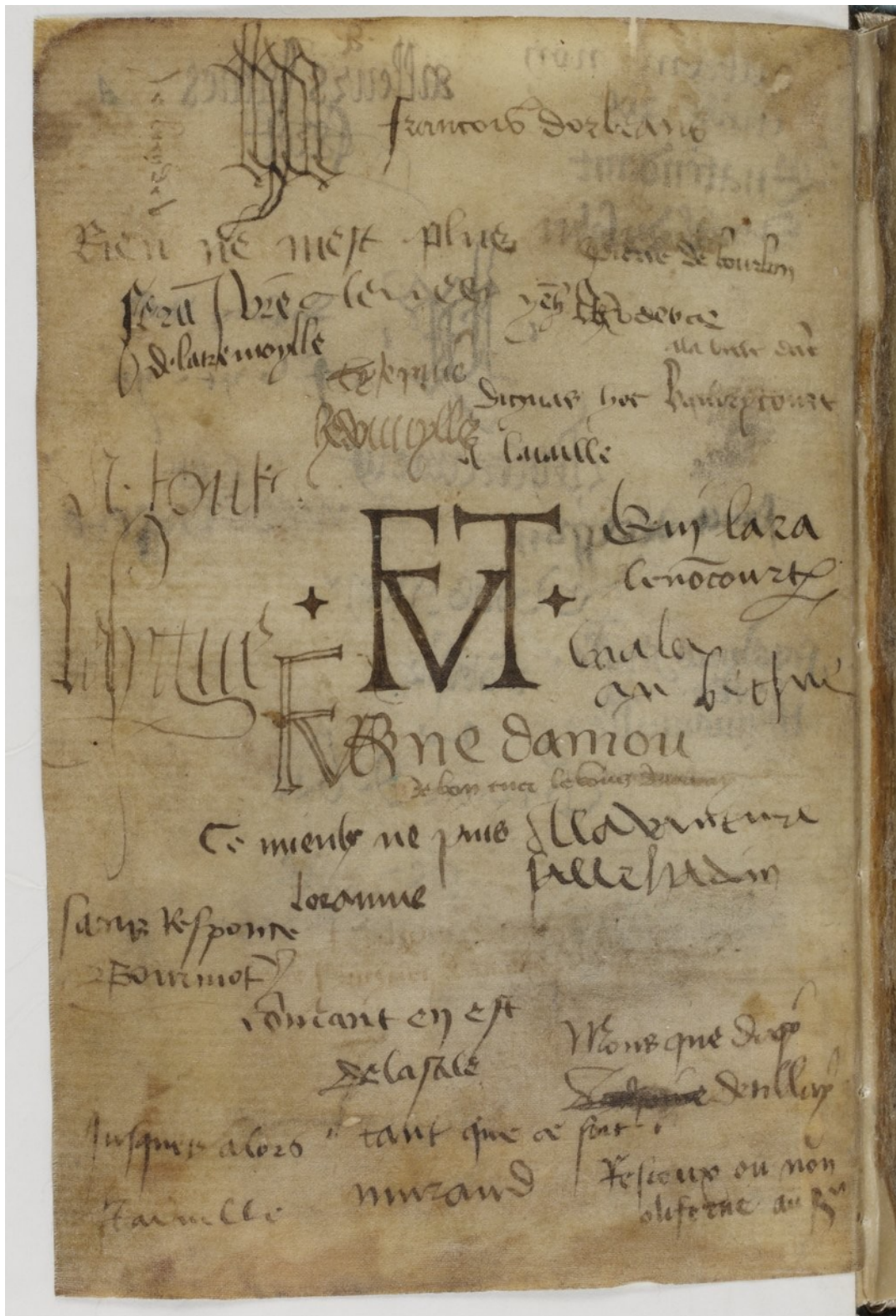
Fig. 18 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Annonciation*, “Central Panel”. Oil on wood panel, 155 x 156cm, 1442–1445, Aix-en-Provence, Église de la Madeleine. Photo in the Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Master_Of_The_Aix_Anunciation_-_Annunciation_-_WGA14506.jpg (12 September 2021).



Fig. 19 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *La Théséide*, "Arcita, Emilia and Palemone Praying to Their Deities". France (South, Provence). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1460, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 102r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).



Fig. 20 Maître du Boccace de Genève, *La Théséide*, “Arcita is the Victor of the Tournament”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 121r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 21 *Œuvres poétiques d'Alain Chartier*. Parchment, 21.8 x 15cm, 1401–1500, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 20026, f. AV). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451111w> (9 November 2017).

Chapter Three



“Nobles Chevaliers” Worldmaking in Late Fifteenth- Century Literature





Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Français 2695

Fig. 22 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 f. 67v). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (11 May 2019).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Français 2695

Fig. 23a Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 f. 100v). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (17 April 2020).

