

VALOIS COURT POLITICS IN THE TIME OF JEAN OF BERRY AND THE COLLINS  
*CITÉ DE DIEU*: PMA COLLINS 1945-65-1

BY

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THESIS

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## Abstract

At the turn of the fifteenth-century, the Valois court was rife with contention and intrigue. A vocal pro-reform movement had publically exposed corruption and mismanagement at the highest levels of the court hierarchy and was actively attempting to persuade members of the court to implement reforms that would preserve the honor and dignity of the king and his kingdom in the face of the individual desires and needs of the Princes of the Blood. Within this environment, an extraordinary copy of Augustine's *City of God* (PMA Collins 1945-65-1) was created for the duke of Berry, a key figure within the court and a celebrated mediator between his nephews the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans, leaders of the two opposing factions.

Due in part to the manuscripts greatly expanded illumination cycle, PMA Collins 1945-65-1 alters the original text's flow and introduces a changed mode of reader reception. This paper will explore the effect of the reading flow of this illuminated text on its reception, and examine how gaps introduced into the text by the image cycle facilitate an understanding of the *City of God* that reinforces contemporary Valois court politics.

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## Abbreviations

Amiens	Amiens, la Bibliothèque municipale d'Amiens
Angers	Angers, la Bibliothèque municipale d'Angers
Arsenal	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal
Beinecke	New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University,
BGE	Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève
BL	London, British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
BPU	Geneva, la Bibliothèque publique et universitaire
BSM	Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale de Boulogne-sur-Mer
Houghton	Cambridge, Houghton Library, Harvard University
KB	the Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek
KBR	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
PMA	Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art



## Chapter 1: Historical Background

At the turn of the fifteenth century, the French court in Paris was in a near constant state of disruption. The illness and resulting “absences” of Charles VI created a power vacuum into which a great rivalry between the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans emerged, with the duke of Berry playing the role of neutral mediator between the two factions.<sup>1</sup> The hostility that would eventually lead to the assassination of Louis of Orléans by his cousin John the Fearless in 1407 was the result of political, financial, and personal differences that were initiated not between the two cousins but between Louis and his powerful uncle, John’s father Philip the Bold.

Louis, jealous of his uncle’s exceptionally strong position within the court, sought to exert greater influence upon his brother the king, yet was constantly found on the losing side of debates and arguments.<sup>2</sup> In 1401, the simmering antagonism between the two factions exploded when Charles VI indicated that he would be favorable to a marriage between the dauphin and a granddaughter of Philip the Bold, a union that Louis had expected would be made with a future daughter of his.<sup>3</sup> Following this disappointment, Louis attempted to purchase land in the North, with the aim of driving a wedge between his uncle’s territories in Flanders and Burgundy, and the two sides moved dangerously close to civil war.<sup>4</sup> Hostilities were averted, thanks in part to mediation led by John of Berry, and a peace agreement between the two dukes was drafted. Yet,

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the rivalry at court within this period see Famiglietti, R. (1986). *Royal intrigue: Crisis at the court of Charles VI, 1392-1420*. New York: AMS Press; Vaughan, R. (2009). *Philip the Bold: The dukes of Burgundy*. Boydell Press; Vaughan, R. (2011). *John the Fearless: The growth of Burgundian power*. Boydell Press; Lehoux, F. (1966). *Jean de France, duc de Berri, sa vie, son action politique (1340-1416)*. Paris: A. et J. Picard et Cie; and Knecht, R. (2007). *Valois: Kings of France 1328-1589*. London: Hambledon Continuum.

<sup>2</sup> For example, in 1398 Charles VI, upon the advice of his uncles the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, removed France from obedience to the Avignon Pope in clear opposition to the desires of Louis, who was a firm supporter of the rival pope.

<sup>3</sup> The emperor of Bavaria, who was known to be disapproving of Louis, influenced the King’s decision, though a formal agreement to the union would not be finalized until April 1403.

<sup>4</sup> Famiglietti, p. 24.

the continued animosity was such that Queen Isabeau created an arbitration panel to rule on any breaches of the accord made between the dukes.<sup>5</sup>

Managing the shaky peace between the princes of the blood (i.e. those with blood relations to the king) was not the only task taken on by the queen. Through the year 1402, Isabeau, after first consulting with the dukes but under no obligation to follow their advice, was empowered to make decisions for the realm during the king's absences.<sup>6</sup> This arrangement was altered in 1403 when a new ordinance was signed that stripped the queen of her role as final arbiter and placed decision-making in the hands of a majority within the governing council. The move, an initial reform attempt initiated by Philip the Bold and John of Berry, was intended to level power among the dukes and other invested parties but was quickly undermined as the rival factions merely packed the council with their supporters.<sup>7</sup> A flurry of ordinances followed throughout the months of April and May as the princes of the blood, with the feeble minded king's signature as weapon, waged battle against each other.<sup>8</sup>

The death of Philip the Bold on April 27, 1404 resulted in both a rise in favor of Louis of Orléans and the development of the fatal rivalry with his cousin John the Fearless, the new duke

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<sup>5</sup> Famiglietti, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Famiglietti, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were the only witnesses present at the private signing ceremony.

<sup>8</sup> Famiglietti, pp. 29-34. For example, in April 1403 an ordinance was passed that, in the event of the king's death, the dauphin should be crowned immediately and the kingdom ruled in his name without a regency (even if he has not yet reached the age of majority) and, in the event he is in the minority at the time of elevation, the government would be ruled by the council (as practiced during the king's "absences"). These decisions cancelled powers given to Louis of Orléans in 1393, when he was named regent in the event of an underage successor. In May of that same year, Louis tricked Charles VI into signing a letter that invalidated all the previous ordinances of 1403, reinstating all of Louis' previous rights (such as being made regent to a minor king), and nullifying the marriage agreement between Philip the Bold and Charles VI, the council system of decision making, and the lack of a regency. When his uncles found out the contents of the letter, they had the king revoke it. This then angered Louis who, on May 28<sup>th</sup> convinced the king to restore French obedience to Benedict XIII, then the Avignon pope, thus angering the dukes of Berry and Burgundy who had been laboring tirelessly to reach a negotiated settlement between the rival popes.

of Burgundy.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, though the marriage of John's daughter to the dauphin in August of 1404 bound the two families even closer together, the annual allowance that was in line with payments made to other princes of the blood, most notably the dukes of Berry and Orléans, was not granted to him, placing the duchy of Burgundy in a state of economic distress.<sup>10</sup> While funds were not flowing towards Burgundy, Louis continued to procure immense sums from the royal coffers, necessitating the levying of a new tax upon the people and making John the Fearless, who publically opposed the tax, exceptionally popular among the residents of Paris, though not among members of the court.<sup>11</sup>

The queen's displeasure with the actions of John (both his attempts to claim the allowance and his vocal opposition to his cousin Louis) can be found in a letter written to him on the eve of her daughter Margaret's marriage to John's son Philip. In the note, Isabeau affirms her belief that the right to power is dependent upon the degree of relationship by blood to the king:

*et à la garde et deffense de luy et de son Estat; et à ce faire, Nous employerons et luy ayderons à nostre puissance envers et contre tous, excepté nostre dit Seigneur le Roy et nos enfans, et ceux à qui par prochaineté de lignage serons tenus par raison et honnestete, plus que à nostre dit cousin; nostre tres cher et tout amée cousin sa femme et leurs enfans.*<sup>12</sup>

While Vaughn and Lehoux have interpreted the letter as a statement of alliance between the queen and John, Famiglietti correctly reads it as a warning to the duke that he must keep to his place within the hierarchy, which, as merely a cousin, is decidedly less than that previously

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<sup>9</sup> The extent that Philip was influencing Charles VI may be gauged by how quickly Louis' favor rose with his brother in the days preceding and following Philip's death. By the end of April Louis had secured the advantageous marriage of his son to Isabelle (the king's daughter and the widow of Richard II) and a number of valuable apanages.

<sup>10</sup> Vaughn (2005), p. 43. Vaughn additionally suggests that the funds intended for Burgundy were instead diverted to Orléans. That Louis was at the center of this can be inferred by the fact that the allowance was reinstated in 1407, after the assassination.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Plancher, U. (1748). *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne vol 3*. Paris, Dijon: Chez Antoine de Fay Imprimeur des Etats, de la Ville & de l'Université, p. ccxxxvii. See appendix A for a transcription of the complete letter.

held by his father.<sup>13</sup> In short, Isabeau states that she will first protect the interests of the king and the king's children, followed by his brothers and uncles (those of closest lineage), and only then would her protection and loyalty fall to the king's cousin and his family.

By July of 1405, hostilities between the duke of Burgundy and a now politically united queen and Louis of Orléans had escalated to the point where once again there was a fear of open warfare.<sup>14</sup> On July 26<sup>th</sup> of that year, the duke of Burgundy received a summons from the king who was, once again, lucid and interested in meeting with his ducal council. John, intending to both meet with the council, as requested, and do homage to the king for the county of Flanders, thus set out to Paris with an army of almost 3,000 men.<sup>15</sup> The duke's show of force was not intended to incite aggression but to assure the continued protection of his daughter's marriage interests, as she had not yet consummated her union with the dauphin and was therefore still vulnerable to potential interference by her father's rivals.<sup>16</sup> Once again, war was narrowly avoided through the mediations of John of Berry, who was placed in charge of Paris during this moment of crisis.<sup>17</sup>

With recent events firmly in mind, and a strong desire to nobly serve Charles VI, John and his brothers, Anthony, duke of Brabant, and Philip, count of Nevers, drafted an open letter to

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<sup>13</sup> Famiglietti, p. 40; Vaughn (2005), p. 32; Lehoux vol. 3, p. 35.

<sup>14</sup> An instigating factor to this upsurge in aggression was a decision by the governing council, under the presumed influence of Louis, to reject a request for military assistance to Burgundy, who was fighting off an English attack at the Flemish port of Sluis. Famiglietti, p. 41.

<sup>15</sup> Famiglietti, pp. 46-46.

<sup>16</sup> Famiglietti, pp. 47-48. The queen and Louis of Orléans were fearful that John would attack them so, under the pretext of taking a rest from the city, they left for the country and sent word that the children should follow them. Hearing that the dauphin and his siblings had been taken from the city, John rode ahead and brought them back to Paris (an illegal act as the queen had full authority over the children). The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, to signal their support for John's action, met the party at the city gates and the dauphin was installed at the residence of Jean of Berry.

<sup>17</sup> Famiglietti, p. 48. The duke of Berry was made "captain of the city" on 21 August 1405.

the king that was read aloud to the parliament.<sup>18</sup> The petition, the first statutory declaration to expose the abuse of power wielded during the period of conflict between the Burgundians and Orléans, listed four main points and served as a renewed call for reform in the court:

1. That the king's caretakers are not suitably performing their jobs. The body and visage of the king has been greatly neglected and, by not caring for, dressing, and bejeweling him as he should be by right, the king and his position are belittled.
2. That the governing council no longer employs justice, truth, and fairness. Officers are appointed by bribery and are dedicated not to serving the king and his interests but those who put them in place. All this is to the detriment of the king and his position.<sup>19</sup>
3. That the kingdom is so poorly governed, many of the houses and chateaux are almost gone to ruin. The king's forests and rivers are left uncared for and, when viewed as a whole, the kingdom is strongly diminished.
4. That the clerics are being spoiled and no longer practice the divine service. That the nobles are summoned repeatedly to war; they have no wages, and are being forced to sell their land and property. That the people are almost completely destroyed with bailiffs and provosts harassing them and are forced to live among armed men kept in the country without reason, under the pretext of a war to which there does not appear to be a remedy, but not sent to do battle in the war.<sup>20</sup>

The letter, a thinly veiled assault on the duke of Orléans, went on to assert that the aim of John and his brothers was only to serve and obey the king, as required by the proximity of lineage, and that they were held to ensure the fulfillment of this duty by the deathbed command of their father.<sup>21</sup> With this declaration, John the Fearless reasserted his position within the royal

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<sup>18</sup> For a summary of the petition see, Mirot, L., "L'enlèvement du dauphin et la prise d'armes entre Jean sans Peur et le duc d'Orléans," *Revue des questions historiques* 96 (1914): 54-56. A copy of the letter was also sent to the University, and many copies/pamphlets were distributed among the major cities of the kingdom.

<sup>19</sup> Of the four points, the second most clearly seeks to implicate Louis of Orléans as influencing the council to serve his interests above those of the king. It goes on to ask that the king summon an unbiased council that can assist him with truth and fairness, an echo of attempts previously made in 1403 by John's father Philip to install a council loyal to the king's interests.

<sup>20</sup> This fourth point, a complaint that the war against England had been interrupted, is likely a reference to the governing council's ruling against providing John assistance when the English attacked the Flemish port.

<sup>21</sup> Mirot, p. 56.

hierarchy on the basis of both his lineage and his superior loyalty to the king. He countered the queen's argument that he held a diminished position within the royal hierarchy.

If the Burgundian brothers had hoped to rally support for reform amongst the Princes of the Blood and the royal chamberlains through this public declaration, they greatly miscalculated. Not only were their suggestions actively ignored, but the action resulted in a secret alliance between Louis of Orléans, John of Berry, and the queen, all of whom had much to lose should such reforms be initiated.<sup>22</sup> With the dawn of 1406 approaching, John the Fearless had navigated himself into a situation where he had potentially lost the valued neutrality of the powerful duke of Berry yet gained favor, and some degree of influence, with the ailing king, who now saw him as a valued and trusted adviser.<sup>23</sup>

It is in this unsteady political environment, between the years 1405 and 1406, that a richly illuminated partial copy of Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* was first described in the inventory of John of Berry.<sup>24</sup> While the inventory provides no information related to the provenance of this

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<sup>22</sup> Famiglietti, p. 49-52. The alliance was solidified 1 December 1405 with the three swearing to defend each other against all but the king and the royal children. Each would do nothing without the consent of the other two. John the Fearless tried to marshal support among the royal chamberlains but was thwarted by the dukes of Berry and Orléans, who ordered the courtiers away from the duke of Burgundy.

<sup>23</sup> In January 1406, Charles VI signed a document that substituted John for his deceased father as a member of the royal council and accorded him the position of his father's in the event of the dauphin having to rule while still a minor. This gave tutelage, guardianship, and government of the royal children after the death of Charles VI to the queen and the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Bavaria (not Orléans). Famiglietti, p. 52.

<sup>24</sup> The initial dating for this manuscript, based solely upon a stylistic analysis of the miniatures, was placed ca. 1410 by Scott, C. S. (1967, May). *The Collins Cité de Dieu: MS'45-65-1, Philippe E. Collins Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Master of Art). University of Pennsylvania. Meiss and Smith then re-dated it to 1407, again based upon stylistic assessments, Meiss, M. (1974). *French painting in the time of Jean De Berry: The Limbourgs and their contemporaries*. New York: G. Braziller; and Smith, S. D. (1974). *Illustrations of Raoul de Praelles' translation of St. Augustine's "City of God" between 1375 and 1420 (Vol. 1 and II)*. New York University, United States -- New York. In Hedeman, A. D. (2008). *Translating the past: Laurent De Premierfait and Boccaccio's De Casibus*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, the date has been moved forward once again, to the current date of 1405-1406, based upon the placement of the entry within Berry's inventory as discussed in Meiss, M., & Off, S. (1971). "The Bookkeeping of Robinet d'Estampes and the Chronology of Jean de Berry's Manuscripts." *The Art Bulletin*, 53(2), 225-235.

exceptional manuscript, the identifying elements it does afford has allowed scholars to confidently recognize it as being PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 (henceforth Collins MS).<sup>25</sup>

In 1371, Charles V, as part of his program of political reconstruction, commissioned the lawyer Raoul de Presles to translate Augustine's great treatise, the *City of God*, into understandable French and provide additional commentary to accompany each chapter.<sup>26</sup> Since Latin copies of Augustine's text traditionally are devoid of narrative decoration, the translation provided an opportunity to develop a pictorial cycle that would accompany the new text.<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, scholars believe that Raoul himself designed an original series of twenty-two illuminations, one placed at the opening of each book of the *Cité de Dieu*, to enhance his text.<sup>28</sup>

At the time of the 1405-06 acquisition, the duke already possessed two copies of the *Cité de Dieu*

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<sup>25</sup> The inventory entry, as found in Guiffrey, J. (1894). *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry (1401-1416), publiés et annotés par J. Guiffrey (vol. 1)*. Paris (pp.241-242), reads: #927: *Item un livre de la Cite de Dieu escript en francoys de letter roonde et au commencement du second Feuillet a escript plusieurs ont usurpe tres richement historie au commencement et un plusieurs lieux; couverte de veluiau vermeil et fermant a quatre fermours d'argent dorez, en chascune un tixu de soye bleue, et sur chascune aiz a V clos roons d'argent dorez*. Scott and later Hindman, S., demonstrate that the location of the words "plusieurs ont usurpe," as described in the inventory entry, are found on the second folio of the manuscript text (f. 6), thus confirming the attribution to John of Berry even in the absence of a signature, which he would sometimes apply to the final folio of a manuscript, or an armorial shield.

<sup>26</sup> For a survey of the existent *Cité de Dieu* manuscripts see Smith, S.D. (1975) and Laborde.A (1909). *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin*,. Paris: Pour la Société des bibliophiles français. For a discussion of Raoul's commentary see Beer, J. (1989). "Patronage and the translator: Raoul de Presles's *la Cité de Dieu* and Calvin's *Institution de la religion chrestienne* and *Institutio religionis christianae*" in J. Beer (Ed.), *Medieval translators and their craft. Studies in medieval culture* (pp. 91-142). Kalamazoo, Mich: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University.

<sup>27</sup> Smith, S.D. (1975), p. 48.

<sup>28</sup> Smith, Sharon Dunlap. (1982). "New Themes for the "City of God" around 1400: the illustrations of Raoul de Presles' translation". *Scriptorium*, 36, 68-82. The duke's first copy of the book (in two volumes now separated between Angers MS 162 and Houghton MS Typ 201) was based upon the original translation held in the library of Charles V. Laborde credits the miniature cycle to Raoul, an attribution supported by Sherman in her analysis of Oresme's translation of Aristotle that was also commissioned by Charles V, Sherman, C. R. (1995). *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and visual representation in fourteenth-Century France*. Berkeley: University of California Press. The second known copy in the duke's collection is now lost.

illuminated with this originally planned miniature cycle.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the highly unusual nature of the new codex would have excited the duke as its visual cycle was far outside the horizon of expectations.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> While the intended audience for the manuscript is assumed to be the duke of Berry, the means by which the manuscript was commissioned, or purchased, remains unclear. Hedeman (2008), pp. 240-241 notes that the book's chronological placement within the inventory suggests that the duke may have purchased it himself within the same time period as a larger collection of materials that was acquired from the Florentine merchant in Paris, Baude de Guy. The materials purchased from de Guy have been identified as such within the inventory entries. Interrupting this group are three manuscripts, numbered 926, 927, and 928, which have no associated dates of acquisition or additional information relevant to their provenance.

