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The Legal, Rhetorical, and Iconographic Aspects of the Concept of the *accessoire* in Christine de Pizan

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THE LEGAL, RHETORICAL,
AND ICONOGRAPHIC ASPECTS
OF THE CONCEPT OF THE *ACCESSOIRE*
IN CHRISTINE DE PIZAN

An investigation of the occurrence of the word *accessoire(s)* in the works of Christine de Pizan affords another example of how Christine's vocabulary in general reflects her situation at the interface of the use of vernacular and Latin in the Parisian circles which she frequented¹. Christine uses the word *accessoire* only twice in her works. As it is not a common word either in Old or Middle French, as the examples in Godefroy (*Complément*, v. 8, p. 21), Tobler-Lommatzsch (v. 1, col. 356), the *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (v. 24, col. 69a) and the online *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (afterwards cited here as DMF) show, it should be considered a Latinism. The first, as well as earliest, instance in Christine's works is found at the opening of *Autres ballades*, 5: "Les biens mondains et tous leurs accessoires, / Chacun voit bien qu'ilz sont vains et falibles"². This example is typical of the use of the post-classical Latin term *accessorium* in legal and scholastic texts written after Pope Boniface VIII's formulation of eighty-eight new "*regulae juris*" or rules of law, in his *Liber Sextus Decretalium* from 1298. Boniface, pope from 1294 to 1303, is probably best known for being denounced as a simoniac by Dante in *Inferno*, XIX. The forty-second new rule states "*Accessorium naturam sequi congruit principalis*" ("it is consistent that the accessory follows the nature of the principle")³. These new *regulae juris*

1 I have considered this issue with relationship to Christine's usage of the term *proverbe commun* in my forthcoming contribution to the 2012 Poznań conference on Christine, "Christine de Pizan between Elite and Popular Cultures and the Legacy of Joseph Morawski (1888-1939)".

2 *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. M. Roy, Paris, Firmin Didot, vol. 1, 1886, p. 212.

3 [Bonifatii Octavi] *Sextus liber decretalium innumeris in locis castigatus cum summariis et casibus patentissimis*, ed. Jacques Fontaine de Bruges [Jacobus Fontanus Brugensis], [Paris],

quickly attained the status of legal maxims¹, and in turn often re-emerged as vernacular proverbs, as with the forty-third rule, *qui tacit consentire videtur*, which became in French *qui ne dit mot consent*, and in German *wer schweigt, stimmt zu*, As will be seen, while Boniface's use of the term *accessorium* was not its first attribution in medieval Latin texts², an inspection of the pertinent classical and medieval Latin lexica and of the occurrences of the term *accessorium* in the online Brepols Library of Latin Texts confirms the importance of Boniface's Rule 42 for all subsequent occurrences.

Evidence of the enormous international influence exerted by Boniface's *Liber Sextus Decretalium* is found in the simple fact that it immediately produced a huge body of commentary from such famous canonists connected to Boniface's curia as Jean Lemoine, Guido de Baysio and Giovanni d'Andrea. (Christine herself speaks of Giovanni d'Andrea and his daughter Novella in the *Cité des Dames*, II. 36, and it seems as though Christine's ancestors in Bologna probably knew Giovanni d'Andrea)³. The forty-second rule quickly came to be quoted by later commentators in proverbial form as *accessorium non ducit, sed sequitur suum principale*. This adage was also extensively commented upon by Albertus Magnus and

B. Rembolt, 1520, fol. 171^r [p. 367]. This edition, with the influential commentary of Giovanni d'Andrea, can be consulted on-line.