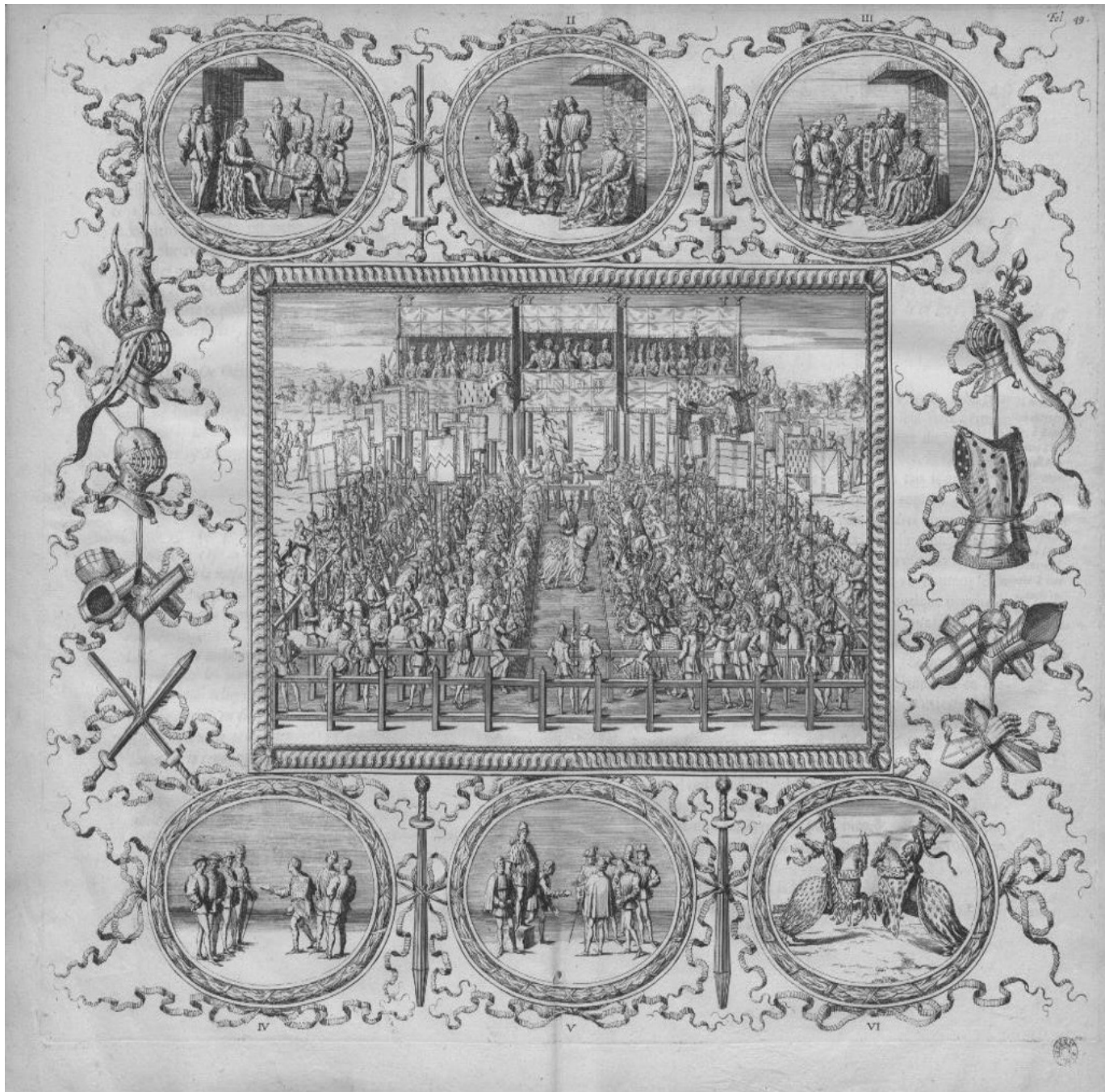


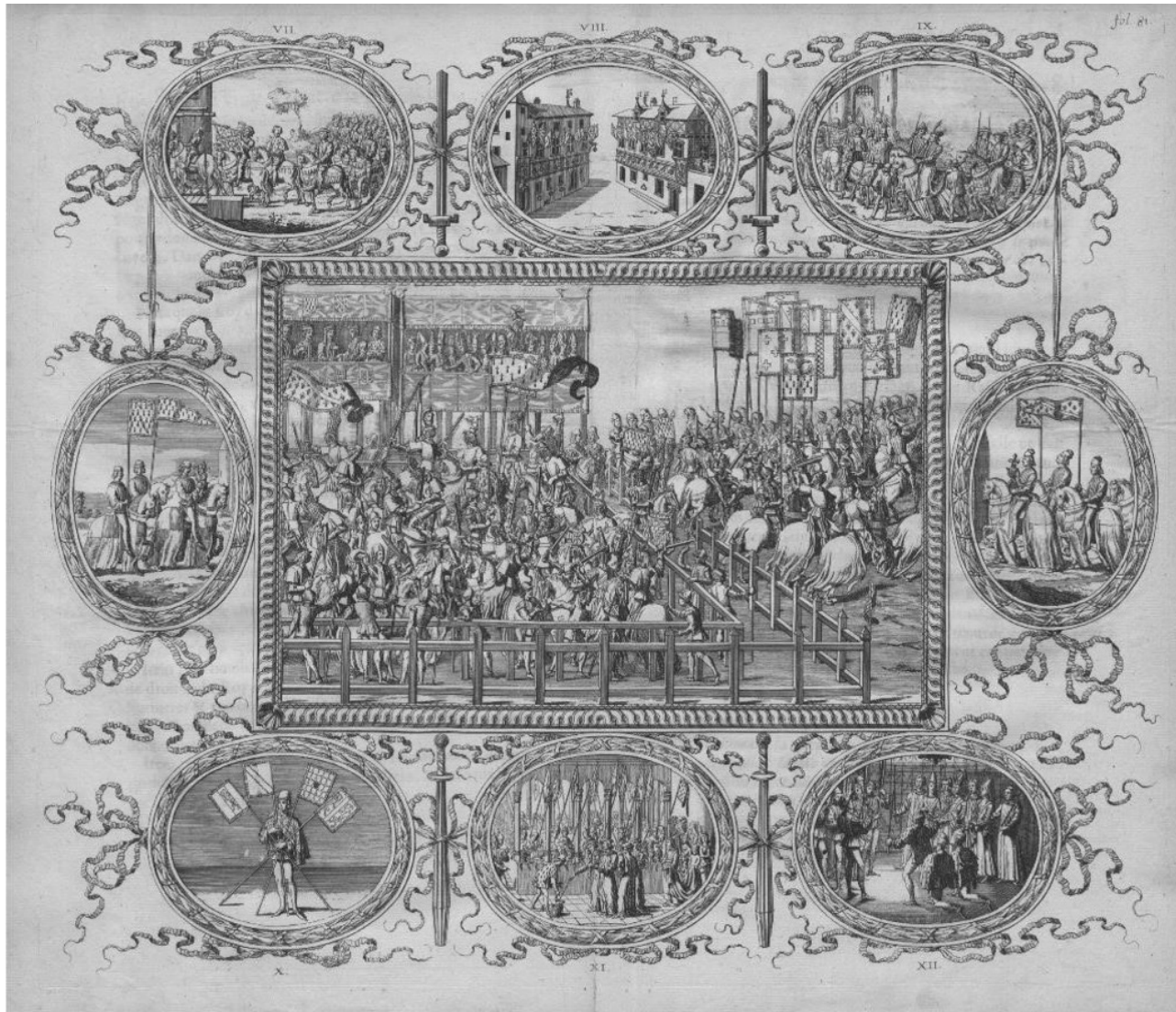
Fig. 23 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 ffs. 100v-101r). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (17 April 2020).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Français 2695

Fig. 24 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 f. 23v). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (2 November 2018).