<sup>30</sup> While Scott, p. 31 and Hindman in Tanis, J., Thompson, J. A., & Dutschke, C. W. (2001). *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript illumination from Philadelphia collections*. Philadelphia, Pa: Philadelphia Museum of Art, p. 199 describe the Collins MS as conforming to Laborde's Family III (those MS dating between 1390 and 1405) based on iconographic criteria. Smith, S.D. (1975) and Hedeman, A. D. (2010). *Imagining the past in France: History in manuscript painting, 1250-1500*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, show that attempts to fit the cycle into one of the defined groups are problematic and suggest that the book should be considered unique.



## Chapter 2: The Collins *Cité de Dieu*

The Collins MS is unique in a number of ways. First, it is more richly and densely illuminated than any preceding copy of the *Cité de Dieu*. Fifty-nine additional column-wide miniatures within Books I and II visually supplement the traditional cycle of one large miniature at the opening of each book.<sup>31</sup> The style of the paintings has been attributed to the workshop of the Orosius Master, a Dutch painter working in Paris who was a favorite of the duke of Berry.<sup>32</sup> Celebrated primarily for his work on classical texts and ancient histories, he often illustrated manuscripts for the *libraire* Regnault du Montet also, who produced luxurious books for both the dukes of Burgundy and Berry up until 1406 when it became politically impossible to continue relations with both bibliophiles.<sup>33</sup>

The expanded visual cycle begins immediately within the *Cité de Dieu*'s three prologues.<sup>34</sup> The traditional presentation scene of Raoul kneeling and presenting his translation to Charles V in the presence of two to three witnesses appears at the beginning of the dedication prologue, but it is now joined by illuminations depicting Raoul de Presles writing his translation

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<sup>31</sup> The miniatures are narrative in nature and are located between the rubric and the initiation of the text for each of the chapters. Book I, chapters 7,8,9,25, 35, and 36 and Book II, chapters 3 & 6 are not illuminated.

<sup>32</sup> For attribution of the visual program to the Orosius Master see Meiss, p. 398 and Smith, S.D. (1975), p.159. Meiss documents the presence of five other volumes illuminated by the Orosius Master in the collection of John of Berry: BGE Fr. 77, Livy, *Histoire romaine*; Arsenal MS 664, *Térence des ducs*; BnF MS Fr 301, Orosius, *Histoire ancienne*; BnF MS lat. 7907, Terence, *Comedies*; and BnF MS lat. 9321, Boethius, *De Consolatione*.

<sup>33</sup> For discussion of the style of, and other attributions to, the Orosius Master see Meiss, pp. 398-399; for information on the relationship between the Orosius Master and Regnault du Montet see Rouse, R. H. (2000). *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, v. 1. Belgium: Harvey Miller. p. 295.

<sup>34</sup> The three prologues include a dedication, ff.1-2v; the translator's note, ff. 2v-3v; and Augustine's Retractions, ff. 3v-4v

(figure 1) and Augustine at work on his Retractions.<sup>35</sup> While there is precedent for the inclusion of Augustine within the prologue cycle, the addition of a second image of Raoul is exceptional.<sup>36</sup> The inclusion of two images of Raoul within the codex's opening program places the status of the translator and his commentaries upon an equal if not superior footing to Augustine. Indeed, the image of Raoul de Presles performing his assigned task brings the book's content into the present and reminds the reader of the applicability of Augustine's lessons to contemporary society.<sup>37</sup>

The grand scale in which Books I and II of the Collins MS are highlights both the deficiency of images within the final three books of the codex and the truncated state of the manuscript itself, which only contains Augustine's text through Book V.<sup>38</sup> The page layouts for Books III – V have a two-column miniature at the beginning of the book and no illustrations subdividing it. This indicates either the abandonment of a planned illumination cycle prior to the copying of the text onto the parchment or a purposeful exclusion, perhaps designed to emphasize the first two books. No empty spaces are found at the chapter headings in the later books and there is a slight decrease in the size of the chapter initials, from five to three lines, though commentary initials, which span three lines within Books I and II, remain three lines tall in the later books. This shows that the decision to cease illumination of individual chapters was made before scribal copying of these later chapters was initiated and points to the desire of the manuscript designer to emphasize the importance of Raoul's commentary, which continues to receive three-line initials as they had in Books I and II. There is also evidence that decoration

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<sup>35</sup> Presentation miniatures are found in the following copies: Amiens Fr 216; BSM MS 55; KBR MS 9013; Houghton 374; KB MS 72; Beinecke Cité de Dieu; Arsenal MS 5060; BnF Mss. fr 20, 23, 25, 172, 6272, 15411, and 20105; and PMA Collins 1945-65-1.

<sup>36</sup> Miniatures of Augustine writing the Retractions are found in KBR MS 9013, BL Add. 15244, BnF MS fr 170, and PMA Collins 1945-65-1.

<sup>37</sup> Raoul died on November 10, 1382 and was a known figure among the Valois court.

<sup>38</sup> The text breaks off in the translator's commentary on Book V, chapter 26 (the final chapter of Book V).

activities came to an end while the bifolia were in the hands of the illuminators. Several miniatures in gathering three contain blank spaces intended for labeling and the central bifolia of gathering four (opening 28v-29) lacks the foliated marginal decoration that is found upon all other pages with two-column illuminations.<sup>39</sup>

The lack of subsequent volumes that would complete the text of the *Cité de Dieu* also points to an understanding of the Collins MS as incomplete when acquired by the duke. This could be as a result of a purposeful cessation within the period of manufacture, an unplanned stoppage in the manufacture timetable, or a loss of subsequent volumes prior to acquisition by John of Berry. All remaining copies of the *Cité de Dieu* are present in two volume sets with the first ten books in volume one and the remaining twelve books in volume two.<sup>40</sup> While there exists no known precedent for a purposefully truncated copy of the *Cité de Dieu* (i.e. a volume

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<sup>39</sup> The blank bar of parchment, likely intended for labeling of the painted narrative and key figures in the image, appears at the top of illuminations in the second half of gathering two and all of gathering three, from f.12 through f. 24 with the exception of f. 23r, which is painted by a different hand. Two bifolia (ff. 11/14 and 9/16) within the second gathering are stylistically dissimilar, with folia 14 and 16 containing blank bars and folia 9 and 11 conforming to the initial method of inscribing label information within the illumination proper. All of these are by the same artist as painted gathering three. Additionally, the outer framing device for the miniature's frames employed within the illuminations in gathering three is consistent with that found throughout illuminations of gathering one and two (two narrow bands where the outer is gold and the inner blue, as in figure 1.).

A third artistic hand worked within gatherings four and five. At the start of gathering four, a dramatic change in the handling of the framing device is initiated (alternating rose and blue bands with internal geometric designs placed with a golden frame) as well as a change in the representation of room interiors and landscape. The rendering of the figure becomes more monumental and there is less fluidity to the drapery than that seen in the initial gatherings of the manuscript.

Gatherings six-eight return to the style of the initial gatherings, with the narrow gold and blue framing convention, and the use of internal labeling within the illumination is brought back. There may be a final fourth hand at work within these final gatherings as there is a slight shift in the handling of the figure within the larger composition. Where earlier illuminations demonstrate a focus on the figure within the scene, to the extent that figures are rendered larger than architecture at certain moments, there is a greater sensitivity given to the relationship between figure and environment, this is especially notable within folia 43-49.

The two-column miniature that initiates Book II is found upon the opening 28v-29.

<sup>40</sup> The state of the manuscript at the time of entry into the duke's inventory is noted by Scott, pp. 19-20 and confirmed by Hedeman (2010) p.203. Damage to the final gathering of the codex could indicate that additional books of the *Cité de Dieu* were once bound with the current contents but I think, based on the size of the book in its current state, that it is more likely the only loss is to the final chapter of Book V. For descriptions of the other extant volumes, see the catalog compiled by Smith, S.D. (1975) pp. 175-281.

that intended to be only a part of the larger work), the designer of the Collins MS has already demonstrated, through the extraordinary illumination cycle, that his program was operating far outside of the existent horizon of expectations. It seems that the key motivation to the manufacture of the manuscript was to use Augustine's text to emphasize its history of Rome and draw symbolic parallels between the events discussed within the book and the current political environment at the French court. Historical precedence was highly valued by the princes of the blood and, as Hedeman notes, served to provide these men with "examples from the past to advise on how to govern in the future."<sup>41</sup>

Augustine originally conceived the *City of God* as a response to Plato and Cicero, promoting a model of the Good Society that is no longer about the individual and their property but a community and its privileges. Yet it was the Roman histories in which he couched his moralizing lessons that peaked medieval interest.<sup>42</sup> These accounts, clustered primarily within the first five books of the *City of God*, formed the bedrock for legitimization of medieval customs and social practices.<sup>43</sup> Raoul uses his dedication prologue to insert the history of the French monarchy into the Roman historical timeline of the Augustinian text. He states:

*Car premierement a prendre vostre nativité: il est certain que vous estes filz de roy de France, et qui plus est, roy de France qui est le plus grant, le plus haut, le plus catholique, et le plus puissant ry crestien. Et avec ce, estes estrait du lignaige des empereurs rommains qui portent l'aigle pour ce que fu le premier signe rommain.*<sup>44</sup>

The prologue's conflated histories of Rome and France function as a type of instructional guide for the reader. As Speigel notes, "every plan for the future is dependent on a pattern which

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<sup>41</sup> Hedeman (2008), p. 6.

<sup>42</sup> O'Donnell, J. J. (2005). *Augustine: A new biography* (1st ed.). New York: Ecco.p. 249.

<sup>43</sup> See appendix B for O'Donnell's complete outline of the book and chapter contents of the *City of God*. While Books I-V focus on the historical Rome, Book VI initiates the more exegetical material with the introduction of Augustine's theological discussions followed by his analysis of the Bible, which dominates Part Two (Books XI-XXII).

<sup>44</sup> Edited text from Beer (1989), pp. 122

has been found in the past.”<sup>45</sup> In short, the purpose of reading history is not to learn and preserve facts and figures but to acquire examples of good and bad conduct that will shape decision-making practices. The readers are intended to forge personal connections with the narratives and, in the case of the Collins MS, with the complex visual cycle that accompanies it.<sup>46</sup>

In making the *Cité de Dieu* as much about the medieval French nobility as Augustine’s Roman histories, Raoul inadvertently transformed the book into an ideal medium for the expression of propaganda. The translation itself is a testament to Valois legitimacy and, by highlighting chapters that address an arguably pro-reform message within this text, the designers of the Collins MS converted Augustine and Raoul’s original intended readings into arguments advocating the stated goals of the reformers (such as the preservation of the dignity of the king, preservation of the kingdom, and the restoration of justice and honor to the court).<sup>47</sup> Indeed, when layered over Augustine’s original intent of promoting community and actions on behalf of the many over the individual, the glossed and illuminated *Cité de Dieu* becomes an effective vehicle for promoting an agenda that supports the ideals of the reformers at a critical moment in France’s history. By cleverly couching the message within a richly illuminated manuscript, and by concentrating the illuminations on chapters that resonate with contemporary concerns, the program’s designer would certainly expect a sophisticated reader to see and comprehend the book’s message.

The *libraire*, possibly in collaboration with the draftsman or illuminator of the Collins program, designed the manuscript’s pages with a focus on both the position of the miniatures

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<sup>45</sup> Spiegel, G. M. (1997). *The past as text: The theory and practice of medieval historiography*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 85.

<sup>46</sup> These connections are facilitated through the application of contemporary dress and architectural models in the illustrated stories. As readers experience the historical models within the context of their present, they are, theoretically, mentally transported into the moralizations of the text and the images.

<sup>47</sup> For a transcription and analysis of the prologue text as well as a discussion of Raoul’s defense of Valois legitimacy, see Beers, pp. 91-104.

within the text and upon the relationship between the text and the iconographic content of the miniatures. Scott, who described the identified pattern that dominates the first two books of the Collins MS and established the expected mode of reading, first identified the complexity of the reading pattern initiated by the program.<sup>48</sup>

The majority of the single-column illuminations reference the main subject of Raoul's commentary rather than the material expounded upon in the Augustinian text.<sup>49</sup> Because the images do not relate directly to their rubrics, which are drawn from Augustine's chapter headings, or to information presented in previous chapters, their placement causes a rupture in the text's flow. The miniatures thus provide the reader with both a point of arrest for contemplation and a marker for his resumption of the reading activity. In this way, they introduce an initial gap that forces the reader to overcome the lack of information by inserting his own imagination or experiences into the interpretation. The completed relationship between the image and the text is thus only fully comprehended after the whole of the chapter text and commentary has been read.<sup>50</sup>

The reader's progression through the chapter (figure 2) begins with the rubric followed by a preliminary assessment of the image, the translated Augustinian text, and finally the commentary.<sup>51</sup> Armed with the new information gained through their experience with the whole of the chapter, the reader returns to the miniature for reassessment and comprehension. This

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<sup>48</sup> Scott, p. 32; the pattern is also discussed in Smith, S.D. (1975), p. 159.

<sup>49</sup> This is in line with the illumination cycles of other *Cité de Dieu* manuscripts, where the illuminations found at the beginning of each book are culled from the commentary material, not the Augustinian text. See Smith (1975).

<sup>50</sup> Iser, W. (1972). "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach." *New Literary History*, 3(2), 279-299.

<sup>51</sup> Beers, pp. 101-104 notes that Raoul did not perform a literal translation of Augustine but a translation of "the real meaning" of the text, which sometimes required circumlocutions in language. Raoul's original contributions to the commentaries are only cultural. He culled supplemental exegetical material for his commentary from the writings of Isidore of Seville, Thomas Waleys and Nicholas Trevet's expositions, and François de Meyronnie.

sandwiching of Augustine's text between the commentary and an image that illustrates an aspect of the commentary creates individual packets of moral instruction (Augustine's text) embedded within historical precedent (image and Raoul's commentary). The layout encourages the reader to dip into the text, experiencing individual chapters in isolation rather than continuously reading from one chapter to the next. Often, the layout offers a second, "quick read," approach to understanding chapter packets. In almost half of the illuminated chapters, the design juxtaposes text relevant to the image in an adjacent column (figure 3).<sup>52</sup> By gazing to the right of the image, the reader has the ability to quickly pivot between the illumination and its related text prior to, or in place of, completing the reading flow pattern described above in the discussion of figure 2.

After the reader experiences the repeated application of these interpretative patterns, he begins to anticipate the chapter flow.<sup>53</sup> However, he would discover that there are occasional disruptions of this pattern—changes in the information flow such as the amplification of a single narrative across multiple chapters, the application of multiple textural references to a single narrative element across chapters, or the purposeful referencing of previous chapters within a commentary. These disruptions offer a mental jolt to the reader and draws special attention to the new intra- and extra-chapter relationships. This complex manner of reading is encountered early in the manuscript, in Book I, chapters 15-24, where the normal expected reading pattern is abandoned for fifteen folia.

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<sup>52</sup> This relationship is found in twenty-five of the fifty-six illuminated chapters, or 45% of the time, and only within three of the first ten illuminated chapters.

<sup>53</sup> A thorough assessment of the text/image relationship within the manuscript finds that forty-three of the fifty-six single-column chapter headers (77%) follow the expected pattern. Within the first eleven chapter illuminations, those that precede the series that will be more thoroughly examined in this paper, the pattern is followed 90% of the time.

The ten illuminations that comprise this subseries appear on folia 14r-20r, the final leaves of gathering two and most of gathering three.<sup>54</sup> Casual browsers may initially find themselves drawn to this section because it depicts a number of famous suicides and deaths, rendered in dramatic fashion. However, careful examination reveals that the book's designer established its importance by including two amplified narratives placed in close proximity to each other; by adding text to the commentary of the final chapter, which marks the cycle's completion and returns the reader to the initiation point of the series in a manner that closely resembles the manuscript's initial reading pattern; and by establishing highly complex intra- and extra- chapter relationships.<sup>55</sup>

The subseries begins in the first chapter to deviate from the standard reading pattern with the narrative of Marcus Regulus and his captivity and death (Book I, chapter 15). The chapter's rubric and illumination are found at the extreme lower left corner of the opening 13v-14 (figures 4 and 5), while the chapter contents (both the Augustinian text and Raoul's commentary) are only available when the page turns.<sup>56</sup> Upon first glance at the illumination, there does not appear to be a departure from the expected reading flow. The dissociation between the rubric and miniature would already be anticipated by the reader's previous experiences, and there is no iconographic or textural relationship to the preceding chapter. Indeed, it is only with the

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<sup>54</sup> All of the illuminations within this group are from the same artist as indicated by the handling of the figure within the overall composition, the structure of the facial features of the figures, a consistency in the rendering of drapery and dress, a consistent handling of architectural motifs and landscape elements, and the consistent handling of the illumination's framing convention. If the manuscript is, indeed, incomplete, it may be argued that these images were among the last of the illuminations to be completed (if the lack of labeling is used as a marker for level of completeness).

<sup>55</sup> A third amplification is found at the end of the series but is not narrative in its amplification and, instead, draws out a comparison that is introduced in Augustine's chapter and elaborated upon within Raoul's commentary.

<sup>56</sup> A chart providing summary information including a transcription of the rubric, iconography of the illumination, brief summaries of the Augustinian chapter, and Raoul's commentary for each chapter within the cycle are found in appendix D. For complete transcriptions of commentaries for each chapter within the cycle, see appendix E.



completion of the textural sections of the chapter and the subsequent second page turning action, from opening 14v-15 to 15v-16, that an amplification of chapter 15's narrative involving figure 5 is revealed and the reader is presented with his first dramatic break from the expected flow pattern.

Chapter 15 tells the story of Marcus Regulus, a Roman commander at the time of the first Punic War, who after leading many successful campaigns against the Carthaginians, was finally defeated and taken prisoner. The Carthaginians wished to make a prisoner swap with the Romans and sent Regulus, who swore to return to captivity should he fail to negotiate an exchange, to Rome. After presenting the Carthaginian's offer to the Senate, Marcus Regulus lobbied them against accepting the proposal, suggesting that it would not be advantageous to Rome. In so doing he placed the good of the state above his own personal wellbeing. The Senate accepted his arguments and Regulus kept his word; he returned to Carthage where he was tortured to death through a horrific application of sleep deprivation.<sup>57</sup>

Augustine uses the story of Marcus Regulus as an example of a great and noble man who honored his gods yet suffered greatly at the hands of his enemies. He claimed that it demonstrates that the pagan gods are of little assistance to their worshipers. In contrast, Raoul's commentary moves away from Augustine's Christian moralization to flesh out the history of the Punic Wars. He places the narrative of Marcus Regulus into an historical context, providing more detail about the proposed prisoner exchange and drawing out the description of the death of Regulus. The amplified visual content is based upon this more historically grounded narrative.

The opening illumination for the chapter (figure 5) depicts Marcus Regulus presenting his argument to the Senate. Though he was only a commander of the army, Regulus is depicted with a gold crown atop his head as he confers with the senators by means of his gaze and hand

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<sup>57</sup> Regulus was made to stand in a narrow wooden box fitted with sharp iron nails.

gestures. Wearing a low-necked blue kirtle devoid of decoration, he is placed outside of their circumscribed chamber and flanked at the back by mace wielding guards in full plate armor under jupons of richly patterned red and green cloths.<sup>58</sup> The faces of the guards are concealed from the viewer by the lowered visors of their basinetts as they block any exit down the passage.