- 1 P. Stein, *Regulae Iuris, From Juristic Rules to Legal Maxims*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1966.
- 2 The standard legal use of the term is originally found in the second-century *Institutes* of Gaius, cited by the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: horum obligatio accessio est principalis obligationis, nec plus in accessione esse potest, quam in principali* (*Gaii et Iustiniani Institutiones Iuris Romani*), ed. Cl. August, C. Klenze and E. Böcking, Berlin, Reimer, 1829, p. 184. It is obvious that the revival of Roman law in Bologna in the mid-twelfth century led to the subsequent revival of the term in legal circles throughout Europe. According to the online *Trésor de la langue française*, the Medieval Latin term is first recorded 1216 in the registers of Innocent III, "accessorium tenere non debeat si non tenuerit principale". The *Mittelaltersches Wörterbuch*, Munich, Beck, 1967, v. 1, col. 82-83, supplies somewhat earlier examples from various early thirteenth-century charters. An inspection of the Medieval Latin lexica for Great Britain and the Netherlands confirms the widespread use of the term in charters regulating questions of property and real estate. See the entries "accessorie" and "accessorius" in the *Lexicon latinitatis Nederlandicae medii aevi*, ed. J. W. Fuchs, Amsterdam, Hakker, 1970, v. 1, col. A76-A77 and "accessorius" in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British sources*, London, Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 13-14.
- 3 N. Wandruszka, "The Family Origins of Christine de Pizan: Noble Lineage between City and *Contado*", *Au champ des écritures, III^e Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan, Lausanne, 18-22 juillet 1998*, ed. E. Hicks *et al.*, Paris, Champion, 2000, p. 111-130.

Thomas Aquinas in Latin¹, and by Christine's contemporaries at the royal court, Philippe de Mézieres, Évrard de Trémaugon and Jean Gerson in French, and their reception of the proverb seems to have influenced Christine's usage, a phenomenon which requires further scrutiny here. Admittedly, and this point must be stressed, the original meaning of *accessoire*, arising from canon law, is far removed from the contemporary sartorial meaning of the term.

The second example of *accessoire* in Christine's works is found in the *Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune*, where Christine remarks before speaking of the devastation of the Theban civil war that she will only give an abbreviated account of the story:

Mais de tout ne pense a parler,
 Il me souffist que de l'istoire
 Je die, sanz plus, l'accessoire.
 Pour cause de briefté, me passe,
 Car je y mettroie trop d'espace².

At first view, this example is extremely difficult to interpret because Christine appears here to have taken *accessoire* to mean a condensed version, which corresponds to her general practice of *abbreviatio* in the *Mutacion de Fortune*³. Her use of the term *accessoire* reflects a semantic or metonymic shift: *accessorium* meaning something secondary or marginal now means precisely the opposite, something which expresses in a nutshell the essential significance of an event. The most famous comparable semantic shift in French is exhibited by the semantic evolution of Latin *REM*, meaning "a thing", to modern French *rien*, meaning "nothing". Christine's use of the term here contrasts as well with the meaning assigned to it by her contemporaries which followed the strict medieval Latin opposition between *principale* and *accessorium*, evidenced, for example, when Oresme uses the term in his translation/commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* to note that a city's location should ensure it ample

1 A search using "accessor*" at Brepols' online Latin texts produces 35 hits, the earliest of which are from twelfth-century authors such as Hugh of St. Victor or Peter the Chanter. Eleven of these thirty-five hits are from the works of Thomas Aquinas.

2 *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*, ed. S. Solente, Paris, Picard, 1959, v. 2, p. 312, v. 12 *sqq.*, p. 908-911.

3 J. Beer, "Stylistic Conventions in *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*", *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan*, ed. E. J. Richards *et al.*, Athens, GA, University of Georgia Press, 1994, p. 124-136.

water supply: “Et secundement qu’elle [la cité] use de eaues saines et que l’en ait sollicitude et cure de ceste chose non pas par maniere de accessoire, mes principalement”¹. This second example is significant because it shows that Christine’s use of a particular Latinism could also depart from the original meaning in Medieval Latin.

The third, but in this case implicit, example of Christine’s use of the concept of an *accessoire* is characteristic of iconographic practice, in her use of attributes or in the citation of visual topoi. Iconographic attributes act as a non-verbal commentary and, consistent with the meaning of *accessoire* in the *Mutacion de Fortune*, also function as an *in nuce* or “in a nutshell” commentary on the text being illustrated. This complex and subtle practice, in turn, signals authorial intention to the reader, and can be illustrated by several illuminations in the Queen’s Manuscript (London, Harley 4431), including the frontispiece (a scene intended in the first place to illustrate the unifying role of the Queen’s court, a process which Christine called *coagulence regulee* in the *Fais et bonnes meurs de Charles V*²), the illumination at the beginning of the *Proverbes moraulx*³, the illumination at the beginning of the third part of *La Cité des Dames* (where the entry of the Virgin into the nearly completed City is reminiscent of the iconography of the *joyeuse entrée* or royal entry, specifically that of Isabeau⁴), and in the recurrent use of a dog as a traditional medieval symbol of fidelity in several illuminations⁵ – including the celebrated Harley frontispiece mentioned above, Christine’s frequent self-portrayal of herself at her desk with a small dog, and Christine’s appearance with two

1 Nicole Oresme, *Le Livre de politiques d’Aristote*, ed. A. D. Menut, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1970, p. 315.

