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Virtue Ethics for Women 1250–1500

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Note on the Text

Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations of foreign language quotations within the text are the authors' own, with editorial emendations due to Alan Crosier.

Introduction

The last two decades have witnessed a significant resurgence of interest in virtue ethics, not just within philosophy in general, but within the history of ideas. Yet while increased attention has been given in recent years to the originality of medieval discussion of the virtues in ethical and political writings, there has so far been little examination of that part of the literature addressed to women, and even less of that written by women, in either the medieval period or the Renaissance. This is a striking omission, given that inquiry into the nature and centrality of the virtues in ethical theory has attracted a great deal of attention, particularly from female authors.[1] One is therefore somewhat surprised that medieval women are absent from the discussion of the history of virtue ethics. The present collection helps to fill this gap, obliging us to consider the role of gender in discussions of ethics, and in shaping the feminine subject between 1250 and 1550.

The original inspiration for the collection derived from an observation, made by one of the editors, which related to a rather later period than that covered here. In writing a history of women's political ideas from the late medieval period to the enlightenment, it initially seemed to her and her co-author, Jacqueline Broad, difficult to identify women who were writing distinctively political texts.[2] Women seemed to be interested in virtue—the virtues generally, and the virtues as they relate differently to men and women. But from the perspective of post-enlightenment political theory, in which political questions are framed in terms of rights, sovereignty, political legitimacy, and power, these women's texts seemed surprisingly apolitical. Only when it became evident that these authors were operating within a tradition of virtue ethics shaped by Aristotle, the Stoics, and a complex interaction between the reading of these authors and Christian texts, did the political nature of these women's writings become manifest. Writers as diverse as Christine de Pizan, Marguerite de Navarre, Laura Cereta, and Madeleine de Scudéry framed the question of the equality of men and women in terms of their equal capacity for virtue.[3] They understood the common good as including the moral as well as the physical well-being of members of a community. Alisdair MacIntyre, whose book *After Virtue* helped bring the importance of the virtues in medieval political thought to the world's attention, commented that "on the particular ancient and medieval view which I have sketched political community not only requires the exercise of the virtues for its own sustenance, but it is one of the tasks of parental authority to make children grow up to be virtuous adults."[4] Christine de Pizan's feminist works apply an analogous principle to women. She argues that the common good includes the good of all the community's members, female as well as male, and opposes misogyny because of the bad effects that it has on women's capacity for virtue, in so far as women are discouraged by misogynists from thinking of themselves as virtuous agents. Although she does not believe in full social equality, she does believe that men and women are equally made in God's image and that, since women are not a species apart, the promotion of women as virtuous subjects is as much the goal of political life as the attainment of virtue by men. Just as she frames the political texts that she directs at princes and knights in terms of the virtues necessary for fulfilment of their practical obligations to the community, so she frames her didactic works directed at women in terms of the demands of prudence—the Latin descendant of Aristotle's fundamental practical virtue, *phronesis*.[5] At the same time, she does not clearly distinguish the virtue of prudence from the gift of wisdom, itself included by Christian tradition among the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit suggested in Isaiah 11:2—wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and fear of the Lord. Her representation of the virtues is grounded in a synthesis of Christian and classical authors, mediated by texts such as Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae*, which she glossed in her *Livre de prudence*, along with Alan of Lille's *De virtutibus et de vitiis et de donis Spiritus sancti*.

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[1] One of the most influential works has of course been Alasdair MacIntyre's *After Virtue* (London: Duckworth, 1981). Important works on the virtues by women include: Philippa Foot, *Virtues and Vices* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978); Rosalind Hursthouse, *On Virtue Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Julia Annas, *The Morality of Happiness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Christine Swanton, *Virtue Ethics: A Pluralist View* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Julia Driver, *Uneasy Virtue* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Martha Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); and Christine McKinnon, *Character, Virtue Theories, and the Vices* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 1999). Nearly half the articles reprinted in Roger Crisp and Michael Slote, eds., *Virtue Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) are by women.

[2] The result of that attempt is Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green, *A History of Women's Political Thought in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

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[3] For a fuller discussion of the theme of virtue in women's political thought see Karen Green, "Virtue Ethics and the Origins of Feminism: The case of Christine de Pizan," in *Feminist History of Philosophy: The Recovery and Evaluation of Women's Philosophical Thought*, ed. Eileen O'Neill and Marcy P. Lascano (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011).

[4] MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, p. 195.

[5] Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1989); Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, trans. Sarah Lawson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985); Karen Green, "*Phronesis* feminised, prudence from Christine de Pizan to Elizabeth I," in *Virtue, Liberty, and Toleration: Political Ideas of European Women, 1400–1800*, ed. Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007); Karen Green, "On Translating Christine de Pizan as a Philosopher," in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the Body Politic*, trans. Kate Forhan, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre du corps de policie*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998); Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, trans. Sumner Willard (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1999); Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, trans. Karen Green, Constant J. Mews, and Janice Pinder (University Park: Penn State, 2008).

Given that Christine's treatment of the princely virtues in writings such as her *Prudence*, *Book of the Body Politic*, and *Book of Peace* belongs to a well-established tradition of mirrors for the prince, the question became whether Christine was completely original in discussing the relevance of virtues to the situation of women, or whether she was following an established trend. Recent work on the princely virtues throws little light on the extent to which queens and princesses were represented during this period as ideally conforming to the same virtues as male rulers.[6] Thus it seemed to be a worthwhile enterprise to examine the literature of moral advice available to women in Christine's milieu, to develop a just appreciation of both her originality and her indebtedness to earlier texts and traditions. As well as being interested in the influences on Christine, we have also addressed her influence on later authors, especially concerning the virtue of women. The essays in this collection constitute a first attempt to throw some light on these issues, though they by no means exhaust what turns out to be a rich area of inquiry.

Research into possible influences on Christine led us to one text of particular significance: the *Miroir des dames*, a French translation of the *Speculum dominarum* of Durand de Champagne. This work, attested in the libraries of at least four of Christine's female contemporaries mentioned in her *City of Ladies*, suggested itself as an excellent starting point for our researches, even though it had been little studied in its own right.[7] Written for Jeanne de Navarre (ca. 1271–1305), wife of Philip IV of France, probably in the last years of the thirteenth century, it was first translated a few years later. This first vernacular rendering was to be the work's most successful version. A later translation from the Latin was made for Marguerite de Navarre; but thereafter, the *Speculum* sank into obscurity.[8] The dates of its diffusion nevertheless appeared to us to offer a relevant time-span within which to examine developments of the tradition of virtue ethics applied to the case of women and addressed to women—by male authors, and more importantly by female authors.

At the beginning of the period in question, Christian scholars were still coming to terms with the impact of Aristotle's ethics on conceptions of virtue. Augustine, following St Paul, had taught that there was no virtue without faith.[9] Many of the works written consisted in compilations of definitions of the virtues and their parts, interspersed with exempla. From Cicero, who was relaying the Stoic tradition with roots in Aristotle and ultimately Plato, authors standardly adopted the four cardinal virtues: prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude. After the twelfth century it became standard to add the three theological virtues: faith, hope, and charity. St Benedict had taught that discernment (*discretio*) was mother of the virtues, while Abelard and some of his followers interpreted Cicero as implying that prudence was not itself a virtue but "the mother of the virtues". It was more usual, however, to count prudence as first among the cardinal virtues. When these were discussed there was a tendency to make the seven virtues themselves gifts of God, or alternatively dependent on such gifts. One issue relevant to the question of grace was the relationship of these seven virtues to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit mentioned earlier: wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and fear of the Lord. For early scholastics, who adhere to Augustine's anti-Pelagianism, "the gifts are graces which make possible the acquisition of virtue."[10] Alan of Lille argues that the gifts are themselves virtues.[11] Aquinas discusses various past doctrines concerning the relationship of the virtues to the gifts, and ultimately concludes that the gifts are a higher perfection in man than the natural virtues, and that the gifts are given to dispose us to divine inspiration.[12] As Bonnie Kent has argued, the years following the death of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) saw exceptionally vital discussion of virtue ethics, as a range of thinkers debated the contrasting early attitude epitomised by Augustine (for whom there could be no true virtue without grace and an act of assent by the will) and the implications of the absorption of Aristotle (who emphasised that a rational virtuous agent should be guided by a conception of the greatest good, and possess virtuous dispositions or habits, acquired through the intellect). Many different attempts to reconcile Aristotle and Augustine were developed, of which Aquinas's has become the best known.[13]

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[6] For recent discussion of the literature on virtues directed at princes see István P. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman, eds., *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages 1200–1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

[7] For a discussion of these women and their libraries see Green, "What Were the Ladies in the *City of Ladies* Reading? The Libraries of Christine de Pizan's Contemporaries," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 36 (2010), pp. 77–100, and "Isolated Individual or Member of a Feminine Courtly Community? Christine de Pizan's Milieu," in *Communities of Learning: Networks and the Shaping of Intellectual Identity in Europe, 1100–1500,* eds. Constant Mews and John Crossley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 229–250.

[8] Ysambert de Saint-Léger, *Le Miroir des dames* (Lecce: Milella, 1978).

Vernacular ethical texts, which were in the main more accessible to female readers than Latin, tend not to convey all the sophistication of the Latin debate on virtuous free choice, weakness of will, and the conflict between intellectualism and voluntarism. One such vernacular text often owned by women was the *Somme le Roi*, translated into English as *The Book of Vices and Virtues*.[14] It had been compiled in 1279 by Laurent d'Orléans (d. ca. 1325), Dominican friar and confessor of the French King Philip III and his children. A group of illuminated manuscripts of this text were commissioned during the 1290s, and circulated in the court of Philip IV.[15] While it contains a large section organised around the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and includes definitions of the cardinal and theological virtues, it does not explore the relationship between gifts and virtues, being more practical in orientation. Similarly, the *Miroir des dames* tends to quote authoritative definitions of the virtues without a great deal of reflection. It also demonstrates that the early view of virtues as gifts of God was still current during the period, for Durand quotes Augustine's definition of virtue, saying that

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[9] István P. Bejczy, "The Problem of Natural Virtue," in *Virtue Ethics in the Twelfth Century*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Richard G. Newhauser (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 133. The most comprehensive account of twelfth and thirteenth century accounts of virtue is found in volumes 2 and 3 of Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale aux XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles*, 6 vols (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1949–60).

[10] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 60 vols. (London: Blackfriars, 1974), vol. 24. Appendix 3, p. 101.

[11] Odon Lottin, "Le Traité d'Alain de Lille sur les vertus, les vices et les dons du Saint-Esprit," *Mediaeval Studies* 12 (1950), pp. 20–56. Alain notes that the gifts can be spoken of in a narrower of a broader sense, but argues that the gifts are virtues. In particular he represents wisdom as a species of prudence, p. 54.

[12] Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, vol. 24, p. 9.

[13] See Bonnie Kent, *Virtues of the Will: The Transformation of Ethics in the Late Thirteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1995).

> [. . .] vertuz est bonne qualite et bonne perfection de lame par la quele en peut vivre droitement. Et de la quele on peut vivre droitement. Et de la quele nul ne use mauveisement. La quele perfection diex cause et meit en nous senz nous. Et est vertuz une bonne qualite, quar elle est donnee de dieu, qui est bonte souveraine.
>
> [. . . virtue is good quality and perfection of the soul by means of which one can live righteously. And of which one can live righteously. And of which one cannot make bad use. Which perfection is caused and placed in us by God despite us. And virtue is a good quality, for it is given by God, who is the greatest good.][16]

While this would seem to imply that we depend on God's grace for the possession of virtue, Durand also distinguishes the theological virtues, which he says make us divine, from the cardinal virtues, which he considers natural.[17]

Nevertheless, a pale reflection of the debate over our capacity to deserve salvation through the exercise of the virtues is evident in conflicting attitudes towards the nature of the good life. On the one hand, the life of contemplation and withdrawal from the world is suggested by the doctrine that we cannot acquire grace through good works; on the other, for those whose ideas of virtue have been influenced by Aristotle, virtuous habits have a this-worldly active orientation. Aristotle was particularly useful to those interested in advising the prince, and Giles of Rome made extensive use of his political thought in the influential *De regimine principum*, written for Jeanne de Navarre's husband Philip IV. But with the rise in influence of Aristotelian conceptions of the virtues, Aristotelian misogyny was also introduced into political thought, and with it the claim that women's capacity for prudent judgement is defective, as well as many other arguments drawn from both biblical and classical sources that attempted to justify limiting the political power of women. Nevertheless, the re-emergence of classical texts with their Pelagian implications led to an assumption that virtue leading to salvation can be acquired through acts, an assumption never made explicit by Christine, but implicit in her exhortations to both men and women that they should learn from Roman examples and pay tribute to the virtuous in order to promote their own and others' virtuous activity.

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[14] Laurent d'Orléans, *La Somme le Roi*, ed. Edith Brayer and Anne-Françoise Leurquin-Labie (Paris: Société des textes français modernes, 2008); *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme le Roi of Lorens d'Orléans*, ed. W. Nelson Francis (London: Oxford University Press, 1942; reprinted 1968).

[15] See Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *"Illiterati et uxorati", Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500* (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), pp. 145–172.

[16] *Miroir des Dames*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 324, f. 122v.

[17] Ibid., f. 139r.

This collection is the result of inviting a number of scholars with expertise in medieval virtue ethics, or in the writings of medieval and Renaissance women, to contribute to a series of symposia at the annual conference of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (ANZAMEMS) held at the University of Tasmania in December 2008. The papers in this collection are mostly derived from the talks offered there. Many have benefited considerably from the interactions between the participants and editors since that symposium, and we now present an overview of the surprisingly rich and diverse models of the virtuous behaviour of women developed for and by women in a period embracing the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

A number of commentators have seen the rise of the universities, and in particular the growing dominance of clerical Aristotelianism in the universities during the thirteenth century, as inimical to women's position in medieval society.[18] The first paper in this collection, by István Bejczy, tends to confirm this impression. He argues that a survey of Latin texts discussing the virtues, by early Christians committed to the doctrine that there is no genuine virtue without grace, demonstrates little conception of a difference in male and female capacity for virtue. It is with the establishment of the Aristotelian corpus and the use of Aristotle's *Politics* and *Nichomachean Ethics* as authoritative texts that late medieval authors more consistently represent women as incapable of fully acquiring virtue, though even at this period there are some authors who anticipate Christine's arguments for women's full and complete capacity to exercise all the virtues.

The three following papers introduce us to various aspects of the *Speculum dominarum*. In his contribution Constant J. Mews provides an overview of the context of its production and the life and influence of Durand de Champagne. He also discusses other even earlier works of moral advice directed towards women. He argues that the earlier works, such as the *Speculum virginum*, written during the twelfth century for religious women, and the *Miroir de l'Ame* produced for Blanche of Castile, concentrate on virginity and on the inner life. The second, in particular, belongs to a group of texts that offer "a gendered conception of virtue: public moral activity is presented as the domain of the king; an interior spiritual life as that of the queen." One might take this to reflect the consequences of the difference in orientation between

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[18] Prudence Allen, *The Concept of Woman. Vol. 2: The Early Humanist Reformation, 1250–1500* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Erdmans Publishing, 2002); Élaine Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir: L'invention de la loi salique* (Paris: Perrin, 2006), pp. 106–294.

Christian and classical ideas concerning virtue (argued for by Bejczy) for conceptions of the nature of the virtuous life for women. As Christians, women are expected to participate in the spiritual life, and the interior Christian virtues are particularly appropriate to them. But at least at this stage there is little perceived need, according to the clerics who wrote for them, for women to acquire the political virtues necessary for active government. In contrast to this the *Speculum dominarum*, with its French translation the *Miroir des dames*, has a foot in both camps. Written by a Franciscan, it develops the theme of contempt for the world (*contemptus mundi*) yet also it also offers practical advice on how the queen ought to behave: how she should govern her household, and how she should intervene to promote justice in a realm in which, Durand hints, justice is not being well served.

Mews also points out that the *Speculum dominarum* was written when the Inquisition was active in Languedoc, and that Durand was without doubt a conduit through which Bernard Délicieux attempted to influence the queen, in the hope that she would intervene to put a stop to the persecutions there. Rina Lahav, in her contribution, develops this insight by examining the ways in which Durand's discussion of justice both echoes and goes beyond that found in other treatises directed at a male prince. It is particularly striking that Durand represents the queen as having an active role in ensuring that justice is maintained in the realm. Lahav speculates that, as well as being intended to function as a justification for the queen's activity in protecting elements who were being persecuted, the treatise also served as a means whereby the Franciscans could promote their point of view within the court, and potentially influence the king. It is interesting to note that this work was written just before the position of women in the French realm was significantly diminished: when Jeanne de Navarre's granddaughter, also called Jeanne, was passed over in the succession of the French crown, displaced by her uncle Philip V, thus setting in train a series of female disinheritances that ultimately resulted in the faked legitimacy of the Salic Law.[19] The earliest surviving manuscript of the French translation of the *Speculum*, Cambridge Corpus Christi College 324, belonged to Jeanne d'Evreux, sister-in-law of the disinherited Jeanne de Navarre, whose son Charles the Bad of Navarre would contest the Valois claim to the French crown.[20] In having this text copied she was in some measure keeping alive past traditions in which French queens were expected to intervene actively in the administration of justice.

Janice Pinder's contribution includes detailed examination of a triplet of manuscripts, dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, in which the *Miroir des dames* is copied along with a number of other texts that serve as a kind of continuation of it. These additions tend to emphasis the contemplative and interior aspects of the original. Although Pinder does not herself make this point, it is interesting to note that these collections were assembled at a time when the capacity of women to wield public power was being seriously contested as part of the post hoc justification for excluding women from the French succession. In these collections elements of the *Miroir* that emphasise the pursuit of the interior spiritual life are reinforced, as against those pertaining to active public engagement.

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[19] Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir: L'invention de la loi salique*, pp. 294–341.

[20] Ibid., pp. 311–312.

In her paper on visual representations of the queen's virtues, Cécile Quentel-Touche shows how, in images such as manuscript illuminations confected for Charles V, Jeanne de Bourbon is usually represented as expressing the passive virtues of listening and learning. Nevertheless, there is a development in such images during Charles's reign, particularly when he decided to invest his wife with the regency if he were to die while his heir was not of age. Jeanne's position in these later pictures conveys greater authority and independence. The virtuous queen remains an important part of the reigning family, and she is portrayed as a significant force both in mediating disputes and reinforcing moral education.

The next paper, by Earl Jeffrey Richards, examines the difference in attitudes towards women's virtues in the works of Jean Gerson and Christine de Pizan, and it too throws light on the consequences for women of the situation described by Bejczy. Owing to their equal position with men in relation to God's grace, women were not excluded from the contemplative life, even by quite conservative prelates like Gerson; but the active life, which involves the exercise of virtuous habits as described by Aristotle, was represented by Gerson as beyond their capacity. This is particularly so when the activity extends to claiming authority to teach. Gerson does not consider that his sisters are incapable of virtue; but the virtues he prescribes for them are directed towards the contemplation of Christ and the prospect of salvation in the next life. In order to teach them virtue, he offers a simplified path, to be pursued humbly in the private sphere. Any thought that women might teach or preach in public is rejected. The Pauline injunction that women should be silent in church is here reinforced by Aristotelian claims that silence is woman's special virtue. Against this background, Christine's claim to speak as an authoritative guide on the virtues to both princes and women is already a provocation. Richards nevertheless also argues that, despite the very great difference in their conception of the role of a virtuous woman in society, there is evidence of a friendship between Jean Gerson and Christine de Pizan.

The next paper, by Karen Green, develops a direct comparison of the *Miroir des dames* and Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*. It argues that there is no great difference between Christine's prescriptions for a virtuous life and those elaborated at great length by Durand de Champagne. However, whereas Durand's text has a foot in each of two camps, seeming to require both the contempt of the world and an active role in it, Christine argues clearly and explicitly for the worth of the active life and its value as a way to manifest one's love of God. There is one aspect of her idea of activity, however, which seems a regression from Durand. Christine sees the princess as playing a mediating role, but always through the influence that she has over her husband, whereas Durand presupposes that the queen can act as an authority in matters of justice in her own right. On the other hand, Christine goes beyond Durand, and most other earlier sources that we are aware of, in placing an emphasis on the importance of renown and honour. Thus her conception of virtuous activity has a somewhat humanist cast and foreshadows the more worldly concept of *virtù* that will develop during the Renaissance.

Tracy Adams also discusses Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus* and shows how the importance of a woman's reputation, and the demands of the established model of feminine virtue which emphasises modesty and humility, led to a discussion by Christine of *juste hypocrisie*: an ambiguous virtue which is also implicitly endorsed by Anne of France in her *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon* (ca. 1505). In order to wield power, from a contested position in which their reputation is always subject to attack, women need to develop strategies of dissimulation. Their *juste hypocrisie* is an aspect of cunning intelligence, a kind of virtue that has the capacity to descend into vice, but which it is nevertheless important for a woman to master, if she is to bring about the good. Adams demonstrates that despite appearing to be rather conventional manuals of good behaviour, these two texts offer sophisticated psychological observations and realistic strategies for women, who need to be virtuous in the traditional sense, but at the same time aspire to govern their households, estates, and principalities well, and need to learn to impose their will in an environment where they are constantly in danger from calumny and deceit.

The virtuous Penelope serves often as an example of both proper wifely devotion and cunning intelligence, as she weaves and unweaves a shroud for the father of her husband the equally cunning Ulysses, whose return she awaits. In the next paper in our collection Natasha Amendola examines the uses Laura Cereta (1469–1499) makes of this trope in her Latin letters (written while she was a young wife soon to be widowed), along with the related images of weaving applied to texts, elaborate embroidery, and female arts of adornment. Cereta's letters, many of which are concerned with the nature of true virtue, provide a fascinating insight into the complexity of a feminine virtuous subject's self-authoring during the Renaissance. Though she attempts to domesticate her writing and legitimate her appropriation of the masculine pen, by elaborating on the metaphor of the text and embroidery, she ultimately turns her back on the Renaissance pursuit of learning and renown in favour of a life combining usefulness and Christian contemplation.[21] While Christine hoped that women could choose the active life and seek fame and distinction while remaining truly virtuous, Laura Cereta, for all her cunning use of textual metaphors, seems ultimately to have renounced worldly glory and reconnected with the more thoroughly Christian conception of virtue through grace, leading to salvation.

Carolyn James's discussion of the correspondence and three-way relationship between Margherita Cantelmo, her cousin Agostino Strozzi (the author of a work written at her behest, the *Defensione delle donne*), and Mario Equicola (author of *De mulieribus*, also written for Margherita) continues on the same theme: the tension between traditional concepts of female virtue and the aspirations of a Renaissance woman to achieve excellence equally with the virtuous man. These works, and the associated correspondence, also bring forth new themes: the importance of education as a means of acquiring the classical virtues, and the possibility of friendship between the sexes, modelled on the Aristotelian or Ciceronian conception of true friendship, which is possible only among those who are equally virtuous. Nevertheless, Strozzi in particular is far happier to construe women's equality in virtue as an equal capacity to understand God and achieve the heights of Christian contemplation, rather than equality in public political influence. This is perhaps not surprising, since as a cleric he had set aside worldly ambitions. While his attitude is an improvement on Gerson's towards his sisters, in that he encourages his cousin to study even difficult material, he still sees her aspirations to virtue in terms of contemplation. As James comments, it seems unlikely that Cantelmo herself wished to retire from the world as Strozzi advised. Nevertheless, his text does argue vigorously for women's equality with men as virtuous subjects.

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[21] Broad and Green, *A History of Women's Political Thought in Europe, 1400–1700*, pp. 48–57.

In her contribution Catherine Müller demonstrates how two mother-daughter pairs writing during the Renaissance managed to combine the traditional concept of female virtue—virginity and obedience to parents—with the classic Renaissance concept of virtue as manifest in excellence, strength, and honour. The pairs she discusses are Marguerite de Navarre and her daughter Jeanne d'Albret, and Madeleine and Catherine des Roches. It is worth noting that Marguerite's mother, Louise of Savoy, had been brought up at the court of Anne of France. Fifty years after Anne wrote her own advice to her daughter, Marguerite had forged for herself a very strong public persona, which promoted love of the Creator over love of the creature; yet at the same time she fused this Christian orientation with a definite sense of this-worldly moral obligation. Marguerite wrote on the eve of the Reformation; her daughter Jeanne d'Albret would side with the Protestants in the wars of religion. Marguerite de Navarre looks back to an earlier Christianity infused with love of God, which she finds in Marguerite Porete's *Mirror of the Simple Soul*; but taking something from Renaissance neo-Platonism she also makes human love, when it conforms with society's requirements, a step on the ladder to the higher love of God.[22] Müller discusses some little-known epistolary poems sent between Marguerite and her daughter, which are deeply infused with the notion of virtuous love, and the love that binds mother and daughter in the manner of lord and vassal.

Müller's second pair, Madeleine des Roches and her daughter Catherine, appear to have completely left behind the tension between worldly renown and traditional conceptions of Christian womanhood which had resulted in many women aspiring to more socially acceptable virtue through private contemplation, rather than public renown. The virginity of her daughter is extolled by Madeleine as the guarantee of her autonomy, and each takes the other as muse and guide. Perhaps because they had each other to fortify their resolve, mother and daughter both unashamedly aspire to worldly glory and lasting renown for their intellectual accomplishments.

The concluding paper, by Anne-Marie Legaré, returns us to images, and the way virtues thought appropriate for a princess were represented in a manuscript that records the entry of Joanna of Castile (1479–1555), wife of Philip the Fair, into

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[22] Broad and Green, *A History of Women's Political Thought in Europe, 1400–1700*, pp. 68–86.

Brussels in December 1496. She was greeted by *tableaux vivants* showing the nine *preuses*, in this case all Amazons, unaccompanied (contrary to tradition) by any male *preux*. These heroines suggest that Joanna is to embody valour and strength. A tableau depicting Paris and the three Goddesses is interpreted by Legaré as indicating that wisdom, sensual love, and economic prudence should all inform the character of the princess. And a last tableau seems to be pointing to her role in maintaining a harmonious domestic environment. Represented here is a far richer conception of what is expected of a princess in the way of virtue than is sometimes supposed. Boccaccio, Christine de Pizan, and Martin le Franc had all looked back to the Amazons as examples of noble women, and in the late fifteenth century Amazons often appear in pro-women texts as evidence that women are capable of governing. Although we do not know exactly what they comprised, tapestries based on Christine de Pizan's *City of Ladies* were produced in Tournai a few years after the date of the procession that Legaré describes, and were presented to Joanna's sister-in-law Marguerite of Austria in 1513.[23] An earlier set had belonged to Anne of Brittany as early as 1491.[24] It seems plausible that the *tableaux vivants* which greeted Joanna when she entered Brussels showed similar scenes to those depicted on these tapestries, and similarly reflect the active virtue of a princess as laid out in Christine's work. The images that have been preserved illustrating Joanna's entry are evidence that the conception of a princess encouraged by Christine was alive and well, in Flanders and northern France in the late fifteenth century.

The essays in this collection provide a perspective on the discourse concerning virtue in the late medieval and Renaissance period that differs from the usual. Ruth Kelso's formidable and influential *Doctrine for a Lady of the Renaissance*, for instance, is dominated by male texts prescribing for women the virtues of chastity, silence, obedience, and concern with domestic life.[25] But our study, by including women's writing, shows that more complex, if inherently contradictory, conceptions of the virtuous women were being developed. It seems that women fought back against the Aristotelian trend to assign them a lesser capacity for virtue, and built on the Christian tradition of women's equality as virtuous subjects, in order to lay claim to equality in active political and intellectual virtues as well as capacity for grace. But this enterprise was not without conflicts and tensions. Indeed, many of the more interesting texts written by women during this period are explicitly or implicitly asking the questions *What is virtue? What is the nature of the good life? How should I live as a virtuous subject?* Through arguing for their equality as virtuous agents and asking *What is a virtuous subject?* women in the medieval and Renaissance period paved the way for later women who would come to frame women's equality as social beings in terms of the demand for equal rights.

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[23] Susan Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies: Christine de Pizan's Renaissance Legacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 42, 72–73.

[24] Ibid., pp. 96, 109.

[25] Ruth Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

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Speculum virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages (Palgrave, 2001) and (with Karen Green and Janice Pinder) Christine de Pizan's *The Book of Peace* (Penn State, 2008).

Catherine M. Müller has published on two late thirteenth-century French mystics (*Marguerite Porete et Marguerite d'Oingt de l'autre côté du miroir*, Peter Lang, 1999), as well as an edition of Catherine d'Amboise's *Poésies* (Montréal, CERES, 2002), and co-edited a volume on Christine de Pizan. She specialises in early modern French literature written or translated by women. Among her numerous articles, she has written pioneering works on literary circles, patronage, and writings by ladies of power (such as Margaret of Scotland, Marie of Clèves, Margaret of Austria, and Jeanne d'Albret), as well as her groundbreaking research on translations written by Anne de Graville, Camille de Morel, and Antoinette de Loynes. She has taught at the universities of Lausanne, Zürich, Osnabrück, Fribourg, and Geneva, and was the recipient of several prestigious grants from Purdue University and the Swiss National Foundation for Scientific Research. She presently teaches French at the University of Geneva.

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List of Abbreviations

AL	*Aristoteles Latinus*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello et al., Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi (Brussels: Desclée De Brouwer; Leiden: Brill, 1953–)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954–)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1866–)
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus . . . Series Latina, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–1855)
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America (New York, 1886–)

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Chapter 1
Does Virtue Recognise Gender? Christine de Pizan's *City of Ladies* in the Light of Scholastic Debate

István P. Bejczy

The central question of Christine de Pizan's *City of Ladies* is, in Judith Laird's words, Does virtue recognise gender?[1] Christine's answer to this question is well known: her *City of Ladies* sets forth a consistent defence of the moral and intellectual equality of the sexes. Less well known is the fact that the question of whether the virtues of men and women differ was regularly debated in the late medieval period, in particular in an Aristotelian context, and that answers varied widely. It is my aim in the present chapter to analyse this debate and to assess the *City of Ladies* in the light of it. My wider aim is to challenge the view, current in scholarship and much stimulated by Christine herself, that the *City of Ladies* delivers a lonely struggle against the denial of the female capacity for virtue in medieval culture, in spite of the "pro-feminine" strains in medieval thought emphasised by Alcuin Blamires.[2]

Recent scholarship suggests that Christine faced a tradition whereby Christian theology and Aristotelian philosophy reinforced each other in portraying women as morally inferior to men.[3] It is my conviction, however, that the evidence from Christian theology and the evidence from Aristotelian philosophy concerning the moral status of women are in conflict, and that this conflict accounts for the debate

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[2] Alcuin Blamires, *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[3] See, e.g., Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Christine de Pizan and the Misogynistic Tradition," *Romanic Review* 81 (1990), pp. 279–292; Maureen Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's Cité des dames* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991); *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts*, ed. Alcuin Blamires (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Rosalind Brown-Grant, "Christine de Pizan as a Defender of Women," in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. Barbara K. Altman and Deborah L. McGrady (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 81–100.

K. Green, C.J. Mews (eds.), *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250–1500*, The New Synthese Historical Library 69, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-0529-6_1,
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on female virtue that we find in scholastic writing from the second half of the thirteenth century—a debate in which Christine's *City of Ladies* should be situated.

As for Aristotelian virtue ethics, there can be little doubt that it is sexually biased. From Aristotle's point of view, "anyone who wishes to become virtuous would do well to be a citizen (free, Greek, and male) of a suitably well-organised community," as Bonnie Kent has observed with good humour.[4] The moral subject of the *Nicomachean Ethics* is a self-conscious gentleman who gains merit and prestige through public action, while in his *Politics* Aristotle famously states that the virtues of rulers (political leaders and male heads of families) are superior to those of the ruled (slaves, women, and children).[5]

Christian theology, by contrast, conceives of virtue as a gift of God, bestowed on his believers and resulting in salvation. While the theological understanding of virtue, established by the church fathers and universally accepted up to the twelfth century, excludes non-Christians from the sphere of morality, it does extend to both sexes, as the prospect of salvation pertains to female as well as to male believers. This is not to suggest, of course, that men and women were considered absolutely equal in the patristic tradition. Augustine, to mention just the most influential Latin church father, accepted a kind of inequality between the sexes in their natural lives and even implied that men were created in God's image and women only in God's "likeness".[6] Yet he believed that both women and men live in a resurrected state in heaven, thus defending the equal dignity of men and women as spiritual beings.[7] On the level of grace, the sexes were basically equal; and virtue only existed on the level of grace.

Indeed, one can observe that notably the four cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance, known to the Middle Ages from classical Latin sources, were frequently attributed from patristic times to female moral subjects. The church father Jerome, who once wrote "we judge the virtues by somebody's state of mind, not by his sex,"[8] associated the cardinal virtues with several of his female followers.[9] Moreover, from the seventh century hagiographers attributed the cardinal virtues to female as well as male saints,[10] while from the late eleventh century the four virtues were commonly associated with the Virgin Mary.[11] According to Bernard of Clairvaux, Mary displayed the cardinal virtues during the Annunciation: her silence after the angel's greeting proceeded from temperance, her astonishment from prudence, and her devotion to God from justice; moreover, she preserved her virginity with fortitude. In sum, she was *fortis in proposito, temperans in silentio, prudens in interrogatione, iusta in confessione*; similar formulas repeatedly recur in the work of other twelfth-century authors.[12] Also, Rupert of Deutz and Donizo of Canossa praised the biblical queen Esther and Countess Mathilda of Tuscany, respectively, for observing the four virtues,[13] while their contemporaries Marbod of Rennes, Hildebert of Lavardin, and Conrad of Hirsau upheld the virtues in their writings for religious women.[14] Finally, some late

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[4] Bonnie Kent, *Virtues of the Will: The Transformation of Ethics in the Late Thirteenth Century* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1995), p. 115.

[5] Aristotle, *Politics* 1.13 (1260a2–37).

[6] See *Not in God's Image: Women in History from the Greeks to the Victorians*, ed. Julia O'Faolain and Lauro Martines (London: Temple Smith, 1973); *Equally in God's Image: Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Julia Bolton Holloway, Joan Bechtold, and Constance S. Wright (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).

[7] See Prudence Allen, *The Concept of Woman*. Vol. 1: *The Aristotelian Revolution, 750 BC – 1250 AD* (Montreal and London: Eden, 1985), pp. 218 ff.

[8] Jerome, *Ep.* 127.5, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 56: p. 149: "uirtutes non sexu sed animo iudicamus"; see also Marcia L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1985; rev. ed. 1990), II, p. 90, who considers the equality of the sexes, especially with regard to virtue, as a Stoic doctrine.

[9] In *Ep.* 66.3, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 54: pp. 649–650, written to Pammachius on the occasion of the death of his wife Paulina, Jerome argues that although all four members of Pammachius's family possess the cardinal virtues, each excels in one of them: Pammachius in prudence, his

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mother Paula in justice, his sister Eustochium in fortitude, Paulina in temperance. See also Colish, *The Stoic Tradition*, II, p. 88.

[10] See István P. Bejczy, "Les vertus cardinales dans l'hagiographie latine du moyen âge," *Analecta bollandiana* 122 (2004), pp. 313–360. From the seventh to the tenth centuries, 36 *vitae* mention the cardinal virtues, 7 of which concern female saints (19.45%); from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I found 54 of such *vitae*, 8 of which concern women (14.81%); from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, I found 31 *vitae*, 9 of which concern women (29.03%).

[11] The first to associate Mary with the cardinal virtues was Origen, *Homiliae in Lucam* 8.4, ed. and trans. Henri Crouzel, François Fournier, and Pierre Périchon, SC 87 (Paris: Cerf, 1962), p. 168; his text survives in Jerome's Latin translation. The first Latin author to have made a similar association appears to be Fulbert of Chartres, *Sermones ad populum* 4, PL 141: 322C–D. For the twelfth century, see, e.g., Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum Mariae* 1, PL 172: 502A; William of Malmsbury, *De laudibus et miraculis Sanctae Mariae* Prol., PL 159: 579D–586D; Peter of Celle, *Sermones* 26 and 28, PL 202: 718A–719A, 724D. For the late medieval period, see, e.g., Raymond Lull, *Liber de Sancta Maria* 7, ed. Blanca Garí and Fernando Domínguez Reboiras, CCCM 182, p. 102; Robert Holcot, *Super Sapientiam Salomonis* 108 (on 8:7), (Basel: Johann Amerbach and Johann Petri, 1489), sig. R1rb; and Bernardino of Busti's sermon cycle *Mariale* (Milan: Leonardus Pachel, 1493). More references can be found in my forthcoming study *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century.*

[12] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de diversis* 52.3–4, in *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, Henri M. Rochais, and Charles H. Talbot, 8 vols. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77) VI.1, pp. 275–276. Similar formulas: Godfrey of Admont, *Homiliae festivales* 63, PL 174: 957C; Godfrey of Auxerre, *Mariale*, Sermo 5 in assumptione Mariae, ed. José M. Canal, "El Marial inédito de Gaufrido de Auxerre (d. ca. 1178)," *Ephemerides mariologicae* 19 (1969), pp. 217–277: here p. 248; Peter of Poitiers, cited in Jean Longère, *Œuvres oratoires des maîtres parisiens au XII^{e} siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1975), II, p. 172 n. 39; anonymous sermon, cited ibid.; cf. Aelred of Rievaulx, *Sermones* 39.9–19, ed. Gaetano Raciti, CCCM 2A: pp. 314–317.

[13] Rupert of Deutz, *De victoria verbi Dei* 8.14–22, ed. Rhaban Haacke, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 5 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1970), pp. 259–266; Donizo of Canossa, *Vita Mathildis* Prol. ll. 41–48, ed. Ludwig K. Bethmann, MGH SS 12, pp. 348–409, here p. 353.

[14] A monk from the abbey of Hirsau called Conrad by posterity composed the *Speculum virginum*; see *Listen, Daughter: The Speculum virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001). For Marbod, see *Ep.* 5, PL 171: 1479C–1480C; for Hildebert, see *Epp.* 1.4 and 1.10, PL 171: 146B–147B, 163A–166D.

medieval popularising works of morality contain exempla about specific virtues expressly related to both sexes.[15]

All this is not to say that sexual bias is totally absent from the religious moral thought of the Middle Ages. Ambrose of Milan once characterised chastity, patience, and the cardinal virtues as masculine qualities which are subverted by feminine vices;[16] moreover, several later authors explained that the term *virtus* derives from *vir*.[17] Usually, however, *vis* was proposed as the proper etymological root of *virtus*,[18] while notably some twelfth-century authors praised the weaker sex for being able to develop virtuous strength, in allusion to Prov. 31:10 (*Mulierem fortem*

Strikingly, Marbod's main source is Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae*, a text expressly addressed to men.

[15] John of Wales, *Breviloquium de virtutibus* 3.1, in *Summa … de regimine vite humane* (Venice: Giorgio Arrivabene, 1496), fols. 249va–252va, gives examples of sexual continence regarding men as well as women; adapting John's text, Álvaro Pelayo, *Speculum regum*, ed. and trans. Miguel Pinto de Meneses, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1955–63), I, p. 364, adds the observation "Et non solum continentia praedicta uiguit in uiris, sed etiam in mulieribus." The subject index of Arnold of Liège's *Alphabetum narrationum* (ca. 1300) has an entry "Virtus animi eciam in mulieribus inuenitur" referring to ch. 529 (*Mulier virtuosa*) and ch. 541 (*Mulieris nobilis virtus quandoque apparet in morte*); see *An Alphabet of Tales: An English Fifteenth-Century Translation of the* Alphabetum narrationum *of Etienne de Besançon*, ed. Mary Macleod Banks, 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, 1904–05), p. 517.

[16] Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel* 1.10.47, ed. Karl Schenkl, CSEL 32.1, p. 377. See also Peter of Celle, *Commentaria in Ruth* 2, ed. Gérard de Martel, CCCM 54: p. 100: "Virtutes enim uirum faciunt, uitia mollitiem femineam semper pariunt"; see, however, ibid., p. 109 (on the women mentioned in Ruth 1:19 as "naturalia uirtutum seminaria"), pp. 156–157 (on Ruth 3:11 which calls Ruth "mulier uirtutis").

[17] See, e.g., Augustine, *Ep.* 167.10, ed. Alois Goldbacher, CSEL 44, p. 596; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae sive origines* 11.2.17, ed. Wallace M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911); *idem*, *De differentiis* 2.21.82, PL 83: 82B; Gunther of Pairis, *De oratione, jejunio et eleemosyna* 4.1, PL 212: 133A–B (*virtus* may derive from *viror*, *vires*, or *virilitas*); William of Auvergne, *De virtutibus* 4, in *Opera omnia*, 2 vols. (Paris: André Pralard, 1674; reprinted Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1963), I, p. 113b (*virtus* derives from *vis* or, according to some, from *vir*); William Peraldus, *Summa de virtutibus* 1.2, in *Summa virtutum ac vitiorum*, 2 vols. (Lyons: Godefroy Beringen, 1554), I, p. 18 (virtue may derive from *vis*, *viri status*, or *virilitas*; yet, "proprie virtuosus dicitur qui sibi vim facit"); Giovanni Balbi, *Catholicon*, lemma *Virtus* (Venice: Boneto Locatello, 1495), fol. 305rb; Thomas of Cleves, *Liber de sacramentis, de praeceptis, de virtutibus* 24, Vienna, Schottenstift MS 286 (290), fol. 116vb: *virtus* derives from *viror nitens*, *virum tuens*, or *virium status*.

[18] See previous note and, e.g., Boethius, *Philosophiae consolatio* 4 prosa 7.19, ed. Ludwig Bieler, CCSL 94, p. 86; Hrabanus Maurus, *De anima* 6, PL 110: 1115B; Pseudo-Bede, *De mundi celestis terrestrisque constitutione*, ed. Charles S.F. Burnett (London: Warburg Institute, 1985), p. 60; Alan of Lille, *De virtutibus et de vitiis et de donis Spiritus Sancti* 1, ed. Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, 6 vols. (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, Gembloux: Duculot, 1942–60), VI, pp. 45–92: p. 50; Philip the Chancellor, *Summa de bono*, ed. Nikolaus Wicki, 2 vols. (Bern: Francke, 1985), pp. 869–870, 1109; Hervaeus Natalis, *Tractatus de virtutibus* 5, in *Quolibeta undecim cum octo profundissimis tractatibus …* (Venice: Giorgio Arrivabene, 1513; reprinted Ridgewood: Gregg, 1966), [II], fol. 110ra; Pierre Bersuire, *Repertorium vulgo dictionarium morale*, lemma *Virtus*, in *Opera omnia* III.1–2 (Cologne: Antonius Hieratus, 1620), p. 1283b; Jacques Legrand, *Sophologium* 2.3.14 (Strasbourg: Adolf Rusch, ca. 1470).

quis inveniet?).[19] All in all, attributing virtues to women is standard in medieval religious writing. It is actually when they closely followed classical models that medieval moralists sometimes fell back on the male chauvinism of antiquity. Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae*, a sixth-century work on the cardinal virtues, which probably goes back to a lost work of Seneca, explicitly proposes moral rules for men. The same thing happens in the Stoically inspired *Moralium dogma philosophorum* from the mid-twelfth century.[20]

From the twelfth century, however, morality became increasingly detached from religion. Next to salvific virtue informed by divine grace, medieval masters accepted the existence of virtue as a humanly acquired *habitus* which establishes a moral order in temporal affairs, especially in social and political life.[21] From the thirteenth century, this notion was identified with the Aristotelian concept of virtue as it was found in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (fully recovered, by then). To what extent was humanly acquired virtue likewise considered sex-neutral in late medieval moral thought?

Commentators on the *Nicomachean Ethics* generally have little to say on the subject, the reason being that Aristotle in this work does not expressly connect virtue with male qualities.[22] Still, we find an apparent defence of female virtue in the most influential *Ethics* commentary of the fourteenth century, authored by the Parisian master John Buridan. Buridan argues that moral goodness essentially resides in the four cardinal virtues, and gives two examples to illustrate this idea—one related to women, the other to men. If a woman is tempted to commit adultery, says Buridan, she must use temperance against flattery and wantonness, fortitude against fear of her suitors, justice in order to reject promises and gifts, and prudence against false excuses. If a man is tempted to avoid a danger that he should confront, he needs fortitude to protect him against fear, and temperance against his attachment to bodily comfort; and likewise, justice and prudence against promises, gifts, and false excuses.[23] According to Buridan, then, the cardinal virtues are necessary for, and accessible to, every man and woman who aspires to a life of moral uprightness. A very different statement is found in a political treatise written in about 1290 by the radical Aristotelian Engelbert, abbot of Admont in Austria. Engelbert argues that the three moral cardinal virtues do not apply to all people in the same degree: justice is necessary for everyone, but fortitude (understood as military courage) pertains to men rather than women, whereas temperance is useful for women and young people in particular, prone as they are to sensual pleasure.[24]

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[19] See, e.g., Pseudo-Peter Damian, *Passio Florae et Lucillae* Prol., PL 144: 1025A–1026A; Peter Abelard, *Ep.* 6, ed. J.T. Muckle, "The Letter of Heloise on Religious Life and Abelard's First Reply," *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955), pp. 240–281: p. 269; *idem*, *Hymni sanctorum* 126, in *Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, ed. Joseph Szövérffy, 2 vols. (Albany: Classical Folia Editions, 1975), II, pp. 259–262; Gilbert of Hoyland, *Sermones in Canticum Salomonis* 26.1, PL 184: 133C. See also the texts of Marbod, Abelard, and others in Blamires, *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended*, pp. 223–277.

[20] See Martin of Braga, *Formula vitae honestae* 1, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Claude W. Barlow (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 237: "honestum et bene moratum virum efficiunt"; 5, p. 246: "te iustum virum appellabunt omnes"; 6, p. 247: "perfectum te facient virum"; *Das Moralium dogma philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches*, ed. John Holmberg (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1929), p. 73 (concluding chapter): "His ergo prescriptis uir amator honestatis crebrum et assiduum adhibeat usum."

[21] See István P. Bejczy, "The Problem of Natural Virtue," in *Virtue and Ethics in the Twelfth Century*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Richard G. Newhauser (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 133–154.

[22] At *Nicomachean Ethics* 8.12 (1160b32–1161a2), however, Aristotle compares domestic with political rule. In the normal case, domestic rule is aristocratic: the husband rules in accordance with his male dignity and leaves the things that befit women to his wife. Marriage turns into an oligarchy if either husbands take control over everything, or women rule because they are heiresses; in the latter case, rule is not based on virtue ("non itaque fiunt secundum virtutem principatus," in Robert Grosseteste's translation) but on wealth and power.

A greater number of statements on the female capacity for virtue were elicited by Aristotle's *Politics*, since in this work Aristotle argues that the virtues of women are different from, and inferior to, the virtues of men. In Aristotle's view, women have a weaker constitution and are more easily governed by their passions. As a result, reason is not authoritative in women (they have a *consilium invalidum*, in William of Moerbeke's translation of the work; the expression was retained in Leonardo Bruni's new translation of 1437), which strongly suggests that they cannot fully develop the intellectual virtue of prudence. As for the moral virtues—in particular justice, fortitude, and temperance—women do have them, but only in order to help them execute their subservient tasks, whereas in men these virtues serve men's governing role. Women thus only employ moral virtues as menial qualities (*virtutes ministrative*), much like slaves, while male moral virtues are assets of domestic and political leadership (*virtutes principative*).[25] Aristotle observes, moreover, that women should develop some specific virtues becoming to their subordinate state, such as silence.

Although Aristotle's account of gendered virtue counters the Christian premise of the moral equality of the sexes, it did not meet with much resistance among its male medieval readers. The first two commentators on the *Politics*, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, expounded Aristotle's views without taking a position for or against this account. However, Aquinas adds in his commentary that silence is also required of women in Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 14:34–5), thus reinforcing Aristotle's views with apostolic authority.[26] In later literal commentaries such as those of Pedro de Castrovol and Donato Acciaiuoli, both composed in the late fifteenth century on the basis of Bruni's translation, Aristotle's account is likewise faithfully rendered.[27]

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[23] John Buridan, *[Questiones] super libros Ethicorum* 3 q. 20 (Paris: Ponset le Preux, 1513; reprinted Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1968), fol. 57va.

[24] Engelbert of Admont, *De regimine principum* 4.1, ed. Johann G. Th. Huffnagl (Regensburg: Johann Conrad Peez, 1725), p. 126.

[25] The opposition between *virtutes ministrative* and *principative* was introduced by Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia libri Politicorum* 1.10, in *Opera omnia iussu Leonis XIII edita* (Rome: S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 1882–), XLVIII, p. A115, on the basis of Aristotle's opposition between female *fortitudo subministrativa* and male *fortitudo principativa*. For the concentration on justice, fortitude, and temperance, see *Politics* 1.13 (1260a22), reading in William of Moerbeke's translation: "non est eadem temperantia mulieris et uiri, neque fortitudo et iustitia" (quoted from Aquinas, loc. cit., p. A112).

[26] Albert the Great, *Commentarii in octo libros Politicorum* 1.9, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Stephanus C.A. Borgnet, 38 vols. (Paris: Vivès, 1890–99), vol. 8, pp. 79–80; Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia libri Politicorum* 1.10, pp. A115–116. For the medieval tradition of commentaries on Aristotle's

Personal stands on Aristotle's ideas are found rather in commentaries written in the form of questions, which gave medieval masters the opportunity to unfold their own views. Peter of Auvergne, the most influential thirteenth-century author of a question commentary, agrees with Aristotle that women have a *consilium invalidum*, but remains silent on their capacity for virtue.[28] In contrast, the fourteenth-century commentator Nicholas of Vaudémont argues at length that women are incapable of fully developing either intellectual or moral virtues, despite the occasional appearance to the contrary—according to Nicholas, the seeming prudence of women rather amounts to slyness—so that women should not be allowed to carry either political or civil responsibility.[29] The inferiority of female virtue is likewise confirmed by two anonymous fourteenth-century commentators,[30] as well as by John Versor (Jean le Verseur), who composed the principal question commentary of the fifteenth

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Politics, see Christoph Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der aristotelischen Politica im Spätmittelalter*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1992). Prudence Allen, *The Concept of Woman*, vol. 2: *The Early Humanist Reformation, 1250–1500* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002), pp. 113–151, shows that Albert generally supported Aristotle's moral gender polarity; Aquinas did so on the level of naturally acquired virtues while stressing the equal participation of the sexes in the supernatural virtues.

[27] Pedro de Castrovol, *Morale commentum magistri Castrovol in Politicam Yconomicam* (Pamplona: Arnaldo Guillermo Brocario, 1496), sig. C[v]v–[vi]v; Donato Acciaiuoli, *In Aristotelis libros octo Politicorum commentarii* (Venice: Vincentio Valgrisi, 1566), fols. 42r–43r.

[28] Peter of Auvergne, *Questiones supra libros Politicorum* 1 q. 7/8, edited in Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der aristotelischen Politica*, I, pp. 177, 179. Marco Toste prepares an edition of Peter's entire commentary. See also Marco Toste, "Virtue and the City: The Virtues of the Ruler and the Citizen in the Medieval Reception of Aristotle's *Politics*," in *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages, 1200–1500*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 73–98.

[29] Nicholas of Vaudémont (Pseudo-John Buridan), *Quaestiones super octo libros Politicorum Aristotelis* 3 q. 5, 3 q. 26, and 4 q. 5 (Paris: Jean Petit, 1513; reprinted Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1968), fols. 35ra–va, 48vb–49vb, 54ra–rb; the view that women have *astutia* rather than prudence appears at fols. 49vb, 54rb. For Nicholas's authorship, see Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der aristotelischen Politica*, I, pp. 132–168. For the representation of female ingenuity as astuteness in medieval thought and Christine's answer to it, see Alcuin Blamires, "Women and Creative Intelligence in Medieval Thought," in *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women In The Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 213–230, here especially pp. 219–226. Blamires mentions Nicholas of Vaudémont's commentary (attributing it to Buridan) and curiously states that Aristotle appears to attribute greater prudence to women than to men.

[30] See Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS A 100 inf., 1 q. 22, edited in Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der aristotelischen Politica*, I, p. 250 (observing that the virtues of women and children are inferior to those of men in the same way as the virtues of slaves are inferior to those of their masters); Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale MS 863–869, 1 q. 17, fols. 422rb–424vb (arguing that women lack the capacity of perfectly developing the four cardinal virtues).

century.[31] Also, the theory recurs in a commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* by John of Jandun (d. 1328), who nevertheless concedes that the Virgin Mary, before the birth of Christ, was more virtuous than any man.[32] Even John Buridan declares in his commentary on the *Rhetoric* that the moral virtues only pertain secondarily to women, in accordance with their subservient tasks, with the sole exception of temperance: this virtue fully applies to women, as it helps them to check their passions and thus to please their husbands better.[33] If women manage to develop virtue on an equal level with men (Buridan at least recognises the possibility), they should be praised all the more for it, as it is more difficult for them to reach moral perfection.[34]

Still more important, Aristotle's account of gendered virtue prompted Giles of Rome to insert a discussion on female morality in his famous political treatise *De regimine principum*. Giles asks in this work what moral qualities and defects are particular to women. According to Giles, women are naturally disposed to modesty (*verecundia*), reverence (*pietas*), and compassion (*misericordia*), as a result of their weak hearts; however, this very weakness also makes them intemperate, talkative, and unstable. Women should therefore be educated by their spouses (who may appoint trustworthy matrons for the purpose) to the opposing virtues of temperance, silence, and stability. Temperance is specified by Giles as consisting of chastity (*castitas*); honourableness (*honestas*) or demureness (*pudicitia*), understood as refraining from sexually provocative speech and gestures; and moderation in food (*abstinentia*) and drink (*sobrietas*), as excessive food and drink lead to sexual arousal. Moreover, Giles argues that the silence of women brings honour to their husbands and assures their love, while by their stability they will gain their husbands' confidence.[35] On the basis of Aristotle's *Politics*, Giles thus develops a program of moral education for women that reduces female virtue to being a good and decent housewife, in particular through checking the sexual appetite. Due to its wide diffusion in Latin as well as in vernacular translations, Giles's work contributed more to the Aristotelian-based depreciation of female virtue than any formal commentary on Aristotle's works. Actually, it influenced several commentators of the *Politics*: Giles's arguments recur in one anonymous commentary written after 1360, and were copied in their entirety by John Versor.[36]

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[31] John Versor, *Quaestiones super libros Politicorum* 1 q. 13, in Aristotle, *Libri politicorum cum commento multo vtili et compendioso magistri Johannis Versoris* (Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 1497), fols. 16rb–17ra.

[32] John of Jandun, *Questions on Aristotle's Rhetoric* <1.43>, transcr. Bernadette Preben-Hansen with Sten Ebbesen (available at http://www.preben.nl/pdf/JandunRH.pdf).

[33] John Buridan, *Questions on Aristotle's Rhetoric* <1.24>, transcr. Sten Ebbesen, Constantino Marmo, and Bernadette Preben-Hansen (available at http://www.preben.nl/pdf/BuridanRH.pdf). Buridan also confirms that women have a *consilium invalidum* (likewise *Super libros Ethicorum* 2 q. 2, fol. 28rb) and therefore lack perfect prudence.

[34] Ibid. <1.59>.

[35] Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum* II.i.18–19 (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1607; reprinted Aalen: Scientia, 1967), pp. 269–275. At ibid. II.i.23, pp. 283–284, Giles confirms Aristotle's theory that women have a *consilium invalidum*.

Even in scholastic circles, however, Aristotle's account of gendered virtue occasionally encountered opposition. As far as I know, the only master to have rejected it is Godfrey of Fontaines (d. 1309), who maintains in a theological question that the cardinal virtues exist in equal degree in men and women, as well as in masters and servants. Although Godfrey does not refer to the *Politics*, it is impossible not to take his statement as a comment on Aristotle's work.[37] Moreover, the question of whether male and female virtues differ was regularly addressed in commentaries on Pseudo-Aristotle's *Economics* (taken in the Middle Ages as an authentic work of Aristotle).[38] At least two commentators formulated answers that contradict Aristotle's theory of gendered virtue. In his question commentary composed in 1309, which set the norm for many later commentators, Bartholomew of Bruges accepts the theoretical possibility that men and women possess different virtues. He avoids saying, however, that these virtues are different in kind, and even concedes that men and women may well acquire identical virtues in practice.[39] For his part, John Versor argues, in flagrant contradiction to his commentary on the *Politics*, that the (cardinal) virtues of men and women only differ in degree, not in kind.[40] Outside the scholastic tradition, the moral equality of the sexes was notably defended in Giovanni Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*—a work modelled on Plutarch's *Virtues of Women*, which serves precisely to question Aristotle's belief that women possess the (cardinal) virtues only in a way befitting their subordination. Constance

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[36] Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale MSS 863–869, 1 q. 17, fols. 422rb–424vb; John Versor, *Quaestiones super libros Politicorum* 1 q. 12, fols. 15vb–16rb.

[37] Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quaestiones ordinariae* 3.5, in *Le quodlibet 15 et trois questions ordinaires de Godefroid de Fontaines*, ed. Odon Lottin (Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1937), pp. 135–136. Curiously, Godfrey sustains his statement with a spurious reference to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Also, around 1400, the humanist Coluccio Salutati expressly attacked Aristotle's view, arguing that virtue is equally attainable for slaves and patricians, paupers and kings; he did not, however, mention women in this context. See Coluccio Salutati, *Ep.* 13.13, *Epistolario*, ed. Francesco Novati, 4 vols. (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1891–1911), III, pp. 645–648.

[38] See Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der aristotelischen Politica*, II, pp. 168–183. The question was occasioned by a passage in *Economics* 1 (1343b27–1344a8) on the different tasks and talents of men and women.

[39] Bartholomew of Bruges, *Quaestiones circa libros Yconomice* 1 q. 9. Pavel Blažek kindly sent me his unpublished edition of this question. For a study in depth of Bartholomew's commentary, see Pavel Blažek, *Die mittelalterliche Rezeption der aristotelischen Philosophie der Ehe: Von Robert Grosseteste bis Bartholomäus von Brügge (1246/1247–1309)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 199–384.

[40] See *Liber yconomicorum Aristotelis ... cum commento magistri Johannis Versoris* (Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, ca. 1495), sig. Aiiirb: "Et sic patet quod viri et mulieres differunt secundum magis et minus. Illa enim non diuersificant speciem"; cf. *Quaestiones super libros Politicorum* 1 q. 13, fol. 16vb: "virtus principis et subditi inquantum huiusmodi differunt specie, sicut virtus viri et mulieris [...] Diversi autem sunt fines virtutum viri et mulieris, domini et servi, patris et filii, ergo differunt specie."

Jordan has argued, however, that many of Boccaccio's portrayals of virtuous women contain satirical elements that cast doubt on their moral exemplarity.[41]

By the fifteenth century, then, two widely diverging traditions regarding the female capacity for virtue co-existed in medieval culture. In theology and religious moral writing, one can observe a steady tradition of attributing the virtues (in particular the cardinal virtues) to both sexes, despite occasional associations of virtue with masculinity. Conversely, Aristotelian-inspired moral and political philosophy displays a tendency to deny that women can fully develop virtues (in particular the cardinal virtues), despite occasional defences of the moral equality of women and men.[42]

The moral defence of women by Christine de Pizan must be understood against this background of diverging opinion. Christine must have been familiar with scholastic discussions of female virtue, as she used a French translation of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* as a source in her political work, and moreover knew Nicole Oresme's glossed translation of Aristotle's *Politics*.[43] Glenda McLeod and Karen Green have demonstrated that Christine subtly transformed her scholastic source material in order to show that women are perfectly capable of developing intellectual and moral virtues.[44] My point is that in doing so, Christine did not stand alone. Her defence of female virtue had numerous antecedents in medieval theology, literature, and even philosophy, from which she was able to draw support. She repeatedly uses the theological argument that men and women are created in God's image and both have souls capable of embracing God's goodness.[45] She exploits the traditional association of the virtues with Mary and female saints by appointing Mary as the queen of her city and the female saints as its foremost inhabitants. Women from the Old Testament who were praised in religious writing for their virtue, such as Esther and Ruth, are likewise included in her city, while she quotes Prov. 31:10 in order to argue that strong, virtuous women do exist. Also, she gives numerous examples of virtuous women from pagan antiquity drawn from the work of Boccaccio, to whom she refers some twenty times.[46] And although I cannot establish whether she was aware of the "pro-feminine" statements on virtue formulated by Godfrey of Fontaines, Bartholomew of Bruges, and (up to a point) John Buridan, her argument on the moral equality of the sexes coincides with theirs, not only in contents, but also in strategy. In accordance with scholastic practice, Godfrey, Bartholomew, and Buridan set forth their views in seeming agreement with Aristotle, carefully avoiding overt criticism. In a similar vein, Christine develops her anti-Aristotelian views without ever attacking Aristotle himself; Aristotle is only mentioned in the *City of Ladies* with respectful formulas that recognise him as the prince of philosophy.

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[41] See Constance Jordan, "Boccaccio's In-Famous Women: Gender and Civic Virtue in *De mulieribus claris*," in *Ambiguous Realities: Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Carole Levin and Jeanie Watson (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), pp. 25–47.

[42] For the continuation of these ideas in the Renaissance, see Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Women: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 47–67, as well as the contribution of Carolyn James in this volume.

[43] For her use of Giles, see Kate L. Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 34, 81, 100, 118, 143; for her use of Oresme, see Sylvie Lefèvre, "Christine de Pizan et l'Aristote oresmien," in *Au champ des escriptures*, ed. Eric Hicks, et al. (Paris: Champion, 2000), pp. 231–250; Kate L. Forhan, "Aristotelianism in the Political Thought of Christine de Pizan," ibid., pp. 359–381; Karen Green, "*Phronesis* Feminised: Prudence from Christine de Pizan to Elizabeth I," in *Virtue, Liberty, Toleration: Political Ideas of European Women, 1400–1800*, ed. Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), pp. 23–38. See Nicolas Oresme, *Le Livre de Politiques d'Aristote* 1, ed. Albert D. Menut (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1970), pp. 73–74, for Aristotle's account of female virtue and Oresme's supportive glosses. For Christine's knowledge of Latin philosophical and literary sources, see Constant J. Mews, "Latin Learning in Christine de Pizan's *Livre de paix*," in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 61–80; Karen Green, "On Translating Christine de Pizan as a Philosopher," ibid., pp. 117–137.

[44] Glenda McLeod, "Poetics and Antimisogynist Polemics in Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre de la Cité des dames*," in *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan*, ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1993), pp. 37–47; Green, "*Phronesis* Feminised."

Despite, then, the opposite impression conveyed by Christine de Pizan which some of her modern commentators follow, no universal tradition of derogating female virtue existed in the Middle Ages. In fact, Christianity introduced the idea of the moral equality of the sexes in the West, as a result of its understanding of virtue as a divine, salvific gift extending to male as well as female believers. The recovery of Aristotelian moral and political thought in the thirteenth century actually brought a setback in medieval culture for the recognition of women as moral subjects on a par with men. Even in an Aristotelian context, however, the female capacity for virtue was sometimes defended, while virtuous women continued to be recognised in late medieval theological and religious literature.

Christine's defence of the moral equality of the sexes is hence not unique in itself, but expands on a marked pro-feminine tradition in medieval moral thought. Yet her *City of Ladies* is not conservative: it does not ignore all moral philosophy and reduce virtue to a gift of grace which female believers are capable of receiving just as well as men. Christine's city is not confined to Christians, but includes all good women known from history. She argues a strong and sustained case in favour of the capacity of women to acquire virtue on account of their human force—a view which until her day only found scattered support in moral philosophy.

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[45] For Christine's knowledge and use of theology in general, see Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Somewhere between Destructive Glosses and Chaos: Christine de Pizan and Medieval Theology," in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, pp. 43–55.

[46] See Patricia A. Phillippy, "'Establishing Authority': Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* and Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre de la cité des dames*," *Romanic Review* 77 (1986), pp. 167–194; see also Rosalind Brown-Grant, *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defence of Women: Reading beyond Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 128–174, for a sustained analysis of Christine's literary strategies in the *City of Ladies* in comparison to Boccaccio and Petrarch.

Chapter 2
The *Speculum dominarum* (*Miroir des dames*) and Transformations of the Literature of Instruction for Women in the Early Fourteenth Century

Constant J. Mews

"In this book, I have endeavoured to compile some healthy words and examples from the Holy Scriptures and books of the saints for the edification and learning of the excellent lady, Jeanne, by the grace of God Queen of France and Navarre, also for the utility of other ladies, so that they may know how to order themselves to God and those things which are godly, how they ought to conduct themselves usefully and prudently in the way she and they govern, and how it is fitting for them to converse with everyone without reproach, and finally by what merits they may deserve to be elevated to the glory of the eternal kingdom."[1]

These words open the original Latin version of the *Speculum dominarum*, a treatise written by Durand de Champagne, the Franciscan confessor to Jeanne de Navarre, wife of Philip IV and Queen of France from 1285 until her death on 4 April 1305. Little attention has been given to this work since Delisle identified its author in the late nineteenth century, apart from two unpublished doctoral theses, one by Catherine Mastny, the other an edition of the Latin text by Anne Dubrulle.[2] Although the *Speculum dominarum* might initially seem an unoriginal compilation of moral advice, it was widely disseminated in the late fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century, and it was even re-translated for Marguerite de Navarre in the early sixteenth century.[3] I would argue that this treatise, written

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[1] I am indebted to Rina Lahav, Karen Green, and Janice Pinder for discussing many ideas relating to the *Miroir*.