The senators, seated in a line within the hexagonal inner chamber, respond to Regulus's arguments with conversation, expressed through glance and gesture among themselves. One of the centrally seated senators points with his left hand towards Regulus, acknowledging that the words of Regulus are the subject of their internal debate and discussion. Most of the senators wear houpelands in shades of red or blue, the white fur lining visible at the cuffs of their bombard sleeves, and camails of contrasting colors. The senator seated second from the right within the image wears a pink huce, which identifies him as being learned and scholarly.<sup>59</sup>

The interior of the chamber contains a tapestry of patterned green that serves to highlight the differences between the space inhabited by the senators and that of Regulus, who stands within a passageway of flat black that both isolates the figure within the overall composition and pushes him forward towards the viewer. The figures are oversized within their architectural settings, highlighting the importance of the participants of the narrative over the relative importance of any particular setting. The only furniture visible is the wooden table at the foreground of the image at which the secretary of the chamber sits, a record book open.

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<sup>58</sup>For a description of fifteenth-century fashion, its terminology, and its historical application in manuscript illumination, see van Buren, A. H., & Wieck, R. S. (2011). *Illuminating fashion: Dress in the art of medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325-1515*. New York: The Morgan Library & Museum. For a discussion of the manipulation of fashion by artists as an indicator of status and morality in the French court see Waugh, C. M.F. (2000). *Style-consciousness in fourteenth-century society, and visual communication in the moralized bible of John the Good*. University of Michigan, United States -- Michigan.

<sup>59</sup> van Buren (2011), p. 68 and Hedeman (2010), p. 177.

The narrative is expanded within the second miniature (figure 6), where the slow torture of Regulus takes place after his return to captivity in Carthage. Regulus retains his crown but is now stripped of his modest kirtle and stands in a barrel riddled with nails outside a generic Carthage. While Regulus stands naked and bloody, his torturers are outfitted in contemporary fifteenth-century dress which includes bi-colored hose and bastard houpelands with loose-fitted sleeves in pink and the same red patterned fabric worn by one of the soldiers in the previous illumination and utilized by the workshop throughout the book's paintings.<sup>60</sup>

The text that is amplified in figure 6 is found on the preceding pages (opening 14v-15), solidifying the relationship between chapters 15 and 16 and their commentaries. The placement of the chapter 16 miniature, at the top left corner of the opening (figure 7), defines a new starting point that is separate from its narrative mate. The miniature's location within the opening serves to initiate a new dialectic between the text and the image that will be seen throughout this cycle. It's reference to the preceding chapter encourages a reflexive reading that both connects the chapters and highlights the importance of the Regulus narrative. Yet, it may also be read progressively, as an initiation point for associations that will follow it.

Within chapter 16, Augustine argues that the level of suffering one endures at the hands of adversaries is relative to the mental and physical virtue and purity of the victim. He stresses that if one does not mentally object to a sin, then that consent of the mind, if not the body, renders him equally culpable in the sin. Instead of providing the reader with clarifying information relevant to the illumination, Raoul's brief commentary discusses the purity and virtue of women who are violated in times of war. He reiterates Augustine's claim that to remain free of sin, wives and virgins must have mentally rejected any assault levied against their bodies.

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<sup>60</sup> van Buren (2011) notes that the loose sleeved tunic began to grow in popularity within 1382-83 Paris, p. 80.

This disassociation between commentary and illumination is the first instance of such a disjunction within the visual program.

The theme of chapter 17, found upon the same folio as the painted death of Marcus Regulus, is that to kill one's self is tantamount to committing murder and, moreover, that murder is more heinous when the victim is innocent of mind and spirit. Raoul's associated commentary provides the example of Hasdrubal's wife who, after witnessing her husband pleading for his life at the fall of Carthage, chooses to kill herself and her children, rather than suffer indignities at the hands of the conquering army. The city of Carthage is represented (figure 8) as a Christian city with a prominent Gothic-style church identifiable among the more broadly rendered edifices. Within the illumination, placed adjacent to the descriptive text from whence it is derived (see figure 7), Hasdrubal's wife is dressed in a plain blue low-necked kirtle similar to that worn by Marcus Regulus. Holding her squirming babies against her chest, she stands amidst the lapping flames, which seem to envelop her.<sup>61</sup>

On f. 16v the reader is almost immediately introduced to chapter 18, which contains the second instance of an amplified narrative within this cycle (figure 9). In this amplification three key moments of the story of Lucretia are described in three chapters that dominate two successive openings (ff. 16v-17 and 17v-18). The visualizations of Sextus's lust for Lucretia (figure 10), Lucretia's rape (figure 11), and her suicide (figure 12) all derive from chapter 19's text and commentary. Raoul describes Lucretia as the wife of Collatinus, a noble man who debated with his colleagues as to whose wife was the most virtuous, each man believing their spouse to be superior among women. To end the debate, the men set off on horseback to visit each of their homes in Rome and observe the behavior of their wives in their absence. They

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<sup>61</sup> ... *que carthaige destruite et mise en feu et en flamme la femme de hasdrubal a fin que les tirans ne se mocquassent et iouassent delle print ses deux enfans de chascun coste sun et se jeta au milieu du feu et amant mieuls aimi mourir que encheoir en leurs mains.*

found most of the wives dancing, singing, or serving great feasts. However, when the group arrived at Collatinus's home, his wife Lucretia was seen through a window spinning wool with her chambermaids. She was, therefore, deemed more virtuous than all the others.<sup>62</sup>

A few days later, Sextus Tarquin, the son of the King Tarquin and one of the men who had been part of the roving party, returned to the home of Lucretia, knowing her husband to be away. She offered him hospitality, and when all were asleep he entered Lucretia's bedchamber and attempted to persuade her to become his lover. Her continued refusals, even under threat of death, frustrated him. Finally, he threatened her most valued possession, her honor. He told her that, should she continue to reject him, he would kill her and a servant and lay their dead bodies together in her bed so that her family would think that she was an adulterer who Sextus had found out. The prospect of her family's shame was too much for Lucretia and she allowed Sextus to have her. The morning after her rape, she quickly summoned her father, husband and other witnesses to tell them what had happened; then she killed herself. Incensed by the violation inflicted upon Lucretia, the men swear revenge against Sextus and his father the king. They rally the Romans to oust the king from Rome and thus establish the Republic.

Augustine tackles the topic of rape in chapter 18, which precedes the Lucretia narrative in chapter 19 that is iconographic source for chapter 18's miniature. He asserts that an individual does not have complete control over his own body, but does have the power to either accept or reject events like rape within his own mind. Augustine suggests that as long as the mind remains pure, the sin committed against the body does not necessitate a loss of purity. Therefore, a woman who has been raped or had her body violated in some manner has no reason to punish

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<sup>62</sup> *Et dernièrement ainsi comme a fentre de la nuit uindrent en lostel de ce collatin qui estoit un petit chateau pres de comme et la trouverent luctece ou milieu de les chamberieres qui charpissoit la laine avec ques elles. Et pour ce fut recommandee sur toutes les autres.*

herself through the act of suicide, because her mind would retain its purity. More importantly, she should not try to efface an act of violence against her through the act of suicide.

Raoul's commentary on Augustine's chapter 18, is exceptionally brief, and refers back to the previous chapters 16 and 17 (figures 7 & 9), re-emphasizing that suicide is murder and that the purity of the mind cannot be soiled or ruined by an assault upon the body. The miniature for chapter 18 (figure 10) reinforces Lucretia's purity. It captures the moment when Sextus first sees Lucretia through the castle window. He is depicted in full plate armor under a richly patterned red and gold jupon astride his horse that is covered in a red fabric patterned in gold with the double-headed eagle. The emblem is also identifiable, against a black background, upon the shield held in the left hand of the prince. He points, presumably already full of lust, to Lucretia, but she is completely protected (both by the walls of the fortress and by the presence of one of the chambermaids, who gazes at the oncoming crowd from a lower window).

As occurred with the second miniature of the Marcus Regulus amplification, the central illumination in the Lucretia cycle (figure 11, chapter 19) is both reflexive and projective as it elaborates on both Augustine and Raoul's texts. Augustine uses Lucretia as a vehicle to discuss the nature of guilt. While Lucretia was the innocent victim of the lustful violence of Sextus Tarquin, she is the one who suffers the greatest punishment after the crime has been committed. By killing herself, Lucretia assumed the roles of judge and jury and ruled against her sin, levying upon herself the ultimate punishment of execution. Augustine questions the traditionally high regard this act has earned Lucretia in writings by historians like Livy. In his estimation she murdered the innocent and chaste Lucretia. She is a killer extolled for her sin. Indeed, to Augustine, Lucretia's suicidal action testifies to her impure and unchaste mind (she killed not an

innocent but a woman full of guilt).<sup>63</sup> He further charges her with welcoming the attacker into her bed (an adulterer by hidden consent), then dying as part of her penance. Herein lies the paradox for Augustine, if she is an adulterer, why is she praised? If she is an innocent, why was she put to death?

While Augustine questions the moral purity of Lucretia, both the placement of the miniature within the opening and the iconography of the image leave no uncertainty as to the medieval belief in her innocence. The painting illustrating chapter 19 (figure 11) depicts a bare breasted Lucretia asleep in her chamber. Though her body is naked and exposed, her hair remains covered with a white veil that suggests the core nature of her modesty. Sextus Tarquin, wearing a patterned grey houpeland with bands of gold at his armholes and sleeve cuffs, stands over her recumbent body and touches her breast as her crossed arms indicate that she is not an active participant in the action but is being handled against her will.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, his sword, held erect within his right hand, testifies to the extreme violence of the act. To the left of the illumination is the passage from chapter 18 discussing how a woman who is violated while pure of mind is not a sinner.<sup>65</sup> Within the column to the right of the miniature is Augustine's own introduction to the paradox inherent within the Lucretia narrative: though there are two individuals involved in the sinful act, only one is guilty of committing adultery, for it is assumed

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<sup>63</sup> *Ou par aventure elle ny est point pour ce que non pas comme innocente. mais pour ce quelle se sentoit coupable elle se occit.*

<sup>64</sup> van Buren, H. (2011), p. 118. The banding seen here is very similar to that found decorating the houpeland of the king in the illumination of *King Arthur's Round Table*. Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles homes et femmes*, 1410. BGE MS fr. 190, f. 139. She notes that it possibly resembles the ancient armilles of authority. The text that describes the depicted moment is from the commentary text and reads: *il mist la main sur la poitrine.*

<sup>65</sup> *Et pource le propos du courage demourant estable et en fermete parfaite. par quoi et le corps aussi a deserui a estre saintefie la voulente dautruy pour y avoir delectacion charnelle. noste point au corps la saintete qui est garde par de perseuerance de braie continence.*

that the violated woman remains chaste in her intentions.<sup>66</sup> The three horizontally aligned segments in the manuscript (text, image, text, see figure 9) create a conflated reading about the purity of the Roman heroine that is in sharp contrast to Augustine's intended interpretation of the narrative.

The final image from the amplified Lucretia narrative illustrates chapter 20 in which Augustine discusses the Sixth Commandment, "thou shall not kill," and develops it as a prohibition of suicide (figure 12). He states that because the commandment does not specify whom you shall not kill, it must be understood as being a blanket condemnation of any murders that may be committed (including the murder of the self). Raoul's commentary to chapter 20 is concise and merely summarizes the chapter's key points.

The placement of the illumination at the upper right corner of the opening (figure 13) creates a visual bookend that, again, is both reflexive and progressive in its function within the opening. It reflects back on the previous chapter's narrative, aided by the fact that the text describing Lucretia's death appears directly to the left of the illumination. It also looks forward, because it shows the murder of Lucretia by her own hand, which is applicable to Augustine's prohibition of suicide in chapter 20.<sup>67</sup>

Within the miniature, Lucretia is depicted at the moment she stabs herself with a dagger. She is dressed in a fashionable fitted cote hardy with long flat sleeve extensions that reach to the

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<sup>66</sup> *Car en la commistion on assemblee de ces deux corps cesuy qui dit ces paroles regardant linclinacion de lun et sa mauuaise delectacion charnelle et la tres chaste voulente de lautre. Et aussi considerant ce qui faisoit non pas en conionction des membres. mais en la diversite des courages dist quils furent deux et lun commist l'aduloultire. Mais quest ce que ce pechie fu plus griefment pugni en celle qui ne commist point de adultere que en lautre qui le commist. Augustine's own truncated retelling of the rape scene is found at the bottom of the first column, Sextus le flis du roy tarqui de romme en eust fait sa voulente et accompli en elle sa delectation charnelle par oppression violente.*

<sup>67</sup> *La quelle manda tantost son pere son mari et les amis et leur dist le fait. et ce fait et dit en leur presence le tu a dun cousteau que elle avoit muchie loubz sa robe. Mais avant elle leur fist jurer que il vengeroient celle honte et celle destoyaulte. Les quels lut promirent et ainsi le firent. Et ce fut la cause pour quoy les roys furent voutes hors de romme.*



hem of her gown, the modesty of which indicates the high regard in which she is held within the narrative.<sup>68</sup> Stationed outside the walls of the city, she stands isolated from the witnesses who are emerging from the city gate. Her father, who is positioned at the head of the group, raises his hands towards the heavens. The ambiguity of the gesture leaves the reader to interpret the action as either an expression of shock at Lucretia's action or a representation of the moment when he swears to avenge her death. His elevated status among the throng is indicated by his richly embellished houppeland and gold belt. Cut from the same red patterned cloth that has been described previously, his outer garment is ornamented by gold banding at the armholes, cuffs, and collar. While his more elaborate costume is in line with fifteenth-century French conventions, his exotic split brim hat could be an indicator of the narrative's displacement in time.<sup>69</sup> The witnesses, who crowd around the gateway wearing straight houppelands with bombard sleeves (one with a long dagged cornet that reaches to the hem of his garment), look onto the scene and fulfill their roles as observers to the event.

Chapter 20's commentary concludes on f. 18v where the reader finds chapters 21 and 22 (figure 14), both of which continue Augustine's ruminations on death. In chapter 21, he outlines three exceptions to the Sixth Commandment. First, killing is allowed if God orders the death. Here, the wielder of the sword is not a murderer but merely an instrument used by God to complete his will, as the examples of Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac or Jephtha's sacrifice of his daughter illustrate. Second, killing on Crusade or in wars waged with God's authority is permitted. Finally, immunity is given to state imposed killings of criminals via the death

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<sup>68</sup> van Buren (2011), p. 114 identifies this sleeve style within the illumination, *Reason leads five sibyls into the City of Ladies*, Christine de Pisan, *Cité des dames*; BnF MS Fr. 607, f. 31v. The elevated status of the woman here is additionally indicated by both her physical contact with Reason and the burlet on her head.

<sup>69</sup> Hedeman (2010), p. 227 notes that the Boucicaut artists employed this convention in many of their illuminations.

penalty. Augustine surmises that if a killing is “just” (i.e. in the name of a just law or by the command of God), then it is not considered murder and is therefore not a sin. The miniature that accompanies the chapter, depicting Jephtha sacrificing his daughter, serves as both a point of contrast to the previous section (the prohibitions of the Sixth Commandment) and an illustration of the lesson of its own chapter (the exceptions to the Commandment). Raoul’s commentary is brief and merely restates Augustine’s three exceptions.

While Augustine considered the act of suicide akin to murder (as he argued in the case of Lucretia), he believed the death of Jephtha’s daughter to be just (figure 15).<sup>70</sup> Jephtha was an Israelite general who swore an oath to God that, should he be victorious in a battle against the Ammonites, he would sacrifice the first person to emerge from his house upon his return. When he arrived home, it was his only daughter who came to greet him. Bound by his oath, he sacrificed her to God saying, “I have opened my mouth to the Lord, and I can do no other thing.”<sup>71</sup> In the illumination, the daughter of Jephtha, wearing a low-necked kirtle in the now familiar red patterned fabric, is depicted as an offering to God. The action has been relocated to a gothic chapel interior, used here as a stand-in for the sacrificial location, where she is found kneeling in prayer upon an altar in preparation for her execution.<sup>72</sup> Jephtha is dressed in full plate armor under an elaborate houppeland of blue and gold with bombard sleeves. His belt is turned

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<sup>70</sup> Jephtha’s narrative is found in Judges 11:34-39.

<sup>71</sup> Judges 11:35 *me et ipsa decepta es aperui enim os meum ad Dominum et aliud facere non potero.*

<sup>72</sup> Gothic interiors, here defined as a church-like interior with an identifiable clearstory, compound piers, and ribbed vaults with a center boss, are utilized within ten of the fifty-six single-column illuminations found at the start of a chapter. These include: f. 8r (Book I, chapter 4) where it stands-in as the temple of Juno; f. 9r (Book I, chapter 7) as the city treasury; f. 18v (Book I, chapter 21) as the home of Jephtha and his daughter; f. 25r (Book I, chapter 31) as a pagan temple; f. 27r (Book I, chapter 34) as the sanctuary of Remus and Romulus; f. 42r (Book II, chapter 15) as the temple of Mars; f. 58v (Book II, chapter 24) as a pagan temple; f. 62r (Book II, chapter 26) as a temple dedicated to the goddess of chastity; f. 63r (Book II, chapter 27) as a temple dedicated to Flora; and f. 64r (Book II, chapter 28) as the Christian church. Within these examples, the only indicator of religious affiliation is the presence of pagan idols or the cross.

around so the buckle sits at the small of his back. While the articulated plates of his sabatons suggest that he is wearing a contemporary fifteenth-century style of armor beneath his houpeland, and the gold trimmed sallet tied with a rolled sash suggests a more exotic provenance and may, again, be used as an indicator for a displacement in time. The scimitar that he wields may also suggest his foreign/ancient status within the illumination.<sup>73</sup>

In chapter 22, Augustine ponders whether suicide can ever be considered a mark of greatness of the soul. After repeating his contention that those who kill themselves are not to be praised as being either wise or sane, he notes that the performance of the act itself is evidence of an individual's lack of strength to carry on in the face of hardships. For Augustine, greatness of spirit can only be ascribed to one who is able to endure misery (as opposed to fleeing it through death). As an example of one who has been incorrectly lauded for greatness of the soul, Augustine uses Theombrotus, who after reading Plato's treatise threw himself off a wall to hasten the passage of his soul into immortality. Augustine notes that Plato himself would have recognized the folly of Theombrotus's action and would have recommended against it. At the heart of Augustine's chapter is the unanswered question of the nature of free will (can vs. should, does vs. ought to do). Theombrotus has a choice: whether to live or die, to endure life or move quickly to a promised higher state of immortality. For Augustine, honor and greatness lies in what we choose to do (our actions), and what we choose not to do, in the face of both animosity and glory. Theombrotus had a choice and Augustine contends that he chose incorrectly. Raoul's

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<sup>73</sup> The exclusive use of scimitars is identifiable within illuminations depicting sacrifices: f. 18v (Book I, chapter 21) Jephtha sacrifices his daughter, an Old Testament narrative; f. 20v (Book I, chapter 24) Manlius Torquatus orders the execution of his son; f. 26v (Book I, chapter 33) sacrifices of "black beasts"; and f. 58v (Book II, chapter 24) sacrifice for Silla. Scimitars are utilized alongside swords in f. 6r (Book I, chapter 1) Alaric invades Rome; and f. 45r (Book II, chapter 17) rape of the Sabines. Swords are used exclusively within the following illuminations: f. 17r (Book I, chapter 19) rape of Lucretia; f. 19v (Book I, chapter 23) suicide of Cato; f. 56v (Book II, chapter 23) Gaius Marius made prisoner; and f. 60v (Book II, chapter 25) battle of the gods.

commentary repeats Augustine's argument and concludes that suicide is a mark of feebleness as opposed to greatness of courage.