2 See my article: « À la recherche du contexte perdu d’une ellipse chez Christine de Pizan : la “coagulence regulee” et le pouvoir politique de la reine », *La Scrittrice e la città, L’écriture et la ville, The Woman writer and the City, Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale Christine de Pizan, Bologna, 22-26 settembre 2009*, ed. P. Caraffi, Florence, Aliena, 2013, p. 93-112.

3 The illumination on fol. 259^v portrays a woman teaching men in violation of the Pauline prohibition, reproduced online at: <http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/gallery/pages/259v.htm>.

4 Tracy Adams, in her forthcoming book from Pennsylvania State University Press on the relationship between history and poetry in the works of Christine de Pizan, comments on this striking parallel.

5 See L. Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, Paris, Presses Universitaire de France, 1955, v. 1, p. 101-102 : “précieux auxiliaire du seigneur à la chasse, [le chien] est aussi symbole de la fidélité [...] l’incarnation de la fidélité du vassal à son souverain”; see also p. 109 for the negative associations; P. Gerlach, “Hund”, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, Allgemeine Ikonographie*, Freiburg, Herder, 1970, v. 2, col. 334-446.

dogs in the illumination in BnF, fr. 603, fol. 127^v, of the *sale du chastel de Fortune* at the beginning of part four in the *Mutacion de Fortune*. Taken together, these three meanings for *accessoire* in Christine contextualize more precisely how her vocabulary shares common features with that of her contemporaries, but also how her use of iconographic *accessoires* or attributes creatively redeploys traditional motifs.

CHRISTINE AND HER TRIALS

Les biens mondains et tous leurs accessoires

In a celebrated passage in *Le livre de l'avisoin Cristine*, Christine describes her legal tribulations after the death of her husband:

Or me convint mettre mains a œuvre, ce que moy nourrie en delices et mignotement apris n'avoie, et estre conduiserresse de la nef demoree en orage et sanz patron, c'est assavoir le désolé mainage hors de son lieu et pais. Adonc me sourdirent angoisses de toutes pars et comme ce soient les metz des vesves, plais et procès m'avironnerent de tous lez [...] O vertu de pascience, tousjours ne t'avoie mie en la bourse, ains te suppeditoit souvent en moy grant amertume. Je vi le temps qu'a.III. cours de Paris je estoie en plait et procès deffenderresse¹.

The points of contention in all four lawsuits were matters of inheritance and real estate, so that it seems more than likely that Christine must have repeatedly heard claims presented in court touching upon *les biens mondains et tous leurs accessoires*. For this reason, her remarks on the vanity and frailty of these possessions in *Autres ballades*, 5 seem to echo the linguistic reality of the Parisian law courts. (Her familiarity with legal proceedings also stemmed in part from her acquaintance with Guillaume de Tignonville, her ally in the Quarrel over the *Rose*, who as *prevost de Paris* oversaw many lawsuits.)

Ever since 1908, when Lucy M. Gay, professor of Romance Languages at the University of Wisconsin, published her classic and pioneering

1 *Le Livre de l'avisoin Cristine*, ed. C. Reno and L. Dulac, Paris, Champion, 2001, p. 100, 102.

