

THE THEME OF FORTUNE IN THE WORKS OF CHRISTINE DE PIZAN

by

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## ABSTRACT

### THE THEME OF FORTUNE IN THE WORKS OF CHRISTINE DE PIZAN

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University of Glasgow, 1994  
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This thesis explores one of the most interesting and central themes of Christine de Pizan's works, namely the theme of Fortune, a topic which raises key philosophical issues in any debate on divine providence, free will and chance. As such, the theme has considerable light to shed on Christine's development as a thinker and a writer.

Chapter I provides a general context and focus for this study by (a) examining those aspects of Christine's life which explain why she was prompted to reflect on the nature of the goddess Fortune, and by (b) defining the categories of belief regarding Fortune that Christine would have been familiar with through her reading. This latter section also includes a discussion of the traditional remedies to be adopted against the workings of this goddess. The thesis then examines in detail the theme of Fortune as it occurs in Christine's writings. Three successive chapters (II, III and IV) look respectively at Christine's early works composed from 1394-1403, the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune (a text devoted entirely to the theme of Fortune), and finally the works composed over the period 1403-1429. Incidences of Christine's use of the theme of Fortune were identified and analysed for any significance with regard to the form of writing, the type of work, and the category of the goddess, whether Pagan, Christian or Annihilated. These features were also studied to identify any trends or evolutions in Christine's treatment of the theme.

It was found that neither the form of writing, poetry or prose, nor the kind of writing, secular or didactic, had much significance on Christine's use of the theme. Christine did, however, quite consistently avoid the use of the theme of Fortune in religious works. This approach reflects the Church's attitude towards the goddess which was to deny her any power. The goddess was predominantly depicted as pagan in character and negative in influence. It was also found that Christine's attitude to the goddess did evolve over time. Initially, Christine used Fortune as a target for her grief and anger, seeing herself very much as an impotent victim of this capricious goddess. Eventually, after much reflection on the nature of the goddess Christine achieves a kind of philosophical mastery over Fortune through the use of stoic virtues such as personal strength, patience, and endurance, through the development of wisdom and prudence, and ultimately through the Christian virtues of hope and unquestioning faith in God's purpose and providence.

To my father, Robert Watt M.B.E. (1921-1993)



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My most sincere appreciation and gratitude goes to Professor Angus J. Kennedy who supervised this project indefatigably, year after year. Without his expert guidance and patient support this thesis would never have been completed. Needless to say, however, the shortcomings of this work are entirely mine.

I also wish to thank my colleagues at Old Dominion University Library who have assisted me with their professional support, and all those friends who have encouraged and supported me personally in this long endeavour.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### CHRISTINE DE PIZAN AND THE GODDESS FORTUNE

And blest are those  
Whose blood and judgement are so well commedled  
That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger  
To sound what stop she please.

Shakespeare, Hamlet

This thesis will explore what may initially appear to be a narrow and circumscribed area of study, namely, the theme of Fortune<sup>1</sup> in the works of Christine de Pizan. In fact the Fortune theme raises general philosophical and theological questions of great significance, given that, ever since the beginnings of Christianity, it has been central to debates on divine providence, free will, fate, and God's ability to create and control all things. J.C. Frakes explains the problem thus:

The philosophical and theological problems evoked by fortuna are myriad, extending to both the ethical and metaphysical levels: what value is to be assigned to transitory earthly goods - wealth, power, fame, honors, bodily pleasures - as opposed to the one, eternal, spiritual good, the summum bonum? What legitimacy can reward and punishment by means of these goods have, if they are governed by an external, capricious power such as Fortuna? If this value and legitimacy are denied, the question follows, what is to be the goal of human existence, since the traditional opposition of good and evil is thus rendered invalid (since, as Boethius' Prisoner laments, evil men often enjoy earthly goods, while the virtuous languish in destitution)?<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The goddess will be consistently termed 'Fortune' in this study irrespective of the term used in the original texts.

<sup>2</sup>J.C. Frakes, The Fate of Fortune in the Early Middle Ages (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), P.4.

The power attributed to the goddess Fortune was thus akin to the power most theologies, including the Christian one, attributed to their deity. This inevitably produced a tension between the two deities, Fortune and God, in the monotheistic Christian civilization. Fortune's power and popularity, and the problem she therefore presented to God is perhaps best explained by Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79):

Inuenit tamen inter has utrasque sententias medium sibi ipsa mortalitas numen, quo minus etiam plana de deo coniectatio esset. toto quippe mundo et omnibus locis omnibusque horis omnium uocibus Fortuna sola inuocatur ac nominatur, una accusatur, rea una agitur, una cogitatur, sola laudatur, sola arguitur et cum conuiciis colitur, uolubilis... que, a plerisque uero et caeca existimata, uaga, inconstans, incerta, uaria, indignorumque faulrix. huic omnia expensa, huic feruntur accepta, et in tota ratione mortalium, sola utramque paginam facit, adeoque obnoxiae sumus sortis, ut prorsus ipsa pro deo sit qua deus probatur incertus.<sup>3</sup>

Given this problem, many philosophers and theologians have since attempted to settle the question of Fortune. The discussion continued unabated, however, up to the late Middle Ages, when Fortune was still a very popular and highly influential figure.

Christine de Pizan was not isolated from the influence of this figure, indeed she made extensive use of it, Fortune being one of the most pervasive themes in her works. Excluding

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<sup>3</sup>G. Plinius Secundus, Naturalis Historiae, Book II, Chap.5. Translated thus in the 1855 Bohn edition, Vol.1, P.23 by J. Bostock and H.T. Riley: "Among these discordant opinions mankind have discovered for themselves a kind of intermediate deity, by which our skepticism concerning God is still increased. For all over the world, in all places and at all times, Fortune is the only god whom everyone invokes; she alone is spoken of, she alone is accused and is supposed to be guilty; she alone is in our thoughts; is praised and blamed and loaded with reproaches; wavering as she is, conceived by the generality of mankind to be blind, wandering, inconstant, uncertain, variable, and often favouring the unworthy. To her are referred all our losses and all our gains, and in casting up the accounts of mortals she alone balances the two pages of our sheet. We are so much in the power of chance, that change itself is considered as a God and the existence of God becomes doubtful."

the extensive work entitled the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, which deals at length with the topic of Fortune, there are no fewer than 241 references to Fortune as a personalised goddess in Christine's works. There are also 62 references to non-personalised fortune, whether good or bad. The prevalence of this theme seems to indicate that Fortune represented more to Christine than a mere convenient literary device or erudite classical reference. This thesis will attempt to determine what Fortune did indeed represent to Christine and how the concept of Fortune and Christine's attitude to it evolved through the course of her life.

This chapter will first attempt to provide a general context and focus by offering a brief outline of Christine de Pizan's life (pp.3-24), followed by a closer examination of those events which led Christine to contemplate and reflect on the nature of Fortune (pp.24-35).

Secondly (pp.35-55), the history and character of Fortune from classical times up to the Middle Ages will be studied with especial reference to those works of philosophy and literature which were known to have influenced Christine.

Thirdly (pp.55-58), the nature of belief in the goddess Fortune that was to be found in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries will be categorised. Christine's use of Fortune will be analysed with regard to these categories in subsequent chapters.

Finally those remedies considered possible against the workings of Fortune will be discussed (pp.58-60). Christine's use of these remedies will also be analysed in subsequent chapters.

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Christine de Pizan was born in Venice about 1364 of Italian parents.<sup>4</sup> Her father, Tommaso di Benvenuto da Pizzano, was born in Bologna and educated there at the celebrated University of Bologna where he obtained the degree of doctor of medicine. He specialised in astrology and later lectured in this subject at his alma mater.

A teaching colleague, Tommaso Mondino da Forlì, encouraged him to move to Venice which he did in 1357, probably being employed by the city, possibly in the health services. Tommaso there married Mondino's daughter who subsequently gave birth to Christine and two sons, Paolo and Aghinolfo, whose dates of birth are not known.

Shortly after Christine's birth Tommaso returned with his family to Bologna in order to attend to personal business. While in Bologna, he accepted a post as astrologer and physician at the French court of Charles V. The stature and reputation of Christine's father is indicated by the fact that not only the prestigious court of France wished to obtain Tommaso's services but also the Hungarian court of Louis II.

Tommaso went to the French court expecting to return to Italy in a year or two, but such was his popularity with Charles V that he was eventually persuaded to remain there. He sent for his family which was presented to Charles V in the December of 1368. Although only about four years old when she arrived in France, Christine retained great pride in her Italian heritage throughout her life.

The French king, known as Charles le Sage, was a model of good government, having achieved peace within France and having succeeded in improving the country's finances while

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<sup>4</sup>Biographical details not otherwise specified have been taken from C.C. Willard's Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works (New York: Persea Books, 1984).

reducing taxes.<sup>5</sup> He was also interested in all aspects of learning and the arts, being a generous patron to Tomasso whose family therefore lived in comfort and prestige close to the court. Christine's childhood in France was thus a splendid one.

Christine's mother appears to have been quite traditional with regard to her daughter's education and did not entirely approve of Christine's intellectual tendencies. Her father, however, was willing to teach her what he could, without concern for the fact that she was a girl. This early informal exposure to the arts and sciences gave Christine the taste for learning which she was later to develop in a deliberate and methodical way.

About 1380, Christine was married at the age of 15 to Etienne de Castel, a young man of good family but little inheritance. Etienne, a university graduate ten years her senior, was a notary by profession and was, in the year of their marriage, granted a life-time appointment as a royal secretary. This marriage is consistently described by Christine as a happy one, the couple having two sons and a daughter.

In the same year as her marriage, a major national event occurred which was to affect Christine's life profoundly. The king, Charles V, died on September 16, 1380, ushering in a period of internal strife among the princes of the blood in France which was to continue unresolved throughout the rest of Christine's lifetime. Since the king's successor, Charles VI, was a minor, a regency of the late king's three brothers was instituted. These regents, the duc d'Anjou, the duc de Bourgogne and the duc de Berry, proceeded to plunder the royal treasuries and sow discord in the country with their greed and arrogance. On a more personal

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<sup>5</sup>General historical information is taken from Thompson and Johnson's An Introduction to Medieval Europe: 300-1500 and Dujarric's Manuel de Chronologie de l'Histoire de France.

level, both Christine's father and husband lost their employer with the death of Charles V. Charles V's interest in astrology and his esteem for Tommaso's learning had provided a comfortable living for the Pizzano family. However, this patronage was to be continued only erratically and much reduced by the future king, Charles VI. During this period, 1380-1387, Tommaso's reputation suffered as did his health. He had made no provision for reverses in fortune and his infirmity drained the family resources.

Tommaso died around 1387, upon which his two sons left for Italy to claim and dispose of inheritances in Bologna and Pizzano. Thus Etienne de Castel, who appears to have remained secure in his position as a royal secretary even after Charles V's death, became the new head of the household.

This situation, however, did not continue for long. Towards the end of 1390, Etienne died suddenly of an infectious disease contracted while visiting Beauvais with the king. Christine was devastated with grief and yet had to face the responsibilities of heading a household comprising her three children, her widowed mother and a niece. Apparently Christine did not receive any help from her brothers. Certainly they did not take on the responsibility of supporting their sister, their mother or Christine's niece (who was possibly the daughter of one of the brothers?). Perhaps no offer of help was forthcoming or perhaps it was insufficient. However it came about, Christine assumed sole responsibility for the household.

Christine was only 25 years old and ill-prepared for the task. The greatest problems she now faced were financial. Like most wives of the time, Christine was ignorant of her husband's financial situation and she found that, unprotected as she was, there were many



eager to cheat her out of money owing to her husband. She looked to the courts for justice and merely found herself embroiled in several legal cases, which dragged on in various courts across Paris for the next 14 years. Eventually, with the help of friends, her household's finances improved. She alleviated her economic distress by selling the Château de Mémorant, a piece of property near Melun which was given to her father by Charles V. This she sold to Philippe de Mézières, a courtier and writer whom her family had known in Venice.

In 1392, after five years of widowhood, Christine suffered a long illness which was almost certainly exacerbated by weariness over her financial and legal struggles.

In the same year, Charles VI, who had dismissed the regents four years earlier and had recalled many of his father's wise advisers, experienced the first attack of the madness from which he was never fully to recover. This resulted in an absence of leadership in the realm which led to various political factions vying for power.

Christine eventually recovered from her illness and subsequently embarked on her prolonged course of study. Indeed, Christine's works contain references to many authors, indicating that she had read widely. She may have gained access to these works in a number of ways.

Christine's father may well have been involved in procuring books from Bologna, a major centre of book production, for Charles V. Thus Christine would have known the royal librarian, Gilles Malet, who almost certainly gave her access to the extensive royal collection for her personal study.

It is also likely that during this period, 1390-1399, Christine had a source of income in addition to the monies which she may have recovered through her law suits. C.C. Willard

proposes<sup>6</sup> the theory that Christine may have worked as a scribal assistant for the royal chancellery or as a copyist in the flourishing book publishing trade. This theory seems likely as the occupation of copyist was one of the rare occupations open to women, and Christine's handwriting has been identified as an official cursive script. Certainly when she later published her own works she appeared to be very knowledgeable in all aspects of book production. Working as a copyist would have exposed her to the works of many more authors.

Thus far, Christine's life had been fairly typical of that of a woman from a courtier's family, albeit one who had suffered severe reverses through the death of her providers. Yet at this point, although she was almost certainly not fully conscious of her literary vocation, she was in fact about to embark on a long, unique and highly productive literary career, eventually becoming the first woman writer in France to earn her living by her pen.

About 1394, Christine wrote her first works.<sup>7</sup> These were verses in fixed forms, such as ballades, virelays and rondeaux.

The almost exclusive use of the poetic form in Christine's early works may be attributed to several factors.

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<sup>6</sup>Willard, Christine de Pizan, P.47.

<sup>7</sup>It is difficult to establish exact dates for many of Christine's writings, especially during this early period. Most of the early works are lyric poems, published in collections, for which the assigned dates are only approximate. As demonstrated by J.C. Laidlaw in Christine de Pizan - An Author's Progress, when successive editions were prepared, poems were often altered or replaced. Hence, some of the collections were actually written over a considerable period of time. In this study, I have used the working chronology published in Vol.1, No.1 of the Christine de Pizan Society Newsletter.

It is unlikely that Christine, as a woman, would have been taught to write in any particular style, or for any specific purpose. Indeed, Christine was fortunate in having a father who indulged her intellectual curiosity by giving her some informal education. This was, however, quite unusual as noted by E.A. Petroff:

Women who were destined to marry and bear children did not ordinarily receive a literary education: ability to read and write and access to literary texts were considered irrelevant, if not dangerous, for all but consecrated religious women until the thirteenth century. From the thirteenth century on, laywomen were often taught to read and write in the vernacular languages, so that they might be more effective in running large households or more useful in the family business, but not for the sake of writing literature.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, although Christine may have worked as a scribe enabling her to learn an official form of writing, she lacked training in 'creative' writing. She therefore probably lacked confidence, at least initially, as a writer. Indeed, she frequently plays down her intelligence and her writing, as illustrated in her letter to Jehan Johannez, the Prévôt de Lille, in 1401:

...de par moy Cristine de Pizan, femme ignorant d'entendement et de sentement legier - pour lesquelles choses vostre sagesce aucunement n'ait en despris la petitesse de mes raisons, ains vueille supplioier par la consideracion de ma femmenine foiblece.<sup>9</sup>

However, her frequently adopted posture of humility also reflected the custom of the time, and may partly derive from a pragmatic need to avoid alienating men who might otherwise have been offended by such an outspoken woman. Although she may indeed have felt initially insecure and frustrated with the level of her education, the fact that she embarked

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<sup>8</sup>E.A. Petroff, ed., Medieval Women's Visionary Literature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), P.4.

<sup>9</sup>E. Hicks, ed., Christine de Pisan, Jean Gerson, Jean de Montreuil, Gontier et Pierre Col: 'Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose,' Bibliothèque du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, XLIII (Paris: Champion, 1977), P.12.

on her writing career at all shows that she believed that she had something to impart to her readers, as well as the ability to do so.

Since she appeared to be highly methodical in her approach to both study and writing, it is to be expected that she would have made use of any study tools she discovered. Eustache Deschamps wrote a prose treatise on versification, in 1392, entitled L'Art de dicter et de faire chançons, ballades, virelais, et rondeaus which Christine utilized in forming her first works. She considered herself greatly indebted to Deschamps and wrote an epistle in 1404 which illustrates her regard for him. It ends:

210                   Christine de Pizan, ancelle  
                          De Science, que cest an celle  
                          Occuppacion tint vaillant,  
                          Ta disciple et ta bienveillant.<sup>10</sup>

Predictably then, when inspired to express herself, she closely followed the teachings of an expert. By using accepted and established forms of poetry, the validity of which could not be disputed since they were advocated by a celebrated poet, Christine lent credibility to her own self-expression.

Petroff discusses the two areas of writing which were most readily open to women. These were secular love literature, usually written in vernacular verse, and devotional literature, which was usually written in vernacular prose. Discussing the former, she states:

In reading the poems of the women troubadours or the lais of Marie de France we note a number of remarkable female voices, confident in expressing their ideas and fully competent in a literary language that shapes words to these ends. It is likely that this confident tone, this sense of the authority to write, was related to the current interest in the subjective experience of love expressed by the male troubadours and

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<sup>10</sup>M. Roy, ed., Oeuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan, Société d'Anciens Textes Français (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1891-1896. Reprinted New York: Johnson, 1965), Vol.2, P.301.

the male romance writers such as Chrétien de Troyes. There was no intrinsic reason why women's skill in the poetic handling of the vernacular could not be as developed as that of men, for a traditional scholastic education acquired in Latin was not thought to be essential for the writing of love poetry.<sup>11</sup>

Petroff goes on to explain that, by the same token, it was acceptable for women to write about their own pious experiences. Women frequently described themselves as mere instruments of God whose will it was that they communicate their personal mystical experiences to others. In both these areas of writing, women expressed their subjective experiences, topics in which their authority could not be challenged.

At the time, verse was mainly used in personal or literary works, while prose was employed in official documentation which was rarely written in the vernacular. For the most part, literature written in the vernacular emanated from the oral, poetic tradition. However, religious and devotional works in prose were often written, or translated into, the vernacular since women, who wrote a considerable amount of such literature and were often exhorted by society to study it, were generally unfamiliar with Latin. S.G. Bell comments:

Most devotional literature in the early Middle Ages was written in Latin, a language accessible only to a small sector of lay society. Medieval laywomen's knowledge of Latin was even rarer than that of laymen, who were often taught Latin in preparation for a possible career in the church. Since women were expected to read devotional literature, it is not surprising that they played an important role as instigators of vernacular translations from the Latin and of vernacular literature in general.<sup>12</sup>

There is no evidence that Christine understood the classical languages, her consistent use of sources translated from Latin and Greek not being unusual for the time.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Petroff, Visionary Literature, Pp.4-5.

<sup>12</sup>S.G. Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture,' Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society Vol.7, No.4, P.758.

<sup>13</sup>Willard, Christine de Pizan, P.159.

Thus, when Christine began her literary career, the use of verse and the vernacular would have been obvious choices for her. She was thus following established tradition by starting to write in verse on secular subjects such as her personal experience as a widow. Later, when Christine embarked on writing didactic works, her choice of format evolved to prose. Only when thus venturing into writing in prose to express her opinions and discuss topics outside her direct experience, did Christine's writing take on a newer, more revolutionary direction.

She wrote initially for her own pleasure but as these poetical works proved to be very popular, her writing eventually came to be well known and appreciated in court circles. The first court which Christine was to frequent was that of the king's brother, Louis, duc d'Orléans whose wife, Valentina Visconti, was Italian. Perhaps this shared Italian heritage helped to introduce Christine to the Orléans court.

Her growing reputation as a poet gained her access to the nobility and to other influential people. She renewed her acquaintance with officials such as Gilles Malet, the royal librarian and master of Valentina's household; Jean de Montaigu, counsellor to the king and grand master of his household; Bureau de la Rivière, royal chancellor; and she met courtiers such as Guillaume de Tignonville, the duke's chamberlain and later provost of Paris; Jean de Garençières, poet and subsequently bailiff of Senlis; and the celebrated poet, Eustache Deschamps. These contacts assisted Christine in providing for her family in several ways.

In 1397, Christine's daughter, Marie, was permitted to enter the Dominican convent at Poissy. Since Charles VI's five year old daughter, also named Marie, was joining the convent, the crown donated dowries to the religious community to allow other young girls

to enter the convent to serve as companions to the princess. The Abbey's prioress was herself a royal princess and none could be admitted without the king's authorization. Christine's daughter was chosen as one of these companions, this being a prestigious and secure situation for the child.

Christine met John Montague, the Earl of Salisbury, while he was in Paris in 1398. The earl, himself a poet, was impressed with Christine's works and offered to take Christine's son, Jean, into his household as a companion for his own son who was about the same age. Christine accepted this offer, believing that Salisbury's favoured position at the English court of Richard II could only be beneficial for her son.

It appears that Christine's younger son died during the period that Jean was in England with Salisbury, that is from 1398 to 1400. Thus by the end of the century the number of people that Christine had to support had been reduced from six to three: her widowed mother, her niece and herself.

By 1399 or 1400, Christine was gathering her poetry into collections such as the Cent ballades. These poetic works were being circulated and becoming known not only throughout the French courts, but in England and at the Visconti court in Milan. Christine was also beginning to write longer works such as her Epistre au dieu d'Amours, which was written in May, 1399 and the Dit de Poissy and Débat de deux amans which were both written in 1400. It was from this point that Christine herself dated the beginning of her literary career.

Christine then began to move away from writing courtly poetry and ventured into writing works dealing with more serious topics. From 1399-1400, she wrote the Epistre

d'Othea, a lengthy allegorical work intended to educate young men preparing for knighthood. This was the first work she wrote mainly in prose.

Unfortunately, the well-being of her own son, Jean, became a cause for concern again around this time. Jean's guardian, the Earl of Salisbury, was killed early in 1400 and the new English king, Henry IV, who had acceded to the throne in 1399, assumed Jean's guardianship. Henry admired Christine's works and wished to lure her to his court. However, Christine did not approve of Henry and after some prevaricating, manoeuvring and the gift of some of her works, she obtained her son's safe return to France.

Hoping in general for recognition and patronage, and in particular for a secure position for her son, Christine had dedicated several works, including the Epistre d'Othea, the Débat de deux amans, the Dit de la rose, to Louis, duc d'Orléans. These hopes were continually disappointed and she finally looked elsewhere for support.

In the meantime, Christine's renown spread beyond courtly circles when she became involved in the celebrated debate over the narrative poem, the Roman de la Rose. This debate was begun in 1401 by Jean de Montreuil, a royal secretary, and concerned the literary merits of that portion of the poem written by Jean de Meung. Christine had already, in 1399, made public her poor opinion of certain aspects of Jean de Meung's work in comments written in the Epistre au dieu d'Amours. She now entered the debate to reject Jean de Meung's assessment of women's behaviour and morality and to defend the reputation of women.

The debate followed the style of an Italian humanist debate, being largely an exchange of correspondence, and continued until 1404 by which time it had degenerated into a very



public and vituperative battle. Those involved in supporting Jean de Meung were the above-mentioned Jean de Montreuil, along with Gontier Col, a cleric and diplomat, who became Christine's main opponent, and Pierre Col, his brother, a canon of Notre Dame. Christine's main supporter in this debate was Jean Gerson, a cleric and the holder of the powerful position of Chancellor of the University of Paris. She was possibly also aided by Pierre d'Ailly, the bishop of Cambrai. As a result of her involvement in this debate, Christine's writings and opinions became known in a broader intellectual arena.

Indeed, towards the end of 1401, Giangaleazzo Visconti invited Christine to his court in Milan, where her poetry had become known and appreciated. Christine appears to have been considering this prospect seriously before Giangaleazzo's sudden death in September 1402 put an end to this possible source of patronage.

The years 1400-1405, were to be astoundingly productive ones. In addition to a number of short works in verse, Christine continued to write lengthy works in which she could display her erudition and express her opinions.

The Dit de la rose, a poem which deplores the behaviour of contemporary lovers and purports to found a new order to promote the honourable treatment of women, was written in 1402 while the debate on the Roman de la Rose was still in progress.

Between 1402 and 1403, Christine wrote three relatively short devotional works in verse, the Oroyson Nostre Dame, the Quinze joyes Nostre Dame and the Oroyson Nostre Seigneur.

In 1403, she wrote the Dit de la pastoure, a lyric work dealing with an ill-fated love affair between a shepherdess and a nobleman. In the same year, she completed the Livre du

chemin de long estude, an allegory inspired by Boethius and Dante which describes the pursuit of knowledge and demonstrates the superiority of Reason. In this work she touches on the political situation in France for the first time.

Also in 1403, she wrote the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, a lengthy verse work dealing with the goddess Fortune in all her aspects and including a history of the world. Christine presented this work to the king's uncle, Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne.

Philippe was so impressed by Christine's writings on history that he commissioned her to prepare an official biography of his brother, Charles V. This biography was to describe the excellence of the late king and his reign, ensuring that his good example would be passed down to the future kings of France. Given Charles VI's continued bouts of madness, he could not be depended upon to perform this vital educational function. Written in 1404, Christine's Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V was one of the earliest secular biographies produced and it was the first work written by Christine entirely in prose.

The Livre de la prod'homme de l'homme which examines and extols the use of prudence was also completed in 1404.

1405 saw Christine return to one of her favourite subjects, that of the defence of women, in two prose works. The Livre de la cité des dames, influenced by Boccaccio, lists famous women, describing their good characters and their contributions to society. Christine not only uses mythological and historical examples but also cites contemporary examples of commendable women. The Livre des trois vertus or Trésor de la cité des dames is a manual which teaches women of all stations how to behave in order to live an honourable life and

make the best of their situations. She dedicated this work to the 11 year old Marguerite de Nevers, Philippe le Hardi's grand-daughter who had recently been married to the dauphin, Louis de Guyenne.

The Avision-Christine, Christine's last lengthy allegorical work, was also written in 1405. In this work, she again examines the problems evident in French society and government, and includes another history of the world and a very interesting autobiographical section. Christine's main intention was, however, to help resolve the continuing political instability in France. Earlier in 1405 Christine had written her Epistre à la reine, entreating the queen, Isabeau de Bavière, to mediate in the power struggle between the duc d'Orléans and the duc de Bourgogne.

Christine almost certainly presented the Avision-Christine to Jean sans Peur, the new duc de Bourgogne, the death of Philippe le Hardi depriving her of someone who had appeared to be a promising patron. Jean sans Peur did, however, continue to support Christine, even paying for the biography of Charles V which had been commissioned by his father. He later took Christine's son, Jean de Castel, into his household and also provided a dowry enabling Christine's niece to be married in 1406. This further reduced Christine's burden of responsibility. Several members of the House of Burgundy continued to provide patronage for Christine. At last, Christine was appreciated in a way that led to her having a certain measure of financial security. This new-found security and confidence contributed to her moving away from writing on personal subjects towards more historical, didactic and political ones. Such topics also reflected the more serious interests of the Burgundian court.

Christine had already shown her interest in the education of the young with her Epistre d'Othea and with other shorter works such as the Enseignemens moraux and the Proverbes moraux which were written for her son. She was also keenly aware of the necessity and importance of the education of princes, not only for their own well-being but also for that of the realm. Thus Christine next turned her talents to a series of didactic works specifically intended to educate the rulers of France and instil in them both the moral values that she considered necessary for a ruler and the ethical principles of chivalry. She thus hoped to influence the nation's leaders to unite nobly in the defence of their country and to desist from bringing it to civil war.

1407 saw the appearance of the Livre du corps de policie in which Christine attempts to delineate the requirements and duties of every level of society. She equates society with the human body. The prince is the head of the body, the nobility and knights are the arms and hands and the common people (the intellectuals, the philosophers, the merchants, the artisans and the agricultural labourers) are the stomach, the legs and the feet. Christine stressed that these diverse groups must work together for the common good, this obviously being a comment on France's apparent inability to do so.

Between 1407 and 1408, Christine rewrote the Livre de la prod'hommie de l'homme into the Livre de prudence, which again illustrated the importance of the exercise of prudence.

In November 1407, the long drawn out enmity between the duc d'Orléans and the duc de Bourgogne came to a head when Louis was assassinated by an agent of Jean sans Peur. Jean was immediately implicated but he justified his actions by claiming that Louis had been an evil tyrant and had therefore deserved to die. The king was soon convinced and pardoned

Jean. Within two years Jean had gained such influence with Isabeau de Bavière and the royal council as to be completely rehabilitated and appointed governor to the dauphin, who also happened to be Jean's son-in-law.

In the meantime, the new duc d'Orléans, Charles, had married the daughter of Bernard VII, comte d'Armagnac and rallied all his supporters. These supporters included Charles' brothers, his father-in-law and the ageing ducs de Berry and de Bourbon. This faction became known as the Armagnacs and opposed the duc de Bourgogne and his supporters, the Bourguignons. Thus France was split into two factions and essentially involved in civil war.

In August of 1410, Christine wrote a letter to the duc de Berry entitled Lamentacion sur les maux de la France. In it she appeals to all factions to cease their warring. Christine foresees the detrimental effects of this civil strife on France and even predicts that France will fall prey to the English. She appeals to the duc de Berry to act as a peacemaker who, however, unfortunately did little to achieve this.

Jean sans Peur quickly began to train the dauphin in the military arts to prepare him to defend his position. This need to educate the dauphin almost certainly prompted Christine to write the Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie between 1410 and 1412.

It is not surprising that Christine would embark on such a task. She felt an interest in the future success of the dauphin for several reasons: she was a French patriot who wished peace in the country, she had enjoyed the patronage of Jean sans Peur who supported the dauphin, and her son was by this time a secretary in the royal chancellery and therefore personally concerned with the successes of the royal family.

In the Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie, Christine borrows from several classical sources on military activities including Vegetius and Frontinus. She also utilizes the Arbre de batailles written by her contemporary, Honoré Bouvet. Christine took this complex subject matter and, by formulating it within a structure of questions and answers, forged it into a clearly understandable text.

In 1412, Jean sans Peur, aided by some English troops, marched on Paris and convinced the feeble-minded king to declare against the ducs de Berry and de Bourbon. Paris, anxious for peace, encouraged the dauphin, Louis de Guyenne, to bring about the Treaty of Auxerre between the two factions. Christine dedicated the Livre de la paix, which was completed at the end of 1413, to Louis for his part in this peace process.

April and May of 1413 saw popular uprisings led by Caboche and Capeluche of the butchers' guild erupt in Paris. This 'Cabochian Revolt' originally demanded reasonable governmental reforms but, swept along as it was by mob rule, the movement became excessively violent. Jean sans Peur, who was ostensibly in control of the mob's leaders, was unable to moderate the crowd's behaviour. In August, the dauphin reacted to this situation by switching allegiance and calling on the Armagnacs to return to Paris and rid it of the Bourguignons and the Cabochiens.

Christine, who had lived through these events in Paris, describes them in the Livre de la paix. Popular power is deplored at length in this work and the dauphin exhorted to assume responsibility for the peace of the country. Christine also addresses the dauphin himself, detailing those characteristics and codes of behaviour which are required by good and just

princes. On New Year's day in 1414, she presented this work to the duc de Berry, since her former patron, the duc de Bourgogne, was out of favour and had fled from Paris.

For the next five years, Christine appears to have been silent. This may have been due to the circumstances of her personal life. Undoubtedly, Christine's mother had died by this time and it is likely that Christine was living with her son. By this time he was a well established royal secretary, married with three children. Thus, at last, Christine had become free of her responsibilities for others and may be presumed to have been enjoying some domestic security. This stability was however offset by the turbulence of contemporary political life in France, particularly in Paris.

In 1414 the dauphin, Louis de Guyenne, helped to negotiate the Treaty of Arras between the Armagnacs and the Bourguignons. However, all of this became irrelevant when, in 1415, the new English king, Henry V, invaded France at Harfleur. The Armagnacs and the Bourguignons agreed to a truce in order to march together against the English. Jean sans Peur, however, held aloof, not joining battle on either side.

In 1415 the French and English met in battle at Agincourt where the chivalry of France was decimated. Christine was to write a consolatory letter to all the women of France whose menfolk were killed or captured in this unprecedented disaster. This Epistre de la prison de vie humaine was dedicated to Marie de Berry, duchesse de Bourbon. Christine did not, however, complete this work until 1418.

Louis de Guyenne was not on the field of battle but he died nevertheless before the end of the year. He was succeeded by his younger brother Charles, who was then about 14

years old. Life in Paris was difficult and precarious during this period as the Armagnacs were ruling the city through terror.

By 1416, Jean sans Peur had formed a loose alliance with Henry V, and in 1417 he persuaded Isabeau de Bavière to leave Paris and join him in setting up a rival government in Chartres and Troyes. This government soon gained the support of much of France.

In 1418 Henry V of England consolidated his position in France by conquering Normandy. Jean sans Peur exploited this situation by regaining control of Paris and the royal government. He was assisted in this by the Cabochiens who helped to massacre the Armagnac supporters in Paris. The dauphin, Charles, and those of his entourage who could, escaped to Bourges where he set up a rival government. Jean de Castel, Christine's son, was among those supporters who followed the dauphin into exile.

Christine also fled Paris in 1418 but she did not follow her son to the court of the dauphin. It is believed that she joined her daughter in the Abbey of Poissy which was in Burgundian territory, indicating that she was still somewhat in favour with that faction. Thus she and her son would have been separated both geographically and politically.

In 1420 the Treaty of Troyes was drawn up, wherein Isabeau, the queen, and Philippe le Bon, the new duc de Bourgogne, negotiated with the English to disinherit the dauphin, whose legitimacy was in question. Henry V, king of England, was to be declared Charles VI's heir, provided that he married the king's daughter, Catherine. The mad Charles VI legitimised this treaty with his signature and Henry V subsequently married Catherine and took over Paris.



Around 1420, Christine wrote the Heures de contemplacion sur la Passion de Nostre Seigneur, a religious work intended to aid meditation. Christine, from behind convent walls, was again attempting to console the women of France who had borne so many trials. In this work, Christine advocates faith in the scriptures and enduring patience in the face of tragedy. Christine must be presumed to have practised this faith and patience over the next nine years while she lived silently in her abbey as the situation in France continued to deteriorate.

In 1422, both Charles VI and Henry V died. In Paris Henry VI, Henry's ten month old son by Catherine, was declared the king of France and England, and was supported by the Bourguignon faction. The dauphin, supported by the Armagnacs, declared himself King Charles VII at Mehun-sur-Yèvre.

During the next six years the English expanded the extent of the territories that they occupied in France, reaching and laying seige to Orléans. Charles VII, despite some assistance from the Scots, lacked the resources to make effective war on the English. Finally, in 1429, Joan of Arc jolted Charles into action. Joan was only a 16 year old peasant, yet her belief in her divine mission to lead Charles to be crowned in Rheims and then to expel the English from France, was so convincing that Charles and his supporters were spurred on to realize her visions.

Christine, although living in the abbey at Poissy, was not isolated from timely news of these events, the presence of a royal princess in the abbey probably accounting for this. Whatever the reasons for Christine's long silence prior to 1429, nothing could prevent her from celebrating the activities of the young woman, Joan. On the eighth of May, 1429, Joan raised the siege at Orleans and forced the English to retreat. On the 17th of July, Charles VII

was anointed the true king of France in Rheims Cathedral. Very soon thereafter, in fact by the end of the month, Christine had completed the Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc.

In this, her last known work, Christine overflows with happiness and gratitude at the events that have taken place. God had saved France, and furthermore he had sent a young woman to do it. The poem vibrates with the joy and excitement that Christine felt as, at last, God rewarded the endurance of the faithful and brought peace to those who had suffered.

It is probable that Christine died in 1430 with the situation in France still in flux. In this case, Christine would have been mercifully spared the knowledge that her heroine, Joan of Arc, was sold by a Frenchman to the English who had her tried, discredited and burnt alive by the Church in 1431.

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As has been shown in the above outline of Christine's life, Christine experienced a succession of difficulties and reversals of fortune which she confronted and ultimately rose above in her unique manner. These difficulties were generally totally beyond her control rather than problems to which she had contributed. This necessarily led Christine to reflect on how undeserved such events were and to consider what their cause could be. It would seem natural for her then to attribute these unfair and undeserved difficulties to an external force or cause.

Frequently, when lamenting the unhappy events in her life, Christine blames Fortune, undoubtedly seeing herself as a victim of this capricious goddess. Christine might have blamed God and His divine providence but she did not. She only accused and laid blame on Fortune which was, of course, a less blasphemous and safer course of action.

The events in Christine's life which may have a bearing on Christine's attitude to Fortune deserve closer examination. The problems outlined above were experienced by Christine on several levels: the individual, the social and the national.

On the individual level, Christine first experienced a drop in her social and economic standing when Charles V died, leading to her father's loss of patronage. Christine was acutely aware of this and described the family's economic situation in detail in Lavision-Christine:

Adont faillirent a mon dit pere ses grans pensions plus not .C. franz le moys bien paiez avec ses livres et dons qui gaires moins ne montoient comme apris avoit et lesperance que le dit bon Roy lui avoit donnee de asseoir pour lui et ses hoirs .V<sup>C</sup>. livres de terres et assez dautres biens dont la deffaulte du ramentevoir au bon Roy et la mort qui trop tost vint ne souffry la ditte promesse sortir son effait non obstant que des princes gouverneurs fu retenu a gages malement amendris et mal paiez/ Si fut ia venu le temps de sa viellesce qui en assez brief temps apres cheut en longue impotence et maladie ou maintes souffraittes sourdirent aux quelles eust eu besoing lespargne des choses dependues/<sup>14</sup>

After Christine's father's death, followed soon by that of her husband, she no longer found herself the protected family member of a respected courtier, but the struggling head of an impoverished household. This dramatic plunge in Christine's social and economic standing was indeed a great fall from grace reminiscent of the turning of Fortune's wheel. Change and instability are traditional attributes of Fortune and Christine was well aware of this, venting her grief and anger at Fortune in many ballades.

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<sup>14</sup>M.L. Towner, ed., Lavision-Christine: Introduction and Text, The Catholic University of America Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, VI (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1932. Reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1969), Part 3, Pp.152-153.

Christine evidently felt the pressures and responsibilities of being the head of her household keenly. She talks thus in the Lavision-Christine:

Sicomme une fois je respondis a un qui me disoit que ie navoie que plaindre. Car ie estoie sanz charge comme celle qui estoit seule et sengle. Je dis quil ne mavoit pas bien regardee car je estoie .iii. fois double Et comme il ne mentendist ce disoit lui expoyay disant que ie estoie .vi. fois moy meismes.<sup>15</sup>

Being responsible for six people's welfare would be a stressful situation for any individual in any age but for Christine it must have been even more so, given that in her society it was unusual for a woman to assume the responsibility of a large household without having a man at least as a titular head.

During this period she experienced acute financial problems. She describes the shame of having her possessions seized:

et dieux scet comment mon cuer tourmente estoit. quant execucions sur moy estoient faittes/ et que mes chosetes mestoient levees par sergens/ le dommage grant mestoit mais plus craingnoie la honte.<sup>16</sup>

and the need to humble herself by borrowing money:

mais quant il convenoit que je feisse aucun emprunt/ ou que soit pour eschiver plus grant inconvenient beau sire dieux comment honteusement a face rougeie tant fust la personne de mon amistie le requeroie/ et encore au iour duy ne suis garie de celle maladie.<sup>17</sup>

The society in which she lived offered no convenient structure within which she could earn a living to support her family. Yet Christine ultimately did this, succeeding in providing for all of her dependants. However, it should be considered a major achievement of her

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.156.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.157.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.157.

character and talent that she managed to do so, despite the fact that she lived out her life in a society whose priorities and assumptions were geared against this.

Perhaps Christine did contribute in some measure to her own problems through her desire to remain independent. Given that she was only 25 when widowed, an educated and gracious woman, remarriage might have been the most obvious and convenient way to solve her financial problems. However, she expresses her negative feelings with regard to this solution quite frankly in the Livre des trois vertus:

Et pour ce que en l'estat de veuueté a tant de durtéz pour les femmes, si que nous disons, et il est vray, pourroit sembler a aucunes gens que doncques seroit leur meilleur que toutes se remariassent. Si pourroit a ceste question estre respondu que s'il estoit ainsi qu'en la vie de mariage eust tout repos et paix, vrayement seroit sens a femme de s'i rebouter, mais parce que on voit tout le contraire, le doit moult ressoigner toute femme, quoy que aux joennes soit chose comme de neccessité, ou tres convenable; mais a celles qui ja ont passé joenne aage, et qui assez ont du leur, ne povreté ne les y contraint, c'est toute folie, quoy que aucunes qui le veulent faire dient ce n'est riens d'une femme seule, et si pou se fient en leur sens que elles se excusent que gouverner ne se sauroient<sup>18</sup>

Evidently, despite her financial difficulties, she chose not to remarry, if indeed she had the opportunity to do so. The warmth of feeling which she retained for her first husband certainly contributed to this decision. Her poetry attests to her inability to forget her past happiness with him:

4                   Seulete m'a laissé en grant martyre,  
                      En ce desert monde plein de tristece,  
                      Mon doulz ami, qui en joye sanz yre  
                      Tenoit mon cuer, et en toute leesce.  
                      Or est il mort, dont si grief dueil m'opresse,  
                      Et tel tristour a mon las cuer s'amord

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<sup>18</sup>C.C. Willard and E. Hicks, eds., Christine de Pizan: Le Livre des Trois Vertus (Paris: Champion, 1989), P.193.

Financial impoverishment was not the only problem caused by Christine's widowhood.

She was also personally vulnerable, her private life becoming a target for gossip:

a lexemple de Jhesucrist qui vould estre tourmente en toutes les parties de son corps pour nous instruire a pacience vould fortune que mon povre cuer fust tourmente de toutes manieres de dures et diverses pensees/ quel plus grant mal et desplaisir peust sourdre a linnocent ne plus grant cause de impacience que de soy oir diffamer sanz cause comme il appert par les rapors de boece en son livre de consolacion/ ne fut il pas dit de moy par toute la ville que ie amoye par amours.<sup>20</sup>

This vulnerability was compounded by the fact that she was a foreign woman living in France with no indigenous protection. Foreigners inevitably evoke some curiosity and mistrust, even in a politically stable state, but given the incredible flux of national and international politics at this time, Christine's Italian origins must have caused her to encounter at least some prejudice and suspicion. Perhaps it was partly to reassure her adopted countrymen of her loyalty that Christine made repeated and emphatic expositions of French patriotism. Yet she did not deny her Italian heritage, continuing to affirm it proudly. This is demonstrated, for example, in the Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie when she addresses Minerva:

Dame et haulte deesse, ne te desplaise ce que moy, simple femmelette, sy comme neant enuers la grandeur de ton renomme scauoir, ose presentement entreprendre a parler de sy magnifie office comme est celuy des armes, du quel premierement en laditte renommee contre de grece tu donnas lusage, et en tant te plaise moy estre faouorable que je puisse estre aucunement consonante en la naction dont tu fus nee,

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<sup>19</sup>Roy, Oeuvres poétiques, Vol.1, P.15.

<sup>20</sup>Towner, Avision-Christine, Part 3, P.157.

qui comme adonc feust nommee la grant grece le pais doult les alpes qui ores est dit paille et Calabre en ytalie ou tu nasquis, et je suis comme toy femme ytalienne.<sup>21</sup>

Apart from the practical problems brought about by the deaths of her father and her husband, Christine naturally suffered great personal grief. This is particularly evident in the case of her husband, whose death came early and suddenly.

Such losses typically result in feelings of disbelief, denial, frustration, impotence and anger. Who was to blame for her husband's death? While God could not safely be railed against by an orthodox Christian, Fortune could be accused with impunity, and Christine does indeed lash out bitterly and frequently at this goddess. As will be shown later, Fortune was often traditionally linked with Death and there are many examples of Christine herself linking these two, although in a later discussion with Dame Philosophie in the Avision-Christine, Fortune's control of death is denied vehemently.

Thus Christine suffered both financially and emotionally on a personal level.

Christine was also subject to difficulties on a broader social level. She found that she could depend neither on the Law nor on the Church for protection.

Christine refers repeatedly to her negative experiences with the legal establishment in Paris. Her legal problems arose when she attempted to collect debts which were owed to her husband, but which, upon his death, were not paid over to her. She also experienced legal problems over property and other investments. Christine's involvement with lawsuits shows that she was a very determined woman, willing to fight for that which she considered to be

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<sup>21</sup>Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie, London, British Museum, Royal MS. 19 B xviii. Cited in A.T.P. Byles, ed., The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrie: translated and printed by William Caxton from the French Original by Christine de Pisan, Early English text Society, o.s. CCLXIV (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), P.8.

her rights. However, these suits dragged on for years, and in the Avision-Christine she notes ruefully that, at one point, she had suits pending in four courts in Paris at the same time:

O vertu de pascience tousiours ne te avoie mie en la bourse ains te suspeditoit souvent en moy grant amertume je vi le temps que a .iiii. cours de paris estoie en plait et proces deffenderresse et sur mon ame ie te iure que a tort estoie grevee de mauvaises parties par quoy convenoit en fin se paix vouloie avoir comme je aperceusse leurs cavillacions desirant me tirer de plait comme celle qui le haioit parfaitement comme choses contre ma nature qui paix desire que ie chevisse a eulx moyenant le mien a tres grans frais et coust.<sup>22</sup>

She experienced such difficulties with the Law, in fact, that she later encouraged women to protect themselves by being aware of all aspects of their husbands' financial affairs and to avoid, if at all possible, becoming involved in litigation.

Similarly if Christine, a poor widow, had expected unconditional support from the Church, she was to be disappointed. It is necessary to remember that, at this time, the position taken by the most powerful institution in Europe with regard to women was one of ungracious tolerance. There had been great fear and distrust of women in the Church for centuries. Woman had come to be associated with that carnal temptress, Eve, the cause of the fall of man and consequently the source of all of man's problems. The only woman revered by the Church and promoted as a model was that impossible paradox and icon of passivity, the Virgin Mary, Mother of God. R.H. Bloch expresses this contradiction and its result on women as follows:

It is, ultimately, the definition of woman as neither the "Devil's gateway" nor the "Bride of Christ" but both at once, neither seductress nor redeemer but both at once, which constitutes a paradigm of subjugation as compelling for the relation of power between the genders as the notion of original sin. Woman, at least no real woman, can resolve the dilemma of the contradictory abstracted double. She is, in a sense, as

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<sup>22</sup>Towner, Avision-Christine, Part 3, Pp.155-156.



powerfully entangled as the story of the Fall itself, entrapped by the logic of a cultural ideal that, internalized, makes her always already in a state of weakness, lack, guilt, inadequacy, vulnerability.<sup>23</sup>

Indeed, Christine aroused the antipathy of certain representatives of the Church due to her stand against the literary merits of, and attitude to women portrayed in, that portion of the Roman de la Rose which had been written by Jean de Meung, a priest. Gontier Col, who reflected the prevalent literary and social attitudes of many clerics, wrote to Christine on the 15th of September, 1401 in the following condescending, yet threatening tone:

. . . je, ensuivant le commandement divin, ayant de toy compassion par amour charitable, te pry, conseille et requiers la seconde foiz par ceste moye cedula/ que ton dessus dit erreur tu vueilles corriger, desdire et amender envers le tres excellent et inreprehensible docteur en sainte divine Escripiture, hault philosophe et en toutes les .vii. ars liberaulx clerc tres parfont, que si horriblement oses et presumes corriger et repprendre a sa grant charge - et aussi envers ses vrays et loyaux disciples, mon seigneur le prevost de Lisle et moy et autres -, et confesser ton erreur: et nous aurons pitié de toy et te prendrons a mercy en te baillant penitence salutaire.<sup>24</sup>

Although the Roman de la Rose debate was overall a literary one, Christine was obviously exasperated by more than literary concerns. She was angered both by those slanderous attitudes towards women which were promulgated by the Roman de la Rose and similar works, and by the offensive way in which she was treated. The above barely veiled threat from Gontier Col must have been intimidating, even to a woman of Christine's standing and courage. It certainly led Christine to search for the most powerful protector possible, for she appealed to no less a personage than the queen, Isabeau of Bavaria, for support. Isabeau

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<sup>23</sup>R.H. Bloch, Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), P.91.

<sup>24</sup>Hicks, Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose, Pp.23-24.

was herself a woman who had elicited the disapproval of the Church due to her proclivity for sensual pleasure. Willard describes Isabeau's court as follows:

The festivals at the court were frequently accompanied by licentious pleasures, giving an Augustinian monk, Jacques Legrand, occasion to admonish the queen: "Venus alone reigns at your court; drunkenness and debauchery follow in her train."<sup>25</sup>

Thus, Christine's choice of a patroness is ironic, as Isabeau appears to have better fitted the depraved concept of woman promoted by Christine's opposition rather than the virtuous and modest model of woman that Christine herself wished to promote. It appears that Christine possessed enough political acumen to act expediently!

Christine could hardly have been ignorant of the fate of a number of women throughout Europe who had been tried and executed as witches for less heinous crimes than Christine's crime of public ly and persistently attacking the work of a celebrated cleric. She must thus have been aware of her own vulnerability given the mood in France at the end of the fourteenth century. It is described thus by E.W. Monter:

In any event, the multiple psychological disasters of the fourteenth century--the Babylonian Captivity, great famines, finally the Black Death--coincided with a cluster of "political" witchcraft trials of prominent people; and the age of popular rebellions later in the century coincided with the first descriptions of Sabbats and some of the first significant trials of humbler witches by secular courts, as at Paris in 1390.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, Christine could not achieve legal redress for her financial problems, despite her best efforts, and was threatened by powerful representatives of the Church for expressing her

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<sup>25</sup>Willard, Christine de Pizan, P.81.

<sup>26</sup>E.W. Monter, Witchcraft in France and Switzerland (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), P.18.

opinions. All of this inevitably led to feelings of impotence and outrage at the structure of society.

On the national level also, Christine's life was fraught with problems since France was experiencing massive historic and political upheavals. As a frequenter of court circles and as an intelligent and interested person, Christine was acutely aware of, and concerned about, political events and their implications both for her and for her adopted country. This was the period both of conflicts between the royal princes within France and also of the Hundred Years' War between France and England. J.W. Thompson and E.N. Johnson describe the situation thus:

...France suffered from regular foreign invasion and during the periods of truce, from incessant devastation by bands of mercenary troops called the free companies. For of course there was not continuous warfare between England and France during the years from 1337 to 1453. At least sixty-eight of these years were formally years of truce, even if, under the circumstances, it was hard to distinguish between years of war and years of peace. In addition to foreign invasion and ravaging mercenaries, the country was victimized for a large part of the period by a civil war between rival factions, led by princes of the royal house struggling for control of the government in their own purely selfish interests.<sup>27</sup>

Thus Christine experienced many years of French instability both on a national and on an international level. Indeed, she lived close to these events, knowing many of the principal players, and wrote treatises on good government directed at the country's leaders out of her fear for the future of France.

Christine certainly felt the effects of France's civil strife as she was herself forced to flee from Paris and spend the rest of her life in exile. All of these occurrences, war, invasion

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<sup>27</sup>J.W. Thompson and E.N. Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe: 300-1500 (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1937), P.878.

and political exile, caused her to experience fear and insecurity, not only for her own life, but for the lives of her dependants and for the future of her country.

Despite her stoic advice to Marie de Berry in the Epistre de la prison de vie humaine, Christine was not herself a person who accepted events passively. This is evidenced by her numerous attempts to influence those in power to improve the political situation. Yet, there was, in reality, nothing that Christine could control in these national and international political situations whose unavoidable negative effects would thus have led her to experience not only frustration and impotence, but fear.

There were, then, many experiences in Christine's life which might justifiably have prompted her to question why she had to struggle so. Indeed, philosophical and popular debate still searches for explanations and, if possible, justifications of negative events occurring in the lives of good people.

One ancient explanation for the source of such troubles was that the capricious goddess Fortune controlled all earthly matters, with both individuals and nations falling under her jurisdiction. Thus not only Christine's personal problems, but most of the national, political situations that Christine found herself struggling with, traditionally came under the rule of the goddess Fortune.

Since, as we shall see, the goddess Fortune was a powerful and pervasive force in the Middle Ages, Christine could hardly have been unaware of Fortune and her attributes. Not only did Christine, an educated and sophisticated person, have access to the concept of Fortune through literary and philosophical texts, but she could not have been ignorant of the popular belief in Fortune which prevailed at the time.

H.R. Patch describes the type of person liable to form an association with the goddess

Fortune as follows:

The life that causes a strong belief in the element of chance may be of two kinds:-- A man may feel himself too weak to cope with the external powers, and may consequently believe that he is in the control of an outer destiny. On the other hand, he may be so physically vigorous that he launches forth boldly into the unknown, and then the vast unconquerable spaces of that region impress themselves upon him. Under these circumstances, again, he feels himself at the mercy of the outer forces. He is less inclined to trust his own wits, or to believe in free-will; he is more likely to speak of chance."<sup>28</sup>

Obviously this does not necessarily apply only to physically vigorous men, this description suiting Christine in many ways. Firstly, she experienced situations over which she had no control: the deaths of her king, her father, her husband and two sons, international and civil war, and secondly, she was a vigorous personality who boldly attempted to write, publish and support her household in a society which made no allowance for this from a woman. She was indeed exploring new territory and she met with problems and opposition, much of which she found she could not conquer. It is not then surprising that Christine was inspired to write repeatedly of her victimisation at the hands of Fortune, the Goddess of Chance, and thus apparently followed in the long tradition of belief in this powerful and arbitrary goddess.

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Before studying specific examples of Christine's use of Fortune it is necessary to become familiar with the history and character of the goddess herself from classical times up

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<sup>28</sup>H.R. Patch, 'The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna in Roman Literature and in the Transitional Period,' Smith College Studies in Modern Languages Vol.III (1922), P.140.

to the Middle Ages.<sup>29</sup> Particular attention will be paid to works known to be familiar to Christine.

The exact origins of the goddess Fortune are not known but it is certain that the goddess existed in some form since prehistory. Patch indicates a variety of origins:

...various types of evidence point to her origin as a moon-goddess; a sun-goddess; a close relative of Isis; a transformation of the Etruscan Nortia; a goddess of horticulture; of women; of childbirth; a protecting and cherishing goddess.<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, since prehistory there had been female-oriented religions whose world vision was based on nature and its cyclical character. This cyclical aspect was frequently expressed in a triple goddess concept representing the virgin or creator, the mother or preserver, and the crone or destroyer. These cultures believed that death is ever present with life, and that the life of the flesh is naturally and inevitably recycled into death. Since this cycle cannot be halted, it should be accepted.

Interesting parallels can be drawn between these early Creative Goddess or Great Mother religions and the deity Fortune. She too has the power to give and to take away, which she does quite impersonally and gratuitously. Her actions do not thus represent punishment or reward, merely the inevitable ebb and flow of earthly life. The most enduring symbol of Fortune is her wheel, upon which she may raise people up to a pinnacle of success and wealth only to cast them down again to abject misery. This rotating of Fortune's wheel

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<sup>29</sup>General historical information has been drawn from a number of sources, all of which are listed in the bibliography under the heading 'On the Theme of Fortune and the Historical Background'.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., P.138.

parallels the burgeoning of life followed by the inevitable decline into decay and death. Fortune is herself frequently associated with Death.

The instability of Fortune, and the transience of her gifts, also led to her being depicted frequently as a figure poised precariously upon a sphere.

Like the apparently paradoxical creative and destructive aspects of the earlier goddesses, Fortune is often represented as having a dual nature; being both ugly and beautiful, dark and light. There are even depictions of her as half-ugly and half-beautiful, half-dark and half-light.

Although this goddess was not then originally Roman, it was in Rome that she came to prominence and was given the name 'Fortuna'. As Rome grew and changed, the original Roman deities, the di indigetes, lost their relevance and diminished in influence. By the end of the second Punic War (201 B.C.) other gods new to Rome had gained in strength. Fortune was among this imported group of powerful new gods.

J.B. Carter discusses the tendency of Rome to adopt and adapt gods brought from other areas thus:

...for the ancient traveller, like his mythical prototype Aeneas, carried his gods with him. Thus there were worshipped in private in Rome the gods of all the peoples who settled within her walls, and the presence of these gods was destined to make its influence felt. Your primitive polytheist is very catholic in his religious tastes; for, when one is already in possession of many gods, the addition of a few more is a minor matter, especially when, as was now the case in Rome, these deities are the patrons of occupations and interests hitherto entirely unknown to the Roman, and hence not provided for in his scheme of gods. It was therefore in no spirit of disloyalty to the already existing gods, and with no desire to introduce rival deities,

that the new cults began to spread until they became so important as to call for state recognition.<sup>31</sup>

Fortune's earliest manifestation in Rome was as a goddess of plenty and fertility. The name 'Fortuna' is believed to come etymologically from "she who brings"<sup>32</sup>. One of her early and enduring symbols is the cornucopia, symbolising fertility and abundance.

The development of Fortune was unusual in that, unlike most other Roman gods, she assumed a multitude of functions and was adopted by many types of followers. Frakes describes Fortune and her cults thus:

Fortuna's temples abounded, as did distinct cults, some of which practiced divination. In time, the cults proliferated to the extent that there was a Fortune for one and all. This multitude of Fortune cults reflects a multitude of Fortuna: from the very general abstractions, such as *Fortuna bona*, to the very specific, such as *Fortuna conservatrix*, with the object or person of one's choice added in the genitive. There was no single general goddess of Fortune, but rather a host of deities governing particular aspects and activities of life.<sup>33</sup>

The gap left by the old religions of Rome was adequately filled by superstitions, with divination and the use of lots for fortune-telling purposes becoming popular. Fortuna Primigenia had a celebrated oracle situated at Praeneste and in the new enthusiasm for augury, Fortune came to prominence.

Patch explains the progression of Fortune from the goddess of plenty, or "bestower", to the goddess of chance as follows:

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<sup>31</sup>J.B. Carter, The Religion of Numa: and other Essays on the Religion of Ancient Rome (London: Macmillan, 1906), Pp.30-31.

<sup>32</sup>W.P. Corssen, Kritische Nachträge zur lateinischen Formenlehre, (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1863), P.194. Cited in Patch, 'The Goddess Fortune in Roman Literature', P.139.

<sup>33</sup>Frakes, The Fate of Fortune, P.12.



The fundamental idea of "Fortuna" is the bestower; the connotation is that of the creative goddess. May we not suspect also that other feminine qualities were present in the idea at a fairly early period? At least it was easy to include such qualities as mobility, inconstancy, capriciousness; in fact, this was the next step for the Roman to take, no matter what happened in Greek thought.<sup>34</sup>

However, it may be that these qualities of 'mobility, inconstancy and capriciousness' are only exclusively feminine qualities in a later stereotypical concept of women. The development of Fortune from the "bestower" to the goddess of chance may have a simpler explanation than the one proposed by Patch. The unifying theme in Fortune's abilities up to this time was the one which gave her control of the distribution of worldly gifts. As the receipt of such gifts often has nothing to do with one's effort or worth, appearing more often to be totally random, it is clear that the activities of Fortune would thus come to be associated with luck or chance.

Yet this concept of chance should have been impossible for, or foreign to, the Roman imagination where every aspect of life was controlled by the dictates of a god or goddess. It is thus probable that the concept was brought from Greece where, by the Alexandrian era, the goddess Tyche had also evolved into a goddess of chance.

Frakes explains how Fortune evolved like the Greek goddess, Tyche, into a single, all-powerful goddess of chance after the establishment of the Empire in Rome:

As long as it [the Republic] had remained, there was a need, indeed a duty and desire, to worship the propitious deities and appease the angry ones, since the good of the state depended upon such divine favor. Now that the state had been essentially reduced to one man, the good fortune of the state depended upon that of this single individual. As a result, there developed the cults of the personal Fortuna of the Emperor Augustus....The consequence of this development was that, in the period after the beginning of our era, a single goddess Fortuna ousted the goddesses Fortuna: a

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<sup>34</sup>Patch, 'The Goddess Fortuna in Roman Literature,' P.141.

single abstract force similar to the omnipotent tuche of the Hellenistic world replaced the various particular cults of Fortuna. And, more significantly, the Roman pantheon, long in decline, collapsed into one universal deity: Fortuna Panthea. She usurped the functions, symbols and even the names (as secondary epithets) of the other deities, and in the end eclipsed them altogether.<sup>35</sup>

Patch also states that "She was...a deity that absorbed all the others"<sup>36</sup> and illustrates how she even attracted many of these other gods' insignia to herself:

One portrayal shows her [Fortune] as a winged deity with a long tunic, her head covered with a helmet. She holds a cornucopia in her left hand, and with her right offers a bowl to a serpent<sup>37</sup> near an altar at her feet. Around these figures, are arranged: the eagle of Jove; the dolphin of Neptune; the club of Hercules; the sistrum of Isis; the lyre of Apollo; the tongs of Vulcan; the caduceus of Mercury; and many more symbols<sup>38</sup>

Thus, once the element of chance was incorporated into her powers, Fortune became the ruler of any amount of events that people wanted to induce or to avert. Anyone could turn to Fortune for any purpose. She was thus no longer a minor goddess responsible for one or two discrete functions as were most other Roman deities, but became the all encompassing goddess, 'Fortuna Panthea'.

Given the foreign origins of the goddess it is then probable that when the Romans conquered territories and carried 'their' goddess back with them to the goddess's original parishes, belief in Fortune dovetailed with any still extant belief in the female deities who

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<sup>35</sup>Frakes, The Fate of Fortune, P.13

<sup>36</sup>Patch, 'The Goddess Fortuna in Roman Literature,' P.135.

<sup>37</sup>According to Barbara Walker in her Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets, P.184, the serpent represents the "disembodied phallus" that was the consort of the Goddess as Creator. This representation of Fortune nurturing a serpent could indicate that Fortune was also assuming the powers of another, earlier and not specifically Roman, goddess.

<sup>38</sup>Patch, 'The Goddess Fortuna in Roman Literature,' P.136.

may originally have generated her. Fortune, now the Goddess of Chance, thus thrived and prospered even outside of Rome. Whatever the origin and evolution of the goddess, by the age of Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14) she was flourishing as Fortune, the Goddess of Chance, a vigorous goddess worshipped in Rome and throughout the Roman Empire.

Once established in Rome as a major deity, Fortune was frequently discussed and referred to by many Roman literary figures. According to Frakes, from the earliest poetic texts of Ennius, Pacuvius, Plautus, Accius, through to Sallust who wrote at the end of the Republic to Horace, Virgil, Livy, Ovid, Seneca, Pliny, Cicero and Juvenal who wrote in the first century, Fortune inspired much literary attention as the capricious goddess in charge of human affairs.

During the Empire, Fortune came to be associated with fate. Frakes explains how Virgil was the first to introduce this development:

In attempting to establish a solid mythological and historical basis for Augustus and the Imperium, he was compelled to take a strong position in favor of an ordered destiny. The image of Fortuna as the omnipotent and capricious ruler of the cosmos was altered greatly: she was 'rehabilitated' and linked directly with fatum, synonymous with destiny as ordered by the divine will of Jupiter, the true governor of the cosmos. It is thus in this sense that Virgil links fatum and fortuna: "Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum" (Aen. VIII 334).<sup>39</sup>

This led to a confusion of the two, Fortune and fate, wherein fate occasionally took on the instability of Fortune and thus no longer conformed absolutely to a total plan. This confusion of Fortune and fate continued up to the Middle Ages with recurrent major discussions on the differences between them. Generally fate was believed to be a predetermined destiny that acted according to some law, even if that law was inexplicable.

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<sup>39</sup>Frakes, The Fate of Fortune, P.15

Thus fate, the result of some inescapable natural or astrological law, or of divine providence, was seen as inevitable and unchangeable. It was therefore believed that one had no alternative but to accept one's fate. Fortune and her activities were, however, perceived as volatile, capricious and arbitrary which led to resentment and frustration rather than acceptance.

In the fourth and fifth centuries Fortune was further discussed at length by Servius, Macrobius, Asclepiadus and Martianus Capella. Throughout this Roman literary tradition, Fortune was consistently seen as the blind, cruel, inconstant and capricious controller of human affairs. The goddess was also frequently accused of jealousy and envy of one's happiness.

Fortune was thus an important and powerful deity known and worshipped throughout the vast Roman Empire and considered worthy of much literary discussion when, in the reign of Theodosius (A.D. 379-395), Christianity was declared to be the official religion of Rome.

People could not, however, entirely dismiss their lifetime habits of worship just by decree, and Fortune survived in the popular imagination despite such official changes in policy. In fact Fortune survived in such vigorous form that, far from being eliminated by the advent of Christianity, she continued to flourish throughout Europe, up to and beyond the Middle Ages.

The Church Fathers thus found themselves confronted with a powerful belief in a goddess of chance which directly defied the Christian Church's contention that every occurrence in the universe, however minor, conforms to God's plan. Fortune's blind non-judgemental turning of the wheel and her gratuitous distribution of worldly goods and

honours were antithetical to the basic teachings of the Church. Behaviour such as Fortune's was considered unfair, unstable and arbitrary by a Christian society whose belief system was based on just rewards and punishments. Similarly Fortune's impersonal turning of the wheel implied acceptance of the natural earthly cycle of growth and decay which was contrary to the Christian Church's belief that the life of the flesh was sinful, the life of the spirit being the only life that mattered. Death was not regarded as a benign and inevitable end to life but as an evil or a punishment. It was taught in effect that death could be avoided by mortification of the flesh during life, which would lead to an everlasting life after death. This proposition led its believers to fear and deny the natural and inevitable cycle of life and death. Fortune thus opposed the Church's emphasis on the spiritual life and the Church Fathers were therefore compelled to respond to this popular goddess and her powers.

The early Latin Apologists, Tertullian and Minucius Felix rejected Fortune utterly while another of the Latin apologists, Arnobius, treated Fortune and all the Roman gods thus:

He denies the [Roman] gods any power, but points out that even if they did happen to possess the powers attributed to them, they would still lack the most important of all: the ability to grant eternal life (Adv. Gentes VI 25), which only the Christian God can grant.<sup>40</sup>

Arnobius's pupil, Lactantius, who wrote in the third and fourth centuries, was thoroughly imbued with classical Roman literature being sometimes called the "Christian Cicero." Lactantius studied the earlier pagan texts and refuted their arguments, stating that the worship of Fortune was contrary to reason. Indeed, he found Fortune to be an evil power

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., P.22.

opposed to God. Yet in accepting the existence of casus, those inexplicable and unexpected events which occur by chance, Lactantius did not entirely annihilate Fortune's powers.<sup>41</sup>

Saint Jerome, writing in the fourth and fifth centuries, simply denied the existence of the goddess.

In the same era, Saint Augustine examined the relationship between Fortune, fate and free will. He argued that since God's divine providence pre-ordains all, humanity can have no free-will. Since this would obviously be unsatisfactory as humanity would not attempt to redeem itself, God permits chance in the scheme of the universe to prevent absolute fatalism. Saint Augustine does, however, deny the goddess Fortune any power by saying that she has no part in this scheme.

In the seventh century, Saint Eligius denounced pagan practices, worship and festivals in honour of Fortune. Evidently Fortune was still being worshipped and consulted for divination by the common populace, while some of the learned classes studied Classical learning, keeping traditional Fortune and her attributes alive.

Saint Thomas Aquinas wrote a commentary on Aristotle's concept of chance in the thirteenth century. Aristotle, he stated, had denied the goddess Fortune, yet he used the expression fortuna to cover the causa per accidens or 'hidden causes' of the universe which, he granted, were numerous and impossible to explain. This led to the solecistic problem of giving these hidden causes the name, fortuna, which implied no cause. Aquinas followed Aristotle's example by utterly rejecting Fortune as a reality since she can be defeated by prudence and therefore ultimately has no power.