[2] L. Delisle "Notice sur deux livres ayant appartenu au roi Charles V," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. 31, no. 2 (Paris, 1884), pp. 1–31; "Durand de Champagne, franciscain," in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 30 (Paris, 1888), pp. 302–333; Catherine Louise Mastny, "Durand of Champagne and the 'Mirror of the Queen': A Study in Medieval Didactic Literature," PhD dissertation, Columbia University 1969; Anne Dubrulle, "Le Speculum Dominarum de Durand de Champagne," 2 vols. Thèse presentée pour l'obtention du diploma d'archiviste-paléographe, Ecole nationale des chartes, 1987–1988. I am indebted to Mme Anne Flottes (née Dubrulle) for permission to consult her thesis.

[3] Ed. Camillo Marazza, *Ysambert de Saint-Léger, Le Miroir des dames: Manuscrit français 1189 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (Lecce: Milella, 1978).

K. Green, C.J. Mews (eds.), *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250–1500*, The New Synthese Historical Library 69, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-0529-6_2,
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in around 1300, marks a significant shift in the character of religious writing for women, in moving away from a purely interior focus to one that combines spiritual advice with ethical discussion, of a sort traditionally conducted in a scholastic milieu and addressed only to men.[4]

1 Durand de Champagne and Jeanne de Navarre

Jeanne de Navarre (1273–1305) was no ordinary woman. At the age of two, after the death of her father Henry III of Champagne (brother of Thibaud IV of Champagne, or Thibaud I of Navarre), she became Queen of Navarre and Countess of Champagne, under the regency of her mother, Blanche of Artois (d. 2 May 1302). In 1284 she married her cousin, styled "Philip the Fair" (for his appearance, not his ways), becoming Queen of France on his accession in the following year. This marriage enabled Philip IV to take control of two wealthy and important regions, Navarre (pivotal in confrontations with the kingdom of Aragon) and Champagne. Between 1288 and 1297, Jeanne bore seven children, including three sons who became short-lived kings of France, and a daughter, Isabelle, who would marry Edward II of England.[5] When Jeanne died in 1305 at the age of 34, her husband suspected that she had been poisoned by Guichard of Troyes, a Benedictine monk and financial counsellor to the queen, who reportedly owed his promotion to the bishopric of Troyes in 1298 to Jeanne, but who subsequently fell from her favour in 1300.[6] Durand, first attested as confessor to the queen in 1298 and one of the few Franciscans to support the king in his conflict with Boniface VIII in 1303, witnessed to Guichard's worldliness in 1308.[7] While Dominicans had been chaplains to the king since 1248, the Franciscans had started to wield influence with women in the royal family since the 1250s. Louis's wife, Marguerite of Provence, had a Franciscan confessor (Guillaume de Saint-Pathus), while Louis's sister, Isabelle, founded Longchamp as a Franciscan house for women, with the help of Bonaventure and other distinguished Franciscans in 1259 or 1260.[8] Franciscans had also long been influential in the court of Champagne. Jeanne's aunt and uncle, Marguerite and Thibaud IV (1201–1253), known for their resistance to the Capetian Crusade against Albi, had founded the first female Franciscan house in France, Sainte-Catherine, at Provins in around 1247. In 1264, Urban IV allowed Sainte-Catherine to follow the Rule that Isabelle, sister of Louis IX, had established at Longchamp.[9]

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[4] On the date of the *Miroir*, see note 44 below.

[5] Marguerite (1288–94), Louis X (1289–1316), Blanche (1290–94), Philip V (1292/93–1322), Charles IV (1294–1328), Isabelle (1295–1358), Robert (1297–1308).

[6] Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 300–313. For fuller detail, see Abel Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard, évêque de Troyes* (1308–1313) (Paris: Picard, 1896), pp. 25–26 on these early conflicts with Jeanne, as also pp. 31, 162, 194, 200, 211, 223, 298. Rigault reprints (pp. 228–229) part of a poem describing widespread grief at Jeanne's death and suspicions made about Guichard, *Chronique rimé attribué à Geoffroi de Paris*, vv. 2959–2998; Mastny (pp. 60–61) quotes from Archives nationales, J 438 Roll 6 II 17, 22, 26, in which Durand speaks against Guichard.

[7] Mastny, p. 61, refers to Archives nationales, J 488 nos. 595–96 on Franciscans who supported Philip IV.

[8] Xavier de La Selle, "La confession et l'aumône: confesseurs et aumôniers des rois de France du XIII^{e} au XV^{e} siècle," *Journal des Savants* (1993), pp. 255–286, here pp. 261–265; and *Le Service des âmes à la cour: Confesseurs et aumôniers des rois de France du XIII^{e} au XV^{e} siècle* (Paris:

Durand's sympathy for the spiritual cause within the Franciscan movement in Languedoc is also suggested by the support he gave to the efforts of Bernard Délicieux, Franciscan lector of Narbonne and Carcassonne, on behalf of the citizens of Albi and Carcassonne, against the excesses of the Dominican-led inquisition in the Languedoc.[10] Bernard visited Paris each year from 1301 to 1304, in the hope that Queen Jeanne (to whom he had access through Durand) could influence royal policy. In 1302–1303, Bernard reportedly preached publicly in Albi and elsewhere that Philip IV would respond to the prayers of the queen, "who interceded for the people of this region like Queen Esther for her people", and that the king and queen would learn the truth about the injustices of the Inquisition. It was apparently at Jeanne's request that Philip travelled to the Languedoc.[11] The citizens of the

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Ecole nationale des chartes, 1995). Georges Minois notes how Louis IX maintained a balance between Dominicans and Franciscans, but notes how Franciscans slipped away from royal service by 1300, apart from as confessors to the Queen, *Le confesseur du roi: Les directeurs de conscience sous la monarchie française* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), pp. 164–168. Sean L. Field, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), p. 49 and p. 198 n. 51, notes that Marguerite de Provence had a confessor at court by 1255, though when she engaged Guillaume of Saint-Pathus (also confessor to Blanche, daughter of Louis IX) and Jean of Mons (possibly also confessor to Louis IX and his daughter, Isabelle) is not certain.

[9] Field, *Isabelle of France*, pp. 116–117.

[10] Strayer refers to this episode without mentioning Jeanne de Navarre, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, p. 1465; Mastny, pp. 65–70, was dependent on the account, originally published in 1868 and again in 1877, of Barthélemy Hauréau, *Bernard Délicieux et l'Inquisition albigeoise* (1300–1320), ed. Jean Duvernoy [with translation of certain of the key texts] (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 1992). See now the full edition of the trial records, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi: The Trial of Fr. Bernard Délicieux, 3 September – 8 December 1319*, ed. Alan Friedlander (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1996), especially p. 116; and Alan Friedlander's study, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors: Brother Bernard Délicieux and the Struggle against the Inquisition in Fourteenth-Century France* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), especially pp. 200 and 224.

[11] *Processus*, ed. Friedlander, p. 276: "Item dixit quod ipse audivit dictum fratrem Bernardum praedicantem publice apud Castras et Albiam et Corduam quando dominus rex Franciae debuit venire ad terram istam et post publicationem appellationis et quarumdam literarum vicedomini quae dirigebantur consulatibus huius terrae, dicentem in dictis sermonibus inter caetera, prout recordatur, quod dominus rex veniebat ad terram istam ad instigatum et preces dominae reginae, *quae tanquam regina Hester intercesserat pro populo huius terrae*, et quod dictus dominus rex palparet veritatem negotii inquisitionis et quod de ipso negotio taliter ordinaret vel faceret ordinari quod negotium ipsum non dubitari ulterius sine culpa. Et ista audivit, ut supra deposuit, sub anno domini millesimo trecentisimo secundo vel tertio, de diebus tamen et de horis dixit se non recordari. Tenor vero literarum de quibus superius facta est mentio inferius est insertus" (emphasis added). The letter, from Jean de Pecquigny to the citizens of Toulouse, is given on pp. 281–282. See Elizabeth A. Brown, "The Prince is Father of the King: the Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France," *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), pp. 282–334, especially here pp. 304–5 reprinted

region reportedly saw the queen as their "anchor".[12] It was widely believed in the Languedoc that Bernard had told the queen through Durand about the wickedness of the bishop of Albi and the inquisitors.[13] The same witness (Pierre Pros) reported that Bernard came to Paris with the wives of the men condemned for heresy in the region, to give them help in their appeal to the king.[14] Durand warned Bernard that the king did not want carriage of the inquisition to be taken from the Dominicans.[15] Durand eventually informed representatives from Albi who had sought to contact the queen in 1304 that, while they were free from suspicion, the king considered Bernard and representatives of Carcassonne guilty of treason.[16] Bernard's major antagonist was the powerful and ambitious Nicolas de Fréauville, Philip's Dominican confessor from 1296 until 1314.[17] The tension between these two forces in the royal court is signalled by Jeanne's insistence "against the will of the king" that she be buried at the Franciscan convent in Paris, rather than at Saint-Denis—apparently at the instigation of Durand "through secret letters".[18]

Durand was charged with executing Jeanne's will—particularly important as she used her wealth to help establish the College of Navarre.[19] By 1308 he had become confessor to Marguerite of Burgundy (d. 1314), wife of Louis of Navarre.[20] His only

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in Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 1991).

[12] The letter is edited by Claude de Vic and J.-J. Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, ed. Auguste Molinier (Toulouse 1872–1904; reprinted Nîmes: Lacour, 1993–1994); X, p. 419: "anchora et prima fiducia nostre spei"; cited by Friedlander, *Hammer*, p. 101, and in *Processus*, p. 37.

[13] *Processus*, ed. Friedlander, p. 276: "[. . .] dixit se audivisse a pluribus, de quibus dixit se non recordari, et famam esse et fuisse apud Albiam, quod dictus frater Bernardus una cum fratre Joanne Hectore de ordine fratrum Minorum informasse dominam Joannam reginam Franciae contra dictum episcopum et inquisitores, mediante fratre Duranto confessore dictae dominae reginae."

[14] *Processus*, ed. Friedlander, p. 277: "[. . .] quod vidit dictum fratrem Bernardum in Francia cum uxoribus condemnatorum et quod erat fama publica quod ipso tractante dictae mulieres iverant Parisius ad dominum regem et assistente dictis mulieribus et consilium et auxilium praebente."

[15] *Processus*, ed. Friedlander, p. 124; Hauréau, pp. 73–74, 80–81.

[16] *Processus*, ed. Friedlander, pp. 125, 266–267; Friedlander, *Hammer of the Inquisitors*, pp. 220–221, 224–225.

[17] Friedlander, *Hammer of the Inquisitors*, pp. 91–92, referring to discussion of his career by Jean Favier, *Un conseiller de Philippe le Bel: Enguerran de Marigny*, Mémoires et documents publiés par l'Ecole des Chartes, 15 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963).

[18] Quoted by Brown, "The Prince is Father of the King," p. 306 n. 84, from a continuation to the chronicle of William of St-Denis: "Regina francie Johanna [. . .] et contra uotum mariti sui regis francie [. . .] sepeliri disposuerat confessoris sui monitu qui frater minor erat litteris furtiuis ut dicitur eligens seputuram etiam post ultimam unctionem Parisius in fratrum minorum Monasterio sepelitur."

[19] Mastny, p. 59 notes that Durand is first mentioned as executor to the will of Philip of Artois, cousin of Jeanne de Navarre in 1298; she (p. 70) notes that Durand is mentioned in the testament of Jeanne de Navarre: 1 April 1304, BNF MS fr. 140 de Brienne, fol. 89v; and 25 March 1305 (Paris BNF fr. 24978, fol. 175r).

[20] Mastny, p. 71, quoting Robert Fawtier, *Registres du Trésor des chartes,* 1*: Regne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1958), p. 148, no. 832.

other known composition is a treatise on hearing confessions, dedicated to Pope Clement (1305–1314) "for the instruction of poor clerics who do not have enough time to read many books, let alone purchase them." Mastny has observed a phrase in this treatise almost identical to one in the *Speculum dominarum*: "In books they seek out more beauty than goodness, more wanting to have beautiful books, curiously decorated, than true ones, well corrected."[21] Durand was a moralist, opposed to excess.

2 The *Speculum dominarum* and Religious Writing for Women

One way of appreciating the originality of Durand's composition of the *Speculum dominarum* is to compare its title to that of the *Speculum virginum*, a fictional dialogue about the spiritual life for religious women, written by a monk of Hirsau in the 1130s and widely disseminated in Cistercian monastic houses concerned with looking after religious women. The key metaphor of this twelfth-century composition was that of virginity, its driving image that of the bride in the Song of Songs. As one might expect in a work addressed to enclosed nuns, it was concerned with developing interior virtues rather than with public duty. Though widely distributed in Germany and Scandinavia, the work never had an appreciable impact in France. Curiously, no comparable work addressed to women seems to have gained wide circulation in France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While Robert of Arbrissel (d. 1117) had established a successful order for religious women in Anjou at Fontevraud and its many dependencies, just one sermon (addressed to Ermengarde of Anjou) survives from his hand.[22] Only a few of Bernard's letters were addressed to women.[23] There was no major house for religious women in the Île-de-France after Suger had expelled Heloise and her nuns from Argenteuil in 1129. While the Paraclete was a significant religious house for women in Champagne, Abelard's homiletic writings for the nuns of the Paraclete never became widely known.

By the late twelfth century, there was certainly a great expansion in the numbers of women leading a devout life, especially in the urbanised regions of Flanders and Liège. The region around Paris was relatively slow to develop opportunities for women who wished to lead a devout life—perhaps because of the influence of the University, an institution from which women were excluded. One of the first royal foundations for women was that of Maubuisson, founded by Blanche of

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[21] Mastny, pp. 54–55 reporting the *Summa collectionum pro confessionis audiendis* (in Paris BNF lat. 3264 and lat. 16891); she quotes this passage from BNF lat. 6784, fol. 38, and lat. 3264, fol. 23.

[22] Robert's sermon is edited and translated within *Les deux vies de Robert d'Arbrissel, fondateur de Fontevraud: Légendes, écrits et témoignages*, ed. Jacques Dalarun, Geneviève Giordanego, Armelle L. Huërou, Jean Longère, Dominique Poirel, and Bruce L. Venarde (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 460–469.

[23] A cluster of short letters to religious and noble women are preserved as Epp. 113–121, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses), vol. 7, pp. 287–302.

Castile, mother of Louis IX, as a Cistercian community, some 35 km west of Paris in 1236. Although Blanche of Castile played a major role in governing France during Louis's minority and his absence on Crusade, the spiritual advice she favoured was quite traditional in character. This is certainly evident in the *Speculum animae*, addressed to her some time before her death in 1252.[24] As Sean Field has shown, this text is heavily dependent on a Cistercian treatise that circulated under the name of St Bernard: *Meditationes piissime de cognitione humanae conditionis*, which deals with "the interior man and how he may find God". The *Speculum animae* makes only small additions to this treatise, and has nothing to say about the queen's public life, other than brief comments about helping the poor and not accruing personal wealth. It urges her to spurn the world, rather than explaining how she should live within it.[25] A copy of a French translation of the treatise, the *Miroir de l'Ame*, was included in 1295 for Philip IV and Jeanne de Navarre (MS Mazarine 870, fols. 192–207v) immediately after a much larger work of moral advice, *Somme le Roi*, originally addressed in 1279 to Philip III by the king's Dominican confessor, Laurent d'Orléans.[26] A related copy of *Somme le Roi*, belonging to Blanche's abbey of Maubuisson, is followed by *La Sainte Abbaie* or *The Abbey of the Holy Spirit*, addressed to religious women.[27] In both manuscripts, we find a gendered conception of virtue: public moral activity is presented as the domain of the king, an interior spiritual life as that of the queen.

Such attitudes were not unusual. In the 1240s, Vincent of Beauvais, Dominican lector at the Cistercian abbey of Royaumont (founded between 1228 and 1235), addressed to St Louis his massive *Speculum maius* as a tripartite encyclopaedia of erudition: *historiale*, *doctrinale*, and *naturale*. Between 1246 and 1249 Vincent also composed a treatise on the education of the sons of the nobility, at the request of Queen Marguerite.[28] While ten of its fifty-one chapters are intended for the education of women, their major concern is chastity; none deal with public duties.[29] As Tobin observes, Vincent seems more concerned with the effects of female behaviour on men than with the fate of women themselves.[30] There is similarly no allusion to the duties of the queen in his last major composition, on the moral instruction of the prince, written 1264–1267.[31] Thomas Aquinas would write a more sophisticated treatise of instruction for a ruler, the King of Cyprus, and would draw on the newly translated *Politics* of Aristotle, but he never addressed any major treatise to a woman. As he writes in his *Summa theologiae*: "For good order would have been wanting in the human family if some were not governed by others wiser than themselves. So by such a kind of subjection woman is naturally subject to man, because in man the discretion of reason predominates."[32]

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[24] Sean L. Field, "Reflecting the Royal Soul: the *Speculum anime* Composed for Blanche of Castile," *Mediaeval Studies* 68 (2006), pp. 1–42; and "From *Speculum anime* to *Miroir de l'Ame*: The Origins of Vernacular Advice Literature at the Capetian Court," *Mediaeval Studies* 69 (2007), pp. 59–110. The *Meditationes* are printed among the works of St Bernard, PL 184, cols. 485–508. See also *Histoire littéraire de la France* 30 (1888), pp. 325–329.

[25] *Speculum animae*, pp. 10–11, 21, ed. Field (2006), pp. 30, 36.

[26] Richard H. Rouse and Mary Rouse, *"Illiterati et uxorati"; Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris* 1200–1500 (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 145–171.

[27] British Library Add. 28162, 39843; Rouse and Rouse, 1: pp. 155–156. See Jan Pinder, in this volume.

[28] *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, ed. Arpad Steiner (Cambridge, Mass., 1938).

[29] *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, cc. 42–51; a fourteenth-century translation of one of these chapters (Paris, BNF fr. 9683) by Jean Daudin, edited by Frederique Hamm, is quoted by M. Paulmier-Foucart and M.-C. Duchenne, *Vincent de Beauvais et le Grand Miroir du monde* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 140–145.

While these attitudes of Aquinas would also be articulated by Franciscan thinkers, the hint of a different attitude is evident as early as 1243 or 1244, when Blanche's daughter, St Isabelle of France (1225–1270), decided not to become a Cistercian nun, but rather to live as a devout woman, committed both to following the divine office and to caring for the poor. After some uncertainty about whether she should found a hospital or an abbey, by 1260 she had established a religious community at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne; she never herself became a nun, except on her deathbed. Her former lady-in-waiting, Agnes of Harcourt, recalled that her knowledge of Latin was such that she would correct the letters that her chaplains had written on her behalf (valuable information about the Latinity of royal women in the thirteenth century).[33] Thomas of Cantimpré links Isabelle's desire to pursue a devout life to the foundation by Louis IX of a Beguinage for such women in Paris, as if this could have been through her influence.[34] While we are not told if Isabelle influenced Louis's foundation of the Beguinage, her way of life paralleled that of a Beguine. The *Life* written by Agnes of Harcourt presents Isabelle as combining contempt for the world with a more public life of active concern for the poor.

Isabelle was also determined that the community of religious women that she established at Longchamp, with the help of the leading Franciscan authorities, should be called *sorores minores* (exactly like their Franciscan brothers)—a title long resisted by the papacy, even though it had been unofficially in wide use since 1216.[35] Although Pope Urban IV originally addressed Isabelle's nuns as *sorores inclusae*, Isabelle succeeded only after much effort in having them called *sorores*

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[30] Rosemary Barton Tobin, *Vincent of Beauvais' "De eruditione filiorum nobilium": The Education of Women* (New York: P. Lang, 1984), pp. 143–144. Joseph M. McCarthy comments on the traditional aspect of his writings about women, *Humanistic Emphases in the Educational Thought of Vincent of Beauvais* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 131–142.

[31] Vincent of Beauvais, *De morali principis institutione*, ed. Robert J. Schneider, CCCM 137 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).

[32] *Summa theologiae* I, q. 92, art. 1, ad 2.

[33] Agnes of Harcourt, ed. Sean L. Field, *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt: The Life of Isabelle of France and the Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp* (Notre-Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), pp. 60–64. This St Isabelle is not to be confused with Jeanne de Navarre's daughter.

[34] Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus* II.29, quoted by Field, *Isabelle of France*, pp. 44–45 and p. 196 n. 33.

[35] Field, *Isabelle of France*, pp. 110–112.

minores inclusae, requiring that they be looked after by Franciscans rather than other clerics be assigned that role. The official title given to the community in 1264, *sorores ordinis humilium ancillarum beatissimae Marie virginis gloriosae*, articulated a distinct change in tone from the regal Marian imagery associated with the Cistercians and Dominicans.[36]

Franciscan preachers seem to have been more active than Dominicans in writing for aristocratic women in the second half of the thirteenth century. In part this may have been a consequence of their success in winning aristocratic female support, not least through the connections of Clare of Assisi (d. 1253) with royal women across Europe. The spiritual instruction Isabelle received from Gilbert (Guibert) of Tournai (d. 1284), Franciscan regent master in Paris, had a more personal emphasis than that offered to Blanche of Castile, in expounding the ten stages of the soul's journey to God.[37] It did not deal, however, with the principles of ethical behaviour, such as he explains to men in his *De modo addiscendi* for the son of the Count of Flanders, or his *Eruditio regum et principum* for Louis IX, written in 1259.[38] When he writes for Isabelle, he emphasises her need to spurn the world rather than think about her public responsibilities. There is a similar focus in his sermons for married women and for virgins, little different in character from Dominican sermons for women, such as those delivered by Etienne de Bourbon and Humbert of Romans.[39]

By contrast, Durand's *Speculum dominarum* combines traditional reflection on spurning the world with a concern for the ethics and principles that should underpin the queen's public life. A third of its Latin text derives from the first part of the *Speculum morale*, circulated in the fourteenth century as part of the authentic *Speculum maius* of Vincent of Beauvais.[40] Although the *Speculum morale* was printed along with the authentic works of Vincent in 1624, it has been little studied since Echard demonstrated in the early eighteenth century that it could not have been written by Vincent, as it drew on the writings of the Dominican theologians Thomas Aquinas and Peter of Tarentaise, and a Franciscan master, Richard of Middleton (1249 – before 1308).[41] Richard, regent master in Paris 1284–1287, differed from Bonaventure in being more sympathetic towards Aquinas and the absorption of Aristotelian ideas. In her excellent study of the evolution of virtue ethics in the late thirteenth century, Bonnie Kent argues against a certain simplistic contrast: on the one hand, Franciscan teaching about ethics as based on the will being Augustinian and conservative; on the other hand, the doctrine of progressive Dominicans who turned to Aristotle as their authority for saying that ethics was based on the intellect.[42] Although she does not mention the *Speculum morale*, this work provides a synthesis of Augustinian and Aristotelian approaches to ethics parallel to that attempted by Richard of Middleton, but with the addition of numerous moral *exempla*. Its Franciscan provenance is suggested by the inclusion of a number of Franciscan exempla alongside those about Dominicans. The figure of Marie d'Oignies is given particular prominence, notably in the conclusion.[43]

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[36] The story of Isabelle's foundation of Longchamp was told by Agnes of Harcourt, her former lady in waiting, edited and translated by Sean L. Field, *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt: The Life of Isabelle of France and the Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003); Field discusses the significance of Isabelle's efforts in fighting to be identified as *sorores minores* in *Isabelle of France*, pp. 100–101.

[37] Sean L. Field, "Gilbert of Tournai's Letter to Isabelle of France: An Edition of the Complete Letter," *Mediaeval Studies* 65 (2003), pp. 57–97; see also A. De Poorter, "Lettre de Guibert de Tournai, OFM à Isabelle, fille du Roi de France," *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 12 (1931), pp. 116–127.

[38] A. De Poorter, "Un traité de pédagogie médiévale, le *De modo addiscendi* de Guibert de Tournai OFM," *Revue néo-scholastique de philosophie* 24 (1922), pp. 195–228; Servus Gieben, "Guibert de Tournai et Robert Grosseteste: Sources inconnues de la doctrine de l'illumination, suivi de l'édition critique de trois chapitres du *Rudimentum doctrinae* de Guibert de Tournai," in *S. Bonaventura,* 1274–1874, vol. 2 (Rome: Grottaferrata, 1973), pp. 627–654; Guibert de Tournai, *Le traité "Eruditio regum et principum" de Guibert de Tournai OFM*, ed. A. De Poorter, *Les philosophes belges*, 9 (Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1914).

[39] A sample of these sermons is edited by Carla Casagrande, in *Prediche alle donne del secolo XIII: Testi di Umberto da Romans, Gilberto da Tournai, Stefano di Borbone* (Milan: Bompiani, 1978), pp. 93–112 (with Italian translation preceding, pp. 63–92). They are taken from the *Rudimentum doctrinae* II.vii (Milan, Ambrosiana F 57 Sup.), edited in Lyons 1475, Louvain 1481, Lyons 1511, Paris 1513, Venice 1603.

[40] Dubrulle identified the influence of the *Speculum morale*: prefatory material, pp. 84–85.

Because the *Speculum morale* quotes from a sermon (of Pseudo-Bonaventure, on the Four Last Things) that refers to the Christian expulsion from Acre in 1291, and also to the canonisation of Louis IX in 1297, the *Speculum dominarum*, itself drawing heavily on that earlier *Speculum*, cannot have been composed much before 1300.[44] Given that Jeanne gave birth to the last of her children in 1297 and that Durand is first attested as her confessor in 1298, the year Jeanne reportedly promoted her Benedictine counsellor, Guichard, to the bishopric of Troyes, it could be that Durand composed the *Speculum dominarum* as newly appointed confessor to the queen, to promote a more austere Franciscan influence at her court, dispelling the worldliness associated with Guichard. Durand would thus have composed the work at about the time his Franciscan colleague Bernard Délicieux was seeking to gain access to the queen, in order to call for justice in Languedoc, and an end to ecclesiastical corruption and Dominican sway over the Inquisition.

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[41] *Speculum morale*, printed within Vincent of Beauvais, *Bibliotheca mundi seu Speculi maioris Vincentii Burgundi praesulis Bellovacensis*, edited by the Benedictines of Douai, vol. 3 (Douai: Baltazar Beller, 1624; reprinted Graz: Akademische Druk, 1964). See the discussion by Jacques Echard in his revision of Jacques Quétif, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* (Paris, 1719), vol. 1, pp. 213–236, in which he draws on his earlier study, *Sancti Thomae summa suo auctori vindicata sive de V.F. Vincentii Bellovacensis scriptis dissertatio* (Paris, 1708).

[42] Bonnie Kent, *Virtues of the Will: The Transformation of Ethics in the Late Thirteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1995), pp. 246–254.

[43] Mary d'Oignies is mentioned in *Speculum morale* III.x.39, 1556E–1558B. Echard observes these Franciscan exempla in *Scriptores*, pp. 229–231; see for example *Speculum morale* III.i.6–10, 887E, 888C, 890A, 892E, 900E, 903C; III.iii.2, 1001A, 1004A; III.ix.3 1382E; III.x.24–34, 1486E, 1521C, 1537A.

[44] Echard (p. 228) argued that the *Speculum morale* might have been written only in the 1320s, without knowledge of the *Speculum dominarum*. Serge Lusignan, *Préface au Speculum majus de Vincent de Beauvais: Refraction et diffraction* (*Cahiers d'études médiévales*, 5, Montreal, 1979), pp. 76–80, suggested that its compilation could have started in the 1290s. M. Paulmier-Foucart and M.-C. Duchenne, *Vincent de Beauvais et le Grand Miroir du monde* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 115–116. *Speculum morale* II.ii.2, 765CD: "Denique nuper diebus istis etiam Christiani nostri [. . .] vel in fugam conversi sunt. De terra sanctae promisionis [. . .] turpissime sunt eiecti." III.iii.1, 992C: "Hoc idem faciebat beatissimus Ludovicus."

3 The French Translation of the *Speculum dominarum*

Although only a single copy survives of the Latin text of the *Speculum dominarum*, its French translation is represented by a dozen known manuscripts:[45]

B Brussels Bibliothèque Royale 9555–9558, fols. 1–147v; s. xv^{1} [Mastny s. xiv]; Duc Jean de Berry; [also contains *Mirouer du Monde*, *Cloistre de l'Ame que fist Hugue de Saint-Victor*, *Meditatione saint Anseaume: Droite forme de vivre que doit mener l'ame*].
R Brussels BR 11203–11204, fols. 1–74; last quarter s. xiv; acquired by Jean sans Peur, 1420.
C Cambridge Corpus Christi College 324, fols. 1ra–294rb; s. xiv; in Library of Charles V, Louvre.[46]
L London British Library, Royal 19 B XVI, fols. 1–164; a.d. 1428.
N London British Library Add 29986; late s. xiv; belonged to Duc Jean de Berry.
O Oxford Bodleian MS no. fr. c. 3 s. xv [110 folios, fol. 1 missing]; armorial bookplate of William Constable (d. 1790).
P Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France fr. 610; s. xv^{1}; library of Blois in 1544.
Q Paris, BNF nouv. acq. fr. 5232; s. xv [contains *Miroir des dames*, *Le Miroir du Monde*, *Cloistre de l'Ame*, plus works in B].
S Paris BNF nouv. acq. fr. 23285.
V Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 300, fols. 1–110v.
W Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 32.6 Augusteus 2, fols. 1–201v; s. xv^{2}; copied for Marie de Gaucourt (lady-in-waiting to Mary of Anjou and perhaps mistress to Charles VII).[47]
Y Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. Lat. 403, fols. 2–192; s. xv^{1}; Christina of Sweden in s. xvi.

The most important surviving copy of the *Miroir* (as we shall designate the French translation of the *Speculum dominarum*), now Cambridge, Corpus Christi

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[45] Dubrulle, p. 12, identifies eleven of these MSS (not O); Mastny, pp. 183–185, identifies eleven (not S).

[46] Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1911), vol. 2.1, pp. 411–412.

[47] Peter Rolfe Monks, "Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 32.6 Augusteus 2^{o}: the master of Marie de Gaucourt and the Iconography of the *Miroir des dames*," in *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge: Aus den Schatzen der Herzog August Bibliothek*, ed. Helwig Schmitz-Glintzer, vol. 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), pp. 17–51. This excellent study also comments on the iconography in other manuscripts (sigla BCLNRPY). I am grateful to Jeff Richards for drawing it to my attention.

College 324, carries the personal signature of Charles V (d. 1380), and belonged to the royal library of the Louvre. Given its provenance, it may have been copied from the manuscript owned by Jeanne de Navarre in the time of Jeanne d'Evreux, third wife (1324–1328) of Charles IV of France, as the arms of Evreux are included on its opening illustration of a Franciscan offering the *Miroir* to a queen.[48] Although Mastny argues for this implying that the work was translated for Jeanne d'Evreux by some Franciscan other than Durand, the arms might alternatively indicate only that this manuscript was specially produced for Jeanne d'Evreux.[49] According to a phrase added to the manuscript BNF MS fr. 610, the treatise was originally composed by "a brother of the order of St Francis" at the request of Queen Jeanne of France and Navarre, and that this friar minor had completed a translation of the work from Latin into French, so that "she knows how to see and consider how every task of her conscience can be ordered to God, and how she can govern herself, her house, and her subjects."

The two copies belonging to the Duc de Berry both passed to noble women, one (N) to his daughter the Duchess of Bourbonnais, the other (R) to Margaret of Austria in the sixteenth century. Blanche de Navarre, widow of Philip of Valois, bequeathed a copy to the Countess of Foix in 1396.[50] Valentine, Duchess of Orleans, owned a copy at her death in 1408.[51] Charles of Orleans, Count of Angoulême (1459–1496), inherited from his father, Jean of Angoulême (son of Valentine and Louis of Orleans, younger brother of Charles VI), both the surviving Latin copy of the *Speculum dominarum* (made in 1459) and a French version; a copy was also owned by Charles's wife, Louise of Savoy, mother of François I.[52] Compared to the Latin text, the first French translation transmits a subtly improved recension of the work. More research would be needed, however, to establish with certainty whether Dubrulle is correct in surmising that the author and the translator are indeed the same person.[53] Certain improvements evident in the first French translation are also included in a fresh translation from the Latin produced in the early sixteenth century for Marguerite de Navarre, daughter of Louise of Savoy and sister of François I, by Ysambert de Saint-Léger. One possibility is that Durand continued to extend his original Latin text beyond what the sole extant manuscript of the Latin version can reveal.[54]

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[48] Mastny, p. 126, quoting the inventories of 1373 (BNF fr. 2700, art. 90), of 1411 (BNF fr. 2700, fol. 60 art. 90) and 1413 (BNF fr. 9430, art. 88).

[49] Mastny acknowledges that the author and translator might be the same person, pp. 123–127, the position defended by Dubrulle, p. 11.

[50] Léopold Delisle, "Testament de Blanche de Navarre, reine de France", *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 12 (1885), pp. 1–63, item 310.

[51] Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: 1840–1853), vol. 3, p. 239.

[52] Pierre Champion, *La librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (1910; Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1975), p. 74: "Item, Le livre du Myroir des dames, escript à la main, en parchemin et en latin, couvert de cuyr rouge"; Pierre Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême* (Paris: Henri Champion 1930), vol. 1, p. 21.

[53] Dubrulle, p. 11.

[54] Dubrulle, pp. 17–31.

Whereas the Latin version of the *Speculum dominarum* deliberately appeals only to the authority of Scripture and the saints, the French version gives greater weight to classical authors. It opens by drawing on the authority of Vegetius (whose *De re militari* had been translated by Jean de Meun in the late thirteenth century) to justify presenting a work to a secular ruler, and follows by appealing to the virtuous example of rulers in the past—the same beginning as Christine de Pizan uses for the *Livre de paix*. It invokes the achievement of Charlemagne and a saying attributed to Plato, that the common good and the kingdom were only helped if rulers devoted themselves to wisdom, before explaining to Jeanne de Navarre that in noble and high personages, such as "kings, queens, princes, and princesses", virtue and knowledge ought to be combined.[55] He had translated the treatise "so that she might know how to see and consider how, every stain removed from her conscience, she might be well ordered towards God and what belongs to him, and how she ought to have government of her person, of her court, and of her subjects. And how she ought to talk to all honestly without any reserve. And after, by what merits she might come to enduring glory and reign with the supreme king for ever."[56]

The *Speculum dominarum* as a whole is an extended meditation on Prov. 14:1, "The wise woman builds her house"—a text that never attracted patristic attention, but was once used by Bonaventure to contrast the achievements of Eve and Mary.[57] The work has three major divisions, each called a *tractatus*. Tractatus I, dealing with the general conditions of woman, has *three parts*. The first part deals with the qualities woman has through nature; the second part deals with her acquired qualities; and the third part deals with the qualities perfected by grace. This third part of Tractatus I is divided into *four distinctions*: the first concerned more specifically with grace, the second with morals, the third with emotions ("the passions"), and the fourth with virtues. The parts of Tractatus I, or their component distinctions, are further divided into *chapters*. Tractatus II (divided only into chapters) focuses on the various types of wisdom that a queen needs, all relating in some way to her public life. Tractatus III (in four unsubdivided *parts*, the second part being much longer than the others) comes back to the theme of her house—not just the external house, but her interior conscience, closing with a brief reflection on the inferior house (namely hell) and the superior house (namely paradise). The *Speculum dominarum* consciously combines more traditional reflection on the mortality of the human condition with reflection on the public duty of a queen.

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[55] *Miroir* C, fol. 2rb: "Et pour ce que le sage roy salomon dit, que la ou il n'y a science qui apartient a lame, il n'y a nul bien, pourtant, tres excellent dame, madame Jehanne Royne de France et de Navarre, considerans que tout ainsi que la pierre precieuse assise en fin or est tres belle et tres replendissent, tout aussi est il de vertu et de science assise en ame de noble et haute personne comme sont roys, roynes, princes, princesses."

[56] *Miroir* C, fol. 2va: "Lequel livret puet estre apele le mireour des dames: afin que elle sache voaier et considerer comment, toute tache ostee de sa conscience, puisse estre bien ordonnee a dieu et a ce que a li apartient. Et comment ou gouvernement de sa personne, de son ostel, et de ses soubgiez elle se doit avoir. Et comment avec tous sens nule reprehension doit honestement converser. Et apres par quels merites puisse venir a pardurable gloire et sens fin avec le souverain roy regner."

[57] Bonaventure, *Collationes de septem donis Spiritus Sancti*, 6.7, *Opera Omnia*, 5 (Grottaferrata: Collegium S. Bonaventura, 1891), pp. 457–503.

In her critical edition, Anne Dubrulle has carefully marked out a subtle restructuring that takes place when the treatise is reworked in French.[58] The first part of Tractatus I, for example, about the status of woman as it depends on woman's nature, has 15 chapters, and the second part has 23 chapters, but in the *Miroir* these are reduced to 6 and 13 chapters respectively. While there is no substantial reduction in overall length of the whole work, there are small improvements, omissions, and occasional additional authorities, and these clarify the flow of the argument. In the French version, for example, what had been the first chapter of the first part becomes an independent introduction to all three subsequent parts, highlighting the theme of the Proverbs quotation about a wise woman building her house. The translated version also improves on a contrast drawn in the Latin version, between irrational creatures and rational man. The verse is now glossed with the remark that each creature (*chacune creature*), whether bird or beast, desires to keep its condition; so much more then for man and woman, as "creators, worthily made and formed in the image and similitude of the blessed Trinity for conservation, peace, and rest [who] must have a house in which to rest."[59] Whereas the Latin text had spoken simply of *homo* made in the likeness of the Trinity, the French version appeals more often to woman in general, and to the queen in particular. The individual chapters only begin after the purpose of the first part is explained: to expose human nature, to show what a queen can gain through fortune, and what she can obtain through grace. This tripartite structure enables the author to combine traditional reflection on human nature with more original discussion of the activities and virtues of a queen.

4 The Structure of the *Speculum dominarum*

The opening part of the *Speculum dominarum* dwells heavily on the wretchedness of human nature, taken in some measure from the first book of the *Speculum morale*, as well as from the *De contemptu mundi* of Innocent III. The French version consciously reduces some of the more excessive reflection on wretchedness, such as comments about the vileness of human seed and about "menstrual blood about which philosophers say that contact with it makes all plant and animal life die."[60] The addition of explicit appeals, within a text culled from Innocent III (including: "Now think, prince and princesses, king and queen, on the manner and condition of your birth because in this world all are sorrowing, poor, feeble and foolish"), reinforces the message that men and women of royal birth must remember their common humanity.[61] In the French version, a chapter about hell (I.1.14 in *Speculum dominarum*; all references are to Dubrulle's edition) is omitted and replaced by a longer chapter about needing to flee the serpent and sin, in which the author quotes extensively from pagan examples about hating sin: notably the discussion of Gyges quoted by Cicero in his *De officiis*, and examples from Seneca. These additions strengthen the general argument rather than taking it in a new direction. When commenting on the particular difficulties of the condition of women, and their subjection to men, the French translation adds the line: "And any with husbands who are quite unstable and devious, who lead a very bad life, know this by direct experience."[62] While the first part is about the wretchedness of the human condition, the translation consistently adds the phrase "of man and woman" where the Latin text had spoken simply about humanity.[63]

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[58] Dubrulle, pp. 21–31.

[59] *Miroir* C, fol. 3ra: "par plus sont homme et femme createurs dignement faites crees et formee a lymage et a la semblence de la benotre trinite pour sa conservacion paiz et repos se doit pourveour de maison bonne seure et convenable pour y demorer et reposer."

[60] For example *Speculum dominarum* I.1.4–7, ed. Dubrulle, pp. 7–8.

The discussion of what the queen acquires by fortune is not based on the *Speculum morale*. It reflects on her capacity to influence the king to good deeds (I.2.6, p. 35), and her need to live up to the titles commonly applied to her. Again, the French translation modifies the Latin to make it more fluent. She ought to be worthy of honour, but not in fact seek it. "Otherwise it would be to put the cart before the horse."[64] Durand is very aware of the different reasons men may seek out the queen. Some desire mercy. She should travel through the whole country, making friends and advocates, visiting "holy colleges and monasteries for religious, asking for their prayers, as well as searching out the houses of lepers, the hidden poor, and those who need charity" (I.2.8, p. 37). Already in the Latin text, Durand reveals himself as acutely aware of injustice within the kingdom: "Others come demanding justice, as men oppressed in difficulty and set in a bitter spirit. Those who suffer injuries or cannot come to the court, or who coming are foully repulsed, not being granted an audience or access—affected with so great troubles, worn down with expenses, tired by effort, afflicted by hunger, induced to suffer by arrest (*delacionibus*), made anxious with cares, or impiously damned with many unjust judgements into despair—they had rather put up with punishments, oppressions and injuries in their grieving minds, than put up with so many inconveniences without hope of maintaining justice." Durand's comments have particular significance in the light of the hopes that Bernard Délicieux was investing in the queen between 1300 and 1305, as part of his campaign against the Dominican-led inquisition in the south of France.

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[61] *Miroir* C, fol. 7ra: "Or pense donc prince et princesse, Roy et royne la maniere et la condition de ta nativite quar entre en ce monde doulenz et tutes, poures, feibles et non-sachens."

[62] *Miroir* C, fol. 19vb: "Et ce seuent par experience sensible aucunes qui ont mariz mout divers et deguisiez qui leur meinnent mout male vie."

[63] *Miroir* C, fols. 19vb–20ra: "Et ainsi par toutes les choses dessus dictes il apert clerement la grandeur de (20ra) la vilte et de la misere de condicion humeinne quar homme et femme de vil matiere formez de plus vil est conceuz, et de tres horde ou corps de la mere norriz."

[64] *Miroir* C, fol. 20vb: "A ceste fin quelle face a son estat loneur, et non pas lestat a li, quar autrement ce seroit metre la charue devant les bues."

In the French version, that sentence is expanded with allusions to Genesis (about the trials of Isaac) and the first book of Kings (about David). The author or translator also expands a simple reference to the court with comment about the way “in our times” things have got so bad that there is no longer access “to the court of the king, of the queen, and of great lords and ladies.”[65] The sentence is also broken up for ease of reading. A consistent feature of the French translation is that it includes a great number of explicit appeals to the queen. Thus, the Latin version of I.2.11 (p. 39) reads: “Others come *to the queen* for the sake of giving honour. [. . .] Others offer precious gifts; and those who honour more think themselves more honoured. Let [*such a lady*] beware therefore lest, in being honoured herself, she is unworthy of such great honours, lest she be confounded beyond others in the future, she who is at present honoured above others.”[66] Durand preaches a good deal against the dangers of excessive wealth and luxury (I.2.14–18, pp. 41–55). He emphasises the need for prudence in the queen’s relationships with others: and calls for the building of chapels, monasteries, and hospitals, relieving the indigence of the poor, and endowing churches with precious vessels (I.2.22, p. 61). Durand emphasises the practical virtues that she needs to cultivate (23 chapters in the Latin version) more than the effects of grace (4 chapters in the Latin). His emphasis is that through engaging in penance, prayer, humility, faithful service, generosity of gifts, spiritual beauty, mercy, and teaching, she acquires grace (I.3.i.4, pp. 73–78).

The second distinction (that is, of the third part of Tractatus I) documents the various moral attributes the queen should display. Many of these are quite traditional for women: humility, docility, sobriety, chastity, modesty, silence, and subjection to her husband. Here examples come mostly from Scripture, but occasionally from pagan authors, like Seneca (I.3.ii.10, p. 87). The queen should be an example for her people. At the opening of the third distinction, changed from a chapter in the Latin original (I.3.iii.1, pp. 105–107) into an introduction in the French version, Durand reflects on the emotions that women need to cultivate. Much of what immediately follows is essentially copied from the first book of the *Speculum morale*, where it had much to say about how kings and rulers should conduct themselves. Durand felt that its synthesis of scriptural and Stoic wisdom should be shared by educated women as well as men. In the fourth distinction Durand no longer relies on the *Speculum morale* to define virtue in general, nor the particular theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity. His teaching is focused on the practice of virtue rather than on theology, although he does initiate a brief presentation of the articles of faith. If Durand is drawing on an existing source here, it has not yet been found. Nonetheless, he is clearly creating his own version of a *summa theologiae* for the queen, inspired by the *Speculum morale*. After presenting theological virtues, he moves to the classically inspired cardinal virtues (prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance), and analyses each of these four virtues into its components. In both the third and fourth distinctions there is considerable shortening of certain chapters relative to the corresponding material in the *Speculum morale*, though there are also occasional additions.[67] By privileging *prudentia* as the first of the cardinal virtues, he gives a practical dimension to virtue as a whole. The authorities here (I.3.iv.17, p. 267) are classical: Macrobius, Cicero, and Seneca, cited from the *Speculum morale*. Durand defines justice as, “according to the philosophers and the saints”, the virtue and nobility of the mind, apportioning to each his due, citing Aristotle as “the philosopher” (I.3.iv.22, pp. 279–281)—in a passage also found in Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum*. Although his synthesis is not original, it is significant that Durand thought this wisdom relevant for the young queen, and—if he was indeed his own translator—that he considered the message important enough to deliver also in French, for an educated female audience. He shared a common stock of quotations with the Franciscan author of the *Speculum morale*, but added more specific comments that were relevant to the queen.

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[65] *Miroir* C, fols. 24va–25ra: “xxvi De Ysaac le patriarche est il escript en Genesi que il sema en la terre de sa peregrinacion qui estoit apelee Gerara et celle annee il cuilli a cent doubles. Les autres viennent a lancontre des roys et roynes pour iustice requerir et demander. Si comme sont ceus qui font grever travaillier oppresser et domachier. Du roy david il est escript ou premier livre des roys, que a lis assemblerent touz ceuz qui estoit en angoisse et mechief et oppresse et greve et domagie, et il fu leurs princes. Mais la chose en nostre temps est bertournee, qua les bonnes genz qui sont domachiez, ou il ne peueent a la court du roy de la royne et des granz seigneurs et dames venir pour avoir iustice. Ou se il y viennent, il sont lonteusement lors bote, et aucunes forz bien batu et vileue. Et autant souvent que pour ce que il ne pueent estre oy ne avoir aces a la court que il ont tant de mechief tant despens de peinnes et de labeurs en pursuivant et tant dangoisse, que il ont plus chier domaches, iniures oppressions a tres grant desolation de cuer endurer et soustenir, que senz esperance de iustice avoir, en poursuuivant la court tant de grief et de mechief soufrir. Et briefment il aiment miex perdre le tout, que estre si traveilliez.”

[66] *Miroir* C, fols. 25va–vb: “Et sont autres, qui seulement viennent audevant de la royne pour li honorer de quier les aucuns reverement la salient, et par le chemin li present dons preceux. Et qui plus se tiennent pour honorer. Ce doit mout tel dame que elle qui si singulierement est honoree, soit non digne de tel honeur.”

After an extended discussion of virtue in Tractatus I, Durand moves on to expound upon the wisdom of the queen in Tractatus II. Again he draws to a significant extent on the fusion of scriptural and classical wisdom in the first book of the *Speculum morale*. Only when he comments on distinctive virtues of the queen, like modesty of flesh (*Speculum dominarum*, II.27, p. 381), does he move away from this source. His ideal demands that she act with maturity and without deceit. Wisdom is presented as the goal of all virtue, but it is manifest directly through prudence. In the third and final division of the *Speculum dominarum*, Tractatus III, we come to the house that the prudent woman has built (III.1, p. 400). After a brief exposition of her exterior house in the first part, Durand turns to the interior house of her conscience, founded upon wisdom, virtue, and good deeds in the second part (III.2, pp. 404–405). His continuous appeal is to the *prudens domina* (*noble et sage dame* in the French translation), who builds her house in wisdom. The model he develops for the queen is like that of an exemplary Queen of Sheba, imagined bride of Solomon. The effect of his argument is to construct an active ideal of virtue, to which the queen is enjoined to approach through her queenly conduct. She should guard against flatterers and malicious persons who would defile or diminish that ideal. There was an established tradition of allegorising religious life as a model of interior virtue. Here Durand is taking the notion of the interior house as the house of conscience, one that she must decorate through her good deeds. Virtue is thus presented as a goal to which she must work. In this way, Durand is returning to traditional conceptions of interior virtue, as celebrated in traditional exhortations to virginity. It is striking, however, that virginity is never mentioned as an ideal, as it is in traditional literature of exhortation addressed to women. Durand here combines examples from the *Speculum morale* with other examples of holy women in Scripture, like Mary Magdalene and Judith (III.2, pp. 435–437). What matters is purity of intention (p. 443), which in turn leads to purity in prayer—discussed only in the final pages of this second part (III.2, p. 451).

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[67] Dubrulle, pp. 25–28.

The third part of Tractatus III is devoted to a brief discussion of the inferior house, namely hell; and the fourth and final part to a discussion of the superior house, namely paradise. Constituting a *summa* of theology, these parts proceed by analogy rather than by doctrinal statement. This short *summa*, ending the whole *Speculum dominarum*, is not inspired by the *Speculum morale*. It serves as the conclusion of what had become an extended sermon: hell (III.3, pp. 451–455) is a house of wretchedness, whereas paradise is a place of rejoicing (III.4, pp. 455–459). By describing these both as a type of house, Durand connects the house that the queen needs to build, both exterior and interior, to the eternal house that he insists is the queen's proper destination.

5 Conclusion

In picking up on this theme of justice, Durand is echoing a theme that another Franciscan, Gilbert of Tournai, had put to Louis IX: that the only reason a ruler might lose his kingdom was through a failure of justice. The difference here is that Durand is addressing not a king, but a queen. He begins his treatise of spiritual edification with a very traditional reflection on contempt for the material world, but then moves into how the queen should live, before reflecting on her eternal end. The originality of the *Speculum dominarum* is most evident when we compare it to previous treatises addressed to women of the Capetian royal house, namely Blanche of Castile and Isabelle of France. The treatises on the soul they were offered were concerned precisely with the soul, and its interior development in spiritual understanding. They included no significant guidance on how noble women are to conduct themselves in public, or how to use influence in society. Ever since Vincent of Beauvais, there had been a growing number of treatises addressed to the king. Franciscans and Dominicans were competing for royal favour. The Dominicans, with their tight sense of organisational structure and explicit commitment to learning, provided Philip IV with a useful tool to control the Church. The Franciscans, with their philosophical emphasis on the priority of the will over the intellect, appealed more strongly to women, who did not have the opportunity of a university education. By the early fifteenth century, when Christine de Pizan started to become aware of the need for a literature of ethical instruction directed to women, the French version of the *Speculum dominarum*, the *Miroir des dames*, was already becoming an old-fashioned treatise. Yet the fact that this vernacular adaptation continued to be copied for an aristocratic audience should remind us of the continuing power of its vision, combining scriptural and Stoic wisdom in a way that would influence Christine herself in her understanding of ethical obligation. In particular it offered a vision of how the queen and other well-born ladies should conduct themselves, not just in the eyes of God, but within society at large.

Chapter 3
A Mirror of Queenship: The *Speculum dominarum* and the Demands of Justice

Rina Lahav

From the middle of the thirteenth century there was a dramatic growth in the composition of treatises concerned with how a ruler should behave, a genre known as "Mirror of Princes". The *Speculum dominarum*, sometime later translated into French as the *Miroir des dames* ("Mirror of Ladies"), was composed in Latin well into the reign of Jeanne de Navarre (1285–1305), wife of Philip the Fair (1285–1314), as a manual for correct behaviour by her Franciscan confessor, Durand de Champagne.[1] I will argue that in its themes and structure it is similar to mirrors of princes, such as those written by Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome, and others, which deal with the various ways of administering justice to the people. This particular treatise, however, was written for a queen, and I would contend that it aimed at constructing a place for a Franciscan influence at the French court through the queen's influence, as a contribution to political debate in Paris at the time.

1 The Queen's Milieu

The nominated recipient of the *Speculum dominarum*, Jeanne de Navarre, the only daughter and heir of Henry I, King of Navarre, arrived at the French court in 1275 at the age of two. She was exposed to many of the same influences as her future husband, and they were raised virtually as brother and sister.[2] In 1284, when Philip the Fair was sixteen, he was knighted and married the eleven-year-old Jeanne of Champagne and Navarre on the following day.[3] The two were strongly attached to one another.[4] Striking testimony to Philip's regard for his wife is found in the

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[1] Anne Dubrulle, "Le Speculum Dominarum de Durand de Champagne," 2 vols., Thèse présentée pour l'obtention du diplome d'archiviste-paléographe, Ecole nationale des chartes, 1987–1988.

[2] Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "The Prince is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France," *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), pp. 282–334, here p. 322.

[3] "The Prince is Father of the King," p. 330.

[4] "The Prince is Father of the King," pp. 286–7.

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act of October 1294 in which he named Jeanne regent of France if he should die before their son came of age. Although in the act Philip indicated that the step he was taking was not alien to the examples of his progenitors, it was in fact the first royal ordinance to vest complete regency power in the queen. “The queen is known for her faith, her tried fidelity, and the zeal of her innate affection, for the kingdom and its inhabitants, as well as the natural and sincere feeling with which maternal affection is accustomed to cherish its offspring,” he wrote.[5]

Jeanne was rarely separated from Philip, and her name was associated with his in important respects.[6] However, she was already Queen of Navarre and Countess of Champagne before her marriage, and although Jeanne had been practically raised in the French court she never lost interest in her origins. She maintained a separate residence of her own, and her household was the centre of a cultivated circle. She remained active in the affairs of Champagne and Navarre and offered an early start to many of the most important figures in the administration of Philip the Fair.[7] She was also a lifelong supporter of the Franciscan order. The author of *Annales Gandenses* describes her as “a most faithful lover and friend, and most liberal benefactress of the Friars Minor”, who died and was buried at their establishment in Paris.[8] It is no surprise, therefore, that she chose a Franciscan as her personal confessor and named him the executor of both of her two wills.[9] The friar Durand de Champagne owed his entire career to the protection of Jeanne de Navarre. He was confessor to the queen until her death.[10]

When in March 1305 it became evident that Jeanne was about to die, Philip greatly increased the allocation of funds to his wife, so that she was able to found the College de Navarre and richly endow the hospital of Chateau-Thierry. Jeanne was apparently in conflict with the king concerning arrangements for her burial.[11]

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[5] “The Prince is Father of the King,” p. 304 n. 75: “Nam et si matre legatur tutrix nulla fidelior / ipsius etiam Regine nota fides / experta fidelitas / et innate quodam modo affectionis zelus quem ad Regnum et Regnicolas gerere sentimus eandem / ac etiam naturalis et sincerus affectus quo prolem materna diligere consueuit affectio / nos ad hoc specialiter inuitarunt. Nec id indecens uel absonum reputamus / nec a progenitorum nostrorum uestigijs que libenter insequimur alienum ex quorum prouisionibus in hac parte / sinistrum nunquam uel raro describitur aut contrarium accidisse.” (Cited with adaptations).

[6] “The Prince is Father of the King,” p. 304.

[7] Dorothy Gillerman, *Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecouis: Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), p. 12.

[8] *Annales Gandenses: Annals of Ghent*, trans. Hilda Johnstone (London: Nelson, 1951), pp. 82–83, “fidelissima dilectrix et amatrix Minorum Fratrum ac liberalissima benefactrix obiit, apud Fratres minores parisiis sepulta.”

[9] Dorothy Gillerman, *Enguerran de Marigny*, p. 14.

[10] Catherine Louise Mastny, “Durand of Champagne and the ‘Mirror of the Queen’: A Study in Medieval Didactic Literature”, PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1969, p. 59.

[11] “Regina francie Johanna die. Ij. Mensis aprilis in quadragesima in domo nemoris uicenarum moritur et contra uotum mariti sui regis francie atque propositum qui ipsam cum regibus francorum in Monasterio sancti dionisij sepeliri disposuerat confessoris sui monitu qui frater minor erat letteris furtiuis ut dicitur eligens sepulturam etiam post ultimam unctionem Parisius in fratrum

Guillaume de Nangis tells us she defied the wishes of her husband that she be buried with the kings of France at Saint-Denis, leaving instructions that she should be interred at the church of the Franciscans in Paris. Usually the French queens were not buried at Saint-Denis, which functioned in the Capetian era as a dynastic necropolis for the kingly line.[12] The Capetian queens usually chose to be buried by the religious orders they had favoured in life. Blanche of Castile was buried, for example, in the Cistercian abbey of Maubuisson in Pontoise.[13] It was therefore reasonable for Jeanne to prefer her Franciscan church; but the fact that she went against Philip's wishes is significant in this setting. After Jeanne died, Philip never remarried. He demonstrated his dedication to her memory through numerous donations in her honour; and her sympathy for Bernard Délicieux, the rebellious Franciscan who led a revolt of southerners against the king in 1304, may account for Philip's mercy on Bernard even as, in late 1304 and 1305, harsh punishments were being visited on his fellow conspirators.[14] He not only proposed her as regent, he also expressly wanted her burial to be in the ancestral site reserved for his line of kings. We must assume that he regarded her status in the kingdom as second only to his own.

2 The Mirror

The *Speculum dominarum* is generally assumed to have been written as a manual for the queen's personal edification, towards her salvation. Mastny sends us to the last pages of the *Speculum* as proof that Durand intended the "interior house", or the queen's soul, as the object of his treatise. Indeed, the third last part of the *Speculum*[15] expounds on this interior house, and instructs the queen on its correct ordering.[16] Durand describes four "houses". In her exterior house the queen receives the world in surroundings whose splendour and rich furnishings mirror her worldly position. The queen's interior house is her conscience, which she is urged to "decorate" with the same care as her palace. The "inferior house" is the resting place of the damned, that is, hell; and the queen's "superior house" is heaven. It has been argued that house imagery in Durand, like tree imagery in the work of Lull, is more than a mere convenient but fanciful metaphor. The houses function rather as a system for organising aspects of queenship, conceived as an ascending hierarchy. As in the

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minorum Monasterio sepelitur," from the *Universal Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis*, cited in "The Prince is Father of the King," p. 306.

[12] Kathleen Nolan, "The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne and the Visual Imagery of Capetian Queenship," in Kathleen Nolan ed., *Capetian Women* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 45–76, here p. 48.

[13] Miriam Shadis, "Blanche of Castile and Facinger's 'Medieval Queenship': Reassessing the Argument," in Kathleen Nolan ed., p. 151.

[14] "The Prince is Father of the King," p. 305.

[15] *Speculum dominarum*, III.2. For the structure and divisions of the *Speculum dominarum*, see Constant J. Mews in this volume.

[16] Catherine Louise Mastny, p. 98.

work of Lull, there is an idea that human beings reach the spiritual through the experiential. The first two houses accordingly model a shift from the world of the senses to the inner world of morality. The last two domains, of course, exist beyond earthly experience; but still Durand retains the mundane experiential notion of the house.[17]

Although Durand's treatise aims at a mystical partitioning of the queen's soul (or any grand lady's soul) into four metaphorical houses, I contend that strengthening the soul toward salvation is not its only objective, nor even its most salient. The queen fortifies her exterior house (the kingdom) by helping the king to fight injustices and to rule better, with the effect that she also fortifies her interior house (her own soul). Through such activity she avoids her potential inferior house (hell) after death, and smoothes the ascent to her superior house (heaven). Durand's innovation lies within the traditional frame: the purpose of woman's life remains the strengthening of her home, but the queen's way of fulfilling that purpose is uniquely public and consequential.

The treatise begins in a similar fashion to a thematic sermon, with a scriptural foundation for the articulated argument that follows: "Sapiens mulier edificat domum suam" ("The wise woman builds her house"; Prov. 14:1). Having announced his theme, through a traditional appeal to scriptural authority, Durand explains how it is to be elaborated. First, he says, her intrinsic nature as a woman should be explored, then her acquired wisdom, and lastly her practice of that wisdom for the strengthening of her home.[18] Durand begins by stressing the basic unworthiness and misery of man and especially woman.[19] He then continues to the need for the queen to acquire true knowledge and to become a *sapiens mulier*, or wise woman: a matter of intuitive wisdom rather than conventional knowledge acquired by learning.[20] A detailed discussion follows, of how the theological and cardinal virtues should be practised, emotions controlled, good habits formed, and bad habits eliminated.[21] All these preparations should transfer the queen from a mere woman into an *exemplum populi*, or a reflection of an ideal image to the people in the kingdom.[22] As such the queen was supposed to participate in her husband's rule: aiding him in locating injustices, and pleading with him to remedy them.[23]

In her unpublished edition of the Latin text, Anne Dubrulle found that a large part of the *Speculum dominarum* is in fact drawn from the *Speculum morale*, which circulated as part of the *Speculum maius* of Vincent of Beauvais, but was in fact not written until the very late thirteenth century.[24] Dubrulle does not specify that the discussion about justice in Durand's speculum is inspired by the *Speculum morale*. Indeed Durand did not merely copy the relevant part; he extracted the basics and supplemented them with other authorities. Dubrulle does not compare the theories for differences in their treatment of justice. I would argue that in analysing justice Durand deliberately chose to include those aspects already treated by his predecessors.

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[17] Dorothy Gillerman, *Enguerran de Marigny*, p. 15.

[18] *Speculum dominarum*, I.1.1, Dubrulle, p. 4.

[19] Mastny, p. 95.

[20] Mastny, p. 97.

[21] Mastny, p. 99.

[22] Mastny, p. 104.

[23] Mastny, p. 114.

[24] Dubrulle, *Speculum dominarum*, p. 83.

3 The King's Justice

Durand's take on justice includes Pseudo-Vincent's concept but is based more on the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle. Durand begins his discussion of justice by saying that justice is "virtue and nobility of the mind that gives each person his due"; and "among all virtues this is the most fitting virtue of the king, for other virtues perfect man in himself [. . .] justice perfects man for others."[25] Aristotle not only says that justice is the greatest of virtues but that it is a sign of a great man: "And therefore justice is often thought to be the greatest of virtues [. . .] it is complete because he who possesses it can exercise his virtue not only in himself but towards his neighbour also." He quotes Bias: "rule will show the man."[26] "Further," Durand says, "according to the Philosopher justice is to be seen as the brightest of the virtues; neither Venus nor Lucifer is as admirable as it. The philosopher wanted to say the beauty of stars is less admired than the beauty of justice," explains Durand. And indeed Aristotle says: "and therefore justice is often thought to be the greatest of virtues" and "neither evening nor morning star is so wonderful."[27]

Describing justice, Pseudo-Vincent had divided it into two kinds: commutative and distributive. Commutative justice deals with matters between people mutually. Matters between a commune and an individual person are the province of distributive justice.[28] Pseudo-Vincent then proceeds to describe in detail how both kinds of justice should be administered. He considers what it means to restore equality, and not only to restore what was stolen, but to do it to the satisfaction of the injured party, and to the satisfaction of the state. He even discusses how to restore a good reputation, if this is what was harmed. It is a very special individual agent that can render justice, Pseudo-Vincent says. As justice consists of different acts, the individual who successfully performs these is a diverse person.[29] The subject of justice closes with the discussion whether the "justice aides"—those who dispense justice—should be paid for their efforts. Pseudo-Vincent establishes that they are "personae communes", and as such should be paid.[30] Throughout the treatment of the topic of justice Pseudo-Vincent does not mention kingship or queenship; nor does he mention any specific figure for the delivery of justice.

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[25] *Speculum dominarum* I.3.iv.22, Dubrulle, p. 279, "Justicia secundum philosophos et sanctos est virtus et nobilitas mentis reddens unicuique quod suum est. Inter omnes virtutes hec potissime decet regem. Nam alie virtutes perficiunt hominem in se tantum—sicut patet autem de prudencia, temperancia, fortitudine et sic de aliis—justicia perficit hominem in ordine ad alios, sicut infra patebit."

[26] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, Richard McKeon ed., Bk. V, Ch. 1, 1130a.

[27] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Bk. V, Ch. 1, 1129a, p. 1003.

[28] *Speculum morale*, Lib. I, Pars III, Distincio LI, p. 332.

[29] *Speculum morale*, Lib. I, Pars III, Distincio LIII, p. 341.

Speculum morale used the term *persona communis* to describe anyone who applies the law and does justice. Durand uses this term, but only to describe a king whose personality is worthy of it. "Since the king is not a regular person, but a king, when he has dignity and excellence he is *persona communis*, a public person." In his general persona he is ordained to the rule of the whole kingdom, especially to maintain justice, through which he reigns and which he orders his underlings to administer.[31] In this respect Durand's king corresponds with Pseudo-Vincent's "justice aide", who is determined as *persona communis* as well and for that deserves payment. Durand expounds on this theme saying that the king embodies the law and becomes the law itself.[32] Aristotle uses the term "judge" instead of "king", but the meaning is very similar: "[. . .] the judge tries to equalise things by means of the penalty, taking away from the gain of the assailant." And "this is why when people dispute, they take refuge in the judge; and to go to the judge is to go to justice; for the nature of the judge is to be a sort of animate justice."[33] Establishing and enforcing the rules is the king's main function.

Durand's division of the kinds of justice differs from that in the *Speculum morale*, but they both treat the same general activities as Aristotle does. "It is known", Durand says, "that justice is: commutative, which consists in making agreements; 'vindicative',[34] which consists in punishing criminals; distributive, which consists in bestowing offices; retributive, which consists in paying back rewards (salary)."[35] Commutative justice takes the same meaning in Durand's *Speculum* as it does in Pseudo-Vincent. Vindicative, distributive, and retributive justice are all justice as administered by the state to a person: in Durand's case by the king to the subjects. The *Speculum morale* includes all these functions under the heading of distributive justice, but the essence is the same. The king needs to ensure that all the criminals are punished, all goods restored as they should be, and all goods distributed appropriately, if not equally. Aristotle divides justice into distributive and rectifying: distributive justice is according to merit; rectifying justice is to equalise things by means of penalties, "taking away from the gain of the assailant."[36] This definition includes Durand's division into vindicative and retributive justice. Although

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[30] *Speculum morale*, Lib. I, Pars III, Distincio LVIII, p. 352.