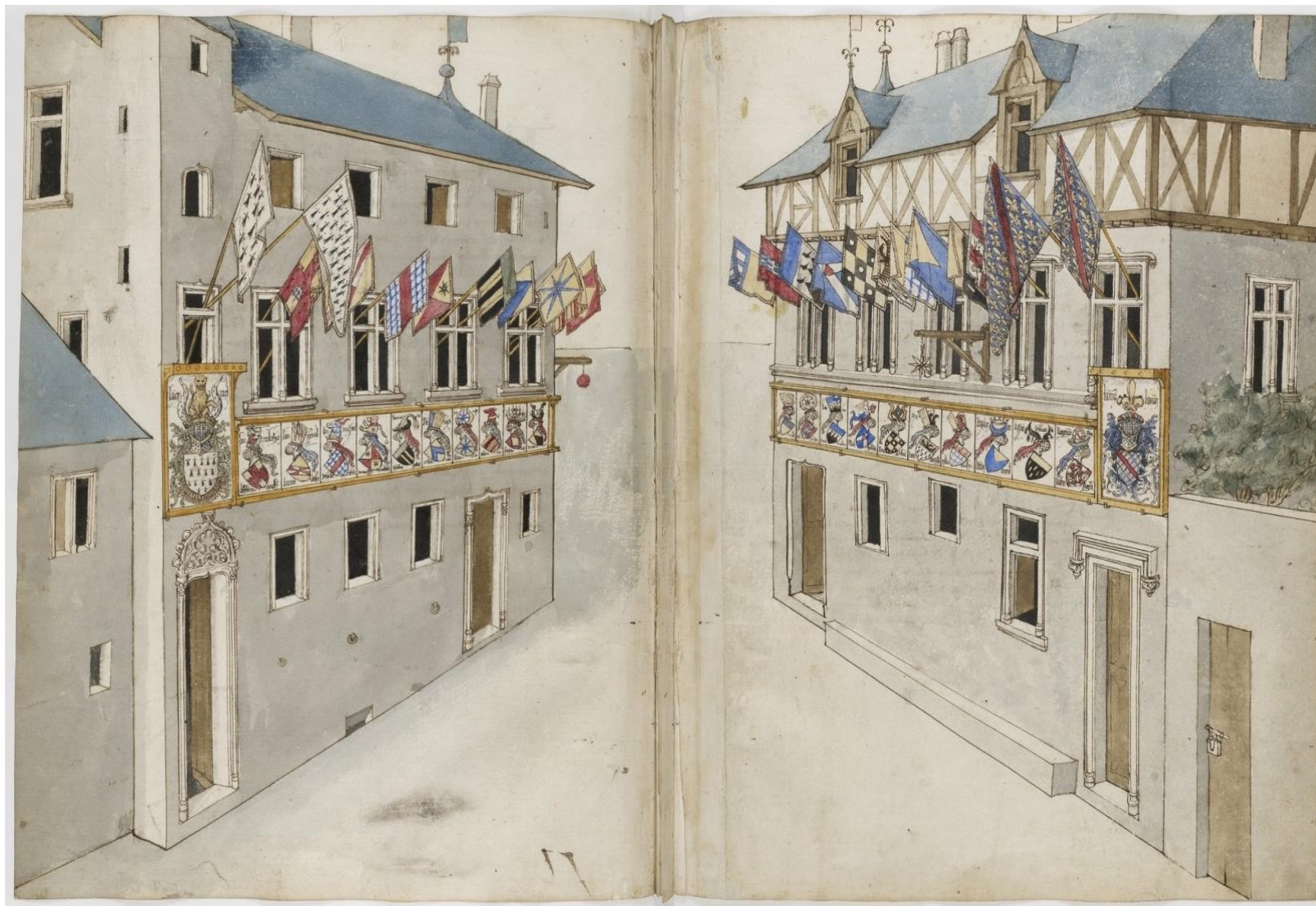




Figs. 25a & b Marc de Vulson de la Colombière, F. Chauveau, N. Regnesson, R. Nanteuil, M. Lasne, *Le vray théâtre d'honneur et de chevalerie, ou le Miroir héroïque de la noblesse*, vol.1. France (Centre, Paris). Engraving, 1648, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arts du spectacle (FOL-RA1-1 after p. 48 and 80). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k480023j/f73.item> & <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k480023j/f106.item> (4 May 2020).



Fig. 26 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 ffs. 45v-46r). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (4 November 2017).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Français 2695

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Français 2695

Fig. 27 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 ffs. 54v-55r). Photos © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (12 May 2019).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits, Français 2695

Fig. 28 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 f. 19r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.item> (17 April 2020).



Fig. 29 Maître du Bocace de Genève, *La Théséide*, “A Fury Scares Arcita’s Horse”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 138v). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).



Fig. 30 Maître du Bocaccio de Genève, *La Théséïde*, “Emilia Leaves to Hunt with Her Retinue” and “Duel of Arcita against Palemone”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 ffs. 76v-77r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).



Fig. 31 Meister des Hausbuches, *Das mittelalterliche Hausbuch*, “Der Planet Mars und seine Kinder”. Quill drawing with colours, c. 1475–1485, Wolfegg, Schloss Wolfegg / Sammlung Fürst von Waldberg zu Wolfegg und Waldsee (f. 13r). Photo in Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons/AndreasPraefcke https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hausbuch_Wolfegg_13r_Mars.jpg (13 September 2021).



Fig. 32 Maître du Bocaccio de Genève, *La Théséide*, “Funerals of a Greek Knight”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 152r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).



Fig. 33 Maître du Bocaccio de Genève, *La Théséide*, “Marriage of Emilia and Palemone”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 182r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).