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., P.22.

Thus many early Patristic and Scholastic writers denied Fortune, exhibiting a lack of tolerance for her existence in a Christian universe. Christine was certainly familiar with a number of these authors and their writings, and was therefore aware of their rejection of Fortune.

Other treatments of the goddess did however exist. Some writers recognised Fortune as an entity whose power was, however, subservient to that of God. The most influential example of this treatment of Fortune was created by Boethius, a poet and philosopher, who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries. In A.D. 524 he wrote the Consolatio philosophiae which became a classic text much studied throughout the Middle Ages. Since Christine was very familiar with this work and frequently refers to it, it deserves some close consideration.

The Consolatio philosophiae contains a great discussion on the nature of Fortune and happiness which takes place between a prisoner, generally considered to be Boethius himself, and an allegorised Philosophy who attempts to console him in his exile and imprisonment. Philosophy questions the prisoner, or Boethius, as to the basis of his unhappiness, whereupon Boethius answers:

Doth the cruelty of fortune's rage need further declaration, or doth it not sufficiently appear of itself?<sup>42</sup>

Boethius treats Fortune in a variety of ways, initially giving a classical picture of pagan Fortune. Philosophy describes her thus:

If thou thinkest that fortune hath altered her manner of proceeding toward thee, thou art in an error. This was alway her fashion; this is her nature. She hath kept that constancy in thy affairs which is proper to her, in being mutable; such was her

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<sup>42</sup>Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1918), Book 1, Chap.4, P.143.

condition when she fawned upon thee and allured thee with enticements of feigned happiness. Thou hast discovered the doubtful looks of this blind goddess.<sup>43</sup>

and:

Thou hast yielded thyself to fortune's sway; thou must be content with the conditions of thy mistress. Endeavourest thou to stay the force of the turning wheel? But thou foolishhest man that ever was, if it beginneth to stay, it ceaseth to be fortune.<sup>44</sup>

Philosophy demonstrates for Boethius that he cannot compare Fortune's gifts of riches, power, fame and honour to God's gifts, such as a virtuous and loving family and sincere friends. These are the gifts which are truly valuable and, notes Philosophy, Boethius still has these:

Wherefore, if that which in all thy revenues of fortune thou esteemest most precious doth still by God's providence remain safe and untouched, canst thou, retaining the best, justly complain of misfortune?<sup>45</sup>

and:

How much bitterness is mingled with the sweetness of man's felicity, which, though it seemeth so pleasant while it is enjoyed, yet can it not be retained from going away when it will. And by this it appeareth how miserable is the blessedness of mortal things, which neither endureth alway with the contented, nor wholly delighteth the pensive.<sup>46</sup>

However, again using Philosophy as a mouthpiece, Boethius states that since what appears good for us is really bad, and that what appears bad for us is really good, bad Fortune is therefore good for us. Thus Boethius reconciles Fortune with Christian ethics:

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., Book 2, Chap.1, P.175.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., Book 2, Chap.1, P.177.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., Book 2, Chap.4, P.189.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., Book 2, Chap.4, P.193.



For I think that Fortune, when she is opposite, is more profitable to men than when she is favourable. For in prosperity, by a show of happiness and seeming to caress, she is ever false, but in adversity when she showeth herself inconstant by changing, she is ever true. In that she deceiveth, in this she instructeth; in that she imprisoneth the minds of men with falsely seeming goods, which they enjoy, in this she setteth them at liberty by discovering the uncertainty of them. Wherefore, in that thou shalt alway see her puffed up, and wavering, and blinded with a self-conceit of herself, in this thou shalt find her sober, settled, and, with the very exercise of adversity, wise. Finally, prosperity with her flatterings withdraweth men from true goodness, adversity recalleth and reclaimeth them many times by force to true happiness.<sup>47</sup>

This theme is further investigated in Book IV when Boethius considers the unfairness of events, questioning if these events can be any more meaningful if they are dictated by God rather than Fortune:

For I would marvel less if I thought that all things were disordered by casual events. Now God being the Governor, my astonishment is increased.<sup>48</sup>

Philosophy responds by noting that when events are not understandable, one must simply maintain faith in God's divine providence:

But although thou beest ignorant of the causes why things be so disposed, yet because the world hath a governor, doubt not but all things are well done.<sup>49</sup>

Finally Boethius denies the possibility of Fortune as an independent and powerful goddess by using Aristotelian arguments to deny the possibility of chance in a universe ordered by God:

This is thought to have fallen thus out by fortune, but it is not of nothing, for it hath peculiar causes whose unexpected and not foreseen concurrence seemeth to have brought forth a chance....Wherefore we may define chance thus: That it is an unexpected event of concurring causes in those things that are done to some end and purpose. Now the cause why causes so concur and meet so together, is that order proceeding with

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Book 2, Chap.8 P.221.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., Book 4, Chap.5, P.337.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., Book 4, Chap.5, P.337.

inevitable connexion, which, descending from the fountain of Providence, disposeth all things in their places and times.<sup>50</sup>

Here it is shown that chance happenings also derive from God's higher purpose.

Overall then, Fortune is seen to exist in order to fulfil, in some undefined sense, the almighty will of God. Fate and chance are also declared to be subservient to God's divine providence. Frakes describes Boethius' Fortune thus:

While the basic characterization of Fortuna depends on the tradition, the ultimate fate of the figure is an independent development on the part of Boethius. He strikes out on his own in taking the capricious Fortuna, hated and feared by the pagans and damned by the Christians, and placing her on the side of the good. She is subordinated to Providence and thus becomes God's instrument of moral correction and divine punishment on earth - her brutal changes of favor teach men that there is nothing of value to be achieved in the physical world.<sup>51</sup>

Thus Fortune is rehabilitated and enlisted by Boethius as an ally of God, rather than an opponent.

Boethius' works were popularised in France through the works of Simon de Freine and Jean de Meung's Roman de la Rose.<sup>52</sup> Christine may have been further exposed to this Christian treatment of Fortune through these works.

Thus the Christian approach to Fortune gave the goddess another lease on life. Indeed, the proliferation of Fortune as a character in mediaeval literature indicates her continued vigour. Not surprisingly, since Fortune had gained her popularity and distinction

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., Book 5, Chap.1, Pp.367-369.

<sup>51</sup>Frakes, The Fate of Fortune, P.31

<sup>52</sup>H.R. Patch, 'Fortuna in Old French Literature,' Smith College Studies in Modern Languages Vol.IV (1923), Pp.2-9.

in Rome, Fortune continued to figure largely in Italian literature.<sup>53</sup> Given that Christine was an Italian by birth and education (if one considers that she was educated by her father) it is natural that Christine would have been familiar with, and influenced by, that depiction of Fortune which she found portrayed in the works of Italian authors.

Christine knew and admired the work of Dante (1265-1321), referring to him in her works. In fact, Dante may have attended Bologna University which both Christine's father and grandfather attended.

Dante was the first to illustrate the approach to the goddess Fortune which allowed her to exist solely and specifically to execute God's will. He describes Fortune at length in his Divina commedia. Fortune is translated here as "Luck" by D.L. Sayers:

"Master, I would hear more of this," said I;  
"What is this Luck, whose talons take in hand  
All life's good things that go so pleasantly?"

Then he: "Ah, witless world! Behold the grand  
Folly of ignorance! Make thine ear attendant  
Now on my judgement of her, and understand.

He whose high wisdom's over all transcendent  
Stretched forth the Heavens, and guiding spirits supplied,  
So that each part to each part shines resplendent,

Spreading the light equal on every side:  
Likewise for earthly splendours He saw fit  
To ordain a general minister and guide,

By whom vain wealth, as time grew ripe for it,  
From race to race, from blood to blood, should pass,  
Far beyond hindrance of all human wit.

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<sup>53</sup>H.R. Patch, 'Fortuna in Italian Literature from Dante to the Renaissance,' Smith College Studies in Modern Languages Vol.III (1922), Pp.204-30.

Wherefore some nations minish, some amass  
Great power, obedient to her subtle codes,  
Which are hidden, like the snake beneath the grass.

For her your science finds no measuring-rods;  
She in her realm provides, maintains, makes laws,  
And judges, as do in theirs the other gods.

Her permutations never know truce nor pause;  
Necessity lends her speed, so swift in fame  
Men come and go, and cause succeeds to cause.

Lo! this is she who has so cursed a name  
Even from those that should give praise to her -  
Luck, whom men senselessly revile and blame;

But she is blissful and she does not hear;  
She, with the other primal creatures gay,  
Tastes her own blessedness, and turns her sphere<sup>54</sup>.

Fortune is described here as a manager in control of worldly or casual events, yet subservient to God. She is akin to an angelic power, who, as the handmaiden dedicated to executing His will, has her own peculiar duties. This was a new poetic conception of the goddess which, by making Fortune an agent of God, circumvented the problem of having another deity exist in the monotheistic Judeo-Christian universe. Thus this concept had the advantage both of satisfying orthodoxy and also of appealing to the poetic imagination.

Patch notes that an entirely independent growth of this interpretation of Fortune as God's lieutenant was promoted in France by Philippe de Beaumanoir, Pierre de la Broche and

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<sup>54</sup>D.L. Sayers, trans., The Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Cantica I, Hell (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1949), Canto VII, P.112.

Watriquet de Couvin.<sup>55</sup> These works may also have influenced Christine's vision of Fortune.

This evolution of Fortune from a pagan deity to help-meet of Almighty God has an interesting parallel with the evolution of the Greek goddess, Tyche:

The older purer age of Greek thought was permeated with the idea of the absolute immutable character of the divine will, a belief which precluded the possibility of chance or caprice. The earliest Greek Tyche was the daughter of Zeus who fulfilled his will; and that his will through her was often a beneficent will is shown in the tendency to think of her as a goddess of plenty. It was only the growth of scepticism, the failure of faith to bear up under the apparently contradictory lessons of experience, which brought into being in the Alexandrian age Tyche, the goddess of chance, the winged capricious deity poised on the ball.<sup>56</sup>

The Greek goddess Tyche had originally fulfilled the will of Zeus and only later became an independent goddess of chance. Thus she evolved from subservience to a mightier god towards independence, whereas Fortune evolved in the opposite direction, that is away from being an independent goddess to being the instrument of Almighty God. This was, however, the only acceptable role for Fortune in the Christian environment.

Another Italian author with whom Christine was familiar was Petrarch (1304-1374). Petrarch refers to Fortune in the poems to Laura, most of these references being pagan in character<sup>57</sup> and it appears here that he held some belief or interest in Fortune as the Goddess of Chance.

Petrarch also discussed the question of Fortune philosophically and at length in De remediis utriusque Fortunae, which may have been based on Seneca's De remediis

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<sup>55</sup>Patch, 'Fortuna in Old French Literature,' Pp.10-15.

<sup>56</sup>Carter, The Religion of Numa, Pp.50-51.

<sup>57</sup>Patch, 'Fortuna in Italian Literature,' P.205.

Fortuitorum liber<sup>58</sup>. This was an influential treatise, probably first published around 1360 and subsequently published in many editions including, in 1378, a French translation by Jean Daudin which would very probably have been available to Christine.<sup>59</sup>

In Petrarch's dedication of De remediis utriusque Fortunae to Azzo da Correggio, he describes humanity's struggle with Fortune thus:

Not to mention all the other things that constantly trouble us, there is our ever present war with Fortune, in which only virtue can make us victorious - that very virtue we willingly and wittingly neglect. We are barehanded weaklings engaged in an unequal fight with an implacable foe, who throws us up and down as if we had no weight, whirls us around, and plays with us, so that defeat would be easier to bear than such continued mockery.<sup>60</sup>

Echoing Boethius, Petrarch demonstrates that neither good nor bad Fortune is to be trusted, the reader being particularly warned against good Fortune:

I think that it is more difficult to govern prosperity than adversity, and I submit that in my experience smiling Fortune is more to be feared and demonstrably more dangerous than frowning Fortune. This opinion is based not on that of famous writers, the snares of clever words, or the tricky proofs of sophists, but on experience itself, the examples of daily life, and the scarcity of instances to the contrary. For I have seen many who have steadfastly endured losses, poverty, exile, imprisonment, torture, death and grave illnesses worse than death, but I have yet to see one who could bear well riches, honors, and power. I have often observed those who had stood undefeated against all violence of adverse Fortune overthrown by prosperous Fortune as if it were child's play, her flatteries overcoming the strength of a mind that threats could not subdue.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>A. Piaget, Martin le Franc, P.170. Cited in Patch, 'Fortuna in Italian Literature,' P.206.

<sup>59</sup>Willard, Christine de Pizan, P.107.

<sup>60</sup>C.H. Rawski, ed. and trans., Petrarch's Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul: A Modern English Translation of "De remediis utriusque Fortunae, with a Commentary (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), Vol.1, P.1.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.5-6.

To oppose Fortune, both good and bad, Petrarch suggests the use of classic remedies as discussed by Seneca. Study is advocated to bring wisdom and reason to bear against Fortune, thus utilizing the remedy of prudence against the goddess. He also repeatedly advocates cultivating virtue in order to oppose Fortune with the remedy of spiritual devotion.

However, on November 9th. 1367, in a letter to Tommaso del Garbo which includes references to the theories of Lactantius, Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose and Saint Jerome, Petrarch categorically denies the existence of the goddess, decrying the popular faith in her:

I did not write anything about Fortune; I wrote about remedies against what is called Fortune, collecting examples that seemed to me fitted to soothe and inspire the human spirit. To refer to the things commonly attributed to chance or Fortune I accepted the old name, in order not to involve the reader in linguistic arguments and prejudice him against the writings and the writer. I know that most people are persuaded that whatever happens without apparent causes (for nothing happens without a cause) is called fortuitous, that is, the cause is Fortune.<sup>62</sup>

and:

To sum up then, I use the common term in order to be intelligible. I have stated my conclusion on the matter. If this is not the common view and not very philosophical, I think at least it is orthodox, and this is enough for me. I have often said and written this, but never in plainer terms. I began this letter by discussing the power of the contrary opinion, which is so fixed in men's minds, so ineradicable, that I think it cannot be banished from our common speech habits. Thus, not to arouse needless argument, I shall frequently use the language of the majority, but I shall always feel with the minority. Perhaps I may often use adverbs derived from fortuna, but I shall proclaim that Fortune herself does not exist...<sup>63</sup>

Thus it is clear that Petrarch's denial of Fortune was a 'minority' view and Fortune was still flourishing in the general imagination at the time of this writing.

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<sup>62</sup>M. Bishop, trans., Letters from Petrarch (Bloomington: Indiana University Press; 1966), P.258.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., P.259.

Christine certainly had access to the thinking of Petrarch through her Italian connections or through those of his works to which she had access in Charles V's Library.<sup>64</sup>

Similarly, Christine was familiar with the works of Boccaccio (1313-1375) which are heavily scattered with allusions to Fortune.<sup>65</sup> Patch notes that Boccaccio's love stories abound in references to a particularly pagan Fortune of Love. Boccaccio also refers extensively to Fortune in his De casibus virorum illustrium which was translated into French by Laurent de Premierfait in 1400. No specific philosophy regarding Fortune is described, Boccaccio's Fortune appearing to fluctuate between pagan and Christian renderings. Boccaccio, according to Patch, generally uses the classic Roman remedies of fortitude and spiritual devotion against Fortune, except that in the sixth book of De casibus virorum illustrium, Fortune herself tells Boccaccio that attempting to use any remedy against her activities is a waste of effort.

Christine knew the work of Boccaccio and evidently had a high opinion of it as she based her Livre de la cité des dames in large part on Boccaccio's De claris mulieribus.

Christine was then undoubtedly aware of, and influenced by, these major writers and their extensive treatments of Fortune, both pagan and Christian.

It can be seen, then, that despite the efforts of the Church Doctors to deny and diminish her, Fortune still flourished in some form as the Goddess of Chance both in literature and in the common mind well into the Middle Ages. Despite the official Christian

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<sup>64</sup>P. Champion, La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans, Bibliothèque du XV<sup>e</sup>. siècle, Tome XI (Paris: H. Champion, 1910. Reprinted Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975), Pp.86-88.

<sup>65</sup>Patch, 'Fortuna in Italian Literature,' Pp.209-212.



belief in a rational God and the importance of virtue with regard to receiving one's just deserts, there was apparently a continuing popular belief in this irrational and unjust pagan goddess. A. Graf expressed this phenomenon thus:

Il popolo, che poco intende e meno si cura delle sottili dispute e delle più sottili distinzioni dei teologi e dei filosofi, non lasciò mai di aver fede in una o più potenze, occulte e irresistibili, distinte e separate dal volere divino, e variamente designate, secundo i casi, coi nomi di destino, di fortuna, o d'influsso astrologico.<sup>66</sup>

Undoubtedly, Christine was thoroughly imbued with the tradition of the goddess Fortune, making very frequent use of the theme.

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Thus, by the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, several approaches to the concept of Fortune were available. Attempts have been made to categorise these different approaches.

Patch drew up three categories to describe different methods of treatment of the goddess.<sup>67</sup> His first category reflects the beliefs of the early patristic and scholastic philosophers who denied Fortune her power and ultimately her existence. He termed this category of treatment the 'Annihilation of the Goddess'. Patch's second category is termed the 'Christian Compromise' and is best illustrated by Boethius' approach to Fortune as

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<sup>66</sup>A. Graf, Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo (New York: Burt Franklin, 1892-93. Reprinted New York: Lenox Hill Pub. & Dist.Co., 1971), Vol.I, P.276. Translated as: The people, who understand little and care less about the subtle arguments and the subtler distinctions of the theologians and the philosophers, never gave up their faith in one or more powers, occult and irresistible, distinct and separate from the divine will, and variously designated, as the case might be, by the name of destiny, fortuna, or astrological influence.

<sup>67</sup>H.R. Patch, 'The Tradition of the Goddess Fortune in Mediaeval Philosophy and Literature,' Smith College Studies in Modern Languages Vol.III (1922), Pp.179-203.

discussed above. This approach represents a compromise wherein Fortune is allowed to exist and perform her functions on earth but God is still supreme overall. The extent of Fortune's influence is unclear as is her relationship to God. The third category is termed the 'Christian Conception' and is best exemplified by the Fortune of Dante's Divina Commedia also discussed above. This approach considered Fortune to be totally subservient to God in that she exists only to carry out God's dictates on earth. She is thus the executrix of the divine plan.

J. Frappier also categorised three methods of interpreting the goddess<sup>68</sup>. Two of Frappier's categories coincide closely with the categories of 'Christian Compromise' and 'Christian Concept' as drawn up by Patch. However, Frappier omits the category which concerns the annihilation of Fortune, and includes as his third category, the treatment and description of Fortune in a whole-heartedly pagan way. In this category, the goddess enjoys a completely independent existence with extensive powers over earthly beings.

For the purposes of this study three categories will be used to group and assess Christine's usage of Fortune. The first category to be utilised will reflect Frappier's 'Pagan Fortune.' This category may be identified by the use of classic symbols and activities, unadulterated by any reference to the goddess's subservience to God. However, even if there are no classical pagan symbols and attributes given, but Fortune is referred to as a real and independent force, the reference is categorised as pagan. Occasionally, a reference will be

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<sup>68</sup>J. Frappier, Etude sur 'La Mort Artu': roman du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1936), Pp.261-262.

categorised as pagan even when God is mentioned in the peripheral text, if it is clear that no limitation is being put on Fortune's powers.

The second category to be used in this study will be that of 'Christian Fortune.' Since the two categories termed the 'Christian Compromise' and the 'Christian Conception' are similar, it is frequently impossible to differentiate between them in the brief references found in Christine's works. Even when God is mentioned in the surrounding text, it is often difficult to identify whether or not Fortune is considered to be entirely under the direction of God, or if Fortune is an independent deity co-existing with God, but ultimately under His jurisdiction. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, any reference allowing Fortune to exist in any capacity subservient to the Christian God will be categorised as 'Christian Fortune.'

The third category to be considered in this study reflects the attitude which attempts to deny any power to the goddess and will be termed 'Annihilation of Fortune.' It will be difficult to assess Christine's attitude to the annihilation theory as this category of Fortune will not, by definition, be seen to exist. However, instances may be identified where Fortune's uncharacteristic absence in Christine's works speaks for this category.

Assigning a category to each Fortune reference is complicated by several factors. If the reference is short and no reinforcing comments are included in the passage surrounding the reference, the manner in which the author intends the reference to be understood is open to interpretation. In some cases, when a common literary cliché concerning Fortune is used, there may be little significance to the reference, except that Christine chose to refer to Fortune at all. Nevertheless, in subsequent chapters, an attempt will be made to identify and assign the categories of Pagan Fortune, Christian Fortune or Annihilation of Fortune, to Christine's

usage of the goddess. A further attempt will be made to identify if there is a trend or evolution in this usage as Christine progresses through her career.

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From Fortune's earliest history to the late Middle Ages much of the discussion and debate regarding this goddess involved the possibility of effective remedies being opposed to her activities. Were such effective remedies found to exist, Fortune need no longer be feared as all-powerful in the universe since her victims could weaken, or even annihilate, her powers.

Depending on which of the three above mentioned categories of Fortune is involved, different remedies may be suggested to counteract Fortune's activities.

The widest array of remedies were suggested against the first category, that of Pagan Fortune. The first remedies were suggested by the Roman Stoics. Frakes explains how the Stoics believed that the power of Fortune could be thwarted through the exercise of one's own character and strength:

Man's natura and uirtus are capable of overriding whatever obstacles Fortuna might put in their path. Her power is, after all, only over external matters, and the true Stoic is turned inward. Even beyond this inner freedom from Fortuna, however, the Stoic (at least the Roman Stoic) saw the opportunity for escaping Fortuna's control by developing and exercising his own uirtus.<sup>69</sup>

Patch also discusses those remedies to the actions of Fortune which were prevalent in Roman thought, identifying three main categories.<sup>70</sup> These categories will be used in this

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<sup>69</sup>Frakes, Fate of Fortune, Pp.14-15.

<sup>70</sup>Patch, 'The Goddess Fortuna in Roman Literature,' Pp.147-150.

study to identify those remedies proposed by Christine and are therefore summarised as follows:

The first remedy is the 'remedy of fortitude.' It is related to the body and corresponds to the virtue of personal power with patience, strength and endurance being opposed to Fortune's acts.

The second is the 'remedy of prudence'. It is related to the mind and corresponds to the virtue of wisdom with the intellect and reason being used to limit the extent of Fortune's control. This remedy implies that there is a superior ruler with a sense of order.

The third is the 'remedy of spiritual devotion.' It is related to the soul and corresponds to the virtue of religious idealism where virtue is cultivated and those material gifts controlled by Fortune eschewed. This last remedy implies that there is another deity with control over the spiritual life.

The second category of Fortune, Christian Fortune, may similarly have any of the above remedies utilized against it. However, since Christian Fortune is, by definition, executing the will of God, her actions must essentially be accepted by Christians. As Boethius demonstrated in the Consolatio philosophiae, bad fortune is either deserved or is good for one. Thus the Christian approach to remedying Fortune was akin to that of the Roman Stoics, with the exercise of personal qualities such as patience, strength and endurance being recommended to anyone confronted with bad Fortune.

The remedy of spiritual devotion would also be considered particularly effective against the machinations of Christian Fortune. In this case, of course, the deity controlling the spiritual life is the Christian God, in whose universe every event is planned and

purposeful and whose actions are never arbitrary or unjust. One must then practise trust and faith in God's power and purpose despite those negative events that He may allow Fortune to perpetrate. Hope, faith and virtue must be maintained and will ultimately be rewarded.

The third category of treatment, the Annihilation of Fortune, requires no remedy, as the goddess is already denied any power over humanity.

In subsequent chapters an attempt will be made to identify those remedies which Christine utilises and promotes against Fortune and to discern if there is any significant trend in this usage.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CHRISTINE'S USE OF FORTUNE: 1394-1403

What we call the beginning is often the end  
And to make an end is to make a beginning.  
The end is where we start from.

T.S. Eliot, Little Gidding

This chapter will examine how the theme of Fortune is used and developed in the works of Christine de Pizan during the period 1394 to 1403<sup>1</sup>, that is, the period extending from her earliest writings up to the writing of the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, which will be studied in a separate chapter.

An attempt will be made to identify any progression in the way the theme is addressed within this period. A comparison will later be made between the use of the theme in works of this period compared to its use in Christine's subsequent writings. The incidence and category of references to Fortune will also be studied according to the type of writing in which it occurs, that is, whether the work is written in verse or prose, and whether the work is secular, religious or didactic. Where the Fortune theme is used, its significance to the overall work will be examined to determine whether the theme is central or is merely incidental. Similarly, the works will also be studied to identify whether there is any pattern in the way that the Fortune theme is omitted.

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<sup>1</sup>For a chronological listing of the works containing references to Fortune see Appendix A.

As far as possible, the references will be studied chronologically. As indicated in a note in Chapter One, the working chronology published in The Christine de Pizan Society Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 1. is used in this study.

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Christine's earliest lyric poems were gathered into a number of collections: the Cent ballades, the Rondeaux, the Virelais and the Autres ballades.

The collection known as the Cent ballades was written about 1394 and yields nine examples of Christine's use of the Fortune theme. This collection clearly demonstrates that Christine's attitude to the goddess at this time was decidedly negative, as no fewer than eight of these examples illustrate the negative influence of Fortune, while only one refers to a positive outcome.

Fortune first appears in a poem with a classical theme. Ballade III refers to the love affair between Léandre and Héro, detailing how Léandre meets with his untimely death by drowning while he attempts to reach his lover, Héro:

16                    Mais Fortune qui a fait maint outrage,  
                         Et a mains bons assez de meschiefs donne,  
                         Fist en la mer trop tempesteux orage.  
                         Voiés comment amours amans ordonne!<sup>2</sup>

This represents a prevalent theme in the literature of Fortune, that is, her close, and generally negative, association with love affairs. Patch explains it thus:

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<sup>2</sup>Roy, Oeuvres poétiques, Vol.1, P.4.



...Fortune is generally at the last unfavorable to one or both of the lovers. She is hard-hearted, envious, positively hostile, and torments them. It was she who was so cruel to Pyramus and Thisbe. She is particularly noted for separating lovers.<sup>3</sup>

Yet another traditional characteristic of Fortune is depicted in line 15 as Christine shows Fortune to be in control of the power of the sea and its storms. Further, by summoning this storm, Fortune is responsible for the lover's death. Fortune is often seen as a cohort of Death:

The tradition of Fortune's causing death is widespread and continuous, and takes an important place in all mediaeval elegiac poetry. In art, too, the goddess is closely associated with Death, or she herself by a turn of the wheel sends men into the grave.<sup>4</sup>

It is evident from line 16, however, that Christine was exasperated at Love, whom she also considered to have contributed to Léandre's death. This linking of Love, Fortune and Death appears repeatedly in Christine's work. Patch discusses this combination also, explaining that it was a popular motif in the literature of the Middle Ages:

But Death and Fortune at an early period are found cooperating quite amicably, with little distinction between their work. Sometimes a trio is formed in the persons of Love, Death and Fortune, and in Pierre Michault's Dance aux Aveugles these three figures seem to be practically equated.<sup>5</sup>

The common complaint, as exemplified by Boethius, that Fortune unfairly distributes misadventure and misery to those who do not deserve it, is introduced in lines 13 to 14.

Fortune is thus depicted in Ballade III as an independent force, with no indication of God's power or influence being present. The topic and the description of Fortune being

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<sup>3</sup>H.R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1927), Pp.95-96.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Pp.119-120.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Pp.117-118.

consistent with the tradition of the classical, pagan goddess, this example is considered a clear illustration of Pagan Fortune.

This first brief reference to Fortune introduces a number of essential features of the goddess: her frequent associations with Love and Death, her power over sea and waves, and her tendency to be arbitrary in her distribution of gifts. It is thus already evident that Christine is thoroughly imbued with the well-established traditions associated with the goddess.

Ballade VII is the first example of an entire poem being dedicated to Fortune. It contains many of the motifs which are to be used repeatedly by Christine to express her despair at the events of her life.

4 Ha! Fortune très doloureuse,  
Que tu m'as mis du hault au bas!  
Ta pointure très venimeuse  
A mis mon cuer en mains debas.  
8 Ne me povoyes nuire en cas  
Ou tu me fusses plus crueuse,  
Que de moy oster le soulas,  
Qui ma vie tenoit joyeuse.

12 Je fus jadis si eüreuse;  
Ce me sembloit qu'il n'estoit pas  
Ou monde plus beneüreuse;  
Alors ne craignois tes las,  
Grever ne me pouoit plein pas  
16 Ta très fausse envie haïneuse,  
Que de moy oster le soulas,  
Qui ma vie tenoit joyeuse.

20 Horrible, inconstant, tenebreuse,  
Trop m'as fait jus flatir a cas  
Par ta grant malice envieuse  
Par qui me viennent maulx a tas.  
Que ne vengoyes tu, hélas!  
Autrement t'yre mal piteuse,

24                   Que de moy oster le solas,  
                      Qui ma vie tenoit joyeuse?

                      Trés doulz Princes, ne fus ce pas  
                      Cruaulté male et despiteuse,  
28                   Que de moy oster le solas,  
                      Qui ma vie tenoit joyeuse?<sup>6</sup>

The final couplets in each verse emphasise that once again, Fortune is responsible for a death. In this case the loss referred to is the death of Christine's own husband, a topic to which Christine will return many times. Indeed, Etienne de Castel's death was probably the primary cause which motivated Christine to begin writing. Had he not died, she may never have experienced those depths of pain, despair and desolation to which she felt compelled to give expression by her writing. Neither perhaps, would she have had the time and solitude required to embark on a literary career.

In writing to express this great sense of loss, Christine was mirroring the personal motivations of other early literary women. P. Dronke expresses it thus:

The women's motivation for writing at all, for instance, seems rarely to be predominantly literary: it is often more urgently serious than is common among men writers; it is a response springing from inner needs, more than from an artistic, or didactic, inclination. There is, more often than in men's writing, a lack of apriorism, of predetermined postures: again and again we encounter attempts to cope with human problems in their singularity - not imposing rules or categories from without, but seeking solutions that are apt and truthful existentially.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Roy, Oeuvres poétiques, Vol.1, Pp.8-9.

<sup>7</sup>P. Dronke, Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (d.203) to Marguerite Porete (d.1310) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), P.x.

The poems in which Christine laments her husband are similar to earlier examples of poems written by women for their deceased husbands. Dronke quotes an epitaph written by Paulina, the pagan widow of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, in the fourth century:

All this is taken from me now: I waste away, a grieving wife.  
How happy I'd have been had the gods let my husband  
live on - yet in the end I am happy:  
40 I am and have been yours, and soon, after my death, I shall be yours.<sup>8</sup>

Similar verses were written by Christian widows. Dronke quotes an anonymous verse from the third century:

Alas, dearest husband, who leave me, wretched, alone! Without you, what shall I hold  
sweet, what shall I believe lovable?  
For whom do I cling on to life and not follow you, villain, into death?  
Let me go with you, hand in hand, united to you in the grave that I too much desire!  
Your courtesy, respect and loyalty, and being gentle, did not help you - you were  
doomed to die.  
Only this - if any awareness outlives our bodies - I'll let you have my pledge of love  
for ever: husband, I'll keep your bed inviolate.<sup>9</sup>

Thus Christine was following in an established tradition of women writing to express their pain at the loss of a beloved husband. Christine's grief and misery is indeed evident throughout Ballade VII. As she states, nothing Fortune could have done would have harmed her more, the death of her husband being equated to her own. She tells how she had been so happy, considering herself too lucky for Fortune's evil malice ever to touch her. Yet now Fortune has brought her down.

The descriptive terms used here are also to become familiar. Fortune is: doloureuse, crueuse, horrible, inconstant, tenebreuse. She is capable of: pointure très venimeuse, trés

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., P.22.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., P.24.

fausse envie haïneuse, grant malice envieuse, and yre mal piteuse<sup>10</sup>. These attributes reflect the cruel, unstable, harmful and envious Fortune of the Roman literary tradition.

The image of Fortune's wheel is evident here in 'Que tu m'as mis du hault au bas!,' as is an image of being caught in snares in 'Alors ne craignoie tes las.' These will also be recurring motifs in Christine's treatment of Fortune.

Fortune is depicted as the powerful enemy responsible for removing Christine's source of solace, her husband. Christine finds it impossible to accept the fact that, since Fortune gave her this earlier happiness, it is within the goddess' power to remove it. In fact, Christine shows no patience with Fortune and roundly blames her. Apparently, Christine is compelled by her anger and exasperation to berate the goddess regardless of further consequences. The use of direct speech in addressing Fortune emphasises the personal attitude Christine assumes towards Fortune and indicates how real the goddess seems to her.

God is at no point in evidence in this poem and, given the description of her activities, Fortune appears to be quite independent. This example of Fortune has therefore been categorised as Pagan.

Ballade VIII also attributes Christine's misery to Fortune. Christine laments her difficulties at the hands of Fortune:

4                    Il a long temps que mon mal comença,  
                      N'oncques depuis ne fina d'empirer  
                      Mon las estat, qui puis ne s'avança,  
7                    Que Fortune me vould si atirer  
                      Qu'il me convint de moy tout bien tirer;  
                      Et du grief mal qu'il me fault recevoir  
                      C'est bien raison que me doye doloir.

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<sup>10</sup>For a selected list of terms Christine de Pizan used with Fortune see Appendix B.

Le dueil que j'ay si me tient de pieça,  
 Mais tant est grant qu'il me fait desirer  
 Morir briefment, car trop mal me cassa  
 11 Quant ce m'avint qui me fait aïrer;  
 Ne je ne puis de nul costé virer,  
 Que je voye riens qui me puist valoir.  
 14 C'est bien raison que me doye doloir.

Ce fist meseur qui me desavança,  
 Et Fortune qui vout tout dessirer  
 Mon boneür; car depuis lors en ça  
 18 Nul bien ne pos par devers moy tirer,  
 Ne je ne sçay penser ne remirer  
 Comment je vif; et de tel mal avoir  
 21 C'est bien raison que me doye doloir.<sup>11</sup>

Christine conveys the impression that she has been submitted to unremitting persecution by Fortune. She does not abuse Fortune's character as in Ballade VII, but considers the goddess to be responsible for the difficulties in her life, which, Christine claims, justify her own continued mourning. She seems here to be more intent on demonstrating her own right to be miserable, than on accusing Fortune.

However, Christine, while judging Fortune to be responsible for her troubles, appears to accept the goddess's right to behave in this way. Thus, although still frustrated with Fortune, Christine seems to be more passive and again expresses her hope to escape through death.

Christine again shows her familiarity with the tradition of Fortune and her companions as she introduces Meseür, also known as Maleür, in line 15. He is traditionally responsible for the distribution of negative events in a person's life. There is a companion figure, Eürs, Eüre or Bonneürté, who is responsible for the distribution of prosperity and success.

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<sup>11</sup>Roy, Oeuvres poétiques, Vol.1, P.9.

Originally these two figures were intertwined and competed with Fortune. Fortune triumphed, however, and these characters were relegated to subordinate roles. In the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, Christine explains that Meseür and Eür are Fortune's brothers.

God is not mentioned, Fortune being quite independent, and accordingly this is judged to be an example of Pagan Fortune.

Fortune makes her fourth appearance in Ballade X where Christine expresses herself with extreme bitterness. Fortune is again accused of being intent on destroying Christine, even to the point of deciding on her death. Thus it is implied here that Fortune has control over Death.

Although Christine was aware of the traditional stoic remedy of fortitude, that is, the ability to oppose strength, endurance and patience to Fortune's actions, she is not convinced in this example that this remedy can be effective against Fortune:

4                   Se Fortune a ma mort jurée,  
                      Et du tout tasche a moy destruire,  
                      Ou soye si maleürée,  
7                   Qu'il faille qu'en dueil vive et muire,  
                      Que me vault donc pestrir ne cuire,  
                      Tirer, bracier, ne peine traire,  
                      Puis que Fortune m'est contraire?

11                  Pieça de joye m'a tirée,  
                      Ne puis ne fina de moy nuire,  
                      Encore est vers moy si yrée,  
14                  Qu'adès me fait de mal en pire,  
                      Quanque bastis elle descire,  
                      Et quel proffit pourroye attraire,  
                      Puis que Fortune m'est contraire?

18                  Son influence desraée  
                      Cuidoye tous jours desconfire,  
                      Par bien faire a longue endurée,  
                      Cuidant veoir aucun temps luire

21                    Pour moy qui meseür fait fuire.  
                      Mais riens n'y vault, je n'y puis traire,  
                      Puis que Fortune m'est contraire.<sup>12</sup>

As noted in Chapter One, Christine struggled to overcome those problems which caused her so much distress. Here, however, with her struggles coming to naught, she sounds tired and defeated, passively accepting her impotence in the face of the goddess's capriciousness. Thus, according to Christine, the remedy of fortitude proposed by ancient wisdom was inadequate to counter the power of Fortune. By thus disputing the effectiveness of an accepted remedy she attributes correspondingly greater strength to the goddess. She does not mention remedies of an intellectual or spiritual nature; perhaps she has not yet attempted to utilise these. This example, Ballade X, is also categorised as one illustrative of Pagan Fortune.

Ballade XII once again complains of Fortune, but here there is evidence of an initial, tentative use of an effective remedy. Christine, sounding calmer and more accepting, advocates the avoidance of belief in, or dependance on, those gifts which Fortune distributes according to her caprice. This ballade thus proposes the traditional remedy of spiritual devotion, which involves developing virtue and avoiding the pursuit of those material gifts controlled by Fortune. Regarding such gifts as worthless denies them power and therefore also denies power to Fortune, who controls their distribution:

4                    Qui trop se fie es grans biens de Fortune,  
                      En verité, il en est deceü;  
                      Car inconstant elle est plus que la lune.  
                      Maint des plus grans s'en sont aperceü,  
                      De ceulz meismes qu'elle a hault acreeü,

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.11.



7 Trebusche tost, et ce voit on souvent  
Que ses joyes ne sont fors que droit vent.

11 Qui vit, il voit que c'est chose commune  
Que nul, tant soit parfait ne esleü,  
N'est espargné quant Fortune repugne  
Contre son bien, c'est son droit et deü  
De retoulir le bien qu'on a eü,  
Vent chierement, ce scet fol et sçavent  
14 Que ses joyes ne sont fors que droit vent.

18 De sa guise qui n'est pas a touz une  
Bien puis parler; car je l'ay bien sceü,  
Las moy dolens! car la fausse et enfrune  
M'a a ce cop trop durement neü,  
Car tollu m'a ce dont Dieu pourveü  
21 M'avoit, hélas! bien vois apercevent  
Que ses joyes ne sont fors que droit vent.<sup>13</sup>

Fortune's inconstance is compared to the ever-changing nature of the moon in line 3, this being another image typically used with the goddess. Familiar vocabulary also appears throughout, Fortune being described as inconstant, fausse, and enfrune. The wheel of Fortune theme is illustrated in lines 4-11 where even the highest placed are said to be laid low by Fortune. In lines 11-13 Christine declares that it is Fortune's right to give and take her gifts at will and claims that everyone must be aware of this.

Although God is referred to in this ballade, Fortune does not, in any way, appear subservient to God. Indeed, in lines 17-21 she appears to be more powerful than God since she took that which God had given to Christine, that is, Christine's husband. Since God and Fortune appear to be competing forces, this example is classed as Pagan.

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.13.

In Ballade XVIII, Christine first tells us that people ask her why she no longer sings and laughs when she used to be so gay and joyful. She responds by telling us that it is no wonder, as she is unable to overcome the mourning in her heart. We may assume that the cause of this despair is again the death of her husband. The pervasiveness of this theme is an indication of the genuine depth of feeling elicited by this death, which had such a profound effect on her life and expectations. Fortune is again blamed for this change in her circumstances and for her subsequent misery:

Et tant a fait Fortune, Dieu lui mire!  
Qu'elle a changié en vie doloieuse  
Mes jeux, mes ris, et ce m'a fait eslire  
11 Deuil pour soulas, et vie trop greveuse.  
Si ay raison d'estre morne et songeuse,  
Ne n'ay espoir que j'aye mieulx jamais;  
14 Car trop grief dueil est en mon cuer remais.<sup>14</sup>

The image of Fortune's turning wheel is clearly discernible here in lines 9-10. Christine's life has been overturned from one of laughter and games to one of deep sadness.

Christine states that for solace she has chosen to mourn. Mourning is, of course, a natural part of healing, but it appears that some people thought it time for her to cease. Indeed, Christine seems deeply depressed, stating that she has lost all hope of the possibility of improvement in her life. Thus, she submits abjectly to Fortune, unable to fight back even with the spiritual remedy of hope. This is all expressed with great anger, resentment and bitterness.

God is called upon in line 8. The meaning of this line is perhaps "Let God improve or heal it [the situation]". There is no way of establishing the exact relationship between God

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.19.

and Fortune from this short reference. However, since Christine evidently believes that God is capable of ameliorating the effects of Fortune, should He choose to do so, it would appear that God is the superior power. This reference is therefore assigned to the second category, that of Christian Fortune.

Ballade XXIV contains the only example found in the Cent ballades of Fortune having a positive influence. It is also the first of only two examples in this collection in which Christine is not expressing her own feelings but is speaking for another.

Here, a lady describes the pleasure and happiness she is experiencing since she has fallen in love. Evidently Christine had not forgotten such ecstatic joy and passion and she succeeds in portraying the woman's feelings very convincingly:

4                   Ma douce amour, ma plaisance cherie,  
                      Mon doulz ami, quanque je puis amer,  
                      Vostre douceur m'a de tous mauz garie,  
                      Et vrayement je vous puis bien clamer  
                                  Fontaine dont tout bien vient,  
                      Et qui en paix et joye me soustient,  
                      Et dont plaisirs me viennent a largece;  
8                   Car vous tout seul me tenez en leece.<sup>15</sup>

Both this and the next example are of interest as contemporary accounts of mediaeval chivalrous love from the woman's point of view.

Fortune's turning wheel is again in evidence here:

12                   Et la douleur qui en mon cuer norrie  
                      S'est longuement, qui tant m'a fait d'amer,  
                      Le bien de vous a de tous poins tarie;  
                      Or ne me puis complaindre ne blasmer  
                                  De Fortune qui devient

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.25.

Bonne pour moy, se en ce point se tient.<sup>16</sup>

However, this example of Fortune's wheel is unusual since it is positive in effect, the lady having been saved from her previous long-term sadness and raised up to a pinnacle of happiness.

Love is, however, also described as being responsible for this change in the speaker's life:

18                    Si lo Amours qui, par sa seigneurie,  
                      A tel plaisir m'a voulu reclamer;<sup>17</sup>

Here, then, is another example of Love and Fortune being linked. It is not clear which of the two is primarily responsible for this beneficial change in the woman's circumstances, but God's influence is nowhere in evidence and this example is thus categorised as Pagan.

The second instance of Christine referring to Fortune in the speech of another person occurs in Ballade XXXIII, where yet again the speaker is a woman in love.

The lady laments the imminent departure of her lover, blaming Fortune for the event:

20                    Je mourray, n'en faites doubttes,  
                      Sans veoir vo doulz accueil.  
                      Ha! Fortune, tu me boutes  
                      En dur point, puis que my oeil,  
                      Fors par pensée prochaine,  
                      Ne verront cil qui retient  
24                    Mon cuer: c'est chose certaine,  
                      Puis que partir vous convient.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.25.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.25.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.34.

Fearing that she will never see her lover again, the lady, echoing Christine herself in her earlier ballades, sees no alternative to her sorrows but death. Here is therefore yet another example of Love, Fortune and Death being intertwined.

There are similarities between this woman's choice of vocabulary and that used by Christine when she laments her deceased husband, for example: plourant, triste, pleine de ~~du~~ail, doulour, grief dueil, je mourray.

Fortune is addressed in direct speech, again implying a very personal identification with Fortune by the speaker. The goddess appears to be an independent reality and this entry is also classified as Pagan Fortune.

There is quite a gap, numerically (but not necessarily chronologically), before the next reference to Fortune which occurs in Ballade XCVII. There appears to be a significant change in tone between this and the earlier examples. Christine is less strident and accusatory towards Fortune, her mood being calmer and more intellectual. This ballade, far from containing personal revelations, is a didactic treatise demonstrating a general philosophical approach to the problem of Fortune:

4 De commun cours chascun a trop plus chiers  
De Fortune les biens, que de Nature;  
Mais c'est a tort, car ilz sont si legiers  
Qu'on n'en devroit a nul fuer avoir cure.  
Boëce en fait mension  
8 En son livre de Consolacion,  
Qui reprove de Fortune la gloire;  
Si font pluseurs sages qui font a croire.

12 Et non obstant que ses dons soient chiers,  
Et que chascun a les avoir met cure,  
Si veons nous qu'honneurs et grans deniers  
Tost deffailent, et a maint petit dure  
La grant exaltacion

16 De Fortune, qui a condicion  
De tost changier, ce nous dit mainte hystoire;  
Si font pluseurs sages qui font a croire.

20 Mais si certains de Nature et entiers  
Sont les grans biens, que nulle creature  
N'en est rempli, qui lui soit ja mestiers  
D'avoir paour de Fortune la dure.  
C'est sens et discrecion  
Entendement, consideracion,  
Aristote moult apreuve memoire;  
24 Si font pluseurs sages qui font a croire.<sup>19</sup>

By thus referring to the philosophies of both Boethius and Aristotle, Christine may already be beginning to move away from writing purely to express her pain, towards writing to prove her intellect and to teach moral fortitude.

The poem compares the gifts of Nature to those of Fortune. We are exhorted to rely on the gifts of Nature which are dependable, rather than scramble after Fortune's gifts such as honneurs et grans deniers, which are not. Resisting the temptations and lure of the material and transitory gifts of Fortune results in having power over Fortune as she is then neutralised in her effects on the person. Christine thus advocates the third traditional remedy to the nefarious effects of the goddess, that of spiritual devotion. Yet given that Fortune is still depicted as a real power to be reckoned with, this example is also classified as Pagan Fortune.

The Cent ballades collection then, contains nine references to Fortune, eight illustrating the Pagan Fortune category and one the Christian Fortune category. In general, Fortune is seen as extremely harmful and noxious, eight examples being negative in effect, while only

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.97.

one is positive. The references are significant, Fortune being the central theme in five of the poems. Later examples begin to suggest the possibility of remedies being effective against the activities of the goddess.

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The Rondeaux, a collection of 69 poems which were also written about 1394, yields two references to Fortune, both of which are negative in their implications and are examples of Pagan Fortune.

The first reference occurs in Rondeau VI which demonstrates an almost peaceful acceptance of Fortune's persecution. Fortune is once again held responsible for Christine's mourning, but the mood of this rondeau is overall much calmer than that of the 'widowhood' poems in the Cent ballades:

4                   En esperant de mieulx avoir,  
                      Me fault le temps dissimuler,  
                      Combien que voye reculer  
                      Toutes choses a mon vouloir.

7                   Pour tant s'il me fault vestir noir  
                      Et simplement moy affuler,  
                      En esperant de mieulx avoir,

12                  Se Fortune me fait douloir,  
                      Il le me convient endurer,  
                      Et selon le temps moy riuler  
                      Et en bon gré tout recevoir,  
                      En esperant de mieulx avoir.<sup>20</sup>

Christine here apparently accepts Fortune's power and the fact that she, Christine, must simply endure Fortune's actions, "Se Fortune me fait douloir, Il le me convient endurer".

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.150-151.

Patience and hope, attributes belonging to the remedies of fortitude and spiritual devotion, are used by Christine in her reaction to the adversities of Fortune. Thus Christine asserts some measure of control over the goddess through her attitude of mind. Given that God is not in evidence, and that Fortune acts as an independent power, this example is categorised as one of Pagan Fortune.

Rondeau LXII , however, returns to a display of passion with emotional vocabulary such as was used in the Cent ballades again in evidence. In the first four lines, Christine uses the words: plour, tristece, doulour, amertume, peine, and destresce!

4 Source de plour, riviere de tristece,  
Flun de doulour, mer d'amertume pleine  
M'avironnent et noyent en grant peine  
Mon povre cuer qui trop sent de destresce.

7 Si m'affondent et plungent en asprece;  
Car parmi moy cuerent plus fort que Saine  
Source de plour, riviere de tristece.

12 Et leurs grans floz cheent a grant largece,  
Si com le vent de Fortune les meine,  
Tous dessus moy, dont si bas suis qu'a peine  
Releveray, tant durement m'opresse  
Source de plour, riviere de tristece.<sup>21</sup>

This rondeau is replete with wind and water imagery, which conveys a sense of wildness and randomness. Fortune is often depicted as having control over these elements.

Christine sees herself as a passive victim of events as she drowns in her difficulties and pain. She feels swept away and dragged under as these events act on her, as is evidenced by the active, dynamic verbs, "m'avironnent et noyent" in line 3, "m'affondent et plungent"

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.182.





17                   Suis de douleur et rancune,  
                          Non pas une  
                          Seule mais de mille ençainte  
                          Et estrainte,  
                          Comme autre fois me suis plainte.

21                   Mais il n'est riens qui ne passe;  
                          Pour ce cuire  
                          Me convient en celle masse  
                          Pour moy duire

28                   En tes tours qui m'ont destraintte  
                          Et contraintte,  
                          Si que n'ay joye nesune  
                          O enfrune!  
                          Desloial! tu m'as enpaintede  
                          En grant craintte,  
                          Comme autre fois me suis plainte.<sup>22</sup>

Here Christine is once again extremely bitter and angry, describing herself as "atainte...de douleur et rancune." She is not in the least accepting of Fortune's actions and she describes the goddess with great vituperation as desloial, faintte, enfrune and as using fausse fallace and tours. The poem is full of repetitive sounds, which seem to build and emphasise the severity of the frustration experienced by Christine who claims that Fortune universally and unjustly causes fear, pain, and loss of joy to all. Thus she appears to espouse wholeheartedly the traditional negative portrayal of the goddess's characteristics.

Virelay XIV is also devoted to describing Fortune's persecution of Christine. In it, Christine recalls with shrill emotion how she has been unlucky for ten years because of Fortune's activities. If we assume that Christine began to feel that Fortune was harriving her at the time of her husband's death, this poem would date from around 1400. Although this

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.104-105.

would make Virelay XIV a later addition to the collection, the depth of anger described here is consistent with the very personal and angry response to Fortune found in her early ballades which were written, presumably, when she was experiencing her most abject misery. Virelay XIV follows:

4 Trestout me vient a rebours,  
Mal a point et a contraire,  
En tout cas, en mon affaire :  
Je pers en vain mes labours.

8 Ce n'est pas de maintenant  
Qu'ainsi je suis demenée,  
Car dix ans en un tenant  
J'ay esté infortunée.

13 Mal me prent de commun cours  
De tout quanque je vueil faire,  
Et ce que me devoit plaire  
Me deffuit, et a tous tours  
Trestout me vient a rebours.

17 Pour riens me vais soustenant  
Puis que Fortune encharnée  
Est sus moi, qui demenant  
Par mainte très dure année

22 Me va, et Dieux est si sours  
Qu'il ne daigne vers moy traire  
Son oreille debonnaire;  
Pour ce, plus tost que le cours,  
Trestout me vient a rebours.<sup>23</sup>

Christine's tone is one of utter helplessness and bitter frustration as she tells how nothing goes her way, despite her struggles. She has evidently given up any hope of being able to improve her life. Indeed, she points out in line 4, "Je pers en vain mes labours," thus

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.115-116.

emphasising that she considers the physical remedies of work and fortitude to be useless against the all powerful goddess, Fortune.

Christine's sarcasm in lines 18-20 barely disguises her contempt and anger at God. It appears that Christine believed that Fortune's actions could perhaps be mitigated by God, if He were not so deaf to her pleas. However, Christine has been sorely disappointed in her expectations that God would help her overcome Fortune who is here depicted as very powerful. However, although God effects nothing against the goddess despite Christine's entreaties, it is implied that He could act against Fortune should He so choose. This example is therefore classified as one of Christian Fortune.

Thus both references found in the Virelais are negative and provide one example each of Pagan and Christian Fortune.

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The next collection to be studied, the Autres ballades, was written between 1394 and 1410<sup>24</sup>. Only one of the ballades can be dated specifically although several can be given an approximate date thanks to the inclusion of a reference to a contemporary event. Seven references to Fortune are in evidence in the Autres ballades, of which four are classified as Pagan Fortune and three as Christian Fortune. All describe Fortune and her activities negatively.

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<sup>24</sup>Since no date was given in the Christine de Pizan Society Newsletter for the collection known as Autres ballades, these dates are a compromise between the date given in the Newsletter for the author's earliest compositions and the dates found on page 25 of A.J. Kennedy and K. Varty's edition of the Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc.

Ballade I comments on the unfair and inappropriate prestige given to those who possess unjustified wealth, power and position. Christine exhorts us to follow the path of virtue and thus advocates countering the temptations and traps of Fortune<sup>25</sup> with a spiritual remedy:

12                   Et bonté faitte est haultement merie,  
                      Car Dieu le rend, et qui le bien porchace  
                      Acquiert honnour, soit en chevalerie  
                      Ou aultre estat, qui des bons suit la trace.  
                      Loz doit avoir sur tous en toute place  
                      Qui es vertus du tout son cuer affiche;  
16                   Tel tresor a que fortune n'efface;  
                      Car qui est bon doit estre appellé riche.<sup>26</sup>

Here then, Christine reaffirms the superiority of God's gifts, such as virtue, which can be earned and therefore kept permanently, over the gifts of Fortune which are arbitrary and fleeting. Fortune and God appear to be opposing forces, but their exact relationship cannot be determined. However, since God and his gifts are here promoted by Christine as being more powerful than Fortune and her gifts, this reference is considered an example of Christian Fortune.

In Ballade VII, Christine not only complains of her lot in life, but also demonstrates her knowledge of classical mythology as she calls on either Pallas or God to come to her aid.

While Christine declares Fortune to be responsible for overburdening her with difficulties, she nevertheless appears to accept Fortune's activities as inevitable. In fact, it

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<sup>25</sup>Fortune is often not capitalised by an editor, even when it appears that Christine's intention was to refer to the person of the goddess. Although Roy rarely does this, the reference in line 15 appears to be an example of this kind of confusion. I believe this is meant to read: "He who whole-heartedly cleaves to virtue, has such treasure that Fortune cannot take away."

<sup>26</sup>Roy, *Oeuvres poétiques*, Vol.1, Pp.207-208.

appears that Christine is more frustrated with Juno for not comforting her. After all, Christine, a dutiful daughter, wife and mother, may have expected succour from Juno, the goddess often associated with women, marriage and childbirth. Yet Christine now finds herself in an impecunious and precarious condition with no protection or support, not even from Juno. It is little wonder, then, that she should feel exasperated with that goddess.

Thus, Christine now turns to Pallas, the Goddess of Wisdom, Reason and Purity<sup>27</sup>, for help. This reflects Christine's development away from domestic preoccupations towards intellectual pursuits:

Se de Pallas me peüsse accointier  
Joye et tout bien ne me fauldroit jamais;  
Car par elle je seroie ou sentier  
De reconfort, et de porter le fais  
5 Que Fortune a pour moy trop chargier fais;  
Mais foible suis pour soustenir  
Si grant faissel, s'elle ne vient tenir  
De l'autre part, par son poissant effort  
Pour moy aidier, Dieu m'i doit avenir,  
10 Car de Juno n'ay je nul reconfort.<sup>28</sup>

The poem goes on to display Christine's classical erudition by relating the Judgement of Paris.

Here, Christine needs help, and she does not appear to care where it comes from, as she calls on both God and Pallas in the same verse, thus giving an air of complete desperation to her appeal. Yet the poem as a whole does not have the passion of her earlier, more

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<sup>27</sup>E. Hamilton, *Mythology* (New York: New American Library, 1969), P.30.

<sup>28</sup>Roy, *Oeuvres poétiques*, Vol.1, Pp.214-215.

straightforward and less intellectual ballades. Despite the brief reference to God, Fortune is here depicted as independent and powerful and is thus classified as Pagan.

In Ballade XIV Christine once more decries her fate, appearing more embittered than in Ballade VII. Again the functions of pagan goddesses are described and yet again Christine calls on Pallas for aid against Fortune since Juno has evidently abandoned her. Christine refers here only to pagan gods, calling Pallas, "Fille de Dieu", where "Dieu" is Zeus. The number of mythological figures referred to in this ballade includes Pallas, Juno, Diane, Fortune and Meseür. Christine may again be suspected of conspicuously displaying her learning since, for instance, Diane is merely named in line 22 and her inclusion contributes little to the poem:

Viegne Pallas, la deesse honnourable,  
Moy conforter en ma dure destresce,  
Ou mon anui et peine intollerable  
4 Mettront a fin ma vie en grant asprece.  
Car Fortune me cuert sure  
Qui tout mon bien destruit, rompt et deveure,  
Et pou d'esperoir me destraint jour et nuit;  
8 Juno me het et meseür me nuit.<sup>29</sup>

Here Christine states that she is too desperate to go on and that, if she is not comforted by Pallas, she wishes to die. This would again link Fortune and Death.

As the ballade continues, we see that Christine has no faith in hard work, part of the traditional physical remedy of fortitude, nor in hope, part of the remedy of spiritual devotion. Christine states that nothing she does helps her situation, because she is pursued and undone by Fortune, Juno and Meseür:

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.223.

Ne je ne truis nul confort secourable  
 A mon meschief, ainçois quant je me drece  
 Vers quelque part ou voye reparable  
 12 Deusse trouver, tout le rebours m'adrece,  
     Et en vain peine et labeur;  
 Car Fortune despece tout en l'eure  
 Quanque j'ay fait, ou me plaise ou m'anuit;  
 16 Juno me het et meseür me nuit.<sup>30</sup>

In this ballade, Christine returns to venting her strong emotion against the perpetrators of her misery. Christine accuses not only Fortune of persecuting her, but also Juno and Meseür, the tone here being frantic, perhaps even paranoid. If it ever occurred to Christine that, in fact, her father and her husband were responsible for her plight as they had made no economic or educational provisions for her, she never admits it. Certainly Christine later advocates that wives learn all the business affairs of their husbands so that they can carry on managing their households when the husbands are absent or die, but she never criticises either of her male relatives for their lack of forethought. Yet here we see great depths of passion and hateful bitterness directed against a variety of mythological figures whom she condemns as responsible for her situation. This, of course, could be a transference of emotion to avoid the guilt of criticising her beloved father and husband. She may similarly be using these figures to avoid the blasphemy of criticising and blaming God.

All attributes and associations in this ballade indicate that Fortune is a thoroughly pagan character.

Ballade XV shows Christine begging for financial aid from an unknown gentleman. Since we know from the Avision-Christine that Christine deeply hated being poor and in debt,

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.223.



we can appreciate that she must indeed have been desperate before she submitted herself to the humiliation of begging. She rather touchingly refers to herself in the third person rather than ask directly. Again Fortune is perceived as the antagonist:

Mon cher Seigneur, veuillez avoir pitié  
Du povre estat de vostre bonne amie,  
Qui ne treuve nulle part amistié.  
4 Pour Dieu mercy, si ne l'oubliez mie,  
Et souvenir  
Il vous vueille de son fait, ou venir  
Lui convendra a povreté obscure,  
8 Se Dieu et vous ne la prenez en cure.  
  
Ne peut avoir, tant ait nul acointié  
Son las d'argent : charité endormie  
Treuve en chascun, dont tout ne la moitié  
12 N'en puet avoir, Fortune est s'anemie  
Qui survenir  
Lui fait maint mal, si ne puet soustenir  
Son povre estat ou elle met grant cure  
16 Se Dieu et vous ne la prenez en cure.<sup>31</sup>

This ballade suggests a rather non-traditional remedy to Fortune - money! Here, Fortune's worldly gifts to one person may be redistributed to counteract Fortune's negative effects on another person.

Evidently, since God is called upon to help the petitioner, He is believed to be capable of reversing the ill effects of Fortune. This ability is somewhat belittled by the fact that the generosity of the mortal man being addressed could also help. Yet since God can counter Fortune, this example belongs to the Christian Fortune category.

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.224.

The next ballade which alludes to Fortune, Ballade XXXIII, can be specifically dated to 1402. This ballade was also addressed to a contemporary individual, Jean de Werchin, sénéchal de Hainaut. Christine lauds the seneschal for his bravery and military prowess:

18           Vous ne plaignez le damage  
              Dont il s'ensuivroit maint plour  
              Se Fortune et son outrage  
21           Vous jouoit de son faulx tour.  
              Dieux vous en gard, qui tousjour  
              A victoire vous amaine,  
              D'entreprendre armes et peine.<sup>32</sup>

Fortune's propensity to play tricks on one is here mentioned and the Fortune of Battle is introduced briefly. Patch notes that this Fortune of Battle represents another common cult in the literature of Fortune:

...Jean de Meun adds a cynical touch: "Bataille, en coi fortune seult plus avoir de pooir que vertus." The author of the Complaynt of Scotlande, who elsewhere in his work denies Fortune any reality, tells us that "battellis consistis vndir the gouernance of fortune, ande nocht in the ingyne of men." Thus Fortuna threatens to supplant even Mars and Bellona. She not only wages her own private war with man, but she sits in judgment on the battles of men among themselves.<sup>33</sup>

Line 19 implies that God can protect the seneschal from Fortune although the boundaries of responsibility are not made clear. This is therefore categorised as the third example of Christian Fortune in the Autres ballades.

Ballade LI is again entirely devoted to condemning Fortune's arbitrary and fickle nature:

Trop sont divers et merueilleux les tours  
De l'inconstant, double et faulsse Fortune;

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.245-246.

<sup>33</sup>Patch, Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature, Pp.107-108.

4 Car ses maux sont moult loncs et ses biens cours;  
Nous le voyons, et c'est chose commune,  
Dont je ne voy pourveance fors qu'une  
Contre elle; c'est que l'omme soit si saige  
8 Qu'il n'ait des biens d'elle leece aucune,  
Et ait ou mal fort et poissant couraige.

Veoir pouons que tout vient a rebours  
Souvent aux bons par sa fellasse enfrune,  
Et aux mauvais, sans desserte ou labours,  
12 Rent bon guerdon, mais de deux voyes l'une:  
Ou reconfort ou lenguir en rencune;  
Prendre conseil convient si qu'homs se targe  
De bon espoir, quoy qu'elle luy soit brune,  
16 Et ait ou mal fort et poissant couraige

Car puis que ses joyes ne font qu'un cours  
Par le monde general en commune  
Que nous veons plus souvent en decours  
20 Sus les greigneurs meismes que n'est la lune,  
Homme ne doit les prisier une prune,  
Mais, s'ilz viennent, pensser qu'en petit d'aage  
Perdre on les puet, seurté n'y ait aucune,  
24 Et ait ou mal fort et poissant couraige.

Princes, soyés certains qu'oncques ne fu ne  
Ja ne sera Fortune fors voulaige;  
En soit chascun avisié et chascune,  
28 Et ait ou mal fort et poissant couraige.<sup>34</sup>

Fortune is described, typically, as inconstant, double, and faulsse. She is yet again accused of playing a variety of amazing tricks on people, and it is observed that her activities are much more frequently negative than positive. The unfairness of the distribution of Fortune's gifts is also noted, as is their frequently transitory nature.

To this vicious and changeable Fortune, Christine then offers a number of traditional remedies. Having the wisdom to eschew Fortune's gifts, exercising personal courage, and

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<sup>34</sup>Roy, Oeuvres poétiques, Vol.1, Pp.266-267.

arming oneself with hope are all proposed as antidotes to the evils of Fortune. There is some bitterness here, but there is also resignation. Since there is not the same level of passion and personal feeling present it would appear that Christine believes it possible that these remedies can be effective in restraining this pagan Fortune.

In the last ballade in the collection, Ballade LIII, Christine again feels the unfairness of Fortune's acts keenly and displays extreme resentment towards the goddess. Christine complains that nothing ever goes right for her, no matter how much she deserves it.

Fortune is not referred to by name in this ballade although she is clearly the disloyal perpetrator of these injustices. Fortune's effects, however, are mentioned and it is pointed out again that her gifts are often administered by Meseür:

4 Je ne croy pas que ma malle fortune  
Puisse souffrir qu'aucun bien me secuere;  
Car de long temps, par rigle trop commune,  
M'a couru sus, et quanque je labeure  
N'est fors en vain; car tout despiece en l'eure  
7 La desloyal qui tout mal me pourchace;  
Quant bien me doit venir, miseur l'en chace.

11 N'il ne me vient a nulle heure pas une  
Riens a droit point, pour chose que je queure,  
La ou secours cuid trouver, mais nesune  
Voye n'y a: il fault que je demeure  
A tousjours mais ainsi, par quoy je pleure  
14 Souvent, veant que, par diverse chace,  
Quant bien me doit venir, miseur l'en chace.

18 Et puis qu'ainsi tel fortune respune  
A tout boneur pour moy et tout deveure  
Mes reconfors, avoir ne doy aucune  
Esperance de jamais veoir l'eure  
D'avoir reppos du mal qui m'acuere;  
21 Car je congnois qu'a tout quanque rechace,  
Quant bien me doit venir, miseur l'en chace.

Princes, ainsi a cuer plus noir que meure  
Me fault lenguir; car tout vent me dechace;  
Est ce bien droit meschief qui me cuert seure,  
25 Quant bien me doit venir, miseur l'en chace?<sup>35</sup>

Yet again, Christine seems exasperated and defeated, complaining that Fortune's ill effects cannot be overcome by the remedies of hard work and virtue. Christine states that she does not expect to see an improvement in her condition, and thus abandons hope, an attribute of the remedy of spiritual devotion. This final reference in the Autres ballades is then a very typical example of Pagan Fortune.

Thus the Autres ballades continue the pattern set in her other early lyric poetry by describing Fortune as a very harmful, capricious and unstable independent force. In some ballades (which were possibly written later) Christine seems to have faith in the use of some remedies, but generally, she still puts the focus on her suffering and her sense of hopelessness.

Overall then, Christine's collections of lyric poems, the Cent ballades, the Virelais, the Rondeaux and the Autres ballades are vehicles for self-expression, and are frequently full of despair at the workings of Fortune. Fortune appears 20 times in these short poems, often as the central theme. Indeed, in all but one of Christine's early lyric works, Fortune is seen to exert a negative influence. Of these 20 references, 15 are representative of the Pagan Fortune category and five of the Christian.

In these works, Christine generally demonstrates bitterness at the difficulties that she had to bear, and only rarely are placid acceptance and serenity glimpsed. Christine usually

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.268-269.

accuses Fortune of causing her wretchedness and, although she occasionally proposes traditional remedies against the negative power of Fortune, it is evident in her most disillusioned ballades that she has little or no faith in them.

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Having experienced success with these short poems, Christine was encouraged to write her first long poem in 1399, the Epistre au dieu d'Amours. This poem's purpose was not, as in Christine's previous works, to give personal expression to her emotions, but to complain about the low standards of men's behaviour towards women. The Epistre au dieu d'Amours purports to be an official letter from Cupid condemning all deceitful and disloyal lovers. In this poem, Christine defends the character and reputation of women for the first time, a topic to which she will return repeatedly. She also utters her first condemnation of Jean de Meung's Roman de la Rose which subsequently leads to the great literary debate from which she gained considerable attention.