[31] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.iv.22, Dubrulle, p. 279.

[32] *Speculum dominarum*, loc. cit.

[33] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Bk. V, Ch. 4, 1132a, pp. 1008–9.

[34] The less common *vindicative* (see *Oxford English Dictionary*) is here used to contrast with *vindictive*, with its usual connotations.

[35] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.iv.26, Dubrulle, p. 288.

[36] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Bk. V, Ch. 4, 1132a, p. 1008.

Aristotle concludes his discussion about justice with the conclusion that it should not be a man who administers justice, it is not surprising that both *Speculum morale* and Durand ignored this conclusion, as did all the French Aristotelians of the time.

After demonstrating his relationship to the great thinkers of the time, Durand next lays out his distinctions using Ambrose as his authority. "Ambrose said that the first part of justice is in God, the second is in oneself, the third in the fatherland, the fourth in parents, and then in all the others."[37] Consistent with the tradition, he develops only three of these. The first part has three subdivisions: the first speaks of the fear of God that should induce us to do justice; the second is about choosing to do goodness because God had chosen us—the unworthy, unjust, and ungrateful—and given us his blood for the salvation of our souls; the third is about making one's subjects obey the divine law.[38] Under justice for fatherland Durand discusses commutative, vindicative, distributive, and retributive justice.

4 Queenship

When considering the exalted role in government that Durand had in mind for the queen, it is necessary to ask whether he was aware of the traditional view concerning the correct behaviour for women in his times. In the beginning of his treatise, after describing the wretched state of all men, Durand expounds on the inferiority of all women, the queen included. Moreover, he fears that because of her status she might consider herself above other women. He makes sure that she, with everybody else reading his treatise, understands that the queen is unmistakably subjected to her husband the king.[39] She should listen and learn meekly so that she might be taught the right behaviour.[40] She should be so because it is pleasing to God and men, he says.[41] And finally, she should be quiet, because when she speaks she does so vainly and frivolously.[42] However, mixed with these categorical statements that correlate to typical demands on female behaviour, there are also quite opposite requirements. The queen should be able, for example, to discern truth from falsehood and justice from injustice. This quality, Durand emphasises, is needed for the judgement of people. "After reaching her decision the queen should remain firm and not change her mind, not allowing her mind to be easily changeable as is usual with women."[43] The qualities Durand demands of the queen as a woman and those he demands of her as a ruler are mutually exclusive. However, Durand sees fit to include both sets of qualities in his treatise; the conventional view on the correct behaviour of women alongside the unconventional demand for unwavering self-assurance. I would suggest that such a presentation was deliberate, and aimed at securing the attention of his intended audience.

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[37] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.iv.22, Dubrulle, p. 283, "Ambrosius autem dicit quod prima pars justicie est in Deum secunda in seipsum, tercia in patriam, quarta in parentes, deinde in omnes."

[38] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.iv.23 Dubrulle, pp. 284–5.

[39] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.ii.15, Dubrulle, p. 90, "Item sit viro suo ex amore subdita."

[40] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.ii.3, Dubrulle, p. 82, "Item sit docilis in suscepcione doctrine, sicut Apostolus docet: mulier in silencio discat."

[41] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.ii.8, Dubrulle, p. 85, "Item sit mansueta, quia mansuetudo facit personam amabilem Deo et hominibus."

[42] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.ii.14, Dubrulle, p. 90, "Et quia magis est vituperabile in ecclesiis divino cultui dedicatis in verbis vanis et frivolis effluere quam alibi."

Scholars looking into the sources of a queen's authority are divided. Some claim that the Capetian queens had no power at all; and some speak of a de facto, unofficial authority. Blanche of Castile, who is described as the most active leader, could put forward her motherhood of a son and the opportunity for regency as her best marks of power.[44] One recognisable and important basis of power for women like Blanche, for example, was patronage: in her case, especially patronage of the Cistercian Order.[45] Jeanne de Navarre was a renowned supporter of the Franciscan order. I would propose that Jeanne de Navarre used her connection to the Franciscan order as a source of her power and influence in court. And in turn the Franciscan order created this opportunity for the grafting of Franciscan ambition onto the French monarchy through the incorporation of the queen in the government. It was hoped that, being a most ardent supporter of the Franciscan order and especially of her Franciscan confessor, the queen would encompass them in her beneficent works.

Convincing her that she needed to aid her husband in his rulership was not going to secure such power for her. The king and his advisors were the ones who needed to be convinced to allow her to participate, in order for the queen's role as his assistant to be considered seriously. If we shift the focus of the treatise to the king and his advisors as the intended audience, then the description of the qualities the queen should possess make perfect sense. The meek and subordinate status of all women was presented in the hope of reassuring Durand's audience that he himself was not a heretic. At this time active roles for women tended to be more pronounced in heretical movements, as is evident from the cases of Na Prous Boneta and Marguerite Porete.[46] After assuring his audience that he was not promoting women's rulership, or the rule of anyone weakened by a woman, he proceeded to explain the usefulness of the queen to the rule of the king. In this capacity Durand ascribed to the queen the determination and judgement necessary for the role of a substitute ruler.

Although Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* (ca. 1280) was one of the most influential texts of scholastic political thought, it was but one of many such works composed in this period.[47] It was not likely to be the only one the king knew about, considering his connection with the Dominicans and the Parisian masters on the issues of his grandfather's commemoration and his dealings with Boniface VIII. When Durand was writing his argument on the right rulership of the king he was addressing the whole discussion and not only the argument articulated in *De regimine principum*. Although everyone participating in this discussion of right kingship debated the ways to assure the common good, they had all restricted themselves to two main sources of control: the will of the monarch, and his laws. They each suggested different measures of the sources in the mix of the royal power over the people. There was never a question of whether both were needed or whether they might not be enough. Durand de Champagne contributes his own original outlook on the subject.

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[43] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.ii.12, Dubrulle, p. 88, "Valde commendabile est in domina quod sit constans in proposito suo. Prius quidem debet deliberare de opere, an liceat, deceat et expediat, an sit justum vel injustum, an utile vel inutile, an bonum vel malum. Sed postquam deliberaverit, debet stare immobilis in eo quod racionabiliter ordinavit."

[44] Miriam Shadis, "Blanche of Castile and Facinger's 'Medieval Queenship': Reassessing the Argument," in Kathleen Nolan ed., *Capetian Women*, pp. 137–162, here p. 153.

[45] Miriam Shadis, p. 149.

[46] Ulrike Wiethaus, "Religious Experience of Women," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 1995), pp. 983–6.

Durand states that even when the man is perfect and the laws are perfect the common good is not assured. He argues that even when the king is perfect in virtue and does his best to rule in the best interests of his people, his government cannot encompass all the land and all the people. He also thinks that laws cannot by themselves cover the entire kingdom, and need to be applied by a strong and virtuous ruler. For Durand, however, there is no equilibrium to be gained from only the sum of king and laws. Sometimes these lacunae are so big that people's lives are at risk. To illustrate his point Durand gives the example of an invalid widow who chased a nobleman all her life. He owed her six pennies for her work but he died before she could reach him. As he was dying, punished by the saints Anthony and Gregory, he saw her in his mind's eye chasing his servants to no avail and felt her despair when she had no reply for her fervent prayers and cries. With this example Durand pinpoints the inadequacy of the combination of good laws and a good man, who felt very bad about his inability to care for everybody in his domain. And to stress the point further he depicts in great detail the continuation, in which the creditors, unwilling to be pacified with any other offering, drag the woman away with them. Durand concludes with a pointed criticism. All this, he says, is done according to justice and reason.[48] This is the crux of Durand's argument. In this example everyone is doing everything right, but no one is happy. To avoid such suffering of the innocents he suggests the queen as a supplement to the king's dominion. When the power of the king does not reach everyone, the queen should step in and bolster the strength of the government.

5 Kingship

When thinking about the place of Jeanne de Navarre in the French monarchy it is important to keep in mind Philip the Fair's great concern for the image of his state and of himself as king. He was actively constructing it from the beginning of his reign. His propaganda engaged many thinkers and used Aristotle to bolster the image of the French monarchy. In their quest to strengthen the royal power they were attracted to the Aristotelian idea of the common good, which seemed to justify a more centralised form of monarchical government.[49] Perhaps the most evident use of his new image was an attack on Pope Boniface VIII, based on Philip's propaganda for himself as being the "most Christian" king and France being the "most Christian" kingdom. As "most Christian", he has claimed direct links between himself, his kingdom, and God: unlike the pope, who at that moment was mired in controversy.[50] In June 1303 documents were compiled and signed by the prelates and barons of the French kingdom in support of royal initiative against Boniface VIII. He was accused of heresy, simony, blasphemy, and adultery; a call was made for a council to judge the pope.[51] The shaping of the written record was as much a part of the propaganda campaign as the dissemination of the royal stance among the people.[52]

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[47] Arthur Stephen McGrade, John Kilcullen, and Matthew Kempshall, introduction to "Giles of Rome, On the Rule of Princes (Selections)," in *Ethics and Political Philosophy*, ed. McGrade, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 200–215, here pp. 200–201.

[48] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.iv.26, Dubrulle, p. 290: "juste et racionabiliter estimato".

Philip the Fair encouraged theological political thought and used it to shape his new image. He knew and admired the Augustinian Giles of Rome, who had been a student of Aquinas. In contrast to Jeanne de Navarre's support of the Franciscans, Philip the Fair preferred to surround himself with Dominicans, as shown by his choice of confessors, Nicolas de Fréauville and Guillaume de Paris. Moreover, the king's commissioned literary works and his gradual policy shift in favour of the Inquisition demonstrate an increasing support for the aims of the order. Philip's artistic patronage suggests that Dominican influence in Paris was supreme in the generations following Aquinas.[53]

By the 1290s the ideas of Aquinas were becoming a key influence on political theory. He claimed that monarchy is the best form of government because it contained the most unity. Since monarchy is "natural", it is inherently good, irrespective of ecclesiastical sanction. The prince, Aquinas also said, leads his subjects to virtue both directly (by his laws) and indirectly (by his justice). In times of emergency the prince can dispense with the letter of the law and rule uninhibited for the common good. The king is morally obliged to obey the law, but no one has the right to compel him to do so.[54] He trusted the king to be of exceptional virtue and therefore in his ruling to supplement the imperfect laws.[55]

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[49] Thomas Renna, "Aristotle and the French Monarchy, 1260–1303," in *Viator* 9 (1978), pp. 309–324, here p. 324.

[50] Collette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 174–5.

[51] William J. Courtenay, "Between Pope and King: The Parisian Letters of Adhesion of 1303," in *Speculum* 71, no. 3 (1996), pp. 577–605, here p. 577.

[52] William J. Courtenay, "Between Pope and King," p. 604.

[53] Dorothy Gillerman, *Enguerran de Marigny*, p. 13.

[54] Thomas Renna, "Aristotle and the French Monarchy, 1260–1303," p. 312.

[55] Thomas Renna, loc. cit.

Aquinas begins his discussion on kingship by considering the best form of rule for the people of the land. He states that the best way to create a human society is to copy nature: "whatever is in accord with nature is best, for in all things nature does what is best [. . .] among the bees there is one king bee and in the whole universe there is One God, Maker and Ruler of all things [. . .] every multitude is derived from unity."[56] Durand echoes Aquinas's concern by stating that, just as in nature the animate overcomes the inanimate, so is the king above the laws. Aquinas's main concern in his treatise is tyranny of the king: "a government becomes unjust by the fact that the ruler, paying no heed to the common good, seeks his own private good."[57] Durand treats the distinction between a just king and a tyrant by citing Augustine, who says that when justice is removed the kingdoms are just bands of robbers.[58] Without applying justice kings are just thieves or pirates, but on a higher level than their frankly criminal counterparts.[59] Even thieves, Durand says, apparently have their own juridical system, without which even they cannot function. Therefore, he concludes, nothing can exist—not cities, nor countries, nor kingdoms—without justice.[60] On the question of how to ensure that the kingdom does not fall into the hands of a tyrant, Aquinas answers that this is by proper education of a future king. He does not believe in restricting the power of the king, but in the necessity for the man raised up as king to be of such condition that it is improbable that he would become a tyrant.[61] If he does, however, the people should not act to end his rulership; they should see it as punishment for their evil ways.[62] Durand says that the king must study to serve justice supremely, because his injustice would open the way to all bad things, and that will take away from him his royal majesty.[63] And Aquinas: "[. . .] not a few rulers exercise tyranny under the cloak of royal dignity."[64] The better to show the difference between good kingship, concerned with the benefit of the people, and tyranny, illegitimate and only interested in robbery, Durand relates the example of Alexander that Augustine had used to illustrate kingship without justice. Alexander came across a pirate on his journey. He asked him why does he infect the sea with piracy; that is, why does he exercise robbery on the sea. The pirate replied: "While I infest the sea, you infest the land.

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[56] Aquinas, *On Kingship, to the King of Cyprus*, trans. Gerald B. Phelan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1982; first published 1949), ch. 2, 19, p. 12.

[57] Aquinas, *On Kingship*, ch. 3, 24, p. 14.

[58] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.iv.22, Dubrulle, p. 281.

[59] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.iv.22, Dubrulle, p. 282.

[60] *Speculum dominarum*, loc. cit.

[61] Aquinas, *On Kingship*, ch. 6, 42, p. 24.

[62] Aquinas, *On Kingship*, ch. 6, 50, p. 28.

[63] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.iv.22, Dubrulle, p. 280: "Summe ergo debet rex studere servare justiciam, quia injusticia ejus dat occasionem et aperit viam omnibus malis in regno et aufert ab eo regiam majestatem."

[64] Aquinas, *On Kingship*, ch. 4, 30, p. 19.

Because I do it from a small boat I am called a pirate; you do the same on a grander scale, therefore you are called emperor."[65]

Giles of Rome wrote a manual on correct rulership, *De regimine principum*, for the young Philip the Fair.[66] Philip's satisfaction with the book Giles produced is shown by the French translation he commissioned soon after the original was completed, as well as by the favours he bestowed on Giles in later years. According to Giles, the ideal prince should be a person of aloofness, magnificence, liberality, and power, who dedicated himself to the people's common welfare and fought just wars in their defence, who inventoried and husbanded the resources of his kingdom, and restrained himself from greed and rapine. Philip's posture as king embodied many of the ideal traits Giles described. Giles's admonition that a king should avoid familiarity with his subjects is particularly striking in light of Philip the Fair's stony and reserved attitude, which so impressed his contemporaries.[67] The *De regimine principum* demonstrates Giles of Rome's extraordinary command of the classical sources, especially Aristotle's *Politics*, *Ethics*, and *Rhetoric*. Giles cites the *Politics* by name approximately 230 times, the *Ethics* 185 times, the *Rhetoric* 88 times and the *De re militari* of Vegetius 23 times. *De regimine*'s studious avoidance of Scripture or the writings of the fathers is unique among medieval mirrors.[68] The narrative of *De regimine* is patterned on the discourse of the schools; every subject is treated in the same disciplined, methodical, and closely reasoned manner that Giles and the university-educated readers of the *De regimine* would have expected in a university lecture or textbook.[69] For Giles of Rome a perfect kingship is the rule of one man of exceptional virtue for the sake of the common good. A virtuous king was needed to correct defects in the law and to apply the law in concrete cases. The law is imperfect and too abstract; the king must have the authority to apply it to particular cases. The way to assure the virtue of the king was through proper education of the young princes, to fix their gaze on the ideal of the common good.[70]

A more practical publicist of Philip the Fair was John of Paris, a Dominican theologian who summoned Aristotelian concepts of monarchy to serve in the deposition of Boniface VIII.[71] John's *De potestate* was the most formidable tract from the royalist side during the controversy. John is less concerned with what the king is than he is with what the king does. He takes the king's virtue for granted. John sanctifies the royal family more than any given king. Since God has blessed the whole Capetian dynasty, there is no need to justify the holiness of one of its members, Philip the Fair. John defines kingship in terms of how best to depose a useless pope.

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[65] *Speculum dominarum*, I.3.iv.22, Dubrulle, pp. 281–2.

[66] "The Prince is Father of the King," p. 329.

[67] "The Prince is Father of the King," p. 330.

[68] Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De regimine principum, Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, ca. 1275–1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 11.

[69] Charles F. Briggs, p. 12.

[70] Thomas Renna, p. 313.

[71] Thomas Renna, p. 319.

He argues that royal rule is the best kind of rule because it is the most effective in purging evil from the Church. The king, who is normally bound by customary law, is temporarily released from the restraints of positive law in order to rectify the immediate disorder in either the realm or the Church. He defends himself and his people from the unlawful intervention of a bad pope.[72]

The masters in the Parisian faculties of philosophy and theology presented their ideas on the right kind of kingship in the form of *quaestiones* on the *Politics* of Aristotle. They concluded that for the common good it was best to be ruled by a king of truly exceptional virtue. However, they believed such a person does not exist. Therefore in practice they saw the best laws as a better alternative to the best king.[73]

6 The Queen's Allies

In this atmosphere of creation and development of new concepts of kingship there are no purely theoretical writers; every position comes with an agenda, which almost always relates to other groups. More often than not it is concerned with each group's position in the controversy with the pope, or the new and evolving image of the French monarchy. The only voices that seem to be absent in this setting are these of the Franciscan theologians. The Franciscan order was rapidly growing in the thirteenth century. It has been estimated at as many as thirty thousand by mid-century, and it was taking on a series of new functions. As educated men joined the order they were tapped to fill roles that would have been unsuitable for Francis and his original colleagues. This situation hastened the process of clericalisation and education within the order. It also gave the Franciscans power and thus altered their relation to society.[74] Francis had wanted the brothers to obey, not to command. The new functions seemed to encourage and even demand relaxed standards of poverty, which went against the original Franciscan ideal. But that was not the only compromise. In assuming positions of power, the Franciscans entered the power struggles that characterise worldly activity. If they were largely successful in these contexts, it was not because they were powerful in themselves, but because they had powerful backers, like the pope and secular leaders, who needed them.[75] At this time, a manual was written with the express intention of educating the queen on the right behaviour. Looking at the declared intention of the manual in view of the political propaganda debates progressing in Paris, it seems to mean a great deal more than just the edification of her character for the sake of salvation.

This was not the only conversation on ethics the Franciscans took part in. Nor did either side speak with a uniform voice on any of the other topics. Bonnie Kent has demonstrated that there was no simple dichotomy between the orders on questions of virtue ethics, but each order produced various approaches to questions of virtue, will, and Aristotelian ethics as sources informing Christian doctrine.[76] The *Speculum dominarum* was not, however, the only Franciscan treatise written on the subject of rulership. Untypically, it was not written as an independent, speculative, and purely theoretical treatise; it was written for the queen by her confessor. Whether the queen needed an excuse to get involved in political matters, or the Franciscans pursued their interests using the queen's influence, the treatise afforded both. The queen's unusual involvement in state matters allows us to presume that there were such interests, and they were manifested in this treatise.

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[72] Thomas Renna, p. 320.

[73] Thomas Renna, p. 318.

[74] David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), p. 6.

[75] David Burr, p. 8.

These particular objectives produced the treatise as we now encounter it: conventional, yet innovative. Evaluating every ethical notion against the ethics of Aristotle and supporting it with all the eminent Christian authorities, treating the subject of just rule (already widely addressed in France under Philip IV), structured as a thematic sermon and describing the inferiority of all females, it is highly conventional. Its only novelty is a radically new notion of queenship. The strengthening of the queen's house ("Sapiens mulier edificat domum suam") is both cause and effect. The less tangible houses of the queen are strengthened when she treats her larger exterior house, her kingdom, in the right ways. The queen, Durand claims, should become this wise judge and efficient substitute ruler in order to strengthen her house in the larger sense: the French kingdom. When the queen exercises her wisdom to benefit the kingdom she is adorning two of her metaphorical houses: the larger external house, and hence also the internal house which is her soul. The external is adorned by her actions, and the internal by her intentions while performing these actions. Writing for the queen, and testing the delicate line between accepted female responsibilities and the roles they wished the queen to take on, the Franciscans hoped to encourage her involvement in political matters, and through her to advance their own interests in the court.

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[76] Bonnie Kent, *Virtues of the Will, The Transformation of Ethics in the Late Thirteenth Century* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1995).

Chapter 4
A Lady's Guide to Salvation: The *Miroir des dames* Compilation

Janice Pinder

1 Introduction

The treatise on queenship that Durand de Champagne wrote for Jeanne de Navarre, the *Speculum dominarum*, was soon translated into French as the *Miroir des dames*, and chiefly disseminated in this form.[1] As Catherine Mastny observes in her doctoral dissertation on Durand's work, the Mirror was a genre that by the late thirteenth century had an encyclopaedic vocation.[2] The *Miroir des dames* certainly attempts to cover the whole field of moral considerations necessary for a queen, dealing with the virtues she should cultivate both as a (female) member of fallen humanity, and in her public role in the government of the kingdom. However, at the turn of the fifteenth century a version of this *Miroir* was made, expanded by the addition of a number of shorter texts of spiritual and moral import, indicating perhaps a feeling that there were areas necessary for salvation that it did not adequately cover. This expanded version survives in three copies.[3] Two of them, like the other copies of the *Miroir*, appear to have been produced for noble patrons.[4] They are both illuminated books from the workshop of the Virgil Master, and were both owned by Jean, Duke of

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[1] For details of the twelve surviving manuscripts, see Mews in Chapter 2, this volume.

[2] Catherine Louise Mastny, "Durand of Champagne and the 'Mirror of the Queen': A Study in Medieval Didactic Literature," PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1969, p. 34.

[3] These are Brussels Bibliothèque Royale (Bibl. roy.) MSS 9555–9558 and London, British Library (BL) MS Addit. 29986, which both belonged to Jean de Berry and subsequently to his daughter Marie; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) MS nouv. acq. fr. 5232, an early fifteenth-century copy on paper, without decoration. The contents of all three manuscripts are identical.

[4] Anne Dubrulle, "Le Speculum dominarum de Durand de Champagne," 2 vols. Thèse presentée pour l'obtention du diploma d'archiviste-paléographe, Ecole nationale des chartes, 1987–1988, p. 12.

K. Green, C.J. Mews (eds.), *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250–1500*, The New Synthese Historical Library 69, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-0529-6_4,
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Berry (1340–1416).[5] The third is a plain copy of the texts on paper. In this collection the *Miroir* comes first, and the two illuminated manuscripts have a miniature at the beginning showing Durand presenting his book to the queen. A second miniature, at the start of the text headed *Les Meditacions st Anseaume* shows a seated figure teaching three ladies in fashionable dress.[6] It seems clear that the collection was made for a lady of noble birth, but there are no clues to the identity of the recipients of the individual manuscripts. It is unknown whether Jean de Berry had the two illuminated manuscripts made or was given them. It is possible that they were intended for his daughters—the younger daughter, Marie, inherited one of them—or that one of them was for his young second wife, Jeanne de Boulogne, whom he married in 1389. In any case, they remained in his library during his lifetime.

The collection was clearly intended to be viewed as a whole, as a kind of elaboration of the *Miroir des dames*. The texts are welded together with consistent formatting and decoration; the running chapter titles at the top of the folios of the *Miroir des dames* (also present in other copies of that text, for example Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 324) continue through the rest of the manuscript, identifying each of the additional texts as though they were also chapters of the *Miroir*. There are also textual indications of continuity. At the end of the *Miroir* proper, before the beginning of the next piece, there is a passage inserted which connects the two:

> And since we have just made reference to the house of paradise, of which the wise man in Ecclesiastes speaks, *Ad domum convivii in illa finis est cunctorum* ("In the house of feasting is the end of all"; Eccles. 7:3). So that each may realise that in this world there is no lasting dwelling; rather, each is transitory—*Et fugit velud umbra*. For this reason there follows here a treatise which shows the final conclusion of every human estate. *Vt quisque de se ipso loquatur*.[7]

At the end of the last text in the manuscript is written: "Explicit le livre du mirouer de dames."[8]

All of these features create an impression of coherence, a whole in which the *Miroir des dames* occupies the main place. It is interesting to consider in what way the other texts could be considered to complement it, and why they might have been chosen. For the owner of such a compilation, how would moving from one to another of these texts affect the way each was read, and in particular, how would it condition the reading of the *Miroir*? This paper will examine the collection in the light of these questions. I will begin with a survey of the additional texts, and then consider common characteristics and themes that might indicate criteria for inclusion.

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[5] Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), pp. 408–409. Meiss dates BL Addit. 29986 as ca. 1407–1410 and Bibl. roy. 9555–9558 as ca. 1410.

[6] Bibl. roy. 9555–9558, fol. 154va.

[7] "Et pour ce que derrainement auons fait mencion de la maison de paradis de laquelle parle le sage en ecclesiastique, *Ad domum convivii in illa finis est cunctorum*. En la maison du conuit la est la fin de tous. Afin que chascun saiuise que en ce monde na nulle habitacion pardurable ains est chascune transitoire. *Et fugit velud umbra*. Pour ce sensuit le traitte qui demoustre de chascun estat la finable conclusion humainne. *Vt quisque de se ipso loquatur*. Selon son estat en disant" BL Addit. 29986 fol. 147ra. The corresponding passage in Bibl. roy. 9555–9558 is on fol. 148rb.

[8] BL Addit. 29986 fol. 167ra; Bibl. roy. 9555–9558, fol. 179 adds "et autres livres".

2 Construction of the Collection

i. *Le Miroeur de mortel vie*, which begins "je vois morir, venez avant". It is a set of verses in which people from different stations in life lament their impending death, and is one of the many vernacular versions of a text also found in Latin, whose first words give the name to the genre: *vado mori*, which is one of the sources of the *danse macabre*.[9]
ii. *Le Livre du cloistre de l'ame que Hue de Saint Victor fist*. This is a double case of mistaken identity. The *De claustro animae* was a Latin treatise of spiritual formation by the Augustinian Hugh of Fouilloy, often attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor. Furthermore, the French text in question is not a translation of the Latin, but a vernacular composition drawing on several sources, known from a number of manuscripts.[10] The Old French *Abbaye du Saint Esprit* is a prose work that describes an allegorical convent to be constructed in the conscience of the reader, and peopled with virtues. The construction of this convent is presented as the means by which a devout person living in the world (man or woman in some manuscripts, woman only in others) can attain the perfection normally associated with life within the cloister.[11] The version found here differs in some respects from that in other manuscripts, and appears to have been specially modified for the *Miroir* collection.
iii. *Les Meditacions saint Anseaume*, which is in fact a translation of Anselm's first meditation only, inciting the reader to reflect on her unworthiness faced with God's judgement.
iv. *La Droite forme pour vivre qui doit mener lame qui sest donnee a dieu en gardant sa virginite, sa veuete, son pucellage a tousiours au monde*. This text is known only from the three *Miroir des dames* manuscripts and one other—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 1802—where it is found in the company of another royal mirror text, the *Miroir de l'Ame* made for Blanche of Castile. Like the *Cloistre de l'Ame*, it is addressed to a woman and proposes the construction of an edifice of virtues in her heart. The metaphor here, however, is not a

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[9] See E.P. Hammond, "Latin Texts of the Dance of Death," *Modern Philology* 8 (1911), pp. 399–410, and Michael Dunne, "A Being-towards-Death—the *Vado mori*," *Maynooth Philosophical Papers* 4 (2007), pp. 1–16.

[10] Eleven manuscripts are listed by K. Chesney, "Notes on Some Treatises of Devotion Intended for Margaret of York," *Medium Aevum* 20 (1951), pp. 13–19. To these should be added BNF fonds français 2094 and 19397.

[11] For a summary of the contents of the text, and of the tradition of allegories of the cloister of the soul, see Christiania Whitehead, "Making a Cloister of the Soul in Medieval Religious Treatises," *Medium Aevum* 67 (1998), pp. 1–29.

religious building but a secular one—the lady is to build a castle, and within it a chamber, in which she can fittingly receive her lover and persuade him to stay. The allegorised constructs include not only the walls of the building, but the ceremonial offering of a meal to the divine guest and preparation of his bed, following a sequence of events that would be familiar to any cultivated lady from everyday routines of aristocratic hospitality, but also, in its association of the lady of the castle and her lover, strongly echoing many episodes of courtly romance.

v. Some short treatises, collected under the title *De repentence et vraye confession*, on vices, virtues, and preparation for confession.
vi. *Pour bien mourir*. On preparation for death.
vii. *De vraie amour*. Having first deplored the predominance of self-interested love in the world, this text distinguishes four kinds of love among people—carnal, natural (e.g. for parents), common (benevolence towards all), and spiritual. This kind, which is the subject of the rest of the treatise, is further subdivided into four: loving the other for oneself, for the sake of the other, loving God in the other, and loving the other in God. There is then a long development on the sacraments, with a return to the theme of love at the end.

These texts resonate with the *Miroir des dames* and with each other in a number of ways, which may give some clues to why they were chosen. Three of them, like the *Miroir des dames*, were written for or presented to a woman living in the world. The *Droite forme de vivre* makes this clear in its title, and the treatise itself addresses a woman who is familiar with the conventions of courtly love and aristocratic hospitality. Anselm's meditations in their original Latin form were part of a collection presented to Countess Matilda of Tuscany. The memory of this was preserved in the illuminations of a number of the Latin manuscripts.[12] The miniature at the beginning of the French text may be a reflection of these. The *Cloistre de l'Ame*, although in this version it has no explicit reference to living in the world, is addressed to a woman; and a prestigious spiritual authority, Hugh of Saint Victor, is invoked in its heading, perhaps another way of linking it to the *Miroir*, whose opening miniature and prologue show it to have been presented to a queen by her spiritual adviser. The *Cloistre* and the *Droite forme de vivre* had both been circulating in royal circles: a copy of the *Droite forme* appeared, as mentioned above, alongside the *Miroir de l'Ame* written for Blanche of Castile, while a version of the *Cloistre* (called in the manuscripts *La Sainte abbaye*) had been included in the manuscript of the *Somme le Roi* made for the royal abbey of Maubuisson a century earlier, and there was a copy of the same text in a manuscript made for Pierre Basin, confessor of Blanche de Navarre.

There is perhaps an even stronger reason for the inclusion of the *Cloistre* and the *Droite forme de vivre* at the thematic level. They both share with the *Miroir* the construction of a building as metaphor for the ordering of the interior life. While the queen to whom the *Miroir* is addressed is advised to imitate the wise woman of Scripture in building her house, the reader of the *Cloistre* is advised to build an abbey, and of the *Droite forme* to build a castle. In all three texts constructions offer a set of variations on the theme of building with virtues. Faith and good works are combined in some way in all three in the building of the foundations or the walls; the building is protected by a moat or watered by a river of tears of contrition and strong walls or pillars protect those inside from winds of tribulation or temptation. The buildings of the *Miroir* and the *Droite forme de vivre* "mirror" the lady's own surroundings, and the activities they place within the buildings are those particular household activities of aristocratic hospitality—preparing a guest room, making the guest comfortable, serving a meal. The *Cloistre*, on the other hand, evokes the daily activity of a monastery in its description of the functional spaces and the office-holders of the abbey (who are "virtues, graces, and gifts of the Holy Spirit"). It, however, also engages the reader with an exciting drama—the invasion of the cloister by the daughters of the Devil and their expulsion by the Holy Ghost. This breaching of the edifice is also evoked in the other two texts, but only as a danger: with references to a need to keep walls strong, and to guard the entrances lest thieves break in.

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[12] Otto Pächt, "The Illustrations of St Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19, nos. 1–2 (1956), pp. 68–83.

In all three texts, the theme of the enclosure and its breaching is linked to the guarding of the senses. These are described as the entrances to the soul, as in this passage on the house of conscience from the *Miroir des dames*:

> Now all the windows of this house should be closed. By windows we mean the senses, which we must guard carefully.[13]

This serves to introduce instructions on good behaviour and behaviour to avoid, some of which is very direct. The *Droite forme de vivre* addresses sexual morality in its section on the sense of touch:

> [T]ake care that you touch nothing that might excite the flesh, for it is in thrall to the devil. And therefore take care of where you put your hands and what you touch on yourself or on another, for there is great peril in it. I will speak no more of this matter for you know quite well what I mean.[14]

The *Cloistre* is both less explicit and less prescriptive. Guarding the senses is equated with keeping the cloister. The eyes, ears, and mouth are the entrances, which are to be guarded by Fear of God. Unlike the versions of this text found in other manuscripts, the *Cloistre* adds some more details to this struggle between virtue and vice: Fear has an assistant, Confession, and it is at the same time their carelessness that lets in the daughters of the devil, and their vigilance that will allow the abbey to continue better than before, when the daughters of the devil have been expelled. This version also has a different ending, reinforcing the theme of containment:

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[13] "Or deuroient donc toutes les fenestres de ceste maison estre closes. Par les fenestres nous entendons les senz lesquelz nous deuons soingneusement garder" (BL Addit. 29986 fol. 124va).

[14] "[E]t garde bien soingneusement que tu ne atouches a chose dont la char se puist esmouoir car mult est endable. et pour ce garde bien sus quoy tu metras tes mains ne quelle chose tu atoucheras sur toy ne sur autrui. car trop grant peril y a. Je ne parleray plus de ceste matiere car tu sces bien que ie te vueil dire" (BL Addit. 29986 fol. 162va).

> "Religion" comes from "bind", for the conscience is the cask for the wine of graces of the Holy Spirit, which must be so strongly bound that it will not burst under any circumstances.[15]

The theme of guarding the senses has its pendant in the short text on the examination of conscience, where the sins of the senses are listed, in a way that recalls the plain speaking of the *Droite forme de vivre*:

> After that one should proceed to the five bodily senses by which one sins very often, with the eyes by unruly looking about, with the ears by foolishly listening and willingly hearing slandering liars, or with the mouth by foolish talk or excessive drinking or eating, or with the nostrils by indulging in sweet perfumes, or through unruly and shameful touching of oneself or one's wife (if one has one), or of others, which is worse, whether man or woman.[16]

Another strong theme that runs through the collection is the inevitability of death and judgement, with the urgent need that this brings for repentance and proper dealing with sins. This is most striking in the *Miroir du Monde* verses, which continues the *Miroir des dames* in these collections, and the translation of Anselm's meditation, while the tools to carry out the action they call for are provided by the set of short texts on confession and preparing for death. Many of the modifications made to the *Cloistre* also fit in with this theme. Along with the development of the theme of containment through custody of the senses, there is a concern to pay more attention to vice and its description than in other versions of this text. In the description of the four senses, or rather, faculties (sight, hearing, thought, and speech) that are the entrances to the cloister, some subsidiary vices associated with each faculty are added. The vices represented by the daughters of the devil (Envy, Presumption, Detraction, and Suspicion) are described more graphically and at far greater length than in other versions.

The final text, the treatise on true love, fits less well into these thematic patterns. However, it does take up something that is treated in the *Miroir des dames*. Love occurs twice there: once among the passions, where the focus is on love of the common good—an aspect of love of neighbour that is particularly appropriate to a ruler. The second is a more conventionally religious treatment of love, under the heading of Charity in the section on the theological virtues. This consists of six chapters: definition of charity, excellence of charity, ordering of charity, degrees of charity, signs of charity, and benefits of charity. It draws on Augustine, Gregory the Great, Hugh of Saint Victor, and others.[17] The final treatise in the collection, *De vraie amour*, is likewise a sort of anatomy of love, covering some of the same ground as the *Miroir* chapters on charity; interestingly, here it is called *amour*. It appears to be addressed to a lay audience, often drawing back its discussion of spiritual love to social situations, as in its linking of the quotation from 1 John 3:18, "Non diligamus verbo neq[ue] lingua sed opere et veritate", to people's tendency to be influenced in their love of their friends by what others say about them. Its message, however, is firmly ascetic: the author begins by deploring the prevalence of self-interested love in the world, and ends with a gloomy reflection on our tendency to be drawn away from God by "foolish and false" loves.

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[15] "Religion est dite de relier, car la conscience si est le tonnel de vin de graces du saint esperit qui doit estre si forment relie que il n'espande pour nulle achoison" (BL Addit. 29986 fol. 152vb). The reader of the manuscript might find an echo of this passage in the *Droite forme de vivre*, also in the context of guarding the senses: "Et qui verroit vn tonel tout deslie il cuideroit que tout le bon vin seroit coru hors" (fols. 162rb–va).

[16] "Apres si doit l'en corre aux .v. sens du corps ou l'en peche mult souuent, par les yeux en folement regarder, par les oreilles en folement escouter et oir volentiers medisans menteurs et autres folies, ou par la bouche en folement parler ou trop boire ou trop menger, ou par les narines en soy deliter en bonnes odeurs, ou par folement touchier et deshonnestement. En soy ou sa femme que il a ou en autres qui piz vault soit homme soit femme" (BL Addit. 29986 fol. 165ra).

3 Conclusion

This paper began with questions about the relation between the texts in this collection, and it has been able to point to some shared themes, and some ways in which individual texts take up and expand, or offer a slightly different perspective, on concerns raised by the *Miroir*. Is this enough to posit a guiding intelligence behind the constitution of the collection? After all, these are all common themes in medieval religious literature. However, the bridging passage shows some intention to link the texts, and the changes made to the *Cloistre* may be further evidence of fitting texts into this particular collection, perhaps even by the same person who wrote the prologue to the *Miroir du Monde*. When we look at the aspects of the *Miroir des dames* taken up in the other texts, an interesting point emerges. None of the thematic links are to the aspect of public morality connected with government that the *Miroir* expounds. In the *Miroir* itself, there is attention to both public and private morality, but when it is taken together with the rest of the collection, the balance is shifted towards a more overtly spiritual and ascetic tone. This might even reflect on the reading of the *Miroir* itself. Keith Atkinson observed in an article on medieval French translations of Boethius's *Consolation* that, when the work was copied into a collection, the accompanying texts indicated that it was regarded as

> a fiction of everyman learning from an examination of his miserable and unfortunate state in this life, via a series of didactic statements and moral instructions, of the real home of heaven which he might enjoy in some after-life, were he patient, persevering and obedient,

rather than a moral and metaphysical enquiry.[18] In the same way we might see the *Miroir des dames* shifted out of the Mirror of Princes category into that of personal morality and salvation. There is no attempt, however, to play down the text's engagement with civic virtue by editorial means. In collection, it is presented in exactly the same way as in the manuscripts where it is the sole text, and copied faithfully, with no attempt to abridge the sections that deal with the public duties of the queen. It is rather in the additional texts that the parts of it dealing with personal spiritual growth through traditional moral and ascetic practices are reinforced. It might be useful here to return to the notion of the encyclopaedic vocation of the *speculum* genre. If we are to think of the *Miroir des dames* as all a lady needs to know for her salvation, then it might be seen as deficient in some respects. Some subject matter, such as information about confession and the sacraments, is entirely absent. Other particularly useful themes, such as the construction of virtuous inner life, are elaborated further, or in a more accessible and more literary form. The *Miroir* is a long text, to be dipped into rather than read at a sitting. The other texts are much shorter, and some of them are more imaginative. If we think of the collection from the reader's point of view, the lady reading from this book would receive quite a coherent message, finding thematic and even verbal resonances between the texts. She would be presented with a variety of roles with which to identify: queen-princess, nun, heroine of romance. At the same time, she would be confirmed in her consciousness of being an important, privileged person through using this book, with its main work explicitly linked to past queens through the miniature and the prologue, and others evoking influential spiritual authorities.

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[17] Dubrulle, *Le Speculum dominarum*, pp. 242–266.

[18] J. Keith Atkinson, "Manuscript Context as a Guide to Generic Shift: Some Middle French Consolations," in *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature, and Translation: Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*, ed. Peter Rolfe Monks and D.D.R. Owen (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 321–332, here p. 322.

This collection of texts shows us a moment in the development of moral or ethical advice for aristocratic women. The *Miroir des dames* was not the first of such works. About half a century earlier, another mirror had been composed for a French queen—the *Speculum anime* written for Blanche of Castile.[19] Like the *Speculum dominarum*, it was quickly translated into French. The earlier queen's mirror counsels turning away from worldly involvement. When Durand de champagne wrote a new mirror for the queen he gave lengthy advice for the ethical performance of her public duties as well, while not neglecting the more ascetic moral dimension. It is the latter dimension, however, that is privileged in the collection we have been considering here, creating an overall emphasis on turning away from the world and concentrating on personal salvation interpreted in a traditional way.

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[19] Sean L. Field, "Reflecting the Royal Soul: The *Speculum anime* Composed for Blanche of Castile," *Mediaeval Studies* 68 (2006), pp. 1–42.

Chapter 5
Charles V's Visual Definition of the Queen's Virtues

Cécile Quentel-Touche

Charles V of France, like his father and his brothers before him, commissioned a great number of luxurious manuscripts during his reign. Personally involved in the selection of Latin texts to translate into French, he also assembled translators who were able to clarify practical knowledge. Even if he didn't organise the exact disposition of illustrations in his manuscripts himself, he may have issued directions, especially concerning the portraits of his own family. In these royal representations, King Charles V and his wife Jeanne de Bourbon are seated side by side and looking at each other, with their children, often surrounded by monks or members of the court. The king speaks, and the queen listens.

Several recent researchers have transformed our perception of the art commissioned by Charles V, and the image presented of Jeanne de Bourbon. In two studies dedicated to her iconography, Claire Richter Sherman has analysed these scenes as political allegories in the general context of the translation program commissioned by the king to furnish intellectual bases for the French monarchy.[1] Carra Ferguson O'Meara has re-examined the figure of the queen in the *Coronation Book of Charles V*, and explored the tension between the entry of Jeanne into the "royal religion" and the expression of her limited rights (manifest in her failure to be anointed with the Celestial Balm, and her lack of the power to cure scrofula).[2] Elodie Lequain, comparing didactic and literary texts on the education of women in late Middle Ages, has seen in the same portraits an expression of the queen's virtue and education, marked

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[1] Claire Richter Sherman, "The Queen in Charles V's Coronation Book: Jeanne de Bourbon and the 'Ordo ad reginam benedicendam'," *Viator* 8 (1977): 255–298; *idem*, "Taking a Second Look: Observations on the Iconography of a French Queen, Jeanne de Bourbon (1338–1378)," *Feminism and Art history: Questioning the Litany*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard. New York: Harper & Row, 1982, pp. 101–117; *idem*, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in Fourteenth Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

[2] Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent: The Coronation Book of Charles V of France* (London, Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2001), chapter 4: "The Ordo of Jeanne de Bourbon and the Ministerium of the Queen of France," pp. 153–179.

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by her constant presence beside the king.[3] Bernd Carqué has focused on the stylistic tastes of Charles V combining *magnificentia* and *stilus humilis* in royal family portraits[4]; and Wolfgang Brückle has analysed monumental sculptures and miniatures representing Charles V's family as a way to promote the Valois's cohesion at the time of a weakening of the state, between 1365 and 1379.[5]

This study will focus on Charles V's innovative development of the queen's image, combining models, religious figures, didactic concepts, and medieval queens' *exempla*. Using the figures of his wife, children, and brothers—a result of his obsession with *belle ordonnance*—Charles V expresses his conception of his relations with the Church, dynastic memory, and the political reform of kingship inspired by St Louis. As for the control of his own family, for which he draws on the didactic books of his own library,[6] the representation of queenly virtues corresponds to the perfect elaboration of an elevated being, contributing to the glorification of kingly power and the defence of monarchic governance.

The specific type of royal family portrait described here is a derivation of the royal couple images, in frontal view or arranged so as to accept a book, or to receive messengers. Even if physiognomic details are not systematically researched in these miniatures, they can be linked thematically to specific individual portraits of John the Good (Jean II de France) and Charles V,[7] depicted to perpetuate their memory but also to impose an artistic expression that bestows a powerful royal image in support of the elite. Recent research has drawn a comparison with the emergence of the portrait *au vif* of John the Good—as an opportunity for the Valois, whose power needed legitimising, to affirm their specificity. Then, as Charles V and Jean de Berry attested, other ways to manifest their identity are used, such as signatures, seal portraits, historical charters, and emblems.[8]

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[3] Elodie Lequain, *L'éducation des femmes de la noblesse en France au Moyen Âge (XIIIe–XVe siècle)*, dissertation, Université de Paris X, 2005, in particular pp. 748–773, chapter "La dame dans l'image," where the author analyses the attitudes of women in the dedication scenes introducing didactic manuscripts created for them.

[4] Bernd Carqué, *Stil und Erinnerung: Französiche Hofkunst im Jahrhundert Karl V und im Zeitalter ihrer Deutung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), pp. 559–561.

[5] Wolfgang Brückle, *Civitas Terrena: Staatsrepräsentation und politischer Aristotelismus in der französichen Kunst (1270–1380),* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005).

[6] Charles V possessed in his library eight Latin versions of *Le Gouvernement des roys et des princes, selon frere Gille l'Augustin* (nos. 511–517, 522), and six French versions (nos. 518, 519 bis, 520, 521, 523); see Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V: Inventaire général des livres ayant appartenu aux rois Charles V et Charles VI et à Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2 (Paris: Champion, 1907), pp. 87–88.

[7] C.R. Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338–1380)* (New York: New York University Press, 1969). In the Louvre of Charles V, built by the architect Raymond du Temple between 1364 and 1366, ten stone statues represented six members of the royal family: the king, the queen, and the four brothers of the king. Jean de Liège depicted the royal couple; Jean de Launay and Jean de Saint-Romain the figures of the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Anjou; and Jacques de Chartres and Guy de Dammartin the statues of the Duke of Berry and Duke of Burgundy. In Bourges, the sculptor Jacques Collet created the monumental sculptures of the ducal couple kneeling, exhibited for a time in the Sainte Chapelle's porch. See Jacques Baudoin, *La sculpture flamboyante: Les grands imagiers d'occident* (Nonette: Editions Créer, 1983).

These miniatures prompt two main questions. First, a question centred on the relations between texts and illustrations. Didactic texts characterise women as inferior, imprisoned in their poor understanding of science and language. On the other hand, new themes emerge from such texts, along with illustrations of medieval chronicles, and philosophical and liturgical texts translated into the vernacular. Many allegorical queen-figures spoke as authorities, explaining concepts or bringing consolation. In the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Clotild (d. 545), Blanche de Navarre (d. 1398), and Constance d'Arles (d. 1032) are presented as active queens: listening to their husbands, but also influencing decisions or speaking up as regents for their sons.[9]

Second, there is a question about the function of these representations, propagated through the royal library, for an elite readership concerned with French political issues. Using family portraits to highlight political symbolism is a widespread phenomenon in medieval kingdoms, as the legitimacy of the king is reinforced by his family unified around him. The king arranged a detailed portrayal of his family's private life, for public display, in order to propagate a perfect image: a Christian family, an educated wife and children, forming a virtuous world in itself. The queen offers herself as a mirror for the king's virtue, a reference to the Holy Virgin as embodiment of all perfection, and an invaluable mediator between king and children. While Charles V recognised that personal life is always political, Charles VI and his successors never realised such a complete ideological program.[10]

This study will articulate in three themes the role of the virtuous queen in royal family portraits attached to didactic, political, historiographical, and liturgical texts. First, how we are to understand the two iconographic references, the Virgin Mary in the *Bible historiale* and royal family portraits in Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* and an anonymous *Avis au roys*, that influenced the representations of the educated queen in the MS 434 of Besançon. Second, how Royaumont's charter and *Rational des divins offices* highlights Jeanne de Bourbon's motherhood as a guarantee of the royal children's education and respect for symbolic interpretation of liturgy. Third, how the iconography of queens in Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France* can be interpreted as a mirror of the queen's virtues, in the perspective of intercession and salvation.

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[8] Claude Jeay, "Du sceau à la signature: histoire des signes de validation en France, XIII^{e}–XVI^{e} siècle, thèse pour le diplôme d'archiviste paléographe," dissertation, Ecole nationale des chartes, 2000, pp. 163–171; *idem*, "La naissance de la signature dans les cours royales et princières de France (XIV^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)," in M. Zimmermann ed., *Auctor et auctoritas: Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale*, Mémoires et documents 59 (Paris: Ecole nationale des chartes, 2001), pp. 457–475.

[9] These queens appear as virtuous exempla in Charles V's *Grandes chroniques de France* (Paris, BNF fr. 2813). Queen Clotild acts as a wise counsellor of her sons during the ten years after Clovis's death, and prays for peace before the altar of St Martin de Tours (fol. 23). Blanche de Navarre and Jeanne d'Evreux insist with John the Good to forgive Charles of Navarre (fol. 395). Constance d'Arles, at the death of her husband Robert II the Pious, prefers her younger son Robert to her elder, later to be Henri I (Lyons, BM MS 880, dated 1390, fol. 189).

[10] There are a few portraits of the royal family during Charles VI's reign. Nevertheless, the numerous children of Isabeau de Bavière could have been a good iconographic subject to legitimise her role during Charles VI's illness. The brothers of Charles V had undoubtedly been encouraged to spent time and money in promoting their own image in art productions. The *Petites heures du duc de Berry* (BNF MS lat. 18014) is an impressive example of miniatures repeating images of the duke in prayer before the Christ and the Virgin, or making his devotion during mass.

1 The Virgin Mary, the Church, and the Queen of Sheba as Models of Virtue for Jeanne de Bourbon

1.1 The Virgin Mary and the Church as Model for Young Jeanne de Bourbon

The devotions of Charles V and his brothers celebrated specific episodes in the life of the Virgin Mary.[11] Franciscans adopted, under the influence of Philippe de Mézières, the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple. In 1372, this theme was given a liturgical enactment at the Cordeliers' church of Avignon. In 1375, Charles V and the bishop of Amiens, Jean de la Grange, created a sculptural décor on a beautiful buttress (the famous *Beau pilier*) of Amiens cathedral, where a statue of the Virgin Mary is placed over the portrait of Charles V.[12]

This devotion to the Virgin Mary took on a particular importance from the time of Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon—from their consecration as anointed king and queen of France. In the second volume of the king's *Bible historiale* dated 1362–1363, two miniatures represent the Virgin.[13] One miniature, a Virgin and Child,[14] shows her seated on a bench before curtains accompanied by the beginning of the Song of Songs, a work mistakenly attributed to King Solomon: "Ci commencent les cantiques salomon filz du roy David; qu'il me baise du baisier de sa bouche" ("Here begin the Songs of Solomon, Son of David; let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth"). The glorification of the bride in the Song of Songs—symbolically the bride of Christ—is interpreted early as the glorification of the Virgin Mary, as a figure of the Church, and as archetype of the wife. In the second miniature, the Virgin and Child are set in a private décor, where the dauphin Charles V, identified by his profile and by a *prie-dieu* covered by a carpet showing the arms of France and of the province of Dauphiné, is shown in prayer. This miniature introduces a French poem in verse copied in 1363 by Raoulet d'Orléans. In the text, as in the prayers of Charles V written in 1364, the king's humility is portrayed as subservient to his main concern: the *chose publique*. He prays to be honoured by wisdom, and asks only one favour: to have a son.[15]

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[11] Françoise Autrand is considering Charles V's predilection for the angels and concluded: "Ils rappellent, eux, comme le disait la légende de Joyenval, que les armes de France aux fleurs de lis son venues du Ciel, comme la Sainte Ampoule du Sacre. L'Archange de la salutation évangélique et le lis de la Vierge Marie expliquent la dévotion spéciale que Charles, ses freres et ses amis ont voué à l'Annonciation." ("They recall, as the legend of Joyenval said, that the arms of France came, with their *fleur-de-lys*, from Heaven, just like the Holy Ampulla for the anointment of kings. The Archangel of the evangelic salutation and the lily of the Virgin Mary explain the special devotion that Charles, his brothers, and his friends swore to the Annunciation.") Françoise Autrand, *Charles V: Le Sage* (Paris: Fayard, 1994).

[12] Françoise Autrand, *Charles V*, p. 697.

[13] BNF MS fr. 5707, fols. 20, 368. The miniature of fol. 368 is reproduced beside a similar portrait of Philip VI before the Virgin by Jean Pucelle (Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent*, p. 204).

[14] In the Bible of Jean de Vaudetar, made for Charles V in 1372, the Song of Songs is illustrated by a royal couple kissing (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, fol. 330v).

These two miniatures, both from the hand of the master of the *Livre du Sacre*, show a Virgin in grey colours with an impassive face. In the first, she looks outside the frame, and holds the Christ on her knee but without giving him her attention: he looks in the opposite direction. This attitude hardly fits with Solomon's poem, which is dedicated to sensuality and to the beauty of the two betrothed.

Bernd Carqué has linked the young Virgin Mary represented in Charles V's *Bible historiale* with the young Jeanne de Bourbon as depicted in the 1365 *Livre du Sacre*, with long blond hair.[16] Jeanne receives a liturgical distinction: she enters Reims Cathedral and is anointed; she receives the ring, the sceptre, and the rod, and is finally crowned. The queen's *ordo* in the *Coronation Book* and Golein's commentary in the *Traité du Sacre* made the connection between the queen and the Virgin.[17] The long loose hair of Jeanne is less a sign to distinguish her as a figure of fertility than a reference to the entry of nuns into the religious state, for which they needed to present themselves *nudo capite*.[18]

The visual link between the Virgin Mary and Jeanne de Bourbon, painted by the same miniaturist, highlights Jeanne's spiritual mission. In linking her to the Virgin Mary during the coronation, evoking the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple shown in the front of the cathedral of Reims, Charles V marked the unique religious distinction of the anointed queen: wife, future mother, and spiritual actor for the kingdom of France.[19] Comparisons between the Virgin Mary and the Queen of

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[15] Françoise Autrand, *Charles V*, pp. 488–489.

[16] Bernd Carqué, *Stil und Erinnerung: Französiche Hofkunst im Jahrhundert Karl V und im Zeitalter ihrer Deutung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), p. 327: "Die Jeanne de Bourbon des Livre du Sacre findet sich in der jüngeren Historienbibel bereits als Maria zu Beginn des Hohenliedes wie als Johannes Evangelista."

[17] Claire Richter Sherman, "The Queen in Charles V's Coronation Book", pp. 292–293: "The text which Golein supplied for this occasion made an analogy between the queen and the Virgin who was anointed 'souveraine royne par le mistere du saint esperit'."

[18] Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent*, p. 175: "Rather than being a reference to fertility, it is more plausible that Jeanne's long loose hair pertains to the programme of associating her *sacre* with the entry of a woman into the religious state. [. . .] The *nudo capite* is thus an implicit expression that the queen has left the lay estate. [. . .] the queen's uncovered head also signifies that she submits to her lord to become the bride of Christ."

[19] Jeff Richards has "shown that Christine posits the Queen of France as a *figura* of the Virgin Mary and that Christine resorted to Mariology because the Virgin was arguably the ultimate political model of female power"; Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Political Thought as Improvisation: Female

France had a long tradition before Charles V—and after, concerning for example Isabeau de Bavière.[20] For Jeanne de Bourbon, this has a pertinence directly linked to the coronation of 1364, when her royal official role and her insecure status as only a mother had to find legitimacy. Her religious consecration also evokes the personification of the Church, pictured in Charles V's *Bible historiale* as a young crowned woman holding a golden chalice and a crosier.[21] These liturgical objects, constantly present in miniatures of the *Coronation Book*, assured a link between the queen and the Church. Such models had been already used to magnify the status of French queens in sensitive moments, as in the regency of Blanche of Castile.[22] The first years of Charles V's reign remained the most delicate, as they asserted a new conception of monarchic power.

One miniature of the *Coronation Book* offered another typological analogy between Jeanne de Bourbon and holy women. In the scene of the anointing of the queen's breast, the painter represents a golden triptych with three female saints. In the centre he shows St Catherine of Alexandria holding the wheel and the sword, a reference to the instrument of her decapitation and to the sword offered to the king at fol. 49v. If we compare this with another triptych painted on the scene of the king's Eucharist at fol. 65v, the saint on the left panel may be St Mary Magdalene with her perfume vase.[23] On the right, a virgin martyr holding a palm may be St Agnes, a saint particularly honoured by Charles V, since he was born on her day, 21 January.[24] The association of the three holy women calls to mind their representations, side by side as in the triptych, in larger miniatures of the celestial court in Bibles from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[25] This courtly reference acts as a frame for Jeanne de Bourbon's entry into the religious state; but the image is

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Regency and Mariology in Late Medieval French Thought," in *Virtue, Liberty, and Toleration: Political Ideas of European Women, 1400–1800*, ed. Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), pp. 1–22, here p. 15. Charles V himself stresses the analogy of the king with God; see Donald Byrne, "Rex Imago Dei: Charles V of France and the *Livre des propriétés des choses*," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), pp. 97–113.

[20] When the king became ill, Isabeau received much advice to enable her to take on political responsibilities for the kingdom. In her *City of Ladies*, Christine de Pizan "appeals to Isabeau to assume the position of the Virgin *mediatrix*, to mediate between the rival factions at court, and points to the Virgin who is called the *mere de chrestienté* [mother of christendom]" (Earl Jeffrey Richard, *loc. cit.*).

[21] BNF MS fr. 5707, fol. 31.

[22] Tracy C. Hamilton, "Queenship and Kinship in the French 'Bible moralisée': The Example of Blanche of Castile and Vienna ÖNB 2554," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 177–208. She is compared to the Church in reference to her actions during her regency.

[23] Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent*, p. 309.

[24] In 1370–80 Jean de Berry commissioned a royal gold cup whose scenes relate the life and miracles of St Agnes, probably to offer to his brother Charles V. Since Charles died in 1381, Jean presented it instead as a gift to Charles VI; the cup is now at London, The British Museum, Room 40, Medieval Europe.

[25] *Bible*, dated 1313, BNF MS fr. 13096, fol. 85.

reinforced by the evocation of the mystical marriages of St Catherine and St Agnes, and the close relation between the Christ and Mary Magdalene.

These first spiritual allusions in Jeanne de Bourbon's visual universe rely on the political context of 1364. Promoting an irreproachable image of the king's wife—as associated with the Virgin, the bride of the Song of Songs, the Church, and illustrious holy women—elevates her as an ally, and as agent of the rehabilitated power of the monarchy in France. But if contemplative virtues form the basis of queenly behaviour, such a personification of majesty remained too static to create a complete idealisation of Jeanne de Bourbon's active role. Another biblical model was therefore called upon: an educated figure versed in dialogue and disputation. The visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon offered a widely known model of independent and active queenship.

1.2 Solomon and the Queen of Sheba as Models for Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon

Charles and Jeanne may be thought to have a special affinity with the Queen of Sheba, for at least two reasons. The first is the three sculptures of her in the cathedral of Reims, where they had been crowned in 1364: a thirteenth-century piece, with Solomon also, on the west side, under a scene of the Judgement of Solomon;[26] on the north side of the central great door beside Isaiah in a piece celebrating the life and glorification of the Virgin; and again at the north great door. The second reason is the reading of the *Ci nous dit*,[27] a book Charles and Jeanne possessed in their library. The visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon is presented as a moral *exemplum* explaining that our appearance and our attitudes must surpass our fame.[28] The queen is seduced by his virtue and his humility.

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[26] André Chastel, "La légende de la reine de Saba," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 119 (1939), republished in *Fables, Formes, Figures* (Paris: Flammarion, 2000), fig. 19, p. 93. Also in Peter Kurmann, "La façade de la cathédrale de Reims: architecture et sculpture des portails." *Etude archéologique et stylistique* (Paris: CNRS, and Lausanne: Payot, 1987).

[27] Charles V possessed two copies of the *Ci nous dit*, one coming from "le roy Jehan qui fut fait à l'exemple d'un livre qui fut de la royne Jehanne d'Evreux, et se appelle 'Cy nous dit', and another one 'signé Charles'." Jeanne de Bourbon had her own manuscript of this text (Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. 2, p. 22, nos. 110, 111, 112).

[28] Gérard Blangez ed., *Ci nous dit: Recueil d'exemples moraux* (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1979–1988). *Le faux tavernier*, no. 204, vv. 5–7: "La bonne renommée doit couvrir une réalité encore meilleure que la rumeur ne le dit. Comme ce fut le cas pour la reine de Saba qui trouva en Salomon encore plus de qualités que ce qu'on lui avait dit. C'est ainsi que chacun, qu'il soit en religion ou dans le siècle, doit être encore meilleur que ce qu'on en voit dehors." ("Good reputation should conceal a reality still better than rumour declares, as was the case for the Queen of Sheba, who found in Solomon many more qualities than she had heard about. Everyone, in religion or in the world, must be better than we see from outside.") *Visite de la Reine de Saba*, no. 653, vv. 3–5: "Après avoir vu toute l'ordonnance de sa maison, elle y trouva bien plus de bien et de sagesse qu'elle n'avait entendu dire, ce qui lui plut beaucoup. Cela signifie que nous devons être en nous-mêmes meilleurs que notre apparence extérieure et que nos moeurs doivent surpasser notre renommée." ("After seeing the disposition of his house, she found much more good and

The king had in his library several copies of Solomon's books: *Canticum Canticorum* (Song of Songs), the *Paraboles Salmon* (Proverbs), and the *Livre de Ecclesiastes* (Ecclesiastes). One manuscript contained both the *Paraboles Salmon* and *Les Enseignemens saint Loyz à son filz et à sa fille*.[29] King Solomon had often been presented as a model for Charles V. Christine de Pizan used the analogy of the wise biblical king as direct ancestor of the French monarch.[30] Charles appeared in chapters 14 to 32 of Christine's *Livre des Fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, evoking Proverbs.[31] In her writings, queenly figures of the Bible such as Sarah, Bathsheba, Semiramis, and the Queen of Sheba offered examples for contemporary queens like Isabeau de Bavière, Jeanne de Bourbon, and other educated princesses.[32]

In the *Bible historiale* of 1362–1363, King Solomon appeared in traditional miniatures: the lesson to his son Rehoboam, and the Judgement of Solomon.[33] There is, however, no reference to the encounter and dialogue with the Queen of Sheba, though these do appear later in the manuscripts of the king. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the *Ecclesiastes*, whose text is famously concerned with human vanity, Solomon is depicted instructing two young women (fol. 16). The choice to represent the king as an old man speaking to young women reinforces the image of transmission of wisdom between generations.[34] But while one of the girls looks toward the top of the miniature, the other one argues with the king, who wags his

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wisdom than she had heard tell of, which pleased her a great deal. This signifies that we must be in ourselves better than our appearance, and that our conduct must surpass our reputation.")

[29] Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. 2, pp. 15, 16, notices 72–76. The manuscript of notice 76 contains the text of Saint Louis.

[30] Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Le modèle du roi sage aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles: Salomon, Alphonse X et Charles V," *Revue historique* 3 (2008), no. 647, pp. 545–566.

[31] Michael Richarz, "Prudence and Wisdom in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*," in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 99–116, here p. 109. Christine idealised Charles and compared him to kings of legend, "que peut plus estre dit de l'ordre de vivre du sage Salemon" (*Livre des fais*, III, 49).

[32] In the *City of Ladies*, "Christine names as the first lady in Part 1 the Empress Nicaula, that is, the Queen of Sheba, whose entrance into Jerusalem to visit Solomon was taken in patristic lore as a *figura* of the entrance of the Virgin Mary in to the Celestial Jerusalem. The chapter title, 'Here she tells of Nicaula, Empress of Ethiopa, and afterwards about several queens and princesses of France,' links the Queen of Sheba and contemporary ruling women." Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Political Thought as Improvisation", p. 14.

[33] The manuscript opened on fol. 2 with a miniature in four partitions. One image at the top, King Solomon teaching his son Rehoboam, illustrates the first words of the Book of the Proverbs: "My son, listen to the instruction of your father." In the adjacent image, Solomon famously orders a baby, whom two women claim as their own, to be cut in two. The pair kneel before him, with long unbound blond hair. Solomon gives the child to the one who relinquishes the child rather than see him killed. The two scenes below tell a story wrongly attributed to Solomon: a king, to test the legitimacy of three sons, orders them to shoot an arrow into their father's corpse, and only the legitimate son refused. These three *exempla* of royal wisdom are particularly appropriate to Charles V in 1363, just before he succeeded his father as king of France.

[34] There are other teaching scenes in this manuscript: Baruch preaching (fol. 111v); a clerk preaching (fol. 329v).

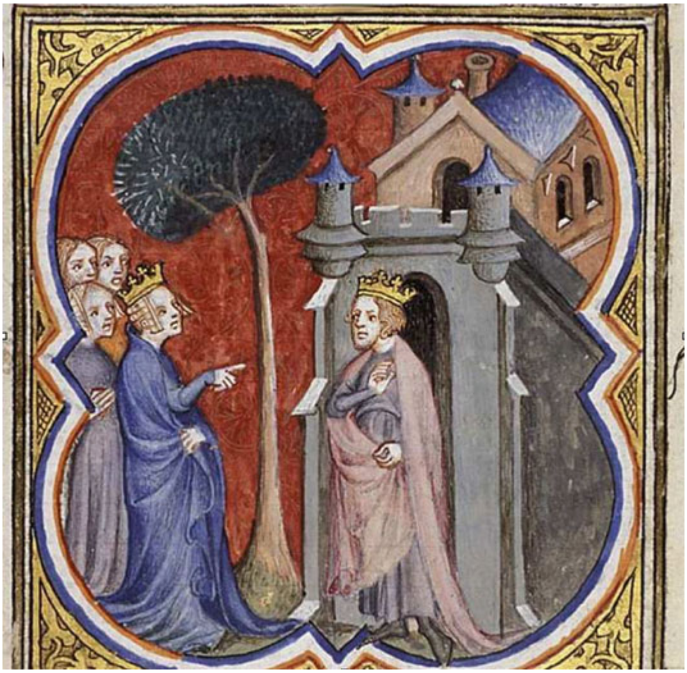

Fig. 5.1 The Queen of Sheba Encounters King Solomon; *Bible historiale* of Jean de Vaudetar, The Hague, museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, fol. 163v

index finger, demanding her response. This choice of an active discussion with the old king introduced the idea of a woman's role in argumentation and knowledge.