study of Christine's language¹, the list of Latinisms introduced or employed by Christine has grown longer. For this reason, when Christine remarks, seemingly in passing, at the opening of *Autres ballades*, 5: "Les biens mondains et tous leurs accessoires, / Chacun voit bien qu'ilz sont vains et falibles", a careful reader will know that a certain amount of comparative lexicography will be needed to understand this use of *accessoire*. The connection of *biens mondains* (translating the Latin *principale*) and *accessoires* is first attested in French in 1328 in an unpublished legal document cited by Godefroy (*Complément*, v. 8, p. 21) from the archives of Loiret, Ste-Croix, Fresnay d'Aubery, "Tant sur le principal que sur l'accessoire". As the DMF indicates, it is found in 1378 in the *Songe du Vergier*, "on peut veoir et cognoistre [...] le grant tort et desraison des Anglois ou principal et en l'*accessoire* du procès"², and in the first part of Jean de Montreuil's *Traité contre les Anglois*, written in 1413, "Je sauroye volentiers, se ung a promis par sa foy et serement aucune chose devant ung tabellion royal, et il se parjure en venant contre son serement, se c'est pas peschié, et se il est pas parjure? Le juge lay le absouldra il du peschié? Il n'est pas prestre et c'est *accessoire* du parjurement"³. Apart from these examples recorded in the online Dictionnaire du Moyen Français, it was also used three times in French by Jean Gerson⁴. A cursory search for the term *accessoire* in *Le grand*

1 L. M. Gay, "On the Language of Christine de Pisan," *Modern Philology*, 6/1, 1908, p. 1-28; online at: <https://archive.org>.

2 Evrart de Trémaugon, *Le Songe du Vergier*, ed. M. Schnerb-Lièvre, Paris, CNRS, 1982, v. 2, p. 183.

3 Jean de Montreuil, "Traité contre les Anglois", *Opera*, II : *L'œuvre historique et polémique*, ed. N. Grévy-Pons, E. Ornato and G. Ouy, Turin, Giapichelli, 1975, p. 215.

4 Jean Gerson, *Œuvres françaises*, ed. P. Glorieux, Paris, Desclée, 1968, p. 789 : « c'est que tant envers nostre saint Pere et tout le college des cardinalz comme envers les Grecs comme envers tous autres crestiens on labeure que *les besoignes principales et accessoires* qui seront requises a celebrer ce concil soient telement disposées par avant que quant venra au fait n'y aist aucune division, débat ou confusion » ; p. 832 : "Notez comment yci parlera encontre le Roumant de la Rose qui veult en la personne de Raison qui en parle gouliairement telles paroles enflamens a luxure ; et c'est pour quoy elles sont a deffendre. Notez Seneque ; turpia etc. Aristote, V^o Politice. Noe et Cham ; Tulle ; saint Augustin. Notez le peril du Roumant et samblables, etc. ; et la laidure de la fin, etc. videatur finis. Notez de l'enfant qui retint bien le mal du roumant. Notez qu'il est dampné s'il ne s'est repentit. Notez que sa painne croit *la peine accessoire et accidentelle*" ; p. 853 : "Tu seras couronnee d'une divine couronne en paradis outre les aultres, c'est a dire d'une gloire et d'une *joye accessoire*, en signe de l'excellence de ton estat, comme sont les docteurs et les martirs pour autres causes" (my italics).

coutumier de France (compiled by Jacques d'Ableiges [d. 1410], that is, a text which directly reflects legal usage contemporary to Christine) also shows that the term was used especially in disputes concerning inheritances as the following citation shows:

Item quant l'en a faict execution d'aucun jugement et arrest donné sur certaines causes en meubles, et aucun s'en complaint, et dit l'execution avoir esté faicte de plus grant somme qu'il ne devoit. Et dont fault distinguer ou la partie a faict adjourner ses executeurs comme principaulx, et la partie comme accessoire sous ceste clause¹.

The significance of Christine's passing remark about *les biens mondains et accessoires* ultimately lies in the fact that one would hardly expected such a specialized juridical term to pop up in a lyric poem, a Latinism to boot, and this in a poem in which Christine clearly alludes to her personal sufferings as a widow. With this having been said, it must also be recalled that Christine frequented a bilingual French-Latin milieu in Paris. In the prologue to the as yet unedited the *Livre de Prodommie*, Christine reminds Louis d'Orléans of how he had cited both Latin and French authorities in describing the nature of *prodommie* ("honesty, probity, integrity, respectability"):

Et je vous ouioe descrire tant bien et tant notablement, allegant a propos auctoritez saintes, tant en latin comme en françois, par preuves vraie, comme le gist de la prodommie du noble et vertueux homme est en trois choses².