Surprisingly, although the Epistre au dieu d'Amours is 828 lines long, there is only one reference to Fortune. The goddess is mentioned when Christine is referring to Othe de Grançon, a contemporary of exemplary character and behaviour who nevertheless experiences undeserved reverses due to Fortune:

235           Le bon Othe de Grançon le vaillant,  
              Qui pour armes tant s'alla traveillant,  
              Courtois, gentil, preux, bel et gracieux  
              Fu en son temps, Dieux en ait l'ame es cieulx!  
              Car chevalier fu moult bien entechié.  
              Qui mal lui fist je tiens qu'il fist pechié,  
              Non obstant ce que lui nuisi Fortune,

This is a minor reference to Fortune who is depicted in her typical role of persecutor. The reference is used merely to erase any implication that Othe's reverses might be either deserved or justified. Line 236 indicates that God has the knight's soul in heaven which illustrates that, although Fortune had harmed Othe de Grançon, God has disposition of his soul. This underscores the difference between the arena of God, the heavens, and that of Fortune, the earth. Since God would therefore be considered the superior force, this reference is classified as example of Christian Fortune.

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Love is also the principal theme of a group of three long poems written in 1400, the Débat de deux amans, the Livre des trois jugemens, and the Dit de Poissy. Christine refines her skills further as she composes these more lengthy works. These poems all debate the conduct of lovers, employing the formula of asking a celebrated person to make a judgement on the lovers' situations.

The Débat de deux amans appeals to Louis, duc d'Orléans, for a judgement. It is 2,024 lines long and contains four references to Fortune.

Christine tells how she meets two young men, one of whom is unhappy in love and the other happy, and subsequently she enters into a debate with them on love. Of course, another woman is taken along as a chaperone during this private discussion. First, the unhappy lover promotes his point of view:

Et tout soit il ou jeune ou meüré,

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.8.

Ou bel ou bon, ja si beneüré  
 Ne se verra que très maleüré  
 484                Il ne se clame  
 Souventes fois, se parfaitement aime.  
 Car Fortune, qui les discordes semme,  
 En plus perilz que nef qui va a reme,  
 488                Par maintes voyes,  
 Le fichera, mais le las toutevoies  
 Tout le peril ne prisera deux oies  
 Mais qu'il ne perde aucunes de ses joyes  
 492                Chier achetées.<sup>37</sup>

Thus he tells how, despite the fact that Fortune can, and does, sow discord in the lives of lovers, a true lover will scoff at the peril in which Fortune places him, only caring about holding on to those joys of love which he has obtained. Again Fortune and Love are opposed to each other, with Fortune's ability to trouble lovers making her more powerful than Love. This is then an example of Pagan Fortune acting negatively.

The second reference also comes from the sorrowing lover:

508                Avant qu'il soit amé, je croy, par m'ame,  
                     Qu'assez endure  
 De griefs anuis, je ne sçay comme il dure  
 En tel torment, en si mortel pointure,  
 N'il n'a en soy autre soin n'aultre cure  
 512                Que celle part  
 Ou il aime; si a quitté sa part  
 De tous les biens que Fortune depart  
 Pour cellui seul, qui pou lui en espart,  
 516                Certes peut estre.<sup>38</sup>

This lover suggests that Love will cause Fortune's gifts to be abandoned, which is the reverse of the usual accusation that Fortune takes away the joys of Love! Fortune is depicted

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, Pp.63-64.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.64.



as a pagan entity whose influence here is positive in that she has distributed valuable gifts. However, the lover detracts from her power by indicating that the gifts of Love are prized higher than those of Fortune.

After this unhappy lover has told his tale, a counter-argument is put forward by the light-hearted lover, who defends the emotion and practice of Love. Christine proceeds to display her knowledge of classical and mediaeval literature and, in a discussion of the Tristan legend, Christine provides another example of Fortune, Love and Death being united in a fateful trio:

1440                    Et meismement  
                          Tristan, de qui parlastes ensemment,  
                          En devint preux; se l'ystoire ne ment,  
                          Pour amours vint le bon commencement  
                                  De sa prouece;  
                          Et non obstant qu'il moru a destrece  
                          Par Fortune, qui maint meschief adrece,  
                          Tant de bien fit pour sa dame et maistrece  
1448                    Qu'a tousjours mais  
                          Sera parlé de ses haultains biensfais,  
                          Ce fist Amours par qui il fu parfaits.<sup>39</sup>

Fortune is only briefly alluded to, in order to acknowledge that the unhappy end to Tristan's career is completely unmerited. However, Fortune, by being responsible for Tristan's death, is shown to be a very powerful negative force. Yet the passage emphasises that it is Love that makes Tristan heroic and is thus responsible for his everlasting glory and fame. Thus Love is shown to be a more powerful positive force. This reference, having no allusion to God, is judged to be Pagan.

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.92.

The happy lover uses another literary reference to promote Love as he tells of Aeneas receiving comfort and love from Dido after his flight from Troy:

1484 Et Eneas, après qu'ot esté arse  
La grant cité de Troye, a qui reverse  
Fu Fortune qui maint reaume verse,  
Quant il par mer  
Aloit vagant a cuer triste et amer  
Ne ne finoit de ses Dieux reclamer,  
1488 Mais bon secours lui survint pour amer,  
Car accueilli  
Fu de Dido la belle et recueilli;<sup>40</sup>

Line 1483 illustrates Fortuna Publica, the Fortune who rules cities and kingdoms, assigning her responsibility for the fall of Troy. This powerful cult and its effect on Troy was well known in the Middle Ages as noted by Patch:

...a special aspect of the goddess held sway over the city and over the state....Troy is naturally the most familiar example of the goddess's infidelity:

E quando la fortuna volse in basso  
L'altezza de' Troian che tutto ardiva,  
Sì che insieme col regno il re fu casso,

says Dante. Thus she caused the greatest of all civic tragedies famous in the Middle Ages.<sup>41</sup>

This final example provides another negative example of Pagan Fortune. Thus all four references found in the Débat de deux amans are examples of Pagan Fortune, three of which are negative in influence and only one positive.

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.93.

<sup>41</sup>Patch, Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature, Pp.113-114. The quote from Dante is from his Inferno, XXX, 13-15.

The second of the debates on love written in 1400 is the Livre des trois jugemens.

In this work, three tales whose common theme is loyalty in love are told and a judgement is requested on each. Christine addresses the work to Jean de Werchin, sénéchal de Hainaut, whom she considered a most worthy judge in such a decision:

4                   Bon Seneschal de Haynault, preux et sage,  
                      Vaillant en fais et gentil de lignage,  
                      Loyal, courtois de fait et de langage,  
                      Duit et apris  
                      De tous les biens qui en bon sont compris,  
                      Par noblece de cuer soubsmis et pris  
                      Es laz d'amours pour accroistre le pris  
8                   De vo noblece,  
                      Sage a jugier du mal d'amours qui blece  
                      Quelz sont les tours, soit en force ou foiblece,  
                      Pour ce vous ay, chier Sire, plein d'umblece,  
12                  Esleu a juge.<sup>42</sup>

This work is 1,532 lines long and contains four negative references to Fortune, three of which are Pagan and one Christian. All of the references to Fortune appear in the second case presented to the seneschal. This second debate asks whether a lover whose lady has been locked away and made totally inaccessible by her husband, may permit himself a new love. Pagan Fortune is immediately blamed for the misadventures that befall these lovers:

                      ...Or vueil sans arrestance  
688                Vous raconter, fust foiblece ou constance,  
                      Ce qu'il avint  
                      A deux amants beaulz et gens entre vint,  
                      Loyaulz et bons, mais trop leur mesavint  
                      Par Fortune, dont chascun d'eulx devint  
692                Morne et pensis :<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Roy, Oeuvres poétiques, Vol.2, P.111.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.132.

This is yet another allusion to Fortune bringing unmerited oppression to fine people. It should be remembered that these lovers' fine attributes are being measured in the light of courtly or chivalrous love, not according to strict Christian morality. Thus Fortune here appears to be more potent than Love.

The second reference tells how the lovers pass an idyllic summer only to be thwarted by Fortune. Fortune is, as we have already learned, frequently contrary to lovers and delights in putting an end to their happiness:

788                   Ainsi souvent son doulz ami veoit  
                      Si lui dura, si comme elle disoit,  
                      Tout un esté  
                      Ce très doulz temps, mais Fortune apresté  
                      A mains meschiefs aux amans et esté  
792                   Leur contraire, et souvent a arresté  
                      Tous leurs depors.<sup>44</sup>

Thus Fortune brings the lovers' happiness to an abrupt end through having the woman's husband find out about the clandestine affair. The irate husband consequently locks his wife out of the reach of the lover.

The third reference occurs when the now imprisoned lady writes to her lover and expresses her hopelessness.

1088                   Mon vray ami, je n'y sçay voye aucune  
                      D'autre deport. Dieux qui fist ciel et lune  
                      Vous reconfort et moy qui par Fortune  
                      Suis mise au bas  
                      Doint brief finer, car de tous les esbas  
                      Quitte ma part et en plourant rabas  
                      Tous mes soulas, ne vueil autre repas

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.135.

Ne autre joye.<sup>45</sup>

God is described in line 1,086 as the maker of the heavens and the moon, and is perceived by the lady to have the power to console her lover. The lady, however, feels quite helpless at the hands of Fortune. In line 1,088 she alludes to Fortune's turning wheel casting her down. She can see no remedy for her fate and foresees only death for herself, apparently she has no hope that God will console her. Thus Love, Fortune and Death are yet again linked.

Overall, God appears to control the upper stratospheres and the health of the soul while Fortune merely controls earth-bound things. This reference has therefore been attributed to the category of Christian Fortune.

The fourth and final reference in the Livre des trois jugemens demonstrates Fortune's propensity to take back her gifts of happiness:

1101           Ainsi Fortune ot tout mal apresté  
                  Aux deux amans et tout leur bien osté,<sup>46</sup>

This reference depicts behaviour typical of the goddess in that Fortune, who is in charge of worldly pleasures, can recall them at will. Given that there is no allusion to God, this reference is assigned to the category of Pagan Fortune.

Little passion is applied to the description of the goddess in these four references. They appear to be standard devices used in a stereotypical way. Considering the length of

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.144.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.144.

the Livre des trois jugemens, the references to Fortune are sparse and the treatment of Fortune is slight compared to that in the ballades.

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The third of this group of long, complex love poems written in 1400, the Dit de Poissy, recounts a journey made by Christine, accompanied by several ladies and gentlemen, to visit her daughter in the convent at Poissy. The first part of the poem depicts the pleasant journey and visit to the convent in interesting detail. However, during the return trip another debate on love occurs between a lady and a squire. These two characters each claim that their own unhappy romantic situation is the most to be pitied. This controversy is again submitted to Jean de Werchin, sénéchal de Hainaut for a judgement.

The poem is 2,076 lines long and yields five references to Fortune, three of which are examples of Christian Fortune and two are examples of Pagan Fortune. This is the only work of this early period, 1394-1403, which has more references to Christian Fortune than to Pagan Fortune. Perhaps, despite the secular nature of the judgements on love, the accompanying description of life at the convent of Poissy, has coloured Christine's treatment of Fortune.

The first reference to Fortune is made by the lady who is describing how her lover, while on a military campaign in Turkey in the company of a contemporary hero, the Duc de Nevers, has been taken prisoner and held to ransom:

1272           Et Turquie, puisses estre perie  
                  Long et travers!  
          Qui fis aler Monseigneur de Nevers  
          En ton païs desloyal et divers,  
          A qui Fortune ala trop a revers  
1276           A celle fois,  
          Ou moururent tant de vaillans François  
          Et d'autre gent bons, gentilz et courtois,

Dont le dommage est et fu de grief pois  
Et trop grevable<sup>47</sup>

Fortune is thus introduced in a negative reference dealing with her influence in war. As noted earlier this cult of the Fortune of Battle was a powerful one. This example represents the Pagan category of Fortune.

The next example illustrates yet another joining together of Love, Death and Fortune. The lady declaims that she would sell everything and risk making a journey to Turkey in order to find her lover. She then contrasts how God may allow Death to overtake her on the voyage or how Fortune may allow her to reach her destination and find her lover:

1320           Et se la mort me prenoit ou voyage,  
                  De par Dieu fust;  
                  Durast mon corps tant comme durer peust;  
                  Et se Fortune vouloit et li pleust  
                  Que jusques la alasse, et il y fust,  
1324           Et tant feïsse  
                  Qu'en la prison ou il est me meïsse,  
                  Ne cuidiez pas que la durté haïsse,  
                  Non pour mon corps, du lieu, et l'en treïsse,  
1328           Ce m'est avis.<sup>48</sup>

This is a rare example of Fortune's influence being considered favourable. More interestingly, Fortune is here contemplated as potentially being more favourable towards the lady than God! Yet God is shown to have supreme control over life and death while Fortune appears to control the quirks of life here below. This reference is therefore classed as Christian Fortune.

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, Pp.197-198.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.199.

When the lady has finished, the squire is anxious to tell his tale which, he claims, gives him much more reason to grieve. He relates how Love and Fortune have struck him down:

1408 Mais Fortune, qui sans cesser labeure  
Pour nuyre aux gens, me vult lors corir sure,  
Car je n'avoie ains, se Dieux me sequeure,  
Soing ne tristour;  
Jolis et gay estoye en mon atour  
Et joennement je vivoie a tout tour  
Ne cognoissoie alors d'amour le tour  
1412 Ne sa pointure  
Qui m'a depuis esté diverse et dure.<sup>49</sup>

This vocabulary, me vult lors corir sure and sans cesser labeure pour nuyre, is reminiscent of several of Christine's early ballades in which she describes how Fortune pursues and harries her relentlessly. Once again Fortune's negative behaviour elicits deep personal emotions. The lover describes his fateful encounter with Fortune as inescapable. God is called upon to vouch for the happy and carefree existence of the squire prior to Fortune's introducing him to Love. Since God is referred to in such close proximity to Fortune this reference is assigned to the Christian Fortune category although their relationship cannot be specified.

In the fourth reference the lover states that death is the necessary outcome of his falling in love and thus, yet again, Fortune, Love, and Death come together:

1456 Ou lieu entray ou Fortune la voye  
Lors m'adreça qui a mort me convoie  
Sans departance.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.202.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.203.



This brief reference is then an example of negative Pagan Fortune.

In the last reference, the squire explains how he perceives the sorrowing lady's predicament to be less hopeless and bitter than his, since Fortune could choose to reverse her situation by returning her lover to her:

Car qui est d'oeil  
Moult esloingnié, pou lui dure son **dueil**;  
Et si pouez avenir a vo vueil  
Prochainement et tout en aultre fueil  
1964 Soy atorner,  
Fortune qui a voulu bestourner  
Vo bien en mal, si se porra tourner  
Si que verrez vostre ami retourner  
1968 Et tost mander."  
Adonc le prist ycelle a regarder  
Et respondi: "Dieux le doint sans tarder!"<sup>51</sup>

This very clearly describes how Fortune has the power to transform bad fortune into good fortune with another turn of her wheel. This is the first example which clearly illustrates that Fortune's influence could be either positive or negative.

The lady's response here shows that she believes that God could influence Fortune to return her lover. Fortune is then clearly under God's dominion and this is an example of Christian Fortune.

The depiction of Fortune in the Dit de Poissy departs from that found in Christine's earlier works. Prior to this, Fortune has been shown to be very predominantly negative and Pagan in character. Here, for the first time, the majority of the references are to Christian Fortune, with three references being negative in influence, while one is positive, and one could be either positive or negative.

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.218-219.

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In contrast to Christine's early lyric poetry, which was written principally for her own amusement and self-expression, and the longer poems on love written to hone and prove her skills, the next group of works to be assessed was written for quite different reasons. Written between 1399 and 1401, the purpose of this group, which includes the Epistre d'Othea, the Enseignemens moraux, and the Proverbes moraux, was to instruct and encourage young people in general, and Christine's son specifically, to conduct themselves honourably.

Christine was not breaking new ground with these instructional works as precedents did exist. Christine was following a mediaeval tradition in which women wrote instructions for their sons on the conduct of a good and moral life. This urge to assist their heirs to survive in an often ungodly and precarious society had provided the impetus for several earlier women to commit their opinions and beliefs to writing.

One of the most famous examples of these didactic works was written by Dhuoda, a noble Frankish lady, who wrote her Liber manualis between A.D. 841 and A.D. 843. Dhuoda wrote both to express her feelings of frustration with her social and political situation and to bestow spiritual and moral advice on her 15 year old son, 15 being considered the appropriate age for a boy to set out on his career. F. and J. Gies explain her situation thus:

Her children taken from her, her husband absent and in danger, members of the larger family dispersed or dead, Dhuoda presents the picture of a family divided and buffeted by the external forces of a violent age.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>F. and G. Gies, Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), P.83.

Although she wrote much later, Christine's experience was comparable and her purpose was also to promote a safe and serene approach to life and faith for her own 15 year old son, Etienne, who was in need of a career.

The full title of the first work in this trio of didactic and moral works is the Epistre d'Othea la déesse, que elle envoya à Hector de Troye quant il estoit en l'age de quinze ans.<sup>53</sup> It was written between 1399 and 1400, and is partly written in prose, this being the first time Christine attempted such a form.

This didactic work was, according to Christine, sent by Othea, the Goddess of Prudence and Wisdom, to Hector when he was 15 years old to encourage him to develop all the virtues and worldly graces of which he was capable. The work is organised into 100 short sections, each having a verse text containing a quatrain, a glose in prose explaining the text, and a prose allegory further expanding on the meaning.

Glose I, although it does not refer specifically to Fortune, has an interesting passage on ancient and pagan goddesses which helps elucidate Christine's understanding and use of the Fortune theme:

But we Cristen men and wommen, now at this tyme be the grace of God enlumyned with verrey feith, may brynge ayen to morall mynde the opynyones of ancient pepill, and there-vpon many faire allegories may be made. And as thei hadde a custom to wurschip all thing the which aboute the comune course of thinges hadde prerogatif of some grace, many wise ladies in their tyme were callid goddesses.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>This text was studied in C.F. Bühler's edition of Stephen Scrope's Middle English translation, as no mediaeval French text was available to me.

<sup>54</sup>C.F. Bühler, ed., The 'Epistle of Othea' Translated from the French Text of Christine de Pisan by Stephen Scrope, Early English Text Society, o.s. CCLXIV (London : Oxford University Press, 1970), P.6.

This theory on the origins of these deities suitably circumvents the Christian Church's need to annihilate them, Fortune included. For in fact Christine here denies Fortune any theological power by suggesting that pagan gods and goddesses were merely celebrated and talented people who elicited the worshipful adoration of ancient, unenlightened people. This explanation fully justified her using a pagan concept such as Fortune in a Christian era whose philosophy was antithetical to such pagan goddesses.

Another passage which explains Christine's practical attitude to the problem of accepting and using pagan mythology appears in Texte XLV and concerns Queen Pasiphae. In the Glose, she explains the meaning of the myth in a very practical and understandable way:

Pasiphe was a quene; and some fables sein that sche was a woman of grete dissolucion, and namely soo that sche loued a bull, the which is to vndirstonde, that sche was aqueynted with a man of foul condicions, be whom sche conceyved a son of grete cruelnes and mervelous of strengthe. And because he had forme of man and nature of a bull, in that he was stronge and of gret scharpenes and so yvell that all the worlde exilid him, poetis seide be ficcion that he was half man & half bull.<sup>55</sup>

This psychological approach to pagan myths provides Christine with a means of disclaiming any intention to promote unchristian ideas and she thus neatly avoids the censure of the Church.

The first allusion to Fortune is found in Texte LXXIV and is expanded upon in its accompanying Glose and Allegorie. The Texte of this informative reference is as follows:

In Fortune, that greet myghti goddesse,  
Trust not to myche ne in hir promesse;  
For in a litil space sche chaungith,

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., Pp.56-57.

And the highest ofte ouer-throwith.<sup>56</sup>

This description of Fortune as "that greet myghti goddesse" shows Christine's respect for Fortune over other goddesses. It is also reminiscent of the great mother goddesses. Fortune's changeable nature is emphasised, and yet again the image of her turning wheel is illustrated. The reader is implored not to trust in Fortune's worldly gifts as they are transitory, thus the spiritual remedy is advocated against the goddess.

The Glose and the Allegorie expand on this theme, with Christine quoting Socrates, Boethius, and Isaiah. Christine reiterates traditional doctrine regarding Fortune and offers traditional remedies. The Glose says:

Fortune, aftir the speking of poetis, may wel be callid the greet goddesse, for be hir we see that worldly thingis be gouerned. And be-cause that sche promissith to many prosperite ynough - and, in-deede, to some sche ghivith it and in litil space takith it away, whan it pleasith hir - it is seide to the good knyghte that he schulde nat trust in hir promysse ne discomfort him not in his aduersitees. And Socrates seith: The cours of fortune farith as engins.<sup>57</sup>

Fortune's bailiwick is stated clearly: she governs worldly things, giving and taking them arbitrarily. A good knight is advised to be patient in adversity and not to care too much for Fortune's gifts. Thus he would practise the traditional remedies of physical fortitude and spiritual devotion.

The Allegorie expands further on the spiritual remedy:

The cause whi that he seith that he schulde not trust in fortune, we may vndirstande that the good spirit schuld flee & dispreise worldly delites. Therfor Bois seith in the thirde book of Consolacion that the felicite of the Epturiens schuld be callid vnfelicite, for the ful & perfitgh felicite is that the whiche makith man sufficiently

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., P.91.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., P.91.

myghti, reuerende, solempne & ioyeux, the which condicions resist not the thingis where-vppon worldly pepill settith there felicite. Therefore God seith be the prophete Isaie: Popule meus, qui te beatum dicunt, ipsi te decipiunt. Isaie iij<sup>o</sup> capitulo.<sup>58</sup>

Christine here refers to Boethius' premiss promoted in the Consolatio philosophiae that good fortune is bad for the spirit, and that it is best to spurn Fortune's gifts.

The next reference to Fortune appears in the Glose to Texte LXXVIII which speaks of Morpheus and sleep. This example also proposes using a spiritual remedy against Fortune:

...Therefore it is seide to the good knyght that he should not be to hevy ne to mery for such avisions, by the whiche man may not shewe no certeyne knowleche ne to what thing thei shall turne, and namely that a man shoulde not be to mery ne to hevy for thingis of fortune, the which be transitorie.<sup>59</sup>

This linking of Fortune and sleep is unique in Christine's works and provides an interesting comparison between Fortune's gifts and chimeras.

The third reference appears in Texte XCVII which again warns against trusting Fortune or taking anything for granted:

Trustith not to haue a sure castell;  
For Ylion, the faire stronge castell,  
Was take and brent, & so was Thune.  
All is in the handis of fortune.<sup>60</sup>

This example again illustrates the concept of Fortuna Publica where Fortune dictates the survival or destruction of kingdoms.

The Glose expands on the premisses introduced in the Texte that no-one can be sure of his position, given that Fortune controls the status of the city and state:

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., P.91.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., P.95.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., P.116.

Ylion was the maister dongeon of Troye, & the strengist & the fairest castell that ever was made of the which stories maketh mencyon; but not-withstanding it was take & brent & brought to nought, and so was the cite of Thune, the which was somtyme a greet thing. And be-cause that such cases falleth be the chaungeabilnes of fortune, it is desired that the good knyght should not be proude in him-silf ne think him-silf sure for no strengthe. Therefore Tholome seith: the higher that a lord be reised, the perlioser is the ouerthrowe.<sup>61</sup>

And the Allegorie explains:

...we may vndirstande that the good knyght, the spirit, should take noon hede to no maner of delite. For, as delites be passing & not sure & ledith a persone to dampnacion, Seint Jerome seith that it is impossible for a persone to passe fro delites to delites, [that is to sey], for to passe and lepe fro the delites of this worlde to the delites of paradys, the which fillith the wombe here & the soule there.<sup>62</sup>

The variability of Fortune is again emphasised and it is shown that no earthly strength or power endures without her agreement. Yet again, Christine suggests eschewing the things of Fortune, thus promoting a spiritual remedy to Fortune.

Thus, although in the Texte Fortune is discussed in a pagan manner, the Glose introduces the Judaic religion with a quote from the Old Testament and the Allegorie's explanation carries the lesson into the Christian arena through a quotation from Saint Jerome. It therefore appears that Christine saw no paradox or difficulty in mixing these approaches.

The Epistre d'Othea thus lends insight into Christine's use of mythological figures in general but does not expand greatly upon the description of Fortune herself. Despite its length (116 pages in Bühler's edition) Fortune only appears three times, all of the examples being classified as Pagan Fortune. Two references show that Fortune can be either negative or positive and the third example shows Fortune's effects to be negative. In each example,

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., Pp.116-117.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., Pp.117.

Christine does propose the use of remedies, principally that of spiritual devotion, against the activities of Fortune.

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The next in this group of didactic works written for Christine's son is entitled the Enseignemens moraux and was written between 1400 and 1401. The collection comprises a total of 113 quatrains only six of which contain any reference to Fortune. Of these, one is an example of Christian Fortune and the others are examples of Pagan Fortune.

The first example occurs in Quatrain IV:

Tant t'estudies a enquerre  
Que prudence puisses acquerre,  
Car celle est des vertus la mere  
Qui chace Fortune l'amere.<sup>63</sup>

Here Etienne is encouraged to develop and exercise the remedy of prudence, described as "des vertus la mere", in order to overcome the bitter effects of Fortune.

Another remedy is advocated in Quatrain V:

En quelque estat que soyes mis  
Par Fortune ou tu es soubz mis  
Gouvernes toy si en tel ordre  
Que de vivre en sens ayes ordre.<sup>64</sup>

Christine thus advises the use of self discipline, part of the remedy of fortitude, to counter whatever fate Fortune imposes.

In Quatrain XV, Christine encourages her son to have humility if Fortune should happen to raise him up over others:

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<sup>63</sup>Roy, Oeuvres poétiques, Vol.3, P.28.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., Vol.3, P.28.



Se Fortune t'a tant amé  
Que tu soyes seigneur clamé  
Entre tes subgiez perilleux  
Ne soies, ne trop orgueilleux.<sup>65</sup>

The use of the verb 'love' is unusual as Fortune is typically presented as cold and impersonal. The depiction of such emotion here, implies a real, personal relationship with the goddess. This example brings to mind the frequent linking of Fortune and Love, who can also, of course, be fickle.

Quatrain XLV encourages Etienne, while Fortune is propitious, to prepare for the time when Fortune will turn against him. Thus it is recommended that he should not put too much faith in the permanence of good fortune. All of this is good, sensible advice reminiscent of Boethius' Consolatio philosophiae:

Se tu vois Fortune propice  
A toy en chevance ou office,  
Pour toy et pour les tiens t'atourne  
D'acquérir ains qu'elle se tourne.<sup>66</sup>

This quatrain is sadly ironic, since Christine must have been aware that both her father and her husband had failed to guard against the turning of Fortune's wheel. Such avoidance of prizing Fortune's gifts reflects the remedy of spiritual devotion.

Quatrain LX links one's lords and friends with Fortune in that these people can be the instruments of Fortune's intentions. Christine advises her son not to be too proud and overbearing lest these others become envious:

Se Fortune t'a bien hault mis

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid., Vol.3, P.29.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., Vol.3, P.34.

Par seigneurs ou ayde d'amis,  
Ne sueffre trop te faire honneurs  
Qu'envie n'en sourde es meneurs.<sup>67</sup>

Thus Fortune, herself often accused of being envious, is shown here to be the cause of envy in others.

The final reference in the Enseignemens moraux appears in Quatrain XC. Fortune appears alongside a reminder to Christine's son that our ultimate destination or reward is Heaven. It is thus the only example classified as Christian Fortune as opposed to the other five Pagan examples:

Se es par Fortune desmis  
D'office et a povreté mis,  
Penses qu'on se **muert** en pou d'eure  
Et qu'ou ciel est nostre demeure.<sup>68</sup>

Christine thus stresses the unimportance and transitoriness of Fortune's gifts and promotes the exercise of the stoic qualities of endurance and patience.

Fortune's influence is equally divided in these examples. Two examples are illustrative of her negative influence, two are positive and two could be either negative or positive. This is, then, an unusually benign group of references to Fortune's activities, perhaps reflecting an amelioration in Christine's attitude to her life.

Since it might seem more appropriate for Pagan Fortune to appear in secular works, it is somewhat surprising that in this didactic and moral work all but this last reference to Fortune are Pagan. Christine does however use these Fortune references for didactic

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., Vol.3, P.36.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., Vol.3, P.41.

purposes, as she advocates a remedy to Fortune in four out of six of them. Christine's liberality in proposing remedies here suggests that she believes that Fortune's power can be diminished.

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The third of these works concerned with the moral education of the young, the Proverbes mouraux, consists of 101 two-line verses and was also written between 1400 and 1401.

Fortune is, however, mentioned only once, in verse 26:

Homs qui ne craint Fortune n'est pas sage  
Car moult souvent conduit a dur passage.<sup>69</sup>

Christine does not propose any helpful remedy here, merely noting that one ought to fear Fortune. Fortune is thus accorded full pagan power to do harm.

In these three educational works, Fortune is used more as a mere literary convenience than in Christine's lyric poetry where she was described more as a bitter personal enemy. This probably reflects the different aims of the compositions. Christine's purpose here was to educate and encourage her son and other young people to conduct themselves in such a way as to achieve a better life, while her early poetry was often a conduit for an overflow of personal emotions and frustrations.

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Christine participated in the great literary debate on the Roman de la Rose by contributing several letters between 1401 and 1404. The intent of this correspondence was

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., Vol.3, P.48.

both to convince the recipients of the seriousness and virtue of women and also to promote her own validity as a literary critic and intellect.

Fortune and her gifts are referred to only once in this correspondence. This reference occurs in a letter to Gontier Col written by Christine in September, 1401. She defends the reputation of women claiming that it is a precious thing worthy of great praise:

Et se tu tant desprises mes raisons pour la petitesse de ma faculté (laquelle tu me repprouches de dire "comme femme", etc.), saiches de vray que ce ne tiens je a villenie ou aucun repprouche, pour le reconfort de la noble memoire et continuelle experience de tres grant foison vaillans / femmes avoir esté et estre tres dignes de louenge et en toutes vertus aprises, auxquelles mieulx vouldroye ressembler que estre enrichie de tous les biens de fortune.<sup>70</sup>

Christine states here that she would rather resemble the many virtuous women known to have existed throughout history, than possess Fortune's riches. She therefore appears to be following that advice which she gave in several instances to her readers in the three preceding works, that is, to value virtue and all things spiritual, above material goods. Christine thus repeats Boethius' proposition that material riches are not to be trusted or relied upon, and that virtue is the only dependable antidote to the vagaries of Fortune. The reference is classified as Pagan Fortune.

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As Christine became more experienced as a writer, and as her fame grew, she became increasingly more intent on being taken seriously as a writer. Her next work, the Livre du chemin de long estude was written between 1402 and 1403 and explains the course she took

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<sup>70</sup>Hicks, Le débat sur le Roman de la Rose, P.25.

to become a learned writer. This is a lengthy allegorical poem of 6,392 lines in which Christine uses the concept of a dream vision for the first time.

The Livre du chemin de long estude is particularly rich in information about Christine's concept of Fortune. There are 12 references to the goddess, which are evenly split between the first category, Pagan Fortune, and the second category, Christian Fortune. Of these references, eight are predominantly negative, one is positive, and three could be either positive or negative.

Fortune appears in the first line of the actual tale which begins with some autobiographical details. R. Püschel does not capitalise fortune consistently, but this reference is undoubtedly to Christine's nemesis, the goddess Fortune:

65                   Comme fortune perverse  
                      M'ait esté long temps adverse,  
                      Encor ne se puet lasser  
                      De moy nuire sanz cesser  
                      Par son tour qui pluseurs tue,  
                      Qui du tout m'a abatue;  
                      Dont de doulour excessive  
                      Souvent seuleté et pensive  
70                   Suis, regretant le temps passé  
                      Joieux qui m'est ore effacé  
                      Tout par elle et par la mort  
                      Dont le souvenir me mort,  
                      Sans cesser remembrant cellui  
                      Par lequel sanz autre nullui  
75                   Je vivoie joieusement  
                      Et si tres glorieusement,  
                      Quant la mort le vint haper,  
                      Que de moy il n'avoit per  
                      En ce monde, ce m'iert vis:<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>R. Püschel, ed., Le livre du chemin de long estude (Berlin: Hettler, 1887. Reprinted Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), Pp.3-4.

The sentiments expressed are the same as those expressed in the early lyric poetry, that is, Christine is distraught with her life since the death of her husband, and she blames Fortune, who is portrayed as an entirely pagan figure, for causing her misery. Fortune is again described as perverse and relentless, Christine believing profoundly that Fortune is personally intent on hounding her.

The vocabulary used is also reminiscent of that used in the early lyric poetry, the first four lines containing words typically used with Fortune: perverse, adverse, nuire, and tour. Christine describes herself and her situation with defeatist words such as: abatue, doulour, seulete, pensive, and regretant. The image of Fortune's turning wheel is again apparent in lines 69 and 70 as Christine describes how she now ponders regretfully over her past joys. Death and Fortune are shown in line 71 to be independent forces although they unite in a powerful and destructive alliance to cause Christine great grief.

Christine then identifies her husband's death as the source of her pain, and goes on to blame envious Fortune at length:

110           Ainsi un temps me dura,  
              Mais fortune procura  
              Tant qu'el lui osta la vie.  
              Bien croy qu'el avoit envie  
              Du tres joieux temps plaisant  
              Dont cellui m'estoit aisant.  
115           Moult me fu la cas amer  
              De perdre cellui qu'amer  
              Devoie sur toute rien  
              En ce monde terrien.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., Pp.5-6.

Lines 110-111 indicate that Fortune is directly responsible for Christine's husband's death. Thus Death, though shown in line 71 to be independent but acting in unison with Fortune, is here shown to be controlled by Fortune.

Here Fortune is again shown to be envious of the happiness of lovers, this time the lovers being Christine and her husband. Thus yet again, Fortune, Death and Love are united tragically. This is then another negative example of Pagan Fortune.

The third reference to Fortune is particularly explicit in describing Christine's total abasement by the goddess. Again the vocabulary and concepts reflect the emotionalism and despair of her early poetry. Fortune's turning wheel is again in evidence, as are her snares:

150           Ainsi vint le commencement  
              De tout mon desavancement  
              Par fortune qui m'assailli,  
              Ne oncques puis ne me failli;  
              Ains a si bien continué,  
              Que cuer et corps a desnüé  
              De joie et de bonne aventure,  
155           De tous biens par mesaventure,  
              Par meschief et par miseur  
              Qui pieca m'osta tout eur,  
              Tant que du tout suis au bas;  
              Et pour neant me debas:  
              Puis qu'elle l'a entrepris,  
160           Mon cuer rendra mort ou pris.  
              Pris est il en si dur las  
              Que l'estrainte le fait las.  
              Si ay cause de douloir,  
              Tout me puist il pou valoir;  
165           Et pour ce que suis en ce point  
              Par fortune qui si me point,  
              Voulientiers suis solitaire  
              Pour le deuil qu'il me fault taire  
              Devant gent, a par moy plaindre.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., Pp.7-8.

Christine is without hope here as she denies the possibility of remedial action against Fortune, stating that her struggles are all for nought since Fortune, assisted by Meseür, has taken a relentless ill-will to her.

Christine goes on to discuss Boethius and his Consolatio philosophiae, relating how he came to grief despite his good deeds. Here, in contradiction to her earlier hopelessness, she admits to receiving consolation through her reading of Boethius' work:

205 Et lors me vint entre mains  
Un livre que moult amay,  
Car il m'osta hors d'esmay  
Et de desolacion:  
C'iert de consolacion  
Boece le prouffitable  
Livre, qui tant est notable.  
210 Lors y commencay a lire,  
Et en lisant passay l'ire  
Et l'aniuieuse pesance  
Dont j'estoie en mesaisance  
(Car bon exemple aide moult  
A confort et anuy toul),<sup>74</sup>

A complex phrase referring to Fortune is included later in this section on Boethius:

235 Mais sages est qui se fie  
En Dieu, car philosophie  
Qui l'ot a l'escole apris,  
Ne l'avoit pas en despris  
Pour exil ne pour contraire  
240 Ne pour fortune contraire;<sup>75</sup>

The meaning is somewhat unclear, but it seems that Christine is stating that trust in God and philosophy can be opposed to the power of Fortune. Since God would thus be

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., P.9.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., P.10.



superior to Fortune, this is categorised as an example of Christian Fortune. Additionally, this represents the first hint in the Livre du chemin de long estude that a remedy could be effective against the machinations of Fortune.

This reference is quickly followed by another lecture on the value attributable to Fortune's often fleeting gifts:

255                    Si ne se doit nullui troubler  
                         Pour les biens perdre qu'assembler  
                         Fortune a fait, qui tolt et donne  
                         Et a son vouloir en ordonne.  
                         N'il n'est nulz biens fors de vertus;  
                         Et ceulx sont tousdis en vertus;  
260                    Fortune ne les puet tollir,  
                         Tout puist richeces retollir;  
                         Et cil qui en est enrichis,  
                         Jamais jour ne sera flechis  
                         A ce pour riens qui puist venir  
                         Que douloureux puist devenir.<sup>76</sup>

Here Christine is giving a thorough description of the Boethian attitude to Fortune. Fortune is shown here to possess the power to give or take her gifts as she pleases. However, this power extends only over worldly goods, so by refusing to place value on these gifts, an individual can deny Fortune any power. Additionally, virtue is the only genuine good to be relied upon as Fortune has no sway over virtue. Christine is thus, by exhorting one to develop virtue and eschew worldly gifts, proposing the traditional spiritual remedy to the activities of Fortune.

Although Boethius provides the archetypical explanation of Christian Fortune in the Consolatio philosophiae, and Christine is here discussing his theories, she does not clearly

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., P.11.

articulate that God is superior to Fortune at this point. This last, and the next two examples are therefore still classed as Pagan.

Once again reflecting Boethius' position in the Consolatio philosophiae, Christine goes on to suggest that it is better to experience bad fortune than good fortune:

270 Et par vive raison monstra  
Philosophie et demonstra  
Par plusieurs poins que plus doubtable  
Et mains seure et mains prouffitable  
Est bonne fortune que male,  
Tout soit elle diverse et male.<sup>77</sup>

Good fortune is not stable and cannot be relied upon. Bad fortune, however, can be trusted and it also provides one with an opportunity to develop one's endurance and virtue, which serve as remedies against Fortune. Christine indicates that this advice should comfort the reader just as it had comforted both her and Boethius.

Christine then relates that she goes to bed with the Consolatio philosophiae still on her mind and, falling into a deep sleep or trance, she dreams of all the troubles of the world:

315 Il me va venir au devant,  
Comment ce monde n'est que vent,  
Pou durable, plain de tristour,  
Ou na seurté ne bon tour,  
Ou les plus grans ne sont assure  
320 De fortune et de miseur,  
Comment si corroupt est le monde  
Qu'a paine y a personne monde.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>Ibid., P.12.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., P.14.

She thus explains that nothing is certain in this world even for highly placed people. Life is insecure, full of sadness and corruption, notes Christine, who blames Fortune and Meseür for everything.

In her dream, Christine is escorted on to various levels of the heavens by the Cumaean Sybil who gives an interesting and complex explanation of the forces that control our lives here below. On one of the lower levels Christine sees a host of princes and princesses who are the servants of the higher intelligences who control human lives according to the astrological aspects of their birth. These higher intelligences are called Influences and Destinees.

Astrology was very influential at the beginning of the fifteenth century and was not regarded as a pseudo-science as it is today. For example, Christine's father had been a celebrated astrologer, much in demand to advise and direct powerful masters. It is evident here that Christine considered astrology an important science:

2110            Ces gens cy? Elles sont clamees  
                 Influences et destinees,  
                 Qui a ce sont predestinees  
                 Que aussi tost que l'omme naist  
                 Ou la femme, ja si grant n'est,  
                 Ceulx yci de sa vie ordenent  
                 Et sa droite fin lui assenent,  
                 Bonne ou male, selon les cours  
                 Ou les planetes ont leurs cours  
2115            A l'eure que l'enfant est né.  
                 Mais toutefois Dieux, qui donné  
                 Leur a ce povoir, dessus est,  
                 Qui bien garde ce qui lui plaist.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., Pp.91-92.

However, Christine proceeds to make it clear that, although she is advocating astrological predestination, she is not being heathen or blasphemous. She achieves this by noting in lines 2 116-2 117 that God is in overall control of these entities and all of their activities. Thus God controls Influences and Destinees who appear to be in astrological control of the same earthly arena that Fortune usually controls. This creates an additional level between God and Fortune, forging a new and more complicated chain of command. Given this explanation, all subsequent statements made about Fortune and her activities in the Livre du chemin de long estude must fall into the second category, that of Christian Fortune, that is, where God is in supreme control and Fortune is merely carrying out God's will. According to Christine's explanation, this is achieved in this text through the intervention of the additional intermediaries, Influences and Destinees.

Christine observes a multitude of powers on this level, including Mort, Famine, Povreté, Meseür, Maleurté, Bon eur, Paix, Plenté, Chierté, Naissance, Vie, Guerre, Puissance, Haine, Amour, Honnour, Servitude and Honte, among others. However, the first power that Christine recognises is Fortune, whom she describes in great detail. By comparison, she describes Death in very little detail, while the other figures are only referred to by name. This again emphasises the importance of Fortune as a powerful concept in Christine's thinking:

2205 Si n'oz pas la esté gramment,  
Quant j'apperceu visiblement  
La royne de tout miseur,  
De qui le mouvement non seur  
Met tout le monde en grant rancune.  
C'est la descordable Fortune,  
Et celle ay je tost congneue,  
2210 Car autre part je l'oz veue.

La fausse a double regardeure,  
 La d'influence mal seure  
 S'affubloit et moult ordenoit  
 Du meschief qu'au monde donnoit  
 2215 Et des biens non seurs autressi;  
 Et non obstant que fust yci,  
 Pour ses influences y prendre,  
 Ne puet elle mordre ne prendre  
 Donner, tollir ne faire acquerre  
 2220 Nulle part, se ce n'est sus terre:  
 La est sa principal demeure,  
 Combien qu'en l'air fust a celle heure.<sup>80</sup>

Christine claims in lines 2,209-2,210 that she has met with Fortune before and knows her well, which is consistent with Christine's many other references to Fortune's harrying her.

The usual epithets such as descordable and fausse are used to describe the goddess. We are told that Fortune's activities are unstable, that she is two-faced, changeable and, as 'la royne de tout mesureur', is generally responsible for all the world's ills.

Despite the fact that she is currently seen in the heavens, Christine clearly defines Fortune's bailiwick as being earth-bound. In light of the earlier reference to God's position of ultimate authority, this confirms that Fortune has no power in the higher regions and that she is relegated to a position subordinate to God.

Christine goes on to introduce the four queens who govern worldly events, Sagesse, Noblesse, Chivalerie and Richesse. The earth sends a request to the superior queen, Raison, asking her to explain and thus help end the terrible anarchy that exists below on earth. This is the first time that Christine addressed her concerns for the troubles she witnessed in her society and nation.

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., Pp.95-96.

A debate between Sagesse, Noblesse, Chivalerie and Richesse ensues as to who is responsible for the sad state of affairs on earth. Raison, who is to be the judge, delivers an introduction to the debate:

2835 O vous quatre, les Influences  
Contraintes aux obeissances  
Des haulz regars celestiaux,  
Des cieux mouvans officiaux,  
Qui de fortune acompaigniees,  
Et du cours du ciel enseigniees,  
L'univers monde gouvernez  
Et les cuers des humains menez  
2840 Par tant de vains desirs vagans,  
Qu'ilz font d'eulx meismes telz lagans  
Que vie et leur ame desprisent  
Pour voz faulx biens qu'ilz plus qu'eulx prisent<sup>81</sup>

Despite these four queens being assigned responsibility for a variety of influential earthly matters, Christine could not negate her familiar goddess, Fortune. In line 2,835, she indicates that Fortune maintains a partnership with these queens for control of wisdom, nobility, chivalry and riches which, Christine adds, are worth little and only lead us astray. Thus Fortune's power remains all-pervasive in earthly matters, but is exercised within the constraints of God's will.

During the debate, Richesse claims to be the most powerful influence on earth, yet at one point she defers to Fortune whom she concedes is responsible for a person becoming rich:

3905 Ainsi ne puet, sanz mon avoir,  
Homme nul grant conquest avoir;  
Mais d'un denier on en fait cent,  
Se fortune el veult et consent.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid., P.123.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., Pp.167-168.

So Richesse appears to be inferior in power to Fortune who exerts a positive influence here by allowing a person to accumulate wealth. Later Richesse boasts:

4040           Le temps est passé que souloient  
                  Estre avanciez ceulx qui valaient  
                  Ou en proueece ou en savoir,  
                  Mais a present on puet savoir  
                  Comment, entre moy et fortune,  
                  N'y gardons droiture nesune;  
                  Ains qui en puet avoir en ait,  
4045           Ne fault ja estre bon ne net,  
                  Pour acquerir de mes avoires.<sup>83</sup>

Richesse thus cynically claims to be superior to the other worldly queens by noting that chivalry, wisdom or even goodness are no longer needed to advance in society. However, it appears from line 4,041 that Richesse performs her functions with Fortune's support. Indeed, since one does not need to be deserving to advance in the world, it appears that Richesse, like Fortune, distributes her gifts randomly.

Subsequently, the queen Sagesse replies to Richesse and draws upon the works of philosophers and other authors to demonstrate opinions opposing Richesse's contentions. Seneca's De remediis Fortuitorum liber is quoted, providing the final allusion to Fortune in this work:

4825           A ce propos en une page  
                  De tranquillité de courage  
                  Redit Seneque et nous raconte  
                  D'un philosophe qui pou compte  
                  De vaines richeces tenoit,  
4830           Toutesfois un pou s'y tenoit.  
                  Un jour tout son vaillant perdi;  
                  S'on lui embla ou s'il ardi,  
                  Ne say, mais lors dist a delivre:

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., P.173.

4835           Or m'a fait fortune delivre:  
Et a contempler plus abille  
En philosophie soubtille.<sup>84</sup>

This anecdote details how Fortune helpfully delivers a philosopher of the burden of his riches thus making him better able to study philosophy!

Fortune is thus an important figure in the Livre du chemin de long estude, being referred to extensively. In the early autobiographical section, Fortune is seen in an extremely negative and pagan light, being depicted much as she was in Christine's early lyric poetry. However, by discussing the precepts of Boethius' Consolatio philosophiae and by extolling its capacity to console, Christine introduces some effective weapons to be used against Fortune. Once Christine begins her allegorical journey, Fortune and her influence are repeatedly shown to be more important and pervasive than other earthly influences. However, Christine also demonstrates clearly at this point that Fortune is ultimately subservient to God.

Overall then, Fortune in the Livre du chemin de long estude is still drawn as a perniciously powerful figure who has affected Christine's life detrimentally. However, the passage of time and her long course of study have evidently taught Christine that some limits can be imposed on Fortune's power.

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Thus, in the ten or so years from Christine's earliest lyric writings in 1394 to her writing the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune in 1403, 57 references to Fortune have been identified. Very many of these references are lengthy, some being entire poems, providing in-depth and impassioned discussions of the goddess and her actions.

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid., P.206.



Nearly all of Christine's writings from this early period are in verse. Only two works include prose: the Epistre d'Othea, (which is only partly written in prose) and the correspondence written in the debate on the Roman de la Rose which was later developed into a treatise on literature and morality. To have written these letters in verse would have seemed contrived, as Christine herself explained in a letter appealing for assistance from Guillaume de Tignonville, the Prévôt de Paris:

Aussi, chier seigneur, ne vous soit a merveille, pour ce que mes autres dictiez ay acoustuméz a rimoyer, cestui estre en prose. Car comme la matiere ne le requiere autressy, est droit que je suive le stille de mes assailants, combien que mon petit sçavoir soit pou respondant a leur belle eloquence.<sup>85</sup>

Only four of the 57 Fortune references found in works from this period come from these prose works. However, given the rarity of her prose works during this period one cannot draw a conclusion that Christine used Fortune references more frequently in poetry than in prose, only that she used the poetic form more frequently than the prose form.

With regard to Fortune and her appearance in different kinds of writing, secular, didactic or religious, the following was found. Most of Christine's works during the period examined were lyric poems, and while each poem may have its own individual character or intent, the lyric poems as a whole have been classified as being secular in nature. This group of works, the secular, produced the highest count of references to Fortune, there being 34 in all. The didactic works of this period were the Epistre d'Othea, the Enseignemens moraux, the Proverbes moraux, the correspondance on the Roman de la Rose and the Livre du chemin de long estude. Although the largest amount of Fortune references appear in the secular

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<sup>85</sup>Hicks, Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose, P.8.

works, a considerable amount, 23, appear in these didactic ones. In particular, Fortune is discussed in some depth in the Livre du chemin de long estude. During this period, Christine also wrote three religious works, the Oroyson Nostre Dame, the Quinze joyes Nostre Dame and the Oroyson Nostre Seigneur. These works produced no references to the goddess Fortune.

Regarding the different categories of Fortune that were found, by far the most represented category in Christine's works from this period, is that of the Pagan Fortune treatment. Of the total 57 references to Fortune in this period, 40 examples are Pagan, 24 appearing in the secular works, and 16 in the didactic. Thus a larger proportion of pagan references appear in the secular works than in the didactic works (60% as opposed to 40%).

There are only 17 examples of the Christian Fortune category, ten appearing in the secular works and seven in the didactic. Thus, the proportion of references to Christian Fortune appearing in secular as opposed to didactic works is remarkably similar to that of Pagan Fortune (59% to 41%).

With regard to the proportion of Pagan references as opposed to Christian references appearing in different kinds of writing, Pagan references constitute 71% of all references in secular works and 70% in didactic works. Christian references represent 29% of secular and 30% of didactic.

Thus there is a striking balance in Christine's use of Pagan and Christian Fortune in secular and didactic writing.

The third category of Fortune involves the attempt to deny or annihilate the power of the goddess. As stated earlier, this category is difficult to assess as, by its very definition,

it cannot be found. However, the fact that Christine's three religious works from this period have no references to Fortune is consistent with the character of this category. The Christian Church's position on Fortune was one of intolerance, wishing to diminish or annihilate the pagan goddess. It appears then that Christine wished to maintain strict Christian orthodoxy by denying Fortune any existence in her religious works.

Classical Stoic and Christian remedies to Fortune are introduced in a number of works. In some cases Christine openly rejects them as useless. However, it is evident, even in these early works, that Christine was aware of the possibility of using remedies against Fortune although she does not, however, find any one of them to be a completely acceptable and effective solution to her difficulties at this time.

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In sum, then, the theme of Fortune is certainly a major one in Christine's work of this period. Indeed, in a significant number of poems, Fortune is the principal subject matter as Christine, devastated by the turn of events in her life, lashes out at Fortune, blaming this execrable Goddess of Chance for all her troubles. Fortune is usually interpreted as a real and independent pagan entity, her character and powers being described in great detail and with strongly felt personal emotion. Her actions and effect on Christine are described as overwhelmingly negative and uncontrollable. Remedies to Fortune are occasionally examined, often being disparaged and discarded as useless. It is evident then from the works of this period that Christine felt personally victimised by Fortune and had not yet developed a personal philosophy that enabled her to cope with, and overcome, the baneful effects of Fortune's arbitrary power.

## CHAPTER THREE

### LE LIVRE DE LA MUTACION DE FORTUNE

History is philosophy teaching by example.

Lord Bolingbroke

The work entitled the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune presents a particularly interesting problem for this study since, as the title suggests, it purports to relate entirely to the theme of Fortune. Fortune and her realm, the focal points of this monumental work, are described at great length and in intricate detail. This extraordinarily thorough treatment of the theme demonstrates plainly that Christine had an over-riding fascination with Fortune and her role. This interest went far beyond the use of the theme as a passing literary conceit.

The text will be studied in S. Solente's edition which was published in 1957 in four volumes. The Mutacion is indeed a lengthy work, comprising 23,636 lines, primarily in octosyllabic couplets apart from a short section of approximately four folios at the end of Part Four which Christine wrote in prose during an illness which she suffered. Christine divided the work into seven parts and completed it on November 18th, 1403. N. Margolis assesses the work thus:

Its finest passages may be considered among the most beautiful in the lyric poetry of the period. In its weaker passages -- and there are many, since Christine seems to have composed at a dizzying rate -- the poem is eminently noteworthy for content alone. Both an autobiography and a universal history, the Mutacion appears to have been unusually well-known and read for a poem of its size and complexity, there being at least ten extant manuscripts of the work.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>N. Margolis, 'The Poetics of History: An Analysis of Christine de Pisan's "Livre de la mutacion de Fortune"' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1977), P.12.

In the Mutacion the theme of Fortune and her mutability is developed through Christine's constantly interweaving the theme into details from her own autobiography and into her narration of ancient and modern history.

Parts I to III, which comprise lines 1 to 7,052, are almost entirely devoted to Christine's relationship with Fortune and the detailed allegory of Fortune, her castle, and the characters and activities of her companions. Parts IV to VII deal largely with retelling the history of the world wherein Fortune is identified as the moving force. There are substantially fewer explicit references to Fortune during this historic narrative. Only in the latter chapters of Part VII, which deal with contemporary history, does one again find a significant increase in references to Fortune.

Margolis elaborates on Christine's purpose in writing this work as follows:

Christine has set for herself the problem of describing -- rather than analyzing -- the activities of Fortune. What we have also come to notice is Christine's formidable intellectual and literary background, which would at first lead us to believe that her quest looks toward a great philosophical revelation instead of what we may call an interpretive description of the author's life and a universal history.<sup>2</sup>

Such a "great philosophical revelation" may be, as we shall see, the efficacy of reason and virtue as a remedy to the capriciousness of Fortune. When all is said and done, this work may be interpreted as an attempt on Christine's part to induce the French to reform themselves and thereby save both themselves and their country. This covert purpose underlies the author's stated intent of relating autobiographical and historical narrative .

This chapter will firstly analyse each part of the Mutacion insofar as it touches on the theme of Fortune, Part I being analysed in pages 132-141, Part II (pp.142-165), Part III

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., P.121.

(pp.165-171), Part IV (pp.171-177), Part V (pp.177-179), Part VI (pp.179-180) and Part VII (pp.180-184). Given the intricate complexity with which Christine proceeds in this text, the analysis will necessarily be largely descriptive in the first instance, in order to convey something of the flavour of Christine's exploration of the theme of Fortune. Secondly, in the light of this analysis, an attempt will be made (pp.184-193) to assess the contribution that this text makes to the development of the theme.

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Part I deals with the author's origins, her upbringing and early dedication to Dame Fortune, her marriage and Fortune's transforming Christine into a man at the age of 25.

Fortune and her influence are broadly introduced in lines 9-14.

Tant sont les diversitez  
Grandes des adversitez  
Particulieres et fais  
12 Compris es tres pesans faiz,  
Que l'influence müable  
De Fortune decevable  
Fait, par la refleccion  
16 De sa grant repleccion,  
Qui droite abisme est, sanz faille.<sup>3</sup>

This stresses the range of Fortune's influence and her mutability. She is changeable, deceitful and calamitous. Words such as diversitez, adversitez, decevable and abisme indicate that Fortune's influence is seen as negative and sinister. This description reiterates the negative view of Fortune which we have come to expect from Christine's previous works. This familiar aspect of Fortune is maintained and expanded upon throughout the Mutacion.

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<sup>3</sup>S. Solente, ed., 'Le livre de la mutacion de Fortune' par Christine de Pisan (Paris: Editions A. & J. Picard & Cie, 1959), Vol.1, Pp.7-8.

Christine also describes Fortune as capricious and inconstant, a goddess who distributes to people whatever she pleases at any given time, whether good or bad:

796 Mais, ma dame, je vous di bien,  
Selon qu'elle veult mal ou bien,  
Aux gens, de ses biens elle part  
Assene et leur adresce part  
Bonne ou mauvaise et leur envoye  
Ou bien ou mal, tristece ou joye.<sup>4</sup>

This essential characteristic of Fortune is also to be much further developed in this work. While narrating how she served Fortune, Christine describes the goddess and her bailiwick as follows:

76 Tout soit elle vaine et inmonde,  
Soubz sa main gist l'univers monde,  
Quant est des choses transitoires.  
80 Pertes peut donner et victoires,  
Honneur, chevance et le contraire,  
Et estrangement a chief traire  
Choses qui semblent impossibles,  
Et anientir les possibles.<sup>5</sup>

Thus Fortune is shown to be in charge of all earthly events, particularly transitory matters or change. She controls the disposition of victory, honours and material goods and also permits apparently impossible things to happen. This again is a rendering of the goddess with which we have become very familiar from Christine's earlier works, and Fortune's control of transitory earthly things is again promoted throughout this work.

Having thus given a short tantalizing introduction to the events leading to her transformation into a man and subsequent prolonged servitude to Dame Fortune, Christine

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.34.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.9-10.

embarks on an allegorical description of her early life. She talks of her birth, her origins and of her father and the gifts that he possessed. Christine then claims that her mother is Dame Nature. By virtue of being born a girl, Christine is, regrettably, denied her father's treasure, science. Thus, her mother nurtures Christine until she is old enough to be put into the service of Dame Fortune, who, although related to Dame Nature, is very different from her:

492           A sa court me mist lors ma mere.  
              Ne me fu diverse, n'amere  
              Fortune, ainçois bel me receut,  
              Aussitost qu'elle m'aperceut.  
              Ainsi, cheus ma dame Fortune  
              Fu mise, mais pas importune  
496           Ne fus de tost requerir dons,  
              Car je n'avoie soing adons  
              Fors de jouer, car jeune estoie,<sup>6</sup>

Christine here introduces an unusual rendering of Fortune who is depicted as quite benign towards the innocent and happy young girl.

We are told that eventually Christine's mother, Dame Nature, arranges for her daughter to be married. In order to make Christine more beautiful, she adorns her with precious jewels. The jewels are Discrecion, Consideracion, Retentive and Memoire, which are virtues born of Nature. These gifts are, of course, lasting and dependable as opposed to Fortune's gifts, which can be fleeting and transitory. Christine makes it clear, however, that these virtues are actually given by God who is entirely responsible for the creation of the soul. God merely permits Nature to prepare the earthly body to receive them:

              Combien qu'aye dit toutevoye  
              Que Nature les nous envoye,  
              Pourtant ne les nous donne mie,

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.23-24.



668           Tout soit elle mere et amie,  
               Ains Dieu de sa grace les donne;  
               Mais Nature le corps ordonne;  
               Et appreste pour recevoir  
 672           L'ame, qui tout peut concevoir,  
               Mais de Dieu propre elle est creé,  
               Qui Nature a si agréé  
               Qu'il lui a donné le pouoir  
 676           De faire et deffaie pouoir,  
               Voire forme materielle,  
               Mais l'ame est celestielle,  
               Esperit legier, invisible,  
 680           Tres cognoissent et entendible;<sup>7</sup>

This demonstrates that Christine is concerned not to detract from God's powers by seeming to attribute too much power to Nature. Thus Christine here depicts Fortune, Nature and God as distinct and separate entities.

Fortune then sends Christine, although still quite young, off on a ship to deliver a message to the God of Marriage, Ymenetüs. Christine is chosen by Fortune because of her intelligence and, indeed, she considers herself honoured:

772           Oyez comment de moy chevit  
               Ma dame Fortune, qui vit  
               Que ja commençoie a apprendre  
               Le ffait de raison et comprendre:  
               Affin qu'encore plus sceusse  
 776           Son fait mieulx et apperceusse  
               Me volt commetre un sien message,  
               Tout fusse ancotre moult joenne d'aage,  
               Et tant d'onneur sienne merci  
 780           Me fist lors, comme vous orrés ci:<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.29-30.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.33.

Christine's vessel arrives safely at Ymeneüs' court, God being credited with and thanked for the calm sea voyage, although Fortune is often elsewhere seen to be in control of conditions at sea. Christine therefore appears at this point to be assigning God supreme control of the universe.

856                   Dieu merciames a grant feste,  
                          Qui nous ot conduit sanz tempeste.<sup>9</sup>

Christine is subsequently married at the court of Ymeneüs where she is to stay and serve for ten years. She happily receives a new master, her husband, although she states that Fortune is still in control of her earthly joys, pleasures and comforts:

976                   Et ainsi acquis je, en cel estre,  
                          Com je vous ay dit, nouvel maistre,  
                          Mais, tout fu soubz la seigneurie  
                          De Fortune, qui m'ot nourrie,  
                          A joye, a plaisir, a soulas,  
980                   Sanz q'un seul jour mon cuer fust las  
                          D'y estre, ains me fu le temps court.<sup>10</sup>

Christine then prepares to describe the circumstances of her metamorphosis. She first claims that Fortune is capable of strange acts of mutation over her subjects and emphasises that her story is real, not a fable:

1032                   Comment de femme homme devins,  
                          Quant chieux Fortune je revins,  
                          Qui trop est chose merveillable  
                          Et si n'est mençonge, ne fable,  
                          A parler selon methafore,  
                          Qui pas ne met verité fore,  
                          Car Fortune a bien la puissance  
1036                   Sur ceulx de son obeissance

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.36.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.40.

Faire miracles trop greigneurs,  
Et souvent bestes en seigneurs  
Fait transmuer, quant il lui gree<sup>11</sup>

Christine then justifies this claim by retelling some of the Metamorphoses of Ovid, including the tales of Tiresias and of Leucippus.<sup>12</sup>

Fortune's motivation for bringing about this change of condition is given as envy of Christine's happiness. Such envy is again a familiar attribute of Fortune:

1168 Chieux Ymeneüs demouroye  
Et en ses oeuvres labouroye,  
Et ayse y usoie ma vie,  
Mais bien croy que Fortune envie  
Ot du grant repos, que j'avoye;  
Si s'avise et querir m'envoye;<sup>13</sup>

Fortune then calls on Christine and her husband to set sail from Ymeneüs' court, soon embroiling their ship in a mighty storm. Thus Fortune is seen to have regained control of conditions at sea. Despite Christine's husband being a good captain, he is swept overboard to his death. Thus Fortune's envy of the couple's happiness results in Christine's husband's death, another example being thus provided of the fateful intertwining of Fortune, Love and Death. Christine's intense grief and prostration at the loss of her husband evokes the following very atypical response from Fortune:

1316 A brief parler, tant fu mon dueil  
Grief et tant plorerent mi oeil  
Que meismes Fortune ot pitié  
De mon meschief, et amistié  
Volt faire, com bonne maistresse,

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.41-42.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.42-45.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.46.

Et secourir a ma destrece<sup>14</sup>

This is a particularly unusual rendering of Fortune, as pity is not elsewhere depicted as one of her attributes. In fact, she is usually described as being blind, cold and gratuitous in her distribution of gifts. Yet here Fortune is shown to be personal, merciful and desirous of extending friendship and comfort to her servant, Christine. Christine herself is not entirely sure of the wisdom of Fortune's solution to her distressful predicament:

1320 Mais le secours fu merveilleux!  
Ne sçay s'il fu plus perilleux.<sup>15</sup>

Indeed Fortune's actions, which Christine has been at pains to tell us are real, do seem very unusual and deserve some consideration. Apparently Fortune has a strong need for Christine to survive. The goddess's purpose in saving Christine may be for her to fulfil a task such as narrating the course of history and broadcasting Fortune's important place in it. Christine and Fortune would thus unite to show the French people the path to survival through the example of history. However, only by possessing traditionally male attributes such as strength, courage, and professional skills, could Christine hope to survive independently in her contemporary world. Thus Christine had to become a man to realise Fortune's purpose.

Christine justifies this transformation by referring to examples from mythology. Indeed, in mythology, characters often respond to dramatic or threatening situations by

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.50-51.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.51.

changing shape and occasionally by changing gender. P.M.C. Forbes-Irving discusses three sex changes that occur in Greek myth and states the following:

In each case we may say that crossing the basic natural boundary and belonging to two formally opposed worlds have much to do with the special powers of the hero. But we can also see a special relevance of the sex change to each particular hero. In the simplest case, that of Leucippus, where it is male potency that is at issue, the hero's change from a less than normal capacity to a more than normal one is an amplification of the normal process of growing up; in Kaineus' story the motivation of the woman that he once was explains the single-minded character of the hero he becomes; and Tiresias' sex change may be seen as a form of involuntary spying that has a causal relevance to his special knowledge.<sup>16</sup>

Christine was certainly familiar with Ovid's Metamorphoses which included these three myths. Indeed, as noted above, she retold the stories of Leucippus and Tiresias as an introduction to her own sex change in the Mutacion. Although she does not include the tale of Kaine, one can detect strong parallels between the situations of Kaine and Christine. Kaine, when raped by Poseidon, is transformed into the invincible warrior, Kaineus. As Kaineus, he becomes king of the Lapiths and enemy to the Centaurs, a particularly rapacious and aggressively masculine group. Kaineus also worships his own spear, an obvious phallic reference to worshipping his own power. It is evident from Christine's earlier writings that she considered her treatment by society after her husband's death to be rude, abusive and violating. Her change of sex could thus be seen as a self-protective wish. Further, Christine, like Kaineus, opposes the domination of an established male group and comes to worship the power of those other predominantly masculine devices, logic, learning and writing. Indeed, Christine, having been attacked by established male authors, may here change herself into a

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<sup>16</sup>P.M.C. Forbes-Irving, Metamorphosis in Greek Myths (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), P.170.

man in the hope of escaping their criticism. By ceasing to threaten these masculine groups, she may thus make her voice better heard. Certainly, by depicting this transformation, Christine wishes to show that, once she is widowed, her life takes a definite, fundamental change of direction. J. Blanchard explains it thus:

...le changement de sexe est la transgression d'une loi naturelle qui illustre un saut qualitatif. Un seuil est franchi, indication que Christine ne fera plus ce qu'elle a fait avant. Le changement de sexe correspond à une orientation nouvelle de son imaginaire plus digne de l'homme.<sup>17</sup>

Whatever the motivation for the change of sex, Christine states that she awakens from her swoon to find herself very different. Transformed into a man, she has a much deeper voice, a stronger, harder, quicker body and a more robust and courageous heart. Her wedding ring falls from her finger, representing a symbolic break with the past as Christine proceeds to take control of her life through manly action, putting an end to her period of womanly grief:

1348	Si me senti trop plus legiere Que ne souloye et que ma chiere Estoit muee et enforcie Et ma voix forment engrossie Et corps plus dur et plus isnel,
1352	Mais choit de mon doy fu l'anel Qu'Ymeneüs donné m'avoit, Dont me pesa, et bien devoit, Car je l'amoie chierement.
1356	Si me levay legierement, Plus ne me tins en la parece De plour, qui croissoit ma destrece. Fort et hardi cuer me trouvay,
1360	Dont m'esbahi, mais j'esprouvay

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<sup>17</sup>J. Blanchard, 'Christine de Pizan: les raisons de l'histoire,' Le Moyen Age: Une Revue Historique Vol.92 (1986), P.420.

Que vray homme fus devenu;<sup>18</sup>

Given her new-found strength and the marine skills taught her by Fortune, Christine is able to save her household's vessel from imminent ship-wreck. Thus there exists in the Mutacion an unusually close relationship between Fortune and Christine who is now duty-bound to honour the goddess who has saved her and her household from destruction. The protean Christine then sails back to Fortune's country, from whence she came as a child, to suffer yet more troubles:

1412                   D'entre ces roches me tiray,  
                          Ma nef appointay et tiray,  
                          Vers le lieu, dont je fus partie,  
                          Au premier de celle partie,  
                          Ou ma dame avoit sa demeure.  
                          Si y arrivay en pou d'eure,  
1416                   Combien qu'ains eusse maint meschief,  
                          Dont je ne fu pas tost a chief.<sup>19</sup>

Thus Part I presents a fascinating portrayal of a gender-change perpetrated within the traditional framework of the activities of Fortune. Paradoxically, however, this depiction of an external agency rescuing Christine really represents and expresses the personal strength and resolution that Christine found within herself when obliged to rise to the challenges of widowhood and cope alone. This is an interesting development as, prior to this, Fortune has been perceived as Christine's oppressor, yet here she is Christine's rescuer. Indeed, she is here a manifestation of Christine's own inner strength.

