

Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I

R. J. KNECHT

*Emeritus Professor of French History
University of Birmingham*



Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1994

First published 1994
First paperback edition 1996

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Knecht, R. J. (Robert Jean)

Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I/R. J. Knecht.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 41796 1

1. Francis I of France, 1494–1547. 2. France – History – Francis I, 1515–1547.

3. France – Kings and rulers – Biography.

I. Title.

DC113.K58 1994

944'.028'092—dc20

[B] 93–24891 CIP

ISBN 0 521 41796 1 hardback

ISBN 0 521 57885 X paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2003

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>Preface</i>	xvii
<i>Note on coinage</i>	xx
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xxii
1. Childhood and youth	1
2. France in 1515	19
3. King of France	41
4. Marignano and after (1515–19)	62
5. ‘The Most Christian King’	88
6. The king and his court	105
7. Humanism and heresy	142
8. Valois <i>versus</i> Habsburg	165
9. The sinews of war	185
10. Treason	200
11. Defeat and captivity	216
12. The king’s return (1526–28)	249
13. The ‘Peace of the Ladies’ (3 August 1529)	272
14. Protestants and Turks (1529–34)	291
15. The threat of heresy	306
16. Montmorency’s triumph (1535–38)	329
17. Domestic issues	342
18. Poverty and wealth	354
19. France overseas	369
20. Fruitless entente (1538–42)	385
21. Madrid and Fontainebleau	398
22. Patron of the arts	425
23. ‘Father of letters’	462

x CONTENTS

24. The return to war (1542–44)	478
25. Gathering clouds (1544–47)	495
26. An absolute monarch?	519
27. Le roy est mort! Vive le roy!	541
Epilogue	555
<i>Manuscript sources</i>	561
<i>Select bibliography</i>	562
<i>Index</i>	586

Illustrations

Plates

1. The baptism of Francis of Angoulême. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) *page 2*
2. Louise of Savoy, the Dauphin's compass. Miniature. 5
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
3. Francis of Angoulême and his sister playing chess. Miniature. 7
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
4. Medal of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany. (British Museum, London) 9
5. Medal of Francis of Angoulême, duc de Valois (1504). 10
(Bibliothèque Nationale: Cabinet des Médailles)
6. The Salamander amid flames. Reverse of the medal of Francis, duc de Valois. 1504. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Cabinet des Médailles) 10
7. Medal of Marguerite d' Angoulême. (Bibliothèque Nationale: Cabinet des Médailles) 10
8. Medal of Louise of Savoy, comtesse d'Angoulême. (Bibliothèque Nationale: Cabinet des Médailles) 10
9. The betrothal of Francis of Angoulême and Claude de France (1506). Miniature. (Bibliothèque Nationale) 13
10. Francis being presented to Christ by St Agnes. (Bibliothèque Nationale) 14
11. Medal of Francis of Angoulême, duc de Valois (1512). 16
(Bibliothèque Nationale: Cabinet des Médailles)
12. Guillaume Gouffier, seigneur de Bonnivet, Admiral of France by Jean Clouet. (Musée Condé, Chantilly) 44