The significance of this remark cannot be underestimated because it sheds valuable light on the Latin-French interface in the courtly world in which Christine lived and worked. Given the fact that *accessoire* in Middle French is a Latinism, it certainly must have been used in the kind of bilingual setting which Christine described above.

1 Jacques d'Ableiges, *Le Grand Coutumier de France*, ed. É. R. Lefèbvre de Laboulaye and R.-M. Cléophas Dareste de la Chavanne, Paris, Auguste Durand/Pedone-Lauriel, 1868, p. 714.

2 Vatican, *Reg. lat.* 1238, fol. 2^v. My thanks to Christine Reno for having kindly pointed out this example to me.

RHETORICAL ACCESSORIES

Christine de Pizan's Use of *Abbreviato*
and John of Salisbury's Defense of Aristotelian Rhetoric

Christine appears to depart radically from the legal and scholastic opposition of *principale* and *accessorium* in the *Mutacion de Fortune*. There can be no doubt as to the meaning of the term assigned to it there by Christine: it is clearly associated with the rhetorical practice of *abbreviatio*:

Mais de tout ne pense a parler,
Il me souffist que de l'istoire
Je die, sanz plus, l'accessoire.
Pour cause de briefté, me passe,
Car je y mettroie trop d'espace¹.

In his entry on *accessoire* to the online *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, Jean-Loup Ringenbach carefully singles out this occurrence in the *Mutacion de Fortune* to mean “ce qui s’ajoute à la chose principale, [...] détail particulier (d’une histoire)”. This definition follows a suggestion found in Wartburg’s entry in the FEW (v. 1, p. 69) where *accessoire* is defined, among other things, as “ce qui suit ou accompagne l’essentiel”. Both explanations attempt to accommodate Medieval Latin usage which posits an antithesis between *accessorium* and *principalis*, between that which is ancillary or marginal and that which is essential. It is, I would argue, more useful to see that a semantic and metonymic shift stands behind this particular occurrence of *accessorium*. Such a shift suggests that the term had possibly acquired the metonymous sense of *pars pro toto*².

The only Medieval Latin example which I have been able to identify with a comparable rhetorical meaning is found in the *Metalogicon* of

1 *Le Livre de la mutacion*, ed. S. Solente, v. 2, p. 312, v. 12 *sqq.*, p. 908-911.

2 Additional evidence for the semantic instability in the meaning of *accessoire* in late Middle French can also be inferred from the radically new meaning of the word in the sixteenth century. The *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle* reveals a startling development: *accessoire* had taken on the meaning of *situation difficile, fâcheuse; embarras, malheur, danger* (Huguet [1925], v. 1, p. 29).

John of Salisbury, in a passage devoted to introducing, promoting and commenting upon Aristotle's *Topica*:

Et quamvis, ex opinione multorum, dialectico et oratori principaliter faciat, ipsam fere aequaliter proficere arbitror iis, qui versantur in gravitate demonstratoris, aut in fallacia et agone sophistico. Siquidem sibi invicem universa contribuunt, eoque in proposita facultate quisque expeditior est, quo in vicina et cohaerente instructor fuerit. Ergo et tam analytica, quam sophistica conferunt inventori, et topica itidem conducit iudicanti: facile tamen acqvieverim, singulas in suo proposito dominari, et accessorium esse beneficium cohaerentis.

« And although in the opinion of many it is principally of service to the dialectician and the orator, I consider that it is of pretty well equal benefit to those who have to do with the weighty business of the demonstrator or the deceits and battles of the sophist. For all alike contribute to one another, and each man is the ready in the branch of study he has set himself as he is better equipped in the branch which is neighbour and contiguous to it. Therefore, both analytics and sophistry benefit and profit the inventor, and likewise topics the judge; at the same time I will readily concede that each is dominant in its own set field, and the benefits conferred by its neighbour are accessory¹ ».

J. B. Hall's correct translation here of the Latin *et accessorium esse beneficium cohaerentis* as "the benefits conferred by its neighbour are accessory" translates only partially the sense of this complicated passage. John of Salisbury is arguing essentially that the "accessory benefits" which arise between the neighbouring fields of dialectic and oratory lie in each field's ability to afford to the other field greater access to argumentative precision, that is, they go to the heart of the matter.