In the *Bible historiale* offered in 1372 by Jean de Vaudetar to Charles V, the dialogue of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon is represented beside the Judgement of Solomon[35] (Fig. 5.1). The king stands before the gate of a city and receives the visit of the queen, who is accompanied by a woman and two men. Was this group behind her an allusion to contemporary comparisons to the three Magi, who also brought gifts to "a wise king"? The major reference is to the prophetic role of the queen, highlighted by Pierre le Mangeur in his *Historia scolastica*,[36] a text Charles V possessed in his library. In this text, the queen announces to Solomon the end of Israel's kingdom and the crucifixion of Christ. The choice of the debate between the Queen of Sheba and Solomon set the theme for the royal-couple iconography in Charles V's manuscripts.

More than any other biblical *exemplum*, the Queen of Sheba is a womanly figure of authority evoking the Church, the Virgin Mary, and the three Magi. Nevertheless, in the context of 1372, when perspectives on dynastic succession were changing in the French kingdom because of the birth of Charles, Mary, and Louis, the legendary queen offered a new image of an active and educated queen, testing Solomon's wisdom as his intellectual peer. At this time, Jeanne de Bourbon was a mother of two sons; she might be thought to have accomplished her royal duty. She appeared in new royal family portraits, influenced by recent mirrors of princely behaviour,[37] centred on the theme of education. If she was to remain a sacred incarnation of royal power, parallel to Charles V himself, she must undergo a special formation to enable her to participate, with him and his brothers, in the new political program. Even if Jeanne de Bourbon never came to act as regent, she was represented now as a more accomplished person, mother, educator of a royal elite, and model of virtue.

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[35] The Hague, Meermanno-Westreenianum MS 10 B 23, fol. 163v.

[36] Guy Lobrichon, "La dame de Saba: interprétations médiévales d'une figure impossible," in *Graphè* 11 (2002), pp. 101–122, here especially pp. 120–121. Pierre le Mangeur (Petrus Comestor), *Historia scolastica*, PL 198, ca. 1370 and 1578–1579.

2 From Conceptual Portraits to Representations of a Royal Educated Family in MS 434 of Besançon

In reinterpreting the royal family portrait, didactic iconography the Mirror genre is a major point of reference. In Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, composed between 1277 and 1279 and dedicated to the future Philip IV,[38] he still considered the association of women and language to be dangerous. Women's destiny was conjugal and passive. Though subordinate to men, a woman is called a *socia* ("an associate"), in a semblance of equality or parity. Their common interest weighs in on the side of women's exercise of the virtues, but pedagogic discourse is always one-way, because man keeps the control of reason and speech. Silence is then a major virtue: it expresses the prudence of the princess. Aristotelian and Judaeo-Christian traditions agreed that women speak too much.

Miniatures of Giles's French translations illustrate this ideal for women, and emphasise an attitude of listening. Charles Briggs remarks on a group of three grouped illustrations of the Second Book.[39] In the ten miniatures, the first three and the last two depict a king speaking with a philosopher. The three paintings in Book II represent a king admonishing a queen, two children, and a servant (41v); a king speaking to two children (51v); and a prince addressing a queen and two sons. In the first of these, the scene details by gestures the relations between the figures. The king points his finger in the direction of the queen, who is oriented toward her daughter. This influence of male discourse on the queen's educational role is linked to the text, especially in the Second Book which is about governing the family and household.[40] Two other scenes stress the king's educative role: toward his sons, but toward the queen in particular. The king's control of his family becomes a theme that will be strengthened and used as a political principle of cohesion and virtue. The queen's attitude and gestures are adapted by painters to exhibit two ideas: submission to the king's discourse, and responsibility for the children's education.

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[37] Jeanne had in her library a manuscript of *Le gouvernement des princes*, article 526 de la librairie du Louvre; see L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868–1881).

[38] Paulette L'Hermite-Leclercq, "La femme dans le *De regimine principum* de Gilles de Rome," in *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au Moyen Âge: Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine*, in *Actes du Colloque international de Conques, 15–18 octobre 1998*, ed. Michel Rouche, Culture et civilisations médiévales 21 (Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), pp. 471–479, here especially pp. 474, 479. First, she insists on *taciturnitas*, a virtue privileged as prudence against the perversion of language. Second, the reduced social life is a radical solution for women. See also, by the same author, "L'image de la femme dans le *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* de Vincent de Beauvais," in *Mariage et sexualité au Moyen Âge, accord ou crise?*, ed. Michel Rouche (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), pp. 243–261.

[39] Dated from the first quarter of fourteenth century to the early fifteenth century, the miniature's composition shows a prince addressing his queen and his two children, a boy and a girl. The manuscript of Baltimore, produced in England around 1320, is of the highest quality and includes an extensive iconographic suite of ten miniatures of Queen Mary's circle. It indicates

A different point of view is developed in the illustrations of the anonymous *Avis au roys*, a manuscript produced in Paris in the mid-fourteenth century (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 456). The author presents a complete program for the education of the prince, who must govern his kingdom and his wife. On this account of matrimony, widely used in medieval literature in disparaging female behaviour, the king is often in a position to control the queen's actions and language.

The detailed iconography in Book II of this *Avis au roys*, dedicated to private education and control of moral virtues, dwells on the royal couple's relationship. A royal family portrait begins the Prologue, to illustrate this governing role: The king, enthroned, instructs his three sons. The first raises his right hand and points to the king with his left hand. But at the same time, with his finger he indicates to the queen, who stands behind him, some matters concerning education. In Chapter 1, an allegorical figure of Reason appears to the king, explaining to him how the good prince "doit soy mesmes gouverner", and must control his sensuality. Chapter 4 underlines a major matrimonial principle for all kings, but particularly for Charles V and his cousin and wife, Jeanne de Bourbon: "prendre garde qu'il ne pregne fame qui li soit trop pres de lignage" ("take care not to take a wife that is too closely related to him"). In the illustration (Fig. 5.2), the king's gestures dominate the queen. They look at each other, and he takes her right arm and holds it with his left hand as he speaks. In Chapter 5, a royal couple standing side by side is speaking together about the queen's wisdom.[41] The two scenes introducing Chapter 9 highlight the

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as first owner a king, perhaps Edward III, or a member of high aristocracy. Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's* De regimine principum*, Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, ca. 1275–1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). These manuscripts are, chronologically: Baltimore, Walters Arts Gallery W.144, fol. 41v; Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Ff.3.3, fol. 67, and London, British Library Harley 4385, fol. 59v.

[40] Other manuscripts of *De regimine*, in French translation by Henry de Cauchy, had been diffused in illuminated copies whose illustrations can be compared, all of French origin and produced at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Briggs, "Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*," p. 39; BNF MS fr. 573, fol. 226; BNF MS fr. 1202, fols. 59, 77v, and 96.

[41] Pierpont Morgan Library MS 456, fols. 50, 51, 54v, 55, 56v. The queen's passive attitude is associated with needlework and related preoccupations as a way to direct women's inactivity. This leitmotiv of misogynist literature is addressed in two chapters: one for the queen, another for the

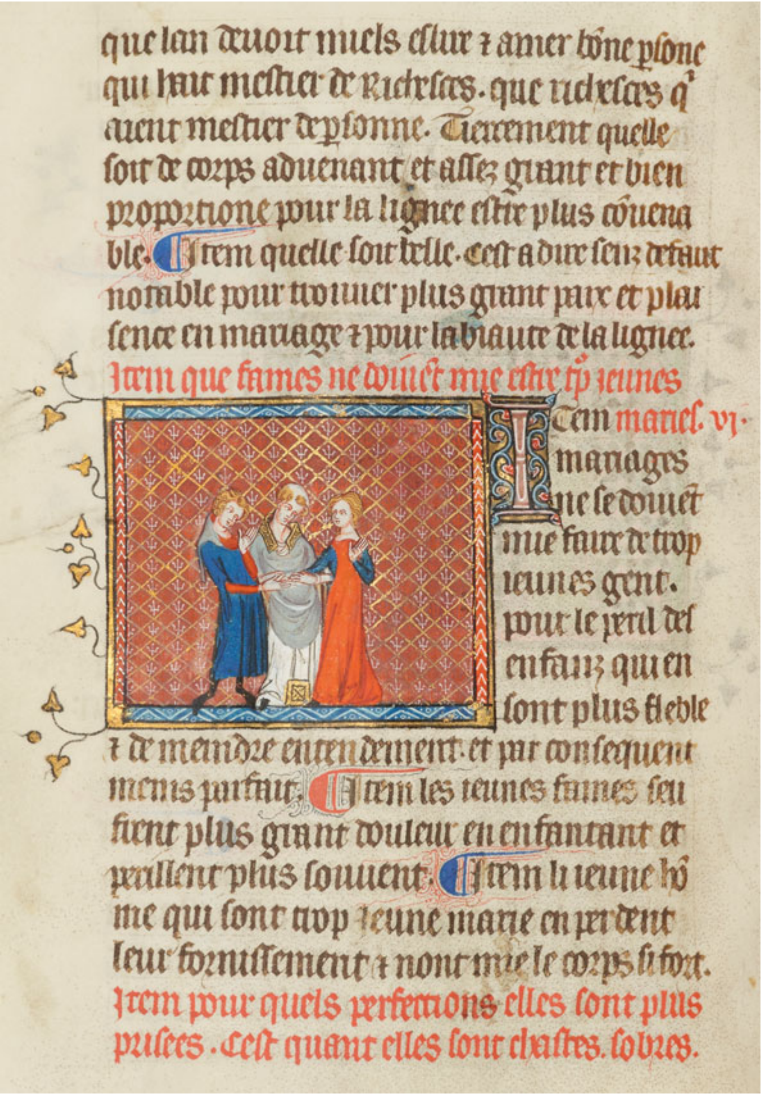

Fig. 5.2 "Take care that a wife is not too closely related"; *Avis au roys*, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 456, fol. 54v (Photography: Graham Haber, 2010) http://www.themorgan.org/home.asp

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young princess. The first miniature depicts three queens, of whom one spins wool, another weaves, and a third embroiders a blue boot (Book II, ch. 7, fol. 56). In the second, dedicated to the king's daughter, three young men contemplate the princess in her room, embroidering a white piece of king's role in educating the queen. First, if she is wise, the king can respect her and give her every royal honour (we see a king crowning a young women). The text commemorates the wise attitude of the Queen of Sheba, who is judged "honorable et sage". Second, if the queen speaks too much or is too proud, the king must reprimand her by his discourse and gestures.

This iconography centred on the control of the queen's speech evokes Nicole Oresme's commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*—a text promoted by Charles V to enlarge the knowledge of political science in his kingdom—in Chapter 17 of Book VIII devoted to the "amistie de marriage".[42] Oresme stated that dialogue with a virtuous wife "est tele chose plus naturele que communication politique" ("is something more natural than political communication"). By the second distinction, specific to the humans as opposed to animals, communication is not "seulement pour cause de generacion ou procreacion de ligniee" ("only to bring about the procreation of descendants") but "pour les choses qui leur sont convenables en vie humaine" ("for things that are appropriate to human life"). The main topic between the married couple remains "communication domestique" and management of the household (the "hostel"). In private, "le filz ou les enfans" (never "la fille") create intense links that reinforce "ceste amistie [. . .] ferme et estable".[43] When the husband comes back from his travels, the princess should adopt an attitude of listening to him, or encouraging him to relate his military expeditions.[44] In this studied way, the queen adapts her weaker capacities to the marriage but never raises her own preferred topics of conversation.

Since the thirteenth century, Giles of Rome's illustrations have created an iconographic point of reference for royal family portraits, detailed in the *Avis au roys*. But in these scenes, the passivity of the queen as a mere listener to the king's moral teaching is too limited a perspective for the ambitious monarchic program of Charles V and his brothers. Another solution is to stage the royal family as an educated group attending lessons, when the queen is depicted as an intellectual authority delivering a message that is heeded by a man—even by a king. A dynamic reinterpretation of the queen's public attitudes was introduced in Charles's

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fabric (fol. 58). For a quite different perspective on these feminine arts, see Chapter 9 by Natasha Amendola in this volume.

[42] Nicole Oresme. *Le Livre de Ethiques d'Aristote*, published from the text of Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique MS 2902, with a critical introduction and notes by Albert Douglas Menut (New York: G.E. Stechert, 1940), pp. 443–445.

[43] Matrimonial harmony accordingly evokes wider themes, detailed in Books VIII and IX of the *Nicomachean Ethics*: friendship, and a moral attitude that might inspire a king such as Charles V, whose approach to political science successfully incorporated familial and diplomatic relations; see Bénédicte Sère, *Penser l'amitié au Moyen Âge: Etude historique des commentaires sur les livres VIII et IX de l'*Ethique à Nicomaque *(XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

[44] Elodie Lequain, *L'éducation des femmes de la noblesse en France au Moyen Âge (XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)*, dissertation, Université de Paris X (2005), p. 296.

manuscripts, probably inspired by famous educated French queens: Blanche of Castile, mother of Louis IX,[45] his own grandmother Jeanne de Bourgogne ("la Boiteuse") acting as a regent during Philip VI's reign, or Jeanne d'Evreux, wife of Charles the Fair (Charles IV), a queen he personally knew since his childhood and whose manuscripts were in his library.[46]

3 Franciscan Spiritual Education as a Model for Royal Family

King Charles V spent hours in his library, reading and writing. He paid several *lecteurs du roy*, able to read and explain texts to him. In this way the attitude of the listening queen may have been reproduced in her husband: the student at public lectures for the court and the royal family. Dated 1372, MS 434 of Besançon assembles texts for Charles V,[47] reflecting his cultural interest in antiquity. Forty-nine miniatures illustrate the different texts, with a stylistic unity that contributes to a coherent effect in the iconography of men and women, especially with regard to the queen.

The book begins with *De l'Enseignement des princes*, a translation of the *De eruditione principum*, written by the Dominican Guillaume Peyraut, preacher and theologian (fols. 10a–102a).[48] Illustrations of this first text, realised by the same

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[45] She is represented overseeing Louis IX's education in a manuscript of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's *Vie de Saint Louis* (BNF MS fr. 5716, fol. 16), reproduced in Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image, Illustrations of the "Grandes Chroniques de France", 1274–1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), fig. 88, p. 126; and also in the *Heures de Jeanne de Navarre*, painted after 1336 (BNF MS nouv. acq. lat. 3145, fol. 85v).

[46] "Une Bible historiée et toute figuree à ymages, qui fut de la royne Jehanne d'Evreux" (101), "Le Miroir aux dames, qui fu de la royne Jehanne d'Evreux" (338 bis), in Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, pp. 20, 60.

[47] Auguste Castan, "Un manuscrit de la bibliothèque du roi de France Charles V retrouvé à Besançon," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole nationale des chartes* (1882), vol. 43, pp. 211–218; *La Librairie de Charles V: Catalogue de l'exposition de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: 1968), no. 184, pp. 105–106; Christiane Raynaud, "Image d'une éducation choisie: L'enseignement des princes de Guillaume Peyraut et le Livre du gouvernement des princes de Gilles de Rome dans le MS 434 de Besançon," in *Initiation, apprentissage, éducation au moyen âge, Actes du I^er^ Colloque International de Montpellier (Université Paul Valéry) de Novembre 1991* (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1993) pp. 429–447; Catherine Sparta, "Le manuscrit 434 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon: Culture antique et latinité sous le règne de Charles V," dans *Histoire de l'art* 45 (1999), pp. 13–25. BNF MS fr. 1128 is a copy of Besançon MS 434. It contains the *Gouvernement des rois*, the *Jeu des echecs moralisés* translated by Jean de Vignay, and the French version of Boethius's *Consolation*, by Jean de Meun.

[48] It contains *Le Jeu des echecs moralisés de Jacques de Cessoles* (fols. 245–292v); *La Consolation de Philosophie de Boèce* (fols. 293–338v); *Les Moralités des philosophes de Guillaume de Conches* (fols. 339–352v); *L'Etablissement de Sainte Eglise* (fols. 353–358); *Le Miroir de Sainte Eglise* of Hugh of Saint Victor (fols. 359–371); *Esope's Isopet* (fols. 371v–377); and *Misère de la condition humaine* of Pope Innocent III (fols. 377v–400); see Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, p. 88, nos. 519, 520.

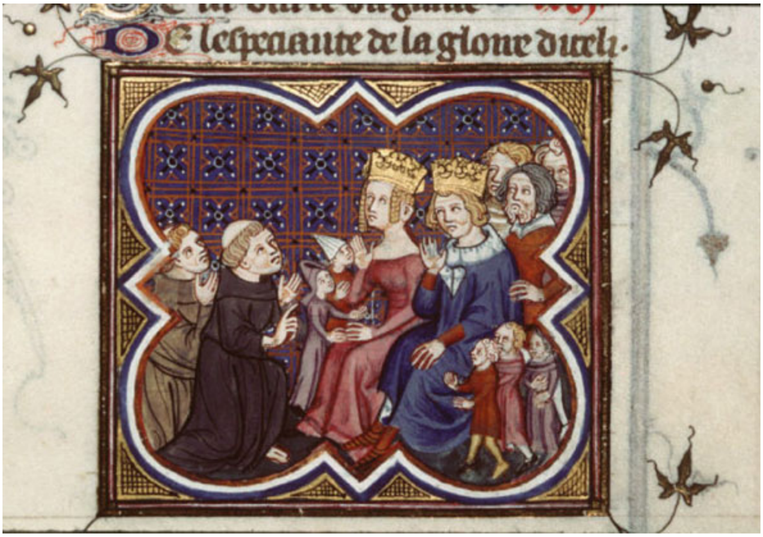

Fig. 5.3 Charles V and his family listening to Franciscan monks; Guillaume Peyraut, *Enseignement des princes*, Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 434, fol. 46

painters as Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France*, uphold the socio-political character of the cardinal virtues practised by the king.

The last four miniatures represent Charles V's relations with Franciscans; in one, Charles questions two friars (fol. 20v), and this is followed by three miniatures showing Charles as he attends to Franciscans preaching (fols. 40, 91v, and 96). At fol. 46, Charles V and his family listen to two Franciscans, in a composition where speech and gestures are particularly detailed (Fig. 5.3). Here three boys stand beside the king, and two young princesses try to speak to Jeanne de Bourbon, who is occupied in listening to the monks. Her left hand reaches out to the hand of her younger daughter. Jeanne is in the centre of the composition, raising her right hand to Charles. This scene poses several questions, the first concerning the identity of the three men behind Charles, one older and two younger. These could be the three brothers of Charles: Louis I d'Anjou, born in 1339, Jean de Berry, born in 1340, and Philippe of Burgundy, born in 1342. The second concerns the identity of the three boys depicted beside Charles. In 1372, his only two sons had been born: Charles, the elder, and Louis, born in March 1372; so we surmise that the third boy is their cousin. Jeanne de Bourbon had only one daughter at this date: Marie, born in 1371. On the other hand, rather than depicting a cousin, the addition of a third son and a second girl may be a deformation of reality linked to the idealised family of Charles V. The reality is less straightforward, as Jeanne had taken several years before giving a first son to her royal husband, a second was only just born, and several daughters died in their childhood, the two eldest in 1360.

The concept of broad involvement by all members of the family circle is suggested in promoting the Franciscans' specific influence in moral and political perspectives.[49] Jeanne de Bourbon herself went to confession with the Franciscan Jean de Guignecourt,[50] and her chaplain was Jean Chefdeville.[51] Under a similar spiritual tutelage, the king aimed to achieve contemplative virtue to stand him in good stead on the Day of Judgement. Aspiration for perfection must be equally shared by all members of his family to assure the dynasty's salvation.

The second text of the Besançon manuscript's books, an anonymous translation of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* (as *Le gouvernement des roys et des princes*) emphasised links between royal governance and family, with Franciscans as educators. On fol. 103, two grey lions hold the fleur-de-lys escutcheon in the centre of the two columns of text, in the margin below. This seal is also emphasised in the repetitive iconography of this text. Afterwards, eight miniatures detail the role of Franciscan preachers in the intellectual formation of the royal family, while other scenes depict the king and his counsellors taking political decisions.[52]

In these two first didactic texts the queen appears as an educated woman, always attending to lessons beside the king and their children. In this courtly context, she is controlled and her gestures and expressions are limited. Royal family portraits became political, illustrating the Franciscan influence on Charles V's family. The repetition of education scenes reactivated the message of the intellectual formation of a political elite: a major motivation, since 1370, for the king's ambitious program of having Latin scientific, legal, and didactic texts translated. The virtuous queen takes part in this enterprise, under certain restrictions on her freedom of action.

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[49] Several Franciscan texts were translated into French during the reign of Charles V, such as the *Liber de proprietatibus rerum* composed in 1230–1240 by Barthélemy l'Anglais, translated in 1372 by Jean Corbechon as *Le Livre des propriétés de choses*, or with variant titles (Lyons: 1445, 1446, etc.). There is no complete modern edition; see H. Herfray-Ray, *Jean Corbechon, traducteur de Barthélémy l'Anglais (1372)*, dissertation, Paris: Ecole nationale des chartes, 1944. Also in 1372, the king commissioned the translation of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* by the Franciscan Denis Foulechat (BNF MS fr. 24287).

[50] Robert Gane, Claudine Billot, *Le Chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris au XIV^e siècle: Etude sociale d'un groupe canonial*, CERCOR, Travaux et Recherches (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 1999), p. 329.

[51] Xavier de la Selle, *Le service des âmes à la cour: Confesseurs et aumôniers des rois de France du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, *Mémoires et documents de l'Ecole des Chartes* 43, Paris: Ecole nationale des chartes, 1995.

[52] Charles V holding council (fols. 116, 142v, 184, 209), a king (Charles V) and bishops listening to a monk (151v), a king and a queen (Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon) attending to a monk speaking with three men (158v), a king and a queen and their two sons listening to a monk (171v), a king hearing a lesson (197v).

4 Presenting the Educated Queen: Jacques de Cessoles's *Jeu des echecs moralisés* and Jean de Meun's *Li Livres de confort de Philosophie*

With the royal pieces' strategic domination over the pawns, chess evokes an allegory of the governance of the kingdom. In 1389 Philippe de Mézières, counsellor to Charles V and preceptor of Charles VI, had presented an allegorical vision of the chessboard in *Le Songe du vieil pèlerin*,[53] in which the young Moses (Charles VI) is counselled by Queen Truth on how to govern a kingdom. To practise truth, mercy, and justice are among the first priorities of the king. But he must also keep the peace, a function in which the queen may have a particular intercessionary role. Charles V himself possessed several books on the allegorised chess game.[54] Five items of his library's inventory for 1411 are translations of Jacques de Cessoles's *Libellus de moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium sive super ludo scaccorum*, or *Le Jeu des echecs moralisés, qui s'appelle Moralité des nobles homes*. In the first part of this work, chess is presented as a way to control rulers' aggressiveness. The beginning of the text explains how chess was created to oblige the son of Babylon's king to control his violence and cruelty.[55] In the second part, Jacques de Cessoles explains the major pieces, especially the king and the queen. Describing the king, the author presents his royal attributes and other hallmarks of his governing well: knights' loyalty, judges' caution, curates' authority, queens' continence, and subjects' concord.

The illustrated manuscript of *Jeu des echecs moralisés* depicts royal or courtly couples playing chess together. In the MS 434 of Besançon, text and image present an interesting description of the queen's piece: docile, born into a good family, and preoccupied with her children's education; her gestures reveal her wisdom, as does her speech, especially when the king entrusts her with a secret. In the miniature, the queen is clearly arguing with the king, raising her index finger to support her wise discourse when the king relies on her discretion (Fig. 5.4). That is why, in the city as in war, where she moves with great caution, the queen must always stay by the king. As in most of the *miroir des princes* treatises, in the manuscript of Besançon the queen wisely expresses her desire to keep the king's trust.[56] He puts his hands

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[53] In BNF MS fr. 22542 and at least five other manuscripts, and a modern edition with long introduction, founded on that BNF manuscript: *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. G.W. Coopland (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

[54] BNF MS fr. 1999, for example.

[55] Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 434. See also: Jacques de Cessoles, *Le Livre du jeu d'échecs ou la société idéale au Moyen Âge au XIII^{e} siècle*, translated and presented by Jean-Michel Mehl (Paris: Stock, Collection Moyen Âge, 1995); and *Le noble jeu des échecs: le Livre des moeurs des hommes et des devoirs des nobles, au travers du jeu des echecs de Jacques de Cessoles*, trans. Jean-Michel Péchiné (Paris: Gallimard, 1997).

[56] Besançon MS 434, fol. 250. See also Péchiné, *Le noble jeu des échecs*, for reproductions of illustrations in the Besançon manuscript; here see especially pp. 12, 40.

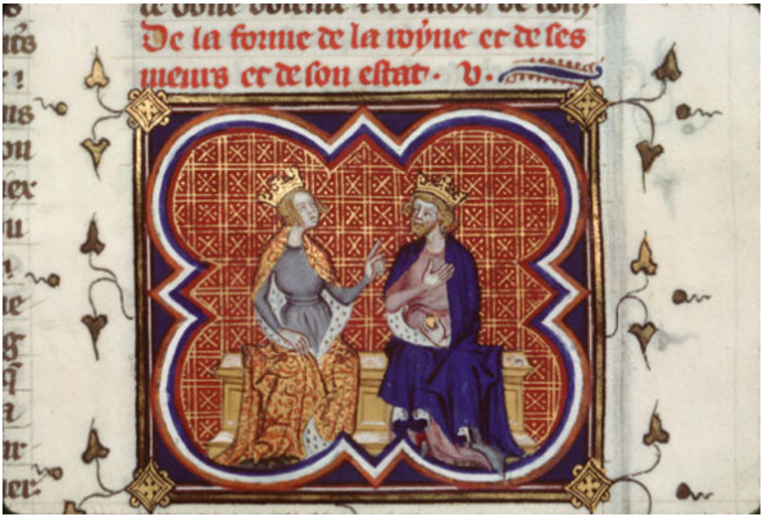
De la forme de la royne et de ses meurs et de son estat. v.

Fig. 5.4 A queen explaining her role in a chess game to the king; Jacques de Cessoles, *Le Jeu des echecs moralisés*, Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 434, fol. 250

on his chest as if to receive his wife's words in his heart. Another miniature shows a queen walking before a king to explain her piece's movements on the chessboard.

In this representation of chess as an *art de gouverner* game, several points emphasise the same image of a queen inhibited in her gestures and language by the king. But in the specific theme of the maintenance of peace in the kingdom, her intercession can became a strategic advantage. Her speech as consolation can also be a comforting element for the king, who needs a stable dialogue to inform his mission.

A few folios later in the manuscript of Besançon is *Li Livres de confort de philosophie* by Jean de Meun, a faithful prose translation of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* dated in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.[57] In the first allegorical miniature, Queen Philosophy, holding a sceptre and a book, appears with three young women before Boethius as he lies in his bed.[58] In the four other representations, that same figure encourages Boethius to pursue first self-knowledge, and then understanding of the end of things, and the rules organising the world. The miniatures, like the text, contrast Boethius's passivity with the benefits of female speech, which will guide him to moral recovery. The discourse of Queen Philosophy is acknowledged as a virtuous balm able to keep desperation at bay. At the beginning of Book 2, she visits him in his room and prescribes a treatment for his quick recovery (fol. 300v). In Book 3, draped in a blue cloak, she again comes to speak to him. From his sickbed, Boethius pays careful attention to her virtuous language (308v). In Book 4, Philosophy converses side by side with Boethius. Again she argues; but now he answers. At the beginning of Book 5, Philosophy speaks to Boethius before the whole town (fol. 321).

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[57] Charles already had two manuscripts of Boethius's *De consolatione*. One was a bilingual version in Latin and French (Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. II, p. 85, notices 498, 499).

[58] Besançon MS 434, fol. 294v: "Un homme gisant en un lit et une femme en estant a son chief tenant i. ceptre en la main senestre et en la destre main un livre. Et doit estre la dame haute et grant et en vieil age, une coronne en son chief et doit parler a boece et doivent etre au pie du lit iii ieunes femmes pescheresses en lestant."

The coexistence of different visions of queenly virtue can be observed in the texts selected for MS 434 of Besançon. In Giles of Rome's and Guillaume Peyraut's texts, the queen is instructed under the control of her family and the Franciscans' discourse. In Jacques de Cessoles's and Jean de Meun's texts, the chess-queen explains her limited action to the king, when for Jean de Meun she is an agent of the philosopher's physical and intellectual recovery. In the manuscript, an allegorical image of the queen's virtue appears beside the portraits of Jeanne de Bourbon and her family as a way to show the range of her capabilities, always in relation to the king's political involvement in monarchic institutions. Within the strict framework of French laws that reject the role of the mother in royal succession, Charles V succeeded in giving Jeanne de Bourbon a special status. The stability of their union and Jeanne's diplomatic qualities helped Charles to elaborate in a convincing way a new visualisation of the royal family. When circumstances allowed, new images were fashioned in order to maintain the newly elevated prestige of the queen. As never before, they instituted emblems of the unity of the royal family in frontispieces of didactic works, or in the elaborated initials of charters. But this potent and alluring image remained subservient to the enhancement of the king's status, whose physical and intellectual charisma is always privileged. The queen's virtue leads to a more global apprehension of the monarchy as a whole.

5 Jeanne's Virtues Justify Tutelage of Royal Children in Royaumont's Charter and Guillaume Durant's *Rational des divins offices*

Multiple representations of queens in the intellectual environment of Charles V influenced perceptions of Jeanne de Bourbon. Political imperatives, and Charles's delegating the education of their children to Jeanne in 1374, consolidated her role as educator. A manuscript such as Oresme's translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, illustrated with numerous miniatures, proposed complex articulations between royal power and virtuous attitude—always bound to be problematic.

In 1373, at the beginning of an Aristotle's *Ethics* in the possession of Charles V, there is a frontispiece divided into four scenes: first, Charles receives the translation from Nicole Oresme; second, Charles and his family; third, a king and his counsellors attend a lecture; fourth, a lecture and the expulsion of a young boy.[59] A common theme in these four miniatures is intellectual formation. The top left image must be interpreted as the family portrait of Charles, with his two sons, Jeanne, and one of their young daughters. We can identify the children alive at this time: Charles and Louis, and Marie. This official family portrait, not in frontal position as with Philip IV and his family in 1313,[60] harks back to earlier more static scenes, as in the representations of the coronation in 1364, or in the listening scenes in MS 434 of Besançon.

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[59] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MSS 9505–9506, fol. 2v.

In the second image, Charles and Jeanne, seated in official manner on their separate thrones, are more dynamically disposed, talking together and looking at each other. Another innovation is the children's replication of their parents' gestures. Charles points his right forefinger in the direction of his two sons, and the older indicates his younger brother in the same manner. A physical resemblance can be observed between the king and his elder son Charles, the dauphin. This point is emphasised by his reproduction of his father's gestures. The question of resemblance between father and sons might be particularly important for Charles V, who endured a long wait before having heirs.[61] The queen, turned towards him, opens her arms and raises her hands. She receives the message implicit in these postures, and demonstrates her beneficent acquiescence. Behind her, the little girl reproduces her mother's own gesture, far from her father's gaze.

A composition similar to this royal family portrait is included in the frontispiece of Charles V's *Livre du gouvernement des roys et des princes*, in the upper panels of two royal family portraits.[62] The major concern of these two complementary representations is to establish a parallel between the official image (on the left, the royal couple look at each other, but only the king speaks; bishops appear to listen to them) and a more familial image (in the second miniature, the two parents, taking their children by their hands, are clearly disputing). The position of the queen, always listening carefully, but also acting as a model for her children, is emphasised. In the second portrait, the detailed depiction of the parents' gestures shows the parallel between the royal couple and the heirs to the kingdom. Personal conversation, political counsel, and military action are political virtues a king must exercise, and must openly demonstrate.

Despite several influences, the dominant discourse in iconographic representations concerns the king's control over the queen. Nevertheless, the conversation scene remains an innovation specific to Charles and Jeanne, inspired by Aristotle's *Ethics*. These images are also relevant to Charles's preoccupations with his family in 1374 and 1375. In 1374 he wrote an ordinance to arrange unequivocally for the transmission of power to his son Charles, and to allow for a period of regency for Jeanne, under the supervision of counsellors to the family, Philippe Duke of Burgundy and Louis Duke of Bourbon, paternal uncle and maternal uncle of the children. Deeds set out strict boundaries between the regency and this tutelage role. In a *Charter* of the National Archives, an initial is decorated with Charles V, Jeanne, their children, the Abbot Pierre, and monks of Royaumont, an abbey founded by Louis IX and protected by Blanche of Castile.[63] The text establishes an annual mass for the royal family at Royaumont; and the initial specifically exhibits Jeanne as an iconographic figure of the Virgin of mercy, showing Charles the dauphin, whom we saw earlier reproducing the stance of his father, now with his mother instead. The young king also places his hand on a monk's head, so as to emphasise his subordination of ecclesiastical power also. This is the first portrait where Charles V seems to be isolated with his younger son, who takes his hand. He is now not so much the sole protector of the royal family, but a king and father who passes the educative role to Jeanne when the royal role itself, illustrated here by the submission of the monastic orders, is passed to the elder son.

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[60] *Kalila wa dimna* (in translation by Raymond de Béziers), BNF MS lat. 8504, fol. 1v.

[61] See Didier Lett, " 'L'expression du visage paternel': La ressemblance entre le père et le fils à la fin du Moyen Âge: un mode d'appropriation symbolique," in Lett ed., *Etre père à la fin du Moyen Âge*, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* 4 (1997), pp. 115–125.

[62] C.R. Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*, fig. 9, p. 52.

This portrait must be compared to the previous portraits of 1373, in Aristotle's *Ethics* and in *Livre du gouvernement des roys et des princes*, dividing the family by gender: the queen holding a daughter's hand, the king holding a son's hand, as an uncompromising image of a male descendant being dependent always on his father's power, never on his mother's. In the *Charter*, the attitude of Jeanne de Bourbon is no longer submissive and attentive, but entirely responsible in her educative role, even if her real political power remains curtailed.[64]

Another large painting covers a half-page of the first folio in Guillaume Durand's *Rational des divins offices*, translated by Jean Golein:[65] the two sons behind the king, Charles and Louis born in 1368 and 1372, and two daughters for Jeanne, Marie and Isabelle born in 1371 and 1373. The painters created an idealised portrait, with children of the same size all dressed in fleur-de-lys motifs, as were their parents. We recognise the detail of Charles V's instructions: presence of monks beside the family, dialogue between Charles and Jeanne unambiguously identifiable, children reproducing their parents' gestures, separation of the males and females of the family. Here architectural structuring creates a visual representation of the two political heights of the kingdom. Jean Golein, one of the most important translators working for Charles V, shown as a diminutive figure, seems to act as an intermediary between the speaking Charles and the listening Jeanne. Author of a commentary of the *ordo* for the French coronations, a ceremonial legitimation at the time of the Franco-English war, he reinforces by his presence the importance of a clear political symbolic interpretation. Another detail establishes a parallel between the young dauphin Charles, wearing here two dolphins on his fleur-de-lys apparel, and the portrait of Charles V in the *Bible historiale* of 1363, praying to the Virgin and Child in front of a *prie-dieu* decked with the same arms. This Marial reference is reactivating for Jeanne: no longer to prompt her fertility, but to assume her educative mission, like that of the Virgin towards Christ. She might embody for the people a figure able to rally them, in her regency during the future King Charles's minority—a dangerous time in prospect, for a France still challenged by English depredation.[66]

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[63] Paris, Archives Nationales, J. 465, no. 48. See C.R. Sherman, *op. cit.*, fig. 11, p. 108.

[64] Fanny Cosandey, *La Reine de France: Symbole et pouvoir, XV^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècle* (Pais, Gallimard, 2000), and especially the legal foundations, chapter 1, pp. 19–54. Ralph Giesey had detailed the textual and iconographical modifications on Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques*, made to reinforce the legitimacy of the Valois claim to the throne. The elimination of a queen's sons from the French succession established in 1328 was always discussed in England in 1380, and allusion to this historical period had been simplified; see Ralph Giesey *Le rôle méconnu de la loi salique: La succession royale, XIV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2007), pp. 79–82.

[65] BNF fr. 437, fol. 1.

In Charles V's copy, several miniatures show the holy consecration of the French dynasty. At fol. 44v, Charles is anointed in the cathedral of Reims, and at fol. 50 Jeanne also receives the sacred unction. At fol. 51v, a king holds his royal banner, blessed by a bishop. At the end of the manuscript, the chapter introducing the *feste de tous les saints* is illustrated by a representation of Paradise in which angels adore a scene of the coronation of the Virgin Mary by the Christ. The translation of this royal ceremony into the divine space refers to the hope of salvation. It evokes the Coronation of the Virgin realised in sculptural displays in front of the cathedrals of Notre-Dame de Paris and Senlis in the thirteenth century, and highlights again the passive stance of the queen and the sacred power of the king.[67]

After the first majestic representations of Jeanne de Bourbon as a sacred queen in 1364, and the portrayals of 1372 depicting an educated sovereign in MS 434 of Besançon, those of 1373 and 1374 confirm her as the official educator of the children, as proposed when Charles V prepared his political succession. Elaborate images of Jeanne's virtues seemed to underwrite a long-time decision to charge her with the royal children's continuing instruction, following the king's death. Later, Marial imagery and didactic models appear as different steps to establish the legitimacy of Jeanne and of the royal descendants.

6 Queens as Wise Counsellors in Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France*

The same political outlook is evident in miniatures illustrating the king's *Grandes Chroniques de France*, one of his last commissions in which the queen's intercessions became exempla for future generations. The prime rationale for the presence of the queen and children beside the king is genealogical,[68] in keeping with the memorialising function of portraiture. The caption of the last royal family portrait in the national chronicle produced for the king has to be understood in a purely political context. More than his predecessors, Charles V affirms his will to remake royal Parisian palaces as monumental affirmations of monarchic greatness: in statuary, as in the Louvre, and symbolised at Vincennes where the three-lys escutcheon abounds.[69] But the image has a second rationale, shown in the *Avis au roys*'s exemplary king who organises the education of his children, especially sons, and asks the queen to play a role, both political and moral, in this task. The question of the transmission of royal power to the heirs is central for the queen's iconography in the *Grandes Chroniques de France* of Charles V, created in 1375–1379.[70] The unique representation of the baptism of the infant Charles VI, who is held in the arms of the queen Jeanne d'Evreux (fol. 446v), are proof again of the necessity to commemorate the major achievements of his reign. A parallel is drawn between the birth and education of Charles VI and the Valois account of the birth and education of Louis IX by Blanche of Castile, represented in the detailed frontispiece to the life of St Louis (fol. 265), which also serves to fortify a dynasty.[71]

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[66] Tracy Adams has analysed a similar phenomenon when Christine de Pizan idealised Isabeau de Bavière and the dauphin Louis de Guyenne, during Charles VI's illness, "as the creation of icons, or figures, behind whom the people can gather while they wait for the king to regain his sanity." Christine aimed to "promote an image of Isabeau as untainted by the narrow political interests of the ducal factions"; see Tracy Adams, "Moyennerresse de traictié de paix [*sic*]: Christine de Pizan's mediators," in *Healing the Body Politic*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 177–200, here pp. 179–180.

[67] Philippe Verdier. *Le Couronnement de la Vierge: Les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique*, (Montréal-Paris: Institut d'études médiévales-Vrin, 1980).

In this manuscript of the *Grandes Chroniques*, the portrait appearing to be the official representation of Charles and Jeanne in fact depicts Philip I, his wife Bertha of Holland, and their children.[72] In reality, Philip and Bertha were far from suitable models for Charles and Jeanne. To reduce the power of William of Normandy, Philip allied himself with Foulque le Réchin, Count of Anjou, and Robert le Frison, Count of Flanders. To reinforce his alliance with Flanders, he married Bertha of Holland, daughter of Florent I, Count of Holland, and Gertrude of Saxony. In 1092, Philip repudiated Bertha of Holland and married Bertrade de Montfort. In 1094, the Council of Autun pronounced the excommunication of Philip I. In the miniature, Bertha, wearing a crown, and Philip, dressed in a fleur-de-lys coat and with crown and sceptre, are seated on individual thrones. Each has a child near at hand: Constance next to her mother, and Louis next to his father, with courtiers in attendance.

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[68] It can be related to the French inserted between lines of the Latin text in the genealogical tree of Hugh Capet, in Ivo of Saint-Denis's *Vita et Passio Sancti Dionysii*, BNF MS lat. 13836, fol. 78. Around the figures of Matilda of Saxony, Gerberga of Saxony, and Hedwige (here "Haouide") of Saxony is written: "cestui hue chapet roy de france fils du dessus dit hue le grant comte de paris et de la dite haouide est descendu de la lignie charlemaigne laquele chose nul ne peut nier."

[69] Arnaud Alexandre and Frédéric Pleybert, *Paris et Charles V* (Paris: Action artistique de la ville de Paris, 2001).

[70] Charlemagne attends the crowning of Louis, King of Aquitaine: a crowned baby in the arms of his mother Hildegard (Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 2028, fol. 131). Another example is the transmission of regalia by Empress Richilde, a means of remaining active even after the death of the husband, and keeping in touch with the transmission of his power to his descendants. In Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France*, a miniature depicts the Empress Richilde bringing Charles the Bald's regalia to Louis the Stammerer, for him to become the French King in 877 (BNF MS fr. 2813, fol. 160).

[71] Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the "Grandes Chroniques de France" (1274–1422)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 124–128.

[72] BNF MS fr. 2813, fol. 182.

Another miniature depicts a royal family dialogue in front of the two children: Charles the Bald seated beside his wife Ermentrude, with the future Louis II of France next to his father and Judith of France next to her mother. Charles receives a letter from a messenger, announcing his election as king of France. The queen comments upon the content of the letter.[73] These two royal couples are represented in the style of Charles and Jeanne's conversation, since painters of the royal court were familiar with this iconography. This choice prepared the way for a rehabilitation of the monarchs in national history and dynastic memory. It also established links between several royal couples, and promoted an ideal of continuity.

Other queens illustrate different aspects of the contemplative and political virtues. The holy queen Clotild was the first to introduce the Christian faith in French national history, so she provides a good example of the contemplative virtues to all subsequent queens.[74] The text of *Grandes Chroniques de France* states that, soon after her marriage with Clovis, "la sainte li preecha plusieurs foiz car si fesoit son povoir de li convertir a la foi chrestiene" ("the saint preached to him, because she was engaging all her power to convert him to the Christian faith").[75] This scene was never used as the subject of an illustration. The first chapter of Book 2 does not even mention Clotild's presence when the kingdom was divided between successors.[76] Images show her role as mediator in the transmission of Clovis's power to their sons; and royal family portraits generally served to highlight fecundity and the continuity of power passed from father to son.

For Clotild's biography, Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques* chooses to dwell on her effectiveness as a mediator for peace, one of the important roles allotted to the queen in didactic texts. Clotild, looking like Jeanne de Bourbon, is in prayer before the sculpture of St Martin de Tours sharing his coat with a pauper, an illustration directly inspired by an image made for John the Good before his coronation in 1350.[77] In this scene, situated after the division of the kingdom, she is shown as establishing peace between King Clotaire and his brothers.[78] More than other queens in the *Grandes*

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[73] "Le roy Charles le Chauve recut message quil nentrast ou roy qui ot este Lothaire son frere iusques apres ce quil fut parti. Et comment les prelaz le recurent a seigneur en la cite de Mes et des institucions qui la furent establies" (BNF fr. 2813, fol. 149).

[74] Charles V's library includes two manuscripts of the "service de saincte Clotilde noté," in Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, p. 49, nos. 275, 276.

[75] *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Jules Viard (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1920), vol. 1, Book 1, chapter 17, p. 64.

[76] "Li forz rois Clodovees out IIII fiuz de la bone roine Crotilde, Theoderic, Clodomire, Childebert et Clothaire. Tuit ci quatre furent roi et deviserent le roiaume en IIII parties" (Viard, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, vol. 1, Book 2, ch. 1, p. 95).

[77] London, British Library, Royal 16 G VI, fol. 31v.

[78] Anne Hedeman, in her study of the Queen and the dauphin, analyses the representation of Clotild and her four sons in MS 2028 of Bibliothèque Mazarine, realised by the Master of the *Cité des Dames* in 1405–1408. She had identified the objects held by the four kings: the *bâton noueux* of Louis, Duke of Orléans, and the hammer of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy. She concluded:

Chroniques, Clotild reinforces the image of royal power, and this can be related to the symbolic image of Virgin queen in illustrations of the Church Triumphant.[79] Clotild represents the perfect princess as mediator of peace: first between the prince and his subjects, second between the prince and his barons. Listening to grievances, she had first to defend the prince's image and afterwards to inform him about the needs of his subjects.

Women of royal birth played an exemplary role, and Christine de Pizan builds on this tradition by citing several queens from French history, including Blanche of Castile and Jeanne d'Evreux, wife of Charles IV, in support of her arguments.[80] Blanche and Louis IX's memory had been revived in 1374, when Gerard of Montaigu, secretary to King Charles V, discovered in the *Trésor des chartes*, a French text of the lessons written for his son Philip.[81] Charles asked for a copy from Gerard and gave the manuscript to Louis de Bourbon, "frere la Royne, lesquelz estoient descendus du Roy sainct Loys". The *Grandes Chroniques de France* depicts the young Louis IX, when he opposed the Barons and took on the defence of his mother.[82] In other circumstances, Louis showed his humanity in political affairs concerning queens by offering an example of respect of their power.[83]

"The use of Burgundian and Orléanist emblems in a scene of Clotild and her sons may therefore comment on the deadly rivalry between these blood relations of Charles VI" (*The Royal Image, 1274–1422*, p. 171).

[79] Philippe Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*; Daniel Russo, "Les représentations mariales dans l'art d'Occident: Essai sur la formation d'une tradition iconographique," in *Marie, Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale*, edited by D. Iogna-Prat, E. Palazzo, and D. Russo (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996).

[80] The education that Christine de Pizan suggests is not unlike the training Parsons believes real queens gave to their daughters, to prepare them for royal marriages; see J.C. Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150–1500," in Parsons ed., *Medieval Queenship* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), pp. 63–78, 75–78. Christine does, however, mention saintly queens: Clotild, wife of Clovis; Bathild, wife of Clovis II; and St Elizabeth of Hungary.

[81] This account is modelled on Geoffrey of Beaulieu's short version and accompanied by a copy of the instructions to Isabelle. See David O'Connell, *The Teachings of Saint Louis: A Critical Text* (Chapel Hill: The University of California Press, 1972), p. 18.

[82] When the Barons argued that the Queen "ne devoit pas gouverner si grant chose comme le royaume de France, et qu'il n'appartenoit pas à fame de tel chose faire," Louis affirmed his own capacity to govern with wise counsellors. When the Barons tried to kidnap him in Orleans, he went to Monthléry, where he asked his mother to send him armed soldiers to return to Paris. In the war between Louis IX and Thibaut, the peace was attributed to the intervention of his mother: "A celle pais faire fu la royne Blanche qui dist: 'Par Dieu, conte Thibaut, vous ne deussiez pas estre nostre contraire. Il vous deust bien remembrer de la bonte que le roy mon filz vous fist, qui vint en vostre aide pour secorre vostre contree et vostre terre contre touz les barons de France qui la vouloient toute ardoir et mettre en charbon.' " Viard, *Grandes Chroniques de France*, vol. 7 (1932), pp. 40–41. Count Thibaut IV was impressed by the beauty and wisdom of the queen.

[83] Joanna of Flanders is one of these women whose military activity was combined with a real knowledge of negotiations with kings. When the false Count Baudoin of Flanders convinces subjects to disinherit Joanna of her county, she goes to King Louis IX and "li pria pour Dieu, que il eust pitie de li, et li monstra rayson pour quoi il pooit et devoit estre esmeuz, et restablir li, sa

In the familial circle of Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon, Jeanne d'Evreux is one of the queens whose role had been highlighted by the *Grandes Chroniques*. One of Charles V's daughters, a young Jeanne who was born and died in 1366, had queens of Navarre as godmothers—Blanche de Navarre and Jeanne d'Evreux.[84] They appeared together in one of the most painful episodes of Charles's political career: the forgiveness of Charles of Navarre by his father John the Good. In Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France*, the issue of the two queens' verbal influence on the king's decision-making is manifest in this particular scene.[85] The opposition of the kings of France and Navarre is visually reinforced by a chromatic contrast: the blue fleur-de-lys coat of John, and the golden coat with red lozenges of Charles. The French king is seated on his throne, on the right of his visitors. His name is written in red on the top right of the folio: "du Roy Jehan". Charles is kneeling before him, but their raised fingers suggest a dialogue between them. Charles is repentant, but not inert. In front are members of Parliament, including two cardinals, and Queen Blanche of Navarre (who is Charles of Navarre's sister and Philippe VI's widow). Jeanne d'Evreux and Charles IV the Fair are standing behind Charles. Queen Blanche points her finger in the direction of King John the Good, to secure his decision to forgive the enemy of the French kingdom. Queen Jeanne keeps her hand on Charles's back, as if to recommend him for royal indulgence.[86]

These two queens, directly linked to Charles V's family, and acting as sisters in the interest of French peace, may offer an allegory of successful political action. Like Clotild and Blanche of Castile in their times, the figures of Jeanne d'Evreux and Blanche de Navarre epitomised queenly action as complementary to the action of the king. The final success of the war against Charles of Navarre is depicted in the miniature of fol. 460v when this king knelt before Charles V in Vernon to pay homage. Nevertheless, the diplomatic involvement of the two queens recalls a major message of the last part of these *Grandes Chroniques de France*. To conclude, it can be said that issues of royal succession guided the image of Clotild, Ermentrude, Bertha of Holland, and the two queens of Navarre, since Charles of Navarre pressed his claim to the French crown. Reading these exempla from the national history,

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terre et sa contée" ("begs him before God to take pity on her, and show him why he can and must be moved to restore her land and her county"). *Grandes Chroniques de France*, vol. 7 (1932), pp. 17–18.

[84] Françoise Autrand, *Charles V*, p. 536.

[85] BNF MS fr. 2813, fol. 395, "Comment le roy de france pardonna au roy de navarre la mort de charles d'espaigne connestable de france."

[86] Brigitte Buettner stresses this exceptional valorisation of female intercession in royal action, as a sign of the personal involvement of Charles V in this specific chapter of his manuscript; see "Le système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre," *Clio* 19 (2004), *Femmes et images*, pp. 37–62. The text of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* has: "Et assez tost après, la royne Jehanne, ante, et la royne Blanche, suer du dit roy de Navarre, laquelle Jehanne avoit esté femme du roy Charles, dernierement trespasse, vindrent en la presence du Roy et li firent la reverance en euls enclinant devant ly. Et lors les dites roynes et le dit roy de Navarre, qui mist le genoil a terre, en mercierent le Roy"; *Chroniques des règnes de Jean II et Charles V*, ed. R. Delachenal (Paris: Renouard, 1910), pp. 43–45.

Jeanne de Bourbon, responsible for the tutelage of her children since 1374, had to act as a mediator of peace to ensure the future reign of the dauphin Charles.

At the beginning of this study, several questions were asked, proposing a renewed study of Jeanne de Bourbon's iconography with a larger conception of the image of the virtuous queen's image, through a study of the many illustrations in works commissioned by Charles V. These are mainly religious texts, but also didactic treatises and chronicles need to be included, to explore the major role of the queen's image in a complex political context. The relations between these representations posed other problems, as they were produced by courtly painters working together or influenced by different artistic productions. Stylistic influences recently studied by Bernd Carqué offered new possibilities. This article has sought to establish new links between pictures already analysed *in toto* by Claire Richter Sherman, and to open new avenues of research in other manuscripts of Charles V that reflect his cultural environment. The work of Carra Ferguson O'Meara on Charles's *Coronation Book* helped in the understanding of this major text, and opened up new perspectives. The political context of the sources imposes a new dimension of analysis on any study on such *élite* productions, especially biographical materials.

Three themes mark different aspects of the virtuous queen's image, distinguishing several degrees of self-authorisation. Images of the Virgin, the Church, and the bride of the Song of Songs are major models for the exceptionally significant consecration of Jeanne de Bourbon, as shown in the *Coronation Book* whose illustrations closely follow Charles V's instructions. Didactic control of her attitude is to the fore. But a more innovative approach characterises queens as women able to communicate with the king about domestic questions and household problems. The Queen of Sheba and the allegories of Philosophy and the chess-queen offered active examples to Jeanne de Bourbon, now mother of two sons. The children's education must be one of her major topics of conversation, since the arrangement of the gestures that are depicted reinforces mother–daughter and father–son filiations. At the end, the affirmation of the role of queen during a regency can be considered as an issue that Charles V personally pursued, around 1374 when he was organising for the smooth succession of his son.

Analysis of stance, gestures, and facial expressions have to be integrated in studying representations of the virtuous queen. These allow understanding of the physical and psychological self-control that the queen must develop, which is similar to that required of the king. The virtues of patience, prudence, and temperance are invoked, to guide a princess's moral education; and understanding of political concepts to emphasise the role of diplomatic negotiations. By listening with attention to the king and to scholars, the queen can improve her effectiveness at the king's side. From this normative attribution, some queens may manifest other attitudes: speaking with the king, and then influencing his decisions, particularly as intercessionary advocates for peace as we see in the images of Jeanne d'Evreux and Blanche de Navarre.

Royal private life is political. This visual demonstration expresses a message: moral virtues are politics, they are necessarily demonstrated before the court, in the sight of the subjects of the kingdom. The perfect image of the royal family is an effective argument to glorify the royal image, to legitimise the dynasty, royal religion, and national adhesion to the monarchic will. Contemporary princely and ducal attempts to highlight the familial image can be compared;[87] but the organisation of Charles and his counsellors is unique, and validates his power but also Jeanne de Bourbon's tutelage role after his death.

Other portraits of royal couples listening to monks or scholars or speaking to each other, along with scenes representing the queen's conversations with her children and members of the court, enable useful comparisons, helping us to understand what is special in Charles V's approach to managing his own image. Royal family portraits had a dynastic function, as they proved the king's stability and potency in the production of heirs.[88] Furthermore, strong gender separation between male and female members of the family induces the idea of transmission of power: always from the father to his sons. The queen then appears as a composite virtuous figure, uniting religious dedication, fertility, responsibility in education of the young, and moral virtue. Jeanne de Bourbon's exceptional cycle of representations illustrates a political ideology centred on moral virtue in the family and in government, as a unique way to succeed after the reign of John the Good.

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[87] Jean de Berry commissions individual portraits more than other brothers of Charles V. In the *Grandes heures du Duc de Berry*, he used the courtly festive and luxurious context but not the family context. In the third quarter of the fifteenth century, Hélène de Laval particularly appreciated family portraits, staying in the traditional frame of a writer presenting a book to its recipient: Pierre le Baud offers his *Chroniques de Bretagne* to Jean de Derval and Hélène de Laval; BNF MS fr. 8266, fol. 393v, reproduced in Colette Beaune, and François Avril, *Le miroir du pouvoir* (Paris: Hervas, 1997), p. 21.

[88] Christian de Mérindol, "Portrait et généalogie: la genèse du portrait réaliste et individualisé," in *Population et démographie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1995), pp. 219–248.

Chapter 6
Jean Gerson's Writings to His Sisters and Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*: An Intellectual Dialogue Culminating in Friendship

Earl Jeffrey Richards

In this paper I will briefly examine four key intellectual differences between Jean Gerson and Christine de Pizan which attest to their ongoing dialogue: first, Gerson's position that all teaching of women must be considered suspect ("omnis doctrina mulierum [. . .] reputanda est suspecta"); second, competing metaphors of the fowler in their writings; third, their respective positions on the queenship of Mary; and fourth, a comparison between their two writings on the Passion. This analysis will shift attention away from the frequent discussion of Gerson's position on women visionaries. In these comparisons it is a question both of thematic and textual parallels. Taken in the larger context of the established points of contact between the two, many of which will require additional scrutiny,[1] these new parallels suggest first that Gerson's teaching to his sisters focused on an intensification of the contemplative life, whereas Christine's reflections were directed at women in the active life; and second that Christine incorporates considerable erudition in her writings addressed to women (and men) on those topics where Gerson had presented for his sisters a stripped down and simplified theology, and that she followed this tack to demonstrate her overarching argument of the affinity of women for learning. Finally, the most striking aspect of the exchange between Gerson and Christine is the

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[1] These are listed in my article "Christine de Pizan and Jean Gerson: An Intellectual Friendship," *Christine de Pizan 2000*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 197–208, here p. 198. To begin with, I examined those areas where scholars had already argued for affinities: "first, Christine and Gerson were allies in the Debate of the *Roman de la Rose*; second, Christine in the *Advision* made use of Gerson's *Montaigne de contemplation*; third, Christine used arguments from Gerson's sermons in the *Trois vertus*; fourth (a related point), the *Epistre a la reine* anticipated Gerson's sermon *Vivat rex*, whose themes in turn reappear in the *Corps de policie*; and fifth, Christine's *Sept Psaumes* seems indebted to Gerson's commentary on the penitential psalms [. . .] and sixth, both wrote works, completed within a few months of each other, celebrating the victories of Joan of Arc." I then examined three other possible links: the term *femmelette* in the *Montaigne de contemplation*, the fact that only Christine and Gerson mention Mathéolus at this time, and that when both treat Joan of Arc, they spell the name Deborah "Delbora" (an example of *lectio difficilior*).

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fact that it created a special friendship between the two which Gerson was somewhat at a loss to describe.

In the last ten years, new studies of Jean Gerson have deepened our understanding of his complicated and sometimes ambiguous attitudes toward women. Brian Patrick McGuire has shown how Gerson's writings, subsequently used (or abused) to justify witch-hunts, were more complex than later scholars have assumed.[2] Yelena Mazour-Matusevich furnishes a wider study of Gerson's position, and shows how he supported very carefully delineated forms of female mysticism and individual spirituality.[3] Wendy Love Anderson gives a balanced discussion principally of the issue of Gerson's view of women visionaries.[4] All three are especially indebted to D. Catherine Brown's 1987 study, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (especially her Chapter 7 on women, marriage, and children). While all three scholars make important contributions, I believe it can also be fruitful to compare Gerson's writings to his sisters with several of Christine de Pizan's works, especially the *Livre des trois vertus* and the *Heures de contemplation de la Passion de Notre Seigneur*, which Liliane Dulac and René Stuip are about to publish in a splendid edition. It seems as though a kind of intellectual dialogue took place between the two writers regarding women as moral agents. This context was at least implicitly proposed over a century ago by Alice Hentsch in her study of medieval didactic writings addressed to women. In relatively few pages Hentsch discusses a short treatise by Gerson addressed to his "sister in Christ" on the Passion of Christ, and then gives a lengthy summary of Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*.[5] She does not make a connection between the two writers, but the progress in Christine studies since 1903 when Hentsch published her work allows us to ask if her juxtaposition of these two authors can be seen as a dialogue, beginning with Gerson's pastoral care for Christine as a member of the court, and ending in an authentic spiritual friendship.

Caution is however appropriate. McGuire, one of the most distinguished experts on Gerson, argues that he had little contact with women other than his four sisters, and rejects the possibility that Christine might have been the exception that proves the rule. I have argued instead for an intellectual friendship between Gerson and

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[2] See the discussion in Brian Patrick McGuire, "Late Medieval Care and the Control of Women: Jean Gerson and His Sisters," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 92 (1997), pp. 5–36, which he continues in his useful study *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

[3] Yelena Mazour-Matusevich, "From Monastic to Individual Spirituality: Another Perspective on Gerson's Attitude toward Women," *Magistra* 6 (2000), pp. 61–88, and "La position de Jean Gerson (1363–1429) envers les femmes," *Le moyen âge* 112 (2006), pp. 337–353.

[4] Wendy Love Anderson, "Gerson's Stance on Women," in: *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 293–315.

[5] Alice Adèle Hentsch*, De la littérature didactique du moyen âge s'adressant spécialement aux femmes* (Halle: Cahors, 1903; reprinted Geneva: Slatkine, 1975).

Christine spanning almost thirty years.[6] Furthermore, McGuire, also an expert on medieval friendship, found my use of the term "friendship" misplaced and anachronistic. He was right to take exception to my describing the relationship between the two as a friendship, at least based on the evidence I presented. At the same time, it is important to remember that Gerson was an intellectual with a pan-European reputation—from the papal court to the Council of Constance to the imperial court in Vienna—and Christine by contrast was a woman with more limited ties to the royal and various ducal courts in France and Italy. As McGuire notes, only near the end of his life did Gerson address the Carthusians in Lyon, where he spent his last days, as his *spirituales amici* ("spiritual friends")—the only occurrence of such an expression in Gerson's entire work.[7]

Our understanding of the relationship between Gerson and Christine changes significantly, however, if Gerson in fact authored the work called the *Passion Nostre Seigneur*, with Christine as the intended recipient: a text which Christine herself used, though with a much more intensely personal emphasis than Gerson, in her own *Heures de contemplation de la Passion de Notre Seigneur*.[8] This example reinforces the importance of their intellectual exchange which allowed for similarities and differences. Gerson's *Passion*, cast in the formal *vous* form of address, indicative of a respectful and dignified distance, begins by invoking a long history of intellectual cooperation in which Gerson appears to have supplied this "dear sister in Christ" and "special friend"—who seems on balance to have been Christine—with a rapidly copied translation of a short Latin treatise at the time attributed either to Bernard of Clairvaux or to Bede[9]:

> Très-chière seur en doulx Jhesu et especiale amye, en accomplissant ce que requis plusieurs fois m'avez, j'ai coppié en françois cestui petit traicté de la mort et passion de Nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist, affin que plus dévotement et profondement puissiés icelle piteuse, cruelse, douloureuse et très angoisseuse passion contempler, pencer et en votre cuer fichier.[10]
>
> [Most cherished sister in sweet Jesus, and special friend, in accomplishing what you have demanded of me many times, I have copied into French this short tract on the death and passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, so that you may contemplate, think about and fix in your heart more devoutly and more profoundly this piteous, cruel, painful and most fearful Passion.]

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[6] Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Christine de Pizan and Jean Gerson: An Intellectual Friendship," in *Christine de Pizan 2000: Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 197–208.

[7] McGuire, op. cit. (2005), p. 320.

[8] Raimond Thomassy, *Jean Gerson* (Paris, 1843); Frénaud and Ouy consider it his work, Glorieux and Lieberman do not. See *La Passion Nostre Seigneur, sermon "Ad Deum vadit"*, ed. and annotated by Dom G. Frénaud (Paris, 1947). Glorieux in his edition, vol. 7, p. XXI contests the attribution to Gerson following Max Lieberman's doubts in his article "Gersoniana," *Romania* 78 (1957), pp. 145–181, here pp. 154–155.

[9] Bede, *Libellus de meditatione passionis Christi per septem diei horas*, PL 94, cols. 561–568.

[10] Raimond Thomassy, *Jean Gerson* (Paris: Debécourt, 1838), p. 338.

Addressing the recipient as “très-chière seur en doulx Jhesu” borrows from the well-established tradition of a spiritual friendship in Christ, an *amicitia christiana* (a phrase used by Ambrose and cited by Abelard, and a topic upon which Peter of Blois composed a long treatise, *De amicitia christiana et de charitate Dei et proximi*[11]), which itself builds upon the well-established tradition of spiritual friendship. This friendship however was between men, not between a man and a woman. Gerson’s phrase *en accomplissant ce que requis plusieurs fois m’avez* implies that the addressee of the tract is an old intellectual acquaintance, which fits with his having known Christine since the *Quarrel of the Rose*, where he called Christine *insignis femina* (“remarkable woman”) and *virago*. Gerson in the course of the treatise on the *Passion* switches to the *tu* form, which in this case is appropriate to the intimacy of the personal devotion expected in a work with affinities to *devotio moderna*, advising his addressee to contemplate the sufferings of “ton époux”—Jesus as *sponsus*.

What Gerson says here about answering questions from Christine recalls Christine’s remarks at the beginning of the *Cité des dames* that she had been lent several books, including that of Mathéolus (“entre mains me vint d’aventure un livre estrange, non mie de mes volumes, qui avec autres livres m’avoit esté baillié si comme en garde. Adonc ouvert celui, je vy en l’intitulacion que il se clamoit Matheolus”). Since Gerson and Christine are the first authors to mention Mathéolus, it would seem that in fact we can assume that Gerson, when he was in Paris at the royal court, visited Christine, and most likely in a pastoral context. In the *Montaigne de contemplation*, whose composition in 1398 predates the *Quarrel of the Rose*, Gerson speaks to his own biological sisters as his sisters in Christ as well, and goes on to mention a *femmelete* among his acquaintances who, having retired to a small *chambrelete* because of a long sickness, devotes herself intensely to studying and reflecting upon spiritual issues. This sickness would fit Christine’s descriptions of her own illnesses, the best known of which is described in the *Mutacion de Fortune*, from a somewhat later period. This pastoral acquaintance suggests a plausible context for an ongoing intellectual dialogue between the two which toward the end of both their lives culminates in Gerson’s calling Christine his sister in Christ.