Fig. 34 Maître du Bocace de Genève, *La Théséide*, “Assembly with the Prince in Athens Before the Tournament”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 26.6 x 20cm, c. 1470, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2617 f. 91r). Photo © 2022 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7302611&order=1&view=SINGLE (27 May 2019).



Fig. 35 Pol, Jean and Hermann Limbourg, *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, “Janvier”. Parchment codex with colour, gold and silver paints on paper, 29 x 21cm, 1411–1416, Chantilly, Musée Condé (ms. 65 f. 1v). Photo © Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18148525> (11 September 2021).



Fig. 36 *Relation du Pas de Saumur tenu en 1446*. Paper, 36 x 27cm, 1470–1480, St Peterburg, National Library of Russia Saltykov Shchedrin (ms fr. F. p. XIV. 4. f. 24r). Photo © Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18137024> (11 September 2021).



E le Roy fut donne le bestor
 Contre le Roy de France
 En l'annee de France et plus enor
 Le fin du pas ent et honneur
 Pour et comme au dit de or
 Et plus d'un se se ne cor
 Au leffroy restent le
 Commença le core avec le Roy.
 En premier cop ent fuo de me
 L'annee de France et de France
 Le fin du pas ent et honneur
 Pour et comme au dit de or
 Et plus d'un se se ne cor
 Au leffroy restent le
 Commença le core avec le Roy.

De l'annee de France et de France
 Le fin du pas ent et honneur
 Pour et comme au dit de or
 Et plus d'un se se ne cor
 Au leffroy restent le
 Commença le core avec le Roy.

Fig. 37 *Relation du Pas de Saumur tenu en 1446*. Paper, 36 x 27cm, 1470–1480, St Peterburg, National Library of Russia Saltykov Shchedrin (ms fr. F. p. XIV. 4. f. 24v). Gautier and Avril, *Splendeur de l'enluminure*, 247.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal

Fig. 38 Giovanni Bellini (?), *Jacopo Antonio Marcello*, *Passio Mauricii et sotiorum ejus*, “Assemblée de l’*Ordre du Croissant*”. Parchment, 18.7 x 13cm, 1453, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arsenal (ms. 940 f. Cv). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55005728g/f12.item> (7 December 2018).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Français 2695

Fig. 39 Barthélemy d’Eyck, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*. France (West, Anjou). Ink drawings with colour wash on paper, 38.5 x 30cm, 1462–1465, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (ms. fr. 2695 f. 103v). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067/f45.planchecontact> (12 May 2019).

Chapter Four



Religious Devotion and the Contemplative Knight

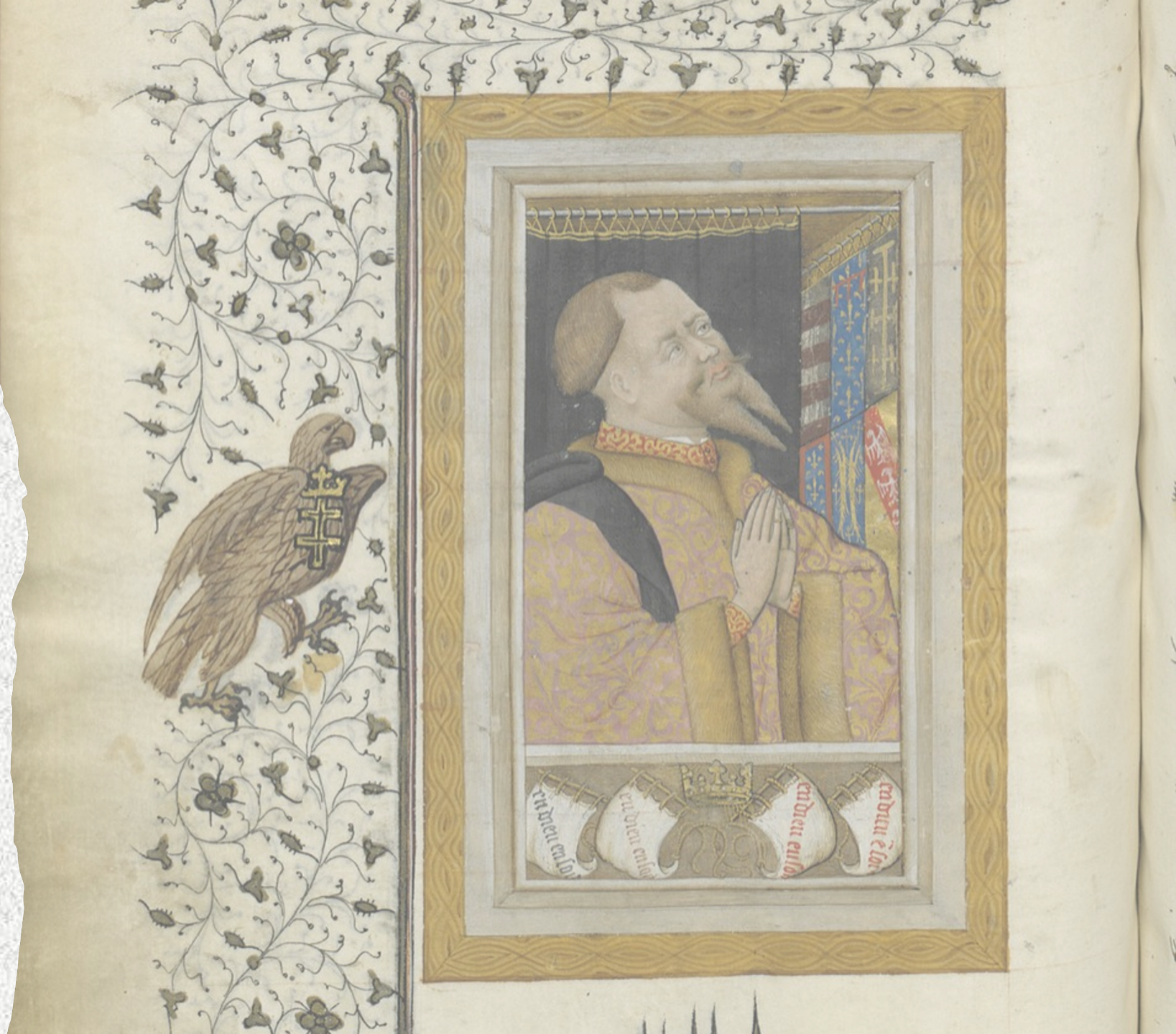




Fig. 40 Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “The Soul, Prostrated on the Floor of a Derelict Cabin, Holds Her Heart in Her Arms Against Her Chest.” Parchment, 24 x 15.5cm, c. 1470–1475, Geneva-Coligny, Fondation Martin Bodmer (Cod. Bodmer 144, f. 3v). Photo under Creative Commons licence <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0144/3v> (30 October 2018).