Christine's use of *accessoire* in a rhetorical sense may suggest that she was influenced, albeit indirectly, by contacts with various intellectuals whom she frequented in Paris, by John of Salisbury's position on the utility of Aristotelian rhetoric². As tantalizing as this observation is, it needs to

1 *Ioannis Saresberiensis Metalogicon*, ed. J. B. Hall, Turnhout, Brepols, 1991, p. 119; translation: John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, trans. and notes by J. B. Hall, Turnhout, Brepols, 2013, p. 261.

2 The influence of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* on Christine has most recently been examined by Fr. Lachaud, "Plutarque si dit et recorde... : L'influence du *Policraticus* de Jean de Salisbury sur Christine de Pizan et Jean Gerson", *Hommes, cultures et sociétés à la fin du Moyen Âge : liber discipulorum en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine*, ed. P. Gilli, Paris, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2012, p. 47-68. John of Salisbury does, however, use the adjective *accessorius* – without reference to *principalis*, with which it almost always is used – in the *Policraticus* (VII, 8, 21): "Si ergo bona omnia sapientiae accessoria sunt, et

be taken as a suggestive hypothesis for future research which may help demonstrate that Christine's rhetorical strategies were consistent with late Medieval Latin practice. The controversial, but nevertheless important, reservations voiced by Joël Blanchard regarding Christine's participation in the Latin culture of her contemporaries in a classic article from 1993¹, while perhaps now somewhat outdated, remain a necessary and salutary warning for exaggerating Christine's Latinity. The issue remains the determination of Christine's position at the interface of Latin and vernacular culture.

ICONOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES AND ACCESSORIES A "Dogged" Question, also involving a Harp and a White Crow

Ever since Erwin Panofsky published his analysis iconographic attributes in Jan van Eyck's 1434 painting of the Arnolfini Portrait (London, National Gallery), art historians have been particularly sensitive to the disguised symbolic messages conveyed by attributes presented in art historical works². The same may also be said about Giovanni Bellini's Saint Francis in the Desert, from around 1480 (New York, The Frick Collection)³. While both of these fifteenth-century works postdate

philosophia studium sapientiae, profecto philosophandi contemptus bonorum omnium exclusio est" (my italics) [*Iohannes Sarisberiensis Policraticus episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, ed. C. C. J. Webb, Oxford, Clarendon, 1909, v. 2, p. 121].

- 1 J. Blanchard, "Christine de Pizan : une laïque au pays des clercs", « *Et c'est la fin pour quoy sommes ensemble* » : *Hommage à Jean Dufournet*, ed. J.-Cl. Aubailly et al., Paris, Champion, 1993, v. 1, p. 215-226.
- 2 E. Panofsky, "Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," *The Burlington Magazine*, 64/372, 1934, p. 117-119, 122-127. For the subsequent discussion, see also: J. B. Bedaux, "The Reality of Symbols: The Question of Disguised Symbolism in Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait", *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 16/1, 1986, p. 5-28, online at jstor; L. Seidel, "Jan van Eyck's *Portrait*: business as usual?", *Critical Inquiry*, 16/1, 1989, p. 54-86; E. Hall, *The Arnolfini Betrothal: Medieval Marriage and the Enigma of Van Eyck's Double Portrait*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994; and C. Hicks, *Girl in a Green Gown: The History and Mystery of the Arnolfini Portrait*, London, Random House, 2011.
- 3 M. Meiss, *Giovanni Bellini's St. Francis in the Frick Collection*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1964; and H. Wohl, "The Subject of Giovanni Bellini's St. Francis in the Frick