We turn now to consider the four key intellectual differences between Jean Gerson and Christine de Pizan that were outlined at the start.

1 Omnis doctrina mulierum reputanda est suspecta

Gerson’s dismissal of *omnis doctrina mulierum* in fact appears in a late writing of his, the *De examinatione doctrinarum*, and has been somewhat unfairly used to paint Gerson as a “suppressor of women’s religious expression”, as Wendy Love Anderson has noted. In a section devoted to the six situations (*sex modorum*) in which learning is transmitted (between a learned and ignorant man, between an old and young man, between a moral and dissolute man, between a man of sound natural judgement and man suffering in the brain, between a prudent and a foolish man, and between a man and a woman), Gerson cites Jerome's censure of those men—the very shame of it!—who learn from women what men should teach ("culpat Hieronymus eos qui, proh pudor, a foeminis discunt quod viros doceant," p. 467), especially because women suffer from visions which spring from injuries to the brain caused by epilepsy or the cold, or by melancholy ("laesiones quoque cerebri per epilepsiam vel congelationem, aut aliam melancholiae speciem"). Then comes the celebrated passage where the teaching of women is summarily condemned:

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[11] Peter of Blois, *De amicitia christiana et de charitate Dei et proximi*, Migne PL 207, cols. 871–958.

> omnis doctrina mulierum, maxime solemnis verbo seu scripto, reputanda est suscepta, nisi prius fuerit altero sex modorum quos supra tetigimus examinata, et multo amplius quam doctrina virorum. Cur ita? Patet ratio, quia lex communis nec qualiscumque sed divina tales arcet. Quare? Quia levius seductibiles, quia pertinacius seductrices, quia non constat eas esse sapientiae divinae cognitrices.
>
> [All the teaching of women, in particular religious teaching, both written and oral, should be considered suspect unless it first be scrutinised twice as much as the six situations which we touched upon above and much more thoroughly than the teaching of men. Why is this? The reason is obvious, since not just common law of any kind but divine law precludes such things. Why? Because they are more easily seducible, because they are more tenacious seducers, because it is established that they are not *advocates* (Latin *cognitor*, or here *cognitrices*, is a precise legal term) of divine wisdom.[12]]

While Gerson might have brought this contention to paper only in the late 1420s, it is completely consistent with his other earlier writings and didactic position toward women, especially because his writings to his sisters considerably simplify theological topics. This prohibition is consistent with Thomas Aquinas's commentary on 1 Tim. 2:8–12, the classic prohibition of teaching by women:

> I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting. In like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with braided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works. Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.[13]

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[12] Glorieux, ed., vol. 9, p. 468.

[13] Here is the Vulgate text which I cite for purposes of comparison with Thomas's commentary: "Volo ergo viros orare in omni loco levantes puras manus sine ira et disceptatione; similiter et mulieres in habitu ornato cum verecundia et sobrietate ornantes se, non in tortis crinibus et auro aut margaritis vel veste pretiosa, sed, quod decet mulieres, profitentes pietatem per opera bona. **Mulier in tranquillitate discat cum omni subiectione; docere autem mulieri non permitto neque dominari in virum, sed esse in tranquillitate**." Thomas's commentary (*Sancti Thomae de Aquino Super I Epistolam B. Pauli ad Timotheum lectura*, Caput 2, Lectio 2) leaves little doubt about women's being deficient in reason: "Deinde cum dicit *similiter et mulieres*, ordinat mulieres, et primo quantum ad orationem, secundo quantum ad doctrinam, ibi *mulieres in silentio*. Item primo ostendit quid requiratur a muliere orante; secundo exponit quae dixerat, ibi *non in tortis*. Circa primum sciendum est quod omnia quae requiruntur ad virum orantem, requiruntur et ad mulieres. Et ideo dicit *similiter et mulieres*; quasi dicat: omnia servent quae

The question of women's subjugation and of women's freedom undergirds the issue of woman as moral subject, for the Thomist interpretation of Paul is that women, because of their deficient reason, are essentially not free agents and must therefore make up in good works what they lack in intelligence.

In order to understand the context for any discussion of women's freedom in Christine, one should note that nowhere in her entire writings does Christine ever use the word *libre*, and that she uses the word *liberté* only twice, whereas she does in a few cases use the terms *franche* and *franchise*, in the text of Liliane Dulac's edition of the *Trois vertus* and my edition of the *Cité des dames*, but never as part of an argument for women's rights.[14] It is little wonder that Christine repeatedly appeals to Reason, in order to build the case for women's rationality, and that she speaks not of women's rights—a concept which would have to wait at least until the seventeenth century—but of the importance of *droiture* (which can best be translated as "claims secured by contract"[15]) to ensure a place for women underwritten by legal contract. Women's freedom for Christine exists only as a negative concept, as the protection from the attacks of misogynists.

While women do not have a claim to freedom as a positive concept in Christine's political philosophy, they do have rights which are summed up as "the cause of women" in a strict legal sense. When Christine discusses the prohibition on women teaching in the *Cité des dames*, II.36, she speaks of Hortensia as an accomplished orator. In this passage Christine translates Boccaccio's phrase *causa mulierum* into the first French term for "feminism", *la cause des femmes*, "le bien qui par ceste femme et par son savoir avint fu un nottable entre les autres, c'est assavoir que ou

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dicta sunt. Sed addit duo, scilicet ornamenta et verecundiam, dicens *in habitu ornato cum verecundia*, cuius ratio est, quia naturale est quod **sicut mulieres sunt mollioris corporis quam viri, ita et debilioris rationis.** Rationis autem est ordinare actus, et effectus uniuscuiusque rei. Ornatus vero consistit in debita ordinatione et dispositione. Sic in interiori decore nisi sint omnia ordinata ex dispositione per rationem, non habent pulchritudinem spiritualem. Et ideo **quia mulieres deficiunt a ratione, requirit ab eis ornatum.** Item verecundia est de turpi actu, et ideo est laudabilis in illis qui facile solent declinare in actus turpes, cuiusmodi sunt iuvenes et mulieres, et ideo hoc in eis laudatur, non autem senes et perfecti. Eccli. XXVI, 19: *gratia super gratiam mulier sancta et pudorata*. Item sobrietatem requirit; unde sequitur *et sobrietate*. Quia enim **in mulieribus ratio est debilis**, sobrietas autem conservat virtutem rationis, ideo in mulieribus maxime reprehenditur ebrietas. Unde antiquitus apud Romanos eis non dabatur vinum."

[14] For *liberté* in Christine, see http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/french/christine/cpstart.htm. *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris: Champion, 1936), vol. 1, p. 33: *les voluptez, qui empeschent la liberté des sens*; *Prison de la vie humaine*, p. 50, where the word occurs in a list including *amour, sapience, seurté, liberté, / beatitude, santé, vie*. This conclusion is further based on an inspection of the *Lexique de Christine de Pizan: Matériaux pour le "Dictionnaire du Moyen Français" (DMF)–5*, ed. Joël Blanchard and Michel Quereuil (Paris: Klincksieck, 1999); of James Laidlaw's electronic concordance of many of Christine's work; of the electronic text of Liliane Dulac's edition of the *Trois vertus* (which she kindly consulted for me); and of my own electronic text of the *Cité des dames*.

[15] See my study: "Le concept de Droiture chez Christine de Pizan et sa pensée politique," in: *Actes du II^{e} Colloque International sur la Littérature en Moyen Français (Milan, 8–10 mai 2000)*, ed. Sergio Cigada, *et al.* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2000), pp. 305–314.

temps que Romme estoit gouvernee par ·iij· hommes, ceste Ortence prist a soustenir la cause des femmes." The disagreement with Gerson could not be more profound: in the *ABC des pauvres gens* Gerson concedes that mothers should teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Creed, but nothing else. In visual terms, the miniature from the Queen's Manuscript showing Christine teaching a group of men (Fig. 6.1) is her most direct rejection of the condemnation of women teaching, in direct contradiction to the Pauline formula "mulier in tranquillitate discat cum omni subiectione".[16] Christine's reaction to prohibitions against women amounts to a re-evaluation of women as moral agents and to a positive definition of the possibilities of women acting in the public political sphere, always against the backdrop that women first become free to act when they are protected from men's violence (whence the pertinence of the medieval etymology for city or *civitas* as "CItra VIm habiTAS"—"here you live beyond violence").[17]

In Gerson's conception of women as moral agents, there is no room for them to teach rhetoric or law, like Hortensia or Novella in the *Cité des dames*. For Gerson, women—or at least his sisters—should retire from the world and cultivate the *vita contemplativa*. This guiding principle is enunciated first in his *Montaigne de contemplation* from 1398, and then further elaborated in five more short pedagogical treatises, also addressed to his sisters: *Sept enseignements et autres extraits du Traité sur l'excellence de la virginité* (1399), *Neuf considerations* (1399), *Une lettre envoyee par Maistre Jehan de Gerson a ses sœurs* (1399–1400), *Quinze perfections nécessaires* (1400), and *Onze ordonnances* (1401).[18] Nathalie Nabert, in an important and detailed comparison of the pedagogy of Gerson and Christine, has noted:

> Bien des points d'instruction restent donc communs entre les enseignements de Jean Gerson et ceux de Christine de Pizan présentant un idéal de vertu chrétienne centré sur le renoncement à soi et l'éloge des qualités évangéliques. Les miroirs de bonne vie ainsi proposés relèvent donc, à l'évidence, d'une voie de perfection qui restreint la vision du monde au choix sélectif d'une ascension. Mais, si chez Jean Gerson tout repose sur l'expérience de

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[16] See also Charity Cannon Willard, "Christine de Pizan as Teacher," *Romance Languages Annual* 3 (1992) pp. 132–136 (available at http://tell.fll.purdue.edu/RLA-Archive/1991/French-html/Willard,CharityCannon.htm), and Elisabeth Schreiner, "Christine de Pizan als Vermittlerin von Wissen und Wissenschaft," in: *Künstler, Dichter, Gelehrte* (Mittelalter-Mythen, vol. 4), (St Gallen: UVK-Fachverlag für Wissen und Studium, 2005), pp. 269–286 (available at: http://www.uvk-konstanz.de/buchdetail/pdf/9783896695697_1.pdf).

[17] See my discussion of this point in "Where are the Men in Christine de Pizan's City of Ladies? Architectural and Allegorical Structures in Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la Cité des dames*," in *Translatio Studii: Essays in Honor of Karl D. Uitti*, ed. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *et al.* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), pp. 221–244.

[18] First edited, with omissions but supplied with an invaluable commentary, by Edmond Vansteenberghe, "Quelques écrits de Jean Gerson, Textes inédits et études, IV: Trois règlements de Vie de Gerson pour ses sœurs; V: Lettre à ses sœurs sur la méditation et les dévotions quotidiennes," *Revue de sciences religieuses* 14 (1934), pp. 191–218, pp. 370–391. Glorieux reprinted Vansteenberghe, and McGuire (1997) has carefully explained and supplied the editorial problems and omissions from Vansteenberghe's original edition.

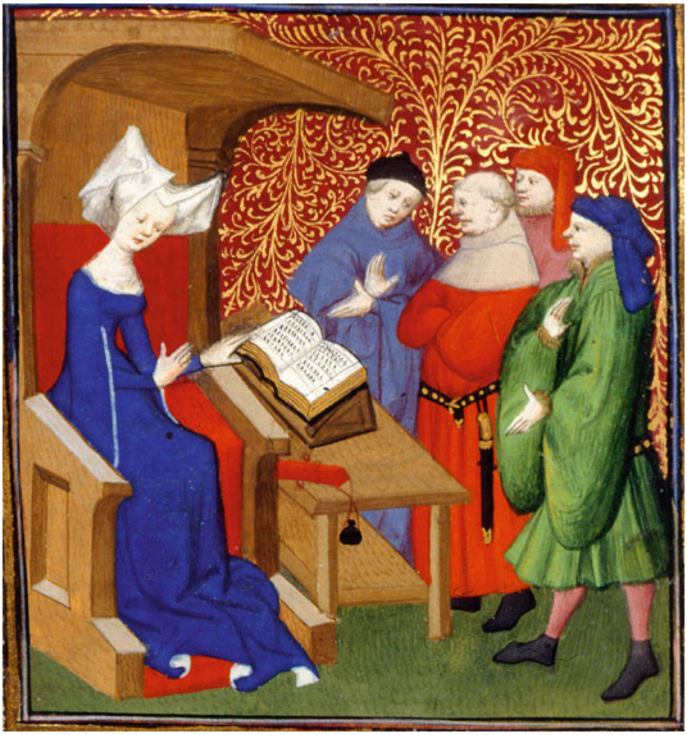

Fig. 6.1 Miniature from the beginning of the *Proverbes moraulx*, Christine de Pizan; British Library, Harley 4431 ("the Queen's Manuscript"), f. 259v

> la vie intérieure dans l'univers clos de la chambre, chez Christine de Pizan la transmission de la sagesse passe avant tout par sa connaissance du monde et par ses réminiscences autobiographiques.[19]
>
> [There are many common features to be found in the teachings of Jean Gerson and Christine de Pizan who both present an ideal of Christian virtue centred on self-renunciation and the praise of evangelical values. The visions of the good life which they propose reveal, evidently, one path to perfection which restricts the vision to a choice of ascension. But in the case of Gerson, this depends completely on an interior experience within an enclosed space, with Christine de Pizan, wisdom is transmitted first of all through her knowledge of the world and autobiographical reminiscences.]

Christine's sensitivity to Gerson's emphasis on the contemplative life is echoed in Chapter 6 of the first part of the *Trois vertus*, where she contrasts briefly but poignantly the active and contemplative life, noting how "le parfait contemplative souventes fois tellement ravy que il semble que il ne soit mie en soy meismes"[20] before directing all her attention to the *vita activa* in the rest of the work. At the same time, Christine's approach is to imbue her pragmatic writings not only with considerations of the conditions and experiences of women—based on her knowledge of "les natureulz meurs et condicions femmenines", as she says at the beginning of the *Cité des dames*—but also with profound theological and legal erudition.

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[19] Nathalie Nabert, "Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson et le gouvernement des âmes," *Au champ des escriptures: III^{e} Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan*, ed. Eric Hicks, Diego Gonzalez, and Philippe Simon (Paris: Champion, 2000), pp. 250–268, here p. 267.

One important linguistic reason why we should conclude that Christine was probably influenced by Gerson in her description of the perfect contemplative state in the *Trois vertus* is that Gerson himself seems to have pioneered such terms as *ravi* in medieval French. As Helmut Hatzfeld has noted,

> Old French texts leave no doubt about the particular qualities of ecstatic mysticism. It grants the soul the above mentioned higher intellectual visions (opposed to imaginary ones) and even a direct (*très haut*, *elevé*) contact (*conversation*) with God, *in pura et simplici veritate*, according to Richard of St Victor, excluding the so called *species impressae*, pictures of the mind. Therefore Gerson uses the expressions: *estre ravi en esperit et en contemplation*, or: *tres hautes consideracions et contemplacions en ravissement*, or: *nostre esperit se rend e a vous Dieu par eslevees contemplacion et conversation*.[21]

Christine's choice to focus on women in the world, women in the active life, was thus a clear alternative to Gerson's pedagogy. Like Dante in *Inferno* 1, she must take a different path (l. 91, "A te convien tenere altro vïaggio").

Christine, however, takes one essential element of the contemplative life with her: erudition. Gerson in dismissing women's learning uses the term *cognitrices*—women are not legal advocates; more literally, that they do not *know* the law. This claim finds in Christine's work not only the historical counterexample of Novella, but also the theological counterexample of the Virgin herself. Richard de Saint-Laurent says in his *De laudibus Beatae Virginis Mariae* that the Virgin as *advocata* of course knew the entire body of legal learning. Christine incorporates the tradition of *Maria advocata* in many of her writings, not only the *Cité des dames*, but in an extremely condensed form in the *Oroison Nostre Dame*.

2 Competing Metaphors of the Fowler (*Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja . . .*)

The opening metaphor of the fowler used in the *Livre des trois vertus* has often puzzled scholars. In one of the arguably longest and easily most magnificent single sentences in her entire work, marked with her signature cadences (where pairs and triplets are ingeniously combined[22]), Christine compares herself to a fowler, and the City of Ladies to a glorious cage:

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[20] *Le Livre des trois vertus* (ed. Willard, Hicks), p. 23.

[21] Helmut A. Hatzfeld, "Linguistic Investigation of Old French High Spirituality," *PMLA* 61, 2 (1946), pp. 331–378, here p. 353. Atilf's online facility *Le Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (at http://www.atilf.fr/dmf) attributes *ravi* in the mystical sense to Christine de Pizan and does not mention Gerson.

> Not yet sated or gorged with putting you to work as the handmaiden of our virtuous labours, we have considered, deliberated, and concluded in the Council of Virtues—and following the example of God who at the beginning of the world which He had created saw that His work was good, blessed it, and then created man and woman and the other animals, so may our earlier work, that of the City of Ladies, be blessed and exalted through all the world—that for its further expansion it please us that, just as the wise fowler prepares his cage before he captures the birds, we desire, after the shelter for the honoured ladies has been constructed and prepared, similarly as before, there be made and designed noble and beautiful traps, snares, and nooses, devised with your help, knotted and decorated with nets of love which we will supply to you, and that you lay them on the ground, and in the public squares and in the street corners where ladies, and in general all women, pass by and scurry, so that those who are wild and hard to dominate may be snatched, taken, and trapped in our nets, so that no one or few who fall into them may escape, and that all, or the greater part of them, are to be kept in the cage of our glorious City, where they learn the sweet song of those who are already sheltered there as sovereigns and who endlessly sing in a descant alleluia with the tone of the blessed angels.[23]

Why is the City of Ladies a cage and Christine a fowler? Let us review briefly examples of the metaphor of the fowler which may have inspired Christine. The fowler's use of deception to catch birds was proverbial in the Middle Ages[24] and the Psalms speak twice of how the Lord can free the souls of faithful from the snares of the Devil.[25] Taking his cues from the Psalms, Gerson uses the metaphor at the beginning of his *Dialogue spirituel*, which records in writing a dialogue or *colloqutio* (v. 7, 1, p. 159) between his sisters and himself, in explaining why those who serve God feel more temptations, and more acute ones at that, than others ("nous vourions bien savoir dont ce vient que les personnes qui se mettent a server Dieu sentent plus de temptacions et plus aigres que les autres," v. 7, 1, p. 158). Gerson supplies a number of reasons, and adds:

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[22] Conrad A. Balliet, "The History and Rhetoric of the Triplet," *PMLA* 80, no. 5 (1965), pp. 528–534.

[23] "Nous, non encore rassadiees ou saolees de te mettre en besoigne comme chamberiere de noz vertuelx labours, avons avisié, preparlé et conclus ou Conseil des Vertus et a l'exemple de Dieu qui au commencement du siecle qu'il ot creé vit son œuvre bonne, la beneÿ, puis fist homme et femme et les aultres animaulx, ainsi nostre dicte œuvre precedent, ceste de la *Cité des dames*, qui est bonne et utile, soit beneÿe et exaulcee par tout l'univers monde, que encores a l'acroissement d'ycelle nous plait que tout ainsy comme le sage oiselleur apreste sa cage ains que il prengne les oisillons, voulons que après ce que le herberge des dames honnourees est faicte et preparee, soient semblablement que devant, par ton ayde pourpenséz, fais et quis engins, trebuchiéz et roys beaulz et nobles, lacéz et ouvréz a neux d'amours que nous te livrerrons, et tu les estendras par la terre es lieux et es places et es angles pour ou les dames, et generaument toutes femmes, passent et cuerent, afin que celles qui sont farousches et dures a dominer puissent estres happees, prises et tresbuschees en nos laz, si que nulle ou pou qui s'i enbate ne puisse eschapper, et que toutes, ou la plus grant partie d'elles, soyent fichees en la cage de nostre glorieuse cité, ou le doulz chant apprengenent de celles qui desja y sont hebergees comme souveraines et qui sans cesser deschantent *alliluya* avec la teneuer des beneuréz angelz" (ed. Willard, Hicks, pp. 8–9).

[24] *Disticha uel dicta Catonis: Collectio distichorum uulgaris*, liber I, Distichon 27, ed. E. Baehrens, *Poetae latinae minores*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881), p. 220,

> Noli homines blando nimium sermone probare
> Fistula dulce canit, uolucrem dum decipit auceps.

Jean de Meun alludes to this quality at the end of the *Roman de la Rose* as well: "ainsinc con fet li oiselierres / qui tant a l'oisel conme lierres / et l'apele par douz sonez" (ed. Lecoy, vv. 21, pp. 461–21, p. 463).

[25] Ps. 90:3, "quia ipse liberabit te de laqueo venantium de morte insidiarum"; and Ps. 123:7, "anima nostra quasi avis erepta est de laqueo venantium laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus."

> The other cause arises from the flesh or sensuality, which because of the corruption of original sin is always contrary to the spirit and to reason. [. . .] It is the same thing with the flesh sickened by original infection. The spirit moreover does not feel the snares and its prison until it thinks of them, and as long as one does not feel them, one does not suffer. Take the example of the bird caught with lime or in the nets, or a wicked habit of lowly pleasures.[26]

It is not clear that Christine knew the *Dialogue spirituel*—I will not overstate the evidence because there is no evidence to overstate here—but she does use the other work of pastoral instruction which Gerson addressed to his sisters, the *Montaigne de contemplation*.[27] Other than the Gerson, for Christine the next "closest" text with the metaphor of the fowler was Jean de Meun. In the *Roman de la Rose*, in a speech inspired from a passage in Boethius,[28] La Vieille speaks of the power of nature by comparing women's desire for freedom (when they have been trapped into marriage, that is) to that of birds who have been trapped in a cage. After all, as Jean has La Vieille comment, women were born free in the first place (ed. Lecoy, v. 13, ll. 845–848: "D'autre part el sunt franches nees; / loi les a condicionees, / qui les oste de leur franchises, / ou Nature les avoit mises"). To the best of my knowledge, Liliane Dulac was the first to signal Christine's allusion to the *Roman de la Rose*, though not to this passage from Jean de Meun:[29]

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[26] "L'autre cause naist de par la char ou sensualité, laquelle par sa corruption du pechié originel est tousjours contraire a l'esprit et a raison. [. . .] Pareillement est de la char malade par infection originele. L'esperit en surplus ne sent point ses las et sa prison jusques a tant qu'il y panse pour eschaper et ce que on ne sent ne deult. Exemple de l'oysel englué ou enlassé, ou mauvaise acoustumance de vilains plaisirs" (ed. Glorieux, vol. 7, p. 1, p. 160).

[27] See Richards, op. cit. (1999).

[28] Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, Liber III, Metrum 2 (vv. 17–26): "quae canit altis garrula ramis / ales caueae clauditur antro; / huic licet inlita pocula melle / largasque dapes dulci studio / ludens hominum cura ministret, / si tamen arto saliens texto / nemorum gratas uiderit umbras, / sparsas pedibus proterit escas, / siluas tantum maesta requirit, / siluas dulci uoce susurrat." See also George D. Economou, "Chaucer's Use of the Bird in the Cage Image in the *Canterbury Tales*," *Philological Quarterly* 54:3 (1975), pp. 679–683, here p. 679; Kate van Orden, "Sexual Discourse in the Parisian Chanson: A Libidinous Aviary," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48:1 (1995), pp. 1–41.

[29] Liliane Dulac, "*Le Livre des trois vertus*," in: *Voix de femmes au moyen âge: Savoir, mystique, poésie, amour, sorcellerie, XII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle* (Paris: Laffont, 2006), p. 561 n. 2: "Les beaux rubans qui ornent, ou dissimulent, les pièges symbolisent l'affection que l'auteur porte aux futures captives. La cage qui les accueille n'est pas sans rappeler la Fontaine d'amour du *Roman de la Rose*: jeunes gens et jeunes filles sont prisonniers des pièges posés par Cupidon, mais le projet et l'objet de la quête sont différents. [. . .] Alors que les pièges du dieu d'amour ne proposent que tendresse charnelle et séduction, la cage de la femme-oiseleur est un lieu d'apprentissage de la parole vertueuse et de ses pouvoirs."

> The bird from the green wood when it is trapped and put into a cage, and with great attention deliciously fed there within, and sings, as long as it is seen, with a gay heart, or so it seems to you, still desires the woody branches, and wants to sit on the trees, no matter how well one feeds it. It thinks about this and strives to regain its free life. [. . .] In like manner know that all women, whether maids or ladies, no matter what their origin, have a natural intention that they freely seek, by whatever ways, by whatever paths, that they can come to their freedom, for they desire it always.[30]

Christine, however, was not deceived by the Jean de Meun's claim that women were born free. A quick look at Dante's description of Cato in Purgatory, a text Christine knew—"libertà va cercando, che è si cara, come sa chi per lei vita rifiuta" ("he goes searching for liberty, which is so dear, as someone knows who gave up life for it")—also shows us that liberty, including but not confined to *libertas christiana*, was not an anachronistic concept for Christine. Women's positive freedom is simply not a topic for her, though women are free to be virtuous, and thanks to their virtue they can become noble. She argues instead on behalf of a nobility based on virtue, as Reason tells her in the City of Ladies (I, ix): "cellui ou celle en qui plus a vertus est le plus hault, ne la haulteur ou abbaissement des gens ne gist mie es corps selon le sexe mais en la perfeccion des meurs et des vertus."[31] Christine however avoids pressing the obvious point that for women to be virtuous, they must be free to act. She sees women's condition squarely in terms of the subjugation which Paul invokes in 1 Timothy, but now places this subjugation in the context of women, once sufficiently protected by the metaphor of the city, being able to act as free moral agents. Women could not hope to be free in the sense of Jean de Meun's witty but ultimately cynical claims about women's freedom, as voiced by La Vieille.

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[30] "Li oisillons du vert bochage
quant il est pris et mis en cage,
nourriz mout antantivement
leanz delicieusement,
et chante, tant con sera vis,
de queur gai, ce vos est avis,
si desierre il les bois ramez
qu'il a naturelement amez
et voudroit seur les arbres estre,
ja si bien nou savra l'an pestre.
Toujourz i panse et s'estudie
a recouvrer sa franche vie.
[. . .]
ausinc sachiez que toutes fames,
saient damoiseles ou dames,
de quelconque procession,
ont naturele entencion
qu'el chercheroient volentiers
par quex chemins, par quex sentiers
a franchise venir porroient,
car torjorz avoir la vorroient."
(ed. Lecoy, v. 13, ll. 911–922, 929–936.)

[31] *Città*, ed. Caraffi, Richards, p. 81.

Christine's response is to transform her City of Ladies into a glorious cage where the women learn to sing in descant—that is, with improvisation and creativity—the praises of creation. But Christine does something that Gerson, at least as a matter of theory, would have condemned: she does not wile away her time in silence, but instead she teaches. Her attitude is reminiscent of Baudelaire: "Tu m'as donné de ta boue et j'en ai fait de l'or."[32] Christine does well and truly transform the mud thrown at women into gold.

3 The Theme of the *regalitas* of the Virgin in Gerson and Christine

On New Year's Day 1405 Isabeau de Bavière presented her husband with a stunning miniature altar of the Virgin with Child, in gold, enamel and pearls, 62 cm high, which has since come to be known as "Das goldene Rössl" ("the little golden stallion"; see Fig. 6.2).

It shows Charles VI kneeling in front of the Virgin (modelled on Isabeau, with the Christ Child, the future Charles VII), as well as Charles d'Albret, the *connétable de France* and godfather of the child. The Virgin is being crowned by two angels, reminiscent of the angelic coronation of Virgin depicted twice on the façade of Notre Dame. This magnificent miniature altar is evidence that Isabeau, in struggling to rule in Charles's place during his periods of madness, found in the queenship of Mary a model to justify her regency. Her identification with the Virgin was with the Queen who shared power with her Spouse.[33] What better model of free moral agency and erudition could a late medieval woman imitate than that of the Virgin?

Gerson's devotion to the Virgin has been at best only partially investigated. The Spanish Jesuit J.M. Bover, in an important article from 1928, stresses the importance of the Virgin as *mediatrix* for Gerson. In 1948–1949, Louis Mourin interprets Gerson's invocations of the Virgin in several sermons to the royal court as admonitions to Isabeau de Bavière.[34] In 1952 André Combes published a useful

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[32] Charles Baudelaire, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Gallimard [Pléïade], 1975), I, p. 192.

[33] I have discussed this problem in my essay, "Political Thought as Improvisation: Female Regency and Mariology in Late Medieval French Thought," in: *Virtue, Liberty, and Toleration: Political Ideas of European Women, 1400–1800*, ed. Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), pp. 1–22. Unfortunately I did not know three important earlier studies touching on parallel political dimensions of the iconography of the façade of Notre-Dame: William M. Hinkle, "The King and the Pope on The Virgin Portal of Notre-Dame," *The Art Bulletin*. 48:1 (1966), pp. 1–13; Walter Cahn, "The Tympanum of the Portal of Saint-Anne at Notre Dame de Paris and the Iconography of the Division of the Powers in the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969), pp. 55–72; Marianne Cecilia Gaposchkin, "The King of France and the Queen of Heaven: The Iconography of the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame of Paris," *Gesta* 39:1 (2000), pp. 58–72.

[34] Louis Mourin, "Les sermons français inédits de Jean Gerson pour les fêtes de l'Annonciation et de la Purification," *Scriptorium* 2 (1948), pp. 221–240, p. 3 (1949), pp. 59–68; and Louis Mourin,

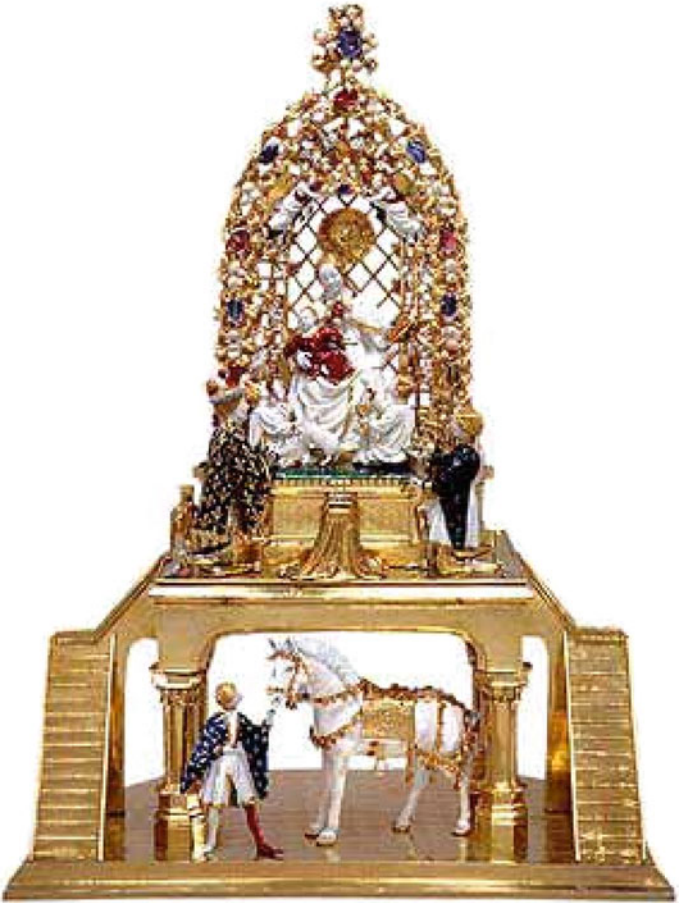

Fig. 6.2 The *goldene Rössl* described in Baumstark et al. (1995)

survey in which, following Bover, he lays stress on the importance of *Maria mediatrix*. New work by Isabelle Fabre emphasises the exemplary function of the prudence of the Virgin as *virgo prudentissima* (a frequent epithet of the Virgin found at least 27 times in the *Analecta hymnica*), in Gerson's theories of the "song of the heart"—what Gerson termed in his own coinage the *Canticordum*.[35]

"Jean Gerson, prédicateur français pour les fêtes de l'Annonciation et de la Purification," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 27 (1949), pp. 561–598.

[35] Joseph [José] M. Bover, "Universalis B. Mariae V. Meditatio in scriptis Iohannis Gerson," *Gregorianum* 9 (1928), pp. 242–268; André Combes, "La doctrine mariale de Jean Gerson," *Maria, études sur la sainte Vierge*, ed. Hubert du Manoir (Paris: Beauchesne, 1949–1961), 6 vols.; vol. 2 (1952), pp. 863–882; Isabelle Fabre, *La doctrine du chant du cœur de Jean Gerson: Édition critique, traduction et commentaire du "Tractatus de canticis" et du "Canticordum au pelerin"* (Geneva: Droz, 2005), especially ch. 7: "Le Canticordum instrument de dévotion

Throughout the course of his career, Gerson, a formidable preacher, used his homiletic and oratorical gifts to strengthen support for the monarchy. His sermons between 1411 and 1418, for example, evoked the dangers of the threat of civil war, as a great historian of medieval mentalities, Hervé Martin, has noted.[36] Whether there is a connection between his sermons of this period and Christine's *Livre de paix* remains an important question for future research. From the perspective of Marian devotion, two of Gerson's sermons, delivered to the Court on the Feasts of the Annunciation and Purification somewhere between 1404 and 1408, have been interpreted by Louis Mourin as veiled admonishments to "la frivole Isabeau de Bavière".

As a number of scholars have recently noted, since the time of her death Isabeau has had an extremely bad press, which is largely unwarranted.[37] Once one accepts these arguments, it appears that Christine wrote the *Cité des dames* at a critical moment during the crises caused by the illness of Charles VI, in order to shore up Isabeau's de facto regency during her husband's madness by creating a Kingdom of Femininity ruled by the Queen of Heaven.[38] If one recalls the intentional and studied self-identification with Mary that the miniature altar of the Virgin—"Das goldene

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mariale," pp. 185–203; and "*Virgo prudentissima*: Marie, figure exemplaire dans la doctrine du *Chant du cœur* de Jean Gerson," to be published with the proceedings of *Colloque "La vertu de Prudence"* (6 March 2006).

[36] Hervé Martin, "La chaire, la prédication et la construction du public des croyants à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Politix: Revue des sciences sociales du politique* 7 (1994), pp. 42–50, here p. 44: "Entre 1411 et 1418, les horreurs de la guerre civile, menace mortelle pour le royaume de France, sont dénoncées avec véhémence par Jean Gerson." See also his lengthy study, *Le métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du Moyen Âge (1350–1520)*, (Paris: Cerf, 1988).

[37] Tracy Adams, "Isabeau de Bavière dans l'œuvre et la vie de Christine de Pizan: une réévaluation du personnage," *Christine de Pizan, une femme de science, une femme de lettres*, ed. by Juliette Dor and Marie-Elisabeth Henneau with Bernard Ribémont (Paris: Champion, 2008), pp. 133–146; "Recovering Queen Isabeau: A Re-Reading of Christine de Pizan's *Une Epistre a la royne de France* (1405) and *La Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile*," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 33 (2008), Rachel Gibbons, "Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France (1385–1422): The Creation of an Historical Villainess," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th series, vol. 6 (1996), pp. 51–73, Rachel Gibbons, "Les conciliatrices au bas Moyen Âge: Isabeau de Bavière et la guerre civile (1401–1415)," in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge*, ed. Philippe Contamine and Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1996) pp. 23–33, Rachel Gibbons, "The Piety of Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France, 1385–1422," in *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Diana Dunn (Stroud: Sutton, 1996), pp. 205–224, Karen Green, "Isabeau de Bavière and the Political Philosophy of Christine de Pizan," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions historiques* 32 (2006), pp. 247–272.

[38] See Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Political Thought as Improvisation: Female Regency and Mariology in Late Medieval French Thought," in *Virtue, Liberty, and Toleration*, ed. Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), pp. 1–22. Droiture's self-description in the first part of the *City of Ladies* invokes qualities often associated with the Virgin Mary. Droiture calls herself the *resplandeur de Dieu*, which translates *splendor Dei*, a term used to describe both Christ and Mary. She speaks of herself as the *escu et deffence des sers de Dieu*, which recalls the Virgin's protection, a tradition subsumed by the epithet *protectrix*, associated with the tradition of the Virgin as the *mater misericordiae* and often portrayed in the image of the *Schutzmadonna*. God shows His secrets through her to His "friends" and she is their "advocate".

Rössl"—symbolises, then it would follow that Gerson's sermons, far from being a reproach to the Queen, also sought to reinforce the *regalitas* of Isabeau during this same period of 1404–1408 by appealing to the *regalitas* of the Virgin. Gerson often preached against the sins of the flesh, but the kind of scolding which Mourin wants to read into these Marian sermons ("quand on songe à la frivole Isabeau de Bavière, les enseignements contre la luxure se durcissent en un relief spécial"[39]) strikes me as a profound misreading. If true, this would have been a clear case of *lèse-majesté*. Gerson singles out three sins during his sermon on the Annunciation: lying flattery ("flatteur mensongeur"), lust ("delit luxurieux"), and pompousness ("estat pompeux"). He devotes the most time and attention to lying flattery. When he attacks pompousness, he speaks of its occurrence among the clergy, among the bourgeoisie and among the nobility ("estat de chevalerie et de seignorie"). He does so in the specific context of the humility of the Virgin as a remedy to this sin. In the second sermon on the Purification of the Virgin, Gerson speaks of the establishment of the reign of Justice and the coming of Mercy, a pairing which corresponds to the standard division of Jesus as *rex justitiae* and Mary as *regina misericordiae*, but which subtly links the reign of justice to the coming of mercy. In light of this pairing, it is more likely that Gerson, like Christine in the *Cité des dames*, was celebrating the heavenly queenship of the Virgin, and doing so in the context of strengthening the position of Isabeau in the regency council during Charles VI's episodes of madness.

4 The Passion Narratives of Gerson and Christine

Gerson is known not only for his sermons on the Passion, but also for a late work that appears to be a very rapidly executed translation of the *Libellus de meditatione passionis*, which Christine attributes to Bede. René Stuip has pointed out to me that Gerson's text differs from Bede's, but that, while not slavishly reproducing Gerson, Christine carries through completely on Gerson's advice, only implicit in Bede, to contemplate the Passion as though she were standing at the foot of the Cross. She reiterates his advice: "se tu veulx parfectement contempler en ceste passion, il convient que par contemplacion tu te disposes aussy comme se te feusses présent quand il fut crucifié" ("if you wish to perfectly contemplate this passion you should in your contemplation make yourself feel as though you were present when he was crucified"; Thomassy, p. 340). While Gerson and Christine are writing to female audiences, Christine always adds experiential immediacy welded together with legal and theological knowledge, whereas Gerson simplifies the subject matter for his sisters.[40] Since Gerson wrote quickly at the request of his addressee Christine, it is perhaps unfair to regard his work as a finished composition; nevertheless, just as with the didactic writings to his sisters, he shortens and simplifies the original. Christine, not unexpectedly, expands on her original. In this classic case of *amplificatio*, she adds not only numerous references to Patristic works, but also incorporates considerable liturgical material as well, including a translation of the prayer *Anima Christi*[41] and of one of Anselm's hymns to the Cross, and incorporates materials taken from the tradition of devotion to the five wounds of Christ (her immediate source appears to be a prayer attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, which carried a partial indulgence, granted by Pope John XXII, similar to the case of the prayer *Anima Christi*[42]). This later gesture on her part corresponds, to be sure, to Gerson's initial advice: "Saint Bernard dit qu'il n'est chose si propice ne convenable à curer les vices et les pechiez, que souvent penser ès plais de Jhesuchrist" ("St Bernard says that there is nothing more fitting and useful for curing vices and sins than often thinking of the sufferings of Jesus Christ"). But Gerson does not incorporate anywhere near as much material as does Christine. She even adds a prayer to the Holy Sepulchre for which I have not been able to find any source, but which seems to draw a parallel between her womb and Jesus' tomb, for he emerged alive from both of them.

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[39] Mourin, "Les sermons français inédits de Jean Gerson," p. 220.

[40] I am indebted to Liliane Dulac for my analysis here. See her study "Littérature et dévotion: À propos des *Heures de contemplacion sur la Passion de Nostre Seigneur* de Christine de Pizan," *Miscellanea mediaevalia: Mélanges offerts à Philippe Ménard*, ed. Jean-Claude Faucon, Alain Labbé, and Danielle Quéruel (Paris: Champion, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 475–484; and Maureen Boulton, "Christine's *Heures de contemplacion de la Passion* in the Context of Late-Medieval

Christine's *Heures de contemplation de la Passion* is unlike her other writings, for it is written specifically for a group of nuns; that is, for women of the contemplative life. We note especially the *Livre des trois vertus*, although at one point (Tierce) Christine does speak once more to women outside of the convent: "mes dames du monde, qui passés en ce siècle par le chemin de tribulacion en maintes adversitez, mirés vous en la pacience de ceste tres glorieuse dame, et vous aurés cause de pourter voz douleurs paciemment" ("my ladies of the world, who have gone through this world by the way of tribulation in numerous adversities, look at yourself in the patience of this most glorious Lady, and you will have occasion to bear your sorrows patiently"). The difference between Gerson and Christine would seem to be that Gerson's didactic writings, while simplifying and vernacularising theology, were designed to lead his public to choose the contemplative life, whereas Christine, writing in the vernacular, sought to imbue her works all the more with theological lore.

In summarising the consequence of the dialogue and the intellectual and spiritual friendship between Gerson and Christine, a friendship between a man and a woman

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Passion Devotion," *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow 21–27 July 2000) Published in Honour of Liliane Dulac* ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw, and Catherine M. Müller (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 99–113.

[41] See my study of the history of this prayer, "Das Gebet *Anima Christi* und die Vorgeschichte seines kanonischen Status: Eine Fallstudie zum kulturellen Gedächtnis," *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* 49 (2008), pp. 55–84.

[42] The text has only been published in the *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, Vol. 31, ed. Guido M. Dreves and Clemens Blume, vols. 1–55, Leipzig: 1888–1922, pp. 87–89; it is not considered to be an authentic text from Bernard's pen.

for which there was no model and which Gerson struggled to describe, I would cite an observation of Brian McGuire regarding the posthumous abuse of Gerson's writings: "It is one of history's ironies that Gerson's cautious attempt to find ways of caring for and controlling women ended up as an integral part of a vast literature used for the destruction of women" (1997, p. 36). Gerson would have been horrified, as McGuire admits, at the abuse of his work. The dialogic character of his intellectual relationship with Christine, profoundly influenced by spiritual friendship, and with its high points during the great debate over the *Roman de la Rose*, perhaps with the *Livre de paix*, and certainly near the end of both their lives with the *Heures de contemplation* and their respective works on Joan of Arc, is central to a correct understanding of their intellectual differences. It shows that Christine's recourse to exhibiting her independence and her erudition, and this in a situation where women enjoyed little or no freedom, represents in retrospect perhaps the greatest defence of women conceivable. As Gerson would have understood because of his insightful observations on the song of the heart—on the *Canticordum*—sometimes when the caged bird sings, its song does in fact come from the heart.

Chapter 7

From *Le Miroir des dames* to *Le Livre des trois vertus*

Karen Green

Le Livre des trois vertus, written by Christine de Pizan between 1405 and 1406 for Marguerite of Burgundy (1393–1441; wife of Louis de Guyenne, the Dauphin of France), invites several avenues of commentary and comparison. On the one hand, it is the counterpart of Christine's *Livre du corps de policie* completed one year later for Louis de Guyenne, with which it shares a tripartite structure reflecting three main strata of society.[1] On the other hand, it is the continuation and completion of a project begun in her earlier *Livre de la cité des dames*. It is written with the express intention of populating the city constructed in *Cité des dames* with future noblewomen, who are then to be counselled and inspired by the *Livre des trois vertus*. But rather than examining Christine's *Trois vertus* in relation to her own corpus, here I want to compare it with a considerably earlier work of moral advice directed towards women, *Le Miroir des dames*.[2]

This *Miroir des dames* was the only explicit mirror of queenship to be found in the book collections of certain noblewomen Christine mentions in her works, who were her near contemporaries and acquaintances.[3] It is a French translation of

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[1] Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1989); Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, trans. Sarah Lawson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985); Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the Body Politic*, trans. Kate Forhan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre du corps de policie*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998).

[2] Karen Pratt, "The Context of Christine's *Livre des trois vertus*: Exploiting and Rewriting Tradition," in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow 21–27 July 2000) Published in Honour of Liliane Dulac*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, et al. (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), vol. 3, pp. 671–684. Pratt addresses the relationship between the *Trois vertus* and earlier books of advice for women, but does not discuss at any length the *Miroir des dames*, which she mentions only in its Latin original (p. 671).

[3] See my "Isolated Individual or Member of a Feminine Courtly Community? Christine de Pizan's Milieu," in *Communities of Learning: Networks and the Shaping of Intellectual Identity in Europe, 1100–1500*, eds. Constant Mews and John Crossley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 229–250, and

K. Green, C.J. Mews (eds.), *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250–1500*, The New Synthese Historical Library 69, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-0529-6_7,
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the *Speculum dominarum* originally written for Jeanne de Navarre (1273–1305, the wife of Philip IV) by Durand de Champagne, her confessor. The French translation is known to have been copied for Jeanne d'Evreux (ca. 1307–1371, the widow of Charles IV of France). Indeed, it may have been ordered by her, though it is also possible that it was done earlier by Durand himself.[4] Jeanne's copy has survived as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 324, which is decorated with the arms of Evreux and Navarre.[5] We know from the testament of a later French queen, Blanche de Navarre (1330–1398, the third wife of Philip VI),[6] that she also owned a copy. Blanche died just when Christine was beginning her literary career. Valentina Visconti (ca. 1370–1408) possessed a manuscript also, which may be identical with BNF MS fr. 610; and Marie de Berry (ca. 1370–1434) retained one from the library of her father, Jean de Berry, as part of her inheritance. This copy may have survived as London, British Library Add. 29986, which bears marks of having belonged to Jean de Berry. Since each of these women is mentioned by Christine in the *Livre de la cité des dames*, and since Valentina Visconti and Marie de Berry were both among her patrons, it is extremely likely that Christine was familiar with the work.[7] But even if it happens that Christine had not read the *Miroir des dames*, it serves as a perfect foil against which to measure the distinctiveness of her own project, and of her own voice.

Three aspects of Christine's program and method are immediately apparent when one compares the *Livre des trois vertus* with the *Miroir des dames*. The first, her positive attitude towards the status of being a woman, is hardly news; but it stands out in sharp relief when her remarks are seen against Durand's stern asseverations in the earlier mirror. The second, her sophisticated use of rhetoric, emerges most clearly when one compares the two works; and this leads naturally to the third salient aspect of Christine's program: her early humanism.

Durand de Champagne was a Franciscan with a disdainful attitude to the material world, influenced by the deliverances of Innocent III, whose *De miseria conditionis humanae* he quotes extensively. Nevertheless, the French version of his book opens with a quote from Vegetius that is more compatible with Christine's outlook, and that she also cites in her *Livre de paix*: "Ne il n'est nulle personne a qui il apartiegne plus grand science et sapience que au prince" ("there is no-one to whom the greatest knowledge and wisdom is more appropriate than the prince").[8] And Durand goes

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"What Were the Ladies in the *City of Ladies* Reading?" *Medievalia et Humanistica* 36 (2010), pp. 77–100 for a discussion of these women and their libraries.

[4] Catherine Louise Mastny, "Durand of Champagne and the 'Mirror of the Queen': A Study in Medieval Didactic Literature," PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1969, p. 124.

[5] Folio numbers in this paper refer to this manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 324).

[6] Léopold Delisle, "Testament de Blanche de Navarre, reine de France," *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 12 (1886), pp. 1–63, here p. 32.

[7] Christine de Pizan, *La Città delle dame*, trans. Patrizia Caraffi and ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards (Milan and Trent: Luni Editrice, 1997) I.13 and II.68. pp. 98–100, p. 424, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (London: Picador, 1983), p. 34, p. 214.

[8] *Miroir des dames* MS 324 Corpus Christi Cambridge (fol. 1v). Christine quotes the Latin, "Non quemquam magis decet, vel meliora scire vel plura quam principem cuius doctrina omnibus potest

on to say, “lisons nous des Romains qui furent seigneur de tout le monde non pas seulement par force des armes mais par leur savoir” (“we read that the Romans were emperors of all the world not simply by force of arms but by means of their knowledge”; fol. 2r).[9] Yet, although these comments might lead us to expect more about Roman virtue, such as one finds in Christine’s *Livre de paix*, Durand quickly moves on to the injunction that one should first know oneself. To know oneself is to recognise that one is a vile creature, saved only by God’s grace:

> (fol. 6r) [. . .] Enten diligenment et pense la tues grant vilte de la matiere donc tu es conceuz. Quar lame de toy qui est pour cause de sa creacion tant digne tant noble tant bele et tant pur comme celle qui est formee a lymage de dieu, si tost que elle est jointe au corps forme et concue de cest vil matiere elle prant et recept en soy la leideur lordure et la pueur de pechie originel, par le quel elle est privee de la vision de dieu pardura (fol. 6v) blement. Se elle nest avant lavee et nestoiee par la regeneracion du saint baptesime que nous recevons.
>
> [Understand carefully, and think on the great vileness of the matter from which you are conceived. For your soul, which is in virtue of its creation (for it is formed in the image of God) so worthy, so noble, so beautiful, and so pure, as soon as it is joined to the body, formed and conceived from this vile matter, it takes on and is infected with the ugliness, filth, and stench of original sin, by which it loses sight of God for ever. Unless it is washed and cleaned by the regeneration of blessed Baptism which we receive.]

All humans participate in this vile nature, according to Durand, who seems in later passages almost to delight in exhorting the queen to meditate on the various disgusting smells and liquids that issue from her body.

The message of his mirror is that we should set little store by ourselves: “En considerant la condicion de nostre nature nous trouverons matiere et cause de nous humilier, et de nous po prisier” (fol. 3v). (“In considering the condition of our nature we discover the matter and cause of our humbling ourselves and taking ourselves to be of little worth.”) This world is a world of misery: there is natural misery, for we come into the world crying (fols. 6r–7v), and there is “contemporal” misery, which accompanies us throughout life (fols. 7v–10r) and consists in weakness and adversity. There is bodily misery, illness, and pain (fols. 10r–10v), and there is the continual threat of death and perdition (fol. 10v). On top of these general reasons for humans to be humble and to hold themselves unworthy, Durand tells his queen that as a woman she has even more reason to despise herself.

Women, for Durand, suffer from peculiar infirmities resulting from the sin of Eve and from God’s subsequent curse:

> (fol. 19r) [. . .] Je mulipliray dit il tes enfermetez, quar les femmes pour ce que naturelment elle sont plus feibles plus froides plus moites pour ce ont elles la complescion plus passible que nont les hommes, et pour ce son subjetes a plusiers enfermetez, que ne sont les hommes. [. . .]

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prodesse subjectis,” at *Livre de paix* I. 6, and translates “voirement n’est a nul homme tant convenable savoir plus de choses ne les meilleurs qu’il est au prince.” Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, trans. Karen Green, Constant J. Mews, and Janice Pinder (University Park: Penn State, 2008), p. 210.

[9] These references to Roman virtue occur only in the French, not in the Latin versions of the text. This may suggest that the translator was not Durand, but a later scholar with a more classical orientation; see Constant J. Mews, Chapter 2, this volume.

> Et quant a ce diex dit Je multiplicaray tes conceuemenz, cets a dire les peines et miseres que tu as en concevon et enfanter.
>
> Et puis que la femme a conceu, nous veons sa face palir son ventre engrossir ses pas alentir son corps apesentir son cuer et sa penser muer, son apetit chengier, et du peril de sa lignie et de sa persone mont forment douliter. Secondement les femmes ont tres grant agnoisseuse peine a lanfantement. Et quant a ce diex li dit, tu enfanteras tes enfans en doleur.
>
> ["I will augment your ills," he said: because women, being weaker, colder, and moister, also are more docile than men, and are therefore subject to many ills to which men are not. [. . .]
>
> And in regard to this God said "I will compound your conceptions," which is to say the pains and miseries that you have in conceiving and giving birth.
>
> And once a woman has conceived, we see her face grow pale, her belly swell, her pace slacken, her body become heavy, her heart and mind become unstable, and her appetite changes; and the peril to her lineage and person induces much dread. Secondly women have very great agonising pain in childbirth. And in regard to this God said to them "you will give birth to children in suffering."]

Durand is just one of those authorities who concur in finding, as Christine reports, "les meurs femenins inclines et plains de toutes les vices" ("the ways of women inclined to and full of every vice"):[10] though to be fair, Durand emphasises as well "la vilte et de la misere de condicion humeinne quar homme et femme" ("the vile and miserable human condition of man and woman", fol. 20r). The noble reader of his mirror must wade through pages of depressing reminders that mortal life is miserable, and that there are dangers of retribution in the life to come, before she arrives at a discussion of royal dignity and her duty to deserve the honorifics with which she will be regaled in letters:

> (fol. 21r) [. . .] Quar aucuns sont qui devant la salutation usent de tel langage et dient *Praeclarissime domine*. Les autres dient *Serenissime*. Les autres *Illustrissime do*. Les autres *Altissime*. Les autres *Excellentissime*. Et les autres dient *Potentissime*. Et pour ce quele ne face mentir ceus et celles qui li escrisent et leures envoient et en grant reverence la saluent. Et pour ce que par usurpacion et faussement elle vueille le non avoir du quel elle nait pas la realite et la verite elle se doit mout efforcier quele soit tele comme en li escript.
>
> [For some will preface their salutation using such language, saying "most noble lady", others saying "most serene", some others "most illustrious lady", others "highest", others "most excellent", and still others "most powerful". So she should not make liars of those correspondents who salute her with such reverence. And it would be by usurpation and falsity, should she wish to have the name without the reality and truth; she must make sure that she is as described.]

Durand's insistent message is that the queen should be humble, look to the state of her soul, think on salvation, and fear damnation.

Christine's astute refutation of the charge that women are more inclined to vice than men, and inferior because of their cold and moist nature, is well articulated in the *Livre de la cité des dames*; but it has been too fully discussed to detain us long here.[11] We simply note that while Durand makes their cold, moist, and docile nature the source of women's infirmity, Christine construes it as a capacity to cool the heat, vengeance, and anger of men, and hence to bring peace.[12] However, while she appeals to the three virtues to counter misogynist attitudes, it would be a mistake to draw too sharp a line between Christine's queenly ideals and those of Durand. In many ways, when we abstract from the divergence in their rhetoric, we discover considerable convergence in the ethical prescriptions of the two treatises: Durand insists on humility, Christine warns against pride. Even so, the subtlety of this distinction should not mask for us its significance.

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[10] Christine de Pizan, *La Città delle dame*, ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards, trans. Patrizia Caraffi (Milan and Trent: Luni Editrice, 1997), I.1, p. 42; Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (London: Picador, 1983), p. 3.

In fact, *Le Livre des trois vertus* can be read as responding to a dilemma that emerges from the *Miroir des dames*. Given the emphasis of the earlier work, the reader might well conclude that power and wealth are so tied to temptations, and so dangerous to the soul, that the only secure path for the noble woman would be withdrawal into monastic contemplation. Yet neither Durand nor Christine recommends this path. Durand, rather inconsistently, stresses that the queen should consider herself of little worth, yet strive to deserve the complimentary epithets bestowed on her. Christine, more consistently, unambiguously promotes the active life of charity and good works, and the pursuit of honour and good reputation.[13]

Early in her book Christine sets up a debate, in the form of an inner dialogue. We hear first the temptation to succumb to pride, and to lusting after the acquisition of material goods and fine clothes, which may assail the princess as she dreams comfortably between soft sheets, her servants surrounding her.[14] But a voice like that of Durand intervenes:

> Ha! Fole musarde mal avisée, que as tu pensée? En petit d'eure avoyes oublié la cognoiscence de toy meismes! Ne sces tu que tu es une miserable creature, fresle et subgiecte a toutes enfermetéz, et a toutes passions, maladies et autre douleurs que corps mortel puet souffrir?
>
> [O foolish and ill-advised simpleton, what can you be thinking of? Have you forgotten what you really are? Don't you realise that you are a poor and miserable creature, frail, weak and subject to all infirmities, passions, diseases, and other pains that a mortal body can suffer?][15]

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[11] Patricia A. Phillippy, " 'Establishing Authority': Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* and Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre de la Cité des dames*," in *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), pp. 329–361.

[12] Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1989), I.9, p. 35; Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, trans. Sarah Lawson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p. 51, mentioned by Pratt, "The Context of Christine's *Livre des trois vertus*: Exploiting and Rewriting Tradition," p. 679.

[13] Charity Cannon Willard, "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Livre des trois vertus* and Christine de Pizan's Audience," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27 (1966), pp. 433–444; Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pisan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea, 1984), p. 145.

[14] Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, I.4, pp. 12–13; Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, pp. 36–37.

[15] Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, I.4, p. 14; Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 37.

Two paths for avoiding pride and serving God are suggested: the contemplative and the active. And for those too weak in spirit to abandon father and mother, children and husband, in order to pursue the contemplative life, the active life suggests itself. But this is not the end of the story, for is it even *possible* for the rich to be saved?

Durand leaves us in some doubt on this question, but Christine is certain that those who are virtuous and rich can reach heaven. Yet their views on this issue do not diverge significantly. Both see the rich as endowed with goods to distribute, to help the poor. Both quote the same passage from Scripture, Durand saying:

> (fol. 28v) [. . .] Et pour ce les riches de ce monde se il veulent estre bien conseiluz et avisiez doivent leur tresor ou ciel appareillier a ce que quant il partiront de ceste mortel vie que il ne leur conveigne soufrire pardurable povrete. Et a ce sacorde la sainte evuangile en la quele dit jhesucrist *Thesaurizate vobis thesauros in celo et c*. Feites dit il vostre tresor ou ciel et ce tresor par rooil ne par autre coruption si comme de vermine ne puet gaster ne empirier ne les ladrons ne le pueent embler.
>
> [Therefore the rich of this world, if they wish to be well-advised and take good counsel, should store up their treasure in heaven, lest when they leave this mortal life they be compelled to suffer eternal poverty. This is in accord with the holy gospel, where Jesus Christ says *Thesaurizate vobis thesauros in celo et c.* (Matt. 6:20). Build, he tells us, your treasure in heaven, and this treasure will not be wasted or ruined by rust or other corruption such as vermin, nor will thieves make off with it.]

Christine concurs:

> Tout ainsi l'avoir que l'en restraint de superflu estat pour donner aux povres et bien faire est le tresor qui est mis a part en sainte huche, qui sert après la mort et guarde de l'exil d'enfer. Et ceste chose chante l'Evangile, qui ne fait que crier: Thesaurisiez ou ciel! Thesaurisiez ou ciel! Helas! autre chose on n'en emporte que ycellui tresor.
>
> [Likewise the wealth that is tied up in needless fripperies ought to be used for giving to the poor and doing good. It is the treasure that is set aside in your holy coffer that supplies you after death, and keeps you from the exile of Hell. The Gospel cries out the same refrain: "Store treasures in heaven! Store them in heaven!" Alas, the only thing you can keep with you is such treasure.][16]

Both authors also attribute a mediating role to the queen. Durand suggests that often justice is not done: that the just complaints of petitioners are not listened to:

> Pour les quiex choses noble et piteuse dame quant elle va par le pays, doit les clamors des innocens, les pleintes des oppressez et folez les causes des povres et les desconforz des personnes miserables voulentiers et piteusement oir, toute la verite en cerchier et feire par bonne gent et loyaux enquerir. Les erreurs corrigier, les maufaiteurs rigoreusement punir a ce que les autres y peignent exemple. Et briefment rendre a chascun ce qui sien est selonc la rigle de justice et de equite (fol. 25r)
>
> [For which reasons the noble and merciful lady, when she travels through the country, ought willingly and sympathetically to hear the cries of the innocent, the complaints of the oppressed and downtrodden, the cases of the poor, and the discomforts of the unfortunate, to seek out the whole truth and have good loyal people enquire after it—to correct errors, and rigorously to punish malefactors so that others take example, and in short, to render to each what is his according to the rule of justice and equity.]

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[16] Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, I.10, p. 40. Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 54.

Christine also urges the queen or princess to promote peace, and to intervene when disputes between her husband and other princes or nobles escalate toward war.[17] However, it is interesting that Durand represents the queen as actively intervening on her own authority to right injustice. Christine assumes that the princess's influence will be restricted to cooling the vengeful passions of her husband or other men. This suggests that the events of the fourteenth century, the scandal of the adulterous wives of Jeanne de Navarre's sons, and the subsequent exclusion of women from the succession to the French crown, had resulted in a real diminution of the power of French queens.[18] Christine, for all that she is defending women's virtue, assumes a queen's power of action to be limited. Her mediation will not be directly between the subjects who are in dispute, as Durand assumes, but will operate indirectly through her influence over men, and over her husband in particular; for Christine, it is men who will be the ultimate actors.

From one point of view, then, what distinguishes these two texts is their rhetorical strategies rather than any great divergence in ethical content. Durand insists that the queen should be humble and consider herself of little worth; but it is in the same vein that Christine exhorts her to pursue the more modest goal of avoiding undue pride.[19] On the other hand, whereas Durand hammers home this message over many folios, and sets out a scholastic sequence of points, reasons, and sub-arguments supporting his conclusion, Christine unfolds her argument as lively inner dialogue. In this way she adroitly engages the reader, and then advances promptly to the main concern of her book: the advocacy of worldly prudence. By way of contrast again, Durand gives his advice in the form of a discourse on the abstract qualities of the queen, the nature of morals, the passions of the soul, the virtues, and wisdom and what it consists in. Much of this, as Anne Dubrulle has shown, is lifted from an earlier compendium of moral advice, the *Speculum morale*; and it follows the well-organised but uninspiring method of dividing each subject into its parts, which are then systematically worked through.[20] In sum, if all that really divides these authors were at the level of rhetorical strategy, one might consider the difference small.

Yet the difference is not small, for an examination of Christine's attitude to rhetoric, along with her choice of rhetorical strategies, indicates that these are at the heart of her originality and essential to the case for considering her an early humanist.[21] If one examines the broad sweep of Christine's writing one can see that her treatments of rhetoric, prudence, and reputation make up three interconnected themes—which guide and structure her work, and which serve to articulate the fundamental difference between Durand's mirror and Christine's.

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[17] Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, I.9, pp. 33–36, Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, pp. 50–52.

[18] See Paul M. Viollet, "Comment les femmes ont été exclues en France de la succession à la couronne," *Mémoires de l'Institut de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 34 (1893), pp. 125–178.

[19] Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, I.5, pp. 20–22; Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, pp. 37–41.

[20] Anne Dubrulle, "Le Speculum Dominarum de Durand de Champagne," 2 vols., Thèse présentée pour l'obtention du diplome d'archiviste-paléographe, Ecole nationale des chartes, 1987–1988.

[21] I am indebted in my discussion of Christine's attitude rhetoric to Donald M. Bruce and Christine McWebb, "Rhetoric as a Science in the Prose Works of Christine de Pizan," in *Christine de*

Christine outlines her conception of rhetoric most explicitly in *La Mutacion de Fortune*, where she describes the subdivisions of philosophy and draws on Brunetto Latini's *Livres dou Tresor* and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.[22] Rhetoric appears twice in Christine's schema: once where it is expected, in accord with her sources, as part of that aspect of politics that pertains to speech; but also, unusually, as a part of theology.[23] We will be most concerned with the political function of rhetoric, but it is worth noting how Christine's location of rhetoric within theology is consistent with her conception of the concord of philosophy and theology.[24] This theoretical stance gets its practical expression in the doctrine of the *Livre des trois vertus*, where it is argued that seeking to pursue an active life, which requires the application of practical reason, counts as a perfectly good expression of one's charity or one's love of God.

In the account of her intellectual development and program of self-education that she gives in her *Advision*, Christine recounts how she first read works of history and then moved on to the productions of poets. Here she found a style that was natural to her, "me delictant en leurs soubtilles couvertures et belles matieres mucees soubz fictions delictables et morales, et le bel stille de leurs mettres et proses deduites par belle et polie rethorique aournee de soubtil langage et proverbes estranges" ("I delighted in their clever ruses, the noble subject hidden beneath moral and pleasing tales, and the beautiful style of their metre and prose, pleasurable for the lovely

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Pizan: Une femme de science, une femme de lettres, ed. Juliette Dor and Marie-Elizabeth Henneau (Paris: Champion, 2008), pp. 23–37. For earlier discussions of Christine's humanism see Diane Bornstein, "Humanism in Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre du Corps de Policie*," *Les Bonnes feuilles* 3 (1975) pp. 100–115; Liliane Dulac and Christine M. Reno, "L'humanisme vers 1400, essai d'exploration à partir d'un cas marginal: Christine de Pizan traductrice de Thomas d'Aquin," in *Practiques de la culture écrite en France au XV^{e} siècle: Actes du Colloque internationale du CNRS, Paris, 16–18 mai 1992, organisé en l'honneur de Gilbert Ouy par l'unité de recherche "Culture écrite du Moyen Âge tardif,"* ed. Monique Ornato and Nicole Pons (Louvain-La-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiéviales, 1995).