The illumination (figure 16) depicts Theombrotus, dressed in a patterned blue kirtle and green toga, frozen mid-leap from the top of the wall. The architecture is nondescript and, once again, the figure is given prominence within the composition through scale. His outstretched arms both welcome the ground below him and draw attention to the book that slips from his grasp. The presence of the book as a key iconographic element of the miniature is indicated both by its centralized location in the composition and its direct relationship to the text of the commentary, which cites the completion of the book as the catalyst for Theombrotus's action.<sup>74</sup>

The third and final amplification within this series draws upon a pair of narratives (the suicide of Cato and the death of Torquatus's insubordinate son) that Augustine and Raoul highlight within their text and commentary to chapter 23 (figure 17), and place in contrast to each other in order to further a discussion on the role of shame in death. Cato the Younger was a Roman philosopher who earned the bitter resentment of Julius Caesar with his constant fight against the bribery and influence peddling that was prevalent amongst the nobility. When civil war broke out in the year 49, Cato was entrusted with the defense of Sicily. He became physically separated from the republicans and led a small group into Africa where his forces suffered the great defeat at Thapsus at Julius Caesar's hand. With Caesar victorious, Cato sent his followers to flee and then killed himself, thus denying Caesar the ability to pardon him.

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<sup>74</sup> *...un homme appele thobert par plus forte raison fu trouve en c'este grandeur de couraige du quellen list que cone il eust leu le livre de plato que il fist de l'immortalite de lame se saissa cheoir de dessus un grant mur et le tua volontairement pour aler a la vie que il andoit estre meilleur.*

In the opening lines of chapter 23, Augustine describes the death of Cato (figure 18) as a popular example of suicide for moral or noble reasons, second only to Lucretia.<sup>75</sup> And, like his treatment of the Lucretia narrative, he looks to undermine the elevated stature that Cato has been accorded by his manner of death. Augustine tells us that although Cato concluded that ending his life was the best option, his educated friends attempted to dissuade him, arguing that suicide is a sign not of strength but of weakness. While Cato plotted his own death, he counseled his son to live and place his hopes in the mercy and kindness of Caesar. Augustine questions how Cato could spare his son and not himself, as this action seems to prove that Cato saw no real shame in living under the victorious Caesar. Indeed, Caesar too would have spared Cato his life. He chose death so as to thwart both the embarrassment of being pardoned and the glory Caesar would have received in granting him pardon. Augustine's second example of shame leading to death is demonstrated by the story of Titus Manlius Torquatus, the Roman consul who had his son killed for engaging the enemy against his father's orders (figure 19).

Raoul's commentary, which bleeds over into eight lines of the following opening (figure 20), expands upon the chapter's narrative elements. He begins, like Augustine, with Cato's death and the events that led to his fateful decision. Raoul notes that Cato lost to Caesar in a just war, that he had doubts as to whether Caesar would spare his life, and that he questioned if he could live under Caesar's rule. He then moves to a discussion of the location of the suicide in Utica and explains to the reader, via a brief history of the various Catos in Roman history, which of them Augustine is referencing. The second half of the commentary fleshes out the narrative of Torquatus who, in the war against the Latins, decided to conduct his army according to strict military disciplines, ordering that a soldier who abandoned his assigned post would be executed.

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<sup>75</sup> *Et toutefois mise hors lucrece de la quelle nous avons dit par avant affes ce que il nous en semble que fen en devoit dire. Ceuls qui ont recommande la mort volontaire ne treuvent pas de legier de quelle auctorite ils peussent confermer leur dit se ce nest de caton qui se ocit en la cite de utice.*

Torquatus's son, overcome by a strong desire for glory, left his post and won a number of small battles over Latin soldiers. He brought the spoils of his victories to his father, anticipating a congratulatory reception but his father instead berated his son and handed him over for execution in front of all the gathered soldiers. Though introduced by Augustus, it is Raoul who establishes the thematic contrast between the two narratives, with Cato sparing the life of his son (to live under the rule of Caesar) and Torquatus killing his son to preserve honor and to enforce the importance of obedience.

The miniature for chapter 23 (figure 17) depicts the moment after Cato, larger in scale than his companions, has plunged the sword through his chest. Though impaled and gushing blood from both the entry and exit wounds, he is still quite lively and strong. He stands in a relaxed posture and turns to address his son, perhaps instructing him to live, while his hands are engaged in the task of pushing the sword still deeper into his chest. His son, placed to Cato's right, pleads with his father through his outstretched hand. The two learned, bearded friends, signal their lack of control over the situation by raising their arms in gestures of astonishment.

The landscape has been stripped of all superfluous background features that might distract the viewer's gaze from the core action occurring at the center of the composition. The flow of blood indicates that Cato's death is near and, to the right of the image in the adjacent column (see figure 17), text describes not the iconographic content of the illumination but the foundational question that is at the heart of Augustine's moralization: "Is it more shameful to be a conqueror disobediently, than to endure a conqueror dishonorably?"<sup>76</sup>

The dichotomy established in chapter 23 is heightened when the page is turned and the layout for the subsequent opening mimics exactly that found on the previous pages (compare figures 17 and 20). On both openings the sole illumination is placed twelve lines down from the

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<sup>76</sup> *Estoit ce plus laide chose estre vainqueur contre l'empire que souffrir le vainqueur contre honneur.*

upper left corner. Unlike previous chapters, where the visual and verbal amplification serve as individual points for reflection and progression between adjacent chapters, the pair—Cato and Torquatus—functions as a unit in its interaction with the text and commentary of chapter 24.<sup>77</sup>

Within the chapter's text, Augustine returns to the example of Regulus, noting once again that that, like Job and the Christian martyrs, he endured great torture yet chose to bravely bear his hardship. When given the opportunity to save himself, he counseled the Roman Senate against the demands of the Carthaginians, placing the honor and betterment of the state above his own personal needs and desires. He was a man whom prosperity did not corrupt and whom adversity could not shatter. Augustine applies this exemplar of virtue as a contrast to the cowardly actions of Cato, who chose death by his own hand rather than face the military successes of Caesar.

Raoul's commentary reacts to Augustine's prompt, but establishes the more complex relationship between the texts and images in the amplified section, chapters 23-24, described above. The commentary is reflexive and serves to summarize what has already been learned in previous chapters within this sub-cycle that began with folio 14r. In particular it refers back to chapter 22 and Augustine's discussion of Plato to establish a comparison between the concepts of resolve and desire. The commentary also references chapter 15, wherein the narrative of Marcus Regulus was first described and commented upon, to reinforce what Augustine has already stated.

The addition of fourteen new lines of commentary, unique to this copy of the *Cité de Dieu*, ends the chapter (see figures 20 and 21).<sup>78</sup> The appended section continues to heap praise

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<sup>77</sup> In this instance, Cato is linked through the text and Torquatus through the image placement.

<sup>78</sup> See appendix D for a complete transcription of the added text. Contemporaneous manuscripts and those belonging to John of Berry's collection were checked and did not contain this text. Manuscripts consulted include: Angers MS Fr. 162, and BnF MS Fr 25, 23, 172, and 6271. The number of lines

upon Marcus Regulus and his actions. He is described as being “most loyal and constant,” drawing strength from his inner nature, not from “a great noble lineage” or immense wealth. It comments on the nature of lineage, stating that allies of the father may not be passed on to the son and that “the love of children and nephews” is not made more noble by the possession of gilded images of idols and ancestors. The added text concludes with a statement lauding the chivalric attributes of discipline and perseverance. The continued emphasis on Marcus Regulus within this series promotes his moral standing and offers him as a positive exemplar. It is striking, given contemporaneous political discussions in Paris, that the passage associates these moral qualities not with his birthright, but with his qualities as an individual: his actions, moral convictions, and personal nature.<sup>79</sup>

While the chapter and commentary text are devoted to a comparison between Cato and Marcus Regulus, the iconography of the illumination interjects Torquatus into the discussion. The miniature depicts the moment before the unnamed son is executed. Blindfolded, he kneels upon the ground, head bent forward and hands clasped as though in prayer, wearing a belted kirtle in the pink shade so associated with the Orosius Master’s workshop. Behind him stands the executioner, scimitar raised in readiness to perform his assigned task. He too wears a kirtle, now in green with a red belt slung low across his hips. The skirt of his garment is tucked up into his belt, allowing him a greater range of motion and providing the viewer with a glimpse of the read hose he is wearing underneath the kirtle.

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utilized for the added material matches exactly the number reserved by the draftsman for a planned illumination. It is not known whether the text was given priority over a planned image or if the painting activities ceased prior to the completion of the image and text was added to fill a gap left between chapters. I would argue that there was a desire to both alter the overall appearance of the opening (to match the previous) and to add the text at the end of this notable chapter, thus overriding any intended illumination for chapter 25.

<sup>79</sup> See “Chapter 1: Historical Background” of this paper for a review of the political discussions underway within the Paris Court at this time.



To the pair's right stands the richly dressed Torquatus, who holds a scimitar of his own, indicating his role in the execution, and looks purposefully at his son. The military leader is rendered in a straight calf-houpeland with large bombard sleeves in the familiar red and gold patterned fabric over a blue kirtle that spills out from under his houpeland's hem. He has accessorized his ensemble with a gold camail, a gold baldrick slung across his chest, and a grand split brim hat. As identified previously in other illuminations within this sub-cycle, the dress and armament of Torquatus possibly indicate a level of temporal "foreignness" in the depicted action.<sup>80</sup> The commander is flanked by two attendant soldiers, one of who is actively gesturing towards his commander, who appear in traditional fifteenth-century armament, their greaves and articulated sabatons visible from beneath their brigandines.

Chapter 24's discussion of Marcus Regulus is read as the final parenthesis that closes out this multi-chapter unit within the Collins MS and, following the traditional reading pattern experienced before the introduction of this more complex sub-cycle and discussed in reference to figure 2, the mention back to chapter 15 prompts the reader to return to the illumination stationed at the head of that chapter, Marcus Regulus speaking to the Roman Senate (figure 4). Now armed with the moralizing lessons of the ten chapters, the illumination, and its subsequent cycle, can be reassessed.

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<sup>80</sup> See note 68.

### Chapter 3: Reading court politics in the Collins *Cité de Dieu*

The reader's experience of a work is driven, in part, by two factors: his base of knowledge prior to the process of interpretation, and his relative level of previous exposure to a manifestation.<sup>81</sup> The more unusual the item (i.e. the further outside of the reader's expected norm and knowledge base), the more heightened his mental awareness will be as he progress through the material. Within the early fifteenth-century's horizon of expectations, the Collins MS operated far outside of the expected mode of presentation for a copy of the *Cité de Dieu*.

Originally conceived and copied with illuminations placed only at the start of a new book, the flow of movement through the *Cité de Dieu* was unencumbered, allowing a reader to freely move from chapter to chapter within each of the twenty-two books. While later copies of the *Cité de Dieu* exhibit variations in the iconographic content of these opening illuminations, from 1375-1420 the overall format remained consistent. John of Berry, who owned other illuminated copies of the book, doubtless would have experienced the Collins MS with a growing awareness of its uniqueness.

Iser notes that when a reader's flow is interrupted, and he is led in an unexpected direction, he has the opportunity to establish new connections by filling narrative gaps left vacant within the text.<sup>82</sup> The same applies to medieval manuscripts and their potentially complex interplay of texts and images. The Collins MS, and more specifically its amplified cycles, requires a reader to construct meaning through connections gleaned from his previous experience and knowledge. As he brings these additional associations to bear on interpreting the chapter, a

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<sup>81</sup> A manifestation is "the physical embodiment of an expression of a work. As an entity, manifestation represents all the physical objects that bear the same characteristics in respect to both intellectual content and physical form." IFLA Study Group on the Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records. (1998). *Final report*. Retrieved August 20, 2011, from <http://www.ifla.org/publications/functional-requirements-for-bibliographic-records>

<sup>82</sup> Iser, W, (1972), pp. 284-285.

dynamic and unique act of reading is created. For a fifteenth-century reader, and more specifically in the case of the Collins MS, for the duke of Berry, these experiences would have certainly included the contemporary issues surrounding court politics, which affected the design and layout of other historical narratives in his collection.<sup>83</sup> When read within this context, the highlighted text/image sub-cycle offers a politically charged set of examples for the duke to ponder as the court entered an especially heightened period of contention and animosity.

John of Berry would have encountered the initial break in the anticipated reading cycle at the first of two narrative amplifications, the story of Marcus Regulus. Though chapter 15's text and commentary focuses upon Regulus's eventful death, it is telling that the illumination selected for the opening, and the initiation of this extra-chapter cycle, is not his execution but his active efforts to persuade the Senate to reject a proposal that would not benefit Rome. By highlighting Regulus's audience with the senators, the focus is placed not upon the result of his actions (i.e. his sacrificial death), but upon the motivation for his actions, the betterment of Rome. Understanding that the prisoner swap desired by the Carthagians would weaken Rome's strategic position, he placed the security and honor of the community and the state above his own personal wellbeing.

The unique text appended to chapter 24's commentary further examines the motivation behind Marcus Regulus's sacrifice. Here we learn that his honorable action emanated from his core nature and inner strength, qualities that elevated him above the ranks of those born of noble lineage. The noble are not, necessarily, those who hold superior status within a lineage's hierarchy, but those who act in a manner consistent with their personal moral convictions. In

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<sup>83</sup> Hedeman, in her analysis of French *Des Cas* manuscripts in the collections of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, notes that within these works, "visual amplifications draw special attention to examples of governmental change in times of stress." Hedeman (2008), p. 86

assessing the miniature within its historical context, the duke of Berry would be encouraged to engage with Regulus as exempla for French royal behavior.<sup>84</sup>

The amplification of the Regulus narrative at the start of chapter 16 creates a visual cause and effect. Regulus pleads for the Senate to reject the offer and, as a result, he is killed. Yet, when the illumination of Regulus's torture is paired with Augustine's text and Raoul's commentary, the linkage between the two amplified images shifts to one that focuses more on the motivation for the action rather than its result. Regulus's sacrifice is reframed by the text/image relationship to present a model of behavior based not on the desire to forward an agenda, elevate his family, or bring honor to his own name, but to sacrifice in order to maintain the better interests of the many (i.e. the state). As the fight for reform raged within the French court, it was the reformers who took hold of the argument that they were fighting for the king and the kingdom with a purity of heart and mind. This could well have resonated with the duke when he saw the lesson of Marcus Regulus, who would encourage the duke to place the good of the king over his own financial and political interests.

The amplification of the Regulus narrative becomes intertwined with the Lucretia amplification through Raoul's commentary for chapter 18. Within this period, and more particularly following the assassination of Louis of Orléans, the narrative of Lucretia served as an exemplar to highlight concerns about justice and tyranny.<sup>85</sup> Under King Tarquin, there was no legitimate control or exchange of women and no means to obtain justice for a wrong imposed upon a woman by the ruling tyrant.<sup>86</sup> Lucretia died as a direct result of this tyrannical rule and is

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<sup>84</sup> There is no visual precedence for a crowned Marcus Regulus. The presence of this unusual iconographic motif furthers the intended conflation of Regulus and the French royalty, setting him up as an exempla of behavior and moral standing.

<sup>85</sup> Hedeman (2010), p. 81.

<sup>86</sup> Matthes, M. M. (2000). *The rape of Lucretia and the founding of republics: readings in Livy, Machiavelli, and Rousseau*. Penn State Press. p.29.

therefore found to be both the victim and the punished. Yet, her final act of defiance in the face of tyranny serves as the motivating factor that leads the Romans to rise up and overthrow the oppressive regime of Tarquin and establish the Roman Republic.

While the overt accusation that Louis of Orléans was a tyrant (and thus his death was justified) would not be used until Jean Petit's defense of the assassination in 1408, the groundwork for the eventual tarring was already being laid in John the Fearless's address to Parliament in 1405, when he spoke of those who rule the government through bribery and influence the government for their own gain.<sup>87</sup> The placement of the Lucretia series, following almost directly the Regulus amplification, again promotes the unifying message of kingdom and king, though now under the guise of supporting these entities through reform of the council. Indeed, its inclusion within this cycle serves to both remind the duke of his initial pro-reform stance, taken at the urging of his brother Philip the Bold in 1403, and suggests a model for future positioning of the duke's interests within the council (i.e. to forward the interests of the crown over any desire to exert his own agenda).

Intra- and extra- chapter flow leads the reader to the final amplification, the constructed pairing of Cato and Torquatus, which is intended to serve as a contrast to the noble examples of Marcus Regulus and Lucretia. In chapter 23, Augustine ponders the affect of shame in the face of tyranny. When he asks if there is greater shame in being a tyrant or in idly enduring a tyrannical rule, he is prompting the reader to choose the fight against the ignoble and to model himself and his behavior not upon Cato and Torquatus, ignoble men whose actions are not celebrated but understood to be shameful, but on the Marcus Regulus and Lucretia. While these are core values that would traditionally be shared by all of noble origin, I believe that the text guides the reader

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<sup>87</sup> For the full text of Jean Petit's defense see: Coville, A. (1932). *Jean Petit: la question du tyrannicide au commencement du XVe siècle*. Paris: A. Picard.

towards a pro-reform attitude, where there exists a need to remind the Princes of the Blood of the importance of a strong king and kingdom.

The final chapter of the cycle, chapter 24, returns the reader to both the narrative of Regulus, through the chapter/commentary content and direct references back to chapter 15, and to chapter 22, where Augustine discusses the individual's ability to choose the moral path they wish to take. Within this heightened reading the chapter and the cycle as a whole, impresses the reader with the importance of crossroads encountered within the French court in this period. The moralization inherent to the manuscript's program of exemplars encourages the reader to support a centralized governmental power, even if this choice goes against personal interest, and in doing so to act in a noble fashion. Yet, the individual must choose these actions and postures and the motivations for the actions emanate from the purity of their desire.