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<sup>18</sup>Solente, Mutacion, Vol.1, Pp.51-52.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.53.

In Part II, Christine continues her allegorical tale by depicting Fortune's realm. Firstly, Fortune's castle, its four doors, their keepers and Fortune herself are described. Then follow descriptions of the various buildings, the four paths leading up to the heights of Fortune's tower and the strange and perilous areas that exist within the castle walls.

This narrative is lengthy and intricate with a plethora of details. Very little of the detail, however, is gratuitous as much of it has a symbolic purpose in the allegory, with most of this symbolism being fairly transparent in meaning. Some of the detail, however, merely demonstrates Christine's enjoyment of a particular subject as she delights in the picture she is portraying. The extent of allegorical detail used is explained by Margolis thus:

When describing all of these figures, including those of Fortune, Eur and Meseur, Christine employs both their physical traits and their modus operandi; interweaving both static and active characteristics in the formulation of their personalities. She also focuses on their condicion: the summation of all traits and their relationship to their surroundings. Christine, as we shall continue to note, devotes much attention to time and space in situating her characters as both philosophical vehicles and agents of the narrative. In her treatment of Fortune and attendants, the poet applies such precision not only to render the account more believable but also to fulfill her intellectual desire to diminish the elusiveness of these beings as concepts.<sup>20</sup>

Evidently Christine wishes to help us understand complex notions such as chance, free-will, providence and the superiority of virtue over worldly gifts by illustrating them at length in her depiction of Fortune and her realm.

Solente demonstrates in depth that Christine had a number of sources for the description of Fortune and her world.<sup>21</sup> These sources include Boethius' Consolatio philosophiae, Dante's Divina commedia, Jean de Meung's Roman de la Rose, the Panthere

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<sup>20</sup>Margolis, Poetics of History, P.73.

<sup>21</sup>Solente, Mutacion, Vol.1, Pp.XXX-XLV.



d'Amours by Nicole de Margival, the Roman de Fauvel by Gervais du Bus, and the Image du monde also known as the Mappemonde. Christine borrows details from all of these. Perhaps most importantly she takes the insightful allegorical technique of making abstract ideas into carefully detailed characters from the Roman de la Rose. She gleans the idea for Fortune's two brothers, Eür and Meseür, and their continual opposition from the Panthere d'Amours and the concept of Fortune's two faces and crowns from the Roman de Fauvel. The perils described in the castle are drawn mainly from the Image du monde. Thus Christine amalgamates features from a number of texts to form the intricate structure inhabited by Fortune in the Mutacion.

Christine begins by describing Fortune's castle which is tall, square and seated on an iron track atop a high rock, Grant Peril, which is exposed to the winds and surrounded by the sea. It is suspended from four great chains but Christine does not know what, if anything, they are attached to. Grant Peril turns continuously as if on a wheel, leans to one side and trembles so that no one has a firm footing. The castle itself has four facades, the first surpassing the other three in beauty and size:

1524	Ne chastel, n'ancienne porte Ne fu si belle, ne si forte Comme est ceste premiere face De ce chastel; mais tout efface Sa beauté un petit d'orage,
1528	Car faicte est de tel maçonage Que les murs n'en sont bons ne fors, Quoyqu'ilz semblent estre defors, Mais Fortune l'appercevent,
1532	Qui le monde va decepvent, L'a fait sembler estre imprenable Aux trespasans et tres durable, Mais sa beauté et s'aparance

1536 N'est fors que toute decepvence.<sup>22</sup>

It is typical of Fortune and her castle that its attractive appearance is deceptive, this impressive wall being, in reality, poorly built, fragile and precarious. There is a large entrance on this facade which is cleverly made to look impenetrable and splendid. Indeed many are enticed into wishing to enter here but it is guarded fiercely by Dame Richesse who refuses entry to many, especially the poor whom she despises. Christine takes care to illustrate that Dame Richesse, although powerful, is subordinate to her older sister, Dame Fortune:

1608 Dame Richesce est seur ma dame,  
Si ne donroit pas une drame  
De ses richeces a nullui,  
Fors par la voulenté de lui;  
Si n'en est fors que gardienne.  
1612 Ma dame est la plus ancienne,  
Car Fortune estoit pieça nee  
Ains que Richesce fust formee;  
Si l'a faite sa tresoriere  
1616 Et de celle entree portiere.<sup>23</sup>

Christine points out that Dame Richesse, just like Fortune, does not distribute her gifts fairly, her method being contrary to reason in that she gives her treasures to those who are already rich, thus further depriving the poor.

Fortune also has two brothers whom she has made her castellans. Named Eür and Meseür, they assist Fortune in her capricious activities by their unjust government of her

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.61.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.64.

castle. Christine claims that these two brothers must have different fathers since they are so dissimilar.

Eür, although small and well built, is slow-moving. He has a pale complexion and green, squinting eyes. Since he likes anything novel, he wears green, signifying change and infidelity. He is a very elegant knight, much loved by everyone although his acquaintance is only made by pure luck and any resulting friendship can be short-lived:

1800 Car trop peu vault sens ne prudence  
A acquerir son accointance,  
Ce n'est fors que droite aventure  
Et une joye qui peu dure.  
De tant ressemble il bien, par m'ame,  
Fortune sa seur et sa dame:  
1804 Il est aussi qu'elle est muable  
Et l'amour de lui pou durable.<sup>24</sup>

Thus Eür and Fortune are alike in their changeability and transient fidelities.

Meseür is quite unlike his brother, being ugly, dark and hairy. His face is hideous and grimacing, and he glances around in a horrible way, whistling like a snake as he talks. Although Meseür is big and heavy, he is swift-footed, this being another example of the deceptiveness of appearances in Fortune's realm. He is a quarrelsome killjoy, much feared and disliked as his duty is to turn Fortune's wheel to cast people down to a life of misery:

1848 Mais li maufez les en destourne,  
Qui la roe ma dame tourne  
Et les assiet en si dur point  
Que trestout leur vient mal a point,  
Voire tous ceulx, qui par ses mains  
1852 Passent, dont il en y a mains,  
Qui par lui sont mal atourné  
Et du plus hault au bas tourné.

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.70-71.

1856 Si n'a en lui nulle pitié,  
Foy, loyauté, ne amistié  
Et, avec ce qu'il est si lait  
Et que chacun en despit l'ait,<sup>25</sup>

Meseür's servitude to the great power of Fortune is clearly demonstrated as he is shown to be ever ready to ruin, not only individuals, but entire countries at Fortune's decree:

1880 N'il n'est contree si lointaine,  
Ou en trop moins d'une sepmaine  
Il n'alast et tost l'eust destruite,  
Se ma dame l'avoit mauldicte  
Et a destruire condampnee;<sup>26</sup>

Fortune is usually depicted as cold and impersonal but here she is shown to be capable of acting out of anger:

1892 Mais quant a courroux est tiree  
Contre aucun ou contre une terre,  
Ou qu'elle vueille en quelque guerre  
Grever a l'une des parties,  
Adont Meseur de ses parties  
Ne se mouvra jusques destruit  
1896 Il ait trestout, ne plus n'i truit  
Riens a destruire, n'a mal mettre,  
Et de ce se sçet entremettre  
Le desloyal (Dieu le mauldie!)<sup>27</sup>

Christine thus depicts Fortune in the Mutacion as being capable of more emotional responses than just envy, in that she has already been shown to act out of pity and here she is capable of anger. It is also interesting that, in line 1,899, Christine calls on God to curse Meseür rather than Fortune who directs Meseür. This may reflect the special relationship

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.72.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.73.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.73-74.

which has been developed between Christine and Fortune in this text. It would appear that Christine, although still in the thrall by Fortune, no longer blames her outright for all of her woes.

Christine finally discusses Fortune herself, describing the goddess as she appeared to her, while acknowledging that Fortune has appeared differently to others<sup>28</sup>. Thus Christine shows herself to be aware of the literary heritage of the goddess:

1912           Dire vous vueil de la figure  
                  De celle qui mains maulx agure,  
                  Voire ainsi qu'elle m'apparu,  
                  Mais a aultres elle paru  
                  D'autre figure, comme escript  
1916           En ont plusieurs en maint escript,<sup>29</sup>

Christine's Fortune has two faces, one very beautiful and one ugly and menacing:

1932           Cellui devant de grant beauté  
                  Fu, tout n'y eust il loyauté,  
                  Riant et blanc, frais et onni,  
                  Cil derriere lait et honni,  
                  Noir, tenebreux, horrible, obscur,  
                  A veoir de mauvais augur;<sup>30</sup>

Fortune also has a very strange crown, that part which sits on the beautiful face is made of shining gold and is embedded with precious stones, whereas the crown over the ugly face is made of double-edged swords and sharp knives with poisonous grooves. Fortune holds another beautiful crown in her right hand, and in her left, another double-edged sword

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<sup>28</sup>Margolis explains: "By the "aultres" to whom she alludes we may understand Boethius, Jean de Meun, Dante, Gervais du Bus and Nicole de Margival, among others." Poetics of History, P.58.

<sup>29</sup>Solente, Mutacion, Vol.1, P.74.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.75.

while her right foot stands in water and her left in fire. She keeps her wheel near her where it is sometimes turned by Meseür and sometimes by Eür. All of these attributes emphasise Fortune's duality.

Christine then expands on the activities of Fortune's two brothers. Eür receives petitions from people wishing to enter into Dame Richesse's territory, most of whom, however, he turns away disappointed. Christine notes cynically that he thus receives more oblations and offerings than God. Christine again emphasises how Eür's distribution of favours is capricious and contrary to reason:

2096 Car souvent ne veult faire droit,  
N'aydier a ceulx qui le mieulx servent  
Et trop plus loyaument desservent  
Les biens que la ou il les donne,  
2100 Et les grans avoires abandonne  
A maint qui n'en sont mie digne;  
Des bons ne fait semblant, ne signe,  
Ne de ceulx qui deussent avoir  
2104 Le bien et l'onneur et l'avoir;  
Et ceulx qui le mains le requierent  
Souventes foiz trop plus acquierent  
Vers lui que ceulx qui le pourchacent,  
2108 Si leur vient, sanz que ilz le chacent.  
Ainsi Eür n'est qu'aventure,<sup>31</sup>

Since Eür's favours can be undeserved and unreliable, Christine concludes that they are not worth having and that Paradise is the only end worth pursuing:

2120 Il n'est fors un seul bien parfait:  
C'est Paradis, qui est sanz fin,  
Dieu nous y maint a la parfin!<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.80-81.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.81.

Meseür is, however, often the enemy of those whom Eür has chosen to befriend. If prompted to by Meseür, Eür will drop his friends whose short-term happiness is thus changed to distress. Christine thus again emphasises the transient nature of earthly happiness. Yet too often the fortunate become conceited, despising the poor and believing that they have a right to perpetual wealth and luxury. However, Meseür may choose to cast them back down with a quick turn of Fortune's wheel at which time they will find that they have no friends, in fact, people will take pleasure in their downfall:

2364           Ainsi chacun leur courra seure  
                  De fait et de parolle, en l'eure  
                  Que Fortune la bestournee  
                  Sera du tout sur eulx tournee.<sup>33</sup>

Having thus warned everyone to beware of deceptive happiness and the ever-present possibility of change, Christine moves on to describe the second facade of Fortune's castle.

The second facade and its door are less beautiful and less strongly built than the first but again, deceptively, they appear more durable than they really are. As at Dame Richesse's door, there are a great many people trying to enter but here there are no restrictions, everyone being admitted and lodged within, although their quarters are not always to their liking.

Christine describes the keeper of this second door as benevolent, frank, gentle and humble. She befriends everyone and wants them, right or wrong, to have whatever they wish. She has a pleasant appearance, being tall and broad through the shoulders, back, hips and

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.89.

belly. Her dress is blue<sup>34</sup> shot through with gold and other colours. Christine eventually identifies this personage as Dame Esperance, stating that one cannot live without her:

2448 Dame Esperance est nommee,  
Qui de chacun est moult amee,  
Amee! Et qui ne l'amerait?  
S'elle n'estoit, on se mourroit;  
Ne sanz elle on ne pourroit vivre;  
2452 Par elle on est de mal delivre.  
Esperance fait trop de bien.  
Ou monde n'a nulle autre rien,  
Qui autretant gens reconforte.<sup>35</sup>

Indeed, Dame Esperance does much good in the world by comforting people who would otherwise die from grief or sickness, while to the dying she brings the hope of attaining Paradise which, as Christine has already noted, is the only worthy goal:

2468 Si fait elle ceulx qui se meurent,  
Qui a la grace Dieu acqueurent,  
Esperer Paradis leur fait,  
Criant mercis de leur meffait,  
Et qui Esperance n'aroit  
Jamais en Paradis n'iroit.<sup>36</sup>

Here Christine shows that she understands the importance of hope as a requirement for reaching Paradise.

Dame Esperance not only offers comfort but promises gold, honours and position.

Everyone, even the penniless, may enter this second door to Fortune's castle with Dame

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<sup>34</sup>Huizinga explains the significance of this colour thus:  
"Blue signified fidelity; green amorous passion....by a very curious transition, blue, instead of being the colour of faithful love, came to mean infidelity too, and next, besides the faithless wife, marked the dupe....At last blue was the colour of fools in general". The Waning of the Middle Ages, Pp.259-260.

<sup>35</sup>Solente, Mutacion, Vol.1, P.92.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.92-93.



Esperance promising that once in the castle, people may talk with Eür and thus have the opportunity to be befriended by Dame Richesse. However, Meseür and Dame Richesse may just as readily choose to oppose them. Christine also notes that promising the best outcome to everyone, for instance to those at war, can lead people into extreme danger. Thus we are instructed that the encouragements of both Eür and Dame Esperance, far from being truly benevolent, can be false and deceitful.

The third side of Fortune's castle, whose door is kept by Povreté, is then described. The wall is ugly and low, being old and, in some places, breached and plastered over. Thus, the wall itself is quite worthless while the door is wide, providing easy access for all those people that the world despises; the handicapped, the mad, the blind and the sick. Povreté herself is described as ugly and drab, weakened by poverty, cold and hunger, and dressed in tattered old clothes. Not only is Povreté physically pitiful but people would do anything to avoid her, "Mais plus fuir qu'epidimie"<sup>37</sup>. Some fear her more than Hell itself and will sell their souls rather than become acquainted with her. In fact, Povreté and her door are so unattractive that no-one would pass through here without being forced to do so by Meseür and his aides:

2636            Se Meseür, par fine force,  
                 Les gens n'i embatoit a force,  
                 Par le commandement ma dame,  
2636            Qui n'espargne en ce cas nul ame;  
                 Et la fait Meseür sa chace,  
                 Et sachiés que celle part chace  
2640            Lui, ses aydes et ses sergens  
                 De toutes manieres de gens  
                 De tous estas, nobles ou non,

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.97, Line 2616.

Et maint vaillant de grant renom;<sup>38</sup>

Fortune is thus ultimately in control of poverty as she orders Meseür to make certain people poor. In spite of Fortune and Meseür, however, some people take care of the poor and indigent within the castle:

2656            N'a eulx hebargier propre lieu,  
                  Bon mestier ont des hostelz-Dieu,  
                  Qui furent fais, maugré Meseür,  
                  Des bons riches, par bon eür,  
                  Pour hebargier les menues gens  
2660            Povres et nuds et indigens;  
                  Et Dieu les vueille en Paradis  
                  Hebargier tous ceulx qui jadis  
                  Si fais hostelz instituerent!  
2664            Et pour charité estuerent!  
                  Tel avoir pour Dieu espargné,  
                  De bonne heure fu il gaigné.<sup>39</sup>

Christine notes that God will reward these charitable donors in Paradise. Thus God still appears to have some influence and power in this strange domain ruled by Fortune. Dame Esperance is here to comfort these new arrivals as their lot would be too much to bear otherwise.

Christine then moves on to the fourth wall and its dark and horrible door which is guarded by Atropos. Atropos's body is nothing but bones with an empty, hollow belly and she has a skull-like face the colour of earth, an open mouth with pale, dry lips and sad, half-open eyes. She owns nothing and just lies naked by the door in the cold. The wall here is low, poorly built and so precarious that it will hardly stand although Nature attempts to hold

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.98.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.99.

it up, thus preserving this uncertain life as long as possible. Passing through the low and narrow door is a frightening and grievous experience and although no-one enters the castle here, everyone must leave this way, naked and taking nothing with them but the good which they have done:

2848           La appert qui a espargnié  
              Et bien a prouffit besongné,  
              Car autre chose on n'en emporte,  
              Quant on passe par celle porte,  
              Fors, sanz plus, le bien qu'on a fait;  
              Bien se gard qui trop a meffait,  
2852           Car, s'a celle conclusion  
              Il n'empetre remission,  
              Jamais jour n'i vendra a temps;  
              Mais aucuns cuident tout a temps  
              Empetrer grace; qu'ilz y faillent  
2856           Et tout a coup par la s'en saillent,  
              Sanz avoir loisir d'amander  
              Leurs maux et pardon demander.<sup>40</sup>

As one may not have time to make amends to others, Christine advocates that one should live as one would wish to die. It is thus emphasised that striving for Fortune's gifts is pointless since these earthly belongings are ultimately left behind and forgotten.

Christine, having thus come to the end of her description of the four facades of Fortune's castle and their gatekeepers, now goes back to describe how the various interior sections of Fortune's castle are laid out, the first to be described being the area presided over by Dame Richesse. Christine takes pleasure in a detailed description of tall, royal palaces which surround a large, well-kept courtyard. All of these beautiful buildings pale, however, in comparison to Dame Richesse's tall seigneurial tower which stands as straight as a

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.105.

bullrush, gleams like ivory and reaches up to the clouds. While observing that it is only fitting that Dame Richesse live in the finest building of all, Christine again emphasises the transience of such beauty:

2988            Drois est qu'elle soit bien logiee,  
                  Car il n'appartient a nul ame  
                  Tel chastel, fors a ceste dame,  
                  Cy a beauté incomparable  
2992            (Dalmages est qu'el n'est durable!)<sup>41</sup>

Fortune's castle is thus very pleasant in the area occupied by Dame Richesse. However, these buildings are reserved for the great and the powerful, not for the poor.

Christine tells of seeing paths leading up from this great courtyard. She then digresses to describe the four principal roads which lead to the highest levels of Fortune's castle. The first is named Grant Orgueil and begins close to the door guarded by Dame Richesse who built it of the finest gold to reach up to the richest mansion or tower in the castle. All of those whom Eür has befriended make their way up this stairway. The strangest thing about this path is that whoever succeeds in ascending to the higher palaces, immediately believes that all others should be submissive to him. Unfortunately such success is not necessarily durable given the existence of Fortune's other sister, Envie:

                  Mais une chose moult destourne  
                  Ces montans: quant le vent se tourne;  
                  Car ma dame a une autre seur  
3048            Que Richece, qui a nul feur  
                  Ne peut veoir bien a nullui  
                  (Trop male nature a en lui!)  
                  Car elle a si <sup>tres</sup> grant envie  
3052            Sur ceulx qui maintent bonne vie  
                  Et qui sont riche et comble et plain

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.110.

Que veoir ne les peut a plain,  
Aussi est Envie appelée.<sup>42</sup>

Thus spiteful Envie, assisted by her brother, Meseür, attempts to trip up those mounting the path of Grant Orgueil. Christine states that she does not believe it possible for those who stumble to be happy after their fall, although many can be happy who have never taken the path of Grant Orgueil:

3104 Car je ne sçay s'onques j'oÿ  
Ne vi nul homme resjoÿ,  
Qui eust fait un si mortel sault,  
Comme au bas cheoir du plus hault;  
Mais mains voit on, sanz celle voye  
3108 Hanter, mener solas et joye.<sup>43</sup>

Next Christine tells us of the second, rarely travelled path named Grant Malice. One has to be a master of deception to attempt this path for it is camouflaged and each step is strewn with worms, snakes with golden crests or three heads and many other strange vermin. When taking this route one must step soundlessly and carefully to avoid being struck down. Dame Envie precedes those who venture here and they have to promise her much to be allowed to continue upwards:

3136 Dame Envie en fait l'avant-garde,  
Qui des montans bien se prent garde.  
Dieux! Qu'il couvient la la choyer  
Et lui promettre grant loyer  
Tant qu'elle laisse hault monter  
3140 Cellui qui tout veult surmonter;  
Mais trop y treuve d'aventures  
Et de choses pesans et dures  
Et l'une pro, et l'autre contra;

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.112.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.114.

3144            Et maint montant la encontra  
                   Mainte aventure encombreuse.<sup>44</sup>

Yet despite its dangers, many ambitious adventurers have taken this path. Since they can quickly find themselves plunged down to great depths by treachery, those who ascend this way need to have both Eür and Fortune on their side.

These two paths, Grant Orgueil and Grant Malice, originate from the two beautiful sides of the castle but they can also lead down to the other two sides, poverty and death, by a slippery path. Thus, although one cannot raise oneself up from these two sides of the castle, one can descend to them in an instant.

To the right of these first two is another path named Grant Science. To ascend by this path, it is first necessary to tame the proud, frightening and marvellous snake which guards the way, however, many are defeated and humiliated in the attempt. Christine points out that those who do succeed, however, find this path so agreeable that it is a great pity not to be able to travel by it. The grass is green and beautiful with all kinds of delightful things found on it, including flowers of many colours and bright, precious stones. Christine tells us that not only does this path reach up to the highest levels, but it is safe, as Meseür, Fortune and Envie cannot go this way:

3232            Cestui chemin est moult seür.  
                   Tollir ne le peut Meseür,  
                   Ne male Fortune, n'Envie,  
                   Tant comme celui soit en vie,  
3236            Qui monte par ycelle voye,  
                   Qui es haulx estages l'avoye.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.115.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.118-119.

Although this path is safe and has a noble reputation it is not greatly travelled because of the difficulty of mastering the enchanted serpent. However, those who do succeed in this become wise.

Christine then describes the fourth and best path called Juste Vie which reaches up beyond the castle to where one can see the face of God:

Meismes le ciel va trespersant,  
Et si hault s'en va, en passant,  
Qu'il maine cellui qui le passe  
3252 Si hault qu'il voit Dieu face a face.<sup>46</sup>

This path is the most beautiful and worthwhile, nothing earthly being comparable. It was built by Jesus and those who travel by it go to Paradise with the blessed saints and God's elect. However, few choose this way as it is narrow and difficult:

Mais moult souffrirent de griefte  
Par ycelle voye au passer,  
3280 Car il n'est nul qui peust penser  
Comment ce chemin est estroit,  
Combien qu'il soit et hault et droit,  
Ne qu'il ne soit lait, ne terrible,  
3284 Mait tant est roite et penible  
Qu'a peine est il nul qui se peine  
De monter par la, pour la peine  
Que chacun ressoigne au monter.<sup>47</sup>

It would be prized, notes Christine, if people knew how much joy they would have if they withstood the difficult journey. Christine finally points out that Dame Esperance is with everyone on all of the paths, since no-one would attempt any of them without her.

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.119.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.120.

Having thus finished her descriptions of the four paths, Christine goes back to tell us of the interior of the castle near the entrance kept by Dame Esperance.

Around Dame Esperance's door Christine depicts a delightful place inhabited by people of all types and classes. There are gracious manors which, although not as tall or noble as those found at Dame Richesse's door, are more accessible to all. Cloisters of all religions, and every kind of convent, chapel, temple and monastery that serves God are found here. Some of the poor, little houses are both pretty and clean, although others are not worth twopence. There are also large, beautiful mansions that were either passed down honourably from heir to heir or grasped dishonestly. Yet none of these buildings satisfies anyone, everyone yearning to have more.

Although the path of Grant Orgueil was built by Dame Richesse, it is also to be found in this part of the castle. Here, however, the path is not golden, the steps being made of mud, covered with some fake, worthless material. The other paths are also to be found here, although they are not as popular.

Christine then moves on to describe the interior of the castle near Povreté's door, drawing a pitiful picture of the cold and sickness experienced by the helpless people who live here in houses which are empty, dark and smoky:

3460           Et Dieu scet se, tant qu'iver dure,  
                  Il a par leens grant froidure!  
                  Car bien doit sentir la gelee  
                  Personne si mal affulee;  
                  Et pis y a, car, sanz cesser,  
3464           Souleil y est sur l'esconser  
                  Ne la, ne en mont, ne en plain,  
                  Jamais nul jour ne luit a plain;  
                  Le lieu en est plus rumatique,  
3468           Mauvais a goute siatique;



Povres rues, povres maisons,  
Petis enfens, femmes, vieulx homs,  
Maladies, enfermetez,  
3472 Tous maulx griefs et toutes durtez:<sup>48</sup>

The paths of Grant Orgueil, Grant Malice and Grant Science do not prosper at Povreté's door, but that of Juste Vie is often found, even in the oldest and poorest houses. Christine states that one should have pity on the poor and help them with alms as God directs in Holy Scripture. Thus she exhorts the reader to follow God's instructions, even here in Fortune's world.

Finally Christine describes the area near Atropos's door. This description is the shortest of the four as if Christine does not want to dwell on its awfulness. There are no beautiful buildings here, only lowly, broken down hovels. It is so dark that one cannot see where one is going and it is always raining and cold, so that one soon becomes as stiff and mottled as marble. Margolis sums up this depiction of Atropos's domain by saying, "Christine's description gives the reader the impression of experiencing physical death and being entombed."<sup>49</sup> Christine finally encapsulates the horror by saying:

3525 Si est plus que riens redoubtable  
Le lieu, tant est espouventable.<sup>50</sup>

Having thus described the interior of Fortune's castle, Christine begins to describe the people who live in the various manors and lodgings. Earlier in the narrative, Christine described a tall tower located in the area around Dame Richesse's gate. Indeed, Christine told

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.126-127.

<sup>49</sup>Margolis, Poetics of History, P.80.

<sup>50</sup>Solente, Mutacion, Vol.1, P.129.

us that it was the home of Dame Richesse. She now describes a tall, beautiful, seigneurial tower that is apparently located in the same area and yet at this point it is said to be Fortune's tower. Either there are two towers which somehow fuse together, or one tower which belongs to Fortune who permits her sister, Dame Richesse, to reside there. Christine proceeds to tell us of the living conditions found on different levels of this seigneurial tower.

At the top of the tower are high, wide halls and apartments with beautiful, luxurious interiors. The biggest apartments are for the highest lords such as popes, emperors and kings, all of the apartments being suitably equipped for the occupant's station and social position. Their entourages are also lodged here according to rank. These people have all been led to these heights by Eür, who befriended them. Fortune of course had to concur and thus we are shown that she continues to possess supreme power:

3616           Montez y sont, qui qu'en ait grez,  
                  Par aucuns des susdiz degrez,  
                  Si comme a ma dame a pleü  
                  Avoir a son vueil esleü  
                  Aucun, pour es haulx sieges mectre,  
                  Et un autre a voulu desmectre;  
                  Et ce fait elle moult souvent,  
                  Ce doit savoir fol et savant.<sup>51</sup>

Many of the occupants have undeservedly reached the upper levels of this tower by travelling the paths of Grant Orgueil and Grant Malice. Yet Fortune has constructed the tower in such a way that everyone, even the loftiest princes, can be led by Meseür to fall through hidden traps in the floor:

                  Car ma dame, qui l'edefice  
                  Fist et fonda, par grant malice,

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.132.

3644 Y ouvra de si mal ouvrage  
 Que par lieux y fait moult ombrage  
 Et, non obstant que les planchiers  
 Y soient moult riches et chiers  
 Et tous semblent assis sus voulte,  
 3648 Sanz male briseure, ne soulte,  
 Si y a il de grans partuis,  
 Sanz la apparcevoir trou, ne huys  
 Descendue, ne trebuchet,  
 3652 Tant que l'en se treuve au guichet,  
 Car couvers sont de couverture  
 Qu'on n'apperçoit, fors d'aventure,<sup>52</sup>

Christine notes that these fallen princes may thus end up at the two joyless doors:

3692 La, es prisons de Povreté  
 Est mis, a grant maleürté,  
 Ou, par la porte derreniere,  
 Ou l'en ne voit jour, ne lumiere,  
 Hors du chastel, honteusement,  
 Chacié a dueil et dampnement.<sup>53</sup>

Thus the uncertainty of the gifts and activities of Fortune, is again illustrated by the deceptive construction of her tower. The bottom of the tower is no better, as it is bitterly cold there with the wind and the waves beating on it. This causes the walls to sweat, loosening the masonry and requiring frequent repair work. Given the miserable conditions at the bottom, and the traps in the highest reaches of the tower, the most secure place to be is in the middle. Even so, however, the whole tower shakes and trembles all the time.

Next Christine describes the crowds of people who reside at the second door, that of Dame Esperance. Dame Esperance receives all kinds of people, mad, wise, mighty and powerless. However, we are told that she deceives a third of them. Many people of all

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.132-133.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.134.

trades live here, hoping to better themselves and while some earn and deserve the riches that they receive, others do not. Christine proceeds to give a long and very detailed list of the kinds of luxury goods that are made here. Yet despite the immense value of these treasures, no-one ever has enough.

Having thus described the people living near the first two doors of Fortune's castle, Christine omits descriptions of the inhabitants of the last two areas, since to talk of them, she says, would be too unpleasant, like rain after sunshine. Instead, Christine goes on to describe all the perils and terrible marvels that occur within the castle walls:

3964           La est li Lieux Aventureux,  
                  Qui bien en eschappe est eureux!  
                  C'est li chasteaulx ou failent droiz,  
                  Ou peril a en tous endrois.  
                  La est le Gouffre Perilleux  
                  De mer, qui tant est merveilleux  
                  Qu'il s'angloute tout le navire,  
3968           Qui vers celles parties vire,<sup>54</sup>

The Atlantic Ocean, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean are all found here, most voyagers perishing in these waters where dangers such as the sea monsters, Charybdis and Scylla, the enchantress Circe and the sirens abound. Within these seas are lands with horrible giants, monsters and strange people. Christine goes on to describe the many negative activities that take place, assisted by Meseür, in these strange worlds:

4044           La est le lieu d'ocision,  
                  De guerre et de confusion,  
                  De rumeurs et de grans batailles,  
                  De baras et de controuvailles  
                  Et de grans trahisons celees  
4048           Et de tres orribles meslees,

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.143.

De trestous maulx et de tous vices;  
 Moult peu y a de gent novices,  
 Ains s'estudient a savoir  
 4052 Tous a l'un l'autre decevoir.<sup>55</sup>

Thus war, confusion, treachery and every vice occur in Fortune's realm as people practise deception. As we have already been shown, many parvenus use the paths of Grant Malice and Grand Orgueil to go up to the heights of the tower and attempt to supplant the rightful princes. In order to achieve such ambitions, wars and deadly enterprises are undertaken where many are killed. Often these deceitful upstarts are undeservedly successful:

On y voit, par estrange voye,  
 Les uns monter, autres descendre,  
 4132 Et, souvent, cil qui est le mendre  
 Du troppel au plus hault seoir;  
 Quoyqu'il lui doye messeoir,  
 Lui assiet Eür et ma dame,  
 4136 Et tel qui n'a once ne drame  
 De sens, ne quelquonque bonté,  
 Sera tout au plus hault monté  
 Souventes foiz, et le sçavent  
 4140 Bon et loyal, qui deust avant  
 Estre bouté, sera desmis  
 Et trestout au plus bas lieu mis;<sup>56</sup>

Yet again Eür and Christine's mistress, Fortune, are shown to control the irrational distribution of wealth and privilege. Although the castle is thus inhabited by many evil people, there are also many people who follow the path of righteousness, honestly and industriously earning their living. These good people prevent God from wreaking vengeance on the others. Thus it is evident that Fortune's world is at the mercy of God:

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.146.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.149.

4236           Ceulx aiment Dieu et "mercy" crient  
               Pour les pecheurs et le deprient;  
               Par ceulx retarde sa vengeance  
               Le hault Dieu, qui donne alegence  
 4240           Aux enfermes, qui le requierent,  
               Et qui vient a ceulx qui le quierent,  
               Mais, nonobstant ce qu'il attant,  
               Sommes en grant peril pourtant,  
               Car ses vengences sont soubdaines  
 4244           Sur les creatures mondaines,  
               Quant ne se veulent amander.<sup>57</sup>

Christine terminates Part II by comparing Fortune's world being thus spared from God's wrath through the intervention of its good inhabitants, to the city of Nineveh being spared through the intervention of the prophet, Jonah, who led its people to repentance. This whole section is summarised by Margolis as follows:

She portrays a world in chaos and decadence, finally alluding to the story of the Flood in Genesis VI, to the Ten Plagues of Egypt, Sodom and Gomorrah, and Jonas saving Nineveh. This last illusion is especially important because Christine sees herself in the role of Jonas, as a kind of messenger, a medieval Cassandra trying to save her beloved adopted country, France.<sup>58</sup>

Part II of the Mutacion thus contains Christine's most in-depth, detailed description of Fortune, her surroundings, companions and activities. Throughout this fleshed-out portrait of Fortune several aspects of her nature and habitat are emphasised. Firstly, it is repeatedly illustrated through a proliferation of examples evoking deceivers and deceit that all appearances within Fortune's realm are deceptive and therefore not to be trusted. Secondly, it is made clear through a wealth of examples that nothing is durable or sure. It is repeatedly emphasised that all of Fortune's gifts can be fleeting and transitory in contrast with the

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.152.

<sup>58</sup>Margolis, Poetics of History, P.85.

reliability of the rewards of the lives of study and, more especially, faith. Thirdly, it is shown that there are many dangers and difficulties to be met with in Fortune's world. Christine's need to express this explains and justifies some of the more bizarre and exotic detail such as three-headed snakes and giants. Essentially, Christine has, with this allegorical description of Fortune's castle, drawn a clear and graphic picture of a world which is motivated by ambition and greed; where God's favour is less eagerly pursued than that of Fortune. Yet Fortune's favour is deceptive and fickle, very often leading to ultimate failure, despair and death. Christine thus attempts to illustrate that following a life of good deeds and faith in God is the only way to true and lasting happiness.

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Part III of the Mutacion appears at the beginning of Volume II of Solente's edition. In this part Christine discusses the positions and social rank of all those who are lodged in the castle. She begins by describing the manners and conditions of the highest ranked people. Right at the top, at the head of the path of Juste Vie, where our Lord had placed Saint Peter, Christine sees two powerful popes vying for one seat and proceeds to examine the effects of this Schism<sup>59</sup>. On the second level, there is an imperial throne which has been vacant for 18 years, a fact which Christine deplors. Below this seat, Christine sees many lords who are unwisely involved in wars and neglecting their estates, and some who have been treated adversely by Fortune.

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<sup>59</sup>These effects will be discussed when Christine's views on the need for ecclesiastical reforms are given in the concluding section of this chapter.

Christine uses this description of the seats in Fortune's tower as a springboard to embark on a discourse on history (which includes some mythology), politics and government. This discourse is fairly lengthy, involving lines 4,515 to 6,672. Once Christine is thus involved in her discussion of history and politics, Fortune is much less frequently mentioned explicitly. However, Fortune's central involvement is still to be inferred. Blanchard states:

En quête d'une rationalité qui donne un sens au monde qui ne soit pas le sens voulu par Dieu, Christine, transportée dans le 'chastel' de Fortune, découvre que la roue de Fortune est le ressort de l'histoire, sa force vive.<sup>60</sup>

Christine refers briefly to seats held by various Oriental and African regimes then follows with a description of the land where Venus ruled as queen. Christine moves on to Italy, first discussing current politics and the wars between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines and then returns to ancient Roman history. Fortune reappears as we are told of Anthenor's being torn apart by his own dogs. Christine, however, attributes the responsibility for his death not to Diana as is usually the case, but to Fortune:

4852 Mais n'avint pas, ce m'est advis,  
Par Dyane aviser ou vis,  
Ains fu par Meseur et ma dame,  
Qui maint lieu met a feu et flame;  
Mais garde soy cellui veneur,  
4856 Qui fist, a si grant deshonneur,  
Par ses cors et ses huys sonner,  
Aux chiens leur seigneur malmener,  
Que, se ma dame un peu se tourne,  
4860 Je me doubt bien que mal l'atourne,  
Car de mal faire mal avient,  
("Folz est a qui il n'en souvient!")<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Blanchard, 'Raisons', P.425.

<sup>61</sup>Solente, Mutacion, Vol.2, P.22.



Thus, in line 4,853, Christine confers more responsibility and power upon Fortune and her aid, Meseür, than upon the goddess Diana.

The conquests of the Saxons are explicitly attributed to Fortune (line 4,883), as are the problems experienced by the powerful and glorious king Frigia and his descendants (line 4,923). Direct references are also made while Christine discusses how clerks are undeservedly put in office by Fortune (line 6,131) and how Fortune controls the success of merchants (line 6,325). Christine discourses on many more topics involved in the exercise of government, including its vices and corruptions. She concludes by saying that women are not much involved in this arena and takes the opportunity to note that they are, in any case, generally more virtuous.

Finally, in the last section of Part III, Christine again discusses the goddess Fortune and her origins. Christine reiterates that it was Fortune's capricious and indiscriminate tendency to harm some and help others that led her to name the Mutacion as she did, "Car muable est plus que la lune"<sup>62</sup>. Christine goes on to wonder what this powerful and influential entity, Fortune, may be. Evidently, although Christine has just completed an elaborately detailed account of Fortune and her world in Parts I and II, she still finds herself questioning the nature of this phenomenon. Indeed, as an indication of her continuing uncertainty, she implies here (line 6,699) that Fortune has no shape or body, although she has described Fortune physically earlier in the text:

6696            Mais regardons s'appercevoir  
                  Pourrons, n'aucunement savoir  
                  Que celle Fortune peut estre,

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.83.

Qui ainsi change des gens l'estre,  
 Car elle n'a forme, ne corps,  
 6700 Et si a tant divers accors  
 Fortune, selon qu'il me semble,  
 Une influence est, qui s'assemble  
 6704 Du cours du ciel, par les regars  
 Des planettes, en plusieurs pars,  
 Vient, selon les nativitez  
 Des gens, par les extremitez  
 Des infortunees planettes  
 6708 Ou des bonnes fines et nettes,  
 Ascendens a l'eure que l'omme  
 Naist de mere; selon la fourme  
 De la constellation, cuide  
 6712 Que sa fortune soit plus vuide  
 De bien, ou plus comble et plus plaine  
 De joye, ou de vie plus saine;<sup>63</sup>

Christine appears to believe here that Fortune is not entirely responsible for one's fate, since she claims this is also linked to astrology. This interpretation reiterates the explanation given in the Livre du chemin de long estude when the Cumaean Sybil leads Christine into the heavens to explain the forces that control life on earth. There it was shown that God is in overall control of the astrological characters, "Influences" and "Destinees", who control those earthly matters usually seen as the domain of Fortune.<sup>64</sup>

The passage which follows provides us with a thorough explanation of Christine's views at this time regarding the relative powers and responsibilities of God and Fortune. God is said to be above Nature, whose attribute, reason, can be used to obviate bad fortune. Therefore God, through the intermediary, Nature, has power over the wishes and actions of the goddess, Fortune. We are also told that God allocates one's just rewards. Thus if one

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, Pp.83-84.

<sup>64</sup>Püschel, Chemin de long estude, Pp.91-92.

gets what one deserves, whether good or bad, God is responsible, not Fortune. Christine does, however, consider Fortune responsible for events occurring by chance, such as when an accident leads to sudden death or when something good happens quite unexpectedly. Inner peace and tranquility come from God, not from Fortune who, Christine points out, is not such a good friend to mankind. God does, however, consent to Fortune's being powerful enough to distribute worldly goods at will, for He considers these to be trivial. Thus, according to this passage God and Fortune co-exist separately with God's divine providence overarching Fortune:

6752 Car Dieux est par dessus Nature,  
Qui peut a toute creature  
Ayder et, si peut on par sens,  
Si com je considere et scens,  
Obvier a male fortune,  
Aucune foiz, chose est commune,  
Et ce appartient au regart  
6756 D'aucuns cas, car, se Dieu me gart,  
Trop grant folour seroit de dire  
Que la vengeance Dieu et l'ire,  
Dont il punist, pour les pechiez,  
6760 Dont li mondes est entachiez,  
Doye estre Fortune appellee,  
Car telle vengeance est celee  
Ou secret Dieu jusqu'il aviengne,  
6764 Et qui dit que tel chose viengne  
Par Fortune trop faut a dire,  
Car tout ce consent nostre Sire,  
Par justice tres droicturiere,  
6768 Qui ne flechist avant, n'arriere;  
Ou s'un dessert estre pendu  
Ou d'autre tourment estendu  
Et il est, ce n'est pas Fortune,  
6772 Ce fait son cas plain de rancune;  
Ou s'aucun dessert bien avoir  
Et bien lui vient, on doit savoir  
Que Fortune pas ne lui donne,  
6776 Ainçois le fait son oeuvre bonne;

Mais, quant une riens vient hors bort,  
 Un cas soubdain, qui tire a mort,  
 Par moult estrange escheance  
 6780 Ou, sanz avoir quelque beance  
 A aucun bien, et il survient,  
 Ou de legier a bien on vient,  
 Telz cas dis je que de Fortune  
 6784 Viennent, outre guise commune;  
 Aussi paix et tranquillité,  
 Qui vient de la divinité,  
 Fortune ne la donne mie  
 6788 (N'est pas a homs si bonne amie!)  
 Mais bien est vray que Dieu consent  
 Que Fortune soit si poissant  
 Que les biens mondains puist partir  
 6792 A son vouloir et departir,  
 Car d'iceulx biens ne fait il compte,  
 Et de tel Fortune je compte,  
 Car c'est de quoy le monde a dueil,  
 6796 Quant du tout n'en fait a son vueil.<sup>65</sup>

Christine next pronounces on those who are, or are not, fortunate. She describes how a man may do everything possible to behave well and be honourable, he may serve God, be self-controlled and even studious, and yet everything goes wrong for him and all his efforts are wasted. Christine gives examples of how Fortune can frustrate the best intentions of military leaders, knights, clerics, the philosopher Boethius, officials, seigneurs, bourgeois and citizens. She notes that Dame Envie often aids in their downfall. This chapter ends with a general warning against the undeserved, deceptive and transitory nature of Fortune's gifts:

6932 Folz est qui Fortune ne doubté!  
 Et par l'opposite la bonne  
 Fortune assez de grans biens donne,  
 Com tous les jours veons venir  
 6934 De maint, que l'en voit parvenir  
 A grans honneurs et grans estas,

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<sup>65</sup>Solente, Mutacion, Vol.2, Pp.85-86.

6940 Qui n'ont pas de vertus grans tas;  
Mais Fortune les y conduit  
Et aussi moult tost les raduit  
En povre point, quant el se tourne,  
Si les trebuche mat et morne.<sup>66</sup>

The final chapter in this part discusses the bad fortune that can befall women<sup>67</sup>.

Thus Part III affords Christine the opportunity to make extensive social and political commentary on the various groups that inhabit Fortune's tower, indicating the need for reform in several instances. Christine also discusses the nature of Fortune and her inter-relationships with astrology and God's divine providence, stating that God's power is superior to Fortune's and that He is responsible for allocating one's just deserts while allowing Fortune control over earthly trivia. However, Christine concludes Part III by emphasising that one can be deserving and virtuous and still remain powerless against the irrational and detrimental nature of Fortune's activities. It would therefore appear from these vacillations that Christine continues to be uncertain of the relative powers of God and Fortune.

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In Part IV of the Mutacion Christine returns to Fortune's high tower to describe its marvellous hall and the characters and events that are portrayed in the pictures that hang there. This leads into a discussion about philosophy and the sciences, and eventually to a description of the beginning of the world and a retelling of biblical, mythical and Jewish history.

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.91.

<sup>67</sup>Details from this section are given when Christine's view of society's need to reform its treatment of women is discussed in the concluding section of this chapter.

This beautiful hall is named the Palais aux Aventures and despite the tower's constant trembling, it is highly vaulted and strong. All the activities and conquests which the great leaders achieved through the intervention of Fortune are depicted on the walls:

7112            Et par ma dame les conquistrent,  
                  Qui premierement les assist  
                  Ou hault dongion, et desassist,  
                  Quant il lui plot, au moins aucuns;  
                  La est la vie de chacuns  
7116            Empereurs et princes et roys,  
                  Et leurs estas, et leurs arrois  
                  Pourtraict, et leurs propres figures,  
                  Et trestoutes les aventures,  
                  Qui en leur vies leur advint,<sup>68</sup>

Thus Fortune raises princes up and brings them down again as she so chooses. All princes serve in her court, no matter how grand they may be, and Christine advises them not to be too self-assured since they owe their success to Fortune. Christine notes that, unlike those whom Fortune has chosen, those whom God has chosen are secure in their position:

7168            Mais j'en excepte les haultains,  
                  Qui de Dieu nous sont octroyez  
                  Et de sa grant grace envoyez,  
                  Ce sont les tres haulx biens de l'ame,  
7172            Que ne tolt Fortune a nul ame.<sup>69</sup>

Having thus whetted our appetite for these stories, Christine states that she needs to explain some other things and proceeds to digress, promising to return later to her original topic. The new subjects are introduced thus:

                  En la sale bien figuree,  
                  Ou Fortune a sa demouree

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.101.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.103.

7184 Plaine de figures estranges,  
 Je y vi, par belles aranges,  
 Toutes les sciences donnees  
 De Dieu, par bel ordre ordenees,  
 Si me plaist q'un petit en compte,  
 7188 Combien que mon sens petit monte  
 Pour parler de chose si haute,<sup>70</sup>

The relationship between these topics and their appearance in Fortune's Palais aux Aventures is not clear, particularly since God is here explicitly credited as being their originator, not Fortune. Presumably this digression is merely an excuse for Christine to demonstrate her knowledge and erudition. A hierarchy of sciences is subsequently discussed, with Christine concluding that Philosophie is the most important science.<sup>71</sup>

Christine then returns to her original intention, that is, to relate the events depicted in Fortune's great hall. She begins with an account of the Creation and tells us that God created beautiful angels who, led by Lucifer, became corrupt through following the path of Grant Orgueil. This seems to be a flimsy attempt to link this apparently historical narrative to Fortune's castle. She subsequently narrates the fall of these angels and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. Christine then weaves in some important information about Fortune and her purpose on earth by claiming that the goddess was born at this point in history in order to carry out the work of making life difficult for humanity:

Fortune estoit tres doncques nee,  
 Qui consentir fist toute l'euvre,

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, Pp.103-104.

<sup>71</sup>The importance given to Philosophie here may precurse the importance given to Dame Philosophie in the Avision-Christine and Christine's 'demoting' of Fortune in that text.

8200 Par qui tout bien de nous desseuvre.<sup>72</sup>

Fortune is posited as the daughter of the Devil, for Christine cannot find anything written to indicate that God would create anything as negative as this fickle goddess. Indeed, Christine claims that the Devil created Fortune to cause harm and mischief to everyone, be they deserving or not, until the end of time:

Ce fist elle comme muable,  
Si croy que fille du deable  
Soit, car, en quelconques lettre  
8204 Je ne truis, ne prose, ne metre,  
Ne escript, qui dye, ne preuve  
Que Dieu, qui de riens fait toute oeuvre  
Bonne et prouffitable, formast  
8208 Oncques Fortune, ne amast;  
Si croy que deable la feist,  
Affin qu'elle tout bien deffeist,  
Et pour homme mettre en servage,  
8212 Car il n'est honte, ne dommage,  
Ne meschief, qui a homs n'aviengne  
Par Fortune (a tous en souviengne!)  
Et aux meilleurs, et jour, et nuit,  
8216 Trop plus qu'aux pires elle nuit.  
Si n'aura pas peu de duree  
Son influence desreë[e],  
Ains jusqu'au jour du jugement  
8220 Durera son gouvernement<sup>73</sup>

Thus Fortune, from the time of her birth, reigns and governs on earth, raising some on her wheel and casting others down. Essentially Christine is writing a history of the world in which unstable Fortune and her activities are blamed for the many difficulties and reversals experienced by humanity:

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<sup>72</sup>Solente, Mutacion, Vol.2, P.138.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.138.



8400           Ainsi savons par l'escripture  
                   Combien cestui siecle a duré,  
                   Ou l'en a mains maux endureé  
                   Par Fortune, qui est muable,  
 8404           Ne nul jour n'est constant n'estable.<sup>74</sup>

Christine proceeds to recount the history of ancient peoples culminating in a history of Babylon at which point Christine announces that she will digress to give a history of the Jews. This history is told from the mediaeval Christian perspective which perceived the Jews as culpably responsible for the death of Christ. Thus Christine claims that the adversities suffered by the Jews were deserved and were initiated and consented to by God. This abrogates Fortune's responsibility for capriciously inflicting adversity on the Jews, since she was merely executing God's judgements:

8420           En touchant les vrayes histoires  
                   Des Juifs anciennes et voires,  
                   Car leurs fais et prosperitez,  
                   Ou leurs grandes adversitez,  
                   A Fortune je n'enjoing mie,  
 8424           Car Dieux, cui la loy ert amie,  
                   Les punissoit et meritoit,  
                   Selon leur dessarte, et metoit  
                   Puis hault ou bas, selon leur vice  
 8428           Ou merite, par sa justice.  
                   Combien que je pourroie dire,  
                   Ce me semble que Nostre Sire  
                   Consentoit, selon leur desertes,  
 8432           Que Fortune gaignes et pertes  
                   Leur envoyast, comme le juge  
                   Consent au bourrel qu'il desluge  
                   Le pecheur, aussi l'opposite  
 8436           Consent: au bon donner merite.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.144.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.145.

J.M.A. Beer sees this transference of responsibility as severely detrimental to Christine's premiss in this text that Fortune is the central force in history:

This shift in the characterization of Fortune, from omnipotently willful deity to subservient instrument of God's providential plan, resulted in several structural retakes and in methodological ambivalence.<sup>82</sup>

and:

Her disdainful rejection of Jewish history (although typical of her century) is now, not only offensive, but it is also aesthetically disastrous, sabotaging the unity of La mutacion de Fortune and calling into question the characterization of Fortune as its Prime Mover.<sup>83</sup>

Certainly Christine's allocation of responsibility for events in Jewish history to God rather than to Fortune, diverges from her general claim that Fortune is the principal moving force in the events of history. However, Christine has already undermined Fortune's power by stating, in Part III (lines 6,757-6,796), that God is responsible for exercising justice and that Fortune merely works as a lieutenant of God with regard to trivial earthly matters. In addition, Christine refers to groups other than the Jews being punished by the hand of God rather than by Fortune. For instance, Christine notes that people who rebel against their natural lords *should* receive punishment from God:

4124 (Et Dieu leur doint de leur meffait  
Punicion, selon le fait,  
Quant au corps! Dieu pardoint a l'ame!)  
Car aucune pitié nul ame  
Ne doit avoir d'un traicteur,  
Qui de tel meffait est traicteur;<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>J.M.A. Beer, 'Stylistic conventions in "La Mutacion de Fortune"', in Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan, ed. E.J. Richards (Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1992), P.128.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., P.134.

<sup>84</sup>Solente, Mutacion, Vol.1, P.148.

Thus Christine does not single out only the Jews for special punishment from God, nor is this Christine's only lapse in allocating supreme power to Fortune in this text. However, such inconsistency between allocating power to Fortune or to God <sup>does</sup> illustrate that Christine is still unsure or ambivalent about the appropriate assignment of responsibility for earthly events. Indeed, later in this history of the Jews Fortune, not God, is once more credited with raising and lowering princes:

8444            Si vous vueil des rois raconter  
                 Et des princes, que hault monter  
                 Fist Fortune, par sa puissance,  
                 Et descendre, par mescheance;<sup>85</sup>

This illustrates yet again Christine's continuing confusion over the relative powers of Fortune and God.

During this section, Christine falls ill and since, as she states, she then finds composing in rhyme too difficult, she continues her story in prose, mixing mythology with biblical history, until she finally concludes Part IV. Fortune is not explicitly mentioned in the last 23 pages.

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Part V of the Mutacion deals with the history of other ancient nations and sees Christine resume her work in rhyme as she has recovered from the illness which had weakened her. She talks of how Covetousness spread such a desire for honour and power within the human heart that the strong and mighty wished to subjugate the less able. This

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.146.

led to oppression and wars, causing all peoples to wish for strong leaders to control and defend their countries. These leadership positions eventually became hereditary:

8776 Et, depuis, ainsi d'oir en hoir  
Sont les princes continuez,  
Fors ceulx qui esté desnuez  
Ont par Fortune de leurs terres,  
Ou par trahison, ou par guerres.<sup>86</sup>

Thus Fortune controlled such earthly sovereignties. This leads Christine into a lengthy history of Assyria, Persia and ancient Greece. After discussing the Assyrian defeat of Babylon, Christine assesses the rewards of Fortune in the worldly sphere as worth little, short-lived and too costly.

Christine continues her history while demonstrating that Fortune is responsible. She shows that even the most powerful nations can perish, thus yet again illustrating the instability of Fortune and stressing that one should not place faith in her:

9212 Ja n'aroie tout assouvi,  
Se je vouloie tout escripre,  
Si me souffit, sanz plus, de dire  
Comment les plus grans seigneuries  
Vindrent et puis furent peries,  
Pour donner exemple comment  
9216 Fortune change en un moment,  
Par quoy fier on ne s'i doit,  
Car plus paye qu'elle ne doit,  
Mais la paye souvent est dure,  
9220 Tout couviengne il que l'en l'endure.<sup>87</sup>

Christine surely means that contemporary France should pay heed to her warnings since even strong, proud nations can be toppled. As her history proceeds, finally reaching

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.176.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.190.

that of ancient Greece, the mutable nature of Fortune is emphasised many times to show that she should not be trusted. There continue to be a scattering of direct references to Fortune in Part V, reminding us that these historical anecdotes are portraits of the influence of Fortune but these are mostly short references stating that Fortune does or does not favour some great figure in his or her venture. No original or in-depth treatments of the goddess appear in these references.

In fact, there are only 32 brief references to Fortune in the remaining 4,231 lines of Part V. These lines comprise 140 pages of Volume II. Meseür is mentioned only once. Of these 32 references, only three are positive and three are neutral. (The neutral examples mention Fortune only to remind us that these histories are depicted in the great hall of Fortune's castle). However, six examples refer to Fortune's influence turning from positive to negative and 20 references are negative. Thus Christine continues to stress the negative aspect of Fortune's actions throughout Part V. This is perhaps surprising given the subject matter. It might be presumed that in war or matters of state, where one loses, another wins, and therefore there would be an equal opportunity for Fortune to be depicted as positive. Yet Christine utilizes the theme of Fortune much more often when a loss is being discussed.

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Part VI of the Mutacion comprises lines 13,457 to 18,244 which appear at the beginning of Volume III of Solente's edition. In this part, Christine provides us with histories of the Amazons and of Troy. Despite the extent of Part VI, it yields few direct references to Fortune, there being only 25 references in all. There are also five references to Meseür. Of the 25 references to Fortune, there are no positive references present, only two neutral

references and five examples of Fortune's changeability, concentrating on the switch from positive to negative. Again, by far the largest number of references are negative, there being 18 in all. Thus it appears that Fortune is being referred to less often and is being depicted in a more consistently negative manner than in earlier parts of Christine's history.

The first direct reference to Fortune in this part appears only after 24 pages of text. It is a negative reference found in a discussion of Hercules and, like most of the references in Part V, it is quite short and casual:

14036            Fortune, qui moult se disguise,  
                  Qui tant d'onneur lui ot donné,  
                  L'a bien or en dur point mené!<sup>88</sup>

This reference is a typical example showing the fickle nature of Fortune without introducing any new thinking about Fortune. In fact none of the references in Part VI do.

Part VI concludes the history of Troy and ends with Ulysses' return to Greece and to his wife, Penelope.

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Part VII, the last part of Christine's work, comprises lines 18,245 to 23,636 of the Mutacion. It begins on page 171 of Solente's Volume III which contains lines 18,245 to 21,248, and continues in Volume IV which contains lines 21,249 to 23,636. Most of Part VII is dedicated to Christine's retelling the history of the Romans and of Alexander. At the end of the work, however, Christine includes a discussion of contemporary European history.

In Part VII, there are 53 explicit references to Fortune and none to Meseür. Of these references, ten are positive, four are neutral, 19 refer to the changeability of Fortune, and 20

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<sup>88</sup>Ibid., Vol.3, P.24.

are negative. Thus, yet again, Fortune is predominantly used when illustrating negative situations. In addition to these short references, the entire last chapter is dedicated to the topic of Fortune as Christine concludes her work and rather briefly ties up her treatment of the goddess.

As in Parts V and VI there is a paucity of references to Fortune while Christine is discussing ancient history. It seems that Christine makes less of an effort to tie the theme of Fortune directly into this part of her narrative. Nevertheless, Fortune is still to be assumed the pivotal force in these historic narratives, given the introductory statement that these scenes from history are all illustrations of her influence. There is, however, a dramatic increase in the number of references to Fortune once Christine begins to discuss contemporary history. The section on contemporary history comprises lines 23,277 to 23,636. Nineteen of the 53 references to Fortune in Part VII occur in this section, or, 35.85% of the references occur in only 6.66 % of the lines. Thus it would appear that as the historic events described are closer to Christine's own experience, her preoccupation with Fortune reappears. As noted in Chapter Two, Christine uses the theme of Fortune more heavily when she is experiencing strong emotions such as grief, anger and frustration. Such an increase in references to Fortune is consistent then with the fact that Christine was more concerned and emotionally involved with these contemporary events than with those from ancient history.

The section on contemporary history begins with a neutral example of Fortune, in that we are merely being reminded that Christine is deriving all of her material from the Palais aux Aventures:

Ces ystoires je vy, et maintes  
Aultres, figurees et peintes

23280            En la sale, que j'ay descrite,  
                  Ou Fortune maint et habite.<sup>89</sup>

An example of a positive reference occurs in the discussion of the queen of Naples who was highly favoured by Fortune:

23396            La royne de Naples vy  
                  En grant estat, je vous plevy,  
                  A la court ma dame Fortune.  
                  Ou monde, n'yert dame nesune  
                  Que ma dame plus honorast,  
                  Et, par semblant, autant amast!<sup>90</sup>

Fortune's tendency to cease bestowing her favours on any given individual is exemplified in Christine's discussion of English history with an illustration of Fortune's abandoning King Richard:

23504            Ha! Fortune la desloyale!  
                  Comme au roy Richart fus tu male,  
                  A qui longtemps esté amie  
                  Avoyes, mes ne faillis mie  
                  De le destruire, a dure honte!<sup>91</sup>

Christine turns to discussing the contemporary French political situation and includes the following example of Fortune's negative influence:

23548            Son filz, roy Charles le .VI.<sup>e</sup>,  
                  Couronner, en gloire haultiesme,  
                  En aage de .XII. ans, je vy,  
                  Et moult eust esté assouvy  
                  Prince en toute grace, sanz doubte,  
                  Se Fortune, qui n'y voit goutte,

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., Vol.4, P.68.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., Vol.4, P.72.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., Vol.4, P.75.



Ne l'eust grevé de maladie,<sup>92</sup>

These examples are not in any way original in treatment but merely illustrate those routine activities performed by Fortune to which we have already become accustomed. The only interesting feature is the increased incidence of references to Fortune once Christine's contemporary history is broached.

The last chapter concludes the work with a final account of Fortune and her home. Christine ties in the original thread of her narrative by again talking of her service to Dame Fortune after her husband's untimely death. She reiterates how Fortune has harried and oppressed her for many years but then observes with resignation that Fortune treats many others the same way:

23600       Jusqu'au jour d'uy encor y suy,  
              Ou un mesme stile adés suy,  
              Servant ma maistrece Fortune,  
              Mais tousdiz suis en sa rancune;  
23604       Si me paye de moult souffrir,  
              Ne je ne me puis tant offrir  
              A servir et faire debvoir  
              Que je puisse aulcun bien avoir,  
              Car tout desrompt sa faulse brace  
23608       Quanque bastis et quanque embrace,  
              Mais a maint fait elle ce tour.<sup>93</sup>

Christine ends her work by explaining that her personal choice of action to remedy the nefarious effects of Fortune and Meseür, has been withdrawal to solitude and study. Thus although Christine has posited the path of Juste Vie as the best, it appears that she has herself chosen to follow the path of Grant Science:

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid., Vol.4, P.77.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., Vol.4, P.79.

Et, pour ce que partout Meseur  
Frequante, pour avoir moins noyse,  
23632 Nonobstant que partout il voise,  
J'ay choisie pour toute joye  
(Quelqu'aultre l'ait), telle est la moye,  
23636 Paix, solitude volontaire,  
Et vie astracte [et] solitaire.<sup>94</sup>

In the Mutacion then, Christine informs us that she has adopted the second traditional remedy to Fortune, that of prudence, through the pursuit of reason and wisdom. This conclusion to the work comes quite abruptly after such an extensive history, the link back to Fortune seeming to be made rather hastily.

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Fortune is, then, the central theme in this text, being represented as a pivotal force in both Christine's life and in world history. This is a clear indication of how strongly Christine believes Fortune to have been instrumental in the events of her own life and in those in the society around her. Fortune is here depicted in much the same vein as in earlier works, that is, she is in charge of transitory earthly benefits, capricious in their distribution, and not to be trusted since such happiness as she gives, she may quickly take back. Overall, Christine's treatment and description of Fortune in the Mutacion is typically pagan. Certainly Christine takes care to explain God's ultimate supremacy over Fortune and his tolerance of her interference in earthly details, but, during both ancient and Christian history, Fortune is depicted as acting in traditionally pagan style.

However, there are some interesting differences between the Fortune of the Mutacion and Fortune as Christine has previously depicted her. The first significant difference of

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<sup>94</sup>Ibid., Vol.4, Pp.79-80.

treatment in this work is that Fortune is shown in a sympathetic light on several occasions. Not only is she benign towards Christine in her childhood, but on the death of Christine's husband (which is caused by Fortune) Fortune paradoxically experiences pity towards her. This pity is born of Fortune's close relationship with Christine and leads her to help Christine by giving her the means to survive. This is a thoroughly novel and surprising treatment of this goddess. It is evident from the frequency and intensity with which Christine discusses Fortune in earlier works that she identified strongly with Fortune and felt personally touched by the activities of the goddess. In the Mutacion, however, Christine has evolved from blaming Fortune for depriving her of her comfortable life to perceiving that Fortune was thus concurrently responsible for giving her those gifts which she now so treasures. Christine has apparently come to recognise that she possesses her prized independence and learning only as a result of her personal tragedy. This recognition of the dual nature of Fortune's 'persecution' of Christine, has perhaps urged her to depict the goddess as a more sympathetic character.

A second difference noted in the Mutacion is that Fortune and her world are developed in such great depth of allegorical detail. Perhaps Christine developed this intricate world to help her to understand and come to terms with every aspect of Fortune.

The principal difference between this and other works, however, is the use to which Christine puts Fortune. Whereas Fortune has previously been used as a vehicle for Christine to vent her anger and frustration, the goddess is now used primarily as a vehicle through which Christine can promote her ideas and comment on a number of contemporary issues.

In so doing, Christine hopes to influence her readers into her way of thinking. She thus uses the concept of Fortune as a didactic tool.

Christine's main intent in retelling the history of the world is to convince her audience, primarily the French ruling class, of the need to reform its ways to avert disaster in French history. This is clearly expressed in the last chapter of the Mutacion when Christine addresses herself to the princes who live in the high tower of Fortune and exhorts them to think about the precariousness of their lodgings and situation:

23612 Vous, princes de la haulte tour,  
Considerez un peu, au mains,  
Se a grant seurté les humains  
Sont, qui servent a tel dongier!  
Pueut on la seurement logier?  
23616 Consideré les choses dictes,  
Sont ses mutacions petites?  
Se doit homs donques orgueillir  
Pour tel bien, qui tost peut faillir?  
23620 Certes nennil, car seureté  
N'y a, et fors maleürté.<sup>95</sup>

Christine thus asks if, on the basis of her history, these mighty people believe that their situation is secure. She reminds them not to be arrogant as they too can fall from grace, there being no certainty and much unhappiness to be had by those who aspire to Fortune's heights. In addition to this general intent of exhorting the princes and ruling class to consider the national interests over their own, Christine also attempts to inculcate the need for reform and change in some other specific areas.

One such area in which Christine advocates reform is the Church. She criticises the clergy's corruption and preoccupation with wealth several times in the Mutacion. Christine

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid., Vol.4, P.79.

first indicates that the Church has short-comings in lines 1,646-1,651, by stating that Dame Richesse has bishops, archbishops, cardinals and popes in her accounting room. Christine even speculates that these clerics probably serve Dame Richesse more than God. This is obviously a criticism of the Church's preoccupation with money and riches. Also, when describing the path of Juste Vie, Christine comments on the fact that no priests currently choose this route:

3304            Par ce chemin, que je vous dis,  
                 Monterent les prelas jadis  
                 Mesmement es donjons ma dame,  
                 Mais, a present, il n'i monte ame.<sup>96</sup>

We are told in lines 3,621-3,626 that many of Holy Church's priests are housed in the highest reaches of Fortune's tower in spacious, beautiful apartments. In fact, Christine notes that more priests live there than in the past but she hints that Fortune may have more to do with this than the Holy Ghost, indicating yet again the material interests of the priesthood.

While analysing the different social levels to be found in Fortune's tower, Christine discusses the papal schism and its deleterious effects in some detail. In lines 4,291-4,352 she talks of the very highest seat being disputed by two popes, neither of whom will relinquish it, each claiming it by right. Christine implies that these two contenders are avaricious and ambitious by telling us that they are encouraged in this behaviour by Dame Richesse. These two popes thus divide the world, each having their own people, estates and supporters. Christine boldly goes on to describe the servants of these two popes in very unflattering terms:

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.121.

N'il n'est ambicion, ne vice,  
 Mauvais pechié, ne faulx malice,  
 Sacrilège, ne simonie,  
 4368 Dont toute la terre est honnie,  
 Que le renom ne cuere a plain  
 Qu'aulcuns en soient comble et plain,  
 Et des princes sont conseillers  
 4372 Plusieurs plus remplis que celiers  
 De vins et toute desmesure  
 De gloutonnie et de luxure  
 Et de tous les mortieulx pechiez;  
 4376 Et tel gent sont du mond les chiefs!<sup>97</sup>

Christine thus laments that this priesthood has any influence over the common people, commenting that it is no wonder that the body of society is twisted and deformed when its head is so vile. Indeed, many clerics even become involved in cruelty and murder, thus damning themselves in order to gain money and power. Christine deplores their lack of faith, comparing them to the scribes and Pharisees. Christine later credits Fortune for giving these uneducated and vice-ridden priests their positions:

6132 Mais Fortune si les a mis  
 En office, par quelque amis.<sup>98</sup>

However, Christine maintains her orthodoxy by stressing that she does not want to defame the angelic order, she only wishes to remove the vices that abound in the clergy. She proceeds to note that there are also good people in this number:

4468 Et des bons en est mains, sanz faille,  
 A qui desplait qu'ainsi deffaille  
 Vraye union et bonnes meurs  
 Et qui preudes hommes et meurs  
 Sont, et servent par bonne entente

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<sup>97</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.6.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.64.