Fig. 41 Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, "Faith, Hope and True Love nail the Heart on a Cross While Divine Grace Thrusts Her Lance Into the Heart." Parchment, 24 x 15.5cm, c. 1470–1475, Geneva-Coligny, Fondation Martin Bodmer (Cod. Bodmer 144, f. 60v). Photo under Creative Commons licence <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0144/60v> (30 October 2018).



Fig. 42 Barthélemy d’Eyck and Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “Faith, Hope and True Love Nail the Heart on a Cross While Divine Grace Thrusts Her Lance Into the Heart.” Parchment, 11.2 x 13.2cm, c. 1460, Metz, Bibliothèque municipale (ms. 1486 fragment d). Photo © 2013 Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/23895/manifest> (9 January 2020).

Cōment les .iiii. dames tiennent
le cuer de lame sur vne croiz.



Ors les deux dames dep
Ihesus sur le fust de la
croiz mirent le cuer alendroit pro
prement q̄ le tresbenoit et p̄cieux

Fig. 43 Jean Le Tavernier, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “Faith, Hope and True Love Nail the Heart on a Cross while Divine Grace thrusts her lance into the Heart.” Netherlands (South). Parchment, 27.5 x 20cm, c. 1460–1465, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (ms. 10308, f. 76r). Matz and Verry, *Le roi René dans tous ses états*, 193.

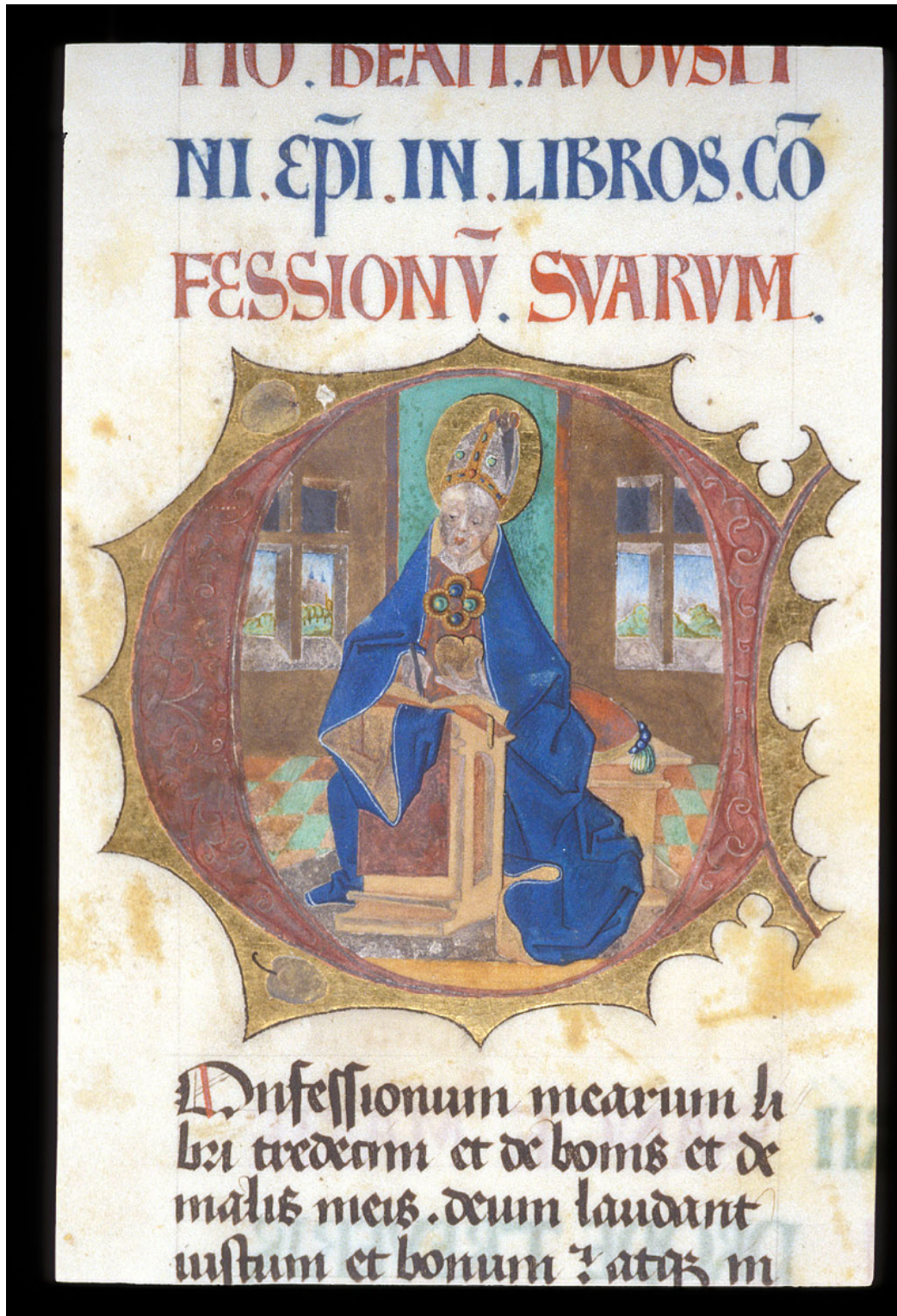


Fig. 44 Augustine, *Confessions*. Germany (West, Trier). Parchment codex with colour and gold paint, 28.5 x 25cm, 1451–1500, London, The British Library (Harley 3087 f. 1v). Photo © The British Library <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=18040> (23 December 2019).