[22] Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*, ed. Susanne Solente, 4 vols. (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1959); Bruce and McWebb, "Rhetoric as a Science in the Prose Works of Christine de Pizan"; Glynnis Cropp, "Philosophy, the Liberal Arts, and Theology in *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune* and *Le Livre de l'Advision Christine*," in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

[23] Pizan, *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*, II. 109, l. 7363, Cropp, "Philosophy, the Liberal Arts and Theology in *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune* and *Le Livre de l'Advision Christine*," p. 158.

[24] Cropp, "Philosophy, the Liberal Arts and Theology in *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune* and *Le Livre de l'Advision Christine*," p. 157, Anne Paupert, "Philosophie 'en fourme de sainte Théologie': l'accès au savoir dans l'œuvre de Christine de Pizan," in *Christine de Pizan: Une femme de science, une femme de lettres*, ed. Juliette Dor, Marie-Elisabeth Henneau, and Bernard Ribémont (Paris: Champion, 2008), pp. 49–52.

and polished rhetoric adorned by clever language and unusual proverbs").[25] She then took up her pen also, to join these poets who forged works both moral and delectable.

Following Dante and Boccaccio, who were among the poets she read, Christine adopted a method of writing influenced by Cicero, whom she explicitly quotes in this next passage, from *La Mutacion de Fortune*. It shows how rhetoric, including preaching, serves to teach ethical and political truth and to win over the public:

> C'est la science, qui dreça
> Premiere le monde et adreça
> A bien faire, au commencement;
> Ancor fait par le preschement
> Des prescheurs de sainte Escripture
> Et par la loy, qui amesure
> Les gens a gouverner a droit,
> Et a eulx ruiler selon droit.
> De ce dit Tulles, en son livre,
> Que, "cellui haultiesme et delivre
> Chose a conquise, qui trespasse
> De ce tous les autres et passe
> Animaulx, c'est de la parleure.["]
> Pour ce, de savoir sa nature
> Se devroit un chacun pener,
> Mais de bien parolle mener
> Ne pourroit nul bien l'ordre avoir,
> Sans son enseignement savoir,
> Et a voir dire, d'elle avons
> Grant mestier, en toutes saisons,
> Et en tous negoces et fais;
> Et maint grans ouvrages perfais
> Ont esté par belle parleure,
> Qui ja nel fussent par armeure.[26]
>
> [It is the science which first
> Instructed the world and taught it
> From the beginning how to do well.
> It continues through the preaching
> Of preachers of Holy Scripture
> And through the law, which leads
> People to govern correctly
> And to rule according to right.
> Of it Tully says in his book
> That "He an elevated and ennobling
> Thing has conquered, who transcends
> In this all other men, and surpasses

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[25] Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre de l'advision Cristine*, ed. Liliane Dulac and Christine Reno (Paris: Champion, 2001), III. 10, p. 110; Christine de Pizan, *Christine's Vision*, trans. Glenda K. McLeod (New York: Garland, 1993), p. 119.

[26] Pizan, *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*, vol. 2, p. 132, ll. 7983–8006.

> Animals: that is, in speech."[27]
> Therefore each should strive
> To know its nature,
> But to produce good speech
> None can find the means
> Without taking instruction.
> And truly of it we have
> Great need, in all seasons,
> In all deeds and business;
> And many great works have been
> Achieved through beautiful speech
> Which could not have been by arms.]

Here she is drawing on Latini's *Livres dou Tresor*, and also picking up a conception of the importance of vernacular rhetoric in the development of civil society that had been expressed by Dante.[28]

Once recognised, the importance of the use of rhetoric for the dissemination of political wisdom can be seen as a guiding principle in much of Christine's practice. The first gloss in the *Epistre Othea*, which pertains to Othea, goddess of prudence, explains that the cardinal virtues are necessary for good policy; and Aristotle is then quoted as an authority for Christine's practice, which involves displaying the virtue of prudence using the best reasons and in the most appropriate manner.[29] In this work Christine has taken the description of the virtues, the articles of the faith, the Ten Commandments, and the qualities of *le bon esperit* ("the good soul"), and illustrated them with stories from the history of Troy to render them vivid. It is this combination of moral instruction and story-telling that makes her text so much more engaging than more scholastic works like Durand's; and it no doubt contributed to the great popularity of Christine's work.[30]

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[27] The quotation from Cicero is best thought to end here. Christine, constrained by the added difficulty of fashioning short rhymed lines, is paraphrasing rather impressionistically Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou tresor*, ed. Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948), 1.4, p. 21: "C'est la science de qui Tulles dit en son livre que celui a haultisme chose conquise ki de ce trespasse les homes dont li home trespassent tous les autres animaus, c'est de la parleure." Cicero's text (from *De inventione* 1.5): "Ac mihi quidem videntur homines, cum multis rebus humiliores et infirmiores sint, hac re maxime bestiis praestare, quod loqui possunt. Quare praeclarum mihi quiddam videtur adeptus is, qui, qua re homines bestiis praestent, ea in re hominibus ipsis antecellat." ("And it seems to me that men, though they be in many ways humbler and weaker, surpass the beasts most of all in this: that they can speak. So I consider that he has achieved something remarkable, who outshines other men in the very matter in which men surpass beasts.") Christine continues in imitation of Latini's loose paraphrase of Cicero. My thanks to Alan Crosier for finding the Latini, locating and translating the Cicero, and assisting with detailed analysis of the *Mutacion* excerpt.

[28] Bruce and McWebb, "Rhetoric as a Science in the Prose Works of Christine de Pizan," p. 30.

[29] Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1999), p. 200; Christine de Pizan, *Christine de Pizan's Letter of Othea to Hector*, trans. Jane Chance (Newburyport MA: Focus Information Group, 1990), p. 37. See also the discussion of this passage in Karen Green, "On Translating Christine de Pizan as a Philosopher," in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 117–137, here pp. 126–127.

While in the early *Epistre Othea* prudence is disseminated by the use of rhetoric, elsewhere, and particularly in the *Livre de Prudence*, Christine follows those who see the art of rhetoric (qua "speaking well") as an essential part of prudence. It is then the quintessentially political virtue, for "par le signe de la lange ou parole se demonstre la sapience de l'omme" ("by means of written and spoken signs human wisdom is revealed").[31] Large sections of the *Livre de Prudence* fall under the rubric "De l'enseignement de la bouche ou lengue par vertu de prudence" ("How the mouth and tongue should be taught by prudence"; fol. 271r). And among the teachings of prudence with regard to speech, we find the following: "Soies semmeur de bonne renommee, non pas de la tienne; et ne soies pas envieux de celle d'autrui" ("Disseminate renown, though not your own; and do not envy that of others"; fol. 273v). This brings us to Christine's attitude to reputation and renown. As a consequence of her understanding of rhetoric as a support of the law, and as ensuring the ethical cohesion of society, her attitude to good reputation and renown is quite different from Durand's.

In the *Epistre Othea*, Christine supplements the four cardinal virtues—prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice—with a fifth, "bonne renommee". This she says, quoting Aristotle, "fait l'omme reluisant au monde et agreable en la presence des princes" ("makes men shine throughout the world, and fit to be in the presence of princes").[32] Moreover, the first lesson Prudence Mondaine offers to the princess in the *Livre de trois vertus* is that she should seek honour and reputation:

> Prudence tout premierement enseignera a la princepce ou haulte dame comment sur toutes les choses de ce bas monde doit aimer honneur et bonne renommée, et lui dira qu'il ne déplaise mie a Dieu que créature vive au monde moralement, et se elle vit moralement elle aimera le bien de renommée, qui est honneur.
>
> [First of all prudence teaches the princess or great lady how above all things in this lower world she ought to love honour and good reputation. She will say to her that it does not displease God for a person to live in this world morally, and if she lives morally she will love the blessing of a good reputation, which is honour.][33]

Here her advice diverges considerably from that offered by Durand. He does not explicitly discuss "bonne renommee", but he does have quite a deal to say about honour, introduced in this fashion:

> (fol. 32r) [. . .] Et ne soufit pas a noble dame de soy bien gouverner en richeses et en delices, mes et mont de grant necessite a son sauvement que elle sache bien user des honeurs. Or

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[30] Gianni Mombello, *La tradizione manoscritta dell'*Epistre Othéa *di Christine de Pizan* (Torino: Accademia delle Scienze, 1967).

[31] *Livre de Prudence*, British Library Harley MS 4431, fol. 268v. Folio numbers to quotes from *Prudence* from this MS are available at http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/.

[32] Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, p. 210; Pizan, *Christine de Pizan's Letter of Othea to Hector*, p. 42.

[33] Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, I.11, p. 41; Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 55.

> est a savoir que il est pluseurs (fol. 32v) manieres de honeurs. Cest assavoir honeur de mondeine excellence. Et ceste honeur en doit po prisier et le doit fuire et refuser.
>
> [It is not sufficient for a noble woman to know how to discipline herself in regard to wealth and pleasures; it is also most necessary for her salvation that she know how to deal with honours. It is to be recognised that there are many kinds of honours. For instance, honour for worldly excellence. And this kind of honour should be little prized, and it should be fled and refused.]

Aspiring to be honoured for worldly excellence is not much different from succumbing to pride, according to Durand, who explains how it brought undone Herod, Saul, Adam and Eve, and many others.

Christine, by contrast, sees honour and renown as fundamentally positive, at least in so far as honour is acquired in the pursuit of great acts and as a result of "bonnes meurs":

> Et est ainsi de bonne renommée en une personne comme se il estoit possible que du corps d'une créature ysist si grant odeur qu'elle s'espandist par tout le monde, si que toutes les gens la flairassent: tout ainsi par l'odeur de la renommée qui par tout court d'une valable personne, toutes gens peuent avoir le goust et le flair de bon exemple.
>
> [A person's good reputation is like a great scent from a creature's body, spreading abroad throughout the world in such a way that all people may smell it: thus from the odour of the reputation which spreads out all around a worthy person, everyone can acquire a taste for and a scent of good examples.][34]

In the *Livre du corps de policie* Christine also makes it clear that she sees the desire for glory and good reputation as fundamentally beneficial. The Romans, for instance, fostered the desire to acquire renown for good deeds through stories of noble actions. She is led to conclude that

> les bons et vaillans doivent et peuvent desirer gloire, et de fait la veulent avoir, nonobstant que Boece ou tiers livre de *Consolacion*, en la quarte prose, redargue et reprent ceulx qui trop ardamment quierent gloire mondaine, et non pas sans cause quant a le vie esperituele. Mais a vivre moralement selon licite activité n'est pas vice a qui le fait a juste cause.
>
> [The good and noble can and should desire glory, despite the fact that Boethius refutes and castigates, in the fourth part of his third book, those who quest too ardently for glory in this world, and quite rightly in relation to the spiritual life. But for those who live morally in the active life, to desire glory in a just cause is not a vice.][35]

Women too should seek to deserve renown, since it is by the dissemination of images of nobility and good deeds that others get a taste for such things, and a good example is set.

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[34] Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, I.11, p. 42; Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 56. Here Christine may be drawing on a passage from the Bible quoted in the *Miroir des dames* in which memory is represented through smell: "Memoria Josye in composicione odoris et c.": "La memoyre du Roy Josye est pleinne de toute bonne odeur. Et pour tant en la bouche dun chascun doyt estre la memoyre de li douce comme miel et savoreuse" fols. 141r–141v, quoting Ecclus. 49:1: "Memoria Iosiae in conpositione odoris facti opus pigmentarii."

[35] Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre du corps de policie*, II.17, p. 83; Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the Body Politic*, pp. 82–83 (translation modified).

The use of all the devices of rhetoric to promote the renown of noble women is, of course, the program of the *Livre de la cité des dames*. The *Livre des trois vertus* extends that program by teaching women to deserve renown through the practice of virtue, which will, in itself, inspire and set a good example for other women. What essentially sets Christine's mirror apart from Durand's is that, adopting the perspective of *prudence mondaine*, she encourages women to pursue the political virtues, which are necessary for order and harmony in society. It is true that she does not see any conflict between the pursuit of political good and one's spiritual salvation; and for her, all knowledge is in the end a form of knowledge of God. But the message is ultimately much closer to that of the later humanists than to Durand's. Glory and renown in this world, promoted through rhetoric, encourages the development of political virtue and the flourishing of society. Women as political subjects should seek to be remembered for their good deeds and virtues, just as men are; and it is through the quintessentially political virtue of prudence that this can be achieved.

This is not to say that Durand neglects prudence. He describes its parts in his discussion of the virtues, where he initially does little more than quote from the *Speculum morale*:[36]

> (fol. 139v) [. . .] Prudence selonc ce que dit un meistre qui est apelez macrobius, nest autre chose que toutes choses que tu penses diz ou fays adrecier selonc la rigle de reyson. Et que tu ne faces ne ne vueilles qui ne soyt droite et reysonable.
>
> Et a prudence iii parties selonc ce que dit tulles. Cest a savoir intelligence, memoire et pourveence.
>
> [Prudence, according to a master called Macrobius, is nothing other than keeping everything you think, say, or do in accord with the rule of reason. And that you neither do nor wish anything which is not right and reasonable. And prudence has three parts, according to what is said by Tully. These are intelligence, memory, and foresight.]

Unlike Christine, who makes prudence the organising principle of much of what she writes, Durand buries his discussion of prudence deep in his book, and mostly repeats accounts of the cardinal virtues that are relevant to practical life, including prudence, from other sources. Following the material from the *Speculum morale*, Durand soon seems to forget the worldly relevance of these virtues, and emphasises, in his exposition of memory, the need to remember the passion of Christ and the punishment that God has meted out to sinners. Nevertheless, at the end of his discussion of memory we discern a pale anticipation of Christine's later praise of biblical women. Durand puts it thus:

> (fol. 143v) [. . .] Et singulierement il apartient a bonne dame quelle ayt souvenance des beaus feiz et euvres dignes de loenge des bonnes dames des quelles parle la Sainte escripture (fol. 144r) ou viez et novel testament aus quiex dames et leurs bonnes euvres se doyt conformer.
>
> [And it is especially appropriate to a good woman that she remembers the great feats and works, worthy of praise, of the good women spoken of in the Holy Scripture, in the Old and New Testaments, and she should imitate these women and their good acts.]

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[36] Dubrulle, "Le Speculum dominarum de Durand de Champagne," p. 267.

He recommends that women follow the example of Sarah's obedience to her husband, Rebecca's care for her children, and Esther's compassion, among examples of other biblical women whose virtues centre largely on their dedication to husbands and sons. He concludes: "Et enquor doyt prendre example en la vie des Saintes vierges martyres comme furent Cecile, Agnes, Katherine, Agathe, Lucie, Margarite et autres bonnes dames en elles en suyvant en leur vertuz selonc son pooir" ("And also [she] should take example in life from the holy virgin martyrs such as Cecilia, Agnes, Catherine, Agatha, Lucy, Margarite, and other good women among them, by following them in their virtues according to her capacity" fol. 145v). In the third book of the *Cité des dames* Christine will recount for her readers the lives of all these women, and many other martyrs, as part of her program of remembering and promoting women's virtues.

In her conscious attempt to master the science of rhetoric in order to promote virtue and the renown of women, Christine foreshadows later women writers of the Renaissance. In the course of the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth century, humanist Italian women such as Isotta Nogarola and Cassandra Fedele would attempt to join the humanist circles flourishing in their cities.[37] They circulated their learned letters and took up the pursuit of intellectual glory and renown for its own sake. Their experience, however, brought out inherent tensions between the traditional virtues of women: modesty and chastity, as opposed to the political virtues necessary for full participation in civil society. This was a tension not explicitly recognised by Christine, though some of her advice might be understood to demonstrate her awareness of women's need for a certain care and circumspection in negotiating the world.[38] Male authors often cast rhetoric as immodest when practised by a woman; and women who pursued it were in danger of vicious attacks.[39]

Women themselves, particularly Laura Cereta (1469–1499), began to question this assessment of the humanist search for worldly fame as a genuine pursuit of virtue.[40] But Christine, in for example *L'Advision Cristine*, anticipated that in time to come her rhetoric and wisdom would be appreciated.[41] And she exercised the art of rhetoric in order to encourage other women to deserve renown in this world. Her conception of virtue was very much more consciously political, classical and this-worldly than anything to be found in Durand. She certainly drew on pro-woman elements in the Christian tradition for many of her arguments in defence of women; but her originality lay in her adaptation of the classical political virtues to the uses of women as much as of men. She aspired to renown as a consequence of her own virtue, and in this she prefigured later women like Fedele, and the mother-and-daughter pair Catherine and Madeleine des Roches, who wrote almost purely in the pursuit of literary immortality and intellectual renown rather than immediate reward.[42] In practising the art of rhetoric and in applying it to the situation of women, Christine looked forward to the later growth of Renaissance humanism, and transcended the scholastic medieval models of didactic literature that one finds exemplified in Durand de Champagne.

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[37] See Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green, *A History of Women's Political Thought in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 38–59; Cassandra Fedele, *Letters and Orations*, trans. Diana Robin (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000); Isotta Nogarola, *Complete Writings*, trans. Margaret L. King and Diana Robin (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[38] See Tracy Adams, Chapter 8, this volume.

[39] Margaret King, "The Religious Retreat of Isotta Nogarola (1418–1466): Sexism and its Consequences in the Fifteenth Century," *Signs* 3 (1978), pp. 807–822.

[40] Broad and Green, *A History of Women's Political Thought in Europe, 1400–1700*, pp. 48–55; Laura Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, trans. Diana Robin (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[41] Pizan, *Le Livre de l'Advision Cristine*, III.22, p. 88; Pizan, *Christine's Vision*, pp. 89–90.

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[42] Madeleine des Roches and Catherine des Roches, *From Mother and Daughter: Poems, Dialogues, and Letters of les Dames des Roches*, trans. Anne R. Larsen (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006); Madeleine des Roches and Catherine des Roches, *Les Œuvres* (Geneva: Droz, 1993). See also Catherine Müller, Chapter 11, this volume.

Chapter 8

Appearing Virtuous: Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre des trois vertus* and Anne de France's *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*

Tracy Adams

Medieval and early modern French courtesy books for females, even those written by women, seem to place a monotonous emphasis upon the importance of conforming to traditionally feminine ideals of comportment. In *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon* (ca. 1505), the work's narrator, presumably Anne de France, Duchess of Bourbon, advises the work's presumed reader, Anne's daughter Suzanne:

> [F]aictes tant que vostre renommée soit digne de perpétuelle mémoire, et quoy que vous fassez, sur toutes riens, soiez veritable franche humble et courtoise et léalle, et croiez fermement que si petite faulte ne mensonge ne pourroit estre trouvée en vous, que ce ne vous fust un grant reproche.
>
> [Behave so that your reputation may be worthy of perpetual memory: whatever you do, above all, be truly guileless, humble, courteous, and loyal. Believe firmly that if even a small fault or lie were to be found in you, it would be a great reproach.][1]

However, as a careful reading soon reveals, the Duchess of Bourbon promotes guilelessness, humility, courtesy, and loyalty as means to an end, to create a cover from behind which to operate. This is not surprising. After all, she exercised effective regency over France for her brother Charles VIII from 1483 until about 1492, managing the feat precisely by concealing her real motives behind a docile persona. If Brantôme is to be believed, "plaine de dissimulation et grand'hypocrite, [Anne,] pour son ambition, se masquoit et se desguisoit en toutes sortes" ("filled

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[1] Anne de France (also known as Anne of Beaujou or Bourbon), *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon*, ed. A.-M. Chazaud (Moulins: Desroziers, 1878), p. 11. Translations from *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter*, trans. Sharon L. Jansen (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), p. 31.

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with dissimulation and a great hypocrite, Anne, because of her ambition, hid and disguised herself in all ways").[2]

Although Brantôme's assessment strikes a modern reader as negative at first glance, it falls in the midst of a chapter in which he notes with approval Anne's governing abilities and her love for her brother. For a courtier like Brantôme, dissimulation was not morally problematic if it were carried out for a greater good. Indeed, Anne's ability to dissimulate judiciously would have been perceived as a virtue within the "discourse of moral and ethical conduct that focused on the dangers and challenges of the court, that sought to steer the good courtier and the noble prince towards the intertwined goals of political success and spiritual salvation."[3] In an analysis of Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre des trois vertus* (ca. 1405), a work with which Anne was almost certainly familiar, Dallas G. Denery rightly draws attention to Christine's term *juste ypocrisie*, which the poet uses to describe the art of projecting a virtuous persona in order to enhance one's reputation and therefore one's effectiveness.[4] Denery explains that although on the one hand men and women associated with the court during the late Middle Ages and the early modern period would have been influenced through their priests by an ethical framework deriving from Augustine, on the other hand, as members of an elite intimately involved in political life, they would have been equally influenced by guides to success at court based upon "John of Salisbury's reception and adaptation of a Ciceronian rhetorical ethics".[5] For such an audience, political success depended to a large extent upon presenting an appropriate appearance.

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[2] Pierre de Bourdeilles Brantôme, *Œuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeilles, abbé et seigneur de Branthôme*, ed. Prosper Mérimée and Louis La Cour de la Pijardière, 13 vol. (Paris: P. Jannet, 1858–1895; Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus reprint, 1977), vol. 10, p. 230. My translation.

[3] Dallas G. Denery II, "Christine de Pizan Against the Theologians: The Virtue of Lies in *The Book of the Three Virtues*," *Viator* 39, 1 (2008), pp. 229–247, here p. 240.

[4] On Anne's probable knowledge of the *Trois vertus*, see Charity Cannon Willard, "Anne de France, Reader of Christine de Pizan," *The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the Fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries: Visitors to the City*, ed. Glenda K. McLeod (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), pp. 59–70; and, also by the same author, "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Livre des trois vertus* and Christine de Pizan's Audience," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27 (1966), pp. 433–444. The inventory of the library at Moulins is printed in Chazaud's edition of the *Enseignements*. Not only does the *Enseignements* bear striking similarities to Christine's *Trois vertus*, but several copies of the latter figure in the inventory of Anne's library at Moulins. For Christine's use of the term *juste ypocrisie* see Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, ed. Charity C. Willard (Paris: Champion, 1989), p. 67. The term arises in a section called "Ci devise le .Ve. enseignement de Prudence, qui est comment la saige princepce mettra peine comment elle soit en la grace et benevolence de tous les estaz de ses subgiez" ("Here the fifth teaching of Prudence is given, which is how the wise princess will attend to maintaining the grace and benevolence of her subjects of all social levels"), and refers to the fact that the princess must consciously perform good acts before a crowd so that she can be used as a good example. As Christine explains, such posturing might be taken for hypocrisy, but it is in fact "just hypocrisy" because it serves a greater good. Anne does not use the expression, but develops a model of behaviour very similar to Christine's, as I will demonstrate here.

[5] Denery, p. 246. C. Stephen Jaeger locates the origin of the ideal courtier in the *vitae* of courtly bishops; *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 939–1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

In this essay, I would like to examine the concept of *juste ypocrisie* along with the closely related capacity to discern the motives of others while hiding one's own, as laid out in the *Trois vertus* and the *Enseignements*. In an opening section, I acknowledge the indebtedness of these works to literature on succeeding at court. However, in a second section, I will foreground an aspect of the women's discussions of courtly dissimulation that distinguishes their versions of it from this tradition. If skills that Christine and Anne describe are similar to those deployed by male courtiers seeking political success, the women nonetheless adapt them for their female readers. Literature on success at court traditionally had spoken of men, and *to* them.[6] In contrast, for Christine and Anne, *juste ypocrisie* was a prerequisite for women attempting to master situations where they were disadvantaged because of their sex. Noble girls of the late medieval and early modern periods, like their male counterparts, often were sent to different households to be raised in a type of patronal allegiance-fostering, a practice that created very strong networks which could be exploited to promote families and contacts. Such networks relegated women to a secondary position; and moreover, political life of the late medieval and early modern periods was grounded in family relationships, which reinforced the secondary position of women.[7] But while limited relative to their male counterparts, women could become powerful: if they were able simultaneously to present an appearance of moral impeccability and to grasp the psychology of those they were trying to influence. Finally, in the conclusion I suggest that the training offered by Christine and Anne does not in fact preach self-interest alone. Although *juste ypocrisie* is a potentially dangerous quality that must be judiciously exercised (Christine explains that only the truly virtuous should indulge in public posturing), when developed correctly it leads to genuine virtue.[8] Interior and exterior qualities affect each other reciprocally; in behaving virtuously, a well-intentioned young woman becomes virtuous. *Juste ypocrisie* is capable of producing not only practical but moral advantages.

So although discourse on negotiating the perils of court life illuminates Christine's and Anne's courtesy books, the women make the tradition their own, investing it with virtue. They were fully aware of the necessity of developing *juste hypocrisie*, but were cognisant of its hazards, as well. They offer their female readers, dependent upon their cleverness for success, psychological insights that allowed them to exercise influence effectively, all the while carefully guiding them away from the pitfalls of rank hypocrisy.

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[6] As Jaeger notes, most courtiers were clerics. The *Policraticus*, translated into French around 1370 by Denis Foulechat, as Denery points out, and therefore available to Christine, was interested in male courtiers.

[7] As Gayle Rubin posited in a seminal study, kinship systems, both blood-based and artificial, are the very locus of female oppression; "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 157–210.

[8] Christine explains that alms were normally to be given secretly to avoid vainglory. However, if the donor "n'en avoit nulle eslevacion en son cuer" ("had no pride in her heart") they might be given publicly because of the good example the donor would set. See *Trois vertus*, p. 67.

1 *Juste ypocrisie* and Cleverness

Before discussing what distinguishes Christine's and Anne's courtesy books from guides to court life, it will be useful to situate their notions of cleverness within the pertinent literary traditions, including such guides. The traits that Christine and Anne describe as necessary to female success correspond quite closely to what Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne have described as "cunning intelligence", the basis of which is a fine grasp of the hidden motives of one's opponent along with the ability to anticipate their moves and adapt.[9] However, the trait was problematic within the context of medieval religious thought; as Vernant and Detienne explain, within the context of the Neoplatonisms that nourished Christianity, there is

> a radical dichotomy between being and becoming, between the intelligible and the sensible. [. . .] On the one hand there is the sphere of being, of the one, the unchanging, of the limited, the true and definite knowledge; on the other, the sphere of becoming, of the multiple, the unstable and the unlimited, of oblique and changeable opinion.[10]

The cunningly intelligent Odysseus exemplifies how to succeed in the sphere of becoming. He triumphs by adapting himself to the opponent: "confronted with a multiple, changing reality whose limitless polymorphic powers render it almost impossible to seize, he can only dominate it [. . .] if he proves himself to be even more multiple, more polyvalent than his adversary."[11] But because he was willing to do anything to achieve success in the here and now, Odysseus was typically viewed as an exemplar of fraud during the Middle Ages. In Canto 26 of the *Inferno*, Dante discovers him in the eighth circle of Hell, condemned as one who advises fraud in war.[12]

Cunning intelligence was both reviled and appreciated as a quality of medieval courtiers. A humorous mid-twelfth-century Latin guide to life at court, the *Facetus* (which means one capable of manipulating words to his advantage) reveals the trait to be the key to triumphing over competitors for favours.[13] First and foremost, courtiers must know how to lie artfully: "Be modest when you pronounce some falsehood, but consider it a sin always to tell the truth; frequently it is laudable to conceal crimes with a joke."[14] Those who cannot perform skilfully are like animals. The narrator warns: "Est pecus ut brutum quisquis prorsus caret arte; / Ars hominem format nec sinit esse malum" ("Whoever is wholly bereft of art is like a dumb beast; art forms the man and does not allow him to be bad").[15]

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[9] See their *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Hassocks, England: Harvester Press; Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1978). "Cunning intelligence" is the English translation of "intelligence de la ruse", which is Vernant and Detienne's translation into French of *metis*. See also Jeffrey Barnouw, *Odysseus, Hero of Practical Intelligence: Deliberation and Signs in Homer's Odyssey* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004), pp. 53–64.

[10] Vernant and Detienne, p. 5.

[11] Loc. cit.

[12] Although he was not always despised. See Jaeger, pp. 95–96.

[13] See Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), p. 55. On the *Facetus* see Peter Dronke, "Pseudo-Ovid, Facetus, and the Arts of Love," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 11 (1976), pp. 126–131.

The *Facetus* is entertaining, revealing the ambivalence with which such courtly skills were regarded. However, the work's fundamental lessons were serious. C. Stephen Jaeger discusses Thomas Becket (ca. 1118–1170), the Archbishop of Canterbury who was torn between his duties to his king and to his God. Political life was necessarily dual, writes Jaeger. "It is a truism of court life that all public acts and words are a mask; to reveal one's true sentiments and intentions is the act of a naïve fool. Life is divided into two levels, and the man who cannot maintain this double life has no place at court."[16] Becket received wide praise for his effective duplicity, his "pious deceit". Jaeger quotes Herbert of Bosham marvelling over the archbishop's technique:

> Oh performance of duty unique in its virtues and works of discretion! This charioteer of virtues, skilled at concealing from view the motivations of his deeds, in short, an ornament of all wisdom and knowledge by which often he dissembled no less wisely than knowingly what was being done, so that one thought that that was happening which was not really happening and that was happening was not in fact happening. And by the instruction of these virtues things were done again and again contrary to charity but out of charity, against the law but for the law, contrary to piety but for the sake of piety.[17]

Becket had to maintain a double life. His good reputation at court was necessary to his ability to wield influence.

Barry Collett has noted that by the fourteenth century, tactics like Becket's—that is, strategies for achieving political goals in the real world—had made their way into guides for princes. The "chaotic and often violent political situations, incompetent governments and civic turmoil" necessitated advice on how to rule effectively.[18] One of the guides to courtly life surely available to Christine was the translation of the *Policraticus* produced by Franciscan Denis Foulechat, at the command of Charles V. In this climate of appreciation for practical counsel, Christine would have discovered a wide range of ideas to help her formulate her own thoughts on how women could wield positive influence.[19]

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[14] "*The Facetus*: or, *The Art of Courtly Living*," ed. and trans. Alison Goddard Elliott, *Allegorica* 2, 2 (1977), pp. 27–57, here p. 33.

[15] "*The Facetus*," pp. 34–37.

[16] See Jaeger, p. 62.

[17] Quoted in Jaeger, p. 63.

[18] Barry Collett, "The Three Mirrors of Christine de Pizan," in *Healing the Body Politic: Christine de Pizan's Political Thought*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 1–18, here p. 4.

[19] Claude Gauvard discusses the flurry of political writings in French dedicated to practical governance of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century: "Christine de Pizan et ses contemporains: L'engagement politique des écrivains dans le royaume de France aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles," in *Une femme de lettres au moyen âge: Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. Liliane Dulac and

And yet, Christine's notion of female cunning intelligence was inspired by religious sources, as well. The trait was promoted within certain biblical narratives. These narratives offer examples of female characters who mastered difficult situations through their cunning intelligence, and so offered positive models of the trait for medieval and early modern women occupying positions of power. As feminist biblical scholar Tikva Frymer-Kensky writes, in the Old Testament there is "no expectation that [women] will be passive or submissive, no prescription that they should be so. Officially, authority and wealth resided with the men. Within the confines of this system, however, biblical women formulated their own goals and acted to achieve them."[20] For biblical women, cunning intelligence was a prized trait.

Perhaps the example most used in medieval times of a woman possessing the trait was Esther: a woman of faith and courage who in particular understood precisely how to persuade her husband to take the action she wished. The French queen's coronation ceremony presented Esther as a model.[21] Moreover, in one pane of the Sainte-Chapelle, Esther is depicted just above Blanche of Castile and Marguerite of Provence.[22] Durand de Champagne promoted Esther as an exemplum for Jeanne de Navarre, Philippe the Fair's queen, assuring her that "Esther's beauty of form was overshadowed by the beauty of her virtues." Jeanne was proclaimed a "second Esther" by partisans against the Languedocian Inquisition in an attempt to obtain her sympathy.[23] Their attempt to win the queen to their side failed, but their strategy demonstrated an awareness of a certain type of agency possible for a medieval queen, that of mediator between the people and the king. Christine devotes chapter II.32.I of the *Livre de la cité des dames* to Esther, presenting her as a model

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Bernard Ribémont (Orleans: Paradigme, 1995), pp. 105–128. See also Joël Blanchard, "L'Entrée du poète dans le champ politique au XV^{e} siècle," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 41 (1986), pp. 43–61.

[20] Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *In the Wake of Goddesses: Women, Culture, and the Biblical Transformation of Pagan Myth* (New York: Free Press, 1992), p. 129. See also Frymer-Kensky's *Reading the Women of the Bible* (New York: Schocken Books, 2002).

[21] "[I]neffabilem misericordiam tuam supplices exoramus, ut sicut Hester reginam Israelis causa salutis de captivitatis sue compede solutam ad Regis Assueri thalamum regnique sui consortium transire fecisti. Ita hanc famulam tuam N. humilitatis nostre benedictione christiane plebis gracia salutis ad dignam, sublimemque copulam Regis nostri misericorditer transire concedas" ("We humbly beseech your ineffable mercy, as you made queen Esther go towards the bed of the King Ahasuerus and partnership of his reign in order to loosen the chains of the Israelites for the sake of their salvation from captivity, in your mercy let this little woman of yours, with the blessing of our humility and the grace of salvation of the Christian people, enter into worthy and sublime union with our king"); Richard Jackson, *Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), vol. 2, p. 511. My translation.

[22] Christian de Mérindol, "La Femme et la paix dans la symbolique des décors à la fin de l'époque médiévale," in *Regards croisés sur l'œuvre de Georges Duby: Femmes et féodalité* (Lyons: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2000), pp. 197–211, here p. 204.

[23] Lois L. Huneycutt, "Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos," in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, ed. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), pp. 126–46, here p. 130.

of a queen who saved her people; and again, in the *Livre des trois vertus*, where the queen is offered as an example of how women should behave towards their husbands. A clever wife "se rendra humble vers lui en fait, en reverence et en parole, l'obeira sans murmuracion [. . .] par la manière que tenoit la sage et bonne royne Hester" ("will be humble towards him in act, in reverence, and in word, will obey him without complaint [. . .] after the manner of the wise and good queen, Esther").[24]

And for this, Christine continues, she will be greatly loved by her husband. The poet refrains from drawing the conclusion, but it is unmistakable: a beloved wife will have sway over her husband, as Esther had over Ahasuerus. For Christine, then, Esther embodies the quality necessary for female success at court. What the poet calls *juste ypocrisie* could not be theorised within the terms of the Christian morality, for the ability to adapt to mutating situations could not be accommodated as a virtue within a system that prized eternal values. Nonetheless, *juste ypocrisie* and its companion qualities were esteemed: they were promoted in guides to courtly behaviour and further authorised by certain biblical women. In the next section, I will explore Christine's and Anne's developments of the traits. Both are interested in the necessity of dissimulation for dealing with hypocrites at court. However, they were also aware of the importance of this quality in a world where the power of men and women was drastically unequal. Women could exercise influence only by carefully manipulating the stereotypes that limited them, by consciously deploying cunning intelligence: which meant, first and foremost, grasping the psychology of their audience in order to adapt their performance.

2 The *Livre des trois vertus* and the *Enseignements*

In the opening lines of the *Trois vertus*, Christine sets the tone for the advice that follows. Visited by Raison, Droiture, and Justice, she is instructed by them cunningly to lay out traps for the women she is to lure into the Cité des dames. Women will not enter the city of their own accord. Rather, as Christine explains, they will need to be "happees, prises et trebuschees en noz laz" ("captured, taken and enticed into our nets"), before they are placed in their golden cage.[25] Luring prey into a trap, then, is the metaphor Christine chooses for the method she employs in her courtesy book, and it is precisely this talent for persuading an initially unwilling audience that she will pass on to the women she captures. Women occupy a secondary role in the hierarchy of power, she reminds them, and if they want to succeed it will not be through domination. As she writes, "Et toy qui es une simple femmellete, qui n'as force, puissance ne auctorité se elle ne t'est donnee d'aultrui, cuides [. . .] suppediter et surmonter le monde a ton vouloir?" ("And you, who are a simple little woman, who have no strength, power or authority except given to you by others, do you think that you can dominate and surmount the world at will?")[26] The poet is unambiguous: only a clever woman can impose her will. To act at all, she must act through others, by persuading them to follow her advice.

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[24] *Livre des trois vertus*, p. 53. My translation.

[25] *Trois vertus*, p. 9.

Cleverness is essential for negotiating everyday life at court, a place teeming with hypocrites. The successful princess will deal with those plotting against her, not by confronting them, but by pretending to know nothing even as she makes plans to outwit them. It is not lying to be on guard against schemers, Christine hastens to add, but virtuous behaviour:

> Mais nonobstant toutes ces choses et ces grans disscimulacions, elle se gaitera d'eulx de tout ce que elle pourra, et sera adés sur sa garde. Ainsi la sage dame usera de ceste discrete dissimulacion et prudent cautele, laquelle chose ne croye nul que ce soit vice, mais grant vertue quant faicte est a cause de bien et de paix et sans a nul nuire.
>
> [But despite all these things and great dissimulations, she will be on the lookout for them, as much as possible, and will be on her guard from that moment on. Thus the wise lady will use this sort of discreet dissimulation and caution, something that no one believes to be a vice, but a great virtue, when it is carried out for a good cause and for peace and without hurting anyone.][27]

Not everyone is ready to stab the princess in the back, but she cannot know in advance who is and who is not. Therefore she treats everyone with the same vigilant courtesy.

Christine devotes an entire section of her instruction for ladies of the court to the twin evils of envy and backbiting, which "par tout regnent, par especialment tres habondament a toutes cours plus que autre part" ("reign everywhere, but are especially abundant in the courts, more so than in other places").[28] The poet acknowledges the anxiety a lady at court feels when she is passed over for promotion in favour of one less qualified than herself, but advises that she not give in to envy and spite. She will only hurt herself. Above all, Christine insists that a lady should not indulge in speaking badly of others, even when she has been injured, describing in great detail the woes the slanderer brings upon herself. The first reason not to speak ill of another is that God disapproves of such conduct. But the other reasons are more practical. Second, malicious gossip is "la vengeance de gens de pou de puissance et de foible cuer" ("the vengeance of the weak and the faint of heart").[29] Third, gossiping will diminish her own credibility because others will recognise her self-interest. Fourth, those against whom she speaks will react with tricks of their own, perpetuating the cycle.

Although Christine claims that her purpose is to help her readers preserve their peace of mind, she seems to be interested in something more than their inner harmony. Her examples describing hypocrisy's prevalence and its perniciousness subtly but effectively suggest the different means by which readers might turn the envy of others to their own advantage, exploiting those who are consumed by the emotion.

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[26] *Trois vertus*, p. 20.

[27] *Trois vertus*, p. 64.

[28] *Trois vertus*, p. 134.

[29] *Trois vertus*, p. 142.

Clever readers, aware that a spotless reputation is a prerequisite for successful negotiation, learn from Christine's text how to play the victim when they are attacked, efficiently letting their rivals destroy their reputations with their evil tongues while further reinforcing their own reputations.

Handling envy at court was a skill necessary to both men and women. However, Christine presents clever dissimulation as a particularly feminine skill in her discussion of how the princess might successfully impose her will upon those wielding real power. As Christine explains, the princess will be expected to produce results. People will come to her when they want the wrongs of the husband righted:

> Si avendra aucunes fois par aventure que le dit prince par mauvais conseil ou pour aucune cause vouldra grever son peuple d'aucune charge, par quoy les subgiéz, qui sentiront leur dame pleine de bonté, de pitié, et de charité, venront vers elle et tres humblement la supplieront que il lui plaise estre pour eulx vers le prince, car ilz sont povres et ne pourroient sans trop grant grief ou estre desers, souffire a tel finance.
>
> [Thus it will happen sometimes that the prince, heeding bad advice or for some other reason, will want to burden his people with a tax. For this reason, the subjects, who feel their lady to be full of goodness, pity and charity, will go to her and beg her humbly, if it pleases her, to go to the prince on their behalf, because they are poor and could not bear the burden of such a tax without great trouble or ruin.][30]

When this happens, the princess will make their case, acting as a good friend "en la peticion que ilz demandent et en toutes aultres choses de son pouoir" ("in the petition that they are requesting and in all other things in her power").[31]

The princess will act as a counterweight to impulsive male reactions by keeping or restoring the peace: a corollary of her role as intercessor. When war threatens her country, writes Christine, the task of the princess is "d'estre moyenne de paix et de concorde, et de travailler que guerre soit eschivee pour les inconveniens qui avenir en peuent" ("to be the means of peace and harmony, and to work to avoid war because of the trouble that can arise from it").[32] When social disruption threatens, the princess will mediate between the prince and warring lords,

> [. . .] disant que le mesfait est moult grant et que a bonne cause en est le prince indignéz, et que s'entente est de s'en vengier si comme il est raison, mais nonpourtant elle, qui vouldroit tousjours le bien de paix, ou cas que ilz se vouldroient amender ou en faire amande convenable, mettroit voulentiers peine d'essaier, se pacifier les pourroit vers son seigneur.
>
> [. . . saying that the misdeed was very serious and that with good cause the prince is angry about it, and that he intends to avenge himself for it as is right; nonetheless she, who would always want the good of peace, if they would like to make amends or make suitable reparations, would happily make an effort to try to find a way to pacify her husband.][33]

To carry on such business, the princess will need to dissimulate, presenting an appearance in keeping with her secondary role, no matter what she is feeling: "Son maintien, son port et son parler sera doulz et benigne, la chiere plaisant a yeulx baissiéz, rendant salut a toute creature qui le lui baillera, en parole tant humaine et tant doulce que agreable soit a Dieu et au monde." ("Her conduct, her carriage, and her speech will be sweet and gentle, her expression pleasant with lowered eyes, greeting everyone in words so humane and sweet that they will be agreeable to God and the world.")[34]

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[30] *Trois vertus*, p. 26.

[31] *Trois vertus*, p. 26.

[32] *Trois vertus*, p. 35.

[33] *Trois vertus*, pp. 34–35.

The great question, of course, is whether making quiet suggestions with a self-effacing demeanour will really work. To increase the chances of success, Christine instructs women in male psychology. Although women were traditionally associated with the body and men with rationality, according to Christine women represent measure and intelligence, in contrast with unthinkingly emotional, and therefore easily manipulable, men. She writes that "les hommes sont par nature plus courageux et plus chaulx, et le grant desir que ilz ont d'eulx vengier ne leur laisse aviser les perilz ne les maulx qui avenir en peuent" ("men are by nature hardier and hotter, and the great desire they have to avenge themselves does not allow them to think in advance about the dangers and evils that might come from this").[35] Gentle words of persuasion counteract impulsiveness, bringing men to their senses. Quoting Solomon, Christine explains that sweetness and humility convince, just as water extinguishes fire.[36] More specifically, Christine offers an array of possible approaches a woman should adapt to the situation at hand. Depending upon the circumstances, she will attempt sometimes

> [. . .] par bele et par doulceur de l'attraire a soy, et s'elle cognoist que ce soi le meilleur de lui en dire quelque chose, elle lui en touchera a part, doulcement et benignement. Une fois l'amonnestera par devocion, autres foiz par pitié qu'il doit avoir d'elle, autres foiz en riant comme se elle jouast.
>
> [. . . through cheer and sweetness to attract him to her point of view, and if she recognises that she needs to tell him something, she will bring it up when they are alone, sweetly and gently. Sometimes she will urge him because of the devotion he owes her, sometimes by his pity for her, other times laughing as if she is playing.][37]

Christine admits that some men are simply violent, unreachable. She also grants that any man, no matter how appealing on the surface, may be a hypocrite, ready to turn on a lady at any moment to destroy her reputation. Sometimes victory is impossible. Still, often women do succeed, by adapting themselves cleverly to their situation and taking advantage of their target's weaknesses. The secret to success is a carefully managed persona. A virtuous appearance is a tool, self-consciously deployed to provide the crucial moral authority she requires to exercise influence, with both men and women.

The advice that Anne of France offers in her conduct book for her daughter Suzanne, written around the time of the girl's marriage at the age of fourteen in

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[34] *Trois vertus*, p. 29.

[35] *Trois vertus*, p. 34.

[36] *Trois vertus*, p. 35.

[37] *Trois vertus*, p. 55.

1504, is strikingly similar in substance to that of the *Trois vertus*.[38] Christine's *Trois vertus* was present in Anne's library, and although no direct evidence proves that Anne read it, Anne's lessons like Christine's counsel women to exert influence without appearing to do so.[39] Her work is significantly shorter and less detailed than Christine's, and it is organised differently. Whereas Christine addresses women of different ranks in descending order, Anne seems to follow a chronological pattern. Her first pages imply that Suzanne is a child, treating the possibility that Anne may die and Suzanne be sent to be raised in a different household; she then speaks of Suzanne's marriage; later she speaks of Suzanne as a young woman with a household of her own, and finally she speaks of Suzanne's potential widowhood. But like Christine, Anne assumes the traditional tone of didactic literature for girls, promoting self-doubt, piety, and docility as primary virtues. And like Christine, she promotes these virtues not as ends in themselves, but rather as part of elaborate lessons in the psychology of wielding influence from a position of disadvantage.

As for Christine, for Anne hypocrisy presents women living at court with a major problem. She describes the court as swarming with attractive, high-ranked people ready to turn on the credulous to further their own goals. Suzanne should be aware that she exists in a sort of minefield, and treat with great caution those "nobles, et venans de bon lieu, soient au monde de ceste deshonneste et meschante sorte, et qui à present sont ceulx ou celles, qui d'aucuns ont la plus grant audience" ("dishonest and evil nobles in the world today who come from good families and have a large following").[40] She must avoid such people, because "quelque plaisant bel accueil ne gracieux passetemps qu'on y puisse jamais trouver [. . .] la fin en est trop périlleuse" ("no matter how pleasant their company, in the end, associating with them is too perilous").[41]

The prevalent psychology of courtiers revealed, Anne advises Suzanne on how to survive in a world filled with charlatans and fools. Like Christine, Anne explains that women can persuade with gentle words. If Suzanne were to find herself bound to serve an incompetent, she should nonetheless seek to control the situation, trying to persuade him or her to change. Anne admits that "la plus grant fortune meschance et pitié qu'il soit au monde, est quant il fault que le saige soit en la subgection et gouvernement du fol" ("the worst mischance and shame that there is in the world, is when it is necessary for the wise to be subject to the fool").[42] But when this happens, she explains, "on s'i doit acquitter de tout son pouvoir, et leur doit on remonstrer leurs faultes et les blasmer, et non pas en manière de les oser ne vouloir reprendre ne corriger, mais pas subtilles manières, en doucleur et signe d'amour" ("you must exert all your efforts to helping them see their faults and to admonishing them, not by confronting them, reprimanding them, or correcting them, but subtly, sweetly, and lovingly").[43] She is to adopt a position of pleasant but acute alertness, remaining ever one step ahead of those eager to dupe her. Writes Anne: "dient les saiges que on doit avoir yeulx pour toutes choses regarder, et rien veoir, oreilles pour tout ouyr et rien sçavoir, langue pour respondre à chascun, sans dire mot qui à nully puisse estre en rien préjudiciable" ("wise men say that you should have eyes to notice everything yet to see nothing, ears to hear everything yet to know nothing, and a tongue to answer everyone yet to say nothing prejudicial to anyone").[44]

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[38] See Willard, "Anne de France, Reader of Christine de Pizan," op. cit. 1991.

[39] On the circulation of the *Trois vertus* see Willard, "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Livre des trois vertus* and Christine de Pizan's Audience."

[40] *Enseignements*, pp. 12–13; *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter*, p. 32.

[41] *Enseignements*, pp. 13–14; *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter*, p. 33.

[42] *Enseignements*, pp. 16–17.

Anne goes on to counsel her daughter in her choice of clothes, her entourage, the importance of keeping rank, the folly of arrogance, and the art of conversation. But near the conclusion of the work, she returns to deception and backbiting:

> Pour tant, ma fille, en quelque eage que soiez, gardez que ne seriez trompée, et vous souviengne de ce que vous ay dit devant, car, pour bien peu, l'on se fait donner blasme, et de soy mocquer, mesmement de lourdeaulx, esquelz il semble bon bruit, quant, par leurs finesses, ils peuvent avoir cause de eulx farcer de quelque femme.
>
> [Thus, my daughter, whatever your age, guard against being deceived and remember what I told you before because you can be blamed even for something very slight and then mocked for it, especially by idiots who create a sensation when they ridicule some woman with their snide remarks.][45]

To remain in perpetual vigilance against being tricked by the ambitious is the lesson Madame energetically imparts.

So Christine and Anne both ground their lessons in the fundamental assumption that courtiers, driven by ambition, systematically resort to a series of tricks to achieve their own success; and that women can thrive in such an environment, but only by exploiting the very real weakness represented by covetousness and unbridled ambition. Moreover, the apparent obsession of both writers with gossip-mongering and hypocrisy does nothing so much as suggest to readers that the road to success is not best travelled by the honest but by those skilled in clever dissimulation.

It is worthy of note that Anne's work, unlike Christine's, does not directly discuss how a woman should wield power. Its approach is instead oblique, examining at length how to manage people. The reason for Anne's indirectness may be that such a discussion would have been, quite simply, too delicate. Christine was speaking theoretically. She was a widow, and therefore not in a position to manipulate a husband. However, Anne's husband, Pierre de Beaujeu, who had died just the year before she composed the *Enseignements*, had served in the eyes of many as a front, behind whom Anne in fact directed the kingdom. His presence had been necessary to her; she could not have wielded such extensive power on her own, either as a single woman or as the wife of a stupid man—or a man who refused to cooperate with her. But Pierre enabled her to carry on her successful career. Because of her position as his wife, Anne's activity could be partly hidden within a framework of feminine virtue that rendered it acceptable; she could exercise influence from the sidelines. As Paul Pélicier writes, while her contemporaries perceived Anne as exercising genuine regency power during her brother's adolescence, overt signs of her work were few. Anne "a si bien dissimulé son action politique; elle s'est retranchée si complètement derrière l'authorité du roi, du comte de Clermont et de leurs ministres que son intervention dans les affaires est restée à peine sensible pour nous" ("hid her political action so well; she buried herself so completely behind the authority of the king, the Count of Clermont, and their ministers that her intervention in those affairs has remained barely visible for us").[46] Specific assessments by Anne's contemporaries draw upon two principal female images: the virago or Amazon, and Semiramis (legendary queen of the Assyrians), both employed by Christine in the *Cité des dames*, indicating that Anne was perceived as a woman who operated within permissible limits. Octavien de Saint-Gelais imagines Anne in this way when he describes how she subdued the unruly kingdom, a task accomplished "par la conduite d'icelle redoutée dame, comme autre Semyramis ou comme nouvelle royne des amazones" ("through the actions of this fearsome woman, like another Semiramis or a new queen of the Amazons").[47]

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[43] *Enseignements*, pp. 16–17; *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter*, p. 33.

[44] *Enseignements*, p. 20; *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter*, p. 34.

[45] *Enseignements*, pp. 110–111; *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter*, p. 62.

Anne, then, worked discreetly but effectively. When Brantôme writes that she was "plaine de dissimulation et grand'hypocrite", he merely characterises in negative terms the *juste ypocrisie* promoted by Anne in her lessons to her daughter.[48] He in fact acknowledges her excellent grasp of the precise limits of her contemporaries, of what they would find acceptable, of what would reassure her partisans and confound her rivals. Although the cleverness she promotes can be traced to the long tradition of literature on surviving among hypocrites at court, Anne, like Christine, makes the trait into a specifically female virtue.

The ability to intervene effectively does not derive directly from traditional feminine virtues like guilelessness, humility, courtesy, and loyalty, but from a diplomatic skill whose moral authority is grounded in those virtues. Thus virtue is not an end in itself, according to Christine and Anne, but a practical necessity. The young women whom they attempt to form are clever, a description that correlates with what we know of female political actors of the late medieval and early modern periods. And yet, to see Christine and Anne's emphasis on sweet persuasion as completely self-interested or cynical is to do the women a serious injustice. In conclusion, I will propose that in addition to enhancing a woman's chances of success in a practical sense, presenting a virtuous appearance actually helped her become virtuous.

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[46] Paul Pélicier, *Essai sur le gouvernement de la Dame de Beaujeu, 1483–1491* (Chartres: Imprimerie Edouard Garnier, 1882), p. 198. See also Pauline Matarasso, *Queen's Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance* (Aldershot, Hampshire; and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 15–21.

[47] Cited in Jehanne d'Orliac, *Anne de Beaujeu, Roi de France* (Paris: Plon, 1926), p. 105.

[48] Brantôme, vol. 10, p. 230.

3 *Juste ypocrisie* and Virtue

In the first pages of the *Trois vertus*, Christine is informed by her three visitors, Raison, Droiture, and Justice, that she must instruct the ladies of her city in *sapience*.[49] In addition, within the first pages of their works both Christine and Anne insist that young women above all must fear God and remember their own fragile status in the world below. Christine's princess reflects upon her mortality every morning when she wakes up.[50] Anne begins her lesson to her daughter by exhorting the girl to fear God: "Le premier et principal point, sur tous les autres, est que affectueusement, et de tout vostre léal et plain pouvoir, vous gardez de faire, dire, ne penser chose, dont Dieu se puisse à vous courroucer" ("The first and most important point, above all others, is that affectionately, with all your loyal and full power, you take care never to do, say, or even think anything that might make God angry").[51] Moreover, both texts designate lying as an evil. With all her heart, Christine's princess will "haïr [. . .] le vice de mençonge et amer verité" ("hate the vice of lying and love truth").[52] Anne, like Christine, evinces a horror of lying: "C'est le pire de tous les vices" ("it is the worst of all the vices"), and that which smells the worst and is the most dishonest to both God and the world.[53]

How do these exhortations fit in with instructions to cleverly project an appearance of virtue so as to foil hypocrites? At first glance, *sapience* and godliness may seem incompatible with both women's other more worldly emphases. However, their words are not empty. Christine's ideas on daily survival among the envious are framed by the larger categories of *sapience* and *prudence mondaine*. Shortly after exhorting the princess to love God, Christine introduces the figure of Prudence Mondaine, who will instruct the princess in her behaviour at court.[54] Prudence, and even prudence mondaine, as Karen Green has cautioned, must be understood to possess a strong moral component in this context.[55]

To clarify the extent to which Christine and Anne understood virtue not simply as an act but as a lived reality, and how they imagined the relationship between the genuine virtue and the mere appearance of virtue, their instructions to their readers on how to train younger charges are indispensable. Both remind their readers not only of their own responsibility to behave morally, but of their duty to impose morality gently and lovingly upon the girls in their care. Christine observes that the princess must choose her girls with deliberation, taking into her entourage only those who will be receptive to what she has to teach them. One bad example will hinder the moral development of the group:

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[49] *Trois vertus*, p. 9.

[50] *Trois vertus*, pp. 14–20.

[51] *Enseignements*, p. 2.

[52] *Trois vertus*, p. 44.

[53] *Enseignements*, pp. 11–12.

[54] *Trois vertus*, p. 41.

[55] See Karen Green, "On Translating Christine de Pizan as a Philosopher," in *Healing the Body Politic*, pp. 117–137. On *prudence mondaine*, see p. 121.

> Tout ainsi que le pastour se prent garde que ses berbis soient maintenues en santé et se aucune en devient roingneuse il la separe du troupel de paour qu'elle peust empirer les autres, elle se prendra garde sur le gouvernement de ses femmes, lesquelles aura triees a son pouoir toutes bonnes et honnestes, car autres ne vouldra avoir entour elle.
>
> [Just as the shepherd sees that his lambs are kept in good health and that if one of them develops scabies, he separates it from the flock for fear that it will hurt the others, the wise princess watches over her ladies, whom she has chosen as best she can for their goodness and honesty, because she wouldn't want any other kind near her.][56]

The princess then seeks to guide them through her own good example, that is, "le sage maintien d'elle sera exemple aux filles de semblablement eulx gouverner" ("her wise comportment will be an example to which the girls will conform their behaviour").[57] By giving loving attention to her lambs, the princess will create an atmosphere of genuine mutual affection within which she will be able to transmit the social skills necessary to success. Writes Christine:

> Et la a privé vouldra que hardiement chascune devise de toutes honnestes joyeusetéz si que il lui plaira, et elle meisme rira avecques elles et s'esbatra en devisant si familierement que toutes loueront sa grant priveté et benigneté et l'aimeront de tout leur courage.
>
> [And in her rooms, she will be happy for each lady to choose for herself among respectable types of pastimes, and the princess herself will laugh with the ladies and enjoy herself with such great familiarity that everyone will praise her intimate friendliness and goodness and love her with all their hearts.][58]

Anne promotes creating a similarly pleasant environment, explaining that the noble mistress must help her charges to see their faults, "doulcement [. . .] à peu de langaiges" ("sweetly, using few words").[59] She, too, impresses upon her readers the importance of choosing one's entourage wisely and watching over its members carefully.[60]

Christine and Anne are interested in virtue, then, for reasons beyond the practical advantages it lends those who attempt to persuade. They aim to cultivate young women who are both genuinely good and clever. Certainly a potential cleavage between outer virtue and inner vice haunts any methodology so heavily focused upon the appearance of virtue. However, the danger recedes if we think of the emphasis that the two women place upon the appearance of virtue as an acknowledgement of the performative nature of the emotions. Modern theories of the emotions suggest that the "attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains towards basic emotions and their appropriate expression" are inseparable from the actual experience of emotions by individual members of the culture.[61] Lived emotions are based upon biological reaction and cognition channelled through the emotional templates a society offers its members; in the performance of a given emotion the individual draws up an underlying layer of physiological material which he or she experiences through the performance.[62] In other words, the outward performance of an emotion affects the inward experience of it.

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[56] *Trois vertus*, p. 72.

[57] *Trois vertus*, p. 61.

[58] *Trois vertus*, p. 51.

[59] *Enseignements*, p. 82; *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter*, p. 54.

[60] See *Enseignements*, pp. 82–84; *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter*, pp. 54–55.

The modern notion of emotions as performative can itself be inserted into the medieval Christian tradition of modifying the spirit through gesture. The tradition is a broad one, comprising the ideas that through good works one gains salvation (as opposed to the later Protestant notion that one is saved through faith alone) and that one can approach holiness through certain postures.[63] In *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* Augustine describes how the physical articulation of prayer and lamentation brings one closer to God not so much because it reveals one's soul to God, but because it arouses in the praying subject ever humbler and more fervent prayers ("sed hinc magis se ipsum excitat homo ad orandum gemendumque humilius atque ferventius").[64] Following Augustine's basic conception, Hugh of St Victor instructs his novices in gestures that will effectively discipline the souls even as they discipline the bodies: "sicut enim de inconstantia mentis nascitur inordinata motio corporis" ("as from inconstancy of mind is born inordinate movement of the body"), he explains. "Ita quoque dum corpus per disciplinam stringitur, animus ad constantiam solidatur. Et paulatim intrinsecus mens ad quietem componitur, cum per disciplinae custodiam ordinate reguntur membra corporis." ("Thus too while the body is restrained through discipline, the spirit is made firm. And gradually the mind inwardly is settled into quietude, when the members of the body are regulated in orderly fashioned by the restraint of discipline.")[65]

When Christine and Anne exhort young women to cultivate a demure and gentle demeanour, they seem to expect outward comportment to work an inward effect. If all goes well, the girls formed according to the *Trois vertus* and the *Enseignements* will emerge from their training highly skilled in the art of diplomacy, but also modest and agreeable. Their insistence that their readers constantly be mindful of God and that they temper *juste ypocrisie* with a general recognition of the dangers of lying suggests as much.

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[61] Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), pp. 813–836, here p. 813.

[62] See William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[63] The subject has been well explored. Some studies of medieval programs of gesture as means of modulating emotion includes Dom Louis Gougaud, *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1925); Richard Trexler, *The Christian at Prayer: An Illustrated Prayer Manual Attributed to Peter the Chanter (d. 1197)* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1987); and, most recently, Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La Raison des gestes dans l'occident médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990). I deal with this subject in "Performing the Medieval Art of Love: Medieval Theories of the Emotions and the Social Logic of the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris," *Viator* 38 (2007), pp. 55–74.

[64] Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, PL 40, col. 597; the passage is cited by Gougaud, p. 31.

[65] PL 176, col. 935 B. I deal with this subject in detail in "Performing the Medieval Art of Love: Medieval Theories of the Emotions and the Social Logic of the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris," *Viator* 38 (2007), pp. 55–74.

In contrast with religious writings, which focused upon the world of "being", guides to courtly comportment like those of Christine and Anne focused upon worldly success: the world of "becoming". As recent scholarship notes, courtesy books posit "variable custom rather than eternal principle as the basis for socially acceptable behaviour."[66] In this context, the ability to adapt to an ever-changing world and the capacity to manipulate the relationship between the inner and outer life that Christine names *juste ypocrisie* were of the utmost importance. And yet, strong religious social disapprobation of *hypocrisie* and attention to worldly advantage along with the traditional association of trickery with wily peasants and other unattractive comic figures rendered the promotion of such a trait difficult.

Christine and Anne skilfully negotiate this tricky dichotomy. As I hope to have shown in this essay, they recognise the importance of cleverness and intend to teach other women how to cultivate it. But cleverness must be seen as part of the larger category of what Christine refers to as both *sapience* and *prudence mondaine*, in the *Trois vertus*. Christine's notion of *prudence* "cannot be equated with narrow self-interest."[67] Matthew's admonition seems to capture the advice of Christine and Anne to their female readers: "Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum; estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae" ("Behold I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents and simple as doves").[68]

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[66] Ann Rosalind Jones, "Nets and Bridles: Early Modern Conduct Books and Sixteenth-Century Women's Lyrics," *The Ideology of Conduct: Essays in Literature and the History of Sexuality*, ed. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (New York: Methuen, 1987), pp. 39–72, here p. 42.

[67] See Green, "On Translating Christine de Pizan as a Philosopher," p. 119.

[68] Matthew 10:16. I owe the citation to the discussion that followed my initial presentation of this essay at the ANZAMEMS conference in Hobart, Tasmania, Australia, 2–6 December, 2008.

Chapter 9
Weaving Virtue: Laura Cereta as a New Penelope

R. Natasha Amendola

The pen and the spindle were traditionally ascribed to the two sexes as representing appropriately gendered behaviour. The spindle represented women's domestic role, and in this context images of women with an idle distaff represented abdication of responsibility and sloth.[1] The abandonment of proper activity within the domestic space compromised a woman's reputation for chastity, and threatened to undermine her only virtue. In his mid-fourteenth-century anthology of biographies *De claris mulieribus* ("Of Famous Women"), Giovanni Boccaccio suggested that for a woman to achieve virtue comparable to a man's, it was necessary to transcend her sex, symbolically represented by putting aside the tools that tied her to her gender. This became a common trope in Italian pro-feminine literature associated with the *querelle des femmes*. Laying aside their traditional textile tools and taking up the pen, however, left the few ambitious young women who dared to engage with their humanist peers open to accusations of unchaste behaviour. In the late fifteenth century, the Italian humanist Laura Cereta (1469–1499) paired writing and needlework as homologous tasks, conflating the work of both sexes and countering the need to put aside feminine concerns as an intellectual.[2] The pairing of textiles and text in Cereta's writing, which Diana Robin describes as entirely absent

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[1] For gender associations of the pen and the spindle, see: Paula Sommers, "Female Subjectivity and the Distaff: Louise Labé, Catherine des Roches, and Gabrielle de Coignard," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 25 (1999), pp. 139–150, here p. 39; Michael Camille, "At the Sign of the 'Spinning Sow': The 'Other' Chartres and Images of Everyday Life of the Medieval Street," in History and Images: *Towards a New Iconology*, Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 249–276, here p. 260; Frances M. Biscoglio, "'Unspun' Heroes: Iconography of the Spinning Woman in the Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 25 (1995), pp. 163–184, here p. 163. Laura Hodges, "Noe's Wife: Type of Eve and Wakefield Spinner," in *Equally in God's Image*, Julia Bolton Holloway, Joan Bechtold, and Constance S. Wright, eds. (New York: Peter Lang 1990), pp. 30–39, here p. 31.

[2] Laura Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, trans. Diana Maury Robin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 21.

K. Green, C.J. Mews (eds.), *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250–1500*, The New Synthese Historical Library 69, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-0529-6_9,
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in the work of male humanists, responded to the dilemma faced by women who sought virtuous fame.[3] Cereta celebrates feminine skill with textiles as equivalent to writing. This is expressed both linguistically, through a shared vocabulary of text and textile, and by identification with classical figures famed for their textile work: notably Penelope, an exemplum of female chastity. This essay will analyse the role of textiles, particularly weaving, in the letters of Laura Cereta, and suggest that it underpinned her attempt to maintain a chaste reputation while attaining virtue with the pen.

The assignment of domestic tasks such as textile production to women, both *in bono* and *in malo*, was represented most strikingly by the Virgin Mary and by Eve.[4] Obedience necessitated adherence to traditional tasks and values, which for women included essential domestic tasks such as textile production.[5] Images of Mary spinning, based on the Protoevangelium of James, appeared in early medieval church decoration such as the fifth-century mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. These images of the Annunciation were later replaced by those of the Virgin reading or praying. From around the twelfth century Eve too was represented as a spinner. Spinning was an act of humility and virtue, also reminding everyone about original sin.[6] Eve's and Mary's narratives of the Fall and the Annunciation are linked to their roles as child-bearers, perhaps reflecting classical associations of spinning with life itself. The association between spinning and life's journey from birth through to death was represented in Greek and Roman myth by the three Moirae or Parcae: the Fates, who spun, measured, and cut the thread of life.[7] The primary biological role of women can thus be suggested in images of spinning. References to spinning in the Bible also reflect this strong connection to women's role, as evidenced in descriptions of good women or good wives in Ex. 35:25–26 and Prov. 31:10–24. Europe's inheritance of this association is therefore clearly dual: from both classical and biblical sources.