4472 Dieu, a qui ilz ont leur attente,  
 Et mainent belle et bonne vie  
 Et ont desir et grant envie  
 Que soit Scisme osté et paix mise  
 4476 Et tel pestilence desmise.<sup>99</sup>

The church is not alone in receiving Christine's attention. While she criticises the priesthood for being poor leaders for the common people, she also criticises the populace for not having due respect for their natural leaders. Christine's own experience of civil strife led her to have a thorough commitment to the pursuit of peace and stability founded on political conservatism. She expresses her strong aversion to popular rebellions thus:

Il n'est meschief pareil a l'ire  
 De gent de peuple rebellé;  
 4080 Ilz n'i gardent ne lonc, ne lé,  
 Rime, ne raison, ne concorde,  
 Ne pitié, ne misericorde,  
 Ne paour d'encourir meschiefs,  
 4084 Neant plus que chiens enragiez.<sup>100</sup>

Christine sees such behaviour as particularly base, inhumane and unreasonable. Christine goes on to stress that the people owe fealty to their lords, especially if these leaders are good and humane in their treatment of their vassals. Christine notes in lines 3,881 to 3,926 that the great lords receive the greatest amount of riches as everyone has to pay them their due. However, in return the prince has a duty to maintain justice and keep his people at peace, defending them from their enemies.

Christine also sees the need for her society to reform its treatment of women. By the time that she writes the Mutacion, Christine has gained enough confidence in her authorial

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.9-10.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.147.

voice to be an advocate for women. While discussing Povreté's door, she draws from her own bitter experience and comments on the pitiful situation of poor widows and orphans:

2680 De femmes vesves, d'orphelins,  
Qui n'ont argent, fours, ne molins,  
Ne granches, ne terres, n'ostelz,  
(Meseür leur a tous ostez,  
Sanz leur laisser vaillant .II. miches)  
Et ja furent leurs peres riches  
D'offices et de grans estas.<sup>101</sup>

Thus many widows who have once been rich arrive at Povreté's door and despite their struggles to escape, Meseür pushes them through. Later, Christine says she is drawn through nature and pity to talk of other miseries that can befall women:

6944 Mais pour ce que les destinees  
Me semblent moult infortunees  
Souvent avient dessus le sexe  
Femenin, me plaist que j'ennexe  
En mon dit un pou de la male  
6948 Fortune, qui femmes ravale,  
Car Nature et pitié m'y tire,  
Qui me fait plaindre leur martire.<sup>102</sup>

She lists in lines 6,951-6,977 the many marital problems that can plague a woman. These include having a husband who beats her for no reason, insults her or acts jealously. He may gamble away all his money at dice or get drunk and pick fights causing the children to howl. The wife of such a man, Christine tells us, lives in constant fear.

Christine, in lines 6,983-7,052, delves into her own experience to discuss the ill fortune of women who lose a good husband, saying that these widows may deservedly claim

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<sup>101</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Pp.99-100.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, Pp.91-92.



that Fortune has victimised them. Such a widow will be taken to court, disinherited and impoverished, as relatives and alleged debtors claim that the husband owed them money. Many who had flattered and honoured her when her husband was alive will now reject her. Widows, we are told, are not protected by the king, the nobility, or the system of justice unless they have the means to pay. Those with beauty or youth, will find men willing to counsel them but such counsel leads only to shame. These widows know that there is no charity to be found, their only comfort being crying and tears.

Thus Christine uses Fortune to illustrate not only those errors that have been made in the past but also those that she perceives in contemporary French society. Christine further wants to offer solutions to the problems that she sees in, and foresees for, France. In fact, Christine suggests using all three of the traditional remedies to the earthly activities of Fortune. She suggests the practice of the first traditional remedy, that of fortitude, on several occasions. For instance, while describing Eür's behaviour, Christine encourages us to accept his changeable actions with resignation:

2092            Mais son amour n'est pas durable,  
                  Ains plus que la lune muable.  
                  Ainsi Eür des gens s'envole,  
                  Dont il est trop folx qui s'affolle  
                  Ne de l'aler, ne du retour.<sup>103</sup>

Thus we are exhorted to endure patiently and stoically those capricious changes which are beyond our control.

Christine tells us at the end of the Mutacion that she has chosen to lead a life of solitary study. Such study might not only be termed humanistic but also representative of a

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<sup>103</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.80.

traditional remedy to Fortune since the pursuit of wisdom through the development of one's intellect and reason is the embodiment of the second traditional remedy to Fortune, that of prudence. This decision to reject pursuing fragile happiness in the form of wealth and position, in favour of the peace and stability of study and the solitary life, underscores Christine's faith in the effectiveness of such activities of the mind as a remedy to Fortune's vicissitudes. Not only does Christine hope to benefit herself by this remedy of prudence but she hopes to lead the French nation to make use of it. She thus attempts to teach the French to think and act with humility and rational thought in order to avoid the pitfalls of the past which she has just, so thoroughly, recounted in her universal history.

The allegories of the four paths show that Christine perceives the path of Juste Vie, which is available to all levels of society, to be the most certain, noble and worthwhile. Thus she promotes the third remedy of spiritual devotion as the best way to obviate the influence of Fortune and reach Paradise. Indeed, Christine's most sustained argument in the Mutacion is that Fortune's gifts are deceptive and transitory. Since they are therefore ultimately unsatisfactory, they should not be over-valued, but eschewed. Instead, virtue is to be pursued and prized.

Christine thus refutes the concept that humanity's life on earth is totally under the control of Fortune's will, since these various remedies can be exercised against it.

To sum up what has been said up to this point, while Fortune is presented in much of the Mutacion in a role with which we have become familiar (she is double-edged and unstable) and the remedies against her reflect those previously discussed, a number of new elements can be seen emerging in Christine's handling of Fortune. Firstly, Fortune is

presented more sympathetically, in that she is seen to be the source of a new orientation in Christine's life that might never have occurred had it not been for the adversities to which she was obliged to react. In the Mutacion, Christine's attitude to Fortune has evolved from bitter emotional lamentations and accusations to a reluctant recognition that Fortune is also responsible for her new life: her strength, her independence, her literary success and thus her new-found satisfactions. Christine is coming to accept that she has attained those things that she now loves, through the loss of those things that she had previously loved, her privileged life and her husband. She is thus at a mid-point in her relationship with Fortune as, fluctuating between regret for the past and an appreciation of her new life, she struggles to understand Fortune's influence on both. This development in all probability represents a clearer understanding on Christine's part that adversity has to be seen in a longer-term and wider context.

Secondly, Christine clearly makes extensive use in this text of the theme of Fortune for didactic purposes. Not only does Christine address particular areas of concern including, as we have seen, her concern with ecclesiastical corruption, the papal schism, popular rebellions and the situation of women, but she hopes to influence the French ruling class in general to amend their ambitious and self-seeking ways and so save themselves and France from impending destruction. This highlights Christine's concern to go beyond the problems of her own predicament to confront much wider issues that can nevertheless, she would claim, be addressed and at least partially solved by recourse to the same qualities that proved to be effective remedies at the level of the individual, that is: patience, reason and virtue.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CHRISTINE'S USE OF FORTUNE: 1403-1429

To-day is not yesterday: we ourselves change; how can our Works and Thoughts, if they are always to be the fittest, continue always the same? Change, indeed, is painful; yet ever needful; and if Memory have its force and worth, so also has Hope.

Carlyle, Essays: Characteristics

This chapter will study Christine's use of the theme of Fortune in the works that she wrote between her writing of the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune and her death, that is, those works written between 1403 and 1429<sup>1</sup>. The theme will be studied according to the same criteria as those described in the introduction to Chapter Two. It will be seen that, as time goes on, Christine puts greater weight on remedies and less stress on complaints.

The first work from this period is entitled the Livre du duc des vrais amans and was written between 1403 and 1405. In it, Christine depicts a love affair between a young duke and a married lady. Christine expresses her views on the dangers of such a liaison, indicating that a lady should reject such a profane love in favour of the satisfactions achieved by fulfilling her wifely, domestic duties.

Despite the extensive length of the work which comprises 149 pages in Roy's edition, it only contains three references to Fortune.<sup>2</sup> The following example arises when the lady has to return home as her husband has been alerted to the affair. The lover speaks:

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<sup>1</sup>For a chronological list of the works and all references see Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup>Due to the large number of references to Fortune found in works from this period (184), only the more illustrative and interesting examples will be discussed. For a complete list of the references, see Appendix A.

1490 Ha! mesdisans, ceste euvre avez bastie  
 Et pour ma mort forgé[e] a dure enclume;  
 Fortune s'est a mon mal consentie,  
 Qui chiere n'a ne ma char ne ma plume.  
 Or n'y sçaye voye  
 1495 Fors que morir, Dieu pri qu'il m'y convoye,  
 Car sans vous n'est riens qui me peust souffire.  
 Hé las! comment vous pourray je a Dieu dire!<sup>3</sup>

He accuses Fortune of causing his death by separating him from his lover, thus yet again the trio of Fortune, Love and Death is brought together.

The lady also blames Fortune when her confidante, who arranges the lovers' trysts, has to leave:

3125 Joye ainsi me fu donnée,  
 Com vous oez, et mennée  
 Fu par moy leesce et feste.  
 Mais Fortune, qui est preste,  
 Quant elle puet, de destruire  
 3130 Les amants, me cuida nuire  
 Tost après assez griefment,<sup>4</sup>

This example illustrates yet again the familiar theme of Fortune being envious of the happiness of lovers, as she changes the lady's joy to grief.

All three references found in the Livre du duc des vrais amants are negative examples of Pagan Fortune.

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In 1404 Christine wrote the Epistre à Eustache Mourel. This is an epistle to the celebrated poet, Eustache Deschamps, whose treatise on poetry had influenced Christine's

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<sup>3</sup>Roy, Oeuvres poétiques, Vol.3, P.104.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Vol.3, P.159.

early works. Christine presents herself as a disciple of Deschamps and mirrors a favourite theme of the poet by criticizing contemporary manners. In this poem, which comprises only 212 lines, there is one reference to Fortune. This example alludes to the positive actions of Pagan Fortune. Christine laments that poor orphans and widows do not receive help and comfort in their distress, but she nevertheless credits Fortune with enabling her, a poor widow, to master knowledge. This acquisition of learning was something which Christine valued highly:

180                   Et ce puis pour certain tenir,  
                           Car bien m'en sçay a quoy tenir,  
                           Et Fortune m'a fait maistresce  
                           Du sçavoir par preuve, mais très ce  
                           Que fus en ses liens liée  
                           Nul ne vint plus a chiere liée  
                           M'offrir confort en bonne entente  
 185                   Fors puet estre ainsi comme en tente  
                           Les simples pour les decepvoir,<sup>5</sup>

Shortly after Fortune is introduced in the poem, Christine talks of her own continuing troubles and her need to exercise patience. Thus Christine appears to believe that patience, which is considered an attribute of the ancient, stoic remedy of fortitude, can be effective against Fortune. However, Christine must also perceive patience as an attribute of the remedy of spiritual devotion since she asks Deschamps to pray to God to give her the patience that she needs:

200                   Et de telz annuis encor ay je  
                           Dont je te pri de bon couraige  
                           Que Dieux pries que pacience  
                           M'i doint, car je n'ay pas science  
                           De toudis me tenir com forte

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.300.

En patience qui conforte.<sup>6</sup>

Whether or not Christine primarily views patience as a classical or Christian virtue, she here states categorically that the exercise of patience is a comfort against troubles. Since Christine believes that God can provide this remedy against Fortune, she evidently views God as stronger than the goddess.

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In the same year, 1404, Christine was commissioned by Philippe le Hardi to write the biography of Charles V, the Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V. This is the first work Christine wrote entirely in prose. There are 14 references to Fortune. Of these, 12 allude to the negative influence of Fortune and only two to the positive. Thus, although this text deals with the events of Charles V's life and not with her own, Christine continues to display a generally negative attitude to the workings of Fortune. Of the 12 negative references, three have some mention of God in the passage.

The first reference describes how the French nation and its kings descend from the Trojans and provides an example of Fortuna Publica:

De la noble royal ligniée da la renommée Troye, jadis par variacion de Fortune destruite des Grioux, par divine voulenté, au salut des universes terres remplir de nobles nacions, se partirent plusieurs barons nez de la lignée roial, avec multitude de gent, expandens en diverses contrées,...<sup>7</sup>

Here Fortune's variability or fickleness is responsible for the downfall of the Trojans, with the Greeks being used as the instrument of their defeat. Divine will, on the other hand,

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.301.

<sup>7</sup>S. Solente, ed., "Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V" par Christine de Pisan, Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris: Champion, 1936), Vol.1, Part 1, Chap.V, Pp.12-13.

is apparently responsible for the birth of the French nation from these defeated Trojans. Thus Christine blames Fortune for the fall of Troy and yet credits God with the birth of the great French nation. Indeed, it appears that Christine considers God to be responsible for the continued nobility of the French nation despite Fortune's attempts at upsets:

*Ainsi fu le commencement de celle noble nacion françoise couronnée d'ancienne noblece, laquelle (Dieux mercis!), d'oir en hoir, est continuée, maulgré les flocs de la descordable Fortune, jusques cy en amendent en bien, à laquelle chose Dieux ottroit tousjours accroissement de gloire jusques au terme des cieulx!*<sup>8</sup>

God and Fortune are therefore not only quite separate but in opposition. Thus both of these references are considered examples of Pagan Fortune. This is unusual as most of the pagan references to Fortune do not have any mention of God and could therefore be dismissed as mere poetic formulae if Christine's detractors were to accuse her of unorthodoxy. However, in both of the above references there is definite competition between the two powers, God and Fortune.

Another example of Fortune and God being discussed together occurs in a passage describing how Charles reacts courageously in the face of adversity. In this example, however, God is shown to be more powerful than Fortune:

*...par ces signes, qui en homme fort doivent apparoir, povons tel nostre roy prover en touz ses fais, par especial en procès de ses guerres, es quelles n'est nulle doute, et le contraire seroit impossible, que souventes fois n'en oist des nouvelles moult pesans et dures, selon l'entregiet de Fortune, qui communement gouverne adventures, non obstant la Dieu grace, au desrain, le meilleur estoit communement pour le dit roy; avoit à la fois contre lui des desconfitures, son pais ars et mal mis, de ses gens, amis et familliers, qu'il amoit de grant amour, pris et occis; dont lui plein de toute pitié et compassion avoit au cuer de grans pointures; mais pourtant, quelque adversité qu'il eust, la commune semblance de sa chiere n'en fust muée, ne flechissoit contre la*

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Part 1, Chap.V, Pp.13-14.



constance de son juste affermé propos, ouquel n'estoit recreu en labour, soing et despense de la deffense de son peuple...<sup>9</sup>

Fortune is credited with causing Charles V major setbacks in war despite the fact that in the end, by the grace of God, he had the best of the situation. God is thus perceived as supreme and Fortune as only in control of adventures or the sphere of petty worldly events. This example is therefore classified as Christian Fortune.

In the remaining nine negative references, there are no allusions to God in the surrounding text; we are therefore dealing with examples of Pagan Fortune. There are the usual descriptions of Fortune as diverse, male, and contraire. Some again link Fortune with Death, some have a battle theme and there is mention of remedies against Fortune in others.

In the following passage, which occurs after a description of Charles' good and just behaviour, there is an echo of Christine's earlier bitter descriptions of Fortune as persecutor:

Par maintes particularitez pourrions trouver exemples de la juste voullenté du sage roy, lesquelz je laisse pour cause de briefté; mais, pour conclurre de ce en brief, comme justice soit ordre, mesure et balance de toutes choses rendre à chascun selon son droit, comme dist Saint Bernard, n'est pas doubte que par ycelle bien tenir vint a chief de ses adversitez non pas petites, et adnyenti les flos de male Fortune, soubz quel subgecion avoit esté degieté par long espace<sup>10</sup>

Both of the positive references represent Pagan Fortune. One appears in a discussion of Charles' coronation and yields a good description of the two-faced goddess:

...que tres donc Fortune au double visage volt à France commencer à demoustrer et faire luire le ray du soleil de sa riant et belle face, lequel par long temps avoit esté en ce reame couvert de tres nubileuses et infortunées nues...<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Part 2, Chap.XXIX, Pp.212-213.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Part 1, Chap.XXIII, Pp.62-63.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Part 2, Chap.V, P.121.

Thus the Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V yields a total of 13 examples of Pagan Fortune and only one example of Christian Fortune.

A new feature in this text is the large number of references to non-personalised fortune. There are two examples of non-personalised male fortune and 15 of bonne fortune. Thus there are 17 allusions to non-personalised fortune in this work alone, representing a high percentage of the total 62 such allusions in all of Christine's works. An example of such bonne fortune appears in the following discussion of the four attributes necessary to chivalry:

...entre les choses expedientes quatre ensemble en y a neccessaires, car sanz ycelles n'aperçoy et ne porroit estre le degré et tiltre de chivalerie honorée nullement acquis, ne accreu par quelconque voie, c'est assavoir: bonne fortune, sens, diligence et force...<sup>12</sup>

Another interesting feature of this bonne fortune is that it is sometimes given directly by God:

...et ce nous tesmoigne et fait certains la vraye experience, que nous sçavons clerement par la fin de ses glorieuses conquestes, des quelz fu principal capitaine sens, avec l'aide de Dieu, qui donne bonne fortune, diligence et force de soustenir les diversitez comprises en telles bellacions ou batailles;<sup>13</sup>

Good or bad fortune has so far been the gift of Fortune, either given outright by the Pagan goddess or given by the Christian Fortune with the pre-approval of God. There is, however, no hint of the personalised goddess, Fortune, in this passage. Perhaps this absence indicates the annihilation of the power of the goddess but, since the text also contains examples of personalised Fortune, one is inhibited from drawing such a conclusion.

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Part 2, Chap.III, P.117.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Part 2, Chap.III, P.118.

It is also worthy of note that whereas the references to Fortune are predominantly negative in effect, those fortune references attributed to God are predominantly positive. Thus Christine rails against Fortune rather than against God over bad fortune, but credits God rather than Fortune for good fortune!

Another change in treatment is indicated in the following passage where bonne fortune is said to be explicitly deserved by Charles' good acts and sanctioned by God, a total change from the usual concept of the goddess Fortune dealing out her goods capriciously and arbitrarily:

Ainsi comme ouir povez, par grace de Dieu et desserte du sage roy Charles, aloit tous les jours croissant l'augmentacion de sa bonne fortune...<sup>14</sup>

These new approaches may simply be due to the different nature of the work in that it is an official biography rather than a vehicle used by Christine to express her personal feelings on a given subject. However, they may represent an evolution in Christine's thinking about the distribution of good and bad fortune. There is now confusion over whether God or Fortune has the responsibility of distributing earthly gifts and whether or not they can be deserved. This may indicate a greater willingness to attribute to God rather than to Fortune control over the petty details of our earthly lives. Perhaps, as Christine has become more successful, she sees more good in events around her and sees God as more instrumental in distributing such good.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, Part 2, Chap.XXXVII, P.236.

Christine, gaining more confidence in her writing, continued to write didactic works in prose, the Livre de la cité des dames being written between 1404 and 1405. This work was studied in the modern French translation by T. Moreau and E. Hicks as no mediaeval French text was available to me.

This work is the most outright defence of the feminist cause written by Christine. Although she frequently defends women and condemns those who vilify them, this is the only text which has as its core and purpose the justification of the female sex as a worthwhile, productive and virtuous section of humanity, in no way inferior to men. Christine describes how she begins to read the Lamentations de Matheolus, a text which is particularly disparaging of women, and how she becomes distressed that so many authors discuss women so negatively. Christine does not overtly deny these authors their validity but states with some sarcasm that, since so many clever authors have accused women of being fundamentally evil, this premiss must be true. She expresses regret that she was born a woman and then questions how God could have created such an abjectly despicable creature:

Ah! Seigneur! Comment cela se peut-il? Comment croire, sans tomber dans l'erreur, que ton infinie sagesse et ta parfaite bonté aient pu créer quelque chose qui ne soit pas entièrement bon? N'as-tu pas créé la femme de propos délibéré? Et dès lors ne lui as-tu pas donné toutes les inclinations qu'il te plaisait qu'elle eût? Car comment serait-il possible que tu te sois jamais trompé?<sup>15</sup>

This passage is interesting in two ways. Firstly, by pointing out that God, who is perfect, designed and created woman, Christine cleverly enlists God Himself to her side in

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<sup>15</sup>T. Moreau and E. Hicks, trans., Le Livre de la cité des dames (Paris: Stock, 1986), Book 1, Chap.I, P.37.

defending women from the vilification they are subjected to.<sup>16</sup> She implies that as God cannot be wrong, the literary authorities must be. Christine is thus careful to have a powerful authority to support her as she attempts to dispute received attitudes. Secondly, by refusing to believe that God could possibly effect anything that was not good, Christine shows her unwillingness to err and stray from her faith. Where, then, does all the bad in the world come from? Since Christine evidently will not accuse God of this, it is convenient to blame the independent goddess, Fortune.

While thus immersed in thought, Christine is joined by three female figures, Raison, Droiture and Justice, who exhort her to have faith in her sex and proceed to refute misogyny by citing the many examples of women who had made positive contributions to humanity. Many of these examples are drawn from Boccaccio's text De claris mulieribus and Christine frequently gives credit to Boccaccio in the Livre de la cité des dames. However, Christine uses the examples of famous women which she borrows from Boccaccio for her own persuasive purposes, that is, to illustrate that women are truly worthy in themselves.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>This reasoning is similar to that found in the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune when Christine states that Fortune must have been made by the devil since God could not have made such a negative creature.

<sup>17</sup>J. Kellog in 'Christine de Pizan and Boccaccio: Rewriting Classical Mythical Tradition,' Pp.125-126, describes the contrast between Boccaccio's portrait of Nicaula, and Christine's thus: Boccaccio describes her as a wealthy and learned Ethiopian Queen. Marvelling at the fame of Solomon for wisdom, she travels to Jerusalem to hear him. He, in turn, marvels at her marvellous display of wealth, wealth that she shares with Solomon as a tribute to his greatness....In praising certain women, Boccaccio is, in essence, reinforcing a male value system and reproaching women generally, for women become remarkable precisely when they have overcome their natural female frailty and act like men. Christine, by contrast, makes her Nicaula second to no man....Christine expands upon Nicaula's legal, political, social, and intellectual accomplishments, and never mentions Solomon. She adds at the end, "she had so lofty a heart that she did not deign to marry, nor did she desire that any man be at her side."

There are 14 references to a personified Fortune in the Livre de la cité des dames. Of these 14 references, 12 are negative, one is positive, and one could be considered either positive or negative. Most of these references occur in anecdotes which refer to classical women with the exception of the many references that appear in the mediaeval story of Sigismonde and Guichard.

Several themes appear in the personified references. The theme of stormy seas appears three times while the most common theme is that of Love, which appears nine times. This may not seem surprising in a text dealing predominantly with women's issues in an era when love and emotional relationships were central to most women's lives. The theme of Death also appears, linked with battle in three references and linked with Love in another eight references. Thus we again see the appearance of the powerful triad of Fortune, Love and Death.

Many of the references are generated by the tales of two pairs of tragic lovers, both of which link Fortune to Love and Death. One of these pairs of lovers is the classical Héro and Léandre, whose situation is described as follows:

Les deux amants usèrent de ce stratagème pendant plusieurs années, jusqu'à ce que Fortune, jalouse de leurs plaisirs, résolut de les en priver. C'était au temps d'hiver, quand l'orage rend la mer périlleuse, grosse, agitée et forte.<sup>18</sup>

and:

Hélas! La malheureuse, qui redoutait de le voir s'exposer à de tels dangers et qui lui eût volontiers interdit de le faire, tenait la torche pour lui indiquer la direction, si jamais par malheur il tentait l'aventure. Mais Fortune perverse poussa Léandre à

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<sup>18</sup>Moreau and Hicks, Cité des dames, Book 2, Chap.LVIII, P.216.

braver les flots. Il ne pouvait lutter contre les courants qui le portèrent au large où il périt noyé.<sup>19</sup>

The theme of rough seas and storms which is also associated with Fortune's domain is clearly demonstrated here. Fortune, who is typically described as perverse and jalouse, is determined to bring the lovers' prolonged joy to an end.

The same motivation is attributed to Fortune in her dealings with the other pair of tragic lovers, Sigismonde and Guichard, whose story Christine quotes from Boccaccio's Decameron. In this tale, Fortune, who is yet again described as jalouse and perverse, decides to put an end to the happiness of yet another pair of lovers. Guichard is put to death by Sigismonde's father and Sigismonde subsequently takes her life to enable her to join her lover. These lovers generate four examples of Fortune's negative actions of which the following are typical:

Bref, leurs amours durèrent longtemps sans qu'aucun bruit se répande. Mais Fortune, jalouse de leurs plaisirs, ne voulut plus permettre aux amants de vivre dans la joie et transforma leur plaisir en la plus amère douleur<sup>20</sup>

and:

"Ah! coeur bien-aimé!...Le malheur a mis un terme tragique au cours de ta noble vie, mais Fortune la perverse est bafouée par la sépulture que ta valeur a méritée, aux yeux même de ton ennemi."<sup>21</sup>

and:

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., Book 2, Chap.LVIII, P.217.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., Book 2, Chap.LIX, P.219.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., Book 2, Chap.LIX, Pp.221-222.

"Cette Fortune félonne qui t'a tant nui sera une fois encore contrariée par le bonheur que mon cruel père t'a fait en t'envoyant vers moi"<sup>22</sup>

Thus, irked that the lovers have been happy too long, Fortune turns her wheel, bringing their love and happiness to a tragic end. Sigismonde feels, however, that Fortune is being frustrated in her intentions. Fortune is bafouée because Guichard's heart is sent to Sigismonde in such a deservedly splendid casket, and contrariée because, despite the fact that Sigismonde's father sent her Guichard's heart to shame and hurt her, she is in fact happy to be given the opportunity to receive it. This shows that Fortune is not all-powerful in that she can be thwarted.

Another example of Fortune being linked to Love concerns Zénobie, the queen of Palmyre. This is the only reference in the Livre de la cité des dames which has a positive influence:

La noble Zénobie était d'une beauté parfaite, tant de corps que de visage, mais elle n'en faisait aucun cas. Fortune lui sourit en lui accordant un époux conforme à son caractère et à la vie qu'elle s'était choisie.<sup>23</sup>

Here Christine uses the common image of Fortune smiling, when favourable, upon a mortal. This is a rather matter-of-fact comment on Zénobie's happy choice of husband and is the only example dealing with Love that does not also deal with Death.

Thus Death appears in eight out of nine references involving Love, two of the examples involving Love and Death also referring to the Fortune of Battle. The following is one example:

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., Book 2, Chap.LIX, P.222.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., Book 1, Chap.XX, P.81.



"Pourquoi Fortune me fut-elle si contraire qu'elle m'empêcha de me trouver à tes côtés quand ce traître te tendit cette embûche? Car ce ne serait jamais arrivé, et j'aurais su te protéger. Que n'est-il encore en vie, que je puisse venger ta mort et apaiser la colère et la douleur qui emplissent mon coeur en te voyant muet et sans vie, moi qui désirais tant te parler. Mais puisque Fortune en a ainsi décidé et qu'il ne peut en être autrement, je jure solennellement par tous nos dieux, je te promets et m'y engage fidèlement, je te vengerai et poursuivrai les Grecs de ma haine, tant qu'il me restera un souffle de vie."<sup>24</sup>

Here Penthésilée laments that she had not been in battle with Hector to prevent his death.

The theme of storms at sea appears three times. Two examples appear in the anecdote about Hérodote and Léandre and are quoted above. Another example of Fortune seen in her capacity as a guide at sea appears in the tale about Circé's magic:

On en trouve la preuve dans l'histoire d'Ulysse. Il rentrait après la destruction de Troie, croyant se rendre dans son pays en Grèce, quand vents et Fortune entraînaient ses navires dans la tourmente, les ballottant de-ci de-là, jusqu'à ce qu'ils arrivent au port de la ville de Circé.<sup>25</sup>

The negative influence of Fortune predominates in this text as demonstrated in the following example:

Son courage hors de pair, son audace, l'éclat de ses actions et la sagesse de sa politique firent que l'on changea son nom pour l'appeler "Didon", l'équivalent du latin virago, c'est-à-dire "celle qui a le courage et la résolution d'un homme". Longtemps elle vécut dans la gloire. Elle eût continué à le faire, si Fortune - toujours jalouse de ceux qui prospèrent - ne se fût retournée contre elle. A la fin, en effet, elle lui concocta un amer breuvage, comme il te sera raconté en temps et lieu.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., Book 1, Chap.XIX, P.79.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., Book 1, Chap.XXXII, P.98.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., Book 1, Chap.XLVI, Pp.122-123.

This is an excellent illustration of Fortune turning her wheel and lowering someone from a position of deservedly high regard to a pitiful end for no better reason than to assuage Fortune's own jealousy.

One reference indicates that Fortune's influence could be either positive or negative.

Christine is discussing Minerva:

Elle était vêtue d'une cotte de mailles, emblème de cette puissance qui est celle de l'état de chevalerie, mais qui signifiait encore que le sage est toujours armé contre les vicissitudes de la Fortune, en bien comme en mal.<sup>27</sup>

This is the only example of a remedy that can be used against Fortune found in this text. Here the virtue of good sense or wisdom, an attribute of the remedy of prudence, is seen to defeat Fortune.

Thirteen of the 14 references to Fortune in this text have no mention of God and are thus clearly representative of the Pagan category. The one example in which Fortune and God are referred to in close proximity appears in the anecdote about Saint Lucie and the conversion of the pagan king, Aucéjas:

Pendant vingt ans, elle persévéra en cette sainte vie. Notre-Seigneur lui ordonna alors de repartir à Rome où le martyr parachèverait son existence. Elle fit part au roi de cette révélation. Il en fut fort ému et s'exclama: "Hélas! si tu t'en vas, mes ennemis se jetteront sur moi, et Fortune se détournera de moi lorsque tu auras quitté mes côtes!"<sup>28</sup>

However, this example is not a clear-cut illustration of the Christian Fortune category as King Aucéjas is describing the activities of Fortune from his pagan perspective, prior to his conversion to Christianity. He is holding Lucie, whom he believes to have influence over

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., Book 1, Chap.XXXIV, P.103.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., Book 3, Chap.LIX, P.245.

Fortune, not God, responsible for his continuing safety and good fortune at this time. Thus, this example is also considered to be one of Pagan Fortune. This last reference to Fortune is also the only one to appear in Book III, the section dealing with female Christian saints and martyrs. This paucity of discussion of Fortune in the Christian section is consistent with the treatment of Fortune in Christine's religious works where responsibility for the incidents of life belongs to God, and Fortune is significant only by her absence.

Thus, the Livre de la cité des dames, although it has 14 references to Fortune, does not develop the theme greatly. In fact, Christine's treatment of the goddess reflects that of her earlier lyric poetry, except that it here lacks the intense passion associated with personal loss and bereavement. Overall, Fortune is seen as predominantly negative and pagan in character, with little suggested in the way of remedies to her pernicious influence.

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Also written in 1405, the Livre des trois vertus, or the Trésor de la cité des dames, builds on the Livre de la cité des dames. The same three virtues, Raison, Droiture, and Justice, again appear to Christine and command her to write this work for the instruction of all women. These virtues describe themselves as daughters of God:

De par nous trois suers, filles de Dieu, nommees Raison, Droicture et Justice...<sup>29</sup>

As Christine is careful to show that these figures are subject to God, who is supreme, she again draws a powerful authority to her side. She cannot be accused of creating allegorical figures who compete with the Almighty for power and she therefore remains

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<sup>29</sup>C.C. Willard and E. Hicks, eds., Le Livre des trois vertus (Paris: Champion, 1989), Part 1, Chap. II, P.10.

doctrinally orthodox. Perhaps the position of the goddess Fortune can be compared with that of these personified virtues.

Fortune's role in this text is certainly minor, there being only five references to personified Fortune, despite the text being substantial in length (226 pages long in the edition by C.C. Willard and E. Hicks). Perhaps this minor role is due to the fact that Christine is writing a practical manual to guide women in their everyday domestic lives. Such humdrum activities would not usually be considered within Fortune's field of operations.

There are no references to God found in close proximity to the Fortune references, therefore all references are categorised as Pagan. Of the five references to Fortune, three refer to the positive effects or gifts of Fortune, one reference is negative and one could be either. There are no unusual or detailed descriptions of Fortune, only one reference being of any interest in the development of the theme. It delineates the arena within which Fortune works by equating Fortune's activities and worldly events:

Il n'est point de doute que selon le cours du monde et les mouvemens de Fortune, il n'est nul si grant en ce siecle, tant soit juste - ne fut oncques ne prince ne seigneur ne dame ne aultre homme ne femme qui ait peu estre - ne soit de tous améz; car posons que une creature fust toute parfaicte, si ne souffreroit point la despitaeble envie qui se fiche au cuer humain que la personne fust au gré de tous ne amee de chascun.<sup>30</sup>

One reference is interesting as it introduces a remedy for Fortune's ills:

Et pour ce, a nostre propos, la saige princepe, et semblablement toutes celles qui voudront ouvrer de prudence, sera de ce tres bien advertie et pourveue de remede. Se il avient que Fortune la vueille assaillir par aucun endroit, si comme elle a fait et fait mainte bonne gent, et elle aperçoive et sache que aucun ou aucunes personnes poissans ne lui vueillent point de bien et l'aient en male grace, et qui lui nuiroient s'ilz pouoient et l'esloigneroit de l'amour et de la grace de son seigneur, qui les

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., Part 1, Chap.XVI, P.62.

croiroit par aventure pour leurs blandices et flateries, ou la mettroient par leurs faux rapors mal des barons, des subgiéz ou du peuple, elle ne fera de ce nul semblant que s'en aperçoive, ne que les repute ne tiengne ses anemis.<sup>31</sup>

Christine here advocates the traditional remedy of prudence as very effective against the undeserved attacks of Fortune and Envie.

Thus, Fortune is depicted as typically powerful and pagan in the rare instances in which she appears in the Livre des trois vertus, but prudence is seen as an effective remedy to the workings of the goddess.

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This highly productive year of 1405 also saw the appearance of the allegorical prose text entitled Lavision-Christine. This is Christine's most autobiographical work and it is particularly rich in Fortune references which is consistent with Christine's tendency to introduce Fortune as the perpetrator of the tragic twists of fate that she experienced in her own life. There are no fewer than 70 references to personified Fortune in the Avision-Christine. This number is quite phenomenal since the text is not a particularly long one, comprising only 120 pages in Sister M.L. Towner's edition. Of the 70 references, 44 are negative, 15 are positive (many of these merely mentioning Fortune's gifts rather than Fortune's actions towards someone) and 11 could be either negative or positive. This high ratio of negative to positive references (44 to 15) is consistent with Christine's tendency to blame Fortune for the negative events that she experienced or witnessed around her.

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., Part 1, Chap.XVI, P.62.

Lavision-Christine provides much interesting material for the present study in that Fortune is discussed in detail by two major characters. Both Dame Opinion and Dame Philosophie correct Christine for her faulty beliefs with regard to the powers of Fortune as she had described them in the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune. Thus we have some authoritative indications of the evolution of the Fortune concept in the mind of Christine herself for the period between the writing of the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune and the writing of Lavision-Christine, that is, during the period between 1403 and 1405.

The text of Lavision-Christine, is divided into three parts. The first part describes how Christine experienced a dream wherein allegorical figures give her a detailed account of the birth and history of the French nation, which is represented by La Dame Couronnée, and ends with a description of how endangered the greatness of France has become, given the moral degradation of the nation's current rulers.

Only five of the 70 references to personified Fortune appear in this first section. Four of the five are negative in influence and all are examples of Pagan Fortune. Typically, Fortune is being blamed for the misfortunes of France as is clearly shown by the following metaphor in which Christine deplores the disaster of Charles VI's being stricken by madness:

O fortune administreresse de tout inconvenient qui te mut a trouver voye du destoubier du faucon pelerin/ si hault volant que lesperance de son atteinte faisoit trembler devant lui toutes les proyes rappineuses embatues en son yre/ Ou preis tu le vent contraire par ou tu labatis lors quil faisoit sa roe par si grant fierte ains quil eust sa proye atteinte le ruas ius par ton souflement si roiddement quil demoura estendu tout desroupt non mie seulement les plumes mais tout le corps par si que tousiours depuis convint quil fust repeus par estranges mains<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Towner, Lavision-Christine, Part 1, P.84.

In the second part, Christine leaves behind La Dame Couronnée and the material arena and enters the presence of scholars in the arena of ideas. Above these scholars looms a great shadow emitting lesser shadowy figures of all descriptions which communicate with the scholars. Christine cannot immediately establish the identity of this great figure. The shadow, in fact, represents Dame Opinion, who proceeds to describe herself for Christine. She claims to be the "fille dignorance/ desir de savoir mengendra."<sup>33</sup> She is reborn as each person begins to exercise his or her intellect and, depending on the development of a given person's curiosity and beliefs, Dame Opinion has more or less control over everyone's psychology. We are told that even the wise and powerful have succumbed to her erroneous suggestions.

Dame Opinion's main purpose is to incite people to search for the truth. However, when a truth is established, Dame Opinion and her shades can no longer exist so they strive to confuse such an outcome by providing a multitude of conflicting views. Since people's actions are necessarily dictated by what they have learned and what they believe, Dame Opinion claims to be the prime motivator of all of humankind's actions.

Dame Opinion's discourse with Christine is particularly interesting in that she is claiming to be in control of those earthly events that have previously been associated with Fortune. Indeed, Dame Opinion criticises Christine for her theory, as expostulated in the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, that Dame Fortune is in charge of all worldly events. Dame Opinion emphasises her point by proceeding to illustrate how her own power and influence formed the events of history. However, since this history of the world has been described

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Part 2, P112.

elsewhere, Dame Opinion decides instead to range over other areas where her power to deceive has given her ascendancy, such as in alchemy and duelling. She also includes a review of philosophical thought from its beginnings to Aristotle's Metaphysics.

Thirteen of the 70 references to Fortune in Lavision-Christine appear in this second part where Dame Opinion claims that she, rather than Dame Fortune, is in control of all earthly activities:

Car combien que par moy/ te venist l'invencion trop faillis sauve ta grace/ lors que tu tant actorisas la poissance de dame fortune que tu la dis estre toute ordennerresse des fais qui cuerent entre les hommes. Et ma poissance souveraine sur toutes influences refflexibles es oeuvres communes qui precelle toutes autres tu oublias/ si ne te sois honte offrir lamende a moy suppellative de toy en ceste partie iniurree te rendent repentie coupable comme mal advertie me recognoissent suppellative sur toutes poissances relatives ca bas de dieu ordenees<sup>34</sup>

Christine is thus rather petulantly taken to task for expanding the power of Dame Fortune and thereby diminishing Dame Opinion's power and influence in motivating all of man's actions. However, Dame Opinion also notes that all of these activities are preordained by God. This statement makes all of the references to Fortune in this second part of Lavision-Christine fall into the category of Christian Fortune.

Of the 13 references in this section, ten could be either positive or negative, with another three being positive. This is then, a particularly benign group of references to Fortune which is consistent with Dame Opinion's argument that Fortune has no real power. By comparison, only one other reference to Fortune and her activities being either positive or negative appears in the entire text. Since it is explained that Dame Opinion dictates Fortune's behaviour, Fortune cannot be held responsible for her actions and their effects.

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., Part 2, P.131.



Thus although Fortune is discussed in depth in this part of the text, she is not, as she usually is in Christine's works, attributed the power to cause harm.

Dame Opinion goes on to describe Dame Fortune as her handmaiden, diminishing Fortune's power radically as in the following example:

Car non obstant quentendement soit devant moy quant en concept/ toutefois suis ie premiere cause de toutes choses bonnes ou mauvaises faites ou purchacees par pensees ou oeuvres humaines Et doncques comme devant est dit sil est ainsi/ ce que si/ que principe soye des speculacions et toutes choses ouvrables comme il appert je conclus vraye ma proposition que ie precelle les choses ouvrees et que fortune a qui tant de poissance attribues nest fors ma chamberiere mercenaire comme conduisserresse des oeuvres ja par moy disposees a mettre a effett.<sup>35</sup>

Here Dame Opinion clearly states that she is the primary cause of any good or bad action that humanity can think of and that Fortune merely executes those works that Dame Opinion has decided upon. However, Dame Opinion does not want anyone to think that she is criticising Fortune out of envy and concedes that Fortune has the power to conduct events as she wishes within her arena. Dame Opinion then points out that she works on the minds of people whereas Fortune only has influence, where allowed by Dame Opinion, on the external physical world. Thus nothing happens in the world without prior motivation from Dame Opinion, and Fortune must be servile to her:

Mais affin quil me semble que par mouvement denvie lui vueille soustraire la fame de son autorite/ te cognois estre vray quen disposition de oeuvre/ fortune a poissance de conduire les fais particuliers bien ou mal selon le soufflement de son influence/ mais te souviengne que differens sont noz movemens Car de rechief te dis que ie oeuvre en esperit et fortune ne puet ouvrer fors es choses ia par moy deliberees aptes a recevoir ses influences es choses dehors et foraines Mais es repostailles de la pensee es quelles je suis muciee na nulle poissance/ Doncques tu puez cognoistre que elle est servile et villaine vers mon autorite/ comme elle soit au monde sicomme superflue comme les laz de ladversaire/ et ie soye celle sanz qui nulle chose nest

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., Part 2, P.132.

faitte/ Et sanz qui nul fruit doeuve ne pourroit lomme conduire a perpetuelle gloire.<sup>36</sup>

With regard to Fortune governing affairs of state, Dame Opinion declares the following:

Et pour ce que tu as attribues en ton dit livre de la mutacion de fortune elle estre menerresse des entregiez des seigneuries je te dis que de tous yceulz mouvemens suis le premier motif.<sup>37</sup>

These passages clearly depict Fortune as subservient to Dame Opinion. Yet Fortune is still to some extent independent as even Dame Opinion admits:

...mais comme fortune me soit souvent contraire par especial en fais de guerres et es choses a venir je confesse que elle volontairement donna la victoire aux griex trebuschant celui poissant es laz de maleurte sicomme toy meismes as autres fois apres autres aucteurs recorde en tes volumes/ Toutefois non obstant qua lui fusse mencongiere et decepvable fus ie la premiere naiscence de celle emprise.<sup>38</sup>

It appears then that Fortune is a difficult servant, apt to go her own way.

Christine, who has been perplexed about the identity of this shadowy figure, ultimately recognises and acknowledges it as that of Dame Opinion. Thus, in this second part of Lavision-Christine it is clear that God has the ultimate power to decide on earthly activities while Dame Opinion directs them, merely allowing Fortune to execute some of them, even if Fortune is sometimes recalcitrant in obeying her directives.

Dame Opinion's disquisition on Fortune is significant in that it represents a change in Christine's treatment of the goddess, this being her first explicit attempt to diminish the role and influence of Fortune. This is attempted by transferring Fortune's power over the

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., Part 2, P.132.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., Part 2, P.133.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., Part 2, P.134.

earthly sphere to Dame Opinion, who is then said to rule events by motivating humanity to act according to what they perceive and believe to be right and necessary.

The third part of Lavision-Christine shows Christine moving into a brightly lit convent study hall, searching for knowledge and, as she continues searching beyond that, for wisdom. Eventually Christine finds herself in the company of the same Dame Philosophie who had consoled Boethius. Christine, hoping for comfort, proceeds to tell Dame Philosophie of her troubles.

This leads to the most open and detailed autobiographical account to be found in any of Christine's works and despite Dame Opinion's recent heartfelt rebuke of Christine for attributing too much power to Fortune, Christine agains liberally apports blame for her own troubles to that goddess. Dame Philosophie then proceeds to discuss the power and influence of Fortune. It is to be noted that she has much to say about Fortune and nothing to say about Dame Opinion. This would seem odd if, indeed, Christine had truly intended her audience to be convinced in Part Two that Dame Opinion was in charge of earthly activities with Fortune as her mere delegate. Apparently, Christine was not prepared to continue to assign responsibility for events that occurred in her own life to Dame Opinion. Perhaps the concept of Dame Opinion, Christine's own invention, was not authoritative or convincing enough, when contrasted with the eternally and universally known power of the goddess Fortune. It seems that Fortune was still such a powerful and pervasive character for Christine that, like the phoenix, she was destined to reappear.

This third part of Lavision-Christine, then, contains a detailed autobiographical account which once again draws heavily on the image of Fortune manipulating events in Christine's

life. There are no fewer than 52 references to Fortune in this 47 page section of text. Of these references, 40 are negative, 11 are positive, and one can be either positive or negative. This preponderance of negative allusions is characteristic of Christine's past attitude to Fortune.

Christine proceeds to relate the events of her life with three positive references to Fortune coming early in the narration. These refer to her father's success and to her happy marriage. In one example, however, Christine balks at wholeheartedly attributing these happy events in her life to Fortune, and includes thanks to God:

Moult nous fu fortune favorable le temps durant de la vie du sus dit bon sage roy Charles/ et avec les autres gloires des prosperitez receues en ioyeuse plantureuse et paisible vie/ en mariage comme ce soit naturel ioye a tout loyal serviteur veoir la prosperite de son bon maistre/ la dieu mercy<sup>39</sup>

In the following example Christine talks of her happy choice of husband, acknowledging that she usually does complain of Fortune's treatment of her:

Avisa un ionne escolier gradue bien ne et de nobles parens de picardie de qui les vertus passoient la richece a celui que il reputa comme propre filz je fus donnee/ en ce cas ne me plains de fortune Car a droit eslire en toutes convenables graces/ sicomme autre foiz ay dit a mon gre mieulx ne voulsisse<sup>40</sup>

However, while thus conceding that Fortune had occasionally shown her favour, Christine overwhelmingly emphasises the negative intervention of Fortune which she accounts responsible for the many difficulties she has experienced:

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.151.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.152.

Rue ius par les soufflemens de fortune en laquelle haine ay este tres mon enfance diversement non obstant que souvent mait monstre son cler visage. Mais quant resiour my cuidoie moult tost le couvroit de son obscure nue<sup>41</sup>

In these references Fortune is given all the usual negative attributes. She is contraire, desloyalle, dure, envieuse, estranges, and perverse. She takes one's wealth, health and happiness as it pleases her. Christine tells of this happening in her own life:

Or fus ie cheoite en la vatee de tribulacion. Car comme la ditte fortune quant du tout veult decliner quelque chose soit regne cite empire ou singuliere personne. elle de loings va querir ses apprestes toutes contraires pour la chose que elle a accueilli en yre conduire ou point de maleurte/ ainsi mavint.<sup>42</sup>

Christine's complaints against Fortune remain particularly bitter despite Dame Opinion's earlier lectures. This is illustrated in the following complaint to Dame Philosophy:

O dame chiere maistresse vueilles notter comment fortune la variable ma tos iours este comme dit est tres amere marastre.<sup>43</sup>

Christine's description of Fortune while complaining about her experience pursuing legal suits is particularly acerbic.

Et ainsi ne fina la sangsue de plus de .xiiii. ans/ que quant un meschief mestoit faillis lautre survenoit en tant de manieres diversement/ que longue seroit et anuyeuse la

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.149.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.154.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.149.

narracion de la moytie/ Et ainsi ne fina la sangsue<sup>44</sup> de fortune de succer mon poure avoir/ iusques atant que tout lot deffine et que plus a perdre navoye<sup>45</sup>

On eight occasions Fortune is accused of bringing death. The following passage, for example, refers to the death of Christine's husband:

Or fu demoure chief du mesnage mon mari ieune et pseudomme sage et prudent et tres ame des princes et toute gent frequentant son dit office par lequel moyennant sa sage prudence estoit soustenus lestat de la ditte famille mais comme ia fortune meust mise ou declin de sa roe disposee au mal que donner me vouloit pour du tout au plus bas me flatir/ souffrir ne vout que gaires me durast ycellui tres bon par la quelle ditte fortune mort lors que il estoit en sa fleur apte et appreste et sus le point tant en science comme en sage et prudent conqueste et gouvernement de monter en hault degre le me tolli en fleur de ieunece comme en laage de .xxxiiii. ans et moy de .xxv. demouray chargee de .iii. enfans petiz et de grant mainage.<sup>46</sup>

Thus Death and Love are again linked to Fortune. This passage also provides a good example of the turning of Fortune's wheel.

In other examples of Fortune's bringing death, Christine refers to Fortune prolonging her misery and poverty by taking her friends' and patrons' lives:

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<sup>44</sup>An interestingly similar description is used by Andreas Capellanus in his *De Amore*. J.J. Parry translates the warning to young Walter to avoid deceitful, mercenary women thus:

For if you try to fall in with what she says in order to find out what her real intention is, you will find yourself foiled by your own plan, because no amount of searching will reveal how she feels and what she means to do until the leech is full of blood and leaves you only half alive with all the blood of your wealth drained off.

This echoes Horace's description of the poet who 'holds tight and kills you with his recitation, a leech that will not release the skin till gorged with blood.'

It would appear that Christine believed the goddess Fortune shared this characteristic of persistence!

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.156.

<sup>46</sup>Towner, *Lavision-Christine*, Part 3, Pp.153-154.

Mais fortune selon ses usages et coustumes ne vult mie que la ruine de mon estat fust repare/ si me tolli tantost/ par mort cil qui bien me voloit/ non pas que de legier eusse delibere laisser france pour certaines causes/ tout soit de la mon naturel pais. Toute fois me greva elle/ quant me tolli un bon ami qui nest petite perte/<sup>47</sup>

Of the 40 negative references in this third section, 14 mention God, or his gifts, and one refers to Jesus Christ. Christine, speaking as herself, makes 31 references to Fortune in this highly autobiographical third section, 27 of them being negative. Of the 15 references to God and Jesus Christ, Christine makes only eight speaking as herself. These tend to be quite casual allusions.

The following example occurs when Christine explains the downward turn that her life took on the death of Charles V. It shows an obvious tension between Fortune and God.

Ainsi dura celle prosperite par pluseurs annees mais comme la dicte fortune se monstrast envieuse de nos gloires vult retraindre la source dont ilz venoient/ et ne fu ce pas par elle voirement chiere maistresse qua cestui royaume fu procure le grief dommage du quel malement se senti le mesnage de maistre thomas ce fu lors que le tres bon sage prince non pas envieilli par cours de nature mais en assez ieune aage comme de .xliiii. ans/ cheut en maladie assez briefve dont il trepassa. helas voirement souvent avient que choses bonnes petit durent. Car encore au iour duy se a dieu plust avoir laissie durer sa vie neccessaire a cestui royaume duquel le gouvernement et estat malement est ores de cellui delors different/ ne fust trop envieillis. Or fu la porte ouverte de noz infortunes et moy estant encore jeunete y fus entree.<sup>48</sup>

Christine states clearly that envious Fortune is responsible for the death of Charles V, 'la dicte fortune...vult retraindre la source dont ilz venoient'. Yet just as clearly, Christine states that Charles's life could have been prolonged by God, 'se a dieu plust avoir laissie durer sa vie'. God can then overturn the actions of Fortune when he so wishes. This clearly

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.166.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.152.

illustrates the category of Christian Fortune wherein Fortune can act independently but is ultimately subservient to God.

Christine refers to God in six other instances during her autobiographical narration. Some of the allusions to God merely emphasise Christine's veracity and do not in any way detract from the power and activity of Fortune. This is amply illustrated in the following example:

Et merveilles est comment fortune pavoit estre tant sur moy achenie. Car en toutes les manieres que pertes se poent faire a personne disposant ses fais par bon conseil et ordonnance sicomme a mon pavoir dieux scet que ie faisoie/ me venoient au contraire de ce que par raison venir deussent toutes mes besongnes et generaument en toutes choses.<sup>49</sup>

Such examples are considered illustrative of the category of Pagan Fortune despite the reference to God.

One example is interesting in that she admits to complaining to God as opposed to her more usual complaining to Fortune:

Et moy qui suis tendre et a mes amis naturelle me plains a dieu quant ie voy la mere sanz ses fieulx que elle desire/ et moy sanz mes freres Et ainsi peus tu veoir chiere maistresse que tout au contraire de mes desirs ma fortune servie qui encore persevere en ses malefices<sup>50</sup>

It would appear here that Christine is not afraid to criticise God. Yet she has rarely done so prior to this example, despite her frequent criticisms of Fortune. Perhaps she justifies this complaint since it is on her mother's behalf not her own.

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.155.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.169.



In the example which includes the reference to Jesus Christ, Christine actually uses the torments of Jesus Christ to illustrate how Fortune tormented her:

a l'exemple de Jhesucrist qui vult estre tourmente en toutes les parties de son corps pour nous instruire a pacience vult fortune que mon povre cuer fust tourmente de toutes manieres de dures et diverses pensees/ quel plus grant mal et desplaisir peust sourdre a linnocent ne plus grant cause de impacience que de soy oir diffamer sanz cause comme il appert par les rapors de boece en son livre de consolacion/ ne fut il pas dit de moy par toute la ville que ie amoye par amours.<sup>51</sup>

Christine undergoes these torments when she is being accused by town gossips of participating in an illicit love affair!<sup>52</sup> Christine not only compares herself to Jesus Christ but to Boethius in this example. How could her trials not be taken seriously when supported by such authorities?

Thus, of the 31 references to Fortune spoken by Christine herself in Part Three, 27 may be considered Pagan and four may be considered Christian.

Dame Philosophie, in her response to Christine's complaints, makes 21 references to Fortune, 13 being negative, seven being positive and one could be either. Seven of the references discuss God and his gifts. This is a higher proportion of references to God than

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.157.

<sup>52</sup>There is an interesting parallel between Christine's self comparison with the passion of Jesus Christ and the works of mediaeval visionary women.

Petroff contends that mediaeval visionary women were only allowed to speak out if they proved their connection with God through pain. Like Christine in this example, they often identified themselves with Jesus Christ as he too was controlled and ultimately destroyed. Petroff points out that the hagiography of the day was riddled with female martyr's grisly deaths. Christine was certainly aware of these as she refers to many saintly martyrs in her work, the Livre da la cité des dames. It is curious to note that although not a visionary, Christine is allowed a public voice. Perhaps having royal patronage was akin to having a special relationship with God. Also, Christine's virtual silence once she was exiled from Paris, and without patronage, would be consistent with this theory.

Christine makes in her preceding autobiographical contribution. Dame Philosophie's intent was to show how God, not Fortune, is the origin of events in Christine's life. Indeed, Dame Philosophie takes pains to make this plain to Christine, particularly with respect to death:

Car meismes par de ca as tu ploure de tes charnelz qui sen sont sentus/ mais apres ie me ry de ta nicete qui attribues a la poissance de fortune la mort et trespas de creature humaine sicomme tu dis du roy charles et de tes autres amis Et ce qui est ou secret/ de dieu escript qui toutes choses dispose et gouverne a son bon plaisir/ cest assavoir la fin et terme de vie humaine il semble que vuelles appliquer a aventure quant tu dis que fortune ten despouilla<sup>53</sup>

Many of the positive references to Fortune in this third section tend to occur in general discussions of the comparative worth of Fortune's gifts, les biens de fortune. This is demonstrated in the following example where Dame Philosophie criticises Christine for complaining of her lot in life:

Et test avis que assez dautres habondent en superfluitez de choses dont escharcete as et souffraite si te demande se tu cognois homme ou femme soit prince princesse ou autre des plus remplis des biens de fortune soit en seigneurie estas honneurs et autres dignettes je te parle de la vie des mondains et en reserve les speculans nobles de entendement que tu vouldisses avoir changie ton simple estat et maniere de vivre/ la volente que tu as et lamour et delit de estude que tu prens a ta vie solitaire/ pour avoir la cure et charge de tant de devers faisselz<sup>54</sup>

Thus Dame Philosophie illustrates that Christine's simple life of study is preferable to the gifts of Fortune such as worldly power, honours and high office.

One of the references to Fortune's gifts also includes a reference to God. Dame Philosophie exhorts Christine to exercise God's gifts rather than those of Fortune thus:

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<sup>53</sup>Towner, Lavision-Christine, Part 3, P.170.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.180.

Doncques entre vous usez des dons de dieu/ et laissez aler ceulx de fortune et apprenez a seigneurir vous meismes<sup>55</sup>

Self-discipline in eschewing Fortune's gifts is thus seen as a remedy to the influence of Fortune. Dame Philosophie is thus advocating the spiritual remedy to Fortune's power. The gist of Dame Philosophie's response to Christine is that God and his gifts are far superior to those of Fortune and that those things that Christine complains of are often to her advantage:

Mais alons outre pour dieu mercis savoir moult de quoy tu te peus clamer de dieu ne plaindre de fortune/ Et certes par ce que il me semble en toy appercois grant ingratitude<sup>56</sup>

Dame Philosophie addresses Christine thus with regard to her trials, telling her that they are not a curse from Fortune but a blessing from God:

Certes amie a tes paroles cognois comment fole faveur te decoipt es iugemens de ton meismes estat. O creature aveuglee qui attribues a male fortune les dons de dieu/ et son propre galice dont il tabeuvre/ Et pour quoy plains tu par ingratitude des biens que as receus<sup>57</sup>

This approach parallels Boethius' beliefs as expressed by Philosophy in the Consolatio Philosophiae, that is, that bad fortune is good for one and good fortune is, despite appearances, bad for one. Indeed, Christine quotes Boethius:

mais dit boece/ que plus proffite la male fortune que la bonne/ Car la bonne fait semblant de beneurte/ Et ainsi elle ment comme en ses biens nait beneurte/ Et la mauvaise est vraye en ce que elle monstre par soy changier que elle na point destat seur. la bonne doncques decoipt et la mauvaise fait sage par lusage de tribulacion.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.182.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.172.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., Part 3, P.169.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., Part 3, Pp.184-185.

Thus in this third part Dame Philosophie clearly refers to a Christian Fortune where God is supreme but Fortune still exists in some unspecified form.

Evidently Christine had experienced some reservations with regard to the importance she had apportioned to Fortune in the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune and she attempts to resolve these in the Avision-Christine. Certainly Christine takes the opportunity in her dialogue with Dame Opinion in the second section of the text to ask if she had committed any error in her writings:

Dame puis quil est ainsi que de vous vient la premiere invencion des oeuvres humaines bonnes ou mauvaises rudes ou soubtilles selon la disposicion des entendement comme dit avez plaise vous me certefier. se es choses par vous engendrees en moy lesquelles a mon pouvoir par le moyen destude et de tel science et entendement comme iay qui en mes compillacions et volumes sont declariees se en aucune chose yay erre comme si sage ne soit qui aucune fois ne erre Car sainsi estoit mieulxouldroye tart que iamais les amender/<sup>59</sup>

In response, Dame Opinion's only criticism was of Christine's attitude to Fortune:

Et elle a moy. Amie chiere soies en pais car ie te dis que non pourtant se tay ie blasmee de ce que prerogative de honneur voulx comme ie tay dit devant donner a fortune/ et moy comme ie soye principe y oublias faulte ny a/ non obstant que par moy maint sen debatent diversement. Car les aucuns dient que clers ou religieux les te forgent/ et que de sentement de femme venir ne pourroyent.<sup>60</sup>

Yet Christine is not convinced by Dame Opinion's argument and returns to a detailed and impassioned discussion of her bête noire, Fortune, with Dame Philosophie in the third, autobiographical, part of the text.

It is evident that Christine is reassessing her attitude to Fortune in the Avision-Christine as she has two main characters oppose her earlier interpretation of Fortune as the

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., Part 2, P.143.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., Part 2, P.143.

pivotal force in earthly events. Dame Opinion detracts from Fortune's power and influence and Dame Philosophie limits the power of Fortune and offers remedies to it. By entering into these dialogues with Dame Opinion and Dame Philosophie Christine is attempting to understand and master Fortune. Overall, in the Avision-Christine, Christine appears to be searching for the means to diminish Fortune and view the events of her own life in a more positive light.

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Around this time, 1405, the political situation in France was becoming more and more unstable with the country on the verge of civil war. This was precipitated by the power vacuum created by the virtually constant madness of the king, Charles VI. This absence of leadership resulted in continual squabbling between the ducs de Berry, de Bourgogne, d'Anjou and d'Orléans. The Hundred Years War with England was also in progress. Thus the period was one of great trouble and flux for France whose future was unsure.

Christine turned her attention to this unsatisfactory state of affairs and beseeched the rulers of France to turn away from their self-interested and self-destructive behaviour in order to assist the suffering nation of France and defend it from the ambitions of the English.

Christine was inspired over the next ten or 13 years (c.1405-1418) to write five works intended to encourage the country's rulers to strive to alleviate France's situation. These works comprise the Epistre à la reine, the Livre du corps de policie, the Lamentacion sur les maux de la France, the Livre de la paix, and the Epistre de la prison de vie humaine.

The first of these, the Epistre à la reine was a short passionate plea which Christine wrote in 1405 to the Queen of France, Isabeau de Bavière. It was written to encourage the

Queen to intervene in the growing internecine strife between the duc d'Orléans and the duc de Bourgogne.

The letter is written in prose and is only 164 lines long in A.J. Kennedy's edition.

It contains four references to Fortune, all of which are negative.

Christine addresses Isabeau thus, introducing the theme of Fortune:

Pour ce, haulte dame, ne vous soit grief oïr les ramentevances en piteux regrais des adoulez supplians françoys, à present reampliz d'affliccion et tristesse, qui à humble voix plaine de plours crient à vous, leur souveraine et redoubtée dame, prians pour Dieu mercy que humble pitié vueille monstrier à vostre begnin cuer leur desolacion et misere, par cy que prouchaine paix entre ces .ii. haulz princes germains de sanc et naturelment amis, mais à present par estrange Fortune meuz à aucune contencion ensemble, vueilliez procurer et empetrer.<sup>61</sup>

Fortune is held responsible for the unnatural enmity between uncle and nephew. God and his mercy are called upon to encourage Isabeau to listen to Christine and the French nation's pleas. The reference to God seems to indicate that his intervention could cause the queen to effect a remedy to the adverse effects of Fortune.

In the following example both God and Fortune are again mentioned. Sinners, if they do not fear God, should remember that Fortune is also a force to be reckoned with:

Et oultre seroit-ce encores à notter à cellui prince ou princesse qui le cuer aroit tant ostiné en pechié, qu'il n'acompteroit nulle chose a Dieu ne à si faictes douleurs, s'il n'estoit du tout fol ou folle, les tres variables tours de Fortune, qui en un tout seul moment se puet changier et muer<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>A.J. Kennedy, 'Christine de Pizan's "Epistre à la reine" (1405)', Revue des Langues Romanes Vol.92 (1988), P.255.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., P.257.

Fortune's mutability is here stressed, with the words variables, changier and muer being used to emphasise this. Fortune again seems to fall into the category of being independent but in some way inferior to God.

A third example speaks of the fall of the powerful queen Olimpias at the hands of Fortune and is purely pagan in nature:

Dieux, à quans coups eust pensé la royne Olimpias, mere du grant Alixandre, ou temps qu'elle veoit tout le monde soubz ses piez à elle subgiet et obeissant, que Fortune eust puissance de la conduire ou point ouquel piteusement fina ses jours à grant honte? Et semblablement d'assés d'autres pourroit-on dire.<sup>63</sup>

The fourth and final example again contrasts the powers of God and Fortune:

Mais qu'en advient-il quant Fortune a ainsi acueillly aucun puissant? Se si saigement n'a tant fait le temps passé par le moyen d'amors, de pitié et charité qu'il ait acquiz Dieu premierement et bien vueillans au monde, toute sa vie et ses faiz sont racontez en publique et tournez à repprouche. Et tout ainsi comme à un chien qui est chacié tous lui queurent sus, et est celli de tous deffoulez, en crient sus lui qu'il est bien employez.<sup>64</sup>

A powerful man who has not first paid his dues to God with good acts may be put to shame in this world by Fortune. Thus prior good acts or the exercise of virtue, can be a protection or spiritual remedy against Fortune.

Three of the references found in the Epistre à la reine are thus categorised as examples of Christian Fortune and one as an example of Pagan Fortune.

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Christine wrote the second of her works directly inspired by the contemporary political scene between 1406 and 1407. This work is a political treatise on the establishment of a

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., P.257.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., P.257.

healthy body politic and is entitled the Livre du corps de policie. Christine again chose to write on such a serious subject in prose. The text is substantial (205 pages long in R.H. Lucas's edition).

For inspiration, Christine draws on a well established mediaeval tradition, wherein the body politic is perceived and described as a living being.<sup>65</sup> The prince is represented by the head, the nobles and knights by the arms and hands, and all others by the belly, legs and feet. Christine's work consists of three parts formulated in this tradition.

The first chapters deal with Christine's ideal for the education of a young prince. This advice is evidently intended for the young dauphin, Louis duc de Guyenne, who, given his father's madness, was the pawn in the power struggle between the duc d'Orléans and the duc de Bourgogne. After this initial section, much of the text's content is drawn from the Facta et dicta memorabilia of Valerius Maximus whom Christine acknowledges extensively.

In the Livre du corps de policie, Christine is dealing with the topics of war and peace, national power and supremacy. This is traditionally the domain of Fortune and indeed there are 23 allusions to the goddess. 12 examples are positive, eight could be either positive or negative, and three are negative. This is an unusually low percentage of negative influences.

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<sup>65</sup>R.H. Lucas states that Christine drew from John of Salisbury's Policraticus. John of Salisbury claims in turn that this concept was drawn from an unknown letter from Plutarch to the Emperor Trajan. Lucas notes that the idea was used subsequently by Egidio Colonna (Giles de Rome) and by Ptolémée de Lucca (P.XXI).

In her biography of Christine, C.C. Willard states that Christine made use of Egidio Colonna's De regimine principum while writing her biography of Charles V (P.116). The idea was also used by Christine's friend Philippe de Mézières (P.177). The concept may thus have reached Christine from these sources.



Thirteen of the 23 examples occur in the first part of the book, which addresses the power of princes and attempts to counsel young princes on wise rule. This preponderance would appear to be consistent with the fact that princes are those whom Fortune has most favoured and who may most readily be cast down, given that high worldly position and riches are gifts of Fortune. The first example includes a reference to God and emphasises that a prince should strive to respect and follow God, and not be too proud:

Le bon prince qui aimera Dieu craindra a faire quelconque chose contre sa reverence et commandement, et mettera peine de sçavoir toutes les choses qu'il doit faire et lesquelles non; et par ces choses aprendre il appercevera et cognoistra sa fragilité et qu'il est homme mortel, subget a briefve vie, passionee des choses morteles et frailes comme ung aultre homme sans quelconque difference excepte des biens de fortune<sup>66</sup>

God is to be feared and His will done. The prince is to remember that he is mortal and that he is in his exalted position only through the favour of Fortune. Fortune's power is, however, dealt with slightly compared with God's power. Overall, then, God is almighty and Fortune is tolerated in the worldly sphere. This is therefore judged to be an example of Christian Fortune.

No other example in this first section contains a reference to God, and Fortune is subsequently described as an independent Pagan entity. In the following example, Christine exhorts the prince to love those of his subjects who, although poor in those gifts from Fortune which he, the prince, enjoys, may yet be the most deserving:

Car non obstant que des biens de fortune feussent povres, toutefois furent ilz riches de tresgrans et nobles honneurs pour leurs desertes et merites, par quoy il semble, et

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<sup>66</sup>R.H. Lucas, ed., Le livre du corps de policie (Geneva: Libraririe Droz, 1967), Part 1, Chap.VII, P.16.

voir est, que les plus vaillans ne soient pas tousjours les plus riches ne les fortunés quant aux richesses<sup>67</sup>

The most striking aspect of the references to Fortune in this first part of the text, is that they almost all emphasise the variability of Fortune. Since Christine is addressing princes she wishes to underscore the fact that they hold their position at the whim of Fortune. She attempts to make these princes aware of the fleeting nature of their privileges in order to encourage them to avoid pride and to practise traits and characteristics such as honour and virtue which they can personally own, maintain and preserve. Not only would this benefit the princes themselves as a spiritual remedy against the instability of Fortune but these traits would be advantageous to the people whom they govern. This is illustrated in the following example:

Il honnouret les bons et les vaillans ainsi comme il le demonstra pluseurs foys aux Rommains ou fait des guerres qu'ilz maintindrent entre eulx, et comme une foys en une bataille il eut desconfis les ditz Rommains il ne s'en orgueillist mie pour tant contre eulx ainsi comme aujourduy on se seult orgueillir par eureuse victoire, laquele chose est grande follie, car on doit penser que fortune qui distribue a sa voulenté souvent avienent teles victoires pourra aultrefoys cheoir et changier la chance.<sup>68</sup>

Pirrus is shown to be wise in avoiding pride after his success in battle. Not surprisingly, given that Christine is discussing affairs of state, many of the Fortune references in this text relate to the Fortune of Battle.