## Chapter 4: Conclusion

When Charles V commissioned Raoul de Presles to translate and comment upon Augustine's *City of God*, he intended the text to serve as a monument to the Valois dynasty and to buttress the legitimacy of Valois rule through a conflation of the histories of Rome and France. This initial understanding of the text was further enhanced by the purposeful shift of the commentary from marginalia to the column proper, which guided the reader from text to commentary without the need to divert attention to an alternate location upon the page, and from content that was primarily exegetical to one more socially and historically grounded. As originally conceived and copied, the flow of movement through the text is relatively fluid and unencumbered, allowing a reader to freely move from chapter to chapter within each of the twenty-two books.

The expanded illumination cycle found in the Collins MS, dated 1405-1406, remains unique among all known copies of the *Cité de Dieu* including those produced after 1420, which dramatically altered the reader's experience with the text. By anchoring the iconographic content of the visual program to Raoul's commentary, as opposed to Augustine's text, the designer transformed the chapters into individual packets of moral and historical instruction. Where the reader would have easily flowed from one chapter to the next, the dominant flow pattern introduced within the Collins MS wraps the reader back from the end of the commentary to the illumination found at the chapter's head.

While this shift in the text's flow introduces a new experience for the reader, especially one familiar with the original format, its repeated application establishes it as a new pattern and allows the reader to comfortably anticipate in advance how subsequent chapters will be consumed and understood. The flow pattern remains consistent from the initiation of the

experience in Book I: chapter 1 through Book I: chapter 14. With the introduction of chapter 15, the pattern breaks. This shift initiates a new and highly complex intra- and extra- chapter flow pattern that runs from chapter 15 through chapter 24, where the commentary references back to chapter 15 and the cycle is effectively completed.

The sub-cycle features the manuscript's two narrative amplifications and a thematic amplification, laying the groundwork for a reader to enrich the history of the past with contemplation of contemporary stresses within the government and giving him the opportunity to derive moral guidance from historical exempla. This would have resonated within the French court, when the years 1405-1406 were filled with both contention and intrigue. A vocal pro-reform movement led by the duke of Burgundy had publically exposed corruption and mismanagement at the highest levels of the court hierarchy. He and his allies were actively attempting to persuade members of the court for the need to implement reforms that would preserve the honor and dignity of the king and his kingdom over the individual desires and needs of the Princes of the Blood.

The duke of Berry, the original owner of the Collins MS, traditionally played the role of mediator and conciliator among the Valois dukes and, more pointedly, between his two nephews John the Fearless and Louis of Orléans, the de facto leaders of the two opposing court factions. When read within the context of both the historical moment and the manuscript's intended audience, the sub-cycle analyzed here would have held particular historical relevance because it explores the differences between noble and ignoble modes leadership and stresses the ability of the individual to freely choose between the two.

By altering the reading pattern through the inclusion of a rich visual component to the text, the designers of the Collins MS created a new manifestation of the *Cité de Dieu* that



dramatically changed the mode of reader reception. They did this in a work that is arguably one of the more popular within the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century French court. The analysis of reading flow patterns highlights the agency of the manuscript designers and draftsmen, who were able to change both the context and reception of the text in the face of these events, effectively creating compelling political propaganda

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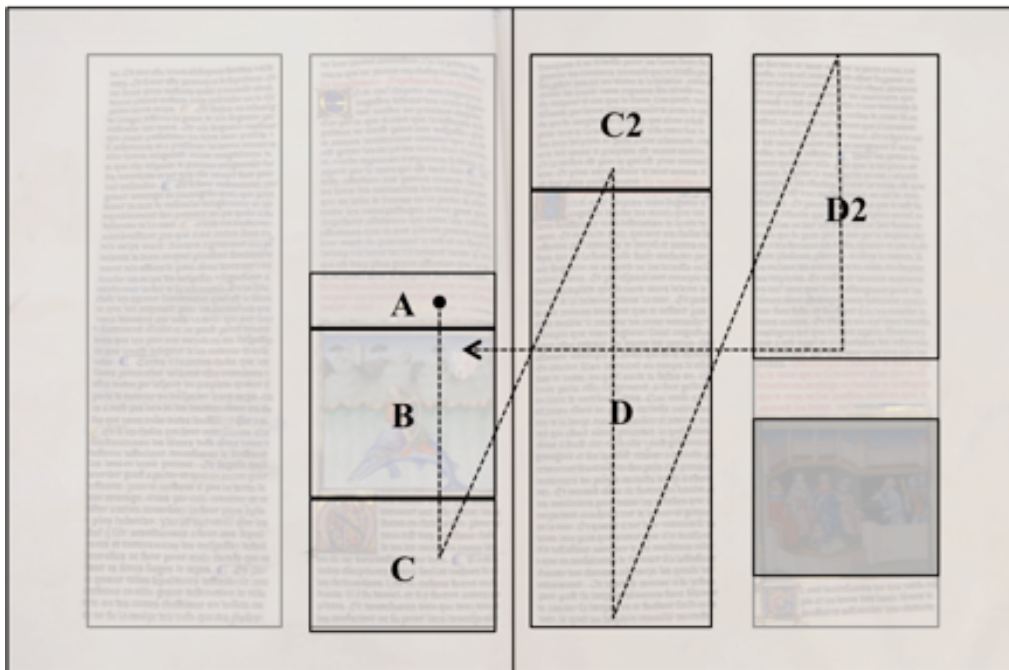
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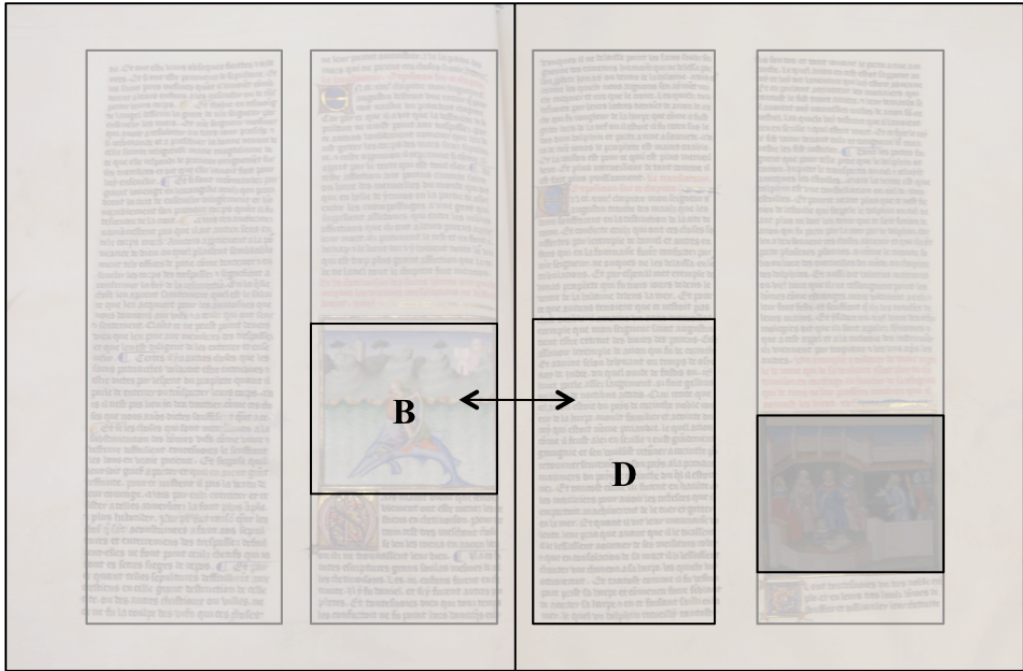
## Images



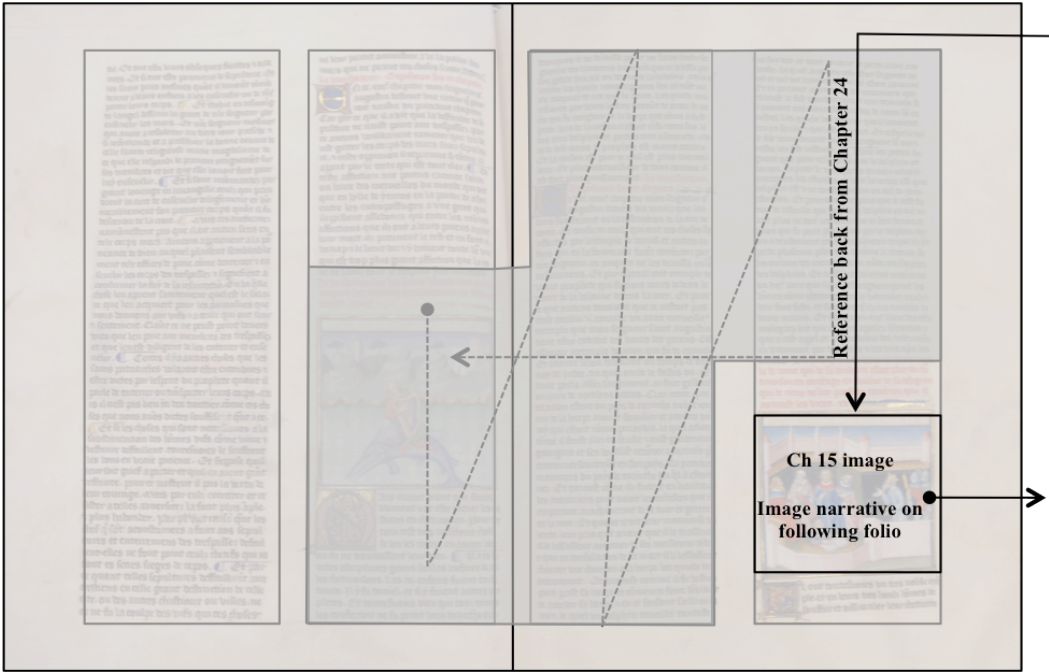
**Figure 1:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 2v. “Raoul de Presles translating the *Cité de Dieu*.”



**Figure 2:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 ff. 13v-14. The pattern of reading established within the first 2 books of the Collins *Cité de Dieu*. The reader initiates the activity at the chapter’s rubric (A), observes the illumination (B), reads the translated Augustinian text (C-C2), reads the translator’s commentary on the chapter (D-D2), and returns to the illumination (A). This flow pattern is followed in 77% of the illuminated chapters (forty-three of fifty-six). In the first fourteen chapters (eleven of which are illuminated) it is followed 90% of the time.



**Figure 3:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 ff. 13v-14. Great attention has been paid to the layout of the openings and often the text most relevant to the image narrative is found directly adjacent to the image. In this instance the reader may initiate his assessment of the chapter by first looking at the image (B) then glancing to the right of the image to see the relevant text (D). This activity can either precede a full reading of the chapter or be useful for contemplation after the chapter has been read. This relationship is identifiable in 45% of the illuminated chapters.



**Figure 4:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 ff. 13v-14. The image that initiates chapter 15 is found on the opening preceding the chapter and commentary contents. The text and commentary found in chapter 24 will circle back to chapter 15, completing the cycle.

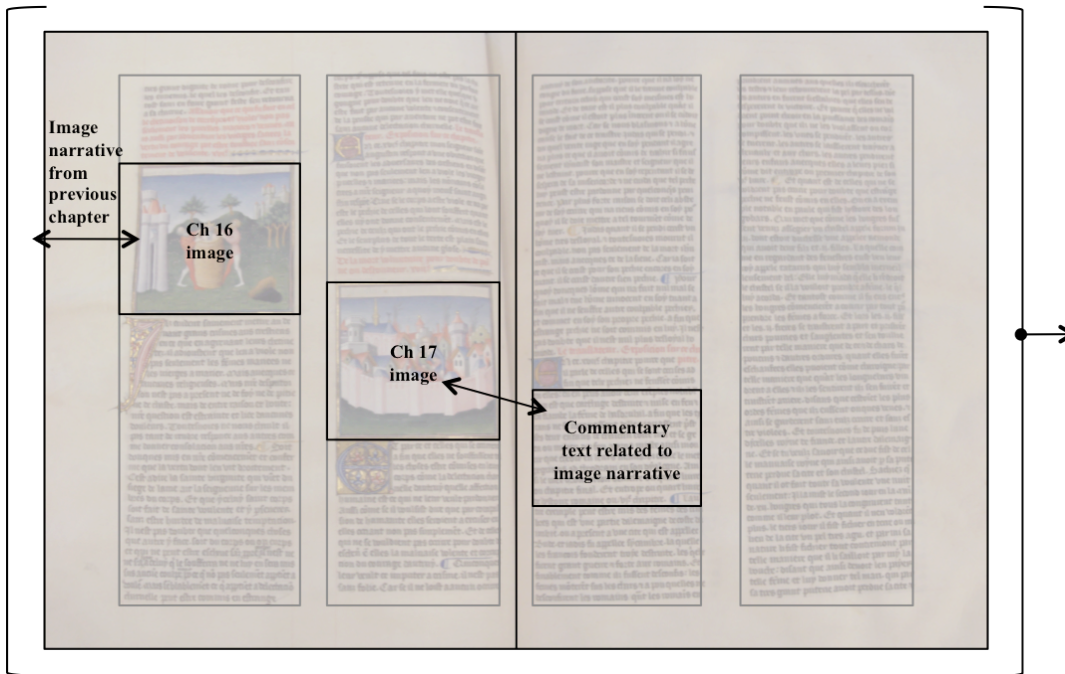


**Figure 5:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 14 (Book I:15). “Marcus Regulus presents the Carthaginian’s proposal to the Roman Senate.”



**Figure 6:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 15v (Book I:16). “Marcus Regulus tortured to death by Carthaginians”



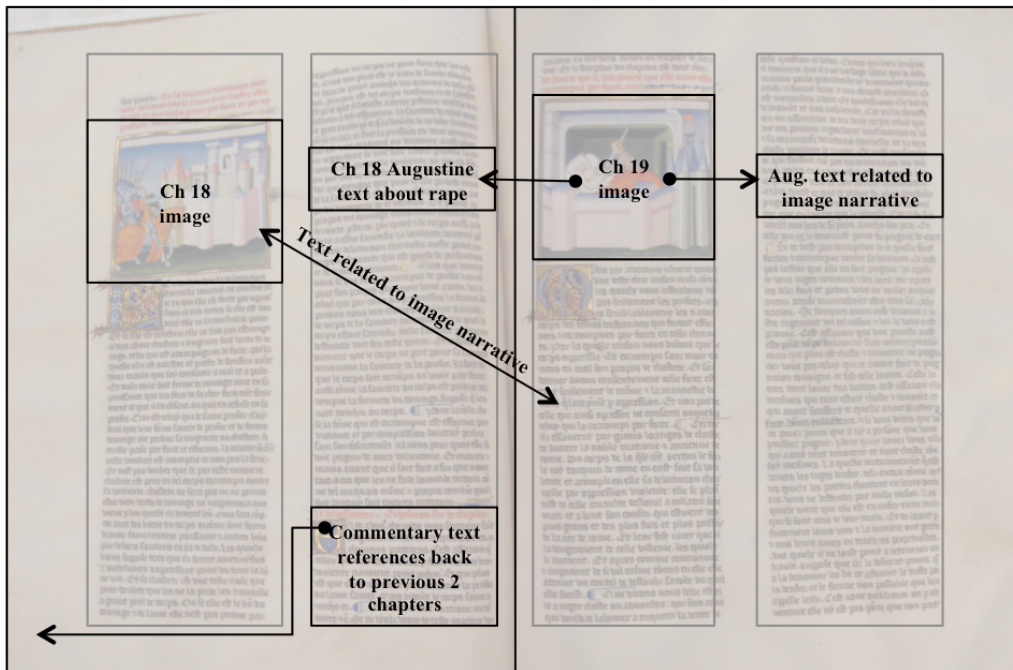


**Figure 7:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 ff. 15v-16. The miniature that begins Book I:16 is an amplification of the previous chapter’s narrative prompting the reader to both draw from chapter 15 and apply the moralizations of chapter 16 to the same illumination. The relevant narrative segment for the illumination that begins Book I:17 is found within the adjacent column, to the right of the image, allowing the viewer to immediately initiate connections between the image and the commentary. The following chapter (Book I:18) will reference back to this opening to demonstrate that the sum of the two chapters leads to the resulting conclusions identified in 1:18 (i.e.  $A + B = C$ ).



**Figure 8:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 15v (Book I:17). “Suicide of Hasdrubal’s wife and the fall of Carthage.”





**Figure 9:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 ff. 16v-17. The first of two openings with the amplified narrative of Lucretia. The text that describes the f. 16v miniature is found in the commentary that begins on f. 19v., but the narrative is referenced within the Augustinian text on f. 17. The commentary for chapter 18 references back to the preceding opening. A more sympathetic reading of the rape of Lucretia is found when text references in line with the illumination are read in a horizontal fashion.



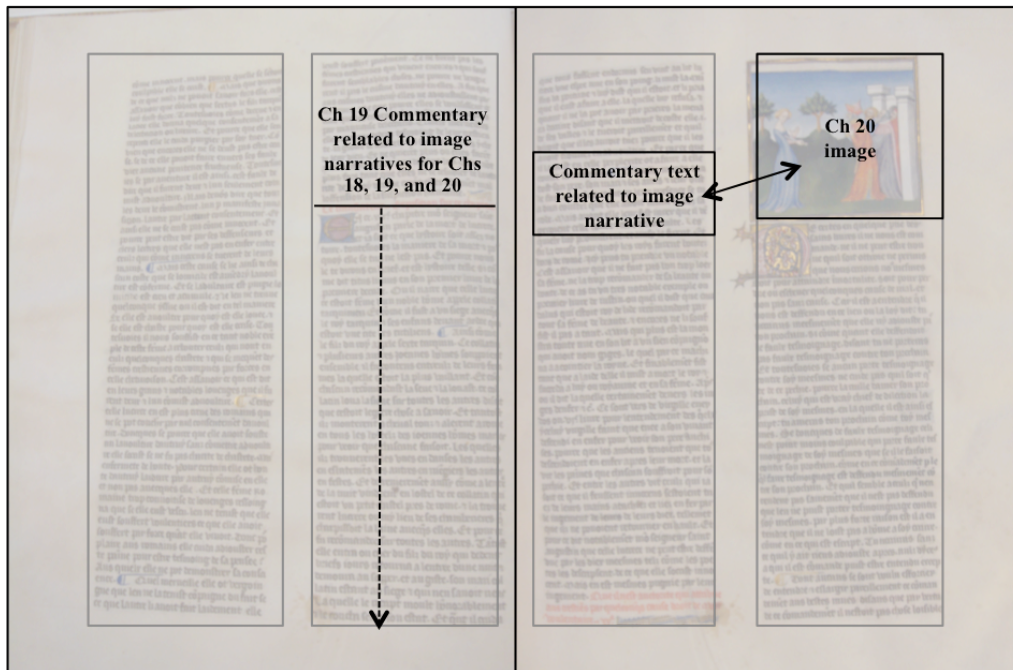
**Figure 10:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 16v (Book I:18). “Lucretia looks out of the castle window as Tarquin’s son approaches.”