Fig. 45 *Le Jugement dernier*, detail of the west wall. France (South, Albi). Painted mural, 270m², 1474–1480, Albi, Cathédrale Sainte-Cécile. Photo © Wikimedia Commons/Pom² https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Albi_cathedral_-_fresco_2.jpg (5 January 2021).



Fig. 46 Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “A Cart Driver Drives a Crowned Lady in a Cart Pulled by Two Horses.” Parchemin, 24 x 15.5cm, c. 1470–1475, Geneva-Coligny, Fondation Martin Bodmer (Cod. Bodmer 144, f. 33v). Photo under Creative Commons licence, via e-codices <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0144/33v> (30 October 2018).

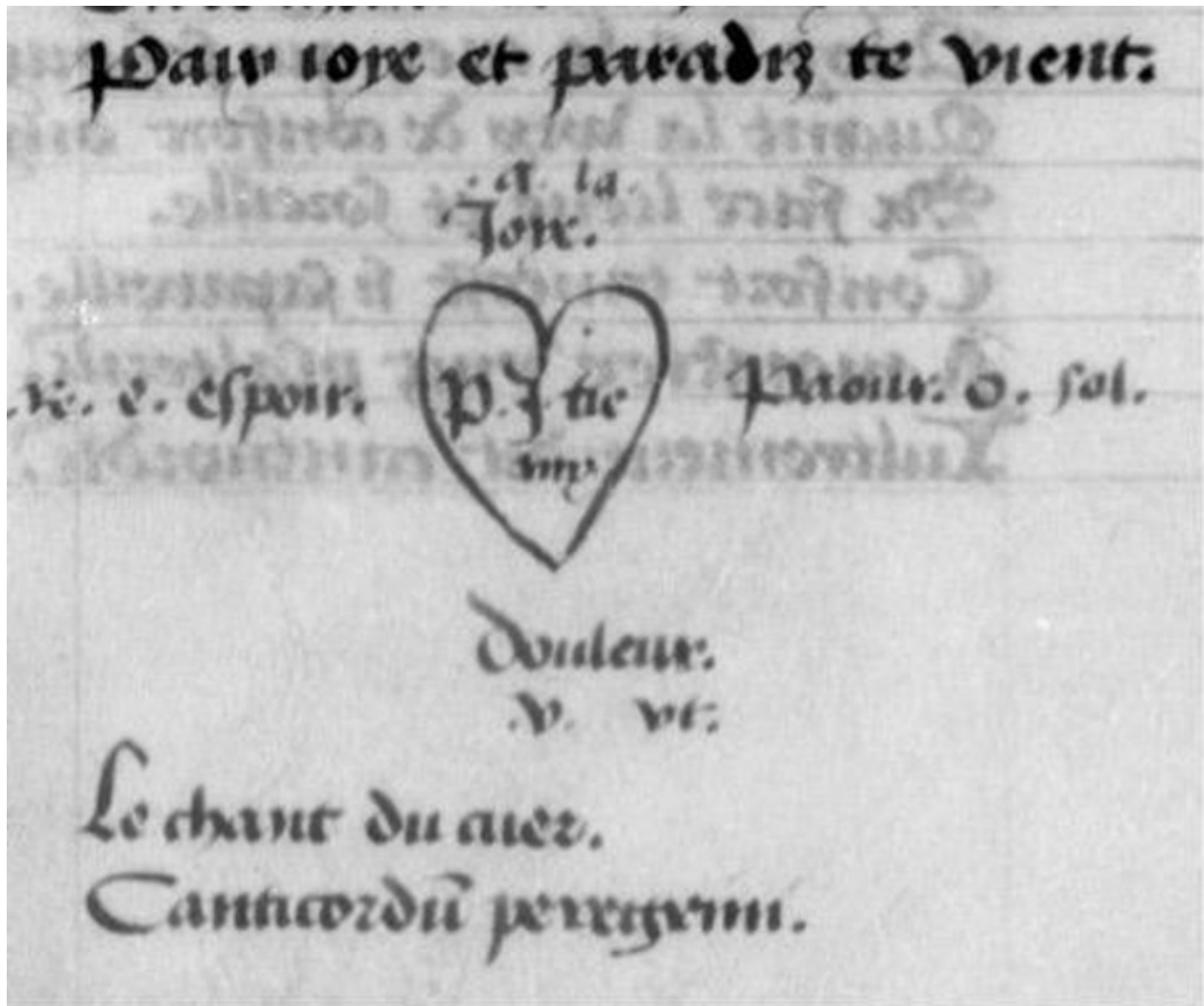


Fig. 47 Jean Gerson, *Collectarium super Magnificat, Opuscula varia*. Parchment, 32 x 23cm, 1447, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. lat. 17487 f. 230v). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90672158/f236.item> (4 April 2019).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Latin

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Latin 1156 A

Fig. 48 Workshop of the Maître des Grandes Heures de Rohan, *Horae ad usum Parisienem* [*Heures de René d'Anjou, roi de Sicile* (1434–1480)]. France (West, Angers). Parchment, 26 x 18.6cm, 1435–1436 and after 1446, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. lat. 1156 A ffs. 81v-82r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000466t> (10 October 2018).



Fig. 49 Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “Fear of God and Contrition give back her Heart nailed on the cross to the Soul.” Parchment, 24 x 15.5cm, c. 1470–1475, Geneva-Coligny, Fondation Martin Bodmer (Cod. Bodmer 144, f. 65r). Photo under Creative Commons licence <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0144/65r> (30 October 2018).



Fig. 50 Barthélemy d’Eyck and Jean Colombe, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*, “The Soul trusts Her Heart to Fear of God and Contrition.” Parchment, 11.2 x 13.2cm, c. 1460, Metz, Bibliothèque municipale (ms. 1486 fragment c). Photo © 2013 Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/23895/manifest> (9 January 2020).

Chapter Five



The Contemplative Knight Rethinks Romance and the Quest for the Noble Heart



Fort es deuant soubs ce peron
De marbre noir comme charbon
Sourt la fontaine de fortune





Fig. 51 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer Deciphers the Inscription of the Fountain while Desir Sleeps". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 15r). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 52 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer Deciphers the Inscription of the Fountain while Desir Sleeps". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 15r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f43.item> (7 January 2018).