There are many other examples dealing with the changeable nature of Fortune. The following example again extols the virtues of Pirrus:

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., Part 1, Chap.XII, P.35.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., Part 1, Chap.XVI, Pp.53-54.

Si me semble vrayement que ou fait de ceste histoire est bien comprins tant la variacion de fortune si comme dit est ou fait de Pirrus comme tresgrande liberalité, humanité et clemence de prince en l'euvre de Antigonus qui fait a louer comme couronnee entre les autres dessusdictes, non obstant que semblablement si comme il est escript faisoit Hanibal, l'empereur d'Affrique qui tant fut vaillant chevalier et tant eut des victorieuses batailles contre les Rommains, et aussi aucunesfoys en perdoit.<sup>69</sup>

In fact, Christine writes two chapters specifically dealing with how Fortune can change even for the deserving and how one must avoid taking pride in any success as Fortune can readily chose to overturn it. The following example appears in the chapter on pride:

Qu'il soit vray que maintesfoys fortune propice aveugle les hommes pour ce qu'elle les lieve en si grant orgueil que eulx mesmes ne se cognoissent et n'avisent de quoy elle scet jouer. Et puis après les trebusche en son obscure fosse...<sup>70</sup>

Humanity is here said to be blinded by Fortune, a point which provides an interesting parallel with Fortune herself who is often depicted as being blindfolded. This is also a good illustration of Fortune's wheel turning and casting people down. A quote from Solon in the same chapter, seems to give Fortune complete power over humanity's life on earth:

Dit icellui qu'on ne doit point tenir pour eureux homme tant qu'il vit en ce monde, car nous sommes jusques a nostre darrain jour subgés a fortune qui est douteuse et muable, par laquele muableté est souvent osté le nom de felicité a creature humaine.<sup>71</sup>

The mutable nature of Fortune is thus repeatedly emphasised. One must consider this emphasis an attempt on the part of Christine to convince her audience of princes that they should develop virtue as their support and remedy against capricious Fortune.

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., Part 1, Chap.XVII, P.56.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., Part 1, Chap.XVIII, P.58.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., Part 1, Chap.XVIII, P.60.

In Part Two, Christine talks of the nobles and knights and their duties in the state as its arms and hands. There are eight references to Fortune in this section. None contains any allusion to God and thus all can be categorised as Pagan. Not surprisingly in a section dealing with men at arms, all of the examples relate to the Fortune of Battle.

Three examples discuss how Fortune can favour the brave, illustrating Fortune as an ‘Occasio’ figure, wherein the strong man takes advantage of a situation and grasps at opportunity when it presents itself. War and battle are typical of those occasions when such eventful actions may take place:

Et sont ces choses dites pour ce que souvent avient que fortune est si propice aux hardis et leur envoie tant de bonnes aventures qu’il semble voirement tant estraingement aviennent en divers cas que ce soient ainsi comme miracles.<sup>72</sup>

On the other hand, a knight would be cowardly to wait deliberately for good fortune:

Mais au cas qu’on est assailli, le non deffendre seroit couardise et mauvaise esperance de l’attente de bonne fortune, laquele chose seroit vilté.<sup>73</sup>

Part Three, which is by far the shortest, is written for tout l’universal peuple. Christine divides this group into three types of people. The first type consists of the learned, the clerks and scholars, the second, the bourgeoisie and the merchants and the third, the artisans and the labourers. There are only two examples of Fortune in this third part which occur while Christine is addressing the learned. The first example follows:

O gent bien conseillée, o gent euruse, je dy a vous, les disciples d’estude de sapience, qui par grace de Dieu et de bonne fortune ou de nature estes appliquiés a encerchier la haultesse de la clere rejoissante estoille, c’est assçavoir science, prenés diligamment

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., Part 2, Chap.VII, P.118.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., Part 2, Chap.IX, P.127.

ce tresor, beuvés de celle clere et saine fontaine, emplissiés vous d'icelle plaisante refection qui tant vous peut valoir et eslever.<sup>74</sup>

Here the learned are such, not only by the grace of God, but also by good Fortune or by Nature. It would appear that Fortune is again being treated as an independent and powerful entity and as such provides an example of Pagan Fortune. This is not surprising given the secular subject matter; power on earth. This is only the second reference to mention God. Elsewhere Fortune is treated as an independent being and can thus be considered Pagan.

Fortune is not depicted in the Livre du corps de policie as the same relentlessly malefic figure as in Christine's earlier works. Principally, the goddess is shown to be variable by nature and therefore not be trusted. This is reminiscent of Boethius' contention that bad Fortune is instructional and good Fortune is deceitful. Christine's emphasis on developing and relying on virtue rather than relying on the continuance of Fortune's gifts thus indicates that a person may avoid being mastered by Fortune, no matter what happens. Christine shows us that virtue can constitute a spiritual remedy against Fortune, thus revealing Fortune's inherent inferiority and potential weakness. Thus Christine continues the trend towards underplaying the importance of Fortune and stressing instead one's ability to overcome this goddess through the exercise of strength and endurance and the practice of virtue.

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Christine then digressed from works directly inspired by the political situation in France and wrote the Livre de prudence between 1407 and 1408. This was a re-writing of her

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., Part 3, Chap.IV, Pp.176-177.

earlier work, the Livre de la prod'homme de l'homme which had been written around 1403-1404 and was based on Martin de Braga's pseudo-Seneca text entitled De quattuor virtutibus or Formula honestae vitae. These works enumerated the cardinal virtues and associated vices. Christine's version was, according to J.L. Picherit, probably a close rendition of another author's French translation from the Latin. That part of the text that represented Christine's original contribution, was the addition of Gloses to the Textes and the addition of a second part containing a different treatment of the virtues:

Le Livre de Prudence a été formé, pour sa plus grande partie, à partir d'un célèbre recueil médiéval de sentences, le De quattuor, traduit en français par quelqu'un d'autre que Christine de Pisan. Si cette partie ne nous apprend rien sur Christine, par contre, la partie la plus importante, celle consacrée aux gloses, appartient bien à notre auteur et complète sa pensée. Elle nous la montre au travail et parfois aux prises avec les vicissitudes de son époque.<sup>75</sup>

The following comments are based on a reading of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS.11065-73, ff.236<sup>r</sup>-272<sup>r</sup> and MS.11074-78, ff.72<sup>r</sup>-115<sup>r</sup>. The Livre de prudence was found to contain six references to Fortune. Of these, three were positive allusions, two were negative, and one could be either.

This work attempts principally to discuss Seneca's ideas which are classic or pagan. Not surprisingly then, five of the references are examples of Pagan Fortune. Only one reference mentions God specifically and this example can be classified as Christian Fortune. Although there are more references to Fortune acting in a positive way in this text, Christine does not apparently feel that Fortune is more benign since she repeatedly detracts from positive Fortune by saying that it is unstable and can quickly change.

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<sup>75</sup>J.L. Picherit, 'Le "Livre de la Prud'homme de l'homme" et le "Livre de Prudence" de Christine de Pisan: Chronologie, structure et composition,' Le Moyen Age Vol.91 (1985), P.413.

Christine proposes remedies to Fortune, as in the example appearing on f.240<sup>v</sup> which advocates the exercise of patience and self control in the face of adversity:

Glose: Cest que l'omme sage doit savoir et estre certain que sa vie au monde ne peut passer sans y recepvoir maintes dures et diverses tribulacions/ Si doit avant le cop estre aduise et avoir memoire que tel est le cours de Fortune par quoy le souverain remede quil y peut mettre quant elles adviennent, cest prendre en pacience et soy aydier le mieulx quil peut/ Aussi lui doit remembrer que les joies du monde ne sont pas estables, par quoi se aucune prosperite mondaine lui vient quil sy contiengne amoderement et sans trop sy eslargir ne esleessier.<sup>76</sup>

Thus Christine advises stoic self-discipline and endurance, elements of the traditional remedy of fortitude. She follows up with some Boethian philosophy emphasising that the joys of the world are fleeting and thus one ought not to trust in earthly prosperity, or good fortune.

As usual Fortune is represented as being fickle and unreasonable. In the following example Fortune is depicted as being capable of giving or taking at will:

Glose: Il est a entendre se tu vis justement et faiz le mieulx que tu peus et Fortune ne te laisse advenir a ses richesses, nen ayes point dangouesse/ Car elles les depart sans raison, souventes foiz a laventure/ Et pour ce ne tesmerveille qui les possede et ne pleure point tes pertes quant est des biens mondains, car tu les peus recouvrer par celle qui les te tolt/ Cest assavoir Fortune.<sup>77</sup>

Here Christine proposes a spiritual remedy to Fortune by teaching that living justly and doing the best that one can while eschewing Fortune's riches leads to a life free from anxiety. Christine describes Fortune's distribution of gifts as unreasonable and states that one ought not therefore to be surprised at who possesses them nor should one be distressed at losing these gifts as they may equally be given back again by the hand of the goddess who

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<sup>76</sup>Christine de Pizan, Livre de prudence Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS.11065-73, f.240<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., f.262<sup>v</sup>.

took them. Christine's attitude to Fortune is here accepting and philosophical, and thus very different from her early bitter diatribes against noxious Fortune.

In the reference which mentions God, it is pointed out that the gifts of Fortune lead to the downfall of the spiritual life:

Glose: Lauteur conseille que haulteur ou grandeurs quelzconques on ne satribe ou impose / car la possession rent lomme tremblable / cest assavoir en divers perilz / et mecsment en paour de cheoir pour ce veult dire que la descendue diceulx qui souvent advient par Fortune le sage doit eschivez / Cest assavoir ne les procurer ne desirer / mais quant il advient que homme en telz honneurs soit il lui conseille quil se gouverne par bons sages et salutaires a soy / Et peut cecy noter aussi les contemplatis qui sont en la plus haulte et esleevee vie de Dieu acceptee quilz ne seslievent en reputation en eulz mesmes / Car par ce ils tresbucheroient et perdroient tout / mais se tiennent humbles et en paour /<sup>78</sup>

Despite the presence of God here, Fortune still appears to be powerful and independent.

In the Livre de prudence Christine no longer perceives Fortune as her persecutor and evidently now believes that the goddess can be overcome with the correct attitude and approach. Yet while it appears that Christine feels less controlled by Fortune in the Livre de prudence she is nevertheless still influenced by the goddess. This is amply illustrated by the fact that all six of these Fortune references appear in the Gloses or in the appended chapter on fortitude, these being the portions of the text which are, according to Picherit, Christine's original contributions, whereas there are no references to Fortune in the Textes.

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Between 1409 and 1410, Christine wrote the Cent ballades d'amant et de dame. This work, which was her final series of ballades and her last lyrics on love, depicts the courtship,

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<sup>78</sup>Ibid., f.260<sup>v</sup>.



seduction, flowering of love and final disillusionment of two lovers. The work is substantial in length, consisting of one hundred ballades and the final Lay de dame which comprises 283 lines. Only two references to Fortune appear in this work both examples being negative and Pagan in character. These examples are then similar in treatment to those found in Christine's earlier ballades. Both examples also contain references to Death and of course the entire work is based on Love, so the fateful trio of Love, Death and Fortune is again intertwined. At the very end of the Lay de dame, the lady laments love's ending thus:

280            Bien le voy, c'est le rivage  
                 De durté ou douleur nage;  
                 La tu adreças ma barge,  
                 Fortune m'y fist descendre,  
                 Ouquel lieu ne truis suffrage  
                 Ne nul bien, fors le message  
                 De mort qui corps et visage  
                 Me fera tourner en cendre.<sup>79</sup>

It is surprising that, given the preponderance of references to Fortune in Christine's earlier lyrics on love, there are so few references to Fortune in the Cent ballades d'amant et de dame. It would appear that, at this stage in her life, Christine believes less in the constant intervention of Fortune in our lives, even in such situations as love affairs.

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Soon, however, Christine returned to writing about the contemporary political scene, her next work being the Lamentacion sur les maux de la France, which she composed on the 23rd of August 1410. This composition was addressed to the alliance of forces supporting the Orléans faction which was marching on Paris intent on opposing the duc de Bourgogne's

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<sup>79</sup>Roy, Oeuvres poétiques, Vol.3, P.317.

power. In it Christine appeals to everyone with any influence, but especially to the duc de Berry, to maintain the peace.

The work is written in prose and is relatively short comprising only five folios in the one extant manuscript of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 24864. Fortune is mentioned five times. Of these, four refer to a negative influence and one could be either negative or positive. This is a high number of references relative to the shortness of the text. Yet it has been shown in Christine's earlier works, that when Christine becomes personally involved and concerned with situations and events, she invokes Fortune and her negative powers in order to cast blame at the goddess. Thus, given the highly charged emotionalism of this text, a preponderance of negative allusions to Fortune is consistent with Christine's custom in earlier works. Christine is particularly embittered towards Fortune because of the troubles she sees around her. As in the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, Fortune is again perceived as strange and powerful, capable of changing people in unnatural ways:

O! Comment puet-ce estre que cuer humain, tant soit la Fortune estrange, si puist ramener homme à nature de tres devorable et cruele beste?<sup>80</sup>

and:

Comment est-il en la puissance de Fortune de telement transmuer homme, que convertiz soit en serpent, ennemi de nature humaine?<sup>81</sup>

It would appear that Christine believes Fortune to have great power and to be responsible for the unnatural internecine troubles of France. Christine invokes everyone in

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<sup>80</sup>A.J. Kennedy, "La Lamentacion sur les maux de la France" de Christine de Pizan' in Mélanges de langues et littérature françaises du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance offerts à Charles Foulon (Rennes: Institut de Français, Université de Haute-Bretagne, 1980), P.180.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., P.180.

France to call upon the warring factions to avoid conflict. Even the clergy are enlisted to put a stop to Fortune's activities:

Hee! clergie de France, lairas-tu ainsi a Fortune courir son influence? Pourquoi ne faiz processions par devotes prieres? Ne vois-tu le besoing?<sup>82</sup>

Thus prayer is seen as a potential spiritual remedy against the workings of Fortune. It is ironic that she should engage the clergy to weaken Fortune; apparently the Church Fathers' attempts to annihilate Fortune had failed! Christine could also thus avoid blasphemy by blaming Fortune for the tragic events that were occurring in France rather than accusing God of forsaking her country.

Two of the references mention God but these invocations to his name do not shed any light on, or even imply, any relationship with the goddess Fortune:

Et pour Dieu! pour Dieu! noble duc, vueilles tost advertir que, quoy que par divers langages soit à present devisé en chacune partie, esperant de la victoire pour soy de la bataille, en disant: "Nous vaincrons et ainsi ouvrons", que trop est fole la vantise. Car ne doit estre ignorée comme estrange, et non cogneue est la fortune de toute bataille. Car quoy que de homme soit proposé, Fortune y dispose.<sup>83</sup>

In fact, Fortune appears to be entirely independent and powerful even in these examples. Thus all five of the references to Fortune in this text are categorised as Pagan. This is consistent with Christine's earlier use of negative, Pagan examples when she was expressing great depths of personal emotion. Now, however, she is distressed not by the death of her husband, but by the possible demise of her country.

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., P.181.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., P.183.

Still compelled by the great need for the implementation of good government in the country, Christine continued to compose works for the education of the dauphin. In her next work, the Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie, which was written in 1412, Christine attempts to address the young prince's need for education in the martial arts. This work expands on the theme of the second part of the Livre du corps de policie,<sup>84</sup> being a comprehensive manual on the practice of war. It was studied in William Caxton's English translation as edited by A.T.P. Byles, a French text not being available to me.

Christine again shows her skill at compiling material from recognised authorities while adding her own perspective and treatment to create an original work. Byles describes the work thus:

Although the greater part of the book is a compilation from the works of Vegetius, Frontinus, Valerius Maximus, Honoré Bonet, and a contemporary anonymous authority on sieges, yet Christine deserves credit not only for the skill with which she marshals such a mass of most unfeminine material, but also for the numerous original passages which she inserts.<sup>85</sup>

Christine's work is divided into four books, the first drawing from Vegetius and describing the ideal military leader. The second book discusses strategy based on the Strategemata of Frontinus and on the Facta dictaque memorabilia by Valerius Maximus and discusses the methods of attack and defence of towns and castles and naval warfare according to Vegetius and some anonymous contemporary masters. The third and fourth books represent a dream that Christine has wherein Honoré Bonet appears and offers Christine fruit

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<sup>84</sup>Willard, Christine de Pizan, P.180.

<sup>85</sup>A.T.P. Byles, ed., The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye: Translated and Printed by William Caxton from the French Original by Christine de Pisan, Early English Text Society, o.s., CLXXXIX (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), P.xi.

from his tree, the Arbre des batailles, a work which he had written c.1387, prompted by the political situation at the time of the schism.

Despite the considerable length of this work, there being 292 pages in the Byles edition, there are only 12 references to Fortune. Given the practical nature of the material, this is not entirely surprising, although military activity is traditionally an arena in which Fortune exerts control. Of these 12 references, four are negative, four are positive and four can be either positive or negative.

Eleven of the 12 references do not allude to God and can thus be categorised as Pagan. The remaining reference discusses the propriety of kings fighting in battle:

But not for what someuer necessite that he see / he ought wel to take hede / that he be sette so surely in the bataylle / that the perill of euyl fortune may not fall vpon his persone / But the reason general wherfore it is not good commynly that he goo to bataill is by cause that none may knowe to what partye god shal gyue the eure of the victorye / wherfore yf the fortune cam ayenst the prynce beyng there in persone / by whiche he take deth / be take or flee / that shold not be perdycon and deshonour only to his sayd persone: but to them of his blood : & generally to alle his subgettis londe & contrees perdicion & infenye inconuenient /<sup>86</sup>

Thus God is in charge of the ultimate outcome of the battle but Fortune appears to have the power to make decisions affecting individuals within His overall scheme. This is the only reference categorised as an example of Christian Fortune in the Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie.

By far the most common theme is that of battle or war, which appears in ten of the 12 references. This preponderance is hardly surprising given the subject matter of the text.

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid., Book 1, Chap.6, P.19.

The balance between the positive and negative effects of Fortune is also consistent with the theory repeated in these references, that is, that the outcome of battle is not predictable:

...& therefore ought no prynce lightly to put hym self in peryll whiche is for to be determyned by the destribucion of fortune/ of whyche noman may knowe to what syde it shal tourne<sup>87</sup>

Fortune is seen here as an independent and powerful figure in control of the prince's fate in battle. Similarly, the following example shows the randomness of victory at the hands of the pagan goddess Fortune:

Aduenture gyueth often vycory more than doeth force / Impossyble it is to Iugge to the certeyn the ende of the bataylle of whiche fortune dysposeth.<sup>88</sup>

Christine proposes the remedies of fortitude and prudence against this powerful goddess, Fortune, in the following:

But hym that hys ouercome in a bataylle / How be it that hys wytte in the arte and vse of armes / myght not that tyme profyte hym / Natheles in hys wrathe he may complayn vpon fortune But he that vaynquysshed is or hurt by the subtylnes of his ennemye / can blame noon / but onely the deffauwte of his owne self / For he myght haue eschewid hys hurt yf he had be as kepefull and dyligent to kepe hym self / as his ennemye was for to make a surpryse vpon him /<sup>89</sup>

Here it appears that Fortune cannot be blamed for the soldier's defeat. Christine suggests that it was the superior tactics of his enemy, not Fortune, which vanquished him. This implies that the man of action may master Fortune by his own merit and preparedness.

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid., Book 1, Chap.5, P.14.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., Book 1, Chap.29, P.100.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., Book 1, Chap.15, P.52.

Fortune is not then a prevailing theme in this work despite her traditional ascendancy in the military arena and it is shown that she can be counteracted by the exercise of fortitude and prudence.

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Christine's next work, the Livre de la paix was written between 1413 and 1414 and was again composed for the edification of the Dauphin, Louis de Guyenne, who was about sixteen and of a superficial character not suited to the tremendously difficult task of maintaining peace and stability in France. Christine attempts to advise the young prince to adopt those strategies necessary for maintaining the peace, and advocates developing those personal characteristics that were required for the successful performance of his duties and obligations as nominal leader of the country during the periods of his father's madness. This is a delicate task as Christine must do this without implying that the prince is devoid of the necessary character.

There are 11 references to Fortune in this text which is 124 pages long in Willard's edition. Of these, nine are negative references, two could have either positive or negative outcomes, and there is no positive allusion. Ten of the 11 references may be considered Pagan.

In the first of the three parts which constitute the Livre de la Paix, Christine praises the prince for his part in formulating the Treaty of Auxerre of 1412 which had established the recent peace, albeit it a tenuous one, and, using the young prince's grandfather, Charles V, as an example, she demonstrates the value of prudence and good counsellors to a prince. Part One contains four references to Fortune. In the first example, Christine offers the

traditional spiritual remedies of virtue and the avoidance of Fortune's gifts as a protection against Fortune:

Comme toutes choses ça jus soient falibles, seulle vertu, dist Tullus, est en la puissance d'elle meismes, c'est à entendre durable, et pour ce les raisons que on puet mettre pour bien vivre doivent estre assises en vertu, car certes fortune ne puet estre contraire à celui qui plus s'affiche en vertu que es biens de fortune et d'aventure.<sup>90</sup>

The following is a typical negative example, referring to the tricks that Fortune often plays, thwarting the expectations of humankind:

Si leur souvient de ce que ont esté maintes fois deceuz, si n'y adjoustant foy, ne ilz ne donnent pas grant esperance sur petit fondement et sur pou d'achaison pour cause que maintes foiz ont veu avenir par les tours de fortune trop autrement les choses que on ne les pensoit.<sup>91</sup>

The unpredictability of Fortune with regard to war or battle is discussed several times. This preoccupation is understandable, given the ever present threat of war under which Christine was living, and given that the main purpose of this treatise is to exhort the country's de facto leader to pursue peace wholeheartedly to avoid the disaster of war. The following example occurs in Part One:

Et contre ceulx qui dient les honneurs changent les meurs, ilz ne donnoient mie les offices ains que le sens fust venus ains actendoient le sens estre venus devant, et mesmement es offices d'armes les plus sages et les plus excitéz les avoient, car ne leur souffisoit mie que homme fust seulement bon de la main se sens d'armes n'estoit avec, comme ilz tenissent que plus prouffitoit mesmes es fais de chevalerie sens que force, et se aucun eust fait quelque entreprise follement et hors ordre de droit d'armes et de raison et toutesvoies bien en fust ensuivy au chevetain pourtant en a celui qui l'avoit faicte ne lui eust ja estre attribuée à honneur, mais à aventure. Par le contraire,

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<sup>90</sup>C.C. Willard, ed., The "Livre de la paix" of Christine de Pisan (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1958), Part 1, Chap.IV, P.63.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., Part 1, Chap.IX, P.74.



se une chose venist mal et toutesvoies par sens et bonne raison fust entreprise, la coulpe en donnoient à la fortune et non mie à l'entreprenant.<sup>92</sup>

Thus Christine warns against bad officials and their tendency to blame Fortune rather than themselves.

The final reference in Part One is to the importance of the constancy and loyalty of friends and followers in the face of adverse Fortune. Christine dedicates a large portion of this text to describing the necessity for, and the identification of, good and trustworthy counsellors:

Doncques, comme il soit vray, si que chascun scet, que ycestes choses soient requises en amour vray, n'est mie à entendre que l'amour soit fainte, ne que le service que le serviteur s'efforce de faire au seigneur soit seulement pour avoir sa grace afin qu'il l'ait du sien, car service fait unement à celle cause n'est pas pour amour que on ait à la personne, mais à ses biens, quoy que de tel amour soient communement améz les puissans hommes lesquelz trop se deçoivent, si que dit Tullies, quant ilz cuident ou temps de leur prosperité estre améz de ceulx qui par blandisses faintes leur font accroire, comme il appere tout le contraire s'il avient cas que fortune se tourne de douce ou amere; adont, perdu la puissance, perdus telz amis.<sup>93</sup>

This example is the first of four references in the Livre de la paix to mighty and powerful individuals being brought down at Fortune's whim. The didactic use of these allusions is clear, especially given that the prince to whom it was addressed was known to be proud and egotistical.

In these last two examples Christine discusses the negative effects of incompetent and greedy counsellors and officials. Here she blames them rather than Fortune for the bad government in France.

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid., Part 1, Chap.XIII, P.82.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., Part 1, Chap.XIIII, P.84.

Part Two of the Livre de la paix again addresses the problem of maintaining peace in the country and discusses three more virtues that Christine recommends in a national leader. These virtues are justice, magnanimity and strength (i.e. moral fortitude). This part contains another five references to Fortune, all of them being negative. The first example in Part Two again deals with the Fortune of Battle:

Pour ce, tres honnoré prince, que ta noble condicion, si que dit est, se delicte en vertu de paix veoir entre les tiens, si que le demonstre ton euvre, afin de te conforter à maintenir, non pas seulement ou temps present mais à tousjours, celle sainte voie, et il soit ainsi que souventes fois avient en divers cas que Fortune, admenistrarresse de tous maulx, prepare occasions de rancunes et descors auxquelles que n'y doie estre sans meur regart obey, vueilles nocter le dit du prealigué Saluste cy dessus ou latin, de laquelle chose pour ce que guerre et bataille est emprise et commencié de legier, et neanmoins, si comme il dit et experience le nous certiffie, en est tousjours la fin tres povre et tres miserable.<sup>94</sup>

Fortune is here described as being responsible for all of the world's ills including the sowing of the seeds of war. Thus Fortune is represented here as a pagan goddess with complete control over her realm.

However, this is patently contradicted in the following passage which contains a good example, although non-personified, of the fortunes of war being ultimately controlled and distributed by God:

Et si n'est mie conclusion de bataille en la puissance de la plus fort partie la victoire ne de ceulx qui la maintiennent, mais en la distribucion de fortune par voulenté de Dieu.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>Ibid., Part 2, Chap.III, Pp.91-92.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., Part 2, Chap.III, P.92.

Justice is another remedy to Fortune's instability which is clearly described and advocated by Christine in Part Two of the Livre de la paix. This remedy would fall into the broader traditional category of the remedy of prudence with the exercise of wisdom:

Et à dire que est justice, c'est si comme une loyalle despensiere qui distribue et depart à un chascun tel part et porcion qui lui est due par ses faiz, soit de bien ou de mal, ceste te convient il avoir et ouvrer par elle, comme riens ne soit plus partinant à roy ou prince. O quel bien t'ensuivra se tu bien la garder! Certes, et ne doubtes du contraire, que se en toy l'amour d'icelle est bien fichiée que non obstant soient les tours et tresbuchemens de fortune divers et tres merueilleux, meismement vers les plus haulx eslevéz à la fois avient, ceste te sera escu et deffence contre toutes nuisances et t'amenra accroissement toute prosperité et triomphe.<sup>96</sup>

Strength of character and endurance are also demonstrated to be remedies effective against Fortune's attacks. These represent another traditional remedy, the remedy of fortitude:

Et par ainsi puet on entendre semblablement que ce n'est mie à dire force de corage que il soit dur, aspre ne obstiné, si que on en le peust desmouvoir d'aucune mauvaise opinion ne faire condescendre à pitie et à telz choses, maiz est cuer tant atrempeement afferméz que il soit tout temps prompt et prest à resister puissamment contre les hurs que fortune lui pourroit bailler, tellement que pour quelconques malle aventures, perte, meseur, ou mescheance ne peust estre brisiéz, ne tresbuchiez en desconfort ne de sa fermeté desmeu, et semblablement ne le souffreroit monter en arrogance pour quelconques prosperité.<sup>97</sup>

Christine thus advises the mighty not to be too arrogant as they can be overthrown.

Part Three of the Livre de la paix demonstrates how the people should be governed with the other major virtues of a leader: clemency, liberality and truth. This section contains Christine's personal observations on the current political situation and ends with some criticism of Louis' life and habits. There are two examples of Fortune in this part, both of

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid., Part 2, Chap.V, P.95.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., Part 2, Chap.XVI, P.109.

which are negative. One illustrates the Fortune of Battle and contains an interesting reference to the goddess' abode:

Or, pensons un petit, à voir dire, que ce eust esté à veoir en assemblée de mortelle bataille, si comme on y taschoit tous les jours et chacune heure, tant de princes et nobles hommes tous d'un meismes corps et soubz un chief de souverain seigneur eulx entre-occurre et perir piteusement par le douleureux entregiet de fortune en la maison de mesheur.<sup>98</sup>

There is only one example representing Christian Fortune, it being the last reference to Fortune in this text:

Et pour tant ne doivent pas oublier les hommes qui sont au plus haulx eslevéz les tours dont Fortune scet traire, et eulx tenir sur leur garde de non trop eslever es effaiz d'orgueil, remembrans qu'ilz sont hommes subgiéz à maintes passions, car comme il desplaie à Dieu telle elevance, et ne le puist au par aler souffrir, pou avient qu'il ne trebuche les arrogans par sa divine provison, si que tresbucha les mauvais anges de son hault ciel en enfer.<sup>99</sup>

Clearly Fortune has the ability to raise and lower people on her wheel but if God is displeased He will throw down those whom Fortune has raised up. God is therefore in overall control, with Fortune obliged to yield to His wishes or have her actions overturned.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Christine's treatment of Fortune in the Livre de la paix is the number of remedies suggested against her. Maintaining strength of body and character, attributes of the remedy of fortitude, is recommended in one example, the exercise of justice, an attribute of the remedy of prudence is promoted in another and the exercise of virtue, part of the remedy of spiritual devotion, is suggested on two occasions. This emphasis on remedies may have been suggested to encourage the young prince in his endeavours to

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., Part 3, Chap.XIII, P.135.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., Part 3, Chap.XX, P.145.

maintain peace. In order to motivate the prince to take action against the seemingly perpetual bad fortune experienced by France, it would have been essential that he believe in the possibility of effecting a remedy to the situation.

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Christine wrote the Epistre de la prison de vie humaine between 1416 and 1418. This is a consolatory letter addressed specifically to Marie de Berry after the disaster of the battle of Agincourt of 1415, but in it Christine attempts to console all of the bereaved women of France. Christine, drawing heavily on recognised authorities, illustrates the blessedness of those who had died at Agincourt. She explains how they have escaped this prison of earthly life and how they are now beyond harm's reach. Thus Christine encourages the bereaved to be glad for the deceased in their liberation from earthly toil, and to move on from grief to doing good works in the name of the deceased. Christine thus verbalises the beliefs that she has gleaned from her own experience. Patience and a firm belief in God's Paradise are antidotes to earthly harm.

This work is written in prose and is 32 pages long in Kennedy's edition. It contains 11 passages that refer to Fortune, of which five allusions are negative, four are positive and two may be either positive or negative. The first example is typical of the negative allusions:

A mon premier propos, tres noble dame, pour ce que les paroles dites et venues de moy pourroient estre de trop petite efficace au regart de ta grant douleur en te demoustrant et ramentevant matiere de pacience, te plaise au fort vouloir adjouster foy à la Sainte Escripiture et à ce que les glorieux dotteurs et maints sages atteurs ont dit, tant d'avoir pacience es choses adverses, que Fortune livre par diverses aventures, comme de la gloire et beneurté de ceulx qui meurent en grace...<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>A.J. Kennedy, ed., Christine de Pizan's "Epistre de la prison de vie humaine" (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1984), Chap.1, P.19.

Thus, in attempting to console Marie de Berry in her great grief, Christine draws on the authority of Holy Scripture, the Church Doctors, and many other wise authors, to advocate patience in the face of Fortune's adversities. The expediency of patience is expanded upon in the following example:

Et pour ce que on dit, et il est vray, que pacience n'aime qui veult et ne se prent pas en la bourse, dit Ysidore que c'est un tresor qui moult doit estre par grant diligence acquis, comme il soit tres valable meismement au corps et plus à l'ame. Au corps, en tant qu'il lui donne le don de paix et seurté en ce qu'il ne doubte nulle male aventure, car il est prest de tout porter, et pourtant vit liement et en santé, ne de riens ne soussie, car il est seur en toutes places, ne Fortune ne lui puet nuire.<sup>101</sup>

Christine thus makes it clear that Fortune can do nothing to harm patience which is therefore shown to be mightier than the goddess. Thus Fortune can be weakened when opposed by this traditional remedy of fortitude.

Two of the references to Fortune also discuss God. The first follows:

...et aies à memoire, en merciant Dieu, et meismement pour ton reconfort contre les assaulx et pointures de tribulacion, quant elles t'oppressent, les tres grans et nobles benefices que as receus de ton Createur (qui t'en doint bien user!), lesquelz sont .iii. en especiauté, dont plusieurs autres biens viennent et dependent, c'est assavoir, le don de Grace, celui de Nature et le don de Fortune.

De ces .iii. dons, afin de mieulx entendre, est à savoir que les .ii., quant nous les avons, sont dedens nous, et le tiers est dehors.<sup>102</sup>

Thus the gifts of Fortune are benefits given to us by our creator, God. God is therefore very clearly superior to Fortune who is the mere administrator of His decisions. Fortune's gifts are also shown to be outside of us, as opposed to the gifts of Grace and Nature which are within us, and, as such, Fortune's gifts are easier to lose. The other three positive

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<sup>101</sup>Ibid., Chap.6, P.32.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., Chap.7, Pp.33-34.

examples of Fortune also occur in discussions of her gifts. These gifts are fully described in the following example:

Le don de Fortune sont seigneurie, dominacion, puissance, richesses, noblece de sang, bonnes aventures, avoir escheu à bonne et belle partie, soit femme ou mary, belle ligniée d'enfans ou de haulx parens et toutes telz choses qui sont dehors soy.<sup>103</sup>

Thus Christine explains that Fortune's gifts involve power, riches, nobility, good luck and good family and other external things. It is to be remembered that all of these gifts are initiated by God although they are called gifts of Fortune.

The second example which includes reference to God discusses the joys of Paradise:

O! les folz musars! Aucuns qui par jeunece, folie ou par cuidier estre au monde en aucune prosperité dient qu'ilz voudroient que Dieuy gardast son Paradis et à tousjours vivre ça jus les laissast, certes ilz ressemblent aux porcs, lesquelz pour tous delices eslisent le fiens et la boe et là se vultrent et enveloppent. Dieux! quel ignorance, avuglement et faulte de foy! Estre hors des dangiers de fain, de soif, de froit, de povreté, de maladie, d'avoir sa vie de tout courroux, d'inconvenient, des tours de Fortune, estre aseur de jamais ne morir, et de toutes choses qui pevent troubler et nuire, et avoir certaineté de perpetuelment demourer en gloire sans jamais partir!<sup>104</sup>

Christine extols God's Paradise and shows that Fortune has no power there. She thus promotes faith in God and His ultimate gift, everlasting life in Paradise, as superior to those fleeting gifts that can be found here on earth.

It is evident in the Epistre de la prison de vie humaine that Christine believes that the stoic exercise of patience in the face of adversity coupled with faith in God's purpose can overcome the injuries perpetrated by Fortune and effectively exorcise the goddess herself. Fortune is no longer depicted as an invincible, destructive force and Christine no longer

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<sup>103</sup>Ibid., Chap.7, P.34.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., Chap.11, Pp.46-47.

perceives herself as a helpless victim of vindictive Fortune. In this work Christine shares the secrets that she has learnt from her personal experience of bereavement, grief and deprivation. One must not continue to mourn, be sorry for oneself, or be angry, but one should be glad for the peace that the deceased have found and bear one's burdens patiently, with courage and dignity.

Essentially, Christine is advocating an acceptance of every event as ultimately necessary and purposeful. Such acceptance in the face of great loss requires complete conviction and faith in God's purpose, but such trust frees us from pain. Christine has apparently learned to accept the negative events in her life through undoubting faith in God and belief in the ultimate legitimacy of his purpose.

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Christine's penultimate work is religious in nature and is again intended to console the suffering of the grieving women of France. It is entitled the Heures de contemplacion sur la Passion Nostre Seigneur and was written at some time between 1418 and 1429. The impetus for its writing may have been another distressing national political event such as the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, or perhaps the death of Christine's son, Jean de Castel, around 1425.<sup>105</sup>

Christine's mood is philosophical and trusting as she retells the story of the Passion from the perspective of the Virgin Mary in order to promote patience, meditation and inner peace. These are the remedies she advises against the endless tribulations that France and the French have been suffering. The text begins thus:

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<sup>105</sup>Willard, Christine de Pizan, P.203.



Christine, ayant pitié et compassion principalement des dames et damoiselles et generalment de toutes femmes adoulées à cause des tribulacions passées et presentes, pour les induire et provoquer à matiere de pacience, fit et compila en l'ordonnance qui s'ensuit ces presentes heures et pour ce met à son principe le present epistre adressant à icelles.<sup>106</sup>

Generally Christine's voice is calm with no obvious sense of persecution. There does exist, however, one reference to Fortune in this relatively short religious text. The reference is negative and is an example of Christian Fortune:

Or considerons-nous, qui passons par la voye de ce temporel ciecle, comme tout pour nostre exemple vult Nostre Seigneur en soy mesmes demonstrer comme nul fier ne se doit es honneurs et prosperitez de ce monde, ne es choses de la ~~m~~uable fortune, quant le pueple qui le dimanche de devant l'avoit receu à si grant honneur et festes, le vendredy d'apres demanderent sa mort, sans ce que riens leur eust meffait.<sup>107</sup>

Here Fortune is seen to exert her pernicious influence on no less a person than Jesus Christ. This is surely a very powerful argument not to trust in worldly honours or, indeed, in anything controlled by changeable Fortune, since even the son of God can suffer from Fortune's influence.

This is the only reference to Fortune found in a religious text written by Christine but, ironically it may help promote trust in God's purpose. Just as Christine shows that Jesus was forsaken by Fortune, Jesus, on the cross, believed that he was forsaken by God. Yet since in the latter instance we are told that God had a purpose in allowing the death of his son, we can surely have faith that He also has a purpose in allowing the activities of his handmaiden, Fortune.

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<sup>106</sup>D. Ford, ed., Heures de contemplacion sur la Passion Nostre Seigneur (From an unpublished typescript, 1987), Lines 1-7.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., Lines 955-962.

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The last work by Christine was again written in response to the political situation in France. This final work, however, celebrates a happy event, that is, the rebuffing of the English at Orléans and the coronation of Charles VII at Rheims. Not only were these events long hoped for by Christine but they were miraculously achieved through the intervention of a young woman. Christine must truly have believed that her claims with regard to the value of women had been justified. Christine relates all this, giving thanks to God, in the Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc, written in 1429. This joyful poem is 488 lines long, divided into 61 huitains.

The work contains two references to Fortune, both of which are negative. Given how frequently Christine attributes Joan's success and all of these happy developments in France's history to God, the allusions to Fortune have to be perceived in the Christian context.

The first reference appears in Huitain VIII. Christine wishes to emphasise that God is gracious and that He ultimately supports what is right. She notes that this is valuable information for the disillusioned whom Fortune has cast down:

Oyez par tout l'univers monde  
Chose sur toute merveillable!  
Notez se Dieu, en qui habonde  
Toute grace, est point secourable  
Au droit en fin. C'est fait notable,  
Consideré le present cas!  
Si soit aux deceüz valable,  
Que Fortune a flati à cas!<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>A.J. Kennedy and K. Varty, eds., Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc, Medium Aevum Monographs New Series IX (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1977), P.29, Huitain VIII.

Contrary to Christine's earlier depictions of Fortune, the goddess is here shown to be definitively less powerful than God. It appears that Christine is now secure in her faith in God and in the ultimate ability of His divine providence to reward the deserving.

The second reference appears in Huitain IX:

Et note[z] comment esbahir  
Ne se doit nul pour infortune,  
Se voiant à grant tort haïr,  
Et courir sus par voix commune!  
Voie[z] comment tousjours n'est une  
Fortune, qui a nuit à maint!  
Car Dieu, qui aux tors faiz repune,  
Ceulx relieve en qui espoir maint.<sup>109</sup>

This huitain reiterates that which Christine has already said, that is, that no matter what injuries a person has suffered at the hands of Fortune, God will rectify all of them, provided one retains hope. Hope is therefore seen as a powerful remedy to the vagaries of Fortune, as is faith in the overall power of almighty God.

Thus, in Christine's final reference to Fortune, the goddess is plainly overcome and defeated. We are called to witness how Fortune is made powerless and undone by the hand of God who finally brings comfort and justice to those who have maintained hope and belief in Him. Thus, in distinct contrast to the descriptions of Fortune in her earlier works, Christine strips Fortune of all power in the face of her own belief in God's power and justice.

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There are a total of 184 references to Fortune in Christine's works from this period, 1403-1429. During this period, Christine begins to write extensively in prose, in fact, only

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid., P.29, Huitain IX.

four of the seventeen works from this period are in verse, the Livre du duc des vrais amans, the Epistre à Eustache Morel, the Cent ballades d'amant et de dame and the Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc. It is not therefore surprising that only a small proportion of the references to Fortune, eight of the 184, appear in the verse works.

These four works, the Livre du duc des vrais amans, the Epistre à Eustache Morel, the Cent ballades d'amant et de dame and the Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc are categorised as the only secular works from this period. Thus there are similarly only eight references in the secular works.

There are 11 didactic works from the period, 1393-1403, which contain 175 references to Fortune. Given that Christine's didactic works deal with moral, ethical and practical contemporary concerns, it seems odd that she would introduce a pagan theme such as Fortune so often. Fortune's appearance might seem more natural and appropriate in works with a secular flavour. However, very many of the references found in didactic works, 70 in fact, appear in the Avision-Christine which contains an emotionally charged autobiographical section. As in the earlier period, Christine gravitates towards the theme of Fortune when she discusses her deeply-felt personal tragedies. Christine also frequently illustrates her lessons on the empty nature of power, position and wealth with examples of the instability of Fortune and her gifts. Fortune is well suited to such an instructional purpose.

During this period Christine wrote two religious works. The Sept psaumes allegorisés was written c.1409-1410 and contains no references to Fortune and the Heures de contemplacion sur la Passion Nostre Seigneur which, as discussed above, contains one

reference to Fortune. The example appearing in the Heures de contemplacion sur la Passion Nostre Seigneur is then the only example which appears in any of Christine's religious works.

Just as in the period 1393-1403, the category of Fortune that is most frequently represented is that of Pagan Fortune, there being 129 such references. Almost all of these, 123, appear in the didactic works. In the category of Christian Fortune, 55 references are found. Similarly most of these, 52, appear in the didactic works. The third category of Fortune involves the Annihilation of Fortune. As in Christine's earlier religious works, the Sept psaumes allegorisés contains no references to Fortune. This absence is consistent with the policy of those Church Doctors who disapproved of the pagan goddess and who hoped that they could defeat and annihilate her by ignoring her, thus denying her any power. However, one reference to Fortune does appear in Christine's last religious work, the Heures de contemplacion sur la Passion Nostre Seigneur. This example is then unique in Christine's religious works but it serves to demonstrate clearly God's supremacy over the goddess.

Thus the theme of Fortune continues to be a major one in Christine's works throughout this period. Although there are more references to Fortune made during this period, they are generally shorter and less detailed than in the earlier period where Christine dedicated entire poems to the goddess and her activities. The first extensive treatment of Fortune during this period occurs in the Avision-Christine wherein Christine discusses and diminishes the power of the goddess for the first time. From then on, it is significant that remedies to the activities of Fortune are more frequently introduced and shown to be effective against the goddess. Principal among these proposed remedies are the exercise of patience, self-discipline and physical courage, virtues included in the traditional remedy of fortitude;

the practice of justice and wisdom, virtues included in the traditional remedy of prudence, and the avoidance of Fortune's gifts, and the practice of virtue and prayer, virtues of the remedy of spiritual devotion. These remedies circumscribe the power of Fortune and Christine's personal emotional involvement with her nemesis, Fortune, diminishes radically as these remedies are promoted. In her final works, Christine's tone is strong and calm. She demonstrates that she has come to believe and trust in God and his purpose. The power of hope, and faith in the supremacy of God, bring Christine acceptance, serenity and peace. Although she is still aware of Fortune, she is no longer in the thrall of the goddess who has become weak and now holds no threat for her. Christine thus ultimately achieves complete ascendancy over the goddess through exercising a mixture of the traditional stoic remedies of fortitude and prudence and the remedy of Christian spiritual devotion.

## CONCLUSION

That blessed mood,  
In which the burden of the mystery,  
In which the heavy and the weary weight  
Of all this unintelligible world,  
Is lightened.  
Wordsworth, Lines Composed a Few  
Miles Above Tintern Abbey

At the end of this descriptive and analytical survey of the role of Fortune in Christine de Pizan's work, it is appropriate to stand back from all the detail and attempt to find answers to some general questions. What is the distribution of the references to Fortune and is there any significant pattern in this distribution? Are there distinctions to be made in Christine's handling of the theme depending on whether the medium is verse or prose; whether the work is secular, didactic or religious? Do the references to Fortune ever constitute a major theme, and if so, in which texts? Can one detect an evolution in Christine's attitude towards Fortune as she progressed through her career?

While statistics in themselves are not always significant, they can be helpful when seen in context. In this instance, statistics are used initially to draw some conclusions regarding Christine's reflections on this problematical issue that besets us still in our everyday lives, namely, the role and status of Fortune, the Goddess of Chance, and the philosophical problems which she embodies.

A total of 241 references to Fortune were identified in Christine's works, not including the references from the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, which was written in 1403, and includes, of course, extensive treatment of the goddess Fortune.

Christine experienced her greatest personal, social and economic difficulties in the early years of her career, from 1394 to 1403, during which time she most closely identified herself as a victim of the goddess Fortune. During these ten years she referred to the theme of Fortune no fewer than fifty-seven times.

In the period after the writing of the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, that is from 1403 to the end of her career in 1429, she used the theme of Fortune a total of 184 times. Thus she used the theme somewhat more frequently during this later period.<sup>1</sup>

Given that Christine blamed Fortune for causing adversity, and that she experienced more personal tragedy and difficulty during the early period than during the later period when she had become an established and celebrated writer with at least some ability to overcome and resolve her problems, these statistics may seem surprising. Most of the early references to Fortune, however, contain more impassioned and more detailed discussions of the theme. In some instances in the early period, entire poems deal with the theme of Fortune, in which case the poem as a whole has been counted as only one reference. It appears, then, that during this early period Christine gave greater thought and credence to the goddess, only later coming to a point where brief, though numerous, references to Fortune were sufficient for her to satisfy her preoccupation. The later works, being more often historical or didactic works, did not by their nature require the expression of intense personal feeling that Christine frequently demonstrated against Fortune in the early works. Although there are some

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<sup>1</sup>An average of seven instances per year in the later period compared to an average of 5.7 instances per year in the early period.



important discussions regarding the nature of Fortune in the later works, she more often merely makes use of Fortune as a convenient literary stereotype.

Christine's work from the early period was, as noted in Chapter Two, almost entirely written in verse, with only four of the references to Fortune occurring in prose works. The converse was found to be true in the works written in the later period. As noted in Chapter Four, substantially fewer works were written in verse than works in prose during this period, and these verse works contained correspondingly fewer references to Fortune. In fact, only eight of the 184 references identified from this period occur in her verse works. Thus one may conclude that the format of Christine's writing, whether prose or verse, had no real bearing on whether Christine used the theme of Fortune extensively or not.

With regard to whether secular, didactic or religious writing generated the most discussion of Fortune, the early period, 1394-1403, produced eight secular works which contained 34 of the 57 references to Fortune from this period. The five didactic works from this period contained the remaining 23 references to Fortune. There were also three religious works which, however, produced none. Again the converse was found during the later period, 1403 to 1429, as 11 of Christine's 17 works from this period were didactic, most of which were substantially lengthier works than the secular works. These didactic works produced 175 references, which represent the vast majority of the 184 Fortune references from this period. The four secular works produced only eight references while the two religious works produced one. Thus it may be concluded that Christine had no distinct preference for using the theme of Fortune in either didactic or secular works.

Christine only wrote five religious works. It was found that the Fortune theme was a rarity in these works as only one reference to Fortune was identified. This is consistent with the Church's attitude towards Fortune which was to have little or no tolerance for the existence of a pagan goddess such as Fortune. Since Fortune is uncharacteristically absent in Christine's religious works, it would appear that Christine knew and respected the orthodox approach to Fortune, which was to deny her.

With regard to Christine's use of the various categories of Fortune (Pagan Fortune, Christian Fortune or Annihilated Fortune), it was found that there was some consistency in usage throughout Christine's career.

In both the periods before and after the writing of the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, the category of Fortune that was most frequently represented was that of Pagan Fortune, there being 169 such references out of the overall total of 241. Prior to 1403 most of Christine's works were secular and most references (70%) were to Pagan Fortune. After 1403 most works were didactic and yet the the proportion of Pagan Fortune references remained exactly the same (70%). Thirty of Christine's references to Pagan Fortune appear in secular works and 139 in didactic works. It seems surprising that the vast majority of these purely pagan references should appear in works categorised as didactic. Typically these didactic works deal with matters of morality and ethics in Christine's contemporary Christian society. This may not seem to be an appropriate environment for a pagan concept such as Fortune. However, these later didactic works were often used by Christine to display her knowledge of literature and history in an attempt to gain respect as an intellectual and writer. This apparently unlikely usage of Pagan Fortune could, then, be characterised as a humanist

display of learning. In the category of Christian Fortune, a total of 72 references were found. Most of these, 59, appear in the didactic works while the secular works produce 12 references to Christian Fortune and the religious works produce one. The percentage of references to Fortune coming from the Christian category is the same in both the earlier and the later periods (30%).

It would appear, then, that some conclusions can be drawn about the categories of Fortune that Christine uses. Firstly, Pagan Fortune is the category of Fortune most favoured by Christine, and it is used indiscriminately in secular and didactic works. Secondly, the category of Christian Fortune is most often represented in didactic works. Thirdly, Christine does not appear to feel that Fortune is an appropriate theme in religious works, there being only one such example.

Of the 57 references to Fortune found in works from the early period, 74% are negative, 12% positive, and 14% could be either. The 184 references from the later period still produce a majority of negative references although the percentage is smaller: 59% are negative, 24% positive and 17% could be either.

To sum up statistically then, neither the format, verse or prose, nor the type of work, secular or didactic, appeared to make a significant difference in Christine's use of Fortune. Christine did however conform to the Church's approach to Fortune in her religious writings by virtually denying the goddess any existence. The category of Fortune most frequently depicted throughout her works, both before and after the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune was that of Pagan Fortune. Christine depicted Fortune's activities as predominantly negative

throughout her career, although the goddess does become less pernicious in influence with the passage of time.

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As for the theme of Fortune being central to a work, as noted above, this was so in many of Christine's early lyric poems. In these poems, Christine hurled abuse at the goddess whom she believed to be hounding and persecuting her.

The most lengthy and detailed treatment of the goddess, however, appears in the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune. Fortune is indeed the principal and uniting theme in this text which explains Christine's intimate relationship with Dame Fortune and describes Fortune's realm, her activities and companions in great allegorical detail, then goes on to relate a history of the world revealing Fortune to be the prime mover in it. In the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune Christine comes to perceive not only the bad that has befallen her through the workings of Fortune but the good that she has subsequently obtained.

There are some significant discussions on Fortune in subsequent works, principally the dialogue between Christine and Dame Opinion and between Christine and Dame Philosophie in the Avision-Christine. Both of these dialogues, however, contrive to minimise the influence and power of the goddess, indicating a reversal in thinking from that of the Livre de la mutacion de la Fortune in which Christine elevated Fortune to a position of the highest influence. Indeed, Christine never again used Fortune as the central theme in a work.

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Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the theme of Fortune in Christine's works is that her treatment of, and attitude to, Fortune does appear to evolve over time. At the beginning



Doint brief finer...<sup>3</sup>

Thus Christine implies that God can abandon one to the mercies of the goddess, Fortune. Indeed, much of her early writing clearly implies that Christine believes that she is harried and oppressed by Fortune while God stands by indifferently, ignoring her entreaties. This belief is illustrated in Virelay XIV:

22                   ..., et Dieux est si sours  
                      Qu'il ne daigne vers moy traire  
                      Son oreille debonnaire;  
                      Pour ce, plus tost que le cours,  
                      Trestout me vient a rebours.<sup>4</sup>

Here, Christine considers God to have failed her in her distress.

Christine continued to feel impotent to help herself. This belief is again made evident in the following example from the Autres ballades written between 1394 and 1410. She indicates that no matter what she does, happiness is chased away from her by Fortune's brother and assistant, Meseür:

18                   Et puis qu'ainsi tel fortune respune  
                      A tout boneur pour moy et tout deveure  
                      Mes reconfors, avoir ne doy aucune  
                      Esperance de jamais veoir l'eure  
                      D'avoir reppos du mal qui m'acuere;  
21                   Car je congnois qu'a tout quanque rechace,  
                      Quant bien me doit venir, miseur l'en chace.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, P.144.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.116.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Vol.1, P.268, Ballade LIII.

Christine had lost all hope that her difficulties might end and there is no evidence that she believed her efforts would ever be recognised or rewarded by God. These impassioned, impotent complaints are, then, typical of her attitude to Fortune early in her career.

When Christine found herself widowed, unsupported and the head of a large household, she chafed at the dramatic change in her circumstances. Christine's preoccupation with the unfairness of life is, however, far from unique. It has eternally been a preoccupation for all thinking, feeling people. Rabbi H.S. Kushner wrote the following:

The misfortunes of good people are not only a problem to the people who suffer and to their families. They are a problem to everyone who wants to believe in a just and fair and livable world. They inevitably raise questions about the goodness, the kindness, even the existence of God.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately the Jewish and Christian religions teach that God is all powerful and in control of every event, no matter how small and apparently insignificant. It is also taught that He is a just God. This leads people who are suffering to believe that God instituted their suffering and that it must therefore be deserved.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>H.S. Kushner, When Bad Things Happen to Good People (New York: Schocken Books, 1981), Pp.6-7.

<sup>7</sup>Such thinking was not restricted to Judeo-Christian philosophy. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) in Book II, Section 8 of the Magna Moralia, wrote: "Can it be, then, that good fortune is a sort of care of the gods? Surely it will not be thought to be this! For we suppose that, if god is the disposer of such things, he assigns both good and evil in accordance with desert, whereas chance and the things of chance do really occur as it may chance. But if we assign such a dispensation to god, we shall be making him a bad judge or else unjust. And this is not befitting to god". From the edition by J. Barnes, The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation, Bollingen Series LXXI-2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), Vol.2, P.1910.

Kushner examines this phenomenon by using the Book of Job as an illustration. He points out that while Job is happy, healthy and successful, one can believe that God is all-powerful, God is just and Job is a good person. However, when Job loses his property, children and health, believing all three propositions becomes problematic as two of them can only be true if one is false.<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, Job believed that he had not sinned and insisted that he did not deserve his fate. Therefore, in his anger and grief, Job raged against God and asked Him to explain Himself. Christine refers to Job on several occasions and, during a discussion with Dame Philosophie in the Avision-Christine, she directly compares herself to him, indicating that she has pondered on the similarities in their two situations:

...ny avoit remede affin que ie parvenisse ou point ou fortune me conduisoit en ce temps en comble de mes adversitez fortunes me sourdi comme a Job longue maladie<sup>9</sup>

If Christine believed that God is all-powerful and that He is just and fair, then she had to believe that she deserved her fate. Yet it is evident from her writing that, like Job, she did not believe this. Neither was Christine inclined to accept ill-treatment passively as is evidenced by her long court battles. However, Christine did not call God to account as she, unlike Job, would not have been excused such behaviour. Indubitably, Church authorities would have judged her blasphemous. Thus if Christine continued to believe in her own virtue, she logically had to doubt either the power, or the goodness of God. Consequently Christine, like Job, felt her faith in God's goodness shaken by her many misfortunes.

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<sup>8</sup>Kushner, Good People, P.37.

<sup>9</sup>Towner, Avision-Christine, P.155.



B. Blanshard discusses faith as follows:

For many persons the real reason why faith is so much prized and reluctantly let go is that faith means in practice far more than belief. Most dogmas these persons could perhaps lose with equanimity. They would be more reluctant to part with the by-products of faith: the hopefulness, the confidence in facing the future, the heartening sense that all will come right in the end, the poetry - as St. Francis felt it, or Chesterton - in a world brimming with the divine, the sweetness of a childlike trust.<sup>10</sup>

It is evident from her early writings that Christine's hopefulness, her confidence in the future, her feeling that everything will be right and just in the end, her sense of trust, in sum, her faith in God, was shaken by the succession of tragedies and injustices that she encountered in the years between her widowhood and her later literary successes.

Christine's early use of Fortune could thus be interpreted as philosophically positive in that she used Fortune as a scapegoat upon whom to blame her tribulations while her faith in God was shaken. Thus she released both herself and God from blame until she could reach an understanding and acceptance of her difficulties.

It is natural and human, notes Kushner, to strive to understand the causes of suffering in an attempt to make these negative events more bearable. Christine certainly struggled to find an acceptable explanation for the difficult experiences that she so undeservedly had to face. J. Blanchard describes her search as an active one, particularly well illustrated in the three works, the Livre du chemin de long estude, the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, and the Avision-Christine. He summarises her progress thus:

Animée par une compulsion de comprendre indéfectible, Christine dépasse le stade de ce principe inachevé par le biais de la consolatio qui est la lente clarification de la vérité dans l'âme du poète. Philosophie, dont l'avènement est préparé par Sapience dans Long Estude, ouvre au poète la voie de la connaissance du principe ultime, Dieu,

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<sup>10</sup>B. Blanshard, Reason and Belief (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), P.566.

tout en préservant, dans ce procès, le primat de la pensée humaine. Ce vaste parcours est une allégorie de la recherche qui porte sur les vérités dernières, et illustre la façon dont fonctionne le cours d'une intelligence en proie à la tension suscitée par les apories sans nombre qu'elle découvre en chemin. La voie de long estude lui donne la possibilité de dépasser l'acte lyrique en trouvant, au terme de sa quête, un principe philosophique lui permettant d'intégrer son malheur individuel. Le débat épistémologique s'ouvre peu à peu sur la découverte des fondements métaphysiques d'une morale qui associe à la constance stoïcienne la promesse du salut, le comble de la felicité.

Il y a chez Christine une soif d'autant plus grande des causalités qu'elle est consciente que les voies de Dieu sont difficiles à pénétrer. Dans cette quête éperdue de la vérité elle appuie sa recherche sur le savoir d'autrui.<sup>11</sup>

Christine's pursuit of learning was thus not only to satisfy her intellectual needs but also to quench her own emotional distress.

Indeed, Christine's struggle to understand the purpose of the troubles that she encountered in her life is evidenced in her philosophical discussions. Such a discussion occurs with Dame Philosophie in the Avision-Christine, written in 1405. Blanchard considers Christine's debate with Dame Philosophie the culmination of her searching:

Le débat avec Philosophie, conservé dans le cadre de la consolatio, c'est le lent cheminement de la vérité dans le coeur de Christine. Il vise à l'amélioration du sujet, à lui faire prendre conscience du rôle de l'amour-propre, à lui apprendre à user des tribulacions, à se servir du malheur comme d'une intercessio. Comme souvent chez Christine de Pizan, nous avons à faire à une mosaïque de thématiques brisées qui entrecroisent de manière à peine consciente chez elle deux courants, la constance stoïcienne et la patience chrétienne. Mais ces vérités ne sont pas des vérités acquises dès le départ, des vérités révélées. Le débat avec Philosophie illustre le travail de clarification morale à l'intérieur de Christine.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Blanchard, 'Raisons de l'histoire', Pp. 434-435.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Pp.431-432.

During this debate, Dame Philosophie attempts to explain that God's sending trials and suffering is for one's own good. She blames Christine for complaining and illustrates her argument by referring to Job:

Escoutez que dist saint gregoire en une omelie quant ie considere dist il Iob couche sus un femier comme mesel/ ...Je pense comment dieu tourmentera a son jugement durement ceulx que il reprove/ quant yci presentement il afflict si durement ceulx que il aime et approuve Et entre vous mondains qui pensez en vos petites tribulacions que dieux vous ait oubliez/ et que fortune vous persecute pensez vous que il soit plus tenus a vous que a ses autres bons amis a qui tant laissa souffrir<sup>13</sup>

Essentially, Dame Philosophie is taking Christine to task for her lack of faith in God's purpose. This is tantamount to an admission of guilt by Christine that her faith and trust in God has not always been steadfast. Dame Philosophie expounds:

Mais soiez certaine que lui qui scet vostre fragilite le fait pour le meilleur de cil a qui lenvoye. Car non obstant que vous en murmurez par impacience souventes fois si estes vous plus aptes en la voie de tribulacion a aler ou ciel que ceulz qui sont nourriz es grans delices/ Et que il soit vray se mescroire ne voulez comme heretiques les saintes escriptures/ et les sains docteurs moult en avez de preuves/ que se tu me dis que fortes sont a passer les tribulacions de ce monde/ et que elles dueillent griefment helas/ escoute ad ce propos que dit crysostome sus leuvangille saint mathieu. se aucun dit il repute la voye de ceste vie labourieuse pour les affliccions qui y sont il accuse sa paree/ Car se aux mariniers le floz de la mer et les tempestes et les geles de lyver aux laboureurs et les plaies orribles navreures aux chevaliers. Semblent estre legieres a porter pour lesperence du gaaing ou de lonneur temporelle/ que ilz en attendant/ par plus forte raison nous doivent sembler aisiees les tribulacions de ce monde pour les quelles nous est promis paradis en loyer<sup>14</sup>

Thus Christine's inquiries into the learning and wisdom of the great philosophers provided her with explanations for suffering. She also learned of the classical remedies to Fortune's activities: fortitude wherein one endures bad fortune with stoic patience, prudence

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<sup>13</sup>Towner, A vision-Christine, Pp.178-179.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., P.179.

wherein one limits Fortune's control through reason and wisdom, and spiritual devotion wherein one cultivates virtue and eschews the gifts of Fortune.

As noted earlier, the search for an understanding of God's purpose in allowing the innocent to know pain is universal. Kushner attempts to explain that evil and suffering do not come from God and do not represent punishment. He proposes that one has to accept some events per se, they occur for no reason:

The world is mostly an orderly, predictable place, showing ample evidence of God's thoroughness and handiwork, but pockets of chaos remain. Most of the time, the events of the universe follow firm natural laws. But every now and then, things happen not contrary to those laws of nature but outside them. Things happen which could just as easily have happened differently.<sup>15</sup>

This explanation is reminiscent of Aristotle's description of chance<sup>16</sup> and, indeed, such causes of misfortune echo the traditional activities of Fortune, the Goddess of Chance. The references to Fortune found in works written later in Christine's career are generally less emotionally intense. Perhaps this indicates that later in life, Christine came to believe that we all, God included, must struggle against chaos and evil. Perhaps in accepting that there is randomness in the universe, she regained her belief in a just and loving God. Indeed, in

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<sup>15</sup>Kushner, Good People, P.52.

<sup>16</sup>In J. Barnes' edition of Aristotle's works (Vol.1, P.335-6), chance is explained as follows: "First then we observe that some things always come to pass in the same way, and others for the most part. It is clearly of neither of these that chance, or the result of chance, is said to be the cause - neither of that which is by necessity and always, nor of that which is for the most part. But there is a third class of events besides these two - events which all say are by chance....Of things that come to be, some come to be for the sake of something, others not....Things of this kind, then, when they come to pass accidentally are said to be by chance. For just as a thing is something either in virtue of itself or accidentally, so may it be a cause....Things do, in a way, occur by chance, for they occur accidentally and chance is an accidental cause. But it is not the cause without qualification of anything; for instance, a housebuilder is the cause of a house; accidentally, a fluteplayer may be so". Physics, Book II, Section 5.

the Livre du corps de policie, which was written between 1406 and 1407, Christine belies any claim that God or astrological forces have the power to control our destinies and every event. In a discussion of Achimonides who predicted his own death but did nothing to avoid it, as he believed the future to be written in the stars, Christine categorically rejects predestination and states that humanity has free will:

Car ceste chose n'est mie vraye, quant aux operacions de l'ame qui euvre en la voullenté. Car elle est plainement franche et a liberté et puissance sur ses operacions, tele que non obstant quelque inclination ou influence du ciel, elle peut eslire quele partie lui plaist, si comme preuve Aristote en son livre d'Ethiques; et par ce on peut appercevoir la parfaite raison et le sçavoir d'Aristote, car ce determine plainement theologie ou fait de nostre foy que la voullenté laquele est franche ne peut estre contrainte par nulle action, car se ainsi estoit pechié et vice seroit aucunement excusable puisque force contraindroit les inclinacions a dominer. Mais quant au corps, bien est vray que en aucunes choses l'omme est subget par naissance es actions du corps du ciel...Mais en ce qui est subject a l'ame, c'est assçavoir deliberacion de voullenté, les influences du ciel n'ont point de seigneurie, non obstant qu'il peut estre vray que l'action du ciel donne a l'omme plusieurs inclinacions, si comme aux aucuns joliveté, luxure, ou autres mouvemens naturelz. Mais non obstant ce, l'omme y peut mettre frain par raison et resister quant au fait a toutes teles inclinacions.<sup>17</sup>

This is a clear defence of the ability of humanity to choose between good and evil, representing an evolution in Christine's thinking since 1402 or 1403 when she wrote the Livre du chemin de long estude. In that text she implied that the astrological forces of Influences and Destinees, who were subservient to God, govern our lives from birth, thus implying that she believed in predestination. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Livre du chemin de long estude showed Christine still very much in awe of the goddess Fortune and her powers, and still suffering from feelings of hopelessness.

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<sup>17</sup>Lucas, Livre du corps de policie, Part 1, Chap.XXIV, Pp.76-77.

Thus, as Christine progressed in her learned search and dispelled the mysteries of human knowledge and understanding, her feelings of impotence and frustration diminished and she arrived at a level of maturity in which she accepted the events of her life and attained a measure of serenity. Indeed, between 1409 and 1410 Christine wrote the Sept psaumes allegorisés which elicited the following comment from R.R. Rains:

Les sept Psaumes...shows, as does all the work of Christine's mature years, the growth of a sort of "universal consciousness," as she began to detach herself from her personal troubles and to be concerned with the troubles of the world, the Church, and of her beloved adopted country, France.<sup>18</sup>

By the time she wrote this text, Christine had become confident enough in her relationship with God to demand that He pay attention to her pleas: 'Encline a moy ton oreille, mon Dieu, et ne destournes ta face de ma priere'<sup>19</sup>.

Writing even later, between 1413 and 1414, in the Livre de la paix Christine wrestles with the apparent injustice of dishonest councillors being maintained in positions of control:

Mais quoy que la fortune d'iceulx iniques appere par un temps durable, quant il avient si que aucune fois est permis de Dieu comme flaiel et bature pour les pechiéz des creatures, neant moins comme choses tant violentes ne puissent long temps durer, jamais Dieu ne les souffreroit à perpetuité, ains tout ainsi que le dit la fin de la dicte autorité en latin cy dessus alleguée, les justes verront la ruine d'iceulx, c'est assavoir que quoy que un temps soient comme regnans, les voit on en la fin par justice divine dechez et trebuchiéz à la joye du commun prouffit<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>R.R. Rains, 'Les sept psaumes allégorisés' of Christine de Pisan: A Critical Edition from the Brussels and Paris Manuscripts (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1965), P.64.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., P.119.

<sup>20</sup>Willard, Livre de la paix, Pp.80-81.

Christine here appears to be propounding an orthodox viewpoint, believing faithfully that God will not let the unjust prevail for very long. Her hope and trust that all will turn out well in the end has returned.