13.	Bas-relief of Chancellor Duprat sealing documents. (Paris: Musée des Monuments français/Photo Giraudon)	51
14.	The Emperor Charles V. Terra cotta bust by Conrad Meit. (Gruuthusemuseum, Bruges)	66
15.	Henry VIII. Miniature. (H.M. The Queen)	68
16.	Bas-relief of the battle of Marignano by Pierre Bontemps from the tomb of Francis I. (Basilica of Saint-Denis/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon)	71
17.	The battle of Marignano by the Maître de la Ratière. (Musée Condé, Chantilly/Photo Giraudon)	74
18.	Francis I charging at Marignano. Miniature. (Bibliothèque Nationale)	76
19.	Portrait of Francis I and profile of Julius Caesar. Miniature. (British Museum, London)	78
20.	Francis I in conversation with Julius Caesar. Miniature. (Bibliothèque Nationale)	79
21.	Jacques 'Galiot' de Genouillac, <i>grand écuyer</i> by Jean Clouet. (Musée Condé, Chantilly)	80
22.	'Horus Apollo'. Crowned lion holding a bear on a leash. Miniature. (Musée Condé, Chantilly/Photo Lauros-Giraudon)	81
23.	Francis I about 1515. Painting by unidentified artist. (Musée Condé, Chantilly/Photo Lauros-Giraudon)	106
24.	Francis I in 1516. Anonymous. Chalk. (Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)	108
25.	Francis hunting in the forest of Fontainebleau. Miniature. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)	110
26.	Françoise de Foix, comtesse de Châteaubriant. By Jean Clouet. (Musée Condé, Chantilly/Photo: Monuments historiques)	115
27.	Charles de Maigny, captain of the gateway to the king's household. By Pierre Bontemps. (Musée du Louvre, Paris/Photo Lauros-Giraudon)	119
28.	Château of Blois: Façade of the loggias. (Photo: J. Feuillie/Photo: Paris/S.P.A.D.E.M.)	135
29.	Château of Blois: Francis I staircase. (Archives photographiques, Paris/S.P.A.D.E.M.)	136
30.	Château of Chambord.	138
31.	Château of Chambord: double-spiral staircase.	139
32.	Map showing the Ile-de-la-Cité and university quarter of Paris in 1552. (Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon)	143
33.	Medal of Erasmus of Rotterdam by Quentin Matsys. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London)	148

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 34. | Guillaume Budé by Jean Clouet. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) | 151 |
| 35. | The proclamation of an edict against heretics. Woodcut by Geoffroy Tory. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) | 158 |
| 36. | Francis I, his mother and sister at prayer. Miniature. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) | 160 |
| 37. | The Emperor Charles V. Anonymous. (Musée Municipal, Dôle/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon) | 169 |
| 38. | The Field of Cloth of Gold. Bas-relief from the Hôtel Bourgtheroulde, Rouen. (Musée des Monuments Français, Paris/Photo Giraudon) | 172 |
| 39. | The Field of Cloth of Gold: the English temporary palace and French tents. (H.M. the Queen) | 173 |
| 40. | Odet de Foix, seigneur de Lautrec, marshal of France. By Jean Clouet. (Musée Condé, Chantilly) | 181 |
| 41. | Infantry battle by Hans Holbein the Younger. Drawing. (Kunstmuseum, Basel: Kupferstichkabinett) | 183 |
| 42. | Charles de Bourbon, Constable of France. Anonymous drawing. (Bibliothèque Nationale/Photo: Monuments Historiques) | 202 |
| 43. | Pope Clement VII by Sebastiano del Piombo (c. 1526). (Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples) | 217 |
| 44. | The battle of Pavia, 1525. (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) | 220 |
| 45. | Francis I leading a cavalry charge at the battle of Pavia. Tapestry after the design by B. van Orley. (Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples) | 223 |
| 46. | The <i>échevins</i> of Amiens presenting a book to Louise of Savoy. Miniature. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) | 228 |
| 47. | Etienne Le Blanc asks to be 'cured' by Louise of Savoy. Miniature. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) | 230 |
| 48. | Antoine Duprat, Chancellor of France, cardinal-archbishop of Sens. Terra-cotta. (Musée du Louvre, Paris/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon) | 233 |
| 49. | Part of a letter written by Francis I to his mother during his captivity at Pizzighettone. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) | 241 |
| 50. | Anne de Montmorency about 1530. Drawing by Jean Clouet. (Musée Condé, Chantilly) | 251 |
| 51. | Medal of Pope Clement VII by Benvenuto Cellini, 1534. (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence) | 258 |
| 52. | The entry of Cardinal Duprat into Sens. (Cathédrale Saint-Etienne, Sens/Photo: Giraudon) | 262 |
| 53. | Francis I presiding over a meeting of the Parlement. Woodcut. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) | 265 |