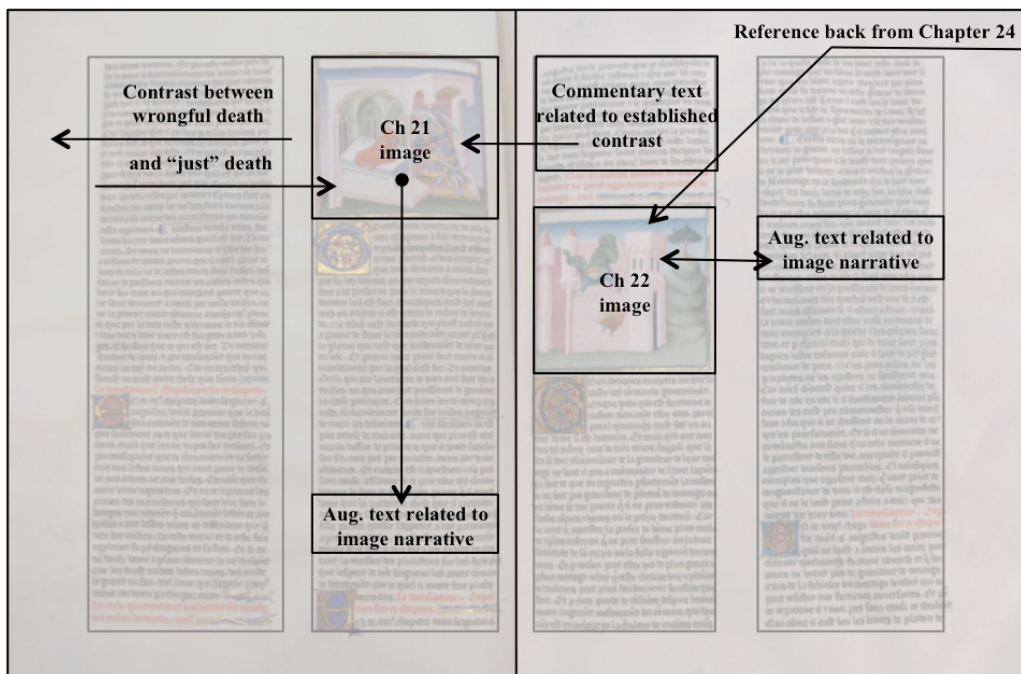
**Figure 11:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 17 (Book I:19). "Rape of Lucretia."



**Figure 12:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 18 (Book I:20). "Suicide of Lucretia."



**Figure 13:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 ff. 17v-18. The second opening, and final illumination, of the Lucretia amplification. The iconography for all three miniatures is found within the commentary that begins on f. 17v. The text that references the suicide is located directly to the left of the illumination.



**Figure 14:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 ff. 18v-19. Through the page design a contrast is set-up between the unjust death of Lucretia and the just filicide of Jephtha’s daughter. The chapter 21 commentary found directly to the right of the illumination furthers this contrast. The suicide of Theombrotus after reading Plato is referenced in the Augustinian text directly adjacent to the image. The text and commentary of chapter 24 directly reference this chapter, inviting the reader to return to the chapter for additional assessment.

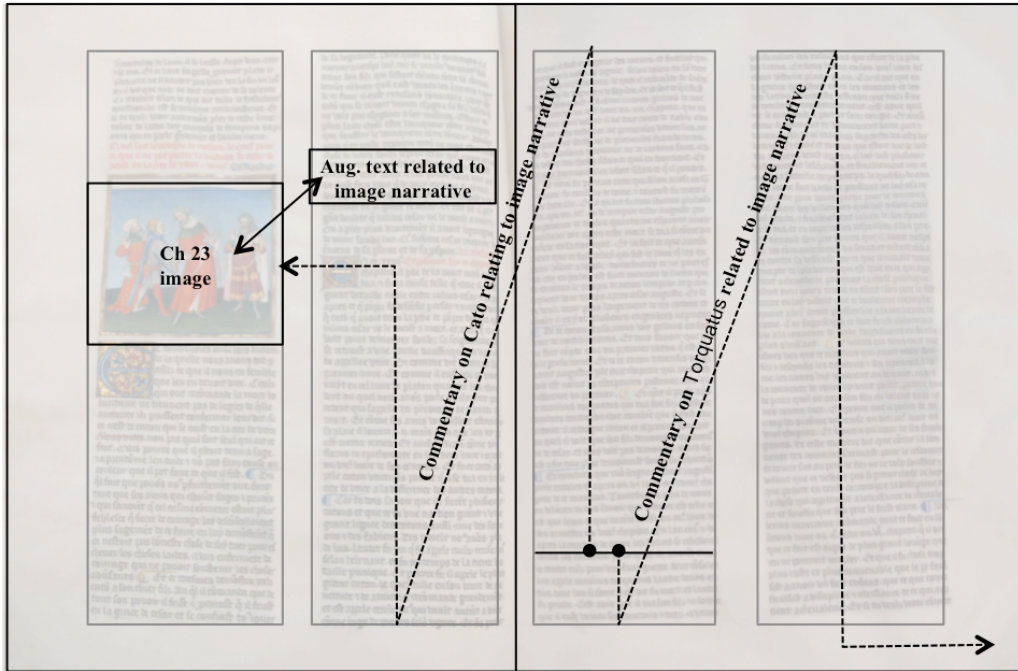




**Figure 15:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 18v (Book I:21). “Jephtha slays his daughter in fulfillment of his oath to God.”



**Figure 16:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 19 (Book I:22). “Theombrotus commits suicide after reading Plato’s “Immortality of the Soul”.”



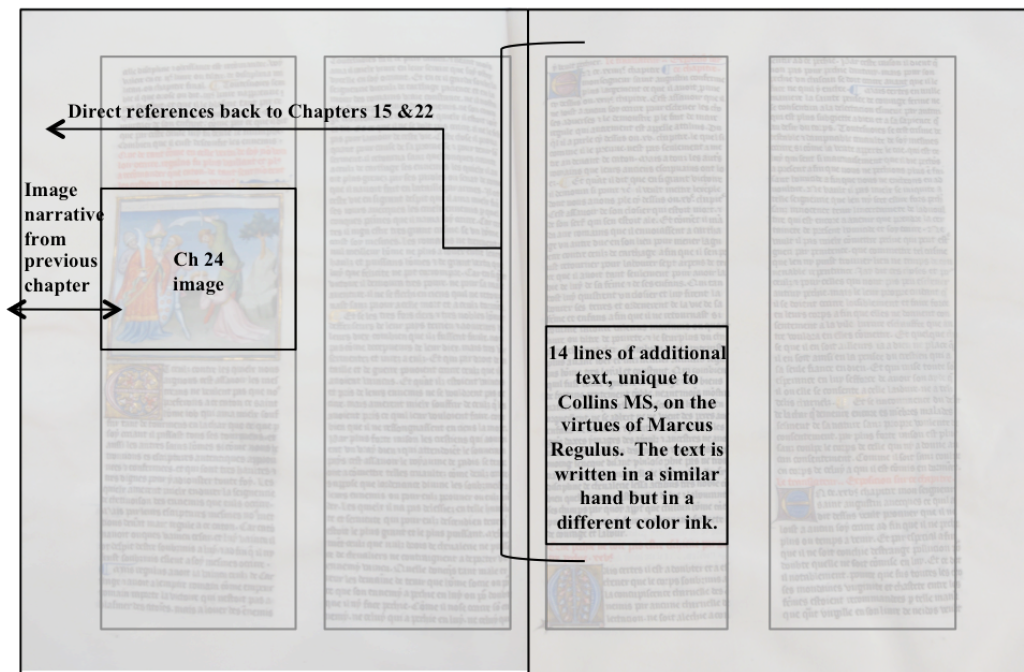
**Figure 17:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 ff. 19v-20. The chapter 23 commentary presents a comparison between the two final illuminations in this sequence. The text to the right of the image describes the iconography of the illumination. The commentary leads to the next opening where the chapter 24 illumination is found. The placement of the two images and the overall design of the two openings are identical.



**Figure 18:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 19v (Book I:23). “Suicide of Cato in Utica.”



**Figure 19:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 20v (Book I:24). “Manlius Torquatus orders the execution of his son.”



**Figure 20:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 ff 20v-21. The iconographic origins for the illumination is from the previous chapter/commentary, making it a compare and contrast to the previous image. The chapter commentary directly references back to both chapter 22 (Theombrotus’s suicide) and chapter 15 (Marcus Regulus). The appended commentary on Marcus Regulus is unique to the Collins MS.



**Figure 21:** PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 f. 21r. Fourteen lines of additional commentary were appended to the end of chapter 24 prior to rubrication. The ink used for the appended text is notably darker in tone than the surrounding text but the shape of the letters suggests that the script is from a similar hand.

Appendix A: Transcription of 13 February, 1405 letter to John the Fearless from Queen Isabeau (signed Isabel)<sup>88</sup>

Elizabeth par la grace de Dieu, Rein de France, à tous ceulx qui ces presentes Lettres verront, falut. Savoir faisons que Nous considerant la prochaineté de lignage, alliance et mariage, avoir esté et estre entre nostre tres cher et tres amé oncle feu le Duc de Bourgoigne, de qui Dieu ait l'ame; nostre tres cher et amé cousin le Duc de Bourgoigne qui à present est, son aiusné fils, nos enfans et les siens, les tres grands services, amour et obeissance qu'ils ont toujours montré et fait à Mons. le Roy, à Nous, nos dits enfans et au Royaume, et que esperons que nostred cousin fasse encore plus le temps à venir; et afin qu'il y soit de plus en plus tenu, avons promis et convenancié, promettons et convenacions à nostre dit cousin, par les foy et ferment de nostre corps pour ce donnez aux saintes Evangiles de Dieu, que nous garderons et deffendrons à nostre loyal pouvoir, la personne et Estat de nostre dit cousin; et ce que nous cognoistrans luy estre son bien et honneur, l'en adviserons et procurerons à nostre pouvoir; de ce qui seroit à son deshonneur, mal ou dommage, ou pourroit estre que vint à nostre cognoissance, l'en adviserons et luy ayderons à obvier, et deffendrons à toute nostre puissance, et pourchasserons le bien et honneur de luy et de ses besognes à nostre loyal pouvoir, et à la garde et deffense de luy et de son Estat; et à ce faire, Nous employerons et luy ayderons à nostre puissance envers et contre tous, excepté nostre dit Seigneur le Roy et nos enfans, et ceux à qui par prochainete de lignage serons tenus par raison et honnestete, plus que à nostre dit cousin; nostre tres cher et tout amée cousin sa femme et leurs enfans. En tesmoing de ce, Nous avons fait mettre nostre seel à ces, presentes Lettres. Donné à Paris le treizieme jour de Fevrier, l'an de grace mil quatre cens quatre. Isabel.

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<sup>88</sup> From Plancher, U. (1748). *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne vol 3*. Paris, Dijon: Chez Antoine de Fay Imprimeur des Etats, de la Ville & de l'Université, pp. ccxxxvii-ccxxxviii.



## Appendix B: Outline of *City of God* book and chapter themes<sup>89</sup>

Part One: The incapacity of traditional Roman religion to bring felicitas to its votaries.

Book I (the calamities of 410: Rome and God under Christianity):

- A. Refutation (chapters 1-9)
  - 1. negative discussion of criticisms arising from events of 410, with much reference to classical authors (1-7)
  - 2. attitude for Christians to take in face of criticism (8-9)
- B. Consolation (chapters 10-29)
  - 1. detailed discussion of points of confusion and regret (10-27)
    - a. loss of wealth (10)
    - b. hunger and starvation (11)
    - c. lack of proper burial (12-13)
    - d. captivity and imprisonment (14-15)
    - e. stupra and suicide (17-27)
      - (1) events of 410 (17-18)
      - (2) the case of Lucretia (19-27)
  - 2. attitude for Christians to take in face of misfortunes (28-29)
- C. Criticism of non-Christian attitudes (30-36)
  - 1. luxuria the root of unrest (30-34)
  - 2. summary/outline of whole work (35-36)

Book II (the moral lapses of Rome before Christ):

- A. Introduction (1-3)
- B. The gods and moral decay
  - 1. Theatrics and the gods (4-14a)  
[14b-16: Plato vs. Romulus: epitome of the whole book in miniature.]
  - 2. Interpretation (17-24)
    - a. moderate view (< Sallust) (17-20)
    - b. extreme view (< Cicero) (21-24)
- C. Summary and conclusion (25-29)
  - 1. with reference to chapters 17-24 (25)
  - 2. with reference to chapters 4-14 (26-27)
  - 3. with reference to critics (28)
  - 4. exhortation (29)

Book III (the material ills of Rome before Christ):

- A. Preface (1)
- B. External ills and disorders in the period of which Sallust spoke in praise (2-17)
  - 1. Trojan war (2-8)
  - 2. Numa (9-12)
  - 3. Rome under the kings (13-15)
  - 4. The first consuls (16)
  - 5. The republic to the Punic wars (17)
- C. The Punic wars and their consequences: the fatal crisis (18-22)
- D. Internal ills and disorders: Gracchi, Marius, Sulla, etc.

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<sup>89</sup> O'Donnell, J. (1983) unpublished.

E. Conclusion (31)

Book IV (Rome and God under traditional religion):

- A. Prolegomena (1-7)
  - 1. Introduction/summary of books 2-5 (1-2)
  - 2. Introduction to subject of Book 4 (3-7)
- B. A.'s view of the gods (8-23)
  - 1. minor deities (8)
  - 2. Jupiter (9-13)
  - 3. minor deities, esp. Felicitas (14-23)
- C. Roman philosophical views (24-32)
  - 1. unattributed view that gods are named from their functions (24-25)
  - 2. Cicero: gods as poetic figments (26)
  - 3. Scaevola: threefold theology (27-28)
  - 4. unattributed views on Terminus, Mars, Iuventas (29)
  - 5. Cicero on anthropomorphism and superstition (30)
  - 6. Varro on the preferability of monotheism (31)
  - 7. summary: in the end, the Romans preferred the poets to the philosophers (32)
- D. Conclusion (33-34)
  - 1. Rise of Christianity (33)
  - 2. Judaism: counterexample by way of conclusion (34)

Book V (the role of the true God in governing all things, even the Roman empire):

- A. Fate (1-11)
  - 1. The stars (1-7)
  - 2. Divination and other means of descrying fate (8-11)
- B. Greatness of the Romans (12-21)
  - 1. Gloria: they have their reward, the saints have better (12-16)
  - 2. Rome as moral exemplum: their virtues no virtues at all by comparison with the saints (17-19); further comparison with Epicureanism (20)
  - 3. God governs all things, even Rome (21)
- C. Summary of arguments stemming from events of 410 (by way of postscript to books 1-5) (22-26)
  - 1. War and its severity (with reference to the defeat of Radagaisus) (22-23)
  - 2. The fortunes and virtues of Christian emperors (24-26a)
- D. Conclusion (26b)

Book VI (Civil theology: introduction):

- A. Introduction (Preface, 1)
- B. Varro and the tripartite theology (2-9)
- C. Seneca (10-11)
- D. Conclusion and review (12)

Book VII (Civil theology: the dii selecti):

- A. Introduction (Preface, 1-4)
- B. Naturalistic interpretations (5-26)
  - 1. General overview (5-6)
  - 2. Janus and Jupiter (7-12)
  - 3. The other gods (13-22)
    - [Euhemerus and Varro: a pause in the long argument (18-19)]

- 4. Recapitulation (23-26)
  - [Cybele: the most shameful of the gods (24-26)]
- C. Conclusion (27-35)
  - 1. Varro's failure (27-28)
  - 2. Christianity's success (29-33)
  - 3. Numa: the ultimate failure of the Varronian approach (34-35)

Book VIII (Natural theology: the Platonists):

- A. Introduction (1)
- B. The best philosophy (2-12)
  - 1. Overview of history of philosophy (2-4)
  - 2. Superiority of the Platonists (5-12)
- C. Debate with the Platonists (13-27)
  - 1. Apuleius on demons (13-22)
  - 2. Hermes Trismegistus (23-27)
- D. Conclusion: demons vs. martyrs (26-27)

Book IX (Natural theology: demons vs. angels):

- A. Introduction (1-2)
- B. Demons and passions (2-8)
- C. Demons as mediators (9-13)
  - [possibility of another mediator (14-15)]
- D. Nullus deus miscetur homini? (16-18)
- E. Angels (19-23)

Book X (consideration of the claims of natural theology brings out the true role of God the Son):

- A. Introduction (1-3)
- B. Sacrifice (4-7)
- C. Miracles and worship (8-22)
- D. Purgation: debate with Porphyry (23-32a)
- E. Conclusion (32b)

Part Two: The origins, history, and ends of the two cities

Book XI (Origins: creation, esp. of unfallen angels):

- A. Introduction (1-4)
- B. Creation (5-31)
  - 1. Hexameron (5-8)
  - 2. Angelology (9-20)
  - 3. The goodness of all creation (21-28)
  - 4. Angels again (29)
  - 5. Hexameron again (30-31)
- C. Summary and conclusion (32-34)
  - 1. An acceptable alternative (32)
  - 2. Summary (33)
  - 3. An unacceptable alternative (34)

Book XII (Origins: esp. the fall of the angels, creation of men):

- A. Introduction (1a)
- B. Angels (1b-9)

1. Inherent goodness of creation (1b-5)
2. Origins of evil (6-9)
- C. Men (10-28)
  1. Time, eternity, human origins (10-21)
  2. The implications of createdness (22-28)

Book XIII (Origins: esp. the fall of man and its implications):

- A. The effects of the fall: death (1-11)
  1. The fact of death (1-3)
  2. Christian response (4-11)
- B. The effects of the fall: second death (of the soul) (12-18)
- C. The effects of the fall: consideration of the material and spiritual aspects of the body (19-24a)
- D. Conclusion: the two Adams (24b)

Book XIV (Origins: two loves, two cities):

- A. Introduction: *secundum carnem, secundum spiritum vivere* (1-5)
- B. Human wills, fallen and unfallen (6-14)
  1. Amor and *passiones* in fallen man (6-9)
  2. Pride and humility in unfallen man (10-14)
- C. Human behavior, fallen and unfallen (15-27)
  1. Consequences of the fall in concupiscence (15-20)
  2. sexuality without *passio* as the hallmark of the life of the flesh in unfallen paradise (21-27)
- D. Conclusion: "*Fecerunt itaque civitates duas amores duo, terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei, caelestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui.*" (28)

Book XV (History: from the fall to the flood):

- A. Introduction (1a)
- B. The two cities: brothers at war in history and allegory [Cain/Abel, Ishmael/Hagar, Romulus Remus] (1b-8)  
[Methodological interlude: chronological difficulties and the authority of the versions of scripture (9-16)]
- C. From Cain to the flood (17-21)
- D. The flood (22-27)

Book XVI (History: from the flood to the kings of Israel):

- A. The generations of Shem; general considerations on the conditions of life before the covenant [esp.: Babel, language, etc.] (1-11)
- B. Abraham and his covenant with God (12-34)
- C. From Abraham to David (35-43)

Book XVII (History: scripture and prophecy under the kings):

- A. Prophecy (1-3)
- B. Anna and Samuel (4-7)
- C. David (8-19)
  1. David in history (8-13)
  2. Psalms concerning *civitas Dei* (14-19)
- D. Prophecy from Solomon until the time of Christ (20-24)  
[in more detail in Book 18]