Fig. 53 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, "October". Parchment codex with colour, gold and silver paints, 29 x 21cm, c. 1446, Chantilly, Musée Condé (ms. 65 f. 10v). Photos © Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18143866> (11 September 2021).



Fig. 54 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer and Desir Sleeping Under the Aspen Tree". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 12v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Fig. 55 Pol, Jean and Hermann Limbourg, *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, “Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane - Record 5Fk.089”. Parchment codex with colour, gold and silver paints, 29 x 21cm, 1411–1416, Chantilly, Musée Condé (ms. 65 f. 142v). Photos © ARAS Online [online archive], New York: The Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.11663626> (11 September 2021).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 56 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*. "Cuer, Desir and Largesse Observe Louis de Beauvau's Coat of Arms". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 91r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f265.item> (4 March 2017).



Fig. 57 Maître du Retable Beussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer and His Companions Observe the Relics Hanging From the Arched Gateway". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, c.1460–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 105r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361> (4 March 2017).



Fig. 58 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, “Cuer, Desir and Largesse Reflect on Fantasy and Imagination”. France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 103r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f291.item> (20 November 2018).



Fig. 59 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Amour Takes the Heart of the Lovesick King". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 2r). Photo © Dido, University of Victoria.



Fig. 60 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer and Desir Facing the Dwarf Jalouzie". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 9r). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Fig. 61 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer Confronts Soulcy". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 19r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f55.item> (10 October 2017).



Fig. 62 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Desir Meets Humble Requeste". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 31v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Fig. 63 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer, Followed by Desir and Largesse, Enters Grief Soupir's Cottage". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 46v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.

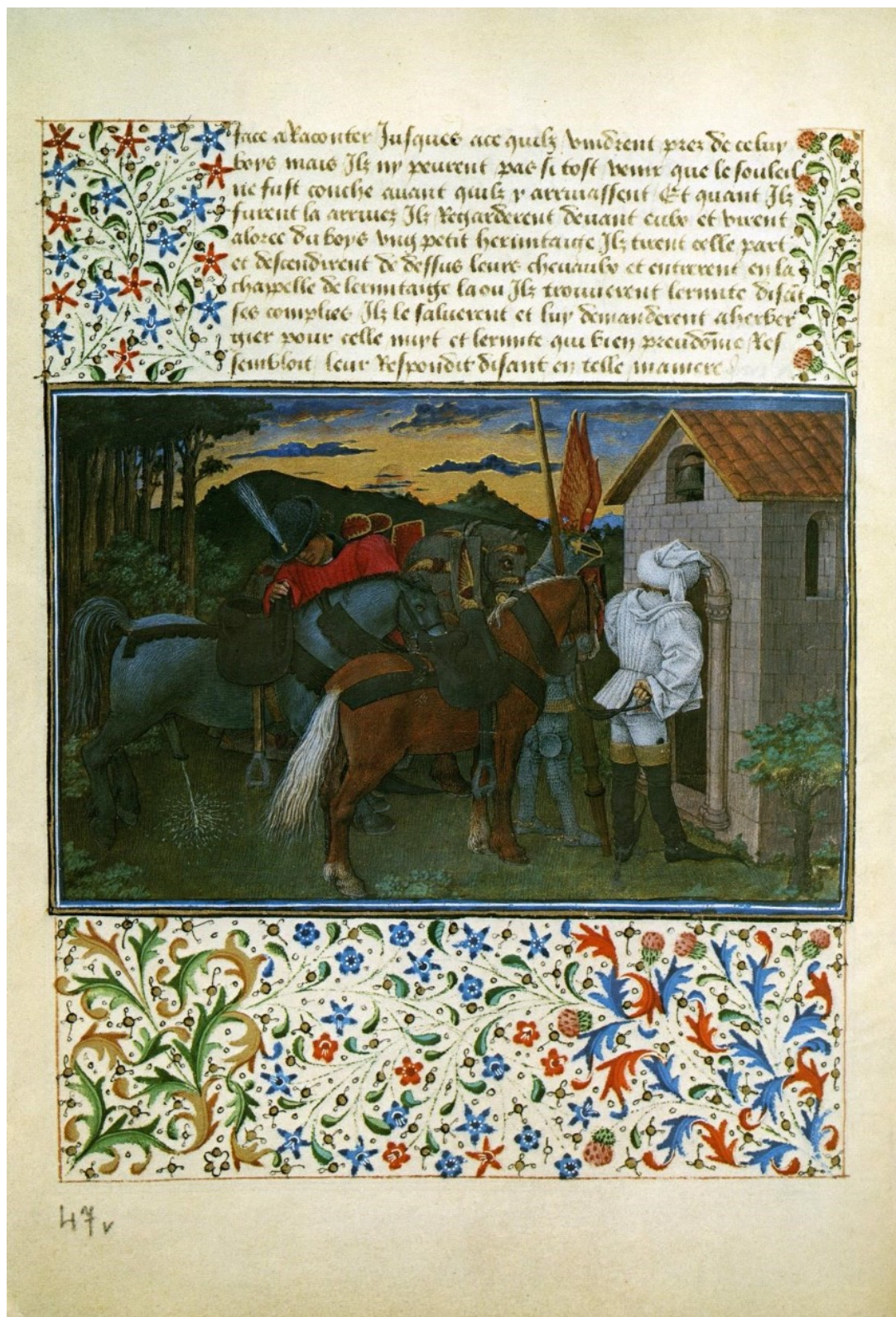


Fig. 64 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer, Followed by His Companions Enters the Chapel". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 47v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Fig. 65 Pol, Jean and Hermann Limbourg, *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, “September”, detail. Parchment codex with colour, gold and silver paints, 29 x 21cm, 1411–1416, Chantilly, Musée Condé (ms. 65 f. 9v). Photos © Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18128023> (11 September 2021).



Fig. 66 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer and Desir Arrive at Melencolie's". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 17r). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Fig. 67 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *La Sainte Famille devant la cheminée*. Oil tempera on canvas, 240 x 199cm, c. 1435, Le Puy-en-Velay, Cathédrale Notre-Dame. Photo © Ministère de la culture – Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles d'Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Diffusion RMN-GP / M. Taillefer <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/palissy/PM43000490> (18 November 2020).