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 54. | Golden 'bulla' used to seal the treaty of Amiens, 1527. (Public Record Office, London) | 273 |
| 55. | Francis I makes reparation for the mutilation of a statue of the Virgin. Miniature. (Musée Condé, Chantilly/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon) | 280 |
| 56. | Francis I and his suite receiving communion. (Amiens: Musée de Picardie/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon) | 281 |
| 57. | Francis I and Eleanor of Portugal. (H.M. The Queen) | 287 |
| 58. | Francis I by Jean Clouet. (Musée du Louvre, Paris/Photo: Giraudon) | 288 |
| 59. | Guillaume du Bellay, seigneur de Langey. Anonymous. (Musée de Versailles) | 292 |
| 60. | Henry VIII's departure for Calais. (H.M. The Queen) | 298 |
| 61. | Casket by Valerio Belli given to Francis I by Pope Clement VII, 1533. (Palazzo Pitti, Florence: Museo degli argenti) | 301 |
| 62. | Marguerite d'Angoulême, queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I. By François Clouet. (Musée Condé, Chantilly/Photo: Giraudon) | 310 |
| 63. | The Placard against the Mass of October 1534, written by Antoine Marcourt and printed at Neuchâtel by Pierre de Vingle. | 314 |
| 64. | Bronze medal of the Emperor Charles V in 1537. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris/Photo: Giraudon) | 332 |
| 65. | Francis I in armour. Bronze bust by Louis Claude Vassé. (Musée du Louvre, Paris) | 336 |
| 66. | Charles V and Francis I. Fresco by Taddeo Zuccari, c. 1559. (Villa Farnese, Caprarola) | 390 |
| 67. | Château of Saint-Germain-en-Laye: elevations of the king's <i>logis</i> by J. Androuet Du Cerceau. | 406 |
| 68. | Cartouche of <i>Porte Dorée</i> and <i>Cour de la Fontaine</i> c. 1540. (Château of Fontainebleau/Photo: Giraudon) | 409 |
| 69. | The château of Fontainebleau: <i>Galerie François Ier</i> . (Château of Fontainebleau/S.P.A.D.E.M.) | 413 |
| 70. | The <i>Royal Elephant</i> . Detail of a fresco by Rosso in the <i>Galerie François Ier</i> at Fontainebleau. (Château of Fontainebleau/Photo: Giraudon) | 414 |
| 71. | <i>Venus and Cupid</i> . Fresco by Rosso in the <i>Galerie François Ier</i> at Fontainebleau. (Château of Fontainebleau/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon) | 415 |
| 72. | <i>Diana and Callisto</i> by Francesco Primaticcio. Drawing. (Musée du Louvre, Paris: Cabinet des Dessins) | 416 |
| 73. | <i>Alexander taming Bucephalus</i> by Francesco Primaticcio in the <i>Chambre de la duchesse d'Etampes</i> . (Château of Fontainebleau/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon) | 418 |