Christine, the attention which their artists paid to attributes underlines the importance of iconographic accessories which serve to comment on the subjects portrayed. Their function corresponds to, and flows from, the *beneficium accessorium* evoked by John of Salisbury. That Christine deployed traditional iconographic attributes in the illuminations whose execution she supervised is a well-known fact, beginning with the attributes which she assigns to two of the Three Virtues, Reason and Justice, at the beginning of the *Cité des Dames*. Yet even here Christine shows that she does not follow iconographic traditions in a mechanical or servile fashion, for her definition of the attribute of Droiture is clearly untraditional simply because there was no traditional iconographic model for this allegorical figure. Christine's Three Virtues depart from the potentially expected triad of *Ratio*, *Aequitas* and *Justitia*¹. In other words, Christine's use of iconographic attributes was certainly deliberate, self-conscious and well-conceived. One particularly clear illustration of this phenomenon would be the illumination which introduces *Une Oroison de la Vie et Passion de Nostre Seigneur* in the Queen's Manuscript, fol. 257^{r2}. Here all the traditional instruments of Christ's Passion or *arma Christi* – standard iconographic accessories – are presented, consistent with the iconographic pattern associated with the *Christ de pitié*, perhaps best known today as being represented in a somewhat simplified form in the "Croix de la Salette", often worn by traditional French Catholics.

With all this having been said, one iconographic question has in fact long challenged researchers of Christine's works. Why does she portray herself with a dog when she depicts herself in her *cele*, composing her works, as the well-known illuminations found at the beginning of the *Cent ballades* in BnF, fr. 835, fol. 1^r, and British Library, Harley 4431, fol. 4^r? After reviewing the portrayal of a little white dog in the illuminations found in BnF, fr. 835, fol. 1^r, Harley 4431, fol. 4^r, and Munich, Codex gall. 11, fol. 2^r (and also found in ex-Phillips 128, fol. 7^r), Susan Groag Bell suggested, "Perhaps the little white dog by her side [...] was also there to comfort

Collection", *Mosaics of Friendship: Studies in Art and History for Eve Borsook*, ed. O. Francisci Osti, Florence, 1999, p. 187-198.

1 See my article: "Christine de Pizan and Medieval Jurisprudence", *Contexts and Continuities, Proceedings of the Fourth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (July 2000)*, ed. A. J. Kennedy *et al.*, Glasgow, University of Glasgow Press, 2002, p. 747-766.

2 Online at: <http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/gallery/pages/257r.htm>.

her”¹. Christine does not always portray herself with a little white dog, so it must be of special significance when she does. In the instance of the *Cent ballades*, it would seem that the little dog corresponds to the refrain of the first ballade, *Pour accomplir leur bonne volonté* (*Œuvres poétiques*, ed. M. Roy, v. 1, p. 1) that is, the act of writing the *Cent ballades* was an exhibition of a loyalty to the people who asked her to compose them in the first place. But what about the other examples of iconographic accessories in her works?

In order to sketch out a brief and suggestive answer to this question, it is important to examine two passages where Christine gives specific instructions regarding attributes to be portrayed in an illumination accompanying the text. The first example is from the *Epistre Othea*, chapter eight, which discusses the allegorical significance of Saturn for the education of the good knight. In the text of this chapter found in Harley 4431, fol. 100^v-101^r, Christine adds instructions not found in the earliest manuscript of the *Othea*, BnF, fr. 848, fol. 4^{r2}:

Le souleil, que anciennement ilz nommerent Phebus ou Appollo, est planette qui enlumine ou esclere toutes choses troubles et obscures, qui signifie verité, qui esclere toutes choses troubles et muciees; et pour ce y a gens dessoubz qui font signe jurer et faire serment de dire verité. Il tient une harpe qui peut estre pris pour bel accort et doulx son, qui est en la vertu de verité; il a coste soy un corbel qui signifie le premier aage du siecle qui fu net et puis noirci par les pechez des creatures³.

It is actually unclear if this passage belongs to “allégorie” section of chapter eight. In any event, the illuminator duly depicts Saturn with a harp and a white crow (and the crow is deliberately portrayed as white, following Christine’s instructions, in order to emphasize its purity which subsequently came to be blackened by sin, turning the crow into a harbinger of disaster)⁴.

The attributes or *accessoires* which Christine deploys here are important details which correspond to those given in the new text. The instructions

1 S. Groag Bell, “Christine de Pizan in Her Study”, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* [En ligne], *Études christiniennes*, mis en ligne le 10 juin 2008, consulté le 10 janvier 2014. URL : <http://crm.revues.org/3212>, p. 5.