Book XVIII (History: recapitulation of the earthly history, past and future, of both cities):

- A. Introduction (1-2)
- B. The two cities under Assyrian dominion from the time of Ninus (3-14)
- C. The two cities under Roman dominion(15-54a)
  - 1. Earliest times (15-26)
  - 2. The age of the prophets (27-41)
    - a. The prophets of the Old Testament (27-36)
    - b. The prophets and the pagan sages (37-41)
  - 3. The establishment of the standard (i.e., Septuagint) text of the Old Testament (42-44)
  - 4. The intertestamental period (45-48)
  - 5. The coming of Christ and the church (49-54a)
- D. Conclusion: The present intermixture of the two cities "donec ultimo iudicio separentur" (54b)

Book XIX (Ends: peace):

- A. Introduction: the 288 sects of Varro (1-4)
- B. Misery of human condition (5-9)
- C. Peace (10-26)
  - 1. the peace that is longed-for (10-13)
  - 2. the possibility of authentic peace in this world (14-20)
  - 3. Cicero and Porphyry refuted (21-26)
- D. Peace the goal of the city of God, war of the city of man (27-28)

Book XX (Ends: the last judgment):

- A. Introduction (1-4)
- B. Judgment in the New Testament (5-20)
  - 1. Gospels (5-6)
  - 2. Apocalypse (7-17)
  - 3. Epistles (18-20)
- C. Judgment in the Old Testament (21-29)
  - 1. Isaiah and Daniel (21-23)
  - 2. Psalms and Malachi (24-29)
- D. Conclusion: Christ the Judge (30)

Book XXI (Ends: hell):

- A. Introduction (1)
- B. Eternal punishment and justice (2-12)
  - 1. Refutation of objections (2-9)
  - 2. Reasonableness of the doctrine (10-11)
- [Punishment and purgation: 13-16]
- C. Eternal punishment and mercy (17-27a)
  - 1. Origen's objections (17-22)
  - 2. Refutation and explanation (23-27a)
- D. Conclusion (27b)

Book XXII (Ends: heaven):

- A. Introduction (1-3)
- B. Resurrection (4-20)
  - 1. Argument from miracle (4-12)
  - 2. Subsidiary questions (13-20)
- C. Eternal bliss (21-30)
  - 1. Foreshadowed on earth (21-24)

[refutations of Porphyry and Plato: 25-28]

2. Realized in the celestial city (29-30a)

D. Conclusion (30b)

Appendix C: Content summaries of PMA, Collins 1945-65-1 Book 1: Chapters 15-24

<b>Book: Chapter</b>	<b>Transcription of Rubric</b>	<b>Illumination</b>	<b>Brief summary of chapter</b>	<b>Brief summary of commentary</b>
1:15	Une exemple a tolleres de marc regulle de romme qui de sa volent esteut aler en chetivoison en carthaign en faueur de sa religion qui de rein ne luy prouffita combien que il aourast les dieux	Marcus Regulus speaking to the Roman senate	A brief summary of the captivity and death of Marcus Regulus is used as an example of a great and noble man who honored his pagan gods yet suffered greatly at the hands of his enemies. The story shows that the pagan gods are of little assistance to their worthy worshipers. Augustine highlights the virtuous spirit of Regulus and suggests that such virtue is key to bringing happiness to a community	The commentary fleshes out the history of the Punic Wars and places the narrative of Marcus Regulus into context, providing a richer narrative of the proposed prisoner exchange, and the death of Marcus Regulus. There is no moralization inserted into the chapter's commentary.
1:16	Allanoir que ce qui fu fait en celle detinoison de corronpre et violer non pas seulement les pucelles mariees et veimes mais aussi par adventure las vierges saees la vertu du courage pot estre tonlliee fans confentement de volente	Torturous death of Marcus Regulus by Carthaginian captors	In order to comprehend the level of suffering one endures at the hands of their adversaries, the virtue and relative purity of the victim (both in body and mind) must be fully established. Augustine additionally stresses that consent of the mind is equally damning to any sins of the flesh.	The commentary is very brief and focuses on the bodily virtue of the virgins and wives who were violated in war in reference to what has already been stated in the chapter summary.

<b>Book: Chapter</b>	<b>Transcription of Rubric</b>	<b>Illumination</b>	<b>Brief summary of chapter</b>	<b>Brief summary of commentary</b>
1:17	De la mort voluntaire pour doubte de painne on deshonneur	Burning of Carthage/death of Hasdrubal's wife and children	The act of suicide is the same as to commit murder and the more innocent the individual who kills himself the worse the sin is considered. He asks, why should a man who has done no wrong do wrong to himself?	The commentary primarily focuses upon two examples of those innocents who kill themselves: the destruction of Carthage and the death by fire of Hasdrubal's wife and two children and the women of Cimbrian who hung themselves and their children in order to avoid slavery.
1:18	De la violence delectacion charnelle dau truy que la sainte ame seuffre estre commise en son corps prins par force et par oppression	Tarquin's son approaches the castle on horseback and sees Lucretia at the window	While an individual does not have complete control over their own body (i.e. there is the possibility of others exerting violence against you without your consent), he does have the power to either accept or reject the happening within his own mind. In this manner, as long as the mind remains pure, the sin committed against the body does not necessitate a loss of purity. Following this reasoning, a woman who has been raped or had her body violated in some manner has no reason to punish herself through the act of suicide (as she would still be pure of mind). More importantly, she should not try to circumvent an act of violence against her through the act of suicide.	The very brief commentary refers back to the two previous chapters (16 and 17) and concludes that the sum of these two chapters leads Augustine to conclude that those who are assaulted against their will are not sinners (i.e. Ch 16 + Ch 17 = Ch 18)



<b>Book: Chapter</b>	<b>Transcription of Rubric</b>	<b>Illumination</b>	<b>Brief summary of chapter</b>	<b>Brief summary of commentary</b>
1:19	De lucrece qui se tua pour ce que elle avoit este corcompue par force	The rape of Lucretia by Tarquin's son	<p>Augustine describes the story of Lucretia and uses it as a vehicle to discuss the nature of guilt and the paradox of punishment in the eyes of guilt and shame. While Lucretia was the innocent victim of the lustful violence enacted upon her by the son of Tarquin, she is the one who suffers the greatest punishment after the crime has been committed. Guilt should be associated to the ravisher, not to the ravished. By killing herself, Lucretia took into her own hands the role of judge and jury in ruling against her sin and she suffered the ultimate punishment of execution. Yet, Augustine questions the high regard this act has earned Lucretia as she can be found guilty of murdering the innocent and chaste Lucretia. She is a killer extolled for her sin.</p> <p>To Augustine, Lucretia's suicidal action is testimony to her impure and unchaste mind (she killed not an innocent but a woman full of guilt). He further charges her with welcoming the attacker into her bed (an adulterer by hidden consent), then dying as part of her penance. Herein lies the paradox, if she is an adulterer, why is she praised? If she is an innocent, why was she put to death?</p> <p>He concludes that Christian women would not enact violence upon themselves if their bodies had been violated like Lucretia as their glory and chastity is in the sight of God and they need nothing more.</p>	The commentary restates the history of Lucretia, providing a somewhat more detailed narrative.
1:20	Que il nest auctorite qui attribue aus crestiens par quelconque cause droit de mort volontaire	Suicide of Lucretia in front of her father and witnesses	<p>Implied within the 6th Commandment, "Thou shall not kill," is a prohibition of suicide (as the commandment does not specify whom you shall not kill it should be understood that to kill any living being, including yourself, is a sin). Therefore, Christians have no right to kill themselves. Augustine clarifies that while you may not kill another human, the prohibition does not extend to include any living thing (such as plants and animals).</p>	The commentary is brief and notes that the Commandment against killing is to be applied to both your neighbor as well as yourself (though not to trees and animals)

<b>Book: Chapter</b>	<b>Transcription of Rubric</b>	<b>Illumination</b>	<b>Brief summary of chapter</b>	<b>Brief summary of commentary</b>
1:21	De ceuls qui en occiant les hommes sont excuses du crime de homicide	Jephtha prepares to kill his daughter whom he vowed to sacrifice should he return from battle victorious (Judges 11:34-39)	Augustine notes three exceptions to the 6 <sup>th</sup> Commandment: 1. God orders the killing/death. In these instances the wielder of the sword is not a murder but merely an instrument (much like the sword itself) that is used by God to complete his will (for example, Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac or Jephtha's sacrifice of his daughter). 2. Wars waged on the authority of God 3. A death penalty is imposed on criminals by the state (a just and reasonable power) He surmises that if a killing is "just" (i.e. in the name of a just law or by the command of God) then it is not considered murder and is not a sin.	The commentary is very brief and primarily restates the key points of the chapter as identified. Some additional stress is placed upon the choices made to wage "just" wars as opposed to "unjust" wars.
1:22	Que en aucune maniere la mort volontaire ne peut appartenir a grandeur de couraige	Theombrotus, after reading Plato's treatise on the immortality of the soul, kills himself so as to more quickly pass-on to a better life	In this chapter Augustine ponders whether suicide can ever be considered a mark of greatness of the soul. After repeating his contention that those who kill themselves are not to be praised as being either wise or sane, he notes that the performance of the act itself is evidence of an individual's lack of strength to carry on in the face of hardships and greatness of spirit can only be ascribed to one who is able to endure misery (as opposed to fleeing it through death). Theombrotus is used as an example of one who has been incorrectly lauded for greatness of the soul. He is not great, but good and Augustine notes that Plato himself would have recognized the folly in killing oneself to hurry into immortality and would have recommended against it. At the heart of the matter is the difference between whether one does or ought to do something (such as killing themselves). He concludes that, just as Jesus did not advise his followers to kill themselves in order to avoid their persecutors (though he did promise them eternal life upon their death), we should understand that suicide is not allowed to those who believe in God.	The commentary repeats the key points from the Augustinian text: that suicide is a mark of feebleness as opposed to greatness of courage and a brief summary of Theombrotus's death is repeated.

Book: Chapter	Transcription of Rubric	Illumination	Brief summary of chapter	Brief summary of commentary
1:23	<p>Quel soit l'exemple de cathon le quel pour ce que il ne peut porter la victoire de cesar se occit en la cite de utice</p>	<p>Cato kills himself as his son and friends look on, unable to dissuade him</p>	<p>Augustine looks at the suicide of Cato to discuss the merits of suicide for moral and/or noble reasons. While Cato concluded that ending his life was the best option for him, his colleagues who were all educated men attempted to dissuade him from taking his own life. Their argument being that suicide is a sign not of strength but of weakness. Cato counseled his son to live and place his hopes in the mercy and kindness of Caesar yet this same path was not to be followed by him, unable to live under the shameful shadow of Caesar's victory. Why did he spare his son and not himself? This action, in the eyes of Augustine, proves that Cato saw no real shame in living under the victorious Caesar. Cato would have been spared his life by Caesar but chose death so as to thwart the embarrassment of having received the pardon.</p> <p>Another example shame leading to death is seen in the story of Torquatus who had his son killed for engaging the enemy against his father's orders (even though he was victorious). Augustine is thus lead to ask if it more shameful to be a conqueror disobediently than to endure a conqueror dishonorably (<i>Estoit ce plus laide chose etre vainqueur contre l'empire que souffrir le vainqueur contre honneur</i>)</p>	<p>The commentary begins with a quick recapping of the chapter. Raoul notes that Cato lost to Caesar in a just war, that he (Cato) had doubts as to whether Caesar would spare his life and, if he would, if he could live under such rule. The commentary then launches into a discussion as to which Cato Augustine is referencing and a brief summary of the various Catos is presented.</p> <p>The second half of the commentary is devoted to a fleshing out of the narrative of Torquatus whose son, in the war against the Latins, defied his father's orders and was beheaded for his obstinacy. The moral of the lesson is that discipline and obedience are the qualities appropriate for a knighthood.</p> <p>A contrast is set-up between the two narratives, with Cato sparing the life of his son (to live under the rule of Caesar) and Torquatus killing his son to preserve honor and to enforce the importance of obedience. Two supposed manners of achieving honor? Cato dies so that he does not have to live through the indignity of having his life spared by his conqueror. In denying Caesar the ability to pardon him, he is taking away what would have been a praiseworthy action from his enemy. In killing his son, Torquatus, spares himself the indignity of having a not only a son but a soldier who is both disobedient and undisciplined.</p>

Book: Chapter	Transcription of Rubric	Illumination	Brief summary of chapter	Brief summary of commentary
1:24	Que de tant comme en telle vertu de soy non vouloir occire regulus fut plus vaillant et plus a recommander que caton de tant surmontent les crestiens les payens	Torquatus witnesses the execution of his son.	Here, Augustine unfavorably compares Cato's actions first to those of Job and martyred saints (i.e. Christian examples) and then to Marcus Regulus (i.e. pagan example). While Job suffered and the martyr saints endured great torture, they all chose to bear their respective hardships rather than committing suicide. In comparison, Cato opted out and chose death by his own hand. Marcus Regulus too is held up as a greater example than Cato as he allowed his conquered body to be tortured by his enemies rather than take his own life. When given the opportunity to save himself, he counseled the Roman Senate against the demands of the Carthaginians, knowing the suffering he would be forced to endure. He was a man whom prosperity did not corrupt; whom adversity could not shatter. He concludes by restating what has already been said in previous chapter, that Christians have more reason to refrain from suicide as their desire for heaven will guide them against committing an act of murder and that death should not be considered an action to prevent another's sin against you.	<p>The commentary is reflexive and serves to summarize what has already been learned in previous chapters. It references back to the chapter on Theombrotus and Plato, (Chapter 22) where the longing to achieve the state of immortality overwhelms the individual so that they are compelled to die, to compare the concepts of resolve to desire. He also references back to Chapter 15 wherein the narrative of Marcus Regulus was first described and commented upon.</p> <p>The addition of fourteen lines of commentary, not written by Raoul de Presles, is also found here. The appended text picks up on the theme of Marcus Regulus and continues to heap praise upon him and his actions. He is described as being "most loyal and constant" and that his strength emanates from his inner nature, not from a great noble lineage or immense wealth. It states that the elevation of gilded images of ancestors and idols does not ennoble the love of children and nephews and concludes with a statement lauding the Chivalric attribute of discipline.</p>

## Appendix D: Transcriptions of Commentaries for discussed chapters

### *Book 1: Chapter 15*

En'ce XV chapitre nariens qui ne soit alles cler mais touteffois pour la declaracion diceluy tu dois savoir que les rommains orent trois batailles contre ceuls de carthaige qui sont appelle les batailles puniques. Les quelles durent par lone temps dont la premiere dura XXII ans selon eutrope la seconde XIX ans et la tierce quatre. En la premiere bataille ou IX an furent fais consuls ce marc regule qui autrinent est appelle attilus regulus et un autre appelle maulius b(v)ulscu. Les quels selon ce que dit orose en son IIII livre furent enuoies pour faire bataille en affricque qui a tout IIII cens et XXX nefes entrerent en serille et la subiuguerent et de la sen pallerent en affricque. Et la prindrent trois cens chasteaux et fortresses. Maulius sen retour na a romme avec tres grant pillage et si amena XXVII mil chetifs. Et marc regule demora pour faire guerre contre les trois empereurs de carthaige c'est assavoir les deux Haldrubales et aierictonius qui estoit le tiers. Contre les quels il se porta si baillamment que il mist mors XVII mille des carthageniens et si en prist VIII mile les quels il ennoia a romme avec plusieurs oliphans et fist plusieurs autres fais notables. Et si mist en lobeissance des rommains LXXIII de leurs cites. Et finalement pour ce que a fin de faire pair a ceuls et de carthage ille volt imposer trop diver les condicions de seruitutes ils amerent miels a mourir que vinre en telle seruitute. Si quisent des soldoyers et firent leur capitaine dun appelle santipus que estoit roy des lacedemomens qui est une partie de grece le quel desconfit XXX mille romains et en celle desconfitine fu pris ce marc regule si comme dit eutrope en son II livre. Et cest ce de quoy mon seigneur saint augustin fait menaon. Et le cause pour quoy il fu ainsi mort en prison fu car il be volt demomer a romme a fin de gaider son serment ne aussi sa femme congnoistre. Disant quil nestort plus atoiem de rome ne digne de avoir honneur de plus que il estoit deuenn serf ou prisonnier a cenz de carthage. Et de toutes ces clof fait mention eutrope si comme nous anons dit on second et tiers livre. De ce marc regulle dit gellius en son V livre de noctibus attitis pour confermer linniction que ceuls de Carthage luy avoient aite de vetourner que pour ce que luy mesmes lauoit promis ceuls de carthage luy avoient donne a boire venum qui du rort iusques a ce quil eust empetre des romains leschange des prisonners. Et qui tant plus a loit avant de tant plus sefforcoit en le tvaiant a la mort. Et valerus macimus dit en adion stant a les fainnes que ils le mettoient en et ne fossetres parfonde et tres obsaure ou len ne beoit goute. Et quant le soleil estoit le pl- mult et le plus ardant que il ponoit estre ils le tridient nors et le mettoient contre le soleil. Et afin que il ne cloist les yelx il si consirent les paupieres par deffoubs et par deffus a fin que il luy ctevassent les yelx et que en luy oftant le formir ils le peuffent tuer. Et quant ces choses vuidrent a la congnoissance des romains ils lailjerent aus enfans dyceluy marc regule tous les pl - nobles prisonniers que ils anoient de ceils de carthage qin les furent mour daussy cruelle mort come ils ancient fait mourer leur pe ce valere le recommande fur toutes choses enfom premier livre on

premier tiltre de culs qui le reprennent de ce quil desloa a faire eschange de- prisonniers et que il vetourna a fes ennemis pour garder son serment pour ce que il avoit livre. La quelle chose tulle appreune en fom tiers livre des offices.

Et respont a cinq vaisons que ils y opposent et comment cest chose tres astrainte que lien de serment. Et que les anciens romains le gardoient fus tontes choses. Encore dois tu savoir que ce marc regule selon eutrope ou dit V livre omist en un fleune qui anoit nom bragada un serpent qui anoit XX pies de lonc dont il fift porter le cuir a rome. Encor dit lystoire que combien quil feust si baillans homs toutefuoies il nauoit que VII arpens de terre les quiels il soisoit labonier par un sien dossier le quel closier comme il feust mort luy estant en la bataille de carthage Il man da aus romains que len luy pourueust VII closier ou il faudroit quil son vetournast pour labourer ses twues. Et ne soit mils es merceullies de ceste chose car plyne en son livre qui est dit naturalis hystoire dit que le atioen de rome estoit a despire fur toutes choses a qui sept arpens de terre ne souffisoient et plus ene avoit quincius cincinatus qui fu eslen dictateur qui estoit une tres grant dignite de rome pour desconfire les ennemis le quel les desconfit et tantost sans en faive grant festre sen retourna a clarrne.