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 74. | Francis I as a composite deity. By Nicholas Belin. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Cabinet des Estampes/Photo: Giraudon) | 426 |
| 75. | <i>The death of Leonardo</i> by Giuseppe Cades. (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) | 428 |
| 76. | <i>The Virgin and Child with St Anne</i> by Leonardo da Vinci. (Musée du Louvre, Paris) | 429 |
| 77. | <i>Charity</i> by Andrea del Sarto. (Musée du Louvre, Paris/Photo: Musées Nationaux) | 430 |
| 78. | <i>Mars and Venus</i> . Drawing by Rosso. (Musée du Louvre, Paris/Photo: Musées Nationaux) | 433 |
| 79. | <i>Bacchus, Venus and Cupid</i> . By or after Rosso. (Musée du Grand Duché de Luxembourg) | 434 |
| 80. | <i>St Michael slaying the demon</i> by Raphael. (Musée du Louvre, Paris) | 437 |
| 81. | Joanna of Aragon by Raphael and Giulio Romano. (Musée du Louvre, Paris) | 438 |
| 82. | Perfume burner allegedly designed by Raphael. Engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi. | 440 |
| 83. | Michelangelo's <i>Hercules</i> . Drawing by P. P. Rubens. (Musée du Louvre: Cabinet des Dessins) | 442 |
| 84. | Francis I by Titian. (Musée du Louvre, Paris) | 444 |
| 85. | Pietro Aretino by Titian. (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) | 446 |
| 86. | Medal of Francis I by Benvenuto Cellini. (Fitzwilliam, Museum, Cambridge) | 450 |
| 87. | <i>Juno</i> . Drawing by Benvenuto Cellini. (Musée du Louvre: Cabinet des dessins/Photo: Musées Nationaux) | 451 |
| 88. | <i>Satyr</i> . Drawing by Benvenuto Cellini. (Woodner Collection, New York) | 453 |
| 89. | The Saltcellar of Francis I by Benvenuto Cellini. (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) | 454 |
| 90. | 'Panegyric of Francis I'. The author presents his book to Francis I. (Musée Condé, Chantilly/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon) | 463 |
| 91. | Clément Marot by Corneille de Lyon. (Musée du Louvre, Paris) | 465 |
| 92. | Antoine Macault reading to the king and his courtiers. Miniature. (Musée Condé, Chantilly/Photo: Giraudon) | 474 |
| 93. | Two bindings of books owned by Francis I. (a: Musée Condé, Chantilly/Photo: Giraudon and b: Bibliothèque Nationale) | 476 |
| 94. | The tomb of Philippe Chabot, Admiral of France, by Pierre Bontemps. (Musée du Louvre, Paris) | 488 |
| 95. | Francis I about 1540. Drawing attributed to François Clouet. (Musée du Louvre, Paris: Cabinet des Dessins) | 496 |

- | | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 96. | Anne de Pisseleu, duchesse d'Etampes. By Corneille de Lyon.
(Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bequest of Mrs H. O.
Havemeyer, 1929. The H.O. Havemeyer Collection) | 498 |
| 97. | Francis I as Julius Caesar by Primaticcio. (Musée Condé,
Chantilly/Photo: Giraudon) | 523 |
| 98. | Francis I in old age. Drawing by François Clouet. (Musée Condé,
Chantilly) | 542 |
| 99. | <i>Gisant</i> of Francis I by Pierre Bontemps. (Basilica of
Saint-Denis/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon) | 547 |
| 100. | Tomb of Francis I and Claude de France by Philibert de l'Orme.
(Basilica of Saint-Denis/Photo: Giraudon) | 548 |
| 101. | Monument for the heart of Francis I by Pierre Bontemps.
(Basilica of Saint-Denis/Photo: Lauros-Giraudon) | 550 |

Figures

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------|
| 1. | Map of France, c. 1515–47 | 20–21 |
| 2. | The relative sizes of French towns according to the tax levy of
1538 for the payment of the infantry. (from B. Chevalier, <i>Les
bonnes villes de France</i> . Paris: Aubier, 1982) | 27 |
| 3. | Map of north Italy, c. 1515–47 | 64–65 |
| 4. | Map of Francis I's progresses in 1532–34 | 126–27 |
| 5. | Plan of the château of Chambord, J. Androuet Du Cerceau, <i>Les
plus excellents bastiments de France (1576–1607)</i> | 137 |
| 6. | The battle of Pavia. (Sir Charles Oman, <i>A History of the Art of
War in the XVIth century</i> . New York, 1937, p. 197) | 221 |
| 7. | Map of the voyages of Jacques Cartier | 376–77 |
| 8. | Plan of the ground floor of the château of Madrid. (J. Androuet
Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents bastiments de France</i>) | 402 |
| 9. | Elevation of the château of Madrid. (<i>ibid.</i>) | 403 |
| 10. | The château of Fontainebleau. (<i>ibid.</i>) | 408 |
| 11. | Plan of the second floor of the château of Saint-Germain-en-Laye
showing the distribution of rooms in 1550. (Drawing by Jean
Blécon, CRAHAM. From M. Chatenet, <i>Le château de Madrid au
Bois de Boulogne</i> . Paris: Picard, 1987, p. 248) | 420 |