2 Online at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>.

3 *L'Epistre Othea*, ed. G. Parussa, Genève, Droz, 1999, p. 216.

4 Réau, *Iconographie*, p. 129 : “[Le corbeau] s’oppose par sa noirceur à la blanche colombe, messagère de l’Annonciation et l’image des âmes sauvées.”

to the illuminator reflect Christine's self-conscious use of iconographic attributes to complement the written text.

The second example where Christine gives instructions to the illuminator (although in this case the illuminator failed to follow them) is found in the *Mutacion de Fortune*, BnF, fr. 603, fol. 127^{r1}. There, lightly scratched out, is the following text:

Histoire doit estre en cest espace qui la veult faire en livre et doit estre sicomme une gra[n]t sale comme se elle fust peinte et pourtraite autour d'istories de batailles de roys et roynes a deux rens.

The illumination does in fact depict murals on two walls, but their details are vague, at best. One can make out a jousting scene and two knights duelling with swords, but otherwise there are no battle scenes. In their place, and in a striking gesture, the illuminator has added two small dogs (not mentioned in the text) accompanying Christine during her visit to the *chastel de Fortune*. Why were the two small dogs suddenly so important? Gilbert Ouy, Christine Reno and Inès Villela-Petit observe that the original owner of BnF, fr. 603 was probably a member of the Armagnac faction². Now, if one takes the traditional iconographic symbolism of a dog as representing fidelity, was the addition of these two dogs meant to underscore Christine's loyalty to this faction at the time when this manuscript was copied (generally thought to have been 1410/1411)? Now, if one compares the presence in the Queen's chambers depicted in the Harley 4431 frontispiece (from 1413/1414) of both a small lap dog sitting next to the Queen and a greyhound in the corner of the room with the dogs accompanying Christine in the castle of Fortune in BnF, fr. 603, as well with the little dog in Christine's self-portraits, the significance of the dog as iconographic accessory in Christine's works would seem to underscore in the first place Christine's fidelity to her patrons, especially to Isabeau, and in the second place, in the case of the frontispiece, Isabeau's fidelity to the King (the lap dog sitting next to her) and to the monarchy itself (the greyhound in the corner). Isabeau's personal role in the union of the royal French house and the house of Wittelsbach prominently figures in the tapestries of

1 Transcribed by G. Ouy, C. Reno, I. Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2012, p. 302, n. 31. Online at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>.

2 Ouy, Reno and Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan*, p. 297.

the arms of each house hanging from the walls of the Queen's chamber. The iconographic emphasis on Isabeau's fidelity to the monarchy corresponds to Christine's repeated defense of Isabeau's regency and of her well-known role as a mediator between the rival factions. Placing the greyhound in the corner who "points" at the Queen's court underscores how the Queen's court fulfills its key function of a providing a model of *coagulence regulée* within the realm.

For this reason, the loyalty implied by the dog as iconographic *accessoire* corresponds not only to the political passion displayed in the "graphic vivacity" of Christine's signature at the end of the *Epistre à la Reine* in BnF, fr. 580, fol. 54^v, but also to Christine's literal self-characterization there as "vostre humble obeissant creature," an image published recently by Liliane Dulac and Christine Reno in their exhaustive treatment of the problem of self-portraiture in Christine's manuscripts. Commenting on the Christine's passionate engagement in her political treatises, they note: "Peut-être pourrait-on se hasarder à voir un reflet de cette vivacité de sentiments dans quelques particularités graphiques d'une main qu'on a identifiée avec vraisemblance dans de nombreux manuscrits comme celle de Christine, et qui se caractérise par une certaine exubérance"¹.

The brief comments here are meant to encourage future research into the many other accessories hidden in Christine's works, particularly her descriptions of iconographical attributes in the *Othea*. They reveal once again the often unsuspected richness of her writings and how deeply imbued they were with the legal, rhetorical and iconographic culture of the late Middle Ages.

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1 L. Dulac and C. Reno, "Les autoportraits de Christine de Pizan", *L'Autoportrait dans la littérature française du Moyen Âge au xvii^e siècle*, ed. É. Gaucher-Rémond and J. Garapon, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013, p. 49-69, at p. 66, reproduction of BnF, fr. 580, fol. 54^v in Figure 7.