By 1416 or 1417, when Christine wrote the Epistre de la prison de vie humaine, she appears to have fully regained her orthodox faith. It is evident in this text that Christine believes God to be capable of ending earthly troubles:

...veu la male disposicion du temps qui adès continue (Dieu par sa gràce y vueille brief remedier!)<sup>21</sup>

While attempting to console Marie de Berry and the bereaved women of France, Christine advocates both having faith in the Holy Scriptures and having patience in the face of adversity as proposed by the Church Doctors and many other great thinkers:

...te plaise au fort vouloir adjouster foy à la Sainte Escripiture et à ce que les glorieux dotteurs et maints sages atteurs ont dit, tant d'avoir pacience es choses adverses, que Fortune livre par diverses aventures<sup>22</sup>

She proceeds to ask Marie de Berry whether they could not believe in Holy Scripture and have a firm faith in God, both of which are required for salvation:

O redoubtée dame! Ne croirons-nous donques les Saintes Escripures et la foy de Dieu vraie? - sans laquelle avoir et tenir fermement nul ne peut plaire à Dieu n'estre sauvé, si comme dit Saint Paul.<sup>23</sup>

Christine therefore appears at this time to have a full understanding of the requirements of salvation, and belief in its feasibility.

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<sup>21</sup>Kennedy, Prison de vie humaine, P.18.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., P.19.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., P.19.

It is also shown in the Epistre de la prison de vie humaine that Christine has come to believe that even the virtuous can be visited by tribulation and that it is therefore not a punishment from God:

Au propos dessus dit, se les perilz sont grans meismes aux bons et aux tres vertueux et n'en sont exemps, tout aient-ilz fait maints biens, comme Dieu le consente aucunesfois pour leur purgacion en cestui monde ou à l'accroissement de leur merite par pacience, si que dit Saint Augustin...<sup>24</sup>

It appears that God 'consents' to this therapeutic purgative. Christine thus exhibits the traditional belief, as best expounded by Boethius' Philosophy, that troubles are for one's own good. She goes on to explain that her studies have taught her the two ways to save oneself from adversity and these she proposes to Marie to help her overcome her tribulations:

...ay, ma dame, pour l'amour de toy, tant cerchié es sains livres que trouvée ay la benoite huile qui les douleurs d'aversité puet garir et saner, de laquelle apres les medecins de noz ames, qui la nous ont escripte, te diray la recepte et ses proprietiez. Ceste s'appelle en .ii. manieres, qui toutes reviennent à une. L'un s'appelle: Espoire en Dieu et fay bien (par cestui nom l'appella David le prophete). L'autre nom est dit souffrir paciemment pour l'amour de Nostre-Seigneur.<sup>25</sup>

Thus Christine first advocates having hope in God and doing good deeds, and secondly, practising patience. Surely before Christine could offer such orthodox explanations and advice to the suffering, she herself had come to believe firmly in these principles and remedies. This tranquil faith, hope and patience is indeed an evolution from the agitated frustration and desperate grief which she displayed in her earlier works. Christine now appears to feel secure that she is virtuous and that God has not judged her and punished her.

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., P.21.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., P.28.



Her anger at life's unfairness and at God has dissipated. She can now feel and display deep compassion for the suffering of others without needing to blame God.

This is again demonstrated in the Heures de contemplacion sur la Passion Nostre Seigneur, which was written between 1418 and 1429. Christine here accepts that the world is full of adversity and promotes stoic patience as a remedy. The model that she uses is not, however, classical as she uses the Christian example of the Virgin to promote such patience.

Hee! Mes dames du monde qui passes en ce siecle par le chemin de tribulacion en maintes adversitez, mires-vous en la patience de ceste tres glorieuse dame et vous aures cause de pourter voz douleurs paciemment.<sup>26</sup>

In Christine's final work, the Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc written in 1429, Christine credits God with total power and control, considering Him responsible for all events:

Mais or vueil raconter comment  
Dieu a tout ce fait de sa grace,<sup>27</sup>

God is very much in evidence as the inspiration and primary force behind the historic events that Christine relates. It is also noted joyfully that God finally upholds the righteous whom Fortune has persecuted and Fortune's power is ultimately denied:

Notez se Dieu, en qui habonde  
Toute grace, est point secourable  
Au droit en fin. C'est fait notable,  
Consideré le present cas!  
Si soit aux deceüz valable,  
Que Fortune a flati à cas!<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Ford, Heures de contemplacion, Lines 1062-1065.

<sup>27</sup>Kennedy and Varty, Jehanne d'Arc, P.29, Huitain VII.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., P.29, Huitain VIII.

Thus we see a distinct evolution in Christine's attitude towards Fortune over the span of her career. What is particularly striking in this evolution is the increase in her advocacy of remedies and the corresponding decrease of complaints over the years. The proliferation of references to remedies in the later works reveals an intellectual mastering of the apparent hostility of the world. Powerless to prevent or deflect the onslaught of adversity at every level of experience (personal, social, national), Christine deliberately cultivates the one thing that is within her control, a mental attitude that allows her to deal resolutely with misfortune. This mental attitude owes much, of course, to the classical remedies which advocate the development of personal qualities such as patience, prudence and virtue. By the end of her career, however, these qualities are seen to operate effectively only within the context of Christian faith, hope, and devotion, as Christine becomes wholly reconciled with God.

In the Livre du corps de policie, Christine writes of a noble and valiant Roman named Paulus Crassus, who, when defeated and taken in battle, provoked his enemy into killing him rather than live a life of enslavement and humiliation. Thus, although Crassus could not prevent his defeat at the hands of Fortune he could, through the strength of his personal courage and mental attitude, overcome Fortune's intent. Christine de Pizan demonstrates in her final works that, in the manner of Crassus, she too has triumphed over Fortune:

Crassus monstra a fortune qu'il n'estoit mie en sa puissance, quoyque par elle le corps fut vaincu<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Lucas, Livre du corps de policie, Part 2, Chap.VIII, P.122.

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The bibliography is divided into the following headings and subheadings:

### PRIMARY SOURCES

MANUSCRIPTS OF CHRISTINE DE PIZAN

EDITIONS OF CHRISTINE DE PIZAN

EDITIONS OF CLASSICAL AND OTHER MEDIAEVAL TEXTS

### SECONDARY WORKS CONSULTED

ON CHRISTINE DE PIZAN

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## APPENDIX A

### REFERENCES TO FORTUNE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY

This appendix contains a listing of all references found in Christine de Pizan's texts, other than the Livre de la mutacion de Fortune, concerning Fortune as a personified goddess. Some of the surrounding text is quoted in order to situate the reference and assist in clarifying its meaning.

References to Fortune that are quoted in this appendix come from the sources listed below. Titles are usually abbreviated in the appendix in the interests of space. The abbreviated title used is to be found in the list of sources after the full bibliographic reference and enclosed in brackets.

Texts are listed, as far as possible, chronologically. The chronology used is that which appears in Vol.1, No.1 of The Christine de Pizan Society Newsletter. As no date was given for the collection known as the Autres Balades, I have assigned the dates c.1394-c.1410 for this collection.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This date is a compromise between the date given in the Christine de Pizan Society Newsletter for the author's earliest compositions and the dates given on P.25 of A.J. Kennedy and K. Varty's edition of the Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc.

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[Cent ballades d'amant et de dame]

[Débat de deux amans]

[Dit de Poissy]

[Duc des vrais amans]

[Epistre à Eustache Morel]

[Epistre au dieu d'Amours]

[Enseignemens moraux]

[Livre des trois jugemens]

[Proverbes moraux]

[Rondeaux]

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[Cité des dames]

## REFERENCES TO FORTUNE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY

TITLE	PAGE REFERENCE	TEXT
<b>c. 1394</b>		
Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.4 Ballade III Lines 13-16	(On Leander and Hero) Mais Fortune qui a fait maint oultrage, Et a mains bons assez de meschiefs donne, Fist en la mer trop tempesteux orage. Voies comment amours amans ordonne!
Cent ballades	Vol.1 Pp.8-9 Ballade VII	Ha! Fortune très doloureuse, Que tu m'as mis du hault au bas! Ta pointure très venimeuse A mis mon cuer en mains debas. Ne me povoyes nuire en cas Ou tu me fusses plus crueuse, Que de moy oster le soulas, Qui ma vie tenoit joyeuse.  Je fus jadis si eüreuse; Ce me sembloit qu'il n'estoit pas Ou monde plus beneüreuse; Alors ne craignois tes las, Grever ne me pouoit plein pas Ta très fausse envie haïneuse, Que de moy oster le soulas, Qui ma vie tenoit joyeuse.  Horrible, inconstant, tenebreuse, Trop m'as fait jus flatir a cas Par ta grant malice envieuse Par qui me viennent maulx a tas. Que ne vengoyes tu, hélas! Autrement t'yre mal piteuse, Que de moy oster le solas, Qui ma vie tenoit joyeuse?  Trés doulz Princes, ne fu ce pas Cruaulté male et despiteuse, Que de moy oster le solas, Qui ma vie tenoit joyeuse?

Cent ballades      Vol.1 P.9  
Ballade VIII

Il a long temps que mon mal comença,  
N'oncques depuis ne fina d'empirer  
Mon las estat, qui puis ne s'avança,  
Que Fortune me vout si atirer  
Qu'il me convint de moy tout bien tirer;  
Et du grief mal qu'il me fault recevoir  
C'est bien raison que me doye doloir.

Le dueil que j'ay si me tient de pieça,  
Mais tant est grant qu'il me fait desirer  
Morir briefment, car trop mal me cassa  
Quant ce m'avint qui me fait aïrer;  
Ne je ne puis de nul costé virer,  
Que je voye riens qui me puist valoir.  
C'est bien raison que me doye doloir.

Ce fist miseur qui me desavança,  
Et Fortune qui vout tout dessirer  
Mon boneür; car depuis lors en ça  
Nul bien ne pos par devers moy tirer,  
Ne je ne sçay penser ne remirer,  
Comment je vif; et de tel mal avoir  
C'est bien raison que me doye doloir.

Cent ballades      Vol.1 P.11  
Ballade X

Se Fortune a ma mort jurée,  
Et du tout tasche a moy destruire,  
Ou soye si maleürée,  
Qu'il faille qu'en dueil vive et muire,  
Que me vault donc pestrir ne cuire,  
Tirer, bracier, ne peine traire,  
Puis que Fortune m'est contraire?

Pieça de joye m'a tirée,  
Ne puis ne fina de moy nuire,  
Encore est vers moy si yrée,  
Qu'adès me fait de mal en pire,  
Quanque bastis elle descire,  
Et quel proffit pourroye attraire,  
Puis que Fortune m'est contraire?

Son influence desraée  
Cuidoie tous jours desconfire,  
Par bien faire a longue endurée,  
Cuidant veoir aucun temps luire  
Pour moy qui meseür fait fuire.  
Mais riens n'y vault, je n'y puis traire,  
Puis que Fortune m'est contraire.

Cent ballades

Vol.1 P.13  
Ballade XII

Qui trop se fie es grans biens de Fortune,  
En verité, il en est deceü;  
Car inconstant elle est plus que la lune.  
Maint des plus grans s'en sont aperceü,  
De ceulz meismes qu'elle a hault acreeü,  
Trebusche tost, et ce voit on souvent  
Que ses joyes ne sont fors que droit vent.

Qui vit, il voit que c'est chose commune  
Que nul, tant soit parfait ne esleü,  
N'est espargné quant Fortune repugne  
Contre son bien, c'est son droit et deü  
De retoulir le bien qu'on a eü,  
Vent chierement, ce scet fol et sçavant  
Que ses joyes ne sont fors que droit vent.

De sa guise qui n'est pas a touz une  
Bien puis parler; car je l'ay bien sceü,  
Las moy dolens! car la fausse et enfrune  
M'a a ce cop trop durement neü,  
Car tollu m'a ce dont Dieu pourveü  
M'avoit, hélas! bien vois apercevent  
Que ses joyes ne sont fors que droit vent.

- Cent ballades      Vol.1 P.19      (On Christine's sadness)  
 Ballade XVIII      Aucunes gens ne me finent de dire  
 Lines 1-14      Pour quoy je suis si malencolieuse,  
                          Et plus chanter ne me voyent ne rire,  
                          Mais plus simple qu'une religieuse,  
                          Qui estre sueil si gaye et si joyeuse.  
                          Mais a bon droit se je ne chante mais;  
                          Car trop grief dueil est en mon cuer remais.
- Et tant a fait Fortune, Dieu lui mire!  
                          Qu'elle a changié en vie doloireuse  
                          Mes jeux, mes ris, et ce m'a fait eslire  
                          Dueil pour soulas, et vie trop greveuse.  
                          Si ay raison d'estre morne et songeuse,  
                          Ne n'ay espoir que j'aye mieulx jamais;  
                          Car trop grief dueil est en mon cuer remais.
- Cent ballades      Vol.1 P.25      (A lady speaks to her lover)  
 Ballade XXIV      Et la doulour qui en mon cuer norrie  
 Lines 9-16      S'est longuement, qui tant m'a fait d'amer,  
                          Le bien de vous a de tous poins tarie;  
                          Or ne me puis complaindre ne blasmer  
                          De Fortune qui devient  
                          Bonne pour moy, se en ce point se tient.  
                          Mis m'en avez en la voye et adrece;  
                          Car vous tout seul me tenez en leece.
- Cent ballades      Vol.1 P.34      (A lady bids adieu to her lover)  
 Ballade XXXIII      Je mourray, n'en faites doubtes,  
 Lines 17-24      Sans veoir vo doulz accueil.  
                          Ha! Fortune, tu me boutes  
                          En dur point, puis que my oeil,  
                          Fors par pensée prochaine,  
                          Ne verront cil qui retient  
                          Mon cuer : c'est chose certaine,  
                          Puis que partir vous convient.



De commun cours chascun a trop plus chiers  
De Fortune les biens, que de Nature;  
Mais c'est a tort, car ilz sont si legiers  
Qu'on n'en devroit a nul fuer avoir cure.

Boëce en fait mension  
En son livre de Consolacion,  
Qui reprove de Fortune la gloire;  
Si font pluseurs sages qui font a croire.

Et non obstant que ces dons soient chiers,  
Et que chascun a les avoir met cure,  
Si veons nous qu'honneurs et grans deniers  
Tost deffailent, et a maint petit dure

La grant exaltacion  
De Fortune, qui a condicion  
De tost changier, ce nous dit mainte hystoire;  
Si font pluseurs sages qui font a croire.

Mais si certains de Nature et entiers  
Sont les grans biens, que nulle creature  
N'en est rempli, qui lui soit ja mestiers  
D'avoir paour de Fortune la dure.

C'est sens et discrecion  
Entendement, consideracion,  
Aristote moult apreuve memoire;  
Si font pluseurs sages qui font a croire.

c.1394

Rondeaux

Vol.1 P.150  
Rondeaux VI

En esperant de mieulx avoir,  
Me fault le temps dissimuler,  
Combien que voye reculer  
Toutes choses a mon vouloir

Pour tant s'il me fault vestir noir  
Et simplement moy affuler,  
En esperant de mieulx avoir,

Se Fortune me fait douloir,  
Il le me convient endurer,  
Et selon le temps moy riuler  
Et en bon gré tout recevoir,  
En esperant de mieulx avoir.

Rondeaux

Vol.1 P.182  
Rondeaux LXII  
Lines 8-12

Source de plour, riviere de tristece,  
Flun de doulour, mer d'amertume pleine  
M'avironnent et noyent en grant peine  
Mon povvre cuer qui trop sent de destresce

Si m'affondent et plungent en asprece;  
Car parmi moy cuerent plus fort que Saine  
Source de plour, rivere de tristece.

Et leurs grans floz cheent a grant largece,  
Si com le vent de Fortune les meine,  
Tous dessus moy, dont si bas suis qu'a peine  
Releveray, tant durement m'opresse  
Source de plour, riviere de tristece.

c. 1394

Virelais

Vol.1 Pp.104-  
105 Virelay IV

Comme autre fois me suis plainte  
Et complaintte,  
De toy, desloial Fortune,  
Qui commune  
Es a tous, en guise mainte,  
Et moult faintte.

Si n'es pas encore lasse  
De moy nuire,  
Ainçois ta fausse fallace  
Me fait cuire

Le cuer, dont j'ay couleur tainte;  
Car atteinte  
Suis de douleur et rancune,  
Non pas une  
Seule mais de mille ençainte  
Et estrainte,  
Comme autre fois me suis plainte.

Mais il n'est riens qui ne passe;  
Pour ce cuire  
Me convient en celle masse  
Pour moy cuire

En tes tours qui m'ont destraintte  
Et contraintte,  
Si que n'ay joye nesune  
O enfrune!  
Desloial! tu m'as enpaintte  
En grant craintte,  
Comme autre fois me suis plainte.

Virelais

Vol.1 Pp.115-  
116 Virelay  
XIV Lines 14-  
22

Pour riens me vais soustenant  
Puis que Fortune encharnée  
Est sus moi, qui demenant  
Par mainte très dure année

Me va, et Dieux est si sours  
Qu'il ne daigne vers moy traire  
Son oreille debonnaire;  
Pour ce, plus tost que le cours,  
Trestout me vient a rebours.

c. 1394 - c. 1410

- Autres ballades Vol.1 Pp.207-208 Ballade I Lines 9-16 Et bonté faitte est haultement merie,  
Car Dieu le rend, et qui le bien porchace  
Acquiert honnour, soit en chevalerie  
Ou aultre estat, qui des bons suit la trace.  
Loz doit avoir sur tous en toute place  
Qui es vertus du tout son cuer affiche;  
Tel tresor a que fortune n'efface;  
Car qui est bon doit estre appellé riche.
- Autres ballades Vol.1 Pp.214-215 Ballade VII Lines 1-10 Se de Pallas me peüsse accointier  
Joye et tout bien ne me fauldroit jamais;  
Car par elle je seroie ou sentier  
De reconfort, et de porter le fais  
Que Fortune a pour moy trop chargier fais;  
Mais foible suis pour soustenir  
Si grant faissel, s'elle ne vient tenir  
De l'autre part, par son poissant effort  
Pour moy aidier, Dieu m'i doint avenir,  
Car de Juno n'ay je nul reconfort.
- Autres ballades Vol.1 P.223 Ballade XIV Lines 1-16 Viegne Pallas, la deesse honnourable,  
Moy conforter en ma dure destresse,  
Ou mon anui et peine intollerable  
Mettront a fin ma vie en grant asprece.  
Car Fortune me cuert sure  
Qui tout mon bien destruit, rompt et deveure,  
Et pou d'esperoir me destraint jour et nuit;  
Juno me het et meseür me nuit.
- Ne je ne truis nul confort secourable  
A mon meschief, ainçois quant je me drece  
Vers quelque part ou voye reparable  
Deusse trouver, tout le rebours m'adrece,  
Et en vain peine et labeure;  
Car Fortune despece tout en l'eure  
Quanque j'ay fait, ou me plaise ou m'anuit;  
Juno me het et meseür me nuit.

- Autres ballades      Vol.1 P.224  
Ballade XV  
Lines 9-24
- Ne peut avoir, tant ait nul acointié,  
Son las d'argent : charité endormie  
Treuve en chascun, dont tout ne la moitié  
N'en puet avoir, Fortune est s'anemie  
    Qui survenir  
Lui fait maint mal, si ne puet soustenir  
Son povre estat ou elle met grant cure  
Se Dieu et vous ne la prenez en cure.
- Si vous plaise que par vous exploistié  
Soit de son fait, car ja plus que demie  
Est cheoite au bas, dont a cuer dehaitié  
Souventes fois et de soussi blesmie,  
    Dont si tenir  
A memoire vueilliez et retenir  
Son fait qu'a chief en soit ou trop endure  
Se Dieu et vous ne la prenez en cure.
- Autres ballades      Vol.1 Pp.245-  
246 Ballade  
XXXIII Lines  
15-21
- Vous ne plaignez le damage  
Dont il s'ensuivroit maint plour  
Se Fortune et son outrage  
Vous jouoit de son faulx tour.  
Dieux vous en gard, qui tousjour  
A victoire vous amaine,  
D'entreprendre armes et peine.
- Autres ballades      Vol.1 Pp.266-  
267 Ballade LI
- Trop sont divers et merueilleux les tours  
De l'inconstant, double et faulsse Fortune;  
Car ses maulx sont moult loncs, et ses biens cours;  
Nous le voyons, et c'est chose commune,  
Dont je ne voy pourveance fors qu'une  
Contre elle; c'est que l'omme soit si saige  
Qu'il n'ait des biens d'elle leece aucune,  
Et ait ou mal fort et poissant couraige.
- Veoir pouons que tout vient a rebours  
Souvent aux bons par sa fellasse enfrune,  
Et aux mauvais, sans desserte ou labours,  
Rent bon guerdon, mais de deux voyes l'une:  
Ou reconfort ou lenguir en rencune;  
Prendre conseil convient si qu'homs se targe  
De bon espoir, quoy qu'elle luy soit brune,  
Et ait ou mal fort et poissant couraige.

Car puis que ses joyes ne font qu'un cours  
Par le monde general en commune  
Que nous veons plus souvent en decours  
Sus les greigneurs meismes que n'est la lune,  
Homme ne doit les prisier une prune,  
Mais, s'ilz viennent, pensser qu'en petit d'aage  
Perdre on les puet, seurté n'y ait aucune,  
Et ait ou mal fort et poissant couraige.

Princes, soyés certains qu'oncques ne fu ne  
Ja ne sera Fortune fors voulaige;  
En soit chascun avisié et chascune,  
Et ait ou mal fort et poissant couraige.

Autres ballades      Vol.1 P.268  
Ballade LIII

Je ne croy pas que ma malle fortune  
Puisse souffrir qu'aucun bien me secuere;  
Car de long temps, par rigne trop commune,  
M'a couru sus, et quanque je labeure  
N'est fors en vain ; car tout despicee en l'eure  
La desloyal qui tout mal me pourchace;  
Quant bien me doit venir, miseur l'en chace.

N'il ne me vient a nulle heure pas une  
Riens a droit point, pour chose que je queure,  
La ou secours cuid trouver, mais nesune  
Voye n'y a: il fault que je demeure  
A tousjours mais ainsi, par quoy je pleure  
Souvent, veant que, par diverse chace,  
Quant bien me doit venir, miseur l'en chace.

Et puis qu'ainsi tel fortune respune  
A tout boneur pour moy et tout deveure  
Mes reconfors, avoir ne doy aucune  
Esperance de jamais veoir l'eure  
D'avoir reppos du mal qui m'acuere;  
Car je congnois qu'a tout quanque rechace,  
Quant bien me doit venir, miseur l'en chace.

Princes, ainsi a cuer plus noir que meure  
Me fault lenguir; car tout vent me dechace;  
Est ce bien droit meschief qui me cuert seure,  
Quant bien me doit venir, miseur l'en chace?

1399

Epistre au dieu d'Amours	Vol.2 P.8 Lines 233-240	Le bon Othe de Grançon le vaillant, Qui pour armes tant s'alla traveillant, Courtois, gentil, preux, bel et gracieux Fu en son temps, Dieux en ait l'ame es cieulx! Car chevalier fu moult bien entechié. Qui mal lui fist je tiens qu'il fist pechié, Non obstant ce que lui nuisi Fortune, Mais de grever au bons elle est commune.
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1399 - 1400

Epistle of Othea P.91 Section  
LXXIV

Texte

In Fortune, that greet myghti goddesse,  
Trust not to myche ne in hir promesse;  
For in a litil space sche chaungith,  
And the highest ofte ouer-throwith.

Glose

Fortune, aftir the speking of poetis, may wel be callid the greet goddesse, for be hir we see that worldly thingis be gouerned. And be-cause that sche promissith to many prosperite ynough - and, in-deede, to some sche ghivith it and in litil space takith it away, whan it pleasith hir - it is seide to the good knyghte that he schulde nat trust in hir promysse ne disconfort him not in his adversitees. And Socrates seith: The cours of fortune farith as engins.

Allegorie

The cause whi that he seith that he schulde not trust in fortune, we may vndirstande that the good spirit schuld flee & dispreise worldly delites. Therfor Bois seith in the thirde book of Consolacion that the felicite of the Egituriens schuld be callid vnfelicite, for the ful & perfitgh felicite is that the whiche makith man sufficiently myghti, reuerende, solempne & ioyeux, the which condicions resist not the thingis where-vppon worldly pepill settith there felicite. Therefore God seith be the prophete Isaie: Popule meus, qui te beatum dicunt, ipsi te decipiunt. Isaie iij<sup>o</sup> capitulo.

Epistle of Othea P.95 Section  
LXXVIII Glose  
Lines 13-19

(On dreams)

...Therefore it is seide to the good knyght that he should not be to hevy ne to mery for such avisions, by the whiche man may not shewe no certeyne knowleche ne to what thing thei shall turne, and namely that a man shoulde not be to mery ne to hevy for thingis of fortune, the which be transitorie. Socrates seith: thou that arte a man, thou shouldist not be to hevy ne to mery for no maner cause.

Epistle of Othea P.116 Section  
XCVII Texte  
and Glose

Texte

Trustith not to haue a sure castell;  
For Ylion, the faire stronge castell,  
Was take and brent, & so was Thune.  
All is in the handis of fortune.

Glose

Ylion was the maister dongeon of Troye, & the strengist & the fairest castell that euer was made of the which stories maketh mencyon; but not-withstanding it was take & brent & brought to nought, and so was the cite of Thune, the which was somtyme a greet thing. And be-cause that such cases falleth be the change-abilnes of fortune, it is desired that the good knyght should not be proude in him-silf ne think him-silf sure for no strengthe. Therefore Tholome seith: the higher that a lord be reised, the perlioser is the ouerthrowe.

1400

- Débat de deux  
amans      Vol.2 Pp.63-64  
                 Lines 481-492      (The unhappy lover talks)  
                 Et tout soit il ou jeune ou meüré,  
                 Ou bel ou bon, ja si beneüré  
                 Ne se verra que très maleüré  
                 Il ne se claime  
                 Souventes fois, se parfaitement aime.  
                 Car Fortune, qui les discordes semme,  
                 En plus perilz que nef qui va a reme,  
                 Par maintes voyes,  
                 Le fichera, mais le las toutevoies  
                 Tout le peril ne prisera deux oies  
                 Mais qu'il ne perde aucunes de ses joyes  
                 Chier achetées.
- Débat de deux  
amans      Vol.2 P.64  
                 Lines 511-516      (More from the unhappy lover)  
                 N'il n'a en soy autre soin n'aultre cure  
                 Que celle part  
                 Ou il aime; si a quitté sa part  
                 De tous les biens que Fortune depart  
                 Pour cellui seul, qui pou lui en espart,  
                 Certes peut estre.
- Débat de deux  
amans      Vol.2 P.92  
                 Lines 1440-  
                 1450      (The happy lover talks)  
                 Et meismement  
                 Tristan, de qui parlastes ensement,  
                 En devint preux; se l'ystoire ne ment,  
                 Pour amours vint le bon commencement  
                 De sa prouece;  
                 Et non obstant qu'il moru a destrece  
                 Par Fortune, qui maint meschief adrece,  
                 Tant de bien fit pour sa dame et maistrece  
                 Qu'a tousjours mais  
                 Sera parlé de ses haultains biensfais,  
                 Ce fist Amours par qui il fu parfaits.

Débat de deux  
amants

Vol.2 P.93  
Lines 1481-  
1489

(More from the happy lover)  
Et Eneas, après qu'ot esté arse  
La grant cité de Troye, a qui reverse  
Fu Fortune qui maint reaume verse,  
    Quant il par mer  
Aloit vagant a cuer triste et amer  
Ne ne finoit de ses Dieux reclamer,  
Mais bon secours lui survint pour amer,  
    Car accueilli  
Fu de Dido la belle et recueilli;

- Livre des trois jugemens      Vol.2 P.132  
Lines 686-692      (Beginning second case)  
Or vueil sans arrestance  
Vous raconter, fust foiblece ou constance,  
Ce qu'il avint  
A deux amants beaulz et gens entre vint,  
Loyaulz et bons, mais trop leur mesavint  
Par Fortune, dont chascun d'eulx devint  
Morne et pensis :
- Livre des trois jugemens      Vol.2 P.135  
Lines 786-792      (Continuing second case)  
Ainsi souvent son doulz ami veoit,  
Si lui dura, si comme elle disoit,  
Tout un esté  
Ce très doulz temps, mais Fortune apresté  
A mains meschiefs aux amans et esté  
Leur contraire, et souvent a arresté  
Tous leurs depors.
- Livre des trois jugemens      Vol.2 P.144  
Lines 1085-1092      (Continuing second case)  
Mon vray ami, je n'y sçay voye aucune  
D'autre deport. Dieux qui fist ciel et lune  
Vous reconfort et moy qui par Fortune  
Suis mise au bas  
Doint brief finer, car de tous les esbas  
Quitte ma part et en plourant rabas  
Tous mes soulas, ne vueil autre repas  
Ne autre joye.
- Livre des trois jugemens      Vol.2 P.144  
Lines 1101-1112      (Continuing second case)  
Ainsi Fortune ot tout mal aspreté  
Aux deux amans et tout leur bien osté,  
Et ja par deux yvers et un esté  
Enduré orent  
Ces grans anuys, ne veoir ne se porent,  
Tant travailler ne pener ne s'i sçorent;  
Dont tout l'espoir avoir perdu ilz dorent,  
Comme il sembla  
A l'amant qui gaires mais n'en troubla  
Et avec gent plus souvent assembla  
Qu'il n'ot apris et son corps affubla  
Plus sur le gay;

1400

- Dit de Poissy      Vol.2 P.197  
 Line 1271 -  
 P.198 Line  
 1280
- (The lady talks of her plight - her lover is captured)  
 Et Turquie, puisses estre perie  
    Long et travers!  
 Qui fis aler Monseigneur de Nevers  
 En ton païs desloyal et divers,  
 A qui Fortune ala trop a revers  
    A celle fois,  
 Ou moururent tant de vaillans François  
 Et d'autre gent bons, gentilz et courtois,  
 Dont le dommage est et fu de grief pois  
    Et trop grevable.
- Dit de Poissy      Vol.2 P.199  
 Lines 1319-  
 1328
- (On same)  
 Et se la mort me prenoit ou voyage,  
    De par Dieu fust;  
 Durast mon corps tant comme durer peust;  
 Et se Fortune vouloit et li pleust  
 Que jusques la alasse, et il y fust,  
    Et tant feïsse  
 Qu'en la prison ou il est me meïsse,  
 Ne cuidiez pas que la durté haïsse,  
 Non pour mon corps, du lieu, et l'en treïsse,  
    Ce m'est avis.
- Dit de Poissy      Vol.2 P.202  
 Lines 1405-  
 1413
- (The squire talks of his plight - unrequited love)  
 Mais Fortune, qui sans cesser labeure  
 Pour nuyre aux gens, me vult lors corir sure,  
 Car je n'avoye ains, se Dieux me sequeure,  
    Soing ne tristour;  
 Jolis et gay estoye en mon atour  
 Et joennement je vivoie a tout tour,  
 Ne cognoissoie alors d'amour le tour  
    Ne sa pointure  
 Qui m'a depuis esté diverse et dure.

Dit de Poissy	Vol.2 P.203 Lines 1454- 1456	(On same) Ou lieu entray ou Fortune la voye Lors m'adreça qui a mort me convoye Sans departance.
Dit de Poissy	Vol.2 P.218 Line 1960 - P.219 Line 1968	(The squire claims that the lady's situation is the better) Car qui est d'oeil Moult esloingnié, pou lui dure son deuil; Et si pouez avenir a vo vueil Prochainement et tout en aultre fueil Soy atorner, Fortune qui a voulu bestourner Vo bien en mal, si se porra tourner Si que verrez vostre ami retourner Et tost mander.

## 1400 - 1401

Enseignemens moraux	Vol.3 P.28 Quatrain IV	Tant t'estudies a enquerre Que prudence puisse acquerre, Car celle est des vertus la mere Qui chace Fortune l'amere.
Enseignemens moraux	Vol.3 P.28 Quatrain V	En quelque estat que soyes mis Par Fortune ou tu es soubz mis Gouvernes toy si en tel ordre Que de vivre en sens ayes ordre.
Enseignemens moraux	Vol.3 P.29 Quatrain XV	Se Fortune t'a tant amé Que tu soyes seigneur clamé Entre tes subgiez perilleux Ne soies, ne trop orgueilleux.
Enseignemens moraux	Vol.3 P.34 Quatrain XLV	Se tu vois Fortune propice A toy en chevance ou office, Pour toy et pour les tiens t'atourne D'acquerir ains qu'elle se tourne.
Enseignemens moraux	Vol.3 P.36 Quatrain LX	Se Fortune t'a bien hault mis Par seigneurs ou ayde d'amis, Ne sueffre trop te faire honneurs Qu'envie n'en sourde es meneurs.
Enseignemens moraux	Vol.3 P.41 Quatrain XC	Se es par Fortune desmis D'office et a povreté mis, Penses qu'on se muert en pou d'eure Et qu'ou ciel est nostre demeure.



**1400 - 1401**

Proverbes  
moraux

Vol.3 P.48  
Verse 26

Homs qui ne craint Fortune n'est pas sage  
Car moult souvent conduit a dur passage.

1401-1404

Roman de la  
Rose debate

P.25 Lines 35-  
43

Et se tu tant desprises mes raisons pour la petitesse de ma faculté (laquelle tu me repprouches de dire "comme femme", etc.), saiches de vray que ce ne tiens je a villenie ou aucun repprouche, pour le reconfort de la noble memoire et continuelle experience de tres grant foison vaillans / femmes avoir esté et estre tres dignes de louenge et en toutes vertus apries, auxquelles mieulx vouldroye ressembler que estre enrichie de tous les biens de fortune.

1402 - 1403

Chemin de long estude	P.3 Line 61 - P.4 Line 79	(Christine begins her narrative) Comme fortune perverse M'ait esté long temps adverse, Encor ne se puet lasser De moy nuire sanz cesser Par son tour qui pluseurs tue, Qui du tout m'a abatue; Dont de doulour excessive Souvent seulete et pensive Suis, regretant le temps passé Joieux qui m'est ore effacé Tout par elle et par la mort Dont le souvenir me mort, Sans cesser remembrant cellui Par lequel sanz autre nullui Je vivoie joieusement Et si tres glorieusement, Quant la mort le vint haper, Que de moy il n'avoit per En ce monde, ce m'iert vis:
Chemin de long estude	P.5 Lines 109- 114	(Christine loses her husband) Ainsi un temps me dura, Mais fortune procura Tant qu'el lui osta la vie Bien croy qu'el avoit envie Du tres joieux temps plaisant Dont cellui m'estoit aisant.

Chemin de long estude	P.7 Line 147 - P.8 Line 169	<p>(Christine's troubles begin)</p> <p>Ainsi vint le commencement De tout mon desavancement Par fortune qui m'assailli, Ne oncques puis ne me failli; Ains a si bien continué, Que cuer et corps a desnüé De joie et de bonne aventure, De tous biens par mesaventure, Par meschief et par miseur Qui pieca m'osta tout eur, Tant que du tout suis au bas; Et pour neant me debas: Puis qu'elle l'a entrepris, Mon cuer rendra mort ou pris. Pris est il en si dur las Que l'estrainte le fait las. Si ay cause de douloir, Tout me puist il pou valoir; Et pour ce que suis en ce point Par fortune qui si me point, Voulientiers suis solitaire Pour le deuil qu'il me fault taire Devant gent, a par moy plaindre.</p>
Chemin de long estude	P.10 Lines 235- 240	<p>(Referring to Boethius's <u>Consolatio Philosophiae</u>)</p> <p>Mais sages est qui se fie En Dieu, car philosophie Qui l'ot a l'escole apris, Ne l'avoit pas en despris Pour exil ne pour contraire Ne pour fortune contraire;</p>

- Chemin de long  
estude P.11 Lines 252- (Prosperity cannot be relied upon)  
264  
Si ne se doit nullui troubler  
Pour les biens perdre qu'assembler  
Fortune a fait, qui tolt et donne  
Et a son vouloir en ordonne.  
N'il n'est nulz biens fors de vertus,  
Et ceulx sont tousdis en vertus;  
Fortune ne les puet tollir,  
Tout puist richeces retollir;  
Et cil qui en est enrichis,  
Jamais jour ne sera flechis  
A ce pour riens qui puist venir  
Que douloureux puist devenir.
- Chemin de long P.12 Lines 267- (Boece's Philosophy denoues good fortune)  
estude 272  
Et par vive raison monstra  
Philosophie et demonstra  
Par pluseurs poins que plus doubtable  
Et mains seure et mains prouffitable  
Est bonne fortune que male,  
Tout soit elle diverse et male.
- Chemin de long P.14 Lines 315- (Christine's thoughts as she falls asleep)  
estude 322  
Il me va venir au devant,  
Comment ce monde n'est que vent,  
Pou durable, plain de tristour,  
Ou na seurté ne bon tour,  
Ou les plus grans ne sont asseur  
De fortune et de miseur,  
Comment si corroupt est le monde  
Qu'a paine y a personne monde.

- Chemin de long  
estude P.95 Line 2203 (On what Christine sees in the heavens)  
- P.96 Line  
2222 Si n'oz pas la esté gramment,  
Quant j'apperceu visiblement  
La royne de tout miseur,  
De qui le mouvement non seur  
Met tout le monde en grant rancune.  
C'est la descordable Fortune,  
Et celle ay je tost congneue,  
Car autre part je l'oz veue.  
La fausse a double regardeure,  
La d'influence mal seure  
S'affubloit et moult ordenoit  
Du meschief qu'au monde donnoit  
Et des biens non seurs autressi;  
Et non obstant que fust yci,  
Pour ses influences y prendre,  
Ne puet elle mordre ne prendre,  
Donner, tollir ne faire acquerre  
Nulle part, se ce n'est sus terre:  
La est sa principal demeure,  
Combien qu'en l'air fust a celle heure.
- Chemin de long  
estude P.123 Lines (The four estates plead before Dame Reason)  
2831-2842 O vous quatre, les Influences  
Contraintes aux obeissances  
Des haulz regards celestiaux,  
Des cieus mouvans officiaux,  
Qui de fortune acompaigniees  
Et du cours du ciel enseigniees,  
L'univers monde gouvernez  
Et les cuers des humains menez  
Par tant de vains desirs vagans,  
Qu'ilz font d'eulx meismes telz lagans  
Que vie et leur ame desprisent  
Pour voz faulx biens qu'ilz plus qu'eulx prisent:
- Chemin de long  
estude P.167 Line (Richesse speaks)  
3905 - P.168  
Line 3908 Ainsi ne puet, sanz mon avoir,  
Homme nul grant conquest avoir;  
Mais d'un denier on en fait cent,  
Se fortune el veult et consent.

Chemin de long P.173 Lines  
estude 4037-4045 (Richesse speaks)  
Le temps est passé que souloient  
Estre avanciez ceulx qui valoient  
Ou en prouece ou en savoir  
Mais a present on puet savoir  
Comment, entre moy et fortune,  
N'y gardons droiture nesune;  
Ains qui en puet avoir en ait,  
Ne fault ja estre bon ne net,  
Pour acquerir de mes avoires.

Chemin de long P.206 Lines  
estude 4825-4836 (What authors say about riches)  
A ce propos en une page  
De tranquillité de courage  
Redit Seneque et nous raconte  
D'un philosophe qui pou compte  
De vaines richeces tenoit,  
Toutefois un pou s'y tenoit.  
Un jour tout son vaillant perdi;  
S'on lui embla ou s'il ardi,  
Ne say, mais lors dist a delivre:  
Or m'a fait fortune delivre  
Et a contempler plus abille  
En philosophie soubtille.

1403 - 1405

- Duc des vrais  
amans
- Vol.3 P.104  
Lines 1490-  
1497
- (The lover expresses, in a ballade, his unhappiness at the lady's returning home)  
Ha! mesdisans, ceste euvre avez bastie  
Et pour ma mort forgé[e] a dure enclume;  
Fortune s'est a mon mal consentie,  
Qui chiere n'a ne ma char ne ma plume.  
Or n'y sçay voye  
Fors que morir, Dieu pri qu'il m'y convoie,  
Car sans vous n'est riens qui me peust souffire.  
Hé las! comment vous pourray je a Dieu dire!
- Duc des vrais  
amans
- Vol.3 P.109  
Lines 1647-  
1650
- (On same)  
Ha! douce flour a qui tout je m'ottroye,  
Je sens mon cuer par trop amer estraindre,  
Et Fortune ne veult que vous revoye;  
Si ne m'en sçay a autre que vous plaindre.
- Duc des vrais  
amans
- Vol.3 P.159  
Lines 3125-  
3131
- (The lady tells her lover that her confidante, who arranges the lovers' trysts, is leaving)  
Joye ainsi me fu donnée,  
Com vous oez, et mennée  
Fu par moy leesce et feste.  
Mais Fortune, qui est preste,  
Quant elle puet, de destruire  
Les amans, me cuida nuire  
Tost après assez griefment,



**1404**

Epistre à  
Eustache Morel

Vol.2 P.300  
Lines 177-185

Et ce puis pour certain tenir,  
Car bien m'en sçay a quoy tenir,  
Et Fortune m'a fait maistresce  
Du sçavoir par preuve, mais très ce  
Que fus en ses liens liée  
Nul ne vint plus a chiere liée  
M'offrir confort en bonne entente  
Fors puet estre ainsi comme en tente  
Les simples pour les decepvoir,



- Charles V Vol.1 Part 2 (On the founding of chivalry)  
 Chap.II Pp.114-115 ...ordennerent que le prince fust en bataille entre ses meilleurs gens, en la plus fort eschiele et la plus deffensable; encore fu sagement regardé, redoubtant la variacion de Fortune, que tout ainsi que quant le chief est ferus le corps et les membres sont enfermes et douloureux, que aussi la prise ou mort du prince pourroit estre la perdicion de tous les subgiez, n'estoit mie expedient que sanz trop grant neccessité prince en propre personne alast en bataille, et pour ce avisa le prince à eslire un superieur, le plus esprouvé, sage et expert en ordre d'armes, qui, representant sa personne, eust la charge et admenistracion de tous les ostz et assemblées d'ycelle gent deffensable, et cellui appellerent 'prince de la chevalerie'.
- Charles V Vol.1 Part 2 (How Charles can be truly called chivalrous)  
 Chap.V Pp.120-121 Dès ore est temps de retourner à l'estat de nostre matiere, par si que en tenant de promesse verité soit expliqué en reale forme comment nostre sage roy Charles, non obstant que sa personne apparust le plus du temps estre à recoy en ses riches palais, fu droit chevalereux par la maniere qui à vray prince est pertinent, et entierement en lui furent les quatre graces susdittes, qui à furnir droite chevalerie conviennent; dont, pour traire à ffin la forme de noz preuves, convient revenir au temps de son couronnement, du quel procès me semble, par ce que je treuve es vrayes croniques de son temps, que tres donc Fortune au double visage volt à France commencer à demoustrer et faire luire le ray du soleil de sa riant et belle face, lequel par long temps avoit esté en ce reaume couvert de tres nubileuses et infortunées nues, car il est escript que quant Charles, ainsné filz du roy Jehan de France, se fu parti de Paris pour aler à Reins estre sacré à roy de France, adonc s'assemblerent jusques à trois mille hommes d'armes ses anemis fors et poissans, des quelz je tais les noms des capitaines et de leurs nacions, m'en raportant aux dittes croniques, qui là le voudra sçavoir, et se partirent tenant leur chemin vers Vernom, où cuidoiert passer Saine, pour aler empeschier et rompre le couronnement du dit Charles;
- Charles V Vol.1 Part 2 (On Charles's brother, Louis, the Duke of Anjou)  
 Chap.XI Pp.136 A brief parler moult de belles vertus furent en lui et, se Fortune ne lui eust nuyt oultre raison, ja n'eust en son temps failli à conquerre reaume ou empire.

- Charles V                      Vol.1 Part 2                      (On Philip, Duke of Bourgogne)  
    Chap.XIII                      Par son conseil fu fait le mariage de la fille de cestui roy et  
    Pp.146-148                      du roy Richart d'Angleterre, qui à grant honneur la receipt  
                                         en son reame, mais encore n'estoit la royne que de l'aage  
                                         de.VII.ans ; duquel dit mariage fust ensuivi si grant bien,  
                                         comme de paix perpetuelle et accroissement d'amis à ce  
                                         reame, se Fortune n'eust consenti perfaire la trahison, que  
                                         fist Henri de Lancastre, qui cellui roy Richart par faulz et  
                                         desloial tour prist et fist morir; pour laquelle trahison et  
                                         orrible mauvaistié vengier, comme sera dit cy après, la royne  
                                         d'Angleterre tournée par deça, est née à present nouvelle  
                                         guerre entre François et Anglois.
- Charles V                      Vol.1 Part 2                      (On treating with the English)  
    Chap.XXIX                      ...par ces signes, qui en homme fort doivent apparoir, povons  
    Pp.212-213                      tel nostre roy prover en touz ses fais, par especial en procès  
                                         de ses guerres, es quelles n'est nulle doubtte, et le contraire  
                                         seroit impossible, que souventes fois n'en oist des nouvelles  
                                         moult pesans et dures, selon l'entregiet de Fortune, qui  
                                         communement gouverne adventures, non obstant la Dieu  
                                         grace, au desrain, le meilleur estoit communement pour le dit  
                                         roy; avoit à la fois contre lui des desconfitures, son pais ars  
                                         et mal mis, de ses gens, amis et familiers, qu'il amoit de  
                                         grant amour, pris et occis; dont lui plein de toute pitié et  
                                         compassion avoit au cuer de grans pointures; mais pourtant,  
                                         quelque adversité qu'il eust, la commune semblance de sa  
                                         chiere n'en fust muée, ne flechissoit contre la constance de  
                                         son juste affermé propos, ouquel n'estoit recreu en labour,  
                                         soing et despense de la deffense de son peuple...

Charles V	Vol.2 Part 3 Chap.XXXV P.70	(On Charles' penalty to the banker, Symon de Dammartin) Quant le dit chevalier fu en Rodes, là où une piece se tint, comme il eust mené avec lui un sien filz jeune, et assez plein de sa voullenté et de mauvais gouvernement, comme assez en est, pour ne sçay quel meffait se courrouça le pere au filz; par quoy cellui jeune s'avisa de grant ma[u]vestié et malice; telle fu, car il escript une fausses lettres, comme se son pere l'envoiait au dit changeur, es quelles il avoit contenu que, comme Fortune lui eust esté contraire en une bataille, par quoy estoit pris des Sarrazins, en peril de perdre la vie se brief il n'avoit secours, et que pour ce hastivement il envoioit son filz querir le dit argent, qu'il lui avoit laissé en depost, duquel il lui envoioit bonne et seure quittance par le dit son filz; si gardast bien, soubz peine qu'il le reputast son anemi mortel, que au dit argent baillier et livrer à son dit filz n'eust faulte.
Charles V	Vol.2 Part 3 Chap.LXI[I] Pp.157-158	(Charles and the Schism) ...que il feroit tant vers les princes de crestienté que conseil general de tous les prelas seroit assemblé aucune part à certain jour, les .II. qui se disoient avoir droit ou pape resigneroient, et là selon la voie du saint Esperit seroit esleu par les cardinaulx et les diz prelaz tous ensemble nouvel pape, ou l'un des .II., ou tel comme Dieu leur amenistreroit, sanz à faveur visier quelconques, et se aucune des dittes .II. parties fust refusant de ceste chose, que pour le bien de paix remedié y fust selon l'esgart du dit conseil general, si que, voulsissent ou non, leur couvenist obeir à la sainte ordenance, et ceste chose avoit entencion le sage prince de mettre sus bien bresment, au temps qu'il trespasa (laquelle chose pleust à Dieu que eust esté faite, car bien et utilité perpetuele en fust ensuivi; mais Fortune, qui souvent le bien de paix destourne, ne souffri la chose acomplir, par l'abrigement de sa vie!)
Charles V	Vol.2 Part 3 Chap.LXII[I] P.160	(On understanding and science) ...aussi le roy, qui le peuple adrece, dist-il, plus est expedient la fin cognoistre que ne fait le peuple, car, dist-il, si comme l'archier, qui n'aperçoit le signe, se il le fiert c'est chose de Fortune, aussi cil qui sa fin ne cognoist, s'il devient beneuré c'est chose d'aventure...

Charles V

Vol.2 Part 3  
Chap.LXIII  
Pp.164-165

(On same)

Aucuns aussi en sont retrais par mauvaie complexion, c'est assavoir, si comme dit Geber au commencement de son livre albrimiste, ou par deffault de l'ame, ou par deffault du corps; deffault de l'ame (dist-il) organizacion es membres dedens, par lesquelz la cognoissance est faite, comme fantasieux, ydios ou folz ont; et du corps, qui est es membres ou es orgues dehors, comme ont aucuns malades sours, ou qui n'ont point de veue; lesquelles choses aucune fois avient par nature ou par Fortune; mais ceulz n'en pevent mais; ou par excès, comme sont luxurieux et gloux, et ceulz sont comme bestes...

## 1404 - 1405

- Cité des dames      Book 1                      (Penthesilea speaking to the corpse of Hector)  
Chap.XIX P.79      Pourquoi Fortune me fut-elle si contraire qu'elle m'empêcha de me trouver à tes côtés quand ce traître te tendit cette embûche?
- Cité des dames      Book 1                      (On same)  
Chap.XIX P.79      Mais puisque Fortune en a ainsi décidé et qu'il ne peut en être autrement, je jure solennellement par tous nos dieux, je te promets et m'y engage fidèlement, je te vengerai et poursuivrai les Grecs de ma haine, tant qu'il me restera un souffle de vie.
- Cité des dames      Book 1                      (On Zenobia, Queen of the Palmyrenes)  
Chap.XX P.81      La noble Zénobie était d'une beauté parfaite, tant de corps que de visage, mais elle n'en faisait aucun cas. Fortune lui sourit en lui accordant un époux conforme à son caractère et à la vie qu'elle s'était choisie.
- Cité des dames      Book 1                      (On Circe's magic)  
Chap.XXXII              On en trouve la preuve dans l'histoire d'Ulysse. Il rentrait après la destruction de Troie, croyant se rendre dans son pays en Grèce, quand vents et Fortune entraînaient ses navires dans la tourmente, les ballottant de-ci de-là, jusqu'à ce qu'ils arrivent au port de la ville de Circé.
- Cité des dames      Book 1                      (On Minerva)  
Chap.XXXIV              Elle était vêtue d'une cotte de mailles, emblème de cette P.103                      puissance qui est celle de l'état de chevalerie, mais qui signifiait encore que le sage est toujours armé contre les vicissitudes de la Fortune, en bien comme en mal.
- Cité des dames      Book 1                      (On Dido)  
Chap.XLVI                Longtemps elle vécut dans la gloire. Elle eût continué à le P.123                      faire si Fortune - toujours jalouse de ceux qui prospèrent - ne se fût retournée contre elle. A la fin, en effet, elle lui concocta un amer breuvage, comme il te sera raconté en temps et lieu.

Cité des dames	Book 2 Chap.XVII P.152	(On Argia, the daughter of King Adrastus of Argos, wife of Polyneices) Mais comme Étéocle voulait s'appropriier tout le royaume, son frère Polynice lui déclara la guerre, secondé par le roi Adraste, son seigneur, et par toute l'armée de celui-ci. Mais Fortune se retourna contre Polynice, et lui et son frère s'entre-tuèrent sur le champ de bataille.
Cité des dames	Book 2 Chap.LVIII P.216	(On Hero and Leander) Les deux amants usèrent de ce stratagème pendant plusieurs années, jusqu'à ce que Fortune, jalouse de leurs plaisirs, résolût de les en priver. C'était au temps d'hiver, quand l'orage rend la mer périlleuse, grosse, agitée et forte.
Cité des dames	Book 2 Chap.LVIII P.217	(On same) Hélas! La malheureuse, qui redoutait de le voir s'exposer à de tels dangers et qui lui eût volontiers interdit de le faire, tenait la torche pour lui indiquer la direction, si jamais par malheur il tentait l'aventure. Mais Fortune perverse poussa Léandre à braver les flots. Il ne pouvait lutter contre les courants qui le portèrent au large où il périt noyé.
Cité des dames	Book 2 Chap.LIX P.219	(On Ghismonda and Guiscardo) Bref, leurs amours durèrent longtemps sans qu'aucun bruit se répande. Mais Fortune, jalouse de leurs plaisirs, ne voulut plus permettre aux amants de vivre dans la joie et transforma leur plaisir en la plus amère douleur, et cela de la façon la plus extraordinaire.
Cité des dames	Book 2 Chap.LIX P.220	(On same) Bien que s'appêtant à quitter la vie, elle raffermi son courage et, le visage calme, sans la moindre larme aux yeux, elle répondit ainsi: "Mon père, puisque Fortune a voulu vous apprendre ce que je tenais tant à vous cacher, ma seule requête serait, si je croyais pouvoir obtenir le pardon et la vie sauve pour celui dont vous réclamez la mort, de vous offrir ma vie en échange de la sienne.
Cité des dames	Book 2 Chap.LIX Pp.221-222	(On same) Le malheur a mis un terme tragique au cours de ta noble vie, mais Fortune la perverse est bafouée par la sépulture que ta valeur a méritée, aux yeux même de ton ennemi.





- Livre des trois vertus      Part 1 Chap.II      (The three Virtues' first teaching is to love and fear Our Lord)  
P.10 Line 19 -  
P.11 Line 31      Mais ne leur porroyent mie pour tant si embelir que font vertus aux cuers qui desirent bien vivre, car de tant que vertus sont plus nobles que richeces mondaines. Et pour quoy sont elles plus nobles? Pour ce que elles durent sans fin et sont les tresors de l'ame qui est perpetuele, et les autres passent si comme fume, de tant ceulx qui le goust en sentent et assaveurent les desirent ardemment plus que autre chose mondaine ne porroit estre desiree. Et doncques n'apertient il a ceulx et celles qui sont assis par grace et bonne fortune es plus haulz estaz qu'il soient servis des tres meilleurs choses? Et pour ce que vertus sont les metz de nostre table, nous plaist de en distribuer premierement a celles a qui nous parlons, c'est assavoir aux dictes princepces.
- Livre des trois vertus      Part 1      (Prudence's fourth teaching which is how the wise princess should be well mannered even to those whom she knows do not like her and are envious of her)  
Chap.XVI P.62  
Lines 22-28      Il n'est point de doubte que selon le cours du monde et les mouvemens de Fortune, il n'est nul si grant en ce siecle, tant soit juste - ne fut oncques ne prince ne seigneur ne dame ne aultre homme ne femme qui ait peu estre - ne soit de tous améz; car posons que une creature fust toute parfaicte, si ne souffreroit point la despiteable envie qui se fiche ou cuer humain que la personne fust au gré de tous ne amee de chascun.
- Livre des trois vertus      Part 1      (On same)  
Chap.XVI P.62      Et pour ce, a nostre propos, le saige princepce, et  
Line 36 - P.63      semblablement toutes celles qui voudront ouvrer de  
Line 47      prudence, sera de ce tres bien advertie et pourveue de remede. Se il avient que Fortune la vueille assaillir par aucun endroit, si comme elle a fait et fait mainte bonne gent, et elle aperçoive et sache que aucun ou aucunes personnes poissans ne lui vueillent point de bien et l'aient en male grace, et qui lui nuiroient s'ilz pouoient et l'esloigneroit de l'amour et de la grace de son seigneur, qui les croiroit par aventure pour leurs blandices et flateries, ou la mettroient par leurs faux rapors mal des barons, des subgiéz ou du peuple, elle ne fera de ce nul semblant que s'en aperçoive, ne que les repute ne tiengne ses anemis.

- Livre des trois vertus      Part 2 Chap.V      (How ladies should guard themselves from feeling the vice of  
P.137 Lines 47-52      envy)  
Et en lui seul dois avoir ton esperance, car l'Esriture dit  
que celui est maudit qui a son esperance ne sa fiance es  
princes ne en homme. Et pour tant se un aultre a bien en ce  
monde - qui n'est que un petit trespas comme un pelerinage -  
des dons de fortune plus que toy, ce te semble que t'en  
apertient il a murmurer n'en avoir dueil?
- Livre des trois vertus      Part 2      (On how women at court ought not to defame one another)  
Chap.VIII      Et que il est vray que le mesdit de l'envieux viengne par  
P.148 Lines 51-58      pure mauvaistié sans autre achoison, il yppert, car de quoy a  
desservi celui ou celle qui est bonne personne ou qui a  
pluseurs des biens de grace, de nature et de fortune, que on  
die mal de lui ou que on lui pourchace encombrier: pour  
tant se ses choses lui viennent bien, ou se il est eureux ou bien  
fortunéz, cestui mesdit ne vient de nul droit.

- Lavision-Christine      Part 1 P.78  
Lines 5-9      (Dame Couronnee describes the growth of France)  
Adonc dycelle terre fu errachie larbre dor que les dieux  
anciens selon les chancons des pouetes avoient reserve pour  
leur gloire du quel la hautece de lombre sespandoit jusques  
sus les contrees longtanies. Si fus lors par estrange fortune  
favorable a ycelle fremiere desireuse de vengeance.
- Lavision-Christine      Part 1 P.83  
Lines 10-18      (Dame Couronnee talks of good governors - Charles V)  
/qui les veist adonc croistre/ et augmenter et remplir ces  
vergiers de verdurees et flours odourans portans fruit bien  
deist que moult fust changiee la fortune de leur estre/ que ten  
diroye ne fu mie cellui recreu par les liens de pecune qui  
navoyent lieu contre les distribucions de ses ordres/ ne travail  
estaingnoit lexcercite de la chose utile a laquelle oeuvre  
fortune non repunente fu a lacomplissement dycelle continuee  
par lespace des iours du proffitable ortelain qui ny espargnoit  
ses ententes. O dieux glorieux quel ouvrier comment fus ie  
par lui en ioie renouvellee/
- Lavision-Christine      Part 1 P.83  
Lines 24-31      (More on Charles V)  
helas mes comme apres le temps seri viengne souvent la  
grosse pluie convient a present changier le propos de mes ris  
en tres amers pleurs/ car comme le proces de fortune ne  
peust longuement souffrir ma beneurte se monstrant envieuse  
de mon bien/ lors que ma gloire estoit eslevee plus que  
navoit estre puis une grant part de mon aage me toli le tres  
sage amenistreur lasse moy mal appoint ains le temps venu  
de lachevement naturel de son voyage et envoya.
- Lavision-Christine      Part 1 P.84  
Lines 21-30      (On Charles VI's madness)  
O fortune administraresse de tout inconvenient qui te mut a  
trouver voye du destoubier du faucon pelerin/ si hault volant  
que lesperance de son atteinte faisoit trembler devant lui  
toutes les proyes rappineuses embatues en son yre/ Ou preis  
tu le vent contraire par ou tu labatis lors quil faisoit sa roe  
par si grant fierte ains quil eust sa proye attainte le ruas ius  
par ton souflement si roiddement quil demoura estendu tout  
desroupt non mie seulement les plumes mais tout le corps par  
si que tousiours depuis convint quil fust repeus par estranges  
mains.

- Lavision-Christine      Part 1 P.102  
Lines 22-28      (On punishing vice)  
Mais si tost quaprist le repos/ et en delices senvelopa es  
quelles prist lacointance de ceste mauvaise chut en la vallee  
de malefortune ne puis bien ne lui vint. Plus te diray. et  
nottes que quiconques soit lomme qui es dissolucions  
communes senvelope de ceste deshonneste merveilles est se  
iamais puis il a pris darmes/ et se fortune en tous ses fais ne  
lui est contraire.
- Lavision-Christine      Part 2 P.131  
Lines 20-23      (Dame Opinion talks of her powers)  
Car combien que par moy/ te venist linvencion trop faillis  
sauve ta grace/ lors que tu tant actorisas la poissance de dame  
fortune que tu la dis estre toute ordennerresse des fais qui  
cuerent entre les hommes.
- Lavision-Christine      Part 2 P.132  
Lines 4-13      (On same)  
Car non obstant quentendement soit devant moy quant en  
concept/ toutefois suis ie premiere cause de toutes choses  
bonnes ou mauvaises faittes ou pourchacees par pensees ou  
oeuvres humaines Et doncques comme devant est dit sil est  
ainsi/ ce que si/ que principe soye des speculations et toutes  
choses ouvrables comme il appert je conclus vraye ma  
proposicion que ie precelle les choses ouvrees et que fortune  
a qui tant de poissance attribues nest fors ma chamberiere  
mercenaire comme conduisserresse des oeuvres ja par moy  
disposees a mettre a effet.
- Lavision-Christine      Part 2 P.132  
Lines 13-26      (On same)  
Mais affin quil me semble que par mouvement denvie lui  
vueille soustraire la fame de son autorite/ te cognois estre  
vray quen disposition de oeuvre/ fortune a poissance de  
conduire les fais particuliers bien ou mal selon le soufflement  
de son influence/ Mais te souviengne que differens sont noz  
mouvemens Car de rechief te dis que ie oeuvre en esperit et  
fortune ne puet ouvrir fors es choses ia par moy deliberees  
aptes a recevoir ses influences es choses dehors et foraines  
Mais es repostailles de la pensee es quelles je suis muciee na  
nulle poissance/ Doncques tu puez cognoistre que elle est  
servile et villaine vers mon autorite/ comme elle soit au  
monde sicomme superflue comme les laz de ladversaire/ et ie  
soye celle sanz qui nulle chose nest faitte/ Et sanz qui nul  
fruit doeuvre ne pourroit lomme conduire a perpetuelle  
gloire.

Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.133 Lines 6-9	(On same) Et pour ce que tu as attribues en ton dit livre de la mutacion de fortune elle estre menerresse des entregiez des seigneuries je te dis que de tous yceulz mouvemens suis le premier motif/
Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.134 Lines 9-13	(On same) Pour briefte je laisse infinies autres choses lesquelles ay faittes faire pendant ce temps/ et meismes celles que tu imputes a fortune ne vindrent de moy les premieres invencions des fais que ains leur achevement vi en pensees non obstant que souvent les veoie autrement quilz navenoient de tous les fais des conquereurs passes.
Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.134 Lines 18-24	(On same) mais comme fortune me soit souvent contraire par especial en fais de guerres et es choses a venir je confesse que elle volontairement donna la victoire aux grieux trebuschant cellui poissant es laz de maleurte sicomme toy meismes as autres fois apres autres aucteurs recorde en tes volumes/ Toutefois non obstant qua lui fusse mencongriere et decepvable fus ie la premiere naiscence de celle emprise.
Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.134 Line 32 - P.135 Line 3	(More from Dame Opinion on her domain) Car ie fus simple et nyce ou dit roy leomedon qui folement me crut et mal se gaita dyceulx grigois en qui ie fus sage et vraye/ si que sagement menerent leur fait par laide et disposicion de fortune conduisseresse de leur bon eur si que toute destruirent et ardirent la cite/ le roy occirent et toute sa gent.
Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.135 Lines 3-9	(On same) Après ne fis ie a priand filx leomedon rediffier la seconde troye qui tant fut belle fort et poissant que merveilles estoit a comprendre/ par moy apres entreprist la vengeance sus les grieux. Si fis aler paaris en grece et ravir heleine et tout faire ce qui en fut fait/ et par mes amonnestemens avec laide ou nuisance de fortune perdoient troyent et gaignoient.

Lavision- Christine	Part 2 P.135 Lines 21-27	(On same) Depuis ensuivant nay ie este celle qui les successeurs dyceulz ay amonnestez demprendre les grandes et merueilleuses choses/ lesquelles par laide de fortune a eulx propice tant exploitierent et par leur travail aide et sens en long espace de temps quilz conquererent le monde / sicomme les hystoires de leurs gestes et toy meismes apres autres en ton dit livre de mutation de fortune le recordez/ le recitent/ si nest besoing de plus en faire longue narracion.
Lavision- Christine	Part 2 P.135 Line 28 - P.136 Line 1	(On same) Aussi ne fus ie celle qui au grant alixandre tres sa jeunece donnay l'invencion demprendre les fortes et fieres batailles en lui promettant fortune en son aide/ quil seigneuriroit sicomme il vint puis a chief/ tout le monde/ semblablement devant et apres ensuivant/ de toutes conquestes et seigneuries et toutes estranges choses mettre a effait a l'aventure par propos delibere ay este moyen et principe ce ne me peus tu nyer/
Lavision- Christine	Part 2 P.141 Lines 23-27	(Dame Opinion on men of arms) Item iuges sont establis pour cognoistre des causes et faire droit et est loy ordennee que nul de sa propre cause ne soit iuge Et celui le veult estre qui prouver veult son fait par soy meismes et par sa victoire qui est soubz la distribucion de fortune et a l'aventure.
Lavision- Christine	Part 2 P.143 Lines 25-29	(Dame Opinion responds to Christine) Amie chiere soies en pais car ie te dis que non pourtant se tay ie blasmee de ce que prerogative de honneur vould comme ie tay dit devant donner a fortune/ et moy comme ie soye principe y oublias faulte ny a/ non obstant que par moy maint sen debatent diversement.
Lavision- Christine	Part 2 P.144 Line 31 - P.145 Line 4	(On same) Et le temps a venir plus en sera parle que a ton vivant. Car tant te dis ie encore que tu es venue en mauvais temps/ car les sciences ne sont pas a present en leur reputacion ains sont comme chose hors saison/ et que il soit vray. Tu en vois peu qui a celle cause soient en la maison de fortune sus haulciez/ Mais apres ta mort venra le prince plein de valour et sagece qui par la relacion de tes volumes desirera tes iours avoir este de son temps/ et par grant desir souhaidera t'avoir veue.

Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.149 Lines 16-19	(Christine talking to Dame Philosophie) Rue ius par les soufflemens de fortune en laquelle haine ay este tres mon enfance diversement non obstant que souvent mait monstre son cler visage. Mais quant resiourir my cuidois moult tost le couvroit de son obscure nue.
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.149 Lines 24-26	(Christine's complaint to Dame Philosophie) O dame chiere maistresse vueilles notter comment fortune la variable ma tos iours este comme dit est tres amere marastre.
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.150 Lines 3-6	(On same) Or me dis ne fu ce pas fortune qui en ce temps assez tost apres ma nativite fist mon dit pere pour certaines besoignes / et ses possessions viseter se transporter en la ditte cite de boulongne la grasse/
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.151 Lines 11-15	(Christine talks of her good fortune) Moult nous fu fortune favorable le temps durant de la vie du sus dit bon sage roy Charles/ et avec les autres gloires des prosperitez receues en ioyeuse plantureuse et paisible vie/ en mariage comme ce soit naturel ioye a tout loyal serviteur veoir la prosperite de son bon maistre/ la dieu mercy
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.152 Lines 3-7	(Christine's husband is chosen by her father) Avisa un ionne escolier gradue bien ne et de nobles parens de picardie de qui les vertus passoient la richece a celui que il reputa comme propre filz je fus donnee/ en ce cas ne me plains de fortune Car a droit eslire en toutes convenables graces/ sicomme autre foiz ay dit a mon gre mieulx ne voulsisse



- Lavision-Christine                      Part 3 P.152                      (Christine talks of her bad fortune)  
 Lines 13-25                      Ainsi dura celle prosperite par pluseurs annees mais comme la dicte fortune se monstrast envieuse de nos gloires vult restraindre la source dont ilz venoient/ et ne fu ce pas par elle voirement chiere maistresse qua cestui royaume fu procure le grief dommage du quel malement se senti le mesnage de maistre thomas ce fu lors que le tres bon sage prince non pas envieilli par cours de nature mais en assez ieune aage comme de .xliiii. ans/ cheut en maladie assez briefve dont il trepassa. helas voirement souvent avient que choses bonnes petit durent. Car encore au iour duy se a dieu plust avoir laissie durer sa vie neccessaire a cestui royaume duquel le gouvernement et estat malement est ores de cellui delors different/ ne fust trop envieillis. Or fu la porte ouverte de noz infortunes et moy estant encore jeunete y fus entree.
- Lavision-Christine                      Part 3 P.153                      (On same)  
 Line 27 - P.154                      Or fu demoure chief du mesnage mon mari ieune et  
 Line 4                      preudomme sage et prudent et tres ame des princes et toute gent frequentant son dit office par lequel moyennant sa sage prudence estoit soustenus lestat de la ditte famille mais comme ia fortune meust mise ou declin de sa roe disposee au mal que donner me vouloit pour du tout au plus bas me flatir/ souffrir ne vult que gaires me durast ycellui tres bon par la quelle ditte fortune mort lors que il estoit en sa fleur apte et appreste et sus le point tant en science comme en sage et prudent conqueste et gouvernement de monter en hault degre le me tolli en fleur de ieunece comme en laage de .xxxiiii. ans et moy de .xxv. demouray chargee de .iii. enfans petiz et de grant mainage.
- Lavision-Christine                      Part 3 P.154                      (On same)  
 Lines 9-13                      Or fus ie cheoite en la vatee de tribulacion. Car comme la ditte fortune quant du tout veult decliner quelque chose soit regne cite empire ou singuliere personne. elle de loings va querir ses apprestes toutes contraires pour la chose que elle a accueilli en yre conduire ou point de maleurte/ ainsi mavint.