Childhood and youth

The small town of Cognac stands on the left bank of the river Charente in the midst of a fertile and undulating countryside in western France. To most people it means only one thing, the finest brandy, but it has another claim to fame, for it was the birthplace of King Francis I, the ‘knight-king’ (*roi chevalier*) and ‘father of letters’ (*père des lettres*). The castle in which he was born is now the warehouse of a distillery.

Francis was a scion of the house of Angoulême, a cadet branch of the royal house of Valois, which was founded by Jean comte d’Angoulême, the second son of Louis I, duc d’Orléans, and of Valentina Visconti, daughter of the last duke of Milan of that name.

At the age of thirteen, Jean was sent as a hostage to England, where he remained for thirty-two years. In 1415 he was joined by his elder brother Charles, duc d’Orléans, the poet of the *Rondeaux*, who had been taken prisoner at Agincourt. Jean shared his brother’s literary tastes, and, after returning to France in 1445, he built up a fine library in his château at Cognac. He was not, however, a rich man, having had to sell part of his estates in order to pay his ransom.¹

Jean was succeeded in April 1467 by his second son, Charles, who was only seven years old. In 1478 there was some question of his marrying Mary of Burgundy, but King Louis XI betrothed him instead to his two-year-old niece Louise, daughter of Philip, count of Bresse, a younger son of the duke of Savoy. Philip became duke in 1496, but died in the following year. Having lost her mother, Marguerite de Bourbon, when she was only seven, Louise was brought up by her aunt, Anne de Beaujeu, Louis XI’s daughter, who shared the regency of France with her husband, Pierre, during Charles VIII’s minority. Charles d’Angoulême tried to escape the matrimonial fate prescribed for him by Louis XI by taking part in an aristocratic revolt, called *la Guerre folle*, in 1487. He

¹ *D.B.F.*, ii. 1219–21.



1. The baptism of Francis of Angoulême. The babe, already crowned, is being held over a font shaped like a chalice. A living statue of Faith beneath it points at appropriate verses below. Miniature from B. N., ms. fr. 2275 f. 4b.

assembled an army in Saintonge, but was crushed 'like a waffle between two irons'. The price of his submission was his marriage to Louise on 16 February 1488.²

Though Charles was twenty-eight years old in 1488 and Louise only twelve, their marriage proved, by all accounts, reasonably happy; no harsh word was ever heard to pass between them.³ Yet the count did have two mistresses, Antoinette de Polignac and Jeanne Comte. By the first he had two daughters, Jeanne and Madeleine, and by the second another daughter, Souveraine. In the fifteenth century, however, illegitimacy did not carry the stigma that it has since acquired. Louise apparently accepted her husband's infidelities with equanimity. She brought up his bastards along with her own children, and took Antoinette de Polignac as her companion.

Charles had two children by Louise: Marguerite, who was born on 11 April 1492, and Francis (François), who was born two years later, on 12 September.⁴ The latter owed his Christian name to Francis of Paola, an Italian hermit, who had been called to France in 1482 to save the life of Louis XI. Although he failed in his mission, he was persuaded to settle in France, where he soon gained the reputation of being a miracle-worker.⁵ He specialized in getting divine assistance for the production of heirs and heiresses, and boys who came into the world through his intercession were usually named after him. Louise had called on the hermit at Plessis-lez-Tours soon after her marriage and had been told by him not only that she would have a son but that he would become king of France. This showed a truly prophetic insight, since in 1494 the odds were heavily weighted against Francis ever reaching the throne. He was only the cousin of the reigning monarch, Charles VIII, the next in line of succession to the throne being Louis II, duc d'Orléans. Only if both were to die without male issue would Francis become king. Females, of course, were debarred from the throne by the Salic law.