Representations of weaving, which is the production of fabric from thread, followed a different historical path. Traditionally associated with the Greek goddess Athena (the Roman Minerva), weaving shared attributes with wisdom. The art of bards such as Homer himself was compared to the work of a weaver (by an early scholiast comparing his art to that of Helen in the *Iliad*); and in Plato's *The Statesman*, the ideal leader in society is described as the "weaver king".[8] Weaving in this context is less a physical action and more a way of thinking, and can be seen as reflecting the male aspect of action through intellect. Weaving had also been linked to the art of writing, particularly in Rome. By the time of Cicero (106–43 BCE) the use of the verb *texere* was in common usage in relation to the permanent record of thoughts.[9]

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[3] Cereta, *Collected Letters*, p. 95 n. 24.

[4] Hodges, *Equally in God's Image*, p. 31.

[5] Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 2–3; Anne B. Barriault, *Spalliera Paintings of Renaissance Tuscany: Fables of Poets for Patrician Homes* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), p. 102; Paola Tinagli, "Womanly Virtues in Quattrocento Florentine Marriage Furnishings," in *Woman in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society*, ed. Letizia Panizza, (Oxford: Legenda, University of Oxford, 2000), pp. 265–284, here p. 266; Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy*, *1400–1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp. 19–20.

[6] Hodges, *Equally in God's Image*, p. 32.

[7] Elmer G. Suhr, *The Spinning Aphrodite: The Evolution of the Goddess from Earliest Pre-Hellenic Symbolism Through Late Classical Times* (New York: Helios Books, 1969), pp. 30–32.

Despite the fact that Cereta was writing centuries later, the connection between the two arts of weaving and writing was still maintained in the language. Precedence for the connection being exploited in literature can be found in the works of Boccaccio. His anthology of female biographies, *De claris mulieribus* (*Of Famous Women*), written around 1360, uses a Latin word for weaving (*textum*) in his descriptions of both weavers and writers. Cereta draws upon *De claris mulieribus* as a source for classical women, and it provides a context in which to analyse her own use of words derived from the Latin verb *texere* and its association with a woman's pursuit of virtue.

Most praiseworthy women in Boccaccio's piece are those that were able to transcend their sex to be more like men. This was consistent with medieval Christian notions of woman needing to rise above her sexual nature. Virginity was the accepted mode for women to aspire to a virtuous life, providing a way for medieval women to distance themselves from their sexuality.[10] One of the fascinating aspects of Boccaccio's approach, however, is his insistence that women need to put aside not just their sexual nature, but also the tasks ascribed to them by tradition, such as spinning and needlework. Unlike other medieval writers, he does not present textile production as a way to virtue. It is only in the examples of Gaia Cyrilla[11] and Lucretia[12] that there is a sense of honour or virtue attributable to the task of working wool. Boccaccio suggests that these women were gainfully employed in ways considered worthy in their time.

With the exception of women who were described as inventors, such as Minerva for inventing the loom, or Arachne and Pamphile for discovering linen and silk, Boccaccio treats spinning and needlework as mental laziness. This is most apparent in the chapter on the Roman woman writer Proba, whom he compares and contrasts with women who wield distaff, needle, and weaving tools. He describes these implements as signs of their sloth.[13] The most celebrated women in his book are those who, like him, were writers. His praise for Proba was based on her reinterpretation of Virgil's *Aeneid* within a Christian framework. In describing how she achieved her goal, he uses words that derive from the Latin for weaving, such as *contextu* ("by weaving together"). Therefore, although he describes her as putting aside textile implements and the tasks tied most specifically to women, he treats the metaphorical aspect of weaving, the ability to create a text, as worthy of praise. The putting aside of the physical tools of textile production but the maintenance of weaving in Boccaccio's representation of Proba's art shows the active use of intellect, and he suggests it as an aim for women as for men. His description of the art of poetry, included in his *Genealogia deorum*, reinforces the association of writing and weaving. Of poetry he wrote: "verborum atque sententiarum contextu, velamento fabuloso atque decenti veritatem contegere" ("[it] adorns the whole composition with unusual interweaving of words and thoughts: and thus it veils truth in a fair and fitting garment of fiction").[14] In writing about Proba and her weaving together of ideas from other sources to create her verses, Boccaccio demonstrates how "weaving" is incorporated into ideas of intellect and expression. Writing was a means by which a writer like Proba could express her *ingenium*.

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[8] Ann L.T. Bergren, "Helen's Web: Time and Tableau in the Iliad," *Helios* 7 (1979), pp. 19–34, here p. 23; Lisa Pace Vetter, *"Women's Work" as Political Art: Weaving and Dialectical Politics in Homer, Aristophanes, and Plato* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005), pp. 9, 81–128; for a discussion on the relationship between weaving and speech in classical mythology, see Patricia Klindienst Joplin, "The Voice of the Shuttle is Ours," in *Rape and Representation*, ed. Lynn A. Higgins and Brendan A. Silver (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), pp. 35–64.

[9] John Scheid and Jesper Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Weaving and Fabric* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 106.

[10] Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1995), p. 26.

[11] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, ed. and trans. Virginia Brown (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 94–95.

[12] Ibid., pp. 96–98.

Inheriting, either directly or indirectly from Boccaccio, the notion that women were able to obtain greater virtue by laying aside the accoutrements of their sex represented by needle and distaff, the education of women became a trend in Italy, particularly in those cities with a courtly setting. Young girls were educated at home alongside their brothers. There were both social and political reasons for this encouragement. With their appreciation of letters, women could function as ruling consorts in the absence of their husbands and they would be patrons for fellow humanists.[15] In time, these women as social betters would be models for young girls of the lower levels of society, as can be seen with the education of women like Isotta Nogarola (1418–1466) in Verona; and later still, Laura Cereta in Brescia, the daughter of a lawyer.[16] Unlike the first generation of educated women, these new intellectuals could not be seen as having the genetic heritage to account for their intellectual exceptionality among women.[17] A possible reaction to this circumstance is their need to hitch their writings to the ideal of chastity.[18] The example of Isotta Nogarola and her sister Ginevra highlights the importance of sexual integrity in women's acceptance as intellectuals. Ginevra and Isotta were praised equally by Guarino in a letter written in 1436, for the modesty, nobility, erudition, and eloquence of their work: “if earlier ages had borne these proven virgins, with how many verses would the praises have been sung [. . .]?”[19] As Lisa Jardine notes, Guarino Veronese does not doubt their sexual integrity, which he sees reflected in their works.[20] Damiano Borgo laments the change in Ginevra’s writing after her marriage, which can no longer reflect the beauty of her purity.[21] In this case, adopting the pen as a tool of virtue was a way for women to transcend the yoke of female sexuality. As exemplified by Guarino’s advice to Isotta Nogarola to “create a man within the woman”, female sexuality and intellectual virtue could not coexist.[22] It is within this context that Cereta’s pairing of the needle and the pen is particularly startling, and I believe it was her attempt to assert that women did not need to deny their sex to find virtue through intellect. This is particularly significant in her case, as her writing continued during her marriage and widowhood. She did not forgo the traditional feminine roles in pursuing her intellectual career.

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[13] Ibid., p. 415.

[14] Boccaccio, *Boccaccio on Poetry: Being the Preface and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Books of Boccaccio's Genealogia deorum gentilium*, trans. Charles G. Osgood (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1956), p. 39.

[15] Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy*, p. 23.

[16] Ibid., p. 34.

[17] Ibid., p. 8.

[18] Cereta, *Collected Letters*, p. 7.

Laura Cereta wrote a series of eighty-two letters which she collected into a manuscript. These letters circulated among scholars in Brescia, Verona, and Venice between 1488 and 1492, and were printed by Philippo Tomasino in 1640.[23] Their contents related to moral ideals, but they were grounded in domestic and familial matters. Some of these letters include her aspirations for fame and immortality, which like other women before and after her she believed could be achieved honourably through writing.[24] Although this suggests a lack of humility or modesty, Cereta links the absence of modesty to the feminine desire to excel with finery among society’s women. The “humility of [. . .] chastity” and admiration of “moral fibre and wisdom”, as she writes to Sister Deodata de Leno, set them apart from other women.[25] Unlike other humanists, Cerata associated her writing with textile work in various ways, in what I believe is an attempt to associate chastity and reason. First, she uses the motif of weaving, not spinning, to describe both her needlework and her writing; second, she treats both needlework and writing as means of self-expression, to be accomplished overnight without the distraction of domestic duties; and last, there is in her writing an implied identification with a classical weaver,

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[19] Lisa Jardine, “Isotta Nogarola: Women Humanists—Education for what?” *History of Education* 12 (1983), pp. 231–244, here p. 236.

[20] Ibid., p. 237.

[21] Loc. cit., n. 20.

[22] Margaret L. King, “The Religious Retreat of Isotta Nogarola (1418–1466), Sexism and its Consequences in the Fifteenth Century,” *Signs* 3 (1978), pp. 807–822, here p. 808. General discussion on the importance of chastity in women, Ruth Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), pp. 26–27.

[23] Cereta, Laura, *Laurae Ceretae . . . Epistolae* (Padua: Sebastiano Sardi, 1640).

[24] See the letter to Sigismondo de Bucci in Cereta, *Collected Letters*, p. 34. This issue is also addressed by Karen Green in Chapter 7, this volume, and Catherine M. Müller in Chapter 11, this volume.

[25] Cereta, *Collected Letters*, p. 120.

Penelope. This essay will demonstrate how each of these aspects is reflected in her letters: written in her teen years, during both her marriage and her widowhood.

The letter to her friend Nazaria Olympica is described as a digest of her life. It reads as a biography, and in it she remarks on her "historia, quam simplicissime texta" ("history, like the simplest pieces of weaving").[26] The letter recounting her life she describes as "pieces of weaving". Diana Robin writes of this letter that "the conflating of pen and spindle creates tension and ambiguity," since within fifteenth-century discourse writing and needlework are separately gendered spheres.[27] While I agree that this does raise some ambiguity, I believe it underscores what Cereta wanted to do: to connect writing to the traditional female tasks such as weaving. Note that Robin refers to the distaff and the needle, two implements certainly associated with the feminine role of domestic textile provider; but neither is necessarily concerned with actual production of fabrics. Cereta uses the Latin word *texta*, which translates as "woven things". A similar example of Cereta's description of her own writing as weaving is in her letter to the physician Michel da Carrara, which she describes as "woven of rather tiny pieces".[28] It is a conscious use of a textile term that also had relevance to the world of writing, finding a distinct parallel between the traditional roles of both men and women. It is the same use of words that Boccaccio used in describing women's expression of *ingenium*, using weaving in a metaphorical sense. What is distinct about Cereta's use of these terms, however, is the ambiguity she creates. When discussing her textile work she includes terms normally associated with writing. For example in her biographical letter to Olympica: "There was in fact no embroidery stitch so elegant or difficult that I could not master it, once I discerned its fine points through delicate and gentle probings."[29] The intricacies of her work are "difficilis textu polities", using a form of the noun *textus* (associated, like *textum*, with the verb *texere*). These stitches are then described as "tenuius molliusque" ("more delicate and more gentle"), terms that Robin notes are used in Latin literature to denote the feminine and effeminate.[30] By the use of these terms, applied appropriately in both a textile and text situation, Cereta highlights the similarities in their production. Both writing and embroidery can reflect her delicate and gentle probings, and thus her individual *ingenium*.

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[26] Cereta, *Collected Letters*, p. 24. Alan Crosier has demonstrated to me that other renderings are at least as plausible as Diana Robin's. Taking Cereta's orthography at face value, *quam simplicissime* must mean "most simply [candidly, artlessly]", with *texta* then construed as a feminine participle agreeing with *historia* and suggesting linguistic composition rather more directly. The resulting translation: "[my] history, articulated as plainly as possible". Immediately before in the same letter Cereta contrasts elaborate and simple styles of expression: *Melius ista et antiquius forte scripsissem* ("I would have written these in a better and perhaps more classical style", loc. cit.); *tam frigide atque ieiune ea chartis inserere* ("to commit to paper so coldly and gracelessly things [...]", loc. cit.). In any case, Cereta's choice to write *texta*, and *textu* soon after, at least strongly hints at a deliberate association between linguistic composition and her work with textiles that is an explicit theme of this letter.

[27] Ibid., p. 21.

[28] Ibid., p. 95.

[29] Ibid., pp. 25–26.

[30] Ibid., p. 26 n. 18.

Unlike any other writers, Cereta paired intellectual pursuits and creating beautiful textiles as separate from daily domestic responsibilities. The letter addressed to Sigismondo de Bucci is particularly telling, as it discusses her torment when she is pulled by conflicting responsibilities: as a daughter helping to settle her father's affairs, and as a wife.[31] The bulk of the letter proceeds with little discussion of either of these roles. She focuses her attention on the time devoted to herself, when she is able to both write and work on a shawl. The discussion of the shawl is not so much about its construction ("lest I be said to be the Greek weaver Pamphile resurrected, or Arachne of Colophon") but involves a most detailed description of the contents.[32] Her design includes a leopard, a dragon, a lion, and an eagle. She describes the setting, the position of the sun, mountains, rocks, plains, flowers, and herbs. The colours and types of stitches are given. Unlike my description of what she wrote, however, hers is full of life and emotion: "A writhing, crested dragon dominates the left side of the shawl, its quivering forked tongue, its fiery eyes, and its painted scales ennobling the creature and suggesting its cruelty."[33] She uses her words to recreate the image worked on the shawl, just as she uses words to create an image of her life. Each one, the letter and shawl, is an expression of her individual *ingenium*. Both writing and needlework are relegated to the night, away from domestic demands.

Vigiliae is the word used by Cereta to describe her time alone to pursue her own interests. "But by staying up all night, I become a thief of time, sequestering a space from the rest of the day, so that after working by lamplight for much of the night, I can go back to work in the morning. [. . .] The first shadows of the waning day don't ever deprive me of the time to read and write."[34] She then proceeds to describe her shawl, worked on in the first hours after dawn. Its execution is possible because of her "firm rule of saving the night for forbidden work".[35] Although this suggests that the reading and writing might be the forbidden work of the night, and the post-dawn shawl the acceptable work, she alerts us to the fact that the "work [shawl] has taken three months of sleepless nights."[36] She finishes her letter by equating her shawl to her writing. "These then are the things I have made with my own hands before the first rays of dawn."[37] Expecting that she was referring to the shawl so painstakingly described, the reader is surprised by the next sentence: "This grand volume of epistles, for which the final draft is now being copied out, bears witness, letter by letter, to whatever muses I have managed to muster in the dead of night."[38] Both her needlework and literature are the forbidden tasks of the night, partitioned off from the day when her responsibilities to others dominate. By using the night as a space apart, Cereta has created more than a "book-lined cell" allowing for the use of her *ingenium* for traditional female tasks as well as writing.[39]

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[31] Ibid., p. 31.

[32] Ibid., p. 33.

[33] Ibid., p. 32.

[34] Loc. cit.

[35] Loc. cit.

[36] Loc. cit.

[37] Ibid., p. 34.

The idea of the nightly "thief of time" is reminiscent of Ovid's portrayal of Penelope, the chaste wife of Odysseus (Ulysses) who describes herself as deceiving the night.[40] Famous from Homer's *Odyssey* due to this ruse to deceive the suitors, Penelope wove during the day only to undo the weft at night. Her weaving was a funeral wrap for her father-in-law and represented her continuing duty to the family of her husband. Her work at night was a sign of loyalty to her absent husband, whether alive or dead; but it also undid her virtuous labour of the day. Penelope's night-work, like Cereta's, had an ambiguous quality to it. During the period in which Homer's Greek was lost to Western Europe, Penelope's name and reputation for chastity were maintained in several Latin texts. To Italian humanists the most familiar was Ovid's *Heroides*, a series of fictional letters written by women to their absent husbands and lovers. The letter by Penelope is quite significant for several reasons. As a tool for teaching Latin from at least the twelfth century, many copies of the text were accompanied by an *accessus* or introduction explaining its importance for teaching ethical behaviour.[41] Penelope, as an exemplum for chastity, was said by several medieval educators to have been given the position of first writer, expressly because of her virtue: "Because she excelled the other [women] in her chastity, the author gave her the first place."[42] Italy was particularly blessed with many copies of these introductions, where Penelope was consistently described as the model for legitimate love and chastity. Cereta was certainly familiar with the works of Ovid, and she would have been aware of how he presented this paragon of virtue. A major difference between the Homeric and Ovidian texts is the representation of Penelope not just as a weaver, who sits at the loom at night, but also as a writer. In Penelope we find an exemplum from antiquity, admired by humanists across the centuries: a woman who wove and wrote, and by doing so maintained her chaste reputation. In challenging Boccaccio and his disdain for womanly pursuits, Cereta found an ideal model, one whom even he extols as a "lasting example of untarnished honour and undefiled purity".[43]

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[38] Loc. cit.

[39] The "book-lined cell" was initially used to describe Isotta Nogarola's seclusion in the later phase of her life. See King, "The Religious Retreat of Isotta Nogarola," p. 112.

[40] Ovid, *Heroides*, 1.9: "spatiosam fallere noctem" ("to deceive the spacious night").

[41] Ralph Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling, Studies in Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's Ars amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, and Epistulae Heroidum* (Munich: Bei de Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1986), pp. 156–7.

[42] Ralph Hexter, "Medieval School Commentaries in Ovid's *Ars amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, and Epistulae Heroidum*," PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1982, p. 305.

[43] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, p. 159.

The only letters we have in Cereta's collection not written by her are those of her spiritual advisor Brother Thomas of Milan, a Dominican monk. Nothing is known of Brother Thomas except what is learned from this correspondence. He is thought to have influenced Cereta to stop writing letters, for the last ten or so years of her life.[44] Brother Thomas of Milan recognised the likeness to Penelope, and in a letter addressed to her father described her as "a new Penelope".[45] This use of Penelope to characterise a female humanist was not unique. The letter by Guarino Veronese referred to earlier in this paper compared the two Nogarola sisters to Penelope, along with other women from antiquity: "Oh how rare a bird upon earth, like nothing so much as a black swan! [. . .] We single out Penelope because she wove so well, Arachne because she spun a most fine thread, Camilla and Penthesilea because they were female warriors, all consecrated in the verses of poets."[46] Jardine notes how the use of these classical figures as a literary ploy detracts from the real women of the fifteenth century and the absence of a valid role for them in their own society, except to add glory to it. Due to their exceptionality such women become an instrument of adornment for the society that recognises them. This use of the figure of Penelope as something special among women is common in the "defence of women" literature. She is worthy of praise because she is so unlike other women. This might be the explanation for Brother Thomas's identification of Cereta with Penelope. He describes the happiness of the shawl that took three months to weave (*contexuit*), clearly a reference to the letter to Sigismondo de Bucci which her father had forwarded to him. It indicates that Brother Thomas was aware of Cereta's practice of writing and "weaving" through the night, when not constrained by domestic responsibilities. Just as spinning, however, might be construed *in malo* and *in bono*, so too could weaving. The negative association did not relate to chastity but to hypocrisy. Even Penelope could not offer protection from such criticism.

The letters of Brother Thomas are the only ones we have that are addressed to Cereta, and therefore they are the only source for possible accusations of unchastity. Far from condemning her, however, Brother Thomas extols her chastity, praising her virtue as she lives a virtuous widowhood, continuing her studies and maintaining the duties of domestic life.[47] His guidance and assistance are offered not because of a perceived lack of chastity, but due to her focus on intellect and fame. The main criticism in Brother Thomas's letters relates to her lack of humility, through her seeking renown.[48] Brother Thomas equates her behaviour with a form of hypocrisy, which is similar to a description of Penelope's actions in a fourteenth-century work.

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[44] Albert Rabil, *Laura Cereta, Quattrocento Humanist* (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1981), pp. 16–20.

[45] Rabil, *Laura Cereta*, p. 145.

[46] Lisa Jardine, "Isotta Nogarola: Women Humanists—Education for what?" p. 236.

[47] Rabil, *Laura Cereta*, p. 97.

[48] Ibid., p. 96.

In a reworking of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the Benedictine scholar Pierre Bersuire (1290–1362) had commented on the chaste Penelope's actions, weaving during the day and undoing her work at night. He continued by comparing her to hypocrites who weave virtue in the public eye during the day and secretly destroy it all in the shadows of the night. Although writing about her as an allegorical figure, Bersuire maintains the description of her as "chaste".[49] Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus* was popular in Italy, and there are several extant manuscripts.[50] Whether either correspondent was familiar with that work cannot be known; but Cereta's reply to the letter accusing her of hypocrisy does maintain the nexus between weaving and virtue. *He* is the accused, though; and she chooses silence: "The hallmark of my speech is not contentiousness but grace. Whatever your web weaves too intricately will give me an excuse to maintain silence, and patience will be my beatitude." Was she trying to deflect the idea of deceptive weaving back onto Brother Thomas? She continues that, armed with reason (*ratio*) which subverts passion, and using virtue and not pleasure as her guide, she should pass "the bewitching song of the Sirens, with Ulysses unharmed". Ulysses' wisdom as the means of avoiding the lure of the Sirens was a motif in medieval mythographical texts.[51] The phrase "with Ulysses" might proclaim her own intellect as equal to that of the Greek hero, or perhaps that of his wife. Either way, male and female intellects are equated.

When Cereta writes what is thought to be her final letter to Thomas of Milan, her attitude has changed. As she recognises the importance of conscience, she claims to have abandoned her "plan to seek fame through human letters". As a consequence, her all-night sessions of solitary study were to be discontinued, reflecting her recognition that the purpose of life is not solely literature. Few letters were written after this point, and they relate to the presentation of her collection. Whether or not she wrote any others later in life is unknown. It would appear that the charge of hypocrisy instead of lack of chastity was what underpinned her withdrawal from intellectual life. Identification with Penelope might offer a level of protection for the writing women as far as chastity is concerned, but it might have left her defenceless against accusations of undoing at night the virtues she wove during the day as a devout and loving family member.

The example of Laura Cereta provides a unique opportunity to explore one woman's attempt to safeguard her reputation while trying to operate within the pervasively male domain of Italian humanism. Following the example of other women, she believed virtue was achievable through the expression of reason via the written word. Unlike others, she drew parallels between the tasks normally considered to represent the gender divide: textiles and text. She drew on a linguistic association of the two arts, in which both threads and words can be woven. This connection is reinforced by an implicit identification with the chaste classical figure of Penelope, an association also recognised by one of her contemporaries. As we have no accusations of unchaste behaviour in the extant letters written about Cereta, it is tempting to believe that her strategy was a success. The linking of her writing to Penelope and to weaving, however, might have opened a different opportunity for undermining her attempt to operate within the almost exclusively male domain of Italian humanism: an opportunity to charge her with hypocrisy. More positively, Penelope's cunning weaving and unweaving of her father-in-law's shroud stands as an epitome of the *juste ypocrisie* necessary to women, discussed in Tracy Adams' paper in this collection. Cereta, styling herself as the weaver of chaste words, whether consciously or not, shows the same resourcefulness.

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[49] William Donald Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971, pp. 403–404. The Latin text can be found in Pierre Bersuire, *Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter . . . explanata*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New York and London: Garland, 1979), fols. 87–88.

[50] Some of the copies are in Italian libraries: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, MS D 66 inf; Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, V.D. 37, and several in the Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 6303; Vat. Pal. 159; Vat. Ottob. Lat. 18; Vat. Chig. H. v. 168 and Vat. Ross, 1136. All of these were written in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

[51] A Latin source for this story is Fabius Planciades Fulgentius; see *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, trans. Leslie George Whitbread (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1971), pp. 73–74.

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Chapter 10
Margherita Cantelmo and the Worth of Women in Renaissance Italy

Carolyn James

1 Introduction

Treatises and literary texts that defended women, or indeed broadened traditional definitions of female virtue, became increasingly common in the northern princely states of Italy from around the middle of the fifteenth century. Scholars have suggested that this phenomenon was surely associated with the prominence in Italian courtly society of well-educated, aristocratic women who formed a larger and more influential elite than in other parts of Europe since the peninsula had an unrivalled number of courts that competed fiercely with each other for prestige and dominance. There is emerging evidence, too, of the significant role played by dynastic consorts as occasional regents and as crucial collaborators in the routine administration of these small and militarily vulnerable states. Other highly placed court ladies participated actively in the informal diplomacy and power-broking that took place on the early modern Italian scene. We might expect, then, that it would be possible to link firmly the appearance of pro-feminine treatises with the direct patronage of these influential women.

Precise evidence of this connection, however, proves very hard to find. It is well known that the Duchess of Ferrara, Eleonora of Aragon, and her daughter Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of nearby Mantua, had a number of pro-feminine texts dedicated to them; yet the circumstances that called these works into being have not been established, and we look in vain for explicit indications of female agency in their genesis.[1] Isabella d'Este was certainly not averse to self-promotion but, like

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[1] On the political and cultural influence of Italian noblewomen in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Werner Gundersheimer, "Women, Learning, and Power: Eleonora of Aragon and the Court of Ferrara," in *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*, ed. Patricia Labalme (New York: New York University Press, 1980), pp. 43–65, and his "Bartolommeo Goggio: A Feminist in Renaissance Ferrara," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980), pp. 175–200; and see more recently: Pamela Benson, *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female*

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other important dynastic wives, she seems to have been careful about associating herself too overtly with public discourse regarding new codes of conduct for women at court. She was fearful, perhaps, of drawing attention to the considerable degree of informal authority that she exerted behind the scenes. Within the comparative privacy of her living quarters, it was a different story. The marchioness commissioned complex decorative schemes that proclaimed her noble lineage, intellectual accomplishments, and high moral standing.[2] When writers described her in similar terms in literary dedications, however, Isabella responded graciously but with a certain reserve. Her appreciative but bland acknowledgement of the *Gynevera de le clare donne* [Ginevra among Famous Women] presented to her by Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti in 1492, when she was just eighteen, is the sole documented example of a woman's response to an Italian pro-feminine text from this period. Her short letter of thanks promising that she would strive to model herself on the illustrious women whose stories were recounted in the anthology reveals little about how she regarded such writings.[3]

This essay will explore how one of the earliest and most interesting Italian defence treatises, Agostino Strozzi's *Defensione delle donne* [In Defence of Women] of around 1501, came to be written. It will suggest that in trying to explain the development of pro-feminine genres of writing, we need to take account of a wider spectrum of relationships between writers and contemporary women than even the most recent scholarship has anticipated or rehearsed.[4] Strozzi's treatise, for one, was not the result of conventional Renaissance literary patronage, whereby a shrewd and ambitious author might see a noblewoman as a stepping stone to the more prestigious patronage of her husband or kinsmen. Virginia Cox has convincingly described this kind of temporary literary alliance between courtiers and

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Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); Stephen Kolsky, *The Ghost of Boccaccio: Writings on Famous Women in Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Margaret Franklin, *Boccaccio's Heroines: Power and Virtue in Renaissance Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Virginia Cox, *Women's writing in Italy*, *1400–1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp. 19–23, 34–36; and Franca Varallo, ed., *In assenza del re: Le reggenti dal XIV al XVII secolo (Piemonte ed Europa)* (Florence: Olschki, 2008). On the treatises and literary works dedicated to these women see Vittorio Zaccaria, "La fortuna del *De mulieribus claris* del Boccaccio nel secolo 15: Giovanni Sabbadino degli Arienti, Iacopo Filippo Foresti e le loro biografie femminili (1490–1497)," in *Il Boccaccio nelle culture e letterature nazionali*, ed. Francesco Mazzoni (Florence: Olschki, 1978), pp. 519–545.

[2] For the most recent analysis of the allegorical paintings in Isabella d'Este's apartments in the Gonzaga castle and palace, see Stephen Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[3] See *The Letters of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti (1481–1510)*, Carolyn James, ed., (Florence: Olschki, 2001), pp. 125–126.

[4] Agostino Strozzi, *Defensione delle donne*, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Palatino 726. Although there is a nineteenth-century edition of an anonymous version of the treatise, I have used this Florentine manuscript on the grounds that Strozzi identifies himself as the author and refers explicitly to Margherita Cantelmo as the commissioner of the work. See section 3 of this essay and notes 39 and 40 below.

aristocratic women as one of “gilded subordinates” who had a natural affinity.[5] Mario Equicola, the author of another treatise discussed in this essay, falls perhaps more comfortably into Cox’s category of courtly writer. Some authors who produced defences of women were not professional courtiers such as Equicola, but rather notaries and bureaucrats or even, as in the case of Strozzi, clerics. The latter group in particular was unlikely to write on behalf of women in the hope of advancement at court. What, then, prompted their endeavours? It will emerge from the evidence presented here that close collaboration between a male writer and an aristocratic woman was important in advancing the interests of both. The motivations of those who formed this pro-feminine alliance were, however, complex and personal, rather than predictably careerist. An analysis of these motivations will offer a different view than scholars have so far provided of how women themselves may have contributed to the *querelle des femmes* in Italy.

Agostino Strozzi’s *Defensione delle donne* and Mario Equicola’s *De mulieribus* [Concerning Women], also written in 1501, state quite explicitly that Margherita Cantelmo had requested the creation of the works. A wealthy Mantuan whose father, Bartolomeo Maloselli, had been an important court bureaucrat until his death in 1480, Margherita moved to Ferrara when she married Sigismondo Cantelmo, an exiled Neapolitan nobleman who was distantly related to the duchess Eleonora d’Aragona. Margherita’s married title, Duchess of Sora, was never to become official since her husband did not regain his ancestral lands; but her aristocratic status commanded respect and conferred considerable prestige.[6] However, she did not have to be so careful about the political dangers associated with appearing to endorse radical new ideas about gender hierarchy, as her friend Isabella d’Este did.

Cantelmo chose authors with whom she had a close and amicable relationship, so ensuring, it seems, that the important project was a collaborative one that gave her a considerable degree of agency.[7] Agostino Strozzi was her maternal cousin while Mario Equicola, her husband’s secretary, was a southerner from Alvito who had been intimately connected with the Cantelmo family since childhood. Some scholars have even suggested that he was the illegitimate son of Pietro Giampaolo Cantelmo, making him Sigismondo's half-brother.[8] The survival of archival evidence that documents the ties between Margherita Cantelmo, Agostino Strozzi, and Mario Equicola provides a rare opportunity to analyse the context in which two unusually radical examples of the defence genre were produced, and to explore Margherita's interaction with two very differently placed authors: the careerist courtier Mario Equicola, and the pious cleric Agostino Strozzi, both of whom wrote for her in a remarkably similar vein.[9] The evolution of Cantelmo's collaboration with her cousin over a number of years points to the possibility that it was the unusual example of Margherita herself, and the cumulative effect of her influence, that explains Strozzi's surprisingly radical views about the equality of the sexes.

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[5] Cox, *Women’s Writing in Italy*, pp. 22–23.

[6] For the Maloselli family, see Carlo d’Arco *Famiglie Mantovane*, unpublished manuscript available in the Archivio di Stato, Mantua, vol. V (Maloselli), pp. 178–181. See too Isabella Lazzarini, *Fra un principe e altri stati: Relazioni di potere e forme di servizi a Mantova nell’età di Ludovico Gonzaga* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1996), pp. 82–83, 271–276.

[7] Mario Equicola’s *De mulieribus* [*Delle donne*], ed. and trans. Giuseppe Lucchesini and Pina Totaro (Pisa-Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 2004). The dedication to Cantelmo appears on p. 22 and refers to Margherita’s commission: “facioque impresentiarum libentius, dum id, quodcumque erit a nobis nec opinatum nec expectatum, de mulieribus tuo iussu scribimus.” Strozzi’s dedication in the manuscript of his *Defensione delle donne* reads: “Alla Magnifica Madonna Margherita Cantelmo sua sorella cusina observandissima”, and he refers later to “cotale opera, che voi me havesti commessa”; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Palatino 726, fols. 1r and 2v.

Margherita Cantelmo's role in the formulation of pro-feminine arguments cannot be compared with the tight control that Isabella d'Este imposed on some of the artists from whom she ordered paintings for her private study or *studiolo*. Both women, however, were reliant on male collaborators. Isabella d'Este could not have provided the arcane and classicising programs for her paintings without enlisting the help of male intellectuals such as Paride da Ceresara—as it happens, a kinsman of Margherita—who devised the complex iconography of the paintings that adorned her *studiolo*. Cantelmo, similarly intelligent but probably less well educated than the marchioness, did not have the appropriate rhetorical skills and philosophical training to enter a theoretical debate about women's proper place in contemporary society.[10] However, as in Isabella's *studiolo*, something like the outlines of a program emerge from the treatises written for Cantelmo, which suggests that there was a considerable degree of dialogue and cooperation between the writers and the woman who commissioned them. The main theme that links the two texts is that women's supposed physical and intellectual inferiority was not innate, but deliberately constructed and maintained by social custom.

This argument was not entirely unknown in the late medieval period. It surfaces sporadically, without any systematic development, in Giovanni Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, written in the early 1360s. This was the foundation text for both sides of the *querelle des femmes*, since it provided an extraordinarily varied collection of virtuous heroines and notoriously evil women from classical sources that could be recycled by later writers of every philosophical persuasion. Boccaccio's biographies of Camilla, Hypsicratea, and Zenobia were not likely to be found in misogynist writings because they described women whose unusual upbringing had allowed them to excel in manly pursuits such as hunting, running, martial exercises, or archery. Another heroine, the early Christian poetess Proba, exemplified the intellectual who had trained in the liberal arts and embraced a life of study and writing, rejecting the distaff, needle, and loom associated with traditional notions of female domesticity. These stories, as well as the amazing feats of the Amazons, provided Boccaccio with opportunities for provocative editorial comments designed to stir up debate about contemporary notions of womanhood and, more importantly, manhood:

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[8] On Mario Equicola's connections with the Cantelmo family and his early career, see Stephen Kolsky, *Mario Equicola: The Real Courtier* (Geneva: Droz, 1991), pp. 17–59, and the entry for Sigismondo Cantelmo in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 18, pp. 277–279 (available at http://www.treccani.it/Portale/ricerche/searchBiografie.html).

[9] The letters of Mario Equicola and Agostino Strozzi to Margherita Cantelmo are preserved among the Cantelmo and Maloselli papers in the State Archive of Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, boxes 282, 283, and 283bis, hereafter ASMn, AG.

[10] On Isabella d'Este's collaboration with Paride da Ceresara, see Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros*, pp. 172–181, and the introduction to his *Rime*, ed. Andrea Comboni (Florence: Olschki, 2004).

> Some may marvel at the fact that there are women, however well armed, who dare to fight against men. But admiration will cease if we remember that practical experience can change natural dispositions. Through practice, Penthesilea and women like her became much more manly in arms than those born male who have been changed into women—or helmeted hares—by idleness and love of pleasure.[11]

The notion—implied in passing here—that upbringing and training were central to perceptions of gender difference, seems not to have been systematically considered and explored in Italy until Agostino Strozzi and Mario Equicola took up the theme at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[12]

The *querelle des femmes* was reinvigorated in Ferrara in their time by the appearance in 1497 of Iacopo Foresti's *De plurimus claris selectisque mulieribus* [Concerning Many Famous and Extraordinary Women].[13] This was a large, sumptuously produced, printed Latin anthology of some one hundred and eighty-six biographies. Foresti, an Augustinian hermit from Bergamo, placed his biographies within a strongly didactic and moralising frame that emphasised Christian saints and martyrs as proper role models for women.[14] Virginia Cox has now suggested that Foresti's gender conservatism has been exaggerated in some recent analysis.[15] It remains the case, nevertheless, that Foresti's approach to female virtue was a very conventional one that emphasised women's weakness and greater propensity to sin. It is explicable, therefore, that at the century's end Cantelmo was interested in sponsoring works that promoted new and less traditional ideas about women's worth.

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[11] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, ed. and trans. Virginia Brown (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 131.

[12] In France the influence of Plato's assertions in the *Meno* and the *Republic* that men and women had the potential to be intellectual, moral, and social equals can be traced in Martin le Franc's *Le Champion des dames*, of ca. 1441. For le Franc, however, inequality was a consequence of the Fall and could not be eradicated in his own society. See *Le Champion des dames*, 5 vols., ed. Robert Deschaux (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), Books 1 and 4; and Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 92–94.

[13] Iacopo Filippo Foresti, *De plurimus claris selectisque mulieribus* (Ferrara: Lorenzo de' Rossi, 1497).

[14] See Kolsky's analysis of Foresti's *De plurimus* in *The Ghost of Boccaccio*, pp. 117–147.

[15] See Virginia Cox, "Gender and Eloquence in Ercole de' Roberti's *Portia and Brutus*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62 (2009), pp. 61–101 (p. 89). Her comments apply to Kolsky's analysis in *The Ghost of Boccaccio*, cited above.

2 Margherita Cantelmo and Agostino Strozzi

The Ferrarese notary Bartolommeo Goggio, whose *De laudibus mulierum* [In praise of women] of 1487 was dedicated to the Duchess of Ferrara, Eleonora d'Aragona, claimed in his preface that "the virtues of women, and the friendship that naturally unites them with me" had inspired his literary initiative.[16] Here, then, is a hint that some writers conceived of their attack on the entrenched misogyny of their time as an act of friendship inspired by their admiration and respect for real women of their acquaintance. It is probable indeed that Goggio collaborated closely with Eleonora d'Aragona as a chancery bureaucrat, since we know that she assumed much of the duke's routine administrative burden.[17] No precise information about the interaction between Goggio and the Duchess of Ferrara has yet been uncovered, however, and it is impossible to know how literally to interpret his statement, especially since gauging the sincerity of male authors who wrote in praise of women can be perilous in a courtly context, where flattery and dissimulation were regarded as normal avenues of advancement.

In the case of Equicola and Strozzi we are in a better position to discover the basis for an alliance between a woman and her literary defenders. Judging from letters that Mario Equicola wrote to Margherita Cantelmo in 1501 and 1502 from France, the two were on good terms. Part of Equicola's purpose in writing to Margherita was to keep her informed about the welfare of her husband, Sigismondo Cantelmo, whom he had accompanied to the French court. As Stephen Kolsky has pointed out, there are also passages of philosophical exposition in some of the letters which suggest that Equicola continued from afar an already established, informal tutelage of Margherita.[18] Cantelmo was keenly interested in philosophy, literature, and the visual arts; but without knowledge of Latin, she was reliant on Equicola for an entrée to classical ideas that were discussed in the humanist circles at court. Mario Equicola was later to be employed in this capacity by Isabella d'Este, who strove to improve her Latin in rare moments of leisure.[19] This pedagogical role adopted by Equicola suggests that women such as Margherita Cantelmo and Isabella d'Este were not content to be passive observers of contemporary intellectual debates. They sought the help of sympathetic courtiers and other educated men in their social circle to acquire the compensatory education that would allow them to be more active members of the salon culture that was emerging in Italy in the early sixteenth century. The battle against the misogynist prejudice that women's subordination to men could be justified on the grounds of their moral and intellectual inferiority, as well as physical weakness, was central to this endeavour; and Cantelmo took up the challenge.

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[16] Bartolommeo Goggio, *De laudibus mulierum*, as cited in Gundersheimer, "Bartolommeo Goggio," p. 184.

[17] See Luciano Chiappini, *Eleonora d'Aragona, prima duchessa di Ferrara* (Rovigo: Società Tipografica Editrice Rodigina: 1956), and Gundersheimer, "Women, Learning, and Power: Eleonora of Aragon and the Court of Ferrara," pp. 43–65.

[18] Kolsky, *Mario Equicola*, p. 65, note 9.

[19] Mario Equicola's letters to Margherita Cantelmo are inventoried in ibid., appendix I, pp. 291–293. A selection of them is published in Alessandra Villa, *Istruire e rappresentare Isabella d'Este: Il Libro de natura de amore de Mario Equicola* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi, 2006), appendix II, pp. 233–242.

Kolsky has written extensively on Mario Equicola's career, and it is quite explicable why Cantelmo commissioned him to write in defence of women.[20] He was an accomplished and witty courtier who seems to have been as comfortable in the company of the ladies of the court as in that of his male peers. The remaining evidence suggests he was open to new ideas about women's place in contemporary society and was willing, and more than able, to argue on their behalf. Margherita Cantelmo's clerical cousin the canon Agostino Strozzi, however, remains an elusive figure, despite the survival of a number of his works on interesting themes, among them a short and almost unknown treatise on friendship, also commissioned by Margherita Cantelmo.[21] Don Agostino's letters to Margherita document why he, too, was a suitable choice as her literary collaborator. It emerges that the canon's intellectual engagement with some of the themes of his defence treatise—the writing of which was underway in 1501, according to a reference in Mario Equicola's treatise—can be traced back to at least 1497.[22]

The eight or so letters written by Strozzi to Margherita between February and March 1497 have been largely ignored by scholars because a number of undated and unsigned sheets became separated from their original context and were eventually stored in a separate archival file, away from the letters to which they rightly belonged. Agostino Strozzi also signed a number of his letters with a pseudonym, the meaning of which only becomes apparent from a close reading of all the surviving fragments of his correspondence.[23] Some letters are signed "Euphilo", while others close with a simple "V.F.", or "Vostro Fidele". In several of the letters Strozzi addresses Margherita as Pandora. He also refers to a poem entitled "Pandora" that he was composing, at her request, in which she becomes the nymph Pandora, beloved of Strozzi's alter ego, the shepherd Euphilo. Once the chronological order of the letters is restored through an analysis of their internal references, it becomes apparent that the friendship between Strozzi and Cantelmo was a close one that went well beyond their family connections. The considerable difference in age is reflected in Strozzi's protective and mentoring role in his cousin's life and, as the poetic references suggest, he seems to have had tender feelings for Margherita that stirred nostalgia for his distant youth. It is apparent from the epistolary evidence that the collaboration between Cantelmo and Strozzi grew out of genuine personal sympathy and a shared understanding of the world that was beginning to evolve well before the canon began his *Defensione delle donne*. Themes appearing in the treatise—above all women's capacity to be men's moral and intellectual equals—are rehearsed by Strozzi in these earlier letters, suggesting that he and his cousin were already reflecting on this subject in the closing years of the fifteenth century.

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[20] As well as the monograph cited above, see Stephen Kolsky, "Appunti sulla biografia di Mario Equicola," *Critica letteraria* 103 (1999), pp. 211–224; "Further Corrections and Additions to the Bibliography of Mario Equicola," *Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche* 62 (1998), pp. 310–315; and "Mario Equicola's *De mulieribus* Revisited," *Spunti e ricerche* 22 (2007), pp. 50–62.

[21] For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between Margherita Cantelmo and Agostino Strozzi, see Carolyn James and Francis W. Kent, "Margherita Cantelmo and Agostino Strozzi: Friendship's Gifts and a Portrait Medal by Costanzo da Ferrara," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 12 (2009), pp. 85–115.

[22] Equicola, *De mulieribus*, p. 48.

[23] I have reconstructed the chronological order of the undated sheets and identified the pseudonyms used by Strozzi in some of the letters. These documents are to be found in ASMn, AG, b. 282, insert 1 and 283bis, insert 1, and are dated between 2 February and 10 March 1497. I have found no letters from Margherita Cantelmo to Agostino Strozzi, although some of her correspondence with Isabella d'Este survives.

In the 1490s Agostino Strozzi was based in Mantua at the monastery of San Bartolomeo.[24] Margherita was often at her estates near Cavriana in Mantuan territory during the extended absences of her husband Sigismondo, who spent long periods away from the couple's home in Ferrara during a dogged, and ultimately unsuccessful, diplomatic and military campaign to regain his duchy in southern Italy.[25] In 1497 it seems that Strozzi's position on the moral and spiritual equality of men and women was an orthodox Christian one, even if only a minority of his clerical contemporaries would have agreed with his views. As István Bejczy points out, Aristotelian influence after the thirteenth century ensured that there was a tendency by theologians to deny that women could fully develop virtue, because of their intrinsic imperfection.[26] By contemporary standards, therefore, Strozzi was quite unusual in encouraging his cousin's interest in self-improvement, and more exceptional still in embracing increasingly radical pro-feminine ideas as time went by. His letters provide hints about how this change might have occurred. Strozzi's willingness to act as Margherita's mentor and spiritual director in 1497 suggests he was interested in demonstrating that women were capable of virtue if they had opportunities to acquire it through effort and training. Aristotle's view that virtue was not passive, but had to be pursued through an active engagement with civic affairs, effectively barred women from qualifying as suitable contenders for virtuous status. Understandably, Strozzi seems to have been reluctant fully to explore the implications of his attempt to reconcile classical and Christian conceptions of women's capacity for virtue. There are, however, already unresolved tensions in his letters to Margherita that suggest he was drawn inevitably by the logic of his early ideas towards a more radical stance on the question of gender equality.

In the period immediately before the correspondence opens, Strozzi had apparently agreed to guide his younger relative in a rigorous program of study and meditation that would enable her to realise her God-given potential and to become a living example of female worth. In the first letter of 2 February 1497, we learn that Margherita's probation was almost at an end, despite Don Agostino's self-confessed tendency to be too demanding a taskmaster. It was time, he admitted, to move to the next stage of their project. This involved a secret pact whereby, under his direction, Margherita would embark on a spiritual journey that would demonstrate her capacity to ascend the stairway of contemplation. Her achievements would support the fundamental Christian truth that God had created all human beings with a "rational and immortal soul" containing "a seed of His divine nature". Those who embraced virtue could realise the potential that this divine seed provided.[27] Some days later Strozzi elaborated on this theme. With the help of "the hand of reason" and "faithful instruction", Margherita would be able to put aside a concern with worldly matters and subdue passions that threatened the welfare of the soul.[28] Margherita's apparent failure to reply to her cousin's letter, even after several weeks, alarmed Strozzi, and he wrote again urging his pupil forward in her studies and requesting that she give an account of her progress:

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[24] Ippolito Donesmondi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica di Mantova* (Mantua: Aurelio e Lodovico Osanna, 1616; reprinted Bologna: Forni, 1977), vol. I, pp. 368–369, and vol. II, p. 88.

[25] See Kolsky, *Mario Equicola*, ch. 2.

[26] István Bejczy, Chapter 1, this volume.

> I am certain my letters at least merit a reply from you, and thus admonished by me you will tell me just how much progress you have made so I will know how much to rejoice, or if you need new supplies or other help. This I know for certain, that if you use the wings of your noble and distinguished intellect you will easily surpass everything that I have shown you. You would do yourself a grave injury, and do wrong not to try, and it does Mother Nature a great disservice not to use that which she has so generously given.[29]

Worldly worries and passions had intervened in Margherita's life, however, and these accounted for her uncharacteristic epistolary silence. By 10 March Strozzi seems to have been informed, by the carrier of Margherita's reply, about the death of her father-in-law, Pietro Giampaolo Cantelmo. His end in February 1497 had been hastened by the surrender of the castle of Alvito to the restored Aragonese monarchy. This was the last southern fief in Cantelmo hands; its loss spelled the end of the family's hopes of winning back their ancestral lands near Naples. In his letter of 10 March Strozzi refers to Margherita's unhappiness, and his own dismay at recent bad news; but there is no precise reference to the Cantelmo fiasco, perhaps for fear that his letters would be intercepted by spies since the information was politically sensitive in Mantua. Whatever the precise nature of her travail, he advised a stoic acceptance of God's will and enjoined his cousin to remain steadfast in adversity and to reconcile herself to things that she was powerless to change. He reminded her that only the loss of virtue was worthy of grief, and that she should not allow the trials of the world to distract her from the ascent of her soul to divine contemplation.

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[27] Agostino Strozzi to Margherita Cantelmo, 2 February 1497, ASMn, AG, b. 282, insert 1.

[28] "Ma se al cielo caminamo cum il debito modo e pensiero asai ben vi exhorto di prepararvi l'animo agile e ben disposto, privo de affetti e vacuo di passione, quale cum la mane di la ragione e cum la ciappa di fidele instructione facilmente si possono extirpare dil bono campo de la generosa e gientil mente, che sicome inutile e mala gramigna o spine, suffocano in lei ogni bono seme di virtù e la deprimeno e abassano a la vile e terrena conversatione de la commune usancia dil vulgo." Agostino Strozzi to Margherita Cantelmo, 7 February 1497, ibid.

[29] "Sono certo almeno le mie meritarano da voi risposta e, admonita dil scrivere mio, me significareti in quanta altecia di profetto già siati salita aciò io sapia, di quanto de voi mi ralegri o sia bisogno di nova provisione e altro soccorso. Questo scio certo che se voreti adoperare le ale dil gientil vostro et eminente ingiegno facilmente trapassareti ogni mio segno e misura che io vi habia mostrata. Farestive grande male e difetto non lo facendo, e serìa grave ingiuria de la natura non operando quello di che essa largamente vi ha dotata." Agostino Strozzi to Margherita Cantelmo, 1 March 1497, ibid.

> Now that God has allowed great suffering and anxious bitterness to overtake you, I am certain, beloved daughter, that if you set yourself apart from weak women of no account and follow your generous and distinguished soul you will, in a short time, easily persuade yourself to overcome and tolerate [this adversity].[30]

Here Strozzi's language is close to the rhetoric of his later *Defensione delle donne*. To cite just one example, he uses the same pejorative phrase to describe the commonplace women ("vile feminucciole di niuno merito") from whom Margherita must set herself apart by being true to her "generous and eminent soul". The unusual intelligence and virtue that he had observed in her would provide the means to overcome earthly adversity.[31] Clearly he had in mind a passive tolerance of bad fortune and a contemplative route to virtue, whereas, in his treatise, examples of virtuous womanhood are shown to triumph over great difficulties through prudence, eloquence, and courage: qualities associated with active virtue and a public engagement in civic affairs. In March 1497 Strozzi had warned Margherita that her only fault was an intense and unmeasured desire for fame and glory. If kept in check with reason and temperance, such ambition might well be "honest, praiseworthy and virtuous, a sign of a noble and excellent spirit", but an exaggerated and overweening desire for worldly fame was sinful and a potential source of damnation.[32] This message to his cousin—about what he considered to be a dangerous aspect of her character—adds weight to other evidence that Margherita Cantelmo was indeed a woman keen to leave her mark on contemporary society, and that she may have identified herself with the renowned classical heroines associated with pro-feminine literature whom she was to sponsor several years later. That others saw her in these terms is suggested by the fact that Mario Equicola addressed her in letters of December 1501 from Blois in France, perhaps jokingly, as Endelechia. He used this word—associated with the Aristotelian notion of "world soul"—in his *De mulieribus* written just months earlier, in the context of his argument that God had endowed all human beings with the same soul, so ensuring complete equality between men and women. The name functions in Equicola's text to memorialise the literary alliance with his patron and perhaps as a subtle allusion to Margherita's notion of herself as remarkable.[33]

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[30] "Hora nel triste caso dil grave dolore et anxia amaritudine che Dio vi permette, sono certo, figlia dilectissima, se voreti non essere nel numero de l'altre vile feminuciole e seguireti l'animo vostro generoso e eminente facilmente in breve tempo ve lo insegnareti da voi tolerare e vincere." Agostino Strozzi to Margherita Cantelmo, 10 March 1497, ibid. The phrase is repeated in Strozzi's *Defensione delle donne*, Palatino 726, fol. 6v.

[31] "Ma di voi io spiero e mi persuado che habiati desiderio di vincere voi istessa et esser fuori dil gregario numero de l'altre donne quanta ragione sia in voi e quanto sia gientile l'animo vostro io ne ho molti experimenti. Resta solamente che vogliati regiervi a la regula di ragione e seguire quanto vi ditta il grande cuor vostro." Agostino Strozzi to Margherita Cantelmo, 10 March 1497, ibid.

[32] "Li appetiti vostri quanto persino adhora io posso capere, non vegio che molto vi precipitino in cosa periculosa excetto uno intenso e smisurato desiderio de fama e gloria, al quale quando fosse ordinato e temperato a la debita regola di ragione seria honesto, laudibile e virtuoso, segno di grande animo et excellente, ma essendo fuori di ordine e misura sie vicioso e dannabile, e di ciò vi poteti acorgiere a questo segno che il non sia sogietto a la ragione. Perciò ch'io non dubito che la ragione vi ditti e demonstri che delle cose che non si può rimediare non si vole né debe alcuno affligere e tuor pena, maxime dove non è sua colpa o difetto, e tanto più di cosa incerta, instabile e transitoria, e che non sia di perdità di bene di virtude, dil quale solo si debe dolere, ma cum tale misura che non exceda il debito modo e per tal dolore non resti mai l'animo dal riposo di se istesso e da proseguire il felice camino e la bella ascesa de le celeste contemplatione." Agostino Strozzi to Margherita Cantelmo, 10 March 1497, ibid.

Cantelmo's desire for fame and her privileged life at court suggest that while she was keen to learn from her clerical cousin, she was unlikely to embrace his recommendation that she should retire from the world and repudiate what he considered its trivial concerns. It is impossible to determine with certainty the extent to which Strozzi's personal affection and admiration for Margherita Cantelmo influenced, and even gradually transformed, his ideas about women more generally; but it is intriguing that this Augustinian canon admits in the treatise of 1501 that he had not been immune from negative prejudices about the female sex, and that only through careful thought and divine grace had he corrected his own misconceptions.[34] It seems that Don Agostino continued to think about the subject after 1497, moving further towards an ideological position that took greater account of intelligent and socially prominent women like his cousin. But he already outlined in his correspondence of 1497 the view that Mankind was created by God in his image, that there was no innate difference between men and women as far as their souls were concerned, and that the choice of virtue or vice was made by the individual, not determined by gender; and these views provided an essential basis for his later less conventional ideas on the subject.[35] When he came to write his defence treatise, Strozzi seems to have arrived at a firmer conviction that misogyny, or what he described as an irrational hatred and disapproval of women, was responsible for a disturbance of the divine order which established natural delight and mutual charity between the sexes, and that it was therefore appropriate for him to comment at greater length on this issue. More surprisingly, given his clerical status, he also embraced the notion that the apparent physical fragility of women was not determined by nature but by culture, a notion also explored more briefly by Mario Equicola in his *De mulieribus*.

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[33] "Quare, hera Margarita, eandem enthelechiae formam animantibus rationalibus mortalibus (longaevos daemonas excipio) a summo opifice datam non dubites." Equicola, *De mulieribus*, p. 36. On Giovanni Boccaccio's interpretation of Endelechia, Equicola's probable source, see Claudio Moreschini, "Towards a History of the Exegesis of Apuleius: The Case of the *Tale of Cupid and Psyche*," in *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context*, ed. Heinz Hofmann (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 215–228.

[34] "Se tutte le generossime donne che persino ad hora me cognoscono, confessarano come scio che ben possono fare, non haver mai sostenuto il più dicace adversario di me né il più acerbo. Il quale errore poiché per dignatione de la suprema gratia novamente io ho corretto in me istesso, mi è parso utile cosa et necessaria de affaticarmi quanto per me si potesse che anchor ne gli altri similmente il sia coretto." Strozzi, *Defensione delle donne*, Palatino 726, fol. 6v.

[35] ASMn, AG, b. 282, insert 1.

3 Strozzi and Equicola

It has been assumed that Strozzi's *Defensione delle donne* is heavily dependent on Equicola's *De mulieribus*, despite the fact that the latter text—some thirty printed pages in length—is a slim volume compared to the more than ninety double-sided folios of Strozzi's Italian manuscript.[36] Moreover, in his treatise, Equicola himself refers to the Augustinian as "vir ingenio et litteratura eminentissimus", and indeed justifies the brevity of his Latin work, which he seems to have written in March and April 1501, by explaining in the conclusion that Agostino Strozzi was also engaged in writing on the same theme; as if to imply that his colleague had already done much of the essential labour and there was no need for him to go into lengthy detail.[37] Equicola's respectful view of Agostino was shared by the well-connected clerical scholar and art patron Matteo Bosso, who in several letters in his *Recuperationes Faesulanae* praised his fellow Augustinian and friend, "suavis ac venerabilis Stroza", for his scholarship and piety.[38] Agostino's letters of early 1497, discussed above, reveal that his secular name was Carlo, and that he had studied at the University of Ferrara, probably in the early 1470s, before becoming an Augustinian canon. His familiarity with classical culture is apparent in several of the letters, as are the literary abilities that he had cultivated as a student at that renowned centre of humanist learning.

Textual variations between three surviving copies of Strozzi's treatise have encouraged the scholarly perception that despite his contemporary reputation as a learned man, Agostino Strozzi was a muddled thinker who must have derived his ideas from the more sophisticated Mario Equicola. The only published version of Strozzi's text is a nineteenth-century edition in Italian by Francesco Zambrini.[39] Scholars have assumed that Zambrini had access to a now lost vernacular translation, made from a manuscript of *Defensio mulierum* that survives in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense of Milan.[40] Both the published vernacular translation (in no sense a critical edition) and the Latin manuscript, very probably the basis of the lost Italian translation used by Zambrini, are addressed to an unnamed "Lady", and are anonymous. They have, however, been linked to Strozzi by Conor Fahy and others, since the Latin manuscript preserved in Milan is bound with other works certainly by him.[41] The main argument of both these anonymous treatises is that women, despite their inherent intellectual and spiritual equality with men, must remain subservient to them because of their more delicate physical constitutions and biological role as well as to ensure a proper social order.[42]

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[36] Conor Fahy, "Three Early Renaissance Treatises on Women," *Italian Studies* 11 (1956), pp. 30–55, here p. 37 n. 22; and Kolsky, *Mario Equicola*, p. 71.

[37] Equicola, *De mulieribus*, p. 48.

[38] See letter cxii and others in the British Library copy: *Recuperationes Faesulanae* (Bologna: Franciscus [Plato] de Benedictis, 2nd edition 1493). On Strozzi's friendship with Matteo Bosso, see Giovanni Soranzo, *L'umanista canonico regolare lateranense Matteo Bosso di Verona (1427–1502)* (Padua: Libreria Gregoriana, 1965), pp. 113, 250, and *passim*.

[39] Francesco Zambrini, ed., *La defensione delle donne d'autore anonimo* (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1876, reprinted Bologna: Forni, 1968).

[40] *Defensio mulierum*, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense of Milan, Cod. AD, IX, 27. For the relationship between this Latin text and the Italian translation published by Zambrini, see Conor Fahy, "Three Early Renaissance Treatises," pp. 43–44.

A third version of the treatise, now in the Palatine collection of the National Library of Florence, is written in a northern Italian vernacular that is rendered more "illustrious" by a highly Latinised vocabulary. More intellectually coherent than the anonymous texts, it contains a section of some sixteen folios in which the notion of women's physical inferiority is vigorously attacked; and there are other shorter passages that are not to be found in the two anonymous treatises.[43] Agostino Strozzi identifies himself as the author in the preface of this Palatine text and dedicates it to his "sorella cusina" ("maternal cousin") Margherita Cantelmo, who, he states explicitly, commissioned the work. It seems sensible, therefore, to regard the Florentine manuscript as the most authoritative version of the treatise and as best representing Strozzi's ideas.[44] The small format, high-quality paper, and beautiful lettering of the book that survives in Florence suggest that this was a presentation copy destined for Margherita Cantelmo herself. One might speculate that the anonymous Latin and Italian treatises were intended for a wider and more conservative audience likely to be provoked by a cleric's having written such a staunch defence of women.

The humanist secretary Mario Equicola could afford to be daring in writing on behalf of women and, in so far as his motives might have been careerist, he was ultimately rewarded for his efforts when he was employed by the Marchioness of Mantua, Isabella d'Este, as her tutor and then secretary. Agostino Strozzi, on the other hand, was no courtier, although be belonged to a distinguished Mantuan family, and a number of his relatives from the Ferrarese branch of the family were well-known courtiers and literary figures whose reputations rivalled that of Equicola. He recognised in his treatise, indeed, that he would be criticised by many for his lack of decorum in addressing what opponents might consider a low and laughable theme, and for the impropriety of a man of religion having anything to do with women. He argued in the prologue of the *Defensione*, however, that he was a more suitable defender of women than those who usually took on the task. Here Strozzi seems to have had the chivalrous courtier in mind, even perhaps Equicola himself. Men who socialised with women and conversed constantly with them, he argued, were suspected of being seduced by ardent love to defend them too passionately. Such literary defences of women were therefore given little credence.

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[41] Fahy, "Three Early Renaissance Treatises," pp. 42–43.

[42] See notes 39 and 40 above.

[43] This said, the vexed question of which version came first remains. While Fahy suggests that the Latin treatise, and presumably the Italian translation used by Zambrini, preceded the Palatine manuscript, my comparison of the Zambrini and Palatine texts suggests that the latter may have been written first.

[44] See note 4. The contradictions in the argument of Zambrini's edition led Fahy to conclude that it was based on a defective text. See "Three Early Renaissance Treatises," p. 45.

He, however, as a celibate Augustinian canon, had denied himself female company and could therefore be trusted to tell the truth.[45]

4 The *Defensione delle donne*

Strozzi's *Defensione delle donne* combines both philosophical defence and literary panegyric, the two most frequently used models associated with pro-feminine writing. The treatise begins by demolishing the arguments that justified a misogynist view of women, and then in Book 2 restores women to their proper status and reputation for virtue by citing evidence of their past achievements. The first part of the Palatine manuscript is more original than the predictable collection of biographies of famous women in the second part derived from Giovanni Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, Plutarch's *Mulierum virtutes*, and several other sources.[46] Like Bartolommeo Goggio and Iacopo Foresti, Agostino Strozzi departs markedly from Boccaccio's model by including stories of heroic Christian women. The treatise includes some standard features of medieval defences, including the argument that men could take little pride in their creation by God from clay if, as the Bible clearly stated, women were created from the body of a living man.[47] Eve's more privileged origins, and the potential for the Virgin Mary to neutralise the negative impact of her role in the creation story, were traditional pro-feminine arguments incorporated by Strozzi in a structure that synthesises classical and Christian elements.

The author explains at the beginning that he had been moved—by pity, religious piety, and more particularly by the contemplation of the virtue of his cousin, for whom he felt profound affection—to defend women from three of the most commonly cited criticisms directed against them by misogynists, all of them in his view unjust and based on calumnies. According to a long and inadequately contested tradition of prejudice, women had limited intelligence, were liable to be unchaste, and were inept in the pursuit of virtue, inclining readily to the vices of treachery.[48] Strozzi argues that these closely interrelated accusations all gained their impetus from the first assumption that women were intellectually weak, vacillating, and consequently lacking in moral fibre. He responds, therefore, in greater detail to the first calumny, demonstrating through detailed biblical exegesis that women were made in God's image, just as men were.

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[45] Strozzi, *Defensione delle donne*, Palatino 726, fols. 3r–v.

[46] Kolsky, *The Ghost of Boccaccio*, p. 166.

[47] Strozzi, *Defensione delle donne*, Palatino 726, fols. 15v–16r. For the medieval tradition, see Alcuin Blamires, *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 96–105. Strozzi's contemporary Bartolommeo Goggio also uses this argument: "Et imperò tanto de mancho perfectione quanto el fango (del quale nasce li ranochi) e de mancho dignitade che non fu la costa de messer Adam." Bartolommeo Goggio, *De laudibus mulierum*, fol. 12r, as cited in Kolsky, *The Ghost of Boccaccio*, p. 187 n. 48.

[48] Strozzi, *Defensione delle donne*, Palatino 726, fols. 4v–7v.

> In the sacred scriptures, it is written that the rational being, that is man and woman, was created by Almighty God in His image and likeness. Because of this, it is clear that what God has made cannot be imperfect, being similar to its divine creator.[49]

Strozzi insists that the use of the word “man” in the Bible meant all human beings. A narrow interpretation of the creation story to suggest that God had created only the male gender in his image was therefore unwarranted. St Paul’s teaching—that a man could go about with his head uncovered because he was made in the glorious image of God, while a woman had to acknowledge her lesser status by covering her head since she was created by God from the body of a man—is dealt with by Strozzi rather ingeniously. It was, he conceded, true that woman was created after man. Women’s subjection was, however, like that of a son to his father: recognition of the order of birth. The fact that men were created first and were owed natural reverence by their seniority, together with the recognition that social order was produced by an appropriate age and gender hierarchy, had no implications for the essential equality of the sexes. A woman’s capacity for excellence and nobility derived from her immortal soul, which was created not from the soul of Adam but through the miraculous intervention of God. Each gender had the same essential form and immortal soul, a common heavenly destiny, and an identical creator.[50] It was inconceivable that it was God’s will that there would be a difference in the level of perfection in men and women, when it was His desire that all humans should have an equal opportunity to reach the same divine destiny. A woman would be severely handicapped in her ability to reach God if she had an innately inferior moral constitution and intellectual capacity.[51] This section of the treatise is unusually forthright and thoroughgoing in its defence of women by means of a careful crafting of religious and spiritual arguments backed by Scripture. It sums up very effectively that element in the Christian tradition which asserted that virtue had no gender.