### *Book 1: Chapter 16*

En'ce XVI chapitre mon seigneur saint augustin vespont [respont?] a une objection que faisaient les adversanes des crestiens en disant que non pas seulement sen a viole les vierges pucelles et mariées: mais les nonnains commas ares a mem seigneur aquoy mon saint augustin erspont. Que se le corps caste viole ce na pas este le pechie de celles qui sont souffert quant allés ny ont donne consentement mais est le pechie de seuls qui ont le pechie commis en elles. Et le surplus de tout le texte est plain sans neccessite de y mettre avaine glose.

### *Book 1: Chapter 17*

En'ce XVII chapitre pointe que il parle de celles qui se sont occises affin que tells pechies ne fussent commis en elles: Tu en pues avoir deux exemples notables lun est que carthaige destruite et mise en feu et en flamme la femme de hasdrubal a fin que les tirans ne se mocquassent et iouassent delle print ses deux enfans de chascun coste sun et se jeta au milieu du feu et amant mieuls aimi mourir que encheoir en leurs mains. Si comme le met peregrinus ad theodoram en son dyalogue Ain sile met ores en son ormeeste ou quart livre ou chapitre final. Et eutrope ou quart livre de l'histoire romaine ou VI chapitreL'autre exemple peut estre mis des femmes des cimbres qui est une partie dalmaigne de coste danubie ou est a présent a une cite qui est appallee Bude et iadis fut appelle sycambre, la quelle les francois fonderent troye destruite les quele firent grant guerre et forte aux romains. Et finalement comme ils fissent des confis les femmes monterent sur les chars et a pou quelles ne desconfirent les rommains quant les rommains en prindrent aucunes aus quelles ils escorcherent les testes et leur rebourcerent la pel par

dessus dont les autres en furent fiesbahies que elles sen desesoerent de victoire. Et pource que elles ne voulurent pas cheoïren sa puissance des rommains pour doubte que ils ne les violassent on corompissent les unes se pendirent les autres se tuerent les autres se laisserent trainer a cheuaults et aux chars les autres pendirent leurs enfans avec elles a leurs pies si comme dit entroppe ou preimer chapitre de son V livre. Et quant est de celles qui ne se boldrent pas occire pour doubte que estrange pechie ne feust comms en elles. On en a exemple notable en paule qui fist l'histoire des longobars (lambars) qui met que comme les hongres fussent venus assiegir un chasteau appelle forum jusii dont es toit duchesse une appelle remonde qui avoit deux fils et deux filles. La que elle comme en regardant des fenestres esse eust veu leur roy appelle tatarus qui luy sembla merueil leusement beau elle luy manda que elle li rendroit le chasteau se illa vouloit prendre a femme le quel luy acorda. Et tantost comme il fu ens entre les hongres commencerent a courir par tout poutprendre les femmes a force. Et lors les deux filles et les deux freres se trairent a part et prindrent chars pourries et sangsentes et sen maculerent par telle maniere que de ce et de chars de poucins et dautres ordures quant elles furent eschauffees elles puoient comme charoignes par telle maniere que quant les longobars vindrent a elles. Et ils les sentirent ils sen fuirent et trairent arriere disans que cestoit les plusordes femmes que ils eussent oncques veues et ainsi se garderent sans elles occire et sans estre violees. Et toutessois fur de puis lene de celles roy ne de france et lautre dalmaigne. Et le tu beuls savoir que ce duc fist de cesse mauuaise royne qui ainsi avoit par sa puterie perdue sa cite et son chastel. saches que quant il ot fait toute sa voïente une nuit seulement: il sa mist le second jour en la main de douze hongres qui ous la congneurent tant comme il leur plot. Et quant ils nen voulurent plus se tiers jour il fist fichier en terre ou millieu de la cite un pel tres agu et par mi sa nature li fist fichier tout contremont par telle maniere que il li sailloit par mi la vouche disant que ansi devoit sen payer telle femme et luy donner tel mari qui par sa tres grant puterie avoit perdue sa cite et son peuple.

### *Book 1: Chapter 18*

En'ce XVIII chapitre monseigneur saint augustin conferma ce quil a dit es deux chapitres precedens. c'est assavoir que celles qui ont est violees par force et contre leur ne voïente ne voient point pechie. Et qui plus est que elles ne voient pas seulement la pensee ou lame sainte mais avoient le corps saint avec qui ce. Et ou il dit une matrone ou ventriere etc. Se tu veux beoir de c'este matiere bor auitene en son tiers canon ou chapitre de ambrione. Et le surplus du chapitre est tout clear.

### *Book 1: Chapter 19*

En'ce XIX chapitre monseigneur saint augustin parle de la mort de Lucrete. Et ia soit ce que l'histoire soit asses notoïre toutesfuies la maniere de la mort et pour quoy elle le tu a ne sest pas et poin ce nous la te dirons en brief. Et es l'histoire telle si comme dit titus liuius en son premier siure de la premiere decade. ou il narre que celle luctrce estoit femme dun noble homme appele collatin tarquinien. Et comme il fuist a

unliege avec le roy tarquin et les enfans devant ardee qui estoit une cite des ruthiliens. Et ainsi comme le fils du roy appelle sexte tarquin. Ce collatin et plusieurs autres souppoient ensemble il fut contens entuenlx de leurs femmes la quelle estoit la plus vaillante. Et comme chascun recommandast la seue et la louast. ce collatin loua la sienne sur toutes les autres difant qui cestoit legieue chose a savoir. Et tantost ils monterent tous a cheval et alerent a romme en tous les hostels des jones hommes maries pour beoir que chasaine faisoit. Les quelles ils trouuerent les unes en danses les autres en eshatemens les autres en mengiers et les autres en festes. Et dernièrement ainsi comme a fentre de la nuit uindrent en lostel de ce collatin qui estoit un petit chateau pres de comme et la trouverent luctece ou milieu de les chamberieres qui charpissoit la laine avec ques elles. Et pour ce fut recommandee sur toutes les autres. Cantoft elle entra ou cueur du fils du roy qui dedens briefs jours retourna a lentre de une nuit et demoura au soupper et au giste fon mary collatin estant au siege et qui nen sauoit rein. La quelle le recupt moult honnourablement et le coucha selon son estat. Et quant il cuida que tous fussent endormis sen vint an lit de lu crece une en son poing. li mist la main sur la poitrine et fuy dist qui il estoit et fuy pria que il eust a faire a elle sa quelle le resula et quant il ne sa peut avoir par prieres la mena ca doccire difant que il mettroit de coste elle une de sis valles et le tueroit pareillement et quil diroit quil les auroit tues pource que il les auroit trouues en aduoultire. Et pour ce quil la mist en celle perplexite ot a faire a elle contre sa wulente. La quelle manda tantost son pere son mari et les amis et leur dist le fait. et ce fait et dit en leur presence le tu a dun cousteau que elle avoit muchie loubz sa robe. Mais avant elle leur fist jurer que il vengeroient celle honte et celle destoyaulte. Les quels lut promirent et ainsi le firent. Et ce fut la cause pour quoy les roys furent voutes hors de romme. Fey peus tu prendre un notable c'est assavoir que il ne fait pas bon trop loer la femme ne la trop sa recommander de la beaute ou bonte de ce as tu un tres notable exemple on premier livre de justin ou quel il dist que candalus qui estoit roy de lide recommandoit par tout la femme de beaute et encore ne li souffit il pas a tant mais qui plus est la monstra tonte nue en son lit a un sien compaignon qui avoit nom giges. le quel par ce machina a acointier la royne. Et finalement fist tant que a leide delle il mist a mort le roy et lucceda a fuy ou royaume et en sa femme. Aprou il dit la quelle certainement deuers les juges denfer etc/ Ce sont les vers de bugille eney dos on VI livre par lentendement des quels icelluy ungille faint que enee a son viuant descendit en enfer pour veoir son pere anchises pout ce que les anciens tenoient que tous destendoient en enfer apres leur mort. Et la vit les paines que chaseun souffroit pour son pechie et entre les autres vit ceuls qui iassoit que il fussent innocens sestoient tues de leurs mains atachies et lies en enfer par le iugement de leurs dieux tellement que ils ne pouoient retourner en hault. Et pour ce dit notablement monseigneur saint augustin que celle lucrece ne peut estre defendue par les dieux mesmes tels comme les poetes les descrirent de ce que elle sacist innocente mais en est mesmes pugnie par leur jugement.



### *Book 1: Chapter 20*

En'ce XX chapitre monseigneur saint augustin veult prouuer que le divin commandement de non occire sentent non pas seulement a ce que len ne tue pas son prochain mais que len ne tue pas foy mesmes. Et par consequent que ce commandement ne sestent mie aus bestes mues que nont point de rayson ne aus arbres ne aus herbes. Combein que ils aient vertu vegetatiue. Et en ce repreune l'opinion des maicheiens qui sont une ferte de hereses qui tiennent que ce commandement sestent et aux herbes et aux bestes mues et deffendent que on nen tue nulles. De c'est erreur et de c'est fole opinion fut pitagoras et la secte: et le tu en beuls beoir a plain comme ils ne vouloient que len tuast nulles bestes mues voy ouide le giant en son. XV livre qui l'appele proprement carmen pithagoriturum.

### *Book 1: Chapter 21*

Exposicion sur ce chatitreEn'ce XXI chapitre monseigneur saint augustin veult prouuer que ce commandement de non occire si seuffre instance quant aux hommes les quels il est licite a homme occire comme ministre de dieu soit par bataille soit par jugement soit par divine pourveance. Et le remant du texte est cler. toutesuoies pource que il parle decaire par bataille quest tiuste bataille et iniuste bataille qui sa peut faire contre qui on la peut faire et quantes choses sont requises a juste batailles voy monseigneur saint thomas d'aquin. Insecunda questinone. XL. et ysidore au XVIII. livre de ses ethimologies.

### *Book 1: Chapter 22*

En'ce XXII chapitre monseigneur saint Augustin veult prouuer quis ne soift a aucun li occire pour escheuer quelconques fortune aduerse / et que li occire ne vient pas de grandeur de couraige mais de sa feblesse du couraige de celluy qui ne peut resister aux fortunes aduersablesEt pour ce repreuve il et non pas fans cause ce theobert qui comme il eust leu les siures de platon de l'immortalite de fame il se laissa cheoir dun mur et se tua Et ce livre s'appelle prement plato in phedrone / ne il nauoit point bien beu sa fin du livre ou il dit que nuls ne doit mourir de sa volentCe thobert selon ce que dit tusse de tus tustulanis questionibr est surnomme anbriastence. Et se tu beu beoir autrement parler de ceste immortalite de lame li macrobe de sompnio saproins qui en parle grandement et haultement.

### *Book 1: Chapter 23*

En'ce XXIII chapitre il parle de la mort de Caton qui se tua et fut la cause telle que comme il eust grant bataille ciuile entre iulius Cesar et pompee apres ce que pompee fut desconfit et mort par Cesar et mort pource que caton qui auoit tenu la partie de pompee doubta que iulius cesar ne le meist a mort. et aussi que il ne volt poit demoursrer sous sa seigneurie. il le vetrast a une partie dauffrique en une cite qui est appelle utice Si comme dit lucan en son premier livre. Et comme il eust leu en une nuyt en cel livre de platon quauoit leu theobert du quel nous auons parle ou chapitre precedent qui s'appelle in phedrone se naura a mort. Et comme ses amis voulsissent estanchier sa plaie il louvrit a deux mains, affin que len ny

peust mettre remede. Et ainsi se tua si comme dit florus in epithomate en fontiers livre et oroseou vii livre de son ornestue. Et fut ce Caton appelle Caton uticensis pour ce que il se tua ce icelle cite de utice a la difference des autres Catons. Car tu dois savoir que ils furent plusieurs catons et que ce fut une grant maison et une grant lignie des catons aussi come des scipions et des fabiens. Des quelx nous auons parle de sun: Lautre fut un qui fut appelle catho censorinus selon helinant et fut ou temps de la tierce bataille pugnique. Et pource fut il appelle le plus grant caton. le quel tulle enson livres de senettute et de amicia recommande grandement et est appelle censorinus qui bault autant a une comme iuge des meurs selon uge. et fut selluy qui premier a nobli la lignie selon valere en fontiers livre ou III chapitre le quel il recommande de science darmes de dignite et de sapience. Et ia soit ce qu'il fust si vallant homme dist il si comme raconte gellius de noctibus attis ou XV livre ou XIX chapitre que en soixante et dix ans quil vesquit il ne tint conte de noble maison ne riche velture ne de precieuses utensilles ne de precieux serfs ne de precieuses chamberieres ne de maisons recourir ne de jardins faire mais bsoit des choses selon ce quil les trouvoit et il bsoit selon ce qu'il pouoit. Le tiers fut portius cato qui selon orose en son V. livre fut consule de romme et tantost fut mort en une bataille. Et le quart fut cato stoicus philosophe quo on XL an de lempire cesar auguste par inpacience de double quartaine esperant avoir melleure vie apres ceste mort se tua si comme dit eusebe en sa cronique. Et ia soit ce que aucuns dient que ce fust celuy qin fist le livre que les enfans lisent a lescole: toutes fois ce ne peut estre car en icelluy est faite mension de lucan qin fut environ le temps de neron l'empereur et par consequent lone temps apres cesar auguste. Et se tu veuls voir plus l'argement de ces catons et comment il en y ot plusieurs engendres nepuens. De caton censorinus roy gellius en son livre de noctibus atticis. Et dois savoir que len ne fait compte que du premier caton que est appelle censorinus. Et de ce caton uticensis du que'l monseigneur saint augustin parle en ce chapitre qui aucunes fois est nomme es escriptures posterior cato. A la difference du premier. Et quant il parle apres de mauius torquatus qui tua son fils qui se estoit combatu contre son edit combien que il eust ene victoire: il redargue Cato et repreue son fait du ce quel il volt que son fils demourast en la mais trie de cesar et il ny volt pas demourer mais soccist affin que il ne demourast sa subiection. Et combien que monseigneur saint augustin parle encores cy apres ou V livre ou XVIII chapitre de ce mauius. Toutesfois affin de nous en delivrer tu dois savoir que l'histoire est telle ce est que selon ce que raconte orose ou: III livre de son orreste ou VIII chapitre en lan IIII et IX apres la creation de romme les latins le rebellerent contre les rommains. Pour quoy ils avoient enuoie contre euls pour leur faire querre deux consules lun appelle mauius torquatus et lautre decius mecius dont lun si comme il est dit fut mort et lautre fut parricide, cest adire que il tua son fils jassoit ce que il eust baincu les ennemis et tues metius un chevalier des tusculanis qui estoit de la partie des latins. Et titus liuius enson VIII livre des claires l'histoire plus a plain. Car il dit que en la guerre qui estoit les rommains et les latins avoit este deffendu que nuls fine se combatist extraordinairement cest adire quil ne se combatist a part et sans congie Et aissi comme il couroient et

descouuroient dune prot et dautre le fils de ce mail sapprocha des osts des latins. Et comme ce metius que estoit duc de lost des tustiens leust approceu il luy dist plusieurs villenies et leschauffa et finalement luy requist la bataille corps a corps le quel fils de maulius ioene fort hardi et puissant ne luy os a refuser partie pour vonte partie pour le courous quil avoit des villenies quil luy disoit mais luy accorda et finalement labatit de son cheual et le tua et en rapporta les des pouil a son pere. Et tantost son pere pource que il avoit tres passe les commandemens du senat et se estoit combatu contre sa deffense par ce que il nauoit tenu compte de l'obedience qui est deue en'ce qui appartient a cheualerie par quoy la chose publique de romme estoit tous jours tenue en estat: son pere le fist occire en luy disant que ce douloureux exemple quant a luy seroit prouffitable a la iouente de romme. Car suppose que ce fait fust abhominable a la jouente de romme toutesuoies en fut elle plus obeissante. Encores dit titus en'ce meismes lieu que ce maulius qui avoit occis son fils et desconfit les ennemis et sen retourna a romme les anciens luy vindrent au deuant mais la jouente de rome ny vint poit pource que de plus quil ot ecci son fils ils lorent tous jours contre cueur et pource not il point de triumphe si comme dit orose ou dit III livre ou VIII chapitre. Et frontin ou livre de ses stragenees de ceste matiere dit que comme la jouente des rommains sarmast pour le resourre et courir sus au pere le fils ne le vult souffrir difant que ce nestoit pas sigrant chose de luy que pource en deust corrompre la discipline de la chose qui appartient a lobeissance de chevalerie et souffrit que son pere le feist occire. Valerius Maximus recommande tant ce fait en son II livre ou second tiltre ou VI chapitre que il dit que ce fait est digne de plus grant loenge que len ne pourroit recorder. Et que il fut chose trop plus juste et plus convenable que le pere faulsist a avoir un fort enfant que ce que romme faulsist a discipline et obeissance de ce qui approtient a chevalerie. Et se tu veux voir comme telle discipline et obeissamce est recommandee. roy valere en'ce II livre ou tiltre de disciplina militari ou chapitre final. Toutesfois semble il que orose ou dit III livre nappreue pas son fait et que il le blasme tant par ce que il appelle paruade quin vault autant etme murtrier de son enfant comme par ce que il dit que par ceste cause luy fut denie le triumphe. Combien que il eust des confit les enemies.

#### *Book 1: Chapter 24*

En'ce XXIII chapitre monseigneur Saint Augustin conferme plus largement ce que il avoit prouue cy dessus ou XXII chapitre c'est assavoir que il est licite (loist) a aucun a soy occire pour eschever les choses aduerses et le demonstre par le fait de Marcus Regulus qui autrement est appelle atilius. Du quel il a parle cy dessus ou XV chapitre le quel si comme il le prouve n'est pas seulement a mettre au deuant de Cato mais a tous les autres rommains que leurs anciens escripuains ont loes. Et quant il dit que en si grant victoire il demoure si poure et ce Il veult mettre l'exemple dont nous auons parle cy dessus ou XV chapitre c'est assavoir de son closier que estoit mort et de son serf qui sen estoit ale Et comment il manda aux rommains que il enuoiasent a Carthaige un autre duc en son lieu pour mener la guerre contre ceuls de Carthaige afin que il sen peust retourner pour labourer sept arpens de terre que il avoit tant seulement

pour avoir la vie de luy de sa femme et de ses enfants. Quin tantost luy querirent un closier et luy firent labourer ses terres et ordenevent de la vie de la femme et enfants afin que il ne retornast si comme raconte Valerius Maximus ou quart livre ou tiltre de pourete. Et le surplus du chapitre est tout cler.

*Book 1: Chapter 24 appended text*

[Combien quel appten est plus avant louer et merneillier Actilius Regulus homme tres loyal et constant. combien quel fust homme ignoble de lignage et des biens de fortune petitement comblement moins monstia nature en luy que celle noblesce dont hommes sen orgueillent ne se adhart ne vient des peres aus enfans ne les hauls et paintures sepulaes et les gians dorees images des ayoils et ancestres ne anoblissent pas les cuers des enfants et nepueus. Ces moing seneque disant philosophie pas ne tron ua platon noble mais elle le lessa noble. Ainsi disapline de chevalerie lessa attibius tres noble combien quelle le troivast siryllie de boe et laboruant ses chanips par quoy appart que chasam homme tant puet comme il entend fame moyennant fermete de courage et labour.]