Charles d'Angoulême never became politically significant; he was an easy-going, weak person whose chief redeeming feature was a love of literature and art. In spite of his limited means, he continued to build up the library at Cognac, and his entourage included Robinet Testard, a talented illuminator of manuscripts, Jean de Saint-Gelais, the official historian of Louis XII's reign, and his brother, Octovien, the *rhétoriqueur* poet, who translated Ovid's *Heroides* (1497) and Virgil's *Aeneid*.

On an exceptionally cold winter's day in 1495 Charles left Cognac to go to court, but he was taken ill that same night at Châteauneuf. Several doctors were called and Louise 'attended on him day and night as tenderly and

² *Ibid.*, ii. 1202–3. ³ P. Paris, *Etudes sur François Premier* (1885), i. 28.

⁴ Michaud et Poujoulat, v. 87.

⁵ G. Roberti, *Francesco di Paola* (Rome, 1915); A. Renaudet, *Préforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie, 1494–1517* (1953), pp. 171–2.

humanely as the poorest wife might nurse her husband'.⁶ Her devotion, however, proved unavailing: on 1 January 1496 the count died, leaving a will in which he appointed Louise as the guardian of his children.⁷ But, as she was only nineteen and the minimum legal age for guardianship was twenty-five, Louis d'Orléans, the children's nearest male kinsman, claimed the guardianship. Louise, however, opposed him by invoking a custom of Angoumois, which fixed the age of guardianship at fourteen. The dispute was submitted to the *Grand Conseil* and a compromise reached: Louise was allowed to retain custody of her children, while Orléans was appointed their honorary guardian. This meant that Louise could not transact any important business without the duke's prior knowledge and consent. He was to get full custody of the children in the event of Louise remarrying.⁸

Charles VIII died childless on 8 April 1498 and was succeeded by Louis d'Orléans, who thus became King Louis XII. As he too was childless, Francis became heir presumptive to the throne. Louis granted him an annuity of 8,000 *livres* and, in 1499, created the duchy of Valois for him out of the Orléans patrimony. He also confirmed Louise's guardianship of her children and invited her to bring them to the court at Chinon, where he received them with an almost paternal show of affection. A week later, however, he entrusted them to the custody of Pierre de Rohan, seigneur de Gié and marshal of France, who took them first to the château of Blois, then to that of Amboise. Gié was a middle-aged widower, second only in political importance to Georges d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen. In 1503 he took as his second wife Charlotte d'Armagnac and assumed her late father's title of duc de Nemours. Being ambitious, he doubtless regarded his custody of the heir to the throne as a unique opportunity for self-advancement. As he had been appointed by word of mouth, his duties are not precisely known, but presumably he was expected to ensure Francis's safety. To this end, he purchased the captaincy of Amboise, establishing there a company of twenty-five archers under a lieutenant called Roland de Ploret. Gié also exercised some control over Louise's household. Thus he dismissed Jean de Saint-Gelais and others who had served the countess and her late husband for many years, replacing them by his own creatures. Although Gié was often at court, he did visit Amboise from time to time; he would then dine at Louise's table and accompany her son to church or on outings.

Louise deeply resented any restriction of her independence. She slept in the same room as her children, and would allow only certain ladies to be present at her *lever* and *coucher*. No gentlemen were admitted, and Ploret was only

⁶ Paris, i. 27.

⁷ *Procédures politiques du règne de Louis XII*, ed. R. de Maulde La Clavière (1885), pp. 716–22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 723–7.



2. Louise of Savoy, dressed as a widow in black, holds the Dauphin with one hand and a giant compass, meant to evoke the circle as the most perfect shape given by God to all creation. The allegory points to the need to give the Dauphin a perfect education. The compass was a symbol commonly associated with Prudence. Miniature from B.N., ms. fr. 2285, f. 5.