- Lavision-Christine                      Part 3 P.157  
Lines 16-23                      (Christine suffers from gossip)  
a l'exemple de Jhesucrist qui vult estre tourmente en toutes les parties de son corps pour nous instruire a pacience vult fortune que mon povre cuer fust tourmente de toutes manieres de dures et diverses pensees/ quel plus grant mal et desplaisir peust sourdre a linnocent ne plus grant cause de impacience que de soy oir diffamer sanz cause comme il appert par les rapors de boece en son livre de consolacion/ ne fut il pas dit de moy par toute la ville que ie amoye par amours.
- Lavision-Christine                      Part 3 P.157  
Lines 23-31                      (On same)  
Mais yci trop fait a notter que il soit voir que tout ce feist fortune par ses batemens divers. Car comme telz renommees communement vienent et souvent a tort par grant accointance et frequentacion les personnes ensemble et par coniectures et couleurs voir semblables/ Mais ie te iure mame que ycellui ne me cognoissoit ne ne fu oncques homme ne creature nee qui me veist en publique ne en prive en lieu ou il fust Car mon chemin ne si adonnoit ne ny avoie que faire Et de ce me soit dieu tesmoing que ie dis voir.
- Lavision-Christine                      Part 3 P.158  
Lines 4-10                      (On the difficulties of trying to obtain monies due her late husband)  
Ne se passa mie a tant me peine. Car comme a mon pouvoir tousiours estrivasse contre la bataille et luitte de fortune me voyant moult dechoite de ma chevance comme ie eusse cedules verifiees et passees par la chambre des comptes dune somme dargent qui encore deue estoit a mon feu mary a cause des gages de son dit office empetray mandement du Roy aux generaulx que de ce ie fusse payee.
- Lavision-Christine                      Part 3 P.160  
Lines 16-21                      (Christine continues her complaints)  
mais non obstant ce que assez souffire deust par si long temps a celle par qui tout ce me venoit ne fu pas apaisiee envers moy la desloyalle de qui autrefois me suis plainte comme ie en eusse cause. Car la doulour du dent y trait la langue/ ains te diray en poursuivant ceste matiere jusques au iour duy comment ses floz mont governee et encore ne cessent.

- Lavision-Christine            Part 3 P.160            (On same)  
 Lines 25-31            Comme ce soit moult grief faissel de douleur/ tenir enclose sanz regehir ne mavoit encore tant grevee fortune comme elle ne peust/ que ie ne fusse accompagniee des musetes des pouetes non obstant que les reboutas et chacas arriere de la compagnie de bouece ou temps de sa tribulacion pour le repaistre de plus haultes viandes / ycelles me faisoient rimer complaints plourables regraittant mon ami mort et le bon temps passe/
- Lavision-Christine            Part 3 P.161            (Christine complains of youth)  
 Line 28 - P.162            Et moy comme fole ione trop mignote non obstant que les beaulx ruissiaux me pleussent ne men emplissoie/ mais tout ainsi comme le fol qui voit luire le cler soleil ne savise de la pluie/ ains cuide que tousiours lui dure nen faisoie compte et a temps cuidoiie recouvrer a ce que ie perdoye/ ha fortune quel tresor tu me tolis Tant fis grant dommage a mon entendement quant ne les me laissas durer iusques en laage de plus grant cognoissance bien ta hardis a nuire meismes a la propriete de mon ame.
- Lavision-Christine            Part 3 P.164            (Christine 's pleasure in study)  
 Lines 21-27            Or fu lestat de mon vivre tresmue en autre disposicion/ Mais non pas pour tant changie en mieulx ma male fortune. ains comme dolente du bien et solas de ma vie speculative et solitaire perservera sa malviolence non a ma personne seulement mais en despit de moy a de mes plus prochains laquelle chose ie attribue aux proces de mes adversitez Et te diray comment par me tollir mes bons amis comme tousiours elle soit repugnante a ma prosperite.
- Lavision-Christine            Part 3 P.165            (On same)  
 Lines 16-20            Mais ce bien ne vould pas celle souffrir longuement qui mains autres maulx ma fais cest assavoir male fortune qui non pas long temps apres procura la dure pestilence ou dit pays dangleterre contre le dit roy richart comme chascun scet.

- Lavision-Christine Part 3 P.165 (Christine obtains the return of her son from King Henry)  
Line 32 - P.166 Et comme de ce ie ne fusse en riens temptee considerant les  
Line 5 choses comme elles estoyent / dissimulay tant que mon filx  
peusse avoir / disant grant mercis/ et que bien a son  
commandement estoye/ et a brief parler tant fis a grant peine/  
et de mes livres me cousta / que congie ot mon dit filx de me  
venir querir par de ca pour mener la qui encore ny vois/ et  
ainsi reffusay leschoitte de ycelle fortune pour moy et pour  
lui pource que ie ne puis croire que fin de desloyal viengne a  
bon terme.
- Lavision-Christine Part 3 P.166 (Again about her son)  
Lines 12-17 Mais comme la petite faculte du jeune enfant pou apparant  
fust en la multitude des grans de sa court/ tousiours a ma  
charge convint que son estat fust soustenu sanz de son  
service tirer aucun fruit Et ainsi me desherita fortune dun de  
mes bons amis/ et dune de mes esperances. Mais encore  
depuis pis me fist
- Lavision-Christine Part 3 P.166 (Fortune takes Christine's friends)  
Line 29 - P.167 Mais fortune selon ses usages et coustumes ne vould mie que  
Line 1 la ruine de mon estat fust repare/ si me tolli tantost / par  
mort cil qui bien me voloit/ non pas que de legier eusse  
delibere laisser france pour certaines causes/ tout soit de la  
mon naturel pais. Toute fois me greva elle/ quant me tolli un  
bon ami qui nest petite perte/
- Lavision-Christine Part 3 P.167 (On same)  
Lines 6-12 Encore reste a parler de ma plus grant perte a cause de grant  
prince mort puis le temps du sus dit sage roy charles / Ne fut  
ce pas voirement evident signe de hayneuse envie de la  
perverse contre moy quant tost apres que le tres venerable  
haut et poissant noble prince philippe duc de bourgoigne qui  
frere fut au dit sage roy mot par la acointance de mes ditz  
livres et volumes prise a amour/ les quieulx ne lui avoye  
encore pou de temps a presentez comme ie ne les reputasse  
dines de estre ouvers en la presence de sa sagece/

Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.167 Lines 24-29	(On same) helas et tost apres lors que sa grace vers moy de plus en plus croiscoit le me tolli par mort la desloiale la quelle mort fu renouvellement des navreures de mes adversitez et semblablement grief perte a cestui royaume sicomme ou dit livre que il me commanda non encore lors acheve je recorde en piteux regrais.
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.168 Lines 29-32	(Christine talks of her mother) me rent perplexe et adoulee quant fortune ne sueffre a ma volente sortir son bon effait/ et que femme de si parfait honnour et si noble vie et bel estat comme est et a tousiours este.
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.168 Lines 32-34	(How Fortune affects Christine's other responsibilities) Celle ne soit tenue et ordonnee selon son droit avec les autres charges de pouvres parentes a marier et autres anuis et ne voye de nulle part fortune propice pour mes secours
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.168 Line 34 - P.169 Line 5	(On same) Encore au propos des pointures de mes dolentes pensees avec mes autres anuys cuides tu que devant la face de fortune ne me repute peu eureuse. quant ie voy ces autres accompagniez de leurs lignages freres et parens destat/ et aisiez eulx resiourir ensemble/ et ie pense que ie suis hors des miens en estrange lieu /
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.169 Lines 8-12	(On same) Et moy qui suis tendre et a mes amis naturelle me plains a dieu quant ie voy la mere sanz ses fieulx que elle desire/ et moy sanz mes freres Et ainsi peus tu veoir chiere maistresse que tout au contraire de mes desirs ma fortune servie qui encore persesevere en ses malefices
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.169 Lines 13-16	(On same) Et que de ces choses dis voir dieu qui proprement est toy et toy qui proprement es lui le savez/ si reviens ad ce que devant est dit / que comme fortune ma contraire ades continue par tieulx molestes qui ne sont a cuer femenin et foible pas petites/

Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.169 Lines 26-30	(Dame Philosophie responds to Christine's complaints) Certes amie a tes paroles cognois comment fole faveur te decoipt es iugemens de ton meismes estat. O creature aveuglee qui attribues a male fortune les dons de dieu / et son propre galice dont il tabeuvre / Et pour quoy te plains tu par ingratitude des biens que as receus/
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.170 Lines 12-16	(On same) Belle amie par ce que comprendre puis en ton fait moult te plains et tiens mal content de fortune que tu dis estre et avoir este ia long temps anemie de ta prosperite et que tres lors quen france conduisi tes parens et toy avec eulx ourdi le laz de tribulacion ou conduire te vouloit.
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.170 Line 28 - P.171 Line 1	(On same) Car meismes par de ca as tu ploure de tes charnelz qui sen sont sentus/ mais apres ie me ry de ta nicete qui attribues a la poissance de fortune la mort et trespas de creature humaine sicomme tu dis du roy charles et de tes autres amis Et ce qui est ou secret/ de dieu escript qui toutes choses dispose et gouverne a son bon plaisir/ cest assavoir la fin et terme de vie humaine il semble que vuelles appliquer a aventure quant tu dis que fortune ten despouilla/
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.171 Lines 19-29	(Dame Philosophie comforts Christine) Toy qui te plains pour un pou de tribulacions se elles te sont survenues tout ainsi comme se dieu fust plus tenus a toy que a un autre Avises en toy meismes que pevent dire plusieurs bonnes personnes/ et crestiens comme toy qui par estranges fortunes nont pas seulement perdu tous leurs biens temporelx mais leurs membres dont sont mahagnez par longue maladie/ et par survenue aventure/ et en autres cas divers tourmentez en esperit ou en leurs corps/ et encore avec ce en tel pouvrete que ilz nont lieu propre ne chose pour eulx couvrir ne leur lasse vie repaistre se ilz ne se vont trainant a grant peine par entre vous/ cherchant voz aumosnes ou souvent treuvent pou de pitie/
Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.172 Lines 20-22	(On same) Mais alons oultre pour dieu mercis savoir moult de quoy tu te peus clamer de dieu ne plaindre de fortune/ Et certes par ce que il me semble en toy appercois grant ingratitude/

- Lavision-Christine      Part 3 P.172  
Lines 26-32      (On same)  
et que il soit vray avise toy avise quans grans benefices et dons de dieu si notables toy indigne as receus/ et chascun iour fais aux quelles choses se bien penser y veulz et sagement en toy discuter tu trouveras les aventures qui avenues au monde te sont que tu imputes a male fortune te sont propices et convenables meismement a lutilite de ton vivre au monde/
- Lavision-Christine      Part 3 P.173  
Lines 1-14      (On same)  
je avise que entre les autres prosperitez .iii. choses entre vous mondains sont/ que vous reputez comme les principales de voz joyes et gloires et sanz partie de ycelles .iii. ou toutes ie suppose que il nest quelconques richesse qui content feist cuer domme et quil nest si grant tresor des biens de fortune que cellui a qui elles faillent ne voulsist avoir donne se il lavoit pour posseder ycelles/ les .ii. sont hors soy et lautre en soy meismes La premiere est estre nez de nobles parens la quelle noblece ie entens des vertus / la seconde avoir corps sanz nulle deformite/ et assez plaisant sanitif et non maladis/ mais bien complexionne et de competant discrecion/ et entendement/ la tierce ioye qui nest mie petite avoir enfans beaulx et gracieux au monde de bonne discrecion et de bonnes meurs et craignans dieu.
- Lavision-Christine      Part 3 P.174  
Lines 28-33      (On same)  
Et que ie ne mente es choses dittes assez sont manifestes si que chascun le peut veoir non pas le te dis pour toy induire a vaine gloire mais affin que graces rendes a cil dont tout bien vient qui ta donne les ditz biens et mains autres/ et lesquelz fortune ne donne mie/ mais lui de sa pure grace speciale a qui il lui plaist.
- Lavision-Christine      Part 3 P.175  
Lines 27-33      (Dame Philosophie condemns Christine for her complaints)  
Car occupacion de meisnage ne le teust souffert au quel bien destude tu te mis comme a la chose plus esleve selon ton iugement/ apres la vie qui est de tous poins pour les parfais cest la contemplative le quel bien destude ie scay que confesseras que pour tous les biens de fortune ne voudroies quelque pou que y aies fait/ ne ty estre occupee/ et que la delactacion qui tant ten agree ne eusses/



- Lavision-Christine Part 3 P.176 (On same)  
Line 31 - P.177 Line 1 Apres il me semble que tu te plains et dis/ que comme tu fusses cheoite es las de dure fortune tantost que tu fus vesve te assaillirent les mauvais par divers travaulx de plais et de plusieurs inconveniens que ilz te bastirent.
- Lavision-Christine Part 3 P.179 (On same)  
Lines 5-8 Et entre vous mondains qui pensez en vos petites tribulacions que dieux vous ait oubliez/ et que fortune vous persecute pensez vous que il soit plus tenus a vous que a ses autres bons amis a qui tant laissa souffrir.
- Lavision-Christine Part 3 P.180 (More comforting)  
Line 29 - P.181 Line 4 Et test avis que assez dautres habondent en superfluitez de choses dont escharcete as et souffraite si te demande se tu cognois homme ou femme soit prince princesse ou autre des plus remplis des biens de fortune soit en seigneurie estas honneurs et autres dignettes je te parle de la vie des mondains et en reserve les speculans nobles de entendement que tu vouldisses avoir changie ton simple estat et maniere de vivre/ la volente que tu as et lamour et delit de estude que tu prens a ta vie solitaire/ pour avoir la cure et charge de tant de devers faisselz/
- Lavision-Christine Part 3 P.181 (On same)  
Lines 5-9 Et dame de conscience et lardeur de convoitise et tout tel courage comme a le plus eureux et fust meismes converty ton corps foible et femenin en homme pour estre transmuee de condicions et du tout en cellui ou celle a qui tu reputes es biens mondains fortune plus propice
- Lavision-Christine Part 3 P.181 (Christine replies to Dame Philosophie's comforting)  
Line 9-12 Dame a quoy me fais tu ceste demande ne sces tu que convoitise tant ne me suppedite que pour tous les biens de fortune vouldisse avoir changie mon estre a cellui dun autre pour toutes ses richescs.
- Lavision-Christine Part 3 P.182 (Dame Philosophie comforts with references to sacred writings)  
Lines 24-28 O gens mortelx ce dit bouece pour quoy la hors querez la beneurte qui assise dedans vous est/ ignorance vous decoipt/ Car la pure vraye beneurte est avoir de soy meismes la seigneurie. Car homme na si chiere chose comme soy meismes/ Et ce ne lui peut fortune tolir/

- Lavision-Christine      Part 3 P.182      (On same)  
 Lines 28-32      Et affin que tu saches que es choses de fortune ne peut avoir felicite ie te dy que felicite et beneurte sont les souverains biens de nature Et ce est raison et entendement et bien souverain ne puet estre perdu/ Et ces meismes paroles que ie te dis pareillement dis a mon ame boece/
- Lavision-Christine      Part 3 P.182      (On same)  
 Lines 32-34      Doncques entre vous usez des dons de dieu/ et laissez aler ceux de fortune et apprenez a seigneurir vous meismes/
- Lavision-Christine      Part 3 P.184      (Dame Philosophie teaches Christine to despise worldly goods)  
 Lines 21-24      Je puis conclurre de toute fortune que il ny a chose qui a desirer face ne qui naturellement soit bonne quant tousiours elle ne se ioint pas aux bons et que a ceux a qui elle se joint elle nest pas bonne.
- Lavision-Christine      Part 3 P.184      (On same)  
 Lines 24-34      Et assez saccorde a ceste sentence aristote quant ou livre de bonne et de male fortune dit que la ou est le plus grant engin et entendement nest mie tousiours la meilleur fortune/ Et souvent avient que la ou fortune est/ plus propice nest mie le plus grant entendement Et ce est contre les arougans qui presument de eulx et quident que quant fortune leur est propice que ce soit pour leur grant salut savoir ou value/ mais comme lexperience du contraire nous soit manifeste veons le plus des bons et de cler engin mal fortunez es biens mondains/ et pour ce est voir le proverbe des lombars qui dit/ a fol aventureux na lieu sens/
- Lavision-Christine      Part 3 P.184      (On same)  
 Line 34 - P.185      mais dit boece/ que plus proffite la male fortune que la bonne/ Car la bonne fait semblant de beneurte/ Et ainsi elle ment comme en ses biens nait beneurte/ Et la mauvaise est vraye en ce que elle monstre par soy changier que elle na point destat seur. la bonne doncques decoipt et la mauvaise fait sage par lusage de tribulacion.  
 Line 5

Lavision-  
Christine

Part 3 P.185  
Lines 11-17

(On same)

helas homme et se tu regardes ton corps tu ne trouveras pas plus foible chose. Car le morz de un chien ou une mousche se elle entre dedens toy toccist aucune fois/ Et de quoy peus tu qui tant te orgueillis avoir povoir sus autre/ Ce nest ou corps et es choses de fortune mais a force le cuer qui est franc et fort par le conduit de raison nest mie en toy de mouvoir.

Lavision-  
Christine

Part 3 P.186  
Lines 10-16

(How, according to sacred writings, prosperity is not lasting)

Viengne avant seneque et die a notre propos son dit voy le cy en la <sup>.xx.</sup><sub>.iiii.</sub>.vii.<sup>e</sup> de ses epistres/ Se tu veulz avoir dist il la vraye extimacion de lomme et savoir quel ou quant grant il est regardes le tout nu/ ostes son patrimoine oste ses honneurs et les autres menconges de fortune/ et le regardes se tu peus non pas ou corps mais ou courage et la verras tu quel et com grant il est/ la saras tu se il est grant du sien ou de lautrui.

- Epistre à la reine P.255 Lines 22-30 (Christine entreats Isabeau de Bavière to promote peace)  
 Pour ce, haulte dame, ne vous soit grief oïr les  
 ramentevances en piteux regrais des adoulez supplians  
 françoys, à present reampliz d'affliccion et tristesse, qui à  
 humble voix plaine de plours crient à vous, leur souveraine et  
 redoubtée dame, prians pour Dieu mercy, que humble pitié  
 vueille monstrier à vostre begnin cuer leur desolacion et  
 misere, par cy que prouchaine paix entre ces .ii. haulz princes  
 germains de sanc et naturellement amis, mais à present par  
 estrange Fortune meuz à aucune contencion ensemble,  
 vueilliez procurer et empetrer.
- Epistre à la reine P.257 Lines 124-128 (On same)  
 Et outre seroit-ce encores à notter à cellui prince ou  
 princesse qui le cuer aroit tant ostiné en pechié, qu'il  
 n'acompteroit nulle chose a Dieu ne à si faictes douleurs, s'il  
 n'estoit du tout fol ou folle, les tres variables tours de  
 Fortune, qui en un tout seul moment, se puet changier et  
 muer.
- Epistre à la reine P.257 Lines 129-133 (On same)  
 Dieux, à quans coups eust pensé la royne Olimpias, mere du  
 grant Alixandre, ou temps qu'elle veoit tout le monde soubz  
 ses piez, à elle subgiet et obeissant, que Fortune eust  
 puissance de la conduire ou point ouquel piteusement fina ses  
 jours à grant honte? Et semblablement d'assés d'autres  
 pourroit-on dire.
- Epistre à la reine P.257 Lines 133-139 (On same)  
 Mais qu'en advient-il, quant Fortune a ainsi acqueilly aucun  
 puissant? Se si saignement n'a tant fait le temps passé par le  
 moyen d'amors, de pitié et charité qu'il ait acqiz Dieu  
 premierement et bien vueillans au monde, toute sa vie et ses  
 faiz sont racontez en publique et tournez à repprouche. Et  
 tout ainsi comme à un chien qui est chacié tous lui queurent  
 sus, et est celli de tous deffoulez, en criant sus lui qu'il est  
 bien employez.

- Corps de policie Part 1 Chap.VII (Wise advice for young princes)  
P.16 Le bon prince qui aimera Dieu craindra a faire quelconque chose contre sa reverence et commandement, et mettera peine de sçavoir toutes les choses qu'il doit faire et lesqueles non; et par ces choses aprendre il appercevera et cognoistra sa fragilité et qu'il est homme mortel, subget a briefve vie, passionnee des choses morteles et frailes comme ung aultre homme sans quelquonque difference excepte des biens de fortune.
- Corps de policie Part 1 Chap.XII (On a prince's love for his subjects)  
P.35 Car non obstant que des biens de fortune feussent povres, toutesfoys furent ilz riches de tresgrans et nobles honneurs pour leurs desertes et merites, par quoy il semble, et voir est, que les plus vaillans ne soient pas tousjours les plus riches ne les fortunés quant aux richesses.
- Corps de policie Part 1 Chap.XII (On same)  
P.35 Mais fortune leur aide de une aultre maniere plus dignement quant elle leur aide a acquerir souveraines renomnees et honneurs.
- Corps de policie Part 1 Chap.XII (On same)  
P.38 Item, aussi raconte grande vertu, ycellui Valere, entre les autres princes Rommains d'ung vaillant homme consul nommé Fabricius, que j'ay cy devant nommé, lequel semblablement fut de si grande vertu que non obstant qu'il n'eust chose vaillant des richesses de fortune, toutesfoys il refusa tresgrans et notables dons que le dit roy Pirrus lui envoya pour le cuider corrompre...
- Corps de policie Part 1 Chap.XVI (On clemency and kindness in princes)  
Pp.53-54 Il honnouret les bons et les vaillans ainsi comme il le demonstra pluseurs foys aux Rommains ou fait des guerres qu'ilz maintindrent entre eulx, et comme une foys en une bataille il eut desconfis les ditz Rommains il ne s'en orgueillist mie pour tant contre eulx ainsi comme aujourduy on se seult orgueillir par eureuse victoire, laquelle chose est grande follie, car on doit penser que fortune qui distribue a sa volenté souvent avienent teles victoires pourra aultrefoys cheoir et changier la chance.

Corps de policie	Part 1 Chap.XVII P.54	(More on kindness and on how Fortune can change) Et encore au propos de sage benignité de prince et aussi que fortune se puist tourner en petit d'eure, avons exemple mesmes en ce qui avint ou fait de cestui roy Pirrus par quoy nous pouons conclure qu'il soit vray que orgueillir ne se doit l'omme pour bonne fortune.
Corps de policie	Part 1 Chap.XVII P.54	(On same) Le roy Pirrus fut moult grant guerreur et victorieux sur plusieurs princes et roys, mais tout ainsi comme fortune lui aidoit aucune foys a moult acquerre royaumes et seigneuries, semblablement lui nuisoit, souvent venoit et conduisoit a les perdre par grieves desconfitures, et finalement le mena par bataille a son darrain terme, c'est a la mort.
Corps de policie	Part 1 Chap.XVII P.55	(On same) Car a deffendre la cité et le pays vint si grande quantité des femmes qu'il couvint a Pirrus s'en partir honteusement; et y eut ung sien filz mort, dont trop durement lui pesa, si ne lui fut pas adonc fortune propice.
Corps de policie	Part 1 Chap.XVII P.56	(On same) Si me semble vrayement que ou fait de ceste histoire est bien comprins tant la variacion de fortune si comme dit est ou fait de Pirrus comme tresgrande liberalité, humanité et clemence de prince en l'euvre de Antigonus qui fait a louer comme couronnee entre les autres dessusdictes, non obstant que semblablement si comme il est escript faisoit Hanibal, l'empereur d'Affrique qui tant fut vaillant chevalier et tant eut des victorieuses batailles contre les Rommains, et aussi aucunefoys en perdoit.
Corps de policie	Part 1 Chap.XVIII P.58	(The good prince ought not to pride himself in his good fortune) Pour ce que nous avons touché que orgueillir ne se doit l'homme pour fortune propice, et qu'elle se peut tourner, pour exemple que bon prince de ce garder se doit, encore nous en dirons.
Corps de policie	Part 1 Chap.XVIII P.58	(On same) Qu'il soit vray que maintesfoys fortune propice aveugle les hommes pour ce qu'elle les lieve en si grant orgueil que eulx mesmes ne se cognoissent et n'avisent de quoy elle scet jouer. Et puis après les trebusche en son obscure fosse...

Corps de policie	Part 1 Chap.XVIII Pp.59-60	(On same) La fin de cestui Hanibal fut si comme il est contenu es histoires des Rommains, que après ce que par l'espace de moult long temps il eut travaillé les dis Rommains par maintes batailles, fortune se tourna tant contre lui que a la parfin il perdit tout son empire, ses gens et son avoir, et fut contraint a fuir en recelee.
Corps de policie	Part 1 Chap.XVIII P.60	(On same) Dit icellui qu'on ne doit point tenir pour eureux homme tant qu'il vit en ce monde, car nous sommes jusques a notre darrain jour subgés a fortune qui est douteuse et muable, par laquele muableté est souvent osté le nom de felicité a creature humaine.
Corps de policie	Part 2 Chap.VII P.118	(On bravery, the second condition necessary to a knight or man of arms) Et sont ces choses dites pour ce que souvent avient que fortune est si propice aux hardis et leur envoie tant de bonnes aventures qu'il semble voirement tant estraingement aviennent en divers cas que ce soient ainsi comme miracles.
Corps de policie	Part 2 Chap.VIII P.120	(On same with Roman examples) Et au propos que nous avons dit que bonne fortune aide aucunesfoys aux hardis, encore racompte Valere d'ung aultre des chevaliers Julius Cesar fut nommé Scevola.
Corps de policie	Part 2 Chap.VIII P.121	(On same) A ce propos de rechief que fortune aide aucunesfoys aux hardis chevalereux a saillir hors de grans perilz et a faire maintes merveilles, dit Valere encore d'ung noble chevalier de Romme qui avoit nom Oracius Clocles, que une foys ceulx de Toscane venoient pour prendre ung pont contre l'ost des Rommains.
Corps de policie	Part 2 Chap.VIII P.122	(On same) De rechief racompte Valere d'ung vaillant prince de Romme qu'on nommoit Paulus Crassus ; celui après ce que vaillaument se fut combatu en une bataille contre Aristonicus roy de Aise, avint que la male fortune fut contre celui Paulus si qu'il fut prins en la bataille.

Corps de policie	Part 2 Chap.VIII P.122	(On same) Crassus monstra a fortune qu'il n'estoit mie en sa puissance, quoyque par elle le corps fut vaincu que le couraige le feust.
Corps de policie	Part 2 Chap.IX P.127	(On the third condition necessary to a knight or man of arms: that they should honour and emulate excellent proponents of the science amd exercise of war) Mais au cas qu'on est assailli, le non deffendre seroit couardise et mauvaise esperance de l'attente de bonne fortune, laquele chose seroit vilté.
Corps de policie	Part 2 Chap.XIII Pp.137-138	(On virtue: the fourth condition necessary to a knight) Et de ce pourrions recorder plusieurs exemples si comme d'ung duc d'Athenes qui fut prins en une bataille par cas de fortune, non obstant que sa partie eust la victoire, dont son adversaire qui le tint en ses prisons le vould contraindre qu'il la francheist d'ung trehu et une servitude que il et ceulx de sa cité paioient a ceulx d'Athenes, par ainsi que si le vouloit afranchir il le lairoit aler, ou se ce non il le feroit morir a grant martire.
Corps de policie	Part 2 Chap.XIII P.138	(On same) Si tourna la fortune contre le consul Attilius si qu'il fut desconfit et lui mesmes prins.
Corps de policie	Part 3 Chap.IV Pp.176-177	(On the three states of the people: firstly on the learned) O gent bien conseilee, o gent euruse, je dy a vous, les disciples d'estude de sapience, qui par grace de Dieu et de bonne fortune ou de nature estes appliquiés a encerchier la haultesse de la clere rejoissante estoille, c'est assçavoir science, prenés diligaument ce tresor, beuvés de celle clere et saine fontaine, emplissiés vous d'icelle plaisante refection qui tant vous peut valoir et eslever.
Corps de policie	Part 3 Chap.IV P.177	(On same) Si n'est sans faille tresor des biens de fortune que celluy qui a la saveur de grande science vouldsist gaignier pour perdre a peine la moindre goute des reliques de sapience. Et vrayement je ose tenir quoy que nul die qu'il n'est joye ne tresor semblable a celui de l'entendement. Si ne vueilliez resoingnier nul labour, vous champions de sapience, d'icelle acquerre.



Livre de  
prudence

Folio 240<sup>v</sup>.

(Seneca on the teaching of courage)

Texte/ Promes doncques a ton courage les maulx advenir a ce que tu les puisses soustenir et les biens a ce que tu les puisses amoderer/

Glose/ Cest que lomme sage doit savoir et estre certain que sa vie au monde ne peut passer sans y recepvoir maintes dures et diverses tribulacions/ Si doit avant le cop estre aduise et avoir memoire que tel est le cours de Fortune par quoy le souverain remede quil y peut mettre quant elles adviennent/ cest prendre en pacience et soy aydier le mieulx quil peut/ Aussi lui doit remembrer que les joies du monde ne sont pas estables/ par quoi se aucune prosperite mondaine lui vient quil sy contiengne amodereement et sans trop sy eslargir ne esleessier.

Livre de  
prudence

Folio 241<sup>r</sup>.

(More on the teaching of courage and strength)

Texte/ Cest grant bien a cuer humain ne trembler point mais estre ferme en soy mesmes et attendre non paouusement la fin de ceste vie/

Glose/ Assez dit clerement le texte et pour quoy on peut entendre comment le courage de lomme doit estre si comme cy devant est dit / tellement pourveu en toutes choses quil soit en tous cas aussi assureur comme cellui qui de riens ne tremble ne a paour / et chose quelconque qui par les soufflez de Fortune aviengne soit a lui ou a aultre ne lui doit estre nouvelle / et doit attendre leure de la mort si comme sil la veoit prestement.

Livre de  
prudence

Folio 258<sup>v</sup>.

(Definition of the virtue of justice)

Texte / Aussi vous ne devez mie vous monstrier trop durs et aspres en tenant trop rigoureuse discipline et trop roide / Car il convient reserver aucune licence aimable a humaine societe et condescendre benignement/

Glose / Trop grant durte et asprete en justice nest pas chose humaine / Ains est fierte leonnesse tout aussi que le leon ne seignourist mie les bestes par voie de justice / mais par sa force lui semble que de droit de seignourie au loist a forcoier sur les aultres animaulx / La quelle chose ne doit mie estre en homme raisonnable quelque puissance que Fortune lui administre / Car non obstant quil doie a chacun rendre son droit si doit il condescendre plus sa justice vers misericorde que trop grant rigueur.

Livre de  
prudence

Folio 260<sup>v</sup>.

(From a chapter on the definitions of the four cardinal virtues and their parts according to the opinion of ecclesiastics)

Texte / Se timposes a plus haulte chose en laquelle tu trembles toy arrester / Laquelle aussi toy descendre doies achiver lors appeller conseulx salutaires a toy/

Glose / Lauteur conseille que haulteur ou grandeurs quelzconques ou ne satribue ou impose / car la possession rent lomme tremblable / cest assavoir en divers perilz / et mecsment en paour de cheoir pour ce veult dire que la descendue diceulx qui souvent advient par Fortune le sage doit eschivez / Cest assavoir ne les procurer ne desirer / mais quant il advient que homme en telz honneurs soit il lui conseille quil se gouverne par bons sages et solutaires a soy / Et peut cecy noter aussi les contemplatis qui sont en la plus haulte et eslevee vie de Dieu acceptee quilz ne seslievent en reputacion en eulz mesmes / Car par ce ils tresbucheroient et perdroyent tout / mais se tiennent humbles et en paour /

Livre de  
prudence

Folio 262<sup>v</sup>.

(From a chapter on the virtue of continence)

Texte / Et se tu as peu nen aies point dangouisse ne pleures point tes choses ne ne tesmerveillent les aultres /

Glose / Il est a entendre se tu vis justement et faiz le mieulx que tu peus et Fortune ne te laisse advenir a ses richesses nen ayes point dangouesse / Car elles les depart sans raison souventes foiz a laventure / Et pour ce ne tesmerveille qui les possede et ne pleure point tes pertes quant est des biens mondains car tu les peus recouvrer par celle qui les te tolt / Cest assavoir Fortune /

Livre de  
prudence

Folio 269<sup>r</sup>.

(From a chapter on fortitude)

Humilite est une vertu qui deffent corps humain quil ne seslieve en orgueil pour quelconques prosperite de biens de Nature et de Fortune / et ne satribue point grandeur ne dignite et se monstre en oeuvre en maintieng en chiere en fisonnomie et en regart et en habit / Mansuetude fait lomme coy et rassis doulx et debonnaire tretienble doulx et aimable

1409 - 1410

Cent ballades  
d'amant et de  
dame

Vol.3 P.304  
Ballade  
LXXXXVI  
Lines 15-21

(La Dame)  
Ha! Fortune! qui si nous despareilles,  
Moult est par toy mon biau temps enlaidis,  
Car pour ma mort a faire lui conseilles  
Tout ce qu'il fait. Faulseté je maudis  
Par qui je pers mon plaisant paradis,  
Lequel addès de très grant malice use  
Qui ensemment sur mon honneur s'excuse.

Cent ballades  
d'amant et de  
dame

Vol.3 P.317  
Lay de Dame  
Lines 275-283

Nul n'est qui se peust deffendre,  
Bien le voy, c'est le rivage  
De durté ou douleur nage;  
La tu adreças ma barge,  
Fortune m'y fist descendre,  
Ouquel lieu ne truis suffrage  
Ne nul bien, fors le message  
De mort qui corps et visage  
Me fera tourner en cendre.

1410

- Lamentacion sur P.180 (On the evils of civil war)  
les maux de la O! Comment puet-ce estre que cuer humain, tant soit la  
France Fortune estrange, si puist ramener homme à nature de tres  
devorable et cruele beste?
- Lamentacion sur P.180 (On same)  
les maux de la Comment est-il en la puissance de Fortune de telement  
France transmuier homme, que convertiz soit en serpent, ennemi de  
nature humaine?
- Lamentacion sur Pp.180-181 (On same)  
les maux de la Et que en ensivra apres, en nom Dieu? Famine, pour la  
France cause du dicipement et gast des biens qui y sera fait, et la  
faulte de cultiver les terres, de quoy sourdront rebellions de  
peuples par estre des gens d'armes estrangiez et privez trop  
oppressez, mengiez et pilliez de çà et de là; subversion es  
citéz par outrageuse charge, où, par necessitez de finances  
avoir, convendra imposer les cytoiens et habitans; et en  
surquetout les Angloiz par de costé qui parferont l'eschec et  
mat, se Fortune y consent; et encore reste les discencions et  
morteles haynes dont traysons sourdront, qui en infiniz cuers  
à ceste cause seront enracinées.
- Lamentacion sur P.181 (On same)  
les maux de la Hee! clergie de France, lairas-tu ainsi à Fortune courir son  
France influence? Pourquoi ne faiz processions par devotes prieres?  
Ne vois-tu le besoing?
- Lamentacion sur P.183 (To the Duc de Berry)  
les maux de la Et pour Dieu! pour Dieu! noble duc, vueilles tost advertir  
France que, quoy que par divers langages soit à present devisé en  
chacune partie, esperant de la victoire pour soy de la bataille,  
en disant: "Nous vaincrons et ainsi ouvrerons", que trop est  
fole la vantise. Car ne doit estre ignorée comme estrange, et  
non cogneue est la fortune de toute bataille. Car quoy que  
de homme soit proposé, Fortune y dispose.

- Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye Book 1 Chap.5 P.14 Lines 24-28 (A prince should not undertake war rashly)  
/ & therefore ought no prynce lightly to put hym self in peryll  
whiche is for to be determyned by the destrubucion of fortune  
/ of whyche noman may knowe to what syde it shal tourne /
- Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye Book 1 Chap.5 P.15 Line 35 - P.16 Line 3 (On how a prince should respect his enemy's strength)  
/ as it is wreton how tht ther was a shepherd named vriacus /  
to whom fortune was so propice / that she helde him in  
puissaunce with grete foyson of theues & pillyardes whiche  
he had assembled for to make warre to rome / which was so  
myghty by the space of / xxiiij / yere / that he dyde moche  
grief to theym / And ofte tymes vaynquysshed in bataille / &  
the romayns myght neuer destroye hym /
- Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye Book 1 Chap.6 P.19 Lines 15-27 (On kings fighting in battle)  
But not for what someuer necessite that he see / he ought wel  
to take hede / that he be sette so surely in the bataylle / that  
the perill of euyl fortune may not fall vpon his persone / But  
the reason general wherfore it is not good commynly that he  
goo to bataill is by cause that none may knowe to what  
partye god shal gyue the eure of the victorye / wherfore yf  
the fortune cam ayenst the prynce beyng there in persone /  
by whiche he take deth / be take or flee / that shold not be  
perdycyon and deshonour only to his sayd persone: but to  
them of his blood : & generally to alle his subgettis londe &  
contrees perdicion & infenyte inconuenient /
- Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye Book 1 Chap.15 P.52 Lines 1-9 (On the right time to attack)  
But hym that hys ouercome in a bataylle / How be it that hys  
wytte in the arte and vse of armes / myght not that tyme  
profyete hym / Natheles in hys wrathe he may complayn vpon  
fortune But he that vaynquysshed is or hurt by the subtylnes  
of his ennemye / can blame noon/ but onely the deffauwte of  
his owne self / For he myght haue eschewid hys hurt yf he  
had be as kepefull and dyligent to kepe hym self / as his  
ennemye was for to make a surpysse vpon him /

Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.27 P.95 Lines 5-14	(Full advantage should be taken of good fortune) The wise men of armes sayen that whan a good fortune cometh to that one of the two partyes so that she ouercometh that other partye in bataylle / men ought for to pursyewe styl hys good fortune al vnto the end while that she endureth and that the enemies ben assaylled / and not to be ouer ioyfull nor so proude for som what of victorye that is had at the begynnyng / that men leue all wenyng to recouere hit of lyght agayne / as many haue founde them self deceyued therby that neuer syn coude happe to haue hyt/
Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.28 P.96 Lines 5-12	(How the good captain should behave when the fortune of battle is against him) And yf it happeth that the myscheffe be thrughe al thyn oste / neuerthelesse thou ought to seke a remedy therunto / for fortune somtyme hath recouered to theyre aboue many one that fled awaye / And the wise men of armes sayen that in fayttes of a playne bataylle the capytayne ought to be purueyed and aduysed how he shal gadre agayne to gyder his folke / as the goode pastour doeth his shepe /
Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.29 P.100 Lines 8-11	(The outcome of battle is never certain) Aduenture gyueth often vycctory more than doeth force / Impossyble it is to Iugge to the certeyn the ende of the bataylle of whiche fortune dysposeth /
Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.29 P.100 Line 16 - P.101 Line 3	(Good captains avoid battle if possible) By cause that good capytaynes redoubtyng the fortune of bataylle are lothe to fyght wyth an oost assembled togyder / Grete wisdom it is to constrayne hys enemye more by honger than by yron /
Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye	Book 2 Chap.38 P.181 Lines 24-27	(On sea battles and sailors' knowledge) And also in al other tokens whyche shewen fortune of the see to come shortly whiche tokens appyeren aswell by the sonne as by the mone / by the wyndes and by the byrdes and namely by the fysshe of the see /

- Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye Book 3 Chap.21 P.232 Line 38 - P.233 Line 11 (On who may be taken prisoner and ransomed)  
 Thus abusen with the right of armes they that now doo exercise them by the grete coueytise that ouercometh them / soo ought to tourne them to a grete shame for to emprisonne wymen or children & impotent & olde / & thys custome that they haue brought vp ought to be reprodoued to their grete deshonor & blame / lyke as otherwhile haue doon duringe the warre in the royalme of Fraunce whiche as longe as fortune was for them they spared nother ladies nor dameselles grete smalle nor lytel whan they toke the fortresses but they were all putte to raunson asmany as were founde there / whiche is a grete shame to them for to take that whiche can not reuenge hemself / & ought wel to haue suffised them for to haue take the saisine of the fortres and that the ladies had goon quytte /
- Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye Book 4 Chap.9 P.265 Lines 23-27 (On the Lombard Law)  
 Item yf a man hath be brought to losse & damage by fortune of fyre in his hous or in his grange or other thinge / yf he wil proue ayenst another in manere a forsayde that he hathe putte the fyre theryn / he shalbe herde /
- Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye Book 4 Chap.15 P.286 Lines 26-37 (On coats of arms)  
 Item the iij difference is of the armes that dayli be founde newe at wille as whan it falleth hapli oftentimes / that fortune enhaunceth men att her owne plaisire / that they that be of ryght lowe degree comen to highe astate whiche thyng som tyme happeth : by the suffisaunce of the persones / other in fayt of armes / or in scyence / wysedom / or counseyll / or by som other vertue that they haue / Soo it is not euyl employed to them that be worthy thereof by noblesse of vertue / the whiche whan they see hem self brought to highe astate / they take arms att theyre owne wylle and suche a deuise as them plaiseth wherof...

1413 - 1414

- Livre de la paix Part 1 Chap.IV (Christine exhorts the Duke of Guyenne, the Dauphin, to  
P.63 practise virtue)  
Comme toutes choses ça jus soient falibles, seulle vertu, dist Tullies, est en la puissance d'elle meismes, c'est à entendre durable, et pour ce les raisons que on puet mectre pour bien vivre doivent estre assises en vertu, car certes fortune ne puet estre contraire à celuy qui plus s'afiche en vertu que es biens de fortune et d'aventure.
- Livre de la paix Part 1 Chap.IX (On counsellors)  
Pp.73-74 Souventes foiz avient à la pire partie pour ce que maintes fois ont veu en leurs temps ainsi avenir ne peu d'aparence ne les meut pas à croire la chose se ançois n'ont le verité bien esprouvée, pour ce que souvent, si que dit Senecque, verité a face de mençonge et mençonge de verité. Si leur souvient de ce que ont esté maintes fois deceuz, si n'y adjoustant foy, ne ilz ne donnent pas grant esperance sur petit fondement et sur pou d'achaison pour cause que maintes foiz ont veu avenir par les tours de fortune trop autrement les choses que on ne les pensoit.
- Livre de la paix Part 1 (On bad officials)  
Chap.XIII P.82 Et contre ceulx qui dient les honneurs changent les meurs, ilz ne donnoient mie les offices ains que le sens fust venus ains actendoient le sens estre venus devant, et mesmement es offices d'armes les plus sages et les plus excitéz les avoient, car ne leur souffisoit mie que homme fust seullement bon de la main se sens d'armes n'estoit avec, comme ilz tenissent que plus prouffitoit mesmes es fais de chevalerie sens que force, et se aucun eust fait quelque entreprise follement et hors ordre de droit d'armes et de raison et toutesvoies bien en fust ensuivy au chevetain pourtant en a celui qui l'avoit faicte ne lui eust ja estre attribuée à honneur, mais à aventure. Par le contraire, se une chose venist mal et toutevoies par sens et bonne raison fust entreprise, la coulpe en donnoient à la fortune et non mie à l'entreprenant.



- Livre de la paix Part 1 (On who should be court officials)  
 Chap.XIII P.84 Doncques, comme il soit vray, si que chascun scet, que ycestes choses soient requises en amour vray, n'est mie à entendre que l'amour soit fainte, ne que le service que le serviteur s'efforce de faire au seigneur soit seulement pour avoir sa grace afin qu'il l'ait du sien, car service fait unement à celle cause n'est pas pour amour que on ait à la personne, mais à ses biens, quoy que de tel amour soient communement améz les puissans hommes lesquelz trop se deçoivent, si que dit Tullies, quant ilz cuident ou temps de leur prosperité estre améz de ceulx qui par blandisses faintes leur font acroire, comme il appere tout le contraire s'il avient cas que fortune se tourne de douce ou amere; adont, perdu la puissance, perdus telz amis.
- Livre de la paix Part 2 Chap.III (Christine exhorts the Duke of Guyenne to continue the peace)  
 Pp.91-92 Pour ce, tres honnoré prince, que ta noble condicion, si que dit est, se delicte en vertu de paix veoir entre les tiens, si que le demonstre ton euvre, afin de te conforter à maintenir, non pas seulement ou temps present mais à tousjours, celle sainte voie, et il soit ainsi que souventes fois avient en divers cas que Fortune, admenistrarresse de tous maulx, prepare occasions de rancunes et descors auxquelles que n'y doie estre sans meur regart obey, vueilles nocter le dit du prealigué Saluste cy dessus ou latin, de laquelle chose pour ce que guerre et bataille est emprise et commencié de legier, et neantmoins, si comme il dit et experience le nous certiffie, en est tousjours la fin tres povre et tres miserable.
- Livre de la paix Part 2 Chap.III (On same)  
 P.92 Te sont doncques necessaires deux choses par especial afin que le bien de paix soit tousjours avec toy: l'une est avoir à memoire sans oubly et devant les yeulx le mal qui vient par guerre et bataille, et comment en la continuacion d'icelle plusieurs royaumes ont esté destruis et desers, et le peril de fortune que nul ne tient en main, pour laquelle regart et consideracion ne te soit legiere chose croire conseil d'entreprendre guerres ne la deliberer, par especial et sur toutes riens guerre civile, c'est assavoir contre les tiens ne tes subgiéz, ne la souffrir avoir entre eulx, comme nulle soit tant prejudiciable si que le tesmoigne l'Euvangile et mesmement la present experience.

- Livre de la paix Part 2 Chap.IIII (Cruelty causes war)  
P.93 Neantmoins, si que dit Senecque, le sage conseiller ammoneste le prince qu'il ne se fie trop en sa puissance et force, veu que trop plus est grande celle de fortune; pour tant doit estre deslouée toute tel voye comme chose violente ne puist avoir durée afin que mal n'en conviengne.
- Livre de la paix Part 2 Chap.V (On the virtue of justice)  
P.95 Et à dire que est justice, c'est si comme une loyalle despensiere qui distribue et depart à un chascun tel part et porcion qui lui est due par ses faiz, soit de bien ou de mal, ceste te convient il avoir et ouvrer par elle, comme riens ne soit plus partinant à roy ou prince. O quel bien t'ensuivra se tu bien la garder! Certes, et ne doubtes du contraire, que se en toy l'amour d'icelle est bien fichiée que non obstant soient les tours et tresbuchemens de fortune divers et tres merveilleux, meismement vers les plus haulx eslevéz à la fois avient, ceste te sera escu et deffence contre toutes nuisances et t'amenra accroissement toute prosperité et triomphe.
- Livre de la paix Part 2 (On strength)  
Chap.XVI Et par ainsi puet on entendre semblablement que ce n'est mie à dire force de corage que il soit dur, aspre ne obstiné, si que on en le peust desmouvoir d'aucune mauvaise opinion ne faire condescendre à pitie et à telz choses, maiz est cuer tant atrempeement afferméz que il soit tout temps prompt et prest à resister puissamment contre les hurs que fortune lui pourroit bailler, tellement que pour quelconques malle aventures, perte, miseur, ou mescheance ne peust estre brisiéz, ne tresbuchiéz en desconfort ne de sa fermeté desmeu, et semblablement ne le souffreroit monter en arrogance pour quelconques prosperité.
- Livre de la paix Part 3 (On the civil war in France)  
Chap.XIII Or, pensons un petit, à voir dire, que ce eust esté à veoir en P.135 assemblée de mortelle bataille, si comme on y taschoit tous les jours et chacune heure, tant de princes et nobles hommes tous d'un meismes corps et soubz un chief de souverain seigneur eulx entre-occire et perir piteusement par le douleureux entregiet de fortune en la maison de mesheur.

Livre de la paix Part 3 Chap.XX (On how cruelty comes from pride)

P.145

Et pour tant ne doivent pas oublier les hommes qui sont au plus haulx eslevéz les tours dont Fortune scet traire, et eulx tenir sur leur garde de non trop eslever es effaiz d'orgueil, remembrans qu'ilz sont hommes subgiéz à maintes passions, car comme il desplaie à Dieu telle elevance, et ne le puist au par aler souffrir, pou avient qu'il ne trebuche les arrogans par sa divine provison, si que tresbucha les mauvais anges de son hault ciel en enfer.

## 1416 - 1418

Prison de vie humaine	Chap.1 P.19 Lines 83-91	(On comfort on the death of friends and on patience in adversity) A mon premier propos, tres noble dame, pour ce que les paroles dittes et venues de moy pourroient estre de trop petite efficace au regart de ta grant douleur en te demoustrant et ramentevant matiere de pacience, te plaise au fort vouloir adjouster foy à la Sainte Escripiture et à ce que les glorieux dotteurs et maints sages atteurs ont dit, tant d'avoir pacience es choses adverses, que Fortune livre par diverses aventures, comme de la gloire et beneurté de ceulx qui meurent en grace...
Prison de vie humaine	Chap.1 P.20 Lines 137-141	(On same) O com grant bien fust avoir seigneurie, puissance, prinsée, richescs et bon les feïst acquerre , se par telz moiens peussent estre evitez et eschevez les mortelz perilz et divers agais de la faulse Fortune et les griefs cuisençons et tant penibles travaulx que le monde livre!
Prison de vie humaine	Chap.1 P.20 Lines 150-159	(On same) Mais que dirons-nous de Julius Cesar? Ot-il bien employé ses paines, quant, par si long travaux, tant de perilz passez, de bleceures souffertes et mesaises, en pluseurs et diverses batailles conquist la plus grant partie du monde? Lorsque Fortune l'ot assis au plus hault de sa roe et qu'à repos cuida seignourir en triumphe, comme empereur, O! comment à paines cuidast-il que homme lui osast nuire ne à pou meismement Fortune, cil qui de tant de perilz fu eschappez!
Prison de vie humaine	Chap.1 P.21 Lines 185-197	(On same) Et qui plus est et fait à noter, tout ainsi que quant il fait orage de temps et que les tempestes courans par l'air menées par divers vens plus tost encontrent et debatent les sommetons et combles des hautes tours et souvent les trebuchent qu'elles ne font les bas et moiens estages, semblablement les soufflemens de Fortune, quant elle est contraire, plus perilleusement s'embat sur les hautes personnes que sur les moiennes ou basses, et pour ce dit Boece en son secont livre que plus prouffite la male Fortune que la propre, car la bonne avugle par ses prosperitez et fait croire estat seur, et la perverse fait appercevoir la verité de sa muableté et que fier on ne s'y doit.

Prison de vie humaine	Chap.4 P.26 Lines 382-385	(On the third reason to be comforted) A propos d'amis mors dit oultre Seneque: A quoy ploures ce que tien n'estoit? Fortune prestez les t'avoit. Se elle les t'a retolus, de quoi te plains?
Prison de vie humaine	Chap.6 P.32 Lines 620-629	(More on patience and how it affects justice) Et pour ce que on dit, et il est vray, que pacience n'aime qui veult et ne se prent pas en la bourse, dit Ysidore que c'est un tresor qui moult doit estre par grant diligence acquis, comme il soit tres valable meismement au corps et plus à l'ame. Au corps, en tant qu'il lui donne le don de paix et seurté en ce qu'il ne doubte nulle male aventure, car il est prest de tout porter, et pourtant vit liement et en santé, ne de riens ne soussie, car il est seur en toutes places, ne Fortune ne lui puet nuire.
Prison de vie humaine	Chap.7 P.33 Line 680 -P.34 Line 691	(On the fourth reason to be comforted) ...et aies à memoire, en merçant Dieu, et meismement pour ton reconfort contre les assaulx et pointures de tribulacion, quant elles t'oppressent, les tres grans et nobles benefices que as receus de ton Createur (qui t'en doint bien user!), lesquelz sont .iii. en especiauté, dont plusieurs autres biens viennent et dependent, c'est assavoir, le don de Grace, celui de Nature et le don de Fortune. De ces .iii. dons, afin de mieulx entendre, est à savoir que les .ii., quant nous les avons, sont dedens nous, et le tiers est dehors.
Prison de vie humaine	Chap.7 P.34 Lines 702-707	(On same) Le don de Fortune sont seigneurie, dominacion, puissance, richesces, noblece de sang, bonnes aventures, avoir escheu à bonne et belle partie, soit femme ou mary, belle ligniée d'enfans ou de haulx parens et toutes telz choses qui sont dehors soy.
Prison de vie humaine	Chap.7 P.35 Line 775 - P.36 Line 1	(On same) Aux biens de Fortune, qui est le .iii. <sup>e</sup> dessus dit don, à les bien gouverner et sagement en user, n'y a pas pou besoing Dame Discrecion, et là où sans elle sont distribuez, tout tourne à folour et dommage.

Prison de vie humaine	Chap.8 P.38 Lines 889-895	(Christine addresses Marie de Berry) Après ces choses, les biens de Fortune dont tu as largement font-ilz à oublier? Et de quoy te plains? N'es-tu de haulx parens, fille de filz de roy de France, mariée hautement au bel et bon Jehan, duc de Bourbon? Mais quelle est au monde plus grant joye aux mariez, par especial haute gent, que avoir de beaulx enfans? Y as-tu donques failli?
Prison de vie humaine	Chap.11 P.46 Line 1234 - P.47 Line 1246	(On the joys of paradise) O! les folz musars! Aucuns qui par jeunece, folie ou par cuidier estre au monde en aucune prosperité dient qu'ilz vouldroient que Dieu gardast son Paradis et à tousjours vivre ça jus les laissast, certes ilz ressemblent aux porcs, lesquelz pour tous delices eslisent le fiens et la boe et là se vouldrent et enveloppent. Dieux! quel ignorance, avuglement et faulte de foy! Estre hors des dangiers de fain, de soif, de froit, de povreté, de maladie, d'avoir sa vie de tout courroux, d'inconvenient, des tours de Fortune, estre aseur de jamais ne mourir, et de toutes choses qui pevent troubler et nuire, et avoir certaineté de perpetuellement demourer en gloire sans jamais partir!

**c. 1418 - 29**

Contemplacion  
sur la Passion

Lines 955- 962

Or considerons-nous, qui passons par la voye de ce temporel  
ciecle, comme tout pour nostre exemple vould Nostre  
Seigneur en soy mesmes demonstrier comme nul fier ne se  
doit es honneurs et prosperitez de ce monde, ne es choses de  
la miable fortune, quant le pueple qui le dimanche de devant  
l'avoit receu à si grant honneur et festes, le vendredy d'apres  
demanderent sa mort, sans ce que riens leur eust meffait.

1429

Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc P.29 Huitain VIII

Oyez par tout l'univers monde  
Chose sur toute merveillable!  
Notez se Dieu, en qui habonde  
Toute grace, est point secourable  
Au droit en fin. C'est fait notable,  
Consideré le present cas!  
Si soit aux deceüz valable,  
Que Fortune a flati à cas!

Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc P.29 Huitain IX

Et note[z] comment esbahir  
Ne se doit nul pour infortune,  
Se voiant à grant tort haïr,  
Et courir sus par voix commune!  
Voie[z] comment tousjours n'est une  
Fortune, qui a nuit à maint!  
Car Dieu, qui aux tors faiz repune,  
Ceulx relieve en qui espoir maint.



## **APPENDIX B**

### **SELECTED TERMINOLOGY USED WITH FORTUNE**

This appendix contains selected terminology used with the goddess Fortune. Terms are listed alphabetically. The list is divided into sections for Nouns, Verbs, and Adjectives.

The sources and abbreviated titles used are the same as those used in Appendix A. Where multiple examples exist for a term, the bibliographic references are listed chronologically.

Terminology from English language texts is listed separately after the French language lists.

## SELECTED TERMINOLOGY USED WITH FORTUNE

### NOUNS

TERM	TEXT	PAGE REFERENCE
<b>admenistreresse</b> de tous maulz	Livre de la paix	Part 2 Chap.III P.91
-- <b>admenistreresse</b> de tous inconveniens et meschiefs	Charles V	Vol.1 Part 2 Chap.I P.109
-- <b>administraresse</b> de tout inconvenient	Lavision-Christine	Part 1 P.84 Line 22
divers <b>agais</b>	Prison de vie humaine	Chap.1 P.20 Line 140
par <b>laide</b> de fortune	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.135 Line 8
--par <b>laide</b> et disposicion de fortune	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.135 Lines 1-2
--avec <b>laide</b> ou nuisance de fortune	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.135 Line 8
<b>accident</b> de diverse Fortune	Charles V	Vol.1 Part 1 Chap.XXI P.58
Fortune est <b>s'anemie</b>	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.224 Ballade XV Line 12
<b>annemie</b> de ta prosperite	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.170 Line 14
ses <b>aprestes</b> toutes contraires	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.154 Lines 11-12
la <b>bataille</b> et luitte de fortune	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.158 Lines 5-6

ses <b>batemens</b> divers	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.157 Line 24
<b>biens</b> de fortune	Livre des trois vertus	Part 2 Chap.VIII P.148 Line 55
	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.173 Line 6  Part 3 P.175 Line 31  Part 3 P.180 Line 32  Part 3 P.181 Line 11  Part 3 P.185 Line 2
	Corps de policie	Part 1 Chap.VII P.16  Part 1 Chap.XII P.35
	Livre de prudence	Folio 269r
	Livre de la paix	Part 1 Chap.IV P.63
	Prison de vie humaine	Chap.7 P.35 Line 775  Chap.8 P.38 Line 889
	--grans <b>biens</b> de Fortune	Cent ballades  Vol.1 P.13 Ballade XII Line 1
--ses <b>biens</b> [sont] cours	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.266 Ballade LI Line 3
<b>cas</b> de fortune	Corps de policie	Part 2 Chap.XIII P.137

ma <b>chamberiere</b> mercenaire	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.132 Line 11-12
<b>chose</b> de Fortune	Charles V	Vol.2 Part 3 Chap.LXII[I] P.160
	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.182 Line 28
		Part 3 P.185 Line 15
-- <b>choses</b> adverses	Prison de vie humaine	Chap.1 P.19 Lines 83-91
<b>conduiseresse</b> de leur bon eur	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.135 Line 2
-- <b>conduiseresse</b> des oeuvres	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.132 Line 12
<b>cours</b> de Fortune	Livre de prudence	Folio 240v
selon ses usages et <b>coustumes</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.166 Line 29
la <b>desloiale</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.167 Line 25
--la <b>desloyal</b>	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.268 Ballade LIII Line 6
--la <b>desloyalle</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.160 Line 18
<b>disposicion</b> de fortune	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.135 Lines 1-2
la <b>distribucion</b> de fortune	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.141 Line 27

le grief <b>dommage</b>	Charles V	Vol.1 Part 2 Chap.1 P.109
	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.152 Line 16
le <b>don</b> de fortune	Prison de vie humaine	Chap.7 P.33 Lines 687-688
		Chap.7 P.34 Line 702-703
--des <b>dons</b> de fortune	Livre des trois vertus	Part 2 Chap.V P.137 Line 51
sa fellasse <b>enfrune</b>	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.266 Ballade LI Line 10
le douloureux <b>entregiet</b> de fortune	Livre de la paix	Part 3 Chap.XIII P.135
--l' <b>entregiet</b> de Fortune	Charles V	Vol.1 Part 2 Chap.XXIX P.212
hayneuse <b>envie</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.167 Line 7
--ta très fausse <b>envie</b> haïneuse	Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.8 Ballade VII Line 14
la grant <b>exaltacion</b> de Fortune	Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.97 Ballade XCVII Line 13
la <b>face</b> de fortune	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.169 Line 2
--sa riant et belle <b>face</b>	Charles V	Vol.1 Part 2 Chap.V P.121
ta fausse <b>fallace</b>	Virelais	Vol.1 P.104 Virelay IV Line 9
la <b>fausse</b>	Chemin de long estude	P.96 Line 2211

les <b>flocs</b> de la descordable Fortune	Charles V	Vol.1 Part 1 Chap.V P.14
--les <b>flos</b> de male Fortune	Charles V	Vol.1 Part 1 Chap.XXIII P.63
--ses <b>floz</b> mont governee	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.160 Line 21
<b>force</b> , veu que trop plus est grande celle de fortune	Livre de la paix	Part 2 Chap.III P.93
rendre bon <b>guerdon</b>	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.266 Ballade LI
en <b>guise</b> mainte	Virelais	Vol.1 P.104 Virelay IV Line 5
en laquelle <b>haine</b> ay este	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.149 Lines 16-17
les <b>hurs</b>	Livre de la paix	Part 2 Chap.XVI P.109
de tout <b>inconveniens</b>	Charles V	Vol.1 Part 2 Chap.I P.109
--de tout <b>inconvenient</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 1 P.84 Line 22
son <b>influence</b> desraée	Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.11 Ballade X Line 15
--d' <b>influence</b>	Chemin de long estude	P.96 Line 2212
--son <b>influence</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.132 Line 17
	Lamentacion sur les maux de la France	P.181

ses <b>joyes</b>	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.266 Ballade LI Line 17
--ses <b>joyes</b> ne sont fors que droit vent	Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.13 Ballade XII Line 7
tes <b>las</b>	Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.8 Ballade VII Line 12
--es <b>las</b> de dure fortune	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.176 Line 32
--le <b>laz</b> de tribulacion	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.170 Lines 15-16
en ses <b>liens</b>	Epistre à Eustache Morel	Vol.2 P.300 Line 181
<b>luitte</b> de fortune	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.158 Lines 5-6
la <b>maison</b> de fortune	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.145 Line 1
ses <b>malefices</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.169 Line 12
ta grant <b>malice</b> envieuse	Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.8 Ballade VII Line 19
tres amere <b>marastre</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.149 Line 27
ses <b>maulx</b>	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.266 Ballade LI Line 3
tous <b>maulz</b>	Livre de la paix	Part 2 Chap.III P.91
la <b>mauvaise</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.185 Lines 2, 4
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<b>double</b>	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.266 Ballade LI Line 2
--a <b>double regardeure</b>	Chemin de long estude	P.96 Line 2211
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<b>--faulsse</b>	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.266 Ballade LI Line 2
<b>--fausse</b>	Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.13 Ballade XII Line 17
<b>favorable</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.151 Line 11
<b>félonne</b>	Cité des dames	Book 2 Chap.LIX P.222
<b>horrible</b>	Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.8 Ballade VII Line 17

<b>inconstant</b>	Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.8 Ballade VII Line 17
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	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.266 Ballade LI Line 2
<b>jalouse</b>	Cité des dames	Book 1 Chap.XLVI P.123
		Book 2 Chap.LVIII P.216
		Book 2 Chap.LIX P.219
<b>male</b>	Chemin de long estude	P.12 Lines 271, 272
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		Part 3 P.169 Line 28
		Part 3 P.172 Line 31
		Part 3 P.184 Line 34
	Corps de policie	Part 2 Chap.VIII P.122
	Prison de vie humaine	Chap.1 P.21 Line 194

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<b>miable</b>	Contemplation de la Passion	Line 959
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	Cité des dames	Book 2 Chap.LVIII P.217
<b>preste de destruire</b>	Duc des vrais amans	Vol.3 P.159 Lines 3128
<b>propice</b>	Enseignemens moraux	Vol.3 P.34 Quatrain XLV
	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.135 Line 23
		Part 3 P.168 Line 34
		Part 3 P.184 Lines 28, 30
		Part 3 P.181 Line 9
	Corps de policie	Part 1 Chap.XVII P.54
		Part 1 Chap.XVIII P.58
		Part 2 Chap.VII P.118
<b>propre</b>	Prison de vie humaine	Chap.1 P.21 Line 194
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non <b>repunente</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 1 P.83 Line 16
<b>reverse</b>	Débat de deux amans	Vol.2 P.93 Line 1482
mains <b>seure</b>	Chemin de long estude	P.12 Line 270
<b>servile</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.132 Line 22
<b>tenebreuse</b>	Cent ballades	Vol.1 P.8 Ballade VII Line 17
<b>villaine</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 2 P.132 Line 22
<b>voulaige</b>	Autres ballades	Vol.1 P.267 Ballade LI Line 26
<b>vraye</b>	Lavision-Christine	Part 3 P.185 Line 2



# TERMINOLOGY USED WITH THE GODDESS FORTUNE

## ENGLISH LISTINGS

### NOUNS

<b>TERMS</b>	<b>TEXT</b>	<b>PAGE REFERENCE</b>
fortune of <b>bataylle</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.29 P.100 Line 17
<b>chaungeabilnes</b> of fortune	Epistle of Othea	P.116 Section XCVII Glose
<b>cours</b>	Epistle of Othea	P.91 Section LXXIV Glose
<b>destrubucion</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.5 P.14 Line 26
fortune of <b>fyre</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 4 Chap.9 P.265 Lines 24-25
<b>greet myghti goddesse</b>	Epistle of Othea	P.91 Section LXXIV Text, Glose
in the <b>handis</b> of fortune	Epistle of Othea	P.116 Section XCVII Text
<b>perill</b> of euyll fortune	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.6 P.19 Line 17
att her owne <b>plaisire</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 4 Chap.15 P.286 Line 29
fortune of the <b>see</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 2 Chap.38 P.181 Lines 24-25
<b>thingis</b> of fortune	Epistle of Othea	P.95 Section LXXVIII Glose

## VERBS

<b>TERMS</b>	<b>TEXT</b>	<b>PAGE REFERENCE</b>
<b>to chaunge</b>	Epistle of Othea	P.91 Section LXXIV Text
<b>to dyspose</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.29 P.100 Line 11
<b>to endure</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.27 P.95 Line 9
<b>to enhaunce</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 4 Chap.15 P.286 Line 28
<b>to fare as engins</b>	Epistle of Othea	P.91 Section LXXIV Glose
<b>to ouercome</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.27 P.95 Line 7
<b>to ouer-throwe</b>	Epistle of Othea	P.91 Section LXXIV Text
<b>to give</b>	Epistle of Othea	P.91 Section LXXIV Glose
<b>to gouerne</b>	Epistle of Othea	P.91 Section LXXIV Glose
<b>to hold in puissaunce</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.5 P.15  Lines 36-37
<b>to promisse prosperite</b>	Epistle of Othea	P.91 Section LXXIV Glose
<b>to recouer</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.28 P.96 Line 7
<b>to take</b>	Epistle of Othea	P.91 Section LXXIV Glose

## ADJECTIVES

<b>TERM</b>	<b>TEXT</b>	<b>PAGE REFERENCE</b>
<b>euyt</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.6 P.19 Line 17
<b>good</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.27 P.95 Lines 5, 8
<b>propice</b>	Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye	Book 1 Chap.5 P.15 Line 36