Fig. 68 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer Confronts Soulcly". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 18v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Fig. 69 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Esperance Rescues Cueur". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 21v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Fig. 70 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Dueil and Tristesse Catch Winged Hearts with a Cage". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 123v). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f356.item> (3 March 2021).



Fig. 71 Maître du Retable Beaussant, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Rogier Bon Temps". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colour and gold on parchment, 31 x 21.5cm, 1480–1485, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 24399 f. 124r). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f359.item> (4 March 2017).



Fig. 72 Master of the Prayer Books of around 1500, *Roman de la Rose*, “Castle of Jalousie”. Netherlands (South, Bruges). Colour and gold paint on parchment, 39.5 x 39cm, c. 1490–c. 1500, London, British Library (Harley 4425 f. 39r). Photo © The British Library <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=28524> (5 March 2021).



Fig. 73 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Duel of Cuer and Courroux". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 26v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Fig. 74 Nicolas Bataille, Hennequin de Bruges, Robert Poinçon, *Tenture de l'Apocalypse*, "La Jérusalem nouvelle" (6th panel, 80th scene). Tapestry weave, 249 x 150cm, 1373–1400, Angers, Château d'Angers (Inv. no. D-ANG2005000021). Photo © Ministère de la Culture (France), Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, tous droits réservés / Isabelle Guégan <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/memoire/AP02P00000398> (5 February 2019).

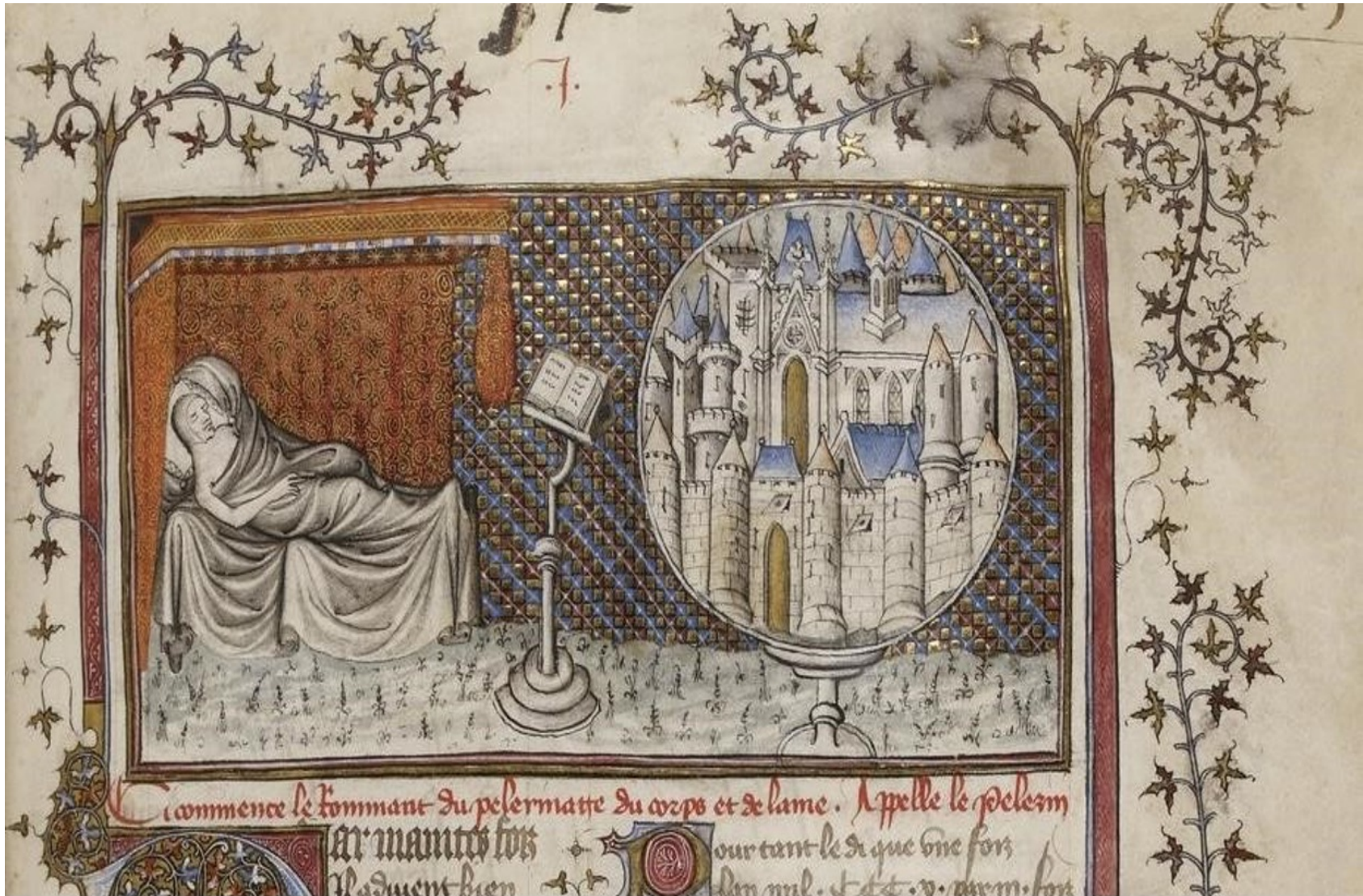


Fig. 75 Maître du Livre d'heures de Jehannette Ravenelle, *Guillaume de Digulleville, Pèlerinage de vie humaine; Pèlerinage de l'âme*. Parchment with grisaille drawings on coloured background, 33.5 x 24cm, c. 1404, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (ms. fr. 829 f. 1r detail). Photo © Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84497167/f9.item#> (9 August 2021).



Fig. 76 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Cuer Meets Dame Esperance by Her Pavilion". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 5v). Photos © DIDO, University of Victoria.



Fig. 77 Barthélemy d'Eyck, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*, "Overnight Stay at Compaignie's and Amittié's". France (West, Anjou). Ink, colours and gold on parchment, 29 x 20.7cm, c. 1465, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. 2597 f. 55r). Photo © Dido, University of Victoria.