In his assertion of the physical equality of the sexes, Strozzi turns from biblical evidence to classical and medical authorities. He seeks to refute those who associated men’s more robust physiques and their greater physical strength with a superior intelligence and larger capacity for virtue. Even superficial observation of human beings would reveal, he argues, that the most unsubtle minds were often to be found in men of base and crude natures who possessed large and vigorous bodies. In seeking an explanation for this association, Strozzi refers to the medical theories of the ancient Greek physician Galen of Pergamum. Women's smooth, hairless bodies and ability to produce long and abundant hair provided evidence of a good balance of humours and a moderate nature. Men, on the other hand, had abundant beards and body hair and were more likely therefore to be choleric in temperament.[52] Strozzi also cites the ideas of the medieval Islamic scientist-philosopher Avicenna. Those who claimed that women tended to have cold and damp constitutions ignored the fact that this was the result of a lack of exercise. If, in their youth, women undertook vigorous and demanding exercise, they would become bigger, more robust, and quite lacking in the cold, moist humours that were traditionally associated with the female constitution. Similarly, men would be weaker, cold, and humid if they were raised without exercise. This was perfectly evident if one compared men from different climates and lands. As Avicenna had noted, sailors and fishermen were stronger and more vigorous than men whose work was more sedentary.[53]

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[49] “Perciò che ne le sacre littere se recita che la rationale creatura, cioè l’homo e la donna, fu fatta dal summo Dio ad sua imagine e vera similitudine; per il che se intende che non può essere imperfetto ciò che, fatto da Dio, ha meritato essere simile a la imagine del suo eterno factore.” Ibid., fols. 10v–11r.

[50] Ibid., fols. 16v–17v.

[51] “Difficile cosa è da credere e impia a pensare, e anchora impossibile che sia, che a chi sia data una materia commune, come il corpo humano composto de elementi, una commune forma essentiale come l’anima rationale, uno comune ultimo fine come beatitudine ad essi uno medemo commune artifice et factore, Dio habia voluto che sia diversa per perfectione e diversa e dissimile facultate e modo di poter pervenire e giongere ad esse suo ultimo fine di Beatitudine. Si che quello più comodamente e meglio, questa pegio e più difficilmente gli possa agiongere, se il masculo per aiuto di bona complexione, cum bono e facile ingiegno si move ad andar ad esso fine, a quale la femina per incommodo di pegior complexione più difficilmente, et quasi indarno, se sforci de arrivare.” Ibid., fols. 16v–17r.

This idea prompts the main point of Strozzi's thesis about the physical parity of the sexes. The constitution of women was not innately unsuited for the occupations, offices, and responsibilities usually reserved for men. Study and practice made men fit for such tasks; custom and tradition excluded women from them. If social custom changed and women began to study and to participate in the public sphere, it would soon become apparent that their intelligence, temperament, and constitution were equal to those of men. The novelty of women's taking on the traditional roles of men would soon disappear and misogynist prejudice would be shown to have no legitimate basis. Just as Equicola does in his *De mulieribus*, Strozzi points out that one had only to read Plato to find evidence of different social customs in the past. In classical times, women had operated beyond the domestic hearth, going to war and participating in politics. In Strozzi's view male cupidity and ambition had, however, ended cooperation between the sexes in public affairs. Women, being less forceful and audacious than men, had not adequately protested against their exclusion from civic affairs, and their more sedentary and domestic role had weakened them to the point where it could be said that they were unsuited to the active life.

> Although they left the care of and concern with things outside the home, including all the troublesome administration of the republic, it cannot be said now of women that they are unfitted for such tasks and useless. Rather, they are unused and unaccustomed [to them] because of their long idleness and the different activities that they have taken up.[54]

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[52] Ibid., fols. 18r–20v.

[53] Ibid., fols. 20v–22r.

[54] "Se bene li hanno lassata la cura et solicitudine de le cose fuori di casa cum tutta la molesta administratione de le republice, a quale occupatione le donne hora non si può dire che siano inutile, e non aconcie, ma solamente desuete e disusate per il longo ocio e exercitii diversi che se hanno tolti." Ibid., fol. 27r.

In a passage that anticipates the second book of the treatise, Strozzi argues that particular females had throughout history demonstrated the hidden potential of women through their astonishing achievements.[55]

> Because if that vigour of supreme and great intelligence had not been given to women, and although idle and without being exercised it is at times quiescent and hidden in them, they would not have been able to call on it and use it on numerous occasions and in times of need as has been shown many times.

Strozzi's responses to the second and third calumnies against women are briefer than to the first, most damaging, misogynist accusation. He accuses men of criticising women for their own faults. Men were guiltier of carnal lust, and often tempted or even forced women into sin. Adam had created a precedent by blaming Eve for his sin and his male descendents had followed his example, using their authority to lift the burden of guilt from themselves onto women. They then despised and punished women, petulantly defining them as weak and inadequate. Strozzi concludes the first book by methodically refuting four other calumnies against women and by throwing doubt on the views of authorities cited in misogynist texts. The second book catalogues extraordinary women of the past according to various criteria of excellence. The list finishes with the Virgin Mary, the paragon of female virtue and an effective foil to the sinful legacy of Eve. Men should, the author argues, be thankful for Mary's central role in the salvation of mankind and ought not to use Eve's implication in man's fall from grace as a justification for misogyny.[56]

While the juxtaposition of Eve with the Virgin Mary is conventional, the treatise takes an idiosyncratic turn when Strozzi describes the latter as "the true and most perfect Pandora".[57] His gloss that Mary was "endowed by Almighty God with all the gifts of the Graces and a full disposition of heavenly virtue" makes it clear that the name Pandora is used only in the literal sense of the Greek word, as Strozzi understood it.[58] He must surely have been aware of the negative connotations associated with the mythical Pandora, who was transformed by gifts of the gods from a creature made of clay to a beautiful and accomplished but treacherous nymph. The problematic nature of the classical myth, however, is completely ignored. The passage closes with the enigmatic and unconventional suggestion that Margherita Cantelmo should cede the name Pandora to the Virgin Mary, a possibility that is only comprehensible in the light of the letters of 1497 in which, as we have seen, Strozzi addressed his cousin by this name.[59]

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[55] "Ché se cotal vigore di sublime e grande ingiegno non fosse dato a le donne, et benché ociose et sencia exercitarsi alcuna fiata tacesse e stesse nascoso in esse, non se haveria potuto dimonstrare et operare ad molte occasione et bisogni, sicome egli è manifesto che più volte se ha dimostrato." Ibid., fol. 27v.

[56] On this traditional medieval association, see Blamires, *The Case for Women*, pp. 96–125 and *passim*.

[57] "Imperciò che essa è la vera e perfettissima Pandora, donata dal summo Dio de tutti li doni di gratie e de la numerosa schiera di celeste virtute." Strozzi, *Defensione delle donne*, Palatino 726, fol. 93v.

[58] In an undated postscript, probably belonging to a letter to Margherita Cantelmo of 2 February 1497, Strozzi glossed the name Pandora as follows: "Pandora vol dire dono de tutti o donata da tutti, cioè che ha ogni dono di gratie e virtù" ("Pandora means a gift of all things or given by all things; that is, one who has every gift of grace and virtue"); Agostino Strozzi, ASMn, AG, b. 283bis, insert 1.

The close association of Margherita Cantelmo with the Virgin Mary through the notion of their shared perfection closes the *Defensione delle donne* with a suitably flattering reference to its commissioner: clear evidence, we might think, of the influence she had exerted over the author. The reference to Pandora perhaps also subtly recalled the early evolution of the affectionate collaboration between the cousins when they playfully styled themselves in letters to each other as the nymph, Pandora, and the devoted shepherd, Euphilo. In the latter role Strozzi combined, perhaps quite self-consciously, religious and poetic notions of pastoral love. By mentoring a talented woman so that she might realise her intellectual and moral potential, the canon was merely fulfilling his spiritual calling. On the other hand, Strozzi's loyalty and willingness to please his cousin, already evident in his letters of 1497, prompted him in the *Defensione delle donne*, dedicated quite explicitly to Margherita, to go well beyond conservative Christian theology in his arguments in support of women. In doing so, he ran the risk of becoming ensnared in controversy and of being perceived as excessively devoted to a beloved relative.

Don Agostino's superiors, already alerted to his strong regard for his cousin by the frequent visits in early 1497 to her villa at Cavriana, to which he alludes several times in the letters, may have been alarmed in 1501 by rumours of his latest literary endeavours on her behalf. By 1503 he had left Mantua and was abbot of the Lateran congregation foundation at San Bartolomeo at Fiesole near Florence, replacing his friend Matteo Bosso. This important and prestigious posting could not, of course, be considered a punishment, but it may be that Strozzi's translation was designed by his superiors to remove him from the influence of Margherita Cantelmo, who was clearly a charismatic and interesting woman. The abbot disappears from the record in March 1505, and probably died about then.[60] Margherita lived on until 1532 and continued to be an active and important cultural patron in both Ferrara and Mantua.

What, then, can we make of this unconventional alliance between "Euphilo" and "Pandora", which produced one of the most radical treatises of the early modern Italian debate about women? Strozzi did not conceive of his Pandora in the same way as the courtier Giuliano de' Medici, in Book 3 of Castiglione's *Il libro del cortigiano*, was to characterise his ideal court lady. When asked by the Duchess of Urbino, Elisabetta Gonzaga, the sister-in-law of Isabella d'Este, to describe his paragon, Giuliano warns that, like Pygmalion, he will create a woman so much to his own taste that he will inevitably fall in love with his model and take her as his own.[61] Strozzi's Pandora can in no sense be compared to the beautiful ivory statue brought to life, in Ovid's tale, by the infatuation of her creator. While the Augustinian canon certainly guided his talented cousin in a program of self-improvement, the initiative for the project lay as firmly with Margherita Cantelmo as with him; and it is apparent that she persuaded Strozzi of the potential of women to be men's equals in every sense, with her unusual talents and qualities. What degree of female involvement existed in the production of other Italian pro-feminine treatises in the closing decades of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century remains to be seen. The example of Strozzi's collaboration with Cantelmo suggests that in seeking to account for the particular concentration of such works in Italian city-states such as Ferrara, Mantua, and Urbino, it is important not only to study those remarkable texts with scrupulous care, but also to explore as precisely as the evidence permits the individual circumstances in which each was produced, and the social and political contexts that informed the creation of the genre as a whole.

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[59] The text reads "Sia contenta di cedere a Lei questo nome, chi dopo ella dignissima altramente e prima lo porta." Strozzi's ambiguous use of feminine pronouns and perhaps a scribal omission makes it difficult to interpret this sentence precisely. Strozzi, *Defensione delle donne*, Palatino 726, fol. 93v.

[60] See James and Kent, "Margherita Cantelmo and Agostino Strozzi", p. 91.

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[61] Baldassare Castiglione, "Il libro del Cortegiano," in *L'Arte della Conversazione*, ed. Floriana Calitti (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2003), pp. 411–724, here p. 591.

Chapter 11
Like Mother Like Daughter: Moral and Literary Virtues in French Renaissance Women's Writings

Catherine M. Müller

When Shakespeare's Juliet dares to refuse the marriage her father had arranged for her with Paris, Lady Capulet wishes for her daughter to be already in her tomb.[1] In the sixteenth century, submission to parental authority is a daughter's most praised virtue, more precious than life itself. A girl's only choice is to obey, first her father then her husband. For her moral, spiritual, and physical protection, she needs fully to accept patriarchal authority. When addressing her absent daughter Jeanne, Marguerite de Navarre too expresses her fear that the girl might be left too long without male guidance.[2] While praising her, she writes to Jeanne that exemplary conduct on her part is what ensures her family's good reputation.

As Colette Winn reminds us, sixteenth-century mothers play the role of guardians and transmitters of moral and spiritual virtue:

> Woman is, at that time, the natural guardian of morals and religion. She is supposed to teach the basics of faith and knowledge, piety and virtue; in other words reinforce the interests of family and society. In the sixteenth century, then, education is at once initiation, transmission, and preservation. Within patriarchal societies, mothers have a stabilising role.[3]

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[1] "I would the fool were married to her grave!" (*Romeo and Juliet*, Act III, Scene V).

[2] "You without a husband, a father, or a guide" ("Vous sans mary et sans pere et sans guide"). Jeanne was supposed to be joined on her journey first by her husband (Antoine de Bourbon), then by her father (Henri d'Albert), but neither of them could protect her because they were both called to war by Henri II. Most quotes from this poetic exchange of letters between the queen and the princess are found in *Les dernières poésies de Marguerite de Navarre*, ed. Abel Lefranc (Paris: Armand Collin, 1896), pp. 10–27. However, the transcription, punctuation, and ordering of the citations are mine, often following the valuable suggestions of Félix Frank in *Dernier voyage de la reine de Navarre Marguerite d'Angoulême sœur de François I^{er} avec sa fille Jeanne d'Albret aux Bains de Cauterets (1549): Épîtres en vers inconnues des historiens de ces princesses et des éditeurs de leurs œuvres*, ed. Félix Frank (Toulouse: E. Privat; Paris: E. Lechevalier, 1897). For the historical context of these epistles, see also Frank. The present quote: *Epistle* VII, v. 11; Lefranc p. 22; Frank p. 53.

[3] "La femme est, à l'époque, la gardienne naturelle de la morale et de la religion. C'est à elle qu'il appartient de donner les rudiments de foi et de savoir, d'enseigner les premières leçons de la piété;

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It is not surprising therefore that Marguerite de Navarre ties her own name and felicity to her daughter's virtue ("I was called *blessed mother* / When I was given such a virtuous daughter"[4]), and immediately adds that she "would rather see her dead than considered non-virtuous".[5] Although the Queen of Navarre's dreadful statement is counterbalanced by a life wish ("live, therefore, and may virtue live in you"[6]) and a promise of divine assistance ("and may the All in all live in both of us"[7]), one cannot but remain stricken by a reality that equates lack of virtue with death.

What then is the meaning of female virtue in the light of such a moral bind? Is it a strict compliance with the precepts listed in late medieval and Renaissance conduct manuals? Does the adjective *virtuous*, when applied to women, only have moral and spiritual connotations? Did Marguerite de Navarre, as a true humanist, not wish for Jeanne to be defined by the multifaceted Latin notion of *virtus* implying also intellectual perfection?

As Karen Green shows in her study of Christine de Pizan's moral and political thought,[8] honour and renown as taught by Prudence in fact constitute the highest form of virtue: that which is necessary for prudent government of self and others. Good reputation being disseminated via rhetoric, the act of writing can be equated with the practice of virtue. A virtuous writer thus may acquire honour and renown through the publication of her works. This early woman's humanistic view of virtue associated with female wisdom and writing will be echoed throughout Renaissance works authored by women, or intended to praise them.

In the French Renaissance the term *vertu* most commonly means *strength*, *courage*, *talent*, *efficiency*, *usefulness*, *quality*, and *power*. It was most certainly with this overarching definition in mind that the court poet Bonaventure des Périers named his patron Marguerite "Virtue incarnate":

> Let Virtue [that is, Marguerite de Navarre] be the judge;
> She was born in our time, divine and incarnate.
> [. . .]
> [. . .] Virtue shall live on.
> Now, long live the vigorous Virtue
> By which people are most blessed
> By her example and the benign favour

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d'inculquer la vertu; autrement dit, de renforcer les intérêts de la famille et de la société. Au seizième siècle, l'éducation est donc à la fois initiation, transmission, préservation. Dans la société patriarcale, la mère figure comme l'élément stabilisateur." From "Mère/fille/femme/muse: maternité et créativité dans les œuvres des Dames des Roches," in Colette Winn, *Travaux de littérature* 4 (1991), pp. 53–68, here pp. 58–59, translation mine.

[4] "[. . .] j'acquis le nom de mere heureuse, / En me donnant fille très vertueuse" (*Epistle* VII, vv. 61–62; Lefranc p. 22).

[5] "[. . .] plustost vous veoir morte / Que de vous veoir nommer d'une autre sorte" (*Epistle* VII, vv. 63–64).

[6] "Or vivez donc et vertu vive en vous" (*Epistle* VII, v. 65; Lefranc p. 22; Frank p. 55).

[7] "Et en nous deux vive le Tout en tous" (*Epistle* VII, v. 66; Lefranc p. 22).

[8] See Karen Green, Chapter 7, this volume.

> She bestows upon those who favour
> Virtues as well as divine science
> Of which she has a thorough experience.[9]

The last two verses confirm that the notion of Virtue sums up all virtues (moral and spiritual) as well as "divine science". Did the Queen of Navarre remember des Périers's panegyric in her verses to Jeanne? Did not the erudite princess and prolific writer want her daughter to become a virtuous and renowned author herself? A close reading of a portion of the largely unknown versified letter exchange that took place between mother and daughter in 1549, shortly before Marguerite's death, will suggest a broader, more literary meaning of the word *virtuous* than just *honourable* or *obedient* as the initially quoted verses seemed to suggest.

In the second part of this essay, we shall consider another case of mother–daughter intellectual complicity, that of the well-known Dames des Roches who lived and published in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. These examples will bring to light how important the question of humanistic *virtus* was to well-taught women in the Renaissance, and how deeply a scholarly mother was able to influence her daughter's life and literary choices.

1 Virtue in the Poetic Exchange between Marguerite de Navarre and Jeanne d'Albret

Just as Bonaventure des Périers praised Marguerite as a model of virtue, so too does the Queen of Navarre call her daughter "most virtuous". In one of the epistles the mother sends to her, Jeanne is celebrated by "heaven and earth" alike as a paragon of virtue, a creature whose absence is synonymous with desolation:

> [. . .] "Alas!
> Alas, alas! Have we really lost her?
> Alas! She no longer casts her eyes upon us:
> She, the beauty who beautified us,
> The virtue who delighted us,
> The sweetness who sweetened our fruit.
> Without her, we are utterly destroyed."[10]

In this lament, Jeanne's three interchangeable attributes, beauty, virtue, and sweetness (with which she is in fact identified), are said to have a bearing on all of creation. The concepts of "beaulté" and "doulceur" are central to the *courtoisie* ethos as they emblematise all courtly ideals, whether physical, moral, or spiritual. How then are we to understand the phrase "the virtue who delighted us" ("Ceste vertu qui nous *resjouyssoit*") within this context? Jeanne's virtue used to make nature *rejoice*. Her absence consequently fosters lament: Marguerite writes that the wind in the trees, the sounds of the brooks, the voice of the river, and all earthly and spiritual creatures express their longing and sorrow,[11] agreeing that without her daughter they are "utterly destroyed". The girl's virtue is thus what guarantees joy. Now, if we recall that the Middle French notion of *joie* still belongs to medieval courtly phraseology and transcends the term's modern meaning (since it includes the idea of spiritual bliss and poetic achievement), we can fathom how much it carries with it the notion of energy and creativity. Virtue grants living power to anything or anyone who comes into contact with it. Its association with beauty and sweet fruit makes virtue into a dynamic, life-bearing force. Moreover, since the courtly concept of *doulceur* characterises not only the sweetness of the produced fruit but also nature's soft lament and "amorous" voice (terms denoting sweetness or softness appear five times in that poem, presented in full immediately below), virtue is closely connected with all that inspires the mother's expression of longing and helps generate poetic writing. Indeed, she tells her daughter how she got inspired to write to her, and how a private epistle is an opportunity for publishing a poem to be read by all:

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[9] "Laissons juger de telle Vertu, née / De nostre temps, divine et incarnée. / [. . .] / [. . .] la Vertu vivra. / Or, vive donc la Vertu vigoreuse, / Par qui la gent est plus que très heureuse / Par son exemple et benigne faveur / Qu'elle ha à ceulx lesquelz prennent faveur / Tant aux vertus qu'à divine science / Dont elle en ha l'entière experience," in *Œuvres françoises de Bonaventure des Périers*, ed. Louis Lacour (Paris: P. Jannet, 1856), vol. I, p. 113.

[10] "[. . .] 'Helas! / Helas! Helas! or, l'avons nous perdue? / Las! dessus nous ne torne plus sa veue / Ceste beaulté qui nous embellissoit, / Ceste vertu qui nous resjouyssoit, / Ceste doulceur adoulcissant nos fruictz / Or, sommes nous sans elle tous destruictz' " (*Epistle* VI, vv. 38–44; Lefranc p. 27).

> One evening thinking myself asleep
> I am suddenly woken by Love,
> Saying: "Write and take up your pen
> Without making excuses and awaiting tomorrow.
> Your daughter can no longer patiently bear
> This long and distressing silence of yours."
> I reply, as if still sleeping:
> "I have written so much that I have no arguments left
> To write well." He replies: "Don't cease
> Until the poor princess [Jeanne]
> Is reunited with the good she so deeply longs for;[12]
> Then your hand can rest from writing.
> But until then do not abandon your daughter
> And give *us* in writing *a few writings*."
> [. . .]
>
> [Cuydant au soir en repoz sommeiller,
> Amour me vient tout soudain esveiller
> Disant: "Escriptz et prens la plume en main,
> Sans t'excuser ny attendre à demain.
> Prendre ne peult ta fille en passïence
> Ceste trop longue et facheuse sillence."
> Je luy respondz quasi tout en dormant:

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[11] "She whom heaven and earth so sorrowfully miss" [Celle que tant ciel et terre regrette], *Epistle* VI, v. 50; Lefranc p. 27; Frank p. 52.

[12] This "good" is her husband Antoine, gone away to war.

> "J'ay tant escript que je n'ay argument
> Pour bien escrire." Il me respond: "Ne cesse
> Jusques à ce que la pauvre princesse
> Soit jointe au bien que tant elle desire;
> Alors ta main reposera d'escripre.
> Mais jusques là ta fille n'abandonne,
> Et par escript *quelques escriptz nous* donne."
> . . .][13]

In fact, in Marguerite's allegory, Love appears and urges the queen to compose a piece that will both console the daughter and please the literary community ("give *us* in writing *a few writings*"). Inspiration is granted when the protagonist opens her ears to nature's loving and lamenting voices, themselves induced by Jeanne courtly virtues. The poem continues:

> Urged on by Love, I rose,
> Took paper, readied my pen,
> And took a stroll in the aisle
> Near my window, to be more at ease.
> Then I sat down and began to think
> From what point I might start.
> I waited a little and suddenly heard a whispering
> Wind arising from leaves and fruit
> Softly bringing to my ear
> A piteous sound that startled me.
> I turned my head here and there
> The better to know from where it came.
> But I saw no tree, branch, or leaf
> That was not mourning, softly, with one accord.
> And fountains and brooks to their sound
> Replied in equal pain
> And with them the voice of the river
> Arising so soft and sweet
> That I clearly heard that lovely voice;
> But could not make out a single word.
> So I unlaced my bonnet
> And uncovered my ear and drew nearer.
> Then I heard a sad and low refrain,
> Chorused by these voices all: "Alas!
> Alas, alas! Have we really lost her?
> Alas! She no longer casts her eyes upon us:
> She, the beauty who beautified us,
> The virtue who delighted us,
> The sweetness who sweetened our fruit.
> Without her, we are utterly destroyed."
> Thus I heard from all these creatures
> Such an "alas" that, believe me, my nature
> Could not bear to listen any further.
> So I came running back to my room
> And cried along with them: "Alas! dear God,
> Bring back to this desolate place

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[13] *Epistle* VI, vv. 1–14; Lefranc p. 26; Frank p. 51. Italics mine.

The one whom heaven and earth lament
And yearn without cease to see again."

[Je me levay estant par luy pressée,
Du papier pris et ma plume ay dressée,
Et en l'allée auprès de ma fenestre
Me promenay, pour plus à mon ayse estre.
Puis je m'assis et me prins à penser
Par quel endroit je pourrais commencer.
J'attendis peu, lorsque j'ouys ung bruict
D'un vent sortant et de feuille et de fruict,
Qui *doulcement* portoit à mon oreille
Ung son piteux qui me donna merveille.
Je me tournay et deçà et delà
Pour mieulx sçavoir le lieu d'où vient cela.
Mais je ne vis arbre, branche ny feuille,
Qui *doulcement* d'un accord ne se deuille.
Et à leur son les petites fontaines
Ont respondu comme esgalles [en] peines,
Avecques eulx la voix de la riviere,
Qui s'eslevoit par si *doulce* maniere,
Que j'ouys bien son *amoureuse* voix;
Mais ung seul mot entendre ne sçavois.
Mon couvre-chef je prins à destacher
Et mon oreille ouvrir et approcher.
Là j'entendis ung mot piteux et bas
De toutes ces voix redisant: "Helas!
Helas! Helas! or, l'avons nous perdue?
Las! dessus nous ne torne plus sa veue
Ceste beaulté qui nous embellissoit,
Ceste vertu qui nous resjouyssoit,
Ceste *doulceur adoulcissant* nos fruictz;
Or, sommes nous sans elle tous destruictz."
Si je senty de toute creature
Un tel helas, croyez que ma nature
Ne peust souffrir d'oyr le demourant.
Mais m'en revins en ma chambre courant,
Avecques eulx criant: "Helas! mon Dieu
Ramene tost en ce desolé lieu
Celle que tant ciel et terre regrette,
Et que revoir incessamment souhaitte."][14]

By sending a tale on the origin of her writing, Marguerite thus achieves the double goal of reiterating her compelling love for Jeanne and showing how her own poetic work is generated by her daughter's creativity.

In Jeanne's epistles, Marguerite is portrayed as an all-powerful, generous, and courtly lady capable of granting protection, love,[15] trust, and mercy to her as a lord does to his knight. Their relationship is thus seen by Jeanne as a feudal bond, and her daughterly love as faithfulness, obedience, and humble service. Furthermore, she positions herself as poetically inspired by her mother; and with the mother's absence, the source of her writing is withdrawn: "your long absence had taken away the remembrance of how to compose poetry."[16] This suggests that her mother's impact on her life is not only moral but also intellectual. When in her first letter she calls herself a "conscientious and subtle servant",[17] she must therefore allude to her humble, scholarly allegiance to Marguerite. Jeanne's deference to her mother is demonstrated throughout the correspondence by means of precise textual responses, compliance with Marguerite's imagery, and imitation of her style. Accordingly, being a virtuous daughter requires proving to be a writer worthy of her motherly mentor.[18]

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[14] *Epistle* VI, vv. 15–52; Lefranc pp. 26–27. Italics mine.

[15] Their mother–daughter relationship is defined by both women as *amitié*, the Renaissance version of courtly love based on Ciceronian *amicitia*.

2 Virtue in the Works of Madeleine and Catherine des Roches

Also in the relationship between Catherine des Roches and her mother Madeleine, virtue is both moral and literary. As a moral concept, virtue obviously includes all classical and biblical virtues, even though two practical notions seem to stand out: chastity—or more precisely the refusal to marry—and diligence (the refusal of idleness). Writing appears in their works as a spiritual, moral, and political duty. For mother and daughter alike, scholarly pursuit is a sign of allegiance to one another, a way to enlighten other women, and a noble means to acquire fame.

For Catherine, Madeleine des Roches is a model of virtue as she represents both a moral *exemplum* and a literary *auctoritas*. When dedicating her poetic rewriting of Solomon's *Strong Woman* to her mother, Catherine specifies that she embodies "supreme virtue" and can recognise "her own portrait" in the *Femme forte*.[19] She knows that by choosing her mother as a paragon of virtue, she opens for herself a unique literary career:

> Mother, I know that in emulating you, I shall be able to follow an example of virtue matched by very few.[20]

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[16] "[. . .] vostre longue absence / M'avoit osté toute la souvenance / De plus rymer." (*Epistle* I, vv. 7–9; absent in Lefranc; Frank p. 16).

[17] "Servante subtille" (*Epistle* I, v. 40; Frank p. 18).

[18] Jeanne d'Albret's major literary text is her *Lettres suivies d'une ample declaration*, ed. Bernard Berdou d'Aas (Paris: Atlantica, 2007).

[19] All quotations in English are drawn from Anne R. Larsen's translation: *From Mother and Daughter: Poems, Dialogues, and Letters of Les Dames des Roches* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2006), henceforth referenced as *From Mother and Daughter*. See also Larsen's French edition: *Les Missives* (Geneva: Droz, 1999). This quote: "A ma mère," from the selected poems in Madeleine and Catherine des Roches, *Les Œuvres*, ed. Anne Larsen (Geneva: Droz, 1993), pp. 116–117. Subsequent references to the poems are to that same volume, referenced as *Les Œuvres*. For "Le pourtraict de vous-mesme" see *Les Œuvres*, p. 327.

[20] "Epistle to her mother," *From Mother and Daughter*, pp. 84–85. "Ma mere, je sçay que vous ensuivant, je pourroy suivre un exemple de vertu suivy de bien peu de personnes." *Les Œuvres*, p. 181.

For Madeleine in turn, Catherine has become a long-lasting model of virtue, because her heart was "naturally inclined" to it.[21] The mother stresses that the warrant for this estimation is literacy and knowledge: "Letters feed the heart of the virtuous";[22] "Virtue, nurturer of learning";[23] "the true aim and orbit of study / Is to make out of virtue a habit."[24] The eternal fame she wishes for her daughter is thus both moral and literary:

> You are born at an auspicious time for learning,
> And you seem inclined to the Muses.
> May Heaven give you such a longing
> For saintly living, the only source of just pleasure,
> And may the Daemon, who began this good work in you,
> So well guide your thoughts and actions,
> That posterity may know
> How much honour you have merited.
> *May you some day become immortal through your virtue.*
> It is thus that I have always wanted you to be.[25]

Following in Christine de Pizan's footsteps, Madeleine des Roches's reflection on the knowledge of virtue and the virtue of knowledge is central to her writing and closely connected with prudence and wise speech:

> As Heaven itself resists its own prime mover,
> So prudence resists the force that would dislodge it;
> Discourse, knowledge, by their good judgement
> Hone our unwise and awkward reason.
>
> [Comme le Ciel resiste à son premier mobile,
> Ainsi faict la prudence au premier mouvement;
> Le discours, le sçavoir, par leur bon jugement
> Liment nostre raison peu caute et mal habile.][26]

In Madeleine's discourse, virtue is also freedom and autonomy. She encourages her daughter not to marry, so to preserve her independence and integrity through education and writing. Consequently, this is how Catherine responds to one of her suitors:

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[21] "Epistle to my daughter," *From Mother and Daughter*, pp. 46–47. "Veu que ton cueur est né à la vertu." *Les Œuvres*, p. 81.

[22] "Epistle to my daughter," *From Mother and Daughter*, pp. 48–49. My translation shows a different interpretation of the word "heart" in this context: "La Lettre accroist le cueur du vertueux." *Les Œuvres*, p. 82.

[23] "Ode I," *From Mother and Daughter*, pp. 52–53. "Vertu, Nourrice du sçavoir." *Les Œuvres*, p. 87.

[24] "Epistle to my daughter," *From Mother and Daughter*, pp. 48–49. "Le vray centre et globe de l'estude, / C'est de donner à vertu habitude." *Les Œuvres*, p. 83.

[25] "Epistle to my daughter," *From Mother and Daughter*, pp. 50–51, italics mine. "Tu es au temps pour apprendre bien née, / Et sembles estre aux Muses inclinée. / Le Ciel te face avoir tant de desir / Des sainctes moeurs, le seul juste plaisir, / Et le Doemon, qui l'œuvre a commencée, / Guide si bien l'effect de ta pensée, / Que tesmoignant à la posterité / Combien d'honneur tu auras merité, / Tu sois un jour par vertu immortelle, / Je t'ay tousjours souhaitée estre telle." *Les Œuvres*, pp. 83–84.

[26] *Les Œuvres*, p. 140, my translation with modification by Alan Crosier (Sonnet 21, not included in Larsen's selections in *From Mother and Daughter*).

> So you should know, Monsieur, that I would not consider myself free if I were to cause servitude in another. [. . .] So I don't want a suitor, nor do I need a companion or a master. It will be quite sufficient for me if virtue deigns to rule my life, good fortune attends me, and learning and writing serve me to express what is in my soul.[27]

At a time when celibacy is not an option for women (except for nuns), this statement shows how vehemently Catherine refuses hierarchical models of personal and social interaction. It recalls the mother's critique of unjust power relations in the political realm:

> As for my country, I am powerless;
> Men have all authority,
> Against reason and against fairness.[28]

That the virtuous, scholarly mother is a warrant of her daughter's moral integrity and social reputation is well illustrated by the statement that she will protect her from slander by being her chaperon when entering the realm of publication:

> Love, I know that out of reverence, love, and honourable modesty, you will not send anything to the printers' shop without me, and that you would rather I follow my duty, my desire, and my customary ways. Let us continue then in that union which has always kept us together, and let us pray that the Divine Power may always guide us in our work, our thoughts, and our words, protecting us, if it pleases Him, from all calumny, and from the venom of ungrateful Envy.[29]

In Catherine des Roches's writing, the key symbol for the mother as source of divine moral and literary virtue is that of Prometheus:

> Mother, you gave me life as Prometheus did to the earthen image that he himself formed, and neither was the fire lacking, for that was given to you by Heaven. Now, knowing that I have received from you not only this mortal life but the life of my life, I follow you everywhere as the shadow follows the body. And just as neither the body in all its proportions

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[27] "Letter 44," in *Les Missives*, p. 269. "Sçachez doncques (Monsieur) que je n'aurois pas opinion d'estre assez libre, causant la servitude en un autre [. . .]. Or ne desirant point de serviteur, je ne demande non plus ny compagnon ny maistre. Il me suffira bien si la vertu daigne me commander, la fortune m'accompagner, et les lettres me servir, pour exprimer ce qui est en mon ame." (*Les Missives*, pp. 186–187).

[28] "Epistle to my daughter," *From Mother and Daughter*, pp. 46–47. "Pour mon pays, je n'ay point de puissance. / Les hommes ont toute l'autorité, / Contre raison et contre l'equité." (*Les Œuvres*, p. 81).

[29] "To my daughter," in "Selected Poems of Madeleine des Roches," in *Les Secondes œuvres*, here pp. 138–139. "Mamie, je sçay que la reverence, l'amour, et l'honnéte pudeur, ne vous permetent étre sans moy au papier des Imprimeurs, et qu'il vous plaît mieux que je suive mon devoir, mon desir, et ma coutume. Marchons doncques en cete union qui nous a toujours maintenues, et prions la Divine puissance, qu'elle vueille guider l'œuvre, la pensée, et la parole de nous deux, nous preservant (s'il luy plaît) de toutes calomnies, et du venin de l'ingrate dent de l'Envie." (*Les Secondes œuvres*, p. 87).

> nor the shadow in its projection can be seen without the grace of life, so the brilliant clarity of your mind makes us visible on a path on which few people have walked.[30]

This audacious association of her mother with the divine is further evidenced in Catherine's prologue when she uses the Augustinian expression "the life of my life" to signify the everlasting impact Madeleine had on her life and accomplishments. Whereas Augustine employed the phrase to revere God,[31] Catherine cites it to equate Madeleine with a godly muse. The divine nature of the mother's enlightened mind and "admirable virtues"[32] allows for an outstanding moral and literary bond between the two women and consequently for a bright destiny. Through their choice to walk on the rarely chosen path of knowledge and writing, both of them are indeed promised "visibility", and therefore immortal renown.

In a similar way, Catherine's uniqueness is articulated by her mother in terms of literary independence. Because God has left an imprint of his divine image in Catherine's heart, she can fly off with her feather (her winged *pen*, the French *plume* having both meanings) without having to draw from any *auctoritas*:

> The history books of a not ungrateful century [should] make honourable mention of you, my Daughter. For your deep faith shows that you bear in your heart the image of our great God. And by the flight of your pen, without begging for help from anyone else, you have taken the trouble to rescue me from the Cimmerian nights in which ignorance and old age kept me buried.[33]

Like mother like daughter: through the use of the same metaphor of light in each of their mutually dedicated introductory pieces, Madeleine and Catherine are revealed as each other's intellectual guide. If Madeleine was a powerful source of inspiration, educator, and enabler to her daughter, encouraging her to study, write, and publish, Catherine in turn is urging her mother never to give up composing and publishing her verse, in spite of difficult circumstances. Their likeness and mutual support allow them to short-circuit male influence in order to stay independent and avoid compromise.

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[30] "Epistle to her mother," *Les Secondes œuvres*, pp. 146–147. I have changed the end of the translation because my interpretation of the original slightly differs from Anne Larsen's. "Ma mere, vous m'avez animée comme Promethé, l'image de terre que luy-mésmes forma, et n'est point d'un feu desrobé: car il vous fut donné des Cieux. Or connoissant que je tiens de vous, non seulement ceste mortelle vie, mais encore la vie de ma vie, je vous suy partout comme l'ombre le cors: Et tout ainsi que le cors en ses proportions, ny l'ombre en son estandue ne sont point veus sans la faveur de la lumiere, ainsi la vive clarté de vostre entendement nous fait voir par un sentier non gueres frequenté." (*Les Secondes œuvres*, pp. 119–120).

[31] *Confessions* VII, 1 and VIII, 6. The citation is identified by Anne Larsen in her outstanding edition (*Les Secondes œuvres*, note 2, p. 119).

[32] "Epistle to her mother," *Les Secondes œuvres*, p. 147.

[33] "Epistle to my daughter," in *Les Missives*, p. 250. "L'histoire veritable d'un siecle non ingrat devra faire honorable mention de toy (ma Fille) qui par vive foy porte au cueur l'image du grand Dieu, et par le vol de ta plume, sans mendier l'aide d'autruy, prends peine de me tirer hors des nuitz Cimerienes, où l'ignorance et la viellesse me tenoient ensevelie." ("Epistre a ma fille," *Les Missives*, pp. 84–85).

It is striking to see that in the cases of the queens of Navarre and the Dames des Roches, the influence exerted by the scholarly mother on her daughter is one that places the Latin concept of *virtus* far higher than that of the usual female virtues associated in early Renaissance moral treatises with the court lady or the *mulier oeconomica*. A third example, that of the highly educated mother Antoinette de Loynes and her exceptional daughter Camille de Morel, confirms that well-taught women were eager to see their female offspring follow in their footsteps. Even though I have not yet found any of Antoinette's extent letters addressed to her daughter to confirm it, Camille's works and deeds suffice to prove how right her mother was to privilege learning over any traditional female virtue. As Catherine des Roches would later do, Camille chose not to marry in order to devote herself entirely to the pursuit of knowledge. She specifically continued the works initiated by her parents, namely to protect the greatest poets and scientists of her time and to serve the literary community by translating ancient and contemporary authors from and into classical and modern languages (Camille de Morel knew Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish). After her parents' death, she wrote laudatory poems in memory of them and encouraged many poets to do the same. She then published the encomiastic verse collection resulting from her efforts. The panegyric addressed to her deceased mother suggests that the virtues embodied by Antoinette were moral, spiritual, and literary in nature, scholarly excellence being a logical expression of virtuous conduct and godly pursuits. The earthly renown she therefore expected her exemplary mother to enjoy after life was a natural consequence of her "belle ame". Thanks to this, Camille's inspiring mother shall be "The torch, the mirror, and the glory of all Ladies; / The honour of her race, the blessing of her nation."[34]

As this emphatic eulogy implies, the private is always political: the influence exerted by the mother in the domestic sphere has a nationwide bearing. The image of the torch (Promethean, once more) reiterates the metaphor of light employed by Catherine des Roches, showing that a scholarly mother was seen by her daughter as not only the moral and intellectual foundation of her own life and works, but also as a mirror for women in general, and a forerunner for other female authors to come.

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[34] "Des Dames le flambeau, le miroir et la gloire, / De sa race l'honneur, l'heur de sa nation" in *Joan. Morelli Ebredun. Consiliarii Oeconomiq. Regii, moderatoris illustrissimi principis Henrici Engolismaei, Magni Franciae Prioris, Tumulus* (Paris: F. Morel, 1583), p. 55. This "poetic tomb" honouring her father, mother, and sisters is a compilation edited by Camille which includes her own works as well as other panegyric texts composed by famous poets who wrote under her parents' protection. For details on this poem see my article "*Monstrum inter libros*: la perception de la femme lettrée chez les humanistes de la Renaissance française (l'exemple de Camille de Morel)," in *Livres et lectures de Femmes en Europe*, ed. Anne-Marie Legaré, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 133–138.

Chapter 12
Joanna of Castile's Entry into Brussels: Viragos, Wise and Virtuous Women

Anne-Marie Legaré

A late-fifteenth-century manuscript that illustrates the entry into Brussels of Joanna of Castile (1479–1555), later called Joanna the Mad, allows us to glimpse the surprising variety of virtues expected of a Burgundian princess at the time. Joanna married Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy and son of Emperor Maximilian, on 18 October 1496. Her entry into Brussels took place in December 1496. It is depicted in a contemporary manuscript today held in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin's Staatliche Museen.[1] It was commissioned by the city of Brussels, as can be seen from the opening miniature showing St Michael, the patron saint of Brussels. It is adorned with sixty-three watercolours on paper, each accompanied on the opposite page by a short Latin text giving a description and interpretation. This manuscript is a unique document: the oldest illustrated testimony of a princely entry in Burgundy.

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[1] Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 D5: paper, 356 × 250 mm., ca. 1496. See Paul Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen, Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1931), pp. 179–181; Wim Blockmans, "Le Dialogue imaginaire entre princes et sujets: les joyeuses entrées en Brabant en 1494 et en 1496," in *A la Cour de Bourgogne: Le Duc, son entourage, son train*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 155–170, here p. 163; Wim Blockmans and Esther Donckers, "Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Wim Blockmans and Antheun Janse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 99–107; Birgit Franke, *Assuerus und Esther am Burgunderhof: Zur Rezeption des Buches Esther in den Niederlanden (1450–1530)* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1998), pp. 110–112; *Carolus, Charles Quint 1500–1558*, exhib. cat., ed. Hugo Soly and Jan van de Wiele (Snoeck-Ducaju & Fils), p. 170; *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York, Margaret of Austria*, exhib. Cat., ed. Dagmar Eichberger (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), p. 81, no. 16 (Birgit Franke); Dagmar Eichberger, "Illustrierte Festzüge für das Haus Habsburg-Burgund: Idee und Wirklichkeit", in *Hofkultur in Frankreich und Europa im Spätmittelalte: La culture de cour en France et en Europe à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Christian Freigang and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005), pp. 73–98.

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It predates the entry of Charles V into Bruges in 1515, which was recorded by both an illuminated manuscript and a printed book with thirty-three woodcuts.[2]

Although the account of Joanna's entry has been analysed,[3] a thorough iconographical study of its miniatures is still missing.[4] In this article, attention will be given to a limited group of miniatures representing some of the so-called *tableaux vivants* devoted to the series of the Nine Female Worthies, called here *Neuf Preuses*, and the scene of the Judgement of Paris. It will be argued that many of these scenes allude to the virtues expected in an ideal princess. The city of Brussels was hoping that Joanna of Castile would adhere to these models.

The first stage of the entry is devoted to a long procession of representatives of various institutions: either the religious communities within Brussels, or the city itself. Most notable among the thirty miniatures illustrating these processions are six "esbattements" showing playful scenes, such as three fools playing noisy instruments in the company of a jolly monk using a bellows, or a group of children attacking a fool called Histrio. The procession of the city guilds ends with a scene showing the civic archers surrounding Princess Joanna on horseback, riding into the main city square. In the distance, one can see the Brussels town hall lit by torches. This final scene closes the first part of the entry.

The second part starts with a series of *tableaux vivants*[5] comprising thirteen mythological scenes, and twelve scenes from the Old Testament. Two of them, showing Judith and Esther, have been closely studied by Birgit Franke and Barbara Welzel.[6] These twenty-five scenes are followed by depictions of the *Neuf Preuses*, represented by nine Amazons: Deipyle, Sinope, Hippolyta, Melanippe, Lampeto, Semiramis, Tomyris, Teuca, and Penthesilea.[7] Their courtly dress does not entirely conceal the armour underneath, which symbolises their status as fierce warriors. This peculiar combination stresses the ambiguity of their character, embodying both male and female qualities.[8] Most of the Amazons are presented according to the same scheme: between two servants with their distinctive banner and helmet, each figure holds a shield and a sword. These women are *viragos*: women not subject to female passions and weaknesses. Because they act like men (*viri*), they are *vir*tuous. According to some, *virago* originates from the word *vis* ("force, activity"), while others argue that it comes from *vir* ("man, hero"). This latter and more accepted interpretation was put forward by Jerome in his Latin translation of the Bible and also by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae*.[9]

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[2] Blockmans, "Le Dialogue imaginaire entre princes et sujets"; Wim Blockmans, "De onderdanen van de keizer" in Hugo Soly, ed., *Karel V 1500–1558: de keiser en zijn tijd* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1999), pp. 227–283; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Dagmar Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst, Wirken durch Kunst: Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 156, 337–339; Eichberger, "Illustrierte Festzüge für das Haus Habsburg-Burgund: Idee und Wirklichkeit," pp. 73–98.

[3] See Blockmans, "Le Dialogue imaginaire entre princes et sujets," pp. 155–170; Blockmans and Donckers, "Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries"; Blockmans, "De onderdanen van de keizer," pp. 275–279 with nine colour reproductions. On the theatrical dimension of the entry, see M. Hermann, *Forschungen zur Deutschen Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1914), pp. 364–400.

[4] A monograph on the manuscript by Dagmar Eichberger and Anne-Marie Legaré is in preparation.

[5] On the *tableau vivant* and its popularity in Flanders in the late Middle Ages, see W.M.H. Jummelen, "Het tableau vivant, de 'toog', in de toneelspelen van de rederijkers" in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal: En letterkunde* 108 (1992), pp. 193–222; Blockmans and Donckers, "Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," pp. 81–111. On the relationship between illuminators and the "tableau vivant", see B.A.M. Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren: Toneelkunst en processiecultuur in Oudenaarde tussen Middeleeuwen en Moderne Tijd* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), pp. 211, 217–220 *passim*.

[6] Birgit Franke, "Female Role Models in Tapestries," in *Women of Distinction*, pp. 155–164, especially pp. 156–157.

The theme of the *Neuf Preuses* as Amazons is considered to have been invented by Jehan le Fèvre.[10] He was an officer at the Parliament of Paris and also a renowned author in France during his lifetime.[11] Between 1373 and 1387, he composed the *Livre de Lëesce* in opposition to misogynist texts such as the *Roman de la Rose*, in particular the last part authored by Jean de Meun. In le Fèvre's text a series of virtuous and courageous women, including the nine Amazons, is singled out by *Dame Lëesce*, the allegory of Joy. In defence of women, *Dame Lëesce* argues that the female sex is more worthy, more valiant, and more virtuous than men could ever be. Le Fèvre probably borrowed the concept of the "Preuses" from earlier texts, such as the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* compiled by an anonymous author, perhaps Wauchier Denain who was at the service of the chatelain Roger IV of Lille (1208–1230) at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[12] In this text, the Amazons appear as very elegant and virtuous women completely lacking any warrior qualities. Later, between 1389 and 1396, Eustache Deschamps also grouped a list of female warriors whom he called *Les Neuf Preuses* in two ballads: *Il est temps de faire la paix* and *Si les Héros revenaient sur la terre, ils seraient étonnés*. This time, he confronts them with the Nine Male Worthies.[13] The oldest grouping undoubtedly comes from Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, written in 1361 and 1362.[14] This text can surely be considered the first collection of biographies of women. Quite surprisingly, no specific text on the Amazons is known to have been devised by Christine de Pizan. But seven of them appear in her *Cité des dames*. Karen Green argues that Christine used the Amazons "in order to refute the Aristotelian claim that women lack prudence and so are incapable of governing wisely, and in the defence of women's right to govern, particularly as regents for their infant children."[15] For Christine, the Amazons are women who possess the strength and force of men: "their history demonstrates that valour and government are not incompatible with womanhood, and this is the use to which many defenders of women will put the Amazonian stories for the next three hundred years."[16] Martin le Franc echoes Christine de Pizan in his *Champion des dames* dated 1440. In this poem, the character *Franc Vouloir* demonstrates that women have achieved honour and glory in government.

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[7] Fols. 43v–51v. Surprisingly, Ingrid Sedlacek does not include Joanna of Castile's entry in her iconographical corpus of Amazons. See her study *Die Neuf Preuses: Heldinnen des Spätmittelalters*, *Studien zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte* 14 (Marburg: Jonas, 1997).

[8] For these ideas, and many others relating to the Nine Female Worthies in this article, I am greatly indebted to Ingrid Sedlacek's study mentioned above.

[9] See H. David Brumble, *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings*, London: Fitzroy Dearborn, article "The Amazons," pp. 20–23. See also Bejczy, Chapter 1, this volume.

[10] The theme of the Nine Worthies has been thoroughly studied by Wim Van Anrooij, *Helden van weleer: De Negen Besten in de Nederlanden (1300–1700)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997). See also Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und Bildender Kunst* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1971), pp. 168–223, and Sedlacek, *Die Neuf Preuses*.

[11] On Jean le Fèvre see *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Âge*, ed. G. Hasenohr and M. Zink (Paris: Fayard, 2nd edition 1992), pp. 802–804.

[12] *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, pp. 684–685.

The theme of the Amazons also circulated in the Burgundian courtly milieu during the fifteenth century. They appear in literary texts attesting to a tradition that recent research has clarified. Already in 1405, the herald Bavière included three Amazons—Penthesilea, Semiramis, and Tomyris—in a long list of strong women in his *Chronicle* known as the *Haagse handschrift*.[17] Wim van Anrooij has discovered a previously unknown Netherlandish poem written in Brussels sometime between 1465 and 1480 in which are listed one hundred and one strong women, divided into eight series, including the *Neuf Preuses*.[18] It is known that this text circulated at the court of Mary of Burgundy but also among the members of the Brussels administration. According to Van Anrooij, it could well have served as a guideline for the conception of the *Neuf Preuses* imagery as it appears in Joanna of Castile's entry. It should also be stressed that Philippe Bouton,[19] a cousin of Olivier de la Marche and godson of Philip the Good, composed a *Miroir des dames* (ca. 1480) for Mary of Burgundy, the mother of Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria. To date, it has never been noticed that the theme of the *Neuf Preuses* is addressed in this educational text. Bouton applied the triad structure in accordance with the male combination.[20] But he replaced the canonical pagan triad composed of Lucretia, Venturia, and Virginia with three Amazons: Penthesilea, Semiramis, and Tomyris. This text attests to the popularity of the Preuses as female warriors in the Burgundian realm, while the Roman heroines were far better established in Italy.

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[13] The tradition of this theme of female pagan warriors has been traced by Ann McMillan, "Men's Weapons, Women's War: The Nine Female Worthies, 1400–1460," *Mediaevalia* 5 (1979), pp. 113–139. See also Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, "Penthésilée, reine des Amazones et Preuse, une image de la femme guerrière à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Clio* 20 (2004), *Armées* (pp. 169–179, available at http://clio.revues.org/index1400.html).

[14] Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies*, p. 179.

[15] Karen Green, "The Amazons and Madeleine de Scudéry's Refashioning of Female Virtue," in *Expanding the Canon of Early Modern Women*, ed. Paul Salzman (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010), pp. 150–167; "Isabeau de Bavière and the Political Philosophy of Christine de Pizan," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions historiques* 32 (2006), pp. 247–272; Karen Green, "*Phronesis* Feminised: Prudence from Christine de Pizan to Elizabeth I," in *Virtue, Liberty, and Toleration: Political Ideas of European Women, 1400–1800*, ed. Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), pp. 23–38, here pp. 27–29.

[16] Green, "The Amazons and Madeleine de Scudéry's Refashioning of Female Virtue."

[17] Many thanks to Jeanne Verbij Schillings for this information.

[18] Van Anrooij, *Helden van weleer*, p. 91.

[19] On Philippe Bouton see *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, pp. 1137–1138.

Two copies of Bouton's text have come down to us. They are almost identical, not only because the same scribe copied them but also because they share a similar *mise en page* on twelve vellum folios of almost the same size. One of them, recently acquired by the Municipal Library of Dijon, bears a frontispiece miniature showing a noble lady, probably Mary of Burgundy, receiving the book from Bouton.[21] The second copy, without any illustration, was acquired by Margaret of Austria who gave it to Mary of Hungary, as attested by her ex-libris, inserted at a later date.[22]

The literary tradition discussed above demonstrates that the theme of the "Neuf Preuses" was well established in Burgundy at the time of Joanna's entry into Brussels in 1496. It had frequently been used for earlier princely entries, especially in France during the first half of the fifteenth century.[23] In 1431, for instance, an entry "à la Preuse" was organised for Henry VI of England, on the occasion of his arrival in Paris in relation to his coronation as king of France at the cathedral of Saint-Denis. He was described as being mounted on horseback and accompanied by a procession of armed "Preux" and "Preuses" holding shields with their coats of arms.[24] In 1444, the prince bishop of Liege, John of Hinsberg, returning from abroad, was greeted in his city by the nine "Preux" and "Preuses".[25] There had even been such an entry for a woman. Isabelle of Bourbon, as the new bride of Charles of Burgundy, made her entry into the city of Nevers in 1456: exactly forty years earlier than Joanna's entry into Brussels.[26] But compared to these, Joanna's entry remains quite exceptional, for it is the only known case where the Amazons appear by themselves, in great pomp, without their male counterparts.

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[20] The alternative structure which is always divided in three groups: Christian, Jewish, and pagan heroes and heroines, follows a tradition more popular in German-speaking countries. It includes the female Christian triad: Helen, Elizabeth of Hungary, and Birgit of Sweden, who are associated with Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godefroy de Bouillon; they are followed by the Jewish triad: Esther, Judith, and Jahel, combined with Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabaeus; and finally, the pagan triad: Lucretia, Venturia, and Virginia, paired with Hector, Alexander, and Caesar.

[21] Dijon, Municipal Library, MS 3463, vellum, 205 × 135 mm, 12 ff. The dedication miniature was made ca. 1480 in Burgundy or in Flanders. See Jacques Tajan and Bernard Clavreuil, *Editions originales d'auteurs français du XV^{e} au XVIII^{e} siècle*, catalogue, *Bibliothèque littéraire, manuscrits précieux* (Paris: Librairie Thomas-Scheler, 1995), cat. no. 7, pp. 16–17; Hospices civils de Beaune [publ.; catalogue], *Bruges à Beaune: Marie, l'héritage de Bourgogne* (Paris: Somogy, 2000).

[22] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 10557, vellum, 235 × 166 mm, fol. 12 ff. See Marguerite Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche: Essai de reconstitution d'après l'inventaire de 1523–1524* (Louvain and Paris: Peeters, 1995), pp. 477–478, no. 342.

[23] These examples have been grouped with others by Sedlacek, *Die Neuf Preuses*, pp. 118–119.

[24] "Iceulx preux et preuses tous armés et montés sur coursiers, tous couvers de fins bougrans batus d'or et d'argent aux armes que les dessuzdiz portoient en leur plaines vies." *Collection générale des Documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre I*, Delpit, ed. (Paris: 1847; reprinted Geneva: 1971), p. 240, cited by Sedlacek, *Die Neuf Preuses*, p. 153 n. 6.

[25] Mentioned in Jean de Stavelot's *Chronique*, A. Borgnet ed., *Collection des Chroniques belges inédites* 10 (Brussels: Borgnet, 1861), p. 539 and by Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies*, p. 198. See Sedlacek, *Die Neuf Preuses*, p. 119.

How are we to interpret this unusual absence of male Worthies and the prominence of the nine Amazons in Joanna's entry? Choosing nine female warriors certainly points to qualities or attitudes usually associated with male virtues. One can relate this development, as Ingrid Sedlacek has done, with a more general transformation of chivalric values which took place in France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and led to the introduction of women in new chivalric orders.[27] Within this general context, it is by no means surprising to find a series of Amazons presented on horseback with courtly attires in a *Recueil de pieces et mémoires* concerning the Order of the Golden Fleece, which was completed at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century.[28] The choice of nine Amazons not only conveyed new courtly values: it also carried a strong political message. As in all of the recorded entries organised in Europe, religious and profane values were always combined with a political statement.[29] Christian virtues of Humility, Chastity, and Sainthood—related to the Jewish, pagan, and Christian virtuous triads, and naturally suited to women—are here left aside in favour of chivalric values, such as courage, combativeness, independence, or aggressiveness, entirely mobilised to help defend the territory of the duke and the duchess and protect their people against potential enemies. The message is clear: Joanna must assimilate these male values in order to become a virtuous and strong Amazon, capable of sustaining her husband in his role as the perfect and ideal knight. It might be the very same message essayed in the next *tableau vivant*, showing the Judgement of Paris (Fig. 12.1).

That scene is not new in princely entries. We know it was used when Charles the Bold entered Lille in 1468.[30] Jean Molinet, the famous chronicler at the court of that duke, states in his *Chronicles* that a *tableau vivant* showing this very judgement was part of the ceremonies for the coronation of Philip the Fair in Antwerp, in October 1494, two years before his wife Joanna made her own entry in the city of Brussels.

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[26] "La royne Penthasillée, la preuse Deiphille, la royne Synope, la vieille Semiramis de Babilone, la belle Menalippe, la sage Ypolite, la royne Lampheto, la vierge Theuca, la royne Tharamis." Cited by Sedlacek, *Die Neuf Preuses*, p. 118, and p. 153 n. 8, from the *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*.

[27] Sedlacek, *Die Neuf Preuses*, pp. 66–74.

[28] BNF MS Clairambault 1312, before 1467. See Sedlacek, *Die Neuf Preuses*, pp. 72–73 with six black and white reproductions.

[29] On this question, see Jean-Marie Cauchies, "La Signification politique des entrées princières dans les Pays-Bas: Maximilien d'Autriche et Philippe le Beau," in *À la Cour de Bourgogne: Le Duc, son entourage, son train* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 137–152.

[30] Hugo Soly, "Plechtige intochten in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Nieuwe Tijd: communicatie, propaganda, spektakel," *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 97, pp. 341–361, here p. 345. Also cited by Cauchies, "La Signification politique des entrées princières," p. 146 n. 49.

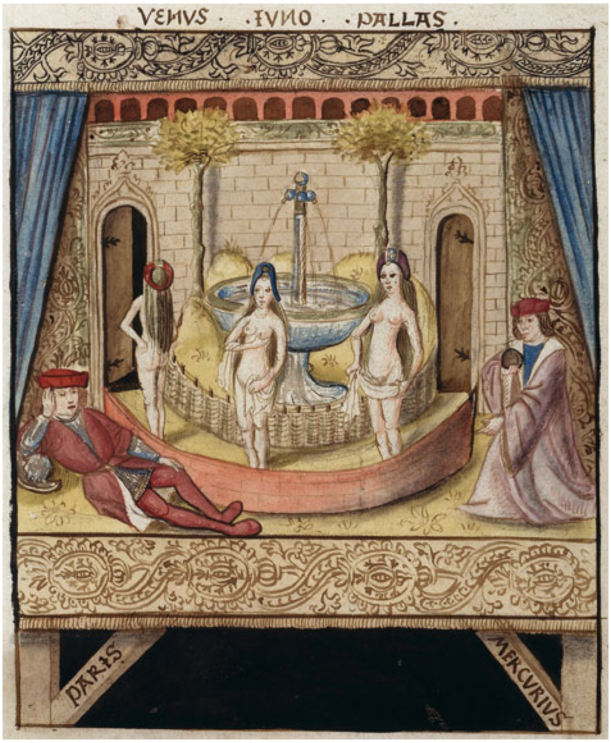

Fig. 12.1 The Judgement of Paris; *Joanna of Castile's Entry into Brussels in 1496*, anonymous artist, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 D5, fol. 57

He also states that the three deities appeared "au nud, et de femmes vives".[31] In such a naturalistic presentation, the Judgement of Paris seems to have been well received and appreciated in Flanders at the time! This Ovidian story was closely related to the supposed Trojan origins of the Dukes of Burgundy, to which Philip the Good had given significant endorsement through the creation of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1430. Before 1464–1465, he also ordered from his chaplain Raoul le Fèvre a translation of Guido Colonna's *Historia destructionis Troiae*, dating from 1287.[32] Quite popular at the court, as attested by the large number of copies in the ducal collections, often beautifully illustrated, this *History of Troy* was the means of diffusing the history of the Burgundian Trojan origins. It was also translated into

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[31] In English: "naked, and real women"; see *Chroniques de Jean Molinet (1474–1506)*, G. Doutrepont and O. Jodogne eds. (Brussels: G. Doutrepont and O. Jodogne, 1936), vol. 2, pp. 397–398. See Cauchies, "La Signification politique des entrées princières," p. 146.

[32] On Raoul le Fèvre, see *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, pp. 1238–1239.

English by William Caxton under the supervision of Margaret of York, between 1469 and 1471.[33]

The composition of the Judgement scene as shown in the Berlin manuscript follows very closely the detailed description given by Guido Colonna and later Raoul le Fèvre. The conceiver of the *tableau vivant* took care to include specific details of Colonna's story, such as the fountain, a quite important element, which is traditionally related to the idea of the vision and the dream. It is worth mentioning that both Christine de Pizan, in her *Epistre Othea*, and later the Master of Antoine Rolin in one lavishly illuminated copy of Raoul le Fèvre's translation,[34] also conformed to this iconography, which goes back to the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris. In this context, it might also allude to wisdom, connected with the fountain of its three Muses. The position of the three deities around the fountain, two shown from the front and one from the back, is indeed evocative of the Muses in their traditional positioning.[35]

The Latin caption accompanying the image of the Judgement in the Berlin manuscript reads:

> Venus, Juno, and Pallas. Here is what is represented by this scene: "just as the three deities announced his destiny to Paris, in the same way they acknowledged, with congratulations to her, that she, Joanna, had brought with her endowment of prosperity these three gifts to Philip."[36]

What are these three gifts? There are a great variety of moral interpretations provided by contemporary commentators, or earlier commentators who have dealt with this theme. For example, Margaret Ehrhardt has shown that Christine de Pizan in her *Epistre Othea*, drawing from the anonymous *Ovide moralisé* and the *Dit de la fontaine amoureuse* by Guillaume de Machaut, gave a moral interpretation of Paris's ill judgement and its bad consequences. His favouring Venus was caused by his being in love, which led to the weakening of his good sense and his chivalric qualities; and this, says Christine, is what caused the war of Troy and all of its destruction. A good knight should never follow the wrong judgement by which Paris chose Venus as against Juno and Pallas, instead of selecting all three deities.[37]

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[33] *Women of Distinction*, pp. 242–243, no. 80.

[34] Anne-Marie Legaré, "The Master of Antoine Rolin: A Hainaut Illuminator Working in the Orbit of Simon Marmion", ed. Thomas Kren, in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and The Visions of Tondal*, Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Department of Manuscripts of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Collaboration with the Huntington Library and Art Collections, June 21–24 1990 (Malibu, California: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), pp. 209–222.

[35] I would like to thank Karen Green for this insight.

[36] Fol. 56v: "Hoc schemate representatur uti tres dee Paridi fata nuntiaverunt. Sic Johannam Hyspanie faustis comitatam tria dona Philippo afferentem applicuisse congratulantes avisarunt." I would like to thank Bruno Roy for this transcription and Marie Madeleine Fontaine for its translation. (Pallas is a common alternative name for Athena—or Minerva, to match the Roman names used here. The god Mercury is also depicted, opposite Paris in the foreground.)

[37] Margaret J. Ehrhart, "Christine de Pizan and the Judgment of Paris: A Court Poet's Use of Mythographic Tradition," in *The Mythographic Art*: *Classical Fable and the Rise of the Vernacular*

This concept of the *triplex vita*, a matter of concern since Macrobius and before him Fulgentius, was re-emphasised at the beginning of the Renaissance, at the time of Joanna's entry. It carried a very strong message, which can be summarised this way: it is not simply an error but *blasphemous* to select one goddess—in other words, one life—and to set the two other ones aside. For each life complements the others, and confers invaluable gifts. As Edgar Wind puts it, the choice of a true prince must be triple, in order to be universal.[38] In Italy, the great humanist Marcilio Ficino wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici that felicity could only be reached by honouring the three ways of life: the contemplative life associated with wisdom (represented by Pallas); the active life associated with power or magnificence (represented by Juno); and the voluptuous life (embodied by Venus). In Burgundy, it is Jean Lemaire de Belges who dealt with the *triplex vita* in his *Illustrations de Gaule et singularités de Troie*. He situated the Judgement of Paris in a marriage context and gave the following interpretation of the three gifts: Pallas offers contemplation, a means for the prince to isolate himself from the pressing demands of public life, in order to reflect and become a better ruler. Juno, Pallas's ally, adds the gift of action which brings more than mere material riches and enrichment; by extending active life to political endeavour, the prince will better defend his town and its inhabitants. Finally, because Lemaire de Belges accepts the platonic tradition of the double nature of Venus, as did all medieval authors, he associates the deity with both love of wisdom and fertility.[39] He also emphasises her stabilising role, an important dimension of Venus who is perceived as instrumental for harmony through the gift of love. The linkage between love and harmony follows a long medieval tradition, also found in Plato, which was transmitted by Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*. These are gifts fittingly brought by a princess, Joanna herself. She, as the spouse of Philip the Fair, carried them all, while the three goddesses only held them separately. Joanna would thus appear as the ideal and universal princess who granted these precious gifts to the Burgundian people through her marriage with Philip.

Joanna of Castile's "joyeuse entrée", seen from the angle of feminine virtues, has a very important role; it offers a unique iconographical epitome of great virtuous women. Up till now, the manuscript has been analysed mainly by historians of the Burgundian courts, who have been preoccupied with its political aspects. From different angles—perhaps art-historical, or focused on gender—the entry's program appears to have been strongly adapted to a woman. This is stressed by the fact that the Nine Female Worthies are presented without their male counterparts. There also seems to have been a concern to extract a feminine message from the Judgement of

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in Early France and England, ed. Jane Chance (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1990), pp. 125–156, here especially pp. 126–129.

[38] Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1968), pp. 96–97.

[39] See Margaret J. Ehrhart, *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), pp. 206–207.

Paris, traditionally addressed to males. Taken altogether, the various quite different virtues which appear to be prescribed for the princess in these *tableaux* demonstrate that a complex fusion of public and private virtues—respectively "masculine" and "feminine"—were thought appropriate for a princess in late-fifteenth-century Burgundy.

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